

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

قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى:

ڈ ڈ ڈ ژ ژ ڑ ڑ ک ک ک

Indeed, Allah desires to repel all impurity from you, O People of the Household, and purify you with a thorough purification.
(*S£rat al-A¦z¡b* ٣٣: ٣٣)

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

For instance, refer to the following reference books:

(١) Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. ٢٤١ AH), *al-Musnad*, ١:٣٣١; ٤:١٠٧; ٦:٢٩٢, ٣٠٤. (٢) *Sahih Muslim* (d. ٢٦١ AH), ٧:١٣٠. (٣) Al-Tirmidhi (d. ٢٧٩ AH), *Sunan*, ٥:٣٦١ et al. (٤) Al-Dulabi (d. ٣١٠ AH), *al-Dhurriyyah al-Tahirah al-Nabawiyyah*, pp. ١٠٨. (٥) Al-Nassa'i (d. ٣٠٣ AH), *al-Sunan al-Kubra*, ٥:P١٠٨, ١١٣. (٦) al-Hakim al-Naysaburi (d. ٤٠٥ AH), *al-Mustadrak ala al-Sahihayn*, ٢:٤١٦, ٣:١٣٣, ١٤٦, ١٤٧. (٧) al-Zarkashi (d. ٧٩٤ AH), *al-Burhan*, pp. ١٩٧. (٨) Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. ٨٥٢), *Fath al-Bari Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, ٧:١٠٤. (٨) Al-Kulayni (d. ٣٢٨ AH), *Usul al-Kafi*, ١:٢٨٧. (٩) Ibn Babawayh (d. ٣٢٩ AH), *al-Imamah wa'l-Tabsirah*, pp. ٤٧, H. ٢٩. (١٠) Al-Maghribi (d. ٣٦٣ AH), *Da'aa'im al-Islam*, pp. ٣٥, ٣٧. (١١) Al-Saduq (d. ٣٨١ AH), *al-Khisal*, pp. ٤٠٣, ٥٥٠. (١٢) Al-Tusi (d. ٤٦٠ AH), *al-Amaali*, H. ٤٣٨, ٤٨٢, ٧٨٣.

For more details, refer to the exegesis of the holy verse involved in the following reference books of *tafsir*: (١) Al-Tabari (d. ٣١٠ AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (٢) Al-Jassass (d. ٣٧٠ AH), *Ahkam al-Qur'an*. (٣) Al-Wahidi (d. ٤٦٨ AH), *Asbaab al-Nuzoul*. (٤) Ibn al-Jawzi (d. ٥٩٧ AH), *Zaad al-Maseer*. (٥) Al-Qurtubi (d. ٦٧١ AH), *al-Jami' li-Ahkam al-Qur'an*. (٦) Ibn Katheer (d. ٧٧٤ AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (٧) Al-Tha'aalibi (d. ٨٢٥ AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (٨) Al-Suyouti (d. ٩١١ AH), *al-Durr al-Manthour*. (٩) Al-Shawkani (d. ١٢٥٠ AH), *Fath al-Qadeer*. (١٠) Al-Ayyashi (d. ٣٢٠ AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (١١) Al-Qummi (d. ٣٢٩ AH), *Book of Tafsir*. (١٢) Furt al-Kufi (d. ٣٥٢ AH), *Book of Tafsir*; in the margin of the exegesis of verse ٤:٥٩. (١٣) Al-Tabrisi (d. ٥٦٠ AH), *Majma' al-Bayan*, as well as many other reference books of Hadith and Tafsir.

THE EVENT OF TAFF

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRAGEDY OF KARBALA'

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ 3:

إِنِّي تَارِكٌ فِيكُمُ الثَّقَلَيْنِ: كِتَابَ اللهِ وَعِتْرَتِي أَهْلَ بَيْتِي، مَا إِنْ تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدِي أَبَداً، وَإِنَّهُمَا لَنْ يَفْتَرِقَا حَتَّى يَرِدَا عَلَيَّ الْحَوْضَ.

The Messenger of Allah (¥) said:

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

Some of its references:

Al-°¡kim an-Naysh¡b£r¢, *Al-Mustadrak `al¡ al-¯a¦¢¦ayn* (Beirut), vol. ٣, pp. ١٠٩-١١٠, ١٤٨, ٥٣٣

Muslim, *Al-¯a¦¢¦*, (English translation), book ٣١, ¦*ad¢ths* ٥٩٢٠-٣

At-Tirmidh¢, *Al-¯a¦¢¦*, vol. ٥, pp. ٦٢١-٢, ¦*ad¢ths* ٣٧٨٦, ٣٧٨٨; vol. ٢, p. ٢١٩

An-Nass¡'¢, *Kha¥¡'i¥ 'Al¢ ibn Ab¢ ±¡lib*, ¦*ad¢th* ٧٩

A¦mad ibn °anbal, *Al-Musnad*, vol. ٣, pp. ١٤, ١٧, ٢٦; vol. ٣, pp. ٢٦, ٥٩; vol. ٤, p. ٣٧١; vol. ٥, pp. ١٨١-١٨٢, ١٨٩-١٩٠

Ibn al-Ath¢r, *J¡mi` al-U¥£l*, vol. ١, p. ٢٧٧

Ibn Kath¢r, *Al-Bid¡yah wa'n-Nih¡yah*, vol. ٥, p. ٢٠٩

Ibn Kath¢r, *Tafs¢r al-Qur'¡n al-`A¨¢m*, vol. ٦, p. ١٩٩

N¡¥ir ad-D¢n al-Alban¢, *Silsilat al-A¦¡d¢th a¥-¥a¦¢¦ah* (Kuwait: Ad-Dar as-Salafiyyah), vol. ٤, pp. ٣٥٥-٣٥٨

THE EVENT OF ±AFF

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRAGEDY OF KARBAL[a']

AB¬ MIKHNAF
L¬± BIN YA°Y[a] AL-AZD« AL-GH[a]MID«
AL-K¬F«

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The Event of ±aff: The Earliest Historical Account of the Tragedy of Karbal¡'

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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

To assist the seekers of truth, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly has endeavored to present a new phase of these arguments contained in the studies and translations of the works of contemporary Shī'ah

writers and those who have embraced this sublime school of thought through divine blessing.

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

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

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

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

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

Cultural Affairs Department

Ahl al-Bayt ('a) World Assembly

PREAMBLE

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

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

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

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

Because of the importance of this great event, [different] researchers have written numerous books on the martyrdom (maqtal) of the lord of the martyrs (‘a). The first of these researchers is L£§ bin Ya¦y¡ bin Sa’¢d, [famously known as] Ab£ Mikhnaf. He compiled a book in this regard, recounting the events that occurred to al-°usain, his children, brothers and companions (‘a). Shaikh al-Najj¡sh¢ describes him in his Rij¡l as “The master of the narrators in K£fah and a leading figure among them.” [1]

[1] See Introduction for his biography.

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

The Institute of Islamic Publications Under
The Association of the Instructors
(j¡mi'ah al-mudarris¢n)
The Holy City of Qum

INTRODUCTION

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

At the rise of Islam, history was limited among the Arabs to those who knew the Arab lineage and the events of the days of ignorance (*j¡hiliyyah*) by heart. These people were known as the 'most learned' ones.[١]

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

"Among the people is he who buys diversionary talk that he may lead [people] astray from Allah's way, without any knowledge, and he takes it in derision. For such there is a humiliating punishment. And when Our signs are recited to him he turns away disdainfully as if he had not heard them

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[١] Al-Kulain¢ reports in *al-K¡f¢* (vol.١, pg.٣٢) through his chain of transmission from Imam M£s¡ bin Ja'far ('a) who said: "[one day] the Messenger of Allah (¥) entered the mosque and saw a group of people gathered around someone, upon which he asked: 'Who is this?' 'A learned one' he was told. He further enquired: 'And who is a learned person?' They replied: 'The most knowledgeable of people about the Arab lineage and their affairs, the events of the pre-Islamic period and Arab poetry.' Imam M£s¡ bin Ja'far ('a) says that here the Prophet (¥) remarked: 'This is a kind of knowledge which neither harms one who is ignorant of it, nor does it benefit one who knows it.' The Prophet (¥) then went on to say: 'True knowledge is of three kinds: a concrete verse (*¡yatun mu¦kamah*), a righteous precept (*far¢¤atun '¡dilah*) and an established tradition (*sunnatun q¡imah*). All else is superfluous."

[at all], as if there were a deafness in his hears. So inform him of a painful punishment."[١]

Another one among those considered as learned was a man from Mad¢nah called Suwaid bin al-¯¡mit who used to take stories of the past prophets from the Jews. After the advent of the Holy Prophet (¥) he had gone to Makkah either for ¦*ajj* or *'umrah*. There he heard of the Prophet's mission and went to see him. The Holy Prophet (¥) invited him to Allah upon which Suwaid said: "I have with me the code of Luqm¡n." The Prophet (¥) asked him to show it to him and he did that. The Prophet (¥) then said: "Indeed this is a fine speech, but that which I have is better than this; the Qur'an revealed onto me by Allah; a guidance and a light."[٢]

Among such narrations are the pre-Islamic reports about the prophets and the past nations related by *al-±abar¢* and Mu¦ammad bin Is¦¡q, whose chains of transmission end up with the phrase: 'some of the learned among the Jews'.

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

After the demise of the Prophet (¥) a group of those who had submitted to him during his lifetime turned back from Islam. This prompted his companions to fight the apostates. As a

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[١] Qur'an, ٣١:٦-٧; *Tafs¢r al-Qumi* (٢:١٦١; Najaf edition) and *Tafs¢r Ibn 'Abb¡s* (pg.٣٤٤; Egypt edition).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٢:٣٥٣; D¡r al-Ma'¡rif publications) and *T¡r¢kh al-Ya'q£b¢* (٢:٣٠; Najaf edition).

result, more than three hundred companions[١] were killed in the battle of Yam¡mah alone. Following this, they felt the need for recording the traditions (¦*ad¢th*).

However, there was a difference of opinion in this regard. Some of the companions held that it was allowed to record the ¦ad¢th, while others advocated its prohibition. The idea of prohibition gained more ground because of the ban on the recording of the ¦ad¢th by the first[٢], the second[٣] and the third[٤] caliphs. The effect of such a prohibition and dislike continued up until the second century H when the Muslims unanimously agreed on the legitimacy of recording the ¦ad¢th.

The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib (‘a), always considered the recording of ¦ad¢th as legal. The first thing he recorded was the Book of Allah, the Almighty. Immediately after the Prophet’s burial, he had vowed not to put on his cloak, except for prayers, until after he has collected the Holy Qur’an. He consequently collected it according to its chronological order, also pointing out the general (*‘¡mm*) and the restricted (*kh¡¥¥*) verses of it; the absolute (*mu§laq*) and the qualified (*muqayyad*); the clear (*mubayyan*) and the unclear (*mujmal*); the concrete (*mu¦kam*) and the ambiguous (*mutash¡bih*); and the abrogating (*n¡sikh*) and the abrogated (*mans£kh*). He also made distinct the verses after whose recital prostration becomes obligatory from those which are otherwise. There was also a mention of the manners and norms

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٣:٢٦٩).
[٢] *Tadhkirah al-°uff¡¨* (١:٣&٥).
[٣] *Tadhkirah al-°uff¡¨* (١:٣،٤&٧); *al-Bukh¡r¢* (vol.٦, b¡b al-ist¢dh¡n) and *±abaq¡t of Ibn Sa’d* (٢:٢٠٦).
[٤] *Musnad A¦mad* (١:٣٦٣). Regarding this see also *al-Sunnah qabl al-Tadw¢n*.

that have appeared in it, together with the cases of revelation (*sha'n al-nuz£l*). He had also clarified in this collection all that which might have seemed difficult in some respect.

He also composed a work on blood money after the collection of the Holy Qur'an which was then known as '¯a¦¢fah'. Ibn Sa'd has brought this work at the end of his book famously known as *al-J¡mi'*. Al-Bukh¡r¢ also narrates from this particular work in a number of places in his ¯a¦¢¦, for instance in the beginning of the first volume of *Kit¡b al-'Ilm* (Book of Knowledge).

A group of his adherents at that time followed him in collecting the ¦ad¢th. Among them was Ab£ R¡fi' Ibr¡him al-Qibt¢ and his two sons: 'Al¢ and 'Ubaidullah. 'Ubaidullah has a book in which he lists those who participated in the battles of Jamal, ¯iff¢n and Nahraw¡n.[١] Hence, this is the first book in history to be written by a follower of Imam 'Al¢ ('a).

Similarly, the Sh¢'ah have preceded the rest of the Muslims in historiography. The works of Mu¦ammad bin al-S¡ib al-Kalb¢ (d.١٤٦ H), Ab£ Mikhnaf L£§ (d.١٥٨ H), Hish¡m al-Kalb¢ (d.٢٠٦ H) and others are all among the sources of Islamic history.[٢]

Karbal¡'

It was in Karbal¡' that the event made perpetual by history took place; the event which terminated the life of the great Imam, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (¥) and the lord of

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[١] *Rij¡l al-Najj¡sh¢* (pg.١-٥; India edition) and *al-Fihrist* (pg.١٢٢; Najaf edition).

[٢] See *Mu'allif¢ al-Sh¢'ah f¢ al-Islam, al-Sh¢'ah wa Fun£n al-Islam, Ta's¢s al-Sh¢'ah li 'Ul£m al-Islam* (pg.٩١-٢٨٧), *A'y¡n al-Sh¢'ah* (١:٨-١٤٨) and *al-Ghad¢r* (٦:٢٩٠-٢٩٧).

the martyrs, Ab£ ‘Abdillah al-°usain (‘a).

This tragic event that took place in ٦١ H, similar to the narrations of the battles in the early period of Islam, was passed from mouth to mouth from those who had either witnessed the battle itself, or the events before or after it. It was not until the second century H when Ab£ Mikhnaf L£§ bin Ya¦y¡ bin Sa’¢d bin Mikhnaf bin Sal¢m al-Azd¢ al-Gh¡mid¢ al-K£f¢[١] undertook the collection of these oral accounts in a book which he named Kit¡b Maqtal al-°usain (‘a) as it has appeared in the list of his works. This is the first book ever to be written on the history of this great event.

Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad bin al-S¡ib al-Kalb¢ al-K£f¢ al-Nass¡bah[٢] was another personality from K£fah who studied the reports on Islamic history under the tutelage of Ab£ Mikhnaf. Hish¡m used to read the books of Ab£ Mikhnaf to him and then make a copy from them. He would then relate the content of his writings on the authority of his master saying: ‘Ab£ Mikhnaf L£§ bin Ya¦y¡ al-Azd¢ narrated to me from…’

Among the works that Hish¡m reproduced from his master, read onto him and related from him was a book on the Maqtal (martyrdom) of al-°usain (‘a) as has been recorded in the list of his works. However, Hish¡m did not limit himself in his book on the Maqtal of al-°usain (‘a) only to the narrations of his master Ab£ Mikhnaf, but he also included in it narrations from his other master in history named ‘Aw¡nah bin al-°akam (d.١٥٨ H).

It is, however, evident for anyone who refers to the historical

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[١] *Faw¡t al-Wafay¡t* (٢:١٤٠) and *al-A’l¡m* of al-Zarqal¢ (٣:٨٢١)
[٢] *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٤:٢٤; Egypt edition).

works of the early period of Islam that all other historians have entirely depended on their reports on these two earlier outstanding scholars, especially on Ab£ Mikhnaf as he was nearer in time to the events and so used to relate them in a detailed and precise manner.

Many historians have incorporated in their historical writings an abridged version of his works. This shows that his works were existent during their times. Some of these historians are: Mu¦ammad bin ‘Umar al-W¡qid¢ (d.٢٠٧ H); al-±abar¢ (d.٣١٠ H); Ibn Qu§aibah (d.٣٢٢ H) in his book al-Im¡mah wa al-Siy¡sah; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andulus¢ (d.٣٢٨ H) in al-‘Aqd al-Far¢d when he discusses the thaq¢fah; ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain al-Mas’£d¢ (d.٣٤٥ H) when he mentions ‘Urwah bin al-Zubair’s apology on behalf of his brother, ‘Abd al-Allah, for threatening the Banu H¡shim with fire as they refused to pay allegiance to the latter; Shaikh al-Muf¢d (d.٤١٣ H) in al-Irsh¡d when discussing the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a), and in al-Nu¥rah f¢ °arb al-Ba¥rah; al-Shahrist¡n¢ (d.٥٤٨ H) in al-Milal wa al-Ni¦al when mentioning the sect of Na¨¡miyyah; Kha§¢b al-Khw¡razm¢ (d.٥٦٨ H) in his work on the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a); Ibn al-Ath¢r al-Jazr¢ (d.٦٣٠ H) in al-K¡mil f¢ al-T¡r¢kh; and Sib§ al-Jawz¢ (d.٦٥٤ H) in Tadhkirah al-Khaw¡¥¥.

In our observation, the last among the historians to have cited Ab£ Mikhnaf, without any reference to other book or narrator, which apparently indicates that he must have been quoting directly from his work, is Ab£ al-Fid¡’ (d.٧٣٢ H) in his T¡r¢kh.

Presently, we do not know of any of the existing works of Ab£ Mikhnaf in general, nor of his work on Maqtal in particular. Apparently all these works are lost and only some

scattered reports from them have remained in the works of historians previously cited.

The oldest text known to us [today] from among those who have been quoting in their works the narrations of Hish¡m al-Kalb¢ from Ab£ Mikhnaf, is the T¡r¢kh of Ab£ Ja'far Mu¦ammad bin Jar¢r al-±abar¢ (d.٣١٠ H). He did not, however, compose an independent work on these narrations, rather he just mentions the event of Karbal¡' beside the events of the year ٦٠ and ٦١ H.[١]

Moreover, he does not narrate them directly from Hish¡m, instead he relates them from his works and in order to strengthen his case he would say 'I narrate this from Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad', but he does not specify who related to him from Hish¡m. What leads us to believe that ±abar¢ was not a contemporary of Hish¡m and therefore could not have heard him personally, is the comparison between the year ±abar¢ was born (b.٢٢٤ H) and the year in which al-Kalb¢ passed away (d.٢٠٦ H). Besides that, ±abar¢ has clearly asserted to have been narrating from the works of Hish¡m when mentioning the event of °arrah where he says: "This is how I have found it in my book…"[٢]

Another earliest text, after al-±abar¢, which directly draws reports from Hish¡m al-Kalb¢'s work, is Kit¡b al-Irsh¡d of

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٣٨-٤٦٧).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٨٧): Among the other things that lead us to this is also the fact that ±abar¢ names some of the personalities in a different way. This implies that he did not hear these names [directly] from their narrators. For instance, in the case of Muslim bin al-Musayyab, he mentions him by this name in two places [of his book], and in another two places he calls him as Silm bin al-Musayyab, whereas both refer to the same person as it appears in the report about Mukht¡r.

Shaikh al-Muf¢d (d.٤١٣ H). He says before relating the reports of Karbal¡' that: "[This is] a selection of the reports…which al-Kalb¢ has narrated…"[١]

After that comes Tadhkirat al-Ummah bi Kha¥¡'is al-A'immah of Sib§ ibn al-Jawz¢ (d.٦٥٤ H). He clearly states to have narrated many of his reports about Imam al-°usain ('a) from Hish¡m al-Kalb¢.

Comparing the reports of al-±abar¢ with those of al-Muf¢d and Ibn al-Jawz¢, we find many similarities between these reports except in case of some letters or words (such as w¡w in the place of f¡' or vice versa), as the reader shall see in the course of this work.

