`Abd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram

MAQTAL AL-ḤUSAIN:

Martyrdom Epic of Imām al-Ḥusain (ع)

Translated from the Arabic and Edited
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In the Name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

By

Sayyid Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Muqarram

1. Author's Background

The author is a defender of the Imāms of Guidance who carried on the Sharī`a of the Master of Messengers (ص), raised the saline features of the creed, explained the Sunnah and promoted righteousness. The said Imāms (ع) disseminated the Islamic teachings whenever they had the opportunity to do so, braving numerous trials and tribulations, persevering in every hostile environment. Their foes envied them while those who despised and hated them harboured a great deal of grudge against them. The intestines of some of them were cut open while the livers of others were chopped. Swords severed their joints, and they were hurled into dark dungeons. Despite all of this, the light of the truth did, indeed, dispel the darkness of misguidance. Truth always subdues falsehood. Generations have been obliterated and new ones have come as the scholars of the Infallible Household remain vigilant as guardians of the Sharī`a. They took upon themselves to study and clarify its obscurities and comprehend its pith. The knowledge of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) has received a great deal of attention and awarded a great deal of concern; therefore, major Islamic cities have been filled with many a genius and a scholar. These set up the rules and established the branches. Their pens delved into each and every field and wrote about every branch of knowledge and scholarship.

I find myself at this juncture reluctant to discuss the branches of knowledge about which they wrote or the arts they categorized according to queries, or the precious treasures for whose safeguarding they dedicated themselves. The libraries of the Western world, at major cities, are filled with large numbers of such great works. The halls of their institutes are crowded with thousands of books which their pillars have recorded, not to mention what is available at Islamic cities in the East of great books and magnificent literary works. Publishing houses and scientific institutes came to their universities and scientific institutes and took to serious work, verifying what is written and bringing out what is treasured. They kept explaining and critiquing, clarifying, comparing, and examining. Critics' pens dived into the depths in order to take out the jewels and the treasures therein. Opportunity was seized by every publishing establishment that loves knowledge or seeks wealth, for people are bent on ambitiously seeking knowledge, desiring to quench their thirst of the fountain of various branches of knowledge. [The *ḥawza* at] al-Najaf al-Ashraf is a pioneer in researching, teaching and writing since it was founded by the sect's mentor, al-Ṭūsi, in the fifth Hijri century (the 11th century A.D.). Its study circles are crowded with exemplary scholars who shone like stars in the depth of the darkness and with dazzling suns during the period that followed our Imāms' time. They never ceased their march, nor did they ever put down the pens that they unsheathed to remove the doubts, nor did they abandon the pulpit. Sacred mosques are full of glorious mentors and brilliant and inspiring intellectuals: thinkers whose fountainheads are pure. We, therefore, find al-Najaf upholding its role of leadership. It is the ultimate desire of those who seek and appreciate knowledge, the final stop of those who pursue honours. Do you think that its teaching staff and their status at "al-Fitiyya" would ever abandon it while the rays of the Master of the Learned, the Imām of the pious, the Commander of the Faithful, overwhelm the Islamic world, and the torches of his wisdom and teachings live in and fill the hearts? These are only some of the precious boons of the Master of the Wise, peace be upon him.

In the deluge of the waves of these scholarly floods did our master, whose biography is here

discussed, live and grow up. He felt distressed at finding the legacy of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) obscured in many respects, and it hurt him to see pens unconcerned about researching their ways of life and extracting what is hidden of their feats and merits. Is not the Islamic library satisfied with these thousands of books and literary works that deal with Fiqh and Uṣūl while the "struggle" of the masters of the world remains obscured and shadowed by misinformation, misrepresentation and distortion wrought by bygone antagonistic pens during periods when Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, were not given any respite at all, nor were they befriended? Horrible wars were waged against them and lies and fabrications invented in order to distort the facts relevant to them. How could such pens be otherwise especially since the oppressive authority and those in charge, during their time, felt jealous of them and schemed against them? False charges and deception were the outcome as those who flattered the rulers spread far and wide.

Due to his extensive knowledge of these narrators and liars and his familiarity with the names of fabricated personalities, our master whose biography we are discussing regarded it as his obligation, one mandated on him by the Imāms, peace be upon them, to dedicate his efforts and energy to research and study what these Imāms had taught, the knowledge which is now with us, and to clarify the reasons behind the confusion about and the historical context of those events. He did all of this by applying the principles of comparison and deduction in order to deduce complex injunctions.

But he came to conclude that authorship should be restricted to explaining the biographies of these Imāms and the details of the circumstances wherein they lived. Are we not being unfair to them, being able to write, having the knowledge, scholarship, and the tools of research at our disposal? Should we be too lazy to do so or feel reluctant to unveil the facts behind whatever dubiosity was cast on what actually befell them? The Umayyads, the Zubayris, and the `Abbāsides waged unrelenting wars against them in order to obscure their light and obliterate their legacy, utilizing those who followed and supported them. Is it not, then, obligatory on us to direct our energy to continue what they had started? In other words, should we not write books lauding them, so that we may thus support and assist their struggle, and so that we may show the glowing facts obscured by frivolous lies? Did not our scholars delve enough into the questions of *Fiqh, Uṣūl*, logic, and philosophy for many centuries, leaving nothing at all for anyone else to say or to discuss or to debate?! We have a moral obligation towards them. We should write about them and study their revivals and shed a light on their statements. We must refute the charges levelled against them and the skepticism.

He, may Allāh have mercy on his soul, was of the view that an author should not exert his effort and exhaust himself in dealing with the branches of modern or ancient knowledge without allotting a portion of such effort or exertion to study their personalities and those of their offspring and followers who were hanged, jailed, or exiled to distant lands and who died while remaining firm in adhering to the lofty principles and to the true faith. This is what he himself had written in the Introduction to his explanation of a poem by Shaikh Ḥasan son of Shaikh Kāẓim Sabti, may Allāh have mercy on his soul, known as "al-kalim al-ṭayyib." This is how he starts it: "It is, therefore, obligatory on us, having studied the basics of our beliefs, to look into their [Imāms'] virtues, merits, and lifestyles, so that we may carry out our responsibility towards them on one hand, and so that we may emulate them and follow their recommendations on the other."

2. His Lineage

He is `Abdul-Razzāq son of Muḥammed son of `Abbās son of the scholar Ḥasan son of the scholar Qāsim son of Ḥassūn son of Sa`īd son of Ḥasan son of Kamāl ad-Dīn son of Ḥusain son of Sa`īd son of Thābit son of Yaḥya son of Duways son of `Āsim son of Ḥasan son of Muḥammed son of Ali son of Sālim son of Ali son of Ṣabra son of Mūsa son of Ali son of Ja`fer son of Imām Abul- Mūsa al-Kāzim (ع) son of Imām Ja`fer al-Sādiq (ع). His nickname, "al-Muqarram," is the family name. The storey behind this family name is that one of his grandfathers was sick in his feet on account of an ailment which exhausted him, causing him to be very thin, rendering him to house confinement. Before that incident, the family name used to be "al-Sa`īdi," after his grandfather Sa`īd son of Thābit.

3. His Birth and Upbringing

He, may Allāh be merciful to him, was born in 1316 A.H.1899 A.D. *`allāma* Shaikh Ali Asghar Aḥmadi learned from him as indicated in an article by `Imād Zādah, editing manager of (Iranian) *Khud* magazine which he wrote for the Tehran newspaper *Nida-e-Haqq* of the 29th of the month of Ramaḍan, 1370 A.H./July 4, 1951 A.D.

His father, Sayyid Muḥammed son of Sayyid `Abbās, used to quite often observe *i`tikāf* at Kūfa's grand mosque, and he used to stay at Kūfa quite often. But his grandfather on the mother's side, Sayyid Ḥusain, the scholar, looked after him with affectionate care and raised him Islamically just as the offspring of the people of knowledge and distinction are raised. He studied Arabic in its tools, the *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) in its branches, and the *`aqā'id* (Islamic beliefs) and the queries relevant thereto. His grandfather's death in 1334 A.H./1916 A.D. agonized him a great deal, overburdening his general life and his efforts to make a living. He, therefore, had to withstand extreme hardships and face the cruelty of circumstances. Yet all of that did not distract him from seeking knowledge and attending research sessions with his mentors. He used to quite often mention his father Sayyid Muḥammed (who died in 1351 A.H./1932 A.D.) well. His mother, a descendant of the progeny of Imām Ali (ع), was very kind to him, and he was kind to her. She was a righteous women who used to recite the Holy Qur'ān; she died in 1370 A.H./1951 A.D.

His uncle, Sayyid Mehdi son of Sayyid `Abbās, used to travel frequently between various cities and visit his relatives who scattered throughout Nu`māniyya, Dīwāniyya, Hindiyya and elsewhere. This uncle, may Allāh have mercy on his soul, used to be a bitter opponent and a critic of the `Uthmānis (Ottomans), and he used to frequently criticize them for the harm and oppression they were inflicting on the public till they arrested him in Kuwait which he visited in 1334 A.H./1916 A.D. and hanged him.

The ancestor of al-Muqarram's family is Sayyid Qāsim who had moved from al-Ḥasaka, where he had some real estate properties, to al-Najaf al-Ashraf in order to be near the master of *waṣis*. Another reason was the fact that some of his family members were already residing at al-Najaf as he recorded in some of his papers.

His departure took place in the second Hijri century (8th century A.D.). Since he settled in the family's present house, he became very much involved in seeking knowledge till he became one of Najaf's most renown personalities and dignitaries. His house became the place where distinguished scholars met. He used to quite often hold commemorative ceremonies for Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and *majālis* in their honour. He was a recognized genealogist, an imām of *jama`a*, and an author. Among his wrotings was a commentary on *Al-Ansāb* by Abul-Ḥasan al-Fatūni al-`Āmili who died in 1138 A.H./1726 A.D. This commentary goes beyond tracing the names of fathers and grandfathers or stating one's family tree. Another commentary he wrote was for *`Umdat al-Ṭālib* of Ibn `Anbah al-Dāwūdi al-Ḥusaini who died in 828 A.H./1425 A.D. Our biographee, may Allāh have mercy on him, did not discuss issues relevant to late genealogies, feeling too embarrassed to deal with their affairs. But he was quite familiar with and fully knowledgeable of biographers and narrators of *ḥadīth* and those who branched out of the "origins;" therefore, it was not hard for him to appreciate the significance of a particular*ḥadīth* or narration once he knew the false name of its narrator, that is to say, the one who fabricated it, or his characteristics whereby he was supposedly known.

We must not forget the fact that his grandfather on his mother's side, Sayyid Ḥusain, who died in the late part of 1334 A.H./1916 A.D., was also an imām of *jamā`a* and one of those whose profession was teaching. His uncle, Sayyid Aḥmed son of Sayyid Ḥusain, who also died in 1334 A.H./1916 A.D., was a man of scholarship and distinction, and he fathered four sons among whom Sayyid Ibrāhīm son of Sayyid Aḥmed, who died in 1358 A.H./1939 A.D., came to be distinguished for his scholarship and virtues. He was a far-sighted man, one whose *fiqh* was quite broad. Many of those who acquired a lofty degree of scholarship were among his students, and he studied for a lengthy period of time at the school of Imām Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain Al Shaikh Ali Kāshif al-Ghitā', may Allāh have mercy on him.

4. His Mentors

1. His grandfather, the pious and God-fearing scholar, Sayyid Ḥusain, who died in 1334 A.H./1916 A.D. and who took care of raising and educating him.
2. The scholar/authority Shaikh Muḥammed Riḍa Al Shaikh Hādi Al Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' who died in 1366 A.H./1947 A.D. and who taught him *uṣūl*.
3. The scholar/authority and *faqih* Shaikh Ḥusain al-Ḥilli al-Najafi, may Allāh expand his shade, who taught him *ṣuṭūḥ* in their respective *fiqh* and *uṣūl*.
4. The forgiven supreme religious authority Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm who died in 1390 A.H./1970 A.D. and who taught him *khārij al-fiqh*.
5. The *mujtahid* authority Shaikh Agha Ḍiyā' al-Iraqi who died in 1361 A.H./1942 A.D. and who taught him *khārij al-uṣūl*.
6. The religious leader and the authority on *fatāwa* Sayyid Abul-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahāni al-Najafi who died in 1365 A.H./1946 A.D. and who taught him *khārij al-fiqh* and recorded his [progress] reports.
7. The authority in *fatāwa* Mirza Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Nāeeni al-Najafi, who died in 1355 A.H./1936 A.D. and who taught him *khārij al-fiqh* and *uṣūl* and recorded his [progress] reports.
8. Ayatullāh and the greatest mentor and today's authority Abul-Qāsim al-Khoei al-Najafi, may Allāh expand his shade, who taught him *fiqh* and *uṣūl*.
9. As regarding the great *mujāhid* Shaikh Muḥammed Jawād al-Balāghi, who died in 1352 A.H./1933 A.D., he used to hold the biographee in high esteem, quite often recognizing his status. Due to the similarity between both men's method of work and defense of the Sharī`a of the Chosen One (ص), the bonds between them were quite strong. The forgiven biographee participated with the authority al-Balaghi in publishing *Al-Riḥla al-Madrasiyya* and in co-writing *Al-Huda li Dīn al-Muṣṭafa*. Al-Balāghi's personality filled his soul with admiration and respect with regard to many situations wherein loyalty to Ahl al-Bayt (ع) openly manifested itself. You can notice this from reviewing what he recorded by way of comment on al-Balaghi's poem in the appendix to this book and on many other books which he had bought from him, such as the biographee's editing of a copy of *Al-Riḥla al-Madrasiyya* and his procurement of Aḥmed's *Musnad*, which he indexed and marked with a statement indicative of his admiration for al-Balaghi's personality.

As regarding the forgiven authority in *fatāwa* Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Iṣfahāni al-Najafi, who died in 1361 A.H./1942 A.D., the biographee cherished his company and learned from him lessons in philosophy and *`ilm al-kalām*. In response to Sayyid al-Muqarram's desire, the forgiven Shaikh al-Iṣfahāni wrote his monumental poem in honour of the Infallible Ones, peace be upon him, titled *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya*. Despite the fact that the poet was a professor of philosophy who had filled this poem with rational philosophical terms, it came easy in its structure, pure in themes and meanings, sweet to the ear in its musical tone. We know that philosophy, due its complex terminology, taxes any poem, leaving it anything but poetry, yet the forgiven al-Muqarram used to quite often recite some of it during many *majālis* which he used to hold in memory of the Infallible Ones (ع). This book, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, does not overlook this poem, and in the chapter containing eulogies, you will find some of it in praise of Imām al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him.

The authority Shaikh `Abdul-Rasūl son of Shaikh Sharīf al-Jawāhiri, who died in 1389 A.H./1969 A.D., may Allāh fill his grave with *noor*, was a role model of piety and integrity and on the highest plains of purity of the soul and righteousness. The biographee kept him company, and the Shaikh was one of those who were known for their *ijtihād* and lofty scholarly status. Our master al-Muqarram maintained a close tie with him especially when major questions and intricate researches were discussed. I once asked my virtuous friend professor al-Ḥājj Yaḥya al-Jawāhiri, who used to attend their meetings, about the nature of the researches discussed by the Shaikh [al-Jawāhiri] and the Sayyid [al-Muqarram]. He answered me by saying that the forgiven al-Muqarram used to introduce arguments known as *ishtibāhāt* (confusing issues) to the great Shaikh relevant to the latter's book *Al-Jawāhir*, and that the *faqīh* Shaikh `Abdul-Rasūl used to endorse

them and attract his attention to his observations with regard to some of the questions discussed in *Al-Jawāhir*.

5. The Status of his Scholarship

I do not find this topic permitting me to discuss the Sayyid's scholarly status because he is my father, but if the reader wishes to discern such a status, he will be able to do so from examining the list of books he had written. In his manuscripts, as well as in published works, there is a wealth for the researcher and a hamlet for the seeker, let alone the scholarly "licenses" awarded to him by the greatest of scholars and which are preserved besides his manuscripts. But the Sayyid never bragged about them, and I am not sure what their effect on his psyche was.

As regarding the Introductions which he wrote for many published books, in addition to the researches and commentaries embedded in *Al-Dirāsat* by Sayyid Ali al-Shahroodi, may Allāh have mercy on him, which are edicts issued by our master al-Khoei, in addition to another of his books titled *Al-Muḥaḍarāt fi al-Fiqh al-Ja`feri* (lectures in the jurisprudence of Imam Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq[ع]), all these indicate the intellectual caliber and the brilliance the biographee used to enjoy, add to that his diligence as he turned the pages of numerous references. I am inclined to think that he assisted many contemporary researchers in Najaf who wrote famous books, and he may have provided them with entire chapters for their books. He did all of that as a service to knowledge and to those who seek it. Let me provide you here with what Shaikh Muḥammed Hādi al-Amīni, son of the forgiven authority al-Amīni, has said,

> The authority, Sayyid al-Muqarram, was a flowing ocean not only of *fiqh* and its basics, but you also find him delving into *ḥadīth*, literature, philosophy, education and divine wisdom. He was the ultimate end of the seeker and the refuge of the one in need. His education was broad, his knowledge abundant, and he was frank in everything he said and did... One single book of his suffices to provide you with a clear idea about his living education wherein his genius is manifested. Despite all his wealth of knowledge and exhaustion of research, he never let pride take control of him, nor did he permit conceit to entertain his mind. For this reason, you always find him most humble, providing you with what he has as though he is taking from you...[1]

6. His Style

Researchers' methods depend on clarity, elucidation, argumentation, and glaring evidence. If we study the author's books, how will his writing style appear to us?

Most likely, if you examine his books in their various topics, and the comments which he had written for others, or the Introductions he wrote for great scholars, you will no doubt find the mark of clarity and the stamp of glow as basic ingredients of their structure. We do not forget that the research whereby his books are characterized is indicative of a study, an examination and an in-depth comparison. This requires him to read the texts in their various connotations together with what critics and narrators have commented about them as well as a review of the personalities of their authors. Having done all of this, the text may either stand on solid grounds, or it may collapse. It is upon such a premise that his book *Tanzīh al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafi*, and also his great book *Sayyida Sukayna*, in addition to his manuscript *Naqd al-Tārīkh fi Masā'il Sitt*, are based. The writing style of his time depended on the use of rhymed prose, decorative diction, and the charging of the structure with whatever symbols, signs, and other things which over-burden the statement, all of which are avoided by modern Arabic style. Yet his style is free of all of these things. He,

[1]This excerpt was published in issue No. 17 of *Al-`Adl* Najafi magazine of Sha`bān 14, 1391/October 5, 1971.

rather, relied upon deduction and good comprehension; therefore, his books are based on the originality of thought, the detail in narrating the facts, and on portraying the thoughts. You find him leading you to accept the serious issue which he raises. This book, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, is full of such issues. Sayyid Ḥusain never stops researching, studying, analyzing, and comparing. Then he says, "We, thereupon, conclude from a *fiqh* standpoint that..., etc."

7. His First Book

The intensity of his love for Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, stimulates him, when he reads a book, to pick from it the tales and traditions which point out to something relevant to them or to their opponents, then he incorporates such bits and pieces into a dissertation which we can describe as "incomplete" and which researchers describe as "research's raw material." Often, he presents such collected material to one who finds it to be of interest to his own research. He once came to know that the orator and poet, the forgiven Shaikh Ḥasan Sabti, had composed a lengthy poem about the Infallible Ones (ع) which he called *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib* or *Anfa` al-Zād li Yawm al-Ma`ād*, so he explained it saying, on the onset, "This is the first of my writings after which I wrote about Zayd the martyr." At its conclusion, he said, "I wished to summarize it but was unable to do so because of my very busy schedule." He dedicated himself to explaining and commenting on it, clarifying any part which needed to be expounded, but he, may Allāh have mercy on him, did not consider it as one of his books because the explanation was not based on his own basic effort; so, he was not concerned about it.

His first published book was *Zayd al-Shahīd* ("Zayd the Martyr") to which he appended his dissertation titled *Tanzīh al-Mukhtar al-Thaqafi*. *Zayd al-Shahīd* is a book that details the biography of Imām al-Sajjād, peace be upon him. He did not indicate in the Introduction his reasons for writing it, and I think his genuine love for the revolution of Imām Ḥusain (ع) motivated him to write it and to discuss how the oppressive government of the Umayyads came to an end, and also due to the abundant similarity between its stand and that of the revolution of the Father of Martyrs (ع). The book is full of many issues which hired pens have fabricated in order to support the government of the Umayyads. We are not concerned about this issue as much as we are about pointing out the following: The book was published in the 1930s, and at the time, it was regarded a shame that a scholar should busy himself with issues unrelated to *fiqh* and *uṣūl*. His action would be regarded as self-demeaning, undermining his status and prestige. But the biographee broke the iron locks that prohibited a learned scholar from researching and actively seeking to publish and comment or critique a book written by our prominent scholars of the past generations. For this reason, those at the scholarly *ḥawza* felt uneasy upon seeing one of their most notable scholars seeking to research issues which had no relevance to *fiqh* or to *uṣūl*. Amazement intensified at the *hawza* to see a book by Shaikh `Abdul-Ḥusain al-Amīni titled *Shuhadā' al-Faḍīla* ("Martyrs of Virtue"), so the investigative researcher, Agha Buzurg, came to publish his great encyclopedia titled *Al-Tharī`a*, the first volume of which was printed by Najaf's presses. They were preceded in doing so by the forgiven trusted authority Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi who published his precious book *Al-Kuna wal Alqāb*. The Publishers' Club critiqued Sayyid al-Raḍi's book *Haqā'iq al-Ta'wīl*, the valuable Introduction for which was written by the authority scholar and poet, Shaikh `Abdul-Ḥusain al-Ḥilli... Thus did the men of distinction and prestige become accustomed to this type of writing and study.

Other works, or say studies, followed, and it was then decided that the dust accumulated by forgetfulness and negligence should no longer cover the author's books especially since the presses, the publishers, and the readers welcome such books with a great deal of pleasure. It was then that public and private libraries came to acquire it, and those who benefit from scholars' researches abounded.

8. *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, the Book

A poet has said,

Your calamity has made us forget ours that were
And is sure to make the ones to come easy to bear.

This poet is simply referring to the Kerbalā' tragedy, for it certainly is the greatest of all tragedies, the most momentous of all catastrophes that befell the Progeny of the Chosen One (ص). The series of disasters that accompanied the march undertaken by force by the members of the House of Revelation from Medīna to Iraq, then to Syria, could cause anyone's heart to swell and bleed. The glorious Imāms (ع) used to always urge their followers not to forget it and to do everything they could to keep it alive in their memory saying, "Keep our cause alive! May Allāh have mercy on whoever keeps our cause alive!" It was, therefore, accompanied by chapters in which the narration played an important role, stamping it with a very somber and emotionally exciting stamp, one that excites what the souls hide and the minds conceal. The hearts of the Shī`as are sorely distressed and are filled with profoundly sad thoughts filled with frightening images. The hearts are filled with outrage at everyone who committed that heinous crime.

Prominent historians wrote down what they heard and recorded what came to their knowledge. As a result, many things found their ways (to print) which good taste rejects and which do not agree with what the Imāms themselves, peace be upon them, had narrated, nor do they agree with the truth. This comes from our own party. We (Shī`as) have added a great deal to the Kerbalā' events and to the events that followed. As regarding the enemies of Ahl al-Bayt (ع), these took to falsifying and distorting the facts! Thus has the calamity passed; centuries passed by while it is still standing and will continue to be so till the Day of Judgment. Yet we have to remove the curtain from what was hidden and veiled. We have to narrate authentic events and undermine everything which does not agree with the foundation upon which the uprising of the Master of Martyrs was based in his bloody struggle to depose those who killed the Sunnah while keeping the *bid`a* alive.

Does not amazement stir you to accept the narration of Ḥameed ibn Muslim who appears as a soft-hearted man on the battlefield while he was one of those who accompanied the severed head of Abu `Abdullāh, peace be upon him, as it was being displayed in Kūfa and Syria and, at the same time, set aside Kerbalā's events and not learn them from the ones to whom they took place and upon whom its calamities were piled up?

And who is "Abul-Faraj" anyway?! He is a supporter of the Umayyads and one of their kinsfolk who depends in his narration on those who follow al-Zubayr or on Umayyads who all are the enemies of Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them! In his famous *Tārīkh*, al-Ṭabari quotes most of his narration from al-Suddi and Mujāhid and others while learned people know exactly who al-Suddi is. Yet he is quoted narrating the events at Kerbalā'! It is for all of these reasons that the forgiven biographee stood to write his book, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*.

This book refers to and exposes a large number of quotations which do not stand on any foundation. Through comparison and examination, he nullifies the narrations transmitted by many narrators for many, many years.

This book contains in its footnotes researches relevant to the *fiqh*, language, and literature in addition to numerous researches of many expressions related to narrations which contradict even those who narrated them. The reader will find in it an overflow of references upon which the biographee relies to verify and research the Kerbalā' epic.

The Kerbalā' epic contains numerous names of men, women, and children in which there is a great deal of confusion with regard to both the names and the ones to whom they were attached. The author removed such confusion. Do you know that those who refer to Umm Kulthūm are actually talking about Zainab, the wise lady?! And can you imagine that "Umm al-Baneen" was not living during the time of the tragedy and that the poetry recited by the *thākirs* has no share of the truth?! Read, for example, this one:

Do not call upon me, O Umm al-Baneen,
You only remind me of the lions in their den.

So we narrate the event and thus side with Marwān, the *wazigh*[2], unwittingly presenting him as a soft-hearted man with tearful eyes! And what do you know about the one who slaughtered al-Ḥusain (ع), namely Shimr, about his lineage and nature, and about governor `Ubaydullāh (ibn Ziyād)? The Sayyid derives legislative injunctions from the conduct of Imām Abu `Abdullāh (ع) and from his statements in his sermons. You find all of this in *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, and you find many other causes which I myself am reluctant to present to you, but your soul pushes you, O reader, to be familiar with them, and to sift the contents of this book just as we proudly introduced its precious topics to you.

9. His Legacy

A. His Published Books:

1. *Zayd al-Shahīd* (biography)
2. *Al-Mukhtār ibn `Ubayd al-Thaqafi* (critique and study)
3. *Sayyida Sukayna* (research)
4. *Maqtal al-Ḥusain (ع)* (history book and research)
5. *Al-Ṣiddīqa Fāṭima (ع)* (biography)
6. *Imām Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع)* (biography)
7. *Imām al-Riḍa (ع)* (biography)
8. *Imām al-Jawād (ع)* (biography)
9. *Qamar Banī Hāshim: al-`Abbās (ع)* (biography)
10. *Ali al-Akbar (ع)* (biography)
11. *Al-Shahīd Muslim ibn `Aqīl* (biography)
12. *Sirr al-Imān fil Shahada al-Thālitha* (events and study)
13. *Yawm al-Arba`een `indal-Ḥusain* (dissertation) (altruism and expressions of compliance)
14. *Al-Muḥadarāt fil Fiqh al-Ja`feri* (commentary and research of a book by Sayyid Ali al-Shahrūdi)

B. Introductions and Prefaces for Legacy Books:

15. *Dalā'il al-Imāma* (by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari al-Imāmi)
16. *Al-Āmāli* (by Shaikh al-Mufīd Muḥammed ibn Muḥammed ibn al-Nu`mān al-`Ukbari)
17. *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ* (by al-Sayyid al-Raḍi)
18. *Al-Malāḥim* (by Sayyid Aḥmed ibn Ṭāwūs)
19. *Farḥat al-Ghari* (by Sayyid `Abdul-Karīm ibn Ṭāwūs)
20. *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya* (by al-Mas`ūdi)
21. *Al-Kashkūl* (by Sayyid Ḥayder ibn Ali al-`Ubaydi al-Ḥusaini al-`Āmili)
22. *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafa* (by `Imād ad-Dīn al-Ṭabari al-`Āmili) (commentaries and remarks)
23. *Al-Jamal* (by Shaikh al-Mufīd) (commentaries)

C. His Manuscripts:

1. *Al-Munqith al-Akbar* - a research
2. *Al-Ḥasan ibn Ali (ع)* - a research
3. *`Āshūra fil Islam* - a critique and a history book

[2]He was called so by the Messenger of Allāh (ص). – Tr.

4. *Al-A`yād fil Islam* - a history book
5. *Thikrā al-Ma`soomeen* (some of its volumes are in print) - a history book
6. *Zainab al-Aqīla (peace be upon her)* - a biography
7. *Maytham al-Tammār* (dissertation) - a biography
8. *Abu Tharr al-Ghifâri* (dissertation) - a biography
9. *`Ammār ibn Yāsir* (dissertation) - a biography
10. *Naql al-Amwāt fil Fiqh al-Islami* - a research
11. *Naqd al-Tārīkh fi Masā'il Sitt* - a research and an analysis
12. *Ḥalq al-Lihya* - a critique
13. *Dirāsat fil Fiqh wal Tārīkh* - a research and an analysis of traditions
14. *Rabā'ib al-Rasūl* - a history book and a research (detailing the Prophet's step-daughters, i.e. Khadīja's daughters by her previous marriages)
15. *Al-Kuna wal Alqāb* - biographies
16. *Ḥāshiya `alal Kifâya by Shaikh Muḥammed Kāẓim al-Khurasāni* -uṣūl
17. *Ḥāshiya `alal Makāsib by Shaikh Murtaḍa al-Anṣāri* - fiqh
18. *Nawādir al-Āthār* - sundry causes
19. *Yawm al-Ghadîr or Ḥijjat al-Wadā`* - a history book

10. His Loyalty to Ahl al-Bayt (ع)

There is no treasure greater than one's life, nor even death in loving Ahl al-Bayt (ع), nor is there anything more precious, when all material possessions are lost, than acquiring their love and the security of their intercession and, ultimately, the reward in the life hereafter of being a resident in their neighborhood, nor more than nearness to them. People may all grow up loving them and being loyal to them, but the degree of such an attribute varies among them. One may be contented with attending their *majālis*, whereas someone else insists on nothing less than holding such *majālis* for them. Another person may accept to be present at their shrines or to travel to visit such shrines, whereas another is active in urging people to do so, and he may even spend of his own wealth on facilitating the pilgrims to visit their mausoleums, peace be upon them.

Our master, the biographee, was adorned by all of these activities combined. He grew up and was raised to find himself in a house where many occasions were held in honour of Ahl al-Bayt (ع). So did he observe his grandfather, Sayyid Ḥusain, doing: meeting with people to discuss or produce a great deal of their literary production. He found his grandfather, may Allāh have mercy on him, full of loyalty to them, so he added his zeal to that of his own. He waited for the opportunity to hold *majlis* even for those who expressed their loyalty for Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and who followed in their footsteps and were executed or died in exile after having persevered, and there are many such persons. His manuscript, *Nawādir al-Āthār*, contains poems delivered by poets who attended their merry occasions.

Holding a *majlis* to bring their legacy to memory did not suffice him; active efforts to disseminate their views and to explain their ways of life and conduct did. He did so through the lectures which he delivered at meetings which he held in the company of his brethren and friends during the month of Ramadan. Thus did I see the house full of them, and the research is repeated one night after another, one month of Ramadan after another, and so on...

As regarding his pen and how he utilized his time, his books listed above, which he left behind him, provide sufficient testimony. We plead to the most Exalted One to assist the efforts to circulate them among people. The greatest of his manuscripts is *Al-Munqith al-Akbar* (the greatest saviour), meaning Muḥammed (ص), and also *Al-Imām al-Ḥasan* (ع). It has been more than thirty years since he wrote both of them. Another is *Naqd al-Tārīkh fil Masā'il al-Sitt*, a book which he used to mention quite often.

11. His Poetry

The biographee neither composed good quality poetry, nor did he memorize nor critique poetry. Yet he, may Allāh have mercy on him, appreciated it very much especially if it was in honour of Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them. He used quite often to cite the poetry of those who lauded Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and incorporate it in his works which discuss them, peace be upon them, in order to bring such poetry to life. As far as he is concerned, we are not aware of him composing poetry except very little such as a few lines, for example, in praise of Abul-Faḍl al-`Abbās, peace be upon him, where he pleads to Allāh through him to remove his ailment:

> O father of al-Faḍl! O eyesight of al-Ḥusain!
> O caretaker of the caravan on its march!
> Do you shun me, the gracious that you are,
> And the refuge for whoever seeks protection?!

Among his poetry are lines which he composed in praise of the Prophet (ص) and his pure Progeny the composition of which he did finish; among them are the following:

> We praise You, Lord, Who honoured
> This whole existence with the Chosen one:
> Muḥammed and his good Progeny,
> The path of guidance, who suffice the seeker,
> Who guide whoever strays from the right way
> To the path of righteousness and *wilāya*.

and also:

> In their*ḥadīth*, Ahl al-Bayt said:
> Whoever praises us in a verse of poetry
> Allāh will assist him through His Holy Spirit
> And all doubt from him will He remove;
> So I liked to rhyme what the scholars
> Of authentic traditions did record
> Of merits of the Prophet's Purified Progeny
> Those put in charge by the Lord.

12. How His Life was Concluded

The author, may Allāh have mercy on him, suffered a great deal from harsh living conditions and the agonies of life. He took his stride in life with pride and dignity. He retained a sufficient measure of self-respect not to lower himself and do what was not becoming of him or what would jeopardize his studies or his performance as a teacher. *I`tikāf* preoccupied him a great deal, and he was satisfied from this life with attaining wisdom. Ayatullāh Abul-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahāni, the leading theologian, may Allāh have mercy on him, very much desired that he should visit him and be his representative at one of the major cities of Iraq so that he would be able to earn means of a comfortable life, but such an offer did not rest well with him! Such a role did not appeal to him, and he deep down felt satisfied with what Allāh, the most Exalted One, had allotted for him, accepting whatever means of livelihood at his disposal. His main concern was to acquire more and more knowledge and satisfy himself with its treasures of minute legacies. Having worked very hard and with persistence, he acquired a respectable status among people of distinction.

He, may Allāh have mercy on him, used to talk about such wishes desired for him by religious authorities, and he used to justify his having rejected their offers by saying that once the means of ease and luxury were available, one would not be able to control his worldly desires, and he might find himself involved in other things. Such justifications and other matters which he did not express were behind his refusal, and he preferred to remain silent rather than discuss them.

As regarding his physique, he was thin and straight. During his last days, when various types of ailments assaulted him from all directions, he used to struggle to stand straight with his head upright. It very much pleased him to hold *majlis* on various occasions for the pure Imāms (ع) and for their faithful followers. His belief in them and in their special status with Allāh often prompted him to seek their intercession to remove his affliction. Why would he not do so? Did not Imām Abul-Ḥasan Ali al-Hādi (ع) order Abu Hāshim al-Ja`feri to ask someone to pray for him at the grave-site of the Master of Martyrs?

He, may Allāh have mercy on him, maintained quiet nerves, yet he would become agitated upon seeing something which he did not like or hear. He was emotional and tearful whenever he heard the tragedy that befell the progeny of the Messenger of Allāh, peace be upon him and them, so he would seek intercession with Allāh, the most Exalted One, through their status with Him to remove his hardship and repel the harm from him. He had a firm conviction that Allāh, the most Exalted One, did not extend his life-span except through them, for even one of the ailments that befell him was sufficient to put an end to him. Thus did he remain till death overtook him on Muḥarram 17, 1391/March 15, 1971; so, may Allāh grant him His *riḍwān* and generous rewards. One of the most interesting eulogies written about him is a poem composed by Shaikh Aḥmed al-Wā'ili in which he recorded his year of death as follows:

Oh, `Abdul-Razzāq, the brilliant mind,
The spirit of Imān and of conduct!
A grave in which you reside
Is a garden where you will lodge
Till the Day of Meeting.
So when you are brought back to life,
Your good deeds shall surround you:
White, sweet in their shine
And spread like the field of the Ṭaff
For which you recorded for Ḥusain
And for his family and the companions
Pages of depth and scrutiny that revile
The souls of those who aspire
To acquire every precious thing.
About Ḥusain you wrote, and him you shall meet
And see the over-brimming Pool and the Waiter!
These shall intercede for you for sure,
And what the Lord has for you is even more.
Hopeful of your Lord's rewards, record:
O servant of al-Razzāq you went away,
O to al-Razzāq did you go!

(1391 A.H./1971 A.D.)

In the Name of Allāh, the most Gracious, the most Merciful

And (as for) those who strive hard for Our sake, We will most certainly guide them in Our ways, and Allāh is most surely with the doers of good.
(Qur'ān, 29:69)

And do not reckon those who are killed in Allāh's way as dead; nay! They are alive, receiving sustenance from their Lord, rejoicing in what Allāh has given them of His grace, and they rejoice for the sake of those who, (being left) behind them, have not yet joined them, that they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve.
(Qur'ān, 3:169-170)

Surely Allāh has traded the believers' persons and property for the Garden: they fight in Allāh's way, so they slay and are slain, a promise which is binding upon Him in the Torah, in the Bible, and in the Qur'ān, and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allāh? Rejoice, then, in the pledge which you have made, and that is the mighty achievement.
(Qur'ān, 9:111)

PART I

AL-ḤUSAIN'S UPRISING

The only objective anticipated by the creed's Martyr and Islam's defender, al-Ḥusain son of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), was to undo the Umayyads' innovations and remove the viciously false allegations attributed to the Islamic Sharī`a, and to attract the attention to its clearance and that of its adherents from the shame and the demeaning innovations which the Umayyads attached to it as well as the obvious debauchery and the merciless politics of the time. The Master of Martyrs achieved his glorious uprising's objective, exposing all the blatant impudence to all those who were concerned about the faith. People came to identify Yazīd and all those who surrounded him from among the evil leaders and the germs of dissension as the embodiment of everything shameful. Ears felt too offended to listen to them, and there was hardly any Muslim who did not look at them with contempt, so much so that hostility towards them intensified, grudge against them mounted, and people's zeal for the faith ebbed. It reached the point where arguments turned into physical violence, and their life of ease and luxury was turned into one of bloody wars which put an end to them, ruining their government which was founded on the ashes of the Islamic caliphate without any wisdom or merits. Ḥusain the victor (ع) thus achieved his objective, and people have kept remembering him. His fame spread far and wide, and so did his prestige and glory.

> And do not reckon those who are killed in Allāh's way as dead; nay! They are alive, receiving sustenance from their Lord, rejoicing in what Allāh has given them of His grace, and they rejoice for the sake of those who, (being left) behind them, have not yet joined them, that they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve.
> (Qur'ān, 3:169-170)

I cannot imagine you, dear reader, as you march along history and investigate the facts with analyzing eyes except that the honourable person of the Father of the Oppressed becomes manifest to you, and so is the case with his sacred goal, good intentions, noble aims, as he travelled or landed, assaulted or halted, condemned or condoned. Nor do I think that you need to be acquainted with the details of those statements after having come to know who the great martyr is, and what deeds he did. Of course, you know before anything the nature of his opposing stand and the shame that caused him to grow gray hair.

Even if we set aside our firm conviction that righteous Ḥusain (ع) was, indeed, the nation's Imām and that evident truth was on his side and was beyond the reach of any other man of his time, we will still not find it fair at all that the tyrant of his land should have thus waged a war against him or competed with him for any of his merits. He was the Master of the Youths of Paradise. When did his foe ever find himself qualified to compete with Ḥusain (ع) so that he would be apt to challenge him? He (ع) felt too dignified to meet even those who had preceded Yazīd in his post.

Could you imagine al-Ḥusain (ع) comparing Abu Sufyān with the Great Prophet (ص), or Mu`āwiyah with the Commander of the Faithful (ع), or the liver-chewing woman with the mother of the faithful, Khadīja, or Maysūn with the Head of the Ladies of the World, or the pre-Islamic debauchery with Islam's inspiration, or its overwhelming ignorance with his own overflowing knowledge, or the humiliating greed with his own sacred and dignified self..., up to the end of such comparisons the recording of which will exhaust the pen and make one run out of words?!

Between Allāh, Glory and Exaltation to Him, and His sincere friends were mysterious secrets the knowledge of which is beyond the reach of others and the comprehension of minors. Fanaticism blinded them, so they dared to cast doubts about the sanctity of the Greatest Saviour, insisting on maintaining their

shameful fanaticism. They, therefore, said, “Al-Ḥusain was killed by the sword of his grandfather because he revolted against the *imām* of his time (meaning Yazīd) after the latter had secured the oath of allegiance for himself and the conditions of the caliphate were met through the consensus of those who did and undid, and there was nothing in his conduct that would shame him [Yazīd] or stain his reputation.”[3]

This speaker has overlooked the fact that Maysūn's son (Yazīd) never lived in righteousness even for one single day so that he would see the shame of what he did, nor was there for his shameful actions and sins any “before” or “after”. He suckled the breast of the woman from Kilāb that was mixed with lustful desires. He grew up in the lap of one who was cursed by the holiest Messenger (ص)[4] who had ordered the nation to kill him upon seeing him ascending his pulpit.[5] Had the nation carried out this binding order, it would have achieved security against the imminent torment threatening it from the window of the

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[3]This statement was made by Abu Bakr Muḥammed ibn `Abdullāh, known as Ibn al-`Arabi (d. 543 A.H./1148 A.D.), on p. 232 of his book *Al-`Awāṣim*, a book critiqued by Muḥibb ad-Dīn al-Khaṭīb and published in 1371 A.H./1951 A.D. It is there that the following statement is recorded: “The Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, `There will be dissensions; so, anyone who wants to disunite this nation after its unity, you must kill him, whoever he may be.' None disagreed with him [with Imām Ḥusain] except according to the interpretation of this *ḥadīth*, nor did anyone fight him except on account of what they had heard his grandfather (ص) say.” Commenting on this tradition, Muḥibb ad-Dīn said, “Muslim has mentioned this tradition in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* in the Book of Imāra.” It is, in fact, stated on p. 121, Vol. 2, of the Book (chapter) of Imāra following the one dealing with the Prophet's military campaigns. It is quoted from Ziyād ibn `Alaqah who cites `Arfajah who cites the Prophet (ص). This man, Ibn `Alaqah, is known to have been misguided in his views and one who deviated from the path of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) according to the testimony recorded on p. 381, Vol. 3, of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*. The author mentions `Arfajah on p. 176, Vol. 3, of his book saying about him the following: “Nobody praised nor condemned him, for he is among those who do not enjoy any recognition and whose traditions are completely ignored.”

What is truly strange is Ibn al-`Arabi's conviction that Yazīd's government was legitimate despite his knowledge of one *ḥadīth* of the Prophet (ص) in which he has said, “Justice shall dominate my nation till it will first be violated by a man from Banū Umayyah called Yazīd.” This tradition is reported on p. 241, Vol. 5, of *Mujma` al-Zawā'id wa Manba` al-Fawā'id* by Ibn Ḥajar who traces its *isnād* to Abu Ya`li and al-Bazzāz. It is also stated on p. 132 of *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa* from al-Ruyāni who quotes Abul-Dardā' quoting the Messenger of Allāh (ص) saying, “The first person to change my Sunnah will be a man from Banū Umayyah named Yazīd.” In the Book of Dissensions (*Kitāb al-Fitan*) of al-Bukhāri's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the Prophet (ص) is quoted as saying, “My nation's annihilation will take place at the hands of minors in my nation.” Also, Abu Hurayra is quoted [in the same reference] as having said, “I have heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص) saying, `The annihilation of my nation will be at the hands of youths belonging to Quraish.” Ibn Ḥajar has explained the meaning of this tradition on p. 7, Vol. 13, of his book *Fatḥ al-Bāri* saying, “Abu Hurayra used to walk through the bazaars repeating these words: `Lord! Do not permit me to live till the year 60 [A.H.], and do not let me live to see children becoming rulers.'” Ibn Hajar goes on to say, “He [Abu Hurayra] was referring to Yazīd's caliphate which took place in 60 A.H./680 A.D. although he did not criticize him [Yazīd].”

[4]The following statement is recorded on p. 357, Vol. 11, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh* where the events of the year 284 A.H./897 A.D. are discussed and also on p. 57, Vol. 2, of Abul-Fidā's *Tārīkh* where the events of the year 238 A.H./852 A.D. are discussed, and it is also recorded on p. 247 of Naṣr's book *Ṣiffīn* (Egyptian edition), and on p. 115 of Ibn al-Jawzi's book *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* by the grandson of Ibn al-Jawzi (Iranian edition): “The Messenger of Allāh (ص) once saw Abu Sufyān riding a camel led by his grandson Yazīd and driven by his son Mu`āwiyah, so he said, `May the curse of Allāh be upon the rider, the leader, and the driver.'”

[5]The Messenger of Allāh (ص) had said, “If you ever see Mu`āwiyah on my pulpit, you should kill him.” This tradition is recorded on p. 181, Vol. 12, of *Tārīkh Baghdad*, on p. 428, Vol. 2, of *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb* (of Ibn Ḥajar), and on p. 110, Vol. 5, of the same reference, on p. 357, Vol. 11, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, on p. 243 and also on p. 248 of the book titled *Ṣiffīn* [see above footnote], on p. 348, Vol. 1, of *Sharḥ Nahjul-Balāgha* by Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, in al-Mannāwi's book *Al-Daqā'iq* commenting on the contents of p. 18, Vol. 1, of *Al-Jāmi` al-Ṣaghīr*, on p. 320, Vol. 1, of al-Sayyūṭi's book *Al-La'āli' al-Maṣnū`a* in Kitāb al-Manāqib, on p. 268, Vol. 1, of al-Thahbi's book *Mizān al-I`tidāl* (Egyptian edition) where the biography of al-Ḥakam ibn Zahīr is discussed, on p. 129, Vol. 2, of the same reference where `Abdul-Razzāq ibn Humām's biography is discussed, on p. 99, Vol. 3, of *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'* where the biography of Mu`āwiyah is discussed, on p. 185, Vol. 1, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain* in Chapter 9, and on p. 57, Vol. 2, of Abul-Fidā's *Tārīkh* where the events dominating the year 283 [A.H.] are discussed.

innovations of this tyrant and due to his exterminating cruelty in dealing with it. But it denied Allāh's bounties, so it started relishing the fountainhead plagued with thorny death. Allāh, therefore, clothed it with the outfit of fear, leaving it moaning under the yoke of persecution, shackled in the chains of humiliation and slavery just as it witnessed the insolence of debauchees and the violations of those who were immersed in their lust. Whatever filled the hated Umayyad bastian provided nourishment for Yazīd, the man of sundry desires, as he grew up among such blatant manifestations of promiscuity.

Yazīd openly expressed all the ill intentions which he had harbored against Islam and all those who adhered to it, gleefully expressing how he had the field all open for him. The renown scholar al-'Ālūsi has said,

> Anyone who says that Yazīd did not commit any transgression, and that cursing him is not permissible, ought to line up in the chain of command among Yazīd's supporters. Let me say that this malignant man never believed in the Prophet's Message, and that his violations of Allāh's sanctities and of the sanctities of His Prophet (ص) are no less indicative of such disbelief than throwing a page of the Holy Qur'ān in a pile of filth. I do not think that dignified Muslims were at that time ignorant of his malicious nature, nor were they overcome, subdued, unable to do anything other than persevering. Were this malignant man thought to have been a Muslim, then he was a Muslim whose deeds incorporated the sins which no articulate tongue can ever describe. I go as far as permitting cursing him by name even when nobody can ever compare him with any licentious man, ever. It is quite obvious that he never repented, and the possibility of his having repented is less than that of his having believed (in Islam) in the first place.

In his category fall (`Ubaydullāh) Ibn Ziyād, Ibn Sa`d, and their company; so, Allāh's curse be upon them and upon those who support, assist and follow them and all those who incline towards them, a curse that lasts till the Day of Resurrection, so long as there are eyes that shed tears for the tragedy inflicted upon Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع). I like what our contemporary poet, the one whose distinction is quite evident to everyone, namely `Abdul-Bāqi Afandi al-`Umari al-Mūṣilli, who said the following after having been asked about cursing Yazīd,

> More than I curse Yazīd should you curse him after:
> So heal upon him the worst of cursing now and forever!

Anyone who fears lest he should be criticized for thus openly cursing him should nevertheless curse this deviator from the Right Path by saying: "May Allāh, the Exalted One, the Almighty, curse whoever consented to have al-Ḥusain (ع) killed and whoever unjustly harmed the Progeny of the Prophet (ص) and whoever confiscated their rights." He will, then, be cursing Yazīd in such general terms since the latter is included in such condemnation. Nobody disagrees about the permissibility of condemning this cursed man using such words except Ibn al-`Arabi to whom reference is made above, and so are those who agree with him. These folks, according to what is narrated about them, do not permit the cursing of those who agreed to have al-Ḥusain (ع) killed, and this, by my life, is going too far in being misguided; it is the misguidance which may even surpass that of Yazīd himself.

Al-Barzinji, in his book *Al-Ishā`a*, and [Ibn Ḥajar] al-Haythami [al-`Asqalāni], in his book *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa,* have both recorded that Imām Aḥmed [ibn Ḥanbal] was asked once by his son `Abdullāh about cursing Yazīd. Said he, "Why should anyone not curse one whom Allāh has cursed in His Book?!" `Abdullāh said, "I have read the Book of Allāh, the most Exalted, the Almighty, and I did not find in it any cursing of Yazīd." Imām Aḥmed said, "Allāh says, `But if you held command, you were sure to

make mischief in the land and cut off the ties of kinship!' (Qur'ān, 47:22). What corruption and severing of the ties worse that what Yazīd had done?"

A group of scholars, including Abu Ya`li, the judge, and *al-ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Jawzi, emphatically declared the permissibility of cursing Yazīd. Al-Ṭafṭazāni has said, "We do not stop at raising doubts about his [Yazīd's] conduct but go as far as doubting his conviction, the curse of Allāh be upon him and upon his supporters and followers." Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Sayyūṭi, too, openly declared the permissibility of cursing him.

In *Al-Wāfi bil Wafiyyāt*, and in Ibn al-Wardi's *Tārīkh*, it is stated that Yazīd was approaching Jayrūn's highway when al-Ḥusain's women and children were brought and the severed heads were hoisted atop the spears. A raven croaked, so jubilant Yazīd said the following verses of poetry:

When those loads did come in sight,
When the sun upon Jayrūn's hills shone bright,
The raven croaked so I did say:
Say or do not say,
For now I have had my way
And *made* even the Prophet pay!

"What he meant," both authors comment adding, "is that he [Yazīd], having killed those whom he killed [of the Prophet's family], he got even with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) who caused on the Battle of Badr the killing of men such as Yazīd's grandfather, `Atbah, and his uncle, `Atbah's son, and other men. His statement is nothing but obvious blasphemy. If the narration is authentic, Yazīd will then have committed apostasy. A similar incident is Yazīd's adaptation of the poetic verses composed during the pre-Islamic period by `Abdullāh ibn al-Zub`ari starting with `I wish my ancestors..., etc.'"[1]

Add to the above a list of more sins and transgressions. He, hence, deserved to be cursed by Allāh, by His angels and prophets, and by all those who follow the latter till the Day of Judgment. Nobody hesitates to do so except one who is deprived of the fragrance of conviction, blinded by his own fanaticism from embarking upon the right tracks so his steps are shaky, and he is confused, not knowing the right path, nor does he find an exit out of his tunnel.

Scholarly critics did not stop at confirming his (Yazīd's) lack of conviction and apostasy; rather, Ibn Khaldūn, for example, says, "Abu Bakr ibn al-`Arabi, the Māliki judge, erred when he said in his book *Al-`Awāṣim wal-Qawāṣim*: `Ḥusain was killed by the sword of the same Sharī`a which he followed,' thus overlooking the conditions required of a just *imām* who is qualified enough to take charge of the Islamic caliphate, for who could be more just than Ḥusain? Who could be a better Imām than him? Who could be more fair in fighting those of diverse personal views?" On p. 254, he refers to the consensus view with regard to Yazīd being corrupted and to the corruption of those who rallied behind him, and that he was not fit to be the leader of the nation. It was because of *what* he was that Ḥusain (ع) saw it mandatory to fight him despite the reluctance of the *ṣaḥābah* and the *tābi`īn* to support him not because his action was not right, but because they did not justify the spilling of blood. It was not proper to support Yazīd by fighting Ḥusain. Rather, the killing of Ḥusain (ع) was one of Yazīd's indications of apostasy, and al-Ḥusain (ع) was truly a martyr."[2]

Ibn Mufliḥ, a Ḥanbalite, says,

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[1]Refer to p. 73, Vol. 36, of the exegesis *Rūḥ al-Ma`ānī* where the verse saying "So did you desire, when you turned away, etc." [referred to above] is explained.

[2]*Tafsīr Rūḥ al-Ma`ānī*, Vol. 26, p. 73, where the verse "... so if you turn away, do you wish..., etc." is explained.

> Both Ibn `Aqīl and Ibn al-Jawzi have permitted the fighting of an unjust leader using the example of Ḥusain (ع) fighting Yazīd in order to uphold righteousness. Ibn al-Jawzi has included this concept in his book *Al-Sirr al-Maṣūn* among the common beliefs upheld by the majority of Sunni Muslims barring a group that said that Yazīd was right and Ḥusain (ع) was wrong in fighting him. If these folks look into [Yazīd's] biography, they will see how the oath of allegiance was taken for him by force, how people were forced to swear the oath of allegiance to him, and how he dealt with people in the ugliest manner. Moreover, even if we say that his caliphate was valid, Yazīd still did many things each one of which rendered his caliphate nil and void such as his plundering of the people of Medīna, his bombardment of the Ka`ba with the catapult, his killing of al-Ḥusain (ع) and his family members, his hitting Ḥusain's mouth with a rod, his carrying Ḥusain's head on top of a lance... Anyone who finds such conduct palatable is an ignorant Sunni who thinks that by doing so he is only enraging the Rāfiḍis.[1]

Al-Ṭafṭazāni has said, "In all truth, the details of Yazīd's endorsement of the murder of Ḥusain (ع) and his excitement thereat, as well as his insulting the family of the Prophet (ص), are consecutively reported even when their details vary. We do not only question his actions, we question his *imān*. May Allāh curse him and curse his supporters and helpers."[2]

Ibn Ḥazm has said, "The action undertaken by Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah was for the sake of this world; that's all, and it has no justification whatsoever; it is pure oppression."[3] Al-Shawkāni says, "Some scholars transgressed beyond all limits when they decided that al-Ḥusain (ع), grandson of the Prophet (ص), may Allāh be pleased with him and may He please him, was unfair to a drunkard, to one who violated the purified Sharī`a, namely Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah, may Allāh curse both of them. How amazing to come across statements that make the skin shiver and that stun even the hardest rock upon hearing them!"[4]

Al-Jāḥiẓ has said, "The abominations committed by Yazīd, such as his killing of al-Ḥusain (ع), his transporting the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) as captives, his hitting al-Ḥusain's lips with his rod, his terrorizing the people of Medīna, his demolition of al-Ka`ba..., all point out to his cruelty, oppression, and his being a Nāṣibi, to his error of judgment, to his grudge, animosity, and hypocrisy, to his altogether renunciation of *imān*: every apostate is cursed, and everyone who prohibits anyone from cursing an already condemned person is himself worthy of being cursed."[5]

Al-Burhan al-Ḥalabi (of Aleppo) narrates saying that the mentor Muḥammed al-Bakri, following in his father's footsteps, used to curse Yazīd and say, `May Allāh increase his shame and place him in the lowest rung of Sijjeen."[6] Abul-Ḥusain Ali ibn Muḥammed al-Kayaharashi, too, has cursed him saying, "Had I unleashed my pen, I would have recorded a great deal of this man's shameful deeds."[7] Ibn al-`Imād quotes him saying that he was once asked about Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah, and he answered by saying that the man

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[1] *Al-Furū`*, Vol. 3, p. 548, in the chapter dealing with fighting oppressors (Al-Manār Press: 1345 A.H./1926 A.D.).

[2] *Sharḥ al-`Aqā'id al-Nasfiyya* (Istanbul: 1313 A.H./1895 A.D.), p. 181.

[3] *Al-Muḥalla*, Vol. 11, p. 98.

[4] *Nayl al-Awṭār*, Vol. 7, p. 147.

[5] *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ* (al-Jāḥiẓ's Letters), Letter No. 11 with regard to Banū Umayyah, p. 298.

[6] *Al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*.

[7] *Wafiyyāt al-A`yān* by Ibn Khallikān, in the biography of Ali ibn Muḥammed ibn Ali al-Kayaharasi, and also in *Mir'āt al-Jinān* by al-Yāfi`i, Vol. 3, p. 179, where the events that took place during 504 A.H./1110 A.D. are discussed.

was not among the *ṣaḥābah* because he was born when `Omer ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was the caliph. Aḥmed offers two views in this regard one of which is implicit and the other explicit, and so is the case with (Imam) Abu Ḥanīfah. As far as we are concerned, we have only one explicit view about him and none implicit. Why should there be any other way especially since Yazīd was well known for being an expert in playing dominoes, in being a habitual drunkard, in writing famous poems in praise of wine drinking?[1] Dr. Ali Ibrāhīm Ḥasan says, "Yazīd used to be proverbial in his wine drinking, entertainment escapades, and in hunting."[2]

Al-Thahbi, in *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, has said, "Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah was a very rude, crude, and heavy handed Nāṣibi. He consumed intoxicants and committed abominations. He started his reign by killing al-Ḥusain, the martyr, and concluded it with the Ḥarra Battle. People, for these reasons, held him in contempt, and he was not blessed in his life-span."[3]

Shaikh Muḥammed `Abdoh has said, "Had there been in this world a just government that implements the Sharī`a and another violating it, every Muslim is obligated to support the first." Then he goes on to say, "It is based on this principle that Imām al-Ḥusain, grandson of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), fought the leader of oppression and corruption whose government was forced on the Muslims by oppression and trickery, namely Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah, may Allāh forsake him and forsake any Nāsibi or Karāmi who defends him."[4] Ibn Taghrbardi, a Ḥanafi, has said, "Yazīd was an adulterer, a habitual drunkard."[5] He adds saying, "Scholars have issued *fatāwa* strongly denouncing `Omer ibn `Abdul-`Azīz al-Qazwīni for calling Yazīd `Commander of the Faithful.' He was, upon saying so, kicked out of Baghdad and sent back to Qazwīn [in the Caspian region]."[6] Abu Shāma has said, "Aḥmed ibn Ismā`īl ibn Yousuf al-Qazwīni went to Baghdad once and delivered a sermon at al-Niẓāmiyya (school). On the Day of `Āshūra, he was asked to condemn Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah, but he said, `But he was a *mujtahid imām*,' whereupon someone assaulted him and almost killed him. He collapsed from the pulpit, then he was taken and sent back to Qazwīn where he died in 590 A.H./1194 A.D."[7]

Sibt ibn al-Jawzi was asked once about cursing Yazīd. He said, "Aḥmed [ibn Ḥanbal, Imam of the Ḥanbalites] has permitted it, and we say that we do not like Yazīd because of his mistreatment of the son of our Prophet's daughter (ع), how he transported the family of the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh and blessings be upon him and his progeny, as captives to Syria on camels without saddles, and how he dared to insult the family of the Messenger of Allāh. If you accept our reconciled stand, we say that we do not like him; let it be so; otherwise, we will have to refer to the basic cause: cursing Yazīd is permissible."[8]

Abul-Qāsim al-Zajjāji, who relies on the authority of `Omer ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, says, "Yazīd ibn

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[1]Ibn al-`Imād, *Shatharāt al-Thahab*, Vol. 3, p. 179, where the events that took place during the year 504 A.H./1110 A.D. are discussed.

[2]Ali Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Tārīkh al-Islam al-`Āmm* (third edition), p. 270.

[3]Al-Wazīr al-Yamāni thus quotes him in his own book *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, Vol. 2, p. 36.

[4]*Tafsīr al-Manār*, Vol. 1, p. 367, where verse 37 of Sūrat al-Mā'ida is explained, and also on Vol. 12, pp. 183 and 185 of the same reference.

[5]*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, Vol. 1, p. 163.

[6]*Ibid*., Vol. 6, p. 134, where the events that took place during the year 590 A.H./1194 A.D. are discussed.

[7]*Ibid*., Vol. 6, p. 134. It is also recorded on p. 120 of *Midmār al-Ḥaqā'iq* by Taqi ad-Dīn `Omer ibn Shahinshah al-Ayyūbi, who died in 617 A.H./1220 A.D. (edited by Dr. Ḥasan Ḥabashi), in a chapter detailing the events that took place during the Hijri year 579 (1184 A.D.).

[8]*Mirā't al-Zamān* (Hayderabad: 597 A.H./1201 A.D.), Vol. 8, p. 496.

Mu`āwiyah used to play with a monkey. One day he carried it and put it on a zebra. Then he tied the zebra and set his horses loose to chase it till the horses crushed the zebra to death. Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah thereupon said,

> `Abul-Qays relied on its reins,
> So we don't guarantee that it won't perish,
> Just as was done to a *shaikh* before:
> Ziyād, a zebra, crushed by the commander of the faithful.'"

Ibn al-Athīr claims that Abu Ya`li, Ḥamzah ibn Aḥmed ibn Ja`fer ibn Muḥammed ibn Zayd ibn Ali ibn al-Ḥusain ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), said, "I do not call Yazīd *kāfir* because the Prophet (ص) had said, `I pleaded to Allāh not to let my offspring be persecuted by outsiders.'"[1] This claim does not deserve anyone's attention because Abu Ya`li was too dignified and too trustworthy to make such a crude statement even when al-Rāfi`i had preceded him in making it, recording it in his discussion of the scholars of Qazwīn.[2] Even if one supposes that he had said so, it must have been said in observance of *taqiyya*. Mirza `Abdullāh Afandi, a student of al-Majlisi, went to extremes in refuting it. All those who recorded Abu Ya`li's biography praised and complimented him a great deal without ever mentioning at all that he had made such a statement. Had he made it, they would have despised him solely on its account.

In his books, Shaikh al-Ṣadūq invokes Allāh's mercy on Abu Ya`li's soul, expressing his pleasure with him; he was, indeed, one of his mentors. On p. 493, Chapter 39, of *`Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍa (ع)*, for example, he is quoted detailing some of the events that took place during the year 339 A.H./951 A.D. according to his correspondence with Ali ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim who details the events of 309 A.H./922 A.D. quoting Yāsir, the servant [of Imām al-Riḍa (ع)] who quotes Imām al-Riḍa (ع). Despite his fanaticism, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdadi records Abu Ya`li's biography without quoting this unbecoming statement falsely attributed to him.[3] This imprudent statement is something which al-Rāfi`i and Ibn Athīr had added of their own without relying on any authority whatsoever.

Having thus taken note of the nation's most famous scholars who express their contempt towards Yazīd, let us put `Abdul-Mughīth ibn Zuhayr ibn `Alawi al-Ḥarbi on trial and ask him about the "authentic" references from which he derived the text material for his book in praise of Yazīd[4], about which "merit" he found in him to record in his book, and about Yazīd's entire life, a life full of shame and assaults on the *Sharī`a.* This is the reason why the scholars paid no attention to his book. In Vol. 2, p. 275, of *Shatharāt al-Thahab*, while detailing the events of the year 583 A.H./1187 A.D., Ibn al-`Imād rebuts him topic by topic; on p. 328, Vol. 2, of Ibn Kathīr's book titled *Al-Bidāya*, he is accurately and excellently rebutted by Ibn al-Jawzi; in Vol. 11, p. 213, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, Ibn al-Athīr rebuts him, and in *Murūj al-Thahab*, he is rebutted in the most amazing way; on p. 356, Vol. 1, of *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, Ibn al-Jawzi rebuts him and calls his rebuttal "a response to the stubborn fanatic who forbids the cursing of Yazīd."

What is really strange is the verdict of `Abdul-Ghani al-Maqdisi who was once asked about Yazīd; he said, "His caliphate was authentic because sixty *ṣaḥābis* swore the oath of allegiance to him including

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[1]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 51, where the events of the year 64 A.H./684 A.D. are discussed, and also in *Murūj al-Thahab*.

[2]Al-Rāfi`i, *Al-Tadwīn fi `Ulemā' Qazwīn*, Vol. 2, p. 184, a photocopy of which is deposited at Al-Ḥakīm's Library [Najaf, Iraq]. [This al-Ḥakīm is the late Ayatullāh al-Uẓma Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm. – Tr.]

[3]Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdadi, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, Vol. 8, p. 184 (first edition).

[4]Ibn Rajab, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, Vol. 1, p. 356.

[`Abdullāh] Ibn `Omer [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]. But if someone does not like him, he should not be held accountable because he was not among the *ṣaḥābah*. Rather, cursing him should be banned for fear of touching his father and in order to close the door before dissension."[1] More strange than this is the denial by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami that Yazīd accepted the killing of al-Ḥusain (ع) at all or that he ever ordered it[2] despite this fact being transmitted consecutively: Yazīd was quite pleased with it; this fact is denied only by those who deny the sun having rays. Ibn Jarīr and al-Sayyūṭi have both said that when al-Ḥusain (ع) was killed, Yazīd was very happy, and Ibn Ziyād's status with him was enhanced, then he regretted it.[3] Al-Khawārizmi says that Yazīd said to al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr, "Praise to Allāh Who killed al-Ḥusain."[4] They [such "scholars"] kept the lid over his abominable deeds just as they had done to the oppression of his father, Mu`āwiyah, who had renounced the laws enacted by the person who carried out the Divine Call. Is he not the one who said the following to his father Ṣakhr who pretended to have accepted Islam for fear of the Muslims' swords:

> O Ṣakhr! Do not accept Islam and thus scandalize us
> After the corpses of those who fell at Badr have been torn,
> Do not submit to something to hand over to us,
> While the dancers at al-Nu`mān suffer from heavy hearts.
> Death is easier than our youths saying to us
> That Ibn Hind's cavalry turned away from protecting al-`Uzza,
> So if you refuse, we will reject what you accept,
> And do not turn people from al-Lāt and al-`Uzza if they accept them...?![5]

Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd says, "Many of our fellows have cast doubt about Mu`āwiyah's creed and said that he was an atheist who did not believe in Prophethood. They quote his own statements testifying to this fact".[6]

His grandfather Ṣakhr is the one who, upon the conquest of Mecca, said to al-`Abbās, "This is a kingdom." Al-`Abbās, thereupon, rebuked him by saying, "Woe unto you! This is Prophethood!" About Mu`āwiyah, Aḥmed ibn al-Ḥusain al-Bayhaqi says, "Mu`āwiyah exited disbelief and entered into hypocrisy, and during the time of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and thereafter, he went back to his original disbelief."[7]

Maysūn's son is the sap of all these abominations. When was he ever fit to rule, much less to be looked upon as the divinely supported caliph, especially since among the nation there was then present the fragrant flower of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), the Master of the Youths of Paradise, the son of the man upon whose struggle the creed was established, the son of the Head of all the women of mankind, the fifth among those covered with the Prophet's mantle (*aṣḥāb al-kisā'*), the peer of the Glorious Book of Allāh according to *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn* (tradition of the two weighty things)? He was the one from whose sides knowledge was gushing forth, from whose great conduct ethics and morals were gloriously manifested wherever he went, whose sides emitted the fragrance of Prophethood, whose countenance shone with the

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[1] *Ibid*., Vol. 2, p. 34.

[2] *Al-Fatāwa al-Ḥadīth*a, p. 193.

[3] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 7, p. 19 (first edition), and also *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, Vol. 1, p. 139, where Yazīd is discussed.

[4] al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

[5] al-Karajki, *Al-Ta`ajjub*, p. 39, in the Appendix to *Kanz al-Fawā'id*.

[6] Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul Balāgha*, Vol. 1, p. 463 (first Egyptian edition).

[7] Ibn al-Athīr as quoted in *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 2, p. 93. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 3, p. 117 (first edition).

glow of Imāmate. To such merits does al-Ḥusain (ع) point out when al-Walīd asked him to swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd; he, thereupon, said,

> *Ameer!* We are the household of the Prophet, the substance of the Message, the ones visited by the angels; it is through us that Allāh initiates and concludes. Yazīd is a man of sin, a drunkard, a murderer of the soul the killing of which Allāh has prohibited, a man who is openly promiscuous. A man like me shall never swear the oath of allegiance to a man like him.[1]

Having stated all the above, let us ask this man of pedantry about his claim that al-Ḥusain (ع) dissented after the oath of allegiance had (unanimously) been secured for Yazīd: "When was such a swearing under duress secured, and when was there any consensus in its regard given by those who tied and untied? Was it when his father [Mu`āwiyah] secured it through terrorism, or was it when he swiftly dispatched funds to the masters of evil who cowered as they licked their lips?[2] Or was it when Yazīd's appointees offered it to people, so the descendant of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), together with Banū Hāshim, turned away from it, and al-Zubayr fled from it and hid in Mecca, while Ibn `Omer confined himself to his house?[3]" `Abdul-Raḥmān son of [first caliph] Abu Bakr used to publicly say that it was an allegiance taken Heraclius-style: whenever one Heraclius fell, another Heraclius would succeed him.[4] So Mu`āwiyah dispatched one hundred thousand dirhams to appease him, but he sent the money back saying, "I shall not sell my religion in exchange for this life."[5] `Abdullāh son of `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ said to `Ābis ibn Sa`īd, who urged him to swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, "I know him better than you, and you have surely sold your religion in exchange for this world."[6] Sa`īd ibn Zayd ibn `Amr ibn Nafīl al-`Adawi said the following to a Syrian man sent by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam to him to secure his oath of allegiance to Yazīd: "Marwān is ordering me to swear the oath of allegiance to people whom I have struck with my sword till they submitted to Allāh. By Allāh! They did not surrender to Allāh; they only surrendered to the sword."[7]

Ziyād ibn Abeeh[8] said to `Ubayd ibn Ka`b al-Numayri, "Mu`āwiyah wrote me with regard to swearing the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, and securing the cause of Islam is quite a great cause. Yazīd followed his own whims and desires. He was quite negligent about the creed due to a passion for hunting. So, inform Mu`āwiyah about me and acquaint him with how negligent Yazīd is with regard to the religious injunctions, and tell him about his abominable deeds."[9]

Sa`īd son of `Uthmān ibn `Affān, too, denounced Mu`āwiyah. He once wrote Mu`āwiyah saying, "My father [the third caliph] is better than Yazīd's father; my mother is better than his mother, and I am

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[1] *Hadiyyat al-Aḥbāb*, p. 111, where al-Bayhaqi's biography is detailed.

[2] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 135. It is also recorded by Ibn Khallikān when he discusses the biography of al-Aḥnaf.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 170.

[4] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 3, p. 199. Refer also to *Murūj al-Thahab*, to p. 519 of Tha`lab's *Majālis*, and to al-Zamakhshari's book *Al-Fā'iq*, Vol. 2, p. 203 (Egyptian edition).

[5] al-Nawawi, *Tahthīb al-Asmā'*, Vol. 1, p. 294, where the biography of `Abdul-Raḥmān son of Abu Bakr is detailed.

[6] al-Kindi, *Al-Quḍāt*, p. 310 (offset edition).

[7] *Tahthīb Tārīkh Ibn `Asākir*, Vol. 6, p. 128.

[8] "Ibn Abeeh" means: "the son of his father." Nobody knew who Ziyād's father was. — Tr.

[9] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 169, where the events of the year 56 A.H./676 A.D. are discussed.

better than him."[1] Al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays denounced his caliphate, too. He wrote Mu`āwiyah once trying to show him where he had erred by appointing his son as his successor and by preferring him over both Imāms al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain (ع) despite their merits and lineage. He reminded him of the terms which he had promised al-Ḥasan (ع) to fulfill, including one saying that he would not put anyone ahead of him, and that the people of Iraq never hated him nor his brother al-Ḥusain (ع) ever since they loved them both, and that the hearts that hate Mu`āwiyah were still beating within them.[2]

The oppressed Imām and the Master of Martyrs (ع) spared no means to provide Mu`āwiyah with advice, to guide him to the right path, and to acquaint him with Yazīd's abominable conduct, and that he was better than him in every respect. Once he said to him, "My mother is better than his mother, and my father is better than his father." Mu`āwiyah then said to him, "As regarding your mother, she is the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص); she is, of course, better than any woman from [the tribe of] Kilāb. As regarding my love for Yazīd, were I to be awarded what fills a fertile oasis [with gold], I would not be satisfied. As regarding your father and his, they both sought the judgment of Allāh, so Allāh judged in favour of his father over yours."[3] It was then that Abu `Abdullāh, Imām al-Ḥusain (ع), refrained from commenting because he became convinced that the son of the liver-chewing mother would never be convinced about the truth. Yet Mu`āwiyah refrained from saying that Yazīd's father was better than Ḥusain's because he knew that that would have been something quite unheard of due to Ali (ع) being the foremost in accepting Islam and to his having all merits, and to his superiority in all virtues. It was for that reason that Mu`āwiyah refrained from alluding to the existence of disliking and of a dispute of sort, and this is what the scholars of rhetoric call "persuasion."

On another occasion, the Master of Martyrs, Abu `Abdullāh (ع), said to him, "I understood what you mentioned about Yazīd's accomplishments and the policy of Muḥammed's nation. You want to mislead people into thinking that you are describing someone with whom they are not familiar, or identify an absentee, or acquaint them with some specific knowledge. Yet Yazīd has personally revealed what his mentality is; so, draw your own conclusion about Yazīd from noticing his interest in exploring decorated hunting dogs,[4] race pigeons, female singers with their musical instruments, his entertainment parties, and you will then find all of that helpful [to form an idea about him]. Stop what you are trying to do; it will not help you when you meet Allāh to carry, besides your own burden of sins, the sins of all this multitude. By Allāh! You never cease to seek falsehood with oppression and earn an outrage coupled with injustice, so much so that you have filled all containers though the distance between you and death is only that you close your eyes. So proceed to do something which will testify against you on a Day witnessed by everyone, a Day that is sure to come; there is no doubt about it."[5]

On a third occasion, Imām Ḥusain (ع) wrote Mu`āwiyah saying,

> Be admonished that Allāh, the most Sublime, the most Great, has a Book which leaves nothing, small or big, without recording it. Allāh, the most Exalted One, does not forget how you annihilate people for mere suspicion, how you kill His friends only on account of your

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[1]Muḥammed ibn Ḥabīb, *Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt* (the Sixth Letter deals with assassinated personalities), p. 165

[2]*Al-Imāma wal Siyāsa* (1328 A.H./1910 A.D.: Al-Umma Press, Egypt), Vol. 1, p. 141.

[3]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir* (1358 A.H./1939 A.D.: Egyptian edition), in a chapter dealing with the art of persuasion, Vol. 1, p. 71.

[4]In the first chapter of Ibn al-Ṭaqṭaqi's book *Al-Ādāb al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 38, the author says, "Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah used to decorate his hunting dogs with gold bracelets and woven outfits, and he used to assign for each dog a slave to tend to it."

[5]Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Imāma wal Siyāsa*, Vol. 1, p. 154.

charges, and how you exile them from their homes to foreign lands. Did you not kill Ḥajar al-Kindi and the worshippers who always upheld their prayers and who resented oppression and regarded *bid`as* as most abhorred and did not accept the blame of anyone when it came to upholding Allāh's Commandments? Did you not kill `Amr ibn al-Ḥamq, the companion of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), the righteous servant of Allāh whose body was worn out by adoration and whose complexion turned yellow on account of fearing Allāh even after having granted him security and given him of the sacred promises that which, had you given them a bird, it would have descended upon you from the peak of the mountain, so you thus defy your Lord and take such promises lightly? Did you not claim the son of Sumayya (as your son), the one who was born to a slave from Thaqīf, claiming he was begotten by your father although the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had said, "The newborn belongs to the bed upon which he was born, whereas whoever commits adultery should be stoned," thus forsaking the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) deliberately? Did you not follow your own inclinations without any guidance from Allāh, the most Exalted One, then you granted him authority over the Iraqis so that he would cut the hands of the Muslims, gauge their eyes, and crucify them on palm-tree trunks, as if you do not belong to this nation, and as if they do not belong to you? Are you not the one who wrote Ziyād ordering him to kill anyone who followed the creed of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), so he killed them and mutilated their corpses following your orders while Ali's creed is the creed of Allāh, the most Sublime, the most Great, whereby He smote you and your father and whereby you now seat yourself where you are? Add to all this your forcing people to swear the oath of allegiance to your son Yazīd although he is a child who drinks wine and plays with dogs. Surely you have lost your soul, compromised your creed, and violated your trust.[1]

On a fourth occasion, the Imām (ع) wrote him to enumerate his sins following the killing by Ziyād ibn Abeeh of Muslim ibn Zaymar and `Abdullāh ibn Nāji, both of Hadramaut, and their crucifixion for many days in Kūfa on their houses' doors only because they were supporters (Shī`as) of the Commander of the Faithful Ali (ع). Among what he said was: "Are you not responsible for the execution of Ḥajar and both men from Hadramaut regarding whom the son of Sumayya wrote you telling you that they followed the religion of Ali (ع) and followed his views, so you wrote him saying, `Kill everyone who follows the religion of Ali (ع),' notwithstanding the fact that Ali followed the creed of his cousin (ص) who smote your father, the same creed because of which your father smote those who adhered to it and because of which you yourself now seat yourself where you are? Had it been otherwise, we, rather than you, would have been honoured by bearing the brunt of its responsibility in this life and in the life to come, had we only removed it from your shoulders and shouldered it ourselves."

The Imām (ع) rebuked him in a lengthy letter for adopting Ziyād and appointing him as ruler of Iraq,[2] but all these pieces of advice from the grandson of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) did not avail to put an end to Mu`āwiyah's falsehood after the latter's acts of terrorism and greed had already blocked the way before justice and equity. Yet despite his very well known shrewdness, Yazīd did not feel comfortable regarding any harm touching al-Ḥusain (ع) for fear of its dire consequences and repercussions. He knew that the most oppressed Imām (ع) would never accept humiliation till the last breath, and that his Shī`as then were different from the time they used to be when his brother Imām al-Ḥasan (ع) was alive. These kept

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[1] *Rijāl al-Kashshi* (Indian edition), in the test detailing the biography of `Amr ibn al-Ḥamq. Refer to p. 434 (Najaf edition) of Sayyid Ali Khan's book titled *Al-Darajāt al-Rafī`a*.

[2] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Al-Maḥbar* (Hayderabad, India), p. 479.

complaining about the horrible persecution meted to them at the hands of Mu`āwiyah's governors, so much so that any of them preferred to be called an atheist rather than a "Turābi."

Quite often, they used to confront Imām al-Ḥasan (ع) very bitterly despite their recognition of his Imāmate and their surrendering to the fact that whatever he did was due to divine righteousness and will. They went as far as urging al-Ḥusain (ع) several times to rise against oppression, but he declined to do so out of deference for the obligations of the Imāmate, preferring to postpone doing so till the right time, the time of which he was informed by both his grandfather (ص) and by his *waṣi*, his own father (ع).

Mu`āwiyah knew very well that in the event al-Ḥusain (ع) was in any way harmed, the Shī`as would rally behind him, and this would lead to worsening an already bad relationship between both of them.

It was for this very reason that he advised his son Yazīd to seek peace with al-Ḥusain (ع) if the issue was aggravated no matter how "harsh" the Imām (ع) might be to him. Said he to Yazīd, "The people of Iraq will not let Ḥusain till they get him out [of Medīna]; so, if he rebels against you, and if you capture him, forgive him, for his lineage is great, and so is his right."[1]

Due to his deadly conceit, ignorant Yazīd did not pay any attention to that advice; so, his evil overcame him, bringing out the worst in him. If Yazīd, the man who personified all abominations, was pleased with a swift victory, his victory was soon followed by failure, and people faced him with condemnation. Even those who did not claim adherence to Islam blamed him a great deal.

The incident of the messenger sent by a [Byzantine] Roman emperor to Yazīd at the latter's court is a case in point. The messenger saw how Yazīd was beating the sacred severed head of the Imām (ع), so he responded in a way that shook the whole place. Yazīd then realized that his falsely justifying what he had committed was of no avail any longer. How could his justifications be of any avail after each and everyone who attended that meeting had heard a loud voice coming out of that sacred head saying, "*Lā hawla walā quwwata illā billāh*" (there is no might nor strength except in Allāh), just when Yazīd ordered to have that messenger killed?[2]

Before the tragedy of Kerbalā', who had ever heard a head, which had been severed from its body, speak so articulately? Was Maysūn's son capable of frustrating Allāh's mysteries or putting out His most sacred Light? Of course not.

The denunciation of what Yazīd had done came even from his wives and those closest to him, so much so that when his wife Hind[3] saw

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[1]Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 179.

[2]The traditionist `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 150, as appears in his biography on p. 370 of *Rawḍat al-Jannāt* at the conclusion of the biography of Shaikh `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥajj Ṣāliḥ al-Samaheeji who had compiled *Al-Ṣaḥīfa al-`Alawiyya*.

[3]The story of how Hind, wife of `Abdullāh ibn `Āmir ibn Karīz, was married to Yazīd after her husband was forced to divorce her is one of the fables whose author desired to demean the Masters of the Youth of Paradise, namely al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, peace be upon them. It is narrated in many different ways:

1) Al-Khawārizmi's *Maqtal* states on p. 151, Vol. 1, Chapter 7 (Najaf's edition) through the *isnād* of Yaḥya ibn `Abdullāh ibn Bashīr al-Bāhili saying, "Hind daughter of Suhayl ibn `Amr was with `Abdullāh ibn `Āmir ibn Karīz, and Baṣra's governor had then been appointed by Mu`āwiyah. The said governor offered her husband to exchange his wife, according to Yazīd's desire to have her, with Baṣra's entire tax revenue. At the end of the waiting period, Mu`āwiyah sent Abu Hurayra with a thousand dinars as her dower. At Medīna, Abu Hurayra narranted the incident to Imām al-Ḥusain ibn Ali (ع) who said to him, `Say a good word about me to Hind.' Abu Hurayra did; therefore, she chose al-Ḥusain (ع) who married her. When the Imām (ع) came to know that `Abdullāh ibn `Āmir had desired her, he divorced her saying, `A good person have I been to legitimize her for you.'" The author traces the chain of narrators of this incident back to Yaḥya ibn `Abdullāh ibn Bashīr al-Bāhili who quotes Ibn al-Mubārak who is not known at all to the scholars specialized in the science of verifying the narrators of *ḥadīth*.

the severed head crucified on her house door as `Alawite radiance emanated from it to the depth of the sky and witnessed it bleeding, and the blood was emanating a very sweet fragrance, she was very distressed and could not help entering Yazīd's court without her veil. She screamed: “The head of the daughter of the

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2) Al-Khawārizmi's *Maqtal* traces, on p. 150, Vol. 1, its *isnād* to al-Hathli who quotes Ibn Sīrīn saying, “`Abdul-Raḥmān ibn `Innab ibn Asīd was the one who had deflowered her then divorced her. `Abdullāh ibn `Āmir ibn Karīz then married her, as stated above, except that he substituted the name of al-Ḥusain (ع) with that of al-Ḥasan (ع), claiming that he said to `Abdullāh ibn `Āmir after the latter had divorced her, `You will not find anyone better than me to legitimize her for you.' Hind used to say, `Their master is Ḥasan; the most generous among them is `Abdullāh, and the one I love most is `Abdul-Raḥmān.' On p. 45, Vol. 2, of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, it is stated that al-Hathli is Abu Bakr who is regarded by Ibn Ma`īn as a liar and by Abu Zar`ah as “weak” and by al-Nassā'i as one whose traditions should not be taken seriously at all. On p. 146, Vol. 3, of al-Ṣafadi's book *Al-Wāfi bil Wafiyyāt*, the author says, “Muḥammed ibn Sīrīn admitted to hearing *ḥadīth* then curtailing it, and that he was among those brought as captives from Jirjaya.” On p. 103, Vol. 2, of *Tarh al-Tathrīb*, it is stated that, “Ibn Sīrīn was taken captive after `Ayn al-Tamr was overrun.”

3) On p. 180, Vol. 6, of al-Nuwayri's *Nihāyat al-Arab*, it is stated that, “Zainab was with `Abdullāh ibn Salām who was appointed as ruler of Iraq by Mu`āwiyah. Mu`āwiyah asked him to divorce his wife because Yazīd desired her as his own wife provided he would give him his own daughter to marry. When he did divorce her, Mu`āwiyah's daughter refused to marry him, so Mu`āwiyah dispatched Abu Hurayra and Abul-Dardā' to Iraq to ask for the hand of Zainab daughter of Isḥāq for Yazīd. They came to Kūfa, and al-Ḥusain ibn Ali (ع) was there, so they told him their story. He (ع) said to them, “Mention my name to her.” She, therefore, chose al-Ḥusain (ع) who did actually marry her. When al-Ḥusain (ع) came to know that `Abdullāh ibn Salām wanted her for himself, he divorced her in order to legitimize her marriage to her first husband.

This lengthy incident, which al-Nuwayri narrates and which he takes for granted in his book *Nihāyat al-Arab* without even tracing the chain of its narrators, is taken for granted by Ibn Badrūn who explains one of his poems on p. 172 (1330 A.H./1912 A.D. edition) titled “Uraynab.” Al-Ḥusain (ع) never visited Kūfa after their departure therefrom.

4) On p. 274, Vol. 1, of al-Maydāni's book *Al-Amthāl*, the following incident is narrated under a heading reading: “There may be someone who diligently helps someone else sitting idly by”:
“Mu`āwiyah asked Yazīd once about his desires, so he informed him of his desire to marry Selma, mother of Khālid and wife of `Abdullāh ibn `Āmir ibn Karīz. Mu`āwiyah called upon the latter to meet with him. When they met, he asked him to divorce his wife, the mother of Khālid, in exchange for all the taxes levied from Persia for full five years. He, therefore, divorced her. Mu`āwiyah then wrote his governor over Medīna, al-Walīd ibn `Utbah, to inform Khālid's offer of her divorce. After the expiration of the waiting period, Mu`āwiyah dispatched Abu Hurayra with sixty thousand dirhams and twenty thousand dinars for her dower in addition to twenty thousand dinars to appease her and yet twenty thousand more as an additional gift. At Medīna, he narrated the incident to the father of Muḥammed, namely al-Ḥasan son of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), who said to Abu Hurayra, “Mention my name to her.” Al-Ḥusain (ع), too, said to him, “Mention my name to her.” `Ubaydullāh ibn al-`Abbās ibn `Abdul-Muṭṭalib said likewise and so did `Abdullāh son of Ja`fer al-Ṭayyār, as well as `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr and `Abdullāh ibn Mutī` ibṬ al-Aswad. Abu Hurayra met her and narrated to her what Mu`āwiyah wanted, then he informed her of the desire of each of these men to marry her. She said to him, `You choose one of them for me.' He, therefore, chose al-Ḥasan ibn Ali (ع) and married her off to him, then he took the money back to Mu`āwiyah who reprimanded him (Abu Hurayra) for what had happened. The latter answered him by saying, “One who is consulted is one who is trusted.”

This is all what “trustworthy historians” had recorded of the facts as they had taken place. It is regrettable to see how they did not demonstrate any concern about safeguarding the Muslims' dignity. Just consider this myth the ultimate objective of which is to defame both grandsons of the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, the Imāms of the nation whenever they stood up or sat down. One who sees things as they are without discerning them would be duped into accepting such a lie and, hence, would charge Abu Muḥammed, Imām al-Ḥasan (ع), with a charge because of which the mountains are removed from their places on account of the many wives al-Ḥasan (ع) had married, and that to divorce a wife thrice was quite common. They could not find any truthful person to legitimize marrying a woman a permanent marriage then divorcing her other than al-Ḥasan (ع)! I do not know what excuse he will find for himself on the Day when the father of Muḥammed [ibn al-Ḥanafiyya] asks him, “Upon what basis did you thus violate my sanctity and did not see the evil of what you did?”

Messenger of Allāh (ص) is crucified on our house!" Yazīd stood and covered her up and said, "Mourn al-Ḥusain, for he is the [cause of] anguish of Banū Hāshim. Ibn Ziyād was swift in killing him."[1] He intended to mislead her and, by shifting the blame for the crime to his governor, attempted to avoid condemnation. But what is already fixed cannot be removed. This is why he wrote his short missive which historians describe as "the rat's ear" and which he dispatched together with his more detailed one to the man whom he appointed as governor of Medīna, namely al-Walīd ibn `Utbah, ordering him to secure the oath of allegiance for him from the entire population. In his shorter missive, he instructed him to secure it specifically from al-Ḥusain (ع),[2] and to kill him and send him his head to him if he refused.

This was due to Yazīd's knowledge that the righteous men of his time and the dignitaries among them would not endorse his government, nor had they accepted to do so during the lifetime of his father, Mu`āwiyah, except after being coerced and harassed.

He wanted to "officially" alienate himself from the order to kill al-Ḥusain (ع) so that if his appointee did it then held him accountable, he would seek his excuse by attributing the act of killing to his appointee. In his letter ordering him to secure the oath of allegiance for him from all the people of Medīna, he did not dare to refer to such an order. This would provide him with the opportunity to shift the blame to his appointee. It was then that he came up with that excuse, and some historians were thus duped. But will it avail him at all? Of course not.

They clothed themselves for what they did
With the attire of shame:
Black in color tailored by infamy.

THE PROPHETS ARE ON AL-ḤUSAIN'S SIDE

The discussion of al-Ḥusain's martyrdom has been one of the mysteries of creation, one of the legacies of the prophets, and one of the subjects quite often discussed by the *waṣis* and the bearers of the secrets, so that the Master, Praise to Him, would acquaint them with this great revolutionary and with his superiority over everyone else: he was the one who safeguarded the conclusive Sharī`a. All those prophets came to pave the way for such Sharī`a and train the souls to accept it. Allāh will surely reward them for grieving over him, for denouncing such a painful tragedy. Adam wept over him, and so did Abraham, the Friend of Allāh. Moses (ع) and Jesus (ع) condemned his killer and ordered the Israelites to curse him saying, "Whoever lives to see him should fight on his side for he would be rewarded as though he was martyred fighting on the side of a prophet, whether charging or retreating. It is as though I can see his spot; each and every prophet visits it." He also addressed it saying, "You are a spot of plenty of goodness; in you shall be buried the magnificent moon."[3]

Prophet Ishmael (ع), the one who was truthful to his promise, opted to follow his example after being informed of his martyrdom so that the Awaited Imām, may Allāh hasten his reappearance, may avenge his murder.[4]

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[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 267.

[2] *Ibid*., Vol. 6, p. 188.

[3] Shaikh Abul-Qāsim Ja`fer ibn Muḥammed ibn Ja`fer ibn Mūsa ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi (d. 367 A.H./978 A.D.), *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 67.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 65.

Yaḥya chose his head to be conveyed and displayed,
Finding his solace in the example of Ḥusain.

The news of Ḥusain's impending martyrdom caused the holiest Messenger of Allāh (ص) to weep, and he eulogized him though he was still alive[1], so what if he had seen him slain at Kerbalā' among a group of his kinsfolk who all were like lanterns that shatter the darkness after depriving him and all those with him from drinking the same water they had permitted the animals to drink?

Yes, the Prophet of Mercy (ص) witnessed a piece of his heart in such a condition for which the heavens are rent asunder, and he saw that a huge multitude immersed in falsehood was bent on eradicating his Progeny anew from the world. Some of those who were with him saw him looking once at them and once at the sky, submitting to destiny.[2]

When the Commander of the Faithful (ع) passed by Kerbalā' on his march to Ṣiffīn, he alighted there, pointed to a particular spot and said, "There shall they alight," then he pointed to another spot and said, "There shall their blood be spilled. The offspring of Muḥammed (ص) shall alight there." After a while he said, "Alas! O soil from which some people shall enter Paradise without judgment!"[3] Then he released his tears, and all those who were with him shed their tears, too, for seeing him thus weeping. He informed his closest followers that his son al-Ḥusain (ع) would be martyred on that spot together with many youths who descend from Muḥammed (ص) together with his companions who are the masters of martyrs. Nobody ever reached their lofty status, nor will any..., ever.[4]

In another statement which he (ع) made when word was circulated that a group of young people belonging to Muḥammed's family would be killed at Kerbalā', he said, "The heavens and the earth shall weep for them, too.[5] May my father be sacrificed for one whose only supporter was Allāh."[6] Then he added saying, "Banū Umayyah shall not cease immersing themselves in their misguidance till they unjustly spill the forbidden blood during the forbidden month. It is as though I look at a handsome young man swimming in his blood. So once they do so, they will have none to seek excuses on their behalf, nor will they be able to maintain their government."[7] Selmān the Persian once passed by Kerbalā' on his way to Madā'in and said, "These are the places where my brethren will be killed, and this is the place where they will camp and their blood spilled! Here will the son of the best of the first generations and of the last will be killed."[8] Jesus son of Mary (ع) passed once by the land of Kerbalā' and saw gazelle grazing. The gazelle told him that they were grazing there only because of their love for the soil of the blessed offspring of Aḥmed the Prophet (ص), and that they felt secure in that land. Jesus (ع) took some of their dung, sniffed it then supplicated saying, "O Allāh! Preserve it so that his [Ḥusain's] father may sniff it, too, and find in it means of condolence and

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[1]al-Sayyūṭi, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, Vol. 2, p. 125, quoting Umm al-Faḍl and Anas. It is also narrated by al-Mārūdi on p. 83 of his book *A`lām al-Nubuwwa* quoting `Āyisha. When such news came to the Messenger of Allāh (ص), he was in the company of Ali (ع), Abu Bakr, `Omer, Ḥuthayfah, `Ammār, and Abu Tharr. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami narrated it on p. 188, Vol. 9, of his book *Mujma` al-Zawā'id* quoting `Āyisha. It is also narrated by Zakariyya al-Anṣāri in his book *Fatḥ al-Bāqi* edited by the *faqīh* al-Iraqi where it is mentioned at the end of p. 25, Vol. 1.

[2]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 65.

[3]Naṣr ibn Muzāhim, *Ṣiffīn*, pp. 157-159.

[4]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 27.

[5]Abu Na`īm, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, Vol. 2, p. 211.

[6]*Usd al-Ghāba*, Vol. 4, p. 169.

[7]Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul-Balāgha* (first Egyptian edition), Vol. 4, p. 363.

[8]al-Kashshi (Indian edition), *Rijāl*, p. 13.

solace." The dung remained there till the Commander of the Faithful (ع) came to Kerbalā'. By that time, it had turned yellow due to the passage of time. He took it, sniffed it then wept. He passed it on to Ibn `Abbās saying, "Keep it; if you one day see it boiling in blood, you should then know that al-Ḥusain is killed." He did. On `Āshūra Day in the afternoon, he saw it boiling in blood.[1]

THE INTENTION TO KILL

Introductory Note:

By necessity, the human society needs a reformer to bridge the gaps among its sectors, to correct its error, to complete its deficiency, and to enable it to stand on its own. The reason for all of this is the fact that the elements of corruption are present in it. Had there been none to curb the nation's evil intentions, their whims and desires would have played havoc with them and divided them, so much so that even a relative would not be able to trust his relative, and all individuals would be the victims of their own ambition. Such a reformer is chosen by the Master, Glory to Him, from among His servants because He, and only He, is the One Who best knows the purity and integrity of the souls, of their renunciation of what displeases the Lord of the Worlds. He will have to be protected against the immoralities the servants of Allāh have and against all abominable inclinations so that he may not partake of them and thus worsen the situation and abandon informing others and guiding them to the paths of guidance and warning them against the pitfalls of perdition. Allāh had created the greatest Prophet (ص) from the light of His sanctity and bestowed upon him the most perfect of good ethics to the extent that he surpassed in his good conduct everyone else and excelled over every being in existence. He, therefore, started explaining what is divinely permissible and what is not, supported by divine inspiration.

One's pen is surely incapable of defining such a brilliant personality about which the Prophet (ص) said to the Commander of the Faithful, "Nobody knows Allāh except I and you; nobody knows me except Allāh and you, and nobody knows you except Allāh and I."[2]

Since the Prophet (ص) was not to live forever, being a mortal like any other human being whose end is predetermined, and since a number of his injunctions were quite general the time for whose specifics had not come yet, it was mandatory on the legislator that called for reforming the nation to appoint a successor to continue the march in his footsteps, in his determination, sincerity and infallibility. Nobody knows what someone hides within himself except his Creator. Had the nation been entrusted to select such a person, it would have been impossible for it to distinguish one person from another because of its inability to determine the characteristics which had to be present in the Imām. Chaos, corruption, disputes and dissension would then result. This is contrary to the Munificence of the Master, Glory to Him. "Your Lord creates whatever He pleases and chooses: they have no choice to make in the affair" (Al-Qaṣaṣ, verse 68). "No believing man nor woman has any choice with regard to their affairs if Allāh and His Messenger make a decree, and whoever disobeys Allāh and His Messenger strays a manifest straying" (Al-Aḥzāb, 36).

Succession [to the Prophet] is a divine post for which Allāh, the most Exalted One, enables someone to carry the burdens of prophethood, so he conveys the message and calls for the details of the Sharī`a brought by the Supreme Saviour. He will guide the ignorant, alert the heedless, discipline the transgressor and explain in detail what the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his Progeny, had

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *Ikmāl ad-Dīn*, p. 295.

[2] al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥilli (one of the students of the First Martyr who was alive in 802 A.H./1400 A.D.), *Al-Muḥtaḍir*, p. 165, and also on p. 125 of his book *Al-Baṣā'ir*.

summed up either to secure the common good of people, or he neglected to explain it because it was not opportune to do so yet.

After the Message had been conveyed by the Commander of the Faithful (ع), he was succeeded by his son al-Ḥasan then by al-Ḥasan's brother al-Ḥusain, the Master of Martyrs, then by his (Ḥusain's) son Ali Zayn al-`Ābidīn, then by his son Muḥammed al-Bāqir followed by his son Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq followed by his son Mūsa al-Kāẓim followed by his son Ali al-Riḍa, then by his son Muḥammed al-Jawād then by his son Ali al-Hādi, then by his son Ḥasan al-`Askari, then by his son the Awaited One, Abul-Qāsim, Muḥammed al-Mehdi, may Allāh hasten his reappearance.

Consecutively narrated traditions have told us that Allāh, the Great, deposits with the Imām, whom He appointed for the nation as the proof and the guiding light whereby those who stray are guided, a divine power and a light whereby he can inquire about the beings and what happens in existence of events and epics. An authentic *ḥadīth* says, "When one of us is born, a pole of light will be raised for him whereby he sees the deeds of Allāh's servants and whatever takes place in the lands."[1]

Such a statement refers to the divine power poured by the Truth, Glory to Him, for the purpose of discovering all facts as they are, be they statements or actions or anything else relevant to the material or spiritual world. It is through such a divine power that the curtains of ignorance are lifted and the barriers of heedlessness are removed; so, nothing remains except that it is present before them in its essence and before their holy selves. Such a light dispels the darkness, so the one seeing will find what the deep darkness had veiled from him standing before his very eyes. Abu `Abdullāh, Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع), has already informed us of how the Lord, Great is He, bestowed upon Ahl al-Bayt the ability to be acquainted with what happened to the early generations and what will happen to the last ones, what is in the heavens and in the earth, and what was and is, so much so that all things are present before their very eyes.[2]

Then he records explaining thus, "Whatever belonged to the Messenger of Allāh (ص), the same belongs to us except his prophethood and wives."[3]

There is no exaggeration in this statement which comes from those whom Allāh had purified according to the text of the Holy Qur'ān that says, "Allāh desires to remove from you, O Ahl al-Bayt, all abomination and purifies you with a perfect purification" (Qur'ān, 33:33) in order to be able to carry the most divine superabundance. There is no miserliness in the Supreme Lord, numerous are His Signs. To exaggerate about someone is to point out one of his characteristics which may either be comprehended or not, due to the limitation of one's own comprehension. Reason does not negate the divine generosity. How could it, since the most Great One pours His bounties upon those who go to extremes in their oppression and who rebel against the sanctity of His Greatness, as if they were the ones who were doing Him a favour?! Yet all of this did not stop Him from showing mercy and benevolence to them and granting them His favours. It is as though they had been the ones who did Him a favour! Yet all this did not stop Him from showing mercy to them and benevolence to them and granting them of His favours that whose treasures are not exhausted, nor can it fail anyone who seeks it. This is one of the self-explanatory causes. If the condition of the Overwhelming Lord, Praise to Him, is as we have just described with regard to those tyrants, how would He, the Omnipotent and the Great that He is, fare with the truth relevant to Aḥmed (ص) whom He created from the most sacred light, great is He, indeed?! So a meeting took place between an ever-flowing fountainhead and souls which are always ready to give. It is no *bid`a* at all in what is narrated about them, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon them, bearers of the knowledge of the unknown, with what Allāh's

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[1] al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, Vol. 9, p. 128.

[2] *Mukhtaṣar al-Baṣā'ir*, p. 101.

[3] al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥilli, *Al-Muḥtaḍir*, p. 20.

servants do or do not, and with what happened in the lands or what will.

The knowledge of the unknown, in as far as they, peace be upon them, are concerned, is not relevant only to the Creator, the most Exalted One, so that it would be inaccessible to them. Such knowledge is characteristic of the Almighty Himself. As far as the Imāms are concerned, such knowledge is bestowed upon them by Allāh, Praise to Him. It is through His grants and Munificence that they could know the nature of things and of events.

The knowledge of the unknown, then, is of two types:

1) one which has to exist and which comes only from the Creator of the heavens and the earth. It depends on Divine boons. It is what the prophets and their *waṣis* had had, and it is to such type of knowledge that the scholar of exegesis al-'Ālūsi attracted our attention when he explained the following verse: "Say: None in the heavens and in the earth knows the unknown except Allāh." Al-'Ālūsi said, "It may be said that, as a matter of fact, the knowledge of the unknown, from which everyone other than Him, the most Exalted One, is excluded, is that which is specifically relevant to one person without means whereby he acquires it.

2) As regarding the knowledge with certain individuals, this is acquired when He somehow bestows it upon them; so, it cannot be said that they were familiar with the unknown through the first avenue, for one who says so will certainly be committing apostasy. Rather, it should be said that they were distinguished from others when they were acquainted with the knowledge of the unknown."[1]

A testimony to this fact is what Imām Abu Ja`fer al-Jawād (ع) said once to his wife, Umm al-Faḍl daughter of caliph al-Ma`mūn, when she unexpectedly found herself menstruating. She said to him, "Nobody knows the unknown except Allāh." Said the Imām (ع), "And I know it because Allāh, the most Exalted One, acquaints me with it."[2]

The Imāms (ع) are at all times in need of Divine favours. "Had it not been for the continuity of their link with Him and the consecutive boons which He bestows upon me," said Imām Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ṣādiq (ع), "I would have exhausted what I have with me." He has also said, "Had it not been for an increase every Friday evening in what we have, what is with us would have depleted."[3] The Imām (ع) by saying so meant to tell us that the Imāms' knowledge is directly from the Creator, the most High, and that they are in continuous need for His knowledge and for the continuation of His mercy, Glory to Him. His specifying Friday evening is due to its being a blessed one. It is blessed by the descending of Divine Munificence from the beginning of the evening till its end, unlike other nights. It is to such meaning that Imām al-Riḍa (ع) refers when he says, "Knowledge is made [by Allāh] accessible to us; it is then that we know, and it is withheld from us, so it is then that we do not know."[4]

In Sūrat al-Jinn, we read the following verse: "The One Who knows the unknown, so He does not acquaint anyone with His knowledge of the unknown *except* a messenger with whom He is pleased."[5] Nobody who reads this verse should doubt (the gist of) what is stated above. The Messenger who stood the distance of two bows or closer was none other than the Seal of all the Prophets, the Messenger with whom

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[1] *Rūḥ al-Ma`ānī*, Vol. 20, p. 11.

[2] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 12, p. 29 (Kampani edition), quoting al-Ṭibrisi's *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.

[3] al-Ṣadūq, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi,* as quoted in a footnote on p. 185, Vol. 1, of *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*.

[4] *Mukhtaṣar al-Baṣā'ir*, p. 63.

[5] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 15, p. 74. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni discusses this verse on p. 284, Vol. 13, of his book *Al-Fatḥ al-Bāri* in "the Book of *Tawḥīd*."

Allāh is pleased, the one over whom Allāh never preferred anyone else from among all His creation. Imām Abu Ja`fer, al-Bāqir (ع), used to say, "By Allāh, Muḥammed was the one with whom Allāh is quite pleased."[1] Allāh never distances the successors of the Prophet (ص) from such a status after having derived their light from that of Prophet Muḥammed (ص). Another testimony is the answer provided by Imām al-Riḍa (ع) to `Amr ibn Haddāb. The latter rejected the notion that the Imāms, peace be upon them, had with them the knowledge of the unknown, deriving his argument from the above quoted verse. The Imām (ع) responded to his rejection by saying, "The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is the one who was familiarized by Allāh with His knowledge of the unknown, and we are the heirs of that Messenger who came to know Allāh's knowledge of the unknown; so, we thus came to know what was and what will be till the Day of Judgment."[2]

Why would not the Messenger with whom Allāh was pleased be the same one whom Allāh loved especially since the Creator, Glory to Him, honoured him by addressing him directly without an intervening angel? Zurārah reports saying that he once asked Abu `Abdullāh, Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع), whether the Messenger of Allāh (ص) used to be overcome with a swoon whenever he received revelation. "No," answered the Imām (ع), "it was not. He swooned whenever he communicated with Allāh, the Omnipotent, the Great, directly, without anyone intervening between them. As for Gabriel (ع), he never visited him except after seeking and being granted his permission to do so. So, whenever he entered, he sat before the Messenger of Allāh (ص) just like a slave sitting before his master."[3]

When the Messenger of Allāh (ص) was in no condition to grant permission for Gabriel to enter, the latter remained outside by the drain pipe till he was granted permission to enter.[4] And he received the *waḥi* without any angel intervening as proven by Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabi,[5] al-Suhayli,[6] Ibn Sayyid al-Nās[7], al-Sayyūṭi,[8] and al-Zarqāni.[9]

Based on these traditions, which tell us about the status reserved by the Master, sublime are His Signs, for the greatest Messenger (ص), Shaikh al-Ṣadūq recorded his belief in the *waḥi* and in the swoon [referred to above].[10] The view held by Shaikh al-Mufīd is not different from his. Says he, "*Waḥi* is of two types: one the Prophet (ص) hears directly without anyone interferring, and one wherein he hears through the angels."[11] The great authority, Shaikh Muḥammed Taqi al-Iṣfahāni, who is well known as Aqa Najafi, follows in his footsteps. Add to this the Prophet's knowledge of the Qur'ān and whatever knowledge and

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[1] *Ibid*., Vol. 12, p. 22, in a chapter dealing with the Imām's visit to Baṣra. It is also discussed on p. 74, Vol. 15, where the subject of *khirāj* taxes is discussed.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *Tawḥīd*, p. 102, in the chapter denying the possibility of Allāh being seen by anyone, and it is also discussed on p. 14, Chapter 7, of *`Ilal al-Sharāi`* and on p. 86 of al-Fayḍ's book *`Ilm al-Yaqīn*.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 102, in a chapter denying the possibility of Allāh being seen by anyone. It is also cited on p. 14, Chapter 7, of *`Ilal al-Sharāi`*, and on p. 86 of al-Fayd's book *`Ilm al-Yaqīn*.

[4] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 11, p. 216, in a chapter dealing with al-Ṣādiq's companions.

[5] al-Ḥalabi, *Sīra*, Vol. 1, p. 294, in a chapter discussing the inception of the *waḥi*.

[6] al-Suhayli, *Al-Rawḍ al-Ānif*, Vol. 1, p. 154.

[7] *`Uyūn al-Athar*, Vol. 1, p. 90.

[8] al-Sayyūṭi, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 193.

[9] al-Zarqāni's explanations of *Al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, Vol. 1, p. 221 (first edition).

[10] In this scholar's Appendix to Chapter 11 of his book *I`tiqādāt*.

[11] al-Ṣadūq, *Sharḥ al-I`tiqādāt*, p. 211 (Tehran edition).

secrets of natures and characteristics of things it contains even prior to its revelation to him. What is most important is that the Master, Great is He, had told him not to make such knowledge public before receiving its revelation. He, Glory to Him, said, "Do not hasten with the Qur'ān before its revelation is mandated to you."[1] Had the Prophet (ص) not been fully acquainted with what the Glorious Qur'ān contains of secrets and knowledge, such a prohibition from making it public would have had no meaning. This quite clearly proves that the Prophet (ص) knew what events took place and what events will take place, and that such knowledge was not totally dependent on Gabriel (ع), descending upon him. The sacred boon which he had received from the Almighty had already acquainted him with all facts even before Gabriel was created...

At this juncture, another phenomenon becomes evident, one which was not realized by those who could not realize the degrees of greatness and beauty such a magnanimous personality enjoyed. It is the fact that the greatest Messenger (ص) was familiar with reading and writing all languages regardless of their variations and methods of writing before and after his Prophethood due to his attainment of the highest degrees of [human] perfection. Such a quality was not to be withheld from him. Had he not been thus endowed with such knowledge, he would have sought help from others whenever he needed to read or to write anything, and he would then have been in need of someone's favour: he is the embodiment of all favours and virtues. This is not only our view; it is the view to which renown verifiers have submitted.[2] The verse saying, "You do not write it with your own right hand" does not negate his knowledge of writing; it only negates his own writing it down, and there is no connection between such recording and his ability to write. He, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, was familiar with writing, but he did not actually write anything down, and the reason for that is the doubt those who disbelieved in him would have then cast as the Holy Qur'ān states.

We can conclude from all the above that Allāh, the Almighty and the Great, bestowed upon the Imāms from among the offspring of the Prophet (ص) all the merits and virtues which their most holy grandfather had had with the exception of his prophethood and his wives. He, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, being the Seal of the Prophets of Allāh that he was, was permitted to marry more than four women.

Anyone who does not know the implication of the knowledge of the unknown, which these geniuses had, is surely to find such an issue tremendous, so he rejects it. One who does not know the *fiqh* of the Sharī`a unknowingly admits the error of his belief. Shaikh Zādah al-Ḥanafi says, "Qāsim al-Ṣaffār caused a verdict labelling as "illegal" any marriage based on one merely testifying to the unity of Allāh and to the Prophethood of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), claiming that such person had also to believe in the Prophet's

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[1] *Al-`Inayat al-Raḍawiyya*, p. 51.

[2] Shaikh al-Mufīd has indicated the same on p. 123 of *Al-Maqālāt*, and by Shaikh al-Ṭūsi on p. 423, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Tibyān*. It is also indicated in *Al-Mabṣūṭ*, in *Ghāyat al-Murād* by the First Martyr, in *Al-Taḥrīr wal Qawā`id*, by Sayyid Mujāhid in his book *Al-Manāhil*. Ibn Shahr-Āshūb has declared so on p. 161, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Manāqib*. So has al-Majlisi on p. 147, Vol. 1, of his book *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, in *Riyād al-Aḥzān* (of Muḥammed Ḥasan al-Sha`bān Kurdi al-Qazwīni). The same is stated by al-Faḍil al-Hindi in his book *Kashf al-Lithām*, by al-Miqdād in his book *Al-Tanqīh*, and by al-Ḥājj Mulla Ali al-Kanni in his book *Al-Qadā'*. The word "al sarā'ir" in the said verse connotes inclusion of everything; thus have these scholars all agreed upon when they discussed the judge recording something in their discussion of legislation.

Al-Shihāb al-Khafāji, on p. 398, Vol. 2, of his book *Sharḥ al-Shifā*, indicates the same in a chapter dealing with his names. On p. 514, he includes a section dealing with his miracles. On p. 4, Vol. 21, of *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, al-'Ālūsi comments on the phrase "you do not write it down with your own right hand" in the verse referred to the above by saying, "A group of scholars once discussed this phrase and were of the view that he [the Messenger of Allāh] knew how to write." Then he quoted al-Bukhāri saying in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "He (ص) wrote down the covenant of the peace treaty [of al-Ḥudaybiya]." Prof. `Abdul-`Aẓīm al-Zarqāni, on p. 260 (first edition) of his book *Manāhil al-`Irfān,* records what negates that he learned how to write but that he already knew how to. On p. 249, Vol. 6, of *Tahthīb Tārīkh Ibn `Āsākir*, the author states that Abul-Walīd al-Bāji wrote a dissertation about the Prophet (ص) being able to write, and he is supported in his views by Aḥmed ibn Muḥammed al-Lakhmi and Ja`fer ibn `Abdul-Jabbār in addition to others.

knowledge of the unknown. But the head of the Tatar-Khans rejected the notion that he should be called an apostate because certain things are demonstrated before the purified soul of the Prophet (ص), so he thus comes to acquire some of the knowledge of the unknown whereas Allāh has said, `He is the One Who knows the unknown, so none *except* a Messenger with whom He is pleased will be acquainted with His knowledge of the known.'[1] Neither of these men understood the meaning of "the knowledge of the unknown" discussed here, nor did either of them realize the truth about the Seal of the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, so they said whatever they were able to comprehend and no more.

Having explained its connotation, the discreet reader has no excuse for hesitating, or for entertaining any doubt. Yes, nobody can deny that the Creator, Praise is due to Him, has with Him knowledge with which He, and only He, is familiar, the knowledge which He did not share with anyone else at all, including the time of the Hour.

As regarding Ahl al-Bayt (ع) denying having any knowledge of the unknown, such as the following statement of Imām Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ṣādiq (ع), "Strange how some people claim that we know the unknown! None knows the unknown except Allāh. I was about to hit my bondmaid when she ran away from me and hid: I have no idea in which room she hid!," this statement is interpreted as being said by way of *taqiyya* due to the presence at the time of men like Dāwūd al-Raqi, Yaḥya al-Bazzāz, and Abu Buṣayr. These men could not comprehend the mystery of how Ahl al-Bayt (ع) knew what they knew. Abu `Abdullāh (ع) wanted to deny having any knowledge of the unknown in order to demonstrate his support for those men's beliefs. What supports this theory is Sadīr, the narrator of this incident, visiting the Imām (ع) thereafter and expressing to him his amazement at how he denied his knowledge of the unknown. The Imām comforted him by saying that he knew what was even more than that: the Book of Allāh in its entirety and all the knowledge and secrets it contains. Yet this incident is brushed aside by al-Majlisi, who states so in his book *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, due to the ignorance of those who have narrated it.

The reason why the Imām (ع) denied knowing his bondmaid's whereabouts may have been to deny having seen her in her hiding place rather than having known where that place actually was. His phrase "I have no idea" means: "I did not actually see in which room she entered;" otherwise, one who has said about himself "The knowledge of what had passed before me is with me, and so is that which has not come to pass" cannot be ignorant of his bondmaid's whereabouts. When Mubashshir knocked at the door of Abu Ja`fer, Imām al-Bāqir, and the maid went out to open it, he caught her hand, whereupon Abu Ja`fer (ع) called upon him from inside the house, "Enter, may you lose your father!" He entered and apologized by saying that he did not entertain any ill thought but only wanted to increase (his conviction that the Imām knew who was at the door). The Imām (ع) said to him, "Had the walls obstructed our vision as they obstruct yours, we and you would have been on par."[2] He also said once to Muḥammed ibn Muslim, "Had we been ignorant of what you all do or not do, we would not have been preferred over the rest of the people," then he mentioned the incident at the Rabatha involving him and his fellow with regard to the subject of Imāmate.[3]

The Prophet's *ḥadīth*: "Had I known the unknown, I would have acquired plenty of goodness" does not carry any meaning other than the Prophet (ص) being in need of Allāh, the most Exalted, to acquire knowledge, and that he did not know the unknown on his own. There is no doubt about that, for everyone believes that Allāh, the most Exalted, is the One Who bestowed upon the Prophet (ص) and upon his offspring, peace be upon them, the divine faculty whereby they were able to acquire the knowledge of the

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[1] *Mu`jam al-Anhur*, Vol. 1, p. 320 which discusses the Ḥanafi *fiqh*.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 274. It is also quoted on p. 70, Vol. 11, of *Biḥār al-Anwār* from Abul-Sabāḥ al-Kināni.

[3] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 11, p. 72, quoting *Al-Kharā'ij*.

world.[1]

Another testimonial is when Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع), who was with his followers in jail, asked his followers about the presence of those who were spying on them. They told him that they had no knowledge of such spies. He, thereupon, said, "Thrice do I swear by the Lord of this building that had I been present with Moses and al-Khiḍr (ع), I would have told them that I am more knowledgeable than [both of] them, and I would have informed them of the knowledge with which they were not familiar. They were, indeed, granted the knowledge of what had already passed and what is to pass till the time of the Hour, and we [Ahl al-Bayt] have inherited all such knowledge from the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his Progeny."[2]

This narration is authentic; nobody accuses Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq al-Aḥmar of any weakness in what he narrates. We, furthermore, say that it does not contradict his vast knowledge due to the fact that the Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are not obligated to reveal all what they knew. Rather, they had to act upon whatever met the principle of *taqiyya*, or due to their concern about some of their companions on account of being under surveillance. His statement is similar to another wherein he said, "I know what is in the heavens and in the earth, and what is in Paradise and in hell; I know what was and what will be." Having said so, the Imām (ع) realized its tremendous effect on his audience; he was concerned about those who were in his company then and there, so he (ع), went on to say, "I came to know all of it from the Book of Allāh: The most Exalted One says that His Book contains the explanation of everything."[3]

The Imām (ع) took into consideration his companions' condition, so he brought them an argument to convince them, and so were the other Imāms (ع) in as far as their knowledge of temporal circumstances and personal conditions were concerned. His statement about Moses and al-Khiḍr (ع), that they were granted the knowledge of what was, does not contradict al-Khiḍr's knowledge of the future of the young boy [whom he killed], for it is one of the causes with which Allāh informed him for a temporal reason.

As regarding the Imāms, peace be upon them, stating that when one of them wants to know something, Allāh informs him of it,[4] it does not prove the limitation of their knowledge at a particular time. Such a statement proves that putting the divine power with which they are endowed at birth to work depends on their will which is determined by the presence of an interest necessitating the revelation of a veiled fact and producing what they had had with them of treasured knowledge. Yet this explanation occurs in no more than three narrations all of which are refuted by al-Majlisi in his book *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, proving the weakness of some of them and the ignorance of those who reported the others.

What can be concluded from the above is that Allāh, the most Sublime, has bestowed upon His purified vicegerents a divine faculty whereby they could comprehend events, the nature of things, the secrets of everything, in addition to whatever good or evil takes place in the universe. There is no exaggeration in all of this especially since the nature of these Imāms is capable of absorbing such divine overflow, and since the Lord, Glory to Him, is never miser in what He grants those upon whom He bestows of His knowledge. The Imāms, peace be upon them, have declared the same, saying that they always are in need of His subsequent blessings, Great is He; otherwise, their storehouse of knowledge may deplete. This is not

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[1]al-Khafāji, *Sharḥ al-Shifā'*, Vol. 3, p. 150, where he says, "What is denied in these verses is his [Prophet's] knowledge of the unknown without means [enabling him to know]. As regarding his knowledge of the unknown, it is done by Allāh, the most Exalted One, informing him. This is a recognized fact. It is ascertained by the verse saying, "He does not acquaint anyone with His knowledge of the unknown except a Messenger with whom He is pleased."

[2]al-Ṣadūq, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, as quoted on p. 189, Vol. 1, of *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*.

[3]*Ibid*., p. 190.

[4]*Ibid*., p. 187.

unexpected with regard to those whose ultimate objective is to obey Allāh Almighty, and whose substance is integrity. Such are Allāh's friends and the truthful ones in addition to those whom the Creator appointed as the custodians of His Sharī`a. This view is endorsed by renown critics and is stated by Shaikh al-Mufīd on p. 77 of *Al-Maqālāt*, and by al-Majlisi on p. 187, Vol. 1, of *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*. Al-Āshtiyāni, the critic, has followed in their footsteps as stated on p. 60, Vol. 2, of his commentary on Shaikh al-Anṣāri's Letters.

Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami states the following:

> The verses stating: "Say: None knows the unknown in the heavens and in the earth save Allāh" and "The One Who knows the unknown, so He does not acquaint anyone with His knowledge" do not contradict the prophets' and the *walis'* knowledge of portions of the unknown. They know of such knowledge because Allāh Almighty informs them of it. This is not the same knowledge like that relevant to Him whereby He is praised and glorified. In both of these verses, He is simply saying that none shares His knowledge of the latter. As far as other types of knowledge are concerned, He informs whomsoever He pleases of some of the knowledge of the unknown. The Almighty informing His prophets and friends of some of the knowledge of the unknown is possible; it is not impossible at all. Anyone who denies it is stubborn. It goes without saying that such granted knowledge does not in the end lead to the recipients sharing with Allāh the knowledge which He has reserved for Himself and whereby He is praised, glorified, and is known since eternity. This is the same view upheld by al-Nawawi in his verdicts.[1]

This clearly proves that Ibn Ḥajar was not too far from accepting the notion that the *walis* knew the unknown, but he did not agree with the Shī`as with regard to their belief that their Imāms from among Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, are capable of knowing the events which took place as well as those which will take place till the Day of Judgment. He believes that such ability is characteristic of the Great Creator. The criterion he has set for the *walis* to know some of the knowledge of the unknown is their being empowered by their Master, Glory to Him, to do so; He is the One Who informs them of some of the knowledge of the unknown. Such empowering, he believes, keeps the Shī`a beliefs in check. If the criterion of Allāh Almighty empowering others to know the unknown becomes the particular divine faculty of certain individuals who are the offspring of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), then it is quite possible that such faculty reaches its utmost limit to the extent that it will not be confined to some but rather to all such knowledge, so much so that one of such individuals may see things as if they are before his very eyes as Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) says. The exception to this, of course, is the knowledge which Allāh Almighty has confined only to Himself. None can be acquainted with such knowledge even if he reaches the degree beyond the zenith of perfection.

This is also the view held by Ibn Ḥajar. Al-Naishapuri, author of the *Tafsīr*, has recorded it as follows: "If the *walis* are not granted such a faculty, it is either because Allāh is entitled not to grant a believer what he wants, or because the believer simply is not worthy of it, and either one is far from the other. If a believer is empowered to attain it, it surely is the very greatest of all of what He grants a servant of His. If the One Who is most generous does not withhold the very best, He likewise is generous enough not to give what is the least."[2] He further says, "There is no contradiction between the verse saying, `No soul knows what it shall earn in the morrow' and the advance knowledge of the Prophet (ص) of the conquest of Mecca and of the imminent wars against the renegades, those who deviated from the right path, and the

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[1] *Al-Fatāwa al-Ḥadītha*, p. 222.

[2] `Abdul-Qādir al-`Aidarūsi, *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir fi A`yān al-Qarn al-`Āshir*, p. 85.

apostates. All what the verse says is its negation of the knowledge of the future, but if this is done by Allāh informing someone of it, then the case is not so. It is quite possible that Allāh informs His Prophet (ص) of what will be."[1]

THE VERSE OF PERDITION

From what we have already established, it has become clear to us that the Imāms (ع) were never ignorant of the martyrdom of each one of them: who would commit it, how and when. They were informed of it by Allāh Who bestowed upon them of the types of knowledge whereby they comprehended the events, in addition to the heavenly tablet which descended upon their grandfather, the Supreme Saviour (ص), and which they read.

Their welcoming martyrdom in a way that assisted the demise of their holy selves, or hurled them into perdition, is something which the Holy Qur'ān prohibits. Safeguarding one's life and taking precautions against falling into perdition is obligatory so long as it is destined, or when it does not serve a higher purpose. But in the presence of a purpose which is served by one exposing his life to peril, as is the case with performing *jihād* or in self-defense, death will claim the lives of a number of *Mujāhids*. Allāh ordered His prophets and messengers who approached it determined to be martyred, and many of them were quite happy to do so. A number of prophets were killed in the line of their duty; they never flinched nor relented till their holy souls departed from their bodies. A group from among the Israelites sought to worship their Lord by putting an end to their lives; He, the Great and the Almighty, said, "So repent to your Creator and kill your own selves."[2]

To read this verse as is [rather than in its context] will only take it out of our discussion of the topic of revelation: to warn against an imminent danger. It succeeded a verse dealing with transgression during the months regarded by the Muslims as sacred. Allāh Almighty says, "The sacred month for the sacred month and all sacred things are (under the law of) retaliation; whoever then acts aggressively against you, inflict injury on him according to the injury that he has inflicted on you, and be careful (of your duty) to Allāh and keep in mind that Allāh is with those who guard (themselves against evil)" (Qur'ān, 2:194).

The prohibition of putting someone's life in jeopardy becomes [in such a context] dependent on the polytheists attacking the Muslims during the sacred months, and when the Muslims did not have enough force to fight them back. Taking the stand of a general prohibition of any life-threatening situation becomes a rationalizing cause which cannot be subjected to a particular situation but a specific injunction relevant to the case of the lack of a cause stronger than that of simply facing a danger. When the necessary cause is present, no injunction interferes to prohibit it, such as in the case of defending Islam.

The most Praised and Exalted One praises the believers who march to their death and struggle to promote the divine cause saying, "Allāh has bartered with the believers: their lives and wealth for Paradise;

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[1]Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul-Balāgha*, Vol. 1, p. 427 (first Egyptian edition), p. 427.

[2]Scholars of exegesis have stated that the Israelites who worshipped the calf then repented having forsaken Allāh's worship were told by Moses (ع), who had been informed by his Lord that He did not cease to accept their repentance, to bathe, wear their shrouds then stand in two rows to be attacked by Aaron and a number of men with him, who had not worshipped the calf, to kill them. When each man looked and saw his son, brother, father, or relative in front of him [slated to be killed by him], he did not have the guts to do it. They, therefore, spoke with Moses (ع) in this regard, and Moses (ع) asked his Lord, Glory to Him, what he should do. The most Exalted Creator told him that He would send upon them darkness wherein one would not be able to see the person sitting next to him. Those who had worshipped the calf were ordered to sit at home with their heads down between their knees without trying to defend themselves either by hand or by leg, and not to raise their heads nor to change their position. The sign of God being pleased with them would be that the darkness would be unveiled and the swords would work on them. It would only be then that God would forgive those who would be killed from among them and accept the repentance of those who would survive. Aaron and his men did so, killing as many as seventy thousand of them.

they fight in the cause of Allāh, so they kill and get killed." He also says, "Do not reckon those who are killed in the cause of Allāh as dead. Nay! They are alive with their Lord receiving their sustenance." He also says, "Among the people is one who sells his life seeking the Pleasure of Allāh."

Thus did the Messenger of Allāh (ص) declare to the members of his nation when he provided them with his valuable instructions saying, "The best of martyrs is Ḥamzah ibn Abu Ṭālib and a man who spoke a word of truth to an oppressive ruler because of which he [the ruler] killed him."[1]

Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaubāni is not far off from following such instructions when he sees no harm in a man assaulting a thousand of his foes and who either comes out safely or is killed in the process. Then he says, "There is no harm in one losing his life, or is hurt, if his assault at a thousand foes strikes fear in the latter or causes them to be in disarray." His reasoning is that such an assault is better than any harm inflicted because it serves the interest of the Muslims.[2]

Ibn al-`Arabi, the Mālikite scholar, says, "Some scholars permit a man assault a huge army seeking martyrdom, and such an action is not regarded by them as jeopardizing one's life and exposing it to perdition because Allāh, the most Exalted One, says, `And among men is he who barters his life for the pleasure of Allāh, and Allāh is Affectionate to the servants' (Qur'ān, 2:207), especially if the motive behind the assault enhances the morale of the Muslims upon seeing one of them facing thousands."[3]

Allāh, Glory to Him, has specifically allotted certain injunctions to those who are the custodians of his legislation and His vicegerents over the nation. Most of such injunctions cannot be realized by people's aspirations, nor can they be comprehended by their reason. Among them is enjoining them to sacrifice themselves for the sake of achieving His Pleasure, Glorified and Exalted is He, and to spend all wealth, influence, and possessions in the process. So you find them once in the depth of dungeons, or exiled, or deported, all the time suffering from apprehension and hardship, remaining against their wish silent as they are being verbally abused. This continued till they met their death. What savoured all of this for them was their being informed beforehand by their greatest grandfather (ص), who was told by divine inspiration, of the merits and the interests whereby the Islamic nation is served. Had they not been thus determined to offer such sacrifices, the creed would have been terribly distorted and misguidance would have crept therein. They found themselves submitting to that with which Allāh had acquainted them of His secrets. He acquainted them with the great significance with Him, the most Exalted and Praised One that He is, despite the various degrees of sacrifice they had to offer.

The Almighty ordered some of them to withhold and not to fight or to be involved in *jihād* while ordering others to accept to be killed and yet others to accept to be poisoned. The mystery in such variation of obligation was due to what He, Glory to Him, saw of the interests according to their relevant time.

Their bracing their death and taking poison was never due to their ignorance of what an oppressive ruler was doing to them. Rather, they were quite sure about it. They knew of their killer and his method of killing, and even of the day and time, seeking submission to the Command of their Lord, the most Exalted One, and surrendering to the divine judgment in their regard. They are, in so doing, only carrying out all the orders they had received from the Master, Praise to Him, be they obligations or recommendations. Reason determines that a slave must obey his master and not do anything forbidden without inquiring about the interest, or the lack thereof, that necessitated it. But if the Master is wise in everything He does, according to the verse saying, "He is not asked about what He does while they are," obedience to Him ought to be

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[1]al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 1, p. 309, in his explanation of the verse of perdition.

[2]*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 309.

[3]Ibn al-`Arabi, *Al-Aḥkām*, Vol. 1, p. 49, (First Edition: 1331 A.H.), in his discussion of the verse of perdition.

unconditional, without questioning the reasons behind His orders.

It is this suggested view that the critics from among renown scholars have endorsed. If researchers keep themselves busy investigating the reasons why Ahl al-Bayt (ع) did what put an end to their sacred lives, they will keep going right and left without actually coming out with what satisfies anyone simply because such researchers produced nothing but assumptions which do not agree with the basics or with what is most exemplary.

Traditions regarding Ahl al-Bayt (ع) indicate that when they knew that their enemies were determined to put an end to them, or when the pain of their chains intensified, and it became obvious to them that their fate was delayed, they resorted to all possible means, including supplications which could not be rejected, or complaining to their grandfather the Prophet (ص), requesting him to keep harm and calamities away from them. Imām Abu Ja`fer, al-Bāqir (ع), says, "If something distresses us and we were apprehensive of the authorities' mischief, we, Ahl al-Bayt, would say, `O King of everything! Bless Muḥammed and his Household and do unto me such-and-such.'"[1]

When al-Manṣūr became angry with Imām Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ṣādiq (ع), setting his mind to kill him, the Imām (ع) supplicated to his Lord, the most Exalted One, pleading to Him to ease his hardship. By the grace of his supplication, the dark ominous clouds of an ill fate dissipated. As soon as al-Manṣūr looked at al-Ṣādiq (ع), he gladly stood up, demonstrating his pleasure at seeing him, hugged and kissed him. After that incident, al-Manṣūr narrated the reason why he changed his mind. He said that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) appeared to him in a vision standing before him stretching his open hands, uncovering his arms, looking very angry as he shielded the Imām (ع) from him; he said to al-Manṣūr, "If you harm the father of `Abdullāh (ع), I will certainly annihilate you." Al-Manṣūr had no choice except to forgive, respect and honour the sanctity of the Imāmate. Then he dispatched the Imām (ع) back to [his and] his grandfather's home town [Medīna] surrounded with royal grandeur.[2]

When the confinement of Imām Mūsa son of Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq, peace be upon both of them, became quite prolonged, and the Imām was fed-up with the mistreatment meted to him, he pleaded to Allāh Almighty to put an end to his suffering saying, "O One Who releases the trees from the sand and the water, Who releases milk from between blood and secretion, Who releases the fetus from the womb and the embryo, Who releases fire from between iron and stone, Who releases the soul from between the bowels and the intestines, do release me from Hārūn's grip."[3] By the grace of this supplication, he was, indeed, released from the darkness of the dungeon and from the pain of the chains.

When Hārūn al-Rashīd offered him poisoned dates to eat, the Imām (ع) selected those which were not poisoned and ate them then gave the poisoned ones to al-Rashīd's dog which died.[4] He had no intention to cause the dog's death except to let the tyrant al-Rashīd know that he was fully aware of his intention to kill him at a time when his demise was not yet opportune. But when it was time for the Imām (ع) to die, and Allāh called upon him to return to Him, he ate the poisoned dates which al-Rashīd had given him knowing that they were, indeed, poisoned. Having eaten them, he raised his hands and supplicated saying, "Lord! You know that had I eaten such dates before today, I would have put an end to my life!" So he ate of them and his fate had its way.[5]

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[1]Sayyid Raḍi ad-Dīn ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-Da`awāt*, p. 365 (Bombay edition).

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 299.

[3]al-Ṣadūq, Ā*māli*, p. 327, *majlis* 60. Hārūn is "al-Rashīd," the `Abbāside ruler.

[4]al-Ṣadūq, `*Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍa*, p. 57.

[5]*Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, Vol. 1, p. 188. Muḥammed ibn Aḥmed ibn Ali al-Naishapuri, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, p. 185.

Upon such a basis, Imām Abul-Ḥasan, Ali al-Hādi (ع), ordered Abu Hāshim al-Ja`feri to send a man to a most sacred spot of al-Ḥā'ir to supplicate to Allāh to heal him, saying that Allāh Almighty loved to be invoked there.[1] His objective was to point out that nothing happens in the system of the universe except what naturally flows, and except natural laws. Or he may have intended to attract our attention to the benefits of supplicating to Allāh when calamities overtake one of His servants and when catastrophes surround him. What supports this view is that al-Rabī`, slave of al-Manṣūr al-Dawānīqi, learned by heart the supplication composed by Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) when he met with al-Manṣūr who had angrily decided to annihilate him. Al-Rabī` saw with his own eyes how al-Manṣūr met the Imām (ع) with utmost respect instead of carrying out his evil intention against him.[2]

It is upon the same basis that the chosen one, Imām al-Ḥasan son of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), used to sometimes seek healing from his grandfather's soil, and sometimes he would follow the instructions of his physician, and yet some other times he would follow the advice of those who had undergone a similar experience[3] despite his knowledge that his sickness was not fatal and that he knew when such fate would come to pass. But he wanted to let people know that combatting ailments is done through ordinary indispensable means so that such means may be implemented. But when it was time for him to depart, he did not do any of that out of his submission to destiny. This happened when Ja`da daughter of al-Ash`ath offered him poisoned sour milk. It was very hot, and al-Ḥasan (ع) was fasting.[4] He raised his hands to the sky and supplicated saying, "We belong to Allāh, and to Him is our return. Praise to Allāh for the meeting with Muḥammed, the Master of all Messengers, with my father the master of all *waṣis*, with my mother the Head of all women of the world, with my uncle Ja`fer who flies in Paradise, with al-Ḥamzah, the Master of Martyrs."[5] Having said so, he drank the sour milk then said to her, "He [Mu`āwiyah, his assassin] fooled you and made fun of you. Allāh will expose both you and him to shame."[6] As the Imām spoke those words, the woman shook like a palm leaf braving a storm.

Imām al-Riḍa (ع) had informed his companions that he would be assassinated by al-Ma`mūn, and that they had to be patient till then.[7] Imām Abu Ja`fer, al-Jawād (ع), said to Ismā`īl ibn Mahrān, when he saw that the latter was upset upon al-Ma`mūn ordering the Imām (ع) to meet with him, "He [al-Ma`mūn] was never my friend, but I will return from this trip." But when he ordered him to meet with him again, the Imām (ع), said to Ismā`īl ibn Mahrān, "In this meeting will I have to face my death," ordering him to take orders from his successor Imām al-Hādi (ع), his son, who became the nation's Imām following the assassination of his father.[8] So when Umm al-Faḍl [daughter of al-Ma`mūn, who also was the Imām's wife] gave him a poisoned handkerchief, he did not hesitate to use it, thus submitting to destiny and obeying the order of his Master, all Praise is due to Him. Yes, he only said the following words to her then: "Allāh has afflicted you with infertility without a cure and with an affliction which you will never be able to hide." She was instantly afflicted with an ailment in the most delicate of her five senses.

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[1]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 223.

[2]*Muhaj al-Da`awāt*.

[3]al-Ḥasan ibn Ali ibn Muḥammed al-Ṭabari al-Mazandarani (a recognized 7th century A.H./13th century A.D. scholar of distinction in his sect), *Kāmil al-Bahā'i* (Persian text), pp. 453-456.

[4]al-Rāwandi *Al-Kharā'ij*, p. 22 (Indian edition), in a chapter dealing with his miracles.

[5]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 133, citing *`Uyūn Akhbār al-Mu`jizāt*.

[6]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*, and it is also recorded in *Al-Kharā'ij*.

[7]al-Muqarram [author of this book], *Imām al-Riḍa*, p. 45.

[8]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*, and also *I`lām al-Wara bi A`lām al-Hudā* (by al-Ṭibrisi), p. 205.

The Commander of the Faithful (ع) had already provided the name of "Ibn Muljim" as that of his assassin; this is a fact regarding which no two persons dispute with one another. When Ibn Muljim came to swear the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful (ع) then went away, the Imām (ع) said, "Anyone who wishes to see the face of my killer should look at this one." "Why do you not kill him?," the Commander of the Faithful (ع), then the caliph, was asked. "How strange," he (ع) answered, "that you should suggest I must kill the one who shall kill me!"[1] He meant that that man killing him was an already determined destiny and an unavoidable fate, and that his being killed by Ibn Muljim was an irreversible divine decision; so, how could he contradict the divine will and undo what is destined to happen? It is to this meaning that Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع), refers when he once said to Uqbah al-Asadi: "Had the Imāms (peace be upon them) persisted in their supplication to Allāh to annihilate all the tyrants in the world, He would have responded favourably to their pleas, and it would have been easier for Him than a string of beads which someone cuts through, but we do not want anything except what Allāh wants."[2]

SUMMARY

Through these straightforward proofs, the veil wrapping the truth is uncovered; therefore, facts appear most gloriously and place themselves before the brilliant researcher surrounded with a halo of truth and conviction. He, therefore, becomes convinced that the Imāms of guidance were familiar with how fate fared and what imminent destiny was, the one which could not be avoided and whereby it afflicted them with catastrophes. This is so due to the fact that the Great Master, Glory to Him, welcomed their pleas and acquainted them with secrets and mysteries, be they good or bad. Such abundant knowledge never parted from them but was granted to them first from the One Who initiated existence in the first place, Great are His signs, and second from the Messenger of Allāh (ص) who also acquainted them with it, and third due to their being informed by the revealed divine tablet sent down upon their grandfather (ص). Allāh Almighty surely granted them a lofty status and an immortal honour which they could not have achieved except through martyrdom and the annihilation of their sacred souls. It is for this reason that they sacrificed their precious lives in submission to the Commands of Allāh Almighty and to serve the realistic interests which no humans could realize and whose particulars are not known except to the One Who knows the unknown. We do not have to know the advantages or disadvantages in all the legislative obligations; rather, reason obligates us to obey the Great Master, Exalted is His Status, whenever He bids or forbids.

I am amazed at those who listen to the authentic traditions and willingly submit to the fact that the Imāms from among the Progeny of Muḥammed (ص) knew what was and what will be, and with them was the knowledge of fate and the calamities, yet they are unfamiliar with the light of many traditions which clearly state that whatever those Imāms said or did not say, stood or sat, was due to an order which they had received from Allāh, Praise to Him, conveyed through His trustworthy Messenger of divine revelation, and that nothing small or big hid from their knowledge, nor were they ignorant of anything of it, not even the moment of their death. What testifies to this fact is the following statement by Imām Abu Ja`fer al-Bāqir (ع):

> I am amazed at people who accept us as their masters, making us their Imāms, and describing obeying us as mandatory as obeying the Messenger of Allāh (ص), yet they violate their argument and indict themselves with a weakness in their conviction. So they belittle our rights and fault those whom Allāh had given the proof of the uprightness of recognizing us and submitting to our commands. I wonder why they should not adopt a contrary stand. Have

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[1]al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, p. 34, and also *Risālat Ibn Badrūn*, p. 156, where a poem by Ibn `Abdūn is explained.

[2]al-SṢdūq, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, in a chapter under the heading "The Imāms know when they are to die," and also in *Al-Kharā'ij* (of al-Rāwandi), p. 143 (Indian edition).

you seen how Allāh, the most Exalted One, mandated His servants to obey His friends without acquainting the latter with what happens in the heavens, depriving them of having access to the knowledge of what they should endure, of what helps their creed stand on firm grounds?

Ḥamrān said to him, "O son of the Messenger of Allāh! What is your view of the consequences of the stands taken by the Commander of the Faithful (ع), how al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain (ع) revolted and how much they had to suffer at the hands of the tyrants who subdued them, killed and vanquished them?" Abu Ja`fer (ع) said to him, "O Ḥamrān! Allāh, Praised and Exalted is He, willed that all of that should happen to them. He decreed and predestined it out of His own will, then He let it happen. Due to being already informed by the Messenger of Allāh (ص), Ali, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusain (ع) took their stands. Due to the same knowledge, some of us remained silent. Had they wished Allāh Almighty, earnestly pleading to Him to remove the authority of the tyrants, it would have been faster than a string of beads which someone cuts through. What afflicted them was not due to any sin which they had committed, nor to any transgression whereby they disobeyed Allāh; rather, it was for the achievement of a certain status and favour with Allāh which He wanted them to achieve; so, do not permit yourself to be misled, O Ḥamrān!"[1]

It is through the rays of this sacred tradition that we clarify obscure mysteries and divine wisdom which Allāh bestowed upon certain custodians of His *waḥi*, thus granting them distinctions over all other human beings. Among such distinctions are the following:

a. Their knowledge of everything, and the fact that the knowledge from the heavens never ceased reaching them, the knowledge that contained all subjects barring none.

b. The perils to which they were exposed, and the oppression to which the leaders of oppression exposed them, were due to reasons not known except by the Omnipotent Almighty.

c. Their waging wars, their struggle, and their martyrdom while defending the divine Message, as well as their silence towards what the leaders of misguidance commit, their witnessing how the nation goes to extremes in its oppression, and their doing that which cause putting an end to their sacred lives in obedience to the commands of their Lord relevant to them..., all demonstrate their willingness to submit to His will without any hesitation at all; they willingly do so, just as willingly as others carry out their obligations.

d. Succumbing to destiny and sure death and reluctance to plead to the Exalted Creator to remove their causes was done so that they might win martyrdom which is the most honourable form of death in order to reach a lofty status and a high station which cannot be achieved except through this type of death.

It is through providing the same explanation that Abul-Ḥasan, Imām al-Riḍa (ع), answered those who asked him about the reason why the Commander of the Faithful (ع) exposed himself to being killed while knowing the exact hour of his death and the name of his killer. He (ع), said, "All of that did, indeed, take place, but he chose that night to let fate have its way."[2]

This and similar statements lead us to conclude that the reason why members of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) walked to their death willingly is that they did so in obedience to their Lord in order to carry out the

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[1]al-Ṣadūq, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, where the author comments on *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, Vol. 1, p. 190, in a chapter indicating that they had acquired a prior knowledge. al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, p. 33. al-Rāwandi, *Al-Kharā'ij*, p. 143 (Indian edition).

[2]al-Ṣadūq, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, commenting on Vol. 1, p. 188, of *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*.

obligations relevant specifically to them; so, there is no shortcoming in their knowledge, nor can what caused their death be seen as bringing perdition to themselves or be rejected by reason. It is also the view upheld by the most renown Shī`a scholars.

Shaikh al-Mufīd, for example, is quoted in al-Ku`bari's *Masā'il* saying, "We have no problem accepting the fact that an Imām may be informed in detail of what takes place and of distinguishing one thing from another, and such knowledge is conveyed by Allāh Almighty. Likewise, we do not have any problem seeing how the Commander of the Faithful persevered till reaching martyrdom and surrendering to be killed, thus reaching a degree so high that nobody can reach in any other way. He, in so doing, demonstrates his obedience to his Lord in a way none else could have. Nor can the Commander of the Faithful be described as having brought perdition upon himself or assisted others to his own detriment in a way which reason does not condone. Nor should such an action be understood by those who objected to his doing so. We also do not have any objection to al-Ḥusain (ع) being fully aware of the place where water could be found, and that it was as close to him as the distance of one yard; so, had he dug, he would have found water. His reluctance to dig cannot be interpreted as assisting fate against his own life by abandoning seeking water where it is inaccessible to him. Reason does not see that as being far-fetched, nor as being ugly. So is the case with al-Ḥasan (ع) being fully informed of the outcome of seeking reconciliation with Mu`āwiyah: He had already known about it, and it was quite obvious. But he, by doing so, postponed his being murdered, putting off the time when his followers would surrender to Mu`āwiyah. That was a good reason for his survival till it was time for him to go, and it was good for the survival of many of his Shī`as and family members. An avoidance of a greater harm to the creed from it could have actually otherwise taken place. He (ع), was fully aware of what he did; Allāh Almighty had ordered him to seek obedience to Him in so doing."

The great scholar, al-Ḥilli, was asked once about the reason why the Commander of the Faithful (ع) exposed himself to being murdered. He said that it was quite possible that he had been informed of his being killed in a particular night and place, and he was required to do what we are not; so, it was quite possible that his acceptance of death for the sake of Allāh was mandatory, just as mandatory as a person waging *jihād*, even when such a *mujāhid* knew that it would in the end cause him to be killed."[1]

The great mentor, Shaikh Yousuf al-Baḥrāni, says, "Their acceptance of tragedy, their being killed by the sword or by poison, and their acceptance of the affliction to which they are exposed at the hands of their oppressive foes, despite their knowledge of it and ability to avoid it, is due to their knowledge that it would cause the most Praised and Exalted One to be pleased with them, and that it was chosen for them by Him and was mandated upon them so that they would be closer to His holy Self; so, it is not of the type that causes one to harm himself with his own hands and which is prohibited by the verses of the Holy Qur'ān. That was something prohibited by the One Who brought the Sharī`a, a clear prohibition. This, contrariwise, is done with the knowledge of His being pleased with it and His having decreed it. It is the opposite of the first. But they may endure something before their predestined end, so it does not put an end to their lives, nor does it supercede their fate. Such is a danger against which they may not openly take precautions, or they may do so privately, or they may plead to Allāh to remove it from them since they knew that it was not intended by Allāh, the Praised One, to finish them, nor was it to bring about their fate. In short, they, peace be upon them, coped with fate and destiny according to the extent of their knowledge of both and of what the Vanquisher had chosen for them to do."[2] Such is the view also of al-Majlisi, the great scholar, al-Karki, the critic, and al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥilli, one of the students of the First Martyr, as well as of many others.

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[1]He is quoted by al-Majlisi on p. 189, Vol. 1, of *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl* and also on p. 663, Vol. 9, of *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

[2]*Al-Durra al-Najafiyya*, p. 85.

AL-ḤUSAIN'S PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF HIS MARTYRDOM

What we have stated clarifies that reason; the *Sharī`a* condones one's walking to his death when doing so serves a common interest greater than that of his own life, such as the continuity of the creed or of the *Sharī`a*, or to bring to life a certain fact, an objective which cannot be realized in any other way, such as the case with regard to al-Ḥusain (ع) taking such an amazing stand, thus reciting to the multitude a white tablet which generations and epochs have been reciting ever since.

Through his holy uprising, Imām Ḥusain (ع) acquainted present and future nations with what the Umayyads did and with who discarded and violated the sacred laws of the *Sharī`a*. Nations have learned lessons from the courage demonstrated by the most oppressed one (ع), that they should welcome death with open arms, that they should sacrifice their all in order to support the call propagated by Muḥammed (ص) and learn from it lofty lessons. They learned how to persist in defending their principles, and to sacrifice everything precious in order to liberate themselves from the claws of oppression.

Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybāni rejects the notion that it is despondency that causes one to attack a thousand men knowing that he has no chance of survival or of defeating the enemy by so doing, saying that such an action is not suicide because there is a benefit in it for the Muslims: it strengthens their determination and provides them with a shot in the arm that rejuvenates their energy and determination to defend their principles and to die in dignity.[1]

Abu Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع), by the same token, surpasses everyone else in doing so when he defied the large multitude that had sunk in falsehood. He, it is true, caused the death of his holy self as well as that of pure ones from among his family and followers. He exposed the offspring of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to plundering and captivity, yet he inscribed upon the face of time with words of *noor* the truth about his uprising and the falsehood of all the allegations propagated by his foe that had deviated from the canons of truth and became immersed in oppression. He is, therefore, the true victor, and whoever challenged him drowned in the sea of misguidance and was one who violated the Islamic laws drawn by the one who conveyed the Divine Message (ص).

I truly wonder about one who says that al-Ḥusain (ع) was counting on the support of the people of Kūfa. Such an individual has surely missed the mark. Even if we surrender and say that al-Ḥusain (ع) did not have a general knowledge of what was, what is, and what will be, how could he have not been informed by his grandfather (ص) and his *waṣi*, his own father, of the events that would happen to him, and that he would be killed in the land of Kerbalā' after being denied access to water, accompanied by his kinsfolk and followers and would all face a sure death? Is he not the one who informed Umm Salamah of his own martyrdom when she expressed to him apprehension of his trip? The reason for it is that the truthful and the trustworthy one, who never said anything out of his own inclination (ص), had already informed him of his being killed in the land of Kerbalā' after being prohibited from drinking water.

Among what al-Ḥusain (ع) had said to her was: "I know the day on which I will be killed and the time when I will be killed. And I know who among my Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and followers will be killed. Do you think that you know what I do not? Do you think that I can escape death? If I do not die today, I will tomorrow."

He said to his brother, `Omer al-Aṭraf, "My father had informed me that my resting place will neighbour that of his own. Do you think that you know what I do not?" To his brother Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya he said, "Allāh has decreed to see me murdered and the women taken captive."

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[1] al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 1, p. 309.

To Ibn al-Zubayr he said, “Had I hidden in a hole in these ravines, they would have hunted me out and killed me.” To `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer he said, “I saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in a vision ordering me to do something which I am going to do.” When they were at a mountain pass, he said to his companions, “I see myself being killed, for I saw in a vision dogs mauling me, and the most wild among them was spotted.” When `Amr ibn Lawthān suggested to him to stay away from Kūfa becoming fully informed of its people's intentions, he (ع) said, “I am not ignorant of their views, but the will of Allāh is never over-ruled. As soon as they invite me, they will take out the blood clot in me.”

He made many such explicit and implicit statements in Medīna, in Mecca, and on the way to Kūfa, statements which you will read in this book in their entirety. They all testify that he (ع), was fully aware of his being killed on the day with which he was familiar and in the land of Kerbalā’. So, can anyone doubt this fact if he reads his sermon in Mecca when he wanted to travel from there to Iraq? In that sermon, he said, “I can see my limbs being cut to pieces by wild beasts in an area between al-Nawawees[1] and Kerbalā’, so they will fill with my body empty stomachs and starved pouches; there is no way to avert an event already decreed.”

All these answers to those who asked al-Ḥusain (ع) to wait or to go somewhere else prove that the Master of Martyrs was knowledgeable of what was going to happen to him, and that he knew the intentions of the people of Kūfa. But it is a divine mystery which concerned only him, and so that his cries for help and support on the Day of Ṭaff, before and after the war, would be an argument against that unlucky multitude of people.

Yet he did not inform each and every person who objected to his march to Kūfa of all what he knew due to his knowledge that the facts were not to be revealed just to anyone. People vary in their capacity to absorb, and their goals vary, too. It is for this reason that the Imām (ع) responded to each person according to his level of absorption, to his conditions, and to what his knowledge and mentality could bear. The knowledge of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is laborious and inaccessible; it cannot be tolerated except by a messenger prophet, an angel near to Allāh, or a believer whose heart Allāh tested with conviction.

AL-ḤUSAIN: A CONQUEROR

Al-Ḥusain (ع) was convinced that he was a divinely supported conqueror due to the life his martyrdom would provide for the religion of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and to the death of the innovations introduced therein. His martyrdom exposed the ugliness of the deeds committed by his foes. It made the nation realize that Ahl al-Bayt (ع), more than anyone else, deserved to be the caliphs. It is to this principle that his letter to Banū Hāshim refers. In it, he said, “Whoever among you decides to join us will be martyred, and whoever lags behind will miss victory.”[2] The victory he referred to in this letter was the outcome of his uprising and sacrifices: these would undermine the foundations of misguidance and remove the thorns of falsehood from the path of the purified *Sharī`a* and the establishment of justice and *Tawḥīd*, and that the nation was obligated to resist abominations.

This is the same meaning we can derive from reviewing a statement made by Imām Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع) to Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭalḥah ibn `Ubaydullāh who had asked the Imām (ع) upon his return to Medīna, “Who won?” Said the Imām (ع), “When it is time for the prayers, call the *athān* and the *iqāma*, and it is then that you will know who the winner is.”[3]

Here, he is referring to achieving the objective for which the Master of Martyrs had sacrificed his

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[1]A well-known area where there was a Christian cemetery.

[2]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 75. Al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, Vol. 10, p. 141.

[3]Shaikh al-Ṭūsi, *Āmāli*, p. 66.

sacred life and the failure of Yazīd in his attempts to put out the *noor* of Allāh Almighty and the efforts of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) which his father [Mu`āwiyah] had aimed to foil by killing the *shahāda* after it had become mandatory on the nation during the five known times [of prayers], a testimony for the Prophet of Islam. The Islamic faith undermined the foundations of *shirk* and put an end to idol worship. It likewise became mandatory on the nation to bless the Prophet (ص) and his pure Ahl al-Bayt (ع) whenever the believers make the *tashahhud*. Any blessing short of blessing his progeny is curtailed.[1]

Zainab, the wise lady, daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), too, pointed out to this victory when she said to Yazīd, "Plot your plots, exert your effort, and perfect your schemes, for by Allāh you shall never be able to wipe our name out, nor will you ever kill our *waḥi*, nor will you ever attain our status, nor will you ever be able to wash away the shame and infamy of what you have committed."

Anyone who contemplates upon the Ṭaff event will clearly realize that the sacrifices offered in it are greater than those offered during the Battle of Badr even though the latter was the first military victory achieved in Islam. The reason is that the Muslims had then braved death under the protection of the flag of the Prophet (ص) and were supported by angels numbering three thousand strong, while the Prophet (ص) kept filling their ears with his calls for victory, urging them to assault their enemy. The Muslims, hence, faced the tyrants from Quraish feeling confident of subduing them.

As regarding the Ṭaff event, the suffering undergone during it was much more painful, and the agony was greater. The tides of death clamoured, the war uncovered its fangs, and Banū Umayyah surrounded the grandson of the Prophet (ص) [and his tiny band] from all sides.

Oppression spurred it to action,
So it came mounting its tyranny;
Throngs that filled the earth,
Overwhelming every ravine and highway.
He trampled upon the beasts when
He found no route to escape.
The birds did not leave their nests.

Yet the band that sided with the truth did not lose heart, meeting those dangers without counting on any support or expecting any help. All essential supplies were cut off from them. Even water, the most plentiful of anything, and which was free for all, was denied them. Women and children were terrified on account of the imminent peril. Children's cries due to thirst filled everyone's ears. Yet they faced mountains of steel with open arms and relentless determination. All what those pure souls were concerned about was fighting Banū Umayyah. They spilled their pure blood only in defense of their honour, something which was abandoned by others. The government of the descendants of Harb became like a dog licking its nose, so the surface of the earth was in the end cleansed of their shame.

One poet belonging to Ahl al-Bayt (ع) did well when he said:

Had not all sublime merits been grouped in us,
The Battle of Ṭaff would have sufficed,
When we rose like lions while our foes
Like beasts of burden came to throng.
They came in seventy thousand strong;

[1]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 87. Al-Sha`rāni, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, Vol. 1, p. 194. Refer also to p. 371 of the book titled *Zayn al-Ābidīn* by the author of this book [al-Muqarram].

So ask those among them who did survive:
If they met us though we brought only seventy.[1]

The Ṭaff battle, then, is an Islamic victory over the *jāhiliyya* which was revived through the actions of the Umayyads and their fellows who did not seek the shining light of Tawḥīd and Prophethood.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) did not aim by his march to attain authority, power, or recognition. Had this been his goal, he would have sought the means that would lead him to it, and he was the most knowledgeable man of such means. He would not have informed those who were with him from among the natives of Mecca and Medīna that he and those with him would be killed, and that his family would surrender to captivity. His army, as a result, abandoned him, and his might diminished. Yet his holy soul, as is the case with all free men, insisted on telling the truth rather than misleading anyone. He even tested them by granting them permission to leave him. Those whose concern was accumulation did, in fact, leave him, while the select few insisted on helping and supporting him. Neither cowardice subdued them nor discouragement surfaced among them, for such is the doing of one who has lost hope from attaining his objective. Those folks were convinced that they would win what they hoped to win as testified by their statements whereby they responded to al-Ḥusain (ع) telling them on the eve of `Āshūra that the situation had reached a critical point, and he even excused them from their oath of allegiance to him and released them. They said, "Praise is due to Allāh Who honours us with being killed on your side! Had this world remained forever, and had we, too, been immortalized, we would still have preferred to rise with you rather than remain therein."

He (ع), found them ready to sacrifice their lives waging *jihād* with him and defending the sanctity of the *Sharī`a*. He recited a line from their white tablet when he said, "I find my companions to be the most loyal, and my Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to be the most kind and the best in staying together."[2] I am surprised at the narrators and historians who transmitted a great deal and who charged those pure souls with what the face of humanity resents and is rejected by a truthful conscience. Some of them said, "Those people were shaken and their complexion kept changing colour whenever fighting intensified with the exception of al-Ḥusain (ع) whose face shone like a full moon."[3]

They said so after finding themselves unable to find fault with the honourable and dignified martyr. Finding no way to belittle him, they charged his companions and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). This is only because of the hidden disease residing in the body of those who mixed poison with oil and passed it on to simpletons who regarded it as a fact. They, by so doing, distorted history, but any discreet critic can easily assess the nature and the schemes of such people.

More strange than such talk is Zajr ibn Qays al-Ju`fi's following statement to Yazīd: "We surrounded them as they sought refuge with thickets and holes just as pigeons seek to hide from an eagle."[4] May gravel fill your mouth! As if you never witnessed that terrifying situation when they demonstrated courage and determination to defend the creed, so much so that their stand on that day surpassed the Battle of Ṣiffīn wherein they fought on the side of the chosen one (ع) as well as in other bloody wars which caused the people of Kūfa to talk about nothing in their meetings except their courage.

Yes, those circumstances stunned you, so you do not know what you are saying, or time separated

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[1] *Shu`arā' al-Ghari*, Vol. 1, p. 387, attributed to Bāqir al-Hindi, may Allāh fill his grave with *noor*.

[2] Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 24.

[3] Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 135, citing *Ma`ānī al-Akhbār*. Al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 3, p. 134, in a chapter about death swoons. Al-Majlisi, *Ibid*., Vol. 10, p. 167, citing *Ma`ānī al-Akhbār*.

[4] Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa ibn Abul-Qāsim ibn Fatḥallah ibn Nejm ad-Dīn al-Ḥusaini al-Kamāli al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli (d. 1346 A.H./1927 A.D.) (Henceforth referred to only as Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli), *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd fī Ma`rifat al-Qirā'a wal Tajwīd* (henceforth referred to only as *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*), Vol. 2, p. 313, where Yazīd's reign is discussed.

you from them, so you forgot what actually happened. But did you also forget the cries of the orphans, the wailing of the widows of Kūfian families everywhere throughout Kūfa on account of what those elite men had done with their swords to the enemies of Allāh and of His Messenger (ص)? Your excuse is that you came out unscathed, so you took to distorting their stand, for which they will forever be appreciated, seeking to please Yazīd, the product of wines.

Their avowed enemy, `Amr ibn al-Ḥājjaj, had described the truthfulness of their intentions, urging his men saying, "Do you know who you are fighting? You are fighting the land's knights, the people of vision, those who welcome death with open arms. None of you dares to come out to fight them except that they will kill him despite their very small number. By Allāh! If you throw stones at them, you will be able to kill all of them."[1]

A man who had participated in the Ṭaff Battle on the side of Ibn Sa`d was asked once, "Woe unto you! Did you really kill the Progeny of the Messenger of Allāh?!" He answered by saying, "May I be stoned to death! Had you seen what we saw, you would have done what we had done. We were assaulted by a group of men holding their swords and charging like fierce lions, crushing the cavalry right and left, throwing themselves in the jaws of death, accepting no security, desiring no wealth, nothing stopping them except either death or taking control of the government. Had we given them a chance, they would have annihilated our entire army; so, what do you expect us to do, may you lose your mother?"[2]

Ka`b ibn Jābir, too, testified for them. Having killed Burayr, he was reprimanded by his wife who said to him, "Did you really assist in killing Fāṭima's son? Did you kill the master of *qāris*? You have done something monstrous. By Allāh! I shall never speak one word to you." He then composed the following lines in his answer to her statement:

Never did my eyes see their likes, in their time,
Nor before, among the people, since my youth;
None strikes with the sword in the battle
Better than one defending honour, protecting it.
Steadfast were they when swords and lances worked,
Even as they were defenseless.
They sought duels, had they only had their way.

Which one of them, anyway, was upset to the extent that he shook in fear?! Was it Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn who put his hand on Ḥusain's shoulder and said the following lines seeking his permission to fight:

Come forth, may you be guided!
For you are the guide who is rightly guided:
Today shall I meet your grandfather the Prophet...?

Or was it Ibn `Awsajah who advised Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir to support al-Ḥusain (ع) even as he was drawing his last breath, as if he was not satisfied with sacrificing his life and with all the trials and tribulations he underwent?

Or was it Abu Thumāma al-Sā`idi who, seeking to please his Lord, the most Exalted One, was not concerned about calamities, pain, or anything except the prayers whose time was approaching?

Or was it Ibn Shibīb al-Shākiri who laid down all his protective gear to entice someone to kill him so

[1]Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 247.

[2]Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul-Balāgha*, Vol. 1, p. 307, first Egyptian edition.

that he would win the honour of martyrdom even as courageous heroes well known for their bravery take pains in covering their bodies with all protective coverings so that death may not reach them?

Or was it John who was excused [because of his age] by al-Ḥusain (ع) from having to fight, so he fell down to kiss the Imām's feet, tearfully begging and pleading to him saying, "My colour is black, my descent is lowly, my smell is bad, so breathe upon me with the breath of Paradise so that my colour will be whitened, and my descent will be honourable, and my smell will be good"?

If we think about the statement of Imām Abu Ja`fer al-Bāqir (ع) wherein he said, "The companions of my grandfather al-Ḥusain (ع) did not feel the pain of iron,"[1] the steadfastness of those righteous men will become evident to us, and that they were not mindful of the pain and of the wounds which they received due to their attachment to their goal and to their eagerness to meet the Chosen One (ص).

Nobody finds this statement unusual except one who does not know how someone in love feels, and how, when such a lover's feelings are directed towards the person he loves, he does not feel any fatigue or exhaustion. Historians tell us that "Kathīr `Azza,"[2] the poet, was once in his tent peeling arrows when `Azza entered. The moment he saw her, he was in such awe that he kept peeling his fingers and kept bleeding without feeling any pain.[3]

Narrators say that a young man from the Anṣār came face to face with a woman, and he very much liked her. He watched her as she entered an alley as he chased her. He did not see a piece of glass etched in a wall, so his face was wounded but he did not feel the pain at all. When he could not see that woman any longer, he noticed that blood was running over his clothes and chest, so he went to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and narrated to him what had happened to him. It was then that the following verse was revealed:[4]

> Tell the believing men that they should cast down their looks and guard their private parts;
> that is purer for them; surely Allāh is Aware of what they do.
> (Qur'ān, 24:30)

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) is quoted as saying that a martyr killed for the Divine Cause does not feel the pain of killing except as a pinch[5].

Rushayd al-Hajari[6] was called to Yazīd's court where the latter asked him about what he had been

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[1]al-Rāwandi, *Al-Kharā'ij*, p. 138, Indian edition.

[2]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Agāni*, Vol. 6, p. 37.

[3]al-Mirzabāni, *Al-Muwashshaḥ*, p. 144, where Kathīr, the poet, is discussed by Abu `Obaydah. Muḥammed [ibn al-Ḥanafiyya] ibn Ali (ع) [Imām Ḥusain's brother from his father's side] said to Kathīr once, "You claim that you are one of our Shī`as, yet you praise Marwān's offspring." He said to him, "I make fun of them, turning them into snakes and scorpions, and I take their money!"

[4]al-Ṣadūq, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, commenting on *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, Vol. 3, p. 511, chapter 160 which deals with what is lawful to see of a woman, citing Imām al-Bāqir (ع), who is also quoted on p. 731, Vol. 3, of *Tafsīr al-Burhān* explaining this same verse.

[5]Ibn al-Daybā`, *Taysīr al-Wuṣūl*, Vol. 1, p. 129. al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, *Kanz al-`Ummāl*, Vol. 2, p. 278, where the merits of martyrdom are discussed.

[6]According to *`allāma* al-Ḥilli's book *Al-Khulāṣa*, his name is Rushayd, and according to Abu Dawūd, his Last name is pronounced "al-Hajari," and so is the view of al-Sayyūṭi which is stated on p. 277 of his book *Lubb al-Albāb*. The same is recorded by al-Sam`āni. He is from Ḥajar, in the distant regions of Yemen. A number of famous men carry this last name and are mentioned by al-Sam`āni. One of them is another Rushayd from Kūfa who narrates *ḥadīth* from his father. On p. 305, Vol. 1, Part Two, of Bukhāri's *Tārīkh*, he is said as having narrated *ḥadīth* from his father from `Abdullāh. On p. 285, Vol. 3, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Lubāb*, it is stated that, "Rushayd al-Hajari is named after a well known region in Yemen. As regarding Ḥajar, a town near Medīna, Ibn al-Qaysarāni discusses it on p. 223 of his book *Al-Ansab al-Muttafiqa*. It is also discussed in *Tāj al-`Arūs*. It is also mentioned in *Lisān al-`Arab*

informed by the Commander of the Faithful Imām Ali (ع). He said, "Yes, I came to visit him one day, and many of his companions were present. He was in an orchard. He ordered dates to be brought to him from a date tree. `Are these dates good, O Commander of the Faithful?,' I asked him. He (ع), informed me that the adopted bastard (*da`iyy*), `Ubaydullāh [ibn Ziyād], would force me to dissociate myself from him (from Ali) or cut off my hands, legs and tongue, then he would crucify me on the trunk of this same date tree. I asked him, `Will my ultimate destination be Paradise?' He (ع) said, `You are with me in the life of this world as well as in the life hereafter.' I said, `Then I shall never, by Allāh, dissociate myself from you.'"

Rushayd used to go to that date-tree quite often during daytime and water it. He used to say the following to it as he watered it: "For you have I been nourished, and for me have you been grown!" It was not long before [`Ubaydullāh] ibn Ziyād became the *wāli* of Kūfa, so he called him in and asked him about what the Commander of the Faithful (ع) had informed him. He said, "My friend told me that you would require me to dissociate myself from him, yet I would not do so, and that you would then cut off my hands, legs and tongue." Ibn Ziyād said, "In this case, I shall prove him a liar." He ordered to have his hands and legs cut off and to spare his tongue. Then Rushayd was taken back to his family where people surrounded him. He kept telling them what he had learned from the Commander of the Faithful (ع) of the knowledge of what fate has in store for men and the trials and tribulations they would have to endure as well as the distinction Ahl al-Bayt (ع) enjoyed over all other humans. Then he said, "O people! Ask me! These folks [meaning Ibn Ziyād's people] have one requirement in my regard which they have not yet carried out." A man hurried to Ibn Ziyād and said, "What have you done?! You cut off his hands and legs yet he tells people many serious matters!" Ibn Ziyād, therefore, ordered Rushayd's tongue to be cut off. The man died the same night. On the next day, his corpse was crucified[1] on the door of `Amr ibn Ḥareeth's house.[2]

Qanwa, his daughter, says, "I asked my father about the pain he was suffering. He said to me, `Daughter! I do not have any pain except like one feeling the pressure of people in a stampede.'"[3] Rushayd al-Hajari benefitted from keeping company with the Commander of the Faithful (ع) who taught him the knowledge of fatal events and of imminent calamities.[4] He used to narrate what he was going through, so the Commander of the Faithful (ع) named him "Rashīd," rightly guided.[5]

Such condition enlightens anyone who carefully discerns it with the conviction that anyone who directs all his feelings towards the Lord, Praise to Him, and once the Divine Attributes are manifested to him, he sees what eternal bliss awaits him as a reward for promoting the creed, and he will not feel the pain of his wounds. It also underscores what we have stated about a lover becoming unmindful of his pain once he sees the loved one just as the women [referred to in Sūrat Yousuf] did not feel the pain of cutting their fingers off at merely seeing the beauty of the truthful one, Yousuf (ع), as the Almighty tells us: "So when they saw him, they deemed him great and cut their hands and said: Far it is from Allāh! This is not a human; this is a glorious angel" (Qur'ān, 12:31).

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in the discussion of "ḥajar," and in Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Nihāya*. The list of others who discuss it includes al-Mas`ūdi who does so on p. 386, Vol. 2, of his book *Wafā' al-Wafā',* and it is mentioned on p. 280 of *Āthār al-Bilād* by Zakariyya ibn Mahmūd al-Qazwīni, and by others.

[1] *Rijāl al-Kashshi*, p. 51.

[2] al-Thahbi, *Mīzān al-I`tidal*, Vol. 2, p. 339. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Vol. 2, p. 461.

[3] *Rijāl al-Kashshi*, p. 51. On p. 113 of *Bishārat al-Mustafa*, and on p. 103 of al-Ṭibrisi's *Āmāli*, *majlis* No. 6, first edition, she is referred to as "Amatullāh," bondmaid of Allāh.

[4] al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, Vol. 6, p. 73, in a chapter about the Imāms being acquainted with the conditions of their Shī`as. He is quoted on p. 246, Vol. 11, of *Biḥār al-Anwār*, where Imām Mūsa ibn Ja`fer (ع) is discussed.

[5] Shaikh al-Ṭūsi, *Āmāli*, p. 104, Majlis No. 6, first edition.

Since those women[1] did not feel the pain of their wounds, it is not strange to find al-Ḥusain's companions, who were the world's cream of the crop, did not feel the pain of iron as a result of their love for the manifestations of divine beauty, and due to the eagerness of their souls to reach the ultimate end of sanctity after being electrified by their loyalty for the Master of Martyrs (ع).

My father do I sacrifice for countenances that
In Kerbalā' shook hands with shields,
Countenances that light up with hope
Whenever the world frowns and drips of liberality.
They glow under the darkness of clamour
Like lanterns bright, stealing the sight.
They regarded their lives as cheap in defending
The son of the Prophet's daughter,
Lives that eagerly anticipate with Allāh a union.
So they were spent while from
Their sides dignity forever emits fragrance.
No water did they taste except
From the heart's blood the wounds choked in pain
Of their blood they would have drunk
Only if it could their thirst quench.
Stripped were they, so they, instead of the fabric
Of the earth did they weave shrouds of wind.[2]

AL-ḤUSAIN AMONG HIS COMPANIONS

Introductory Note:

The sacred *Sharī`a* requires people to rise in order to close the door of abomination and safeguard everyone against corruption, obliging the nation to do what all nations do: repel the oppression of oppressors who rebel against an Imām chosen to lead the nation after his having invited them to renounce their resistance to what is right, and to refer to the Greatest Legislator, Praise and Exaltation to Him, Who says the following in verse 9 of Sūrat al-Ḥujurat:

> If two groups among the believers fight, reconcile them, but if one of them transgresses over the other, then kill the one that oppresses till it returns to [accepting] Allāh's Commandment. (Qur'ān, 49:9)

The Commander of the Faithful (ع) rose during his caliphate to defend the sanctity of the *Sharī`a* and to attract the nation's attention to wake up from its slumber of ignorance. It was mandatory on people to obey

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[1] On p. 39 of *Dīwān al-Ṣaḥābah*, in a footnote on decorating markets, it is stated that the number of women who had cut off their hands reached forty, nine of whom did so due to their love and passion [for Prophet Yousuf {Joseph} (ع)].

[2] *Shu`arā' al-Ḥilla*, Vol. 3, p. 214, excerpted from a poem eulogizing al-Ḥusain (ع) by Sayyid `Abdul-Muṭṭalib al-Ḥilli.

him because he was the rightful Imām obedience to whom was mandatory. The majority of the Muslims recognized and swore the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, Imām Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع). They decided that fighting those who rebelled against him was the right thing to do as testified by their statements which are recorded in their books, statements which serve as testimonials to their call, a call supported by reason and documented facts.

[Imam] Abu Ḥanīfah, for example, says, "Whenever [Imam] Ali fought anyone, right was on his side. Had Ali (ع) not fought them, nobody among the Muslims would have learned how to deal with them! There is no doubt, moreover, that Ali (ع) fought Ṭalḥaḥ [ibn `Abdullāh] and al-Zubayr [ibn al-`Awwām] after the latter had sworn the oath of allegiance then reneged therefrom. And during the Battle of the Camel, Ali (ع) dealt with them with equity, the most learned man among the Muslims that he was, so it became a Sunnah to fight the people who promote oppression."[1]

His student, Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybāni (who died in 187 A.H./803 A.D.), followed in his footsteps. Said he, "Had not Ali (ع) fought Mu`āwiyah because of his oppression, we would not have been guided to fighting those who oppress."[2]

Sufyān al-Thawri has said, "Whenever Ali (ع) fought anyone, he was on the right track *versus* the other."[3]

Imām al-Shāfi`i has said, "Silence with regard to those who were killed during the Battle of Ṣiffīn is commendable, although Ali (ع) was more right than anyone whom he fought."[4]

Abu Bakr, Aḥmed ibn Ali al-Rāzi al-Jaṣṣaṣ (who died in 370 A.H./981 A.D.), has said, "Ali was right in fighting the oppressive gang. Nobody maintains a contrary view. He was accompanied by many senior *ṣaḥābis*, those who participated in the Battle of Badr, as well as by those who appreciated their status."[5]

Abu Bakr ibn al-`Arabi, the judge, who died in 546 A.H./1152 A.D., has said, "Ali was the Imām because they all regarded him as such, and he could not have abandoned people because he was the most worthy among them of receiving the oath of allegiance. He accepted such an oath out of his concern lest some in the nation should be killed due to chaos and disorder and even the distortion of the creed and the demise of Islam as a religion." The people of Syria asked him to seek revenge on those responsible for `Uthmān's murder, so he (ع) said to them, "First of all, you should swear the oath of allegiance as others have, then you can ask for justice; it is only then that you will achieve justice." Ali (ع) was the most wise among them in his view and speech. Had he pursued those killers, their tribes would have rallied behind them, thus igniting a third tribal war. So he waited till law and order were established and the general public had sworn the oath of allegiance to him. It is then that he directed his attention towards the court of justice to effect equity without discriminating between anyone in the nation and the other. There is no disagreement among the nation that a leader is justified in postponing effecting retribution if doing the opposite may cause dissension and disunity.

In the latter scenario, anyone who disobeyed Ali (ع) would be regarded as an oppressor killing whom is mandatory, so that justice will be served and reconciliation is achieved. His waging a war against the Syrians who refused to swear the oath of allegiance to him, as well as his having fought those who reneged from such an oath in the Battles of the Camel and al-Nahrawān, was justified. It was the obligation of

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[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Manāqib Abu Ḥanīfah*, Vol. 2, pp. 83-84 (Hayderabad edition).

[2]*Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍī'a: Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyyah*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

[3]Abu Na`īm, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, Vol. 7, p. 31.

[4]*Adab al-Shāfi`i wa Manāqibuh*, p. 314.

[5]al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 3, p. 492.

everyone to rally behind him and carry out his orders then make any demands. But since they all did not do so, they became oppressors like the ones referred to in the verse saying, "...then kill the one that oppresses till it returns to [accepting] Allāh's Commandment" (Qur'ān, 49:9).

Mu`āwiyah scolded Sa`d ibn Abu Waqqāṣ[1] for not participating in fighting Ali (ع). Sa`d responded to him by saying that he, in fact, had only regretted his reluctance to fight *al-fi'a al-bāghiya* (the oppressive gang), meaning Mu`āwiyah and his followers.[2]

Abu Bakr, Muḥammed al-Baqillāni, who died in 403 A.H./1013 A.D., said the following after enumerating some of Ali's merits: "Ali (ع) is qualified for the caliphate by only some of these merits and by less than these virtues, and he deserves to be the Imām. He is right in his views and in whatever he took charge of. Obedience to him, therefore, is mandatory due to his having received the oath of allegiance from the most respected dignitaries among the Muhājirun and the Anṣār on the third day following `Uthmān's assassination. These insisted that only he was the most knowledgeable among the *ṣaḥābah*, the most qualified, and the one most worthy of it. They pleaded to him in the Name of Allāh Almighty to safeguard the rest of the nation and to protect Dār al-Hijra. They, therefore, swore the oath of allegiance to him before al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥaḥ had arrived. Having seen everyone else swearing to him, and having found themselves obligated, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥaḥ, too, swore the oath of allegiance to him. Had they preferred not to do so, they would have fallen in sin. Their saying to him, "We swore the oath of allegiance to you against our wish,"[3] however, does not harm the Imāmate of Ali (ع), simply because the inauguration had already been completed.

Their asking him to kill `Uthmān's murderers prior to swearing the oath of allegiance to him was a mistake because electing a man simply so that he would kill a group of men for killing one man is not right even if his *ijtihād* determined that that should be the case: he may later, according to the same *ijtihād*, decide to do the opposite. Even if it is proven that Ali (ع) permitted the killing of a number of men for having killed only one single person, the execution of all those who participated in killing `Uthmān is not valid except after proving them guilty, and after the offspring of the murdered person present themselves at his court to

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[1]While discussing the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful (ع) on p. 74, Vol. 3, of his book book *Al-Kāmil*, Ibn al-Athīr says, "Among those who did not swear it are: Sa`d ibn Abu Waqqāṣ, `Abdullāh ibn `Omer, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Ka`b ibn Mālik, Maslamah ibn Mukhlid, Abu Sa`īd al-Khudri, Muḥammed ibn Maslamah, al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr, Zayd ibn Thābit, Rāfi` ibn Ḥudayj, Faḍālah ibn `Ubayd, Ka`b ibn Ajrah, `Abdullāh ibn Salām, Suhayb ibn Sinān, Salamah ibn Salamah ibn Waqsh, Usāmah ibn Zayd, Qudāmah ibn Maz`ūn, and al-Mughīrah ibn Shu`bah." These men are discussed by Abu Manṣūr, `Abdul-Qāhir al-Baghdadi, on p. 290 of his book *Uṣūl ad-Dīn*. They are also discussed on p. 233 of al-Baqillāni's book *Al-Tamhīd*, by Ibn Taymiyyah on p. 226, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Fatāwa al-Miṣriyya*, by Abu Ja`fer al-Ṭabari on p. 153, Vol. 3, of his renown history book *Tārīkh Akhbār al-Mulūk wal Umam* (*Tārīkh,* for short). The reluctance of Sa`d ibn Abu Waqqāṣ to swear it is discussed on pp. 79-83, Vol. 1, of al-Thahbi's book *A`lām al-Nubalā'*, commenting that his excuse was not acceptable neither by Allāh nor by His Messenger; that excuse was, "I will not follow anyone unless he gives me a sword with a tongue that speaks and eyes that see in order to distinguish a believer from an apostate." In his biography in *Al-Istī`āb*, it is stated that Mu`āwiyah wrote him a poem seeking to appease him and soliciting his support. In his answer, he responded with these verses:

> Do you really covet what Ali is granted?!
> Bid farewell to such hopes!
> One day of his life is better than you living
> Or dead, may you be sacrificed for the man.
> As for `Uthmān, leave his discussion,
> For such a view is worn out by affliction.

[2]*Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 2, pp. 224-225 (Egypt: 1331 A.H./1913 A.D.).

[3]al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, Vol. 3, p. 114. The author says that the first to swear it was Ṭalḥaḥ, whereupon the Imām (ع) said, "This oath shall be violated."

demand retribution for their father's murder, and if the killing does not lead to as much chaos and disorder as that which followed `Uthmān's murder, or even more so. Postponing effecting retribution to its right time is better for the nation, and it avoids any worsening of the situation.[1]

Abu `Abdullāh, Muḥammed ibn `Abdullāh, better known as al-Ḥākim al-Naishapuri (d. 405 A.H./1015 A.D.), has said, "The narratives relevant to the Commander of the Faithful (ع) receiving the oath of allegiance are all authentic according to the general consensus, and it is in reference to them that Khuzaymah ibn Thābit delivered these poetic lines as he stood before the pulpit:

> If fealty to Ali we swear,
> Ḥasan's father suffices us
> Against the dissensions we fear:
> The best of people we found him to be,
> The most knowledgeable among Quraish
> Of the Book and the Sunnah is he.
> None can surpass him among Quraish
> When he does ride and charge,
> And all good is in him indeed,
> Quraish do not match his word and deed.

Al-Thahbi collected such narratives in his book *Talkhīṣ al-Mustadrak* without rebutting them."[2] Then al-Ḥākim goes on to cite `Abdullāh ibn `Omer [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] saying, "Nothing distresses me, in as far as the verse saying, '...then kill the one that oppresses till it returns to [accepting] Allāh's Commandment' (Qur'ān, 49:9), except that I did not fight the oppressive gang as Allāh Almighty had ordered me."[3]

Al-Ḥākim al-Naishapuri quotes Abu Bakr, Muḥammed ibn Isḥāq ibn Khuzaymah, saying that he is used to hear his mentors say, "We testify that all those who disputed with the Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) with regard to his caliphate were oppressors," and so does Ibn Idrīs.[4]

Abu Manṣūr `Abdul-Qāhir al-Baghdadi (d. 429 A.H./1038 A.D.) has said, "All the people of righteousness were unanimous in recognizing Ali's Imāmate when he was singled out for it following `Uthmān's murder, and that he was right and accurate in judgment when he fought the Battle of the Camel

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[1] *Al-Tamhīd*, pp. 229-232.

[2] al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, Vol. 3, p. 115. Sayyid al-Murtaḍa, on p. 67, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtāra*, added these lines to the poem cited above:

> Of the Messenger of Allāh he is the waṣi
> The one and only from among his family,
> His knight for a long time in every way,
> The first among all men to pray,
> Besides the best of women [Khadīja]:
> Allāh is the One Who bestows every bliss.
> He is ready to sacrifice in every fight,
> When even valiant warriors are in fright:
> He is the one named for giving the beggar
> His ring even as he stood for the prayer.

[3] al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, Vol. 2, p. 463.

[4] *Ma`rifat `Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, p. 84.

and Mu`awiyh's followers in the Battle of Ṣiffīn."[1]

Abu Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ali al-Shīrāzi al-Fayroozābādi (d. 476 A.H./1084 A.D.) has said, "If a group of Muslims dissents from the leading Imām, advocating his deposition according to its own way of thinking, or likewise stopped a due payment, thus becoming rebellious, the Imām ought to fight it in accordance with the verse saying, '...but if one of them transgresses over the other, then kill the one that oppresses till it returns to [accepting] Allāh's Commandment' (Qur'ān, 49:9). Abu Bakr fought those who refused to pay the *zakāt*, while Ali (ع) fought the people of Baṣra during the Battle of the Camel and fought Mu`āwiyah at Ṣiffīn and the Khārijites at al-Nahrawān."[2] The gist is that Ali (ع) was right in fighting those parties because he was the leader (the Imām) the oath of allegiance to whom was a must. Their rebellion against him, no matter for what reason, did not justify their actions.

Imām al-Ḥaramain al-Juwaini (d. 478 A.H./1086 A.D.) says, "Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (a) was the rightful Imām when he took charge, whereas those who fought him were oppressors."[3]

Alā' ad-Dīn al-Kasani al-Ḥanafi (d. 587 A.H./1191 A.D.) has said,

> Our master, Ali, fought the people of Ḥarūra at Nahrawān in the presence of the *ṣaḥābah* in fulfillment of the prediction of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to him wherein he said, "O Ali! You will be fought for implementing the Qur'ān just as we fight in defense of its revelation." His fight for the interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān was his fighting the Khārijites. This *ḥadīth* proves that Ali is our Imām and master because the Prophet (ص) compared the fighting undertaken by Ali in defense of implementing the Qur'ān with that of his own fighting in defense of its revelation. The Messenger of Allāh (ص) was right in defending its revelation; therefore, our master Ali was also right in fighting for its implementation. Had he not been a rightful Imām, he would not have been right in killing those folks because the call had included them due to their being in "dar al-salam" and to being Muslims. Anyone whom he called to fight them was obligated to respond positively and not to lag behind so long as he was able to do so because obedience to the Imām, which results in no disobedience to Allāh, is an obligation, let alone obedience. What is narrated about Abu Ḥanīfah with regard to the subject of when dissension happens among the Muslims, he is of the view that a man should take to staying at home. Such a view is relevant to a particular time which is: When his religious leader does not call upon him to bear arms. But if he does, then obedience to him is obligatory as we have stated earlier.[4]

Yaḥya ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi (d. 677 A.H./1279 A.D.), a Shāfi`i, has said, "Ali was on the right track in those wars. Most of the *ṣaḥābah* and *tābi`īn*, supported by all Muslim scholars, were of the view that during the time of dissension, support and assistance must be rendered to the right party against the oppressors according to the verse saying, `... so fight the one that oppresses,' which is the right thing to do."[5]

Ibn Humām, the Ḥanafi (d. 681 A.H./1283 A.D.), has said, "Ali (ع) was on the right track when he fought the Battle of the Camel and when he fought Mu`āwiyah at Ṣiffīn. The Prophet (ص) had said to `Ammār, `The oppressive party shall kill you,' an he was, indeed, killed by Mu`āwiyah's followers,

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[1] *Uṣūl ad-Dīn*, pp. 286-292.

[2] *Al-Muhaththab fil Fiqh al-Shāfi`i*, Vol. 2, p. 234 (Egypt: 1343 A.H./1925 A.D.).

[3] *Al-Irshād fi Uṣūl al-I`tiqād*, p. 433.

[4] *Badāi` al-Ṣanāi`*, Vol. 7, p. 140, in a chapter dealing with the injunctions relevant to those who renege.

[5] *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Vol. 10, p. 336 and p. 338, in a footnote about giving advice to one going on a military campaign.

something which proves that they, in fact, were the oppressive party. `Ā'isha expressed her regret [at having fought Ali during the Battle of the Camel] according to Abu `Amr as he so records in his book *Al-Istī`āb*. She said once to `Abdullāh ibn `Omer, `O father of `Abdul-Raḥmān! What stopped you for prohibiting me from marching?' He said, `I saw a man who did so even before you," meaning Ibn al-Zubayr. She then said, "Had you admonished me not to march, I would not have gone out."[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728 A.H./1328 A.D.) has said, "When `Uthmān was killed and people swore the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), who was then the most worthy of being the caliph and the best of the remaining *ṣaḥābah*, the views were, nevertheless, diverse and the fire of dissension was lit. There was no complete unity, nor could the caliph, nor those who were the best among the nation, realize all their plans for the goodness of the nation till the Ḥarūri renegades [the people of Ḥarūra] rose to fight the Commander of the Faithful Ali (ع) and those who supported him. In obedience to the Command of Allāh Almighty and that of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), he killed them. The Prophet (ص) had said, `The renegade group must be killed [even] by the closest of both parties to righteousness.' Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) and those with him were the ones who fought them. Based on the statement of the Prophet (ص), Ali and his followers are closer to the truth than Mu`āwiyah and his party."[2]

He has also said, "Any Shī`a group admits that Mu`āwiyah could never be compared with Ali (ع) in as far as the caliphate is concerned, and he could not be a caliph while Ali (ع), too, was the caliph. Ali's feats, his being the foremost to accept Islam, his knowledge, piety, courage, and all his virtues were quite obvious and well known to everyone. None among the *ahl al-shūra* [those named by Abu Bakr as members of the advisory committee] remained except he and Sa`d. The latter had already abandoned such a subject, and `Uthmān had already died; so, none remained except Ali."[3]

Al-Zayla`i (d. 762 A.H./1361 A.D.) has said, "Right was in the hand of Ali (ع) when his turn came [to lead the Muslims]. The proof is in the statement of the Prophet (ص) to `Ammār: `The transgressing party shall kill you.' There is no contention that he [`Ammār] was on Ali's side when Mu`āwiyah's followers killed him. Then they were unanimous in regarding Ali as being on the right track when he fought the fellows of the Camel, namely Talhah, al-Zubayr, `Āyisha, and those who supported them, as well as the fellows of Ṣiffīn, namely Mu`āwiyah and his army." He goes on to say, "When Ali (ع) became the caliph, while Mu`āwiyah was in Syria, the latter said, `I shall not offer him anything, nor shall I swear the oath of allegiance to him nor visit him.'"[4]

Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751 A.H./1351 A.D.) has said, "During his time, Ali was the foremost of the nation and the very best, and there was none when he took charge better than him."[5]

Abu `Abdullāh ibn Muḥammed ibn Mufliḥ, the Ḥanbali scholar (d. 763 A.H./1362 A.D.), has said, "Ali (ع) was the closest to righteousness than Mu`āwiyah and the most fair in fighting those who transgressed. There were those who sided with Ali and those who refrained." Ibn Hubayrah depends on Ubayy's *ḥadīth* to advocate that people should renounce taking to arms during dissension, meaning when

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[1] *Fatḥ al-Qadīr*, Vol. 5, p. 461, "Kitāb al-Qaḍā'" (the book of judicial decisions). Al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 5, p. 221, where `Āyisha is quoted as saying, "I wish I had died twenty years before the Battle of the Camel." *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*, Vol. 2, p. 288, where those who participated in the Battle of the Camel are discussed. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma`ārif*, p. 59, where it is indicated that `Āyisha was asked, "Shall we bury you near the Messenger of Allāh?" She answered by saying, "No."

[2] *Majmū` Fatāwa Ibn Taymiyyah*, Vol. 2, p. 251.

[3] *Ibid*., Vol. 4, p. 224.

[4] *Naṣb al-Rāya*, Vol. 1, p. 69, while enumerating the guidance traditions in the volume dealing with a judge's ethics.

[5] Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Badāi` al-Fawā'id*, Vol. 3, p. 208.

`Uthmān was killed. As regarding what happened thereafter, none among the Muslims supported the notion that anybody was excused for lagging behind without supporting Ali (ع). And when Sa`d, Ibn `Omer, Usāmah, Muḥammed ibn Maslamah, Masrūq, and al-Aḥnaf did so, they all regretted it. On his death bed, `Abdullāh ibn `Omer, for example, said, "I am leaving this world and there is no bigger sigh in my heart than having been reluctant to support Ali (ع)." The same has been reported about Masrūq and others because of such reluctance.[1] Ibn Ḥajar al-`Āsqalani (d. 852 A.H./1449 A.D.) has said, "Imām Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib was on the right track when he fought those who waged against him the wars of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and others."[2]

Maḥmūd ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami (d. 974 A.H./1567 A.D.) has said, "The people of the Camel and of Ṣiffīn charged Ali (ع) of collaborating with those who murdered `Uthmān while he was innocent of it, and far he was from doing something like that."[3] He goes on to say, "A religious authority is bound to fight those who transgress because the *ṣaḥābah* have all conceded that this should be the case, and that he should not fight them before sending them a discreet, equitable, and trustworthy person to advise them and to inquire about their reasons for disobeying him in accordance with the incident when Ali (ع) sent Ibn `Abbās to the Khārijites at al-Nahrawān, thus causing some of them to return to his obedience."[4]

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[1] *Al-Furū`*, Vol. 3, pp. 542-543.

[2] *Fatḥ al-Bāri: Sharḥ al-Bukhāri*, Vol. 12, p. 244, in a chapter dealing with requiring the renegades to repent, a chapter dealing with forsaking fighting the Khārijites.

[3] On p. 240, Vol. 2, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Kāmil*, Muḥammed ibn Sīrīn is quoted as saying, "Never did I ever come to know of Ali being accused of killing `Uthmān till people swore the oath of allegiance to him [to Ali as the new caliph]; it is only then that he was accused." On p. 235 of al-Bāqillāni's book *Al-Tamhīd*, it is stated that, "Ali (ع) used to say the following when he was in Baṣra: `By Allāh! I did not kill `Uthmān, nor did I condone his killing, but Allāh killed him, and I am with him," whereupon some people thought that his statement "and I am with him" meant that he was predicting that he, too, would be killed. In fact, he meant something like, "Allāh caused him to die, and He will cause me, too, to die [in a like manner, i.e. by being murdered, as it came to happen]," since he swore, the truthful that he was, that he never killed `Uthmān nor condoned his killing. On p. 274, Vol. 2, of *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*, in a chapter dealing with Ali being innocent of `Uthmān's murder, the author states the following: "Ali (ع) used to say the following when he was in Kūfa: `If Banū Umayyah wish, I am ready to challenge them to swear at the Ka`ba fifty times that I did not start anything against `Uthmān.'" On p. 224, Vol. 4, of Ibn Taymiyyah's book *Majmū` al-Fatāwa al-Miṣriyya*, the author says, "Ali (ع) swore, the righteous and the truthful person who never had to swear that he was, that he never killed `Uthmān nor wanted anyone to kill him." On p. 141, Vol. 8, of *Tāj al-`Arūs: Sharḥ al-Qāmūs*, in the discussion of the subject of insinuating, and that people should avoid it, Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) is quoted as saying, "Had Banū Umayyah agreed that we require fifty persons from Banū Hāshim to swear that we never killed `Uthmān, nor do we know who killed him, we would have done so," meaning producing fifty witnesses to his innocence. On p. 170 of Ibn al-Sikkīt's book *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*, in a chapter dealing with insinuation and how people ought to forsake it, Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) is quoted as saying, "By Allāh! I never killed `Uthmān nor insinuated that anyone should kill him." On p. 60 of Naṣras's book *Ṣiffīn*, Egyptian edition, it is stated that, "Al-Mughīrah ibn al-Akhnas was killed the same day with `Uthmān when `Uthmān's mansion was attacked. His son composed poetic verses in which he commended Ali (ع) for not participating in what those folks [the assailants] had done. Among what he said was this:

> As for Ali, he sought refuge at home,
> So he neither issued an order in its regard,
> Nor did he prohibit anyone.

On p. 112, Vol. 1, of his book *Sharḥ Nahjul-Balāgha* (Egyptian edition), Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd records a statement which testifies to his deep understanding of the events. He said, "Mu`āwiyah very much deviated from Ali's line because he [Ali] had killed his [Mu`āwiyah's] brother Ḥanzalah during the Battle of Badr, in addition to his uncle al-Walīd, and he took part in killing his grandfather, `Utbah, or his uncle, Shaybah. From among the dignitaries belonging to `Abd Shams whom he killed, and their likes, he killed a large number. This is the reason why he [Mu`āwiyah] attributed `Uthmān's murder to Ali (ع) and publicized it among the people. Murderers rallied behind him." On p. 240, Vol. 2, `Urwah ibn al-Zubayr is quoted as saying, "Ali (ع) was too fearful of angering Allāh to assist anyone in killing `Uthmān."

[4] al-Nawawi, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj*, Vol. 4, p. 110 and p. 112.

The discussion between Ibn `Abbās and the Khārijites is detailed on p. 48 of *Khaṣā'iṣ Amīr al-Mu'minīn* by al-Nassā'i.

Al-Shihāb al-Khafāji (d. 1100 A.H./1689 A.D.) has said, "The Prophet's statement to `Ammār: `The transgressing party shall kill you,' and the fact that the supporters of Mu`āwiyah killed him at Ṣiffīn because he was supporting Ali (ع), is a clear indication that the righteous caliph was Ali (ع), and that Mu`āwiyah was wrong in following his own personal views. A transgressor is one who unfairly declares his mutiny against his leading Imām. Another *ḥadīth* by him (ع) and his progeny, says, `If people dispute, the son of Sumayya will always be right,' and the son of Sumayya is `Ammār who sided with Ali (ع). This is what we owe Allāh to say: Ali, Allāh glorified his countenance, was right and justified in not arresting those who participated in killing `Uthmān."[1]

Al-Shawkāni (d. 1255 A.H./1840 A.D.) quotes a tradition of the Prophet, peace of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, narrated by Abu Sa`īd [al-Khudri] wherein he says, "My nation shall split into two parties between whom renegades will come out who should be killed by the closest party to righteousness." He says, "This proves that Ali (ع) and his supporters were right, whereas Mu`āwiyah and his followers were wrong."[2]

Abul-Thanā' al-'Ālūsi, the scholar of exegesis, has cited a number of Ḥanbali scholars advocating the necessity for killing those who transgress because Ali (ع) was too distracted, during his caliphate, with fighting the transgressors to be involved with *jihād.* This means that fighting transgressors is better than participating in *jihād*. Then he documents how `Abdullāh ibn `Omer [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] regretted his reluctance to side with Ali in fighting the transgressing party. Al-'Ālūsi did not rebut it.[3]

Muḥammed Kurd Ali has said, "Ali did not violate the Sunnah when he dissociated himself from those who killed `Uthmān. Those who participated in killing him belonged to most of the tribes, and they were very large in number. Ali could not have faced them all by himself. It was impossible for him to arrest them, or even to arrest some of them, since they supported him, even if he had known who they were. The incident took place against his wish, and it was not in his interest to enrage numerous tribes that supported him then. Ali (ع) used to swear by Allāh that had the Umayyads required him to produce fifty truthful men from Banū Hāshim to swear by Allāh that he did not murder `Uthmān, nor condoned his murder, he would have obliged."[4]

The above are texts excerpted from Sunni scholars' books testifying to the fact that Ali (ع) was more worthy of being the caliph than anyone else, and that whoever rebelled against him deserved to be fought till he returned to the right course. Such was the choice made by the best from among the *ṣaḥābah* and the *tābi`īn*. Among the latter was Uways al-Qarni who was a foot soldier during the Battle of Ṣiffīn.[5]

`Abdullāh ibn `Omer ibn al-`Āṣ used to say, "I regretted nothing more than not fighting the transgressing party as Allāh Almighty had commanded me to." He used to narrate what the Prophet (ص) used to say, that is, "Sumayya's son will be killed by the oppressive party," and that the oppressive party was that of Mu`āwiyah and his gang. When he was asked about why he did not participate in the Battle of Ṣiffīn on Ali's side, he produced an excuse which will not avail him on the Day of Judgment. Said he, "I never used a sword or a lance, but the Messenger of Allāh (ص) required me to obey my father, and I did."[6]

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[1] *Sharḥ al-Shifā'*, Vol. 2, p. 166 (the 1326 A.H./1909 A.D. edition).

[2] *Nayl al-Awṭār*, Vol. 7, p. 138.

[3] *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, Vol. 26, p. 151 (Egyptian edition).

[4] Muḥammed Kurd Ali, *Al-Islam wal Ḥaḍāra al-`Arabiyya*, Vol. 2, p. 380.

[5] al-`Ayni, *`Umdat al-Qāri*, Vol. 11, p. 346.

[6] *Ibid*.

This is nothing but falsehood and deception. How could he find it palatable to oppose the truth by thus misinterpreting a statement made by the Prophet (ص)? Does the *Sharī`a* permit interpreting the *ḥadīth* as enjoining obedience to one's father if such obedience requires forsaking the obligations or committing what is prohibited? Of course not. Obedience to the Imām who has received the oath of allegiance was mandatory on all Muslims, and the *umma* then had no choice except to obey him and carry out his orders, and no obedience to one's father can take precedence over obedience to the Imām (ع). The verse saying, "And if they intimidate you so that you may associate with me that of which you have no knowledge, do not obey them" (Qur'ān, 29:8) may be inclusive. The prohibited association referred to in this verse, therefore, may connote prohibiting forsaking obedience to Allāh, Glory to Him. It implies prohibiting forsaking obedience to the Prophet (ص) and to the Imām who has received the oath of allegiance from the Muslims. `Āyisha, thereupon, used to perform her prayers in full when she marched to Baṣra to fight Ali (ع) because to shorten the prayers, in her view, was done when one travels in obedience to Allāh's Commandments.[1]

The sacred *Sharī`a* has required the Imām of the nation to win his argument against anyone who rebelled against him and abandoned obedience to him by reminding him of Allāh's incessant favours on His servants despite their rebellion and oppression. Then he informs them that this vanishing life does not bring anyone who is immersed in his love for it except loss. He may do so by admonition and by citing Qur'ānic verses in order to enlighten those whose desires blinded them, so that they may see the path of guidance and realize the shining truth.

The Commander of the Faithful (ع) followed this plan of action which Islam canonized during the first three days after his calling upon his companions not to transgress the commandments of the *Sharī`a* and not to rush to fight so that the other party might be the transgressing one that fought the believers, hence the argument against it would be established as the one that started the aggression.[2]

He, peace of Allāh be upon him and his infallible offspring, admonished the fellows of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and al-Nahrawān a great deal so that nobody would have any excuse when the books of deeds are spread wide open and every argument of those called upon by him and who insist on disputing with him and in being stubborn is refuted. Those who were guided by Allāh to conviction were enlightened by the light of his guidance, whereas those who strayed from the path of righteousness did not.

AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) ON THE ṬAFF DAY

These are the guidelines that the father of `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع), followed on the Ṭaff Day. He did not order his men to start the war despite the persistence of his foes in adhering to misguidance and in fighting him with all their might and means. They, in fact, went as far as prohibiting him, his family and companions from drinking the water regarding which the one who brought the divine *Sharī`a*, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, said, "All people have an equal right to water and (their animals to) pasture." Imām Ḥusain (ع), by doing so, wanted to establish his argument against his foes. He stood to address that multitude that had been immersed in misguidance in order to explain his argument. He first acquainted them with the loss of this vanishing world by anyone who threw himself in its lap; it would not bring him anything but disappointment. Then he resorted to reminding them of his status with the

[1] al-Shawkāni, *Nayl al-Awṭār*, Vol. 3, p. 179, in a chapter dealing with a traveller's prayers in a section about one who passes through a country and marries someone there.

[2] *Nahjul Balāgha*, Vol. 3, p. 304.

Prophet of Islam (ص), testifying to himself and to his brother al-Ḥasan (ع) that they were the masters of the youths of Paradise, let alone the testimony to this fact given by the one who does not speak out of his own desires but was guided by the divine *waḥi*: such a testimony is the criterion for distinguishing right from wrong. Then he reminded them of the fact that had they had anything with him which belonged to them, he would have given it back to them. Finally, he raised a copy of the Holy Qur'ān over his head and invited them to accept its arbitration. When all these precious pieces of advice fell on deaf ears, and when it became quite clear to him that they insisted on their misguidance and stubbornness, opting to act against the commandments of Allāh Almighty and His Messenger (ص), he unveiled the curtain from the `Alawide pride according to which he grew up. He removed the curtain from the feeling of disdain to anyone who refused to abide by the commandments of Allāh and His Messenger (ص). It is such disdain that he and other offspring descending from Ali (ع) used to study day and night and round which their meetings revolved. It is then that he, peace of Allāh be upon him, said,

> The *da`iyy* and the son of the *da`iyy* required us to choose one of two: either to let his men draw their swords against us, or we accept humiliation and submission to his authority. It is far from us to accept humiliation; Allāh rejects that we, His Messenger, or the faithful should ever submit to humiliation. These are [the fruit of] good and pure chambers, men of dignity and souls too proud to prefer obedience to a mean and lowly person over death in honour and in dignity. Let it be known that I shall fight with this family although our number is small, and despite the betrayal of those who promised to support us.
>
> How could he to a lowly one his submission wield?
> Only to Allāh did he ever submit and yield:
> Mightier than the shield is his will,
> Before lances thirsty for blood, eager to kill,
> To him will every *ḥāfiẓ* refer at will,
> To one big as the world and greater still,
> One who insisted to live only in dignity,
> To sacrifice and personify such struggle for eternity.[1]

Such are the commandments of the purified *Sharī`a*, and such are its injunctions regarding inviting people to righteousness, and to rise to close the door against falsehood. Just as it mandated *jihād* against those who promote misguidance as well as the polytheists, it likewise exempted from such *jihād* the children, the invalid, the blind, the elderly, the women, and the adults who did not obtain the permission of their parents to participate in *jihād*. But the show of force at the Ṭaff violated its greatest canon, permitting even what was not previously permitted in order to serve the interests and the mysteries which are beyond the reach of men's comprehension. Such was the most oppressed martyr (ع), informed by his grandfather, the supreme saviour (ص), and by his own father, the *waṣi* (ع). Al-Ḥusain (ع) did not bring about a new Sunnah in *jihād*; rather, it was no more than a divine lesson fixed by the most sacred tablet in the world of perfection, one limited to a particular circumstance and to a specific place, one received by Gabriel, the trusted archangel (ع), who then conveyed to the one who was loved and chosen by Allāh, namely Muḥammed (ص), the one who conveyed the divine message and who in turn entrusted it to his grandson the Master of Martyrs (ع).

All the unusual events that took place during that bloody encounter, whose essence cannot be comprehended by men were things whereby the Master, Praise to Him, bestowed upon His *wali* and *ḥujjah*,

[1]Excerpted from a poem in praise of al-Ḥusain (ع) by Sayyid Ḥayder al-Ḥilli, may Allāh have mercy on his soul.

Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع).

It is to these same traditions that the martyr of Kūfa, Muslim ibn `Aqīl, adhered. He was, indeed, distinguished from all others by his knowledge, deeds, an abundance of wisdom and divine faculties which his position as deputy of the Imām, the *ḥujjah*, required.[1] He suffered from acute thirst to the extent that he was permitted to drink even what was *najis*. Both Ibn `Aqīl and the moon of the Hāshemites [Abul-Faḍl, al-`Abbās, Imām Ḥusain's brother] drank the same milk and graduated from the same school of Imāmate and infallibility. They, therefore, earned a testimony from the Infallible Imāms (ع) in the sincerity of intention through their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the creed. Such testimony qualified them to serve as role models in their good deeds. Just as Muslim did not taste water till he died of thirst, so was the case with the father of al-Faḍl, al-`Abbās, who shook the ranks of the enemy till he finally had access to the water. Knowing the extent of thirst of the Master of Martyrs and that of the Prophet's ladies and of the children who descended from Fāṭima (ع), he did not see in the *Sharī`a*, which he had learned from his father, the *waṣi*, and from both of his brothers who were Imāms whether they stood or sat[2], according to the Prophet's words, any provision for him to drink out of concern for the thirst of the *ḥujjah* of his time even with a little thereof. But alas! Destiny stood between him and the achievement of his desire.

He did not taste of the Euphrates following his example,
Taking his water straight to the tent.
He found no provision in the creed to quench
His thirst while his brother was burning with thirst.
He derives his deed from the *Sharī`a*
And due to his unshaken conviction,
Like al-Ḥusain who controlled the water source
Just to be told that his tents were being looted,
So he threw water away, sensing the gravity
Of the situation, enthused with zeal,
So al-`Abbās followed his example as he
Breathed his last in honour, his zeal fiery.

Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع), rose with that small group of the elderly and the children, with infants and women, in contrast with those who were not apprehensive in regard to conscience or kinship, being determined to eradicate the Prophet's family and relatives. But the line followed by the martyr of the Ṭaff, the one whose extent cannot be realized, nor can the minds comprehend its deep meaning, acquainted the succeeding generations that came across this epic, the like of which history has never witnessed, with the deeds committed by those tyrants whose fathers did not accept Islam, when they pretended to have done so, except out of fear of Islam's sword. Abu `Abdullāh (ع) achieved the objective when the clouds of doubt were dispelled by the light of his shining revolution and the calls of his ladies, the calls that confused and upset the minds that became the subject of all meetings, of what those tyrants and their ancestors had committed of shame and infamy.

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[1]Muslim ibn `Aqīl was deputy of Imām Ḥusain (ع), who was the *ḥujjah*, of his time. The reader must not misread this statement to imply that Muslim ibn `Aqīl was the deputy of *al-Ḥujjah,* al-Mehdi, may Allāh hasten his reappearance. — Tr.

[2]al-Irbīli, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, p. 159, where al-Ḥusain (ع) is discussed.

DESERTION PERMITTED

It is on such a straight path that the Master of Martyrs declared, in his precious, wise and far-sighted statement, permission to his family and companions to part with him for safety. The text the historians narrate in this regard is his statement (ع), to his family and companions on the eve of the ninth of Muḥarram saying, "I know no companions better than mine nor family more righteous or kind or united than mine; so, may Allāh reward all of you. I think tomorrow will be our last day in facing these folks. I am of the view that you should all set out for safety, you do not owe me anything, while the night is covering you with its covering. Ride it as you would a camel, and each one of you should take the hand of one of my family members. May Allāh reward all of you with the best of His rewards; so, disperse under the cover of darkness and go back to your towns, for these people seek me, and if they get hold of me, they will not seek anyone else."[1] What a pithy statement, O Father of the Oppressed, and how noble your objective, O Master of Martyrs! How wise your statement and deeds, O soul of Prophethood! Yes, this golden statement was etched in letters of *noor* on the forehead of time, that those righteous elite men, who were described by the Commander of the Fatihful (ع) as the masters of martyrs, and that none ever reached their heights nor ever will[2], were the cream of the crop of all mankind and the elite of the cosmos. We have been enlightened by such rays to realize their intention to be determined in their firmness and sincerity to offer the holy sacrifice. In all of these, there are sublime lessons for all those who wish to follow in the footsteps of those honourable men to rise above loving this life and to die under the banner of dignity and not to submit to the oppressive authority, to either achieve the goal or attain martyrdom and eternal happiness.

Had it not been for that permission to desert issued by the custodian of the *Sharī`a* and for those words which their pure souls permitted, no succeeding generation could have realized the extent of their knowledge, conviction, and variation of their faculties and ambition to the highest goals and firmness in upholding their principles with sincerity and insight.

The Master of Martyrs wanted by so doing to test their intentions. Testing is done by a wise person who knows what was and what will be, and it does not demean his knowledge and his being familiar with what is hidden since the goal is precious and the status is sublime. This is something to which we pointed out when we wanted to acquaint the reader with the gifts adorning al-Ḥusain's followers and those of Ahl al-Bayt (ع). And such a test should not surprise anyone especially since the Creator of all beings, the Almighty, from Whose knowledge nothing small nor big escapes, ordered His friend Abraham to sacrifice his son Ishmael. Being knowledgeable of the extent of obedience to Him rendered by His messenger, the Friend of Allāh, Abraham, and of the firmness of His prophet, Ishamel, he did not require it except for a benefit known to the Lord of the Worlds though it is obscure from the comprehension of humans. The incident of the bald, the leprous, and the blind also testifies that Allāh Almighty wanted by granting them His blessings to make their story a lesson of wisdom for those who come across it and who find themselves bound to thank Him for His blessings, and that denying His blessings will lead to loss.[3]

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 238. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 24. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 178, where the author mentions the Imām's permission to others to desert and his companions' insistence to sacrifice themselves for his sake. Al-Faḍl ibn Shāthān al-Naishapuri has mentioned it in his book *Ithbāt al-Raj`a*, relying on the authority of Imām Abu Ja`fer, al-Bāqir (ع). It is also narrated by Shaikh al-Mufīd in his book *Al-Irshād*, by al-Ṭibrisi in his books *I`lām al-Wara* and *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn,* and by al-Khawārizmi who discusses al-Ḥusain's martyrdom on p. 246, Vol. 1, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*.

[2]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, pp. 969-970.

[3]al-Bukhāri, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "Kitāb al-Anbiyā'" (book of the prophets), in the chapter titled "The bald and the leprous." *Fatḥ al-Bāri*, Vol. 6, p. 323.

Abu `Abdullāh, Imām al-Ḥusain (ع), wanted through this test to acquaint the next generations with the status attained by his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and companions, the status of honour, dignity, purity and submission to whatever pleases Allāh and His Messenger, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny.

To know the extent of any man of purity in the world, and to uphold the principle of obedience to the most pious person who most pleases the Master, the Almighty, does not become possible except by his statements supported by good deeds or by a testimony for him from someone familiar with his every movement.

Nobody is ignorant of the defects in the history books in our hands regarding many deeds of righteous men who exhaust all influence and possession in order to support the authentic *Sharī`a*. Nor does history record any deeds undertaken by those elite ones, namely the martyrs of Kerbalā', indicative of the holiness of their conscience, the sincerity of their intentions, the purity of their souls..., better than that bloody scene. Had it not been for those statements made by the companions of al-Ḥusain (ع), and of his family, when he gave them permission to leave him for safety and to desert so that he would alone face those who surrounded him, we would not have come to know the differences in their levels of awareness and variations in their far-sighted views, nor their virtues which no human being can attain. Knowledge is a light which Allāh Almighty casts in the heart of whomsoever He chooses from among His servants in various degrees of intensity.

Muslim ibn `Awsajah al-Asadi, for example, does not have anything on the pages of history to testify to his immortal deeds and good merits in anything more or less than a statement made by Shabth ibn Rab`i that he invaded Azerbaijan on the side of the Muslims and killed six polytheists before Muslim cavalry troops came to his rescue. What can the reader know from this statement other than the extent of his sure loyalty to the Prophet's caliphs and his not having changed as time and circumstances changed? But his statement to al-Ḥusain (ع) in which he said, "Are we the type of men who would abandon you? What excuse shall we produce before Allāh Almighty for having thus fallen short of serving you? By Allāh! I shall never leave you till I break my lance in their chests and strike them with my sword as long as I can hold its handle, and even if I have no weapon to fight them with, I shall throw stones at them till I die with you."

Such a statement informs us of the firmness of this man in upholding his principles at the last stage of life, and that if one is not concerned except about pleasing Allāh Almighty and His Messenger (ص), he is not concerned about any pain or bleeding. This statement is accompanied by actions when he faced the swords and the lances with his chest and neck. Moreover, he was not satisfied with all of this till he commended Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir, the man who benefitted from the science of fates and epics from the Commander of the Faithful (ع), to support al-Ḥusain (ع), and that he would not otherwise be excused by the Messenger of Allāh (ص) for having fallen short of carrying out his responsibility even when he was drawing his last breath. His soul thus parted from his body as he maintained his creed and submission.[1]

He was followed in sincerity of loyalty and readiness to sacrifice by Sa`īd ibn `Abdullāh al-Ḥanafi who said, "By Allāh! We shall never abandon you till Allāh knows that we safeguarded the absence of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in your person. By Allāh! Had I known that I will be killed then brought back to life, then burnt alive, then my ashes strewn, and this is done to me seventy times, I would still not abandon you till I meet death defending you. Why should I not do so? It is only one death followed by a bliss that

[1]Such a level of readiness to sacrifice for the son of the Prophet's daughter (ع) reminds me of the excuse produced by Sa`d ibn Abu Waqqās when the Commander of the Faithful (ع) asked him for his support. As stated on p. 59 (second edition) of the book titled *Al-Jamal* by Shaikh al-Mufīd, his answer was, "I hate to participate in this war and accidentally kill a believer unless you give me a sword that distinguishes a believer from an unbeliever."

lasts forever."

He, therefore, defended Abu `Abdullāh (ع) and admonished others to do likewise. He was not satisfied with all the bleeding wounds which he received when he assaulted the enemies of Allāh Almighty in defense of al-Ḥusain (ع), who was then performing the noon prayers on the battlefield, till he understood from the Father of the Oppressed that he had discharged his responsibility towards the Message and proven his faithfulness to what Allāh had mandated on him, so he died feeling elated for having pleased the Almighty God. Anything besides this is a shortcoming and a loss. Abu `Abdullāh (ع) comforted him of attaining happiness through martyrdom and of the meeting with the Messenger of Allāh (ص) before him.

As soon as he had finished his speech, Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bijli stood up to recite for all future generations lofty teachings in promoting the creed which immortalized him. To al-Ḥusain (ع) he said, "By Allāh! I wish I had been killed then brought back to life then killed, and so on, for a thousand times, as long as my being killed protects you and protects these youths of Ahl al-Bayt (ع)."

There is no doubt in Allāh accepting obedience from any of His servants if such obedience earns him victory on the Day of Eternity. But there is something even beyond that of a more lofty objective: it is the obedience of the people of conviction who are not concerned, when they perform what they are obligated to perform, except to be closer to the Lord, Praise to Him, Who is the only One worthy of being worshipped. Ibn al-Qayn is a bastian of conviction and pure faith, a man who recited for us in such a situation his far-sighted view, his true beliefs, and his noble goals: protecting the man who was appointed by Allāh Almighty as the Imām and protecting the lives which were held dear by the Messenger of Allāh (ص) without aiming by worshipping Allāh, through performing jihād against His enemies, except to earn the rewards of the hereafter for his endeavour on the Day when wages shall be granted for good deeds. Rather, he aimed by performing this rite to protect the person who was charged with safeguarding the Message, the *ḥujjah* of his time, citing the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his Progeny.

"Ḥusain is of me, and I am of Ḥusain,"[1] says the Messenger of Allāh (ص). The one who brought us the *Sharī`a* did not make this statement simply to inform the nation that the Ṭaff Martyr was part of him (i.e. a member of his family), for such an interpretation is quite shallow and is not expected of the master of orators. Of course every offspring is part of his father and grandfather; so, there is no distinction for al-Ḥusain (ع) here. Rather, he (ص) intended for this golden statement to point out to the responsibility vested upon the Master of Martyrs in cementing Islam's foundations, removing the thorns of falsehood from the path of the just *Sharī`a*, and alerting the nation against the crimes committed by those who played havoc with the sanctity of the creed. Just as the Prophet (ص) was the first person to rise to disseminate the divine call, al-Ḥusain was the last to rise to cement its foundations:

The creed did moan, groan and complain
About him; it did complain to none but Ḥusain.
The Prophet's grandson saw that to cure the creed,
At Kerbalā' to death he had to defend it and bleed.

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[1]From among Imāmite Shī`as, this *ḥadīth* is narrated by Ibn Qawlawayh on p. 53 of his book *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, and by the following from among the Sunnis: al-Tirmithi in his book *Al-Jāmi` fi Manāqib al-Ḥusain*, al-Ḥākim on p. 177, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Mustadrak*, Ibn `Asākir on p. 314, Vol. 4 of his book *Tahthīb Tārīkh al-Shām*, Ibn Ḥajar on p. 181, Vol. 9, of his book *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni on p. 115 of his book *Al-Sawā'iq al-Muḥriqa* in tradition 23, al-Bukhāri in his book *Al-Adab al-Mufrad*, al-Muttaqi al-Hindi on p. 107, Vol. 7, of his book *Kanz al-`Ummāl*, al-Ṣafūri on p. 478 of his book *Nuzhat al-Majālis*, and al-Sayyid al-Murtada on p. 157, Vol. 1, of his Āmāli, *majlis* 15.

Never did we hear that a patient could be cured
Only with the death of the one who cured and endured.
When Ḥusain was martyred, Islam's guidance standard rose high.
When Husein is remembered, Islam's fragrance does intensify.

Had it not been for the open statements made by the son of the singers, we would not have been able to realize his attitude *vis-a-vis* loyalty [or the lack thereof] for those whom the Omnipotent, Praise to Him, chose as the Infallible and as the beacons of guidance for His servants and the custodians of His *Sharī`a*. Other than this fact, history has not recorded for the singers' son any loyalty except to `Uthmān ibn `Affān *versus* his animosity towards the grandson of the most pure Messenger of Allāh (ص).

As for the stand of `Ābis ibn Abu Shibīb al-Shākiri, when the oath of allegiance was sworn to Muslim ibn `Aqīl at Kūfa, and on the Ṭaff Day, it reveals his superiority over many others, his firm conviction and love for Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, and that nothing at all mattered to him in his bid to protect the Imām (ع) even at the cost of sacrificing his own life and everything precious in his possession. Having witnessed the betraying throngs assembled to swear the oath of allegiance to Muslim ibn `Aqīl, he [`Ābis] said to him, "I do not wish to inform you about these people, nor do I know what they hide in their hearts and what attracts you to them, but by Allāh I shall tell you about what I have decided to do: By Allāh! I shall respond to you when you call, and I shall fight your enemy, and I shall defend you with my sword till I meet Allāh desiring nothing for doing so except what Allāh has in store for me."[1]

With these brief words did he interpret those people's intentions and the feebleness of their wills, and that they were molded on betrayal, hypocrisy and the following of their own whims, and that they did not wish to openly declare their inclination to betray him else it should weaken their already weak allegiance and become the cause of animosity. So they said what was beautiful as they waited for the outcome. Muslim ibn `Aqīl could not get even one of those thousands of men to lead him to any highway to exit the city when the clouds of doom overshadowed him, not even one, so he did not know where to go...

On the Ṭaff Day, Ibn Abul-Shibīn said to al-Ḥusain (ع), "Nobody on the face of earth, be he a kin of mine or a stranger, is more dear to my heart than you. Had I been able to defend you with anything more precious than my life, I would have most certainly done so."[2]

Yes, O son of Abul-Shibīn! Men who are sincere to Allāh Almighty are endowed with self-denial. They regard the world as a vanishing thing and hope to attain immortality through supporting the Imām, the essence of beings, the orbit of existence itself.

Then Nāfi` ibn Hilāl stood and said, "By Allāh! We are not too afraid to submit to Allāh's destiny, nor are we averse to the meeting with our Lord. We are with our minds and intentions supporting whoever supports you and are the enemy of whoever antagonizes you." The rest of his companions made similar statements.

When he (ع), granted permission to his family members to leave, they all said in one voice, "Shall we do so in order to survive you? May Allāh never permit us to see that happen." Then he turned to `Aqīl's offspring and said, "Suffices you [the calamity that you have suffered because of] Muslim's murder. I have permitted you to leave." They immediately expressed their unrelenting determination to support the creed and to defend the Imām, the *ḥujjah*, saying, "If we do so, shall we then say to the people that we abandoned our mentor and master, while our cousins are the best of cousins, without having shot one arrow with them, nor have we stabbed anyone with our lances nor struck anyone with our swords? No, by Allāh! We shall

[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 199.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 254.

never do that; rather, we shall sacrifice ourselves, our wealth, and our families for your sake and fight with you till we meet the same fate as yours; abominable, indeed, is to survive you."

Such readiness to sacrifice in that precarious situation, wherein all avenues of help and rescue were blocked, and even water, which was made available to the animals, was denied them, reveals their attainment of the most sublime attributes of perfection. It reveals their renunciation of this vanishing life. Had they had in their heart the least desire to stay, or to love this world, they would have taken his permission to leave them as an excuse they would produce on the Day of Judgment. But these souls, which the Lord of the Worlds, Praise to Him, created of a holy mold and blended with the *noor* of conviction, did not desire to stay alive except to uphold what is right or to put an end to what is false. How could they find life meaningful while knowing that the man who was so much loved by the Messenger of Allāh (ص), the heart of Islam, was suffering of bleeding wounds and of a painful agony?

Souls that wanted nothing but the legacy of their father
Are either killed without being avenged,
Or are killing those whom none will avenge.
Their souls were used to the battlefield,
Just as their feet were used to the pulpits.[1]

Meanwhile, news reached Muḥammed ibn Bashīr al-Ḥaḍrami that his son was captured in the outskirts of Ray, so he said, "To Allāh do I entrust him; I do not wish that he should be taken as a captive while I survive him." When al-Ḥusain (ع) heard him say so, he was fired with holy zeal for the creed and excused him from his oath of allegiance to him so that he could manage to have his son released. Having heard the Master of Martyrs say so, he now was fired with holy zeal for the creed and was prompted by his sincere loyalty to demonstrate his firm conviction in sacrificing everything he had to defend the Imām, saying, "O Abu `Abdullāh! May the wild beasts feed on me should I ever part with you!"

Firm conviction and obedience to Allāh Almighty and to His Messenger (ص) raise those who are thereby enabled to attain the zenith of greatness to a level superior even to virtue itself. Had ibn Bashīr's conviction been shaky, he would have seized the opportunity of the permission which he had received from the Imām (ع) to leave as his excuse before the Master, Praise to Him, and before people.

Al-Ḥusain's martyrdom did not leave its hero any choice except to release the black slave John who belonged to Abu Tharr al-Ghifāri so that his modesty might not keep him from fleeing. But the Master of Martyrs, having come to know his persistence and firmness in the face of calamities, wanted by testing him to acquaint those who had surrounded him, as well as the succeeding generations, with his character. He wanted to highlight the extent of John's stand to defend the *Sharī`a* with which those who betrayed it played havoc no matter how serious the danger was and how many the woes. He, therefore, excused John form his covenant, permitting him to to seek his own safety saying, "O John! You have accompanied us for your health's sake; so, do not be afflicted by our own way of life." It was then that John's tears ran down. John feared he would not succeed in earning eternal happiness. He blended his tears with a statement which has been reverberating to all succeeding generations ever since, acquainting them with success for those who persevere during the time of trials and tribulations. Said he, "Only rest follows fatigue..."

He also said, "Should I during the time of ease eat your food then betray you during the time of hardship? My smell is bad, my descent is lowly, and my colour is black, so do breathe upon me of the breath of Paradise so that my smell will turn good, my descent will become honourable, and my colour will be

[1]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

white! No, by Allāh! I shall never leave you till my blood is mixed with yours."[1]

Had it not been for such frank statements made by al-Ḥusain (ع), nobody would have come to know the purity of the conscience of that slave nor of his good intentions. His insistence to be killed, even after receiving permission to be released and to part with the group, demonstrates a very firm conviction.

Summary

Safeguarding the Imām (ع) is like safeguarding the Prophet (ص), something which reason and the *Sharī`a* mandate, something which nobody should abandon or hesitate to safeguard against those who wish to eradicate it. What is obligatory is to sacrifice one's own life for his [Imām's] sake in order to thus remove the aggression against the life of the Imām who is the life of existence and the existence of the cosmos itself. The Imām (ع) was also required to call others to support and to defend him with the knowledge that whoever responded would be jeopardizing his life, and that there was no choice except to avoid the fatal danger. He, in such case, was obligated not to require anyone to defend him, for it would then be in vain.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) was familiar with what he was going to endure. "A destiny which cannot be altered, a decree which cannot be reversed," said he to Umm Salamah adding, "If I do not die today, I will tomorrow, and if not tomorrow, then the day after. Do you think that there is anyone who can avoid death? Do you think that you know what I do not?"

He, then, is not required to obligate others to defend him. Yes; any human who is unfamiliar with divine decrees is not exempted from being required to defend the person of the Imām, the *ḥujjah*. Nobody is excused upon seeing how those people besieged a man whom Allāh chose as His viceregent in dealing with His servants, how they cut off all supply routes from him and even prohibited him from having access to water, without rising to remove such an oppression or to protect his sacred life. Allāh Almighty does not accept the excuse of one who sees such a situation and is reluctant to support him even when it is quite precarious except when the *ḥujjah* of his time grants him permission to part with him and to leave him to face his enemy, since he is fully familiar with the best course; he is informed by the Wise One, the Knowing, the Sublime. In such a case, neither reason nor the *Sharī`a* requires him to stay and to defend him, nor will his parting be regarded as a violation of what the *Sharī`a* has decreed. He will then have an excuse when the books of deeds are spread: he was granted permission by the Imām (ع) not to support him. The Imām himself will not then be jeopardizing his life upon permitting others to abandon him to face his foes alone and to excuse them from having sworn the oath of allegiance to him; he will not be going beyond the actual facts at all. If one does not see the Imām seeking his help and support, he does not carry any obligation or responsibility. Contrariwise, if he sees the Imām in such a precarious situation, repeatedly asking for help, it does not befit him to be too reluctant to support him. In such a case, the Imām will be in a very dire need for his help; so, no excuse shall ever be accepted from him on the Day of Judgment.

Abu `Abdullāh (ع) met `Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju`fi at Qaṣr Muqātil and solicited his support saying, "I advise you that, if you could, you should avoid hearing us crying and mourning our dead, and do not witness our tragedy. Do so, for by Allāh, none who hears us mourning our dead without supporting us except that Allāh will hurl him headlong into the fire of hell."

This statement supports our rebuttal of the claims of those who heard the Imām pleading for help without helping him. As for one who does not hear such mourning, and he is granted permission to leave, he surely is excused. Al-Dahhāk ibn `Abdullāh al-Mashriqi, therefore, will have no excuse on the Day of Judgment because he heard al-Ḥusain (ع) pleading for help, and he saw him greatly outnumbered. He was obligated to support him to the last breath.

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[1]Ibn Tāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 61 (Saida edition).

A man came to al-Ḥusain (ع) before the battle started and said, “I would like to fight on your side as long as I see others doing so, but if I do not see anyone fighting with you, shall I then be permitted to leave you?” Al-Ḥusain (ع) answered him in the affirmative. The man hid his horse in a deserted place upon seeing how al-Ḥusain's horses were being hamstrung and kept fighting on foot. When al-Ḥusain (ع) stood alone on the battlefield, al-Daḥḥāk asked him, “Is my term still honoured?” The Imām (ع) said, “Yes; you are free, if you can, to flee for safety.” The man, therefore, took his horse out of its hiding place, rode it and assaulted the foes forcing his way through their ranks. They made way for him, then fifteen men pursued him. He came to an old dried-up well near the bank of the Euphrates. The chasing party caught up with him. Ayyūb ibn Mashrah al-Khaywani, Kathīr ibn `Abdullāh al-Sha`bi, and Qays ibn `Abdullāh al-Sā'idi recognized him and said to their brethren, “This is our cousin! We plead to you in the Name of Allāh to spare his life.” He was spared.[1] His being told by al-Ḥusain (ع) that he was excused will not avail him on the Day of Judgment because Abu `Abdullāh (ع) could not have asked him to stay till he could meet his death, knowing that the man had set his mind, from the beginning, on leaving safely. The Creator, Praise to Him, will not excuse him on the Day of Gathering because he had heard the Father of the Oppressed (ع) pleading for help, and whoever hears the Imām thus pleading and does not support him will be hurled by Allāh into the fire headlong.

THE *SHARĪ `A* SURVIVED THROUGH AL-ḤUSAIN

Al-Ḥusain's revolution was the concluding part of the cause of firming the creed’s foundations. It clearly distinguished between those who called for righteousness and those who advocated falsehood. It drew a line between this party and that, so much so that it has been said that Islam started by Muḥammed (ص) and its continuation is through al-Ḥusain (ع). The Imāms of guidance (ع), therefore, found no means to promote their cause to reform the nation, and to get their word to resurrect the *Sharī`a* of their most sacred grandfather (ص), except by attracting the attention to this glorious revolution due to what it contains of the calamities that split the solid rocks, cause children to grow gray hair, and cause the heart to dissolve. They, peace be upon them, kept urging the nation to support it and to bring to memory the cruelty and persecution meted to the martyr/reformer, and to familiarize the nation with what took place during those bloody scenes of oppression meted to al-Ḥusain (ع) and to his family members and relatives. They, peace of Allāh be upon them, knew that demonstrating the oppression from which he suffered would bring sympathy and soften the hearts. The listener will naturally investigate the calamities and get to know the status of this oppressed Imām (ع) and the reasons why he was mistreated.

Of course he will come to know that the Prophet's grandson was a just Imām who did not court this world, nor did he pay attention to those who promoted falsehood, and that his Imāmate was inherited from his grandfather (ص) and from his own father the *waṣi*, and that his opponent had no legitimate claim to caliphate at all, nor did anyone who followed his line.

Once the listener comes to know all this to be the truth, that al-Ḥusain and the Imāms who succeeded him (ع) were all on the right track, he will have no choice except to follow their lead and to embrace their exemplary method, thus firming the foundations of peace and harmony.

The usurping Umayyad and `Abbāside authorities forced Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, to keep to their homes, closing all doors before them, prohibiting them from meeting with their followers. The Ahl al-Bayt suffered at the Umayyad and the `Abbāside hands from all types of harm and annihilation, so they

[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 255.

preferred isolation to taking to arms and fighting the promoters of falsehood despite their seeing them going to extremes in their oppression and in being unfair to the followers of the Commander of the Faithful and to his offspring (ع), pursuing them under every rock and in every city so that they would remove the `Alawides from the face of earth. They saw how al-Manṣūr and al-Rashīd placed the offspring of Fāṭima, peace be upon her, inside building columns in order to suffer a slow death, all out of injustice and oppression.[1]

Yet all of this did not distract them from urging the upholding of the supreme struggle by admonishing their Shī`as to hold *majālis*[2] to commemorate the Ṭaff incident. Disgruntling persisted on account of the calamities and catastrophes, and floods of tears were shed because of the abundance of their painful tragedies. They went to extremes in explaining the merits of doing so because they were convinced that that was the strong factor for maintaining the religious link for which the Commander of the Faithful (ع) suffered what he suffered, and so did his son al-Ḥasan (ع) as well as al-Ḥusain (ع), tragedies which shook the firm mountains.

The Ahl al-Bayt (ع) used to explore various avenues to explain the spiritual importance of remembering al-Ḥusain (ع) because of the perfect link between such remembering and the safeguarding of the creed from extinction. They expressed it once in general terms and once in specific references. Imām al-Bāqir (ع), for example, has said, "May Allāh have mercy on one who meets with another to discuss our cause, for the third of them will be an angel seeking forgiveness for them; so, keep such memory alive, for your meetings and discussions keep our cause alive, and the best of people after us are those who discuss our cause and invite others to remember us."

Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) once asked al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Yasār, "Do you meet and discuss?" He answered the Imām (ع) in the affirmative, whereupon the Imām (ع) said, "I surely love such *majālis*; so, keep our memory alive; whoever sits at a *majlis* in our memory, his heart will not die when hearts die."

The Imāms, peace be upon them, aimed by so explaining to urge the nation to believe in their Imāmate and in what the Master, Glory to Him, has mandated of their Infallibility and what He bestowed upon them of the virtues and merits, and that directing people to them cannot be separated from belief in their being the caliphs, had it not been for those who usurped this divine post.

The things that remind people of al-Ḥusain (ع), in their various methods, such as commemorative *majālis*, mournings,[3] beating the cheeks[4] at homes and in the streets..., help promote the sect. The role of the

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[1]al-Ṣadūq, *`Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍa*, p. 62.

[2]Holding commemorative gatherings (*majālis*) to bring that tragedy to memory is not confined to homes, for such an understanding contradicts the spirit of the narration. In his *Āmāli* (or *Majālis*), al-Ṣadūq cites Imām al-Riḍa (ع) saying, "One who is reminded of our tragedy and who consequently weeps, his eyes shall not weep on the Day when eyes will be blinded [with tears of remorse]." On p. 26 of *Qurb al-Isnād*, Abu `Abdullāh (ع) is quoted as saying, "Anyone who mentions us or to whom we are mentioned and who sheds a tear as small as the wing of a fly, Allāh will forgive his sins." On p. 100 of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, Abu Hārūn quotes Abu `Abdullāh (ع) saying that one to whom al-Ḥusain (ع) is mentioned, so he sheds a tear as small as a fly's wing, will be rewarded by Allāh Who will not accept anything for him less than Paradise. There are many such statements which urge the employment of any means whereby al-Ḥusain's tragedy or the tragedies that befell Ahl al-Bayt (ع) are brought to memory, such as holding commemorative *majālis*, spending money on them, composing poetry or writing about such tragedies, the citation of already composed poems in their honour, or re-enacting the tragedy before people in all its aspects. All of these are implied in his following statement: "Whoever reminds others of our tragedy..., etc."

[3]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 174, where Mālik al-Juhni quotes Imām al-Bāqir, peace be upon him saying, "On `Āshūra, let everyone mourn al-Ḥusain, weep, and demonstrate his grief for him. They should meet one another at their homes weeping over him, and let them pay condolences to one another on the anniversary of al-Ḥusain's tragedy, for I guarantee for them, if they do so, that Allāh will grant them the rewards of two million pilgrimages and *`umra* and campaigns with the Messenger of Allāh and the guided Imāms, peace be upon them."

[4]On p. 283, Vol. 2, of *Al-Tahthīb*, Shaikh al-Ṭūsi quotes Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع), at the end of a chapter dealing with atonements

re-enactment of the tragedy, accompanied by the recitation of poetry and the narration of the epic, best demonstrates the cruelty which the Umayyahds and their followers inflicted upon al-Ḥusain (ع). It thus clearly reaches the minds of children and the commoners who do not comprehend what is contained in the books, or in poetry, of the particulars of the incident. It is the most effective means in influencing people and in strengthening their determination to safeguard the religious links between us and the Imāms (ع) and those who paid tribute to them, and it plays a major role in firming the creed.

Other people, such as the Indians, in addition to other Islamic sects, have emulated the Shī`as in the re-enactment of the Ṭaff tragedy. This is more prevalent in India than in any other Islamic heartland.[1]

Attracting attention to such reminders and promoting them is needed primarily to keep the memory of the Infallible Ones alive with those who love them, those who love to discuss them and to remember them. Probably a host of the benefits of doing so are not appreciated by the nation. The most they get out of them is that their doing so brings them rewards in the hereafter; that is all. But one who is acquainted with the mysteries of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and who digs deep in order to digest the implications of their statements and actions will clearly see what they have referred to with regard to such meetings and with their urging their Shī`as to do due to their munificence and vast knowledge.

MOURNING AL-ḤUSAIN

Among such benefits is the intensive urge (which reaches the limit of consecutive reporting) to weep over what happened to the Master of Martyrs, so much so that it has been reported that one who sheds a tear as little as the wing of a fly, his tear will put out the fire of hell. The reason behind that is: One cannot shed a tear except when he is emotionally moved and is deeply distressed because of what he or someone to whom he/she is attached had to endure. Undoubtedly, we see such a person moved by something else which is: enmity and contempt for all the injustice and suffering inflicted. The Imāms are the most knowledgeable of all people on account of their conditions and circumstances which testify to their mission. They used to seek all means to attain their objectives. One of those means, which obligate one to abandon the enemies of Allāh and His Messenger (ص), is their order to weep over the tragedy that befell al-Ḥusain (ع) because it requires the bringing to memory of the heart-rending cruelty, to its emotional effects, and to the renunciation of whatever does not agree with their line. This is the implication of the statement made by al-Ḥusain (ع), wherein he said, " am the one killed and for whose killing tears are shed; no *mu'min* remembers me without shedding his tears." A believer, who is bonded to al-Ḥusain (ع) with the bond of loyalty and support, finds himself moved and his heart distressed with regard to any harm or peril the Imām (ع) had to undergo, and such a feeling intensifies when calamities reach their peak.

To sum up, the Master of Martyrs did not mean, by saying, "I am the one killed and for whose killing tears are shed," that his being killed was solely for the purpose of people weeping over him and receiving their rewards in the hereafter, without mentioning any other effect resulting from his being killed other than people weeping over him. How can this be so especially in the presence of other effects the most important of which is to keep the pristine *Sharī`a* alive and to correct what went wrong of the knowledge of

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saying, "The daughters of Fāṭima (ع) rent their pockets and beat their cheeks as they mourned al-Ḥusain ibn Ali, and it is on such tragedy that the cheeks should be beaten and the pockets rent." The same is indicated by al-Shahīd in his book *Al-Thikra* in a chapter dealing with *aḥkām* (injunctions) relevant to the dead.

[1]In an article published in issue No. 28 (17th year), of the Persian newspaper *Al-Ḥabl al-Matīn*, Dr. Joseph, a French intellectual, is quoted as saying that such a re-enactment has been employed by Shī`as since the time of the Safawides (Safavids) who acquired their authority through the power of their creed assisted by their theologians and scholars.

guidance and the dissemination of reform among the nation and acquainting people of the oppression of the oppressive rulers who pursue their ambition?

But the reason for such an addition is underscoring the relationship between what reference he made to his being killed and mourning him. One who grieves for him shall never find a redress from his grief, and the pain of disappointment can never subside due to the multitude of tragedies that befell him and to his being receptive to them with patience which drew the admiration of the angels in the heavens. The first reaction to the listener, who is moved by such tragedies, is that he weeps over them; so, whenever he remembers al-Ḥusain (ع), his tears flow. Add to this the love for him in the hearts of those who love him: if you add this to that loyalty, it will better underscore the relationship between remembering him and mourning him. It is from this juncture that killing is associated with him, hence his statement, "I am the one killed and for whose killing tears are shed."

This has been the custom of the Arabs in their speech. Whenever they see a very strong link between somebody and one of his conditions, characteristics, etc., they add his name to it. They, for example, use expressions such as "Muḍar al-Ḥamrā'," "Rabī`ah al-Khayl," "Zayd al-Nār," "children of the fire," "...husband poisoning," and so on. Rabī`ah and Mudar did not leave out any good attribute with which they could adorn themselves except bearing the standard of war and providing horses for the battle. Zayd son of Imām Mūsa ibn Ja`fer (ع) was not known as having done anything outstanding, be it good or bad, other than burning the houses of the `Abbāsides in Baṣra. Nor did the children of Abu Mu`īṭ earn any human attribute to identify them except their being the children of the fire [of hell] which the Messenger of Allāh (ص) added to their name when he ordered their father, `Utbah ibn Abu Mu`īṭ, an unbeliever, to be killed; it was then that he asked the Prophet (ص), "O Muḥammed! Who will take care of my children?" "The fire," answered the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny.