Ab£ Mikhnaf

The books of history do not mention his birthdate. But Shaikh al-±£s¢ (r), quoting from al-Kashh¢ (r), places [Ab£ Mikhnaf] in his *Rij¡l* in the category of those who have narrated from the Commander of the Faithful, 'Al¢ ('a). Al-±£s¢ then says: "In my opinion, this is not correct; for L£§ bin Ya¦y¡ did not meet Am¢r al-Mu'min¢n ('a), rather his father, Ya¦y¡, was among his companions."[٢] However, al-±£s¢ has not mentioned his father, Ya¦y¡, among the companions of 'Al¢ ('a) either, instead he considers his grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sal¢m al-Azd¢, to be among his companions and says: "[He was the son of 'ªishah's aunt. He was an Arab, from K£fah."[٣]

It should be noted, however, that al-±£s¢ quoted the above piece of information from al-Kashh¢'s work, and not directly

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[١] *Kit¡b al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٠; Najaf edition).
[٢] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٥٧; Najaf edition).
[٣] Ibid, pg.٥٨.

from him; as al-Kashh¢ lived in the ٣rd century H, while al-±£s¢ was born in ٣٨٥ H. This work of al-Kashh¢ was titled *Ma'rifat al-N¡qil¢n 'an al-A'immah al-¯¡diq¢n*, as reported by Ibn Shahr¡sh£b in *Ma'¡lim al-'Ulam¡'*.[١] This book is now lost, and, based on what Sayyid bin ±¡w£s has stated in *Faraj al-Mahm£m*, only that part of it has remained which was selected by Shaikh al-±£s¢ in the year ٤٥٦ H.[٢] [But] what al-±£s¢ has quoted from al-Kashh¢ that Ab£ Mikhnaf was among the companions of 'Al¢ ('a), is not found in this selection of al-±£s¢.

In his *Rij¡l*, al-±£s¢ has mentioned Ab£ Mikhnaf to be one of the companions of Imam al-°asan ('a)[٣], and then among the companions of Imam al-°usain ('a)[٤] and thereafter he mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-¯¡diq ('a).[٥] [However,] he has neither mentioned him to be among the companions of Imam 'Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a), nor among those of Imam al-B¡qir ('a).

Al-±£s¢ has quoted al-Kashh¢'s assertion in his [another] work called *al-Fihrist* also. There he says: "The correct view is that his father, [Ya¦y¡], was among the companions of 'Al¢ ('a), though the former did not meet him."[٦] He then goes on to mention his chain of narration from Ab£ Mikhnaf through Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad bin al-S¡'ib al-Kalb¢ and Na¥r bin Muz¡¦im al-Minqar¢.

Al-Najj¡sh¢ mentions Ab£ Mikhnaf in his *Rij¡l* and says:

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١ *Ma'¡lim al-'Ulam¡'* (pg.١٥٢; Najaf edition).
٢ *Faraj al-Mahm£m* (pg.١٣٠; Najaf edition).
٣ *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٧٠).
٤ Ibid, pg.٧٩.
٥ Ibid, pg.٢٧٩.
٦ *Al-Fihrist* of Shaikh al-±£s¢ (pg.١٥٥; Najaf edition).

"L£§ bin Ya¦y¡ bin Sa'¢d bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaim[١] al-Azd¢ al-Gh¡mid¢, [known as] Ab£ Mikhnaf, the master of the narrators in K£fah and the most prominent of them. He was reliable in his narrations. He has narrated [reports] from Ja'far bin Mu¦ammad ('a). It is said that he has narrated from Ab£ Ja'far [al-B¡qir ('a)] also, which is not correct."[٢] Al-Najj¡sh¢ then lists his works, among them being the book on the *maqtal* of al-°usain ('a). He then mentions his [own] chain of narration from Ab£ Mikhnaf through Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad bin al-S¡'ib al-Kalb¢.

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

The Family of Ab£ Mikhnaf as Reported by ±abar¢

Regarding the companions (*¥a¦¡bah*) who passed away in the year ٨٠ H, ±abar¢ writes in his book *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*: "[Among them was] Mikhnaf bin Sula¢m bin al-°¡rith… Ibn Gh¡mid bin al-Azd… Mikhnaf professed Islam and accompanied the Prophet (¥). He was the chief of the house of Azd in K£fah and he had three brothers: 'Abd Shams -who was killed in the battle of Al-Nukhailah, ¯aq'ab and 'Abdullah -both of whom were killed in the battle of Jamal. Lut bin Ya¦y¡ bin Sa'¢d bin Mikhnaf bin Sula¢m was among the descendents of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, from whom people

[١] It is strange that he names him as such and then attributes to him the book called *Akhb¡r ªl Mikhnaf bin Sulaim*! This is likely to have been the error of the copyist.
[٢] *Rij¡l a-Najj¡sh¢* (pg.٢٢٤; India lithographic edition).

used to narrate historical events.[١]

±abar¢ mentions [Mikhnaf bin Sulaim] in the reports of the battle of Ba¥rah [i.e.Jamal], but not through Ab£ Mikhnaf. He says: "Mikhnaf bin Sulaim al-Azd¢ was in command of [the tribes of] Baj¢lah, Anm¡r, Khath'am and Azd."[٢]

There is no indication in the [above] two citations that Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was killed in the battle of Jamal. However, ±abar¢ has related another report about the battle of Jamal from Ab£ Mikhnaf, who related from his uncle, Mu¦ammad bin Mikhnaf, saying: "A number of elders of the tribe, all of whom were present in the battle of Jamal, have related to me that: the standard of the Azd from K£fah was with Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. He was killed on that day, so the standard was held by two of his family members, ¯aq'ab and his brother 'Abdullah bin Sulaim, who were also killed by the people."[٣]

This report is in agreement with what ±abar¢ has mentioned in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* regarding the death of the two brothers of Mikhnaf, ¯aq'ab and 'Abdullah. Perhaps he narrated it from his *T¡r¢kh*. However, it differs from what has appeared in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* on the death of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim; for according to the [above] report, he was killed in Jamal, and this contradicts what ±abar¢ has related [in *al-Dhayl*] -in the reports of [the battle of] ¯iff¢n- on the authority of al-Kalb¢ from Ab£ Mikhnaf himself. Ab£ Mikhnaf says: "My father, Ya¦y¡ bin Sa'¢d, related to me from his uncle, Mu¦ammad bin Mikhnaf who said: 'I was with

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[١] *Al-Ma§b£' ma'a al-T¡r¢kh* (١٣:٣٦; D¡r al-Q¡m£s Publications and ١١:٥٤٧; D¡r Suwaid¡n Publications).
[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٤:٥٠٠; D¡r al-Ma'¡rif Publications).
[٣] Ibid, (٤:٥٠٠).

my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on that day [i.e. in ¯iff¢n] and I was only seventeen years old…"[١]

±abar¢ also reports from al-Kalb¢ who said: "°¡rith bin °a¥¢rah al-Azd¢ related to me from some elders of [the tribe of] Namir and Azd that Mikhnaf [disliked] the invitation from the [fellow tribe of] Azd in Sh¡m…"[٢]

He also related from al-Mad¡in¢ (d. ٢٢٥) and 'Aw¡nah bin al-°akam (d. ١٥٨) -who was narrating through his chain of narration from an elder of the Ban£ Faz¡rah: "Mu'¡wiyah dispatched Nu'm¡n bin Bash¢r [al-An¥¡r¢] with two thousand men. They raided 'Ain al-Tamr while the governer of 'Al¢, [M¡lik bin Ka'b] al-Ar¦ab¢, was in the city with three hundred soldiers. So he wrote to 'Al¢ ('a) asking him for help." [M¡lik] also wrote to Mikhnaf bin Sulaim who was nearer, requesting him for assistance. So Mikhnaf sent to him his son, 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n, with fifty other men and they joined M¡lik and his followers… When the Syrians saw them, they thought that M¡lik has a [good] support, so they felt defeated and fled."[٣]

All these narrations clearly attest to the fact that Ab£ Mikhnaf's [great] grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, was alive after the battle Jamal, rather even after the battle of ¯iff¢n; as the raids of Mu'¡wiyah took place in the year ٣٩ H, that is after the battle of ¯iff¢n (٣٨ H). In contrary, the narration [that states that he was killed in Jamal] is a lone report. However, [it seems that] ±abar¢ did not realize this fact and therefore did not comment on this, though he has clearly stated in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* that Mikhnaf lived till the year

[١] Ibid, (٤:٥٤٢).
[٢] Ibid, (٥:٢٦).
[٣] Ibid, (٥:١٣٣).

٨٠ H.[١]

The Family of Ab£ Mikhnaf as Reported by Na¥r bin Muz¡¦im al-Minqar¢

Apart from *al-±abar¢*, there are other sources as well in which we find [evidences] that show that Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was alive [even] after the battles of Jamal and ¯iff¢n. Na¥r bin Muz¡¦im al-Minqar¢ (d.٢١٢ H) relates in his book *Waq'at ¯iff¢n* on the authority of Ya¦y¡ bin Sa'¢d from Mu¦ammad bin Mikhnaf who said: "'Al¢ ('a) looked at my father –after his return from Ba¥rah– and said: '…but Mikhnaf bin Sulaim and his people did not lag behind…'"[٢]

[Na¥r] also says: "Our companions have said: ''[Al¢ ('a)] appointed Mikhnaf bin Sulaim as the governor of I¥fah¡n and Hamad¡n and dismissed from them Jar¢r bin 'Abdullah al-Bajal¢…"[٣]

He also reports: "When ['Al¢ ('a)] wanted to advance towards Sh¡m, he wrote [a letter] to [all] his governers. The letter that he sent to Mikhnaf was written by 'Ubaidullah bin Ab¢ R¡fi' [in the year ٣٧ H]. Mikhnaf put in his position two men from his kinsmen and set out for ¯iff¢n, where he fought alongside 'Al¢ ['a]."[٤]

[In another report] he says: "Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was in charge of the Azd, Baj¢lah, the An¥¡r and Khuz¡'ah";[٥] and also that: "[Mikhnaf] was accompanying 'Al¢ ('a) in

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[١] *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (١١:٥٤٧; D¡r Suwaid¡n Publications), quoting from *al-±abar¢*.
[٢] *Waq'at ¯iff¢n* (pg.٨; al-Madan¢ Publications).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.١١).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.١٠٤).
[٥] Ibid, (pg.١١٧).

Babylon."[١]

He narrates from the elders of Azd that: "When the men of Azd in Iraq were invited by the members of Azd in Sh¡m, Mikhnaf disliked the [invitation] and it was unbearable for him. So he addressed [his people], expressing to them his aversion and dislike."[٢]

We have much to derive from the narration of Ab£ Mikhnaf from his father's uncle, Mu¦ammad bin Mikhnaf, in which he says: "I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on the day [of ¯iff¢n] while I was seventeen years old."[٣]

It is evident from this report that Sa'¢d was younger than his brother, Mu¦ammad, and for this [very] reason he could not participate in [the battle of] ¯iff¢n. Therefore, he was relating the news about ¯iff¢n from his brother, Mu¦ammad. The [above] report also implies that Mu¦ammad bin Mikhnaf was born in the year ٢٠ H. Based on this, his brother Sa'¢d -the grandfather of L£§- must have been born around this [time]. Accordingly, [it is] Sa'¢d, the grandfather of L£§, [who] should be among the companions of 'Al¢ ('a) and not even his father, Ya¦y¡.

Thus, we can assume, at the least, that Sa'¢d married and fathered a child, Ya¦y¡, when he was twenty years of age, that is in the year ٤٠ H.[٤] In this case, there is, definitely, no

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[١] Ibid, (pg.١٣٥).

[٢] Ibid, (pg.٢٦٢). According to *Taqr¢b al-Tahdh¢b*: "He was martyred with the followers of Taww¡b¢n at 'Ain al-Wardah in ٦٤ H!" which is [absolutely] incorrect.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٤:٢٤٦).

[٤] In this case, how can Ya¦y¡, the father of Ab£ Mikhnaf, be among the companions of 'Al¢ ('a) as claimed by Shaikh al-±£s¢ in two of his books?! Al-F¡¤il al-°¡'ir¢ pointed out to this fact before us in his book *Muntaha al-Maq¡l*. He proves [in this book] that Ab£

question of the existence of L£§ yet, nor of considering Ya¦y¡ to be among the companions of ‘Al¢ (‘a).

Let us take it for granted [again] that Ya¦y¡ also married and fathered a child, L£§ at the age of twenty, that is in the year ٦٠ H. This is the least we can assume. [Now] let us presume also that [L£§] began to listen to the reports [from his masters] when he was twenty, i.e. in the year ٨٠ H, and he managed to compile his work within a period of twenty years or so, meaning that he must have finished compiling the book toward the end of the first century H.

Mikhnaf never met Am¢r al-Mu’min¢n (‘a). He [also] regards the opinion of al-±£s¢ that Ya¦y¡ -the father of L£§- met ‘Al¢ (‘a), as weak; for it was his father’s grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, who was among the companions of ‘Al¢ (‘a), as it has been stated by al-±£s¢ himself and others. Al-°¡ir¢ further says: “This [i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was among the companions of ‘Al¢ (‘a)] should prove for al-±£s¢ that L£§ did not see [‘Al¢ (‘a)], as it also weakens the possibility of his father, Ya¦y¡, to have met [‘Al¢ (‘a)].” That Ab£ Mikhnaf should be among the companions of Am¢r al-Mu’min¢n (‘a) -as mentioned by al-Kashh¢- is, therefore, impossible. Likewise, there is no room for Shaikh al-Ghif¡r¢’s argument, which he has put forward in the introduction of his *Maqtal*, for there being a possibility of Ab£ Mikhnaf to have met even his father’s grandfather, i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. This is by assuming that L£§ was then fifteen years old, while his father, Ya¦y¡, was thirty-five and his grandfather Sa’¢d, fifty-five and his great grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, seventy-five. But this [assumption] cannot be correct if we take into consideration the report of Ab£ Mikhnaf from his father’s uncle, Mu¦ammad bin Mikhnaf, that the latter was seventeen years old [during] the battle of ¯iff¢n, and that his brother, Sa’¢d, was younger than him. It was for this [very] reason that [Ab£ Mikhnaf] relates the report from [Sa’¢d’s] brother, Mu¦ammad, [and not from Sa’¢d himself]. Based on this, the age of Sa’¢d must have, then, been about fifteen years and not fifty-five [as it has appeared in al-Ghif¡ri’s argument].

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

[Instead] there is an indication that Ab£ Mikhnaf compiled this work of his around the year ١٣٠ H. For in his report about the arrival of Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l in K£fah, [he says that Muslim] was residing in the house of Mukht¡r bin Ab¢ ‘Ubaid al-Thaqaf¢. He then says: “…This is the house which is known today as the house of Muslim bin Musayyab.” Since Ibn Musayyab was, in the year ١٢٩ H, the governer of Ibn ‘Umar in Shiraz, as reported in *al-±abar¢* (٧:٣٧٢), [we conclude that the above book must have been compiled around this time]. [In fact,] this was the time when the power of the Umayyads had become weak and the Ban£ ‘Abb¡s were inviting people towards Imam al-Ri¤¡ (‘a), asking [them] to rise and revenge for the blood of al-°usain (‘a) and his household.

And who knows, may be the adherents of the Ban£ ‘Abb¡s had asked Ab£ Mikhnaf to compile the reports on the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) inorder to back their call. But after they had achieved their motives, they deserted him and his work as they deserted the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) after that and even fought against them.

The Works of Ab£ Mikhnaf

Shaikh al-Najj¡sh¢ has mentioned the following books as

belonging to Ab£ Mikhnaf:

Kit¡b al-Magh¡z¢, Kit¡b al-Riddah, Kit¡b Fut£¦ al-Isl¡m, Kit¡b Fut£¦ al-'Ir¡q, Kit¡b Fut£¦ Khur¡s¡n, Kit¡b al-Sh£r¡, Kit¡b Qatl 'Uthm¡n, Kit¡b al-Jamal, Kit¡b ¯iff¢n, Kit¡b al-°akamain, Kit¡b al-Nahraw¡n, Kit¡b al-Gh¡r¡t, Kit¡b Akhb¡r Mu¦ammad bin Ab¢ Bakr, Kit¡b Maqtal Mu¦ammad bin Ab¢ Bakr, Kit¡b Maqtal Am¢r al-Mu'min¢n ('a), Kit¡b Akhb¡r Ziy¡d, Kit¡b Maqtal °ujr bin 'Adiyy, Kit¡b Maqtal al-°asan ('a), Kit¡b Maqtal al-°usain ('a), Kit¡b Akhb¡r al-Mukht¡r, Kit¡b Akhb¡r Ibn al-°anafiyyah, Kit¡b Akhb¡r al-°ajj¡j bin Y£suf al-Thaqaf¢, Kit¡b Akhb¡r Y£suf bin 'Umair, Kit¡b Akhb¡r Shab¢b al-Kh¡rijiyy, Kit¡b Akhb¡r Mu§arraf bin Mugh¢rah bin Shu'bah, Kit¡b Akhb¡r al-°uraith bin al-Asad¢ al-N¡j¢ and Kit¡b Akhb¡r ªl Mikhnaf bin Sulaim.

Al-Najj¡sh¢ then mentions his link to these works and says: "…from his student Hish¡m al-Kalb¢.[١]

Shaikh al-±£s¢ ascribes to him some of the books mentioned above in his *al-Fihrist* and adds: "He has [also] a book called *Kit¡b Khu§bah al-Zahr¡' ('a)*." He then states his link to these works.[٢]

Ibn al-Nad¢m has listed to his credit some of these works in *al-Fihrist*, including [his work on] the *maqtal* of al-°usain ('a).

It is noticeable from the list of his works that Ab£ Mikhnaf directed much of his efforts in compiling the reports about the Sh¢'ah in general, and those about K£fah in particular. There does not appear, in the above list, any book on reports about the Ban£ Umayyah or the Ban£ Marw¡n. Nor is there

[١] *Rij¡l al-Najj¡sh¢* (pg.٢٢٤; India lithographic edition).
[٢] *Al-Fihrist* of al-±£s¢ (pg.١٥٥; Najaf edition).

any book on the revolt of Ab£ Muslim al-Khur¡s¡n¢ or the Abbasid rule. This is taking into consideration that he passed away twenty five years after all these events, in the year ١٥٨ H. Not only this, but his last book, according to the list of his works, was the one on °ajj¡j bin Y£suf al-±haqaf¢ whose reports ended by his death in ٩٥ H.

However, in his *T¡r¢kh* ±abar¢ relates reports from [Ab£ Mikhnaf] up until the end of the rule of the Umayyads, and to be specific, till the events of the year ١٣٢ H.[١]

It is evident from his reports which are scattered in several of his books, especially in *al-±abar¢*, that [Ab£ Mikhnaf] often narrates [reports] either from his father, or uncle, or one of his cousins, or from his elders within the tribe of Azd in K£fah. This leads us to the fact that it was the abundance of reports within his tribe that prompted him to gather and compile books from them. This is why we find him limiting himself to the reports of the people of K£fah, to the extent that he was considered the most learned of them in this regard.

His Faith (*madhhab*) and Reliability (*with¡qah*)

It is [quite] obvious from his reports generally that he has not directly narrated, even a single report, from Imam Zain al-‘ªbid¢n (‘a) (d.٩٥ H) nor from Imam al-B¡qir (‘a) (d.١١٥ H). Rather, he has narrated from Imam al-B¡qir (‘a) through one person[٢] and from Imam ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) through two

[١] Events about the revolt of Mu¦ammad bin Kh¡lid in K£fah in ١٣٢ H. See: *al-±abar¢* (٧:٤١٧).

[٢] See the report on the martyrdom of the infant of al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٤٤٨).

links.[١] He has a few direct reports from Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a) (d.١٤٨ H).[٢]

The above facts prove what al-Najj¡sh¢ said: “It is said that he related [reports] from Ab£ Ja’far (‘a), but it is not correct.”[٣] [Ab£ Mikhnaf] has not narrated from Imam M£s¡ bin Ja’far al-K¡¨im (‘a), though he lived after Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a) and was a contemporary of al-K¡¨im (‘a) for ten years. For this very reason no one has counted him to be among the companions of al-K¡¨im (‘a).

All this may lead us to the fact that [Ab£ Mikhnaf] was not a Sh¢‘ah in the technical sense of the word and whom the Ahl al-Sunnah term as the *r¡fi¤¢*, nor was he among the companions of the Aimmah (‘a) as such. Rather, he was a Sh¢‘ah in the sense that he had personal inclinations [towards them] like most of the other people in K£fah, without having rejected the faith of the majority of the Muslims at that time.

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

[Regarding the reliability of Ab£ Mikhnaf,] al-Dhahab¢ says:

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[١] See the narration about the night of ‘ash£r¡’ (٥:٤٨٨).
[٢] See the report on the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٤٥٣).
[٣] *Rij¡l al-Najj¡sh¢* (pg.٢٢٤; India lithographic edition).

"A corrupt and unreliable narrator. Ab£ °¡tim and others have rejected him. According to Ibn Ma'¢n, he is not reliable. He has also said elsewhere that he is of no importance. According to Ibn 'Adiyy, he is a fanatic Sh¢'ah and the narrator of their reports."[١]

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

Ibn Ab¢ al-°ad¢d states this clearly when he says: "Ab£ Mikhnaf is among the narrators (*mu¦add¢th¢n*) and among those who hold that the legitimacy of [the divine] leadership (*im¡mah*) is realized [only] through [the divine] designation. He is not a Sh¢'ah, nor is he counted to be among their outstanding figures."[٢]

The above passage has been quoted by Sayyid al-¯adr in his *Ta's¢s al-Sh¢'ah li 'Ul£m al-Isl¡m*. He then comments on it saying: "I would say: they do not accuse him of something other than *tashayyu'*, which does not, according to their [own] scholars, contradict [his] being reliable. The great Sunn¢ scholars, such as Ab£ Jar¢r al-±abar¢ and Ibn al-Ath¢r, have relied on him. Especially Ab£ Jar¢r who has filled his *T¡r¢kh al-Kab¢r* with the narrations of Ab£ Mikhnaf."[٣]

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[١] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (٣:٤٢٠; Aleppo edition).
[٢] *Ta's¢s al-Sh¢'ah* (pg.٢٣٥; Baghdad edition).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.٢٣٥). He says: "I have counted the number of instances where ±abar¢ has narrated [reports] from Ab£ Mikhnaf. I found them to be around ٤٠٠ instances, as it appears in the index of names in *al-±abar¢* (D¡r al-Ma'¡rif Publications). The last of these narrations is in (٧:٤١٧) which is pertaining to the revolt of

Imam Sharafudd¢n (r) has devoted one whole chapter in *al-Mur¡ja'¡t* in which he enumerates one hundred Shiite personalities found in the Sunni chains of narration (*isn¡d*), but also in their ¯i¦¡¦, specifying the places [where these names have appeared].[١]

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

None of the past Shiite scholars have declared him to be a Sh¢'ah. Al-Najj¡sh¢ (may Allah have mercy on him), who is an expert in this discipline [i.e. in *rij¡l*], describes Ab£ Mikhnaf only by saying: "He was the master (*shaikh*) of the narrators in K£fah", not 'the master of our scholars', and not even 'the master of the narrators of our reports'.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that [on the one hand] Ibn Ab¢ al-°ad¢d clearly states this fact, and [on the other hand] he narrates from him poems (*arj¡z*) which he recited in the battle of Jamal on the succession of 'Al¢ ('a) to the Prophet (¥); for narrating these verses implies only that he was a Sh¢'ah, [in the sense that he was] sympathetic [towards the Ahl al-Bait ('a)], not that he was an adherent of the Im¡miyyah sect. Many Sunni scholars have been [normally] relating the like of these verses too.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that Ab£ Mikhnaf was a

Mu¦ammad bin Kh¡lid in K£fah in ١٣٢ H."

[١] *Al-Mur¡ja'¡t* (ch.١٦-١٧, pg.٥٢-١١٨, D¡r al-¯¡diq publications).

Sh¢‘ah, but there is no evidence that he was, beside this, a follower of the Ahl al-Bait school of thought (*im¡m¢*).

The best of what our scholars have said regarding him are the words of praise from al-Najj¡sh¢. He says: “He was the master of the narrators in K£fah and outstanding amongst them. One could rely on what he narrated.” These words are noteworthy as they establish his probity. This is why his reports have been considered as agreeable (¦*asan*) in [the texts of Rij¡l such as] *al-Waj¢zah, al-Bulghah, al-°¡w¢* and other works.

Hish¡m al-Kalb¢

Shaikh al-Najj¡sh¢ has mentioned him [in his book] together with his lineage. He then says: “He was well versed with the [historical] events, well-known for his righteousness and knowledge. He entirely belonged to our faith (*madhhab*). He has related the famous narration that says: “I was afflicted with a serious illness as a result of which I forgot all I knew. So I went to Ja’far bin Mu¦ammad (‘a) and he made me drink knowledge in a cup and I thus regained my knowledge.’ Ab£ ‘Abdillah [al-¯¡diq (‘a)] used to bring him closer to himself and encourage him. [Hish¡m] has many books.”[١]

Al-Najj¡sh¢ then lists his works and mentions his sources for obtaining them. Among the books he lists is *Maqtal al-°usain*. This is, perhaps, [the collection of] either all the reports or most of them which he narrated from his master Ab£ Mikhnaf.

It is, however, strange that in his selections from *Rij¡l al-Kashh¢*, Shaikh al-±£s¢ quotes al-Kashh¢ as saying: “Al-

[١] *Rij¡l al-Najj¡sh¢* (pg.٣٠٥: India lithographic edition).

Kalb¢ was a Sunn¢, though he had great affection and love [for the Ahl al-Bait (‘a)]. It has also been said that al-Kalb¢ was practicing dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) and he was not a Sunn¢.”[١]

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[١] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٣٩٠, ¦ad¢th no.٧٣٣; Mashad edition). It is evident that, in case of difference of opinion [between scholars of *rij¡l* about a personality], our scholars of *rij¡l* would prefer the view of al-Najj¡sh¢ [over the others]. Shah¢d al-Th¡n¢ [Zain al-D¢n al-‘amil¢] writes in *al-Mas¡lik*: “What is apparent about al-Najj¡sh¢ is that he is the most precise (*a¤ba§*) of the people [i.e. the experts in *rij¡l*] and the most acquainted of them about the status of the narrators.” His grandson says in *Shar¦ al-Istib¥¡r*: “Al-Najj¡sh¢ has precedence over Shaikh [al-±£s¢] in such cases as it is known through experience.” His master, Mu¦aqqiq al-Astar¡b¡d¢ says in *Al-Rij¡l Al-Kab¢r* when mentioning the biography of Sulaim¡n bin ¯¡li¦: “The difference in style between Shaikh [al-±£s¢] and al-Najj¡sh¢ is clear, and perhaps the latter is more accurate.” Sayyid Ba¦r al-‘Ul£m says in *al-Faw¡’id al-Rij¡liyyah*: “A¦mad bin ‘Al¢ al-Najj¡sh¢ was among the reliable masters and the just among the trustworthy. He is one of the main personalities [referred to in matters] of defamation (*jur¦*) and authentication (*ta’d¢l*). He is the most learned in this discipline. Our *‘Ulam¡’* have unanimously relied on him and referred to him for information about [the narrators]. A group of scholars have explicitly stated his precedence [over the others] by virtue of his unique book in this field, and this view seems to be correct.”

Writing on the life of Shaikh al-Kashh¢, al-Najj¡sh¢ says in his book (pg.٣٦٣): “He was an outstanding and reliable personality… and has a book in *rij¡l*. Although he was knowledgeable, his book has many mistakes… He was an associate of al-‘Ayy¡sh¢ and has studied under him. He has narrated [information] from weak [sources as well].” Regarding al-‘Ayyash¢, he says on pg.٢٤٧: “He is reliable and trustworthy. He was among the eminent personalities of the [Sh¢‘ah] sect. He was a Sunn¢ in the beginning, who was then guided [to the Ahl al-Bait school of thought]. He frequently used to narrate from weak [narrators].”

It is, therefore, probable that al-Kashh¢ took this opinion [that al-

Shaikh al-±£s¢ does not mention [Hish¡m] in his *al-Rij¡l* nor in *al-Fihrist*, except as a link to Ab£ Mikhnaf's works.[١] The reason behind this may be that [those of] his works which are related to the history of the Sh¢'ah are, [in fact], what he has narrated from his master Ab£ Mikhnaf [i.e. he just served as a link to what Ab£ Mikhnaf had said]. Otherwise, the rest of his books do not contain what is related to the history of the Sh¢'ah.

Many of the Sunn¢ historians and experts in biographies have attested to his knowledge, [good] memory and to his being a Sh¢'ah. Ibn Khalak¡n says: "He has profusely narrated the historical events [related] to the people and their news. He was the most learned in genealogy. He was among the renowned custodians of the ¦ad¢th (¦*uff¡*¨). He died in the year ٢٠٦ H."[٢]

Ab£ A¦mad bin 'Adiyy writes in *al-K¡mil*: "Al-Kalb¢ has [narrated] sound traditions (*a¦¡d¢th*). His commentary on them is acceptable and through which he is renowned. No one has a longer and more comprehensive exegesis [in this regard] than him. He is given precedence over Muq¡til bin Sulaim¡n since the latter has got vile beliefs. Ibn °ibb¡n has

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Kalb¢ was a Sunn¢ in the beginning] from al-'Ayy¡sh¢, for he said with regard [to Hish¡m] that 'he is a Sunn¢' since he himself [i.e. al-'Ayy¡sh¢] was a Sunn¢ in the beginning. Likewise, he may have [also] taken from him the view that al-Kalb¢ was hiding his [actual faith] and was practicing *taqiyyah*."

[١] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.١٥٥; Najaf edition).

[٢] ±abar¢ narrates from al-Kalb¢ in [some] three hundred and thrity places of his *T¡r¢kh*. But [still] he did not mention his biography in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*. Instead he mentions his father on pg.١٠١ and says: "His grandfather Bishr bin 'Amru al-Kalb¢ and his sons: al-S¡ib, 'Ubaid and 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n had participated in the battles of Jamal and ¯iff¢n along side 'Al¢ ('a).

mentioned him in his *al-Thuq¡t*."[١]

The Maqtal Currently in Circulation

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

Imam Sharafudd¢n says: "It is evident that the current book on the martyrdom of [al-°usain ('a)] which is attributed to Ab£ Mikhnaf contains many such narrations that were not known [even] to Ab£ Mikhnaf! Indeed, they have been forged in his name. The number of those who have ascribed [false reports] to him (*kaddh¡bah*) is large, and this [on its own] attests to his greatness."[٢]

Mu¦addith al-Qum¢ says: "Let it be known that Ab£ Mikhnaf has numerous works on [Islamic] history and on the lifestyle [of the Aimmah ('a)]. Among them is *Maqtal al-°usain ('a)* from which [our] great scholars in the past have narrated and have relied on it… Unfortunately it is [now] lost and there does not remain even a single copy of it. With regard to the *Maqtal* which is in our hands and which is being ascribed to him, it is neither his nor of any [other] reliable historian. Whoever wants to get convinced about this, then let him compare what has appeared in this [present] *Maqtal* with

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[١] *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* (٢:٣٥٩).

[٢] *Mu'allif£ al-Sh¢'ah f¢ ¯adr al-Isl¡m* (pg.٤٢; al-Naj¡¦ Publications).

what ±abar¢ and others have related from him. I have explained this in [my book] *Nafas al-Mahm£m* when talking about ±irimm¡¦ bin ‘Adiyy. And Allah knows best.”[١]

Since I wanted to edit [Ab£ Mikhnaf’s] work, I had to go through this fabricated *Maqtal.* There is no doubt that this book was compiled by someone other than Ab£ Mikhnaf [himself]. [But] it is not known who compiled it and when. It appears to me that the compiler must have been an Arab of a later period (*muta’akhhir¢n*), who was neither acquainted with history and ¦ad¢th, nor with the biographies [of the narrators], not even with the Arabic literature; for in this book he uses words which were used by the Arabs of the later period in their colloquial language.

This book consists of a hundred and fifty narrations, six of which have some missing links in their chains of transmission (*mursal*). The first one [no.٤٩] from Imam ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a), the second [no.٩٤] from ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abb¡s, the third one [no.٨٢] from ‘Um¡rah bin Sulaim¡n who reported from °umaid bin Muslim, the fourth one [no.٩٦] from a person known as ‘Abdullah bin Qais, the fifth report [no.٧٠] from a person called ‘Ammar and [the sixth] one [no.٧٠] which has been narrated from al-Kulain¢ (d.٣٢٩ H) without its chain of narration (*marf£’ah*) and which is not found in *al-K¡fi*.

After narration no.١٠٥[٢], he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahr¡z£r¢ who he considers to have traveled with the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) from K£fah to Sh¡m [and accompanied them] until their return to Mad¢nah! He [also] relates from this person ٣١ *mursal* narrations,

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[١] *Al-Kun¡ wa al-Alq¡b* (١:١٤٨) and *Nafas al-Mahm£m* (pg.١٩٥) and its Introduction (pg.٨; Ba¥¢rah publications).
[٢] *Maqtal* (pg.١٠٢; Najaf edition).

mentioning among them the report of Sahl bin Sa‘d al-S¡’id¢ in the name of Sahl bin Sa’¢d al-Shahr¡z£r¢![١]

The remaining ١٣٨ reports in the book are ascribed to Ab£ Mikhnaf himself.

The Grave Errors of this Maqtal

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

١. In the first line of the first page of this *Maqtal*, a discerning reader is confronted with this grave mistake: “Ab£ Mikhnaf said: ‘Ab£ al-Mundhir Hish¡m has narrated to us from Mu¦ammad bin S¡ib al-Kalb¢”! Here [we] find that Ab£ Mikhnaf, who was the teacher of Hish¡m, is relating from Hish¡m, his [own] student! Who, in turn, was reporting from his father, Mu¦ammad bin al-S¡ib al-Kalb¢!

Thus, we can obviously tell how ignorant the compiler of this work was about the biographies of the narrators that such an inconsistency remained hidden to him.[٢]

٢. After three pages we read: “Al-Kulain¢ relates in a tradition…”[٣] Would that I knew who was this person relating from al-Kulain¢ who died in ٣٢٩ H, while Ab£ Mikhnaf died in ١٥٨ H! This is at a time when this tradition is not even

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[١] Ibid, (pg.١٢٣).

[٢] Sayyid al-Murta¤¡ (r) has related a similar narration in *Tanz¢h al-Anbiy¡’* (pg.١٧١; Qum edition) from someone whom he calls Ibn ‘Abb¡s bin Hish¡m, who related from his father, and who in turn was narrating from Ab£ Mikhnaf, who was reporting from Ab£ al-Kan£d ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Ubaid. It is probable that the compiler of the above *Maqtal* narrated this from this work of al-Murta¤¡ or from someone else, but with additions and distortions!

[٣] *Maqtal* (pg.٧).

found in *al-K¡f¢*!

٣. After a few more pages we find him saying: "He said: '[Yaz¢d] sent the letter to Wal¢d. It reached him ten days into the month of Sha'b¡n."[١] While the historians, including Ab£ Mikhnaf according to the report of ±abar¢, unanimously agree that al-°usain ('a) entered Makkah three days after the beginning of Sha'b¡n! So how can we reconcile between [these two reports]?!

٤. In the case of the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l, he is the only writer who reports that a pit was dug into which [Muslim] fell and he was, thereafter, taken to Ibn Ziy¡d while his hands were tied up behind his back. He says about this: "The accursed one approached and said to them: 'I will set them a trap! Let us dig a pit on his way and fill it with grass and earth. Then we attack him and retreat from in front of him! I hope that he will not escape the pit."[٢]

٥. Also concerning the martyrdom of Muslim, he is the only one to report [saying]: "When Muslim and H¡n¢ were killed, their news ceased to reach al-°usain ('a). So he became seriously disturbed! He gathered his household… and instructed them to return back to Mad¢nah! They set out moving before him until they entered the city! [Al-°usain] went to the grave of the Messenger of Allah (¥) and clung to it. [There] he bitterly wept and [then] he fell asleep!"[٣]

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

٦. Regarding the arrival of al-°usain ('a) in Karbal¡', this

[١] Ibid, (pg.١١).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٣٥).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.٣٩).

writer is alone in reporting that the Imam was riding seven horses and that he dismounted them, and that they [all] stopped and none of them could move further.[١]

٧. He, again, is the only person to have narrated what Imam ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain said on the night of ‘ª sh£r¡’ and on the day of [al-°usain’s] arrival in Karbal¡’.[٢]

٨. He alone has reported that the number of Ibn Sa‘d’s army in Karbal¡’ was eighty thousand [men]![٣]

٩. He relates the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain as having been delivered on the day the army [of Ibn Sa‘d] arrived in Karbal¡’. He says in this regard: “He then advanced towards his followers and said: ‘O Muh¡jir¢n and An¥¡r! The speech of this accursed dog and his likes should not deceive you!! Indeed, he is not going to attain the intercession (*shaf¡ ’ah*) of Mu¦ammad (¥). Verily, the people who kill his offspring and their helpers will be in hell fire forever.”![٤]

١٠. He is the only one to have narrated the report about the digging of the well by al-°usain (’a). He says: “…But he did not find water in it.”[٥]

١١. Again he is the only one to have repeated three times the report of the night and the day of ‘ª sh£r¡’. He mentions in the first the speech of al-°usain (‘a) and the [martyrdom] of his brother, ‘Abb¡s (‘a)! He is alone in saying that: “… [‘Abb¡s] then held the sword with his mouth.” He then says: “[Al-°usain] came to him and carried him on the back of his horse

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[١] Ibid, (pg.٤٨).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٤٩).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.٥٢).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.٥٦).
[٥] Ibid, (pg.٥٧).

and took him to the tents. He put [his body] there and bitterly wept over him such that everyone present with him began weeping."[١]

Then he comes back to the night of 'ªsh£r¡' and says: "[Al-°usain] then turned to his companions and said to them: 'O my companions! These people are after me only. So when the night sets in, go away under the cover of its darkness." He then continues: "He spent that night and in the morning…"[٢]

He then, once again, talks about the day of 'ªsh£r¡' by narrating another speech of the Imam ('a). He is the only person to have mentioned here that al-°usain ('a) sent a messenger to Ibn Sa'd by the name of Anas bin K¡hil, whereas, in fact, the [name of the] messenger was Anas bin al-°arth bin K¡hil al-Asad¢.

He reverts for a third time [and] talks about the night of 'ªsh£r¡' and here he relates the famous speech of the Imam ('a) to his companions and his household [on that night]. Then he comes back, again, to mention the war preparations by al-°usain ('a) and Ibn Sa'd.[٣]

١٢. He is the only one to mention Ibr¡h¢m bin al-°usain as one of the companions of Imam al-°usain.[٤]

١٣. He mentions ±irimm¡¦ [bin al-'Adiyy] as one of those who were martyred along with al-°usain ('a), whereas ±abar¢ relates on the authority of al-Kalb¢ from Ab£ Mikhnaf that [±irimm¡¦] was not present in Karbal¡' and was [thus] not

[١] Ibid, (pg.٥٩).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٥٩-٦٠).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.٦١-٦٢).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.٧٠).

killed with al-°usain (‘a).[١] Mu¦addith al-Qum¢ [also] has commented on this in his book Nafas al-Mahm£m (pg. ١٩٥).

١٤. He mentions some verses in the story of °urr al-Riy¡¦¢ which are, in fact, of ‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr al-Ju’f¢, [whom Imam (‘a) met] at Qa¥r Ban£ Muq¡til, not realizing that they were not in tune with the conditions °urr [al-Riy¡¦¢] was in. The [writer] ascribes to al-Riy¡¦¢ the following: “I stood by their bodies and their graves…”![٢] How ignorant the compiler of this book was!

١٥. He ascribes some verses to al-°usain (‘a) in lamentation of °urr [al-Riy¡¦¢] which are not worthy of [the Imam (‘a)]. Some of it reads: “He is the best ¦*urr* (free man) as he supported °usain, those who helped °usain are indeed successful![٣]

١٦. He ascribes to Imam al-°usain (‘a) three verses in lamentation of his companions, whereas they are obviously known not to be of the Imam (‘a). Rather they belong to one of the poets of the later period. He says: “They helped °usain, what young men were they.”[٤]

١٧. He is alone in specifying the day on which Imam al-°usain (‘a) arrived in Karbal¡’, saying that it was on

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[١] Ibid, (pg.٧٢).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٧٧). ±abar¢ cites these verse in (**٥:٤٧٠**; D¡r al-Ma’¡rif Publications) on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf from ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab who said: “‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr had recited these verse in Mad¡in: ‘A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did not you fight the martyr, son of F¡§imah?’” Notice that this disloyal compiler has changed some words [in the verses] so that they might fit °urr al-Riy¡¦¢, yet they did not!
[٣] Ibid, (pg.٧٩).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.٨٥).

Wednesday.[١] He [also] says that he was martyred on Tuesday.[٢] According to this, Imam (‘a) must have arrived in Karbal¡’ on the ٥th of Mu¦arram! While the historians - including Ab£ Mikhnaf as reported in *al-±abar¢*- unanimously agree that he reached Karbal¡’ on Thursday[٣], the second of Mu¦arram, and he was [martyred] on Friday.