Nor was Ju`da daughter of al-Ash`ath known by any vice more than the poison which she administered to Abu Muḥammed, Imām al-Ḥasan (ع), grandson of the Prophet (ص). But since these results are common knowledge among people, the name of the tribe of Mudar came to be associated with "al-ḥamrā'," the blood-red battle, whereas the war horses are added to Rabī`ah, the fire that burned the `Abbāsides was associated with Zayd's name, and Ju`da came to be associated with husband poisoning.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) is quoted as saying, "I am the one killed and for whose killing tears are shed" (as he is referred to as such by Imām al-Ṣādiq [as]). This falls in the same category when the link is so strong between al-Ḥusain (ع) and the tears shed in his memory.

FEIGN WEEPING

The Imāms of guidance (ع) liked to keep such memories alive forever so that successive generations might discuss them. They knew that the creed would stay fresh as long as the nation remembered this great tragedy. They did not only condone what has to be done, that is, weeping upon remembering the tragedy, they went as far as recommending feign crying over it, that is, that one cries without shedding any tears. Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) says, "Whoever cries [over our tragedies] even without shedding tears will be in Paradise."[1]

It is a known fact that one who finds it hard to shed tears while being moved by a tragic event is *not* unaffected by it. Many do so. Being psychologically moved by imagining what pain and agony a loved one suffers necessitates repugnance towards the person responsible for inflicting them.

The Prophet (ص) once recited the last verses of Sūrat al-Zumar to a group of the Anṣār: "So those who disbelieved were driven to hell in hordes" (Qur'ān, 39:71). They all wept with the exception of one

[1]al-Ṣadūq, Ā*māli*, p. 86, *majlis* 29.

young man among them who said, “My eyes did not shed a tear, yet I wept feignly.” The Prophet (ص) then said, “One who weeps feignly [over such matters] will be in Paradise.”[1]

Jarīr quotes the Prophet (ص) saying, “I am going to recite to you Sūrat al-Takāthur; so, anyone who is unable to weep tearfully should do so feignly. Whoever weeps tearfully will be in Paradise, and whoever weeps feignly will also be in Paradise.”[2]

Abu Tharr al-Ghifāri has quoted the Prophet (ص) saying, “If one of you is able to weep, let him do so, but if he cannot, then let his heart sense the grief, and let him weep feignly, for a hard heart is distant from Allāh.”[3]

These traditions tell us that even if one weeps without shedding tears, he does so because his heart is grieved, and his soul cries. But out of awe for the Almighty, Praise to Him, grief and sadness are the outcome of imagining what consequences await those who disobey the Master, what shame they will receive in the hereafter. He, hence, distances himself from any such thing and does whatever brings him closer to the Almighty. When it comes to remembering the tragedies inflicted upon the offspring of the Prophet (ص), it is a must to hate those who opposed, schemed against, and harmed them.

What we have pointed out may be the same that Shaikh Muḥammed `Abdoh refers to. Says he, “To cry feignly is to weep with affectation, not out of pretense.”[4]

Al-Sharīf al-Jurjāni says that some people dislike it because of the affectation in it, whereas others permit it for those who aim to express the same feeling [of grief]. Its origin goes back to a statement made by the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, “If you do not weep tearfully, then pretend to do so,” meaning those who wish to weep, not those who are indifferent, are distracted.[5]

Both one who weeps tearfully and one who does so tearlessly share one common denominator: both are deeply distressed and saddened by imagining what injustice was inflicted on Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Both are equal in their repulsion from those who usurped the status reserved for Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and their aversion thereto.

One who does not comprehend the implication of the speech of the Infallible ones (ع) will rush to make a judgment on those who weep tearlessly, yet after our explanation of the mystery, you will come to realize their wisdom and eloquence.

Numerous are the mysteries that involve Ahl al-Bayt (ع) which cannot be comprehended except by one who carefully examines their speech and studies their circumstances, for they never ceased to explore minute ways to attract the souls to them and to acquaint them with their usurped right.

Among that is what Imām al-Bāqir, peace be upon him, wished to be done by way of his will which was the giving of eight hundred dirhams to women to mourn him at Mina during the *ḥajj* season.[6]

Pilgrims from various countries of the world, and from different sects, assemble at Mina during the *ḥajj*. It is then that they can enjoy anything previously made prohibitive to them (during the earlier ten days) except women. These are days of festivities and merry making; people in groups visit one another;

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[1] al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, *Kanz al-`Ummāl*, Vol. 1, p. 147.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[3] al-Nawari, *Al-Lulu' wal Marjān*, p. 47. *Majmu`at Shaikh Warām*, p. 272.

[4] *Tafsīr al-Manār*, Vol. 8, p. 301.

[5] *Al-Ta`rīfat*, p. 48.

[6] al-Ṭūsi, *Al-Thahthīb*, Vol. 2, p. 108, “Kitāb al-Makāsib.” *`allāma* al-Ḥilli, *Al-Muntaha*, Vol. 2, p. 112. The First Martyr, *Al-Thikra*, the fourth topic of the injunctions relevant to the dead.

congratulation parties are held, and places are set up to congratulate one another. If you consider the Imām's choice of this particular time and place, you will realize the precise observation the Imām (ع) took notice of when he preferred those days at Mina over those at `Arafāt or at the *mash`ar* where people will usually be busy with the rituals and the supplications to the Creator, Praise to Him, in addition to the short period they have to spend there.

Yes, those three days at Mina, the days of Eid, of merry-making and of felicity, not of grief or weeping, were the choice of the Imām (ع). Of course, one who hears someone crying during those happy days will be strongly motivated by curiousity to find out the reasons that caused him to cry, and to ask who is being mourned, what his cause is, and what he had done. He would ask about those who antagonized him and usurped his right. Through such questioning will the truth become clear and so will the best way, for the light of Allāh can never be extinguished, and the call to Him is clear in argument.

Such news will be transmitted by people to those who are distant from its stage once they go home. Those who were not there to witness it would thus come to know about it, and the argument would be completed, so nobody can say that he did not go to Medīna, home town of Allāh's *ḥujjah*, or that nobody told him anything, nor did he know the Imām's call and of his opponents being misguided. Nobody would thus remain ignorant of it.

Thus do we come to understand the reason why the Imām (ع) refrained from requiring those mourners to mourn him at Mecca or Medīna during the *ḥajj* days: in both cities, mourning is done at home, so how can men get to know about these mourners, and how can such mourning convey the desired message?

The claim that a woman's voice is one of her means of attraction which strangers are prohibited from hearing is rebutted by a narration recorded by al-Kulayni in his book titled *Al-Kāfi*:

> Umm Khālid came once to visit Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع), and she was a lady of wisdom and knowledge. Abu Buṣayr was then present among his companions. He, peace be upon him, asked Abu Buṣayr, "Would you like to hear her speak?" Then he (ع) seated her with him on a couch. Umm Khālid spoke, and she was a wise and eloquent woman.[1]

Had a woman's voice been prohibited from reaching strangers' ears, the Imām (ع) would not have permitted Abu Buṣayr to hear her.

In his will, Imām al-Bāqir (ع) appropriated money for female mourners to mourn him at Mina. This implies the permission of men to hear their voices; otherwise, he would have required them to mourn him at their homes in Medīna and Mecca. But the Imām's reasoning is quite clear, and his objective cannot be achieved unless men heard these women's voices and came to know who they were mourning. In an incident narrated by Ḥammād al-Kūfi, Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) said to him, "It has come to my knowledge that some people from Kūfa visit the grave of Abu `Abdullāh (ع) on the fifteenth of Sha`ban, and that some of them recite the Qur'ān while others narrate stories about him, and that some women mourn him." Ḥammād said, "I have witnessed some of what you have just described." The Imām (ع) then said to him, "Praise is due to Allāh Who has let from among our Shī`as those who visit our grave sites, who praise and mourn us."[2] Nobody can deny that when women mourn their dead at any cemetery, they will be heard by strangers. Had it been prohibitive, the Imām and *ḥujjah* (ع) would not have commended it and invoked Allāh to have mercy

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[1]al-Ḥurr al-`Āmili, *Al-Wasā'il*, Vol. 3, p. 25, chapter 106, in the verdict with regard to one who hears a female stranger. It is also recorded as tradition 319 in al-Kāfi's *Rawda*.

[2]Ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 325, chapter 108, at the beginning of discussing rare incidents.

on their dead.

A woman's voice being *`awra* is not supported by any narration. What is reported about men being prohibited from talking to or sleeping at the house of a female stranger is not on account of her voice being *`awra* but because of the possibility that omenous things may happen. As he starts discussing *nikāh* in the 9th query, *`allāma* al-Ḥilli, in his book *Al-Taḥrīr*, says that a blind man is not permitted to hear the voice of a female stranger. He probably is saying so only on account of her being a stranger, without implying that it is so because of its being an *`awra*. Yes, he indicates in his book *Al-Tathkira*, at the beginning of his discussion of *nikāh*, that her voice is an *`awra*, and that it is not permissible to be heard by strangers due to the allurement potential, not without. The Shāfi`is have two viewpoints regarding its being an *`awra*. The author of *Al-Jawāhir* responded to the critics by saying that along the passage of many centuries, women have been addressing leading religious authorities (imāms); the speeches of Fāṭima al-Zahrā', peace be upon her [before Abu Bakr and in the presence of the Anṣār and the Muhajirūn], and that of her daughters [such as Zainab's speeches in Kūfa and at Yazīd's court in Damascus], are very well known facts.

Sunni *fiqh* does not prohibit it. For example, on p. 167, Vol. 1, of *Al-Fiqh ala al-Mathāhib al-Arba`a*, it is indicated that, "A woman's voice is not an *`awra* because the wives of the Prophet (ص) used to speak to the *ṣaḥābah* who used to listen to their [wives'] religious *ahkām*." On p. 127, Vol. 2, of his book *Nayl al-Arab*, al-Shaybāni, a Ḥanbali Sunni, says, "Woman's voice is not an *`awra*, but to derive illicit pleasure out of hearing it is *harām*." This is the same view expressed by Ibn Ḥajar on p. 27, Vol. 1, of his commentary on restraints in his book *Kaff al-Ru`ā`*. Yes, some scholars from among Ahl al-Sunnah went as far as considering it an *`awra*, a view which is not endorsed by Ibn Ḥajar. Ibn Najīm, a Ḥanafi Sunni, says the following on p. 270, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Baḥr al-Rā'iq*: "The author of *Al-Kāfi* says that woman must not utter the *talbiya* audibly because her voice is *`awar*. The same view is expressed by the author of *Al-Muḥīṭ* as he discusses the call to the prayers (*athān*)." Commenting on this subject, the author of *Fatḥ al-Qadīr* says, "Had this been applied to her raising her voice during the prayers, and that it voids them, it would make more sense." The author of *Sharḥ al-Maniyya* says that a woman's voice is not an *`awra* but it may lead to infatuation. This is the same reasoning adopted by the author of *Al-Hidāya* and by others with regard to the issue of making *talbiya*. In *Al-Nawāzil*, the author states that a woman's tone of voice is an *`awra.* He bases it on his claim that a woman prefers to learn the Holy Qur'ān from another woman rather than from a blind man.

In his book *Al-Ashbāh wa al-Naẓā'ir*, Ibn Najīm, on p. 200, where he discusses the injunctions relevant to hermaphrodites, says that the latter's voice is an *`awra*. On p. 12, Vol. 3, of *Al-Furū`* by Ibn Muflih, the Ḥanbali scholar, it is stated that it is more accurate to say that hearing a stranger's voice is not a sin because it is not an *`awra*. On p. 12, Vol. 4, of al-`Ayni's book *Sharḥ al-Bukhāri*, at the end of a chapter discussing walking behind borne coffins, the author states that a woman has to reciprocate the greeting of a man and not to raise her voice because it is an *`awra*. On p. 250, Vol. 1, of Zayn ad-Dīn al-Iraqi's book *Ṭarḥ al-Tathrīb*, the author cites Ibn `Abd al-Birr's view in his book *Al-Istithkār* that a woman's voice is not an *`awra* adding, "... which is the accurate view according to the Shāfi`is." On p. 45, Vol. 7, of the same reference, where *nikāḥ* is discussed, the author says, "Her voice is not an *`awra*." The following is stated on p. 249, Vol. 7, of al-Nawawi's book *Sharḥ al-Majmū`* (second edition): "Both al-Ḍārmi and Abu al-Ṭayyib, the judge, have said that it is not prohibitive for a woman to raise her voice during the *talbiya*." As he discusses the subject of *talbiya*, on p. 274, Vol. 4, of *Nayl al-Awṭār*, al-Shawkāni says, "According to al-Rūyāni and Ibn al-Rif`āh, her voice is not prohibitive when raised during the *talbiya* because it is not an *`awra*."

PROSTRATING ON THE *TURBA*

One of the methods adopted by the Imāms from among the Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, in order to acquaint people with the oppression to which al-Ḥusain (ع) was subjected, and to distance them from those who robbed him of what rightfully belonged to him, that his uprising perfected the Prophet's call and paved its path, is their requirement to prostrate on the *turba*.[1] One of the reasons behind such a requirement is that five times a day, the person performing the prayers recalls, whenever he prostrates, the sacrifice of the soul of the Prophet (ص) and that of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), as well as that of his companions, for the sake of firming the foundations of the right principle. He will also recall the calamities the Master of Martyrs endured and from which even solid rocks would split, meeting them with perseverence which drew the admiration of the angels in the heavens, as the wording in his *ziyārat* indicates. Then he recalls the fact that this soil was drenched with the blood of the oppressed one and that of the pure ones from among his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and companions, those who were described by the Commander of the Faithful (ع) as the masters of martyrs, none before them reached their status, nor those who follow them ever will, as stated on p. 270, chapter 88, of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* of Ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi.

The heart of the one who is faithful to them would be filled with emotion; tears would trickle down his eyes, and he distances himself from anyone who antagonized them and all those who did likewise as well as those who shed their blood or facilitated such a most foul deed. It would become quite clear for him that this great revolution smashed the altars of oppression. Succeeding generations came to know how a most precious person found death easy in defense of the creed. So is their order to make rosary beads of the said soil and to use them to praise the Almighty in order to achieve the same precious objective. All these objectives are explained by Ahl al-Bayt (ع) although the nation did not comprehend their minute mysteries.

Others, due to their ignorance, charged us with starting a *bid`a* by doing so. The misguidance of such critics is the outcome of their ignorance of these wise mysteries and their own inability to comprehend the *ḥadīth* stated by the one who conveyed the *waḥi* of the heavens: “The earth has been made a mosque for me and a means of purification.” This small piece of earth, prepared for the purpose of prostrating, is made of dust mixed with water, so it is a testimony to the authenticity of this agreed upon *ḥadīth*.

LEGISLATING THE *ZIYĀRAT*

During certain times, hordes of pilgrims regard the *ziyārat* [visiting the Imāms' shrines], a highly commendable deed. They visit one of the foundations of the creed and the lighthouse of its guidance, and from it are the injunctions derived and where the branches of knowledge are researched. Visitors go to his grave from various parts of the world. People get to know each other; they witness such an amazing crowd. There is an incessant stampede. Everyone desires to get to the holy shrine, for the one being visited is the same who promoted a divine call and is a caller to the path of his Lord with wisdom and good exhortation... The pilgrim realizes, even more so, the greatness of the person he is visiting. He will better appreciate him and his cause, and he will be very impressed by such an elating sight. His heart will be more kind, and his conviction grows stronger. It is only natural that he would then be attracted to following his teachings, studying his biography, researching his legacy, and getting to know the injustice inflicted upon him. And the least of such innumerable benefits does not end here. There is another advantage: such *ziyārat* cements the bonds of fraternity among brethren, the fraternity called for by the Book of Allāh in the verse saying, “Believers are brethren of one another” (Qur’ān, 49:10). When the visitors meet at the grave-site or on their way to it, they discuss deeds of righteousness and the rewards related thereto; they admonish one another with regard to the right faith, so the error in the beliefs of other sects becomes unveiled. So is the latter’s straying from the right course, and the bond between the faithful becomes based on wisdom.

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[1] A *turba* is a small piece of dry clay preferably from the place where Imām Ḥusain (ع) was martyred. – Tr.

This is the truth with regard to visiting the shrines of all the Imāms of guidance. They are the awesome path, the avenue that leads to every guidance, the conscience of reform, the cultivated rite, the true guidance, the complete knowledge. Also, belief in them must be established after realizing their apparent distinction, tremendous knowledge, legendary piety, and innumerable miracles. There is no doubt that to visit their holy shrines with the intention to seek nearness to the Master, Praise to Him, strengthens such a creed and firmly establishes it.

This is the only reason for legislating the *ziyārat*. As regarding specifying a particular *ziyārat* for the Master of Martyrs, in addition to urging others to visit his shrine at any time, rather than that of any other Imām, or even that of the Master of Messengers (ص), there are many reasons behind that:

The most important reason is that the Umayyad mentality is still alive, and it increases or decreases in intensity from time to time. Those who have certain vested interests periodically howl about it. Although the Umayyads have turned into dust rags and nothing is attached to their name except shame and are cursed whenever they are mentioned, yet since such a propensity is atheistic in nature and is promoted by their gang and by those who join them from the generations, Ahl al-Bayt (ع) paid a special attention to putting its fire out and to attracting the attention to its deviation from the right path, the path brought by the Greatest Saviour who suffered so much in order to disseminate his call and keep it alive. One of the means that lead the souls to such a path, acquainting them with the injustice meted to Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and directing them towards the divine right clarified for them by the great legislator (ص), is the cause of the Master of Martyrs: It is full of tragedies to which the heart of the most bitter enemy softens, let alone that of his follower who recognizes the Imām' usurped authority.

The Imāms (ع) desired that their Shī`as should remain all year round, as days come and go, fully alert with regard to those who usurped such an authority, the ones that are so distant from the right path. They, therefore, required them to be present around the shrine of the masters of the youths of Paradise on specific occasions, and during other times as well. It is only natural that such assemblies bring to memory the cruelty employed by the Umayyads who slaughtered the children and banished the daughters of the Prophet (ص) from one country to another.

They were forced to ride
Hands to the necks tied
On bare hump she-camels they did ride.
No veil did their faces find:
Behind forearms and hands did they hide.[1]

Fervour and manliness insist that nobody should surrender and accept to be ruled by anyone who inflicts such horrible deeds on anyone else at all, let alone on the family of the most holy Prophet (ص). It is then that the souls become filled with emotion, feelings reach their ebb, and judgment is issued against those filthy folks who reneged from the Islamic faith. Of course, such a cause with regard to the Master of Martyrs is more binding than any other Imām because his cause contains that which softens the hearts. It is from this juncture that the Infallible Ones (ع) used him as their argument whereby they assault their foes. They, therefore, required their followers to weep, to commemorate in any way, to visit his shrine..., and so on and so forth, causing the *umma* to become full of the memory of Ḥusain: Ḥusaini in principle, and to the last breath Ḥusaini...

[1]From a poem by Shaikh Hādi Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify him.

Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع) recites a special supplication during his prostration which has been transmitted to us by Mu`āwiyah ibn Wahab. It casts a divine light in the depths of the hearts; it reaffirms the creed; it brings ease to the soul, and it acquaints us with obscure mysteries. The Imām (ع) used to say the following whenever he prostrated:

> Lord! You are the One Who chose us to receive Your bliss, promised us to intercede, granted us the knowledge of what passed and of what remains, made the hearts of some people lean towards us: I invoke You to forgive me and my brethren and those who visit the grave-site of my grandfather al-Ḥusain, those who spend their wealth and exhaust themselves out of their desire to express their devotion to us, hoping to earn the rewards which You have for all those who maintain their link with us, and because of the pleasure they bring to Your Prophet, and out of their response to our own order to do so. Reward them for having vexed our enemy as they sought Your Pleasure. Do reward them, O Lord, on our behalf, and grant them sustenance during the night and the day, and be generous to their families and offspring, those who succeed them in doing such good deeds. Be their Friend; ward off from them the evil of all stubborn tyrants, all those from among Your creatures. Protect their weak from the evil of the mighty ones, be they demons, humans, or jinns. And grant them the best of what they aspire as they estrange themselves from their home-lands, and for preferring us over their sons, families, and kinsfolk. Lord! Our enemies find fault with their going out to visit our shrines, yet it does not stop them from doing so, unlike those who oppose us. Lord! Have mercy on the faces transformed by the heat of the sun. Have mercy on the cheeks that touch the grave of Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain. Have mercy on the eyes that weep out of kindness to us. Have mercy on the hearts that are grieved on our account and are fired with passion for us. And have mercy on those who mourn us. Lord! I implore You to be the Custodian of these souls and bodies till You bring them to the Pool [of Kawthar] on the Day of the great thirst.

When Mu`āwiyah ibn Wahab regarded this supplication as giving "too much" for those who visit the grave-site of Imām al-Ḥusain (ع), Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) said to him, "Those in the heavens who supplicate for those who visit al-Ḥusain's grave-site are more numerous than those who do so on earth."[1]

This supplication by the Imām of the nation contains great injunctions and attributes which only those who seek their light and uphold the rope of their guidance appreciate. The mourning to which the Imām (ع) refers near the end of his supplication is the result of one who is terrified and afflicted with a calamity.[2] Since there is no specifying whether such mourning takes place at home or simply everywhere, it is commendable no matter where it may be, be it in the streets, or upon seeing a re-enactment, or at any other situation encountered by men or women.

Among the other means which Ahl al-Bayt (ع) enjoined their Shī`as to do is rubbing their cheeks on the most pure grave. There is no need to specify the grave of al-Ḥusain (ع) because there is one narration relevant to saluting the graves recorded by Shaikh al-Ṭūsi on p. 200, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Tahthīb* has transmitted by Muḥammed ibn `Abdullāh al-Ḥimyari who says, "I wrote the *faqīh* asking him about one who visits grave-sites. He wrote me back stating near his signature that prostrating on graves is not

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[1]Narrated by al-Kulayni in his book *Al-Kāfi*, by Ibn Qawlawayh on p. 116 of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* by Ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi, and by al-Ṣadūq on p. 54 of his book titled *Thawā al-A`māl*.

[2]*Tāj al-`Arūs*, Vol. 3, p. 66, in a chapter dealing with screaming.

permissible in any obligatory or optional prayer, but one may place his right cheek on the grave, and this is general due to the recommendation that one places his cheek on any of the graves of the Infallible ones, peace be upon them."

PREFERRING THEM (ع) OVER ALL OTHERS

Among what this supplication leads us to is the extent to which the Shī`as go in expressing their love for Ahl al-Bayt (ع), spending their money with generosity to keep the memory of their Imāms (ع) alive whenever they hold somber commemorations, birth anniversaries, etc., and by preferring them over their offspring, families and kinsfolk.

The implication of putting some people ahead of all others through self-denial is not far from your mind. It is holding others as more important than one's own self. This can be done either by satisfying all the requirements demanded by friendship, or by assisting one to achieve his objective, or by expressing utmost regards for him. It is one of the commendable traits which spring out of one's own goodness of nature, loftiness of moral code, and excellence of substance. Allāh, the Praised and the Exalted One, has praised those who adorn themselves thereby saying, "They prefer others over themselves even when poverty is their lot" (Qur'ān, 59:9), that is, even when they themselves are in need, being poor, destitute.[1]

There is no confusion about the fact that one who is preferred over all others, once he combines in him the requirements that earn him such a preference, will be further recognized as being worthy of such a preference. If you keenly observe those adorned with virtues, you will find none more worthy of being preferred than the inspired Progeny (ع) due to the excellent status and the unsurpassed eminence awarded them by the Creator, Praise to Him. Their favours upon the nation obligate the latter to reward them, and to pay them their due rights, the payment which nobody can avoid.

Whoever regards them as his masters, preferring them over himself, his family, and kinsfolk, submits to the fact that the Imāms (ع) are the reason behind the divine bounties, the ones who were taught the *Sharī`a* by Him, and the means of bringing happiness to man and his earning high plains. Such bounties include their moral excellences, an upright way of dealing with others, social graces and moral codes that guarantee one's success.

Add to the above the Imāms' great efforts to rescue the nation and bring it to the haven of safety and security, saving it from the deluge of annihilation, so much so that they, peace be upon them, preferred doing so over living a happy life. Thus, they sacrificed themselves so that the nation might remain on the right track, or so that they may keep the torment away from the members of the nation.

According to one tradition by Imām Mūsa ibn Ja`fer (ع), he preferred to suffer rather than let his Shī`as suffer. The Imāms (ع), moreover, never ceased loving their Shī`as. Every morning and every evening, they used to plead to Allāh to have mercy on them. They were happy whenever their Shī`as were happy, and they were grieved whenever their Shī`as were grieved. This is so because the Shī`as are the remnant of the Imāms' own mold; they are the leaves of that good tree whose roots are firmly planted and whose branches are high in the sky.

For example, al-Ḥujjah, may Allāh hasten his reappearance, has offered the following supplication for them:

> O Allāh! Our Shī`as were created of the rays of our own *noors* and of the remnant of our own mold. They have committed many sins, relying on their love for us. If their sins are relevant

[1]Refer to p. 387, Vol. 4, of *Tāj al-`Arūs*.

to their duties toward You, do, O Lord, forgive them, for it pleases us that You do so. And if such sins are relevant to their obligations towards us, do, O Lord, mend their affairs and distance such sins from reaching the *khums* due to us. Permit them, O Lord, to enter Paradise; move them away from hell, and do not include them in Your wrath with our enemies.[1]

I cannot imagine, since the case is as such, that you can find in the code of rights and obligations, or in the norms of faithfulness, or in the requirements of manliness, any justification for laxing in solacing the bearers of the Message by preferring them over your own self and your family in everything precious or not so precious. You, otherwise, will plunge in the deepest pit of meanness. You will permit yourself to be the target of blame by reason on one hand, and by the requirements of the *Sharī`a* on the other, assaulted by manliness.

There is no doubt that Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) would like us to adorn ourselves with self-denial in order to keep the memory of all members of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) alive. We come to such a conclusion when we discern the reference used by the Imām (ع) in his supplication: Having supplicated for those who visit the shrine of Imām Ḥusain (ع), invoked Allāh to grant them the fulfillment of their best wishes, he (ع) said, "... and reward them for that whereby they preferred us over themselves." His using the plural "themselves" connotes his loving them for having preferred the Imāms (ع) over their own selves, something which brings goodness to each and every one of them.

Since preference awarded to visiting the shrine of the Oppressed Imām (ع) is inclusive, due to its bringing to memory his sacred stand, whoever stands before the pure shrines sees himself as though he stands between both ranks: the rank of sanctity, of guidance to everything good, and his band, and the rank of the product of the Thursday of Infamy, namely Yazīd and his followers, observing the stand taken by the first party with regard to what is right and to integrity, and the [evil] end sought by those who opted to follow falsehood and uncleanness. He, therefore, will have then kindled the fires of two attributes: loyalty to one party and dissociation from the other.

A far-sighted discreet person cannot overlook the implication in the statement cited above in Abu `Abdullāh's supplication: "O Allāh! Our enemies found fault with them (with our Shī`as) for visiting our shrines, yet this did not stop them from doing so, thus distinguishing themselves from those who opposed our ways." He, peace be upon him, desired to urge the Shī`as to always keep consoling Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and respecting their rites, keeping their heritage alive and disseminating their legacy. Any calamity suffered by them while following such a path is surely witnessed by Allāh, the most Exalted One, and it pleases His Purified Friends. The mockery of those who mock does not harm them in the least so long as they are on the right path. The Jews had made fun of the *athān*, just as the polytheists had made fun of the *sujūd*, yet it did not weaken the Muslims' determination in the least, so they continued their march on the straight path heedless of the pitfalls of others.

Those who visit the grave-site of Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع), and who crowd to uphold the Ḥusaini rites, are not harmed by the mockery of the ignorant about whom al-Ṣādiq (ع) says, "By Allāh! Their luck missed the mark! From achieving Allāh's rewards did they swerve! And from nearness to Muḥammed (ص) did they distance themselves!"

When Thurayḥ al-Muḥāribi said to him once, "Whenever I detail the merits of visiting (the grave-site) of Abu `Abdullāh [al-Ḥusain] (ع), my offspring and kinsfolk make fun of me," the Imām (ع) responded

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[1]This supplication appears on p. 281 of al-Nawari's Supplement to Vol. 12 of *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

by saying, “O Thurayḥ! Let people go where they want to go while you stay with us.”[1]

He (ع) said once to Ḥammād, “It has come to my knowledge that some people from Kūfa, as well as others in its outskirts, visit on the middle of Sha`bā n the grave of Abu `Abdullāh (ع), and that some of them recite the Qur’ān while others narrate the story (of his martyrdom), while still others laud us, and that the women mourn him.” Ḥammād said, “I have personally seen some of what you have described.” The Imām (ع) then said, “Praise to Allāh Who let some people come to us to laud us, to mourn us, while letting our enemies fault them and describe what they do as abominable.”[2]

The ridicule of those who distance themselves from Ahl al-Bayt (ع), those who shy away from upholding these rites, does not undermine the goodness of the legacy which endears to us the keeping of the memory of the Imāms alive, and it has benefitted the nation in the life of this world and will benefit it in the life hereafter.

In one *ḥadīth* by the Messenger of Allāh (ص), he said to the Commander of the Faithful (ع), “A scum [of the earth] from among the people reproach those who visit your graves just as an adulteress is reproached about having committed adultery. These are the evil ones of my nation. May Allāh never permit them to earn my intercession on the Day of Judgment.”[3]

COMPOSING POETRY IN THEIR MEMORY

What is obvious beyond the shadow of doubt is that composing poetry about anyone means introducing him to others, keeping his name alive, and publicizing for him. Men's legacy, no matter how highly esteemed by others and how great, may lose its glow as time goes by. Such legacy, therefore, will eventually be overlooked and its great significance forgotten. Poetry is faster to steal people's attention and appreciation. People disseminate it, tongues articulate it, hearts memorize it and pass it on from one generation to another, from one nation to another. Arabic literature has preserved a great deal of this nations' history, biographies and wars, during the period of *jāhiliyya* and since the dawn of Islam. Among what Du`bal al-Khuzā`i has said about poetry's perpetuation across the centuries are these lines:

If I compose a line, its composer will die, yet I
Am quoted: one whose verse shall never die.

`Urwah ibn Uthaynah has said,

I was told about men who did fear
That I vilify them, and I do not vilify.
If they are innocent, my poetry shall not come near
Them, nor shall they be censured thereby.
But if they are in esteem less than that,
And utter something with an effect to last,
It will mean to these men

[1]This quotation is stated on p. 143, Chapter 51, of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* of Ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi.

[2]This dialogue is stated on p. 124 of *Mazār al-Biḥār*, and on p. 325, Chapter 108, of the first edition of *Kāmil al-Ziyārat* by Ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi.

[3]Refer to this *ḥadīth* as stated on p. 31 of *Farḥat al-Ghari* by Ibn Ṭāwūs.

Many a book and many a pen.

Since remembering Ahl al-Bayt (ع) is the pillar of the creed and the spirit of reform, and through it are their teachings taught and footsteps followed, the Infallible Imāms (ع) kept urging their followers to publicize their abundant merits, the calamities they underwent, and their suffering as they tried to keep the creed alive. Publicizing the tragedies that befell them and the agonies they had to withstand will keep their cause alive. May Allāh have mercy on all those who keep their memory alive and who invite others to remember them.

Imām Abu Ja`fer al-Bāqir (ع) said the following to al-Kumait when the latter recited for him his poem which starts with "Who shall solace a heart suffering from overflowing passion?": "May you always be supported by the Holy Spirit."[1]

When al-Kumait once sought permission of Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) during the days of *tashrīq* to recite his poem to him, the Imām (ع) thought it was quite a serious offence to recite poetry during such great days. But when al-Kumait said to him, "It is composed about you (Ahl al-Bayt [as])," the father of `Abdullāh (ع) became quite relaxed because doing so is obligatory due to its resulting in keeping the traditions of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) alive. Then he called upon some of his family members to join them both, whereupon al-Kumait recited his poem. There was a great deal of weeping when he recited the verse saying,

Shooters hit thereby the mark the others are missing:
O last one led to misguidance by the first: Do listen!

It was then that Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) raised his hands and supplicated saying, "O Allāh! Forgive al-Kumait's sins, the ones he committed, and the ones he will commit, the ones he hid, and the ones he revealed! And grant him, O Lord, of Your favours till he is pleased!"[2]

Abu Ja`fer Imām al-Jawād (ع) permitted `Abdullāh ibn al-Ṣalt to eulogize him and mourn his father Imām al-Riḍa (ع).

Abu Ṭālib once wrote the Imām (ع) seeking his permission to eulogize his father Imām al-Riḍa (ع), so he cut the parchment in which the poem was written and kept it with him, then he wrote him saying, "An excellent job you have done, and may Allāh reward you with goodness."[3] Imām Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ṣādiq (ع), said to Sufyān ibn Miṣ`ab, "Compose for me poetry about al-Ḥusain (ع)," then he ordered Umm Farwa and his own children to be brought near them. Once they all gathered, Sufyān started his poem by saying, "O Farwa! Be generous with your over-pouring tears." It was then that Umm Farwa cried loudly, and so did the other women with her, whereupon Abu `Abdullāh (ع) shouted: "The door! (Close) the door!" The people of Medīna assembled, so Abu `Abdullāh (ع) sent them a child who fainted (having become overwhelmed by emotion).[4] This is one good method of disseminating awareness (of the tragedy of Kerbalā') among the public. Indeed, their children did faint during the Battle of al-Ṭaff, and I do not know which one of them the Imām (ع) had then in mind. Was it `Abdullāh, the infant, or was it `Abdullāh Junior son of Imām al-Ḥasan (ع) who was killed with an arrow while in al-Ḥusain's lap? Or was it Muḥammed son of Abu Sa`īd son of `Aqīl son of Abu Ṭālib?

Ja`fer son of `Affān[5] came once to see Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع). The Imām (ع) said to him, "You compose

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[1]This statement is quoted on p. 5 of *`Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍa* (ع) by al-Ṣadūq.

[2]This is recorded on p. 118, Vol. 15, of *Al-Aghāni* and also on p. 27, Vol. 2, of *Ma`āhid al-Tanṣīṣ*.

[3]This is stated on p. 350 of *Rijāl al-Kashshi*.

[4]This is *ḥadīth* number 263 on the list of *aḥādīth* recorded in *Rawḍat al-Kāfi*.

[5]According to p. 8, Vol. 7, and p. 45, Vol. 9, of *Al-Aghāni*, he belonged to the tribe of Ṭay.

poetry about al-Ḥusain (ع), and you do a good job, don't you?" He answered in the affirmative, whereupon the Imām (ع) asked him to recite some of it for him. Ja`fer did. The Imām (ع) cried so much that his tears ran profusely on his cheeks and beard. Then he said to him, "Allāh's angels who are near to Him have all witnessed what you have said about al-Ḥusain, and they have all cried just as we here cry. Allāh has ordered you to be lodged in Paradise." After a while, the Imām (ع) turned to those present there and then to say, "Anyone who composes poetry in memory of al-Ḥusain (ع) and he cries and causes others to cry will be forgiven by Allāh, and he will be worthy of entering Paradise."[1]

This Ja`fer is a sincere Shī`a who has earned a great deal of praise and is regarded as a reliable authority by biographers. He is the one who responded to Marwān ibn Abu Ḥafṣa when the latter said,

Clear the way for people whose customs are
The crushing of flanks whenever throngs jostle,
Accept what the Lord has decreed for you,
And let alone inheriting every protecting knight.
How can it be, and it never will,
That a daughters' son should inherit his uncle?[2]

Ja`fer ibn `Affān responded by syaing,

Why not?! And it surely is:
Sons of daughters shall inherit their uncles,
For the girls have his wealth, while the uncle
Is left without a share. Why should a *ṭaleeq*
Talk about inheritance at all? The *ṭaleeq* prayed
Only out of his fear of the sword.[3]

A group of men came to see Imām al-Riḍa (ع) once and found him looking out of the ordinary. They asked him why. He said to them, "I have spent my entire night awake thinking about what Marwān ibn Abu Ḥafṣa said," then he quoted the lines cited above. The Imām (ع) went on to say, "I later fell asleep. It was then that someone took hold of the door as he said,

How can it be? And it shall not:
Pillars of Islam do not belong to polytheists.
Granddaughters inherit no grandfathers,
While the uncle is deprived of his share.
Why should a *ṭaleeq* about inheritance say a word?
The *ṭaleeq* prayed only out of his fear of the sword.
The Qur'ān has already informed you of his worth,
So the judges issued about him and decreed.
Fāṭima's son to whom reference is made

[1]This is quoted on p. 187 of *Rijāl al-Kashshi*. On p. 144, Vol. 2, Chapter 13, of his book *Al-Maqtal*, al-Khawārizmi quotes two of his poems eulogizing Imām al-Ḥusain (ع).

[2]These verses are recorded on p. 17, Vol. 12, of *Al-Aghāni*.

[3]See p. 45, Vol. 9, of *Al-Aghāni*.

Earned his inheritance from his cousins,
While the son of the wide shield stands
Hesitant, weeping, only by his kin pleased."[1]

Marwān stole the theme from verses composed by a slave of Tammām ibn Ma`bid ibn al-`Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib who stood to attack with his poetry `Ubaydullāh ibn Abu Rāfi`, servant of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). He had come to Imām al-Ḥasan ibn Ali (ع) and said: "I am your servant," and he used to write down quotations from (the Imām's father) Imām Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع). Tammām's slave then said:

Al-`Abbās's offspring denied their father's right
So you in your claim seek no good end;
Since when do the offspring of the Prophet
Behave like an heir who earns, then he,
When opportune, claims linkage to the father?[2]

Marwān ibn Sulaymān ibn Yaḥya ibn Abu Ḥafṣa was a Jew who embraced Islam at the hands of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. Some say that he was taken captive from Istakhar, and that `Uthmān ibn `Affān bought him and gave him to Marwān as a slave. He participated in the incident of the Dār on Marwān's side. When Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam was wounded (in that incident), he was carried by his slave, Ibn Abu Ḥafsah, on his shoulders. He dragged him as he (Marwān) moaned. He kept telling him to remain silent else he should be heard and killed. He was able to bring him to a safe haven inside the tent of a woman who belonged to the tribe of `Anzah and treated him till he healed. Marwān freed him and let him participate with him in the Battle of the Camel and of Marj Rāhiṭ.[3] Ṣāliḥ ibn Aṭiyyah al-Adjam was angry with Marwān's verse "How can it be, and it shall not, etc.," so he kept company with him for some time serving him till he and his family felt comfortable about him. When Ibn Abu Ḥafṣah fell ill, Ṣāliḥ acted as his nurse. Once those around the sick man had left with the exception of Ṣāliḥ, the latter suffocated him and killed him, but none among his family suspected anything at all.[4]

THE QUESTION OF MARCHING WITH THE FAMILY

Al-Ḥusain (ع) transported his family [from Medīna] to Iraq knowing that he and all those in his company would be killed. Why? He knew beforehand that his murder would be in vain if no eloquent tongues and determined persons acquainted the nation with the misguidance of Maysūn's son and with the oppression of Marjāna's son who attacked the pure progeny of the Prophet (ص), and without the refutation of the *bid`as* which they had introduced in the sacred *Sharī`a*.

The Father of the Oppressed realized that the theologians were apprehensive of pretending to denounce the oppressive authority to which they surrendered. He was also informed of the imprisonment of

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[1]Refer to p. 305 of *`Uyūn Akhbār al-Rida* by al-Ṣadūq. On p. 214 of *Al-Iḥtijāj*, al-Ṭibrisi, while discussing the biography of Imām Mūsa al-Kāẓim (ع), says that the latter Imām heard that voice.

[2]These verses are recorded on p. 15 of *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu`arā'* by Ibn al-Mu`tazz.

[3]Refer to p. 34, Vol. 9, of *Al-Aghāni*.

[4]*Ibid*., p. 46.

many of them. He concluded that even the greatest among them would not be able to expose the horror of what such authority was committing. What happened to Ibn `Afīf al-Azdi underscores this reality which any clear conscience supports.

The Father of the Oppressed also knew that the ladies who were born in the Message were used to persevere during the time of calamity and when facing hardships, and difficulties, with hearts more firm than the mountains. They did not neglect, even under the most adverse of situations, to expose to the public the lies and falsehood resulting from what those misleading rulers were promoting as well as their ultimate goal of undermining the creed. They rose with their Imām who sacrificed himself for the sake of the right creed only to bring the *Sharī`a* of his grandfather, the Prophet (ص), back to life.

Even while their hearts were on fire on account of the tragedy, and even when calamities plunged them into the deepest depression, the wise ladies belonging to the family of the Prophet (ص) were largely prepared for revenge and for defending the sanctity of the creed.

Among them is [Zainab] the wise lady and daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), peace of Allāh be upon her, who was not deterred by captivity or by the humiliation of exile, or by losing dear ones, or even by her enemy rejoicing at her misfortune, or by the wailing of the widows, the cries of the children, the moaning of the sick. She often spoke out her mind to those ruffians even when she was between their claws and fangs, without stuttering a bit, hurling words like thunderbolts at their assembly. She, for example, stood before Marjāna's son, the ill-begotten tyrant, the defenseless lady that she was, having none with her to protect her nor any of her family's men except the Imām's *wali* [Zain al-`Ābidīn] who was exhausted by sickness, in addition to women seeking refuge in her shadow, complaining, weeping, and children filled with the pain of thirst, and young ladies severely beset, while the severed head of the Imām (ع) and those of his supporters and kinsfolk were all in front of her as the limbs were left in the desert for the sun to incinerate. Even a single one of such calamities would overpower and shatter the mind of anyone.

Yet the daughter of Ḥayder (ع) maintained a great deal of self-restraint and self-composure, so she delivered her speech as though she had been her father, a speech which was more forceful than the fiercest arrow, rendering the son of Marjāna speechless as she said, “These are people whom Allāh decreed to be killed; so they came out welcoming their destiny. Allāh will gather you and them, and arguments will be lodged against you, and you will be disputed; so, see whose lot will be the crack of the fire, may your mother lose you, O son of Marjāna.”

She made it clear for those who were unaware of his malice and meanness that he would never be able to wash away the shame and infamy of what he had committed. She baffled the minds and amazed everyone when she delivered another speech at Kūfa's cemetery where people were confused, weeping, not knowing what to do. Said she, “How can the shame and infamy of their killing the son of the Prophet, the substance of the Message, and the Master of the Youths of Paradise, ever be washed away from them? May their endeavour be rendered futile! May their hands perish! May their bargain be a loss, and may they be exposed to shame in the hereafter! Surely Allāh's retribution is greater, had they only known.”

Having finished her speech, she was succeeded by [her younger niece] Fāṭima daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع) who spoke eloquently while remaining unruffled, calm [the child that she was]. Her speech acted like spears that pierced the hearts. People could not help raising their voice as they wept, and they came to realize the extent of the tragedy and the pain it inflicted. They said to her, “Suffices you what you have said, O daughter of the pure ones, for you have certainly burnt our hearts and slit our throats!”

She hardly finished when Umm Kulthūm, Zainab daughter of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), spoke [again]. Zainab described the horror which those misled people had committed, whereupon everyone present wailed and cried, and nobody had ever witnessed more crying and weeping.[1]

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[1]Read the text of these three speeches in a later part of this book where the subject of martyrdom is discussed.

One wonders whether anyone can deliver a speech under such a most grave situation, when one is surrounded by the swords of the oppressors, no matter how strong his tribe may be. Yet who else besides the daughters of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) could publicly expose the sins committed by the son of Hind and the son of Marjāna?

Heavy burdens were placed on the tongues, and fear filled everyone's heart.

Yet all of this is looked upon as abominable had its benefits only been worldly and its motives the doing of one's insinuating self. But if it benefits the religion, such as clearing the faith introduced by the Messenger of Allāh (ص) from any falsehood which those adversaries had attached to it, there will be no ugliness in it according to reason and custom, and it is supported by the *Sharī`a*.

Allāh has exempted women from waging *jihād* and confronting the enemies, and Allāh Almighty has required them to stay at home. Yet such is the case when a confrontation like this is undertaken by the men. But when such an obligation is removed from them in a confrontational way from which they should refrain, the foundations of the *Sharī`a* will be undermined, and the sacrifice of those elite ones will be cleared from any falsehood, women will then be required to do just that.

It is for this reason that the Head of the Women of the World, Fāṭima al-Zahrā', peace be upon her, stood to defend Allāh's supreme caliphate after the oath of allegiance had been sworn to someone else other than to the master of *waṣis* [her husband, Imām Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), who was thus forcibly distanced from the political process], so she delivered a speech at the Mosque of the Prophet (ص) which was very eloquent and which was witnessed by a large crowd of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār.

But al-Ḥusain (ع) had already been informed by his grandfather, al-Amīn (ص), that those folks, although they would have attained their goal, and although they would go to extremes in their villainy, they would not harm the women. This is clear from a statement made by al-Ḥusain (ع) in which he said to those women at the final farewell hour, "Put on your outer mantles and get ready for the test, and be informed that Allāh will protect and safeguard you, and that He will save you from the evil of your adversaries and render the outcome of your cause righteousness. He will torment your adversaries with all norms of torture, and He will compensate you for going through such a calamity with numerous types of blessings and graces. So, do not complain, and do not utter that which may demean your status."

We can say all of this even if the master of the martyrs (ع) had not been the Imām. But in the case of submitting to the encompassing knowledge of the Imām, the knowledge of what was and of what will be, and his marching as directed by the best realistic interests, and his being infallible in everything he says and does, and it is the truth which cannot be refuted that we are bound to submit that all the divine wisdom he undertook and the divine interests are beyond any doubt..., we have to do nothing but to believe in all his actions without being bound by reason to know the interests served thereby. The same can be said about anything with which adults are obligated. The servants of Allāh are not required except to submit and surrender to their Lord without knowing the underlying motives behind what He orders them to do. The same case is applicable to the slaves with their masters. Reason does not require a slave to do anything more than obeying his master whenever the latter bids or forbids him.

`ALAWIDES' REVOLUTIONS

One of the products of that sacred uprising and clear victory was a transformation in the outlook of the `Alawides, in their lineage and creed, and in that of those who developed some norm of attachment to Muḥammed's Progeny, even when one concealed the opposite of what he revealed. All of these were relentless in propagating the rightful cause, in weakening the government of falsehood, and in reminding the nation that there was a right that belonged to Muḥammed's Progeny and which was

usurped, and that they were obligated to sever the hand that usurped it, hence those successive revolutions that brought a fresh hope to the hearts and to the desire to research the true guidance in order to find out where the truth lies.

The nation used to think that it was not possible to rise in the face of those who controlled its fate, and who ruled the Muslims, because of their might, and that to challenge the cruel authority would be futile; rather, the *Sharī`a* prohibits anyone from tragically throwing himself in the pitfalls of perdition without gaining anything.

But the master of dignity and self-esteem, the Master of the Youths of Paradise, inspired the people who cared about the religion at the Ṭaff incident with a loud scream to reject such an attitude, a scream the echo of which can still be heard by generations after generations. He called for the *Sharī`a* mandating a revolution against every oppressor in the absence of any other means to subdue him.

Such is the level of conviction of those who make the attainment of restitution the motto of their revolution. So they will either score a victory, or their successors will, till the hopes are transformed into a glorious victory.

This is what we witness from the succession of revolutions that were the outcome of the Umayyads playing havoc with the pure *Sharī`a*, hence al-Mukhtār's call for revenge for the wronged and the persecuted progeny of Muḥammed (ص).

Zayd ibn Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) and his son Yaḥya stood to earn the pleasure of the progeny of Muḥammed (ص), and the remnant of the Hāshemites demonstrated their denunciation of the oppressive rulers, leaping like lions to put an end to the sweeping torrent of misguidance.

If you contemplate on the biography of the Infallible descendants of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and what the Master, Praise to Him, has bestowed upon them by making them the means to remove the thorns of abomination, and by their being the means to guide His servants to what is exemplary, you will clearly see their desire, peace be upon them, for waging such bloody brawls, aiming thereby to remind the nation of their being the most worthy of the post of successors of the holiest Messenger (ص). Anyone who foils their attempts to attain what belongs to them, that which the Creator, Praised is His Name, had allotted to them, deviates from the right path. Such an understanding is conceived and discussed because of such revolutions in various lands so that the argument against the nation will be completed. Nobody will then seek an excuse of being ignorant about the Imāms appointed by the greatest Prophet (ص).

If we come across statements made by some of the Imāms of guidance denouncing or dissociating themselves from the `Alawides or others who revolted against oppressive rulers, it is only on account of the *taqiyya*, a safeguard against the schemes of the oppressive authority, so that such revolutions will not be attributed to them, for they would then face a dreadful fate.

Yes; there have been among the revolutionaries those who used the persecution meted to Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as a trap to hunt simpletons. [`Abdullāh] Ibn al-Zubayr, for example, used to extol the name of al-Ḥusain (ع) and denounce the injustice done to him. But when he took charge, he abandoned such a line, becoming the most bitter enemy of Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, revealing what he had hidden in his chest. He, therefore, suspended [the custom of] blessing the Prophet (ص) for full forty Jum`as. He was asked about his reason for doing so, whereupon he answered by saying, “His Ahl al-Bayt are evil; whenever I mention his name, they become excited, and they become elated; therefore, I hated to bring happiness to their hearts by mentioning his name.”[1]

He was in reality encouraged to do so by Mu`āwiyah. The latter heard the caller to the prayers reciting the *kalima* (which, of course, contains the name of Muḥammed [ص] as the Messenger of Allāh), whereupon he commented by saying, “This brother of Banū Hāshim yells his name five times a day saying,

[1]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Muqātil*, p. 165 (Tehran edition).

`Ā*shhadu anna Muḥammedan rasool-Allā*h.' What deed can survive with something like this, may you lose your mother? By Allāh, only burying it will, only burying it will."[1]

When al-Ma'mūn heard about this incident, he issued his orders to all regions to curse the Prophet (ص) from the pulpits, but people thought that that was monstrous, indeed, and there was a great deal of uproar among the people, so much so that he was advised to withdraw his orders, which he did.[2]

The `Abbāsides pretended to express their love for al-Ḥusain (ع), filling the air with their shouts denouncing the atrocities committed against the family of Muḥammed (ص) during the Ṭaff Battle. Having attained their goal, however, they turned against Muḥammed's family, wiping them from the face of earth. Mūsa ibn `Eisa, the `Abbāside (general) who commanded the assault at Fakhkh, said, "Had the Prophet opposed us, we would have struck his nose with the sword."[3]

These and their likes are the ones from whom one's conscience is detached. They will never be protected against the Almighty's wrath although the nation benefitted from their eradication of its enemies who belonged to the offspring of Ḥarb and Umayyah.

Ḥarb's sons coveted to see
In him submission to force and oppression,
They tried to hunt his valiant heroes
Like birds they shook off humiliation and flew.
They wished to forcibly drag him into disgrace,
Though to dignity he was accustomed and to grace.
How could he swear and submit
To filth only for fear of death?
He refused, hence the event that
Shook the world in awe and in fright.
So he came in an army and marched
Against hosts that filled the plains,
He and lions from `Amr, exalted ones
Wearing for the brawl steadfastness.
They dealt blows in a desert where
Death became in the morrow their mark
So they exalted justice and were spent
Pure in honour, clean of filth they went.
They sacrificed souls great and precious
Too dignified to please the lowly ones.[4]

PART II

[1]Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul-Balāgha*, p. 165 (Tehran edition).

[2]al-Mas`ūdi, *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 1, p. 343, where al-Ma'mūn is discussed.

[3]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 158 (Tehran edition).

[4]Excerpted from a poem by Sayyid `Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Ḥilli published in its entirety in al-Khāqāni's book *Shu`arā' al-Ḥilla*.

THE KERBALĀ' EPIC

The Messenger of Allāh (ص) has said, "The killing of al-Ḥusain (ع) has left in the heart of the faithful a fire that will never die down." This tradition is recorded on p. 217, Vol. 2, of *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*. Numerous poems have been and will be composed eulogizing the greatest epic of heroism in the history of mankind; here are some of them:

MUḤARRAM HAS COME

Muḥarram has come, so welcome it with *takbīr*,
And scatter your tears on the earth.
See in it the crescent as it manifests itself,
See how it is forlorn, contemplating, mourning.
Take off the mantle of patience and place it:
A yellow robe on one who with grief clothed you,
For with the robes of grief do I meet it,
Taking off what cheerful red robes decorated me.
It is a month destiny in it decreed
That the vilest of black dogs would deal
With the Lion of the valiant ones.
Allāh! What a calamity he had to behold!
The heavens for it wept crimson blood.
A great misfortune, indeed, afflicted the creed,
For it did the Mother Town drape in black:
Can't you see how the sacred Ḥaram sighs?
How his sighs would light the timber?
From its depths does Abu Qubays yearn
A yearning that reaches Ḥirā'.
Al-Ḥatīm knew of it, so it is grief-crushed,
Al-Ṣafa knew of it, so it is serene no more,
And its *mash`ars* sensed the calamity,
And passion struck its Muḥassir, so it sighed,
For Ḥusain is killed: what a tragedy!
On its account Islam became defenseless.[1]

THE MONTH OF MUḤARRAM

[1]Excerpted from a poem in Shihāb al-Mūsawi's *dīwān* (Egypt: 1330 A.H./1912 A.D.).

Muḥarram is when joy is taboo,
When grief is a must, weeping is unavoidable.
A month wherein the seat of faith is in ruin.
Its crescent is a bow
That shot the heart of guidance, the creed,
With the arrow of death and destiny.
Infidels and Muslims considered
Fighting in it a great sin.
Yet Harb's family in it fought the Lord of the heavens,
Permitting the spilling of the inviolable blood.
They violated the sanctity of the Ḥaram's masters,
Committing that which caused the sky to rain blood.
O family of Ḥarb! May you never see peace,
May none spare you from his censuring tongue!
On earth and in the heavens are you cursed,
By the mass of the living.
Be forewarned with woes and destruction,
And with torture on the Day the trumpet is blown.
How many free women of the Chosen Prophet
Did you rip apart?
How much blood of his offspring did you spill?
O nation of betrayal and disbelief!
O gang of misguidance, O fiends!
How will you look his grandfather in the eye
Having done what you did after him?
Like butchers you slaughtered his progeny,
Like slaves you herded his family.
You forgot the kindness bestowed upon you
On Mecca's Victory Day, when you were forgiven.
Had it not been for the moon-faced sons of Hāshim,
A secret lost in the chest you would have been.
Through them did you ascend the pulpit,
And rose to the heights of eminence.[1]

YAZīD SON OF MU`ĀWIYAH

When Mu`āwiyah died in Damascus on Rajab 15, 60 A.H./April 24, 680 A.D., his son Yazīd was in Ḥawrān [Auranitis in Latin]. His shrouds were taken by al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays who ascended the pulpit. Having praised and glorified Allāh, he said, “Mu`āwiyah used to be the Arab's bulwark, their supporter and great one. Through him did Allāh end dissensions, granting him authority over His servants, conquering the lands through him. He has died, and these are his shrouds. In them shall we wrap him, and in his grave shall we place him, then shall we leave him and his deeds, and so shall the *barzakh* be

[1]Excerpted from a poem by Ayatullah Shaikh Hādi Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ published on p. 9 of *Al-Maqbūla al-Ḥusayniyya*.

till the Day of Judgment. Whoever among you wishes to view it, he may proceed."

He offered the funeral prayers for him then buried him at the cemetery of Bāb al-Sagheer (the Small Gate). He sent a letter to Yazīd consoling him on the death of his father and advising him to go there as fast as he could in order to secure the renewal of the oath of allegiance to him[1]. He added a note at the bottom of the letter containing the following verses of poetry:

> Alone did Abu Sufyān go,
> Leaving you behind, so
> Consider what you will after him do.
> Follow the right order with us for you
> Are our resort whenever we fret.

Having read it, Yazīd said the following lines of poetry in response:[2]

> A carrier with a letter came trotting,
> Casting fear in the heart, frightening,
> So we said: Woe unto you! What is the news?
> Said he: The caliph became heavy, in pain:
> The earth swayed, almost shaken,
> As if uprooted were its every foundation.
> One whose soul remains in apprehension
> Almost brings about that which he does fear.
> I found the mansion gate closed when I came near,
> Ramla's voice wrecked my heart,
> She did, indeed, rend it apart.

He set out to Damascus, reaching it three days after Mu`āwiyah had already been buried.[3] Flanked by a group of prominent personalities, al-Ḍaḥḥāk went out to welcome him. When Yazīd reached them, al-Ḍaḥḥāk took him first to the site of Mu`āwiyah's grave. Yazīd prayed there then entered the city. Having ascended the pulpit, he said,

> O people! Mu`āwiyah was one of Allāh's servants. Allāh bestowed His favours upon him then took his soul away. He is higher in status than those who succeeded him and lower than those who preceded him. I do not augment him for Allāh, since He knows him better than me. If He forgives him, it is only due to His mercy, and if He punishes him, it is on account of his own sins. I have been granted authority after him, and I do not feel sorry for anything which I sought, nor do I apologize for anything which I have forfeited. When Allāh decrees something, it comes to pass. Mu`āwiyah used to transport you in the sea to invade, but I am not transporting any Muslim in the sea. And he used to let you spend your winter in the land of the Romans, but I am letting none of you spend his winter in any Roman land. He used to

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[1]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wal Nihāya*, Vol. 8, p. 143.

[2]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 16, p. 34 (de Sassi edition).

[3]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal*, Vol. 1, p. 178. In the biography of Mu`āwiyah on the margins of *Al-Iṣāba* (of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni) with reference to *Al-Istī`āb*, al-Shāfi`i is quoted as saying, "When Mu`āwiyah felt the weight of his last days, he wrote Yazīd, who had been away, telling him about his condition. Yazīd then composed four lines of the ones to follow."

give you a third of what you collect, but I shall let you keep it all.[1]

Nobody approached him to offer condolences before `Abdullāh ibn Humām al-Salūli came forward and said, "O commander of the faithful! May Allāh compensate you for your loss; may He bless you for what you have given us, and may He assist you in ruling your subjects. You have surely suffered a great calamity and have been granted something great; so, you should thank Allāh for what you have been granted and be patient about that wherein you have been tested, for you have lost the viceregent of Allāh and given the caliphate of Allāh. You have bidden farewell to a great man and given something great indeed. Mu`āwiyah has died and you have become our leader and the reigns of government have been placed in your hands. May Allāh bring him to the sources of happiness, and may He enable you to do what is best." Then he composed the following lines of poetry:

Be patient, O Yazīd, you have parted with a great man,
And thank the One Who put you in charge.
No calamity has befallen the people, they know,
Your calamity is theirs; no issue is better than you.
You have dawned the custodian of all those
Who do uphold the creed,
So look after them as Allāh looks after you.
The surviving Mu`āwiyah did to us succeed
As you are consoled, while none is mourning you.

This opened the avenue for other speakers to speak.[2] A man from Thaqīf said to him, "Peace on you, O commander of the faithful, and Allāh's mercy and blessings! You have been grieved by the loss of the best of fathers, and you have been given all things; so, be patient with regard to your tragedy, and praise Allāh for granting you such a beautiful gift, for none has been given as you have, nor has anyone been grieved as you have." People came to him to congratulate him and to offer their condolences. Yazīd said, "We are the supporters of righteousness and the promoters of the creed. Rejoice, O people of Syria, for goodness has always been with you, and there will be a tragic epic between myself and the people of Iraq! I have seen in my vision three nights ago that a river stood between me and the people of Iraq tumultuously flowing with blood, and I tried hard to cross it, but I could not till `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād crossed it before me as I looked at him!"

The Syrians shouted, "Take us wherever you wish, for our swords, with which the people of Iraq are familiar since the Battle of Ṣiffīn, are on your side." He thanked them and distributed to them a lot of money.

He then wrote the governors of various countries informing them of the death of his father and keeping them in their jobs. He dispatched to Iraq `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād according to the advice of Serjun [Sargon], slave of his father Mu`āwiyah. He wrote the following letter to al-Walīd ibn `Utbah, governor of Medīna:

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[1]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah*, Vol. 8, p. 143.

[2]al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wal Tibyān*, Vol. 2, p. 109 (second edition), in a chapter dealing with Mu`āwiyah's will. *Kāmil al-Mibrad*, Vol. 3, p. 300. Ibn al-Rashīq, *Al-`Umda*, Vol. 2, p. 148, in a chapter dealing with eulogizing. There is a minor difference in the narrations stated in these references. Ibn `Abd Rabbih (namely Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli), *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd fī Ma`rifat al-Qirā'a wal Tajwīd*, Vol. 2, p. 309, in a chapter dealing with Mu`āwiyah soliciting fealty for Yazīd.

Mu`āwiyah was one of Allāh's servants. Allāh bestowed upon him generously and preferred him and granted him authority over others. Then He took him to the world of the souls and to fragrance, to His mercy and punishment. He lived according to destiny, and he died according to a term, and he had enjoined me to beware of the descendants of Abu Turāb due to their courage in killing. I have come to know, O Walīd, that Allāh, Glorified and Exalted is He, will seek revenge for `Uthmān through the descendants of Abu Sufyān because they are the supporters of justice and the seekers of equity. So, when you receive this letter, take the oath of allegiance from the people of Medīna.

Then he attached a small piece of scroll wherein he wrote: "Be tough with al-Ḥusain, `Abdullāh ibn `Umer [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, son of the second caliph], `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn Abu Bakr [son of the first caliph], and `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr [a cousin of `Āyesha, wife of the Prophet, later on ruler of Ḥijāz] when you require them to swear the oath of allegiance [to me]. Whoever refuses, kill him and send his severed head to me."[1]

The governor carried his instructions out. At mid-night, He called for al-Ḥusain (ع) and [`Abdullāh] Ibn al-Zubayr in the hope that he would secure their oath of allegiance before everyone else. His messenger, `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn `Amr ibn [son of the third caliph] `Uthmān ibn Affān[2] located them at the Prophet's Mosque. Ibn al-Zubayr became apprehensive of such an invitation which came not at the time when the governor used to hold his open public meetings,[3] but the *ḥujjah* of his time, al-Ḥusain (ع) of reform, acquainted him with a piece of news from the unknown, telling him that Mu`āwiyah had died, and that they were being sought to swear the oath of allegiance for and to support Yazīd due to a vision which he had seen wherein he saw Mu`āwiyah's house burning and his pulpit turned upside down.[4]

The son of Maysūn desired to steer the creed,
Played havoc with Allāh's religion his every evil deed.
So to succor the Sharī`a, the cub of the clement and the grand
Who, with his saber's blood, caused its very foundations to stand.
Surrounded he was once he tested the folks
A group whose virtues aspired to reach the peaks.
Who is more brave than one brought up by Hayder
And brought in the birds' towns by his grandfather?
A group for the religion is always ready to sacrifice
Though few in number, yet in will unflinching.
Till they all fell in defense of the Sharī`a

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[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 178 (Najaf edition). We have already referred to this brief letter in our Introduction above; so, you may refer to it.

[2]Ibn `Āsākir, Vol. 4, p. 327.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 327.

[4]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 10. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 182, chapter 8. It is quite clear that the Imām's vision was a true observation of the then *status quo* and it is a proof of the Imāmate's insight, one before which no barrier stands, realizing what happens in the cosmos. There is no innovation in that coming from one chosen by Allāh Almighty as the *ḥujjah* over the whole world. He (ع) saw in the turning of Mu`āwiyah's pulpit upside down that the power had slipped away from his hands by virtue of his [Mu`āwiyah's] death which put an end to his desires. Burning fire connoted the intensification of dissensions such as the tragedy of the Ṭaff, the incident of the Ṭaff, the demolishing of [one of the corners of] the Inviolable House [of Allāh, i.e. the Ka`ba which was attacked with catapults by Yazīd's soldiers], and the like.

As lions defend their den.
Hind's son wanted, but he did fail
To see Ḥusain's will with oppression bent.
But the father of deeply rooted honour
Refused to wear the robe of humiliation
So long as the sword was his companion.
How could he bend to the evil band
To the sons of Sumayya and Maysūn,
While the sword in his hand did stand?
So he charged like an angry lion
At them as he was sought by his foe
Who with his sword wanted to deal a blow.
In their necks did he let his polished sword
Issue without an appeal its judgment and word,
Till he brought the faith anew
With the blood of the Prophet's issue.
His grandson was needed by his creed
To water its thirsty and drying field.[1]

Ḥusain's decision with regard to meeting the governor at that time became clear to Ibn al-Zubayr, so he suggested to him not to do so for fear of being assassinated. Al-Ḥusain (ع) explained to him his ability to avoid it.[2] Thirty of al-Ḥusain's slaves, followers and family members[3] were instructed to raise their arms as they stood at the door and to rush to his rescue should they hear him raising his voice; he himself was armed with the Prophet's staff. When the meeting started with the presence of Abu `Abdullāh, Imām al-Ḥusain (ع), al-Walīd informed him of Mu`āwiyah's death and asked him to swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd. He (ع) said, "A man like me does not swear fealty away from people's eyes. When you invite people to swear it, invite us, too. This way it will be one single matter."[4]

Al-Walīd was convinced, but Marwān immediately interfered saying, "Should he part with you now without swearing it, you will never be able to secure it from him again till many of your people are killed, but confine the man till he either swears the oath of allegiance, or you kill him."

Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "You son of the blue woman [prostitute]![5] Will you kill me, or will he?! You

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by *`allāma* Shaikh Muḥammed Taqi, author of *Al-Jawāhir*.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 6.

[3]Sayyid Radi ad-Dīn ibn Tāwūs (henceforth referred to only as Ibn Tāwūs), *Al-Luhūf fī Qatlā al-Ṭufūf*.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 189.

[5]Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi (the grandson), *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 229 (Iranian edition). al-Fakhri, *Al-Ādāb al-Sultāniyya*, p. 88. Both references indicate that Marwān's grandmother was a prostitute. On p. 75, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Kāmil*, it is stated that, "People used to taunt the descendants of `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān of the "blue woman" [prostitute], who was daughter of Mawāhib, because she was a prostitute and because she used to have a [red] flag over her house [to indicate that there was a prostitute in that house as was the custom of the time throughout Arabia and elsewhere – Tr.]." Ibn `Āsākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 7, p. 407, where a dialogue between Marwān and `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr is quoted. In it, `Abdullāh said to Marwān, "Are you still here, O son of the blue woman?!" On p. 129, Vol. 5, of al-Balāthiri's book *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ, in a dialogue between him and Marwān, said to the latter, "You son of the blue woman!" Marwān said, "She was a blue woman, but she gave birth to a brass the like of which no other woman gave birth to." On p. 16, Vol. 8, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, this historian [al-Ṭabari] says that Marwān ibn Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath used to

have surely lied and sinned."[1]

Then he directed his attention to al-Walīd as he said, "O *ameer!* We are members of the household of the Prophet, the substance of the [Divine] Message, and the ones visited by the angels. Allāh initiates by us, and so does he conclude. Yazīd is a wine drinker, a killer of the prohibitive soul, a man who commits sins in the open. A man like me does not swear the oath of allegiance to a man like him, but we will see the morning, and so will you; we shall see and so will you as to who among us is more worthy of the caliphate."[2]

It was then that al-Walīd started using rough language with the Imām (ع), whereupon nineteen men with unsheathed daggers assaulted and forcibly snatched al-Ḥusain (ع) out and brought him home.[3]

Marwān said to al-Walīd, "You did not listen to me! By Allāh! You will never be able to do it again!" "Rebuke someone else," al-Walīd said, "O Marwān! You chose for me the doing of that which would cause my creed to perish. Should I kill Ḥusain just for refusing to swear the oath of allegiance? By Allāh! I do not think that the scales of anyone who will be tried on the Day of Judgment for spilling al-Ḥusain's blood will be anything but light, nor will Allāh look upon him, nor will He purify him, and he will have a painful torment!"[4]

Asmā' daughter of `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, al-Walīd's wife, reprimanded her husband for the way he treated al-Ḥusain (ع), so he sought an excuse by saying that it was al-Ḥusain (ع) who started taunting him. "Would you taunt him and his father if he taunts you?" she asked him. "No," said he, "I shall never do that."[5]

In the same night, al-Ḥusain (ع) visited the grave of his grandfather the Messenger of Allāh (ص). A beam of light emanated from the grave for him.[6] He, thereupon, said,

> Peace be upon you, O Messenger of Allāh! I am al-Ḥusain son of Fāṭima, your son and the son of your daughter and your grandson whom you appointed to take charge of your nation!

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say, "The offspring of Marwān were always taunted of descending from the blue woman, while the offspring of al-`Āṣ were from the Ṣaforiyya woman [the woman who followed the creed of one `Abdullāh ibn al-Ṣaffār, head of a group among the Khārijites, whose followers are also known as the Mahlabites {*al-Mahālibah*}, descendants of al-Muhallab Abu Ṣufra. – Tr.].

Although the *Sharī`a* admonishes us not to call others bad names and not to attack their descent, the Imām of the nation and the *ḥujjah* over creation knew all complex matters and never went beyond what is divinely decreed. Since we are so far away from that time, we are bound to surrender to the judgment of the Infallible Imām (ع) with regard to anything he did or said especially when it is in agreement with the Holy Qur'ān, the source of all *aḥkām*. The taunting applied by the Imām (ع) finds references to the taunting used by the Almighty and the Exalted One with regard to al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmi [father of the renown military leader Khālid ibn al-Walīd] who is described in verse 13 of Sūrat al-Qalam thus: *`utullun ba`da thālika zaneem*. Linguistically, *zaneem* is one who is born outside wedlock, that is, illegitimately. According to the rules of genealogy, he is one whose lineage is claimed by someone else. On p. 156, Vol. 1, of *Kanz al-`Ummāl* by al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, the Prophet (ص) is quoted as saying, "The *`utullin zaneem* is one who is a lowly-born reprobate." On p. 28, Vol. 29, of al-'Ālūsi's lexicon *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, the author says, "His father, al-Mughīrah, claimed him eighteen years after his birth." So, if the Holy Qur'ān, the fountain-head of moral excellences and mysteries, charges someone and calls him by such a bad name, and it is the Book that is recited day and night, we should not be surprised to see the son of the Prophet charging Marwān, who was awaiting a chance to harm them, with such a shame.

[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, and also Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Irshād*, and *I`lām al-Wara* of al-Ṭibrisi.

[2]Ibn Nama al-Ḥilli (a sixth century pillar of scholarship), *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

[3]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 208.

[4]Ibn Tāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 13.

[5]Ibn `Asākir, Vol. 4, p. 328.

[6]al-Ṣadūq, *Amāli*, p. 93, 30th *majlis*.

Testify against them, O Prophet of Allāh, that they betrayed me and did not safeguard my right. This is my complaint to you till I meet you.

He kept bowing and prostrating till morning.[1]

Al-Walīd dispatched someone to inquire about the whereabouts of al-Ḥusain (ع). Since that messenger did not find the Imām (ع) at home, he thought that he (ع) had left Medīna, so he praised Allāh for not exposing him to a difficult situation on account of al-Ḥusain (ع).

In the morning, Marwān met Abu `Abdullāh (ع), so he admonished him as he would his own likes to: swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd since in it, he said, "is the goodness of the creed and the life of this world." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "*Inn*ā *lillah wa inn*ā *ilayhi r*ā*ji`oon*" (We belong to Allāh and to Him shall we return), adding, "Bid farewell to Islam if the nation is afflicted by a caretaker like Yazīd. I have heard my

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[1] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Bahrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 54. al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 172. Both references cite Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib commenting on the issue whether the prophets and *waṣis* remain in their graves or whether they are raised to the heavens. He says that this is controversial among the scholars. Al-Ṣadūq's *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt, Al-Tawḥīd, Al-Majālis, Al-`Uyūn, Al-Khiṣāl*, and also al-Rāwandi's *Kharā'ij* and on p. 130 of *Al-Baṣā'ir* all quote statements supporting the view that our Prophet (ص), Ali and al-Ḥusain (ع), Noah, Shu`ayb, Khālid al-`Abasi, Yousha` [Joshua] ibn Nūn are still in their graves. They cite testimonials that the remains of Adam, Joseph, and the prophet referred to in the incident relevant to *istisq*ā' are still on earth, and that the first to be resurrected will be our Prophet (ص). Based on such information, Sayyid Maḥmūd ibn Fatḥ-Allāh al-Ḥusaini al-Kāẓimi wrote a dissertation dealing with this issue, concluding that they are present at their graves. But both *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* (of Ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi), p. 390, chapter 108, and al-Ṭūsi's *Tahthīb*, at the conclusion of a chapter on visiting grave-sites, state that neither a prophet nor a *waṣi* stays in the earth more than three days before his soul and remains are raised to heavens. In his *Tahthīb*, al-Ṭūsi says that he would not remain more than forty days before being raised to the heavens. The disagreement among them may either be due to explaining the reason behind the small or large number of days, or on account of the differences among the status of each one of them. On p. 76 of al-Majlisi's book *Sharḥ al-Arba`een,* both views are stated: some of them will be raised after three days, whereas others will be raised after forty days. It is possible that such narrations came to discourage the Khārijites from exhuming the graves. Among those who accepted the view that the original bodies are lifted is Shaikh al-Mufīd as stated on p. 84 of *Al-Maq*ā*l*ā*t*, al-Karakchi on p. 258 of *Kanz al-Faw*ā*'id*, al-Majlisi on p. 373, Vol. 1, of *Mir'*ā*t al-`Uq*ū*l*, Shaikh Yousuf al-Baḥrāni on p. 266 of *Al-Durra al-Najafiyya*, and the traditionist al-Nawari on p. 331, Vol. 2, of *Dā*r *al-Sal*ā*m*. In his book *Al-W*ā*fi*, al-Fayḍ is of the view that their souls are raised while the elements composing their bodies remain in the earth. On p. 227, Vol. 1, of *Mir'*ā*t al-`Uq*ū*l*, it is stated that a group of scholars think that they are returned to their graves after their souls are raised.

When Ibn al-Ḥājib asked our mentor al-Mufīd about the meaning behind the presence of those who go to visit these graves, Shaikh al-Mufīd has said, "The servants of Allāh go to the place where their graves stand even if none is inside them out of veneration for them and a sanctification of the places where they resided then raised. It is like the servants of Allāh worshipping Him by going to His Inviolable House although He, Praise to Him, is not confined to any place, but it is done to glorify Him and to exalt His status, the Omnipotent that He is."

On p. 213 of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Al-Fat*ā*wa al-Ḥadīth*a, Ibn al-`Arabi is quoted as saying that the souls are returned to the prophets inside the graves, and that they are permitted to get out and enjoy free movement either in the higher or in the lower domains. So it is possible that many may see the Prophet (ص) because he is like the sun. On p. 407, Vol. 2, of al-Samhūdi's book *Waf*ā*' al-Waf*ā', Part Two, in a chapter dealing with building shrines, the Prophet (ص) is quoted as saying, "No prophet is buried except that he is raised after three days except I, for I pleaded to Allāh Almighty to be among you till the Day of Judgment." `Abd al-Razzāq has narrated saying that Sa`īd ibn al-Musayyab saw once some people greeting the Prophet (ص) [at his grave-site], so he said, "No prophet remains in the ground for more than forty days." On p. 37, Vol. 2, of al-''Ālūsi's book *Rūḥ al-Ma`*ā*ni*, in the explanation of the verse saying "Muḥammed was not the father of any of your men" (Qur'ā, 33:40) of Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, Anas is quoted in many traditions as saying that the Prophet (ص) has said that no prophet dies and remains in his grave for more than forty days. Sa`īd ibn al-Musayyab and Abu al-Muqaddam, Thābit ibn Hurmuz, are quoted as saying that no prophet remains in the ground for more than forty days. Among such relevant statements are those mentioned by Imām al-Ḥaramain in his book *Al-Nih*ā*ya* as well as by al-Rāfi`i in *Al-Sharḥ*. They say that the Prophet (ص) has said, "My Lord honours me too much to keep me in my grave for more than three days." Imām al-Ḥaramain cites another narration indicating more than two days. Ibn al-`Arabi, the judge, as well as al-Rawḍ, are both quoted as saying that the souls are returned to the prophets after their death, and that they are permitted to leave their graves and have the freedom of movement in both the upper and the lower domains, then he adds his own viewpoint.

grandfather the Messenger of Allāh (ص) say, `Sufyān's offspring are prohibited from the caliphate;[1] so, if you see Mu`āwiyah on my pulpit, you must rip his stomach open.' The people of Medīna did, indeed, see him on that pulpit, but they did not rip his stomach open; therefore, Allāh afflicted them with Yazīd, the reprobate." Their dialogue continued for a long time till Marwān left angrily.[2]

In the second night, al-Ḥusain (ع) again visited the grave of his grandfather. He offered prayers then said, "O Allāh! This is the grave of Your Prophet Muḥammed (ص), and I am the son of Your Prophet's daughter, and I am encountering that of which You are fully aware. O Allāh! I love the doing of good, and I hate abomination. I plead to You, O Lord of Glory and Honour, by the status of this grave and by the one inside it to choose for me what best pleases You and Your Messenger," then he wept.

Shortly before sunrise, he placed his head on the grave and slept. He saw in his vision the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, surrounded by a large crowd of angels on his right and left and in front of him. He hugged al-Ḥusain (ع) and kissed his forehead then said, "My loved one, O Ḥusain! Your father, mother and brother have all come to me, and they are eager to see you." Al-Ḥusain (ع) then wept and asked his grandfather to take him with him and to let him enter his grave. But the most holy Prophet refused to do so before his grandson was to do that which would earn him his rewards in a way which the Great One, Praise to Him, prefers on the Day of Argument. He (ص) said, "You have to be granted martyrdom so that you will receive the great rewards Allāh has allotted for you. You, your father, your uncle, and the uncle of your father will all be gathered on the Day of Judgment in one group till you enter Paradise."

Al-Ḥusain (ع) woke up then narrated his vision to his family whose grief and weeping intensified.[3] They all realized that time had come to witness what the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had beforehand promised them to undergo, and due to their concern about the *noor* of Prophethood being veiled from them, so they would then lose the sublime rewards they all aspired to attain. They surrounded al-Ḥusain (ع) and asked him to either assent to Yazīd's wish or to go far away from that land.

MEN EXPRESSING FEAR FOR AL-ḤUSAIN (ع)

View of `Omer al-Aṭraf

`Omer al-Aṭraf then said to him, "O son of the Commander of the Faithful![4] Abu Muḥammed, al-Ḥasan (ع), told me that his father, the Commander of the Faithful (ع), had told him that you would be slain. If you swear fealty, it will be better for you." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "My father told me that

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[1] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 13. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 10.

[2] al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 185, chapter 9.

[3] See p. 54 of *Maqtal al-`Awālim* (of `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni). This narration is cited on the authority of Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib. Such expression of frustration clearly demonstrates the situation then, and it teaches the nation that getting to be familiar with those incidents, and being acquainted with the abominations committed then and with aborting righteousness, made death an easy remedy for them according to the norms of manliness and to their profound concern about the creed. This does not mean that the Master of Martyrs was preferring something better than what Allāh had chosen for him, nor is it an indication of his fear of death. Far away from him are such presumptions. He did not fear his destiny; he accepted it, and he entered into a covenant in its regard with confirmed promises. He was fully aware that destiny had to be carried out. But the Father of the Oppressed distinguished between the supplication of his grandfather (ص) and destiny, so the one who carried out the Divine Call informed him that Allāh Almighty had decreed to grant him a great status which could not be achieved without his martyrdom. There is a lofty lesson in every syllable of the cause of the Prophet's grandson. Is there anyone in the nation who is admonished thereby or who discerns it?

[4] We have indicated his biography in the appendix to our book *Zayd al-Shahīd*, p. 100, second edition.

the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had told him of his murder and mine, and that his resting place would be close to mine. Do you think that you know what I do not know? I shall never yield to lowliness. Fāṭima (ع) shall meet her father (ص) complaining of what her offspring suffered at the hands of his nation, and none who had harmed her offspring shall ever enter Paradise."[1]

`Omer ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib came once to al-Mukhtār when the latter revolted in Kūfa. Al-Mukhtār asked him, "Is Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya with you?" He answered in the negative, whereupon he dismissed him, so he marched on to Miṣ`ab till he participated in the battle and was killed among those who were killed there and then.[2]

Fāṭima is bound to come on the Judgement Day,
With her shirt stained with Ḥusain's blood.
Woe to one who seeks intercession from his adversaries,
When the Trumpet is blown on the Judgment Day.[3]

View of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya

Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya said,[4] "Brother! I love you more than I love anyone else, and I cherish you the most, and I do not advise anyone as I advise you. You deserve such an advice most. Abandon both your fealty to Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah and the metropolises, too, as much as you can, then send your messengers to people. If they swear the oath of allegiance to you, praise Allāh for it, but if they rally behind someone else, Allāh will not have diminished aught of your creed or wisdom, and your magnanimity and distinction will not have been wasted. I fear for you lest you should enter one of these metropolises and people will split into parties, some with you and some against you, then they might fight with one another, and you will be the first person sought by their lances. So, you will either remain the best of this nation in person and in lineage, or the one whose blood is spilled most vainly and whose family is humiliated the most."

Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked him, "Where should I go?" Muḥammed said, "Settle in Mecca. If you do not find yourself comfortable there, you should seek the sands and mountain passes, and you should move from one country to another till you see what the people decide to do. Your view will be the most wise and your actions the most terse when you are ahead of events. Things will be most complicated for you if you turn your back to them."[5] Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Brother! Had there been on earth neither resort nor a hiding place for me at all, I would still refuse to swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah..." It was then that Muḥammed interrupted his statement when he burst weeping.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) then said to him, "Brother! May Allāh reward you well. You have offered your advice and given a terse suggestion, and I am determined to go to Mecca. My brothers, nephews, and supporters see

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[1]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 15 (Saida edition).

[2]Abu Ḥanīfah al-Dainūri (henceforth referred to only as al-Dainūri), *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 29.

[3]It is stated on p. 91, Vol. 2, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's *Manāqib* that these poetic verses were composed by Mas`ūd ibn `Abdullāh al-Qayni.

[4]On p. 104 of our book *Qamar Bani Hāshim*, we indicated that he was twenty years old during the battle at Baṣra. He was ten years older than al-`Abbās. He was the standard bearer of the Commander of the Faithful during the battles of the Camel and of al-Nahrawān. On p. 316 of our book *Zayn al-`Ābidīn*, we discussed some of his biography. On p. 79, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, there is reference to a letter sent by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to Yazīd after al-Ḥusain's martyrdom, and that he had met with Yazīd! This is one way to demean his status. I am sure that some people have told lies about him because a magnanimous and zealous person like him could never have done any such things.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 191. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. 1, p. 7.

what I see, and their view is my view. As for you, you may stay in Medīna so that you may keep an eye on them and not conceal anything of their affairs from me."[1]

Imām Ḥusain (ع) left Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and entered the [Prophet's] Mosque as he recited these verses:

The eminent ones are not frightened in the morning
By an assailant, nor shall I be called a Yazīd;[2]
Should I, fearing death, to injustice yield,
While the fates watch over me against deviating?[3]

Abu Sa`īd al-Maqbari heard him, so he realized that he was undertaking a great matter.[4]

Umm Salamah's View

Umm Salamah said, "Do not cause me grief by going to Iraq, for I heard your grandfather the Messenger of Allāh (ص) saying, `My son al-Ḥusain will be killed in the land of Iraq in a tract of land called Kerbalā',' and I have a specimen of your grave's soil in a bottle which the Prophet (ص) had given me." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to her, "Mother! And I, too, know that I will be slain unjustly and oppressively, and the Omnipotent has decreed to see my family and followers in chains, seeking help and finding none to offer it to them."

Umm Salamah then asked him, "How strange! How do you march there knowing that you will for sure be killed?" The Imām (ع) said to her, "Mother! If I do not die today, I will tomorrow, and if not tomorrow, then the day after. By Allāh! There is no avoiding death. And I even know the day when I will be killed, and the time when I will be killed, and the grave in which I will be buried just as I know you, and I look at it just as I look at you. If you wish, mother, I can show you my grave and those of my followers." She asked him to do so, whereupon he showed her the graves of his companions[5]. Then he gave her a little of that soil, telling her to keep it in a bottle. Once she saw it boiling in blood, she would know that he had been slain. On the tenth day of the month of Muḥarram, in the after-noon, she looked at both bottles [the one given to her by the Messenger of Allāh and the other given to her by Imām Ḥusain (ع)]; they were both boiling in blood.[6]

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[1]*Maqtal Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib*. Those who have documented such type of incidents do not mention this excuse. In his book titled *Ajwibat Masā'il Ibn Muhanna*, *`allāma* al-Ḥilli seeks an excuse for Muḥammed for not accompanying the departing band on account of his sickness. In his book titled *Akhth al-Thār*, Ibn Nama al-Ḥilli states the following on p. 81: "He was afflicted with pus because of some people envying him, so he could not march with al-Ḥusain (ع)." The greatness and famous stands of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, and his recognition of the Imāmate of al-Sajjād (ع), leave no room for us except to submit to the legality of his lagging behind this scene as a whole.

[2]He is referring to Yazīd ibn Mufrigh.

[3]On p. 66, Vol. 4, of *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, he recited them in Mecca.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 191. Abul Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 17, p. 68. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 186, chapter 9. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339.

[5]*Madīnat al-Ma`ājiz*, p. 244, quoting *Thāqib al-Manāqib* by its highly respected author, Abu Ja`fer, Muḥammed ibn Ali ibn Muḥammed al-Mashhadi al-Ṭūsi. al-Nawari, *Dār al-Salām*, Vol. 1, p. 102. On p. 593 of *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, his authorship of this book is confirmed by Kāmil al-Bahā'i and also based on this dialogue being narrated by Ja`fer ibn Muḥammed al-Duroysti, the narrator, who cites al-Mufīd, in 401 A.H./1011 A.D., making him one of the renown scholars of the 5th century A.H./11th. century A.D.

[6]al-Rāwandi, *Al-Kharā'ij*, in a chapter dealing with his miracles. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Bahrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 47.

VIEW OF THE HĀSHIMITE LADIES

His departure very much grieved the daughters of Banū `Abd al-Muṭṭalib who assembled for a group mourning. "I plead to you in the Name of Allāh," al-Ḥusain (ع) said to them after going to their place of gathering, "not to reveal this matter in disobedience to Allāh and His Messenger (ص)." They said, "Who should we save weeping and mourning for, since the day of your departure to us is like the demise of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), that of Ali, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan (ع), Zainab, or Umm Kulthūm?! We plead to you, may Allāh consider us as your sacrificial ransom from your own demise, O one loved by the righteous from among those who reside in the graves!" Some of his paternal aunts informed him that they had heard a voice saying:[1]

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[1]See p. 96 of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* by Ibn Qawlawayh al-Qummi where a couple of these poetic verses are quoted. This line is one of four other lines from Abu Tammām's chivalric poems as indicated in their explanation by al-Tabrizi who states so on p. 14, Vol. 3, of his book *Hamāsat Abu Tammām*. They are also quoted on p. 92, Vol. 2, of [al-Mas`ūdi's] *Murūj al-Thahab* from al-Zubayr ibn Bakār, on p. 228, Vol. 2, of *Manāqib* of Shahr Āshūb, by Ibn Nama's *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, and on p. 124 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson. It is cited as one of five lines on p. 52, Vol. 6, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān* [by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi], on p. 142, Vol. 1, of *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* by Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash`ari. It is one of six lines quoted on p. 37, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Kāmil*, on p. 215, Vol. 3, of al-Thahbi's *A`lām al-Nubalā'*. It is cited as one of seven verses quoted on p. 19 of *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (Iranian edition), in *Nasab Quraish* by Miṣ`ab al-Zubayri. It is also quoted as one of eight lines on p. 211, Vol. 8, of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Bidāya*, on p. 149, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, by Ibn Nama's book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, and on p. 343, Vol. 4, of Ibn `Āsākir's *Tahthīb al-Tārīkh*.

All these authors and compilers differ with one another as to who composed these lines. On p. 37, Vol. 4, of Ibn Kathīr's *Kāmil*, they are attributed to al-Taimi, i.e. Taim Murrah, who was dedicated to Banū Hāshim. On p. 74, Vol. 4, of *Al-Iṣāba* (of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni), and also in *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, they are attributed to Abu Rumḥ al-Khuzā`i, a view which Ibn Nāma states, citing al-Mirzabāni. On p. 13, Vol. 3, of al-Tabrizi's *Sharh al-Hamāsa*, they are said to belong to Ramj al-Khuzā`i. In *Al-Istī`āb*, they are said to belong to Zamīj al-Khuzā`i who is identified by al-Bakri on p. 891, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Mu`jam fi ma Ista`jam*, as Ibn Rumh al-Khuzā`i, but he cited only this line.

In *Ansāb Quraish*, al-Zubayr ibn Bakār refers to these lines, and so does al-Mas`ūdi in his book *Murūj al-Thahab*, saying that they were composed by Sulaymān ibn Qabah, whereas Ibn `Asākir states on p. 342, Vol. 4, of his book *Tārīkh*, and al-Thahbi on p. 215, Vol. 2, of his book *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, and Abu `Amr in *Al-Istī`āb*, they all state his name to be Qanah, and Ibn Shahr Āshūb adds to it the last name "al-Hāshimi".

On p. 235, Vol. 2, of *Tahthīb Kāmil al-Mibrad*, on p. 136, Vol. 35, of *A`yān al-Shī`a*, and on p. 41, of *Nasab Quraish* by Miṣ`ab al-Zubayri, he is said to be Sulaymān ibn Qaṭṭah. Abu Tammām, in his *Hamāsa*, adds to him the last name of al-`Adawi. In al-Tabrizi's *Sharḥ*, this line is attributed to `Adiyy, whereas in *Al-Hamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, it is said to belong to Ṣadr ad-Dīn ibn Abul-Faraj ibn al-Ḥusain al-Baṣri who died in 659 A.H./1261 A.D. as indicated on p. 200, Vol. 1, where the following verse is attributed to Ibn Qaṭṭah al-`Adawi, a slave of `Omer ibn `Abdullāh al-Taimi:

I passed by the houses of Muḥammed's family,
Never did I see their likes: from their residents they were empty.

The commentator adds saying that they were all five lines, but he did not cite them all. He stated the same in *Al-Istī`āb*. On p. 154 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson (Iranian edition), it is stated that Sulaymān ibn Qaṭṭah passed by the place where the people were slaughtered, so he wept then composed four lines.

On p. 49 of Abul-Faraj's book *Muqātil [al-Ṭālibiyyīn]*, and on p. 211, Vol. 8, of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Bidāya*, he is identified as Sulaymān ibn Qutaybah, and in Ibn Nama's book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, the author states that Sulaymān ibn Qutaybah al-`Adawi, slave of Banū Tamīm, passed by Kerbalā' three days after Imām Ḥusain (ع) had been killed, and he looked at the place where they had been slaughtered. He leaned on an Arabian bow which he had as he composed those verses. On p. 119 of Ibn Tāwūs's book *Al-Luhūf* (Saida edition), the author says, "Ibn Qutaybah, may Allāh have mercy on his soul, did very well [in composing those lines]." On p. 52, Vol. 6, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, they are attributed to Duhbal al-Jamhi. This view is endorsed by the author of *Tāj al-`Arūs* as stated in a chapter dealing with al-Ṭaff where the same line is cited. He is "Abu Duhbal" Wahab ibn Zam`ah ibn Asad, a poet who composed poems praising Mu`āwiyah and `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr and Yemen's *wāli*, according to p. 149, Vol. 6,of *Al-Aghāni*. All this weakens the possibility of his having composed such lines. On p. 165, Vol. 17, also of *Al-Aghāni*, it is stated that Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr entered Kūfa once and inquired about al-Ḥusain and his being killed. `Urwah ibn al-Mughīrah kept narrating to him the details whereupon

The one slain at al-Ṭaff from Banū Hāshim
Dishonoured necks from Quraish, so they are abased.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) admonished her to be patient, telling her that that was something already decreed.

VIEW OF `ABDULLĀH IBN `OMER

Abdullāh son of [second caliph] `Omer ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asked al-Ḥusain (ع) to remain in Medīna, but al-Ḥusain (ع) refused saying, "O `Abdullāh! One of the reasons why this whole world is worthless in the eyes of Allāh is that the head of Yaḥya (John the Baptist) was given as a present to one of the tyrants of the Israelites, and that my head will be given as a present to one of the Umayyad tyrants. Have you not come to know that the Israelites used to kill seventy prophets as the sun rose then buy and sell as if they did nothing?! Yet Allāh was not swift in punishing them. After some time, He seized them, the Omnipotent and the Vengeful Lord that He is."[1]

Once Ibn `Omer was convinced that al-Ḥusain (ع) was determined to leave Medīna and to face the promoters of misguidance in order to put an end to abominations and to remove the thorns from the path of the sacred Sharī`a, he said to him (ع), "O Abu `Abdullāh! Please uncover for me the place where the Messenger of Allāh used to always kiss you." The Imām (ع) unveiled his navel for him which he kissed thrice then burst in tears.[2] The Imām (ع) then said to him, "Fear Allāh, O father of `Abdul-Raḥmān, and do not abandon your support for me."[3]

THE WILL

Before leaving Medīna, al-Ḥusain (ع) wrote his will in which he stated:

In the Name of Allāh, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful
This is the will of al-Ḥusain ibn Ali (ع) to his brother Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. Al-Ḥusain testifies that there is no god except Allāh, the One and Only God, Who has no partner, and that Muḥammed (ص) is His servant and Messenger who brought the truth from Him, that Paradise is right, and that hell is right, that the Hour is approaching; there is no doubt about it, and that Allāh will resurrect those in the graves.
I did not march out exultingly, nor recklessly, nor seeking to make corruption in the land, nor

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he cited the following line by Sulaymān ibn Qattah:

The foremost ones, at al-Taff, from Banū Hāshim consoled
One another, so consoling became for the dignified a *sunnah*.

On p. 314, Vol. 1, of Ibn al-Jazri's *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā'*, he is referred to as Sulaymān ibn Qaṭṭa, with "Qaṭṭa" being the name of his mother [rather than that of his father], that he belonged to Taim, and that he was a slave from Baṣra. He is said as having met Ibn `Abbās thrice and `Āṣim al-Juḥdari met him once.

There are those who say that the one who had heard the voice was Umm Hāni, but this cannot be accurate, for she had died either during the Prophet's lifetime or duing Mu`āwiyah's reign as indicated on p. 110, Vol. 1, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's *Manāqib*. On p. 620 of the Lucknow, India, edition of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Taqrīb al-Tahthīb*, she had died during Mu`āwiyah's reign.

[1]Ibn Nama and *Al-Luhūf*.

[2]al-Ṣadūq, Ā*māli*, p. 93, *majlis* 30.

[3]Ibn Tāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 17.

to oppress anyone. Rather, I marched out seeking to reform my grandfather's nation. I desire to enjoin what is right and to forbid what is wrong and to follow the Sunnah of my grandfather and of my father Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib. So, whoever accepts me an acceptance of righteousness, Allāh is the Master of what is right, and whoever refuses, I shall persevere till Allāh judges between me and the people; surely He is the best of judges. This is my will to you, brother, and my success comes only from Allāh; upon Him do I rely, and to Him is my return.

He folded it, sealed it, then handed it to his brother Muḥammed.[1]

With his heart did he raise the flag of guidance,
With his splendour shattered the darkness of the blind.
Through him this Sharī`a was corrected,
And its lofty corners towered.
Glories were built through his determination,
The creed grew green only through his blood.
With his life he bought the life of the creed,
What a precious price he paid indeed!
With his soul he brought life to guidance,
With his wounds the creed's wounds he healed.
Gardens of knowledge with *simūm* winds dried,
None watered them but the oppressed one's blood.
So mellow leaves their trees grew,
Fragrant, fresh in taste and in hue.
He raised those for whom they did fight and fall,
Till the creed, after he slipped, stood quite tall.
Through him the pillars of *Tawḥīd* stood,
Since they resorted to their mighty support,
Through him they turned into lofty domes,
And they did become comfortable homes
For knowledge, the Sunnah, and the Book.
Like a spring it gushed forth for its seekers,
With the water of life, though he died of thirst,
Killed with thirst, while in his insides
Is Allāh's nourishment for those whom He guides.
His insides from thirst burnt like fire,

[1] Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Bahrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 54. al-Khawārizmi, *Al-Maqtal*, Vol. 1, p. 188, chapter 9. The goal of the holy grandson of the Prophet (ص) behind writing this will is unambiguous. He wanted to underscore his noble objective behind his sacred uprising and to introduce himself to the public, to acquaint them with who he was, what his undertaking was, and what his ultimate goal. He continued doing the same till he was martyred in order to refute the claims of the Umayyads and of those who followed in their footsteps and who duped people into thinking that al-Ḥusain (ع) had rebelled against the caliph of his time, that he promoted disobedience to him in order to create disunity, and to rally people behind him because of desiring the government for himself and because he was power hungry who wanted to be the top leader. Through such rumors, the Umayyads wished to justify their cruel actions in eradicating the family of the Prophet (ص). He maintained such a policy in all situations, he and his family and companions, till they refuted that lie and achieved their march's objective.

So sacred clouds rained blood with ire.[1]

DEPARTURE FROM MEDĪNA

Al-Ḥusain (ع) left Medīna for Mecca on the eve of a Sunday, two days before the end of Rajab, accompanied by his offspring, brothers, and the offspring of his brother al-Ḥasan (ع) together with his family[2]. He kept reciting this verse from the Holy Qur'ān: "So he went out of it fearful, apprehensive. Said he: Lord! Save me from the oppressive people!" (Qur'ān, 28:21). The Imām (ع) took the main highway, whereupon some people suggested to him to take a side route as Ibn al-Zubayr had done, perhaps he would not be caught by those who sought to arrest him. "No, by Allāh," said the Imām (ع), "I shall not abandon it till Allāh carries out His will."

He reached Mecca on a Friday, three days after the beginning of the month of Sha`ban as he was reciting, "When he went in the direction of Midyan, he said: Perhaps my Lord will guide me to the right way"[3] (Qur'ān, 28:22). He stayed at the house of al-`Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib[4] where the people of Mecca and those who went there for the *`umra* met him, and so did those who came from the suburbs. [`Abdullāh] ibn al-Zubayr was camping near the Ka`ba as al-Ḥusain (ع) kept meeting people. It was hard for him to see al-Ḥusain (ع) entering Mecca because he (ع) was greater than him and more prestigious and because people were more willing to swear fealty to him; so, nobody would go to Ibn al-Zubayr to swear it to Yazīd.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) went out one day to visit the grave of his grandmother Khadīja. He prayed there then supplicated to Allāh for a good while.[5]

My heart do I present to the noble ones who
To nobility they saddled their mounts
Trailed by fates, troubled with eulogies,
A caravan for whom Paradise is the destination,
Passing through many a trial and tribulation,
The earth shrunk for a man like al-Ḥusain,
Not knowing a haven, an entrance,
Seeking security in the desert while
Being ever apprehensive of Banū Sufyān.
The Sacred House was honoured by him,
After blindness, his line became clear to all.
O perturbed one! None other than the light
Of your will can guide anyone at all.
Vast in munificence, to space confined,
Should anyone else be with calamity strained?
Who would from his trouble free?
O king! You did your own subjects oppress

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the authority Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Iṣfahāni, may Allāh sanctify him.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 190.

[3]al-Mufīd, *Irshād*.

[4]Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 328.

[5]Shaikh Ja`fer al-Shushtari, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥusainiyya*, p. 35 (Tabriz edition).`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 20.

Your Lord decreed caliphate should you possess.[1]

IN MECCA

In Mecca, al-Ḥusain (ع) wrote one copy of a letter which he arranged to be circulated to the five individuals charged with collecting the *khums* from the Muslims of Baṣra. They were: Mālik ibn Musmi` al-Bakri[2], al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, al-Munthir ibn Jārūd[3], Mas`ūd ibn `Amr, Qays ibn al-Haytham, and `Amr ibn `Ubayd ibn Mu`ammar. He sent his letter with one of his slaves named Sulaymān[4], and its text was as follows:

> Allāh chose Muḥammed (ص) from among His creation and blessed him with being His Prophet. He chose him to convey His Message, then He took him away after he had advised His servants and conveyed the Message with which he was entrusted. We are his family, supporters, *waṣis*, heirs, and the most worthy of all people of his status. Yet our people usurped our right, so we put up with it out of fear of disunity and out of love for people's safety, knowing that we were most worthy of what belongs to us than those who took it away from us. I am sending my messenger with this letter to invite you to the Book of Allāh and to the Sunnah of His Prophet, for this Sunnah has been killed, while *bid`a* has already been revived. If you listen to me, I shall show you the path of guidance.

Al-Munthir ibn al-Jārūd al-`Abdi handed al-Ḥusain's messenger to Ibn Ziyād who crucified the messenger during the night. Then he went out in the morning to Kūfa in order to reach it before al-Ḥusain.[5] Baḥriyya daughter of al-Munthir was Ibn Ziyād's wife. Al-Munthir lied to her, saying that that messenger had been sent to spy on Ibn Ziyād. Al-Aḥnaf wrote al-Ḥusain (ع) saying, "Be patient, for Allāh's promise is true, and do not let those who have no conviction take you for granted."[6]

As for Yazīd ibn Mas`ūd[7], he gathered Banū Tamīm, Banū Ḥanẓalah and Banū Sa`d. When they all

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by Ḥujjatul-Islam Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify him.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 63 (first edition). While discussing the events of the year 38 A.H./659 A.D., the historians indicate that Mālik ibn Musmi` supported Banū Umayyah, and that he had sheltered Marwān during the Battle of the Camel.

[3]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Iṣāba*, Vol. 3, p. 480. Al-Munthir ibn al-Jārūd, according to this reference, was on Ali's side during the Battle of the Camel. He was given the responsibility of dealing with Istakhār and his mother Umāma daughter of al-Nu`mān. Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād appointed him as ruler of India till he died there in 61 A.H./681 A.D. Khalīfa said he was appointed ruler of al-Sind where he died in 62 A.H./682 A.D. On p. 183, Vol. 7 (first edition), in the discussion of the events of the year 71 A.H./691 A.D., Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr said to al-Ḥakam ibn al-Munthir ibn Jārūd: "Al-Jārūd was a donkey living on the island of Ibn Kawān; he was Persian; he took to the coastline, so he claimed to belong to `Abd al-Qays. No, by Allāh! I do not know anyone alive more evil than them! Then he married his sister off to al-Muka`bar, a Persian, so he did not earn any distinction at all."

[4]This is indicated on p. 200, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*. On p. 21 of *Al-Luhūf* of Ibn Ṭāwūs, he is nicknamed "Abu Razīn," and on p. 12 of *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, the author indicates that that letter was sent with Thirā` al-Sadūsi.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 200.

[6]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 13.

[7]The following information is provided by the author of *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*. But according to al-Ṭabari and Ibn al-Athīr, he was Mas`ūd ibn `Amr. Ibn Ḥazm, on p. 218 of *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, says that `Abbād ibn Mas`ūd ibn Khālid ibn Mālik al-Nahshali was a man of nobility. His sister, Layla daughter of Mas`ūd, was wife of [Imām] Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع). She gave birth to his son Abu Bakr, who was killed fighting on al-Ḥusain's side, and `Abdullāh, who was on the side of Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr when the latter

assembled, he said, “O Banū Tamīm! How do you see my status among you and my lineage?” They said, “Very good, very good, indeed! You, by Allāh, are our backbone and the source of our prestige. In distinction, you are the most distinguished one, and in lineage you are ahead of everyone else.” He said, “Then I have gathered you for a matter about which I wish to consult you and for which I seek your support.” They said, “By Allāh! We shall grant you our advice and still find your view the best; so, say what you wish, and let us hear you.”

He said, “Mu`āwiyah died. It is better, by Allāh, to see him dead and lost! The flank of oppression is now crumbled and the corners of injustice weakened. He had undertaken a fealty for which he thought he did his best to secure. Far away, indeed, is he from the truth, though he tried very hard to achieve what he wanted. By Allāh, he has failed; he sought advice then betrayed those who offered it to him! Yazīd has now taken charge! Yazīd, who drinks wine and is the source of all evil, now claims to be the caliph of the Muslims. He now rules them without their agreement, the youth that he is, and the ignorant one that he is, the man who does not know where his foot should stand in order to be right. I swear by Allāh a true oath that waging *jihād* against him is better than waging it against the polytheists. Al-Ḥusain is the son of Ali and the son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), the one whose prestige is pure, whose view is the most wise. His distinction can never be described enough, and his knowledge never ends. He is more worthy of taking charge on account of his record, seniority, accomplishments and kinship to the Prophet (ص). He is kind to the young and benevolent to the elderly. He is an excellent care-taker when taking care of his flocks and an excellent Imām from among people obedience to whom is mandated by Allāh. Through him is your proof and argument. Wisdom is perfected through him; so, do not be blind from seeing the light of guidance, nor should you remain idle from suppressing falsehood. You betrayed Ṣakhr ibn Qays during the Battle of the Camel, so wash away that stigma by marching out to support the son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and by helping him. Should any of you fall short of assisting him, he will be given by Allāh the shame that his offspring will inherit, while his tribe's number will be diminished. Here I am outfitted for war. One who is not killed will still die, and one who flees will never escape from death; so, be good, may Allāh have mercy on you, in providing your answer.”

Banū Ḥanẓalah said, “O Abu Khālid! We are the arrows in your quiver and the knights of your tribe! When you fight with us, victory will be on your side, and when you assault, you will be the conqueror. By Allāh! You shall not enter in any battle without us, nor will you, by Allāh, face hardship without us being on your side. We shall support you with our swords and protect you, if it pleases you, even with our bare hands.”

Banū `Āmir ibn Tamīm spoke out saying, “O Abu Khālid! We are your brothers and allies! We are not pleased when you are angry, nor do we stay when you depart. The matter is in your hands, so order us as you please.”

Banū Sa`d ibn Zayd spoke out saying, “O Abu Khālid! The most hateful to us is to do anything against your wish or to disobey you. Ṣakhr ibn Qays had ordered us to abandon the battlefield during the Battle of the Camel, so we abided by his order and maintained our honour. Grant us a respite, therefore, so that we may consult each other, then we will let you know of our decision.” He said to them, “Should you do that, may Allāh never remove oppression from you or stop you from killing one another...”

He then wrote al-Ḥusain (ع) saying, “Your letter reached me, and I understood the task for which you seek my assistance. You have called upon me to shoulder my share of the responsibility of obeying you so that I may win the rewards of having supported you. Allāh has never deprived the world of a doer of

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marched to fight al-Mukhtār. He was killed when al-Mukhtār's men fled away.” On p. 101 (second edition) of my book *Zayd al-Shahīd*, I quoted what the historians have said with regard to his being killed at al-Mathar, a Baṣra suburb, and that nobody knew who had killed him. While discussing the miracles performed by Imām Ali (ع) in his book *Al-Kharā'ij*, al-Rāwandi says, “He was found slain in his tent, and nobody knew who had killed him.”

good, or without someone to guide others to the path of salvation. You are the Argument of Allāh against His creation and His trust on earth. You branched out of an Aḥmedi olive tree the stem of which is the Prophet (ص) while you are its branches. Come to us, may you be the recipient of glad tidings, for the descendants of Tamīm are at your service, and I have left them racing to obey you faster than thirsty camels seeking water. Banū Sa`d, too, are at your command: rain water washed their hearts of any uncleanness, so they shine as brightly as lightning."

When al-Ḥusain (ع) read his letter, he said, "May Allāh grant you security on the Day of Extreme Fear, and may He grant you dignity and permit you to quench your thirst on the Day of extreme thirst."

(When Ibn Mas`ūd was making preparations to march, news of al-Ḥusain (ع) being killed reached him, so he was very grieved and sorrowful for having lost the opportunity to realize eternal happiness through the avenue of martyrdom.[1])

Māriyya daughter of Sa`d (or Munqith) was a bondmaid and a sincere Shī`a. Her house was the place where other Shī`as used to meet to discuss the virtues of Ahl al-Bayt (ع). Yazīd ibn Nabīt, who belonged to the tribe of `Abd al-Qays, said to his ten sons, "Who among you will join me in marching?" Two of them, namely `Abdullāh and `Ubaydullāh, came forth. At the house of that lady, he was addressed by his followers thus: "We fear for you the retribution of Ibn Ziyād." He said, "By Allāh! Should camels' hooves be flattened because of the lengthy way, I would still place myself at the service of the one who has sought my support."[2] `Āmir, his slave, accompanied him, and so did Sayf ibn Mālik and al-Adham ibn Umayyah.[3] They joined al-Ḥusain (ع) at Mecca, adding their strength to his, till they reached Kerbalā' where they were all martyred.

THE KŪFIANS' LETTERS

While still in Mecca, al-Ḥusain (ع) received the letters sent to him by the people of Kūfa. Some letters were written by single individuals, others contained two, three, or four signatures, all requesting him to go there because they did not have an Imām. They wrote saying that they never prayed congregational nor Friday prayers with al-Nu`mān. Many letters were delivered to him, so much so that he received a total of as many as twelve thousand letters. He did not answer any of them. The last letter he received was sent by Shabath ibn Rab`i, Ḥijar ibn Abjar, Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith, `Izrah ibn Qays, `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj, and Muḥammed ibn `Omayr ibn `Utārid. The latter's letter stated the following: "The people are waiting for you. They accept no views other than yours; so, hurry, O son of the Messenger of Allāh, for the grass is green, the fruits are ripe, and the trees are full of leaves. Come, if you will, for you will be coming to hosts already recruited for you."[4]

As many as the seeds were the letters he did receive:
Saying: Come to Iraq, to those who connive and deceive;
Caliphate has no guardian nor anyone worthy of it,
While you are the best of those who deserve it.

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[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 13. Ibn Tāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 21.

[2] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 198.

[3] *Thakhīrat al-Dārayn*, p. 224.

[4] Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 11. On p. 193, Vol. 10, chapter 10, al-Khawārizmi indicates the details of the meetings held by the Kūfians and their correspondence with al-Ḥusain (ع).

So he came with hardened men like lions,
Like the leopards in their forests,
Mounted were those whose faces were
Like the moons shining, glorious, virtuous.
He crossed the sierra, reaching al-Ṭaff and
In their courtyards he did settle.
The horse stopped, so he said: Kerbalā' is this,
Why did not your eyes avoid it at all?
Alight, for its flanks
Are cut only for our graves.
Descending, mending his sword
To cut the helmets on their heads,
As he looked around, he saw the flags
Of betrayal, of treachery.
Never for a moment did I believe it could or it might
A shining moon would in the desert be so bright,
And the sons of the blue woman would in its light
And in its halo receive the night.[1]

AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) RESPONDS

When letters filled two saddlebags, al-Ḥusain (ع) wrote them one letter which he gave to Hāni ibn Hāni al-Subay`i and Sa`īd ibn `Abdullāh al-Ḥanafi. These were the last of his messengers. Its text was:

In the Name of Allāh, the Most Benevolent, the Most Merciful
Hāni and Sa`īd brought me your letters, and they are the last to deliver them to me. I understand what you narrate, and the gist of most of your letters is: "We have no Imām; so, come to us, perhaps Allāh will gather us with you on the path of guidance and righteousness." I have sent you my brother and cousin and the confidant of my Ahl al-Bayt and ordered him to write me with regard to your conditions, views and intentions. So, if he writes me saying that your view is united with that of those of distinction and wisdom from among you and in agreement with what your messengers and letters state, I shall, by the Will of Allāh, come to you very soon. By my life, an Imām is one who acts upon the Book [of Allāh] and implements justice and follows the path of righteousness; he dedicates himself to follow Allāh's Commandments, and peace be with you.[2]

He handed his letter to Muslim ibn `Aqīl saying, "I am dispatching you to the people of Kūfa, and Allāh shall deal with you as He pleases. I wish that I and you should be in the status of the martyrs; so, proceed with Allāh's blessing and help. Once you get there, stay with the most trustworthy of its people."[3]

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[1]Excerpted from a poem lauding al-Ḥusain (ع) by Shaikh Muḥammed ibn Ismā`īl al-Baghdadi al-Ḥilli, famous as "Ibn al-Khalfa," who died in 1247 A.H./1832 A.D. published on p. 174, Vol. 5, of *Shu`arā' al-Hilla*.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 198. al-Dainūri, *Al Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 238.

[3]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 196, chapter 10.

MUSLIM STARTS HIS TRIP

With Muslim ibn `Aqīl (ع), al-Ḥusain (ع) sent Qays ibn Mushīr al-Saidāwi, `Imārah ibn `Abdullāh al-Sallūli, and `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn `Abdullāh al-Azdi. He enjoined Muslim to fear Allāh, and to find out what the people of Kūfa had collectively decided to do. If he saw them united and trustworthy, he should rush a letter to him.[1]

Muslim left Mecca on the fifteenth of the month of Ramadan[2] using the Medīna highway. He reached Medīna and went to the Mosque of the Prophet (ص), then he bade his family farewell[3] after having hired two road guides from the tribe of Qays. One night the road guides were lost, and they became extremely thirsty. And it was very hot. They said to Muslim (ع) once they recognized some road marks, "Take yonder road and follow it, perhaps you will be saved." He, therefore, left them, following their advice. Both road guides died of thirst.[4] He could not carry them because they were about to pass away. What those road guides had actually seen was not the road itself but some landmarks leading thereto. The distance between them and water was not known, and they were unable to ride on their own, nor could they ride with someone else. Had Muslim (ع) stayed with them, he, too, would have perished. The most urgent matter was to preserve precious lives and to continue the march till water could be reached, hence his decision to abandon them where they were. Muslim and those serving him barely survived till they reached the highway and the water source where they rested for a while.

Muslim sent a letter to al-Ḥusain (ع) with a messenger whom he hired from those who settled near that water source. He told him about the death of the road guides, about the hardship he underwent, and that he was staying at a narrow passage at Batn al-Khabt awaiting his instructions. The messenger met al-Ḥusain (ع) at Mecca and delivered the letter to him. Al-Ḥusain (ع) wrote him back ordering him to continue his march to Kūfa without any delay.

Having read the letter, Muslim immediately resumed his trip and passed by a watering place belonging to the tribe of Tay. He alighted there then departed. He saw a man shooting and killing a deer, so he took it as a sign of good omen: the killing of his foe.[5]

ENTERING KŪFA

On the twenty-fifth of Shawwāl, he entered Kūfa[6] and stayed with al-Mukhtār ibn Abu `Ubayd al-Thaqafi[7] who was highly respected among his people, a generous man, a man of ambition and daring, one well experienced and determined, and a formidable opponent of the enemies of Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them. He was a wise man, a man of great discretion especially with regard to the rules of the battle and the means of subduing the foe. His experience taught him wisdom. He underwent calamities from which he learned self-discipline. He kept company with the Progeny of the most holy

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[1] al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[2] al-Mas`ūdi, *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 2, p. 86.

[3] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 198.

[4] al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, p. 232.

[5] al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[6] al-Mas`ūdi, *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 2, p. 86.

[7] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 199.

Prophet (ص), so he benefitted from their ethics and virtuous morals, and he sought their advice publicly and privately.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

The Shī`as went in hordes to meet Muslim as he stayed at al-Mukhtār's house and expressed to him their obedience. This increased his happiness and elation. When he read to them al-Ḥusain's letter, `Ābisī ibn Shibīb al-Shākiri stood and said, "I do not speak about the people, nor do I know what they conceal in their hearts, nor do I deceive you in their regard. By Allāh! I can tell you what I personally have decided to do. By Allāh! I shall respond to your call, and I shall fight your enemy. I shall defend you with my sword till I meet Allāh desiring nothing except what He has in store for me."

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir said, "You have briefly stated your intention, and by Allāh, the One and only God, I feel exactly she same."

Sa`īd ibn `Abdullāh al-Ḥanafi made a similar statement.[1]

Other Shī`as came to swear the oath of allegiance to him till his *dīwān* counted as many as eighteen thousand men,[2] whereas some historians said they were as many as twenty five thousand men.[3] According to al-Sha`bi, the number of those who swore allegiance to him reached forty thousand.[4] It was then that Muslim wrote al-Ḥusain (ع) a letter which he handed to `Ābis ibn Shibīb al-Shākiri informing him of the consensus among the people of Kūfa to obey him and to wait for his arrival. In it, he said, "A scout does not lie to his people. Eighteen thousand Kūfians have already come to me; so, hurry and come here as soon as this letter reaches you."[5] That was twenty-seven days prior to Muslim's martyrdom.[6] The Kūfians, too, added to it their own letter wherein they stated the following: "Hurry and come to us, O son of the Messenger of Allāh! A hundred thousand swords are in Kūfa on your side; so, do not tarry."[7]

This angered a group of the Umayyads with vested interests. Among them were `Omer ibn Sa`d ibn Abu Waqqās, `Abdullāh ibn Muslim ibn Rabī`ah al-Ḥaḍrami, and `Imarah ibn `Uqbah ibn Abu Mu`īt. They wrote Yazīd warning him of the arrival of Muslim ibn `Aqīl and the rallying of the people of Kūfa behind him, adding that al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr was not strong enough to stand in his [`Aqīl's] way.[8]

Yazīd solicited the advice of his slave Serjun[9] who was also his scribe and entertainer. Serjun said, "`Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād is your man!" "There is no good in him," said Yazīd. Serjun asked him, "Had

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 138. Al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 211.

[3] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, Vol. 2, p. 310.

[4] Ibn Nama, p. 11.

[5] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 210.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 224.

[7] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 185 (old edition).

[8] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, pp. 99-201.

[9] The following comment is stated on p. 158, Vol. 2, of Muḥammed Kurd Ali's book *Al-Islam wal Ḥaḍāra al-`Arabiyya*: "Serjun ibn Manṣūr was a Syrian Christian who was employed by Mu`āwiyah. His father, Manṣūr, was in charge of Syria's treasury since the days of Heracles, before the country fell to the Muslims. He assisted the Muslims in fighting the Romans (Byzantines). Like his father, Manṣūr ibn Serjun ibn Manṣūr also served the government, and [second caliph] `Omer ibn al-Khaṭṭāb used not to appoint Christians in a government job except after they had embraced Islam."

Mu`āwiyah been alive and suggested to you to employ him [as governor of Kūfa], would you then do so?" Yazīd answered in the affirmative. "Mu`āwiyah had given him his own seal, and nothing stopped me from recommending him except my knowledge of how much you hate him." Yazīd, therefore, dispatched `Ubaydullāh to Kūfa and deposed al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr. He wrote the latter saying, "One who is praised will one day be condemned, and one who is condemned will one day be praised. You are named for a task wherein the first part of this statement applies to you."

Elevated, you were, reaching the clouds and beyond,
What ails you so you, crippled, watch the sun?[1]

He ordered Ibn Ziyād to rush to Kūfa in the company of Muslim ibn `Omer al-Bāhili, al-Munthir ibn al-Jārūd, and `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal escorted by five hundred soldiers whom he hand-picked from among the people of Baṣra. Ibn Ziyād rushed to Kūfa, paying no attention to anyone who fell off his horse due to exhaustion even if he were one of his own closest friends. Even when Shurayk ibn al-A`war fell on the way, and even when `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith fell, thinking that Ibn Ziyād would slow down for their sake, Ibn Ziyād paid no attention to them for fear al-Ḥusain (ع) would reach Kūfa before him. When he reached al-Qādisiyya, his slave Mahrān fell down. Ibn Ziyād said to him, "If you remain thus on foot and reach the [governor's] mansion, your reward will be a hundred thousand [dinars]." Mahrān said, "By Allāh I cannot do that!" `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād abandoned him on the highway then disguised in Yemeni clothes and put on a black turban. He rode alone and whenever he passed by a checkpoint, its guards thought that he was al-Ḥusain (ع), so they said, "Welcome, O son of the Messenger of Allāh!" He remained silent till he reached Kūfa via the Najaf highway.[2]

When he arrived, people welcomed him and said in one voice: "Welcome, O son of the Messenger of Allāh!" This only intensified his ire. He continued his march till he reached the governor's mansion. Al-Nu`mān did not open the gate for him, and he spoke to him from the mansion's roof-top. Said he, "I shall not return the trust to you, O son of the Messenger of Allāh!" Ibn Ziyād said to him, "Open the gate, for your night has extended for too long!"[3]

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[1]al-Balāthiri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 4, p. 82.