١٨. After narration no.١٠٥[٤], he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahr¡z£r¢, who is regarded to have journeyed with the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) from K£fah to Sh¡m [and accompanied them] until their return to Mad¢nah! He then puts in his mouth verses -while he was in K£fah- which were, in fact, said by Sulaim¡n bin Qattah al-H¡shim¢[٥] by the grave of Imam al-°usain (‘a): “I passed by the houses of the household of Mu¦ammad…”.[٦] In Sh¡m, he ascribes to him the report of Sahl bin Sa‘d al-S¡’id¢ in the name of Sahl bin Sa‘d al-Shahr¡z£r¢[٧], as though he considers [Shahr¡z£r¢] to be [al-S¡’id¢]!

١٩. He attributes a poem (*urj£zah*) of thirty odd verses[٨] to

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[١] Ibid, (pg.٤٨).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٩٣).
[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٩). The account of *al-±abar¢* is backed by what al-Arbal¢ has related in *Kashf al-Ghummah* (٢:٢٥٢) through his chain of narration from Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a): “He was martyred on the day of ‘ª sh£r¡, [which fell] on Friday.”
[٤] *Maqtal,* (pg.١٠٢)
[٥] Shaikh Mu¦ammad al-Sam¡w¢ comments on this saying: “He was a Hashimite by clientage (*wal¡’*). His mother was Umm Qattah and his father °ab¢b. He died in Damascus in ١٢٦ H. Al-Mas’£d¢ (٤:٧٤) mentions him as Ibn Qattah, quoting that from the book *Ans¡b Quraish* of Zubair bin Bak¡r.”
[٦] *Maqtal* (pg.١٠٢-١٠٣).
[٧] Ibid, (pg.١٢٣).
[٨] Ibid, (pg.٧٦-٧٧). Seventeen of these verses have been related by ‘Al¢ bin ‘«s¡ al-Arbal¢ (d.٦٩٣ H) in his book *Kashf al-Ghummah*

Imam al-°usain (‘a) on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’. Similarly, he ascribes to ‘Abdullah bin ‘Af¢f al-Azd¢ a *qa¥¢dah* comprising about thirty verses before ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d.[١]

٢٠. There appear words in different places of this book which are used in the colloquial language of the Arabs of the later period (*muta’akhhir¢n*) and which do not befit Ab£ Mikhnaf. For instance, in the story of digging a pit to trap Muslim, [we come across words as] “The accursed (*la’¢n*) one approached and said to them… and fill it with grass (*daghl*) and earth…. we should then retreat from in front of him.”[٢]. Or “His helpers went away (*r¡¦at*)”[٣], or “The one who was awake (*yaq¨¡nahu*)…”[٤] and “He was picking a quarrel (*yata¦arrashu*)…”[٥]

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

(٢:٢٣٨; Tabriz edition). He related them from the book *al-Fut£¦* of A¦mad bin A’tham al-K£f¢ (d.٣١٤ H), saying that he recited them when [al-°usain’s] infant was martyred and he dug a grave and buried him. While according to this *Maqtal*, the Imam (‘a) recited them when he made a violent attack on the [enemy], scattering them and killing one thousand five hundred of their horsemen! He returned to the tents saying…” Al-Arbal¢ (pg.٢٥٠) clearly states that: “The *n£niyyah* verses that begin with: ‘The people committed treachery…’ have not been mentioned by Ab£ Mikhnaf though they are famous, and Allah knows best.” Al-Khw¡r¡zm¢ (d.٥٦٨ H) has mentioned in his *Maqtal* three of the [above] verses (٢:٣٣) from Ibn A’tham.

[١] *Maqtal* (pg.١٠٨-١٠٩).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٣٥).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.١٣٥).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.١٢٩).
[٥] Ibid, (pg.١٣٢).

The Sources of Ab£ Mikhnaf (*isn¡d*)

Here, we will present a detailed list of the names of the intermediaries (*was¡i§*) between Ab£ Mikhnaf and the events [he related]. We shall [also] mention after the name of every narrator the reports he has narrated. Thus, the list itself would serve as an index for all the narrations that are going to appear in this book.

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

١. This list comprises the names of those who witnessed the battle and *directly* related [its events] to Ab£ Mikhnaf, without any intermediary. Thus, Ab£ Mikhnaf is reporting the [information about the] battle from them, i.e. through one link [only]. This list comprises three narrators.

٢. This list also consists of the names of those who witnessed the battle, with the difference that Ab£ Mikhnaf relates from these [narrators] through a link or two. That is, he narrates the [events of the] battle through two or three people. There are fifteen people in this list. Accordingly, the total number of people who witnessed the battle and from whom Ab£ Mikhnaf related his reports is eighteen.

٣. This list contains the names of those who were in direct contact with the events before and after Karbal¡'. They reported them to Ab£ Mikhnaf *directly*. Thus, he narrates the events from each of them through a single link. There are five people in this list.

٤. It consists of those who witnessed the events before or after Karbal¡' and Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates from each of them through one or two links. There are twenty one people in this

list.

٥. It comprises people who neither witnessed the battle, nor were they in direct contact with the events. Rather, they served as links for the reports of Ab£ Mikhnaf from [the narrators in the past four lists]. Thus, Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates the battle or the events surrounding it through two links. There are a number of twenty nine people in this list.

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

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

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

The Detailed List of the Narrators

The First List

They are those who witnessed the battle [at Karbal¡'] and narrated it directly to Ab£ Mikhnaf. They are:

١. Th¡bit bin Hubairah. He related the death of ‘Amru bin Qara¨ah bin Ka’b al-An¥¡r¢ and the report about his brother, ‘Al¢ bin Qara¨ah (See *al-±abar¢*: ٥:٤٣٤).

He has this report only. We have not found any mention of him in the books of *rij¡l*. The actual text of the the *Maqtal* regarding his report reads as follows: “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: [I narrate] from Th¡bit bin Hubairah who said: ‘Then ‘Amru bin Qara¨ah bin Ka’b was killed…’”

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

٢. Ya¦y¡ bin H¡ni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Mur¡d¢ al-Madh¦ij¢. He related the martyrdom of N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l al-Jamal¢. The text reads: “Ya¦y¡ has narrated to me… that N¡fi’…” This is very clear in that it was a direct report. (See *al-±abar¢*: ٥:٤٣٥)

His mother was Raw’ah, daughter of °ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy and the sister of ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy. Thus, [‘Amru] is the uncle of Ya¦y¡ from the mother’s side. (٥:٣٦٣)

Ya¦y¡ was present in Karbal¡’ together with his uncle in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d. He has narrated the martyrdom of N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l al-Jamal¢. [Ya¦y¡] heard his uncle ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy stopping the army of [Ibn Sa‘d] from engaging in single combat [with the companions of al-°usain (‘a)] after the martyrdom of N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l, suggesting to them, instead, to throw stones at al-°usain (‘a) and his companions. Yet, he did not part from his uncle. (٥:٤٣٥)

He also related what his uncle told ‘Abdullah bin al-Mu§¢’ al-‘Adaw¢, the governer of Ibn al-Zubair in K£fah, that he should stand firm in fighting Mukht¡r bin Ab¢ ‘Ubaid al-Thaqaf¢. Ya¦y¡ was along side his uncle in his combat against Mukht¡r. (٦:٢٨)

Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. Al-D¡rqu§n¢ says that his [word] can be taken as a proof. According to al-Nass¡¢, he is reliable. Ab£ °¡tim adds that he was pious and among the chiefs in K£fah. Shu'bah says that he was a leader of the people of K£fah, as reported in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b*.

٣. Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Zuhair al-Khath'am¢. He narrated the martyrdom of Suwaid bim 'Amru bim Ab¢ Mu§¡' al-Khath'am¢. The text says: "…has related to me saying…" (٥:٤٤٦).

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

The Second List

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

١. 'Uqbah bin Sim'¡n[١]. He related the arrival of al-°usain ['a] at Karbal¡' and the letter of Ibn Ziy¡d to °urr in this regard (*al-±abari*: ٥:٤٠٧). [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates from him] through one intermediary.

٢. H¡ni' bin Thubait al-°a¤ram¢ al-Sak£n¢. He narrated Ibn Sa'd's meeting with Imam al-°usain ('a) at a point between the two camps after the arrival of the Imam ('a) at Karbal¡' and before the day of '^{a}sh£r¡'. The text says: "Ab£ Jan¡b has narrated to me from H¡ni' …"

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

[١] He was the retainer of Rab¡b, daughter of Imru' al-Qais al-Kalb¢ and the mother of Sak¢nah -daughter of al-°usain ('a). He was taken to 'Umar bin Sa'd on the day of '^{a}sh£r¡' who asked him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am a slave." So he freed him (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٥٤).

±*abari*:٥:٤١٣). He participated in the killing of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umair al-Kalb¢ -the second person to be martyred from the companions of al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٤٣٦), and in the killing of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib (‘a), Ja’far bin ‘Al¢ (‘a), a lad from the household of al-°usain (٥:٤٤٨) and ‘Abdullah bin al-°usain bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) whose mother was Rab¡b, daughter of Imru’ al-Qais al-Kalb¢ (٥:٤٦٨).

٣. °umaid bin Muslim al-Azd¢. He reported the following:

Ibn Ziyad’s letter to Ibn Sa‘d, instructing him to prevent al-°usain (‘a) and his companions from getting water; the endeavour of ‘Abbas [‘a] to get water on the seventh night [of Mu¦arram] (٥:٤١٢); the dispatch of Shamir to Karbal¡’ (٥:٤١٤); the beginning of the battle (٥:٤٢٩); [al-°usain’s] words to Shamir when he [intended to] attack the tents just before the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a); the noon prayers; the martyrdom of °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir al-Asad¢ (٥:٤٣٩); the words of the Imam (‘a) at the martyrdom of his son ‘Al¢ (‘a); the coming out of [Lady] Zainab at the martyrdom of al-°usain; the martyrdom of Q¡sim bin al-°usain (‘a); the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin al-°usain (‘a) in [al-°usain’s] lap (٥:٤٤٦-٤٤٨); the state of al-°usain (‘a) after the martyrdom of his companions till his own martyrdom (٥:٤٥١&٤٥٢); the difference [of opinion] within the [enemy’s] camp after [al-°usain’s] martyrdom regarding killing his son ‘Al¢ (‘a); the story of ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n and his release; the trampling of the horses on the body of al-°usain (‘a); the carrying of the head of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Ziy¡d by [°umaid] and Khauliyy bin Yaz¢d al-A¥ba¦¢ (٥:٤٥٥); ‘Umar bin Sa‘d’s sending of [°umaid] to his family members to inform them that he was in safety; the prisoners in the court of Ibn Ziy¡d and his hitting al-°usain’s lips with a cane; the incident of Zayd bin Arqam narrating to him the tradition of the Messenger of

Allah (¥) and the reply of Ibn Ziya¤ to him; the remarks of Zayd about Ibn Ziy¡d; Zainab's entering the court of Ibn Ziy¡d, his words to her and her answer; Ibn Ziy¡d's attempt to beat her and the comments of 'Amru bin °uraith; the words of Ibn Ziy¡d to Imam Zain al-'ªbid¢n ('a) and his reply; the attempt to kill him and his aunt's clinging to him; and [finally] Ibn Ziy¡d's sermon in the mosque and Ibn 'Af¢f's reply to him and his murder (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٥٦-٤٥٩).

The person from whom °umaid narrated these reports was Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid.

It is noticed that Ab£ Mikhnaf brings in incomplete reports [from °umaid] and narrates [only] those parts which are relevant to the occasion in hand. It is also evident that [°umaid's] reports begin with the dispatch of Shamir to Karbal¡' and end with reports about [what transpired in] the court of Ibn Ziy¡d and the murder of Ibn 'Af¢f al-Azd¢.

This implies that °umaid was in the army of Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan al-Kil¡b¢, especially after taking into consideration his constant conversation with Shamir, censuring him in a number of matters; and [secondly] his presence in the tents after the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a), knowing that it was Shamir who attacked the tents with the foot soldiers.

Later, we see [°umaid] participating in the uprising of the Tawwab£n (٥:٥٥٥). He used to visit Mukht¡r in prison, but [at the same time] he cautioned Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad al-Khuz¡'¢ against him, informing him that Mukht¡r was inciting people to betray him. [However,] Sulaim¡n ignored this action of [Mukht¡r] (٥:٥٨١&٥٨٤). [°umaid] later returned with the defeated army of the Taww¡b£n (٥:٦٠٦). He was a friend of Ibr¡h¢m bin al-Ashtar al-Nakha'¢ whom

he used to frequently visit and go with him to [see] Mukht¡r every evening–after the Taww¡b£n uprising. They would plan their affairs till late night and then disperse (٦:١٨). One Monday evening °umaid came out with Ibr¡h¢m from his house with a group of about a hundred [men]. They were armed with swords and were concealing their shields under their cloak-like garments (٦:١٩). They advanced till they came to the house of Mukht¡r on the night he departed. (٦:٢٣)

However, when [°umaid] came to know that Mukht¡r is determined to kill the assasins of al-°usain (‘a), he rose together with ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mikhnaf al-Azd¢, Ab£ Mikhnaf’s uncle, against Mukht¡r. When ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n was wounded, °umaid recited some verses in sympathy for him (٦:٥١). When ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mikhnaf escaped from K£fah and sought refuge with Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair in Ba¥rah, °umaid also joined him there (٦:٥٨)!

His name last appears in *al-±abar¢* (٦:٢١٣) when he recited couplets in lamentation of ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mikhnaf who was killed by the [followers of the] Az¡riqah [sect from the] Khaw¡rij near K¡zar£n in ٧٥ H, as he was fighting them along with Muhallab bin ¯afrah on behalf of °ajj¡j bin Y£suf al-Thaqaf¢.

Al-Dhahab¢ has mentioned [°umaid] in *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* (١:٦١٦) and so has Ibn Qud¡mah in *al-Mughn¢* (١:١٩٥).

٤. ®a||¡k bin ‘Abdillah al-Mushriq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. He narrated the reports about the night and the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’; al-°usain’s preparation for the battle; and his important speech on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’. (*al-±abari*:٥:٤١٨, ٤١٩, ٤٢١, ٤٢٣, ٤٢٥ & ٤٤٤)

Ab£ Mikhnaf relates from this person on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘ª¥im al-F¡ish¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ -who was also

from the [Ban£] Hamd¡n- that he [i.e. ®a¦¦¡k] laid a condition before Imam al-°usain (‘a) that he would be free to leave him in case [all] his companions were killed, and the Imam (‘a) accepted it! Accordingly, he fled the battlefield. (٥:٤١٨&٤٤٤)

Al-±£s¢ mentions him in his *Rij¡l* among the companions of Imam Zain al-‘ªbid¢n (‘a)!

٥. Imam ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a). [Ab£ Mikhnaf] narrates from him the report about the events of the night of ‘ªsh£r¡’ through two intermediaries. They are:

(a) °¡rith bin °a¥¢rah, who was narrating from ‘Abdullah bin Shar¢k al-‘ªmir¢, who narrated from [al-Sajj¡d (‘a)] (*al-±abari*:٥:٤١٨).

(b) °¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ al-Azd¢ al-K£f¢ and Ab£ al-®a¦¦¡k [al-Ba¥r¢], both of whom were narrating from [al-Sajj¡d (‘a)] (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢٠).

٦. ‘Amru al-°a¤ram¢. He narrated the joining of [fresh] troops to the army of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢٢) through two links. The identity of this person is not known.

٧. A servant of ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Abd Rabbih al-An¥¡r¢. Ab£ Mikhnaf reports his joking with Burair bin Khu¤air al-Hamd¡n¢ through two links, namely: ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamal¢ who narrated from Ab£ ¯¡li¦ al-°anaf¢, who in turn related from this servant. The report ended saying: “When I saw that the people had been defeated, I escaped and left them” (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢١&٤٢٢).

٨. Masr£q bin W¡il al-°a¤ram¢. [Ab£ Mikhnaf related from him] the story of Ibn °awzah at the beginning of the battle through two intermediaries, ‘A§¡’ bin al-S¡’ib who narrated it from Abd al-Jabb¡r bin W¡il al-°a¤ram¢, who in turn

reported [Masr£q] as saying: "I was in the front line of the cavalry that marched against al-°usain… so that I may obtain the head of al-°usain which would gain me some position in the eyes 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d… Masr£q then returned… and said: 'Verily, I have seen something in the people of this house that I will never fight them [again]'." (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢١)

٩. Kath¢r bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'b¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. Ab£ Mikhnaf relates from him the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain through 'Al¢ bin °an¨alah bin As'ad al-Shab¡m¢ who was narrating from one of his kinsmen called Kath¢r bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'b¢ who had happened to witness the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a) (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢٦).

±abar¢ narrates from 'Aw¡nah on the authority of Hish¡m that: "[Al-Sha'b¢] was a brave knight whom nothing would cause to turn his face away from the battle. When 'Umar bin Sa'd asked the leaders [who had written letters to al-°usain ('a) from K£fah] to go to al-°usain ('a) and inquire from him why he has come and what does he want, "All of them refused and expressed their dislike for that. Kath¢r bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'b¢ stood up and said: 'I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assassinate him!…So he went to him… [Ab£ Thum¡mah] came forward and said to him: 'Put down your sword.' He said: 'Nay by Allah, there is no honour [for you]!'… Then they cursed each other" (٥:٤١٠). "[Kath¢r] and Muh¡jir bin Aws launched a violent attack on Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajal¢ and killed him." (٥:٤٤١).

١٠. Al-Zubaidiyy. He reported the second attack (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٣٥). This man, who was from the tribe of Zubaid in Yemen, used to narrate the [so called] glorious deeds of his tribal leader, 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy!

١١. Ayy£b bin Mashra¦ al-Khayaw¡n¢. He reported the command of al-Kalb¢. He was the one who lamed the horse of °urr [al-Riy¡¦¢]. Later his people accused him of killing °urr, so he said: "Nay by Allah, I did not kill him. Rather, someone other than me killed him. I would not like to have killed him." His father, Ab£ al-Wadd¡k Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamd¡n¢ asked him: "Why are you not pleased to be the one who killed him?' He replied: "They claimed that he was among the pious men. By Allah, if he was a sinner, then I would [still] prefer to meet Allah with the sin of wounding [him] than to meet Him with the sin of killing one of them!" Ab£ al-Wadd¡k said: "You are not going to meet Allah except with the sin of killing all of them… all of you have a share in [spilling] their blood." (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٣٧).

١٢. 'Af¢f bin Zuhair bin Ab¢ al-Akhnas. He reported the martyrdom of Burair bin Khu¤air al-Hamd¡n¢ (r). He was [also] among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a). He says in this report: "Burair used to teach them the Qur'an in the central mosque of K£fah" (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٣١).

١٣. Rab¢' bin Tam¢m al-Hamd¡n¢. He reported the martyrdom of 'ªbis bin Ab¢ Shab¢b al-Sh¡kir¢. He was one of those who witnessed that day [i.e. the day of 'ªsh£r¡'] (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٤٤).

١٤. 'Abdullah bin 'Amm¡r al-B¡riq¢. He reported the state of al-°usain ('a) when attacking the people. He was among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a) and was [later] reproached for witnessing it. [But] he replied: "Indeed the Ban£ H¡shim are obliged to me for a favour!! So we asked him: "What favour did you do them?" He said: "I attacked al-°usain with a lance, then I drew closer to him… then I quickly distanced myself from him!" (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٥١).

١٥. Qurrah bin Qais al-°an¨al¢ al-Tam¢m¢. He reported the severing of the heads and about the captives (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٥٥). He had come out under °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Riy¡¦¢ al-Tam¢m¢ -a commander from his tribe, in the vanguard of Ibn Ziy¡d against al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٤٢٧).

[Qurrah] is the one whom Ibn Sa‘d had sent to al-°usain (‘a) to ask him the reason he came out [from Mad¢nah] and what he wanted. When he came to al-°usain (‘a), °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir al-Asad¢ invited him to help al-°usain (‘a) but he declined (٥:٤١١). He is [also] the one who says that °urr said to him: “Do not you want to water your horse?” and then °urr moved away from him until he made his way to al-°usain (‘a). [Qurrah] later used to say that had °urr informed him of his intentions, he would have gone with him to al-°usain (‘a)! (٥:٤٢٧).