[2]Ibn Nama al-Ḥilli, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

[3]Historians maintain no consensus with regard to [Ubaydullāh] Ibn Ziyād's date of birth. Those who did state it cannot be accurate even if it is to be taken by way of guessing. On p. 283, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Bidāya*, Ibn Kathīr quotes Ibn `Asākir citing Aḥmed ibn Yūnus al-Ḍabi saying that `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād was born in 39 A.H./660 A.D. If that is the case, he was, on the Battle of Ṭaff, near the close of 60 A.H./680 A.D., twenty-one years old. This means that he was fourteen years old when his father, Ziyād, died in 53 A.H./673 A.D. This, however, does not agree with the date stated by Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabari] on p. 166, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*. Says the latter, "Mu`āwiyah appointed `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād as the *wāli* [provincial governor] of Khurasan in 53 A.H./673 A.D." But it is highly unlikely that a fourteen years old can be appointed to govern a vast country such as Khurasan. What Ibn Jarīr says must be based on assumption, for he says on the same page that "In 53 A.H./673 A.D., Mu`āwiyah appointed `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, who was twenty-five years old, as the *wāli* of Khurasan." This would put his date of birth in 53 A.H./673 A.D. and his age during the Battle of Ṭaff as thirty-two years. His statement agrees with what is stated by Ibn Kathīr who, on p. 283, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Bidāya*, quotes al-Faḍl ibn Rakīn ibn `Ubaydullāh saying that [`Ubaydullāh] Ibn Ziyād was twenty-eight years old when al-Ḥusain (ع) was killed." Based on this statement, his year of birth must have been 32 A.H./653 A.D. and that of his death at the age of twenty-one must have been 53 A.H./673 A.D. On p. 271 of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Ta`jīl al-Manfa`a* (which was printed in Hyderabad, India), the author says, "`Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād was born in 32 A.H./653 A.D. or in 33 A.H./654 A.D." He, therefore, was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old when the Battle of Ṭaff took place at the beginning of 61 A.H./681 A.D.

At any rate, his mother, Marjāna, was Zoroastrian. On p. 383, Vol. 8, of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Bidāya*, and also according to al-`Ayni who, on p. 656, Vol. 7, of his book *`Umdat al-Qāri fi Sharḥ al-Bukhāri*, "Kitāb al-Faḍā'il," discusses al-Ḥusain's merits, saying that Marjāna was a war captive from Isfahān, and that she was said to be Zoroastrian.

A man heard his voice and recognized him. He, therefore, said to the people, "He is Ibn Ziyād, by the Lord of the Ka`ba!"[1] They, thereupon, dispersed, each going back home.

In the morning, Ibn Ziyād gathered people at the grand mosque. There, he delivered a speech warning them against mutiny and promising them generous rewards for conforming. Said he, "Anyone found to be sheltering one of those who scheme against the authority of the commander of the faithful and who does not hand him over will be crucified on the door of his own house."[2]

MUSLIM'S STAND

When Muslim ibn `Aqīl came to know about Ibn Ziyād's speech and his explicit threats, and having come to know about people's conditions, he feared being assassinated. He, therefore, left al-Mukhtār's house after the dark and went to the house of Hāni ibn `Urwah al-Mathḥaji who was a

On p. 6, Vol. 7, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, the author quotes Marjāna, when `Ubaydullāh killed al-Ḥusain, saying [the following to her son], "Woe unto you! What have you done?! What madness have you committed?!" On p. 103, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Kāmil*, where Ibn Ziyād's death is discussed, Marjāna is quoted as saying the following to [her son] `Ubaydullāh: "O you corrupt one (*khabeeth*)! You have killed the son of the Messenger of Allāh! By Allāh! You shall never see Paradise," in addition to other such statements. Some historians say that she said to him, "I wish you had been a menstruation, and that you never saw al-Ḥusain nor committed what you have committed." On p. 268, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, as well as on p. 34, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Kāmil*, which both agree with *Murūj al-Thahab*, `Ubaydullāh's brother, `Uthmān, said to him, "I wish there had been a ring in the nose of each man belonging to Banū Ziyād till the Day of Judgment, and that al-Ḥusain had never been killed." `Ubaydullāh did not respond. How could he, especially since he had already seen the walls of the governor's mansion with blood flowing over them as soon as the sacred [severed] head [of al-Ḥusain] was brought to it as stated on p. 116 of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Āsqalāni's book *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa* and on p. 339, Vol. 4, of Ibn `Asākir's *Tārīkh*?

On p. 77, Vol. 4, of al-Balāthiri's book *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, it is stated that, "`Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād had no hair on his face, and that he was *very beautiful*!" And on p. 81, the author says, "He was full of evil, and he was the first person to penalize people with the same faults which they had articulated." On p. 86, he is described as a man who was glutton and who would eat more than fifty times a day. On p. 256, Ibn Qutaybah says in his book *Al-Ma`ārif*, "He was very tall; whenever he walked, he was thought to be riding." On p. 75, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Tibyān wal-Tabyīn* (second edition), al-Jāhiz says that he [`Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād] used to stutter, and on p. 167, Vol. 2, he adds saying, "His stuttering must have originated from his descending from the Aswaris. It was Sheer-a-wayh (Ceroe), the Aswari, who married him off to Marjāna, who was with `Ubaydullāh. So he grew up among the Aswaris, and their language had an impact over his own." On p. 84, Vol. 5, of *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, it is stated that, "Whenever Ibn Ziyād became angry with someone, he would throw him from the roof-top of the governor's mansion or from the peaks of the highest elevation." On p. 82, the author says, "`Ubaydullāh married Hind daughter of Asmā' daughter of Khārijah, so Muḥammed ibn `Omayr ibn `Utārid, Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath, and `Amr ibn Harīth shamed him for having done so. `Ubaydullāh, therefore, married al-Nu`mān's mother who was the daughter of Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath, and he married his bother `Uthmān off to the daughter of ḥOmayr ibn Utārid and married his brother `Abdullāh off to the daughter of `Amr ibn Harīth." On p. 50 of *Al-Nuqūd al-Qadīma al-Islamiyya*, al-Tabrizi, as quoted by Anstas al-Karmili in his own book *Majmū`at al-Nuqūd al-`Arabiyya*, it is stated that, "The first person to forge *dirhams* and to counterfeit them is `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād who did so after fleeing from Baṣra in 64 A.H./684 A.D. After this date, it became common in other countries." The same is stated by al-Maqrīzi on p. 61 of his book *Kashf al-Ghumma* and also on p. 50 of his other book *Al-Nuqūd al-Islamiyya al-Qadīma*. It is also stated on p. 185, Vol. 1, of al-Qalqashandi's book *Ma'āthir al-Ināqa* where the author says, "During the caliphate of al-Mehdi, the lineage of Ziyād ibn Abeeh [Ziyād the son of his father] was traced back to `Ubaydullāh, the [Byzantine] Roman."

[1]al-Bukhāri, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 201.

[2]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

very zealous Shī`a.[1] He was also one of Kūfa's dignitaries,[2] one of its *qāris* of the Holy Qur'ān,[3] and the shaikh and chief of Murād. He could easily raise four thousand troops fully armed and eight thousand cavaliers. If he includes his tribe's allies from Kindah, the number would swell to thirty thousand.[4] He was one of the closest friends of the Commander of the Faithful Imām Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع)[5] on whose side he fought in all his three battles.[6] He had seen and was honoured by being a companion of the Prophet (ص). When he was killed, he was more than ninety years old.[7]

Muslim ibn `Aqīl stayed at the house of Sharīk[8] ibn `Abdullāh[9] al-A`war al-Ḥārithi al-Hamadāni al-Baṣri, one of the main supporters of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, in Baṣra, a man who enjoyed great prominence among our men.[10] He had participated in the Battle of Ṣiffīn and fought side

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[1]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 10.

[2]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 235.

[3]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 14, p. 95.

[4]al-Mas`ūdi, *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 2, p. 89.

[5]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Iṣāba*, Vol. 2, p. 616, Part 3.

[6]al-Dārmi, *Thakhīra*, p. 278. On p. 10, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Kāmil*, he is said to have fought during the Battle of Ṣiffīn with `Ammār ibn Yāsir.

[7]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Iṣāba*, Vol. 3, p. 616, Part 3.

[8]*Ibid*.

[9]On p. 201, Vol. 1, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi says, "The great religious authority, Sayyid al-Amīn, is confused when he identifies Sharīk as `al-Hamadāni.' Both al-Khawārizmi, in his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain,* and Ibn Nama, in his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān,* are confused about him despite the fact that in his Appendix to Vol. 12 of his work *Tārīkh al-Umam wal-Mulūk*, Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabari] makes a reference to him. The genealogy of Sharīk actually belongs to al-Ḥārith ibn al-A`war, one of the companions of the Commander of the Faithful [Imām Ali (ع)]. The confusion stems from historians identifying Sharīk as the son of al-A`war al-Ḥārithi, overlooking the fact that Sharīk belonged to Mathḥaj, whereas al-Ḥārith al-A`war was from Hamadān." Among those who have accurately referred to Sharīk as "al-Mathḥaji" is Ibn Durayd who says on p. 401 of his book *Al-Ishtiqāq*, "Among the notables of Hamadān is Sharīk ibn al-A`war who addressed Mu`āwiyah with a poem that included this verse:

> Does Mu`āwiyah son of Harb really taunt me
> While my sword is unsheathed and my tongue is with me?"

The same author goes on to state the following on pp. 397-398: "The men belonging to Sa`d al-`Ashīra are named after Mathḥaj who is Mālik ibn Adad. Among their distinguished families are those of: `Abd al-Madan, one of the three main distinguished families of the Arabs, Zurārah ibn `Adas, who belongs to Banū Tamīm, Ḥuthayfah ibn Badr, who belongs to Fizāra, and `Abd al-Madan of Banū Ḥārith among whose notable men is Sharīk al-A`war who addressed Mu`āwiyah and with whom he had a discussion." The dialogue between Mu`āwiyah and Sharīk is documented by al-Hamadāni on p. 229, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Ikīl* (Egypt: 1386 A.H./1967 A.D.) which contains the three verses of poetry mentioned by Ibn Ḥajja in his book *Thamarāt al-Awrāq* which comments about the contents of p. 45, Vol. 1, of *Al-Mustazraf*, in Chapter 8 which contains silencing answers. He also states responding statements made by the Hāshemite but makes no reference to the said poetic lines. He states only six lines on p. 70, Vol. 1, of *Al-Hamāsa al-Baṣriyya*. Under the heading "`awa" of *Tāj al-`Arūs*, a reference is made to the same dialogue. So is the case when al-Zamakhshari records in his *Rabī` al-Abrār* a list of silencing answers, citing four lines from the same poem. What makes us feel comfortable with attributing him to Mathḥaj is the fact that he resided at Kūfa at the house of Hāni ibn `Urwah, one of his immediate kinsmen and tribesmen. Had this son of al-Ḥārith been from Hamadān, he would have stayed over his father's house. Al-Ḥārith al-Hamadāni died in 65 A.H./685 A.D.

[10]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 14.

by side with `Ammār ibn Yāsir.[1] Due to his distinction and prominence, `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād appointed him as Governor of Kerman on behalf of Mu`āwiyah.[2] He used to be in contact with and in the company of Hāni ibn `Urwah. He fell very seriously ill, so Ibn Ziyād went to visit him. Before his arrival, Sharīk said to Muslim (ع), "Your objective and that of your Shī`as is his annihilation; so, you should stay inside the storage room. Once he feels secure at my house, you should come out and kill him, and I shall spare you having to deal with him in Kūfa while you yourself remain in good health."[3]

As they were thus engaged in their dialogue, the arrival of the *ameer* (provincial governor) at the door was announced, so Muslim entered the storage room. When Sharīk thought that Muslim had taken too long to come out, he kept taking his turban off and putting it on the ground then putting it back again, doing so several times as he recited the following verses of poetry in an audible voice which Muslim could hear:

Why do you not Sulma greet?
Greet her and those whom she does greet.
A pure drink is what I desire when thirsty,
Though drinking it brings sends me to eternity.
If you fear Sulma's watchful eyes, for sure
Against her conniving you will never feel secure.

He kept repeating these lines as he cast quick glances at the storage room. Then he raised his voice so that Muslim could hear him saying, "Give it to me to drink even if my death lies therein."[4] It was then that `Ubaydullāh turned to Hāni and said, "Your cousin, on account of his sickness, is surely hallucinating." Hāni said, "Sharīk has been hallucinating since he fell sick, and he does not know what he says."[5]

Sharīk, at a later time, asked Muslim, "What stopped you from killing him?" He said, "Two reasons: first, one *ḥadīth* of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) narrated by Ali (ع) says, `Faith stops where murder begins; a faithful man does not murder others.'[6] The second reason is Hāni's wife. She pleaded to me in the Name of Allāh not to do so in her house, and she wept before my very eyes." Hāni said, "Woe unto her! She has killed me and killed her own self! That from which she fled, in it have I fallen."[7]

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 203.

[2]*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, Vol. 1, p. 153. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 3, p. 206. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 17, p. 60, 64 and 70 (Sasi edition).

[3]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 14.

[4]*Riyadh al-Masā'ib*, p. 60. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 204, where Sharīk is cited saying, "What do you think of Sulma? Why do you not greet her? Give it to me to drink though in it lies my own death."

[5]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 14.

[6]Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 11. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 240. This tradition is quoted quite often in compilations of *ḥadīth*. For example, it is recorded on p. 166, Vol. 1, of Aḥmed's *Musnad*; in a footnote on p. 57, Vol. 1, of *Muntakhab Kanz al-`Ummāl*; on p. 123, Vol. 4, of al-Sayyūṭi's book *Al-Jāmi` al-Saghīr*; in a footnote on p. 95, Vol. 1, of *Kunūz al-Haqā 'iq*; on p. 352, Vol. 4, of al-Ḥākim's *Mustadrak*; on p. 202, Vol. 1, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, chapter 10; on p. 318, Vol. 2, of *Al-Manāqib* by Ibn Shahr Āshūb; in Vol. 11 of al-Majlisi's *Biḥār al-Anwār*; and in *Waqāi` al-Ayyām* where it is quoted from *Al-Shihāb fil Hikam wal Ādāb*.

[7]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 14. Such a statement, coming from a scholar of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and a vicegerent of the Master of Martyrs in both religious and secular matters, is useful for religiously conscientious people who follow in their footsteps in order to comprehend the *fiqh* of the holiest Prophet (ص). Such *fiqh* prohibits treachery. Pure souls refuse to expose a host to any hardship on account of his guest. Such are the sacred teachings of the *Umma*, only if its members contemplate. There is another minute mystery and implication viewed by the "mansion's martyr" the essence of which we sensed and found to be unique. It exists when the

Sharīk died three days later. Ibn Ziyād performed the funeral prayers for him[1], then he was buried at al-Thuwayya. When it became clear for Ibn Ziyād that Sharīk used to instigate people to have him killed, he said, "By Allāh! I shall never perform the funeral prayers for anyone from Iraq! Had it not been for Ziyād's grave being in their land, I would have exhumed Sharīk's grave."[2]

The Shī`as kept meeting Muslim ibn `Aqīl secretly at Hāni's house without attracting the attention of Ibn Ziyād, admonishing each other to keep it to themselves. Ibn Ziyād, therefore, could not know where Muslim was. He called Ma`qil, his slave, to meet him. He gave him three thousand [dinars] and ordered him to meet the Shī`as and to tell them that he was a Syrian slave of Thul-Kilā`, that Allāh blessed him with loving Ahl al-Bayt of His Messenger (ص), that it came to his knowledge that one of the members of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) had come to that country, and that he had with him some money which he wanted to hand deliver to him. Ma`qil entered the grand mosque and saw Muslim ibn `Awsajah al-Asadi offering his prayers. Having seen him finish his prayers, he came close to him and made the above claim to him. Muslim prayed Allāh to grant him goodness and success. He then accompanied him to the place where Muslim ibn `Aqīl was. He delivered the money to Muslim and swore the oath of allegiance to him.[3] The money was handed over to Abu Thumāma al-Sā`idi who was a far-sighted and a brave Shī`a dignitary appointed by Muslim to receive the funds and to buy thereby weapons.

That man kept meeting Muslim every day. No secrets were kept from him, so he kept gathering intelligence and getting it to reach Ibn Ziyād in the evening.[4]

HĀNI'S STAND

When the matter became clear to Ibn Ziyād, who by now knew that Muslim was hiding at the house of Hāni ibn `Urwah, he had Asmā' ibn Khārijah, Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath and `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj brought to him. He asked them why Hāni had not been coming lately to visit him. They told him that it was due to his sickness, but he was not convinced especially since his informers had already told him that Hāni used to sit at the door of his house every evening. These same men rode to Hāni and asked him to meet the *ṣulṭān*, for "He cannot stand you staying away from him," they said, pressuring him till he yielded. Hāni, therefore, rode his mule and went. As soon as Ibn Ziyād saw him, he said, "His feet, the feet

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Commander of the Faithful (ع) was asked once, "Why do you not kill Ibn Muljim?" He (ع) answered, "Who will then kill me?!" It also exists in a statement made by al-Ḥusain (ع) to Umm Salamah. He said, "If I do not proceed to Kerbalā', who will then kill me?! And who will reside in my grave instead?! And how will they otherwise be tested?!" The implication of such statements is that nobody is capable of altering anyone's fate which is determined by the Almighty Who implements whatever He decrees. This is proven by the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) at the hands of Ibn Muljim and that of Imām al-Ḥusain son of Ali (ع) at the hands of Yazīd. If it is possible for the Commander of the Faithful (ع) to inform some of his closest followers, such as Maytham [al-Tammār], Ḥabīb, Rashīd, and Kumayl [ibn Ziyād], about the method how they themselves will be killed and who will kill them, then it is quite possible that the Master of Martyrs (ع) had informed Muslim ibn `Aqīl of what will happen to him to the letter. Ibn `Aqīl is in the zenith of conviction and the most discreet far-sightedness. But the circumstances did not help him to reveal such secrets. The secrets known by the Progeny of Muḥammed (ص) are not easy for others to withstand. You ought to read p. 134 of our book *Al-Shahīd Muslim* where we simplified our explanation of this issue under the heading "Muslim is not to commit treachery."

[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 202, Ch. 10. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 202.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 202.

[3]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, p. 237.

[4]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

of the treacherous one, have brought him to you."[1] Then he turned to his judge Shurayḥ and cited this verse of poetry:[2]

I seek his pleasure while he seeks my death,
Now from your fellow you have an excuse
To carry out what you intend to do.

Then Ibn Ziyād turned to Hāni and said, "You brought `Aqīl's son to your house and gathered weapons for him, did you not?" Hāni denied, and when their argument became heated, Ibn Ziyād ordered Ma`qil to be brought to him. Hāni, hence, understood that that man was actually Ibn Ziyād's spy, so he said to Ibn Ziyād, "Your father had done me great favours, and I now wish to reward him. Why do you not listen to my good advice and safely depart for Syria with your family and wealth? Someone who is more worthy than you and your friend[3] of taking charge has come here." Ibn Ziyād said, "And under the foam is the pure sour milk."[4]

Ibn Ziyād then said to him, "By Allāh! You will not stay out of my sight before you bring him to me." Hāni said, "By Allāh! Had he been under my foot, I would not have lifted it!" Ibn Ziyād then spoke rudely to him and even threatened to kill him. Hāni, therefore, said, "In that case, there will be plenty of swords around you," thinking that the tribesmen of Murād would protect him from Ibn Ziyād who then pulled Hāni's braids, hitting his face with his sword, breaking his nose and scattering the flesh from his cheeks and forehead on his beard. He then jailed him at his mansion.[5]

`Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj heard that Hāni had been killed. Hāni's wife, Raw`a, who is well known as the mother of Yaḥya son of Hāni, was the sister of `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj. The latter, therefore, rode with a multitude from the tribe of Mathḥaj, and they all surrounded the mansion. When Ibn Ziyād came to know

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[1]On p. 19, Vol. 1, of his book *Mujma` al-Amthāl*, al-Maydāni says that this verse was composed by al-Ḥārith ibn Jibillah al-Ghassāni as he seized al-Ḥārith ibn `Afīf al-`Abdi who had composed poetry defaming him.

[2]According to p. 274, Vol. 2, of *Al-Iṣāba* (of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni), where Qays ibn al-Makshūh's biography is detailed, the author says that this verse was composed by `Amr ibn Ma`di-Karb wherein he referred to his sister's son from whom he had distanced himself. On p. 32, Vol. 14, of *Al-Aghāni*, Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni says, "The Commander of the Faithful (ع) cited this verse when Ibn Muljim al-Murādi came to swear the oath of allegiance to him." On p. 97, Vol. 3, of his *Tārīkh*, published by the Ḥayderi Press (Najaf, Iraq), al-Ya`qūbi says, "It came to the knowledge of Abu al-`Abbās al-Saffāḥ that Muḥammed ibn `Abdullāh raised an army in Medīna to fight him, so he wrote the latter in this regard and included this verse:

I seek his love while he seeks to murder me,
What your friend seeks is now your own excuse.

`Abdullāh wrote him back saying,

How could he thus seek while you are
Like the arteries of his heart?
How could he thus seek while your forearm
Derives its strength even from his own?
How could he thus seek while you are
To Hāshim a head and a guide?"

[3]al-Mas`ūdi, *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 2, p. 88. By "your friend" he meant Yazīd.

[4]al-Zamakhshari, *Al-Mustaqsa*, Vol. 1, p. 15 (Hayderabad, India, edition).

[5]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

about it, he ordered Shurayḥ, the judge,[1] to see Hāni and then to tell those horsemen that Hāni was still alive. Shurayḥ narrates saying, "When Hāni saw me, he said in a loud voice, `O Muslims! Should ten persons enter here, you must come to my rescue!' Had Hamīd ibn Abu Bakr al-Ahmari, the policeman, not been with me, I would have conveyed his message, but I had to simply say instead that Hāni was still alive. `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj then praised Allāh and went back accompanied by the other men."[2]

MUSLIM'S UPRISING

When Muslim came to know about what had happened to Hāni, he feared being assassinated; therefore, he rushed to rise prior to the date which he had set with the public. He ordered `Abdullāh ibn Hāzim to call upon his men, who had then filled the houses surrounding him, to gather together. Four thousand men assembled. They were shouting Badr's call which was: "O Supported One! Annihilate them!"

`Ubaydullāh ibn `Amr ibn `Azīz al-Kindi was placed in command of the Kindah and the Rabī`ah quarters. "March ahead of me," said Muslim, "in command of the cavalry." Muslim ibn `Awsajah al-Asadi was placed in command of Mathḥaj and Banū Asad. "Take charge of the infantry," Muslim ordered him. Abu Thumāma al-Sā`idi was placed in charge of Tamīm and Hamadān, whereas al-`Abbās ibn Ja`dah al-Jadli was given the command of the Medīna troops.

They marched towards the governor's mansion. Ibn Ziyād fortified himself inside it, locking all its gates. He could not resist because there were only thirty policemen with him and twenty of his close men and slaves. But the substance from which the people of Kūfa were made was treachery; so, their standards kept disappearing till no more than three hundred men remained out of the original four thousand.[3] Al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays described them as a whore who demanded a different man every day.[4]

When those inside the mansion called upon the people of Kūfa saying, "O Kūfians! Fear Allāh and do not expose yourselves to Syrian cavaliers whose might you have already tasted and whom you have already tested on the battlefield," the remaining three hundred dispersed, so much so that a man would come to his son, brother, or cousin and tell him to go home, and a wife would cling to her husband till he returned home.[5]

Muslim offered the evening prayers at the [grand Kūfa] mosque accompanied by only thirty men. Then, when he went to Kindah's quarters, only three men accompanied him.[6] He hardly proceeded for a

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[1]On p. 330, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, Khalīfah ibn `Amr says that Shurayḥ was one of the "sons" who were in Yemen, attributing his lineage to the Kindah tribe, and that he died in 76 A.H./695 A.D. On p. 16, Vol. 1, of his own commentary on *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, Suhayl Zakar identifies the "sons" as "the descendants of the Persians who had accompanied Sayf ibn Thu Yazan to help the latter in kicking the Ethiopians out of Yemen." He adds saying, "These `sons' constitute a special class in Yemen: their fathers are Persian while their mothers are Arab."

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 206. According to Ibn Nama and Ibn Ṭāwūs, the name of Hāni's wife was Rowayḥa daughter of `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 207.

[4]al-Balāthiri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 5, p. 338. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 17, p. 162. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar described them as such to Miṣ`ab when the latter had asked the first to raise for him an army from among the people of Iraq.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 208.

[6]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 240.

short while before finding himself without anyone at all to show him the way.[1] He alighted from his horse and cautiously traversed Kūfa's alleys not knowing where to go.[2]

When people abandoned Muslim, their noise died down, and Ibn Ziyād could not hear the voice of any of their men. Ibn Ziyād ordered his bodyguards to inspect the mosque's courtyard to see whether there were any men lying in ambush. They, therefore, kept lowering their lanterns down its walls and lighting reeds then lowering them down with ropes till they reached the mosque's courtyard. They could not see anyone, so they informed Ibn Ziyād who ordered his caller to call people to assemble at the mosque. When they filled the mosque, he ascended the pulpit and said, "`Aqīl's son has caused the dissension and disunity with which you all are familiar; so, there is no security henceforth to any man in whose house we find him. Anyone who captures him and brings him to us will be paid his blood money. O servants of Allāh! Fear Allāh and safeguard your obedience and oath of allegiance, and do not expose yourselves to peril."

Then he ordered al-Ḥasīn ibn Tamīm, chief of his police force, to search homes and highways, warning him that he would kill Muslim should the latter succeed in fleeing from Kūfa.[3]

Al-Ḥasīn stationed his guards at highway crossroads and pursued the dignitaries who had supported Muslim, arresting `Abd al-A`la ibn Yazīd al-Kalbi and `Imārah ibn Salkhab al-Azdi. He threw them in jail then killed them. Then he jailed a group of prominent leaders as a safeguar against what they might do. Among them were al-Asbagh ibn Nubātah and al-Ḥārith al-A`war al-Hamadāni.[4]

AL-MUKHTĀR IS JAILED

When Muslim marched, al-Mukhtār was at a village called Khaṭwāniyya[5]. He came accompanied by his supporters raising a green standard while `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith was raising a red one. Having planted his standard at the door of `Amr ibn Harīth's house, he said, "I want to stop `Amr."[6] It became obvious to them that both Muslim and Hāni had been killed, and it was suggested to them that they would feel more secure in the company of `Amr ibn Harīth, and so they did. Ibn Harīth testified that they had both avoided Muslim ibn `Aqīl... Ibn Ziyād ordered them jailed after having reviled al-Mukhtār and hit his face with a lance, gouging one of his eyes.[7] They remained in prison till Imām al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him, was martyred.[8]

Ibn Ziyād ordered Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath[9], Shabth ibn Rab`i, al-Qa`qa` ibn Shawr al-Thuhli[10],

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[1]al-Shareeshi, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīri*, Vol. 1, p. 192, at the conclusion of the tenth *maqām*.

[2]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 29.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, pp. 209-210.

[4]On p. 169, Vol. 6, of Ibn Sa`d's *Ṭabaqāt*, Sadir's edition, the author says, "Al-Ḥārith al-A`war died in Kūfa during the caliphate of `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, and his governor over it was `Abdullāh ibn Yazīd al-Anṣāri al-Khatmi. He performed the funeral prayers for him according to his own will."

[5]al-Balāthiri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 5, p. 214. On p. 449, Vol. 3, of his encyclopedia titled *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi says it is one of the suburbs of Babylon, Iraq.

[6]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 215.

[7]According to p. 253 of his *Al-Ma`ārif*, Ibn Qutaybah, in a chapter dealing with those with deformities, and also on p. 303 of Ibn Ḥabīb's *Maḥbar*, `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād hit al-Mukhtār on the face with his whip, causing him to lose the vision from one of his eyes.

[8]al-Balāthiri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 5, p. 215.

[9]According to p. 331, Vol. 1, of Khalīfah's *Ṭabaqāt*, Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath is the son of Qays; his mother is Umm Farwah

Hijar ibn Abjar[1], Shimr Thul-Jawshan, and `Amr ibn Harīth to surrender and to discourage people from rebelling.[2] A number of men, who were controlled by fear, responded positively to his call in addition to others who coveted rich rewards and were thus deceived, whereas those whose conscience was pure went underground, waiting for an opportunity to launch an attack on the camp of falsehood.

MUSLIM AT THE HOUSE OF ṬAW`A

Ibn `Aqīl's feet took him to the quarters of Banū Jiblah of the tribe of Kindah. He stood at the door of a house of a freed bondmaid named Ṭaw`a who had a number of sons. She used to be the bondmaid of al-Ash`ath ibn Qays who freed her. Asīd al-Ḥaḍrami married her, and she gave birth to his son Bilāl who was in the crowd when his mother was standing at the door waiting for him. Muslim requested her to give him some water, which she did. He then requested her to host him, telling her that he was a stranger in that land without a family or a tribe, that he belonged to a family capable of intercession on the Day of Judgment, and that his name was Muslim ibn `Aqīl. She took him to a room which was not the same one where her son used to sleep, and she served him some food. Her son was surprised to see her entering that room quite often, so he asked her about it. She refused to answer his question except after obtaining an oath from him to keep the matter to himself.

But in the morning he informed Ibn Ziyād of where Muslim had been hiding. Ibn Ziyād dispatched al-Ash`ath accompanied by seventy men who belonged to the Qays tribe in order to arrest him. Upon hearing the horses' hoofs ploughing the ground, Muslim realized that he was being pursued,[3] so he hurried to finish a supplication which he was reciting following the morning prayers. Then he put on his battle gear and said to his hostess Ṭaw`a: "You have carried out your share of righteousness, and you have secured your share of the intercession of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Yesterday, I saw my uncle the Commander of the Faithful (ع) in a vision telling me that I was going to join him the next day."[4]

He came out to face them raising his unsheathed sword as they assaulted the house, succeeding in repelling their attack. They repeated their attack, and again he repelled them as he recited these poetic verses:

It is only death; so, do whatever you devise,
For you shall no doubt meet your demise;
So I shall be patient about the Command
Of Allāh, His Glory is Grand!

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daughter of Abu Quhāfah. He and Miṣ`ab were killed in 67 A.H./686 A.D. during al-Mukhtār's uprising. This is also stated on p. 206, Part 2, Vol. 2, of *Al-Jarḥ wal-Ta`dīl*.

[10]On p. 328, Vol. 1, of Khalīfah's *Ṭabaqāt*, his full name is given as al-Qa`qa` ibn Shawr ibn al-Nu`mān ibn Ghanal ibn Ḥārithah ibn Abbād ibn Imri'ul-Qays ibn `Amr ibn Shaybān ibn Thuhl, a resident of Kūfa. This is also stated on p. 137, Vol. 3, of *Al-Jarḥ wal-Ta`dīl*.

[1]On p. 84, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, the author indicates that he was Christian, and that he died in 40 A.H./661 A.D.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 12.

[3]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 210. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 208, chapter 10.

[4]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 56.

Allāh's decree is always done
In His creation; this is well known.

He killed as many as forty-one of their men,[1] and he was so strong that he would take hold of one man then hurl him on the rooftop.[2]

Ibn al-Ash`ath sent a messenger to Ibn Ziyād requesting reenforcements. The messenger came back to him carrying the latter's blame of his incompetence. He, therefore, sent him this message: "Do you think that you sent me to one of Kūfa's shopkeepers, or to a Nabatean from Hīra?! Rather, you sent me to one of the swords of [Prophet] Muḥammed ibn `Abdullāh (ص)!" Ibn Ziyād then assisted him with additional soldiers.[3]

Fighting intensified. Muslim and Bakīr ibn Ḥamrān al-Ahmari exchanged blows. Bakīr struck Muslim on the mouth, cutting his upper lip, wounding the lower one and breaking two of his lower teeth. Muslim fiercely struck him with one blow on his head and another on his shoulder muscle, almost splitting his stomach, killing him instantly.[4]

Then they attacked him from the house's rooftop, hurling rocks at him. They kept burning reed bales then throwing them at him. He attacked them in the alley as he quoted the following *rajaz* verses composed by Ḥamrān ibn Mālik:

I swore not to be killed except as a free man,
Though I found death something repelling;
Every man will one day face evil,
And what is cold will be mingled with what is hot.
The soul's ray returned, so it did settle,
I fear only being charged with lying or being tempted.[5]

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[1]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 212.

[2]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 57.

[3]Shaikh Luṭfallah ibn al-Mawla Muḥammed Jawād al-Ṣāfi al-Gulpaygani), *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 299, tenth night.

[4]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 210, chapter 10.

[5]These verses are mentioned by Ibn Ṭāwūs on p. 30 of his book *Al-Luhūf* (Saida's edition), and by Ibn Nama in his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, in reference to what he calls the Battle of the Qarn. They are also cited on p. 209, Vol. 1, chapter 10, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain* with the author providing the name of the poet who composed them. Ibn Shahr Āshūb cites six lines of the original poem on p. 212, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Manāqib* (Iranian edition).

No historian who wrote about battles during the *jāhiliyya* period makes any reference to such a battle. But on p. 64, Vol. 7, of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi's encyclopedia *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, on p. 1062, Vol. 3, of al-Bakri's *Mu`jam bima Ista`jam*, and p. 310, Vol. 9, of *Tāj al-`Arūs*, this name is given to a mountain where a battle, in which Banū `Āmir lost, took place. On p. 321 of al-Qalqashandi's book *Nihāyat al-Arab*, the author says, "Banū Qarn are one of the branches of the tribe of Murād. Among them is Oways al-Qarni." Yet all of this does not really tell us the whole truth. Yes, Muḥammed ibn Ḥabīb, the genealogist, on p. 243 of *Risālat al-Mughtālīn* [a dissertation about those assassinated], which is listed among the seventh group of rare manuscripts researched by `Abd al-Salām Harūn, it is indicated that [the tribe of] Khath`am killed al-Samīl, brother of Thul-Jawshan al-Kilābi, so Thul-Jawshan raided them assisted by `Ayeenah ibn Ḥasīn on the condition that the latter would take the booty. They fought Khath`am at Fazār, a mountain, killing some of their men and taking booty. Ḥamrān ibn Mālik ibn `Abd al-Mālik al-Khat`ami was fought at the mountain. He was ordered to surrender, whereupon he recited these lines:

His wounds were numerous; he bled extensively, so he supported his body on the side of the house. It was then that they assaulted him with arrows and stones. “Why do you hurl stones at me,” he asked them, “as non-believers are stoned, the member of the household of the pure Prophet (ص) that I am? Do you not have any respect for the Messenger of Allāh (ص) with regard to one of his own descendants?” Ibn al-Ash`ath said to him, “Please do not get yourself killed while you are under my protection.” Muslim asked him, “Shall I then be captured so long as I have some strength in me? No, by Allāh! This shall never be.” Then he attacked Ibn al-Ash`ath who fled away before him. They attacked Aqīl from all directions. Thirst had taken its toll on him. A man stabbed him from the back, so he fell on the ground and was arrested.[1]

Another account says that they dug a hole for him which they covered then fled before him, thus luring him into falling in it, then they arrested him.[2] When they took his sword away from him, he cried. `Amr ibn `Ubaydullāh al-Salami was surprised to see him cry.

MUSLIM MEETS IBN ZIYĀD

Muslim ibn `Aqīl was brought before Ibn Ziyād. At the mansion’s gate, he saw an urn containing cooled water. He asked to drink of it. Muslim ibn `Amr al-Bāhili[3] said to him, “You shall not taste one drop of it till you taste of the *hamīm* in the fire of hell.” Muslim (ع) asked him, “Who are you?” He said, “I am one who knew the truth which you rejected, and who remained faithful to his *imām* when you betrayed him.” Muslim ibn `Aqīl said to him, “May your mother lose you! How hard-hearted and rude you are! You, son of Bāhilah, are more worthy of tasting of the *hamīm*.” Having said so, he sat down, supporting his back on the mansion's wall.[4]

`Imārah ibn `Uqbah ibn Abu Mu`īt sent a slave named Qays[5] to give him water. Whenever Muslim was about to drink of it, the cup became full of his blood. In his third attempt to drink, the cup became full of his blood and both his front teeth fell in it, so he abandoned it saying, “Had it been prescribed in destiny for me to drink it, I would have drunk it.”

Ibn Ziyād's guard came out to escort Muslim. Having entered the room where Ibn Ziyād was,

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I swore never to be killed except as a free man;
I saw death something abominable;
I loathe being deceived or tempted.

Then he was killed. His sister composed a poem eulogizing him in which she said:

Woe upon Ḥamrān, one who did not give himself away,
He did more than his share of goodness,
He owed others nothing at all,
A valiant fighter who stubbornly fought:
How could he possibly accept the shame?

[1]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 212. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, pp. 209-210.

[2]al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 299 (published by the Hayderi Press, Najaf, Iraq), in the discussion of the tenth night.

[3]On p. 126, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Kāmil*, in the discussion of the events of the year 71 A.H./690 A.D., Muslim ibn `Amr al-Bāhili is identified as Qutaybah's father. On p. 185, Vol. 7, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh* (first edition), where the events of the year 71 A.H./690 A.D. are discussed, the author says that Muslim ibn `Amr al-Bāhili was killed at a Catholic convent, and that he was in the company of Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr when the latter's army clashed with that of `Abd al-Malik.

[4]al-Shaikh al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 212. According to al-Mufīd, `Amr ibn Harīth sent his own slave Salīm to bring water.

Muslim did not greet him. The guard asked Muslim, "Why did you not greet the *ameer*?" "Keep your mouth shut," said Muslim, "he is not my *ameer*."[1] It is also said that he said to Ibn Ziyād, "Peace be upon whoever followed the right guidance, feared the consequences in the hereafter, and obeyed the Exalted King," so Ibn Ziyād laughed and said, "Whether you greet or not, you shall be killed."[2] Muslim said, "If you kill me, someone worse than you had already killed someone much better than me. Besides, you shall never abandon committing murders, setting a bad example, thinking ill of others, being mean; having the upper hand will be the doing of anyone else but you."

Ibn Ziyād said, "You disobeyed your *imām*, divided the Muslims, and sowed the seeds of dissension." Muslim said, "You have uttered falsehood. Rather, those who divided the Muslims are Mu`āwiyah and his son Yazīd. The seeds of dissension were sown by your father, and I wish Allāh will grant me to be martyred at the hand of the worst of His creation."[3]

Then Muslim asked permission to convey his will to some of his people. He was granted permission, so he looked at those present there and saw `Omer ibn Sa`d. "There is kinship between me and you," said Muslim to him, "and I need a favour of you which you should oblige, and it is a secret between us." But he refused to listen, whereupon Ibn Ziyād said to him, "Do not hesitate from tending to your cousin's need." `Omer stood with Muslim in a way that enabled Ibn Ziyād to see them both. Muslim conveyed his desire to him to sell his sword and shield and pay a debt in the amount of six hundred dirhams[4] which he had borrowed since he entered Kūfa, to ask Ibn Ziyād to give him his corpse to bury it, and to write al-Ḥusain (ع) to tell him what happened to him. `Omer ibn Sa`d stood up and walked to Ibn Ziyād to reveal the secret with which he had just been entrusted by Muslim! Ibn Ziyād said to him, "A trustworthy person never betrays you, but you have placed your trust in a treacherous person."[5]

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[1]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 30. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 212.

[2]al-Ṭurayhi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 300.

[3]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 17. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 211, chapter 10.

[4]On p. 241 of al-Dainūri's book *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, his debt was a thousand dirhams.

[5]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 212. This statement runs like a proverb. It has been made by Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them. For example, on p. 643, Vol. 2, of *Al-Wasā'il* by al-Ḥurr al-`Āmili, in chapter 9, it is stated that a treacherous person should never be trusted. Relying on the authority of Mu`ammar ibn Khalād, al-Kulayni says, "I heard the father of al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, saying that Abu Ja`fer [Imām al-Bāqir], peace be upon him, used to say, `The trustworthy one did not betray you, but you placed your trust in a treacherous person.'"

Muslim, the mansion's martyr, was not unfamiliar with the nature of `Omer ibn Sa`d, nor was he ignorant of the meanness of his origin, but he wanted to let the Kūfians know the extent of this man's "manliness" and his lack of safeguarding a secret so that nobody would be deceived by him. He had another reason: He wanted to let the people of Kūfa know that Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them, and those charged with authority among them, desired nothing but reforming the nation and the promotion of the Divine call. This man [Muslim], whom they entrusted, did not stretch his hand to *bayt al-māl* although he had the full authority over it to do whatever he pleased. But he, instead, spent his days, which were sixty-four in number, borrowing money. Thus should those charged with authority behave. They should not regard the wealth which belongs to the poor as a booty. This treacherous person, as a matter of fact, reminds me of the incident that took place to Khālid al-Qasri with regard to safeguarding a secret because this is one of the characteristics of the Arabs' norms of manliness and one of the Islamic morals and ethics, in addition to disrespect to the Prophet of Islam (ص) and the abusing of the master of *wasis* [Imām Ali, peace be upon him] from the pulpits and saying about him what no writer finds appropriate to state. Al-Walīd ibn `Abd al-Malik once wanted to perform the *ḥajj*, so a group of men decided to assassinate him, and they sought Khālid's participation in their plot, but Khālid refused. They, therefore, asked him not to reveal their plot, but he instead went to al-Walīd and advised him not to go to the pilgrimage that year because "I fear lest you should be assassinated." Al-Walīd asked him, "Who do you fear may assassinate me? Tell me of their names." But he refused to name them. Said he, "I only advise you and will never name them to you." "In that case," responded al-Walīd, "I shall hand you over to your enemy, Yousuf ibn `Omer." "Even if you do so," he said, "I shall not name them." Al-Walīd handed him over to Yousuf who tortured him, but the man still refused to name them, whereupon he was jailed. A huge stone was placed on his chest that finally killed him in 126 A.H./744

Then Ibn Ziyād turned to Muslim and said, "O son of `Aqīl! You came to a united people and disunited them." Muslim said, "No, indeed, I did not come to do that, but the people of this country claimed that your father killed their best men, shed their blood, and did what Kisra and Caeser do, so we came to them in order to enjoin justice, and to invite all to accept the judgment of the Book [of Allāh]."

Ibn Ziyād said, "What do you have to do with all of that? Have we not been dealing with them with equity?" Muslim said, "Allāh knows that you are not telling the truth. You, in fact, kill when angry, out of enmity, and for mere suspicion." Ibn Ziyād then verbally abused him and abused Ali (ع), `Aqīl, and al-Ḥusain (ع), whereupon Muslim said, "You and your father are more worthy of being thus abused; so, issue whatever decree you wish, you enemy of Allāh!"[1]

It was then that Ibn Ziyād ordered a Syrian[2] to go to the top of the mansion and to behead Muslim and throw both the head and the body to the ground. The Syrian took Muslim to the flat rooftop of the mansion as the latter kept repeating, "*Subhān-Allāh! La ilāha illa-Allāh! Allāhu Akbar!*" He also kept repeating, "O Allāh! Judge between us and the people who deceived, betrayed and lied to us," then he faced Medīna and saluted al-Ḥusain (ع).[3]

The Syrian struck Muslim's neck with his sword and threw his head and body to the ground[4] then hurried down. He was very startled. Ibn Ziyād asked him what was wrong with him. "The moment I killed him," said he, "I saw a black man with an extremely ugly face standing beside me biting his finger, so I was frightened." "Perhaps you lost your mind for a moment," said Ibn Ziyād.[5]

Hāni was taken to an area of the market place where sheep were sold; his arms were tied. He kept saying, "O Mathḥaj! Any man from Mathḥaj to help me today?! O Mathḥaj! Where has Mathḥaj gone away from me?!" Having seen that there was none to respond to him, he somehow managed to get one of his arms out of the ropes and said, "Is there anyone who would hand me a stick, a knife, a rock, or even a bone so that a man may be able to defend himself?" Guards attacked him and tied him again. He was ordered to stretch his neck so that they might strike it with their swords. "I am not going to give it away to you so generously. I shall not assist you at the cost of my own life." A Turkish slave named Rasheed owned by `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād struck him with his sword, but he missed. Hāni said, "To Allāh is my return! O Allāh! To Your Mercy do I come and to Your Pleasure!" Rasheed hit him again and killed him. This same slave was killed by

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A.D. He was then sixty years old. He was buried in a suburb. `Āmir ibn Sahl al-Ash`ari hamstrung his horse on his grave, so Yousuf whipped him seven hundred lashes. Nobody in all of Arabia dared to eulogize him despite his open-handedness except Abu al-Shaghab al-`Abasi who said,

> Truly, the best of men alive or living
> Is a captive with them in chain,
> By my life! You thus immortalized his prison
> And caused it a great deal of pain:
> Should you imprison the Qasri, you should not
> Imprison his name, nor his virtues among the tribes.

These verses are recorded on p. 79, Vol. 5, of Ibn `Asākir's *Tahthīb*.

[1]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 31.

[2]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 213.

[3]Sayyid Kāẓim ibn Qāsim al-Rashti al-Ḥā'iri (d. 1259 A.H./1843 A.D.), *Asrār al-Shahāda*, p. 259.

[4]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 18.

[5]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 312. Also *Al-Luhūf* (by Ibn Ṭāwūs).

`Abdul-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥasīn al-Murādi who saw him at the Khazar[1] (Caspian Sea) in the company of `Ubaydullāh.

Ibn Ziyād ordered the corpses of both Muslim and Hāni to be tied with ropes from their feet and dragged in the market places[2]. He crucified them upside-down[3] at the garbage collection site, then he sent their severed heads to Yazīd who displayed them at one of the streets of Damascus.

`Ubaydullāh Ibn Ziyād wrote Yazīd saying:

> Praise to Allāh Who effected justice on behalf of the commander of the faithful and sufficed him having to deal with his foes. I would like to inform the commander of the faithful, may Allāh bless him, that Muslim ibn `Aqīl had sought refuge at the house of Hāni ibn `Urwah al-Murādi, that I assigned spies for them and let men infiltrate their assemblies and plotted against them till I forced them out. Allāh gave me the upper hand over them, so I killed them and sent you both of their heads with Hāni ibn Abu Hayya al-Wādi`i al-Hamadāni and al-Zubayr ibn al-`Arwah al-Tamīmi who both are from among those who listen to and who obey us; so, let the commander of the faithful ask them whatever he pleases, for there is knowledge with them, truth, understanding, and piety. And peace be with you.

Yazīd wrote Ibn Ziyād saying,

> You do not cease being the source of my delight. You have behaved with strictness and assaulted with courage, maintaining your composure. You have done very well and testified to the correctness of my good impression about you. I invited your messengers and asked them and confided in them, and I found their views and merits just as you indicated; so, take good care of them. It has also come to my knowledge that al-Ḥusain ibn Ali has marched towards Iraq. You should, therefore, set up observation posts, prepare with arms, be cautious

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[1]It is also called "*bahr jurgan"* [the sea of jurgan], that is, the Georgian Sea, "*bahr al-baskoon*," the Basque Sea, Tabaristan Sea, "*bahr al-daylam*," "*bahr jilan*,", "*bahr shirwan*," "*bahr Baku*," and "bahr saraee." Islam reached the Caspian on a large scale during the early 9th century A.D. – Tr.

[2]al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 301. On p. 266, Vol. 2, of *Tārīkh al-Khamīs*, where [first caliph] Abu Bakr's sons are discussed, the author says, "Mu`āwiyah ibn Khadīj ordered Muḥammed ibn Abu Bakr to be dragged on the highway, and that the dragging party should pass by the house of `Amr ibn al-Ās, knowing how much the latter hated to see Muḥammed ibn Abu Bakr killed. Then he ordered his corpse to be buried. A donkey was stuffed with the corpse, then it was set on fire..." On p. 153, Vol. 11, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Kāmil*, where the events of the year 555 A.H./1160 A.D. are discussed, citing *Murūj al-Thahab*, the author says, "When Ẓāhir ad-Dīn ibn al-Aṭṭār was killed, an order was issued to tie his penis with a rope and to drag the body on the streets; an ink-pot was placed in one of his hands, and a pen was placed in the other, so people were shouting, *`Mawlāna!* Please sign for us!'" On p. 12 of *Miḍmār al-Ḥaqā'iq* by Muḥammed ibn Taqi al-Ayyūbi, governor of (the Syrian town of) Hama, it is written that, "Certain individuals cut his [Zāhir's] ear off on Thul-Qi`da 15, 575 A.H. (April 19, 1180 A.D." [Islam prohibits mutilating or burning corpses, be they the corpses of Muslims or of non-Muslims.]

[3]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 21. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 215. Such a heinous action is not committed except by one who reneges from the Islamic creed and whose heart does not contain one iota of mercy or compassion. Al-Ḥajjāj had likewise done to the corpse of [the *sahābi*] `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr as we read on p. 268, Vol. 5, of al-Balāthiri's book *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, and on p. 481 of Ibn Ḥabīb's book *Al-Maḥbar*. On p. 116 of Ibn al-`Arabi's book *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Duwal*, we read the following: "Nero, the king [of ancient Rome], killed two disciples of Christ then crucified them upside-down." In *Ḥayāt al-Ḥaywān*, we are told that Ibrāhīm al-Fazāri was found guilty of committing many heinous deeds such as ridiculing belief in Allāh and in the prophets, so the *faqīhs* decreed that he, too, should be killed then crucified upside down. His corpse was taken down then burnt. On p. 481 of *Al-Maḥbar* (Hayderabad edition), it is stated that al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yousuf al-Thaqafi crucified the corpse of Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca upside down.

for mere suspicion. Kill anyone whom you suspect.[1] Your tenure is put to the test by this Ḥusain rather than by anyone else, so is your country and your own self as governor. The outcome will determine whether you will be freed or whether you will return to slavery;[2] so, you have to either fight him or arrest and transport him to me.[3]

O cousin of al-Ḥusain! Tearful eyes of your Shī`as may
With blood provide you with water to drink.
Tearful eyes shall never cease
Greeting you as they come and go,
For you were not given to drink,
Not even once, as your fractured teeth
Fell into the drink.
From the mansion did they hurl you,
Having tied you; were you not their prince
Only the day before?
Should you spend without anyone mourning you?
Is there anyone in the land to mourn you?
Is there anyone in the land to cry over you?
Should you die, in Zarūd there are
Many a mourner mourning you in the night and the day.[4]

THE JOURNEY TO IRAQ

When it came to Ḥusain's knowledge that Yazīd had appointed `Amr ibn Sa`īd ibn al-`Āṣ as the head of an army, ordering him to take charge of the pilgrimage caravans and to kill al-Ḥusain (ع) wherever he could find him,[5] he decided to leave Mecca before finishing the pilgrimage and be satisfied with performing only the *`umra* because he hated that the sanctity of the House might otherwise be

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 214.

[2]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 66. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 332.

[3]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 215.

[4]These poetry lines are excerpted from a poem by Sayyid Bāqir al-Hindi, may Allāh have mercy on his soul. It is not a secret that there are three viewpoints with regard to the date when Muslim was martyred: The first is that he was martyred on the third of the month of Thul-Ḥijjah. This is stated in *Al-Akhbar al-Ṭiwāl*. It seems that Ibn Ṭāwūs, in his book *Al-Luhūf fī Qatlā al-Ṭufūf*, agrees with this view. Says he, "Al-Ḥusain (ع) left Mecca on the third of Thul-Ḥijjah," adding, "on the same day when Muslim was killed." The other view is that he was martyred on the eighth of Thul-Ḥijjah. This is stated in *Al-Waṭwāṭ* on p. 210 of his book *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*. This date seems to be the one accepted by Abu al-Fidā' as stated on p. 19, Vol. 2, of his *Tārīkh*, and the same is stated on p. 139 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson. Both authors have stated that Muslim was killed on the 8th of Thul-Ḥijjah, implying, from their wording, that it was on the eve preceding the third day which would have been the Day of `Arafa. This is what al-Mufīd says in his book *Al-Irshād* and al-Kaf`ami in his book *Miṣbāḥ al-Kaf`ami*. This is also what Ibn Nama says in his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān* and al-Ṭabari on p. 215, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, as well as the author of *Murūj al-Thahab* [al-Mas`ūdi] who states the same on p. 90, Vol. 2, of his book. These authors say that Muslim was seen in Kūfa in public on the 8th of Thul-Ḥijjah and was killed one day after making his uprising public. Al-Mas`ūdi, in his book *Murūj al-Thahab*, makes a statement to the effect that al-Ḥusain (ع) left Mecca on the ninth of Thul-Ḥijjah. So, if Muslim had been killed one day after al-Ḥusain's departure, his martyrdom would have been on the first day of `Id al-Adha.

[5]Shaikh Luṭfallāh al-Gulpaygani, *Muntakhab al-Athar fī Akhbār al-Imām al-Thāni `Ashar,* Raḍiyy ad-Dīn al-Qazwīni, p. 304, 10th night.

violated.[1]

MECCA:
AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) DELIVERS A SERMON

Before departing, al-Ḥusain (ع) stood up to deliver a sermon. He said,

> All praise is due to Allāh. The Will of Allāh be done. There is no might except in Allāh. Allāh has blessed His Messenger. Death is inscribed on Adam's children like a necklace on a girl's neck. My passion to be reunited with my ancestors is like that of Jacob for Joseph, and the demise I shall soon meet is better for me. I see my limbs being torn by speeding steeds in the desert between al-Nawāwīs and Kerbalā', so they shall fill, through my death, hollow bellies and starved pouches. There is no avoiding a day recorded by the Pen. Whatever pleases Allāh also pleases us, we Ahl al-Bayt. We shall be patient as we face His trial, and He shall give us in full the rewards due to those who persevere. The Prophet's offspring shall not deviate from His path. Rather, they shall be gathered before him in the presence of the most Holy One. His eyes shall be cooled upon seeing them assembled, and he shall fulfill his promise. Anyone among us who is ready to sacrifice himself and is determined to meet Allāh should join our departing party, for I shall depart in the morning if Allāh Almighty so wills.[2]

His departure took place on the 8th of Thul-Ḥijjah, 60 A.H./September 12, 680 A.D. He was accompanied by his family, slaves, and Shī`as from the people of Ḥijāz, Baṣra and Kūfa who joined him during his sojourn in Mecca. He gave each one of them ten dinars and a camel to carry his luggage.[3]

ATTEMPTS TO DISSUADE HIM
FROM DEPARTING

A group of his family members, in addition to others, asked him to postpone his trip till he could get to know the condition of the public. They feared the treachery of the Kūfians and were apprehensive of a possible reversal in the situation. But the "Father of the Oppressed" was unable to reveal the knowledge with him about his fate to everyone he met. The facts, as they stand, are not to be revealed to just anyone who seeks them due to the different levels of people's comprehension and the differences in their ability to absorb. He, peace be upon him, had to answer each person according to his own condition and ability to comprehend.

He, for example, said to [`Abdullāh] Ibn al-Zubayr, "My father told me once that there is a ram in Mecca through which its sanctity would be violated, and I do not like to be it. Should I be killed outside Mecca even the distance of a span, it is better for me than being killed inside it.[4] By Allāh! Had I been inside

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[1]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 89. Al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 177.

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 33. Ibn Nama, p. 20.

[3]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 91.

[4]On p. 150, Vol. 2, of al-Azraqi's *Tārīkh Mecca*, it is stated that Imām Ḥusain (ع) made this statement to Ibn `Abbās.

one of these holes, they would have taken me out of it and done what they wish to do. By Allāh! They shall oppress me and transgress just as the Jews oppressed and transgressed the sanctity of the Sabbath."

As soon as Ibn al-Zubayr had left, al-Ḥusain (ع) said to those in his company, "There is nothing in this world this man loves more than seeing me depart from Hijāz. He knows very well that people do not equate him with me, so he wished to see me leave so that the space will be all his."[1]

During the same night following which al-Ḥusain (ع) left for Iraq, Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya came to him and said, "You know very well how the Kūfians betrayed your father and brother, and I fear lest your case should be like theirs. Stay here, then, for you are the most respected one in the *ḥaram*, and the most secure." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, "I fear lest Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah should assassinate me inside the *ḥaram*, thus becoming the one on whose account the sanctity of this House is violated." Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya suggested to him to go to Yemen or to other parts of the peninsula, so Abu `Abdullāh (ع) promised him to think about it.

During the early hours of the morning, al-Ḥusain (ع) started the preparations for his departure. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya again came to him and held the reins of the she-camel upon which al-Ḥusain (ع) had already mounted, saying, "Did you not promise me to think about my suggestion?" "Yes," al-Ḥusain (ع) answered, "But after your departure, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) came to me in a vision and said, `O Ḥusain! Get out! Allāh Almighty has decreed to see you slain.'" Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya said, "*Innā lillāhi wa innā ilayhi raji`oon*" (We are Allāh's, and to Him is our return). He asked him about the reason for letting his family accompany him. Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "It is the Will of Allāh to see them taken captives."[2]

`Abdullāh son of Ja`fer al-Ṭayyār, and also his sons `Awn and Muḥammed, wrote him saying, "I plead to you in the Name of Allāh to go home once you read this letter, for I fear lest you should be killed and your Ahl al-Bayt (ع) be eradicated. If you get killed, the light on earth will be put out, for you are the standard of guidance and the hope of the faithful. Do not hurry in marching, for I shall see you shortly after you read this letter, and peace be with you."

`Abdullāh took a letter from Yazīd's governor over Mecca, `Amr ibn Sa`īd ibn al-`Āṣ, granting al-Ḥusain (ع) security. He brought it to al-Ḥusain (ع) who was then accompanied by Yaḥya ibn Sa`īd ibn al-`Āṣ, and he tried very hard to dissuade al-Ḥusain (ع) from marching to his destination, but Abu `Abdullāh (ع) refused. He informed `Abdullāh that he had seen the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in a vision giving him an order which he had to carry out. He asked him what he had seen. "I have not narrated this vision to anyone," said Imām Ḥusain (ع), "and I shall not narrate it till I meet my Lord, the most Exalted One, the most Great."[3]

Ibn `Abbās said to him, "O cousin! I seek solace, but you are not solacing me, and I fear for you if you do it lest you should perish and be eliminated. The people of Iraq are treacherous; so, do not go near them. Stay in this land, for you are the master of the people of Hijāz. If the people of Iraq want you, as they claim, then let them unseat their governor and enemy, then you should go to them. If you insist on going out, go to Yemen, for it has fortresses and valleys, and it is a wide and spacious land, and your father has many supporters there. You will be insulated from [the evil] people. You will then be able to write people, dispatch your messengers and disseminate your message, for you will then realize your objective in good health." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, "O cousin! By Allāh! I know that you are an advisor with compassion, yet I have already decided to go." Ibn `Abbās then said, "If you insist on going, do not take your women and children, for I fear lest you should be killed as they look on." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "By Allāh! They [the

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[1]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 16.

[2]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 184.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 219. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 17. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 6, p. 163.

Umayyads] shall not leave me alone till I am dead. Should they do so, Allāh will appoint over them those who will humiliate them till they become more degraded than a woman's rag."[1]

WHY DID THE IMĀM (ع) LEAVE?

This is the ultimate end of anyone seeking to know why al-Ḥusain (ع) did not tarry before going to Iraq. The father of `Abdullāh [Imām al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him] was not unfamiliar with the nature of the Kūfians or with their treachery and hypocrisy. But what could he do after they had expressed their loyalty, obedience and submission to his orders? Can the Imām of a nation be excused for not providing guidance when he is solicited, or from redeeming them from the claws of misguidance and guiding them to what best pleases the Lord of the World, especially since their dissension and disunity had not yet become manifest? The reason he gave for marching to meet them, despite their treacherous nature, which manifested itself in the way they treated him, his father and brother (ع), would prompt those who look at the exterior appearance of matters to blame him. The Imām chosen for the guidance of the public is greater than doing anything that would be used as an argument against him. The country to which Ibn `Abbās and others referred has no security, and what happened between Bishr ibn Arta'ah and the people of Yemen underscores the latter's weakness of resistance and inability to face an oppressor.

Such is the view expressed by al-Shaikh al-Shushtari, may Allāh elevate his status. He has said, "Al-Ḥusain (ع) had two obligations: a real one, and an evident one: a) As for the real one that caused him to face death and to expose his family to captivity and his children to slaughter, despite his knowledge [of such an imminent fate], it is due to the fact that the tyrants from among Banū Umayyah had convinced themselves that they were right and that Ali and his offspring and supporters were wrong, so much so that they made cursing him part of their Friday congregational prayers... One of them forgot once to curse Ali (ع) in his Friday sermon, so they had to remind him of it. Since he was travelling, he had to repeat his prayers as *qaza*! Had al-Ḥusain (ع) surrendered and sworn the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, there would have been no trace of the truth left. This is so because there were many who thought that entering into a covenant with the Umayyads was indicative of their legitimacy and good conduct. But after al-Ḥusain (ع) had fought them, exposing his sacred life and those of his family and children to the atrocities that befell them, it became quite clear to the people of his time, and to succeeding generations, that right was on his side and that those who oppressed him were the misguided ones. b) As regarding the superficially evident cause, he (ع) sought to safeguard himself and his family by all possible means, but he could not do so. They prohibited him from going anywhere. Yazīd wrote his governor over Medīna to kill him. He, therefore, had to get out of it fearing for his life, then he sought refuge with Allāh's Sacred House, the safe haven of anyone in apprehension. But they sought him even there to either arrest or to kill him even if he had been found clinging to the curtains of the Ka`ba. He had no choice except to perform a singular *`umra* rather than a complete *ḥajj*. Then he went to Kūfa because its people had written him and sworn the oath of allegiance to him, stressing the importance of his going to meet with them in order to save them from the evil of the Umayyads. He evidently was, therefore, morally obligated to go along with what they had suggested in order to bring his argument against them home, and so that they would not argue on the Day of Judgment saying that they sought refuge with him and solicited his help against the oppression of the oppressors, but he accused them of dissension and did not help them. Had he not gone to them, where else would he have gone especially since the earth suddenly became straitened before him despite its vastness? This is the meaning of his saying to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, `Had I entered inside one of these land cracks, they would have taken me out of it and killed

[1]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 16. The rag Imām al-Ḥusain (ع) is referring to is one used by a woman to absorb the blood during her menstruation.

me!'"

The Imām (ع) had likewise said to Abu Harrah al-Asadi once, "Banū Umayyah confiscated my wealth, yet I remained patient. And they defamed my honour, and I again remained patient. Then they sought to kill me, so I fled."[1]

Everyone in Mecca was grieved to see him leave. When they persisted in their attempts to dissuade him from leaving, he quoted poetic verses composed by a poet from the Aws tribe who had been warned by one of his cousins against participating in the *jihād* in support of the Messenger of Allāh (ص):

I shall proceed, for there is no shame
In death to a man who set his mind
To follow the truth
And to perform *jihād* as a Muslim.
He consoled the righteous men in person,
Leaving behind the depraved,
Opposing the criminals.

Then he cited the verse saying, "And Allāh's Command is a decree already passed."[2]

He loathed peace in humiliation,
Honour loathes a free man being subdued,
So he said: O soul! Refrain from shame:
At the time of death, what is bitter tastes good!
Surrounded he became by his family's best youth
A family to which sublime honour and prominence belong
If it marches in the darkness of the night it shines:

Its shiny faces over-shining the brightest of the stars
By brave knights on wading steeds
In whose walk there is pride and grace.
Swift in the sahara, dignified in stature,
Might in his help, subdued for him the conveyance.
Slapping the earth's face, red in hue
Not by slapping reddened but by the enemy's blood.
These are the folks from Ali the conqueror
The darkness through them dissipates
And harm at bay is kept.
Thousands do they meet, courageous and bold
If and when their banners unfold
On a day when the face of death frowned,
When sharp swords did smile,
When the day of death is in black and in woe,
Their faces with delight become bright and mellow

[1] *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥusainiyya*, p. 32 (Tabrīz edition).

[2] On p. 137 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, al-Ḥusain (ع) cited these verses when al-Ḥurr warned him against disputing with Banū Umayyah.

As the faces of startled brave men turn yellow.
They stood on the battlefield only to cross
To death: the bridge is awaiting everyone who walks.
They assault, while heroes out of fear hesitate
And lions are accustomed to assault.
Till they were spent under the clouds of dust
On a battle resembling the Assembly Day!
Nay! Less terrifying is the Assembling Day!
They died in dignity, for them the war testifies
That they were men of honour when faced by what terrifies.
White bandages decorated their every head,
Blood outfitted them with outfits of crimson red.
Again and again the Oppressed One went back to his foes
With his sword and mare helping him to give them blows.
On the day of struggle with dust he covered every face
Of his troops as horizons grew pale shrouding the place.
If his lance composes poetry in one's heart,
His sword writes prose on his foes' necks on its part.
So one is not one when the swords clamour,
Nor two are two when lance clashes with the armour:
Had he wished to finish his foes at hand
He would have shaken existence itself at his command.
But decree had already passed, so he opted to march
To death patiently, for patient are the oppressed.
On the hot desert sands he dawned
A corpse that fell a prey
To every sword and lance in every way.
Between the ends of the lances he was spent
Thirsty, his corpse trampled upon by trained steeds
O son of Ḥasan! I complain to you for these are
Agonies crowding my heart
Do you know how much trial and tribulation
Your revered offspring faced at the Ṭaff?
Let me console you in their regard,
For they approached death with heart.
Not a drop wetted their thirst,
Buried under the heat, in the desert,
Wind burying them with the dust...
What will you, O bereaved one, assault and be
Turning the blood of your foes into a sea?
Will you close your eyes when revenge can you take
From seeing the blood which, though on the right guidance
Dawned having none to console?
Near the Ṭaff are the youths of Hāshim
Buried under the lances' tips, their blood is sought
By everyone! No respite there shall be till you
Raise it so nothing can stand in its way.

A fire you shall light, a war no mighty host can subdue
How many times did Umayyah stir your wounds
No healing of the wound till the Meeting Day,
No healing to babes whom Umayyah nursed with death
Instead of breasts' milk, blood was given instead.
Here they lie dead, here the arrows embrace them,
Here the sands make their every bed.
A free lady who used to be confined
Dawned on the plains hot like timber lit by the heat
And a pure woman not used to mourning
Is now with whips driven, rebuked.
And a startled youth whose heartbeat almost
Sparks with fright... And another confused,
By the sight of steeds not at all amused,
Welcomed the night without a haven, without resort
Her veil, in enemy hands,
Is being passed from this to that,
So with her hands she seeks to hide
What with her veil she used to shield
Walked unveiled before the enemy eyes.
From one country to another she cries...
They grew up confined, they never knew
What slavery was, what's the plain or the terrain.
Now they were insulted and dismayed,
By their enemy were they now displayed
For all to jeer at and to see:
A war trophy they now came to be...
Taken from land to distant land,
Handled by a filthy hand.[1]

AL-TAN`ĪM

Al-Ḥusain (ع) marched on his way out of Mecca via al-Tan`īm[2] where he met a caravan laden with merchandise and clothes sent to Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah by Baḥīr ibn Yasār al-Ḥimyari, his governor over Yemen. Al-Ḥusain (ع) seized it and said to those who tended to the camels, "Whoever among you wishes to join us in our march to Iraq will be paid in full, and we will keep him good company. And whoever prefers to part with us, we shall compensate him according to the distance he travelled." Some of

[1]Excerpted from a poem by the *ḥujjah* Sayyid Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Kayshwān published in *`allāma* Shaikh Sharīf al-Jawāhiri's *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

[2]On p. 416, Vol. 2, of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi's *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, it is said to be a place located two farasangs from Mecca. It is named as such because on its right there is a mountain called Na`īm and another on its left called Nā`im, while the valley is called Na`īmān, and a mosque is there. On p. 60 of Aḥmed ibn Muḥammed al-Khaḍrāwi's book *Faḍā'il al-Balad al-Amīn*, it is said to be three or four miles from Mecca.

them parted from him, whereas others preferred his company.[1]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) considered that caravan his own wealth which Allāh Almighty put at his disposal on account of his being the Imām appointed by the Omnipotent, Praise to Him. Yazīd and his father had already confiscated what belonged to him as well as what belonged to the Muslims, so it became mandatory on him to take control of the Muslims' spoils to distribute to the needy among them. He, indeed, gave of it generously to the bedouins who accompanied him on the way and who complained to him of the pain of poverty from which they were suffering. But it was a destiny that the Master of the Youths of Paradise could not give what the oppressors had confiscated of Prophet Muḥammed's nation back to its rightful owners, although his precious sacrifice removed from visions the veils of the misguidance of those who transgressed on Divine Authority.

AL-ṢIFĀḤ

At al-Ṣifāḥ, al-Ḥusain (ع) met al-Farazdaq ibn Ghālib, the poet, so he asked him about the people whom he had left behind. Al-Farazdaq said, "Their hearts are with you; the swords are with Banū Umayyah, and Destiny descends from the heavens!" Abu `Abdullāh (ع) said, "You have said the truth. To Allāh belongs the affair, and Allāh does whatever He pleases. Every day, our Lord deals with a matter. If Destiny descends with what we love, we shall praise Allāh for His blessings, and He is the One Whose help we seek so that we may thank Him enough. But if we are destined not to attain our desires, then none whose intention is to effect righteousness, and whose heart is full of piety, has transgressed." Al-Farazdaq asked the Imām (ع) about his verdicts regarding issues such as *nathr*, rituals, etc. After that, they parted.[2]

It is narrated that al-Farazdaq said, "I went out of Baṣra seeking to perform the *`umra*. I saw an army in the desert and inquired who it belonged to. I was told that it was the army of al-Ḥusain ibn Ali (ع), so I decided to express my gratitude to the Messenger of Allāh (ص). I came to him and greeted him. He asked me, `Who is the man?' I said, `Al-Farazdaq ibn Ghālib.' He said, `This is a short name!' Said I, `Your name is even shorter! You are the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh!'"[3]

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 218. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 220. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 166. Shaikh Al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 21. Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul Balagha*, Vol. 4, p. 327 (first Egyptian edition). All these references say that the wealth confiscated by al-Ḥusain (ع) had been transported to Mu`āwiyah ibn Abu Sufyān, and that al-Ḥusain (ع) wrote Mu`āwiyah in its regard saying, "A caravan coming from Yemen carrying merchandise, outfits, and amber passed by us on its way to you so that you may deposit it in the coffers of Damascus to thereby elevate the status of your father's offspring after you take of it whatever satisfies you. I need it, so I am taking it." Mu`āwiyah wrote him back saying, "You took that wealth while you were unworthy of it after your admission that it belonged to me. The *wāli* has a greater right to fare with the wealth; moreover, he has expenses to pay. By Allāh! Had that wealth been left alone till it reached me, I would not have diminished your share of it, but there is in your head a certain desire, and I very much like to see it come out during my own time so that I may recognize your value and overlook what you have done. But I, by Allāh, fear lest you should be tried by one who does not regard you more than he regards a she-camel's hiccup."

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 218. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 16. Al-Thahbi, *Tathkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Vol. 1, p. 338. This meeting is referenced in al-Mufīd's *Irshād* as well. al-Thahbi says that the meeting between al-Ḥusain (ع) and al-Farazdaq took place at Thāt `Irq, whereas in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi's *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, it is said to have taken place at al-Sifāḥ between Ḥunayn and the *ḥaram*'s *nuṣub*, on the west side upon entering Mecca.

[3]Sayyid Ali Khan, *Anwār al-Rabī`*, p. 703, in a chapter dealing with repetition.

THAT `IRQ

Abu `Abdullāh (ع) heedlessly marched on. At That `Irq[1] he met Bishr ibn Ghālib and asked him about the people of Kūfa. “The swords are with Banū Umayyah,” he said, “and the hearts are with you.” “You have said the truth,” said the Imām (ع).[2]

Al-Rayyāsh narrated about those who met al-Ḥusain (ع) on his way to Kūfa. This narrator says, “Having performed the pilgrimage, I set out on the highway alone. As I thus walked, I noticed a number of tents, so I went in their direction and inquired who they belonged to. I was told that they belonged to al-Ḥusain son of Ali and Fāṭima, peace be upon all of them. I went to see him, and I saw him leaning on the entrance of the tent reading a book in his hand. I said, `O son of the Messenger of Allāh! May my parents be sacrificed for your sake! What brought you to this desolate land which has neither countryside nor strongholds?' He, peace be upon him, said to me, `These people [the Umayyads] terrorized me, and here are the letters of the people of Kūfa, my assassins. So, once they do it, leaving no sanctity of Allāh without violating it, Allāh will send them those who will kill them till they become more debased than a bondmaid's rag'.”[3]

AL-HĀJIR

Having reached al-Hājir[4] from the direction of al-Rumma, he sent the people of Kūfa the answer to the

[1]According to p. 317, Vol. 2, of *Al-Baḥr al-Rā'iq* by the Ḥanafi author Ibn Najīm, it is located at the distance of two stages between That `Irq and Mecca. On p. 216, Vol. 2, of Ibn Muflih's book *Al-Furū`*, it is said to be located at the distance of two days' travel. It is named as such after a small mountain in its locality as indicated on p. 8, Vol. 7, of *Tāj al-`Arūs*. According to Sunnis, That `Irq marks the timing zone of the people of the east, including Iraq and Khurasan. Traditions recorded by Imāmites, however, say that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) marked al-`Aqīq as the timing zone for the people of Iraq, which is recommended by Imām al-Shāfi`i who says so on p. 118, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Umm*, believing that there is no *ḥadīth* designating That `Irq for such timing, and that it was [second caliph] Omer who designated it as such; this is what al-Bukhāri tells us as he quotes [the caliph’s son, `Abdullāh] Ibn `Omer. On p. 257, Vol. 3, of Ibn Qudāmah's book *Al-Mughni*, Ibn Abd al-Birr is cited as saying that the wearing of the *iḥrām* garb is better done at al-`Aqīq, despite the fact that it was That `Irq that designated the timing zone for all the people of the east [i.e., Muslims residing in the eastern region of the then Islamic domain]. On p. 250, Vol. 3, of *Fatḥ al-Bāri*, it is indicated that al-Ghazāli, al-Rāfi`i, al-Nawawi, and those who documented al-Shāfi`i emphatically insist that there is no tradition designating That `Irq a timing zone as such. The Ḥanafis, Ḥanbalis, and Shāfi`is have all testified to this fact. On p. 199, Vol. 6, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, it is indicated that al-`Aqīq is situated in the valley of Thu Ḥalīfa, and it is closer to Mecca. Imāmite *faqīhs* have been cautious, recommending not to wear the *iḥrām* at That `Irq which lies at the end of al-`Aqīq.

[2]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 21.

[3]On p. 169, Vol. 8, of *Al-Bidāya*, however, this statement is altered to read: “... more lowly than a bondmaid's scarf,” but I could not make much sense of it, nor is it supported linguistically! The accurate wording is what is indicated above. The rag referred to is used by a woman to insert in her vagina to absorb her menstrual blood.

[4]According to *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, “al-hājir” is a water jetty built at the borders of a valley as a safeguard against the flood. On p. 290, Vol. 4, however, it is also referred to as a resting area for those travelling from Baṣra to Medīna, a place where the people of Kūfa and Baṣra meet. On p. 136, Vol. 3, of *Tāj al-`Arūs*, it is said to be a place on the highway to Mecca. On p. 195, Vol. 1, of *Tārīkh al-Adab al-`Arabi* (History of Arab Literature), where Zuhayr ibn Abu Sulma's biography is detailed. The latter is quoted as saying that al-Hājir is located in the south of today's city of Riyadh, in Najd. According to p. 219, Vol. 2, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, it is indicated that it lies within the expanse of al-Rumma, a plateau in Najd. Riḍa Kahhālah, in a footnote on p. 274 of his book *Jughrāfyat Shubh Jazīrat al-`Arab* (Geography of the Arabian Peninsula), quotes Ibn Durayd saying that al-Rumma is a spacious low land in Najd in which the rainfall pours from several valleys. Ibn al-`Arabi says that al-Rumma is wide and expansive and is traversed by one

letter he had received from Muslim ibn `Aqīl and dispatched it with Qays ibn Mushīr al-Ṣaydāwi[1]. In it, he said,

> Muslim ibn `Aqīl's letter reached me. In it, he informs me of your consensus to support us and to demand our rights; therefore, I plead to Allāh to enable us to do what is good and to reward you with the greatest of His rewards. I have come to you from Mecca on the eighth of Thul-Ḥijjah; so, if my messenger reaches you, maintain your stand, for I shall reach you in a few days.

SOME INFORMERS

Al-Ḥusain (ع) departed from al-Hājir. As he passed by each watering place of the Arabs, the number of those who joined him kept increasing[2]. Finally he reached a watering place where he met `Abdullāh ibn Mutī` al-`Adawi. When the latter came to know that al-Ḥusain (ع) intended to reach Iraq, he said to him, "I fear for you, O son of the Messenger of Allāh, lest the sanctity of Islam should be violated, and I plead to you in the Name of Allāh with regard to the Arab's sanctity. By Allāh! If you seek what is in the hands of Banū Umayyah, they will kill you, and once they have killed you, they will not fear anyone else after you," but al-Ḥusain (ع) insisted on marching[3].

AL-KHUZAYMIYYA

He, peace be upon him, stayed at al-Khuzaymiyya[4] for one day and one night. In the morning, his sister Zainab, peace be upon her, came to him and said, "I heard a voice saying:

> O eyes, do exceedingly celebrate!
> Who, after me, shall the martyrs mourn?

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travelling for a full day, a place upon the high lands of which Banū Kilāb descend, then they depart therefrom, whereupon Abas and Ghatfān people do likewise, then Banū Asad. Al-Asma`i says, "Al-Rumma's low land is a huge valley acting as a barrier to the right of Falja and al-Duthayna till it passes through the quarters of al-Abyad and al-Aswad which are separated by a distance of three miles." He continues to say, "Al-Rumma extends from the Ghawr [deep low land] to Hijāz. The high areas of al-Rumma are inhabited by the people of Medīna and to Banū Salīm. Its middle part is inhabited by Banū Kilāb and Ghatfān, while its south is populated by Banū Asad and Banū Abas, then it ends at the sand dunes of al-`Uyūn."

[1]On p. 152 of Ali ibn Muḥammed al-Fattāl al-Naishapuri's book *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, it is indicated that he was dispatched by `Abdullāh ibn Yaqtur, and it is quite possible he had sent them two letters, one with `Abdullāh ibn Yaqtur and another with Qays ibn Mushīr. On p. 492, Vol. 3, of *Al-Iṣāba* (of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni), following the discussion of Qay's lineage, the author says, "He was with al-Ḥusain (ع) when he [al-Ḥusain (ع)] was killed at the Ṭaff." This is incorrect. Ibn Ziyād killed the man at Kūfa.

[2]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 168.

[3]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[4]It is named after Khuzaymah ibn Ḥāzim and it is located one stage after Zarūd on a traveller's way from Kūfa to Mecca. In the arrangement of these stages, we rely on *Mu`jam al-Buldān*.

Who shall mourn folks driven by fate
To their destiny, to fulfill a promise sworn?"

He said, "O sister! Whatever is decreed shall come to pass."[1]

ZARŪD

When al-Ḥusain (ع) reached Zarūd[2], Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bijli[3], who did not support him and even hated to be near him, alighted near him. Water gathered them somehow at the same place. As Zuhayr and his group were eating, a messenger sent by al-Ḥusain (ع) came to them inviting Zuhayr to meet his master Abu `Abdullāh (ع). Zuhayr hesitated to say anything, but his wife, Dulham daughter of `Amr, urged him to meet the Imām (ع) and to listen to what he had to say[4].

Zuhayr, therefore, went and swiftly returned elated with his face showing signs of excitement. He ordered all is belongings to be packed. He also ordered everyone to go to the Master of the Youths of Paradise (ع). He said to his wife, "Go to your family, for I hate to see you receiving any harm on my account." Then he said to those around him, "Whoever among you loves to support the son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), let him join us; otherwise, this should be the last time I see you."

Then he narrated to them what Selmān al-Fārisi had foretold him with regard to the imminent battle. Zuhayr said, "We invaded Ballinger[5] and we were victorious, so we acquired a great deal of booty and we, therefore, were very glad. When Selmān al-Fārisi[6] saw how excited we all were, he said, `If you ever meet the Master of the Youths from the Progeny of Muḥammed, peace of Allāh and blessings be upon him and his progeny, you should then be more elated for fighting on his side than you now are elated on account of your booty; as for me, I now bid you farewell.'"[7]

Zuhayr's wife said, "Allāh has chosen this honour for you, and I request you to remember me on the

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[1]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 23.

[2]On p. 327, Vol. 4, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, it is described as sand dunes between al-Tha`labiyya and al-Khuzaymiyya on a pilgrim's way coming from Kūfa, and it lies one mile from al-Khuzaymiyya. There is a lake in it, and it is the site of the Battle of Zarūd.

[3]Having discussed the Bijli tribes, Ibn Ḥazm, on p. 365 of his book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab,* says, "[His full name is:] Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Āmir ibn Sa`d ibn Mālik ibn Zuhayr ibn `Amr ibn Yashkur ibn Ali ibn Mālik ibn Sa`d ibn Tuzayn ibn Qasr ibn `Abqar ibn Anmar ibn Arash ibn `Amr ibn al-Ghawth ibn Nabt ibn Mālik ibn Zayd ibn Kaylān ibn Saba'." On p. 310, the author traces the lineage of Saba' [known to Westerners as Sheba] thus: "Saba' ibn Ya`rub ibn Qahtān (Joktan)."

[4]Ibn Ṭāwūs*, Al-Luhūf*, p. 40.

[5]According to both *Mu`jam al-Buldān* and *Al-Mu`jam fi ma Ista`jam* [Concordance of what is non-Arab], it is one of the cities of the Khazar conquered in 33 A.H./653 A.D. by Selmān ibn Rabī`ah al-Bāhili. I could not find any reference in either of these books to any other city bearing the same name, but Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, on p. 274, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Iṣāba*, details the biography of Qays ibn Farwah ibn Zurārah ibn al-Arqam adding, "He participated in the conquests of Iraq and was martyred at Ballinger, Iraq." (!!!) He placed the accent marks on the word then added saying that Selmān ibn Rabī`ah was the commander of the army.

[6]The following statement by Selmān is cited in *Al-Irshād* by the mentor al-Mufīd and also by al-Fattal on p. 153 of his book *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, by Ibn Nama on p. 23 of his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, by al-Khawārizmi on p. 225, chapter 11, Vol. 1, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, by Ibn al-Athīr on p. 17, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, and by al-Bakri on p. 376, Vol. 1, of his concordance *Al-Mu`jam fima Ista`jam*. This is supported by what al-Ṭabari states on p. 77, Vol. 5, of his *Tārīkh*, and by Ibn al-Athīr as he states so on p. 50, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Kāmil*. Both authors testify that Selmān participated in that invasion.

[7]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 224. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 222.

Day of Judgment and say a good word on my behalf to al-Ḥusain's grandfather, peace be upon him."[1]

At Zarūd, the Imām (ع) was informed of how Muslim ibn `Aqīl and Hāni ibn `Urwah were killed, so he kept repeating: *Innā lillāh wa innā ilayhi raji`ūn* (We belong to Allāh, and to Him shall we return), as he wept, pleading to Allāh to have mercy on them[2]. With him the Hāshemites wept, too, and there was a great deal of wailing coming from the women's quarters, so much so that the whole place was shaken because of Muslim ibn `Aqīl being killed. Tears poured profusely.[3]

`Abdullāh ibn Salīm and al-Munthir ibn al-Mashma`il, both from the tribe of Asad, said to the Imām (ع), "We plead to you in the Name of Allāh, O son of the Messenger of Allāh, to go away, for you will not find any supporter in Mecca."

`Aqīl's offspring stood up and said, "We shall not leave before seeking revenge or taste of what our brother has tasted." Al-Ḥusain (ع) looked at them and said, "There is nothing good in life after these folks."[4]

O `Aqīl's son! May you be sacrificed by every soul
For your calamity is the greatest of all...
Let's mourn it with hearts grieved,
For what values our every salted tear?
How many daughters of yours are bereaved,
With hearts within set on fire not fear?
Consoled by the Prophet's grandfather?
So she may near him be pleased.
Now says she, "An uncle of mine is now gone,
"Now who shall his own orphan console?
"Bereaved, spending the night stung by pain,
"Expelled, from her home exiled?"
And how many a courageous warrior
In whose heart did she the fire of grief ignite?
Your cousin, on the Ṭaff, did you support,
With his counselling family did he mourn you.
Surrounded by youths like the morning shone,
Youths whose lineage to everyone is known.
We mourned your youth and tragedy
Marked with death and sad destiny.

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[1]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 23. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 40. On p. 224, Vol. 6, of Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, first edition, it is stated that Zuhayr said to his wife, "You are divorced! So go back to your family, for I do not wish any harm to reach you on my account." But I do not understand what his objective behind this divorce might have been! Did he wish to exclude her from inheriting him, or did he permit her to remarry after three months, or did he not wish her to be his wife in the hereafter?! The Commander of the Faithful (ع) had divorced some of the Prophet's wives. Imām al-Riḍa (ع) had divorced Umm Farwa, al-Kāẓim's wife [Imām Mūsa al-Kāẓim being his {al-Riḍa's} father]. This free woman had actually done him [Zuhayr] a favour: she paved for him the path to eternal happiness through martyrdom. Our only solace is the fact that the person who had narrated that "tradition" was none other than al-Suddi...

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 995. Ibn Kathīr, on p. 168, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Bidāya*, says that he did so repeatedly.

[3]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 41. But I could not find even one reliable reference stating that al-Ḥusain (ع) took Muslim's daughter Ḥamīda by the head, so she sensed that something terrible must have happened.

[4]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 17. al-Thahbi, *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā*', Vol. 3, p. 208.

A *ma'tam* he held for you despite his condition
And even white deer wailed for you.
He called upon his near in kin:
"Avenge his death, O family of the Fāṭiḥa!"
Into the mire of death did he lead them,
But now the deer are the ones mired.
Says he, "O folks stingy with their souls!
"Your battle, though serious, is mocked," he calls.

AL-THA`LABIYYA

At al-Tha`labiyya, a man came to Imām al-Ḥusain (ع) and asked him about the meaning of the verse saying, "(Remember) the Day when We will call every people by their Imām" (Qur'ān, 17:71). He, peace be upon him, said to him, "An Imām calls others for guidance and is answered positively, while another *imām* calls others to misguidance and is also answered positively: this group shall be in Paradise, and that shall be in hell, and it is the explanation of the verse saying, `A party shall be in Paradise, and another shall be in the burning fire' (Qur'ān, 42:7)."[1]

At the same place, a man from Kūfa met him. The Imām said to him, "By Allāh! Had I met you in Medīna, I would have showed you the marks Gabriel had left in our house and the place where he used to descend with revelation to my grandfather, O brother of Kūfa! It is from us that knowledge initiates. Have they become learned while we became ignorant? This shall never be."[2]

Bajīr, of al-Tha`labiyya, narrates saying, "Al-Ḥusain passed by us when I was a young lad. My brother said to him, `O son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh! I see your followers to be very small in number.' With his whip he pointed to a saddlebag a man was carrying [for him] and said, `This is full of letters.'"[3]

AL-SHUQŪQ

At al-Shuqūq[4], al-Ḥusain (ع) saw a man coming from Kūfa[5], so he asked him about the people of Iraq. He informed the Imām (ع) that they were all against him. He, peace be upon him, said, "The affair is with Allāh; our Lord does whatever He pleases. Our Lord, Praise to Him, each day manages the

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[1]al-Ṣadūq, Ā*māli*, p. 93. Al-Tha`labiyya was named after a man belonging to Banū Asad named Tha`labah who had been there and who was able to dig a well in it. It is one stage after al-Shuqūq for one travelling from Kūfa to Mecca as we are told by *Mu`jam al-Buldān*. On p. 35, Vol. 2, of al-Samhūdi's book *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, it is an area located near a watering place called al-Tha`labiyya. On p. 311 of al-Ya`qūbi's book *Al-Buldān*, and also according to the offset edition of Ibn Rastah's book *Al-A`lāq al-Nafīsa*, it is a city surrounded by a bulwark.

[2]al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā 'ir al-Darajāt*, p. 3. It is also recorded in al-Kāfi's *Uṣūl*, in a chapter headed "Knowledge Derived from the Fountainhead of the Prophet's Family."

[3]al-Thahbi, *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 3, p. 205.

[4]According to p. 213, Vol. 2, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's book, it is one stage following Zubāla on the way of one who travels from Kūfa to Mecca, and it belongs to Banū Asad. According to *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, al-Ābādi's grave lies there.

[5]On p. 233, Vol. 1, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi claims he was al-Farazdaq, the poet, but this is an error which he made.

affairs." Then he quoted the following verses of poetry:[1]

If this abode is held as dear,
In the abode of Allāh, the rewards
Are more sublime and noble.
If wealth is hoarded to be left behind,
Why should one be miser with what is left?
If sustenance is destined in proportion,
To be less concerned about it is more beautiful.
And if the bodies are for death made,
One killed for the sake of Allāh is surely better.
So peace of Allāh be upon you,
O family of Muḥammed!
For I see myself from you soon departing.

ZUBĀLA

At Zubāla, he was informed that `Abdullāh ibn Yaqṭur, the man dispatched by al-Ḥusain (ع) to Muslim ibn `Aqīl, had been killed. Al-Ḥasīn ibn Namīr arrested him at al-Qādisiyya and sent him to `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād who ordered him to ascend the pulpit and to curse the liar son of the liar. When `Abdullāh ibn Yaqtur looked at the people from the pulpit, he said, "O people! I am the messenger of al-Ḥusain son of Fāṭima (ع) to you so that you may support and assist him against the son of Marjāna," whereupon `Ubaydullāh ordered him thrown from the mansion's rooftop. He was hurled down from there. His bones were crushed, but he did not die. A man named `Abd al-Malik ibn `Umayr al-Lakhmi came to him and cut his throat. When the latter was shamed for having done so, he said, "I killed him in order to put an end to his suffering." It is also said that the man who killed him was tall and that he looked like `Abd al-Malik ibn `Umayr.

The Imām (ع) informed those who were in his company of what had happened, giving them the option to leave. They dispersed right and left. Those who remained with him were his own companions who had come with him from Mecca. Actually, a large number of bedouins had joined him thinking that he was going to a land where he would be welcomed by supporting natives. He, peace be upon him, hated for them to march with him except with their knowledge of what to expect, knowing fully well that if he permitted them to leave, only those who were ready to support him to the end would remain.[2]

IN THE HEARTLAND OF AL-`AQABA

The Imam (ع) left Zubāla, reaching al-`Aqaba's heartland where he said to his companions, "There is no doubt in my mind that I am going to be killed. In a vision, I saw myself being mauled by dogs the

[1] *Ibid*. But al-Khawārizmi does not quote the fifth line of the original Arabic text, attributing these lines to the Imām, peace be upon him.

[2] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 226. It is located after al-Shuqūq on a traveller's way from Kūfa to Mecca. There is a fort there and a mosque for Banū Asad named after Zubāla daughter of Mas`ar, a woman belonging to the `Amāliqah. The Battle of Zubāla is well known to the Arabs, and there are some narrators of *ḥadīth* whose last names are derived from Zubāla as we are told by *Mu`jam al-Buldān*.

most fierce among them was spotted."[1]

`Amr ibn Lawthan, of Banū `Ikrimah, suggested to him to return to Medīna due to the treachery and betrayal upon which the people of Kūfa were bent. Abu `Abdullāh, peace be upon him, said, "I am not unfamiliar with their attitude, yet Allāh's will shall never be overruled."[2] Then he, peace be upon him, said, "They shall not leave me till I am dead, and once they have done it, Allāh will send upon them those who will humiliate them till they become the most abased among all nations."[3]

SHARĀF

Al-Ḥusain (ع) left al-`Aqaba then set up his camp at Sharāf[4]. In the pre-dawn, he ordered his servants to fill their water bags with water. At midday, he heard a man among his companions crying, "Allāhu Akbar!" Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked him about the reason. "I did so upon seeing palm-trees," said the man, but those who were in his company denied that there could be any palm-trees in such a place, and that what he saw could have been lances and horses' ears. Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "I am of the same view," then he asked them whether they could shelter themselves anywhere. They suggested a place called Thu Ḥasam[5] on their left side. Al-Ḥusain (ع) swiftly moved there and set up his camp.

Soon, al-Ḥurr al-Riyāḥi[6] came to them face-to-face escorted by a thousand cavaliers. He was dispatched by [`Ubaydullāh] Ibn Ziyād in order to prohibit al-Ḥusain (ع) from going back to Medīna, to arrest him, and to bring him to Kūfa. It was a very hot midday when al-Ḥurr and his men confronted al-Ḥusain (ع).[7]

When the Master of Martyrs (ع) saw how thirsty that band was, he ordered his followers to serve water to them and to their horses. They gave each and every one of them water, then they filled water pots and brought them near the horses each one of which drank three to five times of them till they all drank to their fill.[8]

Ali ibn al-Ṭi`an al-Muḥāribi was in al-Ḥurr's company. He happened to be the last to be served, so he was suffering acutely of the pangs of thirst. In his Ḥijāzi accent, al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, *"Ankhi al-rāwiya*," but the man did not understand what he (ع) meant. The Imām (ع), therefore, repeated his statement, this time using classical Arabic: *"Ankhil-jamal*." When the man tried to drink, he caused the water to run wastefully out of the water-bag, so the Fragrant Flower of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) now said to him,

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[1]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 75.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 226.

[3]al-Mufīd, *Irshād*. Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 98 and following pages, first edition (Iran).

[4]*Mu`jam al-Buldān* tells us that it is named after a man bearing this name who had dug a well there followed by many large and plentiful wells of sweet water. According to p. 87, Vol. 4, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, when Sa`d ibn Abu Waqqās was at Sharāf, al-Ash`ath ibn Qays joined him with a hundred Yemenites. He left the throngs of men at Sharāf and took to Iraq.

[5]It is named after a mountain where al-Nu`mān ibn al-Munthir used to hunt, and al-Thubyāni, the genius poet, composed poetry about it.

[6]According to p. 215 of Ibn Ḥazm's book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, his full name is al-Hurr ibn Yazīd ibn Najiyah ibn Qa`nab ibn `Atab al-Radf ibn al-Harmi ibn Riyāḥ Yarbū`. `Atab is called "al-Radf" because kings used to ride with him. On p. 213 of the same reference, the name of Yarbū` is provided as: Yarbū` ibn Ḥanẓalah ibn Mālik ibn Yazīd-Manūt ibn Tamīm.

[7]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 230, Chapter 11.

[8]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 226.

*"Ankhi al-siq*ā," but the poor man did not know exactly what to do due to his inability to think because, again, of the thirst from which he was severely suffering. This time the Imām (ع) stood up and adjusted the water-bag for that man in person till he drank enough, then he (ع) watered his horse as well. Such is the kindness and compassion of the most Oppressed One towards that band that met in a desert where each drop of water was as precious as life itself. Surely he was fully aware of the situation being so precarious, knowledgeable of the consequences should water run out the next day, knowing that it could be the sole cause of death... But the Prophet's blood that ran in his veins, and the exemplary generosity of his father Ali (ع), did not leave him any choice.

> O son of al-Zahrā', heart of Ali the valiant,
> O soul of the guiding Prophet!
> Strange how these people did not
> Come to you to sacrifice themselves for you;
> But they did not value your precious soul:
> How can dust be compared with the mountain?
> How wondrous to see Allāh's Clemency
> When they, as He watched, violated your sanctity!
> How strange, the favourites of Allāh became
> For Yazīd and for Ziyād a booty to claim!

Then al-Ḥusain (ع) welcomed them. He praised Allāh and glorified Him then said:

> This is to seek pardon of Allāh, the most Exalted One, the most Mighty, and of your own selves: I did not come to you except after having received your letters which your messengers delivered to me, requesting me to come to you, saying, "We have no Imām, so come to us, perhaps Allāh will gather all of us under the shade of His guidance." So if the case is as such, then I have come to you; therefore, provide me with that whereby I can trust your promises and covenants. But if you hate my arrival, then I shall leave you and go to where I had come from.

The men did not utter one word. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq al-Ju`fi called the *athān* for the noon prayers. It was then that al-Ḥusain (ع) asked al-Ḥurr, "Would you like to lead your men for the prayers?" He answered: "No. Rather, we will all pray behind you." The Imām (ع) led the prayers.

Having finished the prayers, the Imām (ع) faced them, praised and glorified Allāh and blessed Prophet Muḥammed (ص) then said,

> O people! If you fear Allāh and wish to get to know who follows righteousness, it will please Allāh better. We, the family of Muḥammed (ص), are more worthy of you in shouldering the responsibility of authority, more so than these who lay a claim to what does not belong to them, whose tradition is oppression and transgression. If you insist on hating us and ignoring our right, and if your view now is different from what your letters to me described, then I will part from you.

Al-Ḥurr said, "I do not know what letters you are talking about." Al-Ḥusain (ع) immediately ordered `Uqbah ibn Sam`ān to bring out two saddlebags full of letters. Al-Ḥurr said, "I am not among their senders, and I have been ordered not to part with you once I meet you till I bring you to Ibn Ziyād in Kūfa." Imām al-

Ḥusain (ع) said, “Death is closer to your reach than that.” He ordered his companions to ride, and the women, too, rode, but al-Ḥurr forbade them from going to Medīna, so al-Ḥusain (ع) said to al-Ḥurr, “May your mother lose you! What do you want of us?” “Should anyone else other than you say so to me,” al-Ḥurr responded, “and he is in the same boat as you now are, I would not hesitate to let his mother lose him no matter who he may be! By Allāh! I have no way to refer to your mother except in the very best of way of which we are capable. But let us come to a mid-way between both of us which neither leads you to Kūfa nor takes you back to Medīna till I write Ibn Ziyād, perhaps Allāh will grant me safety and not try me with anything relevant to your issue.” After a short while he added saying, “I admonish you to remember Allāh with regard to your life, for I testify that should you fight, you will be killed.” Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, “Are you scaring me with death?! Will your calamity really lead you to kill me? In that case, let me say what the brother of the Aws [tribe] said to his cousin who desired to support the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh be upon him and his Progeny:[1]

I shall proceed: There is no shame
A man to his death goes.
If he truly intends so and
As a Muslim struggles,
And if he the righteous with his life consoles,
Leaving a depraved one, opposing a criminal.
So if I live, I shall not regret or be shamed
But if I die, surely I shall not be blamed
Humiliation suffices you if you accept to be oppressed.”

Having heard him say so, al-Ḥurr stayed away from him. Al-Ḥusain (ع), therefore, rode with his companions in one area while al-Ḥurr and his fellows rode in another.[2]

AL-BAYḌA

At al-Bayḍa[3], the Imām (ع) delivered a speech to al-Ḥurr's companions after having praised and glorified Allāh. In it he said,

O people! The Messenger of Allāh (ص) has said, “If one sees an oppressive ruler, who makes lawful what Allāh has made unlawful, and he does not get him to alter his conduct through something he does or says, it will be incumbent upon Allāh to resurrect him in that ruler's company. These folks have upheld Satan and abandoned their obedience to the most Merciful One, demonstrating corruption and making mischief evident. They idled the limits (set forth by Allāh) and took to their own selves what belonged to others, prohibiting what Allāh has permitted and permitting what He has prohibited. I am the best suitable person to change the situation. Your letters reached me, and so did some of your messengers who brought me your

[1]Reference to his citing these verses has already been indicated above.

[2]al-Mufīd, *Irshād*. On p. 193, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb adds the following verses to them:

My soul do I present, not sparing it,
To meet a lion in the battle, a charging one.

[3]It is located between Wāqiṣa and `Uthayb al-Hajanāt and is a spacious land inhabited by the offspring of Yarbū` ibn Ḥanẓalah.

oath not to hand me over [to my foes] nor to betray me. If you, therefore, complete the terms of your oath of allegiance, you will achieve the right guidance, for I am al-Ḥusain son of Ali and Fāṭima daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). My soul is with yours, my family is with your families, and you have in me a model of conduct. But if you do not, and if you violate your promise and renege in your oath of allegiance to me, then, by my life, it will not be the first time that you do so: you did so to my father, to my brother [Imām al-Ḥasan (ع)], and to my cousin Muslim. Deceived is whoever trusts you. Surely it is to the detriment of your own luck that you thus err, rendering your lot a loss. Whoever reneges, he, indeed, reneges against his own soul, and Allāh shall suffice me for you, and peace be with you and the mercy and blessings of Allāh.[1]

AL-RUHAYMA

At al-Ruhayma[2], a Kūfian named Abu Ḥarām met the Imām (ع) and said to him, "O son of the Messenger of Allāh! What made you leave the sanctuary of your grandfather?" The Imām (ع) said, "O Abu Ḥarām! Banū Umayyah taunted my honour, and I took to patience. And they confiscated my wealth, and I again took to patience. Then they sought to kill me, so I fled. By Allāh! They will kill me. Allāh will then cover them with an overwhelming humiliation and with a sharp sword which He will place over their heads, a word that will abase them[3] till they become more abased than the people of Saba' (Sheba) who were ruled by a woman over their wealth and their lives."[4]

AL-QĀDISIYYA

At al-Qādisiyya, al-Ḥasīn ibn Namīr al-Tamīmi arrested Qays ibn Mishir al-Ṣaydāwi, al-Ḥusain's messenger to the people of Kūfa. Al-Ḥasīn had been ordered by Ibn Ziyād to station cavaliers to guard the area between Khafān and Qaṭqaṭāna[5]. When he wanted to search the messenger, the latter took the letter out and shredded it. He was brought to Ibn Ziyād who asked him why he had shredded the letter. He told Ibn Ziyād that he did so in order that they would not know what it contained. But Ibn Ziyād insisted that he should tell him about its contents. Qays refused, whereupon Ibn Ziyād said to him, "Ascend the pulpit and curse al-Ḥusain and his father and brother; otherwise, I will cut you to pieces."

Qays ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified Allāh and blessed the Prophet (ص) and his Progeny (ع) and was profuse in imploring Allāh's blessings on the Commander of the Faithful (ع) and on al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain (ع). Moreover, he cursed `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād and his father and all Banū Umayyah, then he said, "O people! I am the messenger of al-Ḥusain (ع) to you! I have left him in such-and-such a place; so, you should rush to his aid." Ibn Ziyād ordered him to be thrown from his mansion's rooftop. He was thrown; his bones were crushed, and he died.[6] Some accounts say that he did not die immediately, so `Abd al-Malik

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 229. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 21.

[2]According to *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, it is located about three miles from Khifya, and the latter is located westward more than ten miles from al-Raḥba.

[3]al-Ṣadūq, *Āmāli*, p. 93, *majlis* 30.

[4]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 226. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, where the entire *ḥadīth* is cited.

[5]According to Vol. 3, p. 451, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, Khafān is a place near Kūfa where there is a well near a village inhabited by the offspring of `Eisa ibn Mūsa al-Hāshimi. On p. 125, Vol. 7, al-Qaṭqaṭāna is located more than twenty miles from Ruhayma.

[6]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Fattāl, *Rawḍat al-Wāizīn*. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 118. al-Ṭibrisi, *I`lām al-Wara*, p. 136 (first

ibn `Umayr al-Lakhmi slit his throat [as stated above]. When he was blamed for doing so, he said, "I only wanted to put an end to his suffering."[1]

AL-`UTHAYB

At `Uthayb al-Hajanāt[2], al-Ḥusain (ع) met four men who were leaving Kūfa on camel-back, taking with them "al-Kāmil," a horse belonging to a man called Nāfi` ibn Hilāl. They were: `Amr ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwi, his slave Sa`d, Majma` ibn `Abdullāh al-Mathḥaji, and Nāfi` ibn Hilāl. Their guide, al-Tarmāh ibn `Adiyy al-Ṭā'i, was chanting the following verses:

O my she-camel! Do not complain of my impatience,
And set out just before the sun rises,

So we may join the best of riders and embark
Upon the best journey till we reach
One beautified with the best of descent,
The munificent, the free, the open-hearted one
Whom Allāh brought for the best of affair:
May He preserve him as He preserves time!

When they reached al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him, they chanted those verses for him, so he (ع) said, "By Allāh! I hope what Allāh fares with us will be good, whether we are killed, or whether we win victory."

Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked them about the public opinion. They said, "Prominent personalities have received great bribes; people's hearts are with you, while the swords are turned against you." They informed him of Qays ibn Mishir al-Ṣaydāwi having been killed, so he, peace be upon him, quoted the Qur'ānic verse saying, "... of them is he who accomplished his vow, and of them is he who awaits" (Qur'ān, 33:23). "O Allāh!," he added, "Make Paradise our home and theirs, and include us and them in Your mercy and in all what is desired of Your treasured rewards."

Al-Ṭarmāḥ has said, "I saw people before my departure from Kūfa meeting outside. I asked them about it, and they said to me, `They are being paraded, then shall they be sent away to fight al-Ḥusain.' I, therefore, plead to you in the Name of Allāh not to go to fight them, for I see none aiding you. If only this group fights you, the same one I see watching you, they will suffice to put an end to you. Come with us in order to settle at our mountain, `Aja. It protected us from the kings of Ghassān and Ḥimyar, from al-Nu`mān ibn al-Munthir, and from al-Aswad and al-Aḥmar. By Allāh, after no more than ten days, Ṭay's men will come to your aid riding or on foot. I guarantee you twenty thousand men from Tay who will defend you with their swords till it becomes clear to you what you wish to do."

Al-Ḥusain (ع) prayed Allāh to reward him and his people with goodness then said, "A covenant binds us to the people, and we cannot depart till destiny deals between us and them." Al-Tarmāh then asked his permission to get provisions to reach his own family, promising that he would hurry back to support

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Iranian edition). It is stated on p. 151, Vol. 1, of al-Thahbi's book *Mīzān al-I`tidāl*, that Abd al-Malik ibn `Umayr al-Lakhmi was made governor of Kūfa after al-Sha`bi, but his memory was weak, and he was prone to err quite often. On p. 309, Vol. 1, of al-Nawawi's book *Thahthīb al-Asm*ā', he died in 136 A.H./754 A.D. at the age of a hundred and three.

[1]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Fattāl, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*.

[2]Al-`Uthayb is a valley inhabited by Banū Tamīm where a Persian garrison is [then and there] stationed. The distance between it and al-Qādisiyya is six miles. It was named so because the horses of al-Nu`mān, king of Ḥīra, used to graze there.

him. He granted him permission as others accompanied him.

Al-Ṭarmāḥ delivered the provisions to his people then quickly returned. Having reached `Uthayb al-Hajanāt, he came to know that al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him, had been killed, so he went back.[1]

QAṢR BANI MUQĀTIL

Al-Ḥusain (ع) marched from `Uthayb al-Hajanāt till he reached Qaṣr Bani Muqātil[2]. There, he saw a tent, a lance planted in the ground, and a mare waiting. He inquired about them and was told that they belonged to `Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju`fi[3]. Al-Ḥusain (ع) sent him al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq al-Ju`fi as his messenger. Ibn al-Ḥurr asked him what he wanted. He said, "I have a gift for you and I have esteem, if you only accept. Al-Ḥusain (ع) invites you to support him. If you fight for him, you will be rewarded, and if you get killed, you will be a martyr." Ibn al-Ḥurr said, "By Allāh! I did not leave Kūfa except on account of the large number of people whom I saw going out to fight him, and on account of his own Shī`as betraying him; so I realized that he was certainly going to be killed and that I am unable to do

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[1]al-Bukhāri, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 230.

[2]"Qaṣr Muqātil" means: the castle of Muqātil, namely Muqātil ibn Ḥassan ibn Thu`labah who, according to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi's *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, descended from Imri'ul-Qays ibn Yazīd ibn Manāt ibn Tamīm [the famous poet]. It is situated between `Ayn al-Tamr and al-Qaṭqaṭāna. It was demolished by Eisa ibn Ali ibn `Abdullāh ibn al-`Abbās, then he rebuilt it.

[3]On p. 168, Vol. 7, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, and also on p. 385 of Ibn Ḥazm's book *Ansāb al-`Arab*, it is stated that this man was a staunch follower of `Uthmān [ibn `Affān]; this is why he went out to support Mu`āwiyah against Ali (ع) in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. On p. 169, Vol. 7, first edition, of Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, a number of incidents are narrated with regard to his violation of the Sharī`a, his confiscation of wealth, and even his involvement in highway robberies. On p. 112, Vol. 4, of his book, Ibn al-Athīr says the following about him: "When he over-extended his stay in Syria, the brother of his wife married the latter off to `Ikrimah ibn al-Khabīs. When the man heard about it, he returned and raised a complaint against `Ikrimah to Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع). Ali (ع) said to him, `You have [only recently] fought against us on the side of our enemy...' Ibn al-Ḥurr said, `Does this mean that you are going to deprive me of your justice on that account?' The Imām (ع) answered, `No.' The Commander of the Faithful (ع) took the woman, who was by then pregnant [by `Ikrimah] and entrusted her to the custody of someone whom he could trust till her delivery. Once she gave birth, she was ordered to hand the newborn over to `Ikrimah. Then he (ع) reunited her with `Ubaydullāh who went back to Syria till the time when Ali, peace be upon him, was killed." To this incident does Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan refer on p. 136, Vol. 10, of his book *Al-Mabsūṭ,* in a chapter dealing with the Kharijites, but he did not mention the name of `Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥurr. During the reign of `Abd al-Malik [ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, an Umayyad "caliph," cousin and bearer of the seal of third caliph `Uthmān ibn `Affān], in the year 68 A.H./687 A.D., `Ubaydullāh was killed near al-Anbār. On p. 297, Vol. 5, of al-Balāthiri's book titled *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, his killer is identified as `Ubaydullāh ibn al-`Abbās al-Salāmi. Once he was seriously wounded, he boarded a boat to cross the Euphrates. The followers of his killer wanted to seize the boat, so he, being extremely frightened of them, hurled himself into the river as he was bleeding and died. On p. 268 of *Risālat al-Mughtalīn* by Ibn Ḥabīb, his name is included in the seventh group of rare manuscripts examined by Harun `Abd al-Salām. That page states that `Abd al-Malik dispatched `Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju`fi to fight Miṣ`ab with a large army, but the army had lagged behind him till all those in his company were killed. It was then that he was confronted by `Ubaydullāh ibn al-`Abbās al-Salāmi who fought him, forcing him to flee. Having fled, he boarded a ferry to cross the Euphrates. `Ubaydullāh ibn al-Salāmi threatened to kill the ferry's attendant if the latter succeeded in transporting the fugitive to the other side of the river bank, so he attempted to take him back, but Ibn al-Ḥurr embraced him, causing him to drown with him. Ibn al-Hurr's corpse was taken out of the river and installed as a practicing target. On p. 492 of his book *Al-Maḥbar*, Ibn Ḥabīb says that Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr displayed Ibn al-Ḥurr's head at Kūfa. On p. 583 of his book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, Ibn Ḥazm says that `Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥurr's sons are: Ṣadaqah, Barrah, and al-Ash`ar who all participated in the Jamājim Battle fighting on the side of Ibn al-Ash`ath. On p. 289 of *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* of al-Dainūri, it is stated that when al-Mukhtār decided to seek revenge for al-Ḥusain (ع), `Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju`fi was on the mountain staging assaults on people's properties, so al-Mukhtār sent him a message inviting him to take part in his bid to avenge the killing of Imām al-Ḥusain (ع), but he did not send him any answer. Al-Mukhtār, therefore, demolished his house after confiscating all its contents and took his wife whom he jailed in Kūfa. Had he sincerely repented for lagging behind, rather than supporting the oppressed Imām (ع), he would have assisted al-Mukhtār in killing those who had killed al-Ḥusain (ع). How could he have been able to attain repentance, having refused to respond to the invitation of the Master of Martyrs who knowingly walked to his Place, crowned with the divine light and surrounded by his family members?

much for him; I do not like him to see me, nor do I like to see him."[1]

Al-Ḥajjāj relayed what he had heard to al-Ḥusain (ع) who stood up and, accompanied by a number of his family members and companions, entered al-Ḥurr's tent. The latter seated the Imām (ع) in the middle. Ibn al-Ḥurr himself narrated later saying, "I never saw in my life anyone better looking or greater than al-Ḥusain, nor did I ever feel sorry for anyone as much as I felt sorry for him when I saw him walking surrounded by very young men. I looked at his beard and found it as dark as a raven's wing, so I asked him whether it was naturally black or whether he had dyed it. He said to me, `O Ibn al-Ḥurr! Gray hair hastened to me,' so I realized that he had dyed it."[2]

Having settled there, Abu `Abdullāh (ع) praised Allāh and glorified Him then said, "O Ibn al-Ḥurr! Your countrymen wrote me saying that they were unanimous in supporting me. They asked me to go to them, but it seems it is not as they claimed.[3] You have committed a great many sins; so, would you like to seek repentance whereby you wipe out your sins?" He said, "And how is that, O son of the Messenger of Allāh?" Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "You should support the son of your Prophet's daughter and fight on his side."[4]

Ibn al-Ḥurr said, "By Allāh! I know that whoever supports you will be happy in the hereafter, but how much help can I afford you, having left in Kūfa none to support you? I, therefore, plead to you in the Name of Allāh to agree to this plan of mine, for I hate to die! My mare, al-Mulḥiqa, is such that I never pursued anything except that it caught up with it, nor did anyone pursue me except that I outran him. Take her; she is yours." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Should you prefer your own safety over supporting our cause, we have no need for your mare nor for you[5]: `You should not take those who mislead others for friends' (Qur'ān, 18:51)[6]. I advise you just as you advised me that if you can, do not hear our cries, nor should you witness our battle, for by Allāh, whoever hears our mourners and refuses to come to our rescue will be hurled by Allāh into the fire of hell headlong."[7]

Ibn al-Ḥurr regretted having lost the opportunity to support al-Ḥusain (ع), so he composed the following poetic lines:

So long as I live, so shall my sigh
Reverberating between my chest and my choke
When he did say to me at the mansion:
"Should you really leave us and from us depart?"
Ḥusain in humility seeks my support
Against the people of enmity and dissension.
Should sighing cleave a freeman's chest,
My heart would now be cleft.
Had I defended him with my life
I would have earned mercy on the Day of Meeting.

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[1]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 246.

[2]al-Adīb al-Baghdadi, *Khazānat al-Adab*, Vol. 1, p. 298 (Bulaq, Egypt, edition). al-Balāthiri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 5, p. 291.

[3]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 104.

[4]Sayyid Kāẓim al-Ḥā'iri, *Asrār al-Shahāda*, p. 233.

[5]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 249.

[6]al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 94, *majlis* 30.

[7]*Khizānat al-Adab*, Vol. 1, p. 298.

Had I fought beside Muḥammed's son, may I
For him sacrifice my life;
So bid farewell and hurry to set out,
Surely winners are those who support Ḥusain,
While deeds of others, the hypocrites, will be in vain.

At the same place, `Amr ibn Qays al-Mashfari and his cousin met al-Ḥusain (ع) who asked them whether they had met him in order to support him. They said to him, "We have a large number of dependents and we have many items which belong to others. We do not know what will happen, and we hate not to give people back what they had entrusted to us." He, peace be upon him, said to them, "Go, and do not hear our women mourn, nor should you see us wearing black, for whoever hears our women wailing or sees our black without supporting us, it will be incumbent upon Allāh, the most Exalted, the most Great, to hurl him in hellfire headlong."[1]

THE ṬAFF VILLAGES

When the night came to a close, the Imām (ع) ordered his servants to fill their water bags and to leave Qaṣr Bani Muqātil. On their way, al-Ḥusain (ع) was heard repeating: *Inn*ā *lillāh wa inn*ā *ilayhi raji*`ū*n, wal hamdu lillāhi rabbil* `ā *lamīn...* (We belong to Allāh and to Him shall we return, and all Praise belongs to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds). His son, Ali al-Akbar, heard him and asked about the reason which prompted him to keep repeating these statements. Said the Imām (ع), "I drowsed for a moment, whereupon I saw a horseman saying, `These people are marching as fates march towards them,' so I realized that we are being eulogized." "May Allāh never permit you to see any evil," said Ali al-Akbar, "Are we not right?" "We are, by the One to Whom all the servants shall return," al-Ḥusain (ع) answered. "O father! In that case, we do not mind at all having to die so long as we are right," said Ali. Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "May Allāh reward you for being such a good son with the best of rewards whereby He rewards a son on behalf of his father."[2]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) kept marching till he arrived at Nineva[3]. There, an armed man riding a camel was seen coming in their direction. They waited for him. He turned out to be a messenger sent by Ibn Ziyād to al-Ḥurr carrying a letter wherein he was ordering al-Ḥurr to be rough in treating al-Ḥusain (ع) and not to permit him to set up his camp anywhere other than in the wilderness where there was neither access to water nor any natural fortifications.

Such was the letter which al-Ḥurr himself had read to al-Ḥusain (ع) who said to him, "Let us camp at Nineva, or al-Ghādiriyya, or Shfayya." "I cannot do that," said al-Ḥurr, "for the man [governor] has already assigned men to spy on me."[4]

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[1]al-Ṣadūq, *`Iqāb al-A`māl*, p. 35. Al-Kashshi, *Rijāl*, p. 74.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 231. On p. 48 of *Maqtal al-`Awālim* (of `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni), it is stated that "Al-Ḥusain (ع) took a nap in the after-noon at al-Uthayb. He saw in a vision someone saying, `You are speeding, yet death is speedily taking you to Paradise.'" According to p. 226, Vol. 1, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Ḥusain (ع) reached al-Tha`labiyya where he slept in the after-noon. He woke up weeping. His son, Ali al-Akbar, asked him why he was weeping. `Son! This is an hour in which no vision tells a lie! Just as I felt drowsiness overtaking me..., etc.'"

[3]According to Vol. 10, bound edition No. 7, dated 1330 A.H./1912 A.D., it was one of the Ṭaff villages, a town full of scholars and scholarship. It reached its zenith during the time of Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع). At the beginning of the third century, it did not amount to anything.

[4]al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*.

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn said, "O son of the Messenger of Allāh! Fighting this band is easier for us than fighting those who will come after them. By my life! Armies will come to us which our eyes had never seen before." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, "I shall not be the one who fights them first." Then Zuhayr said, "There is a village nearby at the bank of the Euphrates; it is defensible and it overlooks the Euphrates from all but one direction." Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked him about its name, and when he came to know that it was called "al-`Aqr,"[1] [which means in Arabic "hamstringing"], the Imām (ع) said, "We seek refuge with Allāh against hamstringing."

Al-Ḥusain (ع) then turned to al-Ḥurr and asked him to keep on marching further.

They all marched till they reached an area called Kerbalā'. There, al-Ḥurr and his company stopped in front of al-Ḥusain (ع), forbidding him from going any further, saying, "This place is near the Euphrates." It is said that as they were marching, al-Ḥusain's horse stopped and refused to move just as Allāh had caused the she-camel of the Prophet (ص) to stop at the Hudaibiya[2]. It was then that al-Ḥusain (ع) inquired about the name of that place. Zuhayr said to him, "Keep on marching and do not ask about anything till Allāh brings us ease. This land is called al-Ṭaff." He, peace be upon him, asked him whether it had any other name, so he told him that it was also called "Kerbalā'". It was then that the Imām (ع) started weeping[3]. He said, "O Allāh! I seek refuge with You against the *kerb* [affliction] and *belā'* [trial and tribulation]![4] Here shall we camp, and here will our blood be spilled and our graves be dug! My grandfather the Messenger of Allāh (ص) had told me so."[5]

By Allāh! Never shall I forget, even if all do,
How his charging mare stood at al-Ṭaff,
O mare of his! Did the hand of fate tie you

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[1]al-Ghādiriyya is named after Ghādira, a clan of Banū Asad. It is said to lie to the north of `Awn's grave. In *Manāhil al-Darb* by Sayyid Ja`fer al-A`raji al-Kāẓimi, a manuscript at the private library of the authority Shaikh Agha Buzurg al-Ṭehrani, `Awn is the son of `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer ibn Mar`i ibn Ali ibn al-Ḥasan al-Banafsaj ibn Idrīs ibn Dāwūd ibn Aḥmed al-Mas`ūd ibn `Abdullāh ibn Mūsa al-Juhn ibn `Abdullāh ibn al-Mahẓ ibn al-Ḥassan II ibn [Imām] al-Ḥasan (ع) son of the Commander of the Faithful (ع). He lived at the holy city of al-Ḥā'ir, and he had an estate two farasangs from Kerbalā' where he died. He was buried there, and his grave lies under a dome. His shrine is sought by pilgrims and by those who have *nathr*. Many people are confused about him. Some say he is the son of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), whereas others say he is the son of `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer al-Ṭayyār, since the latter was buried at the martyrs' cemetery at al-Hāir. There are ruins there of a citadel known as Banū Asad's citadel. As regarding Shfayya, it is a well belonging to Banū Asad. Al-`Aqr used to be the area where the people of Bachtnuzzer used to reside. The Battle of `Aqr is the one wherein Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab was killed in 102 A.H./720 A.D. All these places are villages close to each other. On p. 95, Vol. 3, of his concordance titled *Al-Mu`jam fima Ista`jam*, al-Bakri says, "People used to say that the offspring of Harb sacrificed their religion in the Battle of Kerbalā'; the offspring of Marwān sacrificed their manliness in the Battle of `Aqr. It means that the first did so when they killed al-Ḥusain (ع) at Kerbalā', whereas the other party did so when they killed Yazīd son of al-Muhallab at `Aqr." On p. 16 of his book *Tārīkh al-Mosul*, Ibn Iyas (who died in 334 A.H./945 A.D.) cites Kathīr ibn `Abdul-Raḥmān al-Khuzā`i saying, "Goodness, by Allāh, was annihilated when the son of al-Muhallab was killed." And on p. 16, it is stated that al-Farazdaq eulogized Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab with verses one of which is the following:

No female ever conceived nor did any deliver
Anyone after the one killed at `Aqr.