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

The Third List

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

١. Ab£ Jan¡b Ya¦y¡ bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-Wad¡’¢ al-Kalb¢. He has reported the following: the encounter of the companions of Muslim with Ibn Ziy¡d (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٦٩&٣٧٠); the dispatch of the heads of Muslim and H¡ni’ by Ibn Ziy¡d to Yaz¢d and his letter to him in this regard (٥:٣٨٠).

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that [Ab£ Jan¡b] was relating these reports from his brother, H¡ni’ bin Ab¢ °ayyah, since he was the one whom Ibn Ziy¡d sent with his

letter.

Al-±abar¢ has narrated ٢٣ reports from him. Nine of them are concerning the battles of Jamal, ¯iff¢n and Nahraw¡n, all through some links. [The other] nine are regarding Karbal¡', five of which have been transmitted indirectly and another three through an incomplete chain of narration (*irs¡l*).

He is mentioned last in *al-±abar¢* as relating -through an incomplete chain of narration- the letter of Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair to Ibr¡h¢m bin al-Ashtar in the year ٦٧ H and after the death of Mukht¡r, inviting him to support him. (٦:١١١)

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (١١:٢٠١) mentions his biography and says: "A truthful person from K£fah who died in ١٤٧ H."

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

٢. Ja'far bin °udhaifah al-±¡¢. He reports the following: the letter of Muslim [bin 'Aq¢l] to al-°usain ('a) before the former's martyrdom, informing him of the allegiance of the people of K£fah [to him]; and the letter of Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kind¢ to Imam al-°usain ('a) through Ay¡s bin al-'Athal al-±¡¢, informing him of the arrest and murder of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٧٥).

Al-Dhahab¢ mentions [Ja'far] in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* and says: "He related [reports] from 'Al¢, and Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated from him. [Ja'far] was with 'Al¢ at ¯iff¢n. Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t* and says: "It is not known who he is."

Al-±abar¢ has narrated five reports from him. Two reports about ¯iff¢n and other two concerning the Khaw¡rij from ±ay' and [the fifth one is] the report [mentioned above].

٣. Dulham bint ‘Amru, the wife of Zuhair bin al-Qain. She reported the joining [of Zuhair] with al-°usain (‘a). The text reads: “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Dulham has related to me that… She said: ‘So I said to [Zuhair]…” (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٩٦).

٤. ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ al-‘Aiz¡r. He narrated: the two sermons of the Imam (‘a) at al-Bai¤ah and Dh£ °usam; the reply of Zuhair bin al-Qain to the Imam (‘a); and the verses [recited] by the Imam (‘a) and ±irimm¡¦ bin ‘Adiyy (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٠٣). It seems he was among the companions of °urr and was saved. We have found no mention of him in our works of *rij¡l*. The author of *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* mentions him and says: “His narrations are reliable. Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*.”[١]

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

The Fourth List

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

١. Ab£ Sa’¢d D¢n¡r, or Kais¡n, or ‘Aq¢¥¡ al-Maqbar¢. He reported the verses [recited] by al-°usain (‘a) when he was leaving Mad¢nah through one intermediary, namely ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mus¡¦iq bin Makhramah (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٤٢).

Al-Dhahab¢ mentions him in *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* and says: “He and his father were the companions of Ab£ Hurairah. He is

[١] *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* (٤:١٧٩, ٣:٨٨ and ٢:٤٣٣).

reliable and an authority (¦*ujjah*). He [lived and] became very old, but was not deranged… He died in ١٢٥ H. He was a supporter of the Ban£ Tam¢m. Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. According to al-°¡kim, he is reliable and trustworthy."[١]

According to *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b*, al-W¡qid¢ says: "He is reliable and a prolific narrator. He died in ١٠٠ H. Some say that [he died] during the rule of Wal¢d bin ‘Abd al-Malik. It is said that ‘Umar had put him in charge of digging graves. So he used to live in the graveyard area and thus came to be known as ‘al-Maqbar¢’."[٢]

Shaikh al-±£s¢ mentions him in his *Rij¡l* among the companions of ‘Al¢ and al-°usain (‘a), [but] by the name of D¢n¡r. His agnomen was Ab£ Sa’¢d and his title ‘Aq¢¥¡. He was given this title because of a poem he had recited.[٣]

Ibn Qud¡mah says in *al-Mughn¢*: "He is al-Maqdis¢, from al-Maqdis, the city of Prophet «liy¡."

Al-¯ad£q narrates in his *Am¡li* through a chain of narration going back to Ab£ Sa’¢d ‘Aq¢¥¡ who said: "[I relate] from al-°usain who was reporting from his father, who narrated the Prophet (¥) saying to him: "O ‘Al¢! You are my brother and I am your brother. I have been chosen for the prophethood (*nubuwwah*) while you have been selected for the divine leadership (*im¡mah*). [O ‘Al¢] I am the bearer of revelation (*tanz¢l*) and you are [responsible] for its interpretation (*ta’w¢l*). You and I are the [two] fathers of this Ummah. You are my trustee, successor, vizier, inheritor and the father of

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[١] *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* (٢:١٣٩).
[٢] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٨:٤٥٣).
[٣] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٤٠; Najaf edition).

my offspring. Your followers (*sh¢'atuka*) are my followers."

٢. 'Uqbah bin Sim'¡n. He narrated the following: the departure of the Imam ('a) from Mad¢nah; his meeting with 'Abdullah bin Mu§¢' al-'Adaw¢; his arrival in Makkah (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٥١); the conversation of Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn al-Zubair with the Imam ('a) when he was leaving Makkah (٥:٣٨٣); the report about the messengers of 'Amru bin Sa'¢d al-'a¥ al-Ashdaq, the then governer of Makkah, to al-°usain ('a), asking him to return to Makkah; the report on the Yemeni dye (*waras*) at Tan'¢m (٥:٣٨٥); the conversation of 'Al¢ bin al-°usain [al-Akbar] with his father after they left Qa¥r Ban£ Muq¡til; the arrival of al-°usain ('a) at Nainaw¡; the coming of the messenger of Ibn Ziy¡d with his letter to °urr; al-°usain's camping at Nainaw¡; the arrival of 'Umar bin Sa'd (٥:٤٠٧-٤٠٩); and the proposal of the Imam ('a) to Ibn Sa'd (٥:٤١٣).

All these reports were related [by Ab£ Mikhnaf] through one intermediary, namely °¡rith bin Ka'b al-W¡lib¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. This [also] backs the fact that Ab£ Mikhnaf used to report only those parts of a report which were relevant to the occasion he was treating (*taq§¢'*).

٣. Mu¦ammad bin Bishr al-Hamd¡n¢. The reports he narrated are: the gathering of the Sh¢'ah in K£fah at the house of Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad al-Khuz¡'¢ after the death of Mu'¡wiyah; the speech of Sulaim¡n; their letters to al-°usain ('a); Imam's reply to them through Muslim bin 'Aq¢l (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٥٢-٣٥٣); the letter of Muslim to al-°usain ('a) on his way to K£fah and the latter's reply to him; Muslim's arrival in K£fah; the frequent visits of the Sh¢'ah to Muslim at the house of Mukht¡r (٥:٣٥٤-٣٥٥); and Ibn Ziy¡d's sermon after the martyrdom of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah (٥:٣٦٨).

All these reports were transmitted through one link, namely °ajj¡j bin ‘Al¢ al-B¡riq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢.

[Al-B¡riq¢] was present in the gathering of the Sh¢‘ah [in K£fah] at the house of Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad. He says: “We then mentioned the death of Mu’¡wiyah and expressed our gratitude to Allah for that. Then Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad said to us… then we sent [the two men] with the letter… and ordered them to keep the matter secret… then we sent to him… we waited for two more days and sent [more] letters… and our letters were with them.” (٥:٣٥٤-٣٥٥).

He was also present in the meeting of the Sh¢‘ah with Muslim at Mukht¡r’s place, but he did not pay allegiance to him out of fear of being killed. °ajj¡j bin ‘Al¢ says [in this regard]: “I said to Mu¦ammad bin Bishr: ‘Did you say anything?’ He replied: ‘Although I wished that may Allah honour my colleagues with victory, I did not want to be killed! I [also] did not want to lie [to Muslim by paying allegiance to him and then abandon him]!” (٥:٣٥٥).

The author of *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* says that Ab£ °¡tim used to say: “He is Mu¦ammad bin al-S¡’ib al-Kalb¢ al-K£f¢, when his lineage is traced back to his grandfather. Otherwise, he is [known as] Mu¦ammad bin al-S¡’ib bin Bishr.”[١]

Al-±£s¢ has mentioned him in his *Rij¡l* among the companions of Imam al-B¡qir and al-¯¡diq (‘a).[٢]

٤. Ab£ al-Wadd¡k Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamd¡n¢. He reported: the

[١] *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* (٥:٩٤).
[٢] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg١٣٦&٢٨٩). ±abar¢ mentions him in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.٦٥١; D¡r Suwaid¡n publications), quoting from *al-±abaq¡t* of Ibn Sa’d (٦:٣٥٨), and says that he died in K£fah in the year ١٤٦ H during the rule of Man¥£r.

speech of Nu'm¡n bin Bashɕr al-An¥¡r¢ -the governer of K£fah for Mu'¡wiyah and Yazɕd; the letters of the people of K£fah to Yaz¢d (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٥٥-٣٥٦); Ibn Ziyad's address in K£fah (٥:٣٥٨-٣٥٩); Muslim's transfer to the house of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah; the spying of Ma'qal al-Sh¡m¢ on Muslim by the order of Ibn Ziy¡d; Ibn Ziy¡d's visit to H¡ni' when he was sick; the proposal of 'Um¡rah bin 'Ubaid al-Sal£l¢ to kill Ibn Ziy¡d; the disagreement of H¡ni' about that; Ibn Ziy¡d's visit to Shar¢k bin al-A'war al-°¡rith¢ al-Hamd¡nɕ at H¡ni's house and the signal given by Shar¢k to Muslim to kill Ibn Ziy¡d; Muslim's refusal of that due to the disapproval of H¡ni'; Ibn Ziy¡d's call on H¡ni', beating and imprisoning him; the arrival of 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy with the distinguished men from the Madh¦ij and their horsemen; and the meeting of Shurai¦ al-Q¡¤ɕ with H¡ni' and his informing [H¡ni's] kinsmen about the latter's safety (٥:٣٦١-٣٦٧).

[Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Ab£ al-Wadd¡k] through a person called Numair bin Wa'lah al-Hamd¡n¢, except for the last report which was through Mua'll¡ bin Kulaib.

His complete name has appeared in his report about Imam 'Alɕ's speech at Nukhailah after he had lost all hopes in guiding the Khaw¡rij (٥:٧٨). It seems that he was in K£fah after the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a). He rebuked Ayy£b bin Mashra¦ al-Khayaw¡n¢ for laming the horse of °urr, saying: "I am sure that you will meet Allah with the sin of killing all of them. Tell me if you were to shoot at this [person], lame [the mount of] another, and then shoot at some other person, take a position in your combat, attack them and incite your companions against them and increase the number of your people [against them], [you do all this but still] when you are attacked you dislike to flee; [tell me] if the other person from

among your companions was to do the same, and so did the third one… then [would not this mean that you and your] companions have killed them?! Indeed, you all have a share in [spilling] their blood!" (٥:٤٣٧).

Al-Dhahab¢ mentions him in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* and says: "[He was] the colleague of Ab£ Sa'¢d al-Khu¤r¢ and well known for his truthfulness."[١]

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* says: "Ibn °ibb¡n has brought him in *al-Thuq¡t*. Ibn Ma'¢n says that he is reliable. According to al-Nass¡'¢, he was pious. He has also narrated [reports] from him in his *Sunan*."[٢]

٥. Ab£ 'Uthm¡n al-Nahd¢. He reported: the letter of Imam al-°usain ('a) to the people of Ba¥rah; the appointment of 'Uthm¡n, Ibn Ziy¡d's brother, by Ibn Ziy¡d as his deputy over Ba¥rah; and Ibn Ziy¡d's arrival in K£fah (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٥٧-٣٥٨). [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated these reports] through one intermediary, namely ¯aq'ab bin Zuhair.

Ab£ 'Uthm¡n was among the companions of Mukht¡r and was appointed by him, upon his arrival in K£fah to see Ibn Mu§¢', [as the guardian] over the weak people at Sabkhah (٥:٢٢&٢٩).

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* mentions him and says that he was from [the tribe of] Qu¤¡'ah and lived during the times of the Prophet (¥), though he did not see him. He was residing in K£fah and thereafter went to Ba¥rah after the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a). [Ab£ 'Uthm¡n] was in charge of the monthly stipends of his people. He performed ¦*ajj* and *'umrah* sixty times. He used to spend the night in prayers and

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[١] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (٤:٥٨٤; Aleppo edition)
[٢] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٢:٦٠) and in *Tanq¢¦ al-Maq¡l* (٣:٢٧).

fast during the day time. [According to *al-Tahdh¢b*,] he was reliable and died in ٩٥ H at the age of one hundred and thirty.[١]

٦. ‘Abdullah bin Kh¡zim al-Kath¢r¢ al-Azd¢. He narrated, through Y£suf bin Yaz¢d, the uprising of Muslim (‘a) and the giving of the banners by him (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٦٧-٣٦٨). He also reported the people’s betrayal of Muslim (٥:٣٧٠-٣٧١) through Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid.

[‘Abdullah] was among those who paid allegiance to Muslim (‘a) and was sent by him to inquire about H¡ni’ [bin ‘Urwah] in the palace [of Ibn Ziy¡d]. Then he became among those who betrayed Muslim and al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٣٦٨-٣٦٩). Later [‘Abdullah] repented along with the Taww¡b£n and joined their uprising (٥:٥٨٣) until he was killed (٥:٦٠١).

٧. ‘Abb¡s -or ‘Ayy¡sh- bin Ja’dah al-Judal¢. He related: the uprising of Muslim (‘a) and how the people abandoned him, and the stand of Ibn Ziy¡d (٥:٣٦٩), through one intermediary by the name of Y£nus bin Ab¢ Is¦¡q al-Sub¢’¢ al-Hamd¡n¢.

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

٨. ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ ‘Umair al-Thaqaf¢. He reported the offer made to Mukht¡r to come under the safe-conduct granted by Ibn Ziy¡d.

٩. Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢. He narrated: the coming out of Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash’ath against Muslim, the captivity of Muslim, (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٧٣) and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way it was] granted (٥:٣٧٥).

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[١] Ibid, (٦:٢٧٧).

Al-±abar¢ names him as Qud¡mah bin Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢.

The editor of this work says: I have found that Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah, the grandfather of Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d, was the one who was in direct contact with the events in K£fah. With regard his grandson, Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d, Shaikh al-±£s¢ has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-¯¡diq ('a).[١] Therefore, it is more appropriate to put the chain of narrators this way: "Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d narrates from Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢..."

The grandfather of Qud¡mah was Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢, the chief of the police in K£fah in the year ٥٨ H, under 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Umm al-°akam al-Thaqaf¢, the governor of Mu'¡wiyah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n after the Year of Unity (*'¡m al-jam¡'ah*) (٥:٣١٠). He was together with 'Amru bin °uraith when the safe-conduct from 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d was made public in K£fah after the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l ('a), thus he interceded on behalf of Mukht¡r, his cousin (٥:٥٧٠).

[Ibn Qud¡mah] was the one who took the letter of Mukht¡r from the prison of Ibn Ziy¡d in K£fah to 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, the husband of Mukht¡r's sister, ¯afiyyah bint Ab¢ 'Ubaid al-Thaqaf¢, requesting him to intercede with Yaz¢d on his behalf. Accordingly, Ibn Ziy¡d freed him, but wanted to punish Ibn Qud¡mah for this action of his, but he fled [the city] until after he was granted protection [from Ibn Ziy¡d] (٥: ٥٧١).

[Ibn Qud¡mah] was among those people of K£fah who paid allegiance to 'Abdullah bin Mu§¢' al-'Adaw¢, Ibn al-

[١] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg. ٢٧٥; Najaf edition).

Zubair's governor in K£fah. Ibn Mu§¢' sent him in pursuit of Mukht¡r, so he informed [Mukht¡r] about this but he did not pay heed (٦:١١). [In fact,] the uprising of Mukht¡r in K£fah began from the garden of Z¡idah at Sabkhah (٦:٢٢). Mukht¡r had sent to unseat 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n al-Makhz£m¢, Ibn al-Zubair's governor in K£fah, and he managed to do so through bribery and threat (٦:٧٢).

Later, Z¡idah joined 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n and fought Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair along side with him and managed to kill him at the monastery of the monks, in vengeance of the blood of Mukht¡r (٦:١٥٩). Thereafter, °ajj¡j sent him with two thousand men to fight Shab¢b al-Kh¡rij¢ at R£db¡r. He fought him until he was killed [by Shab¢b] in the year ٧٦ H, while his companions surrounded him [helplessly] (٦:٢٤٦).

Thus, it becomes evident that Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d bin Z¡idah from whom Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates this report [i.e. the one about Muslim], was not in direct contact with the events of K£fah during the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l.

And, perhaps, the chain of narration should read as such: 'Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d narrated to me from Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah…'; for Z¡idah was with 'Amr£ bin °uraith as we have seen, so he must have been narrating to his grandson, Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d, the report about Ibn Ziy¡d's sending of Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath to Muslim ('a).

١٠. 'Um¡rah bin 'Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu'¢§ al-Umaw¢. He narrated Muslim's request for water and [the way] he was given the water (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٧٥). This report has been related from him by his grandson, Sa'¢d bin 'Um¡rah bin 'Uqbah.

The author of *Taqr¢b al-Tahdh¢b* says that: "['Um¡rah] was

reliable and died in ١١٦ H."

١١. 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin al-°¡rith bin Hish¡m al-Makhz£m¢. [Ab£ Mikhnaf] reports from him, through ¯aq'ab bin al-Zuhair, what he said to Imam al-°usain ('a) as the latter was departing from Makkah (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٨٢).

'Abdullah bin al-Zubair had appointed ['Umar] as his governor over K£fah during the time of Mukht¡r, but the latter drove him away through bribery and threats (٦:٧١). The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* says regarding him: "Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t* and says that he has narrated reports from a group of companions."[١]

١٢. 'Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhr¢ bin al-Mushma'il, who were both from the Ban£ Asad. They reported: the conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with Imam al-°usain ('a) which took place between the black stone (*al-¦ajar al-aswad*) and the door [of the Ka'bah] (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٨٤); the meeting of Farazdaq with the Imam ('a) (٥:٣٨٦); and the news of the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l ('a) at Tha'labiyyah (٥:٣٩٧-٣٩٨). [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated these reports from them] through two links: Ab£ Jan¡b Ya¦y¡ bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-Wada'¢ al-Kalb¢, who related from 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad¢.

Both of them had heard Imam's call for help but did not come to his aid. 'Abdullah bin Sulaim was alive until the year ٧٧ H (٦:٢٩٥).

١٣. Imam 'Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a). He reported: the letter of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far to Imam al-°usain ('a) which he sent through his two sons, 'Aun and Mu¦ammad; the letter of

[١] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٧:٤٧٢) and *Khul¡sah Tadhh¢b Tahdh¢b al-Kam¡l* (pg.٢٨٤).

‘Amru bin Sa’¢d al-Ashdaq to the Imam (‘a) through his brother, Ya¦y¡, and the reply of the Imam (‘a). [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Ibn al-°usain] through one link, °¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ (٥:٣٨٧-٣٨٨).

١٤. Bakr bin Mu¥’ab al-Muzn¢. [Ab£ Mikhnaf reports from him] the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin Yuq§ur and the report about what transpired at Zub¡lah [on the way to K£fah], through Ab£ ‘Al¢ al-An¥¡r¢ (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٩٨-٣٩٩).

The identity of both Bakr and Ab£ ‘Al¢ is unknown.

١٥. Faz¡riyy. He narrated the report on [how] Zuhair bin al-Qain jouined al-°usain (‘a), through al-Sudd¢. The text reads: “A man from the Ban£ Faz¡rah [said]…” (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٩٦).

١٦. ±irimm¡¦ bin ‘Adiyy. [Ab£ Mikhnaf relates a report concerning ±irimm¡¦’s meeting with the Imam (‘a)] through Jam¢l bin Marthad al-Ghanaw¢ (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٠٦).

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

Shaikh al-±£s¢ counts him among the companions of ‘Al¢ (‘a) and al-°usain (‘a). Al-M¡mq¡n¢ mentions him saying that he was reliable and that he succeeded in [coming back and] helping the Imam (‘a). He sustained injuries [in Karbal¡’] but was [later] cured and died after that. [However,] he has not mentioned the source for it.[١]

[١] *Tanq¢¦ al-Maq¡l* (٢:١٠٩). As we said earlier, the source of this assertion is the current *Maqtal* which is ascribed to Ab£ Mikhnaf. This is the report on which Mu¦addith al-Qum¢ has commented in *Nafas al-Mahm£m* (pg.١٩٥).

١٧. ‘ªmir bin Shar¡¦¢l bin ‘Abd al-Sha’b¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates from him] the report about Qa¥r Ban¢ Muq¡til, through Muj¡lid bin Sa’¢d (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٠٧).

[‘ªmir] was born in ٢١ H (٤:١٤٥). His mother was among the prisoners of Jalwal¡’ in the year ١٦ H. He and his father were the first to respond to Mukht¡r (٦:١٥), and they both testified that Mukht¡r was on the right (٦:١٧). Both he and his father came out in the streets of Mad¡in with Mukht¡r [and his followers] in the year ٦٧ H (٦:٩١). After the death of Mukht¡r, [‘ªmir] joined °ajj¡j and used to be with him (٦:٣٢٧). In ٨٢ H, he revolted against °ajj¡j under ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kind¢ (٦:٣٥٠). When the later was defeated, [‘ªmir] joined Qutaibah bin Muslim, °ajjaj’s governer over Rayy. [Qutaibah] asked for safe-conduct for him and [accordingly] °ajj¡j granted him protection (٦:٣٧٤). He continued to live until he took over the judgeship of K£fah for Yaz¢d bin ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n during the time of ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Az¢z, ٩٩-١٠١ H.

He was one of those who abandoned Muslim (‘a) and al-°usain (‘a) and did not accompany the latter. Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates from him through an incomplete chain of transmission (*mursalan*). He died suddenly in ١٠٤ H in K£fah as reported in *al-Kun¡ wa al-Alq¡b* (٢:٣٢٨). ±abar¢ has related ١١٤ narrations from him in his *T¡r¢kh*. The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* mentions him and narrates from al-‘Ajal¢ that al-Sha’b¢ heard narrations from fourty eight companions [of the Prophet (¥)] and lived during the time of ‘Al¢ (‘a). It has also been said that he died in the year ١١٠ H.[١]

[١] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (**٥:٦٥**).

١٨. °ass¡n bin F¡'id bin Bukair al-'Abs¢. [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates from him] Ibn Sa'd's letter to Ibn Ziy¡d and his reply to the former, through Na¤r bin ¯¡lih bin °ab¢b bin Zuhair al-'Abs¢. The text reads: "I testify that the letter of 'Umar bin Sa'd reached 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d and I was with him. [Ibn Ziy¡d] said…" (*al-±abari*:٥:٤١١).

[°ass¡n] was among those who fought Mukht¡r and his followers along side R¡shid bin Ay¡s, the head of the bodyguards of 'Abdullah bin Mu§¢' al-'Adaw¢, Abdullah bin Zubair's governor in K£fah (٦:٢٦). He was with Ibn Mu§¢' during the siege of the palace [in K£fah] (٦:٣١). He was killed in the outskirts of K£fah in ٦٤ H with the followers of Ibn Mu§¢' (٦:٤٩).

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* writes: "Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. Regarding the meaning of [the word] *al-jibt* which has appeared in [verse ٥١ of] S£rat al-Nis¡', al-Bukh¡r¢ narrates from Shu'bah, who related from Ab£ Is¦¡q al-Sub¢'¢, who in turn was reporting from [°ass¡n], that 'Umar bin al-Kha§§¡b said: '*Al-jibt* means sorcery (*si¦¡r*).' Al-Bukh¡r¢ [then] says: 'He is counted among the Kufans.'"'[١]

١٩. Ab£ 'Um¡rah al-'Abs¢. [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates from him] through Ab£ Ja'far al-'Abs¢: the words of Ya¦y¡ bin al-°akam bin al-'ª¥¥ and the report about [what transpired in] the court of Yaz¢d (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٦٠-٤٦١).

٢٠. Q¡sim bin Bukhait. He related reports about the heads [of the martyrs] in Damascus; the speech of Ya¦y¡ bin al-°akam ibn al-'ª¥¥, the brother to Marw¡n; the words of Hind, the wife of Yaz¢d; and the poking of Yaz¢d at the teeth of al-

[١] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٢:٢٥١).

°usain (‘a) with a cane. These reports have been narrated from [Q¡sim] through two links, namely: Ab£ °amzah al-Thum¡l¢, who reported from ‘Abdullah al-Thum¡l¢ (٥:٤٦٥).

٢١. Ab£ al-Kan£d ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Ubaid. [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates from him, through Sulaim¡n bin R¡shid, the verses [recited by] Umm Luqm¡n, daughter of ‘Aq¢l bin Ab¢ ±¡lib (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٦٦).

[Ab£ Kan£d] was the governer of K£fah for Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h (٥:٢٤٦). Later, he became among the followers of Mukht¡r and claimed to have killed Shamir (٦:٥٣). ±abar¢ has narrated from him nine reports [in his *T¡r¢kh*] through Ab£ Mikhnaf, as reported in *al-A’l¡m*.

٢٢. F¡§imah, daughter of ‘Al¢, as ±abar¢ calls her. [Ab£ Mikhnaf relates from her] what took place in the court of Yaz¢d, through °¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ al-Azd¢ (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٦١-٤٦٢).

These are twenty one people [with the exception of Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah (no. ٩)] who were either in direct contact with the events or were living in that period and [thus] reported them. Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated [the reports] from them through one or two links.

The Fifth List

These are the intermediary narrators (*was¡i§*), who are twenty nine in number.

١. ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mas¡¦iq bin ‘Abdullah bin Makhramah. He related the verses of the Imam (‘a) when he was leaving Mad¢nah, through Ab£ Sa‘d Sa’¢d bin Ab¢ Sa’¢d al-Maqbar¢ (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٤٢).

He has [also] narrated, without stating his link, Mu'¡wiyah's appointment of Yaz¢d at the time of his death as his heir apparent; the speech of ®a¦¡k bin Qais al-Fihr¢, the head of Mu'¡wiyah's bodyguards and the person in charge of his burial; and the verses recited by Yaz¢d when the messenger brought him the news of his father's death.

±abar¢ has narrated fifteen reports from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*] through Ab£ Mikhnaf, who was relating from ['Abd al-Malik], who reported from some other person. Most of these reports are about Ibn al-Zubair's revolt in Makkah, the revolt of 'Abdullah bin °an¨alah in Mad¢nah, and the event of °arrah.

He related one of these reports from his father, Naufal (٥:٤٧٤), the other from 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah (٥:٤٧٨) and the third one from °umaid bin °amzah, who was among the associates of the Ban£ Umayyah (٥:٤٧٩). He narrated the other seven reports from °ab¢b bin Karrah, also an associate of the Ban£ Umayyah and the standard bearer of Marw¡n bin al-°akam (٥:٤٨٢&٥٣٩). His last narration was from Sa'¢d bin 'Amru bin Sa'¢d bin al-'a¥¥ al-Ashdaq (٥:٥٧٧).

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

His father, Naufal bin Mus¡¦iq, was at the head of [either] two or five thousand soldiers under the governship of Ibn Mu§¢ for Ibn al-Zubair. [In an encounter,] Ibn al-Ashtar al-Nakha'¢ approached him raising his sword [to kill him], but then he

let him go (٦:٣٠).

He has been considered as reliable in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٥:٤٢٨) and [also] in *al-K¡shif* of al-Dhahab¢ (٢:٢١٦).

٢. Ab£ Sa'¢d 'Aq¢¥¡. He narrated from some of his companions the conversation of Imam al-°usain ('a), while he was in the state of *i¦r¡m*, with Ibn al-Zubair inside the Sacred mosque in Makkah. (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٨٥).

In the first part of [his book] *al-Khul¡¥ah*, 'All¡mah al-°ill¢ counts him among the companions of 'Al¢ ('a).[١] Al-Dhahab¢ mentions him in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* and says: "He has narrated [reports] from 'Al¢ ('a)." He then says: "He is reliable and his name was D¢n¡r. He was a Sh¢'ah and he died in ١٢٥ H."[٢]

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* writes: "Al-W¡qid¢ says that he was a reliable person and has narrated many reports,

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[١] *Al-Khul¡¥ah* (pg.١٩٣).

[٢] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (**٢:١٣٩** and **٣:٨٨**). In a report which has appeared in *K¡mil al-Ziy¡rah* of Ibn Q£lawayh (pg.٢٣) and whose chain of narration ends at [Ab£ Sa'¢d], the latter says: "After 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair had a lengthy talk with [al-°usain] in privacy, al-°usain ('a) turned to the people and I heard him saying: 'This man is telling me: 'Be a pigeon among the pigeons of this Sacred sanctuary.' Indeed, it is more preferable to me to be killed at an arms length from the holy sanctuary that at a span from it; and it is dearer to me to be killed on the banks [of the Euphrates] than to be killed in [this] °aram." Based on this chain of narration, [Ab£ Sa'¢d] directly heard [the words of] the Imam ('a), contrary to the manner Ab£ Mikhnaf narrates [the report] from him. [Anyhow,] *al-K¡mil* is more complete (*akmal*) [and correct in case of contradiction between what has appeared in it and what Ab£ Mikhnaf has narrated].

and died in ١٠٠ H. According to Ibn Sa‘d, he died during the caliphate of Walȼd bin ‘Abd al-Malik.”

It is said that ‘Umar [bin al-Kha§§¡b] had made him in charge of digging graves. According to another view, he used to reside in the cemetery area and thus came to be known as ‘al-Maqbarȼ’ (٨:٤٥٣). This view has appeared in *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* also (٢:٤٢٢).

٣. ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab al-Azd¢. He has narrated all his reports from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n. ±abarȼ has related from him around thirty reports about the battles of Jamal, ¯iff¢n, Nahraw¡n and [reports on the event of] Karbal¡’, which he narrated from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n.

[Ibn Jundab] has directly narrated reports about °ajj¡j. He fought Shab¢b, the Kh¡rij¢, with the army of °ajj¡j alongside Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢ at R£db¡r, in the year ٧٦ H (*Al-±abari*:٦:٢٤٤). He was taken as a prisoner and paid allegiance to Shab¢b out of fear (٦:٢٤٦). [Later,] he returned to K£fah and was present in the city when °ajj¡j addressed [the people] with the intention of dispatching an army, for the second time, against Shab¢b in ٧٧ H (٦:٢٦٢).

Al-Ardab¢l¢, quoting from *al-Rij¡l al-Was¢§* of Astar¡b¡d¢, counts [‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n] among the companions of ‘Alȼ (‘a).[١] Al-‘Asqal¡nȼ mentions him in *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* and says: “He has narrated [reports] from Kumail bin Ziy¡d, and Ab£ °amzah al-Thum¡lȼ has reported from him.”[٢]

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[١] *J¡mi’ al-Ruw¡t* (١:٤٤٧).
[٢] *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* (٣:٤٠٨; Haiderabad edition).

٤. °ajj¡j bin ‘Al¢ al-B¡riq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. He has narrated all his reports from Mu¦ammad bin Bishr al-Hamd¡n¢ (see the fourth list, no.٣). Of the reports that ±abar¢ has related from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*], none of his reports are from other than Ibn Bishr. The author of *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* mentions him and says: “A great personality (*shaikh*) from whom Ab£ Mikhnaf has narrated.”[١]

٥. Numair bin Wa’lah al-Hamd¡n¢ al-Yan¡’¢. He narrated [reports] from Ab£ al-Wadd¡k Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamd¡n¢, Ayy£b bin Mashra¦ al-Khayaw¡n¢ and Rab¢’ bin Tam¢m al-Hamd¡n¢.

±abar¢ has narrated ten reports from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*], the last of which is from al-Sha’b¢ about °ajj¡j’s court in the year ٨٠ H (*al-±abari*:٦:٣٢٨).

Al-‘Asqal¡n¢ mentions him in *Lis¡n al-M¢z¡n* saying: “He has narrated [reports] from al-Sha’b¢ and Ab£ Mikhnaf from him.”[٢] The same [assertion] has appeared in *al-Mughn¢*.[٣]

٦. ¯aq’ab bin Zuhair al-Azd¢. He transmitted reports from Ab£ ‘Uthm¡n al-Nahd¢, ‘Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah al-Saw¡¢, ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Shurai¦ al-Ma’¡fir¢ al-Iskandar¡n¢ -who died in Alexandria in ١٦٧ H as reported in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (*al-±abari*:٦:١٩٣), ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin al-°¡rith bin Hish¡m al-Makhz£m¢ and °umaid bin Muslim.

±abar¢ narrates twenty reports from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*], all

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[١] Ibid, (٢:١٧٨).
[٢] Ibid, (٦:١٧١).
[٣] *Al-Mughn¢* (٢:٧٠١; D¡r al-Da’wah publications).

of which are through Ab£ Mikhnaf who was relating them from [¯aq'ab]. Three of these reports are about the death of the Prophet of Allah (¥). [¯aq'ab] was present with 'Al¢ ('a) at ¯iff¢n and thus related the words of 'Amm¡r bin Y¡sir (٥:٣٨). He also narrated the report about the martyrdom of °ujr bin 'Adiyy (٥:٢٥٣). Nine of these [reports] are pertaining to the event of Karbal¡' and [another] three about Mukht¡r.

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* says: "Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. Ab£ Zar'ah says that he was reliable, while according to Ab£ °¡tim, he is a master (*shaikh*) who is not renowned."[١]

It has appeared in the footnote of the book *Khul¡¥ah Tadhh¢b Tahdh¢b al-Kam¡l* that Ab£ Zar'ah has attested to his reliability.[٢]

٧. Mu'all¡ bin Kulaib al-Hamd¡n¢. He narrated [reports] from Ab£ al-Wadd¡k Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamd¡n¢ (see the fourth list, no.٤).

٨. Y£suf bin Yaz¢d bin Bakr al-Azd¢. He related [reports] from 'Abdullah bin Kh¡zim al-Azd¢ and 'Af¢f bin Zuhair bin Ab¢ al-Akhnas.

His full name has appeared in *al-±abar¢* (٦:٢٨٤), from whom he has reported fifteen reports. He lived until after the year ٧٧ H. Al-Dhahab¢ mentions him in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* and says: "He was truthful and noble. He was from Ba¥rah. A group [of narrators] have related [reports] from him. He has been

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[١] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٤:٤٣٢).
[٢] *Al-Khul¡¥ah* (pg.١٧٦; D¡r al-Da'wah publications).

praised by a number of people. His narrations [are reliable and] can be recorded."[١]

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* writes: "Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. Al-Maqdis¢ says that he was reliable. According to Ab£ °¡tim, his narrations can be recorded."[٢] He has mentioned in *Khul¡¥ah Tadhh¢b Tahdh¢b al-Kam¡l* also.[٣]

٩. Y£nus bin Ab¢ Is¦¡q, 'Amru bin 'Abdullah al-Sub¢'¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ al-K£f¢. He reported from 'Abb¡s bin Ju'dah al-Jadal¢ about his coming out with Muslim bin 'Aq¢l ('a) with four thousand [men].

In his valuable book *al-Mur¡ja'¡t*, our master [al-Sayyid] Sharaf al-D¢n says:

"The fact that his father, Ab£ Is¦¡q 'Amru bin 'Abdillah al-Sub¢'¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ was a Sh¢'ah has been asserted by Ibn Qutaibah in his *al-Ma'¡rif* and al-Shahrist¡n¢ in *al-Milal wa al-Ni¦al*. He was among the leading scholars in ¦ad¢th, whose stands in theological (*u¥£l*) and juridical (*fur£'*) matters have not been praised [and approved] by the Naw¡¥ib; this is because they adhered, in these issues, to the path of the Ahl al-Bait ('a) and were devoted in following them in everything related to the religion.

This is why al-Juzj¡n¢ says [about him] -as it appears in the

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[١] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (٤:٤٧٥).
[٢] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (١١:٤٢٩).
[٣] *Al-Khul¡¥ah* (pg.٤٤٠).

biography of Zubaid in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l*[١]: 'There was a group from among the people of K£fah whose religious views [and beliefs] were not applauded by the people. [This group comprised] the leading scholars of ¦ad¢th in K£fah, such as Ab£ Is¦¡q, Man¥£r, Zubaid al-Y¡m¢, al-A'mash and their contemporaries. They were tolerated by the people because of their truthfulness in speech. However, in cases where they did not give complete chains of transmission (*arsal£*), people hesitated to accept their narrations. Among such cases in which the Naw¡¥ib were reluctant to accept the *mursal* narrations of Ab£ Is¦¡q was 'Umar bin Ism¡'¢l's report which he narrated from Ab£ Is¦¡q [himself], as reported in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* under his biography.[٢] [Ab£ Is¦¡q] says that the Prophet of Allah (¥) said: 'The example of 'Al¢ is that of a tree whose root is me and its branch is 'Al¢. Al-°asan and al-°usain are its fruits, and the Sh¢'ah are its leaves.'"

Sayyid Sharaf al-D¢n further adds: "Al-Mugh¢rah did not say what has been reported in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* that 'None other than Ab£ Is¦¡q and al-A'mash have spoiled the ¦ad¢th of the people of K£fah'[٣], or 'Ab£ Is¦¡q and your U'aimash[٤] have destroyed the Kufans'[٥], except for the reason that they were Sh¢'ah and sincere to the progeny of Mu¦ammad (¥), and that they used to preserve what has come in the Sunnah of their virtues, peace be upon them."

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[١] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (٢:٦٦; Aleppo edition).
[٢] Ibid, (٣:٢٤٦).
[٣] Ibid, (٣:٢٧٠).
[٤] U'aimash is the dimunitive noun of A'mash. It has been used here by al-Mugh¢rah for the purpose of belittling the personality of A'mash.
[٥] Ibid, (٢:٢٢٤).

Sayyid Sharaf al-D¢n then says: “The authors of the *¯i¦¡¦* and others have adduced the narrations of each of these two [i.e. Ab£ Is¦¡q and A’mash] as proofs.”[١]

According to *al-Wafay¡t*, Ab£ Is¦¡q was born three years before the end of the caliphate of ‘Uthm¡n, that is in ٣٣ H, and he died in ١٣٢ H, as reported by Ibn Ma’¢n and al-Mad¡in¢.

His son, Y£nus bin Ab¢ Is¦¡q, has narrated [reports] from him. [Y£nus] died in the year ١٥٩ H while he was in his ninties, if not above that, as reported by *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l*.[٢] He is the one who related to Ab£ Mikhnaf the report on the uprising of Muslim [‘a] in K£fah from ‘Abb¡s bin Ja’dah. There is another report by [Y£nus] in *al-±abar¢*, apart from this one, regarding the dispatching of troops by Ibn Ziy¡d to besiege al-°usain (‘a) before his arrival in K£fah; though he does not specify from whom he was narrating it (٥:٣٩٤). ±abar¢ has narrated another eleven reports from him [in *al-T¡r¢kh*] through Ab£ Mikhnaf, and other thirteen reports through other than Ab£ Mikhnaf.

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* says: “Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. Ibn Ma’¢n says that he is reliable. According to Ab£ °¡tim, he was truthful. Al-Nass¡’¢ says that there is no objection about him. According to Ibn ‘Adiyy, he has agreeable (*¦is¡n*) narrations and people have related from him.” He then says: “He died in the year ١٥٩

[١] *Al-Mur¡ja’¡t* (pg.١٠٠; al-¯¡diq publications).
[٢] *M¢z¡n al-Itid¡l* (٤:٤٨٣).

H.”[١]

١٠. Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid al-Azd¢. He narrated [reports] from ‘Abdullah bin Kh¡zim al-Bakr¢ al-Azd¢, °umaid bin Muslim al-Azd¢ and Ab£ al-Kan£d ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Ubaid.

±abar¢ has narrated twenty of his reports [in his *T¡r¢kh*], most of which are through [some] intermediaries. He was alive till ٨٥ H (*al-±abari*:٦:٣٦٠).

١١. Muj¡lid bin Sa’¢d al-Hamd¡n¢. He narrated from ‘ªmir al-Sha’b¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ his report about the [the events] of Qa¥r Ban£ Muq¡til (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٠٧).