[2]al-Ṭurayḥi, *Muntakhab*, p. 308, Ḥayderi Press edition (dated 1369 A.H./1950 A.D.).

[3]Ibn Shadqām, *Tuḥfat al-Azhar* (a manuscript). On p. 209, Vol. 3, of *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, al-Thahbi writes saying that when al-Ḥusain (ع) asked which land it was, and when he was told it was called Kerbalā', he said, "*Karb* (affliction) and *balā*' (trial and tribulation)."

[4]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 188.

[5]See *Al-Luhūf* of Ibn Ṭāwūs.

So you stood and refused to budge?
You used to be faster than a cloud's lightning;
Calamity descends whether you speed or not.
Should you not have avoided the road and strayed
From that valley to the wide expanse?
How did you take him to perdition, may you
Lose your father, how dared you?
Why did you not refuse, why?
O what a great stand when
Those throngs did gather and stand!
A great stand that shook the foundations
Of Allāh's `Arsh a great shaking,
So shall Yazīd stand One Day
When it will be said to Aḥmed:
"Stand up and intercede!"
A stand, it was, followed by a fall
That gave us a drink hard to take
A stand, it was, that caused Muḥammed's progeny
To always grieve till the Pretender, for eternity.[1]

KERBALĀ'

His arrival at Kerbalā' took place on Muḥarram 2, 61 A.H./October 5, 680 A.D.[2] He gathered his children, sisters, and other family members. He cast a look at them then burst in tears. He supplicated saying, "O Allāh! We are the progeny of Your Prophet Muḥammed! We have been expelled and estranged from our grandfather's sanctuary, and Banū Umayyah oppressed us. O Allāh! Seek revenge on them on our behalf, and grant us victory over the oppressing people."

He approached his companions saying, "People are the worshippers of this life, giving religion their lip-service; they uphold it as long as their livelihood is profitable. Once they are afflicted with a trial, few, indeed, will be those who uphold religion."[3]

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[1]Excerpted from a 93-line poem by Shaikh Muḥammed ibn Sharīf ibn Falāḥ al-Kāẓimi, the same poet who had composed the "Kerrāri Poem" in praise of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), one critiqued by as many as eighteen of his contemporary poets. Both poems are among the manuscripts at the library belonging to the authority critic al-Amīni, author of the *Al-Ghadīr* encyclopedia.

[2]This date is provided by al-Ṭabari on p. 233, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, by *Ibn al-Athīr* on p. 20, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, and by al-Mufīd in his book *Al-Irshād*.

[3]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 198. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 237. The reader cannot escape the implication of al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him, inquiring about the name of that land. All things related to the Master of Martyrs are obscure mysteries. To us, Imāmites, an Imām is acquainted with what goes on in the cosmos of events and epics, knowledgeable of the characteristics which Allāh, the most Exalted One, decreed to the beings, the Creator of the heavens and earth that He is, Exalted is He. In this book's Introduction, we provided proofs for this statement. The secret behind his inquiry about the name of the land which they were prohibited from crossing, or about the fact that Allāh Almighty caused his horse to halt just as He had caused the she-camel of the Prophet (ص) to halt at the Ḥudaibiya, is to acquaint his companions with that land, the stage of the sacrifice which they had been promised as was the Prophet (ص) or his *waṣi*, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon them, were foretold, so that the hearts might feel contented, and so that the men might be tested, so that the determination may remain firm, and so that sacrifice would be for the sake of the truth. It is then that the knowledge of their cause increases; it is then that they prepare themselves to attain their objective, so that there will be no room for anyone to cast any doubt about Kerbalā', his resting place. These issues are not haphazard especially since similar ones had already been reported about the Prophet (ص) who had asked about the names of both men

Then he praised Allāh and glorified Him, blessing Muḥammed and his Progeny, adding,

> Our affair has reached the point which you can see. Life has changed and turned against us. Its goodness has abandoned us, leaving nothing but a trickle like a pot dripping and a life of hardship like an afflicted pasture. Do you not see how righteousness is not upheld and how falsehood is not shunned? Let every believer desire the meeting with Allāh. I see death as nothing but a source of happiness while living with the oppressors as sure displeasure.[1]

Zuhayr stood up and said, "We have heard your statement, O son of the Messenger of Allāh! Had life been secured for us forever, we would still have preferred to rise with you rather than remain therein."

Burayr stood up and said, "O son of the Messenger of Allāh! Allāh has blessed us with your company so that we may fight defending you till our parts are cut off for your sake, then your grandfather will intercede on our behalf on the Day of Judgment."[2]

Nāfi` ibn Hilāl said, "You know that your grandfather the Messenger of Allāh (ص), could not instill his love in the heart of people nor make them obey him and do what he liked them to do, and there were many hypocrites among them who promised to support him while hiding their treacherous intentions against him. They would meet him and speak to him words sweeter than honey then depart from him with those more bitter than colocynth till Allāh took his soul away. Your father Ali underwent the same. There were folks who were unanimous in supporting and fighting with him against those who broke their promises, who regarded themselves as more fair than him, and who abandoned the creed altogether, till he met his fate. He went to a mercy from Allāh and pleasure. Today, you are with us in the same situation: there are those who reneged from their promise of support and who abandoned their oath of loyalty. These shall not harm except their own selves, and Allāh shall suffice you for them; so, march with us, being rightly guided and in good health, be it to the east of the earth or to the west. By Allāh, we are not too scared to meet Allāh's destiny, nor do we hate to meet our Lord. We are determined to befriend whoever befriends you and be the enemy of whoever antagonizes you."[3]

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who once stood to milk his she-camel and about both mountains on his way to Badr. Was not the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, knowledgeable of all of that? Of course he was. He knew, but reasons hidden from us prompted him to raise the questions. We have referred to such questions on p. 90 of our book, *Muslim, the Martyr,* under the heading "Muslim is not superstitious." Such sort of questioning is labelled by the scholars of oratory "rhetorical." Consider how the Creator of everything, the One Whose knowledge encompassed everything small and big, asked Moses, "And what is that in your right hand, O Moses?" (Qur'ān, 20:17). He also asked Jesus, "Did you tell people to take you and your mother as two gods?" (Qur'ān, 5:116). There is a reason why He raised such questions. He, Glory to Him, had also asked His Friend Abraham: "Have you not already believed [that I can bring the dead back to life]?" (Qur'ān, 2:260). The Almighty was fully knowledgeable of Abraham's conviction. An Imām whom He installs in order to safeguard His Sharī`a cannot be thus ignorant. Also, the Master of Martyrs (ع) was not superstitious when he sought refuge with Allāh against afflictions, trials and tribulations, when he heard the word "Kerbalā'." A superstitious person is not knowledgeable of what will happen to him. Rather, he bases his superstition on certain things the Arabs used to regard as ominous. Al-Ḥusain (ع) was convinced of what would happen to him of Allāh's destiny at the Ṭaff land. He had already been informed of the affliction that would befall him, his family and companions. He was foretold of all of that more than once.

[1]This text is recorded in *Al-Luhūf* by Ibn Ṭāwūs. Al-Ṭabari, on p. 229, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, says that al-Ḥusain (ع) had delivered this speech at Thu Ḥasm. On p. 312, Vol. 2, of *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*; on p. 39, Vol. 3, of *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*; on p. 333, Vol. 4, of Ibn `Asākir's book, all texts agree with what is recorded in *Al-Luhūf* of Ibn Ṭāwūs. It appears from reviewing p. 192, Vol. 9, of *Mujma` al-Zawā'id* of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, from p. 149 of *Thakhāir al-`Uqba*, and from p. 312, Vol. 2, of *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd* (by Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli), that he had delivered that speech on `Āshura. On p. 209, Vol. 3, of al-Thahbi's book *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, it is stated that al-Ḥusain (ع) made this statement to his companions when `Omer ibn Sa`d confronted him.

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf,* p. 44.

[3]al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 76.

With my father's life do I sacrifice
Those who, with their own demise,
Opted to meet and support al-Ḥusain.
They stood to thwart the lances,
And the arrows, like solid statues.
With white necks did they shield him against the swords,
With their glorious faces they kept arrows from him.
A band, they were, that
In a night battle, their lances would sparkle
And if the swords sing, and the cups of death go round,
And everyone sober is elated with joy,
They distanced themselves from the swords,
They separated the foes' souls from their bodies.
Their greatest feast was when they joined al-Ḥusain
So they became his sacrifice at the Ṭaff.
Never shall I forget, though distant from them,
How lofty their glory was though their foe
Numbered as much as the valley's waterflow.
Defending the Prophet's creed he was
With a spark that removes the darkness of *shirk*.
So hearts would fly away in terror at his sight,
Whenever he mounted his steed as though on wings;
Then when thirst, and the sun, and the bleeding,
When his arms weighed heavily on him,
He stood for a short respite; it was then when
Fate shot him with an easy arrow,
And the throne fell on the ground,
And with the ashes of the calamity
All was covered with the dark.
My heart was on fire for Zainab when she
Saw how in the dust, heavy with wounds, was his body.
Stole her tongue away was the calamity,
So she addressed him with her tears which were
More eloquent than words could ever be:
O one who shatters misguidance, who brightens the night,
O shade from the heat, O bright light of the day!

You were for me a fortified haven, a cool shade,
When life was still within you,
Can you see how the people
Whenever we pass by you, prohibit us
From mourning you, from weeping, from wailing?
If my humiliation rests easily with you,
If my estrangement with the foes, if my exile,
And if my being a captive in the hands of the foes
Riding on bare she-camels,

Is against my wish to see you
Lingering among dark lances and white swords,
Your corpse on the sands, your head raised on lance's tips.
How I lament those who drank of the pool of death,
How they were kept away from accessible Euphrates...
How I lament those who wore reddened attires
Decorated by wanton winds...[1]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) bought the lots where his grave now stands from the residents of Nineva and al-Ghādiriyya for sixty thousand dirhams. He then turned and gave it back to them as charity on one condition: they lead people to his grave-site and host whoever visited it for three days. Al-Ḥusain's sanctuary, which he bought, was four miles long by four miles wide. It is lawful for his offspring and those loyal to him and is prohibited from those who oppose them. It is full of bliss. Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) has said that those people did not fulfill that condition.[2]

When al-Ḥusain (ع) camped at Kerbalā', he wrote Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and a group from Banū Hāshim saying, "It is as if this life has never been, and as if the hereafter has always been, and peace be with you."[3]

IBN ZIYĀD MEETS AL-ḤUSAIN (ع)

Al-Ḥurr sent a message to Ibn Ziyād telling him that al-Ḥusain (ع) was camping at Kerbalā', whereupon Ibn Ziyād wrote al-Ḥusain (ع) saying, "O Ḥusain! It has come to my knowledge that you have camped at Kerbalā'. The commander of the faithful, Yazīd, had already written me ordering me not to sleep on any soft bed nor drink enough wine till I send you to the Munificent One, the all-Knowing, unless you submit to my authority and to that of Yazīd, *Wassalām*." Having read this letter, al-Ḥusain (ع) threw it away saying, "They shall never succeed those who buy the pleasure of the creatures with the price of the Creator's Wrath."

The messenger asked him to respond to the letter, but the Imām (ع) said to him, "I have no answer for him because he has already been condemned with the torment."

She saw him riding one of two,
As the war gnawed its teeth:
Either he surrenders or

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[1]This poem was composed by the scholar Sayyid Riḍa son of Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammed al-Hindi.

[2]Shaikh al-Bahā'i, *Kashkool*, Vol. 2, p. 91 (Egyptian edition), quoting *Kitāb al-Ziyārāt* by Muḥammed ibn Aḥmed ibn Dāwūd al-Qummi. He is quoted by al-Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs in the latter's book *Misbāḥ al-Zā'ir*. It is amazing to read on p. 245 of *Kitāb al-Matājir* how the author did not believe that al-Ḥusain (ع) had bought four miles of land surrounding his sacred grave, claiming he could not verify this incident from whatever he had read of what other scholars have documented. Actually, the Commander of the Faithful (ع) had bought the area between al-Khawarnaq and al-Ḥīra from one direction, and from there to Kūfa from the other, for forty thousand dirhams. He told those who criticized him for doing so that that land was barren. "I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص)," said the Imām (ع), "that there are two Kūfas: the first will answer the call of the second; seventy thousand shall be gathered from there to enter Paradise without reckoning; so I desired that they would do so from my own property." See also p. 29, Chapter Two, of Ibn Ṭāwūs's book *Farḥat al-Ghari* (Najaf: The Ḥayderi Press).

[3]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 75, Chapter 23. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, on p. 151, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Aghāni* (Sasi edition), says that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri wrote `Omer ibn `Abd al-`Azīz about that when the latter became caliph. According to *Murūj al-Thahab*, `Omer ibn `Abd al-`Azīz wrote Abu Hāzim al-Madani al-A`raj saying, "Admonish me, and be brief," so he wrote him back stating the above.

Death is to be faced
By a soul whose surrender honours refused;
So he said to her: Seek refuge with destiny,
For honour is a dignified man's decoration.
If you find no attire other than humiliation,
Then through death will the body be dismantled.
He saw firmness till death as the mark of honourable men,
A cause of pride, an ornament;
He got ready for the battle
Wherein knights were subdued by death,
To the depth of the heavens did he ignite it,
Red in blaze, burning in heat.
He stood though the ground beneath him did shake
Under the warriors' feet like an earthquake...[1]

The same messenger informed Ibn Ziyād of what Abu `Abdullāh (ع) had said. His rage intensified[2] and he ordered `Omer ibn Sa`d to march out to Kerbalā'. The latter had been camping at Ḥammām A`yān with four thousand men who were being dispatched to Dustaba where the people of Daylam had declared mutiny[3]. Ibn Sa`d wrote him a promise to place him in charge of governing Rey, Dustaba's fortified border, as well as Daylam[4]. Ibn Sa`d asked him to relieve him of such a task, so Ibn Ziyād required him to return his written promise to him, giving him one night's respite to reconsider. `Omer ibn Sa`d gathered his advisers who advised him not to march to fight al-Ḥusain (ع). His sister's son, Ḥamzah ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Shu`bah, said to him, "I plead to you in the Name of Allāh not to march to fight al-Ḥusain and thus cut off your offspring and commit a sin against your Lord! By Allāh! If you depart from this world after having lost all your wealth and authority, it will be much better for you than having to meet Allāh stained with Ḥusain's blood."[5] Ibn Sa`d said, "If Allāh so pleases, I will do so." He spent his night contemplating upon his affairs. He was heard saying:

Should I abandon the domains of Rey
Though it is my ultimate desire?
Or should I return in ignominy,
Shamed for killing al-Ḥusain?
For killing him there is nothing but the fire
One from which there is no shield though I

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[1]This poem was composed by Sayyid Ḥayder al-Ḥilli, may Allāh have mercy on his soul.

[2]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 189.`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 76.

[3]According to the text at the beginning of p. 76, Vol. 1, of *Tajrīd al-Aghāni* by Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawi, who died in 697 A.H./1298 A.D., he stated so as he started narrating the events of the Battle of Ḥunayn. Said he, "This bath-house was known after A`yān, doorman of Bishr ibn al-Ḥakam." On p. 334, Vol. 3, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, however, it is attributed to A`ān, a slave of Sa`d ibn Abu Waqqāṣ.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 232.

[5]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 251. According to p. 58, Vol. 4, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, "Dustaba" is written as "Dastaba," a town between Hamadān and Rey. One part of it is known as "Dustaba al-Razi," whereas the other is known as "Dustaba Hamadan." Due to the efforts exerted by Abu Mālik, Ḥanẓalah ibn Khālid al-Tamīmi, it was annexed to Qazwīn (the Caspian).

See the domains of Rey as the apple of my eye![1]

In the morning, he met Ibn Ziyād and said to him, "You have put me in charge of a mission of which people have already heard; so, let me carry it out, and send to the battlefield those who are no less competent than I am." He then named a number of Kūfa's dignitaries. Ibn Ziyād said, "I do not receive orders from you with regard to who I dispatch. If you march, do so with our troops; otherwise, hand me over the covenant which I had written you." When he saw how persistent Ibn Ziyād was, Ibn Sa`d agreed to march[2]. He, therefore, went to face al-Ḥusain (ع) with four thousand men, and al-Ḥurr and everyone with him joined his forces. `Omer ibn Sa`d ordered `Izra ibn Qays al-Aḥmasi to meet al-Ḥusain (ع) and to ask him about what had brought him here, but `Izra requested to be relieved of having to do so, saying that he was one of those who had written al-Ḥusain (ع). He asked the other prominent chiefs with him, but they, too, asked to be excused for the same reason...

Kathīr ibn `Ubaydullāh al-Sha`bi stood up, and he was quite a daring man. He leaned on his cane and said, "I can meet him, and if you wish, I shall kill him, too." Ibn Sa`d said, "No, do not kill him but ask him about what had brought him there." Kathīr came to meet the Imām (ع); he was recognized by Abu Thumāma al-Sā`idi who stood up in his face and shouted at him to put his sword on the ground before entering the Imām's tent. He refused, so he was turned away. `Omer ibn Sa`d called upon Qurrah ibn Qays al-Ḥanẓali to ask al-Ḥusain (ع) the same question. Qurrah delivered the message which he had brought from Ibn Sa`d to the Imām who responded by saying, "The people of your land wrote me asking me to go to them; so, if you now hate my presence, I shall go somewhere else." The messenger went back and conveyed these words to Ibn Sa`d who, in turn, wrote Ibn Ziyād informing him of what al-Ḥusain (ع) had said. Soon the answer came: "Give Ḥusain and his band the option to swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd. If he does, we will decide what to do with him."[3]

IBN ZIYĀD DELIVERS A SPEECH

Ibn Ziyād gathered people at Kūfa's grand mosque where he delivered a speech to them, saying,

> O people! You tried Abu Sufyān's offspring and found them just as you like, and you have come to know how good in conduct the commander of the faithful, Yazīd, has been and how generous to his subjects. The highways have become, during his regime, quite safe. So was the case during the time of his father Mu`āwiyah. His son, Yazīd, is even more generous towards Allāh's servants, enriching them with wealth. He has doubled your payment and ordered me to make funds available to all of you and to require you to come out to fight his enemy, al-Ḥusain; so, you should listen to him and you should obey.

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[1]The following is stated on p. 385 of al-Maqdisi's book *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*: "The city of Rey caused the annihilation of the wretch Sa`d till he killed al-Ḥusain son... as he himself admits, may Allāh humiliate him." Then he cited both verses of poetry as indicated here with the exception of his saying that to be the governor of Rey is his desire.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 22. Ibn al-Jawzi, on p. 161, Vol. 3, of *Safwat al-Safwa*, says that a man in Baṣra, who was one of the commanders of Ibn Ziyād, fell from his rooftop, breaking his legs. Abu Qulābah visited him and said to him, "I wish this incident will bring you goodness." His prediction materialized: The man received an order from Ibn Ziyād to join the troops fighting al-Ḥusain (ع), so he said to the messenger, "Just look at my condition!" After seven days, news came to him about al-Ḥusain (ع) being killed, whereupon he praised Allāh for not having anything to do with it.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, pp. 233-234.

As soon as he came down from the pulpit, he distributed money then went out to al-Nukhayla[1] where he camped. He called to his presence al-Ḥasīn ibn Namīr al-Tamīmi, Hijar ibn Abjar, Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan, Shabth ibn Rab`i, ordering them to go to Ibn Sa`d's aid. Shabth sent word saying that he was sick[2], so he sent him a letter in which he said, "My messenger informs me of your pretending to be sick, and I fear lest you should be among those who, when they meet the believers, say that they believe, and when they meet their demons say: `We are with you! We only laugh at them!' So, if you are one of our subjects, come swiftly to us." He went to meet him after the evening prayers so that he would not clearly see that there were actually no signs of any sickness showing on his face. He agreed to do what he [Ibn Ziyād] had required of him.[3]

`Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād put Zajr ibn Qays al-Ju`fi in charge of five hundred cavaliers, ordering him to station his troops at the bridge in order to prohibit anyone from reaching al-Ḥusain (ع). `Āmir ibn Abu Salāmah ibn `Abdullāh ibn `Arār al-Dalāni passed on the bridge, so Zajr said to him, "I know exactly where you are going; so, go back." `Āmir charged at him and at his company, forcing them to flee. None of them dared to come close to him. He reached Kerbalā' and joined al-Ḥusain (ع) and stayed with him till he was killed in his defense. He had previously participated in all the wars waged by the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib, peace be upon him.[4]

AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) MEETS THE KŪFIANS

People never ceased expressing their hatred towards having to fight al-Ḥusain (ع), the son of the most revered Messenger of Allāh (ص) and Master of the Youths of Paradise. They had not forgotten all the statements made by the Prophet (ص) in his honour and in honour of his father the *waṣi* (ع), as well as in honour of his chosen brother (ع). They all realized his status with Allāh when Kūfa was hit by a drought and by a famine, so they complained to his father (ع) who took out this same martyr to pray for rain. It was by the blessings of his holy soul and that of his *noor,* which is made of that of Muḥammed (ص), that Allāh Almighty responded, sending rain upon the earth till grass grew after an extended period of drought. He was also the same person who secured the watering area during the Battle of Ṣiffīn, thus making water available for the Muslims who had by then been exhausted by acute thirst[5]. They also came to know how he provided water for al-Ḥurr and for all the one thousand men and their horses in that desolate desert; that was the incident about which the Kūfians were talking everywhere.

How could anyone, hence, meet him face to face and fight him, had it not been for succumbing to inclinations, going to extremes in oppression, and due to the weakness of people when facing temptation? This is why many of those who marched out to meet him deserted and stole their way to safety, so much so that only a small number of them remained by the time they reached Kerbalā'. When Ibn Ziyād came to know about the large number of those who deserted, he sent al-Suwayd ibn `Abdul-Raḥmān al-Minqari in charge of a regiment of cavaliers, ordering him to tour Kūfa's alleys and quarters to announce the beginning

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[1]It is the same as al-`Abbāsiyya, according to Ibn Nama, and it is presently called al-`Abbāsiyyāt. It lies near Thul-Kifl. On p. 147, Chapter 46, of *Al-Yaqīn* by Raḍiyy ad-Dīn ibn Ṭāwūs, al-Nukhayla is two farasangs from Kūfa.

[2]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 253.

[3]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, citing *Maqtal Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib*.

[4]al-Hamadāni, *Al-Ikīl*, Vol. 10, p. 87 and p. 101. Dālān are a family branch of Hamadān. Among them are Banū `Urār, named after `Urār ibn Ru'ās ibn Dālān ibn Jabīsh ibn Māshbih ibn Wādi`ah. On p. 321 of Ibn Ḥazm's book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, the lineage of Wādi`ah is provided in detail.

[5]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 15 and p. 45.

of the war against al-Ḥusain (ع) and to bring him all those who lagged behind. Among those brought to him was a man from Syria who had gone to Kūfa seeking an inheritance belonging to him. Once he was brought to Ibn Ziyād, the latter ordered him to be killed. When people saw how ruthless Ibn Ziyād was, they all went out.[1]

THE HOSTS

Al-Shimr marched out[2] with four thousand or more; Yazīd ibn al-Rikāb marched out with two thousand; al-Ḥasīn ibn Namīr al-Tamīmi marched out with four thousand; Shabth ibn Rab`i marched out with one thousand; Ka`b ibn Talhah marched out with three thousand; Hijar ibn Abjar marched out with one thousand; Mudāyīr ibn Raḥīnah al-Māzini marched out with three thousand, and Naṣr ibn Harshah was in command of two thousand[3], thus the total number of those who assembled under the command of Ibn Sa`d on the sixth of Muḥarram totalled twenty thousand strong[4]. Ibn Ziyād kept sending reinforcements to Ibn Sa`d till the number of the latter's troops swelled to thirty thousand.

Imām Abu `Abdullāh, Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع), has narrated saying, "Al-Ḥusain (ع) visited his brother al-Ḥasan (ع) during his sickness that caused his martyrdom. Having seen his condition, he wept. Al-Ḥasan (ع) asked him, `O father of `Abdullāh! What grieves you?' `I am grieved on account of the harm inflicted on you,' he answered. Al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, said, `What has been administered to me is only a poison to kill me, but there is no day like your own day, O father of `Abdullāh, when thirty thousand strong, all claiming to belong to the nation of our grandfather, Muḥammed, alleging adherence to the Islamic faith, will assemble to kill you and shed your blood and violate your sanctity and arrest your offspring and women and plunder your wealth. It is then that Banū Umayyah will be cursed and the sky will rain ashes and blood, and everything, even the beasts in the jungles and the fish in the seas, will mourn you."[5]

Ibn Ziyād wrote Ibn Sa`d saying, "I have not left you any excuse with regard to providing you with plenty of horses and men; so, you should not receive the evening nor the day thereafter before I hear good news about you." He urged him on the sixth day of Muḥarram to start the war.[6]

They assembled their hosts against Muḥammed's son,
At Ṭaff, when they remembered their ancestors...

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[1]Al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 253.

[2]According to p. 10, Vol. 6, of *Al-Bid' wal Tārīkh*, his name is written as Bishr ibn Thul-Jawshan. In *`Ujālat al-Mubtadi' fil Naṣab* by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu Bakr Muḥammed ibn Abu `Uthmān al-Ḥazimi al-Hamadāni (d. 584 A.H./1188 A.D.), his name is Shūr ibn Thul-Jawshan. His father is said to be a narrator of traditions, and Shūr quotes him.

[3]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, Vol. 2, p. 215.

[4]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*.

[5]al-Ṣadūq, *Āmāli*, p. 71 (*majlis* 30). According to *Matālib al-Sa'ūl*, their number was twenty thousand. According to *Hāmish Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, they were one hundred thousand, whereas Ibn Shadqam, in his book *Tuḥfat al-Azhar*, says that they numbered eighty thousand. According to p. 237 of *Asrār al-Shahāda* of Sayyid Kāẓim al-Ḥā'iri, they were six thousand horsemen and one thousand footmen. On p. 190, Vol. 2, of his *Tārīkh*, Abu al-Fidā' refers only to Ibn Sa`d marching in four thousand and to al-Ḥurr in two thousands. On p. 656, Vol. 7, of *`Umdat al-Qāri* by al-`Ayni, in his "Kitāb al-Manāqib," Ibn Ziyād's army numbered a thousand horsemen headed by al-Ḥurr and in their vanguard was al-Ḥasīn ibn Namīr.

[6]Raḍiyy ad-Dīn ibn Nabi al-Qazwīni (d. 1134 A.H./1722 A.D.), *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 101, and also *Maqtal Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib*.

Allāhu Akbar! O pillars of this earth! Dissolve!
The son of piety has to face the hosts
Whose banner the son of the blood-shedder tied,
How insolent they were when they met
His forehead with their very swords...!

THE WATERING PLACE

Modesty never wetted their faces
Even if they had walked through the Ṣafa,
Even its stones would have felt modest.
How can such Umayyad faces know modesty,
Having shed, by sinning pleasures, their modesty?
They subdued, through their might,
The offspring of al-Zahrā', and they,
Through their swords, dethroned their princes.

They overpowered them till they
Deprived their corpses of being buried.
The world became too small for it so
Wherever it went, death was before and behind.
The back of death they rode, riding dignity even from
The back of the humiliation they rode.
The fangs of death were shown to a band
For which the swords were fates and destiny
Whose hearts were tested by the Almighty...
At a stand where patience and endeavour were put to test.
The might and swords of Muḥammed's family used to be
Against those who cried for help and against the enemy.
Even death hated to meet them in such a way,
Yet Allāh loved that they should thus meet Him,
So they leaped with thirsty hearts that
Found nothing to drink except the taste of death.
Yet I find you, O cloud, spreading your wings
On people to shade, satisfying those who thirst,
Though the hearts of the Prophet's sons were cracked
With thirst in a desolate land, burning their insides.
The worst cup they drank of all the calamity
Was the oppressors' unveiling of Muḥammed's daughters:
The veils of Prophethood and the curtains were violated,
So their insides were further burnt even as
The hands of the foes vied to grab their garments...
How Clement Allāh is as He did see
How long they kept their wailing and their cries!

How Clement Allāh is as He did see
How in agony they sighed and in grief cried:
With one hand each tried to stay alive,
With the other she tried to shun the foes.
How painful to Muḥammed's heart it must be,
How heavy with al-Batool the calamity![1]

Ibn Sa`d posted his horsemen to guard the Euphrates in order to prohibit the Master of Martyrs (ع) from reaching it. Al-Ḥusain's followers found no access to water. Thirst bit them severely. Al-Ḥusain (ع) took an axe and walked behind the women's tent nineteen steps in the direction of the Qibla then dug a well of potable water from which they drank, but soon it dried up. Ibn Ziyād sent a letter to Ibn Sa`d saying, "It has come to my knowledge that al-Ḥusain is digging a well and reaching water, so he and his company are drinking of it. As soon as this letter reaches you, you must prohibit them, as much as you can, from digging wells. Expose them to the severest of hardships." He instantly dispatched `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj with five hundred horsemen to the watering place[2] three days before al-Ḥusain's martyrdom.[3]

THE SEVENTH DAY

On the seventh day, the siege around the Master of Martyrs (ع) and those with him intensified, and they were blocked completely from reaching the water. Their water supply had already depleted, so each one of them had to deal with the flames of the thirst on his or her own. Naturally, the children were moaning on account of the pain of thirst. Some of them were pleading for water while others were trying anything they could think of to quench their thirst. All of this was taking place before the eyes of Abu `Abdullāh and the honourable ones of his family and companions. But what could he have done since swords and lances stood between them and the water? Yet the man who quite often served water to the thirsty could not tolerate that condition any longer.

Should the daughters of Fāṭima ever be in pain
And against the pain of thirst to him complain
With sighs high as the current of the Euphrates?
Had he sought al-Majarra river to quench his thirst,
It would surely have raised itself and done so first,
It would have turned its current into a ladder to reach.
Had Double-Horns closed it against him,
His determination would have surely undermined it.
In his left hand is a watering bag,

In his right hand a trained sword,
Like a cloud he aimed to reach Fāṭima's offspring,

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[1]These verses are excerpted from a poem by Sayyid Ḥayder al-Ḥilli, may Allāh be pleased with him.

[2]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 116. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 244. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 78.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 234. al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 22.

But the foe was certain to stone him with everything...[1]

At that juncture, al-Ḥusain (ع) assigned his brother al-`Abbās to shoulder this responsibility. The latter had already been burning with the desire to do just that. Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked him to bring water for the ladies and the children, giving him command over a detachment of twenty men each carrying a water bag. They went to the Euphrates at night paying no attention to those who were charged with guarding the watering place. After all, they were in the company of the lion of Muḥammed's Progeny (ع). Nāfi` ibn Hilāl al-Jamli advanced, so `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj shouted at him to identify himself. He said to him, "We came to drink of this water from which you have prohibited us." "Drink then and cool your eyes," said he, "but do not carry of it to al-Ḥusain." Nāfi` said, "No, by Allāh, I shall never drink one drop while al-Ḥusain and the Ahl al-Bayt with him and their supporters are thirsty." He then called upon his companions to fill their water bags. It was then that those under the command of Ibn al-Ḥajjāj attacked them. Some of them kept watering their bags anyway while others were defending them headed by the one who grew up in the very lap of Hayderi bravery, namely Abul-Faḍl, al-`Abbās. They brought the water while none of their enemies could even contemplate getting near them out of fear of that same brave hero. The ladies and the children, hence, were able to quench their thirst.[2]

We cannot overlook the fact that the amount of water brought to them was very little. What could that quantity do to a band that numbered more than a hundred and fifty men, women, and children, or maybe even two hundred, all parched by thirst, drinking no more than once? Soon thirst returned to them; so, to Allāh and to His Messenger is one's complaint.

If the Pool's Waterer on the Day of Gathering be Hayder,
Then the Waterer of the thirsty at Kerbalā' is Abul-Faḍl.
Yet the heart of people's waterer on the Day of Gathering
Is cooled, whereas this one's heart with the heat boils.
I stood by the water of the Euphrates and I still have been
Telling it, though others are better in speech than I:
"Why do you flow–may you not–and tended one day
"To wash your own shame!
"Have not the livers of Muḥammed's Progeny flame-dried?
"They were not cooled by water or by rain.
"You ought to fold your branches and cause them to wither
"Out of grief and shame of their withered lips."
Said the Euphrates: "Listen, if you will, to what I say,
"Accept my excuse, and do not increase your blame.
"What you see are my tears when
"Wailing after them became my affair."
May Allāh reward on their behalf their uncle Abul-Faḍl,
O should only you have seen Abul-Faḍl!
He was a sword crafted by Ali in his right hand,

[1]These lines are excerpted from a poem by Sayyid Ja`fer al-Ḥilli, may Allāh fill his grave with *noor*.

[2]*Maqtal Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib*. According to this report, their seeking water must have taken place on the seventh day which may explain why the seventh day is dedicated to the memory of al-`Abbās. According to p. 95, *majlis* 3, of al-Ṣadūq's Ā*māli*, Imām al-Ḥusain ibn Ali (ع) dispatched his son Ali al-Akbar with thirty horsemen and twenty footmen to fetch water.

So his cub needed no polishing at all.
When Prophet Muḥammed's sons are counted,
Among their brothers he will surely be numbered.
Never have I seen one thirsty around the water,
Without drinking of it though his heart is on fire.
His concern was only loyalty; few can be seen like that,
Few can be so loyal to their loved ones.
By your severed right hand do I swear,
And by your left one, the gatherer of all,
By your perseverance in defending the Prophet's son
At Kerbalā', though terrifying,
Something my mind cannot comprehend:
He proved loyal to you not knowing
Whether losing you terrified him
Or whether the `Arsh was by fates subverted.
Brother! You were both my shield and my sword
Yet I lost both: No shield do I now hold
Nor even my own sword...[1]

CONCEIT OF IBN SA`D

Al-Ḥusain (ع) dispatched `Amr ibn Qarzah al-Anṣāri to Ibn Sa`d asking for an evening meeting between both warring factions. Each came out escorted by twenty cavaliers. Al-Ḥusain (ع) ordered those in his company, with the exception of al-`Abbās and his oldest son, Ali al-Akbar, not to lag behind. Ibn Sa`d did likewise, keeping his son, Hafs, with him together with his slave.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "O Ibn Sa`d! Are you really fighting me?! Don't you fear Allāh to Whom you shall return?! I am the son of you know very well who. Why don't you come to my side and leave these folks, for that will surely be better for you with Allāh?" `Omer ibn Sa`d said, "I fear lest my house should be demolished [if I do so]." "I shall rebuild it for you," was al-Ḥusain's answer. "I fear lest my estate should be confiscated," said Ibn Sa`d. The Imām, peace be upon him, said, "I shall compensate you for it with one even better from my property in Ḥijāz."[2] It is said that the Imām (ع) promised Ibn Sa`d to give him his own estate called al-Bughaybgha, a vast tract of land containing palms and many other fruit trees. Mu`āwiyah had offered the Imām (ع) one million[3] dinars for it, but he refused to sell it to him.[4] Ibn Sa`d then said, "I have in Kūfa many children, and I fear lest Ibn Ziyād should kill them all."

When al-Ḥusain (ع) lost all hope of winning him over, he stood up as he said, "What is the matter with you, may Allāh soon kill you on your bed, and may He never forgive you on the Day of Gathering?! By Allāh! I wish you will only eat a little of the wheat of Iraq." Ibn Sa`d responded by saying sarcastically, "Barley suffices me!"[5]

The first Sign of Allāh's Wrath, which this man witnessed, was the loss of his anticipated post as the

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by Shaikh Muḥsin Abul-Ḥabb al-Ḥā'iri, may Allāh have mercy on his soul.

[2]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 78.

[3]The word "million" does not exist in Arabic; instead, the Arabs say "a thousand thousands." — Tr.

[4]Raḍiyy ad-Dīn al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 103.

[5]*Ibid*., p. 103. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 245.

governor of Rey. When he returned from Kerbalā', Ibn Ziyād required him to bring him the covenant wherein he promised to make him governor of Rey, but Ibn Sa`d claimed that he had lost it. He pressured him to bring it to him, so Ibn Sa`d said, "I left it being read for the old women of Quraysh as means to apologize to them. By Allāh! I had advised you with regard to al-Ḥusain with one piece of advice which, had you conveyed it to my father Sa`d, you would have paid him what you owe him." `Uthmān ibn Ziyād, `Ubaydullāh's brother, said, "Yes, he has said the truth! I wish there is a ring in the nose of each and every person belonging to Banū Ziyād till the Day of Judgment, and that al-Ḥusain had never been killed."[1]

One of the ways whereby al-Mukhtār dealt with him was that when he granted him security, he hired women to mourn the death of al-Ḥusain at the doorstep of `Omer ibn Sa`d's house. This attracted the attention of passers-by to the fact that the person living inside was the one responsible for killing the Master of the Youths of Paradise. This caused a great deal of embarrassment to Ibn Sa`d who requested al-Mukhtār to have them removed from there. Al-Mukhtār said to him, "Does not al-Ḥusain (ع) deserve to be mourned?"[2] And when the people of Kūfa wanted `Omer ibn Sa`d to be their governor, following the death of Yazīd son of Mu`āwiyah, the women of the tribes of Hamadān and Rabī`a came to the grand mosque screaming and saying, "Was not Ibn Sa`d satisfied with killing al-Ḥusain so he now wants to be the governor?" People wept, turning away from him.[3]

CALUMNY OF IBN SA`D

Ibn Sa`d attributed to Imām Ḥusain (ع) doing something which he actually never did. He wrote Ibn Ziyād claiming that he desired the reform of the nation and the beauty of unity. He stated the following in his letter:

> Allāh has put out the fire of dissension, united the views, and reformed the nation's affairs. This Ḥusain has offered me to go back to where he had come from, or to go to one of the border towns and be one of the Muslims receiving what other Muslims receive and shouldering the same responsibilities like anyone

else, or that the commander of the faithful, Yazīd, comes and places his own hand in Ḥusain's and both men may discuss their views. All of this meets your pleasure, and there is in it goodness for the nation.[4]

Far away it is that such a man of dignity could do any such thing. He is the one who taught people how to persevere when facing what they dislike and when meeting death. How could he place himself at the service of Marjāna's son or follow the views of the son of the liver-chewing woman?! Al-Ḥusain (ع) had said to his brother, al-Atraf, "By Allāh! I shall never submit to lowliness." To Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya he said once, "I know of certainty that in that place shall I meet my death and the death of my companions; none shall survive except my son Ali." To Ja`fer ibn Sulaym`ān al-Zab`i he said, "They shall never leave me till I am dead."

The last statement he made during the Battle of Ṭaff was:

> The bastard-son and the son of the bastard-son gave me the option to either accept a reward or to succumb to humiliation. Far away it is from us to do that! Allāh refuses, and so does His Messenger, and so do the believers. [We are] good and purified families, dignified people, and honourable men who prefer to be killed in dignity rather than obey the abased.

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 268.

[2]Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli, *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*, in a chapter bearing the heading "Al-Mukhtār's Uprising."

[3]al-Mas`ūdi, *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 2, p. 105, where Yazīd is discussed.

[4]al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Itḥāf bi Ḥubb al-Ashrāf*, p. 15. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, Vol. 2, p. 253.

The statement made by Uqbah ibn Sam`ān explains the condition from which Abu `Abdullāh, peace be upon him, was suffering. Said he, "I accompanied al-Ḥusain from Medīna to Mecca, and from the latter to Iraq, and I did not part with him till he was killed. I heard all his statements, but never did I ever hear him say what people claim, i.e. that he wanted to put his hand in Yazīd's hand. I never heard him say so when I was with him in Medīna nor in Mecca or on any highway, in Iraq or at his own camp, till he was killed. Yes, I heard him say, `Let me go in this spacious land.'"[1]

AL-SHIMR'S OPPRESSIVENESS

Having read Ibn Sa`d's letter, Ibn Ziyād said, "This is a letter of someone who advises his people and who is compassionate towards them." He was about to respond to it when al-Shimr[2] stood up as he said, "Do you really accept such an offer from him after his having settled in your land? By Allāh! If he ever departs from your land without making an agreement with you, he will get even stronger, while you will get

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 235.

[2]Ibn Kathīr, on p. 188, Vol. 8, says, "Al-Ḥusain (ع) used to narrate to his companions at Kerbalā' what his grandfather (ص) used to tell him, which was: `It is as if I see a spotted dog licking the blood of my Ahl al-Bayt (ع).' When he saw that al-Shimr was leprous, he immediately said, `He is the one who shall kill me!'" On p. 222 of his book *Al-A`lāq al-Nafīsah*, Ibn Rastah says, "Al-Shimr Thul-Jawshan, who killed al-Ḥusain (ع), was leprous." On p. 449, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-I`tidāl*, al-Thahbi says, "Shimr son of Thul-Jawshan was one of those who killed al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him." This narrative, therefore, is not an original. When he was asked, "Why did you side with the enemies of the son of Fāṭima (ع)?," he said, "Our men of authority ordered us. Had we disobeyed them, we would have been more wretched than red camels." Al-Thahbi says, "This is only an ugly excuse; obedience is due to what is right." On p. 303 and on the following pages of his book titled *Ṣiffīn* (Egyptian edition), Naṣr ibn Muzāhim says, "Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan was with the Commander of the Faithful (ع) at Ṣiffīn. From the company of Mu`āwiyah came out Adham ibn Muḥriz challenging anyone from Ali's army for a duel. Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan went out, and they exchanged two blows. Adham struck Shimr on his forehead, causing his sword to reach the man's bones. When Shimr responded with a blow of his own, he could not harm Adham in the least; therefore, he went back to his camp to drink some water. He took a spear and composed these lines of poetry:

> I have reserved for the brother of Bāhilah
> A swift blow, only should I live
> A final blow shall I strike him with,
> A blow like death, or death itself.

He charged at Adham, pierced him with his sword, causing him to fall from his horse. Adhma's fellows carried him away, so Shimr left. On p. 143, Vol. 2, of his book *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (`Eisa al-Babi Press), al-Maqrīzi says, "Al-Samīl ibn Ḥātim ibn al-Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan was a chief of Muḍar who bore a great deal of grudge against the Yemenites." This is stated on p. 222 of the Beiruti edition edited by Muḥammed Muḥyi ad-Dīn." In a footnote in the same book, Ḥātim, son of al-Shimr, was with his father at Kūfa. When al-Mukhtār killed Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan, it is stated that Ḥātim fled to Qinnasrin. On p. 145, he says that al-Samīl was governor of Serqasṭa. He left it to be the governor of Ṭulayṭala. On p. 67, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Ḥulla al-Sayr*ā, Ibn al-Abār says, "When al-Mukhtār appeared in Kūfa, al-Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan, who killed al-Ḥusain ibn Ali (ع), fled to Syria accompanied by his wife and sons. He stayed there in dignity and security. It is said that al-Mukhtār killed him, whereas he fled till Kulthūm ibn `Iyād al-Qushayri went out to invade al-Maghreb. Al-Samīl was one of the dignitaries selected by the army from among the people of Syria. He entered Andalusia under the authority of Balaj ibn Bishr who looked after the Muḍarites in Andalusia when Abu al-Khaṭṭār al-Husām ibn Ḍirār al-Kalbi demonstrated his fanaticism in support of the Yemenites. Al-Samīl died in the prison of `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn Mu`āwiyah in the year 142 A.H./759 A.D. He was a poet." On p. 234, Vol. 1, of his book *Tārīkh `Ulamā' al-Andalus*, Ibn al-Fawti says the following, "Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan al-Kilā`i, a Kūfian, is the one who presented the head of al-Ḥusain (ع) to Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah at the Balaj garrison. He is grandfather of al-Samīl ibn Hātim ibn Shimr al-Qaysi, a fellow of al-Fahri." What is really accurate is the account narrated by al-Dainūri on p. 296 of his book *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: "Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan was killed by the supporters of al-Mukhtār at al-Mathār. His head was sent to Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya." On p. 222 of his book *Al-A`lāq al-Nafīsa*, Ibn Rastah says, "Al-Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan was leprous." On p. 122, Vol. 7, of his *Tārīkh*, al-Ṭabari says the same, and so does Ibn al-Athīr in his book *Al-Kāmil*.

weaker." Ibn Ziyād found his statement to be the wisest, so he wrote Ibn Sa`d saying, "I did not dispatch you to al-Ḥusain so that you would spare him, nor to negotiate with him, nor to give him any glimpse of hope of security, nor did I dispatch you so that you would intercede on his behalf with me. See if Ḥusain and his company surrender to my authority; if so, send them to me safely; if not, attack them and kill them and mutilate their bodies, for they surely deserve it. If al-Ḥusain is killed, let the horses trample over his chest and back. I do not think that this will hurt him after his death, but this is in fulfillment of a promise which I had made to do just that. If you carry out our order, we shall reward you as someone who listens to us and who obeys, but if you refuse, then remove yourself from our business and our troops, and let Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan take charge of the army, for we have granted him authority to do so."[1]

When Shimr brought this letter, Ibn Sa`d said to him, "Woe unto you! May Allāh never make your home near, and may He reveal the ugliness of what you have done! I believe you are the one who discouraged him from doing it and thus foiled our hopeful attempt to bring about reconciliation. By Allāh! Ḥusain shall never surrender, for there is an honourable soul within him." Al-Shimr said to him, "Tell me what you are going to do: Are you going to carry out your prince's order or not? If not, let me take charge of the army." `Omer ibn Sa`d answered him by saying, "I shall do it, and no thanks to you; but you should be in charge of the infantry."[2]

SECURITY

As loudly as he could, Shimr shouted: "Where are the sons of our sister?![3] Where is al-`Abbās and his brothers?!" The latter ignored his calls, whereupon al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Answer his call though he may be a debauchee." They asked Shimr what he wanted. Said he, "O sons of my sister! You are safe and secure! Do not get yourselves killed with al-Ḥusain! Maintain your obedience to the commander of the faithful Yazīd!" Al-`Abbās said, "The curse of Allāh be on you and on your security! Do you grant us security while the son of the Messenger of Allāh has no security at all?![4] Do you order us to be obedient to the damned folks and the offspring of the damned?!"[5]

Did that rogue think that he could win over a man with full awareness and zeal and thus bring him into the pits of humiliation? Could the father of al-Faḍl exchange the light with the dark or abandon the standard-bearer of the Prophetic call and enlist under the standard of Maysoon's son?! No way!

When al-`Abbās returned, Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn stood up and said, "Shall I narrate one *ḥadīth* for you which I learned very well?" When al-`Abbās answered him in the affirmative, Zuhayr said, "When your father

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[1]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 23.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 236.

[3]On pages 261 and 265 of his book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, Ibn Ḥazm says, "Eleven are the sons of Kilāb ibn Rabī`ah ibn `Āmir ibn Sa`sā`ah ibn Mu`āwiyah ibn Bakr ibn Hawāzin ibn Manṣūr ibn `Ikrimah ibn Ḥafṣah ibn Qays-Ghaylān. Among them are Ka`b and al-Ḍabāb. Among Ka`b's offspring are Banū al-Wahīd from whom descended Umm al-Baneen daughter of Ḥazam ibn Khālid ibn Rabī`ah ibn al-Waḥīd who was wife of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) and who gave birth by him to Muḥammed Asghar [Muḥammed Junior], `Uthmān, Ja`fer, and al-`Abbās." On p. 270, the author discusses the offspring of al-Ḍibāb saying, "Among them is Shimr son of Thul-Jawshan who killed al-Ḥusain. The real name of Thul-Jawshan is Jamīl ibn "al-A`war" `Amr ibn Mu`āwiyah, the latter is nicknamed "al-Dibāb". Among the latter"'s offspring is al-Samīl ibn Ḥātim, son of Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan. He came to be a man of authority in Andalusia where he left offspring." On p. 83, Vol. 2, of *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*, when reference to Mathḥaj is made, the author says, "Al-Ḍibāb belongs to Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Ka`b, whereas al-Ḍabāb belongs to Banū `Āmir ibn Ṣa`ṣā`ah. Since al-Shimr belonged to Banū `Āmir ibn Ṣa`ṣā`ah, his kin is al-Dibāb [rather than "al-Dabāb"]."

[4]Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 142. This statement is quoted by Abul-Faraj [al-Iṣfahāni, auther of *Al-Aghāni*], his grandson, as stated in *Al-Muntaẓam* and also on p. 28 of *I`lām al-Wara* by al-Ṭibrisi.

[5]Ibn Nama, p. 28.

[the Commander of the Faithful, Imām Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib, peace be upon him] wanted to get married, he asked his brother, `Aqīl, who was fully knowledgeable of Arabs' genealogies, to select a woman born to the most valiant from among the Arabs so that he would marry her and she would give birth to a brave son who would support al-Ḥusain at Kerbalā'. Your father, hence, treasured you for a day such as this one; so, do not fall short of supporting your brother or protecting your sisters."

Al-`Abbās said, "Do you really encourage me, O Zuhayr, on a day such as this?! By Allāh! I shall show you something your eyes have never seen."[1] He, therefore, killed renown heroes and turned standards upside down and fought as one who was not concerned at all about being killed or about paying any heed to the bravery of famous heroes. His only concern was to get water to his brother's children.

He plays al-Karrār as he charges,
He echoes his pristine words in his qualities
The hand of Allāh is but his father,
And the Might of Allāh is manifested in him.
So he is the hand of Allāh and this is his arm
His stands suffice you for a proof.
His valour is like that of his
Lest I should exaggerate, I would have said:
Exalted is his might![2]

BANŪ ASAD

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir sought the permission of Imām Ḥusain (ع) to go to Banū Asad who were domiciled nearby, and permission was granted to him. When he came to them and identified himself as one of their tribesmen, they, indeed, came to recognize him. He, then, asked them to support the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), for that, he told them, would bring them honour in this life and honour in the life hereafter. Ninety men responded to his call. One man slipped away from their quarters to inform Ibn Sa`d of what had happened there. The latter instantly sent four hundred men as enforcement to al-Azraq's men in order to intercept that small band on the highway. A fight broke out, and a number of men belonging to Banū Asad were killed while those who survived fled away back home. Banū Sa`d, fearing a sudden attack from Ibn Sa`d, moved out of that area in their entirety under the cover of the night. Ḥabīb went back to al-Ḥusain (ع) and told him about what had happened. The Imām (ع) said, "*La hawla wala quwwata illa billahil `aliyy al-`azeem*," that is, "There is neither power, nor might, except in Allāh, the most Exalted One, the Great."[3]

DAY NINE

In the eve preceding Thursday, on Muḥarram 9, 61 A.H./October 12, 680 A.D., Ibn Sa`d stood up and called upon his army to attack al-Ḥusain (ع) who was sitting in front of his tent leaning on his sword. Heaviness descended upon him and he saw, by way of a fleeting vision, the Messenger of Allāh (ص) saying, "Shortly you will join us!" Zainab, his sister, heard the men's voices, so she said to her brother, "The enemy is getting

[1]Sayyid Kāẓim al-Ḥā'iri, *Asrār al-Shahāda*, p. 387.

[2]From a poem by the authority Ayatullāh Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Iṣfahāni, may Allāh sanctify his soul.

[3]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, quoting *Maqtal Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib*. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 243.

close to us." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to his brother al-`Abbās, "Ride, may I be your sacrifice[1], so that you may meet them. Ask them about the reason why they had come and about what they want." Al-`Abbās set out escorted by twenty men, including Zuhayr and Ḥabīb, on horseback. He asked them, and their answer was: "An order from the *ameer* (governor) came that we should make you an offer either to surrender to his authority or we shall fight you." Al-`Abbās (ع) went back to inform al-Ḥusain (ع) as his escorting party stood to admonish those folks. Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir said to them, "By Allāh! The worst people in the sight of Allāh tomorrow [in the hereafter] are those who come to Him after having killed the offspring of His Prophet, his Progeny, his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), the worshippers of this land who offer *tahajjud* in the pre-dawn and remember Allāh quite often." `Izrah ibn Qays said to him, "You can keep on lauding yourself as long as you like." Zuhayr said to him, "O `Izrah! Allāh has already lauded and guided my soul! So, fear Allāh, O `Izrah, for I am only admonishing you. I plead to you in the Name of Allāh, O `Izrah, not to be among those who support the people of misguidance in killing the pure souls."

`Izrah then said, "O Zuhayr! You are not in our regard as one of the Shī`as of Ahl al-Bayt but a man who thought the opposite of their thinking." Zuhayr said, "Do you not conclude, having seen where I stand with their regard, that I am one of such Shī`as? By Allāh! I never wrote him a letter, nor sent him a messenger, nor promised to support him, but a meeting with him on a highway tied me to him; so, when I saw his face, I remembered the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and his status with him and came to know what a crime his enemy wants to commit. It was then that I decided to support him, to be in his party, and to defend him with my life because you yourselves have discarded your duty to the Messenger of Allāh (ص)."

Al-`Abbās informed his brother Abu `Abdullāh of what those folks were up to. Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Go back to them and ask them to give us this evening as a respite till tomorrow so that we may pray to our Lord, supplicate to Him, and seek His forgiveness, for He knows how much I love prayers, the recitation of His Book, the abundance of invocations, and the seeking of His forgiveness."

Al-`Abbās went back and negotiated an evening's respite. Ibn Sa`d stood up and asked his companions what they thought. `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj said, "Glory to Allāh! Even if they had been from Daylam and made such a request, you ought to have granted it to them." Qays ibn al-Ash`ath said, "Grant them what they ask, for by my life, he [al-Ḥusain] shall fight you tomorrow." Ibn Sa`d said, "By Allāh! If I am sure that he will do so tomorrow, I will not then postpone the fighting till tomorrow!" Then he sent the following message to al-Ḥusain (ع): "We have postponed fighting you till tomorrow. If you surrender, we shall send you to the governor [`Ubaydullāh] Ibn Ziyād, but if you refuse, we shall not leave you alone."[2]

Umayyah strayed from the goal
When swords met to do battle.
They wanted to drive an unyoked horse

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 137. Ali ibn Muḥammed al-Fattāl al-Naishapuri, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, p. 157. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 176. The implication of this golden statement is not hidden, an implication that defies reason. How could he soar to the zenith of the truth that comes from a holy one? It is fathomed only by a discreet critic. Do not be misled, dear reader, into thinking that this statement is insignificant especially after the Imām (ع), reciting the *ziyārat* of the martyrs, had said, "By both of my parts, you have proven your good mettle, and good is the land wherein you are buried." The Imām (ع), by doing so, is not actually the one who is addressing them. He was actually teaching this text to Safwān, the camel lessor, admonishing him to address them thus. The incident, as narrated by the mentor al-Ṭūsi in *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* says that Ṣafwān had sought Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع) to perform the pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) to the shrine of Imām al-Ḥusain (ع) and to teach him what he should do and say. Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) said to him, "O Ṣafwān! Fast for three days before you start your trip..., etc." Then he continued to say, "When you reach al-Ḥā'ir, say: *Allāhu Akbar!*" Then the Imām continued to describe the ritual to him till he said, "Then exit out of the door next to the feet of Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع); face the martyrs and say: `Ā*ssalāmo Alaikom, O friends of Allāh*..., etc."'

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 337.

Like one subjugated in yoke.
And in their hand they wanted him to be
Servile, though the father of lions he may be.
Unattainable, it seems, to `Omer to subdue
The Prophet's son, the pure, the sublime.
Umayyah aimed to attain what they could
So they paid no heed to what they ought and should.
They eyed the mirage with an eye,
Towards glory surely sly,
And slanted, and was seduced,
Ignorance its soul induced.
The ignorant only temptation produced.[1]

THOSE WHOSE CONSCIENCE IS FREE

One night before his martyrdom[2], al-Ḥusain (ع) went to his companions to say:

> I glorify Allāh in the best of glorification and praise Him for both ease and adversity. Lord! I praise You for having honoured us with Prophethood, taught us the Qur'ān, made us *faqīhs* in the creed, made for us the hearing, the vision, and the understanding, and You did not let us be among the polytheists. I know no companions more worthy, nor better, than mine, nor any members of a family more joining of the ties of kinship than my Ahl al-Bayt (ع); so, may Allāh reward all of you on my behalf.[3] My grandfather, the Messenger of Allāh (ص), told me that I would be taken to Iraq and settle in a land called `Āmūra and Kerbalā' where I would be martyred. That very time has come quite close.[4] I think that our day of confronting these enemies shall be tomorrow, and I have given you permission, all of you, to freely go. You are not obligated henceforth to stay with me. The night has already covered you, so ride it as a camel, and let each man among you take with him one man from my Ahl al-Bayt (ع); so, may Allāh reward you all! Disperse to your cities and villages, for these folks are after me, and if they get hold of me, they will not seek others.

The Imām's brothers, sons, nephews and the sons of `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer said, "And why should we do that? Just to survive you? May Allāh never permit us to see that day." The first to speak from among them to make this statement was al-`Abbās ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) followed by the offspring of Hāshim.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) turned to `Aqīl's sons and said, "Suffices you of the loss the killing of Muslim. Go, for I have permitted you to leave." They all said, "What would people, in that case, say about us, and what can we say to them? Shall we tell them that we left our mentor, master, and the son of the best of our uncles without

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[1]These verses are from a poem by al-Ka`bi, may Allāh have mercy on his soul.

[2]al-Faḍl ibn Shāthān, *Ithbāt al-Raj`a*. This reference ought to be regarded as a book about the occultation, for it contains only one single *ḥadīth* referring to the *raj`a* (the return).

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, pp. 238-239. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 34.

[4]*Ithbāt al-Raj`a*.

having shot an arrow or stabbed with a lance or dealt a sword blow in his defense, and that we do not know what they did? No, by Allāh! We shall never do anything like that! Rather, we shall sacrifice our lives, wealth and families for you, and we shall fight on your side till we meet your fate. We loathe life after you."[1]

Souls insisted on upholding their father's legacy
So they are either shot or are shooting.
Their souls are to the battlefield accustomed
Just as their feet are to the pulpits used.[2]

Muslim ibn `Awsajah said, "Are we the type of people that would abandon you?! And what excuse shall we produce before Allāh for not having carried out our responsibilities towards you?! By Allāh! I shall never part with you till I stab their chests with my lance and strike them with my sword so long as my hand can hold it. And even if I have no weapon to fight them, I shall hurl stones at them till I die with you."

Sa`īd ibn `Abdullāh al-Ḥanafi said, "By Allāh! We shall never abandon you till Allāh ascertains that we safeguarded our word to His Messenger in his absence with regard to you. By Allāh! Had I come to know that I shall be killed, then I die, then I shall be burnt alive, then my ashes will be strewn, and this will be done to me seventy times, I shall still refuse to part with you till I meet my death defending you. And why should I not do so since it is only one time's killing followed by eternal bliss?!"

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn said, "By Allāh! I wish I will be killed, then brought back to life, then killed again, and so on for thousands of times, and that Allāh, the most Exalted, the Great, will let such fighting keep you and these youths from among your Ahl al-Bayt (ع) alive."

The rest of the companions made similar statements, so al-Ḥusain (ع) invoked Allāh to reward them well.[3]

Meanwhile, someone said to Muḥammed ibn Bashīr al-Ḥaḍrami, "Your son has been captured in the outskirts of Rey." He said, "I do not like him to be arrested while I survive him." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, "You are relieved from your oath of allegiance to me; so, go and secure the release of your son." "No, by Allāh," said he, "I shall never do so; may the wild beasts devour me should I ever part with you!" The Imām (ع) said to him, "Then give your [other] son these five outfits so that he would utilize them in securing his brother's release," and their value was estimated at one thousand dinars.[4]

A band raced to defend him, one that
Inherited glories, young and aged.
Whoever solicits them for what he dislikes
Will find them lions enraged.
They rushed when a war caller called
Trampling in Kerbalā' the plains.
Lions whose ornaments are the swords
Whose clothes are the shields.
They took water-bags as their eyes' decoration,

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 238. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 24. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭibrisi, *I`lām al-Wara*, p. 141. al-Thahbi, *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 3, p. 202.

[2]These verses are cited on p. 17 of Ibn Nama's book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

[3]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 239.

[4]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 53.

They dyed their hands with ponds,
Leaning as though the deer sang for them
And as though they served them their cups.
Their swords shone, so they rained
With their blood as the ground turned into clouds,
As though they were welcoming the *hūris*:
Thus did they welcome the lances and the swords.
They found death in defending Muḥammed's offspring
Sweet in taste, yet life after them is pain, unpleasing.[1]

Once he realized how sincere they were in defending him, he acquainted them with what they did not know of fate. Said he, "Tomorrow, I shall be killed and so shall you, and none of you will survive,[2] not even al-Qāsim, nor `Abdullāh, my infant son, with the exception of my son Ali Zayn al-`Ābidīn, for Allāh will not permit my family line to discontinue should he be killed, and he shall be the father of eight Imāms."[3]

They all said, "All praise is due to Allāh Who has granted us the blessing of being your supporters and honoured us with dying with you! Should we refuse to be in your degree [of divine bliss], O son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)?!" The Imām (ع), therefore, wished them well[4] then unveiled from their vision what Allāh has in store for them of the bliss in Paradise, showing them their mansions therein.[5] This is not too much to expect in his regard due to the Divine Will of the most Exalted One, nor was it a strange conduct coming from an Imām. When they believed in Moses (ع) and Pharaoh was about to kill them, Moses the prophet showed them their places in Paradise.[6]

In a statement, Imām Abu Ja`fer, al-Bāqir, peace be upon him, said to his companions, "Good news for you about your entering Paradise! By Allāh! We shall stay as long as Allāh wills after whatever happens to us, then Allāh will bring us and you back to life when our Qā'im reappears, so he will seek revenge against the oppressors. I and you shall witness them chained and shackled and suffering from various types of pain." He was asked, "Who is your Qā'im, O son of the Messenger of Allāh?" "He is the seventh from among the offspring of my son, [Imām] Muḥammed ibn Ali al-Bāqir (ع); he is al-Ḥujjah son of al-Ḥasan ibn Ali ibn Muḥammed ibn Ali ibn Mūsa ibn Ja`fer ibn Muḥammed son of my son Ali; he is the one who will remain in occultation for a long time then shall he reappear and fill the world with justice and equity just as it had been filled with injustice and inequity."[7]

THE NIGHT PRECEDING `Ā*SH*Ū*RA*

The night that preceded `Āshūra was the hardest on the hearts of the family that descended from the Messenger of Allāh (ص). It was filled with unpleasant things and with calamities. It followed evil and was filled with presentiments of imminent dangers. The very hard time Banū Umayyah had cut them off from

[1]These verses were composed by the *`allāma* Sayyid Riḍa al-Hindi, may Allāh have mercy on him.

[2]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 122.

[3]Sayyid Kāẓim al-Ḥā'iri, *Asrār al-Shahāda*.

[4]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 122.

[5]al-Rāwīini, *Al-Kharā'ij*.

[6]al-Mas`ūdi, *Akhbār al-Zamān*, p. 247.

[7]*Ithbāt al-Raj`a*.

any necessities of life. Women were wailing; children were crying on account of the acute thirst, and dark agony was looming in the air.

But what was the condition of the men who sought glory, the companions of Ḥusain (ع), the honourable men who descended from Hāshim, with regard to such calamities? Did they leave them any strength at all whereby they could stand on their feet? Did they have any morale to lift them and to empower them to struggle for survival, knowing that the war would most surely take place the next day?

Yes! The valiant ones from Abu Ṭālib's family, as well as the elite from among the Imām's followers, were most ecstatic! They were more firm in their determination to fight to the last drop of their blood than any time before! They were elated on account of the divine bliss and happiness awaiting them! Whenever the bad situation worsened, they even smiled more, teased one another, became happier and more rejuvenated.

Since at Nineva they opted for death
Seeing some marks for treachery
This one smiled, that laughed
In happiness and in ecstasy
Though death never wears a smile.

Burayr joked with `Abdul-Raḥmān al-Anṣāri, whereupon the latter said, "Is this the time for indolence?!" Burayr said, "My people know very well that I never liked indolence in any phase of my life, but I am in high spirits on account of what we will be receiving [of Allāh's rewards]. By Allāh! The only barrier between us and the *ḥūris* with large lovely eyes is that these folks assault us with their swords! I sincerely wish they do so this very moment!"[1]

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir came out of his tent wearing a big smile. Yazīd ibn al-Ḥasīn al-Hamadāni said to him, "This is not the time to smile about anything." Ḥabīb said to him, "On the contrary: what other time is more worthy of smiling?! As soon as these folks attack us with their swords, we will find ourselves embracing the *ḥūris*!"[2]

Glory leaves on their faces its marks
In contentment, though the faces of the valiant
Are in fright constrained.
Like moons shining in the darkest of night
As they appear on their steeds riding,
So they raced like bleeding to meet their death,
As if in death lies their very ecstasy
Their souls embraced their swords
Then the embracing was in the Garden for the *hūris*.[3]

They remained quite energetic, alternating between a deep involvement in acts of adoration and the readying of their weapons for the fight, as if they were bees in a bee-hive in the noise of their commotion! Some were standing in prayers while others were sitting or bowing. One of them, al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn `Abdullāh al-Mashriqi, said, "A regiment of cavaliers belonging to Ibn Sa`d passed by us, and one of their men heard al-

[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 241.

[2]al-Kashshi, *Rijāl*, p. 53 (Indian edition).

[3]Excerpted from a poem by the *`allāma* Sayyid Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Kishwān, may Allāh have mercy on his soul.

Ḥusain (ع) reciting the verse saying, `Let not those who disbelieve think that Our granting them respite is better for their souls; We grant them a respite only so that they may add to their sins, and they shall have a disgraceful chastisement. On no account will Allāh leave the believers in the condition in which you are till He distinguishes the evil [doers] from [the doers of] good' (Qur'ān, 3:178-179). That man commented saying, `We, by the Lord of the Ka`ba, are the doers of good; He has distinguished us from you.' Burayr said to him, `O man of debauchery! Shall Allāh really count you among the doers of good?! Come to our camp and repent your great sins, for by Allāh, we are the good ones while you are the bad ones.' The man [citing a verse from the Holy Qur'ān] said sarcastically to him, `And I am a witness to that!'"[1]

It is reported that on that same night, as many as thirty-two men defected from the camp of Ibn Sa`d and joined al-Ḥusain's camp[2] after having seen how the latter were supplicating and praying, demonstrating the most sincere devotion and submission to Allāh Almighty.

Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) has said, "I heard my father on the night preceding the day on which he was killed saying, as he was mending his sword,

O Time! Fie upon you for a friend!
How many do you have, at dawn and at dusk
Of friends and of vengeance seekers,
While Time with a substitute is never pleased?
But the affair is with the Mighty One
And every living being will go his way.

"He repeated them twice or thrice; therefore, I understood his implication, so I was overcome with tears, yet I remained silent, knowing that fate was near. As for my aunt, Zainab (ع), once she heard those verses, she leaped and went to see him. She said to him, `Woe unto me! Shall I survive you?! I wish death had deprived me of life! My mother, Fāṭima (ع), has just died followed by my father Ali (ع) then my brother al-Ḥasan (ع)![3] O vicar of the past generations and the best remnant of those that remain!' Al-Ḥusain (ع) consoled her and admonished her to persevere, telling her, `O sister! May Allāh console you! Be informed that earthlings die, and that even those who live in the heavens do not live forever. Everything shall perish except His countenance; my consolation, and that of every Muslim, is that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is our best example.' She, peace be upon her, said to him, `Do you force yourself on it? This causes my heart to swell even more, and it surely is harder on my soul.'[4] The women wept when they saw her weeping, beating their cheeks. Umm Kulthūm cried out, `O Muḥammed! O Ali! O mother! O Ḥusain! How lost we are after you!' Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, `O sister! O Umm Kulthūm! O Fāṭima! O Rubāb! Pay attention to me. Once I am killed, you should not tear your pockets nor scotch your cheeks nor utter any verbal abuse.'[5] Then al-Ḥusain (ع) instructed his sister, Zainab, to refer to Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) with regard to any *ahkām* and to convey the same to the Shī`as as a measure to protect the new Imām."

Aḥmed ibn Ibrāhīm testifies to the authenticity of the above; he has said,

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 240, First Edition.

[2]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*. al-Ya`qūbi, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 2, p. 217, Najafi edition. al-Thahbi, *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 3, p. 210.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 240. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 24. Al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 238, Chapter 11. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 45, Iranian edition.

[4]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*.

[5]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

> I visited Hakīma daughter of Muḥammed son of [Imām] Ali al-Riḍa (ع) and sister of [Imām] Abul-Ḥasan al-`Āskari (ع) in 282 A.H. (895 A.D.) in Medīna, and I spoke to her from behind a curtain. I asked her about her religion, so she named the Imāms whom she emulated, naming one of the sons of [Imām] al-Ḥasan (ع). I asked her whether she was emulating them due to her observation or on account of what is reported on their behalf. She said, "By way of what is transmitted by Abu Muḥammed who recorded it for his mother." I asked her, "Should I emulate one who instructs a woman?!" She said, "It is emulating al-Ḥusain ibn Ali in Abu Ṭālib (ع) who instructed his sister Zainab in the open;" so I realized that anything which was being attributed to Zainab was done only to protect the identity of Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع). Then she said, "You are people who record what goes on. Have you not reported saying that the ninth from among the offspring of al-Ḥusain (ع) shall distribute his estate during his own lifetime?"

She was actually referring to p. 275, chapter 49, first edition of al-Ṣadūq's book *Ikmāl ad-Dīn wa Itmām al-Ni`ma*.

Then the Imām (ع) ordered the tents to be pitched beside one another so that they would be able to face the enemy from one direction. He also ordered a ditch to be dug behind them and to be filled with firewood which was then lit so that the enemy's horses would not attack from that direction. Fighting, hence, would be confined to one front.[1]

He, peace be upon him, went out in the depth of the night outside the tents in order to inspect the hills and plateaus and to find out whether there was anyone lying in ambush for them, or a place from which the cavalry might attack. Then he, peace be upon him, returned holding the hand of Nāfi` as he was saying, "This is it, by Allāh, a promise which can never be broken." Then he said to him, "Why don't you make your way between both of these mountains and save yourself?" Nāfi` fell down kissing the Imām's feet and saying, "May my mother lose me! I bought my sword for a thousand [dinars] and my horse for the same; by Allāh Who has blessed me with your company, I shall never abandon you even if they both are exhausted because of my attacks and retreats."

Then al-Ḥusain (ع) entered Zainab's tent as Nāfi` remained outside it on guard waiting for al-Ḥusain (ع) to come out. He heard Zainab saying to him, "Have you verified the intentions of your companions? I fear lest they should abandon you once the attack starts." He said to her, "By Allāh! I have done so and found them brave and valiant, friends who are more eager to die for me than an infant for his mother's milk."

Nāfi` said, "When I heard him say so, I wept and went to see Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir to tell him what I overheard of the dialogue between him [al-Ḥusain] and his sister Zainab."

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir said, "By Allāh! Had I not have to wait for his orders, I would have attacked them this very night. I have left him with his sister, and I think the women are terrified. I shared their feeling of depression; so, could you please gather your companions and say something nice to these ladies?" Ḥabīb then stood up and shouted, "O men of zeal! O lions!" They rushed from their tents like fierce lions. To Banū Hāshim he said, "Go back to your places; may your eyes never be deprived of sleep." Then he turned to his fellows and narrated to them what he and Nāfi` had witnessed and heard. They all said, "By Allāh Who has blessed us with such a stand! Had we not been waiting for Ḥusain's orders, we would have hurried this very minute to attack; so, calm yourself and cool your eyes." Al-Ḥusain (ع) supplicated to Allāh to reward them with goodness.

Then he said, "Let us all go to see the ladies to comfort them." Ḥabīb accompanied him together with his companions. They shouted out, "O honourable ladies of the Messenger of Allāh! Here are the swords of your slaves who have vowed never to thrust them except in the necks of anyone who wishes to harm you! Here are the lances of your slaves who have sworn never to plant them except in the chests of whoever terrorizes your

[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 240.

quarters!" Hearing them, the women came out crying and wailing and said, "O men of goodness! Please do protect the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh and the ladies of the Commander of the Faithful!" Everyone cried, so much so that the earth seemed to get dizzy...[1]

In the predawn of the same night, al-Ḥusain (ع) dozed off for a short while then woke up and informed his companions that he saw in a vision dogs charging at him and mauling him, the most fierce among them being a spotted one, and that the one who would kill him from among those men would be leprous. In another vision he saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) accompanied by a group of his companions and was saying to him, "You are this nation's Martyr, and those in the heavens have congratulated each other on account of your martyrdom, and so have those who occupy the High Plane. Let your breakfast be with me, and do not be late, for here is an angel who has descended from the heavens in order to take your blood in a green glass vase."[2]

Subdued by thirst became the defender of the Sharī`a
Never could he wet his palate with the Euphrates water,
Becoming a target for Banū Umayyah's arrows,
Till he was spent thirsty on the battlefield,
As he was sought by every spear.
The steeds of the people of *shirk* on his ribs trampled
In haste, turning, making around him circles,
Just as wise ladies of Aḥmed who
Never left their chambers became
Assaulted by the steeds even in their own homes.
How many hearts were frightened,
The hearts of those about whose veils
The foes disputed with one another?
How many were the orphans who were terrified to see
How their protector to the ground did fall,
How they lost their head-covering in their fright,
How they fell upon al-Ḥusain's corpse
With broken hearts,
About to melt by their very sighs,
Falling upon his body and his neck with cries,
To their tears responded their eyes,
Tasting the pain of the whips...?
So they call upon their people's defenders...
But where are the defenders since at Ṭaff
Their blood spilled by Umayyah's swords and spears?
Where are the protectors? Here are their sons
Slaughtered, thirsty, lying on the sands.
Where are the protectors and here are your girls

[1]Muḥammed Jawād Shubbar, *Al-Dam `a al-Sākiba*, p. 325. The name of Hilāl ibn Nāfi` is mentioned twice in his statement, which is an error. It is confirmed that the name is Nāfi` ibn Hilāl, as recorded in the *ziyārat* of the area, al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, and Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Kāmil*.

[2]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 125, where Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) is quoted.

Carried on the humps by their own foes?
Despite their creed were they carried away
Having lost those who would protect them.
Tearful, repeating in agony their sighs
So who, after Aḥmed, shall console Fāṭima
About her sons being killed
And about her daughters taken captive?[1]

`ĀSHŪRA

"I see death as nothing but happiness, while living with the oppressors is nothing but annoyance."

– Abu `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع)

Had `Āshūra Day only known
What calamity in it went on.
Its aura would not have dawned,
Its light would not have shown,
Its sun would not have been bright,
Its grief stole from the days their light.
And so every month, and so every day.
O Allāh! What a momentous day!
It removed my patience, out did it my sleep wear,
Everyone from the family of Ayat al-Tathīr
Was either slain or in the dust rubbed;
That Day the life of every *ḥāfiẓ* was robbed,
And the creed in grief almost passed way.
That very Day...
The foes' eyes slept
As the faithful's eyes wept.
Woe upon me and many a woe
How under the hooves the ribs were low,
And atop every spear
A severed head did appear.
And on the plains the corpses did scatter:
Grieving women coming out of the chamber
Wailing, crying, frightened by the danger,
And a suckling woman lolling at her babe, crying:
On the sands lying, moaning, panting, dying,

[1]These verses were composed by the *`allāma* Sayyid Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Kishwān whose biography is detailed on p. 3, Vol. 8, of *Shau`arā' al-Ghari*.

And women taken captive on she-camels bare
Their veils taken away, agonized, wearing a stare;
Their protectors from them did depart,
Killed by every fiend having no heart.
The concern of the people whom Allāh did hail
Was only to mourn, to weep, and to wail,

On a day deep grief is to be upheld at least,
Whereas the Turks eat, drink, laugh and feast...[1]

That day was spent by the family of Muḥammed, peace of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, by continuous weeping and wailing. Its pain penetrated the hearts, incinerating them. The eyes were filled with bloody tears. You could hear nothing except the cries of those who suffered the loss of a dear one and hear the sighs of those deeply depressed. You could see only those whose hair stood up and who demonstrated their exhaustion because of the tragedy. There were those who kept covering their heads with the dust as a sign of grief, those who beat their chests in agony, those who beat their forehead and were struggling to stay alive while putting one hand on the chest and another to beat it. People looked as though they were intoxicated, but they were not; the horror of the painful tragedy made them look like that. Had you been able to hear how those in the Higher Plane were wailing, you would have realized the cry of the cosmos and the wailing of the *ḥūris* in the chambers of Paradise as they moaned and groaned, cried, sighed and lamented. All the Imāms of Guidance were likewise tearful, wailing and weeping.

There is no exaggeration here at all. The Martyr had in him the fragrance of the Message, the glow of the caliphate, and the wreath of the Imāmate. He is none other than the grandson of the Chosen Prophet (ص), the son of Fāṭima al-Zahrā' (ع), the chosen *waṣi,* and the brother of the other grandson of the Prophet (ص), the Ḥujjah against the creation. Yes, he is the treasured Sign, the joined mercy, the safeguarded trust, and the gate wherewith people are tried.

His tragedy is no less worthy of such tears or condolences. Had the hearts been split into bits and pieces, and had those grieved died grieving over such a great calamity, it would still have been less than it deserves. Do you see life being worthy of anything so long as the very essence of life is he himself, the living and the pure essence? What is the value of tears shed as long as Allāh's "Vengeance on Earth" is thus bereaved? Should the eye be cooled as it sees the victims from Muḥammed's family slaughtered on the ground, their parts cut off, their bodies cut to pieces by the swords, lances having feasted on them, and arrows having pierced them? They were spent thirsty on the bank of the flowing Euphrates wherein the dogs wade and from which wild beasts drink while the family of Muḥammed (ص) was prohibited from drinking of it.

The greatest calamity is that
Upon the chest of the Prophet's son al-Shimr sat.
May his hands be paralyzed:
How he with his sword severed his head!
What a youth Umayyah's steeds trampled upon
His corpse charging, racing, crushing, on and on!
So my heart for him does go

[1]This poem by the Islamic authority, Āyatullāh Shaikh Hādi Al Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify him, is recorded on p. 62 of *Al-Maqūla al-Ḥusainiyya*.

How the steeds' hooves drenched in his blood.[1]

What a true follower, who emulates the great Prophet (ص), ought to do is to cry as this great Prophet (ص) did for the mere mentioning of his name and the remembrance of his tragedy[2], to hold mourning ceremonies commemorating the martyrdom of the Master of Martyrs, and to require everyone in his house to mourn him. And let them console one another on account of what happened to al-Ḥusain (ع) just as Imām al-Bāqir (ع) has said, "May Allāh increase our rewards and yours for mourning al-Ḥusain (ع), and may He count us and your own selves among those who seek revenge for him in the company of His *wali,* al-Mehdi (ع), from the Progeny of Muḥammed, peace be upon them."[3]

`Abdullāh ibn Sinān came once to visit Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) on `Āshūra. He found the colour of his complexion to have changed. He was grief-stricken; tears were trickling down his cheeks like pearls. He said to him, "Why are you weeping, O son of the Messenger of Allāh?" He, peace be upon him, answered him by saying, "Are you oblivious to the fact that al-Ḥusain (ع) was martyred on this day?" Then he ordered him to look like one who has just been afflicted by a great calamity, to unbutton his shirt, uncover his arms, to leave his head uncovered, and to fast for an entire day and to break his fast with water one hour after *`asr* time, since that was the time when Muḥammed's Progeny became bereaved with that great loss. Then he said to him, "Has the Messenger of Allāh (ص) been alive, he would be the one to console."[4]

Imām al-Kāẓim (ع) was never seen smiling during the first ten days of Muḥarram. He looked very sad, and on the tenth day, such sadness reached its peak, so it was his day of grief and agony.

Imām al-Riḍa (ع) has said, "It is for people like al-Ḥusain (ع) that the mourners should weep. The memory of the day when al-Ḥusain (ع) was martyred surely causes our eyelids to swell. Our man of dignity was humiliated in the land of *kerb* and balā'."

Saluting his grave-site, al-Ḥujjah from among Muḥammed's Progeny, may Allāh hasten his reappearance, says, "So I shall mourn you in the morning and in the eve, and with tears of blood shall I over you weep."

So, should we not abandon merriment and put on the robes of grief? Should we not cry? Should we not learn how to glorify Allāh's Signs by mourning the martyr who died thirsty on the tenth of Muḥarram?

Today the foundations of the creed,
Of guidance, crumbled down
And the religion of the truth is now worn out.
Today whoever seeks guidance is misled
And whoever seeks hope is shunned.
Today those who seek their hopes
Are rubbed in the dust.
Today calamity has marked their every face
Today glory on him threw the attire.

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[1]This poem was composed by Shaikh Ja`fer al-Ḥilli as stated on p. 93 *of Al-Durr al-Nadīd*.

[2]al-Sayyūṭi, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, Vol. 2, p. 125. al-Māwardi, *I`lām al-Nubuwwa*, p. 83.

[3]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 175. al-Ṭūsi, *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 39.

[4]Ibn al-Mashhadi, *Mazār*. The author is one of the prominent figures of the sixth century A.H. (the twelfth century A.D.).

Today honours for him lowered their heights.
Today glory's necklace refused its pearls.
Today their sublimity is idled.
Today Mudar's glory is in the dark.
Today death descended upon its valley.
Today al-Zahrā' stood to wail.
Today Asiya joined her to console.
Today apostasy returned to the creed.
Today Banū Hind achieved their desire.
What apology will Hind's sinners on the Judgment Day have
When their opponent is the Chosen One and their Judge is Allāh?
What is their excuse when his sons' blood
Became on their feast the dye for their hands?[1]

AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) ON `Ā*SH*Ū*RA*

Both Ibn Qawlawayh and al-Mas`ūdi[2] have said that when it was the tenth of Muḥarram, al-Ḥusain (ع) led the morning prayers for his band then stood up to deliver a sermon. He praised Allāh and glorified Him then said, "Allāh Almighty has permitted your being killed today; so, you should persevere, and you should fight." Then he prepared them for the battle in one line. They were eighty-two horsemen and two footmen. He let Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn be in the right wing and Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir on the left. He and his family members remained in the center.[3] He gave his standard to his brother al-`Abbās[4], having found the moon of the Hāshemites the best qualified of all the men with him to carry it, the most safeguarding of the trust, the most kind, the most zealous in calling for his principles, the one who was the best to unite his kinsfolk, the most valiant in protecting them, the most firm in the battle, the most composed and the most courageous.[5]

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[1]According to p. 540, Vol. 5, of *Shu`arā' al-Ḥilla*, this poem was composed by Shaikh Hādi al-Naḥwi who died in 1225 A.H./1810 A.D.

[2]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 73. *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya*, p. 139 (Najaf, Iraq: Hayderi Press).

[3]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 4.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 241. Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandosn, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 143 (old edition).

[5]Historians differ with regard to the number of al-Ḥusain's companions. One view says they were thirty-two horsemen and forty footmen; this is what al-Shaikh al-Mufīd says in his book *Al-Irshād*, al-Ṭibrisi on p. 142 of his book *I`lām al-Warā*, al-Fattāl on p. 158 of his book *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabari] on p. 241, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, Ibn al-Athīr on p. 24, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, al-Qarmāni on p. 108 of his book *Akhbār al-Duwal*, and al-Dainūri on p. 254 of his book *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*. A second view says they were eighty-two footmen, as we are told on p. 327 of *Al-Dam`a al-Sākiba* of Muḥammed Jawād Shubbar where al-Mukhtār is cited. A third view says they were sixty men. This is what al-Dimyari states on p. 73, Vol. 1, of *Ḥayāt al-Ḥaywān* as he discusses Yazīd's reign. The fourth view says that they were seventy-three. Such is the view stated by al-Sharīshi on p. 193, Vol. 1, of his book *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīri*. The fifth view says they were forty-five horse-men and about one hundred footmen; this is what Ibn `Asākir says on p. 337, Vol. 4, of his book *Tahthīb Tārīkh al-Shām*. The sixth view says they were thirty-two horsemen and forty footmen; this is what al-Khawārizmi indicates on p. 4, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*. The seventh view, which is expressed by al-Mas`ūdi on p. 35 of his book *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya* (published in Najaf at the Hayderi Press), counts sixty-one men. An eighth view says they were forty-five horse-men and one hundred footmen as stated by Ibn Nama on p. 28 of his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān* and on p. 56 of his other work titled *Al-Luhūf*, where he relies on a tradition wherein Imām al-Bāqir, peace be upon him, is quoted. The ninth view says they were seventy-two men; this is what al-Shabrāwi states on p. 17 of his book *Al-Itḥāf bi Ḥubbil-Ashrāf*. The tenth view, which is indicated on p. 31, Vol. 1, of al-Thahbi's book *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Duwal al-Islam*, says that the Imām (ع) was escorted by seventy horsemen as he departed from Medīna. (And Allāh surely knows best).

Commanding a force of thirty thousand strong, `Omer ibn Sa`d marched to confront al-Ḥusain, peace be upon him. Chiefs of the Kūfa quarters at that time were: `Abdullāh ibn Zuhayr ibn Salīm al-Azdi, who headed the Medenites, `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn Abu Sabrah al-Ḥanafi, who headed Mathḥaj and Asad, Qays ibn al-Ash`ath, who headed Rabī`ah and Kindah, and al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥi, who headed Tamīm and Hamdān[1]. With the exception of al-Ḥurr al-Riyāḥi, all the other men took part in fighting al-Ḥusain (ع).

Ibn Sa`d put `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydi in charge of the right wing. On the left wing, he gave charge to Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan al-`Āmiri. The cavaliers were commanded by `Izrah ibn Qays al-Ahmasi. The footmen were commanded by Shabth ibn Rab`i. The standard was with the latter's slave, Thuwayd.[2]

They came circling around the tents, seeing how the fire was raging in the ditch. Shimr shouted as loud as he could: "O Ḥusain! Have you resorted to the fire soon enough before the Day of Judgment?" Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked, "Who is the inquirer? It seems as if he is Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan!" The answer came in the affirmative, whereupon the Imām (ع) said to him, "You son of the goat herder! You are more worthy of the fire than I!" Muslim ibn `Awsajah was about to shoot him with an arrow, but al-Ḥusain (ع) prohibited him saying, "I hate to start fighting them."[3]

AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) SUPPLICATES

Having cast a look at the troops that resembled a torrent, al-Ḥusain (ع) raised his hands to supplicate thus:

> Lord! You are my trust in every adversity, my hope in every hardship! You are to me my trust and treasure for whatever afflicts me! How many worries have You removed and dissipated that over-burdened my heart, exhausted my plans, betrayed my friends, and elated my enemy which I complained to You, having placed my hope upon You? You are the Originator of every blessing and the ultimate end of every wish.[4]

THE FIRST SERMON

Al-Ḥusain (ع) called for his camel. Having mounted it, he called out loudly enough to be heard saying:

> O people! Listen to my speech and do not rush till I admonish you with that which I owe you, and so that I tell you why I have come here; so, if you accept my excuse and believe my statement and fare with me with equity, you will be much happier, and you will see no reason to expose me to this. But if you do not accept my reason and do not fare with me with equity, then gather your affair and your accomplices, and do not feel sorry for what you do but effect your judgment in my regard and do not grant me any respite; surely my Lord is Allāh Who revealed the Book and He looks after the righteous.

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[1]On p. 81, Vol. 1, of his book *Sharḥ Nahjul-Balāgha* (Egyptian edition), the author says that their respite in Kūfa lasted for one week.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 241.

[3]al-Shaikh al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 242.

[4]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 25. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 233. On p. 158 of his *Misbāḥ* (Indian edition), al-Kaf`ami says that the Prophet (ص) had thus supplicated during the Battle of Badr. This supplication is abridged by al-Thahbi who quotes it on p. 202, Vol. 3, of his book *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*.

When the women heard his statement, they cried and wailed, and their voices grew loud, whereupon he sent them his brother, al-`Abbās, and his son, Ali al-Akbar, to ask them to remain quiet and not to cry. Once the ladies were quiet, al-Ḥusain (ع) praised Allāh again and glorified him, blessed Muḥammed and all angels and prophets, delivering a speech which no orator before or after him was more outspoken[1]. Then he said,

> O servants of Allāh! Fear Allāh and be on your guard with regard to this life which, had it remained for anyone at all, the prophets would have been the most worthy of it and the most pleased with fate. But Allāh created this life so that it would perish. What is new in it will soon grow old. Its pleasure diminishes and its happiness is fleeting. A man's home is but a mound, and one's house is a fort; so, get ready for the next, for the best with which you prepare yourselves is piety. Fear Allāh so that you may be the winners[2]. O people! Allāh, the most Exalted One, created life and made it a temporary abode, taking its people from one condition to another. Conceited is whoever gets fascinated by it, and miserable is whoever gets infatuated by it. So, do not let this life deceive you, for it shall disappoint whoever trusts and desires it! I can see that you have all set your minds on doing something because of which you have caused Allāh to curse you and to turn His Glorious Countenance away from you, causing you to be the object of His Wrath. Kind is our Lord, and mean servants of His are you! You declared obedience to and belief in Muḥammed the Messenger (ص), then you put your ranks together to kill his Progeny and offspring! Satan took full control of you, making you forget the remembrance of Allāh, the Great. Perdition, hence, is your lot and ultimate end! We belong to Allāh, and to Him is our return. These are people who have turned apostates after having believed, so away with the oppressive people[3]. O people! Identify me and find out who I am! Then go back to your evil selves and blame them, then see whether it is lawful for you to violate my sanctity. Am I not the son of your Prophet's daughter, the son of his *waṣi* and cousin, the foremost to believe, the one who testified to the truth of what he had brought from his Lord? Is not Ḥamzah, the Master of Martyrs, my uncle? Is not Ja`fer al-Ṭayyār my uncle? Have you not heard that the Messenger of Allāh had said about me and about my brother: "These are the masters of the youths of Paradise"? So if you believe what I say, which is the truth, let me swear by Allāh that I never deliberately told a lie since I came to know that Allāh hates lying and liars, and that lying is detrimental to those who invent it. But if you disbelieve in me, there are among you those who, if you ask them, can inform you of the same. Ask Jābir ibn `Abdullāh al-Anṣāri, Abu Sa`īd al-Khudri, Sahl ibn Sa`īd al-Sā`idi, Zayd ibn Arqam, and Anas ibn Mālik, and they will tell you that they have heard these *aḥādīth* of the Messenger of Allāh with regard to myself and to my brother. Is this not sufficient to curb you from shedding my blood?!

Al-Shimr then said, "He worships Allāh by a letter, had he known what he is saying!" Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir said to him, "By Allāh! I see you worshipping Allāh on seventy letters, and I testify that you are truthful when you say that you do not know what he is saying! Allāh has surely sealed your heart!"

Al-Ḥusain (ع) then said, "If you doubt what I have said, do you doubt that I am the son of your Prophet's daughter?! By Allāh, there is no son of a Prophet from the east of the earth and the west besides myself, be it among you or among others. Woe unto you! Are you seeking revenge on me for killing one of you? Or is it on

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 242.

[2]al-Ḥuṣari, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, Vol. 1, p. 62 (Dār al-Kutub al-`Arabiyya: 1372 A.H./1952 A.D.).

[3]Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib al-Ḥā'iri, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*.

account of your wealth which I devoured? Or are you seeking *qiṣāṣ*?" None of them spoke a word to the Imām (ع), so he called out, "O Shabth ibn Rab`i! O Ḥijr ibn Abjar! O Qays ibn al-Ash`ath! O Zayd ibn al-Ḥārith! Did you not write me saying, `Come, for the fruits are ripe, the pastures are green, and you will come to troops ready for your command'?" They said, "We did not do so." The Imām (ع) said, "*Subḥān-Allāh!* [Glorified is Allāh]. Yes, by Allāh, you did exactly so!" Then he said, "O people! If you hate me, let me go away from your sight to a safe place on earth." Qays ibn al-Ash`ath said to him, "Are you not going first to accept the authority of your cousins? They surely will not deal with you except most amicably, and they will not harm you in the least." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, "Are you the brother of your brother?! Do you want Banū Hāshim to demand that you pay for the blood of someone else besides that of Muslim ibn `Aqīl? No, by Allāh! I shall not give them as the subservient ones give, nor shall I flee from them as slaves flee![1] O servants of Allāh! I have sought refuge with Allāh, your Lord and mine, against your stoning me, and I seek refuge with my Lord and yours against any arrogant person who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning."

The Imām (ع) alighted from his she-camel, asking `Uqbah ibn Sam`ān to tie it for him.[2]

The voice of Allāh stood to speak and to admonish
But they turned deaf against his lights' sanctity
And they did become blind.
Said he: Identify me now then behold:
Is it permissible for you to shed my blood?
But they found none but arrows at his neck shot
For their answer, and deeds are always weighed.
As soon as the Prophet's grandson realized
That his grandfather's creed was no more
And no more among the people remained a Muslim on earth
He sacrificed himself in supporting the creed
Riding perils so the Muslims would be saved.
Said he: Take me, O fates, take me!
Here I am, O swords, take me!
My limbs for you now are booty
Far it is from me to yield to what is wrong

Even if on the very lances is my seat.
So he charged and the world shrunk,
And fate was effected, and a torrent
Filled the valley of apostasy.
Since he to Allāh prostrated to glorify,
Magnified Allāh between the swords and did sanctify,
Al-Shimr came to him to lift his head
With the sword he struck him so
Allāh's `Arsh shook and His light was dimmed,

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[1]On p. 164 of his book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, Ibn Ḥazm says, "Followers of al-Ḥārith ibn Rashīd, a descendant of `Abd al-Bayt ibn al-Ḥārith, reneged from Islam during Ali's caliphate, so he (ع) fought them, killing them and taking their women and children captive. Misqalah [ibn Habīrah] al-Shaybāni paid their ransom and set them free, then he fled to Mu`āwiyah. Ali (ع), nevertheless, went ahead and approved their being set free."

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 243.

The face of earth shone, the cosmos dim,
And when the pillar of the universe leaned
And almost with everything overturned,
And when he fell to the ground it remained still
And turned greater even than the heavens,
So my heart burns for him when he was left alone
Surrounded by his foes' throngs.
They increased in ignorance as he in clemency increased.
My heart burns how he, thirsty, his last breathed,
Even as the Euphrates near him flowed
Free for all, but from him banned.
My heart burns for him how his corpse was lying
On the sands as the steeds his ribs kept smashing,
Grinding, stampeding, trampling...
And my heart goes for you, O son of Muḥammed!
Your body is grabbed by their swords and arrows,
And your belongings became among them a booty,
So my heart burns for the pure one how he
A stoning post for them came to be...[1]

A MIRACLE AND GUIDANCE

A number of men, including `Abdullāh ibn Ḥawzah al-Tamīmi[2], came charging in the Imām's direction. "Is Ḥusain among you?" shouted `Abdullāh once, twice, and thrice. After the third call, al-Ḥusain's companions said, "Al-Ḥusain (ع) is right here; what do you want from him?" He said, "O Ḥusain! Let me convey to you the good news of your going to hell!" Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Liar! Rather, I shall meet a Lord Who is Forgiving, Gracious, Obeyed, and He accepts intercession..., but who are you?" "I am the son of Hawzah," the rogue said, whereupon al-Ḥusain (ع) raised his hands till the whiteness of his arm-pits became visible as he supplicated thus: "O Lord! I invoke You to hurl him into the fire!" Ibn Hawzah became so angry that he instantly charged at the Imām (ع). A small dry rivulet was in the way between them. As the charger leaped over it, the rider fell. One of his feet remained hooked in the stirrup. His other foot as well as leg and thigh remained hanging. The horse kept dragging him, causing him to hit the rocks and tree stumps in its way[3], finally hurling him into the burning fire of the ditch. He died instantly by burning. It was then that Imām Ḥusain (ع) prostrated to thank Allāh, praising Him for swiftly responding to his invocation, raising his voice as he said, "Lord! We are the Ahl al-Bayt of Your Prophet, his offspring and kinsfolk, so do split the spine of those who oppressed us and usurped what belongs to us, surely You hear, and You are ever near!"

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the authority Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' quoted in its entirety in my book *Qamar Banī Hāshim*.

[2]On p. 159 of his book titled *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn* (first edition), al-Fattāl says, "He was the son of Abu Juwayrah al-Mazni; his horse jolted him, hurling him into the fire in the ditch."

[3]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 27.

Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath [sarcastically] asked the Imām, "What kinship do you have with Muḥammed (ص)?" Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Lord! Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath says there is no kinship between me and Muḥammed! Lord! Show me today how You swiftly humiliate him!" Allāh did, indeed, swiftly respond to the Imām's supplication: Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath came out of the army, alighted from his horse and started defecating. As he was thus engaged, a black scorpion bit him, leaving him polluted with his own feces[1], killing him just as the villain's private parts were thus exposed[2].

Masrūq ibn Wā'il al-Ḥaḍrami has said, "I was in the vanguard of the horsemen who came to fight al-Ḥusain son of Ali (ع) hoping to cut his head off and win by it favour with Ibn Ziyād. Having seen what happened to Ibn Ḥawzah, I realized that there is a sanctity and a special status of Ahl al-Bayt (ع) with Allāh, so I left the people saying, `I shall not fight them and thus be hurled into the Fire.'"[3]

ZUHAYR IBN AL-QAYN DELIVERS A SPEECH

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn came out on a horse with a huge tail, fully armed. He shouted out:

> O people of Kūfa! Be forewarned of a torment from Allāh! It is the obligation of each Muslim to admonish his brethren. Till now, we are still brethren following the same religion so long as the sword does not interfere between us. You deserve to be admonished; so, once the sword starts doing its thing, none of you shall be protected from such a torment. We will then be one group and you will be another. Allāh has tried us and your own selves through the offspring of His Prophet Muḥammed (ص) in order to see what we and you will be doing. We call upon you to support them and to abandon the tyranny of Yazīd and `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, for you should not expect from them except evil so long as they rule over you. They will gouge your eyes and amputate your hands and legs. They will mutilate you and crucify you on palm trees. They will kill the best among you, and they will kill those among you who know and recite the Qur'an such as Ḥajar ibn `Adiy and his fellows and also Hāni ibn `Urwah and his likes.

They taunted him and praised `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād and even supplicated for him. Then they said, "We shall not leave this place before killing your friend and all those who accompany him, or we safely send him and them to `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād." Zuhayr said, "O servants of Allāh! The descendants of Fāṭima (ع) are more worthy of being loved and supported than the son of Sumayya! But if you do not support them, I seek refuge with Allāh against you killing them! Save this man from Yazīd, for by my life! Yazīd will be satisfied with your obedience to him even if you do not kill al-Ḥusain (ع)."

Shimr shot him with an arrow saying, "Shut your mouth! May Allāh forever silence your voice! You have bored us with talking too much!" Zuhayr said, "You! You son of the man who urinates on his heels! I was not addressing you, for you are, by Allāh, an animal, and I do not think that you fully understand even two verses from the Book of Allāh! So, be prepared to be shamed on the Day of Judgment, and be prepared for a very painful chastisement!" Shimr said, "Allāh will soon kill you and your friend." Zuhayr said to him, "Are

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[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 1, p. 249, Chapter 11. In his book *Al-Āmāli*, al-Ṣadūq contented himself with quoting only his invoking Allāh's wrath against Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath.

[2]al-Fattāl, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, p. 159 (first edition).

[3]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 27.

you scaring me with death? By Allāh! To die with him is more pleasing to my heart than having to live forever among you, folks." He then loudly called out to them, "O servants of Allāh! Let not this crude ruffian and his likes deceive you with regard to your creed! By Allāh! Muḥammed's intercession shall never reach those who spill the blood of his offspring and Ahl al-Bayt (ع) nor those who kill their supporters and who protect their women." A man from among his group called out to him saying, "Abu `Abdullāh is telling you to go back, for the believer from among the family of Pharaoh had admonished his people and was quite eloquent in doing so. You have admonished these folks and you have been quite eloquent had admonishment and eloquence been of benefit for such people."[1]

BURAYR'S SPEECH

Burayr ibn Khḍayr sought al-Ḥusain's permission to deliver a speech. He was a mentor, a *tābi`i*, a *qāri*, actually one of the most prominent *qāris* of Kūfa's grand mosque. Among the people of Hamdān he enjoyed a great deal of honour and prestige.

Having acquired permission, he stood near the enemy and said:

> O people! Allāh sent Muḥammed (ص) as bearer of glad tidings, a warner, a caller to Allāh's Path and a lantern of *noor*. Here is the water of the Euphrates wherein black boars and dogs wade, yet it has been made taboo for the son of the daughter of Allāh's Messenger! Is this how you show your gratitude to Muḥammed (ص)?![2]

They said to him, "O Burayr! You have already said too much, so spare us for, by Allāh, al-Ḥusain (ص) shall suffer of thirst just as those before him had suffered." He said, "O people! Muḥammed's offspring are now among you! These are his offspring, progeny, daughters and ladies; so, let us know what you have in mind, what you are planning to do with them." They said to him, "We intend to put them at the disposal of the governor `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād who will fare with them as he sees fit." He asked them, "Are you not satisfied if they go back to whence they had come from? Woe unto you Kūfians! Have you forgotten the letters you wrote and the pledges you made, invoking Allāh to be a Witness over you and over what you said therein?! Did you invite the family of your Prophet, claiming you would defend them with your own lives, then, when they came to you, you now want to hand them over to Ibn Ziyād and even prohibited them from drinking of the Euphrates' water?! Evil, indeed, is the way how you succeeded your Prophet (ص) in faring with his offspring! What is the matter with you?! May Allāh deprive you of drinking on the Day of Judgment, for surely you are a most evil people!" Some of them said to him, "Man, we do not know what you are talking about!" Said he, "All Praise is due to Allāh Who blessed me with more insight than you. Lord! I invoke You to testify that I dissociate myself from the deeds of these people! Lord! Direct their mischief against their own selves so that they may meet You and You are angry with them." It was then that arrows started pouring on him, forcing him to retreat.[3]

AL-ḤUSAIN'S SECOND SERMON

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[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 243.

[2] According to p. 96, *majlis* 30 (first edition), of al-Ṣadūq's Ā*māli* (or *Majālis*), it is stated that when thirst took its toll on al-Ḥusain (ع) and those in his company, Burayr sought his permission to address those folks, and permission was granted to him.

[3] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, where Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib is quoted.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) rode his horse and took a copy of the Holy Qur'ān which he spread over his head then stood in front of those people and said, "O people! The Book of Allāh and the Sunnah of my grandfather, the Messenger of Allāh (ص), are the arbitrators between you and me."[1] Then he asked them whether the sword, the battle gear, and the turban which he was wearing belonged to the Prophet (ص), and they all testified that they, indeed, were. Then he asked them about the reason why they were planning to kill him. "In obedience to the governor `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād," they said. He, peace be upon him, then addressed them in these words:

> Woe unto you, O people, shame and infamy! You sought our help in earnest, so we came to help you in apprehension, then you unsheathed your swords in violation of your vows, kindling a fire against us which we ignited against our enemy and yours. Now you have sided with your own enemies against your friends. Such enemies have disseminated no equity among you, nor do you hope for their reform; so, be forewarned of calamities! You abandoned us, keeping your swords resting in their scabbards, enjoying your comfort and ease, thinking you are acting wisely! But you opted to fall greedily upon life like the swiftest of all birds, throwing yourselves on it as butterflies fall into the fire! So, thus do you violate your vows! May you be crushed, O slaves of this nation, splinters of the parties! You have forsaken the Book of Allāh, distorted His Word, becoming the party of evil, the breath of the devil, the ones who put out the Sunnah! Woe unto you! Are you really supporting such sort of people while thus betraying us?! Yes, by Allāh! It is your same age-old custom of treachery which goes back to your own roots and upon which your branches grow! You, hence, are the worst fruit, an eyesore to the beholder, a morsel to the usurper! Truly the bastard-son who is the offspring of the bastard-son has bidden us to either unsheathe our swords or succumb to humiliation! Far, it is, from us to do either! Far, it is, from us to accept humiliation! Allāh Himself refuses that we should ever be thus humiliated, and so does His Prophet, and so do the believers! Ours are honourable chambers, men of dignity, souls that refuse to prefer obedience to the lowly over dying in honour and dignity! I most surely am attacking with this family, though small in number, though being betrayed by those who promised to support me...

Then the Imām (ع) cited the following poetry verses by Farwah ibn Musayk al-Murādi[2]:

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[1]Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandosn, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 143.

[2]This text we have quoted from p. 54 of Ibn Nama's book *Al-Luhūf*. It is also narrated by Ibn `Asākir on p. 333, Vol. 4, of his book *Tārīkh al-Shām* and by al-Khawārizmi on p. 6, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*. Their texts differ from one another. On p. 205, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Iṣāba*, Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni says, "Farwah ibn Musayk came once to meet the Prophet (ص) in 9 A.H./630 A.D. accompanied by men from the tribe of Mathḥaj. The Prophet (ص) put him in charge of Murād, Mathḥaj and Zubayd." According to *Al-Isṭī`āb*, he resided in Kūfa during `Omer's reign. In his *Sīrat*, Ibn Hishām, commenting on the text on p. 244, Vol. 2, of *Al-Rawḍ al-Anīf*, says, "When a battle broke out between Murād and Hamdān tribesmen, he composed nine verses." Ibn Nama, in *Al-Luhūf*, cites seven of them. On p. 49, Vol. 19, of his book *Al-Aghāni*, Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni cites al-Farazdaq, the poet, attributing the following verse to his uncle, al-`Alā' ibn Qarzah:

> As time subdues some people,
> It had already bent the necks of others.

These verses are cited on p. 334, Vol. 4, of *Tārīkh al-Shām* and on p. 7, Vol. 2, of *Maqtal al-Ḥusain* by al-Khawārizmi without stating the name of their author. On p. 181, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Āmāli*, al-Murtada attributes them to Thul-Isbi` al-`Adawāni. Ibn Qutaybah, on p. 114, Vol. 3, of his book *`Uyūn al-Akhbār*, and both al-Tabrīzi, on p. 191, Vol. 3, of his book *Sharḥ al-Hamāsa*, say that they were composed by al-Farazdaq himself. Yet on p. 30 of *Al-Hamasa al-Baṣriyya*, they are said to be excerpted from a poem by Farwah ibn Musayk but are attributed to `Omer ibn Qa`āṣ.

So if we chase, we do so headlong,
But if we flee, none chases us away,
Not out of cowardice at all,
But it is only our fate that we should be
Thus, and because of others' authority;
So tell those pleased with our calamity:
They shall meet what we have just met;
If Death spares some people his throes,
It is only because to others he goes.

Having said so, he continued his speech thus:

> By Allāh! You shall not linger after this incident except as long as one stays on his horseback. The grinding stones shall then spin you, shaking you as the axis shakes; this is a promise which my father had been promised by my [grand]father, the Messenger of Allāh (ص): [then he cited the verse saying]: "... then resolve your affair and (gather) your associates, then let not your affair remain dubious to you, then have it executed against me and give me no respite" (Qur'ān, 10:71).

The Imām (ع) then raised his hands as he supplicated thus:

> Lord! Keep rain water from them and send upon them years like thosef of Yousuf's, and send upon them the slave of Thaqīf to make them drink of a most bitter cup, for they lied to us and betrayed us, while You are our God; upon You do we rely, and to You is our destiny.[1] Allāh will not let a single one of them without having sought revenge on him on my behalf: my killer shall be killed; whoever deals a blow against me shall be dealt likewise; He shall most certainly seek victory for me, for my Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and for my supporters.[2]

IBN SA`D'S MISGUIDANCE

Al-Ḥusain (ع) called upon `Omer ibn Sa`d to come forward. The latter very much hated to look the Imām (ع) in the eyes. The Imām (ع) said to him, "O `Omer! Do you really claim that you will kill me so that the bastard-son will make you the *wāli* of the land of Rey and Jurjan?! By Allāh! You shall never have such an enjoyment! This is a promise already made; so, do whatever you wish, for you will not be pleased after my demise with either this life or with the life hereafter! It is as though I can see your head mounted on a stick and the children of Kūfa tossing it from one to another, using it as a toy." `Omer, outraged, turned his face away from the Imām (ع)[3].

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[1]Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 334. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 7. Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 54.

[2]al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 84.

[3]Raḍiyy ad-Dīn al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 110. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 84. al-Khawārizmi,

AL-HURR REPENTS

Having heard his speech and his plea for help, al-Ḥurr came to `Omer ibn Sa`d and said, "Are you going to fight this man?" "Yes, by Allāh," said `Omer, adding, "a fight in the easiest part of which heads will roll down and hands will be cut off." Al-Ḥurr asked him, "What is your objection to his offer of departure?" `Omer answered: "Had it been up to me, I would have accepted it, but your governor refuses." Al-Ḥurr left him and stood by the others. Beside him stood Qarrah ibn Qays whom he asked, "Have you watered your horse today?" "No," came the answer. "Do you then wish to do so?" was al-Ḥurr's question. Qarrah took that statement to imply that al-Ḥurr was reluctant to fight al-Ḥusain (ع) and did not wish to be seen by him defecting, so he walked away from him. Al-Ḥurr kept getting closer and closer to al-Ḥusain (ع). Al-Muhājir ibn Aws asked him, "Do you want to charge at him?" Al-Ḥurr remained silent. He felt chilled to the bones, so he shivered. Having seen him shiver, al-Muhājir felt terrified and said to him, "Had I been asked: `Who is the most daring of all the Kūfians?', I would have given no name other than yours; so, why do I see you look like that?" Al-Ḥurr said, "I am giving my soul the option between choosing Paradise or hell. By Allāh! I do not prefer anything over Paradise even if it means I will be burnt alive." Having said so, he beat his horse in the direction of al-Ḥusain (ع)[1]. Turning his spear upside down and holding his shield the opposite way, he came lowering his head, feeling too shy to look at the Prophet's family in the eyes because of having exposed them to such hardship, bringing them to such a place where neither water nor grass could be found. Loudly he spoke these words:

> O Allāh! To You do I surrender, so do accept my repentance, for I have filled the hearts of Your *walis* and the sons of Your Prophet with fear! O father of `Abdullāh! I am repentant; so, can my repentance be accepted at all?

Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Yes. Allāh will accept your repentance[2]." This statement found its place to al-Ḥurr's heart, filling it with joy. He took a moment to contemplate upon the eternal life and the incessant bliss. It now became clear to him what that voice, which had addressed him, meant upon his departure from Kūfa. He had a dialogue with al-Ḥusain (ع). Among what he said to him was:

> When I went out of Kūfa, I was addressed thus: "O Ḥurr! You are given the glad tidings of [going to] Paradise!" I said to myself, "Woe unto me! How can I be given such glad tidings since I am going to fight the son of the daughter of Allāh's Messenger?!"[3]

Maqtal al-Ḥusain, Vol. 2, p. 8.

[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 244.

[2]We read the following on p. 63, Vol. 7, of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Bidāya*: "During the Battle of Yarmūk, George, a Christian, said to Khālid ibn al-Walīd: `What is the outcome of one of us who enters into this matter [i.e. becomes Muslim]?' Khālid said, `He will have rewards greater than ours because we believed in our Prophet (ص) who is alive among us receiving revelation from the heavens, and we witnessed the miracles. Whoever among you embraces Islam without having ever heard what we have heard nor seen what we have seen of the wonders and proofs, accepting it in a true intention, will be better than us.' It was then that George turned his shield upside down and inclined to Khālid saying, `Teach me about Islam.'" On p. 42, Vol. 1, of al-Balāthiri's book *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (published by Dār al-Ma`ārif of Egypt), "Whenever the Arabs felt they were in danger and sought refuge and asylum, they would turn their lances upside down." The same author says the following on p. 43: "Al-Ḥārith ibn Ẓālim came to `Abdullāh ibn Jad`ān at `Ukāẓ when everyone was embroiled in the Battle of Qays, so he turned his lance upside down. Once he was recognized and felt secure, he raised it."

[3]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 58. al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 97, *majlis* 30. Ali ibn Muḥammed al-Fattāl al-Naishapuri, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*,

Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, "You have now acquired a great deal of good and a great reward."[1] A Turkish slave was with him.[2]

AL-HURR ADMONISHES THE KŪFIANS

Al-Ḥurr sought al-Ḥusain's permission to address the people, and permission was granted to him. As loudly as he could, al-Ḥurr called out to the Kūfians thus:

> O people of Kūfa! A foolish and a bad example for others have you surely set when you invited him to come to you then grieved him and surrounded him from all directions, forbidding him from going anywhere in Allāh's spacious land so that he and his family might be safe, rendering him like a captive in your hands, unable to help himself. You have prohibited him, his ladies, his children, and his companions from the flowing water of the Euphrates of which the Jews, the Christians, and the Zoroastrians drink and wherein black swine and dogs wade! Look and see how thirst has subdued them! Evil is the way whereby you have succeeded Muḥammed (ص) in treating his progeny! May Allāh never permit you to drink on the Day of Thirst!

His own men now started shooting him with arrows, so he was forced to retreat till he stood face-to-face with Imām Ḥusain (ع)[3].

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

Omer ibn Sa`d advanced towards al-Ḥusain's troops and shot an arrow saying, "Testify for me with the governor that I shot the first arrow." Others followed suit[4]. Hardly any of al-Ḥusain's men escaped being shot at by an arrow[5]. The Imām (ع) said to his companions, "Stand, may Allāh be Merciful unto you, and meet the imminent death, for these arrows are messengers of these people to you." He and his companions charged together[6] and fought for a while. By the time the cloud of dust dissipated, fifty men had been killed[7].

> It oppressed even as the desert crushed its valiant ones

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p. 159.

[1] *Ibid*.

[2] Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 31. On p. 9, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi says that he [al-Ḥurr] had a Turkish slave with him.

[3] Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 27.

[4] al-Maqrizi, *Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 287.

[5] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 84.

[6] Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 56.

[7] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, where Muḥammed ibn Abu Ṭālib is quoted.

And the face of the morning its battle curiously examines.
Their faces were with the battle elated.
How many faces of valiant men then turned grim?
Pleased they are when the lances come to them
And music it is to their ears to hear swords' clamour.
Dignified, they are, yielding in hardship to none,
Nor do they fear any calamity,
Only to glory their souls yearn
Only glory do their souls earn,
So if glory in a star does reside,
They would have gone to that side,
And the men of honour always seek
What is honourable and what glorifies.
So their swords on the battle day drip of blood,
And their hands are with glory always dyed.
Their flesh is always with the swords' brink,
And from its blood do the spears always drink,
Till they, like stars, to the ground did fall,
Though after them I wish no star remains at all.

They fell, so say that the brightest stars are no more
They fell, so say the mountains were crushed to the core.[1]

Yasār, Ziyād's slave, and Sālim, a slave of `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, came out and challenged anyone to fight them in a duel. Ḥabīb and Burayr leaped to meet their challenge, but al-Ḥusain (ع) did not permit them. `Abdullāh ibn `Omayr al-Kalbi, of Banū `Alīm, who was known as "Abu Wahab," a tall and masculine man with broad shoulders, a man who was held with very high esteem among his people, and a man of courage and martial experience, stood up. Al-Ḥusain (ع) permitted him saying, "I believe he is a match for both of them." "Who are you?" the challengers inquired. He identified himself to them, but they could not recognize him. One of them said, "We do not know you; let either Zuhayr or Ḥabīb or Burayr come out." Yasar stood nearby. The latter said to him, "You son of the adulteress! Do you not wish to fight me?!" then charged at him and engaged him in a sword duel. Meanwhile, Sālim attacked him, so his companions warned him saying, "The slave is now charging at you!" But he did not pay attention to him, so Sālim hit him with his sword. `Abdullāh tried to protect himself from it with his left hand, getting his fingers cut off in the attempt. Then `Abdullāh swiftly turned to him with his own sword, killing him instantly. Having killed both men, he went back to al-Ḥusain (ع) reciting *rajaz* (martial) poetry.

Having seen how her husband so valiantly fought, Umm Wahab daughter of `Abdullāh, who belonged to al-Nimr ibn Qāsit, took a rod and came to him saying, "May both my parents be sacrificed for you! Do defend the good ones, the offspring of Muḥammed, Allāh's peace and blessings be upon him and his progeny!" He wanted to take her back to the tent, but she kept persisting, holding to his clothes and saying, "I shall not leave you till I die with you!" Al-Ḥusain (ع) called out to her saying, "May you be well rewarded on behalf of your

[1]Excerpted from a poem by the authority Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain Kāshifal-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify his soul. It is published in my book *Qamar Banī Hāshim*.

Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (ع)! Go back to the tent! Women are not required to fight!" She did[1].

DUELS BETWEEN TWO OR FOUR WARRIORS

When the rest of al-Ḥusain's companions saw the large number of those who had been killed from their camp, two, three, or four men simultaneously sought al-Ḥusain's permission to let them defend him and his ladies. Each member of these groups tried his best to protect the other or others as they fought. Two men, both with the last name of al-Jābiri, namely Sayf ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sarī` and Mālik ibn `Abd ibn Saree`, both cousins, came out weeping. Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked them, "Why are you weeping? I hope after a short while you will see what will cool your eyes!" They said, "May Allāh accept us as your own sacrifice! We are not mourning our own death, but we are weeping only because we can see how you are thus surrounded while we cannot do much for you." Al-Ḥusain (ع) prayed Allāh to reward them both with goodness. They both fought near him till they were killed[2]. `Abdullāh and `Abdul-Raḥmān, sons of `Urwah al-Ghifāri, came and said, "People have driven us to you [against our wish]." They kept fighting al-Ḥusain's enemy till they were both killed.

`Amr ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwi and his slave Sa`d, as well as Jābir ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmāni and Majma` ibn `Abdullāh al-`Ā'ithi[3], came out and collectively attacked the Kūfians. Once they were in the latter's midst, they were soon circled. Al-Ḥusain (ع) asked his brother al-`Abbās to go to their rescue, which he did, but not before all those men received heavy wounds. On their way, the enemy came close to them. Despite their wounds, they kept fighting till they were all killed at the same place[4].

AN APPEAL FOR HELP, AND GUIDANCE

When al-Ḥusain (ع) saw that a large number of his companions had died, he took hold of his sacred beard and said, "Allāh's Wrath intensified against the Jews for having attributed a son to Him, and His Wrath intensified against the Christians who made Him one of three [Triune], and His Wrath also intensified against the Zoroastrians who worshipped the sun and the moon instead of worshipping Him. And His Wrath intensified against people who collectively agreed to kill the son of their Prophet's daughter. By Allāh! I shall never agree with them about anything they want me to do till I meet Allāh drenched in my blood." Then he called out, "Is there anyone who would defend the ladies of the Messenger of Allāh?!"[5] Hearing him, the women cried and wailed.

Two Anṣāris, Sa`d ibn al-Ḥārith and his brother Abul-Hutūf, heard al-Ḥusain (ع) pleading for help, and they also heard the cries of his children. They were both with the army of `Ubaydullāh Ibn Sa`d. They suddenly turned against al-Ḥusain's enemy around them and kept killing them till they themselves were killed.[6]

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 245. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 37.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 29.

[3]On p. 94, Vol. 3, of *Al-Iṣāba* (of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni ), Part 3, it is stated that Mujma` ibn `Abdullāh ibn Mujma` ibn Mālik ibn Iyās ibn `Abd Manāt ibn Sa`d was killed with al-Ḥusain ibn Ali, peace be upon him, during the Battle of Ṭaff.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 255.

[5]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 57.

[6]*Al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyya*, a manuscript.