He has another report with an incomplete chain of narration (*mursal*) in which he does not mention anyone from whom he was relating it, regarding the betrayal of Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l by the people [of K£fah] and his loneliness, his entering the house of ±aw’ah, the speech of Ibn Ziy¡d, the [disclosure of the] news by Bil¡l bin ±aw’ah and the dispatch of Ibn al-Ash’ath by Ibn Ziy¡d to fight Muslim (‘a) (٥:٣٧١-٣٧٣).

±abar¢ has narrated seventy reports from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*], most of which are from al-Sha’b¢. Ab£ Mikhnaf describes him as *al-mu¦addith* [i.e. the narrator] (٥:٤١٣).

Al-Dhahab¢ mentions him in *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* and says: “He was well-known and was a narrator. According to al-Ashba¦, he was a Sh¢‘ah. Muj¡lid died in ١٤٣ H.” Al-Dhahab¢ then relates from al-Bukh¡r¢ that the latter, while mentioning the

[١] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (١:٤٣٣).

biography of Muj¡lid, narrated from him [a report] which he related from al-Sha'b¢, that Ibn 'Abb¡s said: "When F¡§imah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (¥), was born, he named her al-Man¥£rah. So Jibr¡¢l descended [onto the Prophet (¥)] and said: 'O Mu¦ammad! Allah is sending greetings to you and to your [newly] born child, and He says: 'No child has been born dearer to me than her.' He has given her a name better than what you have named her, he has named her F¡§imah; as she will save (*tufa§§imu*) her followers (*sh¢'ah*) from the hell fire.'"[١]

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

١٢. Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d bin Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢. He related from his grandfather, Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah, the coming out of Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash'ath to fight and capture Muslim bin 'Aq¢l ('a), and [also Muslim's] request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way he] was given the water (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٧٣&٣٧٥).

±abar¢ mentions him [in his *T¡r¢kh*] without ascribing his report to his father or grandfather, which apparently does not seem to be correct; as he did not witness the events of K£fah. Rather, it was his grandfather, Z¡idah, who witnessed the events and was in contact with them. He was in the company of 'Amru bin °uraith -who had raised the banner of safe-

[١] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (٣:٤٣٨). It has been said that he died in the month of Dh£ al-°ijjah ١٤٣ or ١٤٤ H, as reported in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b*.

conduct from Ibn Ziy¡d at the central mosque of K£fah [for anyone who wished to abandon Ibn ‘Aq¢l]- when Ibn Ziy¡d ordered them to send seventy men from [the tribe of] Qais with Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash’ath to fight Muslim (٥:٣٧٣). It was there that Z¡idah interceded [with Ibn Ziy¡d] on behalf of his cousin Mukht¡r (٥:٥٧٠).

With regard to Qud¡mah bin Sa’¢d [himself], Shaikh [al-±£s¢] has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a)[١]. His biography has been mentioned earlier [see the fourth list (no.٩)].

١٣. Sa’¢d bin Mudrik bin ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu’i§ al-Umaw¢. He narrated from his grandfather, ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Uqbah, the report about sending his servant, Qais, to his house to bring water for Muslim bin ‘Aqil at the gate of the palace, before he was taken to Ibn Ziy¡d (٥:٣٧٦).

The text reads: “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sa’¢d narrated to me… that ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Uqbah…” This report implies that [Sa’¢d] was in direct contact with the events and was not narrating it from any other person. [However,] this is highly improbable and it seems that he was narrating it from his grandfather, ‘Um¡rah.

Regarding this particular incident, we have given precedence to the report of Qud¡mah bin Sa’¢d -for reasons which we have mentioned in its appropriate place in this book- according to which it was [in fact] ‘Amru bin °uraith, and not ‘Um¡rah, who brought the water [for Ibn ‘Aq¢l].

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[١] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٢٧٥; Najaf edition).

١٤. Ab£ Jan¡b Ya¦y¡ bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-Wad¡'¢ al-Kalb¢. He narrated [reports] from 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad¢, on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhr¢ bin al-Mushma'il, who were both from the tribe of Asad; and from H¡ni' bin Thubait al-°a¤ram¢.

At times he [also] used to relate [reports] without mentioning his links. Among such reports is the one about the conversation of the followers of Muslim ['a] with Ibn Ziy¡d (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٦٩&٣٧٠) and the one about the sending of the heads of Muslim and H¡ni' to Yaz¢d by Ibn Ziy¡d, with a letter to him concerning the matter (٥:٣٨٠). [However,] it seems, as mentioned earlier, that he was narrating the above reports from his brother H¡ni' bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-Wad¡'¢ al-Kalb¢, the one who was sent by Ibn Ziy¡d to Yaz¢d with the letter and the head of Muslim (٥:٣٨٠).

±abar¢ has narrated twenty three reports from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*], nine of which are about the battles of Jamal, ¯iff¢n and Nahraw¡n, all of which are through intermediaries. Another nine are regarding [the event of] Karbal¡', five of which are through intermediaries, while three of them have no chains of narration. It appears, however, that the [last] three [narrations] were also reported through [some] links and that he was not among those who were in direct contact with the events, though, it seems, that he lived at the time these events occurred.

He has been mentioned last [in *al-±abar¢*] when he narrated [a report] -through an incomplete chain of narration- regarding the letter of Mu¥a'b bin al-Zubair to Ibr¡h¢m bin al-Ashtar after the death of Mukht¡r, inviting him to [support and pay allegiance to] him in the year ٦٧ H (٦:١١١).

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* says: “Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. According to Ibn Numair, Ibn Khar¡sh, Ab£ Zur’ah and al-S¡j¢, he was from K£fah and was truthful. Ab£ Na’¢m says that there is no objection about him, and he died in ١٥٠ H. According to Ibn Ma’¢n, he died in ١٤٧ H.”[١]

١٥. °¡rith bin Ka’b bin Fuqaim al-W¡lib¢ al-Azd¢ al-K£f¢. He narrated [his reports] from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n, ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain and F¡§imah bint ‘Al¢ (‘a).

[°¡rith] was among the followers of Mukht¡r (*al-±abari*:٦:٢٣), but he changed his opinion after him and [believed] in the divine leadership (*im¡mah*) of ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) and began narrating from him (٥:٣٨٧). It seems that he had moved from K£fah to Mad¢nah after he heard [narrations from] Imam Zain al-‘ªbid¢n and F¡§imah bint ‘Al¢ (‘a) (٥:٤٦١).

Shaikh al-±£s¢ counted him in his *Rij¡l* among the companions of ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (’a). However, according to the Najaf edition of his *Rij¡l*, he calls him °urr bin Ka’b al-Azd¢ al-K£f¢, whereas the editor [of that book] names him ‘°¡rith’ in the footnote, quoting it from another transcript [of Rij¡l al-±£s¢], which is in fact the correct opinion.

١٦. Ism¡’¢l bin ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ Kar¢mah al-Sudd¢ al-K£f¢. He related from Faz¡r¢ the report about Zuhair bin al-Qain.

Al-Dhahab¢ writes in *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l*: “He was accused of being a Sh¢‘ah and that he used to revile Ab£ Bakr and

[١] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (١١:٢٠١).

‘Umar. Ibn ‘Adiyy says: I consider him trustworthy. A¦mad says: he was reliable. According to Ya¦y¡ bin Sa’¢d, I have not seen anyone mentioning al-Sudd¢ except with good, and none has abandoned [his narrations]. Shu’bah and al-Thaur¢ have narrated [reports] from him.”[١]

±abar¢ has related eighty four reports from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*], reports concerning the events of after [even] ١٠٠ H.

According to *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b*[٢] and *al-K¡shif*,[٣] he died in ١٢٧ H. He used to sit at the gate (*suddah*) of the central mosque in K£fah, and thus came to be known as ‘al-Sudd¢’. He was an associate of the Quraish. He has [also] narrated [reports] from al-°asan (‘a).

١٧. Ab£ ‘Al¢ al-An¥¡r¢. He related from Bakr bin Mu¥’ab al-Muzniyy his report about the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin Yuq§ur. This is the only report mentioned in *al-±abar¢* from him. There is no mention of him [either] in the works of Rij¡l.

١٨. Laudh¡n. He narrated from his uncle the report of his meeting with al-°usain (‘a) on his way [to K£fah]. His identity is not known.

١٩. Jam¢l bin Marthad al-Ghanaw¢. He related a report from ±irimm¡¦ bin ‘Adiyy al-±¡¢.

٢٠. Ab£ Zuhair al-Na¤r bin ¯¡lih bin °ab¢b al-‘Abs¢. He reported from °ass¡n bin F¡id bin Bukair al-‘Abs¢ his report

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[١] *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* (١:٢٣٦; Aleppo edition).
[٢] *Tahdh¢b alTahdh¢b* (١:٣١٣).
[٣] Ibid, (١:٢٣٦).

about the letter of Ibn Sa‘d to Ibn Ziy¡d and the latter’s reply; and also from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tam¢m¢ his report regarding °urr [al-Riy¡¦¢].

[Ab£ Zuhair] has thrity one narrations in *al-±abar¢*. He lived during the time of Mukht¡r (*al-±abari*:٦:٨١). He then came out with the army of Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair to fight Qu§riyy, the Kh¡rij¢, in ٦٨ H (٦:١٢٧). Later he became the gatekeeper of Mu§arraf bin al-Mugh¢rah bin Shu’bah al-Thaqaf¢, the Kh¡rij¢, in Mad¡in in ٧٧ H. He was a submissive young man and used to stand by [Mu§arraf’s] head with his sword (٦:٢٨٧&٢٨٩). He fought the army of °ajj¡j along with Mu§arraf in ٧٧ H (٦:٢٩٨) and then returned to K£fah (٦:٢٩٩).

Imam al-R¡z¢ mentions [Ab£ Zuhair] in his *al-Jur¦ wa al-Ta’d¢l* and says: “I heard my father saying that: Ab£ Mikhnaf has narrated from him, while he was narrating from ‘Al¢ (‘a) through [some] links.”[١]

٢١. °¡rith bin °u¥airah al-Azd¢. He related [reports] from ‘Abdullah bin Shar¢k al-‘ªmir¢ al-Nahd¢ and [also] from ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) through [‘Abdullah].

Al-Dhahab¢ mentions him in *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* and says: “Ab£ A¦mad al-Zubair¢ says: ‘He believed in the return of the pious (*raj’ah*). According to Ya¦y¡ bin Ma’¢n, he was reliable and was a *khashab¢*, attributed to the ‘wood’ (*khashabah*) on which Zayd bin ‘Al¢ was crucified [i.e. he was the follower of Zayd]. Ibn ‘Adiyy says that he was among the fanatic Sh¢‘ah in K£fah. Ab£ °¡tim al-R¡z¢ believes that he was among the early Sh¢‘ah; he would have been forsaken had al-

[١] *Al-Jur¦ wa al-Ta’d¢l* (٨:٤٧٧).

Thaur¢ not narrated reports from him."[١]

Al-Dhahab¢ narrates [a report] from °¡rith bin °u¥airah - when mentioning the biography of Nufay' bin al-°¡rith al-Nakha'¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ al-K£f¢, the blind one- and [then] says: "He is truthful, but he is a *r¡fi¤¢* [i.e. a Sh¢'ah]. He has narrated a tradition from 'Imr¡n bin °u¥ain, who said: 'I was sitting with the Prophet (¥) and 'Al¢ was by his side when the Prophet (¥) recited: 'Is not he [best] who answers the distressed when he calls to him, and removes the distress and makes you the successors in the earth…'[٢].'Al¢ [started] shivering [upon hearing the verse]. So the Prophet (¥) tapped him with his hand and said: 'None other than a believer will love you, and none other than a hypocrite will hate you, till the Day of Judgement."[٣]

±abar¢ has narrated ten reports from him [in his *T¡r¢kh*], all of which are through Ab£ Mikhnaf.

Shaikh al-±£s¢ has mentioned him in his *Rij¡l* in the circle of the companions of Am¢r al-Mu'min¢n ['Al¢]('a).[٤]

٢٢. 'Abdullah bin 'a¥im al-F¡ish¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. He related the reports of ®a||¡k bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢.

Al-Ardab¢l¢ says in *J¡mi' al-Ruw¡t*: "There is a report in *al-K¡f¢* by ['Abdullah] from Imam al-¯¡diq ('a) concerning the

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[١] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (١:٤٣٢; Aleppo edition).
[٢] Qur'an, ٢٧:٦٢.
[٣] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (٤:٢٧٢).
[٤] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٣٩; Najaf edition). He also mentions him among the companions of Imam al-B¡qir ('a) as °¡rith bin °u¥ain al-Azd¢, which is incorrect.

time of *tayammum*. Al-‘Asqal¡n¢ has mentioned him in *al-Tahdh¢b*. According to *Ba¥¡ir al-Daraj¡t*, Ab¡n bin ‘Uthm¡n and Ja’far bin Bash¢r have narrated [reports] from him.”[١]

٢٣. Ab£ al-®a¦¡k. He related the report about the night of ‘ªsh£r¡’ from ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a).

Al-Dhahab¢ has mentioned him *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* (٣:٥٤٠; Haiderabad edition) and al-‘Asqal¡n¢ in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (١٢:١٣٦) saying that Shu’bah has reported from him.

٢٤. ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamal¢. He related the report of the retainer of ‘Abd Rabbih al-An¥¡r¢, on the authority of Ab£ ¯¡li¦ al-°anaf¢, regarding the joking of his master with Burair bin Khu¤air (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢٣).

Al-Dhahab¢ has mentioned him in his *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* (٣:٢٨٨). So has al-‘Asqal¡n¢ in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٨:١٠٢) and says: “Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t* and says that he died in ١١٦ H. A¦mad bin °anbal has commended him and says that he died in ١١٨ H. According to al-Bukh¡r¢, he has narrated around two hundred traditions from ‘Al¢ (‘a). Shu’bah says that he was the most learned [of the narrators]. Ab£ °¡tim maintains that he was truthful and reliable. According to Ibn Ma’¢n, he was reliable.”

٢٥. ‘A§¡’ bin al-S¡ib. He narrated the report of Masr£q bin W¡il al-°a¤ram¢, on the authority of his brother ‘Abd al-Jabb¡r bin W¡il al-°a¤ram¢, on the falling of Ibn °awzah at the beginning of the battle (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٣١).

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[١] *J¡mi’ al-Ruw¡t* (١:٤٩٤).

Al-‘Asqal¡n¢ refers to [‘Abd al-Jabb¡r] in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* as ‘Abd al-Jabb¡r bin W¡il. He then says: “He has narrated from his brother. Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t* and said that he died in ١١٢ H.”

‘A§¡ was from Makkah. He witnessed the demolition of the Ka’bah and its renovation by Ibn Zubair in the year ٦٤ H (٥:٥٨٢). °ajj¡j did not kill him in the year ٩٤ H (٦:٤٨٨).

The author of *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* writes that: “Ibn °ibb¡n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq¡t*. So has Ibn Sa‘d in his *al-±abaq¡t* and said that he died in ١٣٧ H.”

٢٦. ‘Al¢ bin °an¨alah bin As’ad al-Shab¡m¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. He related the report of Kath¢r bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’b¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ about the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢٦).

‘Al¢ bin °an¨alah is the same Ibn °an¨alah bin As’ad al-Shab¡m¢, who [is said to have been] martyred from among the companions of al-°usain (‘a). [However,] it appears that he was either not present in Karbal¡’, or he was considered very young [by the enemy] and thus was not killed. He has not narrated any report directly. He related this report here, rather, from Kath¢r bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’b¢, the assassin of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

٢٧. °usain bin ‘Uqbah al-Mur¡d¢. He narrated from al-Zubaidiyy the attack launched by ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy [on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’].

٢٨. Ab£ °amzah Th¡bit bin D¢n¡r al-Thum¡l¢. He related

from Q¡sim bin Bukhait, on the authority of ‘Abdullah al-Thum¡l¢, his report about the captives in Sh¡m (٥:٤٦٥). Ab£ °amzah is too renowned to be mentioned here.

٢٩. Ab£ Ja’far al-‘Abs¢. He related the report of Ab£ ‘Um¡rah al-‘Abs¢ about the verses recited by Ya¦y¡ bin al-°akam.

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

The Sixth List

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

١. Imam ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain, Zain al-‘ªbid¢n (‘a). He narrated the letter of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far to Imam al-°usain (‘a), through his two sons ‘Aun and Mu¦ammad; the letter of ‘Amru bin Sa¢d bin al-‘ª¥ al-Ashdaq, through his brother Ya¦y¡ bin Sa¢d al-‘ª¥, to al-°usain (‘a) -as he was departing from Makkah- and his reply to him. Ab£ Mikhnaf related this through °¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ al-Azd¢, who was reporting it from ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٨٧-٣٨٨). [Another narration from al-Sajj¡d (‘a) was] Imam al-°usain’s request for respite for the night of ‘ªsh£r¡’ and the speech he delivered to his companions. Ab£ Mikhnaf was narrating this from °¡rith al-Azd¢, who related it from ‘Abdullah bin Shar¢k al-‘ªmir¢ al-Nahd¢, and he from Imam Zain al-‘ªbid¢n (‘a) (٥:٤١٨). [Also] the verses recited by al-°usain (‘a) on the night of ‘ªsh£r¡’ and the words of [Lady] Zainab and al-°usain’s reply to her, which Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated from °¡rith

al-Azd¢ and Ab£ al-®a¦¡k (٥:٤٢٠-٤٢١).

٢. Imam Mu¦ammad bin ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a). [Ab£ Mikhnaf related from him] the martyrdom of the infant [of al-°usain (‘a)], through ‘Uqbah bin Bash¢r al-Asad¢ (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٤٨).

٣. Imam Ja’far bin Mu¦ammad bin ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain. [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated from him through an incomplete chain of narration] the number of stab wounds and [sword] strikes on the body of al-°usain (‘a) (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٥٣).

٤. Zayd bin ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) and D¡w£d bin ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Abb¡s. They related the words of the sons of ‘Aq¢l [on the night of ‘ªsh£r¡’] (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٩٧).

It was ‘Amru bin Kh¡lid al-W¡si§¢, an associate of the Ban£ H¡shim, who narrated the report from them. He was [residing] in K£fah and later moved to W¡si§. He has related from Zayd and [from] Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a) [as well].

Al-Najj¡sh¢ mentions [‘Amru] in his *Rij¡l* (pg.٢٠٥; India edition) saying: “He has a voluminous book from which Na¥r bin Muz¦im al-Minq¡r¢ and others have narrated.” In his *Rij¡l* (pg.١٢٨; Najaf edition), Shaikh al-±£s¢ considers him to be among the companions of Imam al-B¡qir (‘a).”

Al-M¡mq¡n¢ has mentioned him in his *al-Tanq¢¦* (٢:٣٣٠) and so has al-‘Asqal¡n¢ in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٨:٣٦).

٥. F¡§imah bint ‘Al¢, as she has been referred to by *al-±abar¢*. She narrated [what transpired in] the court of Yaz¢d. [Ab£ Mikhnaf related this report from her] through °¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ al-Azd¢ (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٦١-٤٦٢). It is clear that the person who narrated [reports] from her and Imam al-Sajj¡d (‘a), is one and the same.

٦. Ab£ Sa'¢d 'Aq¢¥¡. [Ab£ Mikhnaf related from him], through some of his companions, the conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with al-°usain ('a) in the Sacred mosque, while the latter was in the state of *i¦r¡m* (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٨٥).

'All¡mah al-°ill¢ mentions him in the circle of the companions of 'Al¢ ('a) in the first part of his work, *al-Khul¡¥ah*.[١] Al-Dhahab¢ mentions him in *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* saying: "He has related [reports] from 'Al¢ ('a)." He then says: "According to Shu'bah, he is reliable and his name is D¢n¡r. He was a Sh¢'ah who died in ١٢٥ H."[٢] We have already mentioned him earlier [see the fourth list (no.١)].

٧. Mu¦ammad bin Qais. He narrated: the letter of Imam al-°usain ('a) which he sent with Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢ to the people of K£fah and the martyrdom of [Ibn Musahhar]; Muslim bin 'Aq¢l's letter to al-°usain ['a]; the words of 'Abdullah bin Mu§¢' al-'Adaw¢ to the Imam ('a) and his reply, through an incomplete chain of narration (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٩٤-٣٩٦); and the martyrdom of °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir, [also] through an incomplete chain of narration (٥:٤٤٠).

Al-Kashh¢ says: "[Mu¦ammad once] informed Imam al-B¡qir ('a) [of his narrations], so he ('a) stopped him from listening to such and such person."[٣] Al-Kashh¢ [then] describes him as a defender of the divine leadership (*im¡mah*) of Imam al-B¡qir ('a).[٤]

Al-Najj¡sh¢ says regarding him: "He is a notable personality and reliable. He was from K£fah. He has narrations from Ab£

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[١] *Al-Khul¡¥ah* (pg.١٩٣; Najaf edition).
[٢] *M¢z¡n al-I'tid¡l* (٢:١٣٩).
[٣] *Rij¡l al-Kashh¢* (pg.٣٤٠; ¦ad¢th no.٦٣٠).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.٢٣٧; ¦ad¢th no.٤٣٠).

Ja'far [al-B¡qir] and Ab£ 'Abdillah [al-¯¡diq ('a)]".[١]

Shaikh al-±£s¢ has mentioned him in *al-Fihrist* under entries ٥٩١ and ٦٤٤.[٢] In his *Rij¡l*, al-±£s¢ has mentioned four persons, with this very name, to be among the companions of Imam al-¯¡diq ('a).[٣] So has 'All¡mah al-°ill¢ in *al-Khul¡¥ah*.[٤]

٨. 'Abdullah bin Shar¢k al-'ªmir¢ al-Nahd¢. He related from 'Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a): al-°usain's request for respite for the night of 'ªsh£r¡'; the Imam's speech to his companions; the verses recited by al-°usain ('a) on the night of 'ªsh£r¡', the words of [Lady] Zainab ('a) and his reply to her (*al-±abari*:٥:٤١٨&٤٢٠).

He has also narrated through an incomplete chains of narration reports about the arrival of Shamir at Karbal¡' with the letter of safe-conduct for the brothers of 'Abb¡s ('a), and Ibn Sa'd's advancing against al-°usain ('a) in the evening of the ninth of Mu¦arram (٥: ٤١٥&٤١٦).

Al-Kashh¢ says that he was a disciple of Imam al-B¡qir and al-¯¡diq ('a).[٥]

According to a narration, ['Abdullah] will return to this world and be at the service al-Q¡im ('a), may Allah hasten his reappearance.[٦] [Yet] according to another tradition, he will be the standard bearer on that day."[٧]

It appears from *al-±abar¢* that he was one of the leading

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[١] *Rij¡l al-Najj¡sh¢* (pg.٢٢٦; India edition).
[٢] *Al-Fihrist* (pg.١٥٧&١٧٦).
[٣] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٢٩٨, entry no.٢٩٤; Najaf edition).
[٤] *Al-Khul¡¥ah* (pg.١٥٠, entry no.٦٠ onwards; Najaf edition).
[٥] *Rij¡l al-Kashh¢* (pg.١٠, ¦ad¢th no.٢٠).
[٦] Ibid, (pg.٢١٧, ¦ad¢th no.٣٩٠).
[٧] Ibid, (¦ad¢th no.٣٩١).

figures among the followers of Mukht¡r (٦:٤٩،٥١&١٠٤). He then joined Mu¥'ab (٦:١٦١). Later, he left him because of the safe-conduct from 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n (٦: ١٦١). [In any case,] he may have repented after this and thus became among the companions of the Aimmah ('a).

٩. Ab£ Kh¡lid al-K¡bul¢. He related a report, through an incomplete chain of narration, about the supplication of al-°usain ('a) on the morning of [the day of] 'ªsh£r¡'. (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٢٣).

±abar¢ refers to him as Ab£ Kh¡lid al-K¡hil¢. But he has not been refered to by this name in any of the existing famous works of Rij¡l. [However,] the existing predominant view [about his name] is what we have mentioned [above], and which is [in fact] the correct opinion.

Al-Kashh¢ says that he fled from °ajj¡j and hid himself in Makkah and was thus saved from him. He [then] served Mu¦ammad bin al-°anafiyyah, believing in his divine leadership (*im¡mah*). Later, he turned away from him to Imam al-Sajj¡d ('a)[١] and became his disciple from among his companions[٢]. He served the Imam ('a) for a long time before returning to his [home] town.[٣]

Shaikh al-±£s¢ has counted him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajj¡d ('a).[٤]

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that he was among those non-Arabs (*maw¡l¢*) who were [supporting] Mukht¡r. And this is why he believed in the *im¡mah* of

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[١] Ibid, (pg.١٢٤, ¦ad¢th no.١٩٥).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٩, ¦ad¢th no.٢٠).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.١٢١, ¦ad¢th no.١٩٣).
[٤] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.١٠٠, entry no.٢, under the name 'Kankar').

Mu¦ammad bin al-°anafiyyah and fled from °ajj¡j; as there was no [other] reason for his fleeing from °ajj¡j except that [he was with Mukht¡r].

١٠. ‘Uqbah bin Bash¢r al-Asad¢. He related from Imam al-B¡qir (‘a) the martyrdom of the infant [of al-°usain (‘a)] (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٥٣).

Al-Kashh¢ mentions him [in his *Rij¡l*] and says: “He sought the permission of Imam al-B¡qir (‘a) to be in charge of the monthly stipends of his people for the [then] ruler, but he (‘a) did not allow him.” Al-Kashh¢ has brought the [above] report of his under the narrations of the martyrdom of the infant.[١]

Shaikh al-±£s¢ has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain[٢] and al-B¡qir (‘a)[٣].

‘Uqbah al-Asad¢ has an elegy in *al-±abar¢* in lamentation of the companions of Mukht¡r (٦:١١٦).

١١. Qud¡mah bin Sa’¢d bin Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢. He narrated from him grandfather: the coming out of Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kind¢ to fight and capture Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٧٣), and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way] it was granted (٥:٣٧٥).

Al-±£s¢ mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a).[٤]

١٢. °¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ al-Azd¢. He narrated [reports] from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n, ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) and F¡§imah

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[١] *Rij¡l alKashh¢* (pg.٢٠٣, ¦ad¢th no.٣٥٨).
[٢] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٩٩, entry no.٣٢; Najaf edition).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.١٢٩, entry no.٢٩).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.١٢٩, entry no.٢٩).

bint ‘Al¢ (‘a).

He was among the followers of Mukht¡r (*al-±abari*:٦:٢٣). He later moved to Mad¢nah and heard [narrations] from Imam [al-Sajj¡d (‘a)].

Al-±£s¢ has mentioned him in his *Rij¡l* among the companions of ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a).[١]

١٣. °¡rith bin °a¥¢rah al-Azd¢. He related from ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Shar¢k al-‘ªmir¢ al-Nahd¢. He has been mentioned earlier [see the fifth list (no.٢١)].

Al-±£s¢ mentions him among the companions of ‘Al¢ [bin al-°usain (‘a)] and al-B¡qir (‘a).[٢]

١٤. Ab£ °amzah Th¡bit bin D¢n¡r al-Thum¡l¢ al-Azd¢. He was an Azd¢ through a treaty of friendship (*wal¡’*). He related [reports] from Q¡sim bin Bukhait, on the authority of ‘Abdullah al-Thum¡l¢ al-Azd¢, regarding the captives in Sh¡m (*al-±abari*:٥:٤٦٥).

Al-Kashh¢ mentions him and then relates a tradition from Imam al-Ri¤¡ (‘a) in which he said: “Ab£ °amzah al-Thum¡l¢ was in his time what Luqm¡n was in his; this is because he served four of us: ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain, Mu¦ammad bin ‘Al¢, Ja’far bin Mu¦ammad and M£¥¡ bin Ja’far for sometime.”[٣]

‘ªmir bin ‘Abdullah bin Judh¡’ah al-Azd¢ [once] asked Ab£ ‘Abdillah [al-¯¡diq] (‘a) about intoxicants (*muskir*). He replied: “Any kind of intoxicant is forbidden (¦*ar¡m*).” [‘ªmir]

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[١] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٨٧; Najaf edition).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٣٩&١١٨).
[٣] *Rij¡l al-Kashh¢* (pg.٢٠٣, ¦ad¢th no.٣٥٧ and pg.٤٨٥, ¦ad¢th no.٩١٩).

then said: “But Ab£ °amzah does drink.” When the news reached Ab£ °amzah, he repented and said: “Now I seek Allah’s forgiveness from it and repent to Him.”[١]

[One day] Ab£ Ba¥¢r visited Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a), so he (‘a) asked him about Ab£ °amzah. He replied: “He was sick when I left him.” The Imam [’a] said: “When you return to him, convey my greetings to him and inform him that he is going to die on a certain day of a certain month.”[٢]

‘Al¢ bin al-°asan bin Fa¤¤¡l says: “Ab£ °amzah, Zur¡rah and Mu¦ammad bin Muslim [all of them] died in the same year; a year or so after the demise of Ab£ ‘Abdillah [al-¯¡diq] (‘a).[٣]

Al-Najj¡sh¢ mentions him and says: “He was a non Arab (*maulan*) from K£fah and he was reliable. According to Mu¦ammad bin ‘Umar al-Ja’¡b¢ al-Tam¢m¢, he was a retainer of Muhallab bin Ab¢ ¯ufrah and his sons: °amzah, Man¥£r and N£¦, all of whom were killed along with Zayd bin ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a). He lived during the times of ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain, Ab£ Ja’far, Ab£ ‘Abdillah and Ab£ al-°asan (‘a), and has reported from them. He was among our outstanding personalities, trustworthy and reliable in [his] narrations.”[٤]

Shaikh [al-±£s¢] brings him in *al-Fihrist*[٥] and mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajj¡d[٦], Imam al-

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[١] Ibid, (pg.٢٠١, ¦ad¢th no.٣٥٤; Mashad edition).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.٢٠٢, ¦ad¢th no.٣٥٦).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.٢٠١, ¦ad¢th no.٣٥٣).
[٤] Ibid, (pg.٨٣; India edition).
[٥] *Al-Fihrist* (pg.٦٦; Najaf edition).
[٦] *Rij¡l al-±£s¢* (pg.٨٤; Najaf edition).

B¡qir[١], Imam al-¯¡diq[٢] and Imam al-K¡¨im (‘a).[٣]

Al-Dhahab¢ has mentioned him in *al-M¢z¡n*[٤] and so has al-‘Asqal¡n¢ in *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b*.[٥]

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

[However,] there are [some] other people from whom Ab£ Mikhnaf has related some historical events, who were not eye-witnesses [of the event], rather they were historians, like ‘Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah al-Saw¡¢ al-K£f¢ (d.١١٦ H), as reported in *Taqr¢b al-Tahdh¢b*. [Ab£ Mikhnaf narrated from him,] among other reports, the date al-°usain (‘a) left Mad¢nah for Makkah, the duration of his stay in the city and his departure from Makkah, [all] through ¯aq’ab bin Zuhair.

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

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

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[١] Ibid, (pg.١١٠).
[٢] Ibid, (pg.١٦٠).
[٣] Ibid, (pg.٣٤٥).
[٤] *M¢z¡n al-I’tid¡l* (١:٣٦٣).
[٥] *Tahdh¢b al-Tahdh¢b* (٢:٧).

AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN MAD«NAH

[Mu’¡wiyah’s[1] Last Will]

±abar¢ reports in his *T¡r¢kh* (٥:٣٢٢) saying: “Thereafter began the year ٦٠ H…In this year Mu’¡wiyah took allegiance for Yaz¢d from a delegation that had come to see him together with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d.

His will was as Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad has reported from Ab£ Mikhnaf who says that ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mus¡¦iq bin ‘Abdullah bin Makhramah has narrated to me saying:

“When Mu’¡wiyah became afflicted with the illness that took his life, he called upon his son Yaz¢d[2] and said: My dear son!

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[1] *Al-±abar¢*: Mu’¡wiyah bin ¯akhr bin °arb bin Umayyah bin ‘Abd Shams. He was born ٢٥ years before the migration [of the Prophet (¥) to Mad¢nah] (٥:٣٢٥). Mu’¡wiyah was with his father Ab£ Sufy¡n in all his battles against the Prophet (¥). He embraced Islam together with his father in ٨ H, the year of the conquest of Makkah. The Prophet (¥) then made him and his father in charge of the people whose hearts were to be won over (٣:٩٠). ‘Umar appointed him as the governer of Sh¡m (٣:٦٠٤) and he retained this position till ‘Uthm¡n was assassinated. He rose against ‘Al¢, the Commander of the Faithful, to avenge ‘Uthm¡n’s blood and fought him at ¯iff¢n for the same. He continued to stand against the Commander of the Faithful until the latter was martyred. Therafter he fought °asan bin ‘Al¢ till the month of Jum¡d al-¬l¡ of the year ٤١ H when he signed a peace treaty with him. This year came to be known as the Year of Unity (*‘¡m al-jam¡’ah*). He ruled for ١٩ years and just under three months and died in the beginning of Rajab of the year ٦٠ H, at the age of ٨٥, based on what ±abari narrated from al-Kalb¢ and who, in turn, was reporting from his father (٥:٣٢٥).

[2] *Al-±abar¢*: He was born in the year ٢٨ H. His mother was Mais£n bint Bajdal al-Kalb¢. Mu’¡wiyah summoned the people in ٥٦ H to

I have spared you the trouble of travelling and going from one place to another [for attaining the caliphate]; I have prepared the grounds for you; I have humbled the enemies for you; I have subjugated the Arabs for you; and I have produced a consensus [among them] in favour of you.[١] I have

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pay their allegiance to Yaz¢d as his heir apparent and in ٥٩ H he took allegiance from different delegations. Yaz¢d assumed leadership in the beginning of Rajab ٦٠ H, a few months after reaching the age of ٣٢. He died at °aww¡r¢n on the ١٤th night of Rab¢’ al-Awwal ٦٤ H (٥:٤٩٩). Accordingly, he ruled for a period of ٣ years, ٨ months and ١٤ days, and was ٣٦ years of age when he died. We shall comment in the coming pages on the presence of Yaz¢d at his father’s deathbed. In *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٣٥), Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ agrees [with the opinion that he was present]. The same has been reported by Shaikh al-¯ad£q in his *Am¡l¢* through a chain of narration which goes back to Imam ‘Ali bin al-°usain (‘a). Al-Khw¡razm¢ narrates in his *Maqtal al-°usain* (pg.١٧٧) from A¦mad bin al-A’tham al-K£f¢ (d.٣١٤ H) that Yaz¢d was present at that moment, but then left for hunting and returned after three days. On his return, he entered the palace and was not seen for another three days. This might have been the case, or, perhaps, Mu’¡wiyah had two separate wills; one in the presence of Yaz¢d and another in his absence, and which was reported by two people whom we shall mention later. For this very reason, we find differences in the two wills.

[١] This was done over a period of ten years, from the year ٥٠ H uptil the time of his death in ٦٠ H. ±abar¢ (٥:٣٠١) has mentioned the [following] reason for that: In the year ٤٩ H, Mugh¢rah bin Shu’bah had come to see Mu’¡wiyah from K£fah, fleeing from the plague that had then struck the city. Mugh¢rah had been the governor in the city since the year ٤١ H. He was complaining to Mu¡’wiyah of his deficiency and requested him to accept his resignation from the office. Mu’¡wiyah accepted his resignation and thought of appointing Sa’¢d bin al-‘a¥¥ in his place. This aroused Mugh¢rah’s jealosy and so he came to Yaz¢d and proposed his allegiance to him as the crown prince. Yaz¢d brought the matter to this father and he reinstated Mugh¢rah in the office and ordered him to return to K£fah and prepare the people for Yaz¢d’s heir-

no fear that anyone will contend with you in this matter which has already been settled in your favour, except for four people

apparency. So Mugh¢rah went back to K£fah and discharged this duty and sent a delegation to Mu’¡wiyah for this purpose.
Mu’¡wiyah wrote to Ziy¡d bin Sumayyah -who was then his governor in Ba¥rah since ٤٥ H- asking for his advice on the issue. So Ziy¡d sent ‘Ubaid bin Ka’ab al-Numair¢ al-Azd¢ to Yaz¢d proposing that the latter should leave all detestable behavior so that it would be easier for the governors to rally people round him. Ziy¡d passed away in K£fah in the month of Ramadh¡n ٥٣ H, while he was in charge of Ba¥rah and K£fah (*‘ir¡qain*).
Mu’¡wiyah went to ‘*umrah* in the month of Rajab ٥٦ H and there he announced that he had appointed Yaz¢d as his successor and invited people to swear allegiance to him. Sa’¢d bin ‘Uthm¡n bin ‘Aff¡n approached Mu’¡wiyah and declared his opposition to that upon which Yaz¢d intervened and requested him to be appointed as the governer of Khur¡s¡n, and Mu’¡wiyah did that. Marw¡n – who was then his governer in Mad¢nah since the year ٥٤ H- also came to see Mu’¡wiyah and expressed his disapproval on the matter. This action so incensed Mu’¡wiyah that he dismissed him from the post in ٥٧ H, as reported by *al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٠٩). Al-Mas’£d¢ has extensively mentioned about Marw¡n’s opposition in *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٣٨).
Finally, in the year ٦٠ H ‘Ubaid Allah bin Ziy¡d -Mu’¡wiyah’s governor in Ba¥rah since ٥٥ H- dispatched a delegation to Mu’¡wiyah and he took their allegiance on Yaz¢d’s heir-apperency (٥:٣٢٢).

from the Quraish: °usain bin ‘Al¢[١], ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar[٢],

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He was born a few days after the beginning [of the month] of Sha’b¡n in the year ٤ H (٣:٥٥٥). He lived with his grandfather, the Messenger of Allah (¥), for ٦ years, and with his father, the Commander of the Faithful [‘Al¢ (‘a)], for ٣٠ years. In the year ٣٠ H and during the reign of ‘Uthm¡n, he took part in a military expedition to Khur¡s¡n together with his brother, al-°asan (‘a), °udhaifah bin al-Yam¡n¢, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abb¡s and a number of other Prophet’s companions, under the leadership of Sa’¢d bin al-‘[a]¥¥ (٤:٢٦٩).
He spent ١٠ years with his brother °asan (‘a), while the period of his divine leadership (*im¡mah*), after al-°asan (‘a), also lasted for ١٠ years. He was a comtemporary of Mu’¡wiyah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n during these ten years until the latter’s death. Al-°usain (‘a) was martyred in Karbal¡’ on Friday, ١٠th of Mu¦arram ٦١ H and was, at that time, fifty-six years and six months of age.
[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He did not pay allegiance to ‘Al¢ (‘a) after ‘Uthm¡n. ‘Al¢ (‘a) is narrated to have told him: “You are ill-natured, both when you were a child and as a man” (٤:٤٢٨), or, according to another report, he said: “Had it not been because of what I know of your ill-nature, both as a child and now as a man, you would not have renounced me.” (٤:٤٣٦). However, he prevented his sister, °af¥ah, from accompanying ‘[a]ishah when she rose [against ‘Al¢ (‘a)] (٤:٤٥١). He also refrained from joining ±al¦ah and Zubair in their revolt against ‘Al¢ (‘a) (٤:٤٦٠). Beside that, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar was the son in-law of Ab£ M£s¡ al-Ash’ar¢. When the latter was approached for the arbitration, he invited ‘Abdullah along with a group of other people. Al-Ash’ar¢ also refused the proposal of ‘Amru bin al-‘[a]¥¥ that ‘Abdullah should be made the caliph. But when the matter was settled in favour of Mu’¡wiyah, ‘Abdullah took his side (٥:٥٨).
Although he did not pay allegiance to Yaz¢d at this stage, he wrote him a letter after the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) requesting for the release of Mukht¡r, his brother in-law. Yaz¢d granted his request and ‘Abdullah might have paid allegiance to him after this (٥:٥٧١). But al-Mas’£d¢ clearly states that he paid allegiance to Yaz¢d through Wal¢d, and to Marw¡n through °ajj¡j (*Mur£j al-Dhahab*: ٢:٣١٦).

‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair[١] and ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ Bakr.[٢]

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

As for °usain bin ‘Al¢, the people of Iraq will never leave him until they cause him to rise.[٣] If he were to rise against

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He was born in the first or the second year of Hijrah. He defended ‘Uthm¡n during the siege until he sustained injuries (٤:٣٢٨). He did this on the order of his father, Zubair (٤:