THE RIGHT WING REMAINS FIRM

Having seen how the number of their fighting men became so small, al-Ḥusain's companions resorted to fight individually, i.e. in duels. Thus, they were able to kill a large number of the Kūfians. `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj then shouted loudly at his men, "Do you really know who you are fighting?! You are fighting the land's knights, the people of vision, those who stay firm till death. None of you comes out to fight them except that he gets killed despite their small number. By Allāh! If you throw rocks at them, you will be able to kill them all!" `Omer ibn Sa`d said to him, "Yes, you have said the truth. Your idea is the sound one; so, send word to everyone and tell them not to come out to them for any duel. True, if you fight them singly, they will finish you."[1]

`Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj attacked al-Ḥusain's right wing, but the men were able to maintain their ground, kneeling down as they planted their lances. They were thus able to frighten the enemy's horses. When the horsemen came back to charge at them again, al-Ḥusain's men met them with their arrows, killing some of them and wounding others.[2]

`Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj kept saying the following to his men, "Fight those who abandoned their creed and who deserted the *jam*ā `*a*!" Hearing him say so, al-Ḥusain (ع) said to him, "Woe unto you, O `Amr! Are you really instigating people to fight me?! Are we really the ones who abandoned their creed while you yourself uphold it?! As soon as our souls part from our bodies, you will find out who is most worthy of entering the fire!"[3]

MUSLIM IBN `AWSAJAH

Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj attacked from the Euphrates' side, fighting for a while. This engagement involved Muslim ibn `Awsajah. Muslim ibn `Abdullāh al-Dabābi and `Abdullāh ibn Khashkārah al-Bijli attacked him, causing a huge cloud of dust which, once dissipated, showed Muslim lying on the ground drawing his last breath. Escorted by Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir, al-Ḥusain (ع) walked towards him and said, "May Allāh be Merciful unto you, O Muslim! `Among them are those who died, and among them are those who wait, and they never changed aught in the least' (Qur'ān, 33:23)." Ḥabīb came closer to him and said, "Your being killed is truly devastating me, O Muslim! Receive the glad tidings of Paradise!" In a very faint voice, the dying hero said, "May Allāh convey to you, too, such glad tidings!" Ḥabīb said, "Had I not known that I will soon be following you, I would have liked you to convey your will to me with regard to anything on your mind." Muslim said, "All I want you to do is to look after this man," pointing to al-Ḥusain (ع), adding, "and to defend him till death." Ḥabīb said, "I will *Insh*ā-*Allāh* do exactly so." It was then that Muslim breathed his last as he was lying between both men. His woman cried out, "*W*ā *Muslim*āh [O Muslim!] O master! O son of `Awsajah!" Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, feeling elated about Muslim's martyrdom, kept shouting in excitement that they killed Muslim.

Shabth ibn Rab`i said to those around him, "May your mothers lose you! Do you really feel elated when a man such as Muslim is killed?! A great stand which I saw with my own eyes involving him was in Azerbaijan where he killed six polytheists even before the Muslim cavalry had enough time to form its ranks!"[4]

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 249.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 27.

[3]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 182.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 249.

THE LEFT WING

Al-Shimr and his company attacked the right wing of al-Ḥusain's army, but the latter was able to stay firm in their positions, forcing the attackers to withdraw. In that engagement, `Abdullāh ibn `Omayr al-Kalbi participated, killing nineteen horsemen and twelve footmen. Hāni ibn Thabīt al-Ḥaḍrami charged at him, cutting his right hand off[1] as Bakr ibn Hayy was cutting his left... He was taken captive and instantly killed.[2] His wife, Umm Wahab, walked towards his corpse and sat at his head, wiping the blood from it and saying, "Congratulations for having earned Paradise! I plead to Allāh Who blessed you with Paradise to make me join you." Al-Shimr heard her and told his slave Rustam to hit her head with a rod, which he did. She died there and then. She was the first woman to be martyred from among al-Ḥusain's companions.[3]

`Abdullāh's head was cut off then thrown in the direction of Ḥusain's camp. His mother took it, wiped the blood from it then grabbed the pillar of a tent and ran in the direction of the enemy's camp. Imām al-Ḥusain (ع) sent her back saying, "Go back, may Allāh have mercy on you, for you are exempted from participating in *jihād*." She went back saying, "O Allāh! Do not disappoint me!" Al-Ḥusain (ع) said to her, "May Allāh never disappoint you!"[4]

Al-Shimr now attacked, piercing al-Ḥusain's tent with his lance and loudly shouting, "Give me a torch of fire to burn the tent and everyone in it!" The women inside the tent screamed in peril as they fled. Al-Ḥusain (ع) called out to him saying, "O son of Thul-Jawshan! Are you calling for fire to burn my Ahl al-Bayt (ع)?! May Allāh burn you with His fire!" Shabth ibn Rab`i asked Shimr, "Have you sunk so low so as to be one who thus frightens women?! I have never seen anyone doing a worse thing than what you have done, nor a situation more ugly than yours." The rogue felt ashamed of himself, so he went away. Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn, heading a company of ten fighters, attacked al-Shimr's company till they succeeded in distancing them from their quarters.[5]

`IZRAH REQUESTS REINFORCEMENTS

When `Izrah son of Qays, who was head of the cavalry division, noticed how weak his fellows were and how they failed in their mission whenever they charged, he sent a message to `Omer ibn Sa`d asking for more men. `Omer ibn Sa`d said to Shabth ibn Rab`i, "Why don't you attack them?" He answered: "*Yā Subḥān-Allāh!* [Praise to Allāh] Are you asking the dignitary of the land to shoulder such a responsibility while there are with you those who can spare him such a task?!" Shabth ibn Rab`i, in all reality, remained all the while too reluctant to fight al-Ḥusain (ع). He was even heard saying, "For five years did we fight the offspring of Abu Sufyān on the side of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) then on the side of his son [al-Ḥasan] after him, then we transgressed on his son [al-Ḥusain] who is the best man on the face of earth, fighting him in support of Mu`āwiyah's offspring and in support of the son of Sumayya, the adulteress! How we have strayed! By Allāh!

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[1]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 217.

[2]This is how it is recorded by Ibn al-Athīr. On p. 13, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi, however, says that his left hand was cut off after his right hand had already been cut off.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 251. Aḥmed, *Musnad*, Vol. 2, p. 100 (Egypt: first edition). It is stated in the latter reference that the Messenger of Allāh (ص) passed, while on a military expedition, by the body of a woman who had been killed and banned the killing of women and children.

[4]Raḍiyy ad-Dīn al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 113.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 251. This incident is abridged when narrated by al-Khawārizmi on p. 16, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*.

The people of this country will never be granted goodness, nor will they ever be rightly guided!"[1] Yet he sent him al-Ḥasīn ibn Namīr in charge of five hundred archers, and fighting intensified. Al-Ḥusain's companions suffered most of the wounds, their horses were hamstrung. The riders were thus forced to fight on foot[2]. Yet the enemy forces failed whenever they attacked them from any direction due to the fact that their homes were close to one another. Ibn Sa`d, therefore, dispatched men with instructions to demolish those homes then surround them. Each group of three or four persons from among al-Ḥusain's band would stand before each tent. They would attack and kill every man as he attempted to plunder, shooting him with an arrow from a close distance.

Ibn Sa`d issued his order to burn all the tents. His order was carried out. Women screamed in fright; children were dumbfounded. Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Let them burn them, for once they have done so, they would not touch you with any harm. And so it was.[3]

ABU AL-SHA`THĀ'

Abu al-Sha`thā', namely Yazīd ibn Ziyād al-Kindi, was first fighting on the side of `Omer ibn Sa`d. Having seen what happened to the women and the children, he defected and joined al-Ḥusain's camp. He was an excellent archer; he knelt down in front of al-Ḥusain (ع) and shot at least a hundred arrows as al-Ḥusain (ع) kept supplicating, "O Allāh! Guide his shots and reward him with Paradise!" Having run out of arrows, he stood up and said, "It is clear to me that I have killed five of them".[4] Then he charged at the enemy and killed nine more before he himself was killed[5].

AT THE TIME OF ZAWĀL

Abu Thumāma al-Sā`īdi[6] looked at the sun and saw that it was already after-noon, so he said to al-Ḥusain (ع), "May I be sacrificed for your sake! I can see that these folks have advanced towards you. No, by Allāh, you shall not be killed before I die defending you, and I love to return to Allāh after having performed the prayers whose time has approached." Al-Ḥusain (ع) raised his head to the heavens and said, "You have remembered the prayers, may Allāh count you among those who uphold the prayers and who remember Him often. Yes, this is the beginning of its time. Ask them to leave us alone so that we may perform the prayers." Al-Ḥasīn, who had heard the Imām (ع) say these words, commented by saying, "It [your prayer] will not be accepted!"[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 251.

[2] al-Ṭibrisi, *I`lām al-Warā*, p. 145. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 28.

[3] Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 28. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 16.

[4] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 255.

[5] al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 17, majlis 30. According to *Thakhīrat al-Dārayn*, he killed nineteen men.

[6] According to p. 373 of Ibn Ḥazm's book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, and also according to p. 97, Vol. 10, of al-Hamdāni's book *Al-Ikīl*, the name of Abu Thumāma was Zayd ibn `Amr ibn Arīb ibn Ḥanẓalah ibn Ḍārim al-Sā`idi. He was killed defending al-Ḥusain (ع). On p. 151, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, and according to the text of the *ziyārat* of that sacred area, and also according to p. 46, Vol. 2, of Ibn Athīr's book *Al-Lubāb*, al-Sā`idi was named after Sa`īd, a branch of [the tribe of] Hamdān. Sā`id's real name was Ka`b ibn Shurahbīl.

[7] According to p. 247, Vol. 1, of *Al-Wasā'il*, chapter 41, which deals with prayer times (published by `Ayn al-Dawlah), the Commander of the Faithful (ع) was very much engaged in battle, yet he remained mindful of the prayer time, so Ibn `Abbās asked him, "What are you doing, O Commander of the Faithful?!" "I am watching the sun," said the Imām (ع). "But," responded Ibn `Abbās, (continued...)

ḤABĪB IBN MUẒĀHIR

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir heard what that rogue had said, so he responded to him by saying, "Do you claim that prayers are not accepted from the Prophet's Family but yours are accepted, you ass?!" Al-Ḥasīn charged at him, so Ḥabīb slapped the face of al-Ḥasīn's horse, causing it to leap and throw its rider on the ground. Al-Ḥasīn's men had to rush to his rescue and to carry him away to safety[1]. Ḥabīb, despite his advanced age, fought them valiantly, killing as many as sixty-two men. Badīl ibn Sarīm attacked him and dealt a sword blow to him as a man from Tamīm hit him with his lance. Ḥabīb now fell on the ground. As he attempted to stand up again, al-Ḥasīn hit him with his sword on the head, causing him to fall again face-long. The man from Tamīm alighted and severed Ḥabīb's head. Ḥabīb being thus killed shook al-Ḥusain (ع) who said, "It is only to Allāh that I complain about what has happended to me and to my companions."[2] For a good while, the Imām (ع) kept repeating the statement: *Innā-Lillāhi wa innā ilayhi raji`ūn* [We belong to Allāh, and to Him is our return].

AL-ḤURR AL-RIYĀḤI

After him, al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥi came out accompanied by Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn who was protecting him from the rear. Whenever one of them attacked and the situation became critical, the other would attack to rescue him, and they kept doing so for a while[3]. The horse on which al-Ḥurr was riding received hits on its ears and eyebrows, and it was bleeding as its rider was quoting the following verse by Antar ibn Shaddād al-`Abasi:

> I kept shooting them at its very mouth,
> At its chest, till blood drenched it all.

Al-Ḥasīn said to Yazīd ibn Sufyān, "Is this al-Ḥurr whom you wished to kill?" "Yes," said Yazīd, so the first came out and challenged al-Ḥurr to a duel. It turned out that al-Ḥasīn was asking for a swift death, for it did not take al-Ḥurr long to kill him! Ayyūb ibn Mashrah al-Khaywāni shot al-Ḥurr's horse with an arrow, hamstringing it. The poor horse leaped, so the rider leaped from it like a lion[4], holding his sword in his hand. He kept fighting on foot till he killed more than forty men.[5] A company from the footmen fiercely attacked him and killed him. Al-Ḥusain's companions carried his body and put it before the tent in front of which they were fighting. They were doing so whenever a man was killed, and al-Ḥusain (ع), each time, kept repeating this statement: "He has been killed as prophets and the offspring of prophets are killed."[6] Al-Ḥusain (ع) turned to al-Ḥurr, who was

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[7](...continued)
"we are distracted by the battle from the prayers." "We fought them," the Imām (ع) said, "on account of establishing the prayers." He never stopped performing *salāt al-layl* till the very last night during which he (ع) died.

[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 17.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 29. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 251. Al-Khawārizmi, Vol. 2, p. 19, where the author says, "Al-Tamīmi cut off Ḥabīb's head. Some say that it was done by Badīl ibn Sarīm. The severed head was hung around a mare's neck. When the people of Kūfa saw that, one of them, the son of Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir, a young teenager, assaulted its rider and cut his head off."

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 252. *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 183.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, pp. 248 and 250.

[5]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 217 (Iranian edition).

[6]This text is quoted from p. 118 of *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'* of Raḍiyy ad-Dīn al-Qazwīni, from p. 135, Vol. 13, of al-Nu`māni's *Ghayba*. (continued...)

breathing his last, and said to him, as he wiped out the blood from his face, “You are al-Ḥurr [which means: the free man], just as your mother named you, and you are free in this life and in the life hereafter.” One of the companions of al-Ḥusain (ع), who some say was [al-Ḥusain (ع)’s son] Ali ibn al-Ḥusain[1], eulogized him with the following verses which some people claim the Imām (ع) himself had composed:[2]

How good al-Ḥurr of Banū Riyāḥ!
How patient when the lances intertwined!
How good al-Ḥurr when he defended Ḥusain!
And in the morning his life he sacrificed!

PRAYERS

Al-Ḥusain (ع) stood to perform his prayers. It is said that he led the prayers' service before the survivors from among his companions. It was a special prayer called *ṣalāt al-khawf*, the prayer said by one fearing for his life. In front of him stood Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn and Sa`īd ibn `Abdullāh al-Ḥanafi and half of the surviving companions[3]. Other historians say that he and his companions offered their prayers individually.[4]

Far away it was from being a prayer in fear,
For it was not of death frightened,
Though death was from it quite near.
But the bloody stand did not cause it to bend,
Nor did the army stop it from near nor from far.
It charged, though thirsty,
And the sun was burning,
From it the ground was as though on fire.
It shook the hosts so it was as though
Al-Ṭaff's plains and valleys were not vast at all.
Ask the battlefield about it and you will see
How it stamped it with stabs and with blows,
How it defended Allāh's every sanctity
So it did not harm any glory at all
Nor did it in fear flee.
How it defended Allāh's creed,
The guided ones were few.

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[6](...continued)
According to p. 256, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh* and p. 30, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book, as well as al-Mufīd's book *Al-Irshād*, a tent was placed on the battlefield, but these authors did not mention al-Ḥusain (ع) by name due to the magnanimity of the situation.

[1]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 85. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 11.

[2]Ali ibn Muḥammed al-Fattāl al-Naishapuri, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, p. 160. al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 97, *majlis* 30.

[3]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 88. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 17. In my view, al-Ḥusain's prayer was performed as *qasr* because he had arrived at Kerbalā’ on the second of Muḥarram. Due to the knowledge which he had received from his grandfather, the Messenger of Allāh (ص), in addition to his knowledge that he was going to be killed on the tenth of Muharram, he could not intend to stay there for ten days or more. Those who are not familiar with all of this presumed that he had performed *salāt al-khawf* (prayer of one who fears for his life).

[4]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 44.

Their enemies filled the place
They had arrows and swords but no grace,
About them wrote history:
Their mischief filled the valley.[1]

When Sa`īd's wounds became overwhelming, he fell on the ground as he was supplicating thus: "O Allāh! Curse them as You cursed the peoples of `Ād and Thamūd and convey my *Salām* to Your Prophet (ص) and tell him about the pain of the wounds which I have received, for I desired Your rewards when I supported the offspring of Your Prophet, Peace of Allāh be upon him and his progeny."[2] He turned to Imām al-Ḥusain (ع) and asked him, "Have I carried out my obligation, O son of the Messenger of Allāh?" "Yes," said the Imām (ع), "and you shall reach Paradise before I do."[3] Then the hero died. As many as thirteen arrows were found planted in his body in addition to the blows which he had sustained from swords and lances.[4]

Having finished his prayers, al-Ḥusain (ع) addressed his companions thus:

> O honourable men! Here is Paradise with its gates wide open for you, with its rivers joining one another, with its fruits ripened, and here is the Messenger of Allāh and the martyrs who were killed in the Cause of Allāh: they all are waiting for you to join them. They are congratulating one another on your account; so do defend the religion of Allāh and of His Prophet (ص), and do protect the women of the Messenger of Allāh (ص).

They all said to him, "May our lives be sacrificed for yours, and may our blood protect yours! By Allāh! So long as blood flows in our veins, no harm shall reach you or your ladies."[5]

THE HORSES HAMSTRUNG

Omer ibn Sa`d dispatched `Amr ibn Sa`īd in charge of a company of archers to shoot arrows at al-Ḥusain's companions and to hamstring their horses[6]. Not a single horseman remained with al-Ḥusain (ع) except al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn `Abdullāh al-Mashriqi who recounted this report:

> Having seen how the horses of our fellows were being hamstrung, I came with my horse and entered a tent belonging to our fellows. They fought most fiercely[7]. Whoever wanted to come out to fight would bid al-Ḥusain (ع) farewell and say, "Peace be upon you, O son of the Messenger of Allāh!" Al-Ḥusain (ع) would then respond to him by saying, "And upon you, too, be peace, and we shall soon join your company." Then he would quote the Qur'ānic verse saying, "... so of them is he who accomplished his vow, and of them is he who yet waits, and they have

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[1]This poem was composed by the authority Sayyid Muḥammed son of Āyatullāh Sayyid Jamāl Gulpaygani.

[2]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 88.

[3]*Thakhīrat al-Dārayn*, p. 178.

[4]Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 62.

[5]Sayyid Kāẓim al-Ḥā'iri, *Asrār al-Shahāda*, p. 175.

[6]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 34.

[7]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 255.

not changed in the least" (Qur'ān, 33:23)[1].

ABU THUMĀMAH

Abu Thumāma al-Sā`idi came out and fought till he was very heavily wounded. He had a cousin named Qays ibn `Abdullāh who was fighting with `Omer ibn Sa`d, and there was a great deal of enmity between them both. The latter attacked him fiercely and killed him.

ZUHAYR AND IBN MUḌĀRIB

Selmān ibn Muḍārib al-Bijli, a cousin of Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bijli, came out and fought till he was killed. He was followed by Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn who put his hand on al-Ḥusain's shoulder and sought permission to fight with these verses:

Advance, may you guide, O guided one!
For today shall I your grandfather the Prophet meet!
And I shall meet al-Ḥasan and Ali the pleased one!
And the one with Two Wings, the valiant youth greet,
The lion of Allāh, the living martyr!
Zuhayr am I and the son of al-Qayn
With the sword do I defend Ḥusain!

Al-Ḥusain (ع) responded by saying, "And I, too, shall follow." As he fought, Zuhayr kept reciting this verse:

Zuhayr am I and the son of al-Qayn
With my sword do I defend Ḥusain!

He killed a hundred and twenty men. Kathīr ibn `Abdullāh al-Sā`bi and al-Muhājir ibn Aws jointly attacked and killed him. It was then that al-Ḥusain (ع) stood up and said, "May Allāh never keep you distant from us, O Zuhayr, and may He condemn those who killed you as He had condemned those whom He turned into apes and pigs."[2]

`AMR IBN QARZAH

Amr ibn Qarzah al-Anṣāri[3] came and stood before al-Ḥusain (ع), protecting him from the enemy and exposing his own chest and face to their arrows. Thus, al-Ḥusain (ع) was not harmed. But when his wounds overpowered him, he turned to Abu `Abdullāh (ع) and said, "Have I carried out my responsibility towards you, O son of the Messenger of Allāh?" The Imām (ع) said, "Yes, indeed, and I will be the next person to be in Paradise; so, convey my Salām to the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and inform him that I will soon follow."

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[1] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 85. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 25.

[2] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 253. al-Khawārizmi, Vol. 2, p. 20.

[3] According to p. 345 of Ibn Ḥazm's book *Ansāb al-`Arab*, he was a descendant of `Amr ibn `Āmir ibn Ziyād-Manāt ibn Mālik al-Aghar. His father is the poet whose poetry overflows with praises, namely Qarzah ibn Ka`b ibn `Amr, [the latter is] also a poet. Qarẓah had two sons: `Amr, who was killed while fighting on the side of Imām al-Ḥusain (ع), and another son who fought on the side of Ibn Sa`d and whose name the said genealogist does not mention.

Having heard these words, the man fell dead.[1]

His brother, who was fighting on Ibn Sa`d's side, shouted, "O Ḥusain! You liar! You deceived my brother till you got him killed!" The Imām (ع) said, "I did not deceive your brother; rather, Allāh is the One Who showed him the right guidance while leaving you to stray." "May Allāh kill me," the man responded, "if I do not kill you!" Having said so, he attacked al-Ḥusain (ع) with the intention to stab him, but Nāfi` ibn Hilāl al-Jamali intercepted and stabbed him seriously but not fatally. His friends carried him away and treated him till he was healed.[2]

NĀFI` AL-JAMALI

Using poisoned arrows, Nāfi` ibn Hilāl al-Jamali al-Mathḥaji shot arrows on which he had written his name[3] as he recited these verses[4]:

I shoot it, and its tips trained
In poison, on the wind borne,
To fill the earth with shots, and the soul
Is not benefitted by fear at all.

He killed twelve men, not counting those whom he injured. Having run out of arrows, he pulled his sword to fight them, but he was hurled with stones and spearheads till his arm was broken, and he was taken captive.[5]

Al-Shimr and those in his company dragged him away. [`Omer] Ibn Sa`d asked him, "What caused you to do to yourself what you have done?" He said, "My God knows what I want." A man who saw how blood was pouring down his face and beard said to him, "Can't you see in what condition you are?" He said, "By Allāh, I have killed twelve of your men, not counting the ones I injured, and I have no regret at all for resuming the *jihād* against you if I remain alive and if I have any strength at all, had you only not taken me captive."[6] Al-Shimr pulled his sword out of its scabbard to kill him, but Nāfi` said to him, "O Shimr! Had you been Muslim at all, you would have found it very hard to meet Allāh stained with our blood; so, all Praise is due to Allāh Who caused our death to be at the hands of the very worst of His creatures." Al-Shimr pulled him and struck his neck with his sword.[7]

WĀDIḤ AND ASLAM

When Wadiḥ, a Turkish slave of al-Ḥārith al-Mathḥaji, received a heavy blow, he sought the help of al-Ḥusain (ع) who came to him and hugged him. Having seen that, he retorted saying, "Who can be as lucky as I am when the son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) puts his cheek on mine?!" Having said so,

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[1] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 88.

[2] Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 27.

[3] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 252. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 29. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 184.

[4] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 90. On p. 184, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Bidāya*, Ibn Kathīr cites portions of these verses, and so does al-Ṣadūq in his book *Al-Āmāli*, though the latter provides the name of Hilāl ibn Ḥajjāj as the poet.

[5] al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 21.

[6] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 253.

[7] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 84. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 253.

his pure soul parted from his body.[1] Al-Ḥusain (ع) walked to Aslam, his slave, and hugged him. He was breathing his last and was able to smile. He felt proud and died with a smile lighting his face.[2]

BURAYR IBN KHḌAYR

Yazīd ibn Ma`qil[3] called out, "O Burayr! How do you see what Allāh has done to you?!" Burayr answered: "Allāh has done very well to me while afflicting you with evil." Yazīd said, "You have lied, and before today you were never known to lie. Do you remember the day when I was walking with you in the quarters of Banū Lawthān[4], when you said that Mu`āwiyah had strayed and that the Imām of guidance is Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib?" Burayr answered: "Yes, I testify that such is my view." Yazīd said, "And I bear witness that you are among the misguided!" Burayr then challenged him to a *Mubāhala*; they both raised their hands and supplicated to Allāh, Glory to Him, invoking Him to curse the liar and to kill him. Then they fought one another. Burayr hit the man on his head with his sword, splitting it in two halves. Yazīd fell as Burayr's sword was still planted in his head. As he was trying to take it out, Raḍiyy ibn Munqith al-`Abdi attacked Burayr and engaged him in a fight for some time. Burayr subdued this one, too, sitting on his chest. The loser screamed for help, whereupon `Afīf ibn Zuhayr ibn Abu al-Akhnas shouted at him saying, "This is Burary ibn Khdayr, the *qāri* who used to teach us the Qur'ān at Kūfa's mosque," but he did not pay him any attention and stabbed Burayr in the back. Burayr fell on Raḍiyy and bit him on the face, cutting the tip of his nose off. Ka`b used his lance to remove him from the man's chest then hit him with his sword, killing him.

The al-`Abdi man stood up to remove the dust from his clothes saying, "O brother of the Azd! You have done me a favour which I shall never forget."

When Ka`b ibn Jābir returned to his family, his wife, al-Nuwār, rebuked him saying, "You have sided with the enemies of Fāṭima's son and killed the master of [Kūfa's] *qāris*...; you have done something monstrous... By Allāh! I shall never speak to you a word." He said in his answer the following verses:

Ask about me and you will be told,
Even if you may be held in low esteem,
How al-Ḥusain fared when the lances were bold
Did I not do the most of what I did seem?
Hate and no fear did I feel from what I did.
With me was my sword never disappointed,
White, sharp edged, cutting,
So I unsheathed it against a gang
Whose creed is not mine at all.
And I know who the son of Harb and call
Him what he really is. Never have eyes
Seen anyone like them in their time

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[1] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 91. *Ibsār al-`Ayān*, p. 85. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 24. In the latter reference, the author says that the Turkish slave was one of the slaves of al-Ḥusain (ع) who used to recite the Holy Qur'ān and was familiar with Arabic. When he fell, al-Ḥusain (ع) placed his own cheek on his, so the dying slave smiled.

[2] *Thakhīrat al-Dārayn*, p. 366.

[3] According to p. 247, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, he belonged to Banū `Umayr ibn Rabī`ah and was an ally of Banū Sulayma ibn Banū `Abd al-Qays.

[4] In *Tāj al-`Arūs* and under the word "*lawth*," his name is given as Lawthan ibn `Abd-Wudd ibn Zayd ibn Jasham ibn Ḥāshid.

Nor before their time even in my youth
More striking with the sword on the battlefield,
Except one who protects his honour to the extreme.
They for the blows and the stabs persevered
Though they had none to protect,
And they would have dueled, had it been of any use.
So tell `Ubaydullāh if him you meet
That I obey the caliph, that I hear and obey.
Burayr did I kill: a bliss I carried, became excited,
Of Abu Munqith when he to duel invited.

Radi son of Munqith al-`Abdi responded to him with these verses:

If my Lord willed, I would not have fought them at all,
Nor Jābir's son would have sought my bliss.
That day was nothing but a curse and a shame
Sons after friends will call it by its name;

So how I wish before killing him I better knew
And on Ḥusain's Day was in the grave, too.[1]

HANẒALAH AL-SHABĀMI

Hanẓalah ibn Sa`d al-Shabāmi called out, "O folks! I fear for you the like of the day of al-Aḥzāb, the like of the people of Noah, of `Ād, of Thamūd, and of those who came after them. Allāh never intends to deal unjustly with His servants. O people! I fear for you the Day of Arguing, when you go without having anyone to protect you from Allāh. Whoever Allāh permits to stray, none can guide him. O people! Do not kill Ḥusain else Allāh should chastize you with a terrible chastisement, and those who falsify shall be disappointed." Al-Ḥusain (ع) prayed Allāh to reward him well for having made such a statement saying, "May Allāh have mercy on you! They have now become worthy of the chastisement because they rejected your call to the truth and rose to spill your blood and that of your companions; how is it now that they have killed their righteous brethren?" Ḥanẓalah said, "You have said the truth, O son of the Messenger of Allāh! Are we not going to the hereafter?" Al-Ḥusain (ع) then permitted him to go to perform *jihād*, so he bid al-Ḥusain (ع) farewell and advanced. He fought till he was killed.[2]

`ĀBIS

Abis ibn Shabīb al-Shākiri came to Shawthab[3], a slave of Shākir. Shawthab was a sincere man whose house was always frequented by the Shī`as; it was there that they discussed the merits of Ahl al-Bayt (ع). He said, "O Shawthab! What do you intend to do?" Shawthab said, "I shall fight on your side till I am

[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 248.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 254.

[3] According to p. 145 of al-Ṭibrisi's book *I`lām al-Warā*, his name appears as Shawthān, but the text recorded by al-Mufīd, in his book *Al-Irshād*, agrees with ours here.

killed." He prayed Allāh to reward him well then said to him, "Advance to greet Abu `Abdullāh (ع) so that he may pray for you just as he prayed for the others, for this is a day when we seek as much reward as we can." Shawthab advanced and greeted al-Ḥusain (ع) then fought till he was killed.

`Abis stood before Abu `Abdullāh (ع) and said: "None on the face of earth received the night, be he a near or a distant kin, who is dearer to me than you. Had I been able to ward off injustice from you with anything more precious than my life, I would have done so. Peace be with you, and I testify that I am on your and your father's guidance!" He walked towards the enemy with his sword raised despite a wound which he had already received on his forehead. All men who saw him shouted, "O men! Stay away from him!" They knew very well that he was most courageous. Observing the situation, `Omer ibn Sa`d shouted, "Kill him with your stones!" He became the target of a shower of stones. Having seen that, he put down his shield and charged, causing as many as two hundred men to flee away from him. Soon they surrounded him from all directions and killed him. A number of them disputed with one another about who among them would take his head covering as a booty. Ibn Sa`d said, "This man was not killed by one single person." He distributed the slain hero's head-gear among them.[1]

JOHN

John[2], a slave of Abu Tharr al-Ghifāri, stood before al-Ḥusain (ع) requesting him to grant him permission to fight. The Imām (ع) said, "O John! You followed us seeking your good health, so you are excused." But the old man fell on the Imām's feet kissing them and saying, "I in the time of prosperity lick what is served on your tables; so, should I in the time of hardship betray you? My smell is surely bad; my lineage is lowly; my colour is black; so do bestow upon me a breeze from Paradise so that my smell will be good, my lineage will be honoured, and my colour will be whitened! No, by Allāh, I shall never abandon you till this black blood mixes with yours!" Al-Ḥusain (ع), therefore, granted him permission[3]. He killed as many as twenty-five men before he himself was finally killed. Al-Ḥusain (ع) stood by his corpse and supplicated saying, "O Lord! Whiten his face, make his smell good, join him with Muḥammed (ص) and link him to the progeny of Muḥammed (ص)!"

Whoever thereafter passed by the battleground was able to smell his corpse emitting a fragrance sweeter than that of musk[4].

ANAS AL-KĀHILI

Anas ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Nabīh al-Kāhili was an old man and a renown *ṣaḥābi* who had met and listened to the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet (ص) and fought in his company the battles of Badr and Hunain. He, too, sought al-Ḥusain's permission to go and fight. He came out tying his waist with a turban, his forehead bandaged. Having seen him looking like that, al-Ḥusain (ع) cried and said, "May Allāh thank you, O *shaikh*, for what you

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[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 254.

[2] On p. 239, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, his name exists as "Hoy," and on p. 218, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb calls him Juwayn son of Abu Mālik, slave of Abu Tharr al-Ghifāri. On p. 237, Vol. 1, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi calls him John, a black slave of Abu Tharr al-Ghifāri. [The Translator of this book is of the opinion that his name, the Christian that he was, may very possibly be "John." – Tr.]

[3] Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 33 (Iranian edition). Ibn Nama, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 61.

[4] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 88.

are doing for us!" Despite his old age, he killed eighteen men before being finally killed.[1]

`AMR IBN JUNĀDAH

Amr ibn Junādah al-Anṣāri came out after his father had been killed. He was only eleven years old. He sought al-Ḥusain's permission to fight, but al-Ḥusain (ع) refused saying, "This is a young boy whose father was killed in the first campaign, and perhaps his mother hates to see him go, too." But the boy said, "It was my mother who ordered me to do so!" It was then that the Imām (ع) permitted him to fight. It was not long before he was killed and his head was thrown in the direction of Ḥusain's camp. It was taken by his mother who wiped the blood from it and used it as a weapon to hit a man nearby, killing him instantly.[2] She went back to the camp and took a rod or, according to other accounts, a sword, and recited these verses:

An old women and a weakling am I
Crumbling, skinny, and old;
Yet I with force strike you and try
To defend Fāṭima's son, the honourable and bold.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) took her back to the tent after she had killed two men using a tent pole.[3]

AL-ḤAJJĀJ AL-JU`FI

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq al-Ju`fi fought till his body became soaked with blood. He went to al-Ḥusain reciting:

Today shall I meet your Grandfather, the *Nabi*,
Then your father, the generous one, Ali,
The one we know as the *waṣi*.

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[1] *Thakhīrat al-Dārayn*, p. 208. In his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, Ibn Nama details his duel and recitation of *rajaz* poetry. On p. 68, Vol. 1, of *Al-Iṣāba* (of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni), reference is made to the fact that both he and his father had been companions of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) who narrate from him the following *ḥadīth*: "My son shall be killed in the land of Kerbalā'. Whoever comes to know about the battle should support him." On p. 125, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, al-Sayyūṭi discusses him, and so do both al-Jazri on p. 123, Vol. 1, of his book *Usd al-Ghāba* and Abu Ḥātim al-Rāzi on p. 287, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Jarḥ wal Ta`dīl*.

[2] This is recorded by both Ibn Shahr Āshūb on p. 219, Vol. 3, of his book and al-Khawārizmi on p. 22, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*. This should not strike the reader as far-fetched especially if he reads p. 137 of the book written by the great mentor al-Mufīd about the Battle of the Camel (second edition). There, the author says, "Once his leg was cut off, he used it to hit a man, instantly killing him." Both al-Ṭabari, on p. 180, Vol. 5, of his *Tārīkh*, and Ibn al-Athīr, on p. 35, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, cite him reciting the following poetic lines after having killed that man:

Do not mind, O thigh,
I do in earnest beg,
The fact is that with me is my
Arm whereby I save my leg.

On p. 140, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, Ibn al-Athīr says, "A man from among the followers of Musaylamah [the Liar] cut off the leg of Thābit ibn Qays, so Thābit took it and hit the same man with it, instantly killing him."

[3] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 198. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 22. The author of *Al-Iṣāba* (Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni), who details the biography of Asmā' daughter of Yazīd ibn al-Sakan, says that during the Battle of Yarmūk, she killed nine Roman soldiers using a tent post.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) responded by saying, "And I, too, shall meet them soon after you." He, therefore, went back and fought till he was killed.[1]

SUWĀR

Suwār ibn Abu Ḥumair, a descendant of Fahm ibn Jābir ibn `Abdullāh ibn Qādim al-Fahmi al-Hamdāni, was involved in a fierce engagement till he was overwhelmed with wounds[2] and was taken captive. Ibn Sa`d wanted to kill him, but his people sought to intercede on his behalf, so he stayed with them as long as he was wounded; he died six months later.[3]

When people go for the *ziyāra* of the sacred places, they recite the following:

> Peace be upon you, O wounded captive, O Suwār ibn Abu Humair al-Fahmi al-Hamdāni, and upon the bereaved one, `Omer ibn `Abdullāh al-Jundā`i.

SUWĪD

When the wounds inflicted upon Suwīd ibn `Amr ibn Abul-Mutā` became too much to bear, he fell face-long, and people thought that he had died. When al-Ḥusain (ع) was martyred and he heard people talking about it, he took out a knife which he had with him whereby he fought till he was overwhelmed by their masses and killed. He was the last of the companions to die after al-Ḥusain's martyrdom.

> The refuge of the asylum seeker they are
> When in fright, and the hope of the hopeful.
> If the fire of the battle dies down,
> With their swords they would light and say:
> Ignite! Heavy in steps but for the battle light,
> With swift steps, sure of their march.
> If they raise their lances you would think
> They are stars in the light of the pitched dark,
> Or if under the dust clouds the regiments collide,
> One after another they would seek death.
> They charged even when the steps of the valiant stray
> And the person of death under the dust makes its way.
> They turned away from injustice so they
> On the ground they did fall:
> A master after a master, each and all.
> They fell to the ground and the swords on them feasted.
> Their bodies bare, by their virtues attired,
> The Grandson kept turning his eyes
> Seeing only their corpses on the ground lying

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[1] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 198, where al-Ḥā'iri's *Maqtal* is cited.

[2] al-Hamdāni, *Al-Ikīl*, Vol. 10, p. 103.

[3] *Al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyya* (a manuscript). Its text agrees with what is stated by *Al-Ikīl*, that is, that he died because of his wounds, but the author does not refer to his captivity.

Seventy thousand surrounded him so he
Kept them at bay: like ostriches did they flee,
And the unsupported one stood among their crowds
Alone defending Muḥammed's law,
Till he fell on the ground, may they first be paralyzed
And his heart could not quench the fire of thirst.
He fell, so *Tawḥīd* did fall down
And guidance was obliterated, losing its crown,
And the pillars of the creed crumbled and fell
Though before they had stood very well.
Allāh support him, how his heart yearned for water
But was spent on the ground that burnt like fire.
He fell in the burning heat of the sun
With his face dusted, shaded by the spears
And the steeds kept on his chest going back and forth
Going to battle and returning therefrom,
And a woman cried from the side of her tent
She lost her protector, beating her cheek she kept.
The whips hurt her, so she under them bends;
She cries, and her voice oft
Causes even the stones to get soft.
She was carried on lean beasts in captivity
From a place to place displayed as booty.
She went away led by asses: Umayyad,
From one apostate to another she was led.[1]

MARTYRDOM OF AHL AL-BAYT (ع)

Ali al-Akbar

None remained with al-Ḥusain (ع) except his Ahl al-Bayt who were determined to face death with their might and to maintain their dignity. They came bidding each other farewell[2] the first being Abul-Ḥasan[3] Ali al-Akbar[4] who was twenty-seven years old. He was born on the 11th of Sha`bān, 33 A.H./653 A.D.[5],

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[1] *Al-Ḥujjah* Sayyid Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Kishwān, may Allāh have mercy on his soul, composed this poem.

[2] al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

[3] On p. 14 of our dissertation of Ali al-Akbar, we quoted Imām Abul-Ḥasan al-Riḍa (ع) saying that he was married to a "mother of sons," hence his *kunya* "Abu [father of] al-Ḥasan" after his son by her, al-Ḥasan. His *ziyārat*, which is stated on p. 239 of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* of Ibn Qawlawayh, underscores this fact. Instructing Abu Ḥamzah, Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع) instructed the first to say: "Allāh bless you and your progeny and family and bless your fathers, your offspring, and your mothers, the good ones from whom Allāh removed all abomination and whom He purified with a perfect purification." "Offspring" implies a number of persons, at least two.

[4] In our dissertation on Ali al-Akbar, we quoted historians saying that he was older than Imām al-Sajjād (ع). We shall quote Zayn al-`Afīf [al-Sajjād] recognizing this fact when we discuss the post-martyrdom events in a dialogue between the Imām (ع) and Ibn Ziyād.

[5] As quoted in *Anīs al-Shī`ah*, a manuscript written by Sayyid Muḥammed `Abd al-Ḥusain al-Ja`feri al-Ḥā'iri which he wrote for (continued...)

and he was a mirror reflecting the Prophet's own beauty and a model of his own sublime code of ethics, a specimen of his wise speech. One poet of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) praised him saying:

Never have any eyes seen better than you
Never have women begotten more beautiful than you
Fault-free you have been made
As if you as you wished were made.

Al-Mādiḥ al-Akbar says[1]:

No eyes saw him have ever seen
Anyone walking, bare-footed or not.
Flesh boils till when it is ripe,
The eater finds it not expensive at all,
Whenever fire for it was lighted,
He with lofty honour ignited.
Just as a poor person sees it in hope,
Or a lone man with no family.
Never did he prefer his life over his creed,
Nor did he sell what is right for a misdeed.
I mean the son of Layla, the one of the dew,
I am describing the son of high lineage to you.

Ali al-Akbar is the one who branched out of the tree of Prophethood, the man who inherited the great merits. He was truly worthy of being a caliph had it not already been determined by the Lord of the Heavens. The most Glorified One had recorded their names in the tablet brought by Gabriel (ع), to the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny.

He inherited the merits his legacy
From every valiant warrior and brave
In Ḥamzah's might, in Hayder's bravery
In al-Ḥusain's loftiness, in Aḥmed's dignity
Good in make and in conduct,
Wise in speech like the Prophet Aḥmed.[2]

Once he was about to start his role in defending Ahl al-Bayt (ع), it rested extremely heavily for the ladies who grew up in the lap of Imāmate because he was the one upon whom they rested their hopes for their protection and security, their only hope after al-Ḥusain (ع) is gone. One of them would see the Message about to be muted with his death, while another would see the sun of Prophethood nearing an eclipse, while yet another would see Muḥammed's code of ethics coming to an end. They all surrounded him and pleaded to him saying, “Have

[5](...continued)
sultān Fath Ali Shah.

[1]According to p. 32 of *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, this poem was written in memory of Ali al-Akbar [Ali Senior].

[2]These verses and the ones to follow were composed by the authority Ayatullāh Shaikh `Abd al-Ḥusain Ṣādiq al-`Āmili, may Allāh sanctify him.

mercy on our being strangers in this land! We cannot bear your separation!" But he did not pay them any attention because he could easily see how his enemies were to the end determined to spill his pure blood. He sought his father's permission then came out riding a horse belonging to al-Ḥusain (ع) named Lāḥiq[1].

From the camp of Layla, mother of Ali al-Akbar and daughter of Maymūna daughter of Abu Sufyān[2], a man shouted, "O Ali! You have kinship with the commander of the faithful Yazīd, and we wish to safeguard it; so, if you wish, we can grant you security." He (ع), said, "The kinship I have with the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh and His blessings be upon him and his progeny, is now more worthy of being safeguarded,"[3] then he recited these *rajaz* verses, identifying his holy self and his sublime objective:

I am Ali son of al-Ḥusain son of Ali
We, by the House's Lord, are more worthy of the Nabi.
By Allāh! We shall never be ruled by the *da`i*
With the sword shall I defend my family
And strike like a young Hāshemi, Qarashi![4]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) could not help flooding his eyes with tears[5] and shouted at `Omer ibn Sa`d: "What is the matter with you?! May Allāh cut off your lineage just as you have cut off mine and just as you have not respected my kinship to the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, and may He send upon you someone to slay you on your own bed[6]!" Then he uncovered his hair and raised his hands to the heavens supplicating thus:

O Allāh! Bear witness against these folks that a man who looks most like Your Messenger Muḥammed in his physique, manners, and eloquence[7] has come out to fight them! Whenever we missed seeing Your Prophet, we would look at him. O Allāh! Deprive them of the blessings of the earth, create dissension among them, and make them into many parties, and do not let their rulers ever be pleased with them, for they invited us to support us, then they transgressed on us and fought us!

Then he recited the Qur'ānic verse saying, "Allāh surely chose Adam, Noah, the family of Abraham and the

[1]According to p. 178 of *Faḍl al-Khayl* by `Abd al-Mu'min al-Dimyāti (d. 805 A.H./1402 A.D.), one of al-Ḥusain's mares was named Lāhiq, and on p. 183 the author says, "Al-Ḥusain son of Ali (ع), had a mare named al-Yaḥmūm and another named Lāḥiq upon which he carried his son Ali al-Akbar ibn al-Ḥusain during the battle of the Ṭaff where they were both killed."

[2]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Iṣāba*, Vol. 4, p. 178, where the biography of Abu Murrah is discussed.

[3]Abu Naṣr, *Sirr al-Silsila*, p. 57, in the discussion of genealogy in general and that of Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr of Quraish in particular.

[4]The rest of these verses are recorded by Shaikh al-Mufīd, may Allāh sanctify him, in his book *Al-Irshād*.

[5]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 35. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[6]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 30.

[7]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 30..

family of Imran over all people, offspring of one another, and Allāh is Hearing, Knowing (Qur'ān, 3:34)."[1]

He kept charging at their right and left wings, diving in their midst. Whenever a group of fighters met him, he would repulse them, all of them, and whenever a brave man faced him, he would kill him:

He assaults the regiments as the ground closes in on them
All because of his fiery might,
So he forcibly sends them back on their tails
In his might he resembles the angry lion.

He killed a total of one hundred and twenty knights. Thirst took its toll on him, so he returned to his father to rest and to complain about suffering from thirst[2]. Al-Ḥusain (ع) wept and said, "O help! How quickly shall you meet your grandfather who will give you a drink after which you shall never suffer of thirst." He gave him his tongue to suck then his ring to put in his mouth[3].

He returns to bid farewell, and he is heavy-hearted,
His heart is thirsty, his iron is heavy,
His insides burn, his sword's thirst is quenched with dew,
But his own thirst was not, mind you.
Yet he with his saliva preferred him over his own self
Had only his saliva not dried yet.
As soon as he was bent to meet his death with a smile,
Death, from his ears and sight, stayed only for a while.
He turned the battle around and moved its grinding stone,
With his sword he struck their flesh and their bone,

With his withered shoulders he meets their braves
And places his sword in the necks of their knaves,
While on his body it leaves its mark
From their midst he disappeared and did not come back,
Mounting his steed though almost bear.
Time stumbled on him, so his body now
Is food for every sword and every bow.

Ali went back to the battlefield feeling very happy about the good news which he had just heard from the Imām, the Ḥujjah (ع), who had told him that he would soon meet his grandfather, the chosen one, peace of

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[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 30.

[2]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 47 (old edition). `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 96. al-Naishapuri, *Rawḍat al-Wā`izīn*, p. 161. Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 222 (Iranian edition). Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 35. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 64 (Saida edition). al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 30.

[3]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 31. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 95. According to p. 51, Vol. 2, of al-`Abbāsi's book *Ma`āhid al-Tansīs*, when Yazīd ibn Mazīd al-Shaybāni was pursuing al-Walīd ibn Ṭarif, and when thirst took its toll on him, he put his ring in his mouth and kept pursuing al-Walīd till he stabbed him with his lance. In his book *Al-Kāfi*, al-Kulayni quotes Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع) saying that it is alright for a fasting person to suck on his ring. Such is the *fatwa* of religious scholars. It is possible one of the reasons for it is that it stimulates the glands; therefore, there is no particular function played by the ring but by what those glands do when a stone or such thing is put in the mouth.

Allāh be upon him and his progeny. He, therefore, advanced towards them with courage reminiscent of [his grandfather] Imām Ali (ع). He met the enemies face-to-face. The latter could not tell whether it was Ali al-Akbar who was chasing the enemy or whether it was the *waṣi* (ع), roaring like a lion on the battlefield, or whether thunderbolts came emitting in an array from his sword. He kept killing the Kūfians till the number of those whom he killed reached fully two hundred.[1]

Murrah ibn Munqith al-`Abdi[2] said, "I shall bear all the sins of the Arabs should I not succeed in causing his father to lose him for good!"[3] He stabbed him with his lance in the back[4] and hit him with his sword on the head, splitting it in half. Ali embraced his horse that carried him to the enemy camp. There, he became the target of their swords, so they cut his body into bits and pieces[5].

He wiped out shame, Allāh fight the shame
A crescent in the dark, a shining one
The one sought by both houses of Hāshim
The haven of both honour and loftiness

How could death to you reach?
You have not hesitated nor tarried.
May my life be for him a sacrifice
Like a fresh flower that dried
In the ocean of thirst and the heat of the sword.
Early did witherness visit his fresh flower,
Withering is the foe of a fresh flower.
By Allāh! What a moon on them did he shine!
The sword mixed his substance with its gold,
The water of youth and the blood both flew
Within him, and his heart was still on fire.
Never shall I him forget
How he was turbaned with the youth of the deer
Among the warriors, wearing only their every spear,
Drenched in blood was he yet the Euphrates was
Turning green what was still black.

He called out saying, "Peace be upon you from me, O father of `Abdullāh![6] My grandfather has given me a drink with his own cup after which I shall never suffer any thirst, and he says that there is another one

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[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 31.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 30. al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 254. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*. According to p. 265, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, his name is Murrah ibn Munqith ibn al-Nu`mān al-`Abdi al-Laythi. On p. 95 of *Maqtal al-`Awālim* (of `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni), his name is given as Munqith ibn Murrah.

[3]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 256.

[4]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 222.

[5]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 31. *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 95.

[6]*Riyād al-Masā'ib*, p. 321.

reserved just for you!"[1] Al-Ḥusain (ع) came to him and placed his cheek on his as he said, "There is no good in life after you... How dare they defy the most Merciful One, and how dare they violate the sanctity of His Messenger![2] Hard it is upon your grandfather and father that they cannot respond to you when you call upon them, and that they cannot help you when you ask for their help."[3]

Then he took a handful of his pure blood and threw it towards the heavens. Not a drop of it fell. This explains the recitation in his *ziyārat* of the following statement:

> May my father and mother be your sacrifice! How you were slaughtered without having committed a crime! May my father and mother be your sacrifice! How your blood ascended to the one loved by Allāh! May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! He mourns you with a burning heart, raising your blood to the depth of the heavens, not a drop whereof returns, nor one sigh of your father finds an ease![4]

He ordered his servants to carry him to the tent. His corpse was brought to the tent in front of which they were fighting.[5]

The honourable ladies who grew up in the home of revelation kept looking at him as he was carried away with blood covering him with its red mantle of dignity. Stabs and wounds had spared no place in his body. They welcomed him with very heavy hearts, their hair uncovered, their wailing defeaning the world. Before them stood the wise lady of Banū Hāshim, namely Zainab, the great one, daughter of Fāṭima daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), crying and wailing[6]. She threw herself on the corpse of her nephew, hugging it, grief-stricken, for he was the guardian of her home and its pillar[7].

> My heart goes for the ladies of the Prophet
> When thus they saw him in that condition.
> Their wailing and their cries did intensify

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[1] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 95. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 31.

[2] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 265.

[3] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 95.

[4] Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 239. This statement is supported by accurate *isnād* and is taught by Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع) to Abu Ḥamzah al-Thumāli. In our discussion of the Eleventh Night, we will refer to Sunni texts saying that the Prophet (ص) used to preserve the blood of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and that of the *ṣaḥābah*.

[5] al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 256. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 31.

[6] According to p. 256, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh* and p. 185, Vol. 8, of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Bidāya*, Hamīd ibn Muslim has said, "When Ali al-Akbar was killed, I saw a woman coming out of the tent crying, `O nephew!' She went and fell on his corpse. Al-Ḥusain (ع) took her in his hand and brought her back to the tent. I asked about who she was, and I was told that she was Zainab [granddaughter of the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny]."

[7] According to p. 256, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh* and p. 31, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Zainab daughter of Fāṭima (ع) came out screaming and fell on his corpse. Al-Ḥusain (ع) took her back to the tent. Should the head lady of those bereaved women, the lady who was trying her best to comfort them, come out in such a manner, can anyone expect that there were ladies who remained inside the tent?

So the minds and the souls were baffled by their cry.
The wise ladies mourned their protector
And so did virtues and merits.
My heart goes for her when she seeks
The Messenger's help,
The mountains were almost to disappear.
My heart goes for her since she lost
The one she could depend on,
And how can anyone equal the one she lost?
Who can in honour equal the one who was
Like in manners Yasin, like in form Taha?
O Allāh help his father when
The light of al-Akbar went out.
He at the Ṭaff saw the Friend of Allāh from Mina,
The one whom he sacrificed was now
Sought by the swords.
He was mourned by what can be seen and what cannot
From the zenith of the `Arsh
To the deepest of the earth.
He was mourned by the master of all creation.
For his calamity was indeed the greatest of all.
He was mourned by the eyes of guidance and uprightness
And by the one appointed as the *waṣi*.[1]

His father's condition could best be described thus:

Son! From my heart did I make you, so why
From me you now severed your tie?
Son! Your ties eclipse the hue of death
And the eclipse precedes perfection.
Son! Never shall I ever sleep
While your body on the burning sands lies.
Son! You insisted on reaching the heights,
Leaving for me only the dark nights.
Son! Men's eyes mourn you till the Day
Of Gathering and of Accounting.
Son! The attributes of perfection do you mourn,
And the tenderness of youth and the angels.

You rushed to meet your father the Prophet at the Pool

[1]Excerpted from an extemporal poem composed and delivered by Ayatullāh Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Iṣfahāni, may Allāh sanctify him.

Having arranged the hearts of men's eyes.[1]

`Abdullāh ibn Muslim

After him `Abdullāh ibn Muslim ibn `Aqīl, son of Abu Ṭālib and Ruqayya, the great daughter of the Commander of the Faithful, Imām Ali (ع)[2], charged as he recited this verse:

Today Muslim, my father, shall I meet
With a band sacrificed for the Prophet's creed.

He killed a number of the enemy troops in three of his assaults[3]. Yazīd ibn al-Ruqād al-Jahni[4] shot him with an arrow which he unsuccessfully tried to avoid with his hand, but it pierced his hand and found its way to his forehead. He could not remove it from his forehead.[5] He, therefore, said, "O Allāh! They have found us few in number, so they humiliated us. Kill them, O Lord, as they have killed us." As he was thus engaged, a man threw a spear at him which pierced his heart, killing him instantly.[6] Yazīd ibn al-Ruqād came to him, took out the arrow from his forehead as its tip remained inside.[7]

Campaign of the Family of Abu Ṭālib

When `Abdullāh ibn Muslim was killed, the family of Abu Ṭālib undertook a collective campaign. Al-Ḥusain (ع), called out to them saying, "Be patient, O cousins! By Allāh! After today you shall not meet any hardship at all."[8] The assailants were comprised of `Awn ibn `Abdullāh, son of Ja`fer al-Ṭayyār and the wise lady Zainab, his brother Muḥammed son of al-Khawsa, `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn `Aqīl ibn Abu Ṭālib[9] , his brother Ja`fer son of `Aqīl, and Muḥammed son of Muslim ibn `Aqīl[10].

As many as eighteen wounds were received by al-Ḥasan II son of Imām al-Ḥasan, [older] grandson of the Prophet (ص), and his right hand was cut off, but he was not martyred yet.

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the authority Sayyid Mehdi al-Baḥrāni, may Allāh have mercy on his soul.

[2]On p. 45 of his book, he attributed the genealogy of Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr to Quraish, adding, "She is the mother of his brothers Ali and Muḥammed."

[3]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 220.

[4]His last name, as recorded on p. 238, Vol. 5, of *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* of al-Balāthiri, is given as "al-Janbi".

[5]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 27 (Iranian edition).

[6]According to both *Al-Irshād* and p. 256, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, `Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Sā`idi shot him with a couple of arrows one of which found its way to his heart. On p. 239, Vol. 5, of *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* of al-Balāthiri, the name of the person who shot that arrow is said to be Yazīd ibn al-Ruqād al-Janbi.

[7]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 179.

[8]This statement appears on p. 256, Vol. 6, of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, whereas the call for perseverance is recorded on p. 78, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's *Maqtal al-Ḥusain* and on p. 64 of *Al-Luhūf* of Ibn Ṭāwūs,.

[9]On p. 57 of his book *Al-Mujīr*, Ibn Ḥabīb, the genealogist, says, "Khadīja daughter of Ali, was the wife of `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn `Aqīl." On p. 89 of Ibn Qutaybah's book *Al-Ma`ārif*, where the biography of Imām Ali (ع) is discussed, the author says that she gave birth to [`Abdul-Raḥmān's] son Sa`īd. On p. 57 of Ibn Ḥabīb's book *Al-Mujīr*, [after the death of her husband] she was married to Abul-Sanābil, namely `Abdullāh ibn `Āmir ibn Karīz.

[10]According to p. 217, Vol. 3, of al-Thahbi's book *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, `Abdullāh and `Abdul-Raḥmān, sons of Muslim ibn `Aqīl ibn Abu Ṭālib, were both killed with al-Ḥusain (ع).

Abu Bakr son of the Commander of the Faithful (ع)[1], whose first name was Muḥammed[2], came out and was killed by Zahr ibn Badr al-Nakh`i[3].

`Abdullāh ibn `Aqīl now came out and kept fighting till his wounds overwhelmed him, so he fell. `Uthmān ibn Khālid al-Tamīmi took advantage of the situation, walked to him and killed him.

Arabs are not only names for glory
The sons of `Amr are only offspring,
For there is for Prophethood a crown
And for the Imāmate a necklace worn.
Two ornaments none but they can wear
How can you a wearer with a bare one compare?
From Shaybat al-Hamd descended youths who
Happily marched to support the creed
Neither arrogantly nor for a show.
They smile as the heroes frown
Showing pearls their front ones.
Like ships they sailed to the war
And ships are only their vanguards.
Had happiness not been their goal
I would not have left any of their foes at all.
They do not mind as the swords clamour
With warriors covering the plain like an armour.
And the lances collide and sound
And the arrows vary in their round,
And heads get severed from their shoulders
And chests are arranged in their insolence.[4]

Al-Qāsim and His Brother

Abu Bakr, son of Imām al-Ḥasan son of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), came out. His first name was `Abdullāh al-Akbar [`Abdullāh senior] and his mother was an "*umm wuld*"[5] named Ramla[6]. He fought till he

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[1]According to p. 118 of Ibn Ḥazm's book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, p. 119, Vol. 1, of Ibn al-Jawzi's boon *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwah*, and p. 98, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Abu Bakr son of Layla daughter of Mas`ūd was killed with al-Ḥusain (ع).

[2]Both *Al-Irshād* and *I`lām al-Warā* count him among the sons of the Commander of the Faithful (ع). On p. 28, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, his name appears as `Abdullāh. On p. 119, Vol. 1, of *Safwat al-Safwah*, he is named Muḥammed Asghar [Junior] son of "*umm wuld*." He was killed with al-Ḥusain (ع).

[3]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 221, p. 2. According to al-Khawārizmi's *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, his name was Zahr ibn Qays al-Nakh`i. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, in his book *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, states that his corpse was found in a canal; nobody knew who had killed him.

[4]These verses were composed by the authority Shaikh `Abd al-Ḥusain Ṣādiq al-`Āmili, may Allāh sanctify his soul.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 269. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 34.

[6]According to *Al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyyah*, his mother and the mother of al-Qāsim was Ramla. On p. 103 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, where the author, namely Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, relies on Ibn Sa`d's *Ṭabaqāt*, Nufayla was the mother of al-Qāsim, Abu Bakr, and `Abdullāh, whereas Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, in his book *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, says that she was "*umm wuld*" whose genealogy was not known. On p. 50 of the same reference, where the author traces Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr's genealogy to Quraish, it is stated that

(continued...)

was killed.[1]

After the latter, his full-blooded brother, al-Qāsim, came out[2]. He was a lad who had not yet come of age. When al-Ḥusain (ع), looked at him, he hugged him and wept[3]. Then he permitted him to fight, so he came out with a face looking like a full moon[4] bearing a sword and wearing a shirt and a mantle. On his feet he wore sandals. He had to fight on foot. The sandal's string on his left foot was cut off[5], so he, the son of the great Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, hated to walk bare-footed on the battlefield. He, therefore, stopped for a moment to tie his sandal[6], regarding those enemies as no more valuable than his own sandal, paying no heed to their multitude, feeling unconcerned about their thousands.

He leaned to mend his shoe
As the war near him drew
Their war, they knew,
Was no more precious than his shoe,
Carrying his sword, by its sheath shaded,
Do not worry about what he did,
For a branch is rendered to its root.
After the clouds comes the rain
And a cub is but a lions' son.[7]

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[6](...continued)
al-Qāsim and Abu Bakr were both killed at the Battle of al-Ṭaff, leaving no offspring.

[1]According to p. 127 of al-Ṭibrisi's book *I`lām al-War*ā and to *Al-Mujdi fil Nasab* of Abul-Ḥasan al-`Amri, as well as in *Is`āf al-Rāghibīn* in a footnote referring to p. 202 of *Nūr al-Abs*ār, he is said to have married Sukayna daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع). On p. 64 of his book *Al-Mutarādif*āt, al-Madā'ini, in the first group of rare manuscripts he categorizes, says that `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan was her first husband.

[2]All references to the alleged wedding of al-Qāsim are not true. Al-Qāsim had not yet come of age, and no authentic historical record supports such an allegation. Shaikh Fakhr ad-Dīn al-Ṭurayḥi is a greatly knowledgeable man. Nobody can fairly attribute to him such a myth. Its existence is his book is a deliberate and unauthorized addition, and al-Ṭurayḥi shall question [on the Judgement Day] whoever incorporated it in his book. I do not know where his eminence Sayyid Ali Muḥammed of Lucknow, who is titled the "crown of scholars", got his information from so he wrote a dissertation about that wedding which he named "al-Qāsimiyya" as we are told on p. 4, Vol. 17, of al-Tehrani's voluminous work *Al-Thar*ī`*ah*.

[3]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 27. al-Khawārizmi says that al-Ḥusain (ع) was reluctant to permit him to go, but the chap kept begging him, kissing his hands and feet, till he consented. I say that this claim is contradicted by what is stated in the discussion of the events during the night that preceded `Āshūra, when al-Ḥusain (ع) informed his companions and family members that they would all be killed, including al-Qāsim and his own infant son. Like the tale of al-Qāsim's wedding, this is a groundless claim.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 256. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. *I`lām al-War*ā, p. 146. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 27.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 256. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 27. Authors of both *Al-Irshād* and *I`lām al-War*ā say "One of his shoe laces was cut off."

[6]*Thakhīrat al-Dārayn*, p. 152. *Ibsār al-`Ayān*, p. 37. I say that it does not surprise me to see how this descendant of the Chosen Prophet (ص) thus heedless of the odds on the battlefield. Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, on p. 144, Vol. 11, of his book *Al-Aghāni*, says, "Ja`fer ibn `Alyah ibn Rab`i ibn `Abd Yaghūth of Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Ka`b was once captured and his shoe string was cut off. He stopped to mend it. A man asked him, `Does not the trouble in which you are distract your mind from doing that?' Ja`fer answered by composing a line of poetry meaning: `More hard for me than shoe-string mending is my foe seeing me to troubles succumbing.'"

[7]These verses were composed by the authority Sayyid Mir Ali Abu Ṭibīkh, may Allāh have mercy on him.

As he was thus engaged, `Amr ibn Sa`d ibn Nafīl al-Azdi attacked him. Hamīd ibn Muslim asked him, "What do you want to do to this lad? Are you not satisfied to see all the crowd that surrounds him?" He said, "By Allāh I shall attack him!" He hit al-Qāsim with his sword. The lad fell face-long crying out, "O uncle!" Al-Ḥusain (ع) came out to his help like an angry lion and struck `Amr with his sword. `Amr tried to avoid it with his arm, so the Imām cut it off from the elbow, causing him to let out a very loud scream which was heard by the entire army. The cavalry of Ibn Sa`d charged in order to rescue him. `Amr met them face-to-face, causing their horses to trample upon him and to eventually kill him.

After some time the cloud of dust dissipated, so al-Ḥusain (ع) was now seen standing at the head of the young boy, examining his feet. Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "Away with people who have killed you while their opponent on the Day of Judgment will be your grandfather (ص)!" Then he said, "Hard it is, by Allāh, that you call upon your uncle to help you and he cannot answer your call, or that he does answer it but cannot do much for you. It is a lone voice whose enemies are numerous and whose supporters are few." Then he carried him away. Al-Qāsim was on al-Ḥusain's chest; his legs were dragging on the ground. Al-Ḥusain (ع) put the corpse beside that of Ali al-Akbar and of those of his family who had been killed[1]. Then he raised his eyes to the heavens and supplicated thus:

> O Allāh! Count their numbers, and do not leave any of them alone, and do not forgive a single one of them! Be patient, O cousins! Be patient, O my Ahl al-Bayt! You shall never meet any hardship after today at all.[2]

Never can I tell you enough about al-Qāsim
Son of the chosen one al-Ḥasan,
Engaged in the war paying no heed
To what in it went on,
As if its swords to him spoke,
As if they were beauties with him flirting,
As if their lances were cups
Served to him by their waiter to drink.
Had he minded any danger or had he
Feared death, he would not have mended a shoe
In its midst before him stood his foe,
As many as the sands in count.
From beneath comes the assault and from high
He would not have worn on his head a shield.
So with his white sword he was painted red,
Except when you did see him being distracted
From the struggle, and souls do slacken,
And that was only a lion's slumber,
One who paid no heed to the number
Of his foes, of what their sword could do,
So he fell down and for help cried,
And the Prophet's grandson did to him respond,
And it was what it was from its *da`i.*

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 257. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 186. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[2]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 28.

The falcon took him and with his peers joined.
Their first were killed and so was their last.
Oppressed was he, yet the sun's heads were ripe,
And only his sharp sword was the harvester,
Till became fed-up was the sword,
And from the sword the valley overflowed.
The dark clouds by the steeds raised
Were uncovered showing their riders
And what was hidden was revealed.
He was seen hugging on his chest a moon
Decorated by the blood on his forehead.
He took him carrying him to the camp
And his eyes were reddened by their tears.
On the page of the ground did his feet leave marks
Dotted by his tears, followed by his heart.
O what a shining moon that removed
With his eclipse how he wiped it out!

Brothers of al-`Abbās (ع)

When al-`Abbās (ع), saw how such a large number of his family members were being killed, he said to his brothers `Abdullāh, `Uthmān, and Ja`fer, "Advance, O brothers, so that I may see you supporting the cause of Allāh and His Messenger (ص)." Then he turned to `Abdullāh, their oldest, and said, "Advance, O brother, so that I may see you receiving the honour of martyrdom."[1] They fought in front of Abul-Faḍl, al-`Abbās, till they were all killed.

How good the Lord's many sacrifices
Offered on the banks of the Euphrates!
The best of guidance is that
Sacrifices come from those who guide,

After having said their prayers
Spent to be for the prayers sacrifices.[2]

Martyrdom of al-`Abbās (ع)

Al-`Abbās could no longer bear life after having seen how his companions and the members of his family killed and how the Ḥujjah of his time was suffering from the great number of the enemies surrounding him after his supply route had been cut off and after hearing the women wailing and the children crying of thirst. He, therefore, sought permission from his brother. Since al-`Abbās (ع) was the most precious asset to the grandson

[1]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, pp. 32-33.

[2]These verses were composed by Thiqatul-Islam Shaikh Muḥammed Tāhir from the family of the *faqīh* Shaikh Radi, may Allāh sanctify him.

of the Prophet (ص), who is soon to be martyred, especially since the foes always dreaded having to fight him and feared his advance, and how the ladies felt a sense of security upon seeing the standard raised high, the sacred soul of the Father of the Oppressed did not accept to part with him. The Imām (ع) said to him, "O brother! You are my standard-bearer!"[1] Al-`Abbās (ع) said, "I am fed-up with these hypocrites, and I want to seek revenge against them." Al-Ḥusain (ع) ordered him to bring water for the children, so al-`Abbās went to those people and admonished them, warning them of the Wrath of the Omnipotent, but all of that fell on deaf ears. He then shouted: "O `Omer ibn Sa`d! Here is al-Ḥusain son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh! You have killed his companions and family, and here are his children suffering from thirst! Give them some water, for thirst has burnt their hearts!" As he kept repeating his pleas, he also kept saying to them, "Let me go to Rome or to India, and I shall leave Ḥijāz and Iraq for you all." There were some people among the enemy ranks who were genuinely moved by those pleas, so they wept, but al-Shimr shouted as loudly as he could, "O son of Abu Turāb! Had the face of earth been entirely covered with water, and had it been in our hands, we would still have not given you a drop of it to drink unless you swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd!"

Al-`Abbās went back to his brother to tell him of the outcome of his negotiations with those ruffians. Al-`Abbās heard the children crying of thirst[2], so he could not tolerate the situation any longer. He was fired up with his Hāshemi zeal.

The one whose light enables all to see
At Kerblā' is killed and none to bury,
O Grandson of the Prophet! May He
Reward you with goodness for us and for me,
May your balance of Good Deeds never fall short.
To me you were a mountain where I seek resort.
To be kind to kinsfolk you used to always exhort.
Who now shall to the orphans and the destitute import
And to whom shall the helpless go when in need?
By Allāh! Never shall I fall short of my every deed
By trading you for anyone else's worth
Till I am buried between the sands and the earth.

Then he rode his horse and took the water bag. As many as four thousand archers soon surrounded him and shot him with their arrows, yet their large number did not impede his attempt. He kept chasing those throngs alone as his standard kept fluttering above. Those people could not tell whether that was al-`Abbās who was thus slaughtering their heroes or the *waṣi* roaring on the battlefield. Their men could not maintain their grounds before him, and he succeeded in getting into the Euphrates river heedless of the huge crowd around him.

The mighty lions mourn their youths
And their saviours when calamity overwhelms,
Mourning them with blood. So tell the burning heart
How the red sigh does ascend;
It yearns, but its yearning is crying,

[1]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 251. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 94.

[2]al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 118.

It mourns, but its mourning is only by sign.[1]

The moment he took one handful of water to drink he remembered how thirsty al-Ḥusain (ع) and those with him were, so he spilled it then said[2]:

O soul! After al-Ḥusain nobody does count!
After him, you should to nothing amount,
Here is al-Ḥusain nearing his end
While you drink of cool water?!
By Allāh! Such is not a deed
At all enjoined by my creed![3]

Then he filled the water bag, rode his horse, and went in the direction of the camp. His path was blocked, so he kept killing those who blocked it till he was able to make his way through them as he was saying:

I do not fear dead when it calls upon me,
Till among the swords you bury me.
My soul protects the one
Who is the Prophet's grandson,
Al-`Abbās am I, the water bag do I bear
When I meet evil, I know no fear!

Zayd ibn al-Ruqād al-Jahni ambushed him from behind a palm tree assisted by Ḥākim ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Sanbasi, dealing a sword blow to his right arm, completely severing it. He (ع), said,

By Allāh! If you cut off my right hand,
I shall not cease defending my creed,
And an Imām true to his conviction do I defend,
A son of the trustworthy Prophet whom Allāh did send.

He did not pay attention to the fact that his right hand had been cut off because he was only concerned about getting the water to the children and the family of al-Ḥusain (ع), but Ḥākim ibn al-Ṭufayl was still hiding behind

[1]Excerpted from a poem by Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify him.

[2]al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 311 (third edition), *majlis* 9, night 10. al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 201. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 95. al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 119. Sayyid Muḥammed Mehdi al-Mūsawi, *Riyād al-Masā'ib*, p. 313.

[3]Sayyid Muḥammed Mehdi al-Mūsawi, *Riyād al-Masā'ib*, p. 313.

another palm tree when he passed by. Ḥākim struck him with his sword on his left hand, amputating it, too[1], and soon a large number of men were surrounding him. Arrows fell on him like rain, piercing the water bag and boring a hole in it through which its water was completely spilled. An arrow pierced his chest[2]. A man hit him with a pole on his head, severely injuring him.

Beside al-`Alqami he fell, how I wish to witness
Those who subdued him drinking of bitterness.

He fell on the ground shouting, "Peace unto you from me, O father of `Abdullāh!" Al-Ḥusain (ع) rushed to him[3]. How I wish to know in what condition he went to him, with a soul imperiled by this great loss, or by the brotherhood that pulls a brother to his beloved brother...

Yes; al-Ḥusain (ع) reached him and witnessed how sacrifice is being offered to the Holy One on a plain covered with blood and crowned with arrows. Al-`Abbās had no might nor speech nor anything whereby he could keep his foes away. He could not even see anything; his head was on the ground bleeding.

Is it accurate to say that al-Ḥusain (ع) saw all of these calamities and still had any strength whereby he could stand on his feet? Only al-Ḥusain remained after the martyrdom of Abul-Faḍl. He remained a figure staring in the sky, stripped of all the necessities of life. He, Allāh's peace be upon him, described his condition best when he said, "Now my spine has been split and my endeavour is further weakened."[4]

Disappointment marked his forehead,
So the mountains crumbled for his pain.
Why not since it was the beauty of his face
And on his forehead the pleasure of his heart?
O supporter of his family, waterer of his children,
Bearer of the standard with all his determination![5]

He left him where he had fell and did not move him anywhere due to a hidden reason which time later unveiled: He was to be buried where he had fallen separately from the other martyrs so that he would have a mausoleum of his own visited by those who seek his intercession with the Almighty to grant them the fulfillment of their wishes, and so that his grave-site would be a place for the *ziyārat* of the people who seek nearness to the Almighty, Praise to Him, under its dome that stands lofty in the sky, glowing. It is there that dazzling miracles manifest themselves and the nation thereby comes to know his lofty status and station with Allāh Almighty. It then carries out its obligation of loving him which is renewed by continuous visits. Greeting him will establish a link between them and Allāh, the most Exalted. It was the desire of the Ḥujjah of his time, the father of `Abdullāh (ع), and of the Omnipotent, Praise to Him, that the apparent status enjoyed by Abul-Faḍl al-`Abbās should be similar to the one preserved for him in the hereafter, and so it was.

Al-Ḥusain (ع) went back to the camp feeling extremely depressed, tearful. He kept wiping his tears with his cuffs as men raced with one another to assault his camp. He called out: "Is there anyone who helps us?! Is

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[1]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 1, p. 221.

[2]*Riyād al-Masāib*, p. 315.

[3]al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 312 (Hayderi Press, 369 A.H.). *Riyād al-Masā'ib*, p. 315. According to p. 222, Vol. 2, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's book *Al-Manāqib*, Ḥākim ibn al-Ṭufayl hit him with an iron bar on his head.

[4]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 251. al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 120.

[5]Excerpted from a *rajaz* poem by the authority Ayatullāh Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Iṣfahāni, may Allāh sanctify him.

there anyone who grants us security?! Is there anyone who seeks justice, so he supports us?! Is there anyone who fears the Fire, so he defends us?!"[1] Sukayna, his daughter, came to him and asked him about her uncle al-`Abbās. He told her of his being killed. Zainab heard him revealing this sad news, so she cried out, "O brother! O `Abbās! O our loss after you!" Women wept, and al-Ḥusain (ع) wept, too, and said, "O our loss after you!"

He called, filling the valleys with his cries
Even solid stones from their horrors are in pain
O Brother! Who after you shall guard Muḥammed's daughters
When they seek mercy from the merciless?
My hands after you are paralyzed,
My eyes blinded, and split is my spine,
For others, cheeks are beaten,
But these white deer before my eyes
Are now beating their cheeks.
Between your terrible death and my own
Is like I call you before and you are pleased,
Here is your sword: Who after you
Shall with it subdue the foes?
And here is your standard: Who shall with it advance?
O son of my father! You have dwarfed in my eyes

The death of all my offspring,
And the wound is healed only by
What is more painful, so
He knelt over and his tears
Painted the ground like gold,
He wished to kiss his lips but he found
No place spared from a weapon's kiss.[2]

THE MASTER OF MARTYRS (ع) ON THE BATTLEFIELD

When al-`Abbās was killed, al-Ḥusain (ع) turned to see none to help him against his foes. He looked and saw how his family members and companions lied slaughtered on the ground. He heard the wailing of the orphans and the cries of the children. As loud as he could, he called out, "Is there anyone who defends the sanctity of the Messenger of Allāh? Is there anyone who believes in the Unity of Allāh and who fears Allāh in our regard? Is there anyone who comes to our rescue and who wishes by doing so to please Allāh?" The women's voices now grew even louder as they cried.[3]

Al-Sajjād (ع) stood up. He was leaning on a cane and dragging a sword. He was sick and could hardly

[1] *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 312.

[2] These verses were composed by Sayyid Ja`fer al-Ḥilli. They are published in their entirety in *Muthīr al-Aḥzān* by the *`allāma* Shaikh Sharīf al-Jawāhiri.

[3] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 65.

move, but al-Ḥusain (ع) called on his daughter Umm Kulthūm saying, "Confine him so that the world may not run out of the progeny of Muḥammed (ص)," so she took him back to his bed.[1]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) now ordered his dependents to be silent, and he bade them farewell. He was wearing a dark silk *jubba* (long robe)[2] and a florid turban with two tresses let loose on the sides and wrapped himself with the same *burda* (gown) which the Messenger of Allāh, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, used to wear, and was carrying his [Prophet's] sword.[3]

He asked for a *thawb* (garment) which nobody wanted and which he put underneath his clothes so that nobody would be interested in it and, hence, in removing it from his body, since he knew that he was going to be killed soon. They brought him small trousers but he was not interested in them since they were the outfits of ignominy[4], so he took a worn out garment which he ripped, placing its pieces underneath his clothes[5]. Then he asked for wrapping trousers which he also tore then put on so that nobody would take them away from his corpse[6].

THE INFANT

He then ordered his infant son [`Abdullāh] to be brought to him so that he would say good-bye to him. Zainab brought him his baby son `Abdullāh[7] as well as the latter's mother al-Rubāb. He placed him in his lap and kept kissing him[8] and repeating this statement: "Away with these people when your

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[1]Shaikh Ja`fer al-Shushtari (may Allāh sanctify him), *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥusainiyya* [Ḥusain's characteristics], p. 129. Among those who have documented his sickness during the Battle of Kerbalā' are: Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr as quoted on p. 58 of *Nasab Quraish* and al-Ya`qūbi on p. 217, Vol. 2, of his *Tārīkh*. On p. 32, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi says, "Ali ibn al-Ḥusain, who was younger than his brother who had already been killed, was sick and unable to carry a sword..., etc."

[2]In his book *Al-Kāfi*, al-Kulayni, commenting on the text on p. 105, Vol. 4, of *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl `an Āl al-Rasūl*, where Imām al-Bāqir (ع) is quoted, and also al-Ālūsi on p. 111, Vol. 8, of his book *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, commenting on the verse saying, "Say: Who has prohibited the embellishments of Allāh which He has brought forth for His servants and the good provisions?" (Qur'ān, 7:32), and so do both Ibn Ḥajar on p. 192, Vol. 9, of his book *Majma` al-Zawā'id* and al-Khawārizmi on p. 35, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, all say that al-Ḥusain (ع) was wearing a dark silk *jubba* on the day of `Āshūra.

[3]*Al-Muntakhab*, p. 315 (Hayderi Press, 1369 A.H./1950 A.D.).

[4]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 222. al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 305.

[5]Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 193. al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 205.

[6]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 69. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 259.

[7]On p. 222, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb refers to him as Ali Asghar (Ali Junior). In his book *Al-Iqbāl*, Ibn Ṭāwūs states al-Ḥusain's *ziyāra* on the day of `Āshūra. It contains the following: "Peace of Allāh be upon you and upon them and upon your son Ali Asghar whose loss grieved you." Those who say it was `Abdullāh, whose mother was al-Rubāb, are: Shaikh al-Mufīd on p. 3 of his book *Al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni on p. 35 of his book *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, and Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr on p. 59 of *Nasab Quraish*. On p. 30 of *Sirr al-Silsilah*, it is stated that the one who was killed with an arrow as he was in his father's lap was `Abdullāh, but he does not mention the name of his mother.

[8]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 65. According to p. 218, Vol. 2, of al-Ya`qūbi's *Tārīkh* (Najaf's edition), "As al-Ḥusain (ع) was standing, his newly born son was brought to him. He called the *athān* in his [right] ear and applied the *hanūk* to him. It was then that an arrow penetrated his son's mouth, killing him instantly. Al-Ḥusain (ع) pulled the arrow out of his son's mouth and kept staining him with his own blood sand saying, `By Allāh! Your status with Allāh is greater even than the she-camel [of prophet Ṣāliḥ], and the status of Muḥammed (ص) is greater than that of Ṣāliḥ.' Then he took him and placed him with his other slain offspring and nephews."

grandfather the chosen one (ص) is their opponent."[1] Then he brought him to those folks and asked for some water for him. Ḥarmalah ibn Kāḥil al-Asadi shot the infant with an arrow that slaughtered him. Al-Ḥusain (ع) received his blood in his hand then threw it up towards the heavens.

Imām Abu Ja`fer al-Bāqir (ع) has said, "Not a drop of it fell."[2] In this regard, the Ḥujjah of the Progeny of Muḥammed (ص), may Allāh hasten his reappearance, says, "Peace be unto `Abdullāh, the slaughtered infant, the one shot with an arrow, the one whose blood was shed in a most cruel manner and whose blood ascended to the heavens, the one slaughtered with an arrow in his father's lap! The curse of Allāh be upon the person who shot him, Ḥarmalah ibn Kāḥil al-Asadi, and upon his kinsfolk."[3]

Hard it is for me how you carried your thirsty babe
And the fire of his thirst could not be quenched.
From the parching of the sun his voice changed,
In a tribulation from which what is solid melts.
You came to the people asking for water,
But how could you reach the watering place?
For the bow surrounded his neck as if
It was a string of the crescent wherein the star rests.
And on the prairie, in the tents, are mourners
Pointing to your babe with agony and repeat;
How many an infant did their arrows suckle
One Fāṭima would have rather nursed?
So my soul weeps for him since the arrow surrounded him
Just as it was decorated before by amulets.
He yearned smiling for the Prophet's grandson to plant his kiss
To bid him farewell, and what else other than
Such kissing suits him?
My heart goes for the infant's mother when the night descends
Upon her, and when the doves mourn.
In the dark does she come to see her babe
As his mark showed among the victims;
So once she saw the arrow in his neck planted,
She wished she shared his arrow of death.
In her hands she places him as she kisses his lips
And kisses a neck before her the arrow had kissed.
She brought him closer to her chest in earnest
So once she sings lullabies for him and once she to him talks:
Son! Wake up from the slumber of death!

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[1]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 23. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 22.

[2]On p. 222, Vol. 2, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's book *Manāqib*, it is stated that, "None of it came back." On p. 36 of Ibn Nama's book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, on p. 66 of Ibn Ṭāwūs's book *Al-Luhūf*, where the incident is narrated by Imām al-Bāqir (ع), on p. 186, Vol. 8, of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Bidāya*, on p. 108 of al-Qarmāni's book *Akhbār al-Duwal*, and on p. 32, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, it is stated in all these books that Imām al-Ḥusain (ع) threw it towards the heavens. Ibn Kathīr says that the man who had shot that arrow belonged to Banū Asad and was named "Ibn Mūqid al-Nār" [son of the fire lighter].

[3]This is stated in the *ziyārat* of that sacred place. The poem that follows the text was composed by the virtuous orator Sayyid Muḥammed Jawād Shubbar.

My breast should you suck.
Maybe my heart will then calm down...
Son! I have milk for you, and I know your thirst
So maybe I thereby quench your burning thirst.
Son! You used to entertain me in my loneliness
And my solace whenever the oppressors oppress.[1]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "What decreases my affliction is the fact that it is witnessed by Allāh Almighty.[2] O Allāh! It is not less in Your esteem than the life of a son! Lord! If You have kept victory away from us, then let it be so for something even better, and seek revenge on our behalf from the oppressors[3], and let what has happened to us in this life be a treasure for us in the hereafter.[4] O Allāh! You are the Witness against people who killed the one who looked most like Your Messenger Muḥammed, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny."[5] He (ع), then heard a voice saying, "Leave him, O Ḥusain, for there is a nurse for him in Paradise.!"[6] Then he (ع), alighted from his horse and with his sword dug a grave for him and buried him; his blood was mixed with the sands, then he offered the funeral prayers for him.[7] Some accounts say that he placed him together with those of his family who had already been killed.[8]

My heart burns for his father when he saw
How, because of the thirst, his eyes deeply sank.
He could find no water for his babe,
So he found no choice except to beg
Though begging for a father is the greatest calamity.
So how when deprivation follows begging?
Of his pure blood he towards the heavens flung,
How great his kindness, how magnanimous!
Had he not thrown it to the heavens,
The earth would have swallowed everyone.
The heavens was painted red from his blood
Woe upon them from Allāh's curse!

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[1]From a poem by the *`allāma* Shaikh Muḥammed Taqi al-Jawāhiri.

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 66.

[3]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 26. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 32.

[4]al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 122.

[5]*Al-Muntakhab*, p. 313.

[6]Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 144. Mirza Farhād, *Al-Qamqam*, p. 385. In the biography of Ibrāhīm son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), as stated in *Al-Iṣāba* (of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni), and also according to p. 102, Vol. 1, of al-Nawawi's book *Tahthīb al-Asmā',* and on p. 214, Vol. 3, of al-Zarqāni's book *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, in a chapter dealing with the Imām's sons, it is stated that when Ibrāhīm son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) died, the Prophet (ص) said, "There is a nurse for him in Paradise."

[7]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 32. al-Ṭibrisi, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, p. 163 (Najaf edition).

[8]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 36.

And how was his mother's condition when she did see
Her infant going through what had to be?
He left her like a white pearl
And returned like a red sapphire.
She yearned to him as she would her babe,
She mourned him in the morning and at sunset.
My heart goes for her how she mourned her infant,
A mourning that echoed her painful heart:
Says she: O son! O my ultimate hope!
O my desire and my joy!
My milk when no water was there did dry,
No water to drink, nothing to sustain you by;
So your thirst took you to drink of death,
As if your quenching rested in the foe's arrows.
O tears of mine, the life of my heart!
My greatest calamity that you had to depart.
I wished you would be the best to succeed
And a solace for me from their every vile deed.
Never did I think an arrow would wean,
Till my days showed him how one could be so mean.[1]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) advanced towards the enemy raising his sword, losing all hope of survival, challenging them to a duel. He killed all those who accepted his challenge, and their number was quite high[2]. Then he charged on the army's east flank as he recited this verse:

Death is better than accepting ignominy,
While ignominy is better than the Fire![3]

and on the left flank as he recited:

I am al-Ḥusain son of Ali
I decided never to bow nor bend,
Protecting my father's family,
Remaining on the Prophet's creed.[4]

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[1]Excerpted from a *rajaz* poem by the authority Ayatullāh Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Iṣfahāni, may Allāh sanctify him.

[2]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 97. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 37. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 33.

[3]Under the heading "A Discourse in Literature" on p. 171, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Bayān wal Tibyān* (second edition), al-Jāhiz adds the following after having quoted those poetry lines:

Allāh, from this and that, is the Refuge.

[4]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 223.

`Abdullāh ibn `Ammār ibn Yaghūth said, "Never have I seen someone surrounded by a huge number of enemies and whose son is slaughtered, and so are his family and companions, and who still maintained his composure, remained relentless, and stayed courageous more than al-Ḥusain (ع). Men kept fleeing in front of him whenever he charged at them, and none kept his ground."[1]

`Omer ibn Sa`d shouted to everyone saying, "This is the son of the quarrelsome one, the one with the stomach! This is the son of the killer of the Arabs! Attack him from all directions!" Four thousand arrows[2] were at once shot at him, and he was forced to alight from his horse. Al-Ḥusain (ع) shouted at them, "O followers of Abu Sufyān! If you have no religion at all, and yet you fear the returning to your Maker, then at least you should remain free in your life, and you should go back to your lineage, if you are Arabs as you claim!"

Al-Shimr addressed him saying, "What are you, son of Fāṭima (ع), saying?" He (ع) said, "I am the one who is fighting you, and women are not held accountable; so, keep your rogues away from them and stop them from harming my women as long as I am alive."

Said he: "Face me, not my women,
"My time is come, destiny is done."

Al-Shimr said, "We shall grant you that."

He became the target of the fighters, and the fighting intensified. His thirst intensified, too.[3] From the direction of the Euphrates, he attacked `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj who was surrounded by four thousand men, clearing them from the water and forcing his horse into the river. When his horse was about to drink, al-Ḥusain (ع) said to it, "You are thirsty, and so am I, yet I shall not drink before you." The horse raised his head as if he understood what the Imām (ع) had said to him. When al-Ḥusain (ع) stretched his hand to drink, a man asked him, "Do you enjoy water while the sanctity of your women has been violated?" He, therefore, spilled the water and did not drink then went in the direction of the tent.[4]

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 259. On p. 38, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi attributes this statement to some of those who had participated in that battle.

[2]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 223.

[3]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 67.

[4]al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 204. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 98. *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 188. *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥusainiyya*, p. 46, in a chapter dealing with animal characteristics. But I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this statement alleging the horse's refusal to drink water and al-Ḥusain (ع) spilling water from his hand merely on account of what his enemies had said. He was fully aware of the fact that what they said was nothing but a trick. But the attributes of that day with regard to the Master of Martyrs and those in his company remaining thirsty are beyond our knowledge, and we have no choice except to take it for granted that the Imām (ع), was wise in his actions and speeches, doing exactly what his grandfather (ص), who never spoke out of his own inclination, had instructed him. All issues relevant to the Battle of al-Ṭaff are confined, in their circumstances and sites, to mysteries and reasons which only the Lord of the World, Exalted is He, knows. There is something else which was observed by the Master of Martyrs, something the Arabs used to die for, and that was: protecting the ladies with their lives. Abu `Abdullāh (ع) was the master of the Arabs and the son of their master. He was never unaware of such a tribute for which he would sacrifice everything precious. When a man shouted out telling him that the sanctity of the ladies had been violated, he refused to drink water in order to let everyone know his deep concern about his honour. Had he paid no heed for the call, people would have concluded that he was lacking in his Arabian manliness, something which the Father of the Oppressed would never have done even if he knew that the call was untrue. The action of the master of the men of honour, his having abstained from drinking even a little of water, is a feat for which a man would receive the highest praise.

Their blood quenches the earth's thirst
As his insides from thirst were burning.
Had the burning of his heart been made manifest,
The most solid of objects would be melting.
The heavens mourns him with blood.
Had it only wept water for his thirsty heart!
O how my heart burns for you,
O son of Muḥammed's daughter!
O how the foes were able to achieve their goals!
They prohibited you from reaching
The Euphrates river all the while,
So, may people after you never enjoy
The Euphrates or the Nile.[1]

THE SECOND FAREWELL

Then he (ع), bade his family farewell for the second time, ordering them to be patient. He put on the outer mantles as he said, "Get ready for the affliction, and be advised that Allāh Almighty shall protect and safeguard you, and He shall save you from the evil of the enemies and make the ultimate end of your affair good. He shall torment your enemy with various types of torture, and He shall compensate you for this trial with many sorts of bliss and honour; so, do not complain, nor should you say anything that may demean your status."[2]

Indeed, anyone may say that that was the most critical situation the Master of Martyrs had to face that day[3]. The ladies who were raised in the lap of Prophethood saw then the pillar of their security, the bulwark of their protection, the defender of their prestige, and the symbol of their honour telling them of a departure from which he would never return, so they did not know who would after him protect them from the oppression of the foes or who would be their solace once he is gone. No wonder, then, that they all assembled and surrounded him, holding to his clothes as the children were moaning, being stunned by the situation, and little girls kept begging for security against their fear while others kept begging for water. How, then, would have been the condition of the master of those endowed with a conscience and the example of affection as he saw, through his vast knowledge, the trustees of the Message and the ladies who descended from the Infallible Ones, who had never known before anything but honour and prestige, now running in this empty desert wailing, crying in a way that splits the most solid of stones, sighing most depressingly...? They were in a constant danger of being plundered and beaten, having none to protect them besides the Imām (ع) whom fatigue had exhausted.

Had Job suffered as he did for one day
He would surely have stood to say:
"This one is he whose calamity
"Is greater than what happened to me."

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by Ayatullāh Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh have mercy on him.

[2]al-Majlisi, *Jalā' al-`Uyūn* (in Persian).

[3]This is evident from the will of the truthful lady, al-Zahrā' (ع), as recorded by al-Majlisi, may Allāh elevate his status. In this text, the author refers to the agony of her children at bidding her farewell. It is also recorded in Vol. 1 of al-Nawari's book *Dār al-Salām*.

As for the wise lady of Banū Hāshim, namely Zainab al-Kubra, she saw all of that. We see how the secure niche of the religion was about to be dislocated, the rope of Prophethood to be cut off, the lantern of the Sharī`a to be put out, and the tree of Imāmate to wither.

The mighty lions mourn their young,
And their saviour when calamity overwhelms
Mourning them with blood, so tell the burning heart
How the red sigh does ascend.
It yearned but its yearning is crying,
And it mourns, but its mourning is only by sign.[1]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) turned to his daughter Sukayna who was described by al-Ḥasan II as one "who was always overcome by a deep meditation upon Allāh," finding her staying aloof from the other women, crying, wailing. He stood to ask her to be patient and to solace her. His condition could best be described in these verses:

This is my farewell, my dear one, and we shall meet
On the Day of Judgment at the Pool of Kawthar
So bid your tears good-bye and come to greet
And enjoy the fruits of your patience forever.
And when you do see me lying on the ground
Bleeding, bear it and do not be by tears bound.[2]

It was then that `Omer ibn Sa`d said to his men, "Woe unto you! Attack him, since he is distracted and surrounded by his women! By Allāh! Should he direct his full attention to you, your right wing will not be separated from the left!" They, therefore, assailed him with their arrows till the arrows reached his camp and some of them pierced through the clothes of some of the women, causing them to be stunned and frightened. They screamed and entered the tent as they looked at al-Ḥusain (ع) to see what he would do. Al-Ḥusain (ع) attacked the enemy like an angry lion. Anyone who could catch up with him he stabbed with his sword and killed as he was receiving the arrows from all directions, bracing them with his chest and neck.[3]

He went back to his quarters profusely repeating this statement: *La hawla wala quwwata illa billāh al-`aliyy al-aẓīm* (There is no might nor power except in Allāh, the Sublime, the Great."[4] In such a condition, he asked for some water. Al-Shimr said to him, "You shall not have a taste of it till you reach the Fire." A man shouted at him saying: "O Ḥusain! Do not you see how the Euphrates water is as clear as the snakes' bellies? You shall not taste of it till you die of thirst." Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "O Allāh! Do cause him to die of thirst." That particular man, to be sure, kept asking for water ever since, and water was always brought to him, yet it would come out of his mouth and never goes down, and he kept doing so till he died of thirst.[5]

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[1]From a poem by Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify him.

[2]From a poem by the orator Shaikh Muslim son of the orator Shaikh Muḥammed Ali al-Jābiri al-Najafi, may Allāh Almighty have mercy on both of them.

[3]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

[4]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 67.

[5]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 47 (Iranian edition). *Tahthīb Tārīkh Ibn Asākir*, Vol. 4, p. 338, where the whole incident is narrated. According to p. 254, Vol. 10, of al-Majlisi's *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kampani edition), where al-Iṣfahāni's text is cited, (continued...)

Abul-Ḥutūf al-Ju`fi shot al-Ḥusain (ع) with an arrow in his forehead which he pulled out, causing blood to run on his face. The Imām (ع) said, "O Allāh! You see in what condition I am with regard to Your servants, these disobedient ones! O Allāh! Decrease their number, kill them and leave none of them on the face of earth, and do not ever forgive them."

In a loud voice did al-Ḥusain (ع) shout, "O nation of evil! It is, indeed, evil the way how you succeeded Muḥammed (ص) in faring with his *`Itrat!* You shall not kill anyone after me and contemplate on the consequences of killing him; rather, you will think very lightly of it once you have killed me. By Allāh! I hope that Allāh will grant me the honour of martyrdom then will He seek revenge on my behalf from whence you know not."

Al-Ḥasīn said to the Imām (ع), "And how will He seek revenge on our behalf on you, O son of Fāṭima?!" The Imām (ع) answered, "He will cause you all to kill one another and thus get your blood spilled, then shall He pour His torment upon you in the most painful manner."[1]

Having become too feeble to fight, he stood to rest. It was then that a man threw a stone at him, hitting his forehead and causing his blood to run down his face. He took his shirt to wipe his blood from his eyes just as another man shot him with a three-pronged arrow which pierced his chest and settled in his heart. He instantly said, "In the Name of Allāh, through Allāh, and on the creed of the Messenger of Allāh [do I die]." Raising his head to the heavens, he said, "Lord! You know that they are killing a man besides whom there is no other son of Your Prophet's daughter!" As soon as he took the arrow out of his back, blood gushed forth like a drain pipe[2]. He placed his hand on his wound and once his hand was filled with blood, he threw it above saying, "Make what has happened to me easy for me; it is being witnessed by Allāh." Not a single drop of that blood fell on the ground.[3] Then he put it back a second time and it was again filled with blood. This time he rubbed it on his face and beard as he said, "Thus shall I appear when I meet my Lord and my grandfather the Messenger of Allāh (ص), drenched in my blood. It is then that I shall say: `O grandfather! So-and-so killed me.'"[4]

In the al-Hajeer he fell on the ground,
Under the swords and their every sharp edge.
The stars stood motionless when he fell,
And their motions turned still.
In them the Spirit mourned him as he said.
Sadly echoing the bereaved one's heart:
O conscience of Allāh's *ghayb*, how could you
Be the victims of their very spears?
They pierced from behind His preserved veil,
And swords struck your forehead and they

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[5](...continued)
also on p. 203, Vol. 10, of *Biḥār al-Anwār*, where al-Mufīd is quoted, and also according to Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ibn Nama, when thirst took its toll on him, al-Ḥusain (ع) went to the Euphrates, but he was not permitted to reach its water.

[1]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 98. Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 189. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 34.

[2]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 189. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 34. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 70.

[3]*Tahthīb Tārīkh Ibn `Asākir*, Vol. 4, p. 338. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 34. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 70.

[4]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 34. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 70.

Without your right hand would have had no right.
You were not, when you were killed, weak in might,
But no help came to your rescue
O by your blood-stained beard, gray in hue,
It is the most glorious of every right hand,
Had you preferred at all in your stand,
The fates would have made everything
Precious for you as though it were nothing,
Or if you had wished your foes to be wiped out,
None of them would have remained on the ground.
You would have removed them from every land,
And you would have raised death-conquering hosts,
So none would remain to light a fire
Nor to build a fort nor a highway,
But a band invited you to spend your all
When their misguidance spread what was buried before.
So you saw that meeting with your Lord
Sacrificing for Him would surely be
Better than to live in misery.
You took to patience even as the deer from thirst on fire
Striking every valiant in a way melting every heart,
And the lances, like ribs, over you bend,
And the white swords over you like lids descend.

So your life did you spend among folks
Who tried to subject you to their yokes,
Folks who are your enemy and mine,
Born in the most vile of womb and of loin.[1]

Bleeding soon sapped his strength, so he sat down on the ground, feeling his head being too heavy. Mālik ibn al-Nisr noticed his condition, so he taunted him then dealt him a stroke with his sword on the head. Al-Ḥusain (ع) was wearing a burnoose which soon became full of blood. Al-Ḥusain (ع) said, "May you never be able to eat nor drink with your right hand, and may Allāh gather you among the oppressors." Having said so, the dying Imām (ع) threw his burnoose away and put on a turban on top of his capuche cap.[2]

MUHAMMED IBN ABU SA`ĪD

Hāni ibn Thabīt al-Ḥaḍrami has said, "I was standing with nine other men when al-Ḥusain (ع) was killed. It was then that I looked and saw one of the children from al-Ḥusain's family wearing a robe and a shirt, and in his ears there were two rings. He held a post from those buildings and stood startled looking right and left. A man came running. Having come close to that child, the man leaned from his horse and killed that

[1]This poem is published in the *dīwān* of Sayyid Hayder al-Ḥilli, may Allāh have mercy on him.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 31. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 35.

child with his horse. When he was shamed for thus killing a helpless child, he revealed his last name..."[1]

That child was Muḥammed ibn Abu Sa`īd ibn `Aqīl ibn Abu Ṭālib[2]. His mother, dazed and stunned, kept looking at him as the incident unfolded before her very eyes...[3]

`ABDULLĀH SON OF AL-HASAN (ع)

The enemies of Allāh waited for a short while then returned to al-Ḥusain (ع) whom they surrounded as he sat on the ground unable to stand. `Abdullāh son of Imām al-Ḥasan (ع), grandson of the Prophet (ص), who was then eleven years old, looked and saw how his uncle was being surrounded by those people, so he came running towards him. Zainab wanted to restrain him but he managed to evade her and to reach his uncle. Bahr ibn Ka`b lowered his head to strike al-Ḥusain (ع), so the child shouted, "O son of the corrupt woman, are you going to strike my uncle?" The man dealt a blow from his sword which the child received with his hand, cutting it off. The child cried in agony, "O uncle!" Then he fell in the lap of al-Ḥusain (ع) who hugged him and said, "O son of my brother! Be patient with regard to what has befallen us, and consider it as goodness, for Allāh, the most Exalted, will make you join your righteous ancestors." Then he (ع) raised his hands and supplicated saying, "O Allāh! Let them enjoy themselves for some time then divide them and make them into parties, and do not let their rulers ever be pleased with them, for they invited us to support us, then they turned their backs to us and fought us."[4]

Ḥarmalah ibn Kāḥil shot the child with an arrow, killing him as he sat in his uncle's lap.[5]

Al-Ḥusain (ع) remained lying on the ground for some time. Had those rogues wished to kill him, they could have done so, but each tribe relied on the other to do what it hated to do itself.[6]

A planting field for the lances he became
A practice target for every blood-shedder,
Dusted whenever eyed by a valiant warrior,
Stealing, of fright, their very color,
Greater than him no war has shown,
As he was slain, turning each valiant a villain.
His forehead dusted, the heavens did think
That on the earth was its own Saturn.
Strange how I see, O stranger in the Ṭaff,
How your cheeks use its heaps for a pillow.
Strange how unfairly you were slain by those

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 258. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 186.

[2]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 37. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 258. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 186. It is odd to read on p. 56 of Ibn Ḥabīb's book *Al-Maḥbar* and on p. 46 of Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr's book *Nasab Quraish*, that Fāṭima daughter of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) was the wife of Muḥammed ibn Abu Sa`īd ibn `Aqīl. The author of *Nasab Quraish* adds saying that she had given birth to his daughter Humayda.

[3]*Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥusainiyya*, p. 129.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 259. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 38. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 68.

[5]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 39. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 68.

[6]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 255. al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 288.

Whose fathers yours had bent, whose idols he broke.
Should you, may the world be your sacrifice,
Be starved, left scorched by thirst?[1]

Al-Shimr shouted, "What are you standing like that for?! What do you expect the man to do since your arrows and spears have wounded him so heavily? Attack him!"[2]

O sorrow how they charged from every side at him,
Hitting his sacred shoulders with blows,
That left him on the ground lying.[3]

Zar`ah ibn Sharīk struck him on his left shoulder with his sword while al-Ḥasīn shot him with an arrow which penetrated his mouth[4]; another man struck him on the shoulder. Sinān ibn Anas stabbed him in his collar bone area of the chest then shot him with an arrow in the neck[5]. Ṣāliḥ ibn Wahab stabbed him in the side...[6]

Hilāl ibn Nāfi` has said, "I was standing in front of al-Ḥusain (ع) as he was drawing his last breath. Never did I ever see anyone whose face looked better than him or more glowing as he was stained with his own blood! In fact, the light emanating from his face distracted me altogether from the thought of killing him! As he was in such a condition, he asked for some water to drink, but they refused to give him any."

A man said to him, "You shall not taste of water till you reach hell from whose hot boiling water shall you drink." He (ع) said, "Am I the one who will reach it? Rather, I will reach my grandfather, the Messenger of Allāh, and will reside with him in his abode of truth near an Omnipotent King, and I shall complain to him about what crimes you committed against me and what you have done to me." They all became very angry. It is as if Allāh did not leave one iota of compassion in their hearts.[7]

Had only Aḥmed seen you on the ground lying,
He would have spread for you his very insides,
Or had your mother, al-Zahrā', seen your thirst at al-Ṭaff,
She would have from her tears given you to drink.
How I wish none tastes of the Euphrates at all
So long as the Prophet's sons its waters desire
How many free ladies whose homes the foes did plunder!
How their insides shared the shame, I wonder!
They flee, yet they are by the foes pursued,
Like wild beasts the foes ensued,

She called upon her supporter and defender,

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by Sayyid Hayder al-Ḥilli, may Allāh have mercy on him.

[2]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 35. Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 222.

[3]The full poem by the authority Shaikh Hādi Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' is recorded on p. 56 of *Al-Maqbūla al-Ḥusainiyya*.

[4]al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Iṯḥāf bi Ḥubbil-Ashrāf*, p. 16.

[5]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 70.

[6]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 110. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 35.

[7]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 39.

Who remained on a burning ground: to death did he surrender.[1]

THE SUPPLICATION

When his condition worsened, al-Ḥusain (ع) raised his eyes to the heavens and said,

> O Allāh! Sublime You are, Great of Might, Omnipotent, Independent of all creation, greatly Proud, Capable of doing whatever You please, Forthcoming in mercy, True of Promise, Inclusive of Blessings, Clement, Near to those who invoke Him, Subduing His creation, Receptive to Repentance, Able, Overpowering, Appreciative when thanked, Remembering those who remember Him! You do I call upon out of my want, and You do I seek out of need! From You do I seek help when in fear and cry when depressed! Your help do I seek in my weakness, and upon You do I rely! O Allāh! Judge between us and our people, for they deceived and betrayed us! They were treacherous to us, and they killed us though we are the *`Itrat* of Your Prophet and the offspring of the one You love: Muḥammed (ص) whom You chose for Your Message and entrusted with the revelation! Do find an ease for our affair and an exit, O most Merciful of all merciful ones![2] Grant me patience to bear Your destiny, O Lord! There is no god but You! O Helper of those who seek help![3] I have no god besides You, nor do I adore anyone but You! Grant me to persevere as I face Your decree, O Helper of the helpless, O Eternal One Who knows no end, O One Who brings the dead back to life, O One Who rewards every soul as it earned, do judge between me and them; surely You are the best of judges.[4]

Had Ishmael to slaughter surrendered,
In the lap of the one who would to him have mercy,
Becoming Allāh's sacrifice and was not greeted by
White deer, nor did they shake his hands peacefully,
Ḥusain patiently surrendered his soul
To be slain by the sword of his own oppressor,
And to defend Allāh's creed he surrendered his soul
And every precious one so its pillars would stand tall.
His ribs and body were by the steeds trampled upon
As his ladies on bare beasts to captivity borne.[5]

THE HORSE

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by Ḥujjatul-Islam Shaikh Muḥammed Ḥusain Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'.

[2]al-Kaf`ami, *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*. *Al-Iqbāl*. Both references are quoted on p. 107 of *Mazār al-Biḥar*, p. 107 in a chapter on his *ziyārat* on his birth anniversary.

[3]Sayyid Kāẓim al-Rashti al-Ḥā'iri, *Asrār al-Shahāda*, p. 423.

[4]*Riyād al-Masā'ib*, p. 33.

[5]Excerpted from a poem by the authority Shaikh Muḥammed Taqi Al Ṣāḥib al-Jawāhir.

His horse came circling around him, rubbing his head on his blood.[1] It was then that Ibn Sa`d shouted, "The horse! Get the horse, for it is one of the horses of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)!" Horsemen surrounded that horse which kept kicking with its front legs, killing forty riders and ten horses. Ibn Sa`d then said, "Leave him and let us see what he does." Once he felt secure, the horse went back to al-Ḥusain (ع) to rub his head on the Imām's blood as he sniffed him. He was neighing very loudly.[2] Imām Abu Ja`fer al-Bāqir (ع) used to say that that horse was repeating these words: "Retribution! Retribution against a nation that killed the son of its Prophet's daughter!" The horse then went to the camp neighing likewise.[3] When the women saw the horse without its rider and its saddle twisted, they went out, their hair spread out, beating their cheeks, their faces uncovered, screaming and wailing, feeling the humiliation after enjoying prestige, going in the direction of the place where al-Ḥusain (ع) had been killed.[4]

One kneels in earnest at him to hug
While another covers him with a robe,
Another with the flow of his bleeding neck
Her faces does she for glory paint,
And another wishes she was his own sacrifice,
And another does not help kissing him.
Yet another out of fear seeks with his corpse refuge,
And another because of her calamity knows not what to do.[5]

Umm Kulthūm, namely Zainab the wise, cried out, "O Muḥammed! O father! O Ali! O Ja`fer! O Ḥamzah! Here is Ḥusain in the open slain in Kerbalā'!"[6] Then Zainab said, "I wish the heavens had fallen upon the earth![7] I wish the mountains had crushed the valley!"[8] She was near al-Ḥusain (ع) when `Omer ibn Sa`d came close to her flanked by some of his men. Al-Ḥusain (ع) was drawing his last breath. She cried out, "O `Omer! Should Abu `Abdullāh be killed as you look on?!" He turned his face away. His tears were flooding his beard.[9] She said, "Woe unto you! Is there any Muslim man among you?" None answered her.[10] Then [`Omer] Ibn Sa`d shouted at people, "Alight and put him to rest!" Al-Shimr was the first to do so. He kicked the Imām (ع) with his foot then sat on his chest and took hold of his holy beard. He dealt him twelve sword strokes.[11] He then severed his sacred head...

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[1]al-Ṣadūq, Ā*māli*, p. 98, *majlis* 30. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, p. 37. *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'* of al-Qazwīni, p. 129. al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 205.

[2]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 37.

[3]*Ibid*.

[4]From the *ziyārat* of the sacred area.

[5]From a poem by al-Hājj Hāshim al-Ka`bi.

[6]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 206. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 37.

[7]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 259.

[8]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 73.

[9]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 32. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 259 (first edition).

[10]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[11]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 100. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 36 and following pages.

AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) MAURAUDED

Those folks now took to maurauding the Imām (ع). Isḥāq ibn Hawayh took his shirt. Al-Akhnas ibn Murthid ibn `Alqamah al-Ḥaḍrami took his turban. Al-Aswad ibn Khālid took his sandals. Jamī` ibn al-Khalq al-Awdi, but some say a man from Tamīm named al-Aswad ibn Ḥanẓalah, took his sword.

Bajdal came. He saw the Imām (ع) wearing a ring covered with his blood. He cut his finger off and took the ring... Qays ibn al-Ash`ath took his velvet[1] on which he since then used to sit, so he came to be called "Qays Qateefa."[2] The Imām (ع)'s worn out garment was taken by Ja`oonah ibn Hawiyyah al-Ḥaḍrami. His bow and outer garments were taken by al-Raḥīl ibn Khaythamah al-Ju`fi, Hāni ibn Shabīb al-Ḥaḍrami and Jarīr ibn Mas`ūd al-Ḥaḍrami.[3] A man from among them wanted to take his underpants after all his other clothes had been taken away by others. This man said, "I wanted to take it off, but he had put his right hand on it which I could not lift; therefore, I severed his right hand... He then put his left hand on it which I also could not lift, so I severed it, too, and was about to bare him and take it off. It was then that I heard something like an earthquake, so I became frightened. I left him and fell into a swoon. While I was unconscious, I saw the Prophet (ص), Ali, Fāṭima, and al-Ḥasan (ع). Fāṭima was saying, `O son! They killed you! May Allāh kill them!' He said to her, `O mother! This sleeping man has severed my right hand!' She then invoked Allāh's curse on me saying, `May Allāh cut your hands and legs, and may He blind you and hurl you into the fire!' Indeed, I am now blind. My hands and legs have already been amputated, and nothing remains from her curse except the Fire."[4]

O slain one snatched by death away,
Without being helped, without being supported,
They washed him with the blood of his every wound,
They shrouded him with the earth of the ground,
They killed him though they knew,
That he was the fifth of *Ashāb al-Kisā'*.
O Messenger of Allāh! O Fāṭima!
O Commander of the Faithful al-Murtada!
May Allāh's rewards for you be great,
For the one whose insides were killed
By thirst till he spent,
At Kerbalā' he struck his tent,
Hardly he erected it before it was no more,
Dead mourned by Fāṭima, by her father and by Ali
The man for him testifies sublimity.
Had the Messenger of Allāh been after him raised,
He would have now been mourning him.
They carried a head whose grandfather they greet,
Be it is out of their free will, involuntarily,
Being handled by them as they pleased.
They neither honoured him nor sanctified...

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[1]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 73.

[2]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 38. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 32.

[3]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 224.

[4]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 102.

O Messenger of Allāh! If you only eyed
How they kept killing and taking captive,
How they were prohibited from enjoying any shade,
How their thirsty ones were met with the spears

How they were driven, stumbling, one following behind,
Another transported on a bare conveyance, how unkind!
Your eyes would have seen a sight
That would surely have grieved your insides
And would surely have been for your eyes a sore.
Such should not be how the Messenger of Allāh,
O nation of oppression and corruption, be treated
They slaughtered like sacrifices his offspring that day,
Then they drove his family like slaves away.
They kept calling upon the Messenger of Allāh
Whenever marching was hard, whenever they stumbled.[1]

PART II

POST-MARTYRDOM EVENTS

O Kūfians! Do you know what liver of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) have you cut off? Do you know what blood you have shed? Which daughter of his have you frightened? What sanctity of his have you violated? Should you be surprised if the sky rains blood? Surely in the torment of the hereafter there is more shame, and they shall not be helped!

– "Umm Kulthūm" Zainab

THE ELEVENTH NIGHT

And what a night it was for the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) whom lofty eminence never forsook ever since they were born! It was only yesterday that they lived in the pavilions of greatness and the chambers of dignity, lit during the day by the sun of Prophethood and during the night by the star of caliphate and by the lanterns emitting the radiance of sanctity. During this night, they were left in the pitch dark, having lost those shining lights, their belongings plundered, their chambers burnt, fear overwhelming them. They remained among the corpses of those who used to be their protectors. Now they have neither protectors nor defenders. They do not know anyone who could defend them if they were to be attacked, or who would repel those who might terrorize them, or who would calm and pacify those who have lost their loved ones. Yes, there were among them children crying in anguish. There were mothers of children waned by the arrows, sisters of those who were martyred, mothers who lost their sons. And they were mourning their dear ones. Next to them were body parts amputated, corpses slashed and cut, necks covered with blood. And they were in a desolate

[1]From a poem by al-Sharīf al-Raḍi, may Allāh elevate his status.

desert... Behind the low marshes stood the army of treachery savouring its "victory": the recklessness of winners and the meanness of vanquishers. Besides all of this, they did not know what the morning would bring them and what the caller would announce. Will he announce their slaughter, or will they be taken captive? None other than the ailing Imām (ع) could defend them, had he only been able to defend himself against the danger of being killed.

A nurse set out to suckle her infant
With feelings that caused her infant to die of patience.
She saw his cradle, with grief after him overflowing,
And it used to overflow with happiness.
And her breast with her pure milk is weighed
For her infant used to overflow.
Swiftly to the infant's resting place did she go,
Perhaps she would find in him some life so he would suckle,
But she only saw a corpse at a slaughter place,
In it an arrow rested that killed the neck,
So she yearned and over him knelt
With her ribs to shade him from the heat.
She hugged him, though dead,
And from his spilled blood she dyed her chest.
And she wished, having seen his cheeks covered with blood
That with his arrow her own cheeks were split.
Over his grave she poured her heart
With feelings overflowing.
She now eulogizes him with the best of verse.
She sings lullabies once and once she
Hugs his corpse that decorated the pearls.
And she often kneels down and sniffs
Where his neck was slit and then kisses him again,
So how miserable you are and how bereaved
With the like of your tears did al-Khansā' mourn Sakhr!
Of her emotions and yearnings she had that day
A cage for eternity from which the bird had flown away...[1]

Vexation overwhelmed the world of the domain and of the unseen; the *hūris* in the chambers of Paradise were crying, and so were the angels in the strata between the heavens, as the jinns mourned.[2]

Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd says, "`Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād built four mosques in Baṣra to disseminate hatred towards Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع)."[3]

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[1]Excerpted from a poem eulogizing al-Ḥusain (ع) by the authority Shaikh `Abd al-Mun`im al-Farṭūsi.

[2]Shaikh Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammed ibn `Abdullāh al-Shibli al-Ḥanafi (d. 769 A.H./1368 A.D.), *Ākām al-Jān*, p. 146. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 341. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 199. al-Sayyūṭi, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, p. 139. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

[3]Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul Balāgha*, Vol. 1, p. 386 (first Egyptian edition). al-Majlisi, *Safīnat al-Biḥār*, Vol. 1, p. 602 (old edition) citing p. 729, Vol. 8, of his other work titled *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

This is not how to reward Allāh's Messenger
O nation of oppression and corruption!
Had the Messenger of Allāh lived after him,
He would have today mourned him exceedingly.

Umm Salamah saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in a vision[1] with his hair looking quite untidy, dusty, with earth soil on his head. She asked him, "O Messenger of Allāh! Why do I see your hair looking so untidy and dusty?" "My son," he (ص) said, "has been killed, and I have not yet finished digging his grave and those of his companions."[2] She woke up terrified and looked at the bottle containing a specimen of the soil of Kerbalā'. She found it boiling in blood.[3] It was the bottle given to her by the Prophet (ص) who ordered her to keep it. Moreover, she heard in the depth of the night a caller mourning al-Ḥusain (ع) saying

O killers of al-Ḥusain out of ignorance
Receive the news of your torture and annihilation.
The son of David had cursed you
And so did Moses and the man of the Gospel.
All the people of the heavens condemn you
Every prophet, every messenger, and every martyr.[4]

In fact, she heard in the depth of the night other voices mourning al-Ḥusain (ع) but could not see them. Among the poetry she had heard was the following:

O eyes! This is a day for your tears

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[1]On p. 38, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, Ibn al-Athīr says, "This can be established if we agree that she lived more than fifty years." Ibn Na`īm, as quoted in her biography stated on p. 460, Vol. 4, of Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni's book *Al-Iṣāba*, says, "She died in 62 A.H./882 A.D.; she was the last of the mothers of the believers [to die]." According to al-Wāqidi, she died in 59 A.H./679 A.D. On p. 362, Vol. 2, of al-Nawawi's *Tahthīb al-Asmā'*, Aḥmed ibn Abu Khaythamah is quoted as saying that she died during the reign of Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah. On p. 137, Vol. 1, of *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, al-Yāfi`i, the author, says, "Umm Salamah, mother of the faithful, died in 61 A.H. (681 A.D.)." In his book *Al-Bidāya*, Ibn Kathīr, in agreement with al-Wāqidi, says that the above-cited traditions relevant to al-Ḥusain's martyrdom indicate that she lived till after his death. Al-`Ayni, who explains p. 427, Vol. 1, of al-Bukhāri's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, where the latter discusses the *qunūt*, says, "Umm Salamah died in Shawwal of 59 A.H. (August of 679 A.D.)." On p. 341, Vol. 4, of *Tahthīb Tārīkh Ibn `Asākir*, al-Wāqidi is quoted as saying that Umm Salamah died three years before al-Ḥusain's martyrdom. In his book *Al-Kāfi*, al-Mufīd cites Ahl al-Bayt (ع) saying that al-Ḥusain (ع) had entrusted the nation's treasures to her in order to pass them on to Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع). On p. 142, Vol. 2, of al-Thahbi's book *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā*', al-Thahbi says, "Umm Salamah, wife of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), was the last to die from among the mothers of the faithful. She lived till the news of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (ع) reached her. She was shaken, and she fainted. She grieved for him a great deal, remaining only for a short while thereafter before departing to Allāh, the most Exalted One." On p. 146 of the same book, Shahr is quoted as saying, "I came to Umm Salamah to offer my condolences on the death of al-Ḥusain (ع)."

[2]Shaikh al-Ṭūsi, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 56. According to p. 356, Vol. 2, of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, p. 148 of al-Ṭabari's book *Thakhāir al-`Uqba*, p. 139 of al-Sayyūṭi's book *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, and p. 213, Vol. 3, of al-Thahbi's book *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, Umm Salamah saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in a vision telling her of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (ع).

[3]al-Yāfi`i, *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, Vol. 1, p. 134. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 38. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 95.

[4]These verses are recorded on p. 341, Vol. 4, of Ibn `Asākir's *Tārīkh*.

So cry hard and spare not.
Who after me shall the martyrs mourn
Over folks led by their fates
To a tyrant in the reign of slaves?[1]

On the day of `Āshūra, Ibn `Abbās saw the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in a vision with his hair looking very untidy, and he was holding a bottle of blood. He said to him, "May my parents be sacrificed for your sake! What is this?!" "This is the blood of al-Ḥusain (ع) and of his companions;" he said, adding, "I have been collecting it, and I have not yet finished doing so."[2]

They kept al-Ḥusain's naked corpse on the ground for three days although he was the essence of existence itself, being part of the Prophet (ص) who is the cause of all causes, the one whose light was derived from the holiest light of the Most Holy One. Three days saw nothing but pitched darkness[3], and the nights were even more so[4]. People thought that Doomsday had dawned[5]. Stars appeared at midday[6]. And they kept colliding with one another[7]. The rays of the sun could not be seen[8], and all this continued for three long days[9]. Nobody should be surprised at seeing the light of the sun diminishing during the period when the master of the youths of Paradise was left naked on the ground, for he is the cause in the cosmos running due to what you have come to know of his being derived from the very truth of Muḥammed (ص), the truth which is the cause of all causes

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[1]Reference to these verses is made on p. 341, Vol. 4 of Ibn `Asākir's *Tārīkh*, p. 127, Vol. 2, of al-Sayyūṭi's *Khaṣā'iṣ*, and p. 199, Vol. 9, of *Mujma` al-Zawā'id* of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami.

[2]Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 340. al-Sayyūṭi, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 126. al-Sayyūṭi, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, p. 139. al-Yāfi`i, *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, Vol. 1, p. 134. Aḥmed, *Musnad*, Vol. 1, p. 242. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56. al-Ṭabari, *Thakhā'ir al-`Uqba*, p. 148. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, Vol. 2, p. 355. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 28. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116. *Tarh al-Tathrīb*, Vol. 1, p. 22. al-Khatīb al-Baghdadi, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 142. al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 285. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 94, chapter 12. al-Thahbi, *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 3, p. 212.

[3]Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339. al-Sayyūṭi, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 126. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116. al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 289. Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 155. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 90. A non-Imāmite ought not doubt this fact especially once he reads on p. 114, Vol. 6, of al-Qastalāni's book *Irshād al-Sāri fi Sharḥ al-Bukhāri*, that the earth was pitched in the dark upon the death of `Omer [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]...!!!

[4]al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Itḥāf bi Ḥubbil-Ashrāf*, p. 24. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, Vol. 2, p. 354. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339. Nobody can find it objectionable in the light of what is recorded by Ibn al-Jawzi on p. 244, Vol. 7, of his book *Al-Muntazim*, in the events of August of 399 A.H./1009 A.D. He narrates saying, "Pilgrims who visited al-Tha`labiyya were hit by a black wind that darkened their daytime, leaving them unable to see one another."

[5]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116.al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Ithāf*, p. 24.

[6]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, Vol. 1, p. 354. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muhriqa*, p. 116. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339. *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, p. 138. Shaikh Muḥammed Ali ibn Ghānim al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

[7]al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Itḥāf bi Ḥubbil-Ashrāf*, p. 24. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339. *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, p. 138. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

[8]Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 197. *Tārīkh al-Khulafā*, p. 138. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qaṭari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56. Nobody should find this strange; the sun was eclipsed when Ibrāhīm son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) died as stated on p. 212, Vol. 3, of al-Zarqāni's book *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, by al-Jazri on p. 39, Vol. 1, of his book *Usd al-Ghāba*, and by al-`Ayni on p. 472, Vol. 3, of his book *`Umdat al-Qāri fi Sharḥ al-Bukhāri* in a chapter about how to perform the eclipse prayers.

[9]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 77. This is the same as our statement saying that it was pitch dark for three days.

and the first reason. It is due to the tradition, which confirms the same, and which is related to how the responsibility of *wilāya* was offered to everything in existence: whoever accepted it would surely benefit therefrom, and whoever refused would be deprived.

If the talk about the cosmos undergoing some change on account of the birth of a great prophet till the heavens are filled with clouds, and that it rained when a Christian scholar at Surra-man-Rā'ā [Samarrā'][1] prayed for rain, although he did not uncover the body of the prophet [but only a bone of whose body he was holding], nor were his limbs cut off; so, how could it not undergo a change, or why should not the sunlight or the moonlight not be obliterated when the [corpse of the] Master of the Youths of Paradise was left on the ground after being mutilated?

Why did not the heavens when he was killed not collide?
Why did the earth when he fell not crack?
I after him excuse the moon of the morn
If it does not appear, and if the sun does not shine.
And the comet if let loose and their clouds, too,
If they departed, and if the beasts do not graze,
And the water if not pure and the trees
If they do not blossom, and the birds
If they do not sing at all,
And the wind if it does not blow
Except becoming storms and gales
And water shall I never drink near him
But stay grieved, heart-rent.
May the foes shoot my heart with a fateful blow
If what the most Exalted Glory did would not let me grieve so.

Borne on a bare and lean hump stayed,
If I ever forget how his offspring were conveyed.[2]

Yes! The condition of everything changed, and all beings were altered. The wild beasts mourned him with tears in their eyes. The Commander of the Faithful (ع) has said, "By my parents! Al-Ḥusain (ع) will be killed in the outskirts of Kūfa. It is as if I can see the wild beasts stretching their necks on his grave mourning him all night long till the morning."[3] And it rained blood[4]. Water urns and jars and every other container was

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[1]al-Rāwindi, *Al-Kharā'ij*, p. 64 (Indian edition), where the miracles of Imām al-Ḥasan al-`Askari (ع), are discussed.

[2]Excerpted from a poem by Shaikh Muḥammed son of Sharīf son of Falāh al-Kāẓimi, author of the Karrāri poem in praise of the Commander of the Faithful which he had written in 1166 A.H./1753 A.D. and which eighteen of his contemporary poets critiqued. This one totals 39 lines as compiled by the authority al-Amīni, author of *Al-Ghadīr*.

[3]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 80.

[4]*Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 126. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339.Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 155. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 89. al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 989. al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Itḥāf bi Ḥubbil-Ashrāf*, p. 255. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116. Ibn Shahr Āshūb (d. 588 A.H./1192 A.D.), *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, pp. 206 and (continued...)

filled with blood[1]. For a long time did its stain remain on houses and walls[2]. Whenever a stone was removed, blood was found underneath it[3], even in Jerusalem[4].

When the head was brought into the governor's mansion, the mansion's walls dripped blood[5] and a fire broke out from a number of its walls. That fire ran in the direction of `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād who, noticing it, ordered those who were in his company to keep what they had seen to themselves[6]. He fled away from it. It was then that the holy head spoke loudly saying, "Where are you running to, O cursed one?! If it does not reach you in this life, the Fire shall be your abode in the hereafter." The head kept speaking till the fire was out. Everyone in the mansion was amazed[7].

For two or three months did the people see the walls stained with blood at sunrise and at sunset[8]. Another incident is that of a raven stained with the blood of al-Ḥusain (ع). It flew to Medīna and fell on the walls of the house where Fāṭima, the youngest daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع), was living at the time. She used this incident as a theme in mourning the killing of her father [before its news reached Medīna] (ع). When she mourned him to the people of Medīna, they said, "Here she is reviving the witchcraft of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib's offspring!" It was not long before the news of his martyrdom came. This is narrated by the most eloquent among all the orators of Khawārizm, namely Aḥmed ibn Mekki [al-Khawārizmi] who died in 568 A.H./1173 A.D. as we read on p. 92, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*. This coincident should not surprise anyone especially when we come to know the fact that al-Ḥusain (ع) had another daughter besides Fāṭima and Sukayna.

Al-Ḥusain's martyrdom was surrounded with super-natural events. It is as though the Almighty, the most Exalted One, wanted then to inform the nation, as well as the succeeding generations, to be acquainted with this epic the like of which has never been witnessed. He wanted to inform them about the extent of cruelty of the Umayyads in dealing with Abu `Abdullāh, the man who sacrificed his all for the sake of the Divine Call. This implies attracting everyone's attention to the status al-Ḥusain (ع) enjoys with Allāh, and that his killing will refute all misguidance and will herald the revival of the creed, the survival of which was desired by the Lord of the World, till the Day the dead shall be resurrected.

Du`bal al-Khuzā`i narrated a story which he traces back to his grandfather thus:

His mother, Su`da daughter of Mālik al-Khuzā`i, was alive and aware of the fact that a tree belonging

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[4](...continued)
182. The heavens raining blood is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr on p. 29, Vol. 7, of his book *Al-Kāmil* where the events of the year 246 A.H./860 A.D. are discussed. *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, Vol. 2, p. 322. al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, *Kanz al-`Ummāl*, Vol. 4, p. 291.

[1]*Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 126.

[2]Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116.

[3]*Ibid*.

[4]Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 196. *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 125. al-Sayyūṭi, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, p. 138. Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli, *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*, Vol. 2, p. 315. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 90.

[5]Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116.

[6]Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 196. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 103. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 87. al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 338.

[7]*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abī Firās*, p. 149.

[8]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 6, p. 37. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56. Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 155.

to the mother of Ma`bid al-Khuzā`i[1] had long been dead. The Prophet (ص) happened to make his ablution there and he poured the left-overs of his ablution water under that tree. Through such a blessing, the tree was brought back to life: it became green once more, and its produce was quite bountiful. When the Prophet (ص) died, its produce decreased a great deal, and when the Commander of the Faithful (ع) was killed, all its fruit fell at once on the ground. People continued to use its leaves as a medicine. After some time, they looked at it and noticed how its trunk was literally bleeding. They were terrified for having seen something nobody else had ever seen. When the night brought the mantle of its darkness, they heard someone weeping and wailing without seeing anyone at all. They heard another voice saying:

O martyr, and martyr is his uncle, too
The best of uncles, Ja`fer al-Ṭayyār
Strange how a polished one dared to hit you
On the face, and dust had covered you.

It was not long after having witnessed such an odd phenomenon that news came of the killing of al-Ḥusain (ع). Du`bal al-Khuzā`i dedicated three lines of poetry complementing the above wherein he said,

Visit the best of graves in Iraq
And disobey the ass, for whoever forbade you is an ass
Why should I not visit you, O Ḥusain?
May my life be sacrificed for you,
And may my people and everyone to me dear.
All do not at all with you compare,

For you there is love in the hearts of the wise
Your foe is annihilated; him do we despise.[2]

The meaning of the second line was borrowed by a Shī`a poet of old and reworded in three lines [the rough translation of which runs thus]:

How strange should a sword blow be dealt to you
On the day when dust high and wide flew!
And strange how arrows snatched you from the ladies
Who called upon your grandfather with tears abundant.
Why did not someone the arrows break?
Should your holy and exalted body them overtake?[3]

In fact, anyone who touched the sassafran which had been plundered [from Ḥusain's family] was burnt thereby and reduced to ashes. The taste of the meat of the camels which they had looted was more bitter than that of

[1]On pp. 588-590 of my book titled *Allah: The Concept of God in Islam* (Qum, Islamic Republic of Iran: Anṣāriyan Publications, 1997), as well as on the preceding pages, I provided more details about this miracle. –Tr.

[2]This poem is cited on p. 100, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*.

[3]This poem is recorded on p. 380, Vol. 2, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's book *Al-Manāqib*.

colocynth, and they saw fire coming out of it[1].

Nobody had ever seen the sky turning red except on the day when al-Ḥusain (ع) was killed[2]. Ibn al-Jawzi has said,

> Whenever anyone among the people was angry, anger left permanent physical marks on his face. Since the Truth, Exalted is He, is far above having a physical form to manifest to people, He manifested His wrath for the killing of al-Ḥusain (ع) through the redness of the horizon on account of the magnanimity of the crime committed... The Prophet (ص) could not sleep as he heard the moaning of his uncle, al-`Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who had been taken captive and who was tied during the battle of Badr; so, what would his condition have been had he heard the moaning of al-Ḥusain (ع)? When Waḥshi, Ḥamzah's killer, embraced Islam, the Prophet (ص) said to him, "Get your face away from my sight, for I do not like to see the killer of my loved ones." This was so despite the fact that Islam wipes out whatever sins one had committed prior to accepting the faith; so, what would his condition have been had he seen the person who killed his [grand]son and who transported his family on camels' bare humps?[3]

Yes! The [soul of the] Messenger of Allāh (ص) did, indeed, attend and witness the huge host which was bent on eradicating his family from the face of earth, and he saw the wailing of the orphans and the sobbing of the ladies who had lost their loved ones, and he heard the cries of the children because of thirst. In fact, the army heard a thunderous voice saying, "Woe unto you, O people of Kūfa! I see the Messenger of Allāh (ص) eying you, once looking at you, and once looking at the heavens, holding his holy beard!" But the desires and the misguidance which have taken control of the souls of that greedy host inspired to them that it was just "a mad man" [who was calling]. The crowd among them shouted, "Let it not frighten you!" Abu `Abdullāh, Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع), used to say, "I do not think that that voice came from anyone another than Gabriel."[4]

Some angels shouted, "O nation that has become confused and misguided after its Prophet! May Allāh never accept your Adha nor Fitr [Eid] prayers!" Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) has said, "By Allāh! There is no doubt at all that they were not successful, nor will they ever be, till a revolutionary rises for [the offspring of] al-Ḥusain (ع)."[5]

Suppose John's blood on the ground did boil,
Ḥusain's blood in the hearts did indeed boil.
Should Bucht-Nuzzar of old seek for John revenge?
His justice was indeed fully redressed,
But the blood of the Prophet's grandson shell not
Calm down before al-Qā'im,

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[1] *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 126. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 339. *Tahthīb al-Thahthīb*, Vol. 2, p. 354. *Majma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 96. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 56. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 90.

[2] Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116.

[3] Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 154. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116.

[4] Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*.

[5] al-Ṣadūq, *Man la Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh*, p. 148.

By Allāh's leave, seeks his revenge.[1]

Shaikh al-Bahā'i has narrated saying that his father, Shaikh Ḥusain ibn `Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥārithi, entered Kūfa's mosque once and found a carnelian stone upon which these lines were written:

I am jewels from the heavens, so scatter me
When the parents of the Prophet's grandson betrothed;
More clear than silver I once used to be
Now my color is that of al-Ḥusain's blood.[2]

THE ELEVENTH NIGHT IN THE COMPANY OF AL-ḤUSAIN (ع)

Anyone who follows the path of the Infallible Imāms, peace be upon them, will surely feel very grieved if he had the opportunity to spend the eleventh night at the grave of the oppressed Imām (ع). Signs of disappointment and depression as well as grief will have painted their marks on his face upon witnessing such a tremendous calamity. He would have heard the moaning and groaning, the sighs and cries of those whom al-Ḥusain (ع) had left behind. He would have closely witnessed the corpses of the Progeny of Muḥammed (ع), who had sacrificed themselves for Islam, lying on the ground drenched in their blood as the wind blew upon them in that wilderness: parts cut off by the spears, from whose blood swords drank, and whatever was left was crushed under the horses' hooves...

Whoever had the chance to come close to the ladies, who grew up in the home of revelation, would find them shedding their tears on those sacred corpses. The women were crying, sobbing, beating their chests, their hair protruding on their faces[3]. He would then console them with his own incessant tears, with his loud cries and generous grief.

It goes without saying that such a grief is related to the truthful one, Fāṭima al-Zahrā' (ع), to consoling her, and to fulfilling the wish of the Imāms of Guidance, peace be upon them, according to many traditions reported in all such circumstances.

There are traditions from which one may derive such a conclusion if he only contemplates upon them. For example, there is a tradition reported by Mālik al-Juhni who quotes Imām [al-Bāqir] Abu Ja`fer [al-Ṣādiq] (ع) saying, "Whoever visits al-Ḥusain's grave on `Āshūra and remains there mourning will meet Allāh on the Day of Judgment receiving the rewards due to two million performances of the *ḥajj* and two million performances of the *`umra* and two million campaigns in the company of the Messenger of Allāh and the Guided Imāms."[4]

Scholars of Arabic who examined the original text of this statement conclude that all such rewards are

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the *`allāma* Shaikh Muḥammed Taqi al-Jawhari.

[2]Excerpted from a poem recorded on p. 17 of the Indian edition of the *Kashkūl* of Shaikh Yousuf al-Baḥrāni.

[3]On p. 282, Vol. 2, of his book *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, at the end of a chapter dealing with *nathrs*, Shaikh al-Ṭūsi quotes Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) saying, "The ladies who descended from Fāṭima (ع) tore their pockets as they grieved and beat their cheeks. It is for al-Ḥusain (ع) that the cheeks should be beaten and the pockets torn."

[4]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 174.

due to one who remains there all day long till the night even if he does not spend the night there. But Jābir al-Ju`fi's tradition, wherein he quotes Abu `Abdullāh [Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq] (ع), sheds a light that may help understand it better. He has said, "One who visits al-Ḥusain's grave [shrine] and spends a night there will be as though he had been martyred in his company."[1] This statement apparently implies staying there for one night prior to spending the day at his grave-site.

Discerning this tradition will let one conclude that one who stays at the grave of the one who sacrificed himself for Islam, and who did so suffering from thirst, for a full day, ought not depart from there during the [eleventh] night the like of which had never been witnessed by the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and the trust of the caliphate. They were left behind in the desert by shining moons and by the elite from among the men of honour. Beside them lay the parts that the swords of oppression and misguidance had cut off. They were frightened, not knowing what to expect from the enemies of Allāh and of His Messenger. One who pays homage to them and who spends that night at al-Ḥusain's grave will demonstrate through his grief and mourning his sadness for being too late to come to his aid and to earn the greatest salvation. He would keep repeating the statement saying: *Ya laytana kunna ma`akum fa nafooza fawzan azeema*, "How we wish we were with you so we would earn a great achievement."[2] He would console the Lady of all Women (ع) who mourned her son who was forbidden from drinking water. Tharra, the mourner, saw her once in a vision standing at al-Ḥusain's grave weeping, and she ordered Tharra to eulogize her son (ع) with these lines:

O eyes! Overflow and do not dry
And do over the one killed at Ṭaff cry.
They left his body in every place hit,
But I could not, alas, tend to it.
No, nor was he sick at all...[3]

Abu Ali, al-Muḥsin ibn Ali al-Tanūkhi, the judge, quotes his father saying, "Abul-Ḥassan, the scribe, inquired once about who the son of the mourner was. Nobody in the meeting place at Karkh[4] knew the answer besides myself. I asked him, `What is the context of the question?' He said, `I have a bondmaid who fasts and who recites *tahajjud* quite often, yet she cannot [besides] correctly pronounce even one Arabic word! Moreover, she even quotes poetry, and her accent is heavily Nabatean. Last night, she woke up terrified, trembling. Her bed was close to mine. She cried out to me, `O father of al-Ḥasan! Come help me!' I asked her what was wrong with her. She said, `I performed my prayers and supplications then went to bed. I saw myself walking in one of the Karkh alleys. Soon I saw a clean room, white and beautiful, decorated with teak wood, and its door was open. There were women standing in it whom I asked about who had died and about what the matter was. They pointed to the interior of the house, so I entered and found a clean and most beautiful room. In its courtyard stood a young woman who was the best, the most radiating, the most beautiful woman I have ever seen. She was wrapped in white clothes, and in her lap there was a head bleeding. I asked her, `Who are you?' She said, `Never mind..., I am Fāṭima daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), and this is the head of my son al-Ḥusain (ع). Tell

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 137, Chapter 71.

[2] On p. 66 of Shaikh al-Ṣadūq's book *`Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍa*, a tradition is narrated about Imām al-Riḍa (ع) wherein he says to Ibn Shabīb, "If you wish to make your abodes the chambers of Paradise in the company of the Prophet (ص), you should curse those who killed al-Ḥusain (ع), and whenever you mention his name, you should say, `How I wish I had been with them so that I would achieve a great achievement!'"

[3] Excerpted from verses recorded on p. 189, Vol. 2, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's *book Manāqib* (Iranian edition) as quoted from the *Āmāli* by the Naishapuri *shaikh* al-Mufīd.

[4] Baghdad's part on the east of the Tigris. It is the same part where the holy city of Kazimiyya is located.

Ibn Asda` on my behalf to euologize him with this verse:

I did not dress his wound,
No, nor was he sick at all.'

I, therefore, woke up frightened.'" She was calmed down by the old lady in the house [apparently the mother of the narrator] till she was able to sleep. Abul-Ḥasa, the scribe, said to Ali al-Tanūkhi, "O father of al-Qāsim! Since you yourself know Ibn Asda`, you are now morally obligated to convey the message to him." Al-Tanūkhi agreed saying, "I hear and I obey the order of the Lady of all the Women of the World, peace be upon her."

All this happened during the month of Sha`bān when people were suffering a great deal from the persecution of the Ḥanbalis who resisted their going to al-Ḥā'ir. I kept pleading to them till I was permitted to go. I reached al-Ḥā'ir in the eve of the middle of Sha`bān. I kept inquiring about the whereabouts of Ibn Asda` till I was able to see him. I said to him, "Fāṭima, peace be upon her, orders you to mourn the martyrdom of her son with the poem starting with:

I did not dress his wound,
No, nor was he sick at all.

... and I was at that time unfamiliar with that poem. He felt very vexed, so I narrated to him and to those in his company the incident above. They all burst in tears, and everyone who mourned al-Ḥusain (ع) that night used this poem as a eulogy. It starts with

O eyes! Overflow and do not dry
And do over the one killed at Ṭaff cry.

It is written by a poet from Kūfa. I went back to Abul-Ḥasan and told him."[1]

THE LOOTING

O father of al-Ḥasan! The one best to protect his neighbour,
To you do I complain with overflowing tears,
Let alone a great shame that overspread
Wherein tears are part of my address.
Should you overlook as you today see
How Umayyah's offspring sought and achieved
All their mischievous revenge?
How many for you at the Ṭaff, where
A mourner bitterly mourned,
Were wailing like pigeons in their necks
Iron collars they had to wear?
And how many a child did they scare?
Mourning one who never knew but kindness.
And how many a child decorated with gold

[1]al-Tanūkhi, the judge, *Nashwār al-Muḥādara*, Vol. 8, p. 218.

Did they shackle and did they scold?
And with arrows was he shot.
How many a free lady with hair
Uncovered came out of the tent

Having nothing to veil her except her hands?
Should you have witnessed how she
With a heavy heart sighed as her heart burned.
It would have been hard for the Commander of the Faithful
That she should thus come out at all,
In a condition that grieved everyone with a heart.
Who then should tell al-Zahrā' about Zainab
Being taken into captivity
And being driven among the foes to Damascus?
She has none from the foe to protect
Except one in the robes heavily tied up,
For those who came to Kerbalā'
All fell on its ground, one glorious martyr after another.
They spent and the greatness of their glory covered their faces
And died in dignity without kneeling before a tyrant.
No excuse shall be for my heart if I say so,
Should my eyes with tears forever overflow.[1]

When Abu `Abdullāh al-Ḥusain (ع), was killed, people fell upon his luggage and belongings looting everything they could find in his tents[2], then they set the tents ablaze. People raced to rob the ladies of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). The daughters of Fāṭima al-Zahrā' (ع) tearfully ran away, their hair uncovered[3]. Scarves were snatched, rings were pulled out of fingers, ear-rings were taken out, and so were ankle-rings[4]. A man took both ear-rings belonging to Umm Kulthūm, riddling her ears in the process[5]. Another approached Fāṭima daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع) and took her ankle-rings out. He was crying. "What is the matter with you?" she asked him. "How can I help crying," he answered, "since I am looting the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh?" She asked him to leave her alone. He said, "I am afraid if I do not take it, someone else will."[6]

Another man was seen driving the women with the butt of his spear, after having robbed them of their coverings and jewelry as they sought refuge with one another. He was seen by the same Fāṭima. Having realized that she had seen him, he went towards her, and she fled away. He threw his spear at her. She fell headlong and fainted. When she recovered, she saw her aunt Umm Kulthūm, sitting at her head crying.[7]

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the *`allāma* the authority Shaikh Abd al-Mun`im al-Farṭūsi.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 32.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 260.

[4]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 40.

[5]Muḥammed Jawād Shubbar, *Al-Dam`a al-Sākiba*, p. 348.

[6]al-Ṣadūq, *Āmāli*, p. 99, *majlis* 31. al-Thahbi, *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 3, p. 204.

[7]*Riyāḍ al-Maṣā'ib*, p. 341. al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 130.

She was from her sleep disturbed
Like doves startled after their slumber
Deploring the protection she now lost
By losing the best a woman could lose.
She lost the best pillar,
So she invoked the "manliness" of Banū `Amr.
For moons she mourned and cried
For the one whose spilled blood she sighed.
And through whom everything with light shone,
Now they are slaughtered and their corpses strewn.
Some had their parts scattered and some lost their arms
One after another on the plain they did fall
Did one with his feet to a lion's den walk?
They shattered the pitched darkness,
Now on the ground they lie motionless.[1]

A woman from the clan of Bakr ibn Wā'il, who was accompanied by her husband, saw the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) in such a condition, so she cried out, "O offspring of Bakr ibn Wā'il! Do you permit the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to be thus robbed? There is no judgment except Allāh's! O how the Messenger of Allāh (ص) should be avenged!" Her husband brought her back to his conveyance[2].

The rogues reached Ali son of al-Ḥusain (ع) who was sick on his bed unable to stand up[3]. Some were saying, "Do not let any of them, young or old, remain alive." Others were saying, "Do not be rash in your judgment till we consult the governor `Amr ibn Sa`d."[4] Al-Shimr unsheathed his sword with the intention to kill Ali. Hamīd ibn Muslim said to him, "Glory to Allāh! Do you really kill children?! He is only a sick lad!"[5] He said, "Ibn Ziyād ordered all al-Ḥusain's sons killed." Ibn Sa`d went to extremes to stop him[6] especially after having heard the wise lady Zainab daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) saying, "You will not kill him before killing me first;" so, they left him alone[7].

His remedy from them was their whips as they
Hit them then did they say, "May you stay!"
They dragged him and prepared for him the leather mat

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the authority critic Shaikh `Abd al-Ḥusain al-Ḥilli, may Allāh have mercy on his soul, from a poem on the birth anniversary of al-Ḥusain (ع).

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 74. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 41.

[3]Reference to the sickness of al-Sajjād (ع) is documented by al-Ṭabari on p. 260, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*. It is also mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr on p. 33, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, by Ibn Kathīr on p. 188, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Bidāya*, by al-Yāfi`i on p. 133, Vol. 1, of his book *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, by Shaikh al-Mufīd in his book *Al-Irshād*, by Ibn Shahr Āshūb on p. 225, Vol. 2, of his book *Manāqib*, by al-Ṭibrisi on p. 148 of his book *I`lām al-Warā*, by Muḥammed ibn Aḥmed ibn Ali al-Naishapuri on p. 162 of his book *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, and by al-Mas`ūdi on p. 140 of his book *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya*.

[4]al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 132.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 260.

[6]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*.

[7]al-Qarmāni, *Tārīkh*, p. 108.

After having filled his body with thistles and with thorns.

Ibn Sa`d himself came to the ladies who burst in tears upon seeing him. He ordered the men to stay away from them. Those men had already taken all the ornaments those ladies had had and never returned any of them back[1]. He assigned to a group of men the task of protecting them, then he returned to his tent.

Perplexed the ladies were
From their sleep deprived,
Startled when their chambers were assaulted.
In pavilions they lived and thrived.
They camped in honour, from hardship exempt,
From awe almost none comes near them except
The angels that were there to serve,
Now people's hands from mischief do not swerve,
Now the people's hands are free to steal, to plunder
For none is there to stop them, none to hinder.
Yes, she bent her body to chide
Her people, and fire filled her inside.

She rebuked them for fighting over what she had to wear,
For what the foe's snatched, but who will hear or care?[2]

THE STEED

Ibn Sa`d shouted, "Who volunteers to make sure that the chest and the back of al-Ḥusain (ع) are run over by the horses?" Ten men stood up.[3]

Those miscreant "volunteers" were: Isḥāq ibn Hawiyyah[4], al-Ahbash ibn Murshid ibn `Alqamah ibn Salāmah al-Ḥaḍrami, Hakīm ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Sinbisi, `Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Ṣaydāwi, Rajā' ibn Munqith al-`Abdi, Sālim ibn Khaythamah al-Ju`fi, Ṣāliḥ ibn Wahab al-Ju`fi, Wākhit ibn Ghānim, Hāni ibn Thābīt al-Haḍrami, and Asīd ibn Mālik. They rode their horses and trampled upon the body of the fragrant flower of the Messenger of

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[1]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 32. Miṣ`ab al-Zubayri says something quite strange: On p. 58 of *Nasab Quraish*, he says that some of those in the army took Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) and hid him from people. He was very kind and generous to him. But when he heard a caller saying that whoever brought Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) would have three hundred dirhams, he tied his hands to his neck then brought him to Ibn Ziyād and took his reward. Ibn Ziyād, he goes on, wanted to kill him had it not been for the lad's aunt, Zainab, who threw herself on him saying to Ibn Ziyād, "Kill me before you kill him!" This is the end of his statement. But if you know that despite his sickness, Ibn Ziyād was the only sponsor and protector of the women of the Messenger of Allāh (ص); so, Allāh would not permit any of His servants to overpower him thus and to keep him away from the family. Such was the condition of the bereaved women. How could it have been had their protector been kept away from them? None of the historians, as a matter of fact, mentioned something like that even by way of conjecture. But al-Zubayri simply wished to besmear his record of deeds with lies.

[2]These verses were composed by Sayyid Ḥayder al-Ḥilli, may Allāh fill his mausoleum with light.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 161. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 33. al-Mas`ūdi, *Murūj al-Thahab*, Vol. 2, p. 91. al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 288. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 189. al-Khamīs, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 3, p. 333. Shaikh al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭibrisi, *I`lām al-Wa*rā, p. 888. al-Naishapuri, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, p. 662. Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 224.

[4]On p. 31, Vol. 4, of *Tāj al-`Arūs*, her name is recorded as "Ḥuwayza."

Allāh... Then the ten "men" went back to Ibn Ziyād with Asīd ibn Mālik in their vanguard reciting this *rajaz* verse of poetry:

> We did crush the chest and the back:
> Mighty steeds made it like a river track.

Ibn Ziyād ordered generous awards to be given to them[1].

> What a martyr whose body the sun baked,
> And its rising from his origin is born!
> And what a slaughtered one trampled upon
> By the steeds from whose names the cavaliers freeze.
> Did they not know that Muḥammed's soul,
> Like his Qur'ān, in his grandfather personified?
> Had those steeds, like their riders, only knew
> That the one under their hooves was but Aḥmed,
> They against their riders would mutiny declare,
> Just as they against him rebellious they were.[2]

Al-Birūni has said,

> They did to al-Ḥusain (ع) what no other nation had ever done to their most evil ones: killing with the sword or the spear, with stone throwing, and with horse trampling[3]. Some of those horses reached Egypt where their shoes were pulled out and fixed on doors as means of seeking blessings. This became a custom among them, so much so that many of them started making the like of those shoes and hanging them over the doors of their houses.[4]

> May hands that fought you be to pieces chopped,

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[1]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 75. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 41. On p. 39, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi adds the following verses to the above:

> Till we disobeyed some of the Commandments of Allāh,
> The Omnipotent, when dealing with al-Ḥusain, the Pure One.

[2]Excerpted from a poem by Sayyid Ṣāliḥ son of the *`allāma* Sayyid Mehdi Baḥr al-`Ulūm.

[3]Abul-Rayhān al-Birūni, *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*, p. 329.

[4]al-Karakchi, *Kitāb al-Ta`ajjub*, p. 46.

May feet that oppressed you be forever paralyzed,
May the steeds over your body charged be hamstrung,
Crushing your ribs, having lost to your swords their riders.
You became their victim, so no pleasure shall today be
Nor a moon in the night shall ever be shiny.[1]

THE SEVERED HEADS

Ibn Sa`d ordered the heads to be severed from their bodies. They were distributed to various tribes that used them as means to seek favour with Ibn Ziyād. The Kindah tribe took thirteen brought by their envoy, Qays ibn al-Ash`ath. The Hawāzin tribe brought twelve with their "man," Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan. The Tamīm tribe brought seventeen; the Banū Asad tribe brought sixteen; the Mathḥaj tribe brought seven, and the other tribes brought the rest[2]. The tribe to whom al-Ḥurr al-Riyāḥi belonged refused to cut anyone's head or to trample on the Imām's body with its horses[3].

On the tenth day, Ibn Sa`d had already entrusted the head of Imām al-Ḥusain (ع) to Khawli ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbāḥi and Ḥamīd ibn Muslim al-Azdi. He entrusted the heads of the Imām's family members and those of his companions to al-Shimr, Qays ibn al-Ash`ath and `Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj[4]. Khawli's house was one farasang from Kūfa. Khawli hid the head from his Anṣāri wife whom he knew to be loyal to Ahl al-Bayt, peace be upon them. But when she saw a light emanating from the bakery oven [where it was hidden], she was terrified. When she came closer, she heard the voices of al-Ḥusain's women mourning al-Ḥusain in the most somber way. She mentioned this to her husband then went out crying[5]. Since then, she never used any kohl nor any perfume out of her grief for al-Ḥusain (ع). She was called `Ayoof[6].

In the morning, Khawli took the head to the governor's mansion. By then, Ibn Ziyād had returned from his camp at al-Nakhīla. Khawli put the head in front of Ibn Ziyād as he recited these poetic verses:

Fill my stirrup with silver or with gold:
I killed the master of every honour told,
Their best when they mention descent.
I killed the best of people, son of the best parent.

But these words, spoken in front of everyone, were met by Ibn Ziyād with outrage. "Since you knew that he was that honourable," said Ibn Ziyād, "why did you then take part in killing him?! By Allāh, you will receive

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[1]These verses were composed by Abu Thīb Shaikh Yousuf al-Qaṭīfi who died in 1200 A.H./1786 A.D.

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 81. al-`Ayni, *`Umdat al-Qāri fi Sharḥ al-Bukhāri*, Vol. 7, p. 656, where the name of `Urwah ibn Qays is included among them.

[3]al-Hājj Shaikh Muḥammed Bāqir ibn Mawla Ḥasan al-Qā'ini al-Birjandi al-Ṣāfi (henceforth referred to only as Shaikh Muḥammed Bāqir al-Birjandi al-Ṣāfi), *Al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar*.

[4]Shaikh al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[5]*Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*. On p. 190, Vol. 8, Ibn Kathīr says that his wife saw the light emanating from underneath the lid, and it was stretching to the heavens as white birds kept hovering around it. He adds saying that his other wife, Nuwār daughter of Mālik, said to him, "Have you brought the head of the son of the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh and His blessings upon him and his family, here?! I shall never share a bed with you henceforth." She separated from him.

[6]al-Balāthiri, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 5, p. 238.

nothing from me at all."[1]

DEPARTING FROM KERBALĀ'

When Ibn Sa`d sent the heads to Kūfa, he remained with the army till the time of *zawāl* on the eleventh day [of Muḥarram]. He gathered those killed from his army and performed the funeral prayers for them then buried them, leaving the corpses of the Master of the Youths of Paraidse and the fragrant flower of the most honourable Prophet (ع) and those of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) and companions unwashed, without shrouds, unburied[2], exposed to the wind and to the wild beasts of the desert.

On the dust, bare, should he remain?
None to mourn him except his women?

Which folks were not touched by his corpse?
Which hearts did not mourn him?[3]

After the time of *zawāl*, Ibn Sa`d left for Kūfa with the women, the children, the bondmaids, and the surviving families of al-Ḥusain's companions. They included twenty women[4] whom they mounted on camels without saddles as was the custom then with Turks or Romans taken captive, although they belonged to the best of all prophets (ص). With them was al-Sajjād, Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع), who was twenty-three years old[5]. He was placed on a lean camel without a saddle, and he was worn out by sickness[6]. His son [later Imām] al-Bāqir[7], who

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[1]According to p. 133, Vol. 1, of al-Yāfi`i's book *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, Ibn Ziyād was very angry with him, so he killed him, but the author does not identify the name of the head bearer. On p. 213, Vol. 2, of *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd* of Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli, the head bearer is identified as "Khawli ibn Yazīd al-Asbāhi who was killed by Ibn Ziyād." Historians contend among themselves about who had brought the head and who had said the above verses. According to Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari, who indicates so on p. 261, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, and Ibn al-Athīr who states so on p. 33, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, the poet was Sinān ibn Anas who recited them to `Omer ibn Sa`d. On p. 144 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, it is stated that `Omer said to him, "You are insane! Had Ibn Ziyād heard you, he would have killed you!" On p. 193, Vol. 1, of al-Sharīshi's *Maqāmāt*, the author says that the poet recited them to Ibn Ziyād. According to al-Irbīli's *Kashf al-Ghumma* and al-Khawārizmi's p. 40, Vol. 2, of *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Bishr ibn Mālik recited them to Ibn Ziyād. On p. 76 of Ibn Talhah's *Matālib al-Sa'ūl*, there is the addition of "... and whoever says his prayers in both Qiblas," whereupon Ibn Ziyād became very angry with him and had him beheaded. On p. 437 of *Riyāḍ al-Maṣā'ib*, it is stated that al-Shimr is the one who recited these verses. Since you know that al-Shimr is al-Ḥusain's killer according to the text of the *ziyārat* of the sacred area and according to a host of historians, you likewise know that he must be the one who recited them. It is very unlikely that he kills him and lets someone else take the head and use it to seek favour with Ibn Ziyād. We have mentioned the story from Khawli only to follow in the footsteps of those who wrote about the Imām's martyrdom.

[2]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 39.

[3]These verses were composed by the *`allāma* Shaikh Muḥammed Taqi al-Jawāhiri.

[4]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 204. On p. 234, Vol. 2, of al-Nawari's book *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il* (first edition), Shaikh al-Mufīd and Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs both cite Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) saying that he (ع), had prayed two *rek`āts* at al-Qā'im, a place on the highway leading to al-Ghari (Najaf), then said, "Here was the head of my grandfather al-Ḥusain (ع) placed when they went to Kerbalā' then carried it to `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād." Then the Imām (ع) recited a supplication to be recited following the prayer saying, "This place is called al-Ḥanāna."

[5]Miṣ`ab al-Zubayri, *Nasab Quraish*, p. 58.

[6]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Iqbāl*, p. 54.

[7]al-Qazwīni, *Riyād al-Aḥzān*, p. 49. al-Mas`ūdi, *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya*, p. 143.

was two years and a few months old[1], accompanied him. Among the children of Imām al-Ḥasan (ع) taken captive were: Zayd, `Amr, and Ḥasan II. The latter was captured after he had killed seventeen men. He received eighteen wounds, and his right arm had been cut off. Asmā' ibn Khārijah al-Fizāri intervened to get him freed because his mother was also Fizāri, so Ibn Sa`d let her husband take him[2]. With them was `Uqbah ibn Sam`ān, a slave of al-Rubāb, al-Ḥusain's wife. When Ibn Ziyād came to know that that man was al-Rubāb's slave, he released him. Ibn Ziyād was informed that al-Muraqqa` ibn Thumāma al-Asadi had scattered his arrows around then fled to his tribe where he sought and received protection, he ordered him to be banished to al-Zāra[3].

How did the modest ladies receive the night
After being "vanquished," and in defense of the camp died?
Do you see them to captivity surrendering
Or against their wish did their protectors depart?
They departed after their strength was crushed
And after the blows took their toll.
In the blood of martyrdom did they build a throne
One none before them ever built.
Stunned after that by the steeds assaulting,
Where are the men of honour to defend?
The ladies screamed and sought help
From their slain men in slumber,
And from the captives besides every valiant one
A free lady fell pleading for help,

And so did every girl...
They complained from the whips giving them pain.
Have ever suiters sought the help from the slain?
They feebly fall down from the animals' backs, perturbed,

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[1]al-Mas`ūdi, *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya*, p. 143 (Najaf edition). According to p. 203, Vol. 1, of Abul-Fida's *Tārīkh*, Vol. 1, p. 203, he was three years old.

[2]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, in a chapter discussing the offspring of Imām al-Ḥasan (ع). According to p. 28 of *Is`āf al-Raghibīn*, commenting on a footnote in *Nūr al-Absār*, and also according to p. 8 of *Al-Luhūf* (of Ibn Ṭāwūs,), he treated him at Kūfa, and when he healed, he transported him to Medīna.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 261. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 33. According to p. 367, Vol. 4, of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawi's *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, al-Zāra is a village in Bahrain, and there is another in West Tripoli as well as another in the upper Delta of the Nile. According to p. 692, Vol. 2, of al-Bikri's book *Al-Mu`jam mimmā Ista`jam*, it is a place in the Bahrain area where wars waged by al-Nu`mān ibn al-Munthir, who was nicknamed al-Gharūr [the conceited one], battled al-Aswaris. It also is a city in Persia where a duel took place between al-Barā' ibn Mālik and the city's satrap; al-Bara' killed the latter and cut his hand off. He took his belt and both bracelets the value of which was thirty thousand [dinars]. `Omer [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] took the *khums* of the loot, and that was the first time in the history of Islam when a loot was taxed by 1/5 [and delivered to the caliph]. On p. 10, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, Ibn al-Athīr says that Ibn Ziyād threatened to banish the people of Kūfa [who refused to fight al-Ḥusain] to Oman's Zāra. Also on p. 86, Vol. 8, where the events of the year 321 A.H./933 A.D. are discussed, it is stated that Ali ibn Yalīq ordered Mu`āwiyah and his son Yazīd to be cursed from the pulpits in Baghdad, whereupon the Sunnis were outraged. There, al-Barbahāri, a Ḥanbalite, used to stir trouble; he ran away from Ali ibn Yalīq. The latter captured al-Barbahāri's followers and shipped them in a boat to Oman. It appears from the latter account that Zāra is a place in Oman. On p. 256 of *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, Ibn Ziyād banished al-Muraqqa` to al-Zabada where the latter stayed till Yazīd's death and Ibn Ziyād's escape to Syria. Al-Muraqqa`, therefore, left it and went back to Kūfa. On p. 9, Vol. 8, of *Nashwār al-Muḥādara* by al-Tanūkhi, the judge, it is stated that Muḥammed al-Muhallabi banished Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan ibn `Abd al-`Azīz al-Hāshimi to Oman in a boat because of something which he had done which angered him.

Whenever the she-camels are by the *hadis*[1] disturbed.[2]

The ladies pleaded thus: "For the love of Allāh! Please take us to those killed." When they saw how they had lost their limbs, how the spears had drank of their blood, and how the horses had trampled upon them, they screamed and beat their faces in anguish[3]. Zainab cried out, "O Muḥammed (ص)! Here is Ḥusain in the desert covered with blood, his limbs cut off! Here are your daughters taken captive and your offspring slaughtered!" These words caused friends and foes alike to weep[4], even the horses' tears ran on their hooves[5]. Then she put her hands under his sacred body and lifted it as she supplicated saying, "O Lord! Do accept this sacrifice from us[6]."

This stand demonstrates to us the fact that Zainab was then elevated to the height of sacred responsibility, that of holding a holy covenant, that she would henceforth carry out a sacred revival like the one started by her brother, al-Ḥusain (ع), while keeping the difference in mind. Once al-Ḥusain (ع) carried out his responsibility through his martyrdom, the wise lady, Zainab, started her duty which included presenting the sacrifice to the Mighty Lord and promoting his cause. Then she, peace of Allāh be upon her, shouldered her other responsibilities. This should not be discounted outrightly, for their *noor* is one and the same, and so is the substance.

She and al-Ḥusain share their complain
Fate decided that they should.
One fell to the swords and to their pain
And the other by life's agonies taken captive.[7]

Sukayna[8] hugged the body of her father al-Ḥusain (ع) and kept telling him how she had heard him saying:

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[1]The *hādis* are men who, in the vanguards of caravans, sing for the camels to maintain their pace.

[2]These verses were composed by the trusted authority Shaikh `Abd al-Mehdi Matar al-Najafi.

[3]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 41. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 74. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 39. al-Ṭurayḥi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, p. 332.

[4]al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭat*, Vol. 2, p. 280. According to the authors of both *Maqtal al-Ḥusain* and *Al-Luhūf*, the mourning was even on a much larger scale.

[5]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 39. al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 332.

[6]Shaikh Muḥammed Bāqir al-Birjandi al-Ṣāfi, *Al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar*, Vol. 3, p. 13, citing *Al-Ṭirāz al-Muthahhab*.

[7]Excerpted from a poem by the authority Mirza Muḥammed Ali al-Urdbadi, may Allāh fill his mausoleum with light.

[8]According to p. 163, Vol. 1, of al-Nawawi's *Tahthīb al-Asmā'*, p. 58, Vol. 1, of al-Manawi's book *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, p. 160 of al-Shiblinji's *Nūr al-Absār*, and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafiyyāt al-A`yān*, where the author details her biography, Sukayna daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع) died on a Thursday, Rabī` I 5, 117 A.H./April 8, 735 A.D. According to Abul-Ḥasan al-`Amri's book *Al-Mujdi* and to al-Ṭibrisi's book *I`lām al-Warā*, p. 127, where the biographies of the offspring of Imām al-Ḥasan (ع) are discussed. According to p. 163, Vol. 12, of Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni's book *Al-Aghāni*, she married her cousin, `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), who was killed during the Battle of al-Ṭaff. She did not bear any children by him. But the author of *I`lām al-Warā* says that he was killed before her marriage, that during the Battle of al-Ṭaff, she was a little more than ten years old, and that she was born before the death [martyrdom] of her uncle Imām al-Ḥasan (ع). The statement in her honour made by the Master of Martyrs (ع), "Sukayna is overcome by deep contemplation upon Allāh," as is recorded by al-Sabbān in his book *Is`āf al-Rāghibīn*, clearly outlines for us the status his daughter occupied in the sacred canons of Islam's *Sharī`a*. You are referred to the second edition of my book *Lady Sukayna*.

O my Shī`as! Whenever of water you drink
Never from mentioning my name should you shrink.
And whenever you are a stranger on a sojourn,
Or see a martyr, me should you remember and mourn.[1]

Only a number of them could collectively remove her from his corpse, forcefully dragging her away.[2]

An orphan girl with being orphaned startled
Her heart is filled with pain,
Like a bird by an eagle chased,
One whose nest is assaulted.
A cry she let out when the horsemen assaulted
Her, though orphaned, so she now is more startled,
And to the one lying on the burning sands she went
Pouring over him from her eyes a river she wept.
She fell upon al-Ḥusain's body so he kept
To his chest taking her between a right and a left.
She seeks refuge with him, having lost her head-scarf,
And it was hard for him to see her without it;
He would not have left their whips cause her to seek help
With her father's body when, from him,
She was forcibly removed.[3]

When Ali son of al-Ḥusain (ع) looked at his slaughtered family and noticed how al-Zahrā' was in a condition which the heavens deplored and for which the earth would split and the mountains crumble, he felt greatly grieved and worried. When Zainab al-Kubra, daughter of Ali (ع)[4], read his face, she felt upset on his account and took to consoling him and admonishing him to be patient although even the mountains could not match him in his patience and fortitude. Among what she said to him is the following:

Why do I see you pleading for death, O the legacy of my grandfather, of my father and brothers? By Allāh, this is something which Allāh had divulged to your grandfather (ص) and to your father (ع). Allāh took a covenant from people whom you do not know, the mighty ones on this land, and who are known to the people of the heavens, that they would gather these severed parts and wounded corpses and bury them, then shall they set up on this Ṭaff a banner for the grave of your father, the Master of Martyrs (ع), the traces of which shall never be obliterated, nor shall it ever be wiped out so long as there is day and night. And the leaders of apostasy and the promoters of misguidance shall try their best to obliterate and efface it, yet it shall get more and more lofty

[1]These verses are recorded on p. 376 of the Indian edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-Kaf`ami*.

[2]al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 135.

[3]Excerpted from a poem by the *`allāma* Shaikh `Abd al-Mun`im al-Fartūsi.

[4]Zainab, titled "al-Kubra," is the daughter of Fāṭima al-Zahrā' (ع). She is identified as such by al-Ṭabari on p. 89, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh* and by Ibn al-Athīr on p. 158, Vol. 3, of his book *Al-Kāmil*. In his book *Al-Ma`ārif*, Ibn Qutaybah says, "Zainab al-Kubra daughter of Fāṭima (ع) was the wife of `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer. She gave birth to a number of sons."

instead.[1]

To Allāh do I complain about the patience of Zainab the pure
How many a tribulation did she have to endure?
From the calamities and from the pain
From pains, from which death is welcome, she did suffer.
She witnessed the men of dignity from her people of honour
On the ground slaughtered in a row without cover:
The winds on their corpses freely blow,
The beasts over their bodies come and go.
Her people's chief lying slain she saw,
To them did the folks' swords deal many a blow.
She saw heads on the lances carried

And corpses with only sands shrouded.
She saw an infant with an arrow waned
And children after their father orphaned.
She saw the enemies gleeful, with their misery pleased,
She saw how with her brother they dealt every foul deed.[2]

Zajr ibn Qays came to them and shouted at them to leave as he kept whipping them. Others surrounded them and mounted them on camel humps.[3]

Zainab the wise rode her own she-camel. She recollected the days of lofty honour and inviolable prestige, guarded by fierce and honourable lions of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib's offspring, surrounded by anxious swords and polished spears. And she was surrounded by servants who would not enter without her permission.

None like her prestige in the morning was
Nor like her condition on the after-noon.
Where is she going? To what fate?
What is her refuge and what is her aim?
On whose shoulder should she lean
When she was conveyed, and her cameleer rebukes,
And Shimr is her cameleer?
O Muḥammed! Light the house for Zainab so
Even in the night none can see her shadow.
How I wish on the Ṭaff your eyes saw
Your daughters' ornaments to looters did go.
Their ears torn, either slain or widowed,
Moaning like camels that lost their young.
To Allāh do I complain and say:

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[1]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 361, chapter 88, virtues of Kerbalā' and merits of visiting the grave-site of al-Ḥusain (ع).

[2]This poem by the authority Ayatullāh Shaikh Hādi Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify him, is recorded in full on p. 61 of *Al-Maqbūla al-Ḥusainiyya*.

[3]al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 177.

Allāh help him how he was bereaved,
And suddenly both prestige and men deceased.
No loss by death is to them a cause of complain
Except it was done by those who were not humane,
And with humiliation they were treated,
They received the night in a condition that

Before it you would stand and feel awfully,
If only you stand to think about it carefully.[1]

KŪFA

When the daughters of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) entered Kūfa, the city's residents gathered to see them, so Umm Kulthūm shouted at them, "O people of Kūfa! Do not you have any sense of shame before Allāh and His Messenger so you look at the ladies of the Prophet (ص)?"[2]

One of Kūfa's women came to them and saw their condition for which even a most bitter enemy would feel sorry. She asked them what captives they were, and she was told: "We are captives belonging to the Progeny of Muḥammed (ص)."[3] The people of Kūfa kept doling out dates, walnuts and bread to the children, whereupon Umm Kulthūm, that is, Zainab al-Kubra, shouted at them that they were prohibited from accepting charity. She threw away what had been given to those children[4].

O father of Ḥasan!
She overlooks and in the slumber she delights
Now only with her hand can Zainab cover her face
O father of Ḥasan!
Are you pleased with your women in captivity,
As Banū Harb's women in their chambers veiled with grace?
Does your side on the bed find comfort and ease,
While your daughters on the camels to Syria are brought?
Do you find life pleasing when your wise ladies are uncovered?
Whenever they cry, with lashes they are whipped.
To the east they are once taken by the mean gangs,

And once towards the land of shame are taken, to the west.
None to protect them as they cross every plain,
None heeds their complaints when they complain.
Their voices were lost and their hearts melted,
Their breath by grief is almost snatched away.
Amazed am I about one who thinks of fate

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the trusted authority Shaikh Muḥammed Tāhir who belongs to the family of the sect's *faqīh,* Shaikh Rādi, may Allāh sanctify him.

[2]Muḥammed Jawād Shubbar, *Al-Dam`ah al-Sākibah*, p. 364.

[3]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 84. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 81.

[4]Sayyid Kāẓim al-Rashti al-Ḥā'iri, *Asrār al-Shahāda*, p. 477. Raḍiyy ad-Dīn al-Qazwīni, *Taẓallum al-Zahrā'*, p. 150.

And contemplates upon it and wonders alone:
A fornicator turns about on his throne,
As Ḥusain on the ground is left unburied,
And his head is on a lance openly carried,
And with the crown is crowned the son of a whore.
For three days did Ḥusain stay unburied or more.
One's body is to cruel elements left exposed
As the other covers his with silk and with gold...[1]

ZAINAB'S SPEECH

The daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) explained to people Ibn Ziyād's villainy and meanness in a speech which she delivered to them. She signaled to the large crowd to calm down. They did, standing as if birds were resting on their heads. Nothing could quieten the commotion nor silence the numerous voices other than the divine dignity and the magnificence of Muḥammed (ص) that crowned the wise lady who descended from his Progeny (ص). When Zainab daughter of Ali (ع) signaled to people to calm down, they did. They stood speechless and motionless, and even the bells of their animals stopped ringing. It was then that she, calm and composed and with courage reminiscent of that of [her revered father] Hayder (ع), addressed them saying,

> All Praise is due to Allāh. Peace and blessings be upon my [grand]father Muḥammed (ص) and upon his good and righteous Progeny (ع). May the resounding [of this calamity] never stops. Your similitude is one who unspins what is already spun out of the desire to violate [a trust]. You make religion a source of your income... Is there anyone among you one who is not a boaster of what he does not have, a charger of debauchery, a conceited liar, a man of grudge without any justification, one submissive like bondmaids, an instigator, a pasture of what is not wholesome, a reciter of a story to someone buried? Truly bad is that which your souls have committed. You have reaped the Wrath of Allāh, remaining in the chastisement for eternity. Do you really cry and sob? By Allāh, you should then cry a great deal and laugh very little, for you have earned nothing but shame and infamy, and you shall never be able to wash it away, and how could you do so? The descendant of the Bearer of the Last Message (ص), the very essence of the Message, the source of your security and the beacon of your guidance, the refuge of the righteous from among you, the one who saves you from calamity, the Master of the Youths of Paradise... is killed. O how horrible is the sin that you bear...! Miserable you are and renegades from the path of righteousness; may you be distanced and crushed. The effort is rendered futile, the toil is ruined, the deal is lost, and you earned nothing but Wrath from Allāh and from His Messenger (ص). You are doomed with servitude and humiliation. Woe unto you, O Kūfians! Do you know whose heart you have burned, what a "feat" you have laboured, what blood you have shed, and what sanctity you have violated? You have done a most monstrous deed, something for which the heavens are about to split asunder and so is the earth, and for which the mountains crumble. You have done something most uncanny, most defaced, as much as the fill of the earth and of the sky.

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[1]Excerpted from a poem in praise of al-Ḥusain (ع) by Shaikh Ḥassūn al-Ḥilli who died in 1305 A.H./1888 A.D. as we are told on p. 155, Vol. 2, of *Shu`arā' al-Hilla*.

Do you wonder why the sky rains blood? Surely the torment of the hereafter is a greater chastisement, and they shall not be helped. Let no respite elate you, for rushing does not speed it up, nor does it fear the loss of the opportunity for revenge. Your Lord is waiting in ambush for you.[1]

Imām al-Sajjād (ع) said to her, "That is enough, O aunt, for you are, Praise to Allāh, a learned lady whom none taught, one who comprehends without being made to do so."[2]

The wise lady discontinued her speech. The crowd which had been brainwashed by lies and by greed stood stunned. Her statements caused many to wake up and the minds to listen to reason. Her speech had the greatest effect on people's hearts, so they realized the magnanimity of what they had committed; now they did not know what to do.

From the *waṣi* did she inherit wisdom
Particularly hers in its beauty and oratory.
Whenever she expounds you would believe
From oratory she derives her treasures.

Or like a sword in the hand of a valiant she may be
With it he defended and won victory.
Or that she leads a whole regiment of hosts
And drives from facts' hosts a crowd.
Or in the Imāmate's woods a lioness
For her roaring even heads bow down.
Or she is the tumultuous ocean whose waves
Crushed one another in knowledge, might and dignity.
Or from the Lord's Wrath lightning ensues
From which Harb's clan could not escape.
Or that Hayder on his steed wipes out
The hosts of misguidance one after another.
Or the summit of the pulpit embraced him,
So for the Sharī`a did he ignite a light.
Or in wisdom has the wise lady
of Hāshim shattered blindness greatly.[3]

FĀṬIMA DAUGHTER OF AL-ḤUSAIN (ع) DELIVERS A SPEECH

Fāṭima, al-Ḥusain's daughter[4], delivered a speech saying,

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[1]This speech is compiled from the writings of Shaikh al-Ṭūsi in his Ā*māli* as well as that of his son, from *Al-Luhūf* of Ibn Ṭāwūs,, Ibn Nama, Ibn Shahr Āshūb, and from al-Ṭibrisi's book *Al-Iḥtijāj*.

[2]al-Ṭibrisi, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, p. 166 (Najaf's edition).

[3]Excerpted from a poem by the *`allāma* Mirza Muḥammed Ali al-Urdabadi in praise of the wise lady Zainab, peace be upon her.

[4]Fāṭima daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع), was a great personality. She enjoys a great status in the creed. Her father, the Master of Martyrs, testifies to this fact. When al-Ḥasan II approached him asking him for the hand of either of his two daughters, he (ع), as we are told (continued...)

All Praise is due to Allāh, as much as the number of the sands and of the stones, as much as the `Arsh weighs up to the ground. I praise Him, believe in Him, and rely upon Him, and I testify that there is no god other than Allāh, the One and Only God, there is no partner with Him, and that Muḥammed is His servant and Messenger, and that his offspring have been slaughtered by the Euphrates river neither on account of blood revenge nor out of dispute over inheritance. Lord! I seek refuge with You against telling a lie about You and against saying anything contrary to what You have revealed of taking many a covenant regarding the vicegerency of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), the man whose right is confiscated and who was killed without having committed a sin, just as his son was only yesterday killed, at one of the houses of Allāh, the most Exalted One, at the hands of those who give Islam nothing but lip service. Destruction may afflict their heads that did not ward off from him any injustice as long as he lived nor at his death, till Allāh Almighty took his soul to Him while his essence was praised, his dealing with others was commendable, his merits were well known, and his beliefs well admitted by everyone. Never did he ever accept anyone's blame nor the criticism of any critic in doing what is right. Lord! You guided him to Islam even when he was a child and praised his virtues when he grew up. Never did he ever cease enjoining others to follow Your Path and that of Your Messenger (ص). He always paid no heed to the riches of this world. He always desired the hereafter, a man who carried out *jihād* for Your Cause. With him were You pleased, so You chose him and guided him to a Straight Path. O people of Kūfa! O people of treachery, of betrayal and conceit! We are members of a Household tried on your account by Allāh, afflicted by you. He made our dealing with you good, and He entrusted His knowledge to us, and He bestowed upon us its comprehension; so, we are the bastian of His knowledge, understanding and wisdom, and His Arguments on the earth which He created for the good of His servants! Allāh bestowed upon us

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[4](...continued)

on p. 202 of *Nūr al-Absār*, said to him, "I choose for you Fāṭima, for she, more than anyone else, is like my mother Fāṭima daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). As far as the creed is concerned, she stays awake all night long offering prayers, and the daytime she spends fasting. In beauty, she looks like the *hūris* with large lovely eyes." On p. 442, Vol. 12, of Ibn Ḥajar's book titled *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, she is said to have narrated *ḥadīth* from her father, brother Zaynul-`Ābidīn , aunt Zainab, Ibn `Abbās, and Asmā' daughter of `Umays. Her sons, `Abdullāh, Ibrāhīm, and Ḥusain, and her daughter, Umm Ja`fer, offspring of al-Ḥasan II, quote her *ḥadīth*. Abul-Miqdam quotes her *ḥadīth* through his mother. Zuhayr ibn Mu`āwiyah quotes her *ḥadīth* through his mother. On p. 425 of *Khulāsat Tahthīb al-Kamāl*, it is stated that the authors of the *sunan* books, including al-Tirmithi, Abu Dāwūd, and al-Nassā'i, have all quoted her *ahādīth*. So does the author of *Musnad Ali*. Ibn Majāh al-Qazwīni does likewise. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni says, "She is mentioned in the book of funerals in Bukhāri's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Ibn Haban holds her reliable, adding that she died in 110 A.H./729 A.D." So do both authors, al-Yāfi`i, on p. 234, Vol. 1, of his book *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, and Ibn al-`Imād, on p. 39, Vol. 1, of his book *Shatharāt*. Based on what Ibn Ḥajar says in his book *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, she must have lived for almost ninety years, placing her year of birth at about 30 A.H./651 A.D. Hence, she must have been almost thirty years old during the Battle of al-Ṭaff. She died seven years before her sister Sukayna. On p. 35, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Kāmil*, and also according to p. 267, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, Fāṭima was older than her sister Sukayna. On p. 18 of *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣra ila Ma`ālim Dār al-Hijra* by Abu Bakr ibn al-Ḥusain ibn `Omer al-Marāghi (d. 816 A.H./1414 A.D.), one of the signs of her lofty status with Allāh is that when al-Walīd ibn `Abd al-Malik ordered to house the chambers within the parameters of the Mosque, Fāṭima daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع) went out to al-Ḥarra where she had a house built for her. Then she ordered a well to be dug up; a mountain stone appeared in it, and she was informed of it. She made her ablution then sprinkled the leftover water on it. After that, it was not difficult at all to dig that well. People used to seek blessings through the use of its water, calling it "Zamzam". On p. 474, Vol. 8, of Ibn Sa`d's *Ṭabaqāt* (Sadir's edition), Fāṭima daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع) used to use knots on a string as her rosary bead. In the manuscript of my book *Naqd al-Tārīkh*, I cited the historians who claimed that she married a follower of `Othman, proving that Muḥammed al-Dībāj [her fabricated husband] was a fictitious character created by the pens of those who follow al-Zubayr.

His blessings and greatly honoured us with His Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his Progeny, favouring us over many of those whom He created. Yet you called us liars and apostates, and in your eyes you deemed killing us as lawful, and so is looting our possessions, as if we were the offspring of the Turks or of Kabul, just as you killed our grandfather in the past. Your swords drip with our blood, the blood of Ahl al-Bayt, out of past animosity. Thus have your eyes been cooled, and thus have your hearts been elated, telling lies about Allāh and out of evil plans which you hatched, while Allāh is the very best of planners. So do not be carried away with your excitement because of our blood which you have spilled or our wealth which you have snatched away, for what has befallen us is truly a great tragedy and a momentous calamity "In a Book even before We created them; surely this is easy for Allāh, so that you may not be grieved because of what you missed nor feel happy because of what you acquired, and Allāh does not love anyone who is conceited, boastful" (Qur'ān, 57:23). May you be ruined! Expect to be cursed and to be tormented, for it seems as though it has already befallen you, and more and more signs of Wrath are on their way to you from the heavens till He makes you taste of the chastisement and make some of you taste of the might of others, then on the Day of Judgment shall you all remain for eternity in the painful torment on account of the injustice with which you have treated us; the curse of Allāh be upon the oppressors. Woe unto you! Do you know what hand you have stabbed, what soul found fighting us agreeable? Rather, by what feet did you walk towards us with the intention to fight us? Your hearts became hardened, and Allāh sealed your hearts, your hearing, and your vision, and Satan inspired to you and dictated, placing a veil over your eyes, so you can never be guided. Destruction is your lot, O people of Kūfa! What a legacy of the Prophet (ص) is standing before you, and what blood revenge will he seek from you on account of your enmity towards his brother, Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), my grandfather, and towards his good and righteous offspring, yet you even brag about it saying:

We killed Ali and the sons of Ali,
With Indian swords and spears,
And we placed their women in captivity
Like the Turks! We crushed them with severity.

May stones and pebbles fill your mouths! You brag about killing people whom Allāh chose and purified with a perfect purification and from whom He kept away all abomination. Suppress it, then, and squat just as your fathers did, for each will get the rewards of what he earns and will be punished for what he committed. You envied us, woe unto you, for what Allāh, the most Exalted One, favoured and preferred us. Such is Allāh's favour: He bestows His favours upon whomsoever He pleases, and surely with Allāh are great favours. For whoever Allāh does not make a *noor*, he shall have no *noor* at all.

Voices were raised with weeping and wailing, and they said to her, "Enough, enough, O daughter of the pure ones, for you have burnt our hearts and necks," so she took to silence.

UMM KULTHŪM[1] SPEAKS OUT

[1]In several places of this book have we pointed out the fact that Umm Kulthūm is the wise lady Zainab, and the following statements are excerpted from her speech quoted above. We are repeating it only following in the tradition of other narrators of this (continued...)

Umm Kulthūm said,

> Silence, O people of Kūfa! Your men murder us, while your women mourn us! The judge between us and you is Allāh on the Day of Final Judgment. O people of Kūfa! Horrible, indeed, is what you have committed. Why did you betray Ḥusain? Why did you kill him, loot his wealth, then take his women captive? May you be ruined, and may you be crushed! Woe unto you! Do you know what adversities have befallen you and what a burden of sins you have placed on your backs? Do you know what blood you have shed and what honourable ladies you have afflicted, what children you have orphaned, and what wealth you have looted? You killed the best of men after the Prophet (ص), so mercy was removed from your hearts! Surely Allāh's party shall be the winner, whereas the party of Satan shall be the loser.

People burst in tears, women pulled their hair in grief and beat their faces and cheeks, crying and wailing, and there were more tearful eyes that day than anyone could ever recall.

AL-SAJJĀD (ع) DELIVERS A SPEECH

Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) was brought on a lean camel. Chains were placed on his neck, and he was handcuffed. Both sides of his neck were bleeding. He was repeating these verses:

> O nation of evil, may your quarter never tastes of water!
> O nation that never honoured in our regard our Grandfather!
> Should we and the Messenger of Allāh meet
> On the Judgment Day, how would you then plead?
> On bare beasts of burden have you
> Transported us, as if we never put up a creed for you!

He signaled to people to be silent. Once they were silent, he praised Allāh and glorified Him and saluted the Prophet (ص). Then he said,

> O people! Whoever recognizes me knows me, and whoever does not, let me tell him that I am Ali son of al-Ḥusain ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع). I am the son of the man whose sanctity has been violated, whose wealth has been plundered, whose children have been seized. I am the son of the one who has been slaughtered by the Euphrates neither out of blood revenge nor on account of an inheritance. I am the son of the one killed in the worst manner. This suffices me to be proud. O people! I plead to you in the Name of Allāh: Do you not know that you wrote my father then deceived him? Did you not grant him your covenant, your promise, and your allegiance, then you fought him? May you be ruined for what you have committed against your own souls, and out of your corrupt views! Through what eyes will you look at the Messenger of Allāh (ص) when he says to you, "You killed my Progeny, violated my sanctity, so you do not belong to my nation"?

Loud cries rose, and they said to each other, "You have perished, yet you are not aware of it." Then he (ع), said, "May Allāh have mercy on anyone who acts upon my advice, who safeguards my legacy with regard to Allāh,

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[1](...continued)
epic.

His Messenger (ص), and his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), for we have in the Messenger of Allāh (ص) a good example of conduct to emulate." They all said, "We, O son of the Messenger of Allāh, hear and obey, and we shall safeguard your trust. We shall not turn away from you, nor shall we disobey you; so, order us, may Allāh have mercy on you, for we shall fight when you fight, and we shall seek peace when you do so; we dissociate ourselves from whoever oppressed you and dealt unjustly with you." He (ع), said, "Far, far away it is from you to do so, O people of treachery and conniving! You are separated from what you desire. Do you want to come to me as you did to my father saying, `No, by the Lord of all those [angels] that ascend and descend'?! The wound is yet to heal. My father was killed only yesterday, and so were his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), and the loss inflicted upon the Messenger of Allāh (ص), upon my father (ع), and upon my family is yet to be forgotten. Its pain, by Allāh, is between both of these [sides] and its bitterness is between my throat and palate. Its choke is resting in my very chest."[1]

Wait, O Banū Harb, for what we have gone through
Is seen by the Lord of Heavens who well knows all.
It is as if on Judgment Day I see Aḥmed
Before the messengers comes rolling up his sleeves
And to you shall he say: Woe unto you!
My sanctity did you violate
And your swords drank of my blood,
Do you know what blood you on the ground spilled?
Or which ladies you took to captivity?
Is it just that you safeguard your girls
And leave my free ladies taken captive like the Daylams?
And should you make water for the wild beasts permissible
While my children because of thirst are on fire?
O by Allāh! If the hosts of unbelievers
Had ever vanquished my offspring,
They would never have committed such great injustice.
O how Muḥammed will feel when you have
Stabbed the necks and slit the throats?

Such is your reward for me so
How soon you were untrue
To the trust with regard to my daughter
And with regard to my brother?[2]

THE BURIAL

Historians record that the Master of Martyrs (ع) set up a tent on the battlefield[3], ordering those killed from among his companions and Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to be carried to it. Whenever a fresh martyr was brought,

[1]All these speeches are mentioned by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his book *Al-Luhūf* and by Ibn Nama in his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.

[2]These verses were composed by al-Hājj Muḥammed Riḍa al-Azri and published on p. 445 (Najaf: Al-Ādāb Press) of *Riyād al-Madḥ wa al-Rathā'*.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 256. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 30. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

he (ع), would say, "You have been killed just as the prophets and the families of prophets are killed."[1] He did so to everyone with the exception of his brother Abul-Faḍl al-`Abbās (ع), whom he left where he fell near the river bank of the Euphrates.[2]

When `Omer ibn Sa`d accompanied those whom he arrested of the custodians of the Message and left for Kūfa, he left behind those who were described by the Commander of the Faithful (ع) as the masters of martyrs in the life of this world and in the hereafter, an honour to which nobody ever preceded nor will anyone succeed them[3], lying on the sands incinerated by the sun and sought by the wild beasts of the desert.

Stabbing changed every sense of theirs
Except virtues, from all they are secure.

Among them was the Master of the Youths of Paradise who was in a condition that would split the hardest of the stones, yet divine lights were emanating from his corpse, and sweet scents were surrounding him from all directions.

A wounded one whose beauty the swords could not change,
Nor did they make of him something new
He was a moon and now he is the morning sun,
Since the hand of blood outfitted him with its garment.
His rays protect the eyes so
Whenever they try a path, I fancy it blocked,
And trees of lances give him shade,
So the heat refused to send him missive.

A man belonging to Banū Asad has narrated the following:

> Once the army had left, I came to the battlefield and saw light emanating from those corpses that were covered with blood yet smelled sweet scents. I saw a terrifying lion walking between the amputated parts till he reached the Embodiment of Sanctity and the Sacrifice of Guidance. He rubbed himself on his blood and rubbed his body on his as he kept muttering and letting out a very strange sound. I was amazed. Never have I ever seen such a fierce lion abandon what would be for his likes nothing but a meal. I hid among the marshes and kept watching to see what else he would do. I was more amazed when midnight came. It was then that I saw candles and heard voices that filled the earth with painful cries and wailing.[4]

On the thirteenth day of Muḥarram, Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع) came to bury his martyred father (ع), since only an

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[1]This is narrated on p. 211, Vol. 10, and p. 125, Vol. 13, of al-Majlisi's *Biḥār al-Anwār* where al-Nu`māni's book *Al-Ghayba* is cited.

[2]This is what a group of historians have recorded. Refer to p. 115 of my book *Qamar Banī Hāshim* (Hayderi Press edition, Najaf).

[3]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 219.

[4]Sayyid Hāshim al-Baḥrāni, *Madīnat al-Ma`ājiz*, p. 263, chapter 127.

Imām buries another Imām.[1]

This brings to memory a dialogue that once took place between Imām [Ali son of Mūsa] al-Riḍa (ع) and Ali ibn Abu Ḥamzah. The Imām [by way of testing the verocity of the man] (ع) was asked, "Tell me: Was al-Ḥusain ibn Ali (ع) an Imām?" He (ع) answered in the affirmative. The Imām (ع) was again asked, "If so, then who took care of burying him?" Ali (ع) said, "Ali ibn al-Ḥusain al-Sajjād (ع) did." Imām al-Riḍa (ع) in turn asked him, "But where was Ali ibn al-Ḥusain at the time?" Ali ibn Abu Ḥamzah said, "He was jailed at Kūfa inside Ibn Ziyād's prison, but he came out without their knowledge in order to bury his father then returned to the prison once he was through." Imām al-Riḍa (ع) said, "Then the One Who enabled Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) to go to Kerbalā' in order to take care of his [slain] father then return is the same One Who will enable the person entrusted with a similar task [meaning himself] to go to Baghdad [from Khurasan, northeast Iran] in order to take care of his father, and he is neither jailed nor confined."

When al-Sajjād (ع) came to the place, he saw Banū Asad assembled around the slain not knowing what to do. They could not identify the corpses especially since their killers had separated the heads from the bodies. Had it been otherwise, they could have inquired about them with the families and the tribes of those slain. But he (ع), informed them that it was his task to bury those pure bodies. He informed them of the names of the slain, identifying those who belonged to Banū Hāshim from the rest. Crying and wailing rose, and tears filled the eyes of everyone present there and then. The ladies of Banū Asad loosened their hair in grief and beat their cheeks.

Imām Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع) walked to his father's body, hugged it and wept loudly. Then he came to the grave-site and lifted a handful of its soil. A grave already dug appeared, and so did a pre-constructed shrine... He placed his hands under the Imām's back and said, "In the Name of Allāh, and according to the creed of the Messenger of Allāh. Allāh has said the truth, and so has His Messenger (ص). The will of Allāh be done; there is no power nor might except in Allāh, the Great." Then he took it and went down without being assisted by anyone from among the Banū Asad to whom he said, "I have with me someone who will assist me." Once he laid it down in the grave, he put his cheek on his father's sacred neck and said, "Congratulations to the land that contains your pure body, for the world after you is dark whereas the hereafter in your light shall shine. As to the night, it is the harbinger of sleep, while grief remains forever, for Allāh shall choose for your Ahl al-Bayt (ع) your abode wherein you shall abide. From me to you is *Salām*, O son of the Messenger of Allāh, and the mercy of Allāh and His blessings."

On the grave he wrote: "This is the grave of al-Ḥusain son of Ali son of Abu Ṭālib, the one whom they killed even as he was a thirsty stranger." Then he walked to the body of his uncle, al-`Abbās (ع), and he saw him

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[1]al-Mas`ūdi, *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya*, p. 173. On p. 402 of my book *Zayn al-`Ābidīn*, I quoted the traditions proving that an Imām is not buried except by another Imām. Traditions do not reveal such a safeguarded mystery. Perhaps it is to be understood that the corpse of an infallible person, when journeying to the Supreme One, at the termination of his earthly life, is granted certain privileges such as nobody can come close to it unless he is one of his status. A case in point is how one particular person came close to the Seat of Divinity two bow's throw or even closer, arriving at a station from which even the Trusted One (Gabriel) kept his distance, leaving the Prophet (ص) alone in the oceans of the divine domain. A claim put forth with regard to our Imāms is not out of the ordinary, especially since, in all reality, they were created of the same substance [*noor*] from which Muḥammed (ص) was created. They shared all the merits of their grandfather with the exception of Prophethood and consorts. Such is stated on p. 22 of Sulaymān al-Ḥilli's book *Al-Muhtadir* (Najafi edition). Such mysteries cannot be realized by a human mind, and there is no way to deny them just because we cannot fully comprehend them unless they reach the limit of impossibility. Authentic traditions have stated that there are many unusual situations which surround the Imāms (ع), situations which other humans cannot emulate, such as bringing the dead back to life in the latter's original physical forms, their ability to see one another [despite the distance that separates them or the time], their bodies ascending to heavens, and their listening to the greetings of those who visit their grave-sites. All of this is endorsed by our mentor, al-Mufīd, as stated on p. 84 of *Al-Maqālāt* (Tehran edition), by al-Karakji in his book *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, by al-Majlisi on p. 373, Vol. 1, of his book *Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, by Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' on p. 51 of his book *Manhaj al-Rashād*, and by al-Nawari on p. 289, Vol. 1, of his book *Dār al-Salām*.

in a condition that had left the angels in the heavens' strata baffled and caused the *hūris* to weep even as they were in the chambers of Paradise. He fell upon it kissing his sacred neck and saying, "May the world after you be obliterated, O moon of Banū Hāshim, and peace from me to you, O martyr, and the mercy of Allāh and His blessings."

He dug a grave for him and took him down in it by himself just as he had done to the corpse of his martyred father (ع). He said to Banū Asad, "There is someone with me to help me."

Yes, he gave a piece of jewelry to Banū Asad as a token of appreciation for consoling him in burying the martyrs, and he assigned for them two places, ordering them to dig two pits in the first of which he buried those slain from Banū Hāshim and in the second those slain from among their companions[1].

As regarding al-Ḥurr al-Riyāḥi, his corpse was taken away by his tribe that buried it where it now stands. It is said that his mother was present then and there, and when she saw what was being done to the corpses, she carried her son's corpse somewhere else.[2]

The closest in proximity to the grave of al-Ḥusain (ع) from among the martyrs is his son Ali al-Akbar (ع). In this regard, Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) says to Ḥammād al-Baṣri, "The father of `Abdullāh was killed as a stranger, away from home; he is mourned be whoever visits his grave-site, and whoever does not visit it grieves for him; whoever does not see him is very depressed on account of being deprived of doing so, therefore he grieves; whoever sees the grave of his son at his feet in a desolate land, far away from his kin, invokes Allāh's mercy for him because of the fact that he was not supported when he called upon people to uphold righteousness, and because the renegades assisted one another against him till they killed him and did not have any respect for him, so much so that they exposed his corpse to the wild beasts and prohibited him from drinking of the water of the Euphrates of which the dogs drink. They disregarded their obligations in his regard towards the Messenger of Allāh (ص) who had enjoined them to be kind to him and to his Ahl al-Bayt (ع). He was abandoned in his grave, slain among his kinsfolk and Shī`as. In loneliness, being near his grave removes the pain of loneliness and so is his being distant from his grandfather (ص) and from the house which none could enter except those whose conviction of heart Allāh tested, and by those who recognize our rights. My father has told me that since he was killed, his place has never been empty of those who bless him from among the angels, the jinns, mankind, and even the wild beasts. Whoever visits it is envied and is rubbed for blessing, and looking at his grave is done in

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[1]See *Al-Kibrīt al-Ahmar* (of Shaikh Muḥammed Bāqir al-Birjandi al-Ṣāfi), *Asrār al-Shahāda* (of Sayyid Kāẓim al-Rashti al-Ḥā'iri), and *Al-Iyqāḍ*.

[2]Shaikh Muḥammed Bāqir al-Birjandi al-Ṣāfi, *Al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar*. On p. 344 of his book *Al-Anwār al-Nu`māniyya*, Sayyid al-Jazā'iri cites testimonials to this statement. He, for example, details how [sultān] Ismā`īl al-Safawi [founder of the Safavid dynasty who lived from 904 - 930 A.H./1499 - 1524 A.D. and ruled Iran from 907 - 930 A.H./1502 - 1524 A.D... — Tr.] dug up the place, whereupon he saw the deceased as though he had just been killed, and there was a bandage on his head. Once he untied it, blood started pouring out, and the bleeding did not stop till he tied it back again. He built a dome above the grave and assigned someone to tend to it. So, when al-Nawari, in his book *Al-Lulu' wal Marjān*, denies that he had been buried, he did not support his denial with any evidence. On p. 37, Vol. 1, of *Tuḥfat al-`Ālim*, Sayyid Ja`fer Bahr al-`Ulūm states that Hamad-Allāh al-Mustawfi has indicated in his book *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* saying that there is in Kerbalā' the grave of al-Ḥurr [al-Riyāḥi] which is visited by people. He is the latter's grandfather up to 18 generations back. One of them used to say:

> Point out to the Ḥurr and see,
> How doing so suffices every man free.

The authority Sayyid Muḥammed al-Qazwīni responded to him with these verses:

> Visit the Ḥurr, the martyr, and do not delay,
> The first of the martyrs should you his visit pay;
> Do not hear one who calls and does say
> Point out to the Ḥurr then a salutation pay.

anticipation of earning goodness. Allāh boasts to the angels of those who visit it. As far as what such pilgrim receives from us, we invoke Allāh's mercy for him every morning and every evening. It has come to my knowledge that some Kūfians as well as others in Kūfa's outskirts pay it a visit in the eve of the middle of Sha`bān. They recite the Holy Qur'ān; they narrate his story; they mourn him, and women eulogize him while others compose their own eulogies." Ḥammād said to the Imām (ع), "I have personally witnessed some of what you have just described." The Imām (ع), then said, "Praise to Allāh Who has made some people come to us, praise us, and mourn us, and praised is He for making our enemy shame them for doing so, threaten them, and describe what they do as ugly."[1]

Today fell the one who
Most protects honour,
The most true teller,
The one who most feeds the beasts
With his foe's corpses,
The one who most stains
The bird and the vulture.
He is spent, having returned the swords
To the lances. He left his impact
On them and on death itself.
The man of glory passed away
Under the swords, and what was

Broken on him buries him.
So if he does receive
The time of the eve
With a dusted forehead,
The war's morning did turn
The regiment dusted.
And if he is spent thirsty, heart-broken
He had terrified the heart of death
Till the heart is split.
And he crushed the foes
And he did annihilate
What fates give birth to suckle on death.
From between two shields he emerged:
Battle and patience, and patience is
The strongest of all.
He showed his might,
The most mighty protector of all
A protector of honour he was,
And the most courageous to lead the hosts.
His support in the heat of blows was keen:
Though his supporters were a few,
They were still many.

[1]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 325. al-Majlisi, *Mazār al-Biḥār*, p. 124, citing the previous reference.

It stumbled till it died
The edge of his sword
But his grip did not.
As if the sword granted him patience,
So he did not leave the battle
Till his sword was broken to pieces.
Allāh is his Supporter, how his heart
From patience was split then did depart.
Had patience been stone, it would have cracked.
He bent to kiss his son
But the arrow before him kissed his neck.
Both he and death were born in an hour
And before him the arrow in his neck make *Takbīr,*
And in captivity there were elite ones of chambers,
Hard for their men to see them thus driven.
They had, before, protected their chambers
And in protecting their honours
They remained ever vigilant.
On the Day of Ṭaff fate walked blindly

Not leaving any support for them
Without taking him away.
He forced them to traverse the desert at night,
Never before the Ṭaff did they know
What the desert was, nor did they know
How to traverse at night,
Not even their eyes
Had seen their shadows.
Till they appeared and wailed
At the Ghādiriyya, unveiled...[1]

AT THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION[2]

Having returned from his camp at Nakhīla, [`Ubaydullāh] Ibn Ziyād went straight to his mansion[3]. The

[1]This poem was composed by Sayyid Hayder al-Ḥilli, may Allāh enlighten his mausoleum.

[2]According to p. 8 of *Ṣiffīn*, a book written by Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim and printed in Egypt, when Ali (ع) entered Kūfa, he was asked, "Which [prison] house do you prefer?" He said, "Do not lodge me at the house of oppression and corruption." He, therefore, remained in the custody of Ja`dah ibn Habīrah al-Makhzūmi.

[3]According to p. 142, Chapter 9, of al-Tha`ālibi's book *Laṭā'if al-Ma`ārif*, `Abd al-Malik ibn `Umayr al-Lakhmi has narrated saying, "I saw the head of al-Ḥusain ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) at the government mansion of `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād placed on a shield, and I saw the head of al-Mukhtār with Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr on another shield. I saw the head of Miṣ`ab in front of `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān on yet another shield! When I told `Abd al-Malik [ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam] about that, he regarded it as a bad omen and left the place." The same is narrated by al-Sayyūṭi on p. 139 of his book *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, and by Sibt ibn al-Jawzi on p. 148 of his book *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (Iranian edition).

sacred head was brought to him, and it was then that the walls started bleeding[1] and a fire broke out from one part of the mansion, making its way to the place where Ibn Ziyād was sitting[2]. He fled away from it and entered one of the mansion's rooms. The head spoke out in a loud voice that was heard by Ibn Ziyād as well as by those who were present there and then. It said: "Where do you flee to? If fire does not catch you in the life of this world, it shall be your abode in the hereafter." The head did not stop speaking till the fire was out. Everyone at the mansion was stunned; nothing like this had ever taken place before[3]. Yet Ibn Ziyād was not admonished by an incident such as this, so he ordered the captives to be brought to him. The ladies of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) were brought to him, and they were in the most pathetic condition[4].

She was brought with nothing to cover her head
In a condition that left no patience for the skin.
With nothing to cover her face;
Did they keep any cover for the ladies of guidance?
No, by the One Who outfitted her with His Light,
They robbed her even of her cover.
May those hands be forever
Paralyzed; they left no veil for them at all.[5]

Al-Ḥusain's severed head was placed in front of him, so he kept hitting its mouth with a rod which he had in his hand for some time. Zayd ibn Arqam said, "Stop hitting these lips with your rod, for by Allāh, the One and Only God, I saw the lips of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) kissing them," then he broke into tears. Ibn Ziyād said to him, "May Allāh cause you never to cease crying! By Allāh, had you not been an old man who lost his wits, I would have killed you." Zayd went out of the meeting place saying, "A slave is now a monarch ruling them, treating them as his property. O Arabs! Henceforth, *you* are the slaves! You have killed Fāṭima's son and granted authority to the son of Marjāna who kills the best from among you and permits the evil ones to be worshipped. You have accepted humiliation, so away with whoever accepts humiliation."[6]

Zainab daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) kept a distance from the women as she remained disguised, but she could not disguise the prestige of being brought up in the lap of prophethood and in the glory of Imāmate, so she attracted Ibn Ziyād's attention. He inquired about her. He was told that she was Zainab, the wise lady, daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (ع). He wanted to tell her how rejoiced he was at what had happened. Said he, "Praise be to Allāh Who exposed you to shame, Who killed you and proved you liars." She, peace be upon her, responded with: "Praise be to Allāh Who honoured us by choosing Muḥammed [from among us] as His Prophet and purified us with a perfect purification. Rather, only a debauchee is exposed to

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[1]Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 329. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116. *Thakhā'ir al-`Uqba*, p. 145. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Malāḥim*, p. 128 (first edition).

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 103. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami al-`Asqalāni, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 196. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 87. al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 339 (Hayderi Press edition). Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 286.

[3]*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abi Firās*, p. 149.

[4]"Abul-Abbās" Aḥmed ibn Yousuf ibn Aḥmed al-Qarmāni, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, Vol. 1, p. 8.

[5]Excerpted from a poem by Sayyid `Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Ḥilli recorded on p. 218, Vol. 3, of *Shu`arā' al-Ḥilla*.

[6]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 118. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 262. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wal Nihāya*, Vol. 8, p. 190. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 195. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 340. These authors have expressed their disbelief of what he has said. The fact that he was blind does not necessarily render his statement inaccurate, for it is quite possible he had heard the same. Ibn `Asākir's statement that Zayd was present then and there supports his.

shame, and a sinner is proven to be a liar, and we are neither."

Ibn Ziyād asked her, "How have you seen what Allāh has done to your Ahl al-Bayt (ع)?" She, peace be upon her, said, "I have seen Him treating them most beautifully. These are people to whom Allāh prescribed martyrdom, so they leaped from their beds welcoming it, and Allāh shall gather you and them, and you shall be questioned, and your opponents shall charge you[1]; so, you will then find out whose lot shall be the crack of hell, may your mother, O son of Marjāna, lose you."[2]

This statement enraged Ibn Ziyād, and her words incinerated him with ire, especially since she said it before such a huge crowd. He, therefore, was about to kill her when `Amr ibn Harīth said to him, "She is only a woman; can she be held accountable for what she said? She cannot be blamed when she thus prattles."

Ibn Ziyād turned to her one more time and said, "Allāh has healed my heart by letting me seek revenge against your tyrant and against the rebels and mutineers from among his Ahl al-Bayt!" The wise lady calmed herself and said, "By my life! You have killed my middle-aged protector, persecuted my family, cut off my branch and pulled out my roots; so, if all of this heals your heart, then you are indeed healed."[3]

He then turned to Ali son of al-Ḥusain (ع) whom he asked what his name was. "I am Ali son of al-Ḥusain (ع)," came the answer. Ibn Ziyād asked Ali, "Did not Allāh kill Ali (ع)?" Al-Sajjād (ع) answered, "I used to have an older brother[4], also named Ali, whom [your] people killed." Ibn Ziyād responded by repeating his statement that it was Allāh who had killed him. Al-Sajjād, therefore, said, "Allāh takes the souls away at the time of their death; none dies except with Allāh's permission." Ibn Ziyād did not appreciate him thus responding to his statement rather than remaining silent, so he ordered him to be killed, but his aunt, the wise lady Zainab, put her arms around him and said, "O Ibn Ziyād! Suffices you what you have shed of our blood..., have you really spared anyone other than this?[5] If you want to kill him, kill me with him as well." Al-Sajjād (ع) said [to Ibn Ziyād], "Do you not know that we are used to being killed, and that martyrdom is one of Allāh's blessings upon us?"[6] Ibn Ziyād looked at both of them then said, "Leave him for her. Amazing is their tie of kinship; she wishes to be killed with him."[7]

Al-Rubāb, wife of Imām Ḥusain (ع), took the head and put it in her lap. She kissed it and said,

O Ḥusain! Never shall I ever forget Ḥusain!
Did the foes' lances really seek him?
They left him in Kerbalā' slain,

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 262.

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 90.

[3]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 33. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 42. al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 263. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. al-Ṭibrisi, *I`lām al-Warā*, p. 141. According to p. 145, Vol. 3, of *Kāmil al-Mibrad* (1347 A.H./1735 A.D. edition), Zainab daughter of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), the eldest of those taken captive to Ibn Ziyād, was quite eloquent, driving her argument against the latter home. Ibn Ziyād, therefore, said to her, "If you achieved your objective behind your oratory, your father was an orator and a poet." She said to him, "What would women do with poetry?" Ibn Ziyād, in fact, used to stutter, and he had a lisp; his speech had a heavy Persian accent.

[4]Such is the statement of Muḥammed ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari in his book *Al-Muntakhab* in a footnote on p. 89, Vol. 12, of his *Tārīkh*. So does Abul Faraj al-Iṣfahāni on p. 49 of the Iranian edition of his book *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, and al-Dimyari in his book *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, as well as al-Ṭurayḥi's book *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 238 (Hayderi Press edition). It is also indicated on p. 58 of Miṣ`ab al-Zubayri's book *Nasab Quraish*.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 263.

[6]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 91. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 13.

[7]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 34.

May Allāh never water Kerbalā's sides.[1]

When it became clear to Ibn Ziyād that there were many people present who were voicing their resentment of what he had committed and how everyone was repeating what Zainab had said, he feared an uprising, so he ordered the police to jail the captives inside a house adjacent to the grand mosque[2]. Ibn Ziyād's doorman has said, "I was with them when he issued his order to jail them. I saw how the men and women assembled there weeping and beating their faces."[3] Zainab shouted at people saying, "Nobody should tend to us except either a bondmaid, a freed bondmaid, or *umm wuld*[4], for they were taken captive just as we have been."[5] What Zainab meant is that only a female captive is familiar with the pain and humiliation of captivity; therefore, she would be sympathetic and would not rejoice nor enjoy seeing them in captivity. This is undeniable. It is reported that when Jassas ibn Murrah killed Kalīb ibn Rabī`ah, it happened that his sister was in the company of Kalīb at the time. When the women of the quarter met for the funeral ceremony in Kalīb's memory, they said to the latter's sister, "Get Jalīla (Jaṣṣāṣ's sister) out of this ceremony; her presence causes her to rejoice, and it is a shame among the Arabs; she is the sister of one who has killed one of us." The woman voluntarily left as Kalīb's sister said, "This is the departure of the aggressor and the parting of one who rejoices on account of our misfortune."[6]

Ibn Ziyād again called them to his presence. When they were brought to him, their women saw al-Ḥusain's head in front of him with its divine rays ascending from its curves to the depth of the heavens. Al-Rubāb, al-Ḥusain's wife, could not check herself from falling upon it and kissing it as she said:

The one that was in Kerbalā' a luminary
Is now slain but not buried at all
O grandson of the Prophet! May Allāh reward you
On our behalf with goodness and may you
Be spared the shorting of the scales.

To me you were a mountain, a refuge
And you used to be our companion in lineage and in creed
Who will now help the orphans and those in need?
To whom shall the needy go for help?
By Allāh! I shall never exchange your kinship with anyone else
Till I am lost between water and mud.[7]

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[1]These lines are recorded on p. 148 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson. Due to confusion and absence of verification, these same verses are recorded under No. 18, p. 314, Vol. 1, or *Al-Hamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, in a chapter dealing with eulogies, attributing them to `Ātika daughter of Nufayl, al-Ḥusain's wife! Not even one reliable historian has ever indicated that al-Ḥusain (ع) had ever married her!

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 91. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 43.

[3]al-Naishapuri, *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, p. 163.

[4]"Freed *umm wuld*" is a bondmaid who bears sons by her master and who is set free on that account but remains in the latter's custody as his wife. — Tr.

[5]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 92. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 130.

[6]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 4, p. 150.

[7]These verses are recorded on p. 158, Vol. 14, of Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni's book *Al-Aghāni* (Sassi Press edition).

Ḥamīd ibn Muslim has said, "Ibn Ziyād ordered to hold a congregational prayer service. They assembled at the grand mosque. Ibn Ziyād ascended the pulpit and said, `All Praise is due to Allāh Who manifested the truth and elevated those who act according to it and Who granted victory to the commander of the faithful Yazīd and to his party, and Who killed the liar and the son of the liar, al-Ḥusain son of Ali, and his Shī`as.'[1] Nobody among that crowd that had sunk in misguidance objected to such a preposterous statement except `Abdullāh ibn `Afīf al-Azdi and also one of the sons of Wālibah al-Ghāmidi who both stood up and said to him, `O son of Marjāna! The liar and the son of the liar is you and your father, and so is everyone who accepts your authority and his son! O son of Marjāna! Do you really kill the offspring of the prophets and still talk about who is truthful and who is a liar?!'[2] Ibn Ziyād asked who the speaker was. Ibn `Afīf answered by saying, `I am the speaker, O enemy of Allāh! Do you really kill the righteous offspring from whom Allāh removed all abomination then claim that you are a follower of the Islamic creed?! Oh! Is there anyone to help?! Where are the sons of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār to seek revenge against your tyrant, the one who and whose father were both cursed by Muḥammed (ص), the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds?' Ibn Ziyād's anger now intensified. He ordered him to be brought to him. The police grabbed him.[3] It was then that Ibn `Afīf shouted the slogan used by the Azdis which was: `*Ya Mabroor*!' This caused a large number of the Azdis present there to leap to his rescue and to forcibly free him from the police and take him safely home."

`Abdul-Raḥmān ibn Makhnaf al-Azdi said to him, "Woe unto someone else other than you! You have surely condemned yourself and your tribe to destruction!"[4]

Ibn Ziyād then ordered a number of men from the Azd tribe, including `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn Mikhnaf al-Azdi[5], to be jailed. During the night, a band of men working for Ibn Ziyād went to the latter's house to bring him intelligence of what the Azd tribesmen were discussing. When these tribesmen came to know about such spying, they gathered their fighting men, as well as the fighting men of their allies in Yemen, together. Ibn Ziyād came to know about such assembling of troops, so he sent Mudar tribesmen headed by Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath[6] to fight them. A fierce battle broke out, and many men from both sides were killed. Wāsil ibn al-Ash`ath reached the house of Ibn `Afīf. He and his men broke its door open. His daughter screamed warning her father saying, "The people have come to you!" He said to her, "Do not be concerned, just hand me my sword" with which he kept defending himself as he was reciting these lines:

The son of the honoured, the clement, and the pure am I
Clement is my mentor and the son of Umm `Āmir
How many of you shielded or did not shield,
How many a hero left slain on the battlefield?

His daughter kept saying, "How I wish I had been a man so that I could defend you against these sinners, the

[1]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 1, p. 34.

[2]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 263.

[3]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*.

[4]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 263.

[5]al-Qazwīni, *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān*, p. 57, citing *Rawḍat al-Ṣafa*.

[6]According to Ibn Nama al-Ḥilli's book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, Ibn Ziyād had dispatched Muḥammed ibn al-Ash`ath. Since he was killed on `Āshūra as a consequence of Imām al-Ḥusain's curse upon him when a scorpion bit him, the person dispatched in this account should instead be one of the offspring of al-Ash`ath.

killers of the righteous Progeny of the Prophet (ص)!"

For some time, no man was able to come close to him due to the fact that his daughter kept warning him about the direction from which they were attacking him since he was blind. In the end, however, they overwhelmed him. His daughter cried out: "What humiliation! My father is surrounded and there is none to help him!" He kept circling with his sword in his hand as he repeated this line:

I swear, should I am permitted to see,
Unable to face my might shall you be.
By Allāh do I swear! Had I been able to see
You wouldn't know whence and how I attack thee!

Once they overpowered him, they arrested him and brought him to Ibn Ziyād who started by saying to him, "Praise be to Allāh who subjected you to such humiliation!" Ibn `Afīf asked him: "What did He humiliate me for?!" Then he recited this line of poetry:

By Allāh do I swear! Had I only been able to see
You wouldn't know whence and how I attack thee!

Ibn Ziyād asked him, "O enemy of Allāh! What do you think of `Uthmān [ibn `Affan]?" Ibn `Afīf verbally abused `Uthmān then said to Ibn Ziyād, "What do you have to do with `Uthmān whether he was good or bad? Allāh, the most Praised and Exalted One, is in charge of His creatures; He judges between them and between `Uthmān with justice and equity. You should instead ask me about your father and about Yazīd and his father." Ibn Ziyād said, "I shall not ask you about anything; rather, you shall taste of death one choking after another." Ibn `Afīf said, "Then Praise to Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds! I have been for years praying my Lord to grant me the honour of martyrdom even before your mother gave birth to you, and I prayed Him to let it be at the hands of one whom He curses and hates the most! When I lost my eyesight, I lost hope of attaining martyrdom, but now I praise Allāh Who has blessed me with it though I had lost that hope, responding to my supplications of old!" Ibn Ziyād ordered his neck to be struck with the sword and to crucify him in the salty tracts of the land.[1]

Ibn Ziyād ordered Jandab ibn `Abdullāh al-Azdi, who was an old man, to be brought to him. He said to him, "O enemy of Allāh! Did you not fight on Abu Turāb's side during the Battle of Ṣiffīn?" The old man answered, "Yes, and I love him and am proud of him, while I despise you and your father especially after you have killed the grandson of the Prophet (ص) and his companions and the members of his family without fearing the One and Only God, the Great Avenger." Ibn Ziyād said, "You have less feeling of shame than that blind man, and I seek nearness to Allāh through shedding your blood." Jandab said, "In that case, Allāh shall never bring you closer to Him." Ibn Ziyād, on a second thought, feared the might of the man's Azd tribe, so he left him alone saying, "He is only an old man who has lost his mind and wits." He released him.[2]

AL-MUKHTĀR AL-THAQAFI

[1]Ibn Nama al-Ḥilli, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 50. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 92. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 53. Al-Ṭabari, on p. 263, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, abridges his story. Ibn Ḥabīb, on p. 480 of his book *Al-Maḥbar*, and Shaikh al-Mufīd in his book *Al-Irshād*, agree on the fact that he was crucified on the garbage collection site. al-Irbīli mentions him on p. 116 of his book *Kashf al-Ghummah*.

[2]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 51. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 55. al-Qazwīni, *Riyād al-Aḥzān*, p. 52.

At the same time when Ibn Ziyād ordered the captives to be brought to his meeting place, he also ordered al-Mukhtār son of Abu `Ubayd al-Thaqafi to be brought to him, too. Al-Mukhtār had been in prison since the assassination of Muslim ibn `Aqīl. When al-Mukhtār saw that horrific and most deplorable scene, he sighed loudly and an exchange of harsh words took place between him and Ibn Ziyād wherein the harshest words were al-Mukhtār's. Ibn Ziyād became burning with outrage and ordered him to be sent back to jail[1]. Some say that he whipped him, blinding one of his eyes.[2]

After the execution of Ibn `Afīf, al-Mukhtār was released due to the interference of `Abdullāh son of `Omer ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who asked Yazīd to have him released. Yazīd was the husband of al-Mukhtār's sister, Safiyya daughter of Abu `Ubayd al-Thaqafi. But Ibn Ziyād postponed carrying out Yazīd's order for three days. Having ordered the execution of Ibn `Afīf, Ibn Ziyād delivered a speech wherein he abused the Commander of the Faithful (ع), causing al-Mukhtār to denounce and to taunt him to his face saying, "You are the liar, O enemy of Allāh and enemy of His Messenger! Rather, Praise to Allāh Who dignified al-Ḥusain and his army with Paradise and with forgiveness just as He humiliated Yazīd and his army with the fire and with shame." Ibn Ziyād hurled an iron bar at him that fractured his forehead, then he ordered him to be sent back to jail, but people reminded him that `Omer ibn Sa`d was the husband of his sister while another brother-in-law was none other than `Abdullāh ibn `Omer [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]. They reminded him of his lofty lineage, so he changed his mind of having him killed, yet he insisted on sending him back to prison. For the second time did `Abdullāh ibn `Omer write Yazīd who in turn wrote `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād ordering him to release the man[3].

Al-Mukhtār incessantly kept after that informing the Shī`as of the merits which he knew of the companions of the Commander of the Faithful (ع), of how he rose seeking revenge for al-Ḥusain (ع), and how he killed Ibn Ziyād and those who fought al-Ḥusain (ع).[4]

One incident he narrated was the following which he recollected about the time when he was in Ibn Ziyād's jail:

`Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Maytham al-Tammār were among his cell mates. `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith asked for a piece of iron to remove the hair in certain parts of his body saying, "I do not feel secure against Ibn Ziyād executing me, and I do not want him to do so while there is unwanted hair on my body." Al-Mukhtār said to him, "By Allāh he shall not kill you, nor shall he kill me, nor shall you face except very little hardship before you become the governor of Baṣra!" Maytham heard their dialogue, so he said to al-Mukhtār, "You yourself will rise seeking revenge for al-Ḥusain's blood, and you shall kill the same man who wants us to be killed, and you shall trample on his cheeks with your very foot."[5] This came to be exactly as these men had said. `Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith was released from jail after Yazīd's death and became the governor of Baṣra. After only one year, al-Mukhtār rose seeking revenge against the killers of al-Ḥusain (ع), killing Ibn Ziyād, Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil, Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan and a large number of the Kūfians who had betrayed al-Ḥusain (ع). As Ibn Nama al-Ḥilli tells us, he [and his army] killed eighteen thousand Kūfians, then almost ten thousand[6] of them fled away from him and sought refuge with Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr. Among them was Shabth ibn Rab`i who reached him riding a mule whose ears and tail he had cut off and who was wearing

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[1]al-Qazwīni, *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān*, p. 52.

[2]Ibn Rastah, *Al-A`lāq al-Nafisa*, p. 224.

[3]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, pp. 178-179. Al-Qazwīni, author of *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān,* briefly narrates it on p. 58.

[4]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 284, citing Ibn Nama's book *Akhth al-Thār*.

[5]Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, Vol. 1, p. 210 (Egyptian edition). al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 284. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[6]al-Dainūri, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 295.

a torn outer garment and shouting, "Help! Lead us to fight this debauchee who demolished our homes and killed our honourable men!"[1]

THE SACRED HEAD SPEAKS

My heart goes for your head atop a spear
Outfitted with its own lights with an attire,
Reciting the Book from the top of the spear,
Through him did they raise the Book even higher.[2]

The martyred grandson of the Prophet (ص) remained an ally of the Qur'ān since his early childhood. Thus were he and his brother (ع), for they were the legacy of the Messenger of Allāh, his vicegerents over his nation. The greatest Prophet (ص) had stated that they and the Holy Qur'ān would never part from one another till they meet him at the Pool of Kawthar. Al-Ḥusain (ع), therefore, never ceased reciting the Qur'ān all his life as he taught and cultivated others, when he was at home or when travelling. Even during his stand in the Battle of Ṭaff, though surrounded by his foes, he used the Qur'ān to argue with them and to explain his point of view to them. Thus was the son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) energetically marching towards his sacred objective, so much so that his sacred head kept reciting the Qur'ān even as it stood atop a spear, perhaps someone among the people would be enlightened with the light of the truth. But this lamp-post of guidance did not see except people whose comprehension was limited, whose hearts were sealed, and whose ears were deafened: "Allāh sealed their hearts and hearing, and over their vision there is a veil" (Qur'ān, 2:7).

This must not surprise anyone who comprehends divine mysteries. The Lord, Praise to Him, mandated upon the Master of Martyrs (ع) to rise in order to close the gates of misguidance in that particular fashion defined by the circumstances, place, and method. He did so for the achievement of certain objectives set by the Great One. He had inspired His holiest Prophet (ص) to recite this particular page to his son, al-Ḥusain (ع); so, there is no way other than its acceptance and the submission to whatever best pleases the Lord of the Worlds: "He is not asked about what He does, whereas they are asked" (Qur'ān, 21:23).

The Omnipotent and the Exalted One wanted such a sacred uprising to make the nation then, as well as the successive generations, to become acquainted with the misguidance of those who deviated from the Straight Path and who played havoc with the Sharī`a. He liked any and all deeds that would firm the foundations of this martyrdom whose epic was recorded by al-Ḥusain's pure blood, bringing about shining pages narrating the deeds of those who rose against abomination. This became enshrouded with many extra-ordinary events which most minds could not comprehend. One such strange event was the recitation by the great head of the sacred verses of the Holy Qur'ān. The speech of a severed head is a most eloquent means to drive the argument against those who were blinded by their own desires home. It underscores the fact that his stand was right, a stand which he never undertook except in obedience to the Lord of the Worlds and to the detriment of those who in any way harmed or oppressed al-Ḥusain (ع). It drew the nation's attention to the misguidance of those who dared to oppress.

Divine Providence did not do something for the first time when it enabled al-Ḥusain's head to speak in

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 7, p. 146.

[2]According to p. 36 of Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn's book *Al-Durr al-Nadīd*, these verses were composed by Sayyid Riḍa al-Hindi.

order to serve the interests the essence of which many fail to comprehend. It had enabled a tree[1] to speak to Moses son of Imrān [Amram], prophet of Allāh (ع), and how can a tree be compared to a severed head in as far as obedience to the most Merciful One, Praise to Him, is concerned?

Zayd ibn Arqam has said, "I was sitting in my room when they passed by, and I heard the head reciting this verse: `Or do you think that the fellows of the cave and the inscription were of Our amazing Signs?' (Qur'ān, 18:9). My hair stood up, and I said, `By Allāh, O son of the Messenger of Allāh! Your head is much more amazing!"[2]

When the holiest of severed heads was placed at the money changers' section of the bazaar, there was a great deal of commotion and noise of the dealers and customers. The Master of Martyrs (ع) wanted to attract the attention to him so that people would listen to his terse admonishment, so his severed head hawked quite loudly, thus turning all faces to it. Never did people hear a severed head hawking before the martyrdom of al-Ḥusain (ع). It then recited Sūrat al-Kahf from its beginning till it reached the verse saying, "They are youths who believed in their Lord, and We increased their guidance" (Qur'ān, 18:13) , "... and do not (O Lord!) increase the unjust in aught but error" (Qur'ān, 71:24).

The head was hung on a tree. People assembled around it looking at the dazzling light that emanated from it as it recited the verse saying, "And those who oppressed shall come to know what an end they shall meet" (Qur'ān, 26:227)[3].

Hilāl ibn Mu`āwiyah has said, "I saw a man carrying the head of al-Ḥusain (ع) as it [the head] was saying, `You separated between my head and my body, so may Allāh separate between your flesh and bones, and may He make you a Sign for those who shirk from the Straight Path.' He, therefore, raised his whip and kept whipping the head till it ceased."[4]

Salamah ibn Kahīl heard the head reciting the following verse from the top of the spear where it had been placed: "Allāh shall suffice you for them, and He is the Hearing, the Knowing" (Qur'ān, 2:137)[5].

Ibn Wakīda says that he heard the head reciting Sūrat al-Kahf, so he was doubtful whether it was, indeed, the voice of the Imām (ع), whereupon he (ع), stopped his recitation and turned to the man to say, "O son of Wakīda! Do you not know that we, the Imāms, are living with our Lord receiving our sustenance?" He, therefore, decided to steal and bury the head. It was then that the glorious head spoke again to him saying, "O son of Wakīda! There is no way to do that. Their shedding my blood is greater with Allāh than placing me on a spear; so, leave them alone, for they shall come to know when the collars are placed around their necks and when they are dragged with chains."[6] Al-Minhāl ibn `Amr has said, "I saw al-Ḥusain's head in Damascus atop a spear and in front of it stood a man; the head was reciting Sūrat al-Kahf. When the recitation came to the verse

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[1]al-Sayyūṭi, *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*, Vol. 2, p. 119, in the explanation of the verse saying, "Lord! Grant me to look at You!" al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 5, p. 278, citing *Al-Muhaj*. al-Tha`ālibi, *Qasas al-Anbiyā'*, p. 120, chapter 8, where the exit of Moses (ع) from Midian is detailed.

[2]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubra*, Vol. 2, p. 125. On p. 362, Vol. 1, of *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd says, "Zayd ibn Arqam was one of those who deviated from the line of the Commander of the Faithful Ali (ع). He was reluctant to testify that the Commander of the Faithful (ع) was appointed [by the Prophet] to take charge of the nation after him, so he (ع) condemned him with blindness. He, indeed, became blind till his death. According to Ibn al-Athīr, who indicates so on p. 24, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Kāmil*, Ibn Ziyād ordered the head of al-Ḥusain (ع) to be paraded throughout Kūfa. The same is stated by Ibn Kathīr on p. 191, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Bidāya*, and also by al-Maqrīzi on p. 288, Vol. 2, of his *Khuṭaṭ*.

[3]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, Vol. 2, p. 188.

[4]*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abi Firās*, p. 148.

[5]Sayyid Kāẓim al-Rashti al-ā'iri, *Asrār al-Shahāda*, p. 488.

[6]*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abi Firās*, p. 148.

saying, `Or did you reckon the fellows of the Cave and the Inscription among our amazing Signs?' (Qur'ān, 18:9), the head spoke in an articulate tongue saying, `More amazing than the fellows of the cave is killing me and thus transporting me.'"[1]

When Yazīd ordered the killing of a messenger sent by the then Roman [Byzantine] emperor who resented what Yazīd had committed, the head loudly articulated these words: *La hawla wala quwwata illa billāh!* (There is no power nor might except in Allāh).[2]

Is it your soul or the soul of Prophethood that does ascend
From the earth to Paradise as the *hūris* prostrate?
Is it your head or the head of the Messenger atop the spear
Repeating the *ayat* of the fellows of the cave?
Is it your chest or the reservoir of knowledge and wisdom
That crushed a host of the ignorant attempts?
Is it your mother or the Mother of the Book that did sigh
So her sighing heart did indeed melt,
And the earth echoes the heavens in its sighs
So while one wails, the other cries?
The *Waḥi* held a mourning of its own
At his house, and the one solaced is Muḥammed,
Seeing the Two Weighty Things: One to pieces torn
With arrows, and the other with the sword to pieces sawn,
So his *`Itrat* some killed by the sword and some by the arrows,
Some martyred and some expelled in the plains full of sorrows.
What a martyr whose body did the sun bake?
Though from its very origin did its own rays take?
And what a slain save one whose body the horses crushed
Though from his mention their riders freeze and are hushed.
Did you know that Muḥammed's very soul,
Like his Qur'ān, is in his grandson personified?
Had those horses, like their riders, only come to know
That the one under the hooves was in fact Aḥmed,
They would have against their riders declared a mutiny
Just as they against him revolted and declared.
Injustice slit a throat the moon's light does envy
And in each of his veins for the truth there is a star
And crushed ribs wherein compassion does reside
And stopped breathing wherein the Truth is Glorified.
Yet the greatest calamity of all
Is the suffering of his free ladies' every soul.
Oppressed they were as their only protector is tied
Some were handcuffed complaining from their pain,

[1]al-Sayyūṭi, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, Vol. 2, p. 127.

[2]al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 151.

While other ladies were being slapped and in chain,
As if said to his people the Messenger of Oneness:
Seek revenge against my *`Itrat* and with cruelty oppress.[1]

OPPRESSION OF AL-ASHDAQ

Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabari] narrates the following:

Ibn Ziyād wanted to send `Abd al-Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salāmi to Medīna in order to inform `Amr ibn Sa`īd al-Ashdaq[2] of the killing of al-Ḥusain (ع), but he sought to be excused of such an undertaking, claiming to be sick. Al-Ashdaq refused to accept his excuse. Ibn Ziyād was described as very heavy-handed, nobody could tolerate his ire. He ordered the man to rush and to buy another she-camel if the one he was riding was not fast enough, and not to let anyone reach the destination before him. He, therefore, rushed to Medīna. A man from Quraish met him and asked him why he seemed to be in such a hurry. `The answer rests with the governor,' was his answer. When Ibn Sa`īd was informed of al-Ḥusain (ع) having been killed, he was very happily excited and was subdued with elation. He ordered a caller to announce it in the city's alleys, and before long, the cries and the wailing coming from the Hāshemite ladies mourning the Master of the Youths of Paradise (ع) were heard like never before. Those cries reached all the way to the house of al-Ashdaq who laughed and quoted a verse of poetry composed by `Amr ibn Ma`di-Karb saying,

Noisy with grief were the women of Banū Ziyād
As noisy as our women on the Rabbit Day.

He maliciously added saying, "A wailing noise like the one we raised when `Uthmān was killed."[3] Then he turned to the grave of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) and again maliciously said, "Now we have gotten even with you, Messenger of Allāh, for what you did to us during the Battle of Badr." A number of men from the Anṣār rebuked him with shame for having made such a statement.[4]

He ascended the pulpit and said, "O people! It is a blow for a blow, and a crushing for a crushing! A sermon followed another! This is sound wisdom, so no *nathr* can do any good. He condemned us as we praised him, cut off his ties with us though we did not, just as it was his habit, and just as it was ours, but what else can we do to a man who drew his sword with the intention to kill us other than to put an end to the danger to which he exposed us?"

`Abdullāh ibn al-Ṣā'ib stood up and said to him, "Had Fāṭima (ع) been alive, and had she seen al-Ḥusain's [severed] head, she would have wept for him." `Amr ibn Sa`īd rebuked him and said, "We are more worthy of Fāṭima than you: Her father was our uncle, her husband was our brother, his mother was our daughter. And had Fāṭima been alive, she would have cried but would not have blamed those who killed him in self

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by Sayyid Ṣāliḥ son of the *`allāma* Sayyid Mehdi Baḥr al-`Ulūm.

[2]According to p. 240, Vol. 5, of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami al-`Asqalāni's book *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, and also according to p. 141 of his other book titled *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, Abu Hurayra is quoted as saying, "I have heard the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, saying, `One of the tyrants of Banū Umayyah shall have a nosebleed on my pulpit, and his blood will flow thereupon.'" `Amr ibn Sa`īd did, indeed, have a nosebleed as he was on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allāh (ص), staining it with his blood.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 368.

[4]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 222. Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul Balāgha*, Vol. 1, p. 361.

defense."[1]

`Amr was very crude and uncouth, a man of legendary cruelty. He ordered `Amr ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-Awwam[2], head of the police force, after al-Ḥusain (ع) had been killed, to demolish all the houses of Banū Hāshim [the Prophet's clansmen]. He did, persecuting them beyond limits... He also demolished the home of Ibn Mutī` and beat people with cruelty. They fled from him and went to [`Abdullāh] Ibn al-Zubayr[3]. The reason why he was called "al-Ashdaq" [one whose jaws are twisted to the right or to the left] is due to the fact that his jaws were twisted after having gone to extremes in taunting Imām Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع)[4]. Allāh, therefore, punished him [in this life before the hereafter] in the worst manner. He was carried to `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān in chains; once he had profusely remonstrated with the latter, he was ordered to be killed[5].

Escorted by a number of women from her kinsfolk, the daughter of `Aqīl ibn Abu Ṭālib went out to visit the grave of the Prophet (ص) where she threw herself on it, burst in tears then turned to the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār and came forth instantaneously with these verses:

What will you on the Judgment Day
To the Prophet stand and say?
Surely what you will hear will be true:
Those who betrayed his Progeny were you.
Were you present, or were you not there at all
And justice is combined in the Lord of all...?
You handed it over to those who are never fair
So your intercession with Allāh will go nowhere.
Though on the Ṭaff Day absent was he,
Yet all the dead did your very eyes see.
You saw all those who did die
So to Allāh you shall never come nigh.

All those present wept. There was no such weeping ever before[6]. Her sister, Zainab, kept mourning al-Ḥusain (ع) in the most somber manner while repeating these verses:

What will you say when the Prophet to you will say:
How did you fare, since you are the last of nations,
With my Progeny and family after my demise?
Some of them were taken captives and some in blood stained.
That was not my reward for having advised you

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[1] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 131.

[2] According to p. 23, Vol. 4, of al-Balāthiri's book *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, the mother of `Amr ibn al-Zubayr was Ama daughter of Khālid ibn Sa`īd ibn al-Ās. Her father was in command of an army which `Amr ibn Sa`īd al-Ashdaq dispatched to Mecca to fight `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr. Abdullāh's army captured `Amr ibn al-Zubayr, so `Abdullāh ordered everyone who had suffered an injustice at his hand to whip him. The whipping caused his death.

[3] Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 4, p. 155.

[4] al-Mirzabani, *Mu`jam al-Shu`arā'*, p. 231.

[5] Abu Hilāl al-`Askari, *Jamharat al-Amthāl*, p. 9 (Indian edition).

[6] Shaikh al-Ṭūsi, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 55. On p. 227, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb says it was Asmā' who had composed those verses.

That you should succeed me in faring ill with my family.[1]

UMM AL-BANEEN[2]

I could not find any reliable reference clearly stating that Umm al-Baneen was alive during the Battle of Ṭaff, and there are three theories refuting anyone's claim to the contrary:

FIRST: *`Allāma* Muḥammed Ḥasan al-Qazwīni says on p. 60 of his book *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān*, "The mourning of that tragedy was held at the house of Umm al-Baneen, wife of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) and mother of al-`Abbās and his brothers."

SECOND: On p. 31 of the second edition of al-Samāwi's book *Ibsār al-`Ayān*, it is stated that, "I find my heart pouring out for the eulogy of his mother Fāṭima, Umm al-Baneen, which was recited by Abul-Ḥasan al-Akhfash in his book *Sharḥ al-Kāmil*. She used to go to al-Baqī` [cemetery] daily in order to mourn him, and she would carry his son `Abdullāh. The people of Medīna used to assemble and listen to her eulogies. Among them was Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. They would all weep for the grief in her mourning."

THIRD: Abul-Faraj [al-Iṣfahāni] in his book *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* says the following when he discusses how al-`Abbās was killed: "It is reported from Muḥammed ibn Ali ibn Ḥamzah who quotes Ḥammād ibn `Eisa al-Juhni citing Mu`āwiyah ibn `Ammar citing Ja`fer saying that Umm al-Baneen was the mother of four brothers who were all killed. She used to go out to al-Baqī` to mourn the death of her sons in the most sad of tones and the most burning to the hearts. People would assemble to listen to her. Marwān used to go among those who went there; he listened to her mourning."

This is all I could find indicating that she was alive during the Battle of Ṭaff. But the first quotation contains no proof; all it says is that the mourning was held at the house of Umm al-Baneen. There is no clue in it to her being present there and then, and it is no more than a tale recorded by Abul-Faraj which he accepted without conducting the least amount of investigation regarding its authenticity. The second statement is clearly a quotation of what Abul-Faraj has written. Al-Samāwi's *Ibsār al-`Ayān* contains pretty much what is included in *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, hence it cannot be regarded as a second independent opinion.

As to the text in *Sharḥ al-Kāmil,* which is attributed to al-Akhfash, I could not find even one single biographer referring to it, although I examined the biographies of everyone named "al-Akhfash." As regarding *shaikh* al-Samāwi, I personally quite often asked him about the source of the said *Sharḥ*, but he always met me with silence. I even told him frankly that the verses of poetry in it must be his own, and that he built his tale around them; so, his reward will nevertheless be with the Almighty, all Praise to Him. Such is the case with al-Majlisi who quotes Abul-Faraj on p. 201, Vol. 10, of his encyclopedia *Biḥār al-Anwār*. The narrative by Abul-Faraj with regard to this incident is faulty due to the following:

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[1]These verses verbatim are recorded on p. 51 of Ibn Nama's book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, on p. 96 of Ibn Ṭāwūs's book *Al-Luhūf*, and on p. 36, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-Athīr's book *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, but the latter concedes that they were by [Zainab] the daughter of `Aqīl ibn Abu Ṭālib, and so does Abul-Rayhān al-Birūni who states so on p. 329 of his book *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*. The same is stated by Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabari] on p. 268, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, but he quotes only two lines. Ibn Qutaybah, on p. 212, Vol. 1, of his book *`Uyūn al-Akhbār*, says that there is a disagreement among the scholars about these verses. On p. 76, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, it is stated that they were by Zainab daughter of `Aqīl ibn Abu Ṭālib.

[2]"Umm al-baneen" literally means: "mother of the sons." Such was called any bondmaid who was freed after giving birth to a son by her master and who remained in her husband/master's custody thereafter as his wife. It carries the same meaning as "umm wuld." — Tr.

1. Nobody pays attention to the men upon whom he relies for his *isnād*. Yazīd ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Nawfal ibn al-Ḥārith ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim al-Nawfali is mentioned on p. 347, Vol. 11, of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb* where Aḥmed is quoted as saying that the man has much to be criticized for. Abu Zar`ah describes his traditions as weak and that most of what he narrates is not known to others. Abu Hātim has said, "His traditions are very bad." Al-Nassā'i says that the traditions he narrates should be discarded. On p. 214, Vol. 10, of Ibn Ḥajar's book titled *Tahthīb al-Tahthīb*, Mu`āwiyah ibn `Ammār ibn Abu Mu`āwiyah cites Abu Hātim saying that his traditions are not to be used as arguments; besides, he is not well known [to other scholars of traditions].

2. Umm al-Baneen quotes a great deal of spiritual knowledge and prophetic ethics from the master of *wasṣs* as well as from the Masters of the Youths of Paradise (ع), so much so that what she learned lifted her to the highest degrees of conviction. She could not have said anything contradictory to the canon of the Sharī`a which prohibits a woman from being exposed in any way to strangers either through prohibition or as a precaution so long as there was no extreme necessity for it. It goes without saying that when a woman mourns someone she has lost, she ought to sit in her house and fortify herself against being seen by strangers or her voice being heard by them as long as there was no urgency for it. Al-Sajjād (ع), once said to Abu Khālid al-Kabuli who expressed his astonishment at finding the Imām's door open, "O Abu Khālid! One of our neighbours has just left our house and was not aware of the door not shutting properly. It does not fit the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) to go out and [noisily] slam the door behind them."[1]

So, whoever grows up at their homes and learns their ethics does not deviate from their path. There is no room to charge Umm al-Baneen of having crossed the divine boundaries legislated by the Sharī`a for women.

As regarding the truthful lady, al-Zahrā' (ع), Medīna's elders forced her to go out to the Baqī` cemetery to mourn her father (ص), so the Commander of the Faithful (ع) built her a shed of palm leaves to shield her from the strangers, a shed which he called "bayt al-aḥzān" (the house of griefs).[2] Historians never say that people used to go there to hear her mourn the setting of the sun of Prophethood, the cessation of the heavens' *waḥi*, and the obliteration of the divine counsels.

3. A woman mourns her lost one at the cemetery where he is buried. Nobody has written saying that a woman went out to a cemetery to mourn her dear one who is buried somewhere else. Such is the case in all generations. The claim made by Abul-Faraj that Umm al-Baneen used to go to al-Baqī` cemetery is an evident fabrication since there is no proof for it. His objective was to say that Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam was kind of heart, for weeping is a sign of grief caused by oppression inflicted upon a dear deceased person to whom one is linked by a certain tie, so his heart gets excited and the emotion overflows, hence the tears pour down from his eyes when he weeps. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam was the one who rejoiced at the killing of al-Ḥusain (ع), and he demonstrated his elation and happiness about such a calamity when he looked at al-Ḥusain's head then instantly came forth with these verses:

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[1]Sayyid Hāshim al-Baḥrāni, *Madīnat al-Ma`ājiz*, p. 318, *ḥadīth* 86.

[2]The following is recorded on p. 93 of *Al-Ishārāt li Ma`rifat al-Ziyārāt*, where the author, Abu Muḥsin Ali ibn Abu Bakr al-Harawi, says, "*Bayt al-Ahzān* at the Baqī` belongs to Fāṭima (ع)." Ibn Jubayr is quoted on p. 103, Vol. 2, of the 1316 A.H./1899 A.D. Egyptian edition of al-Samhūdi's book *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, saying, "Near al-Abbās's dome is *Bayt al-Aḥzān* to which Fāṭima (ع) used to retire after the demise of her father (ص), and she spent her grieving time there." Al-Khawārizmi, on p. 191 of the first 1310 A.H./1893 A.D. edition of his book *Hamish al-`Ulūm*, says that Ali (ع) built a shed of palm leaves in the [then] outskirts of Medīna for al-Zahrā' (ع) to mourn her father (ص)." On p. 328, Vol. 2, of *Fatḥ al-Qadīr* by Ibn Humām al-Ḥanafi, it is stated that prayers are offered at the *masjid* of Fāṭima (ع) daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) at the Baqī`, and it is the one called *Bayt al-Aḥzān*."

How I wish your garment were on your arms
And redness were on your cheeks,
Looking like pieces of gold twain,
How happy I am today having killed Ḥusain!

4. Abul-Faraj, in his book *Muqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, contradicts himself when he discusses the martyrdom of al-`Abbās (ع) then comments by saying, "He was the last to be killed from those among his full-blooded brothers whom he inherited."

Such narrative agrees with what Miṣ`ab ibn al-Zubayr has recorded on p. 43 of *Nasab Quraish* where he says, "Al-`Abbās inherited his brothers who did not have offspring, and al-`Abbās inherited his son `Ubaydullāh. `Omer and Muḥammed were both alive; so, Muḥammed handed over his inheritance from his uncles to `Ubaydullāh whereas `Omer did not till someone mediated, and he accepted his share." Abu Naṣr al-Bukhāri has said on p. 89 of *Sirr al-Silsila al-`Alawiyya* (printed at Najaf by the Hayderi Press), "On the Ṭaff Day, al-Ḥusain (ع) advanced the brothers of al-`Abbās, namely Ja`fer, `Uthmān, and `Abdullāh, who were all killed, so al-`Abbās inherited them. Then al-`Abbās was killed, so his son `Ubaydullāh ibn al-`Abbās inherited them all." This confirms our belief that Umm al-Baneen was dead during the Battle of Ṭaff. Had she been alive, she would have inherited the wealth that belonged to al-`Abbās's brothers, being their mother, and they would not have been inherited by al-`Abbās till the inheritance is transferred to his son `Ubaydullāh. Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥanafiyya did not dispute with `Ubaydullāh about his uncles' inheritance, in accordance with the Sharī`a, because al-`Abbās was related through both his father and mother to his brothers who had by then been martyred, whereas Muḥammed was related to them only through his father. A full-blooded brother is given priority in as far as inheritance is concerned over his half-brother. `Omer al-Atraf did not understand the problem although he was the son of Ali (ع), the gateway of the City of Knowledge (ص), and he should have referred to the nation's Imām, Zayn al-`Ābidīn, in order not to fall in perdition. The dispute attributed to him was true. What is stated in *`Umdat al-Ṭālib* (Najaf's edition) confirms the existence of such a dispute: He went out to people wearing red-dyed clothes and made a statement wherein he said, "I am the wise man who did not go out to fight." The contradiction in what Abul-Faraj says becomes obvious: To say that Umm al-Baneen went out to al-Baqī` cemetery to mourn her sons is to say that she was alive then, whereas his discussion of al-`Abbās's estate being inherited by his brothers testifies to the fact that she was actually dead by then... How often he [Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni] has fallen in error!

`ABDULLĀH IBN JA`FER

Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabari] has said that when the news of al-Ḥusain's martyrdom was announced, `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer held a mourning *majlis*, so people came to him to offer their condolences. His slave, Abul-Lislās[1], said to him, "This is what we got from al-Ḥusain!" He hurled his sandal at him as he said, "O son of the stinking woman! How dare you say something like that about al-Ḥusain (ع)?! By Allāh! Had I been with him, I would not have liked to part with him before being killed defending him. By Allāh! What consoles me is that both my sons were martyred in his defense together with my brother as well as my cousin who all stood firmly on his side." Then he turned to those in his presence and said, "Praise to Allāh! It surely is very heavy on my heart to

[1]His name as stated on p. 194 of al-Irbīli's book *Kashf al-Ghummah* was "Abul-Salāsil," the man of chains.

see al-Ḥusain (ع) get killed, and that I could not defend him with my life, but both my sons have."[1] It is truly amazing to read in the books of history how al-Balāthiri[2] and al-Muḥsin al-Tanūkhi[3] claim that `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer went to meet Yazīd, and that the latter was generous to him more than his father Mu`awiya had been!

Anyone who studies the psychology of Ja`fer's son will find it evident that this incident, which is taken for granted by al-Madā'ini and upon which al-Balāthiri and al-Tanūkhi depend, is simply a lie. Anyone who sees how those men lost their loved ones cannot help concluding that their fires were full of nothing but grief over such a loss as they waited for the opportunity to seek revenge. This is proven by the statement made to the Prophet (ص) by `Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Sallūl. When Ubayy did something because of which the Qur'ānic verse saying, "Should we return to Medīna, the mighty ones shall get the weak out of it" (Qur'ān, Al-Munafiqūn [The Hypocrites]:63), `Abdullāh came to the Prophet of Islam (ص) and said, "You have heard this statement made by Ubayy, have you not?" The Prophet (ص) said, "I have." The man then said, "You know very well that there is nobody more kind than me to his father, yet if you want him killed, then order me to do it, for I am afraid you will order someone else to do it, and I hate to look at the face of my father's killer then attack and kill him and get myself thrown into the fire [of hell]..."[4] This incident gives us a glorious idea about the human nature, about how the relatives of someone killed feel, and how they wait for the opportunity to seek revenge, even when such killing throws them into the pitfalls of *shirk*. Such is the nature of all people. `Omer ibn al-Khaṭṭāb used to say to Sa`d ibn al-`As, with whom he met one night in the company of `Uthmān, Ali (ع), and Ibn `Abbās, "Why do you thus turn away from me as if I killed your father?! I did not kill him; al-Ḥasan's father [Imām Ali, as] did." The Commander of the Faithful (ع) said, "O Allāh! I seek Your forgiveness! *Shirk* and everything else therein is by now gone, and Islam obliterated whatever was before it; so, why do you, O `Omer, thus stir old hostilities?" It was then that Sa`īd said, "The man who killed him was apt to it, a man of nobility, and it is dearer to me that he killed him than anyone else who did not descend from `Abd Manāf."[5]

It was not easy for Sa`īd to remember how his father had been killed even though the latter was an apostate whom the sword of Muḥammed's Call killed, and even though the killer [Ali] is a man of honour whose feats are numerous, and even though the latter did not kill him except in obedience to the Order of the Lord, the Mighty One, as the *waḥi* was brought from the heavens by the "messenger of the heavens" [Gabriel]. But his fear of the sword of justice obligated him to pretend to be satisfied, although the fire was burning inside him as he kept waiting for an opportunity to seek revenge. Such fire of animosity manifested itself by his son, `Amr ibn Sa`īd al-Ashdaq, on the same day when he was appointed by Yazīd as Governor of Medīna. He looked in the direction of the Prophet's grave and, with such a big mouth, loudly said, "This day do we seek revenge for the Battle of Badr, O Messenger of Allāh!" And when he heard the wailing of the women of Banū Hāshim mourning the Master of the Youths of Paradise, he said, "Mourners mourning: thus did we mourn `Uthmān."[6]

The heart of `Abdullāh ibn Ja`fer was burning against Maysoon's son, and he very much hoped for an opportunity to annihilate him, to finish him, as well as his family and kinsfolk. No matter how forgetful he may have been, he could not have forgotten that he killed the "Father of the Oppressed" and the stars on earth belonging to `Abd al-Muṭṭalib as well as the peerless from among his companions. He hit with his rod the lips

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 218.

[2]*Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 4, p. 3.

[3]*Al-Mustajād min Fi`lāt al-Ajwād*, p. 22.

[4]*Usd al-Ghābah*, Vol. 3, p. 97.

[5]Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahjul Balāgha*, Vol. 3, p. 335 (first Egyptian edition). *Tahthīb Tārīkh ibn `Asākir*, in the biography of Sa`īd ibn al-`Āṣ.

[6]Refer to the chapter in this book titled "`Amr al-Ashdaq."

of the fragrant flower of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)! Could Ja`fer's son, since the case was as such, look at Yazīd in the eyes as his sword was dripping with their own blood, and as he was deafened by hearing one who felt rejoiced at the calamity that befell the Prophet of Islam? Yazīd had said this line:

> The cream of their crop have we killed
> Then did we turn and set the record for Badr straight.

He denied the Islamic Message altogether saying:

> Banū Hāshim with authority played,
> No message came, nor any revelation revealed.

Could the son of Ja`fer possibly forget how the ladies who descended from the Prophet (ص) stood with their faces unveiled, exposed to the looks of those who were near as well as those who were distant, knowing that they were the source of all honour, the fortress of the creed? What makes things more tolerable is the fact that the person who accepts this tradition is none other than al-Madā'ini who is well known for his loyalty to the Umayyads, and his book is full of "traditions" raising the status of Banū Umayyah and lowering that of the `Alawides. Anybody who is familiar with the biographies of notable men and with the personalities of the narrators pays no attention to such "traditions".

`ABDULLĀH IBN `ABBĀS

Having come to know that `Abdullāh ibn `Abbās refused to swear the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr, Yazīd wrote him saying,

> It has come to my knowledge that the atheist son of al-Zubayr invited you to swear the oath of allegiance to him and to be obedient to him so that you might support him in his wrongdoing and share his sins, and that you refused and kept your distance from him because Allāh made you aware of our rights we, family members of the Prophet (ص); so, may He grant you the rewards due to those who maintain their ties of kinship, who are true to their promise. No matter what I forget, I shall never forget how you always remained in contact with us, and how good the reward you have received, the one due to those who obey and who are honoured by being relatives of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Look, then, after your people, and look at those whom the son of al-Zubayr enchants with his words and with his promises and pull them away from him, for they will listen to you more than they will to him; they would hear you more than they would that renegade atheist, and peace be with you.

Ibn `Abbās wrote Yazīd back saying,

> I received your letter wherein you mentioned Ibn al-Zubayr's invitation to me to swear the oath of allegiance to him, and that I refused due to recognizing your right. If that is the case [as you claim], I desire nothing but being kind to you. But Allāh knows best what I intend to do. And you wrote me urging me to encourage people to rally behind you and to discourage them from supporting Ibn al-Zubayr... Nay! Neither pleasure nor happiness is here for you; may your mouth be filled with stones, for you are the one whose view is weak when you listened to your own

whims and desires, and it is you who is at fault and who shall perish! And you wrote me urging me to hurry and to join my ties of kinship. Withhold your own, man, for I shall withhold from you my affection and my support. By my life, you do not give us of what is in your hand except very little while withholding a lot; may your father lose you! Do you think that I will really forget how you killed Ḥusain (ع) and the youths of Banū `Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the lanterns that shone in the dark, the stars of guidance, the lamp-posts of piety, and how your horses trampled upon their bodies according to your command, so they were left unburied, drenched in their blood on the desert without any shrouds, nor were they buried, with the wind blowing on them and the wolves invading them, and the heinas assault them till Allāh sent them people who do not have *shirk* running through their veins and who shrouded and buried them...? From me and from them come supplications to Allāh to torment you! No matter what I forget, I shall never forget how you let loose on them the *da`iyy* and the son of the *da`iyy*, the one begotten by that promiscuous prostitute, the one whose lineage is distant, whose father and mother are mean, the one because of whose adoption did your father earn shame, sin, humiliation and abasement in the life of this world and in the hereafter. This is so because the Messenger of Allāh (ص) said, "The son is begotten by wedlock, whereas for the prostitute there are stones." Your father claims that the son is out of wedlock, and it does not harm the prostitute, and he accepts him as his son just as he does his legitimate offspring! Your father killed the Sunnah with ignorance while deliberately bringing to life all misguidance. And no matter what I forget, I shall never forget how you chased Ḥusain (ع) out of the sanctuary of the Messenger of Allāh [Medīna] to that of Allāh Almighty [Mecca], and how you dispatched men to kill him there. You kept trying till you caused him to leave Mecca and to go to Kūfa pursued by your horsemen, with your soldiers roaring at him like lions, O enemy of Allāh, of His Messenger (ص), and of his Ahl al-Bayt (ع)! Then you wrote Marjāna's son to face him with his cavalry and infantry, with spears and swords. And you wrote him ordering him to be swift in attacking him and not to give him time to negotiate any settlement till you killed him and the youths of Banū `Abd al-Muṭṭalib who belong to Ahl al-Bayt (ع) with him, those from whom Allāh removed all abomination and whom He purified with a perfect purification. Such are we, unlike your own uncouth fathers, the livers of donkeys! You knew fully well that he was most prominent in the past and most cherished now, had he only sought refuge in Mecca and permitted bloodshed in its sanctuary. But he sought reconciliation, and he asked you to go back to your senses, yet you went after the few who were in his company and desired to eradicate his Ahl al-Bayt (ع) as if you were killing dynasties from the Turks or from Kabul! How do you conceive me as being friendly to you, and how dare you ask me to support you?! You have killed my own brothers, and your sword is dripping with my blood, and you are the one whom I seek for revenge. So if Allāh wills, you shall not be able to shed my blood, nor shall you be faster than me in seeking revenge so you would be more swift in killing us just as the prophets are killed, considering their blood equal to that of others. But the promise is with Allāh, and Allāh suffices in supporting the wronged, and He seeks revenge for the oppressed. What is truly amazing is your own transporting the daughters of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib and their children to Syria. You see yourself as our vanquisher, and that you have the right to humiliate us, although through me and through them did Allāh bestow blessings upon you and upon your slave parents. By Allāh! You welcome the evening and the day in security indifferent to my wounds; so, let my own tongue wound you instead, and let my tying and untying not provoke you to argue. Allāh shall not give you a respite following your killing of the Progeny of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) except for a very short while before He takes you as a Mighty One does, and He shall not take you out of the life of this world except as an abased and

dejected sinner; so, enjoy your days, may you lose your father, as you please, for what you have committed has surely made you abased in the sight of Allāh.[1]

THE CAPTIVES TAKEN TO SYRIA

Ibn Ziyād sent a messenger to Yazīd to inform him that al-Ḥusain (ع) and those in his company were killed, that his children were in Kūfa, and that he was waiting for his orders as to what to do with them. In his answer, Yazīd ordered him to send them and the severed heads to him[2].

`Ubaydullāh wrote something, tied it to a rock then hurled it inside the prison where the family of Muḥammed, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his family, was kept. In it he said, "Orders came from Yazīd to take you to him on such-and-such a day. If you hear the *takbīr*, you should write your wills; otherwise, there is security." The post returned from Syria with the news that al-Ḥusain's family is being sent to Syria[3].

Ibn Ziyād ordered Zajr ibn Qays and Abu Burda ibn `Awf al-Azdi as well as Tāriq ibn Zabyān to head a band of Kūfians charged with carrying al-Ḥusain's severed head and of those killed with him to Yazīd[4]. Another account says that Mujbir ibn Murrah ibn Khālid ibn Qanab ibn `Omer ibn Qays ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Mālik ibn `Ubaydullāh ibn Khuzaymah ibn Lu'ayy did so[5].

They were trailed by Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) whose hands were tied to his neck in the company of his family[6] in a condition the sight of which would cause anyone's skin to shiver[7].

With them was Shimr ibn Thul-Jawshan, Mujfir ibn Thu`labah al-`Ā'idi[8], Shabth ibn Rab`i, `Amr ibn al-Hājjās, in addition to other men. They were ordered to mount the heads on spears and to display them

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[1]We have compiled this text from the contents of p. 250, Vol. 7, of *Mujma` al-Zawā'id* of "Abu Bakr," namely Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami al-`Asqalāni, p. 18, Vol. 4 (first edition), of al-Balāthiri's book *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, p. 77, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, p. 50, Vol. 4, and of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, where the events of the year 64 A.H./684 A.D. are detailed, an account which agrees with what is recorded in al-Mas`ūdi's book *Murūj al-Thahab*.

[2]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, pp. 95-97.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 266. On p. 96, al-Ṭabari states that Abu Bukrah was given one week by Bishr ibn Arta`ah to go to Mu`āwiyah. He went back from Syria on the seventh day. On p. 74 of his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, Ibn Nama says that `Amīrah was dispatched by `Abdullāh ibn `Omer to Yazīd in order to get him to release al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafi. Yazīd wrote a letter in this regard to `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād. `Amīrah brought him the letter to Kūfa, crossing the distance from [Damascus,] Syria to Kūfa in eleven days.

[4]*Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 264. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 34. *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 191. al-Khawārizmi. al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*. *I`lām al-Warā*, p. 149. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 97.

[5]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Iṣābah*, Vol. 3, p. 489, where Murrah's biography is discussed.

[6]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 254. Al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭat*, Vol. 2, p. 288.

[7]al-Qarmāni, *Tārīkh*, p. 108. al-Yāfi`i, *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, Vol. 1, p. 134. In both references, it is stated that the daughters of Imām al-Ḥusain son of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) were taken into captivity, and Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع) was with them, and that he was sick. They were driven as captives; may Allāh be the Killer of those who did it. Only Ibn Taymiyyah differed from all other historians when he stated on p. 288 of his book *Minhāj al-I`tidāl* saying that al-Ḥusain's women were taken to Medīna after he had been killed.

[8]On p. 165 of Ibn Ḥazm's book *Jamharat Ansāb al-`Arab*, it is stated that, "Among Banū `Āidah are: Mujfir ibn Murrah ibn Khālid ibn `Āmir ibn Qabān ibn `Amr ibn Qays ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Mālik ibn `Ubayd ibn Khuzaymah ibn Lu'ay, and he is the one who carried the head of al-Ḥusain son of Ali, peace be upon both of them, to Syria."

wherever they went[1]. They hurried till they caught up with them[2].

Ibn Lahī`ah is quoted as saying that he saw a man clinging to Ka`ba's curtains seeking refuge with his Lord and saying, "And I cannot see You doing that!" Ibn Lahī`ah took him aside and said to him, "You must be insane! Allāh is most Forgiving, most Merciful. Had your sins been as many as rain drops, He would still forgive you." He said to Ibn Lahī`ah, "Be informed that I was among those who carried al-Ḥusain's head to Syria. Whenever it was dark, we would put the head down, sit around it and drink wine. During one night, I and my fellows were guarding it when I saw lightning and beings that surrounded the head. I was terrified and stunned but remained silent. I heard crying and wailing and someone saying, `O Muḥammed! Allāh ordered me to obey you; so, if you order me, I can cause an earthquake that will swallow these people just as it swallowed the people of Lot.' He said to him, `O Gabriel! I shall call them to account on the Day of Judgment before my Lord, Glory to Him.' It was then that I screamed, `O Messenger of Allāh! I plead to you for security!' He said to me, `Be gone, for Allāh shall never forgive you.' So, do you still think that Allāh will forgive me?"[3]

At one stop on their journey, they put the purified head down; soon they saw a pen made of iron which came out of the wall and which wrote the following in blood[4]:

Does a nation that killed Ḥusain really hope for a way
His grandfather will intercede for them on the Judgment Day?!

But they were not admonished by such a miracle, and blindness hurled them into the very deepest of all pits; surely Allāh, the most Exalted One, is the best of judges.

One farasang before reaching their destination, they placed the head on a rock; a drop of blood fell from it on the rock. Every year, that drop would boil on `Āshūra, and people would assemble there around it and hold mourning commemorations in honour of al-Ḥusain (ع). A great deal of wailing would be around it. This continued to take place till `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān ascended the throne. He ordered that the rock should be removed. It was never seen after that, but the spot where that rock stood became the site of a dome built in its honour which they called "al-Nuqta" [the drop][5].

Near the town of Hama and among its orchards stood a mosque called "Masjid al-Ḥusain." People there

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[1]al-Ṭurayḥi, *Al-Muntakhab*, p. 339 (second edition).

[2]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[3]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 98.

[4]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 199. al-Sayyūti, *Al-Khaṣā'is*, Vol. 2, p. 127. Ibn `Asākir, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 4, p. 342. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116. Shaikh Muḥammed al-Qatari al-Bilādi al-Baḥrāni, *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, Vol. 1, p. 57. al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Itḥāf bi Ḥubbil-Ashrāf*, p. 23. On p. 98 of his book *Al-Luhūf*, Ibn Ṭāwūs attributes this statement to *Tārīkh Baghdad* by Ibn al-Najjār. On p. 108 of his *Tārīkh*, al-Qarmāni says, "They reached a monastery on the highway where they stayed for the afternoon. They found the said line written on one of its walls." On p. 285, Vol. 2, of his *Khuṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzi says, "This was written in the past, and nobody knows who said it." On p. 53 of his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, Ibn Nama says, "Three hundred years before the Prophetic mission, there was some digging in the land of the [Byzantine] Romans, and this line was found inscribed in the Musnad on a rock, and the Musnad is the language of the offspring of Seth."

[5]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 228. It is stated on p. 23, Vol. 3, of *Nahr al-Thahab fi Tārīkh Ḥalab* that, "When al-Ḥusain's head was brought with the captives, they reached a mountain to the west of Aleppo. One drop of blood fell from the sacred head above which a mausoleum called Mashhad al-Nuqta [mausoleum of the drop] was constructed." On p. 280, Vol. 3, Yaḥya ibn Abu Tay's *Tārīkh* is cited recounting the names of those who constructed and renovated it. On p. 66 of the book titled *Al-Ishārāt ila Ma`rifat al-Ziyārāt* by Abul-Ḥasan Ali ibn Abu Bakr al-Harawi (who died in 611 A.H./1215 A.D.), it is stated that, "In the town of Nāsibīn, there is a mausoleum called Mashhad al-Nuqta, a reference to a drop from al-Ḥusain's head. Also, there is at Sūq al-Nashshabīn a place called Mashhad al-Rās [mausoleum of the head] where the head was hung when the captives were brought to Syria."

say that they escorted the rock and the head of al-Ḥusain (ع) that bled all the way to Damascus[1].

Near Aleppo there is a shrine known as "Masqat al-Saqt."[2] The reason why it was called so is that when the ladies of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) were taken to that place, al-Ḥusain's wife had miscarried a son named Muḥsin[3].

At some stops, the head was placed atop a spear next to a monk's monastery. During the night, the monk heard a great deal of *tasbīh* and *tahlīl*, and he saw a dazzling light emanating from it. He also heard a voice saying, "Peace be upon you, O father of `Abdullāh!" He was amazed and did not know what to make of it. In the morning, he asked people about that head and was told that it was the head of al-Ḥusain ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع), son of Fāṭima (ع) daughter of Prophet Muḥammed (ص). He said to them, "Woe unto you, people! True are the accounts that said that the heavens would rain blood!" He asked their permission to kiss the head, but they refused till he paid them some money. He declared his *Shahāda* and embraced Islam through the blessing of the one who was beheaded just for supporting the divine call. When they left that place, they looked at the money the monk had given them and saw this verse inscribed on it: "And those who oppressed shall come to find how evil their end shall be"[4] (Qur'ān, 26:227).

Is the head of Fāṭima's son really gifted to the Syrians?
And is it with a rod hit by its killer?

Are the Prophet's virtuous daughters really taken captive
With their heads left without a cover,
Struggling with the pain of loss,
Seeing al-Ḥusain's head from a distance atop a spear?
They weep, and its sight prohibits patience from coming near,
And his beard with his own blood drenched:
Whatever wind comes teases it and whatever goes.[5]

IN SYRIA

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[1]The mentor and revered *muhaddith*. Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, says the following in his book *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, "I saw that stone on my way to the pilgrimage, and I heard the servants talking about it."

[2]On p. 173, Vol. 3, of *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, and on p. 128 of *Kharītat al-`Ajā'ib*, it is referred to as "Mashhad al-Tarh." On p. 278, Vol. 2, of *Nahr al-Thahab*, it is called "Mashhad al-Dakka." Mashhad al-Tarh is located to the west of Aleppo. In the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Abu Tay, it is indicated that Mashhad al-Tarh was built in the year 351 A.H./962 A.D. according to the order of Sayf al-Dawlah. Other historians have said that one of al-Ḥusain's wives had miscarried in that place when al-Ḥusain's children and the severed heads were brought with them. There used to be a useful mineral in that area, but when its residents felt elated upon seeing the captives, Zainab invoked Allāh's curse on them; therefore, that mineral lost its useful qualities. Then the author goes on to document the history of its renovations.

[3]In the discussion of the subject of "Jawshan," on p. 173, Vol. 3, of his work *Mu`jam al-Buldān*, and also on p. 128 of *Kharītat al-`Ajā'ib*, where reference to the Jawshan mountain is made, it is stated that one of al-Ḥusain's family members taken captive asked some of those who worked there to give him bread and water. When they refused, he invoked Allāh to curse them, thus condemning the labour of all labourers at that place to always be unprofitable.

[4]Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 150.

[5]These verses were composed by the *`allāma shaikh* `Abd al-Ḥusain al-A`sam al-Najafi, may Allāh have mercy on his soul.

When they were near Damascus, Umm Kulthūm sent a message to al-Shimr asking him to let them enter the city from the least crowded highway, and to take the heads out so that people might be diverted by looking at them rather than looking at the women. He escorted them as they were in a condition from which skins would shiver and senses quiver. Al-Shimr instead ordered his men to take the captives for display before onlookers and to place the severed heads in their midst[1].

On the first day of Safar, they entered Damascus[2] and were stopped at the Clocks Gate[3]. People came out carrying drums and trumpets in excitement and jubilation. A man came close to Sukayna and asked her, "What captives are you all from?" She said, "We are captives belonging to the family of Muḥammed (ص)."[4]

Yazīd was sitting at a surveillance outpost overlooking the mountain of Jayrūn. When he saw the captives with the heads planted atop the spears as their throng came close, a crow croaked, whereupon he composed these verses:

When those conveyances drew nigh
And the heads on the edge of Jayrūn,
The crow croaked so said I:
Say whatever you wish to say
Or say nothing at all,
The Messenger this very day
What he owed me he did repay.[5]

It is due to these verses that Ibn al-Jawzi and Abu Ya`li, the judge, as well as al-Taftazāni and Jalal al-Sayyūṭi permitted cursing Yazīd and labelling him as *kāfir*.[6]

Sahl ibn Sa`d al-Sā`idi came close to Sukayna daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع) and asked her, "Is there anything I can do for you?" She asked him to pay the man who was carrying the head some money and to ask him in

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[1]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 99. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 53. `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 145.

[2]Such is recorded on p. 331 of the offset edition of al-Birūni's book *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*, al-Bahāi's book *Al-Kāmil*, on p. 269 of *Miṣbāḥ al-Kaf`ami*, and on p. 15 of al-Fayd's book *Taqwīm al-Muḥsinīn*. According to p. 266, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, the time from their imprisonment till the post coming from Syria informing them of their arrival at Syria in the beginning of the month of Safar must have been a lengthy one except if birds had been used to carry such mail.

[3]According to p. 61, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, they were brought to Damascus through Toma's Gate. This Gate, according to p. 109 of *Al-Maqāsid*, was one of the ancient gates of Damascus. Abu `Abdullāh Muḥammed ibn Ali ibn Ibrāhīm, who is known as Ibn Shaddād and who died in 684 A.H./1286 A.D., says the following on p. 72, Vol. 3, of *A`lāq al-Khatīra*: "It was called the Clocks Gate because atop that gate there were clocks marking each hour of the day: small copper sparrows, a copper raven and a copper snake marked the timing: at the end of each hour, sparrows would come out, the raven would let a shriek out, and one (or more) stone would be dropped in the copper washbowl [making it sound]."

[4]al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 100, *majlis* No. 31. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p.60.

[5]According to p. 161 of the offset Damascus edition of Ibn Hawqal's book *Sourat al-Ard*, there is none in the Islamic world better than it. It used to be a temple for the Sabeans, then the Greeks used to worship in it, then the Jews as well as Pagan kings. The gate of this mosque is called Jayrūn's Gate. It is over this gate that the head of John the Baptist (Yaḥya son of Zakariyya) was crucified. It was on this same Jayrūn's Gate that the head of al-Ḥusain ibn Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) was crucified in the same place where the head of John the Baptist had been crucified. During the reign of al-Walīd ibn `Abd al-Malik, its walls were covered with marble. It seems that this is the same as the Umayyad Mosque.

[6]al-Ālūsi, *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, Vol. 26, p. 73, where the verse "So do you wish, if you take charge... etc." is explained. The author says, "He meant, when he said, `I have taken back from the Messenger (ص) what he owed me,' that he avenged the loss which he had suffered during the Battle of Badr at the hands of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) when his grandfather, `Utbah, his uncle, and others were killed. This is nothing but obvious apostasy. Such was the similitude struck by Ibn al-Zub`ari before accepting Islam.

return to stay away from the women so that people would be distracted by looking at the head instead of looking at the women. Sahl did so[1].

An elderly man came near al-Sajjād and said, "Praise be to Allāh Who annihilated you and Who granted the governor the upper hand over you!" At such a juncture, the Imām poured of his own kindness over that poor [ignorant] man who was brainwashed by falsehood in order to bring him closer to the truth and to show him the path of guidance. Such are the Ahl al-Bayt (ع): their light shines over those whom they know to be pure of heart and pure of essence and, as such, who are ready to receive guidance. He (ع), asked the man, "Have you read the Qur'ān, O *shaikh*?" The man answered al-Sajjād in the affirmative. "Have you read," continued al-Sajjād, "the verse saying, `Say: I do not ask you for a reward for it [for conveying the Islamic Message to you] except that you treat my kinsfolk with kindness,' the verse saying, `And give the [Prophet's] kinsfolk their due rights,' and the verse saying, `And be informed that whatever you earn by way of booty, for Allāh belongs the fifth thereof and for the Messenger [of Allāh] and for the [Prophet's] kinsfolk'?" The man answered by saying, "Yes, I have read all of them." He (ع) then said, "We, by Allāh, are the kinsfolk referred to in all these verses." Then the Imām (ع) asked him whether he had read the verse saying, "Allāh only desires to remove all abomination from you, O Ahl al-Bayt, and purifies you with a perfect purification" (Qur'ān, 33:33). "Yes" was the answer. Al-Sajjād (ع), said to him, "We are Ahl al-Bayt whom Allāh purified." "I ask you in the Name of Allāh," asked the man, "are you really them?" Al-Sajjād (ع), said, "By our grandfather, the Messenger of Allāh, I swear that we are, without any doubt."

It was then that the elderly man fell on al-Sajjād's feet kissing them as he said, "I dissociate myself before Allāh from whoever killed you." He sought repentance of the Imām (ع) from whatever rude remarks he had earlier made. The encounter involving this elderly man reached Yazīd who ordered the man to be killed[2]...

What miracle will Yazīd bring
On the Day the Books of deeds are read
When the Lord of `Arsh will recite
And in denial stunned will be every being?[3]

Before they were brought to Yazīd's court, they were tied with ropes. The beginning of the rope was around the neck of Zayn al-`Ābidīn [Ali son of Imām al-Ḥusain (ع), also called al-Sajjād, the one who prostrates to Allāh quite often], then around the necks of Zainab, Umm Kulthūm, up to all the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). Whenever they laxed in their walking, they were whipped. This went on till they were brought face to face with Yazīd who was then sitting on his throne. Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) asked him, "What do you think the reaction of the Messenger of Allāh might have been had he seen us looking like this?" Everyone wept. Yazīd ordered the ropes to be cut off.[4]

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[1] `Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 145.

[2] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 100. According to p. 112, Vol. 4, of Ibn Kathīr's *Tafsīr*, p. 31, Vol. 25, of al-Ālūsi's *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, and p. 61, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Sajjād (ع) had recited the verse invoking compassion (for the Prophet's family) to that old man who accepted it as a valid argument.

[3] According to p. 31, Vol. 25, of al-Ālūsi's voluminous book *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, these verses were composed by Sayyid `Omer al-Haythami, one of the author's contemporary relatives. The author expresses his admiration of these verses.

[4] al-Yāfi`i, *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, p. 341. On p. 35, Vol. 4, of his book *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, Ibn al-Athīr, as well as [al-Mas`ūdi] the author of *Murūj al-Thahab*, both indicate that when the head was brought to Yazīd, the latter kept hitting it with a rod in his hand as he cited these verses by the poet al-Ḥasīn ibn Hamām:

(continued...)

They were lined up on the stairs to the gate leading to the [Umayyad Grand] mosque as was their custom with all captives, and the sacred head was placed in front of Yazīd who kept looking at the captives and reciting these verses:

We took to patience, and on patience we set our minds,
While our swords chopped off heads and hands.
We were splitting heads of men held by us as dear
But they to unkindness and injustice were more near.

Then he turned to al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr and said, "Praise to Allāh Who killed him [al-Ḥusain]." Al-Nu`mān said, "Commander of the faithful Mu`āwiyah used to hate killing him." Yazīd said, "That was before he rebelled. Had he rebelled against the commander of the faithful, he would have killed him."[1]

May the heavens crush the earth
And may annihilation or resurrection overwhelm the world.
The veils of Ali's daughters, the best of all women,
Are made freely accessible to the *da`is*.
Captives on lean beasts of burdens were they conveyed,
With heads uncovered, a country bids them farewell
As another, bemused, eyes them.

So should their eyes be tearful,
Or should they of exhaustion be unable to walk,
The chambered lady that she is,
With cruelty the Shimr of prostitution would whip her,
And with his cruelty agonize her as he
In his grudge would rebuke her.
She has none to protect her except a haggard
Ailing, with sickness afflicted and in pain,
A sick man suffering nightly from cuffs and chain,

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[4](...continued)

Our people refused to be fair to us, so
Swords in our hands bleeding did so,
Splitting the heads of men who are to us dear
Though they were to injustice and oppression more near.

On p. 313, Vol. 2, of *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd* (by Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli), where Yazīd's reign is discussed, the author says, "When the head was placed in front of him, Yazīd cited what al-Ḥasīn ibn al-Ḥamām al-Mazni had said." He quoted the second verse [in the above English text, the last couplet]. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami al-`Asqalāni, on p. 198, Vol. 9, of his book *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, quotes only the second verse. On p. 61, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi contents himself by simply saying that they stood on the steps of the mosque's gate. These verses are cited by al-Āmidi on p. 91 of his book *Al-Mu'talif wa al-Mukhtalif*. Then he traces the lineage of the poet al-Ḥasīn ibn Hamām ibn Rabī`ah, citing three verses, including these couplets, from a lengthy poem. On p. 151 of *Al-Shi`r wa al-Shu`arā'*, three verses are cited which include this couplet. On p. 4 of *Al-Ashyā' wal Nadā'ir*, where immortalized ancient poems and those composed during the time of *jāhiliyya* are cited, only the second verse is quoted. On p. 120, Vol. 12, of the Sassi edition of Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni's voluminous book *Al-Aghāni*, thirteen lines are quoted, including this couplet.

[1]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

Conveyed on a conveyance of hardship and cruelty.
They took him at night, handcuffed, into the depths
Of a plain he never before traversed.
Iron consumed his flesh
And affected him so his blood in his neck overflowed.
He sees children cry and women wail,
And livers from fear almost soar.
As the head of his father, Muḥammed's grandson
Is hoisted before the captives on a spear.
They took him to Syria unwelcome
As its people celebrated their "victory".
They took him to the court of Hind's son
Pleased with his "victory".
And Marwān with pleasure is elated
And the head of his father, the grandson of the *nabi*,
Is presented in a gold washbowl before a *da`i*
Overtaken by pleasure and arrogance,
One who used to hide his apostasy.
But when he to his fathers at Badr referred
Exposed his apostasy most manifestly.[1]

YAZĪD MEETS AL-SAJJĀD (ع)

Yazīd turned to al-Sajjād (ع) and asked him, "How did you, Ali, see what Allāh did to your father, al-Ḥusain?" "I saw," answered al-Sajjād (ع), "what Allāh, the One and Only God, the most Exalted One, had decreed before creating the heavens and the earth." Yazīd consulted those around him as to what to do with al-Sajjād (ع), and they advised him to kill him. Imām al-Sajjād, Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع), said, "O Yazīd! These men have advised you to do the opposite of what Pharaoh's courtiers had advised Pharaoh saying: `Grant him and his brother a respite.' The *ad`iyā'*[2] do not kill the prophets' sons and grandsons." This statement caused Yazīd to lower his head and contemplate for a good while[3].

Among the dialogue that went on between both men is Yazīd quoting this Qur'ānic verse to Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع): "Whatever misfortune befalls you is due to what your hands commit" (Qur'ān, 45:22). Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) responded by saying, "This verse was not revealed in reference to us. What was revealed in reference to us was this verse: `Whatever misfortune befalls the earth or your own selves is already in a Book even before we cause it to happen; this is easy for Allāh, so that you may not grieve about what you missed nor feel elated on account of what you receive' (Qur'ān, 57:23)[4]. We do not grieve over what we missed nor feel elated on account of what we receive."[5] Yazīd then cited the following verse by al-Faḍl ibn al-`Abbās ibn `Utbah:

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[1]Excerpted from a poem by the *`allāma shaikh* `Abd al-Mun`im al-Farṭūsi.

[2]*Ad`iyā'* is plural of *da`iy*, someone adopted and given the last name of the person who adopted him as though he had been the latter's own biological offspring in contradiction to the Islamic tenets. — Tr.

[3]al-Mas`ūdi, *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya*, p. 143 (Najafi edition).

[4]Sayyid Muḥammed Riḍa al-Asterbādi al-Ḥilli, *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*, Vol. 2, p. 313. Al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 267.

[5]Ali ibn Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr*, p. 603, where the Chapter of al-Shūra is discussed.

Wait, O cousins, wait, O masters, do not hurry!
Do not bring to surface what we did bury.[1]

Al-Sajjād (ع), sought permission to speak. "Yes," said Yazīd, "provided you do not utter verbal attacks." He (ع) said, "I am now standing like one who ought not verbally attack anyone, but tell me: How do you think the Messenger of Allāh (ص) would have felt had he seen me looking like this?" Yazīd ordered him to be untied.[2]

Yazīd ordered the person who used to recite the Friday *khutba* to ascend the pulpit and to insult Ali and al-Ḥusain (ع), which he did. Al-Sajjād (ع) shouted at him saying, "You have traded the pleasure of the creature for the Wrath of the Creator, so take your place in the fire [of hell]."[3]

Should you on the pulpits publicly taunt him on demand,
While through his sword did these very pulpits stand?!

He asked Yazīd saying, "Do you permit me to ascend this pulpit to deliver a speech that will please Allāh Almighty and that will bring good rewards for these folks?" Yazīd refused, but people kept pleading to him to yield, yet he was still relentless. His son, Mu`āwiyah II, said to him, "Permit him; what harm can his words cause?" Yazīd said, "These are people who have inherited knowledge and oratory[4] and are spoon-fed with knowledge[5]." They kept pressuring him till he agreed.

The Imām said:

> All Praise is due to Allāh for Whom there is no beginning, the ever-Lasting for Whom there is no end, the First for Whom there is no starting point, the Last for Whom there is no ending point, the One Who remains after all beings no longer exist. He measured the nights and the days. He divided them into parts; so, Blessed is Allāh, the King, the all-Knowing... O people! We were granted six things and favoured with seven: We were granted knowledge, clemency, leniency, fluency, courage, and love for us in the hearts of the believers. And we were favoured by the fact that from among us came a Prophet, a *Siddīq*, a *Ṭayyār*, a Lion of Allāh and of His Prophet (ص), and both Masters of the Youths of Paradise from among this nation. O people! Whoever recognizes me knows me, and whoever does not recognize me, let me tell him who I am and to what family I belong: O people! I am the son of Mecca and Mina; I am the son of Zamzam and al-Safa; I am the son of the one who carried the *rukn* on his mantle; I am the son of the best man who ever put on clothes and who ever made *tawāf* and *sa`i*, of whoever offered the *ḥajj* and pronounced the *talbiya*. I am the son of the one who was transported on the *buraq* and who was taken by Gabriel to *sidrat al-muntaha*, so he was near his Lord like the throw of a bow or closer still. I am the son of the one who led the angels of the heavens in the prayers. I am the son to whom the Mighty One revealed what He revealed. I am the son of the one who defended the Messenger of Allāh (ص) at Badr and Hunayn and never disbelieved in Allāh not even as much

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[1]al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Muḥadarāt*, Vol. 1, p. 775, in a chapter about those who boast of antagonizing their kinsfolk. This is one of five verses by al-Faḍl ibn al-`Abbās ibn `Utbah ibn Abu Lahab recorded by Abu Tammām in his book *Al-Hamāsa*. Refer to p. 223, Vol. 1, of *Sharḥ al-Tabrīzi*.

[2]Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 54.

[3]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 242.

[4]Kāmil al-Bahā'i.

[5]al-Qazwīni, *Riyād al-Aḥzān*, p. 148.

as the twinkling of an eye. I am the son of the best of the believers and of the heir of the prophets, of the leader of the Muslims and the *noor* of those who offer *jihād* and the killer of the renegades and those who deviated from the straight path and who scattered the *aḥzāb* and the most courageous one, the one with the firmest determination: such is the father of the grandsons of the Prophet (ص), al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain (ع), such is Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع). I am the son of Fāṭima al-Zahrā' (ع), the Head of all Women, the son of Khadīja al-Kubra. I am the son of the one with whose blood the sand mixed. I am the son of the one who was slaughtered at Kerbalā'. I am the son of the one for whom the jinns wept in the dark and for whom the birds in the air cried.

Having said this much, people's cries filled the place, and Yazīd feared dissension, so he ordered the *mu'aththin* to call the *athān* for the prayers. The latter shouted: *Allāhu Akbar!* The Imām (ع) said: "Allāh is Greater, more Magnanimous, and more Kind than what I fear and of what I avoid." The prayer caller now shouted: *Ashhadu an la ilāha illa-Allāh!* He (ع) said, "Yes, I testify with everyone who testifies that there is no god besides Him nor any other Lord." The caller shouted: *Ashahadu anna Muḥammedan rasool-Allāh!* The Imām (ع) said to the prayer caller, "I ask you, by Muḥammed, to stop here till I speak to this man," then he turned to Yazīd and asked him, "Is this great Messenger of Allāh (ص) your grandfather or mine? If you say that he is yours, everyone present here, as well as all other people, will come to know that you are a liar And if you say that he is mine, then why did you kill my father unjustly and oppressively and plundered his wealth and took his women captive? Woe unto you on the Day of Judgment when my grandfather will be your opponent."

Yazīd yelled at the prayer caller to start the prayers immediately. A great deal of commotion now could be heard among the people. Some people prayed whereas others left.[1]

THE MOST SACRED HEAD

Yazīd ordered al-Ḥusain's head to be brought to him. He put it in a gold washbowl[2]. The women were behind him. Sukayna and Fāṭima stood and tried anxiously to steal a look at it as Yazīd kept hiding it from them. When they did see it, they burst in tears[3]. He then permitted people to enter to see him[4]. Yazīd took a rod and kept hitting al-Ḥusain's lips with it[5] saying, "A day for a day: this day is [in revenge] for

[1]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 242. This lengthy sermon is quoted on p. 69, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*.

[2]al-Yāfi`i, *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, Vol. 1, p. 135.

[3]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 35. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 195. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma*, p. 205.

[4]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 35.

[5]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 267. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 35. *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, p. 148. Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 116. Ibn Muflih al-Ḥanbali, *Fiqh al-Ḥanābilah*, Vol. 3, p. 549. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami al-`Asqalāni, *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, Vol. 9, p. 195. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma*, p. 205. al-Maqrīzi, *Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 3, p. 289. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 192. al-Sharīshi, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīri*, Vol. 1, p. 193, at the end of the 10th *maqām*. Muḥammed Abul-Faḍl and Ali Muḥammed al-Bijawi, *Ayyām al-`Arab fil Islam*, p. 435. Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 225. According to p. 23 of *Al-Ithāf bi Hubb al-Ashrāf* (of al-Shabrāwi), Yazīd kept hitting al-Ḥusain's front teeth, and the same is stated by al-Birūni on p. 331 of the offset edition of his book *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*.

Badr[1].” Then he cited these verses by al-Ḥasīn ibn al-Hamām:[2]

Our folks refused to be to us fair
So swords dripping with blood were to them fair;
We were splitting heads of men held by us as dear
But they to unkindness and injustice were more near.

Yaḥya ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abul-`Āṣ, brother of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who was sitting near him, recited these verses:

A head at the Ṭaff is closer in kinship
Than Ibn Ziyād, slave of a mean and lowly descent;

Sumayya's offspring count as many as the stones
But the Progeny of the Chosen One now have no offspring.

Having heard and understood them, Yazīd hit him [with the iron rod still in his hand] on his chest saying, “Shut your mouth, motherless man!”[3]

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[1]Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Al-Manāqib*, Vol. 2, p. 226.

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 35. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma*, p. 205. The first line, according to p. 135, Vol. 1, of al-Yāfi`i's *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, is:

We took to patience, and on patience we set our minds,
While our swords chopped off heads and hands.

It is narrated by Sibt ibn al-Jawzi on p. 148 of his book *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* with some variation in its wording. A host of historians have contented themselves by citing only the second verse. Among them is al-Sharīshi who does so on p. 193, Vol. 1, of his book *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīri*. So does al-Andalusi on p. 313, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-`Iqd al-Farīd*. So does Ibn Kathīr on p. 197, Vol. 8, of his book *Al-Bidāya*. So does the mentor, Shaikh al-Mufīd, in his book *Al-Irshād*, and so does Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari on p. 267, Vol. 6, of his *Tārīkh*, adding that the verse was composed by al-Ḥasīn ibn al-Ḥamām al-Marri.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 265. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, p. 37. The second portion (the *`ajz*) of the second verse is cited on p. 198, Vol. 9, of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Mujma` al-Zawā'id*, and by Ibn Shahr Āshūb on p. 226, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Manāqib*. According to p. 193, Vol. 8, of Ibn Kathīr's book *Al-Bidāya*, al-Ḥasīn was a poet; then the author cites the second verse which is the same as stated in *Mujma` al-Zawā'id* of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythami al-`Asqalāni. On p. 54 of his book *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, Ibn Nama narrates saying that al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan was al-Ḥasan II, and that when he saw al-Ḥusain's head being thus hit, he said, “O what humiliation!”

Sumayya's offspring now count as many as the stones
Whereas the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh has no offspring.

According to p. 49 of *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* of Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, when al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri came to know what Yazīd had done to the head, he cited the second verse. According to p. 71, Vol. 12, of *Al-Aghāni*, these verses were attributed to `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn

(continued...)

Abu Barzah al-Aslami said, “I bear witness that I saw the Prophet (ص) kissing his lips and those of his brother al-Ḥasan (ع) and say to them: `You are the Masters of the Youths of Paradise; may Allāh fight whoever fights you; may He curse him and prepare hell for him, and what an evil refuge it is!'” Yazīd became angry and ordered him to be dragged out of his court[1].

A [Christian] messenger sent by Caesar was present there; he said to Yazīd, “We have in some islands the hoof of the donkey upon which Jesus rode, and we make a pilgrimage to it every year from all lands and offer *nathr* to it and hold it in as much regard as you hold your sacred books; so, I bear witness that you are wrongdoers.”[2] This statement enraged Yazīd who ordered him to be killed. The messenger stood up, walked to the head, kissed it and pronounced the *kalima*. At the moment when that messenger's head was cut off, everyone heard a loud and fluent voice saying: *La hawla wala quwwata illa billāh!* (There is neither power nor might except in Allāh).[3]

The head was taken out of the court and hung for three days on the mansion's gate[4]. When Hind daughter of `Amr ibn Suhayl, Yazīd's wife, saw the head on her house's door[5] with divine light emanating from it, its blood still fresh and had not yet dried, and it was emitting a sweet fragrance[6], she entered Yazīd's court without a veil crying, “The head of the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is on our door!” Yazīd stood up, covered her and said, “Mourn him, O Hind, for he is the reason why Banū Hāshim are grieving. [`Ubaydullāh] Ibn Ziyād hastily killed him.”[7]

Yazīd ordered the heads to be hung on the land's gates and on the Umayyad Mosque, and his order was carried out[8].

Marwān [ibn al-Ḥakam] was very happy about al-Ḥusain (ع) being killed, so he composed this poetry:

Dawser hit them with such a blow
That firmed authority's foundations,
So authority now is stable.

Then he kept hitting al-Ḥusain's face with a rod as he was repeating these poetry lines:

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[3](...continued)
al-Ḥakam to which a third verse is added. On p. 56, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, they are attributed to `Abdul-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam, Marwān's brother.

[1]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 102. This incident is abridged on p. 205 of *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma*, on p. 267, Vol. 6, of al-Ṭabari's *Tārīkh*, and on p. 26, Vol. 2, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's book *Al-Manāqib*.

[2]Ibn Ḥajar al-`Asqalāni, *Al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqa*, p. 119.

[3]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 151. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*. On p. 72, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi states the dialogue between the Christian [envoy] and Yazīd and how the first was killed, but he does not indicate that the most sacred head spoke.

[4]al-Maqrīzi, *Al-Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 289. al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Ithāf bi Hubb al-Ashrāf*, p. 23. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 75. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 204. al-Thahbi, *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā*, Vol. 3, p. 216.

[5]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 151. In the Introduction to this book, her father is introduced to the reader and so is her husband.

[6]al-Maqrīzi, *Al-Khuṭaṭ*, Vol. 2, p. 284.

[7]al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 74.

[8]Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 247.

How I wish your garment were on your arms
And redness were on your cheeks,
Looking like pieces of gold twain,
How happy I am today having killed Ḥusain!

A SYRIAN ENCOUNTERS FĀṬIMA

Historians record that a Syrian looked at Fāṭima daughter of Ali (ع)[1] then asked Yazīd to give her to him to serve him. This daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (ع) was terrified; she clung to her sister Zainab and said, "Serve him?! How could I do that?!" Zainab said to her, "Do not be concerned; this shall never happen at all." Hearing her, Yazīd said, "It could if I would!" She said to him, "Not unless you renege from our religion." He answered her by saying, "Those who reneged from the religion are your father and your brother." Zainab said, "By Allāh's religion and the religion of my grandfather do I swear that it was through my father and brother that you and your father received guidance, had you been a Muslim at all." He said to her, "You lie, you enemy of Allāh!" She, peace be upon her, toned down her language and said to him, "You are an *amīr* over the destiny of people; you oppressively taunt and subdue others."[2] The same Syrian repeated his plea to Yazīd who now rebuked him and said, "May Allāh grant you a fate that will put an end to you!"[3]

ZAINAB'S SPEECH

Both Ibn Nama and Ibn Ṭāwūs[4] say that Zainab daughter of Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib[5] (ع) heard Yazīd quoting the following verses by Ibn al-Zub`ari[6]:

I wish my forefathers at Badr had witnessed
How the Khazraj are by the thorns annoyed,
They would have Glorified and Unified Allāh
Then they would make *tahlīl* and say in elation:

May your hands, O Yazīd, never be paralyzed!

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 194. al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 100, *majlis* 31. Both Ibn Nama, on p. 54 of his *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, and al-Khawārizmi, on p. 62, Vol. 2, of his *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, say that she was Fāṭima daughter of al-Ḥusain (ع).

[2]Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 4, p. 35.

[3]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 265.

[4]This sermon is documented on p. 21 of *Balaghāt al-Nisā* ' (Najafi edition), and on p. 64, Vol. 2, of al-Khawārizmi's book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*.

[5]In his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, al-Khawārizmi identifies her mother as Fāṭima (ع) daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص).

[6]These verses are attributed by Ibn Ṭāwūs to Ibn al-Zub`ari, as he so states on p. 102 of his book *Al-Luhūf*, but they are not all his. Al-Khawārizmi on p. 66, Vol. 2, of his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Ibn Abul-Ḥadīd on p. 383, Vol. 3, of his book *Sharḥ Nahjul Balāgha* (first Egyptian edition), and Ibn Hishām in his *Sīrat*, where he discusses the Battle of Uhud, all state sixteen lines which do not include except the first and the third lines mentioned by Ibn Ṭāwūs. Al-Birūni cites all of them on p. 331 of the offset edition of his book *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*, excluding the fourth line.

We have killed the masters of their chiefs
And equated it with Badr, and it was so, indeed;
Hāshim played with the dominion so
No news came, nor a revelation descended.
I do not belong to Khandaf if I do not
Seek revenge from Aḥmed's offspring
For what he had done.

She reacted to these lines by stating the following:

All Praise is due to Allāh, Lord of the Worlds. Allāh has blessed His Messenger and all His Messenger's Progeny. Allāh, Glory to Him, has said the truth when He said, “Then the end of those who committed evil was that they disbelieved in Allāh's Signs and they were ridiculing them” (Qur’ān, 30:10). Do you, O Yazīd, think that when you blocked all the avenues before us, so we were driven as captives, that we are light in the sight of Allāh and that you are superior to us? Or is it because you enjoy with Him a great status, so you look down at us and become arrogant, elated, when you see the world submissive to you and things are done as you want them, and when our authority and power became all yours? But wait! Have you forgotten that Allāh has said, “Do not regard those who disbelieved that We grant them good for themselves? We only give them a respite so that they may increase their sins, and for them there is a humiliating torment”? (Qur’ān, 3:178). Is it fair, O son of *ṭalīqs*, that you keep your free and slave women in their chambers and at the same time drive the daughters of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) as captives with their veils removed and faces exposed, taken by their enemies from one land to another, being viewed by those at watering places as well as those who man your forts, with their faces exposed to the looks of everyone near or distant, lowly or honourable, having none of their protectors with them nor any of their men? But what can be expected from one [descended from those] whose mouths chewed the livers of the purified ones and whose flesh grows out of the blood of the martyrs? How can it be expected that one who looks at us with grudge and animosity, with hatred and malice, would not hate us, we Ahl al-Bayt (ع)? Besides, you, without feeling any guilt or weighing heavily what you say, recite saying:

Then they would make *tahlīl* and say in elation:
May your hands, O Yazīd, never be paralyzed!

How dare you hit the lips of Abu `Abdullāh (ع), the Master of the Youths of Paradise? But why should you not do so, since you stirred a wound that almost healed and all mercy is removed from your heart when you shed the blood of the offspring of Muḥammed, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his Progeny, and the stars on earth from among the family of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib? Then you cite your mentors as if you speak to them... Soon shall you be lodged with them, and soon shall you wish you were paralyzed and muted and never said what you said nor did what you did. O Allāh! Take what belongs to us out of his hands, seek revenge against all those who oppressed us, and let Your Wrath descend upon whoever shed our blood and killed our protectors! By Allāh! You have burnt only your own skin! You have cut only your own flesh! You shall come face to face with the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh be upon him and

his Progeny, bearing the burdens of the blood which you have shed, the blood of his offspring, and of his sanctities which you violated, the sanctities of his women, his kinsfolk, his flesh and blood, when Allāh gathers them together and seeks equity on their behalf. "And do not reckon those who are slain in the Way of Allāh as dead. Nay! They are living with their Lord, receiving their sustenance" (Qur'ān, 3:169). Allāh suffices you as your Judge and Muḥammed, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, as your opponent, and Gabriel as your foe. All those who instigated you to do what you did and who put you in charge so that you might play havoc with the lives of the Muslims: how evil the end of the oppressors is and which of you shall have the worst place and will be the least protected? Although calamities have forced me to speak to you, I nevertheless see you small in my eyes and find your verbal attacks great, and I regard your rebuke too much to bear, but these eyes are tearful, and the chests are filled with depression. What is even more strange is that the honoured Party of Allāh is being killed by the *taleeq* party of Satan. Such hands are dripping with our blood; such mouths are feeding on our flesh, while those sacred and pure corpses are offered as food to the wild beasts of the desert and are dirtied by the brutes. If you regard us as your booty, you shall soon find us as your opponents, that will be when you find nothing but what your hands had committed, and your Lord never treats His servants unjustly. To Allāh is my complaint, and upon Him do I rely. So scheme whatever you wish to scheme, and carry out your plots, and intensify your efforts, for by Allāh, you shall never be able to obliterate our mention, nor will you ever be able to kill our inspiration, nor will your shame ever be washed away. Your view shall be proven futile, your days numbered, and your wealth wasted on the Day when the caller calls out, "The curse of Allāh be upon the oppressors." All Praise is due to Allāh, Lord of the Worlds, Who sealed the life of our early ones with happiness and forgiveness, and that of our last with martyrdom and mercy. We plead to Allāh to complete His rewards for them and grant them an increase and make succession good for us; He is the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. Allāh suffices us, and how great He is!

Yazīd responded to her speech by first quoting this poetic verse:

O cry, a praiseworthy one,
How easy it is for the mourners to mourn!

Anyone who is familiar with Yazīd and with his misguidance cannot be surprised at all to hear him asking with a big mouth the Syrian jackals around him: "Do you know where Fāṭima's son came from, and what prompted him to do what he did and fall into the pitfalls of what he committed?" They answered in the negative. Said he, "He claims that his father is better than my father, that his mother Fāṭima (ع) daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is better than mine, that his grandfather (ص) is better than mine, and that he is more worthy than me of taking charge. As regarding his saying that his father is better than my father, my father had asked Allāh, the Great, the Sublime, to arbitrate between them, and people know best in whose favour He ruled. As regarding his saying that his mother is better than mine, by my life, Fāṭima (ع) daughter of the Messenger of Allāh (ص) is better than my mother. As regarding his saying that his grandfather (ص) is better than my grandfather, by my life, nobody who believes in Allāh and in the Last Day can find anyone among us equal to the Messenger of Allāh. But he speaks with a little understanding of what he says and has not read the verse saying, `Say: Lord! Owner of the domain! You grant authority to whomsoever You please, and you take the authority from whomsoever You please; You exalt whomsoever You please, and You abase whomsoever You please' (Qur'ān,

3:26), and he did not read the verse saying, `Allāh grants His domain to whomsoever He pleases'[1] (Qur'ān, 2:247)."

THE HOUSE OF RUINS

The speech quoted above, which Zainab delivered, shook the very foundations of Yazīd's court, and people started discussing with one another as to what extent they had been misled, and in what valley of abyss they had been hurled. Yazīd had no choice except to get the women out of his court and to lodge them at a house of ruins which could not protect them against any heat or any cold. They remained there weeping and wailing, mourning al-Ḥusain (ع)[2] for three days[3].

One day, al-Sajjād (ع) went out for a walk. Al-Minhāl ibn `Omer met him and asked him, "How have you received the evening, O son of the Messenger of Allāh (ص)?" "We have received the evening," the Imām (ع) answered, "like the Israelites among the people of Pharaoh: they kill their sons and take their women captive. The Arabs brag before the non-Arabs saying that Muḥammed (ص) was one of them, while Quraish boasts before the rest of the Arabs of Muḥammed (ص) belonging to it. We, his Ahl al-Bayt (ع), are now homeless; so, to Allāh do we belong, and to Him shall we all return."[4] Al-Minhāl is quoted as saying, "While he was thus talking to me, a woman came out after him and said, `Where are you going, O best of successors?' He left me and hurried back to her. I inquired about her, and I was told that she was his aunt, Zainab (ع)."[5]

BACK TO MEDĪNA

Yazīd was very happy about killing al-Ḥusain (ع) and those with him as well as the capture of the ladies who descended from the Messenger of Allāh, peace of Allāh be upon him and his progeny[6]. He was seen at his court looking very excited, paying no heed to the fact that he was an atheist and an apostate as testified by his citing the poetry of al-Zub`ari quoted above to the extent that he denied that the Messenger of Allāh Muḥammed (ص) had ever received any revelation. But when he was rebuked by more and more people, it gradually appeared to him how he had failed and erred in what he had committed: a sin the like of which had never been committed by anyone belonging to the Islamic creed. It was then that he realized the implication of Mu`āwiyah's will to him wherein he said, "The people of Iraq shall not leave al-Ḥusain till they pressure him to revolt. If he rebels against you, forgive him, for he was begotten in sacred wombs, and he enjoys a lofty

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[1] al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 266. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya*, Vol. 8, p. 195.

[2] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 207. Al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 101, *majlis* 31.

[3] al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 34. About this shed, or say jail, as stated on p. 146, Vol. 4, of al-Yunīni's *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, where the events of the year 681 A.H./1283 A.D. are discussed, the author says, "On the eleventh night of the month of Ramadān, the felt market in Damascus caught fire and was burnt in its entirety, and the fire engulfed the Booksellers' Bridge, the fountain square, and the cloth market known as Sūq `Asa-Allāh, as well as the watering area of Jayrūn. The fire reached the `Ajam Street in the midst of Jayrūn, scorching the wall of the `Omeri Mosque adjacent to the jail where Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع) had been imprisoned."

[4] Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 58. al-Khawārizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusain*, Vol. 2, p. 72.

[5] *Al-Anwār al-Nu`mainiyya*, p. 340.

[6] al-Sayyūṭi, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā*, p. 139.

status."[1]

His closest courtiers, and even his family members and women, stayed away from him. He saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears the statements uttered by the most sacred severed head when he ordered the envoy of the Roman emperor to be killed: *La hawla wala quwwata illa billah*! (There is neither power nor might except in Allāh).[2] Yazīd's most abominable crime and extreme cruelty were now being discussed at every gathering, and such discussions were finding an echo throughout Damascus. Yazīd, at that juncture, had no choice except to shift the blame to the shoulder of [`Ubaydullāh] Ibn Ziyād in order to distance the taunting from him, but what is already established cannot be removed.

When he feared dissension and repercussions, he rushed to get al-Sajjād and the children out of Syria and send them back home. He carried out their wishes, ordering al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr and a number of other men with him to escort them to Medīna and to treat them with kindness[3].

When they reached Iraq, they asked the road guide to take the highway leading to Kerbalā'. They reached the place where al-Ḥusain (ع) had been martyred. There, they found Jābir ibn `Abdullāh al-Anṣāri accompanied by a group of Banū Hāshim and some of the family members of the Messenger of Allāh (ص). They had all gone there to visit al-Ḥusain's grave. They met each other weeping and grieving, beating their cheeks. They stayed there mourning al-Ḥusain (ع)[4] for three days.[5]

Jābir ibn `Abdullāh al-Anṣāri stood at the grave and burst in tears then thrice called out al-Ḥusain's name, then he said, "Why a loved one does not answer one who loves him?" But soon he answered his own query by saying, "How can he answer while his cheeks are torn, his head separated from his body? Yet I bear witness that you are the son of the Seal of Prophets (ص), the son of the Master of the Faithful (ع), the son of the inseparable ally of piety, the descendant of guidance, the fifth of the fellows of the *kisā'*, the son of the master of *naqībs*, the one who was brought up in the lap of the pious, that you were raised on the milk of *imān*, that you were weaned with Islam, so you were good when you were alive, and you are so when dead. But the hearts of the faithful are not pleased with parting with you, nor do they have any doubt about goodness being yours. So peace of Allāh be upon you and His Pleasure. And I bear witness that you treaded the same path treaded before you by your brother [prophet] Zachariyya [Zacharias]."

Having said so, Jābir turned his head around the grave as he said, "*Assalamo Alaikom*, O souls that abide at al-Ḥusain's courtyard! I bear witness that you upheld the prayers and paid *zakāt*, enjoined what is right and prohibited what is wrong, struggled against the atheists and adored Allāh till death overtook you. By the One Who sent Muḥammed, peace of Allāh be upon him and upon his Progeny, as His Prophet with the truth, we have a share in what you have earned." `Atiyyah al-`Awfi [his companion who was leading him, since he, a maternal relative and one of the greatest *sahābis* of Prophet Muḥammed (ص) was by then a blind old man] asked him, "How so when we did not descend a valley nor ascend a mountain, nor did we strike with a sword, whereas the heads of these people have been severed from their bodies, their sons have been orphaned and their wives widowed?" Jābir answered: "I heard the Messenger of Allāh (ص), whom I very much love, saying, `One who loves a [certain] people will be lodged with them, and one who loves what some people do will have a share in

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[1]al-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, Vol. 6, p. 180.

[2]`Abdullāh Nūr-Allāh al-Baḥrāni, *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, p. 150.

[3]al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād*.

[4]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 112. Ibn Nama, *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 79 (old edition).

[5]al-Qazwīni, *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān*, p. 157.

[the rewards of] their deeds.' By the One Who sent Muḥammed (ص) as a Prophet with the truth, my intention and that of my companions is identical to the one for which al-Ḥusain (ع) and his companions were all killed."[1]

THE SEVERED HEAD REJOINS THE BODY

Once Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع) came to know of Yazīd's consent, he asked him for the heads so that he would bury them. Yazīd showed no hesitation to do so, ordering the heads, including those of Zayn al-`Ābidīn's family members, to be handed over to him. Zayn al-`Ābidīn reunited them with their respective bodies.

Writers of biographies who recorded his bringing the heads to Kerbalā' include the author of Shaikh `Abbās al-Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm* who discusses this issue on p. 253 of his book, and it is also discussed on p. 155 of *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān* of al-Qazwīni.

As regarding al-Ḥusain's head, we read about it on p. 165 of al-Fattāl's book *Rawḍat al-Wā`iẓīn*, and on p. 85 of *Muthīr al-Aḥzān* by Ibn Nama al-Ḥilli. The latter reference is the one the Shī`as consider as the most accurate as stated on p. 112 of *Al-Luhūf* by Ibn Ṭāwūs. On p. 151 of al-Ṭibrisi's book *I`lām al-Warā,* as well as on p. 154 of *Maqtal al-`Awālim*, as is the case with both *Riyāḍ al-Maṣā'ib* and *Biḥār al-Anwār*, the same view is the most famous among scholars. On p. 200, Vol. 2, of his book titled *Al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb says, "In some of his letters, al-Murtada has stated that al-Ḥusain's head was reunited with its body in Kerbalā'." Al-Ṭūsi has said that that incident was the basis for *ziyārat al-arba`een*. The author of *Biḥār al-Anwār* cites *Al-`Udad al-Qawiyya* by the brother of *`allāma* al-Ḥilli. On p. 67 of his book *`Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, al-Qazwīni indicates that it was on the twentieth of Safar that al-Ḥusain's head was returned to its body. Al-Shabrāwi says, "The head was returned to the body after forty days."[2] According to Ibn Ḥajar's book *Sharḥ al-Būsīri's Hamziyya*[3], forty days after his martyrdom, al-Ḥusain's head was returned [to its body]. Sibt ibn al-Jawzi has said, "It is most widely known that it [the head] was returned to Kerbalā' and buried with the body."[4] On p. 57, Vol. 1, of his book *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, al-Manawi records the consensus among Imāmite Shī`as that the head was returned to Kerbalā', and that this view was the one accepted by al-Qurtubi. He did not list his sources but attributed it to "some people of knowledge as well as eye witnesses," becoming evident to him that the head was, indeed, returned to Kerbalā'. Abul-Rayhān al-Birūni states that it was on the twentieth of Safar that al-Ḥusain's head was reunited and buried with its body.[5]

Based on the above, any statements to the contrary should not be taken seriously especially those claiming that he was buried with his father (ع), a claim with which the scholars mentioned above are familiar and which they all discard. Their rejection of such a claim proves that it cannot be relied upon especially since its *isnād* is not complete and its narrators are not famous. Abu Bakr al-'Ālūsi, who was asked once where the head of al-Ḥusain (ع) was, composed the following verses:

Seek not al-Ḥusain's head in the east or in the west,
Leave all and come to me: in my heart does it rest.

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[1]Abu Ja`fer Muḥammed ibn Abul-Qāsim ibn Muḥammed ibn Ali al-Ṭabari al-`Āmili, *Bishārat al-Mustafa*, p. 89 (Hayderi Press edition). This author is one of the 5th century A.H./11th century A.D. scholars who were tutored by Shaikh al-Ṭūsi's son.

[2]al-Shabrāwi, *Al-Itḥāf bi Ḥubbil-Ashrāf*, p. 12.

[3]"Hamziyya" means a poem the rhyme of which ends with a *hamza*. — Tr.

[4]Ibn al-Jawzi, the grandson, *Tathkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 150.

[5]Abul-Rayhān al-Birūni, *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*, Vol. 1, p. 331.

THE ARBA`EEN

It is customary to pay tribute to the deceased forty days after his death by doing acts of righteousness on his behalf, by eulogizing him and enumerating his merits. This is done at organized gatherings in order to keep his memory alive just when people's minds start to forget about him and their hearts start to ignore him. An immortal portrayal is brought back to such minds through the medium of well composed poetry transmitted from one person to another, one which takes its place in people's hearts. Epochs, hence, pass by, and so do years, while his memory remains fresh and alive. Or maybe someone delivers a moving speech recorded in books and in other records, so it would become an enduring part of history. The lost one remains alive whenever such poetry is recited, or whenever a researcher comes across what was said in his eulogies recorded in books, so he develops an interest in investigating him and in getting to know his merits and feats. Such a commendable custom becomes more significant as the greatness of the lost one increases and is proportionate with his feats. Such is the case with reformers and role models emulated by others. This is more important because disseminating their merits and teachings calls for following them and walking on their footprints to effect reform and to cultivate the souls.

Both Abu Tharr al-Ghifāri and Ibn `Abbās quote the Prophet (ص) as saying, "The earth mourns the death of a believer for forty mornings."[1] Zurārah quotes Abu `Abdullāh Imām al-Ṣādiq (ع) saying, "The sky wept over al-Ḥusain (ع) for forty mornings with blood, while the earth wept over him for forty mornings with blackness. The sun wept over him for forty mornings with the eclipse and with redness, whereas the angels wept over him for forty mornings. No woman among us ever dyed with *henna*, nor used any oil, nor any *kohl* nor cohabited with her husband till the head of `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād was brought to us, and we are still grieving even after all of that."[2]

This is the basis of the ongoing custom of grieving for the deceased for forty days. On the 40th day, a special mourning ceremony is held at his grave-site attended by his relatives and friends. This custom is not confined to Muslims. Christians hold mourning ceremonies forty days after the death of their lost one. They gather at a church and repeat a special prayer which they call a funeral prayer service. They do likewise six months after his death and then one year after his death. Jews renew their mourning service thirty days after one's death, nine months after one's death, and one year after one's death[3]. All of this is done in order to keep his memory alive and so that people may not forget his legacy and deeds if he is great with merits and feats.

At any rate, a researcher does not find in the band described as reformers a man so well shrouded in feats of the most sublime meanings, one whose life, uprising, and the tragic way in which he was killed..., a divine call and lessons in reform, even social systems, ethics, and sacred morals..., other than the Master of the Youths of Paradise, the man who was martyred for his creed, for Islam, for harmony, the martyr for ethics and cultivation, namely al-Ḥusain (ع). He more than anyone else deserves to be remembered on various occasions. People ought to make a pilgrimage to his sacred grave-site on the anniversary of the passage of 40 days following the date of his martyrdom so that they may achieve such lofty objectives.

The reason why most people hold only the first such an anniversary is due to the fact that the merits of those men are limited and temporal, unlike those of the Master of Martyrs: his feats are endless, his virtues are countless, the study of whose biography keeps his memory alive, and so is the case whenever he is mentioned. To follow in his footsteps is needed by every generation. To hold an annual ceremony at his grave on the anniversary of his *arba`een* brings his revolution back to memory. It also brings back to memory the cruelty

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[1] al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwā*r, Vol. 2, p. 679.

[2] al-Nawari, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, p. 215, chapter 94.

[3] *Nahr al-Thahab fi Tārīkh Ḥalab*, Vol. 1, pp. 63 and 267.

committed by the Umayyads and their henchmen. No matter how hard an orator tries, or how well a poet presents his theme, new doors of virtue, which were closed before, will then be opened for him.

This is why it has been the custom of the Shī`as to bring back to memory on the *arba`een* those events every year. The tradition wherein Imām al-Bāqir (ع) says that the heavens wept over al-Ḥusain (ع) for forty mornings, rising red and setting red[1], hints to such a public custom.

So is the case with a statement made once by Imām al-Ḥasan al-`Askari (ع) wherein he said, "There are five marks of a believer: his fifty-one *rek`āt* prayers, *ziyārat al-arba`een*, audible recitation of the *basmala*, wearing his ring on the right hand, and rubbing his forehead with the dust."[2]

Such a statement leads us to the ongoing public custom being discussed. Holding a mourning ceremony for the Master of Martyrs and holding meetings in his memory are all done by those who are loyal to him and who follow him. There is no doubt that those who follow his path are the believers who recognize him as their Imām; so, one of the marks highlighting their *imān,* as well as their loyalty to the Master of the Youths of Paradise, the one who was killed as he stood to defend the divine Message, is to be present on the *arba`een* anniversary at his sacred grave in order to hold a mourning ceremony for him and remember the tragedies that had befallen him, his companions and Ahl al-Bayt (ع).

To twist the meaning of *ziyārat al-arba`een* by saying that it means visiting the grave-sites of forty believers is simply indicative of twisted mentalities, an attempt at distortion, one which good taste resents. Moreover, it is without any foundation. Had the goal been to visit forty believers, the Imām (ع) would have used the term "*ziyārat arba`een [mu'minīn]*." The original wording indicates that *ziyārat al-arba`een* is one of the conditions enumerated in the *ḥadīth* cited above saying that it is one of the marks of one's *imān* and an indication of his loyalty to the Twelve Imāms (ع).

All the Imāms who descended from the Prophet (ص) were *the* gates of salvation, *the* arks of mercy. Through them can a believer be distinguished from a non-believer. They all left this world after being killed as they stood to defend the divine Message, accepting the possibility of their being killed for the stand which they took in obedience to the Command of their Lord, Glory to Him, the One Who sent His *waḥi* to their grandfather, the Prophet (ص). Father of Muḥammed, al-Ḥasan (ع), son of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (ع), has pointed out to this fact saying, "The mission which we undertake is assigned to Twelve Imāms (ع) each one of whom is either to be killed or poisoned."

A mourning ceremony ought to be held in commemoration of the *arba`een* of each one of them. The statement made by Imām Ḥasan al-`Askari (ع) does not contain any clue restricting the commemoration of the *arba`een* to al-Ḥusain (ع) alone, but scholars have understood it to imply emphasis on visiting al-Ḥusain's grave-site in particular, since the cause defended by the Master of Martyrs (ع) is the one characterized by enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. This is why it is said that Islam started with Muḥammed (ص) and it stays alive through al-Ḥusain (ع). So is the implication of one *ḥadīth* by the Messenger of Allāh (ص) saying: "Ḥusain is of me, and I am of Ḥusain." This *ḥadīth* conveys the same message because the hardship from which the Master of Martyrs (ع) suffered was for the sake of firming the foundations of Islam and removing the thorns of falsehood from the path of the Sharī`a, and to warn the following generations of the crimes committed by the promoters of misguidance. This is exactly the cause for which the Prophet of Islam (ص) stood to disseminate the divine call.

For all of these reasons, the Imāms from among the Prophet's Progeny (ع) found no alternative to attracting the attention to such a glorious revolution because it contains tragedies that would split the hardest

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[1]Ibn Qawlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 90, chapter 28.

[2]This is narrated by Shaikh al-Ṭūsi on p. 17, Vol. 3, of his *Tahthīb*, in a chapter discussing the merits of visiting the grave-site of al-Ḥusain (ع) wherein he quotes Imām Abu Muḥammed al-Ḥasan al-`Askari (ع). It is also narrated on p. 551 of the Indian edition of *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*.

of rocks. They knew that persistence in demonstrating the injustice dealt to al-Ḥusain (ع) would stir the emotions and attract the hearts of sympathizers. One who hears the tales of such horrible events will come to conclude that al-Ḥusain (ع) was a fair and just Imām who did not succumb to lowly things, that his Imāmate was inherited from his grandfather, the Prophet (ص), and from his father, the *waṣi* (ع), that whoever opposes him deviates from the path of equity. Whoever absorbs the fact that right was on al-Ḥusain's side and on that of his infallible offspring would be embracing their method and following their path.

This is why the Imāms (ع) did not urge the holding of mourning ceremonies for the *arba`een* anniversary of any of them, not even for that of the Prophet of Islam (ص), so that it alone would be the memory of his tragedy that would make a strong case for safeguarding the religious link. Turning attention to it is more effective in keeping the cause of the Infallible Ones dear to all those who discuss it: "Keep our cause alive, and discuss our cause."

The kind reader, anyway, can easily see why *ziyārat al-arba`een* is an indication of one's *imān* when he gets to know similar indications to which the *ḥadīth* has referred.

The first of such marks, namely the 51-*rek`āt* prayers, legislated during the night of the Prophet's *mi`rāj,* and which, through the Prophet's intercession, were reduced to only five during the day and the night, are: seventeen *rek`āt* for the morning, the noon and the afternoon, the sunset and the evening, and the *nafl* prayers timed with them, in addition to night's *nafl* prayers: they all make up thirty-four: eight before the noon-time prayers, eight before the after-noon prayers, four after sunset prayers, and two after the evening prayers regarded as one, and two before the morning prayers, and finally eleven *rek`āt* for the night's *nafl* prayers. Add to them the *shaf`* and *witr rek`āt*, and you will come to a total of obligatory and optional prayers of fifty-one *rek`āt*. This is applicable only to the Shī`as. Although they agree with the Shī`as with regard to the number of obligatory *rek`āt*, the Sunnis differ when it comes to optional prayers. On p. 314, Vol. 1, of Ibn Humam al-Ḥanafi's book *Fatḥ al-Qadīr*, they are: two *rek`āt* before the *fajr* prayers, four before the noon prayers and two after that, four before the afternoon prayers, or just two *rek`āt*, two more after the sunset prayers and four thereafter, or just two, making up twenty-three *rek`āt*. They differ about the night's *nafl* prayers whether they ought to be eight, only two, or thirteen, or even more. Hence, the total of optional and compulsory *rek`āt* will in no case be fifty-one; so, the fifty-one *rek`āt* are relevant to Imāmite Shī`as only.

The second on the list of marks referred to in the said *ḥadīth* is the audible pronunciation of the *basmala*. Imāmites seek nearness to Allāh, the most Exalted One, by making it obligatory to pronounce it audibly in the audible prayers and voluntary in the inaudible ones, following the text of their Imāms (ع). In this regard, al-Fakhr al-Rāzi says, "Shī`as are of the view that it is a Sunnah to audibly pronounce the *basmala* in the audible prayers as well as in the inaudible ones, whereas the majority of [Sunni] *faqīhs* differ from them. It is proven through *tawātur* that Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib (ع) used to audibly pronounce the *basmala*. Anyone who follows Ali (ع), in as far as his creed is concerned, will surely be on the right guidance by token of the *ḥadīth* saying: `O Allāh! Let right be with Ali wherever he goes.'"[1] This statement of al-Rāzi was not digested by Abul-Thanā' al-Ālūsi who followed it with a comment in which he said, "Had anyone acted upon all what they claim to be *mutawātir* from the Commander of the Faithful (ع), he will surely be an apostate; so, there is no alternative to believing in some and disbelieving in others. His claim that anyone who emulates Ali (ع) in as far as his creed is concerned will be on the right guidance of Islam is accepted without any discussion so long as we are sure that it is proven as having been said by Ali (ع). Anything else besides that is steam."[2]

Shī`as are not harmed when al-'Ālūsi and others assault them especially since their feet are firm on the path of loyalty for the Master of *waṣis* (ع) to whom the Messenger of Allāh (ص) says, "O Ali! Nobody knows Allāh, the most Exalted One, (fully well) except I and you, and nobody knows me (full welly) except Allāh and

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[1] *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

[2] *Rūḥ al-Ma`āni*, Vol. 1, p. 47.

you, and nobody knows you (fully well) except Allāh and I."[1]

If you, woe unto you, never heard of his merits and feats,
Then hear them from "Hal Ata," O fool,
For it should suffice you![2]

Sunnis have opted to do the opposite with regard to such a pronouncement. On p. 478, Vol. 1, of Ibn Qudāmah's book *Al-Mughni*, and also on p. 204, Vol. 1, of *Badāi` al-Ṣanāi`* by al-Kāsāni, and also on p. 216, Vol. 1, of al-Zarqāni's *Sharḥ* of Abul-Ḍiyā's *Mukhtaṣar* of Mālik's *fiqh*, audible pronouncement is not a Sunnah in prayers.

The third mark mentioned in the said *ḥadīth*, that is, wearing a ring in the right hand, is something practiced religiously by the Shī`as on account of the traditions they quote from their Imāms (ع). A multitude from among the Sunnis disagrees with them. Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Māliki has said, "The Sunnah has recorded everything as abominable if handed by the left hand and everything *ṭāhir* if handed by the right. In this sense, it is highly recommended to wear a ring in the left hand to be taken by the right one and then placed on the left."[3] Ibn Ḥajar narrates saying that Mālik hated to wear a ring on his right hand, believing it should be worn on the left[4]. *Shaikh* Ismā`īl al-Barūsawi has said the following in *`Iqd al-Durr*: "Originally, it was a Sunnah to wear a ring on the right hand, but since this is the distinguishing mark of the people of *bid`as* and of injustice, it *became* a Sunnah ***in our time*** to place the ring on a finger on the left hand."[5]

The fourth mark mentioned in the said *ḥadīth* is the placing of the forehead on dust [or dry soil]. Its message is to demonstrate that during the *sajda*, the forehead has to be placed on the ground. Sunnis do not

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[1] *Al-Muḥtadir*, p. 165.

[2] According to p. 140, Vol. 4, of Ibn al-`Imād's book *Shatharāt al-Thahab*, a number of Ḥanbalis used to recite this line from the pulpits of Baghdad.

[3] *Al-Madkhal*, Vol. 1, p. 46, in a chapter dealing with the etiquette of entering mosques.

[4] *Al-Fatāwa al-Fiqhiyya al-Kubra*, Vol. 1, p. 264, in a chapter dealing with what to wear.

[5] This is narrated by the authority Shaikh `Abd al-Ḥusain Aḥmed al-Amīni al-Najafi in his 11-volume encyclopedia titled *Al-Ghadīr* quoting p. 142, Vol. 4, of the exegesis titled *Rūḥ al-Bayān*. This is not the first issue wherein Sunnis practice the opposite of what the Shī`as practice. On p. 137, Vol. 1, of Abu Isḥāq al-Shīrāzi's book *Al-Muḥaththab*, on p. 47, Vol. 1, of al-Ghazāli's book *Al-Wajīz*, on p. 25 of al-Nawawi's *Al-Minhāj* as well as on p. 560, Vol. 1, of its *Sharḥ* by Ibn Ḥajar titled *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj fi Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, on p. 248, Vol. 4, of al-`Ayni's book *`Umdat al-Qāri fi Sharḥ al-Bukhāri*, on p. 681, Vol. 1, of Ibn Mufliḥ's book *Al-Furū`*, and on p. 505, Vol. 2, of Ibn Qudāmah's book *Al-Mughni*, planing graves is looked upon as a mark of "innovators." On p. 88, Vol. 1, of al-Sha`rāni's book *Raḥmat al-Ummah bi Ikhtilāf al-A'immah*, a book written as a comment on the exgesis titled *Al-Mīzān* by *`allāma* Tabatabai, the author states the following: "It is a Sunnah to plane graves. But since it became a distinguishing mark for the Rāfidis, it is better to do contrariwise." Among other issues wherein Sunnis do the opposite of what the Shī`as do is blessing the Prophet (ص) and his progeny (ع). Some of them suggest its elimination altogether. For example, al-Zamakhshari states the following comment after trying to explain verse 56 of Sūrat al-Aḥzāb in his book *Al-Kashshāf*: "It is *makrūh* to bless the Prophet (ص) because it causes one to be charged with being a Rāfidi, especially since he [the Prophet (ص)] has said, `Do not stand where you may be prone to being charged.'" The same theme exists on p. 135, Vol. 11, of Ibn Ḥajar's book *Fatḥ al-Bāri*, in "Kitāb al-Da`awāt" (book of supplications), where the author tries to answer the question: "Should one bless anyone else besides the Prophet (ص)?" Says he, "There is a disagreement with regard to blessing anyone besides the prophets although there is a consensus that it is permissive to greet the Living One. Some say it is permissive in its absolute application, while others say it is conditional because it has become a distinguishing mark of the Rāfidis." Even in the manner of dressing do some Sunnis want to distinguish themselves from others: On p. 13, Vol. 5, of al-Zarqāni's book *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Saniyya*, it is stated that, "Some scholars used to loosen their tassels from the left front side, and I have never read any text that a tassel should be loosened from the right side except in a weak *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Tabrāni. Now since this has become a distinguishing mark of the Imāmites, it ought to be abandoned in order to avoid looking like them."

place their forehead on the ground. Abu Hanīfah, Mālik, and Aḥmed are reported as having authorized the prostrating on turban coils[1], or on a piece of garment[2] worn by the person performing the prayers or any piece of cloth. Ḥanafis have authorized placing it on the palms if one feels grudgingly that he has no other choice[3]. They also permit prostrating on wheat and barley, on a bed, on the back of another person standing in front of you who is also performing the same prayers...![4]

The objective behind such a reference is that it is highly commendable, when one prostrates to thank Allāh, to rub his forehead on the dust as a symbol of humility and to shun arrogance. An examination of the original text will show any discreet person that it is equally commendable to rub both sides of the face on it. It is to this meaning that Sayyid Bahr al-`Ulūm, may Allāh sanctify him, refers in a poem wherein he says this line about *sajdat al-shukr*:

> The cheek is more worthy of being rubbed,
> The *ḥadīth* clearly says so
> Whereas in reference to the forehead,
> It states it can be done, too.

Rubbing the cheeks exists when reference is made to *sajdat al-shukr*[5], something whereby prophet Moses son of `Imran [Amram] (ع) deserved to be drawn closer to the Almighty whenever he addressed Him silently [during the *munājāt*][6]. Nobody contradicted the Imāmites with regard to such rubbing, be it on the forehead or on the cheeks. Sunnis never obligate themselves to rubbing their foreheads on dust when performing their prayers or when performing *sajdat al-shukr*. This is so despite the fact that al-Nakh`i, Mālik, and Abu Hanīfah have all disliked to perform *sajdat al-shukr,* although the Ḥanbalis observe it[7], and so do the Shafi`is[8] whenever they receive a divine blessing or whenever a sign of Allāh's wrath is removed from them.

A SUMMARY OF THE MARKS OF A *MU'MIN*

From all what we have indicated while discussing the issues enumerated by the said *ḥadīth* as *the* marks of *imān*, the gist of *ziyārat al-arba`een* connotes directing those who are loyal to Ahl al-Bayt (ع) to visiting the shrine of the one who was slain in a foreign land, the Master of Martyrs (ع), in order to mourn him and to renew the memory of what he had to bear of cruelty the like of which was never committed by anyone who has a tint of humanity in him, let alone those who claim to follow Islam. To be present at the grave-site of al-Ḥusain (ع) on the Arba`een anniversary of his martyrdom is the most evident of all signs of *imān*.

Amazement never ends about someone who twists the meaning of this statement by claiming that it means visiting forty believers despite the absence of reference to any such forty believers, nor is there any clue

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[1]al-Sha`rāni, *Al-Mīzān*, Vol. 1, p. 138.

[2]al-Marghināni, *Al-Hidāya*, Vol. 1, p. 33.

[3]*Al-Fiqh `ala al-Mathāhib al-Arba`ah*, Vol. 1, p. 189.

[4]Ibn Najīm, *Al-Bahr al-Rā'iq*, Vol. 1, p. 319.

[5]*Al-Kāfi `ala Hāmish Mir'āt al-`Uqūl*, Vol. 3, p. 129. al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Faqīh*, p. 69. Shaikh al-Ṭūsi, *Al-Tahthīb*, Vol. 1, p. 266, in a chapter dealing with what ought to be recited following the prayers.

[6]Shaikh al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Faqīh*, p. 69.

[7]Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughni*, Vol. 1, p. 626. Ibn Mufliḥ, *Al-Furū`*, Vol. 1, p. 382.

[8]*Kitāb al-Umm*, Vol. 1, p. 116. al-Mazni, *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, Vol. 1, p. 90. al-Ghazāli, *Al-Wajīza*, Vol. 1, p. 32.

referring to such a meaning. Surely Islam commends a believer to visit forty others; this is enjoined by Islam and is not a distinguishing mark between the Shī`as and the Sunnis, nor is it directed only to the believers in order to distinguish them from others. Yes, visiting the shrine of al-Ḥusain (ع) on the anniversary of forty days after his martyrdom is called for by those who have a pure faith in and loyalty to Ahl al-Bayt (ع). It is underscored by the eagerness to be near al-Ḥusain (ع). It is known that those who are present at this most sacred shrine (forty days after the martyrdom's anniversary) of the master of the youths of Paradise are, in particular, those who are his Shī`as and who follow in his footsteps.

A testimony to the sacred *ḥadīth* quoted above is the fact that the renown scholars do not dispute in their understanding of the significance of visiting the grave-site of al-Ḥusain (ع) on the 40th of Safar. One of them is Abu Ja`fer Muḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsi who discusses the merits of visiting the shrine of al-Ḥusain (ع) on p. 17, Vol. 2, of his book *Al-Tahthīb*. Having narrated the traditions referring to the merits of any visit to his shrine, he started discussing those to be performed on specific dates one of which is `Āshūra. After that he quoted this same *ḥadīth*. On p. 551 of *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* (Bombay edition), the month of Safar is discussed and so are the significant events that took place during it. Then the author goes on to say, "On the 20th of Safar, the ladies of Abu `Abdullāh (ع) returned from Syria to the city of the Prophet (ص). They were the first to make such a visit (*ziyārat*). Also, Jābir ibn `Abdullāh al-Anṣāri came at the same time to visit the grave-site of Abu `Abdullāh (ع), thus becoming the very first person outside al-Ḥusain's family to do so. Such is *ziyārat al-arba`een*. Imām Abu Muḥammed al-Ḥasan al-`Askari (ع), is quoted as saying, `The marks of a *mu'min* are five..., etc.' Abul-Rayhan al-Birūni has said, `On the 20th of Safar, the head [of al-Ḥusain] was returned to the body and buried with it. In it, there is *ziyārat al-arba`een*, and so is the event of the return of his ladies from Syria.'"[1]

`Allāma al-Ḥilli says the following in his book of *ziyārat* after one performs the *ḥajj* as recorded in his book *Al-Muntaha*: "It is highly recommended to visit the grave-site of al-Ḥusain (ع), on the twentieth of Safar." The *shaikh* quotes Imām Abu Muḥammed al-Ḥasan al-`Askari (ع) saying, "There are five marks for a believer..., etc." Sayyid Raḍiyy ad-Dīn Ali ibn Ṭāwūs, in his book *Al-Iqbāl,* discusses the *ziyārat* of al-Ḥusain's shrine on the twentieth of Safar saying, "We have narrated through *isnād* to my grandfather Abu Ja`fer [Imām al-Bāqir (ع)] what he narrated by way of *isnād* to our master, al-Ḥasan ibn Ali al-`Askari, saying, `The marks of a believer are five..., etc.'"

Al-Majlisi, may Allāh elevate his status, in his book *Mazār al-Biḥār,* quotes the same *ḥadīth* as he discusses the virtues of visiting the shrine of al-Ḥusain (ع) on the *arba`een*. In the discussion of *ziyārat* which follows the *ḥajj, shaikh* Yousuf al-Baḥrāni includes in his book *Al-Ḥadā'iq* the topic of visiting al-Ḥusain's grave-site on the 20th of Safar, describing it as one of the distinguishing marks of a *mu'min*.

In the same reference, *shaikh* `Abbās al-Qummi narrates the same tradition from *Al-Tahthīb* and *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* as proof for the preference of *ziyārat al-arba`een* without making any reference to visiting "forty believers"!

Some scholars base their exclusion of *ziyārat al-arba`een* on the claim that the Imām (ع), never referred to rewards in the hereafter for those who visit his shrine during it despite the fact that when Ahl al-Bayt (ع) encourage visiting the shrine of the oppressed Imām (ع) and those of other Imāms of Guidance (ع), they mention the rewards in the hereafter due to one who performs such a *ziyārat*. Such a claim should be discarded in the light of the fact that when narrating the said tradition, the Imām (ع) was highlighting the marks that distinguish a *mu'min* from others, counting *ziyārat al-arba`een* as one such mark of distinction. This is what we have already clarified. He was not discussing the rewards due to one who performs such a visit.

Shaikh al-Mufīd, in his book *Masār al-Shī`a*, discusses how commendable and rewardable it is to perform a visit to the Imām's grave on the 20th of Safar. So does *`allāma* al-Ḥilli in his book *Al-Tathkira wal*

[1]Abul-Rayhān al-Birūni, *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*, p. 331.

Tahrīr. The same applies to Mulla Muḥsin al-Fayz in his book *Taqwīm al-Muḥsinīn*. The reason why *shaikh* al-Bahā'i, in his book titled *Tawzīh al-Maqāsid al-Arba`een*, suggests the 19th of Safar instead, is based on the tenth day of the *arba`een* (forty days) under discussion, something which contradicts what is already established.

Hosts reached you in earnest roaring,
Rare among the hosts, to defend you.
Do not grant any respite to the lowly one;
How humiliated was lowliness by Hayder!
And revive the life of uprising anew,
Wherein dignity is supported and aided,
And draw for the victors a scheme
Wherein the thrones of the reckless are annihilated.
If a charged hour did not to your call respond
It is shamed, and in more times opportune
Did it indeed to you respond.
Rise and eye the Sacred House,
Then cast another look at your shrine:
That surely is the greatest pilgrimage:
It has become the pride of life and it is rightly so.
Proud of him: the blood of martyrdom is a cause of pride.
Whatever elevated your status they sanctified,
I hide it as do the oppressed,
Yet it surely manifests itself:
Authority complained about its luck and missed
Its pillars, from abusers who took charge,
Blackened, its forehead charred, its pillars
Resent those who with it play havoc and conspire,
And caliphate no longer knows the Muslims,
Abomination therein assails righteousness.
Blackened with a forehead charred
In it apes flourished, tigers filled with filth,
Its cups on the ears poured its tones,
And even during the prayers are cups circulated around!
Such farce is renounced by each and every mosque
That lost its glory, and it causes every pulpit to cry.
So it complains to you, for it then to a hero complains,
One who is mindful and vengeful for the sake of reform.
Virtues are folded up, how great!
This is the mother of virtues every year unfolded!

Leafless, its branches withered, with your blood watered,
So how good and fruitful what you had cultivated!
Against abominations are you called upon
By a call for help, red, bloody, on a bloody day
The Sharī`a did complain about limits changed
And about injunctions there altered.

Their beauty did Umayyah rob so they became
Images formed as misguidance pleases;
Desires blew on them so they are captives complaining:
Who other than Ḥusain can emancipate?
He met his youths in the morning and led to be
For the Lord's creed sacrifices,
So they were slaughtered.
He conveyed the message as much as he could
Its conveyance was through blood spilled and shed.
In care of reform is the forehead of a man of honour
Bloodied, while the forehead is rubbed with dust.
Labbayk! A lonely man surrounded by large hordes
Counting as many as the pebbles in number, none can count.
Labbayk! A thirsty man whose thirst was never quenched
While in his palms seas of virtues flowed.
These are the tears of those loyal to you,
So quench from them a head almost split
And be kind to these hearts for they wish
You had been in the ribs entombed.
They stampede to uphold the rites
Less magnificent are the Safa and the Mash`ar.
They rode for their sake every sort of danger
Hands almost cut off, skulls almost sawed.
They came to you on the *Arba`een* and how I wish they
Were with you on the Ṭaff Day when you solicited help!
They found your path to be one for safety
To which they erected the bridge of loyalty
And they hold you as their hope in a fearful Hour
Either to Hell, or to the Pool of Kawthar.
And both opponents when they meet you shall know
Who will drink of it, and who will not a drop draw.[1]

IN MEDĪNA

Al-Sajjād (ع) had no choice except to leave Kerbalā' and set forth to Medīna after having stayed there for three days. It was too much for him to see how his aunts and the other women, as well as the children, were all crying day and night while visiting one grave after another.

She complains about her foes
And his folks does she mourn,
What a condition wherein patience unfolded
And patience did depart.
So we mourn her and complain
With the blood of the insides tears are mixed.

[1]This poem was composed by the *`allāma shaikh* `Abd al-Mehdi Matar al-Najafi.

And agony penetrates even a solid stone
So the heart is into bits and pieces torn.[1]

Bashīr ibn Hathlam has said, "When we came close to Medīna, Ali ibn al-Ḥusain (ع) alighted and tied his she-camel then set up a tent where he lodged the women. He said to me, `O Bashīr! May Allāh have mercy on your father! He was a poet. Can you compose any of it at all?' I said, `Yes, O son of the Messenger of Allāh! I, too, am a poet.' He (ع) said, `Then enter Medīna and mourn the martyrdom of Abu `Abdullāh (ع).' So I rode my horse and entered Medīna. When I came near the Mosque of the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him and his progeny, I cried loudly and recited these verses:

O people of Yathrib! May you never stay therein!
Al-Ḥusain is killed, so my tears now rain,
His body is in Kerbalā' covered with blood
While his head is on a spear displayed.

"Then I said, `Here is Ali son of al-Ḥusain (ع) accompanied by his aunts and sisters; they have all returned to you. I am his messenger to you to inform you of his place.' People went out in a hurry, including women who had never before left their chambers, all weeping and wailing. All those in Medīna were in tears. Nobody had ever seen such crying and wailing. They surrounded Ali Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع) to offer him their condolences. He came out of the tent with a handkerchief in his hand with which he was wiping his tears. Behind him was one of his slaves carrying a chair on which the Imām (ع) later sat, being overcome by grief. The cries of the mourners were loud. Everyone was weeping and wailing. He signaled to people to calm down. Once they stopped crying, he (ع) said,

`All Praise is due to Allāh, Lord of the Worlds, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment, Creator of all creation Who is Exalted in the high heavens, Who is so near, He hears even the silent speech. We praise Him on the grave events, on time's tragedies, on the pain inflicted by such tragedies, on the crushing of calamities, on the greatness of our catastrophe, on our great, monstrous, magnanimous and afflicting hardships. O people! Allāh, the most Exalted One, Praise to Him, has tried us with great trials and tribulations, with a tremendous loss suffered by the religion of Islam. The father of `Abdullāh, al-Ḥusain (ع), and his family have been killed, and his women and children taken captive. They displayed his head in every land from the top of a spear... Such is the catastrophe similar to which there is none at all. O people! Which men among you are happy after him, or which heart is not grieved on his account? Which eye among you withholds its tears and is too miser with its tears? The seven great heavens wept over his killing; the seas wept with their waves, and so did the heavens with their corners and the earth with its expanse; so did the trees with their branches and the fish in the depths of the seas. So did the angels who are close to their Lord. So did all those in the heavens. O people! Which heart is not grieved by his killing? Which heart does not yearn for him? Which hearing hears such a calamity that has befallen Islam without becoming deaf? O people! We have become homeless, exiles, outcasts, shunned, distanced from all countries as though we were the offspring of the Turks or of Kabul without having committed a crime, nor an abomination, nor afflicted a calamity on Islam! Never did we ever hear such thing from our fathers of old. This is something new. By Allāh! Had the Prophet (ص) required them to fight us just as he had required them to be good to us, they would not have done to us any more than what they already have. So we belong to Allāh, and to Him is our return from this calamity, and what a great, painful, hard, cruel, and catastrophic calamity it is! To Allāh do we complain from what has happened to us, from the suffering we have

[1]These lines were composed by Ḥujjatul-Islam *shaikh* Muḥammed Ḥusain Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', may Allāh sanctify him.

endured, for He is the Omnipotent, the Vengeful.'

"Sawhān ibn Sa`sā`ah al-`Abdi, an invalid who could barely walk on his feet, stood up and apologized to the Imām (ع) for not rushing to help his family due to his handicap. He (ع), responded to him by accepting his excuse, telling him that he thought well of him, thanked him and sought Allāh's mercy for his father. Then Zayn al-`Ābidīn entered Medīna accompanied by his family and children."[1]

Ibrāhīm ibn Talhah ibn `Ubaydullāh came to the Imām (ع) and asked him, "Who won?" The Imām (ع), answered, "When the time for prayers comes, and when the *athān* and *iqāma* are called, you will know who the winner is."[2]

As for Zainab, that is, Umm Kulthūm, she recited the following verses of poetry:

O city of our Grandfather! Accept us not
For with sighs and griefs we come;
We left you surrounded by kith and kin
And returned with neither sons nor men.

Then she took both knobs of the mosque's door and cried out, "O grandfather! I mourn to you my brother al-Ḥusain!"

Sukayna cried out, "O grandfather! To you do I complain from what we have been through, for by Allāh, I never saw anyone more hard-hearted than Yazīd, nor have I ever seen anyone, be he an apostate or a polytheist, more evil than him, more rough, or more cruel. He kept hitting my father's lips with his iron bar as he said, `How did you find the battle, O Ḥusain?!'"[3]

The ladies who were born and grew up in the lap of Prophethood held a mourning ceremony for the Master of Martyrs (ع). They put on the most coarse of clothes; they shrouded themselves in black, and they continued to weep and wail day and night as Imām al-Sajjād kept cooking for them[4].

Once Imām Ja`fer al-Ṣādiq (ع) said, "No lady who descended from Hāshim used any dye, nor any oil, nor any *kohl*, for full five years; it was then that al-Mukhtār sent them the head of `Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād."[5]

As regarding al-Rubāb, she mourned [her husband] Abu `Abdullāh (ع) till her eyes were no longer capable of producing tears. One of her bondmaids told her that using a particular type of herb was tear stimulant, so she ordered it to be prepared for her in order to induce her tears[6]. Among the poetry she composed in eulogizing her husband, Abu `Abdullāh al-Ḥusain (ع), is the following[7]:

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[1]Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf*, p. 116.

[2]Shaikh al-Ṭūsi, *Al-Āmāli*, p. 66.

[3]al-Qazwīni, *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān*, p. 163.

[4]al-Barqi, *Mahāsin*, Vol. 2, p. 420, in a chapter dealing with providing food for a mourning ceremony.

[5]*Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, Vol. 2, p. 215, chapter 94.

[6]al-Majlisi, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 10, p. 235, citing *Al-Kāfi*.

[7]Abul-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni, *Al-Aghāni*, Vol. 2, p. 158.

The one that used to be a lantern
Is now at Kerbalā', killed, unburied.
O grandson of the Prophet! May Allah
Reward you on our behalf and may you
Never fall short of the Scales.
A great mountain you used to be
A shelter, secure, for me,
And a companion in family
And in faith a surety.
Now who shall for the orphans be
Of help, and who shall be for the needy?
Who shall be the resort of the destitute?
By Allah! Never shall I seek
For you at all any substitute,
Till between the sands and the mud is my abode
Wherein I will be hidden from the world.

CONCLUSION

Imām Ali Zayn al-`Ābidīn (ع), son of Imām Ḥusain (ع), stayed aloof from public life in order to avoid being involved in their disputes with one another and in order to dedicate his entire time to worshipping Allāh and mourning his father. He kept weeping day and night. One of his slaves said to him, "I fear for you lest you should perish." He (ع) said to him, "I only convey my complaints and my grief to Allāh, and I know from Allāh what you all do not know. Jacob was a prophet from whom Allāh caused one of his sons to be separated. He had twelve sons, and he knew that his son was still alive, yet he wept over him till he lost his eye sight. If you look at my father, my brothers, my uncles, and my friends, how they lay slain all around me, tell me how can my grief ever end? Whenever I remember how Fāṭima's children were slaughtered, I cannot help crying. And whenever I look at my aunts and sisters, I remember how they were fleeing from one tent to another..."

The fire burning in the tent did he see
While he was the tent of honour and dignity.
He saw how apostasy and misguidance assailed
The daughters of the *waḥi* and the creed.
He saw about the ladies of Prophethood
What the norms of manliness hold as abhorred:
Their looting and their beating
While none to help them besides their Lord.
He saw shy and pure ladies' faces uncovered
To the son of the prostitute driven.
He saw how the pure and virtuous ladies stood
Before ignominy: Yazīd, the tyrant, how they cried.

And they were in the ropes tied
Before the assembly of every villain and dastard displayed.[1]

To you, O Messenger of Allāh (ص), is our complaint from the way whereby your nation treated your pure offspring, from the oppression and persecution to which they were subjected, and all Praise is due to Allāh, Lord of the Worlds.

[1]These verses were composed by the authority *shaikh* Muḥammed Ḥusain al-Iṣfahāni.

PART IV

EULOGIES

Arabs eulogize their lost ones with poems. Since the tragedy took place, innumerable poems have been composed eulogizing Imām Ḥusain (ع) and innumerable others will be composed till the Day of Judgment. The following are some of them. We preferred to keep them without an English translation due to our belief that no translation into any language can do justice to them. They are better appreciated in their own language.

We pray the Almighty to grant His guidance to all those who read this book, who benefit from it, and who pass it on to others, *Allāhomma* Āmeen.

`Ādil: fair, just

`Adl: the concept of the justice of God

Aḥādīth: singular of *hadīth*, a statement (usually attributed either to the Prophet [pbuh] or to one of the members of his Progeny or companions)

Ahilla: plural of *hilal*, crescent

`Ālim: scholar, theologian, a highly knowledgeable person

A`māl: highly recommended acts of adoration

`Arsh: literally: throne, symbol of the Almighty's Authority

Asḥār: plural of *saḥar*, the time immediately preceding daybreak

'Athān: the call for prayers; *mu'aththin* is one who performs *'athān*.

Awqāf plural of *waqf*, a charitable trust

Āyat: verse (from a sacred scripture); plura: āyāt

Barzakh: the place and time wherein the souls of the dead live till the Day of Judgment; see the Holy Qur'ān, 23:100.

Basmala: the uttering of: *"Bismillāhir-Raḥmānir-Raḥīm"* (In the Name of Allāh, the most Gracious, the most Merciful)

Beed: plural of *abyad*, white

Dahr: time, age, eternity

Dīnār: an Islamic (now Arab) gold currency varying in weight

Dirham: an Islamic silver currency weighing approx. 3.12 grams

Dīwān a meeting place, also a collection of poems

Diyya: blood money, monetary compensation for manslaughter or intentional murder

Du`ā': supplication, invocation

`Īd: an Islamic feast, a joyous celebration, a merry occasion

Fā'izeen: (or *Fā'izùn*) winners

Fajr: pre-dawn, daybreak

Faqīh: jurist, one who is knowledgeable in Islamic jurisprudence

Farāsikh: plural of *farsakh*, parasang (a loan Persian word), a measure of length (distance). According to *Lisan al-`Arab*, it may be three to six miles. "It is called so," the author of *Lisan al-`Arab* goes on, "because one who walks one *farsakh* will have to sit to rest," suggesting that the original meaning of the word is: to halt, to come to a stand still, to rest.

Fatāwa: plural of *fatwā*, a religious edict or decision

Fiqh: the science of Islamic jurisprudence

Firdaws: Paradise

Fiṭra: the amount (in cash or kind) paid to the needy at the end of the month of Ramadān; see text for more details

Ghazwa: a military campaign, an invasion; invader: *ghāzi*

Ghusul: ceremonial bath

Ḥadīth: (singular:) tradition, a statement made by Prophet Muḥammed; plural: *aḥādīth*

Hadi: sacrificial animals offered at Mecca's holy precincts

Ḥāfiẓ: one who has learned the entire text of the Holy Qur'ān by heart; plural: *ḥuffāẓ*

Ḥajj: Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca during the prescribed period

Ḥalāl: Islamically permissible, admissible, allowed

Ḥarām: Islamically prohibitive, inadmissible, forbidden

Ḥijāb: veil, curtain

Hilāl: crescent, singular of *ahilla*

ḥizb: literally, it means: party (plural: *aḥzāb*); another meaning: the 60th part of the Holy Qur'ān

Ḥujja: proof, argument, authority

Ḥùri: heavenly wife with large lovely eyes married to the male residents of Paradise

Iḥrām: pilgrimage garb, white unwoven cotton shroud worn by pilgrims

Ijtihād: the degree one reaches in order to be qualified as a *mujtahid*, one who is capable of deriving religious decisions on his own

`Illiyeen: the highest pinnacle of Paradise; see Holy Qur'ān, 83:18.

Imām: leader of an *ummah*, a group of people (small or big); he may be the one who leads others in congregational prayers, or a supreme relgious authority, or one of the Twelve Infallible Imāms (as)

Imān: faith, conviction

Iqāma: the prouncement of certain statements in preparation for the performing of the prayers, usually following the athan

`Ishā': nighttime, evening

Isnād: the method whereby one *ḥadīth* is traced and in the end attributed to a *muhaddith*, traditionist, one who transmitted it the first time

`Isyān transgression against the Almighty's Commandments

I`tikāf: the act of remaining most of the time at a mosque for prayers and supplications

Iftār: the time or the meal to break the fast

Iqāma: the statements recited immediately before starting the ritual prayer

Isrā': night journey; usually a reference to the Prophet's night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem

Jahannam: hell

Jāhiliyya: pre-Islamic period of ignorance

Jāmi`a: inclusive, universal, university; it also means: handcuffs

Janāba: uncleanness caused by seminal discharge

Jannat: heaven, Paradise, garden, singular of *jannāt*

Jihād: a struggle, an effort exerted, or a war waged in defense of Islam

Jizya: protection tax paid to Muslims by non-Muslims residing in areas under Islamic control whereby the Muslims protect their lives and property and extempt them from the military service

Kaffāra: atonement from sin

Kāfir: infidel, apostate, atheist, one who does not believe in the existence of the Creator; noun: *kufr*

Kalima: synonymous to "*shahāda*," it is a Muslim's declaration of faith (that is, to testify that there is no god except Allāh, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh), and it is always pronounced in Arabic

Kantar: in Arabic: *qinṭār*, avarying weight of 100 *raṭls* (rotls); a *raṭl* in Syria is roughly 3.202 kg., whereas in England it is 449.28 grams, and in Lebanon it is 2.566 kg.

Khandaq: moat, ditch

Khums: one-fifth of one's savings (usually paid by Shī`a Muslims) set aside from annual income

Kunya: the use of "Abu " (father of) or "Umm " (mother of) often as a prefix for one's name

Kursi: literally: chair, symbol of the Almighty's Seat of Judgment and Authority; see Holy Qur'ān, 2:255

Khutba: lecture, sermon; a speech delivered on a specific occasion

Kufr: apostacy, infidelity, disbelief

Labbayk: an exclamation conveying the meaning of "At your service!" or "Here I am!"

Ma`ād: the Return: a reference to the returning of the souls to their new bodies after the period of *barzakh* (see above), and their ultimate returning to their Maker for judgment; generally, it is used to refer to death and the life hereafter.

Mahr: dowry paid by the groom to the bride (or *vice versa* as is the case in some cultures)

Majālis: meetings or gatherings held to commemorate certain religious occasion, mostly applied to those held during the month of Muḥarram or to recite the *Fāṭiha* for a deceased person; singular of *majlis*, a place where people sit

Marji` taqlīd: the highest theological authority-referee followed

Ma`ṣoom: infallible, divinely protected against sinning

Mash `ar: a place where certain rites are to be conducted, a sacred area or place or precinct

Mawla: depending on its usage, it may mean either "master" or "slave," or it may mean one who is most fit for a specific position of honor and prestige. Derived from the adjective *awla* (one who is best qualified), it means: the person who is best suited to be the religious and temporal leader of all Muslims.

Mi `rāj: the Prophet's ascension from Jerusalem to the heavens

Mithqāl: a weight equivalent to 24 karats or 4.68 grams

Mufassir: a theologian who is well-versed in the exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān

Muḥaddith: traditionist, one who quotes statements of Prophet Muḥammed

Mujāhid: one who practices *jihād* (se *jihād* above)

Mujtahid: one who acquires the degree of *ijtihād* and thus becomes capable of deriving religious decisions on his own

Mu'min: believer, one who has *imān*, conviction, true belief

Munafiqùn: hypocrites

Musnad: a compilation of traditions (*aḥādīth*) which are consecutively and chronologically traced to their transmitters

Mutawātir: consecutively reported, traced by a perfect chronological chain of ascertained narrators of *ḥadīth*

Mu'aththin: caller to prayers (usually at a mosque)

Mu'min: (Muslim) believer, a man of conviction

Nafl: optional, non-compulsory, supererotatory, highly recommended act of worship; plural: *nawāfil*

Najāsa: uncleanness, impurity; adjective: *najis*

Nathr: One's pledge to do something very good to show appreciation for the Almighty's favorable response to his supplication and the attainment of his worldly wish

Nūr: divine or celestial light the source of which is neither fire nor reflection

Nubuwwah: prophethood, the belief in prophets and their messages

Qaniṭeen: those who are constantly supplicating

Qaẓa: compensatory, making up for a missed rite

Qibla: direction towards the Ka`ba, Mecca

Qiyām: standing

Qudsi: divine, related to the Almighty

Qunooṭ: supplication during prayers

Rek`at*: (singular) prostration (during prayer or a ritual) (plural: *rek`āt)

Rukoo`: kneeling

Sabeel: path, way, avenue

Sadaqa: (singular:) charity offered voluntarily; its plural is: *sadaqāt*

Ṣadeed: pus collected from bleeding wounds to be served to the sinners in hell when they ask for water to quench their thirst

Ṣaḥāba: companions of the Holy Prophet Muḥammed; its plural is: *ṣaḥābi*

Ṣaḥīfa: tablet, scroll, parchment, a written document

Ṣaḥīḥ: literally: authentic, correct, accurate; it is generally used to refer to the collection, group of collections, or book, of verified and authenticated *aḥādīth* of Prophet Muḥammed

*Sa`i* the running between the Ṣafa and the Marwa near the Ka`ba

Sajda: prostration

Ṣalāt: Islamic prayers, optional or mandatory; plural: *ṣalawāt*

Ṣalatul-`Id:* late morning prayers comprised of two *rek`āt (prostarations) performed in the day that follows `Id al-Fitr (the feat of fast-breaking) signaling the end of the fast of the month of Ramaḍān

Sārā ya: (plural) military campagins personally ordered by Prophet Muḥammed; singular: *sāriya*

Shahāda: martyrdom; it also means: testimony

Shahr: month

Shaikh: also *shyakh*, an honoring title with many meanings; literally, it means an old man; in Islamic theology and philosophy, however, it is used to denote a mentor, professor, or scholar of a high caliber

Sharī`a: Islam's legislative system

Shirk: polytheism, the belief in the existence of partners with God

Shubha: (singular) doubt, suspicion; its plural is: *shubuhāt*

Shùra: the principle of mutual consultation, Islam's form of democracy

Ṣiddeeq: one who testifies to the truthfulness of a prophet

Ṣirāt: path, highway; same as *Sabeel*

Ṣiyām: Islam's norm of fast

Suḥoor: time or meal taken before daybreak in preparation to fast during the day

Ṣulṭān: ruler who rules in the name of Islam, a Muslim monarch

Sunan: plural of *sunnah*: a highly commended act of worship or way whereby a Muslim seeks nearness to Allāh

Sùra: (also *Sùrah*) a chapter of the Holy Qur'ān

Tābi`een*: plural of *tabi`, one who accompanied for a good period of time, learned from and afollowed a *ṣaḥābi*, a companion of the Holy Prophet Muḥammed; its plural is: *tābi`een*

Tafsīr: (singular:) exegesis or explanation of Qur'ānic verses; its plural is: *tafasīr*

Tahajjud: night devotions; a *mutahajjid* is one who keeps religious vigilance, spending the night in prayer

Ṭahāra: purification, the act of removing *najāsa*, uncleanness or impurity

Takbeer: the act of glorifying Allāh by declaring in an audible voice: "Allāho Akbar!" Allāh is Great!

Talbiya the reciting of “Labbayka Allāhomma labbayk!” (Here, I come, Lord, in response to your call!)

Taqiyya: one’s way of exerting precaution in order to save his creed or life when either is in jeopardy, Shī`as’ way of trying to survive in the presence of sure perils

Taqleed: the concept of following a *mujtahid* or an authority recognized as the *a`lam*, the most knowledgeable in Islamics

Tarwiyah: The Day of Tarwiyah is the 8th of Thul-Ḥijjah when the pilgrims fill their water bags and prepare to go to Mina.

Tashahhud: the testimony regarding Allāh being the Lord and Muḥammad being His Servant and Messenger; it is the uttering of "*Ashhadu an la ilaha illa-Allāh, wa anna Muḥammed abdoho wa rasooloh*"

Tashreeq: the cutting and sun-drying of sacrificed meat

Ṭawāf: circling around a sacred site

Tawātur: consecutive reporting, the tracing of one particular *ḥadīth* to its respective chronological chain of narrators

Tawḥīd: the concept of the absolute Unity of God, the belief that God is One and indivisible, One—and Only One—God

Tawwabeen: the penitent ones, those who repented their reluctance to go to the rescue of Imām Ḥusain when he was confronted with Yazīd’s armies and who enlisted under the military command of al-Mukhtār and pursued those who massacred Imām Ḥusain ibn `Ali ibn Abù Ṭālib (ع)and killed them

Thakireen: those who often mention the Name of the Almighty and Glorify Him

Thayyib: a deflowered woman, a widow or divorcee

Thireed: pieces of bread cut and dipped in stew

*`Ulemā’*: plural of `ā*lim*, scholar-theologian

Umma: nation, group of people

Umm wuld "Freed mother of son" means a bondmaid who bears sons by her master and who is set free on that account but remains in his custody as his wife.

`Umra: the pilgrimage to Mecca during any time other than the prescribed (first ten) days of the month of Thul-Ḥijjah

Uṣool: the basics of jurisprudence

Wājib: compulsory, obligatory, binding

Wāli: person to whom *wilāyat* is obligatory; a *wāli*, however, is a governor appointed by a Muslim ruler of a higher authority (such as a caliph, a ṣultan, etc.)

Waqf: a charitable trust

Waṣi: successor to a prophet

Wilāyat: a binding supreme authority that combines both temporal and religious powers

Wiṣāl: fasting the last day of every lunar calendar month

Wuḍu: ablution

Zakāt: Literally, it means "purification;" it is a compulsory 2.5% tax on one of three categories of wealth: 1) metal coins (gold, silver, etc.), 2) grain crops (barley, wheat, grain, rice, etc.), and 3) animals raised for food consumption. *Zakāt* is somehow a complicated issue, and for details, readers are advised to consult books dealing with *fiqh*. Among its types are: *zakāt al-mal* (taxable wealth accumulated during one full year), and *zakāt al-fitr* (a tax to be paid by the head of a household at the end of the fast of the month of Ramaḍān).

Ẓihār: the making of a similitude between the back of one's wife with that of his mother; i.e. saying that his wife's back looks similar to his mother's back (*zahr*)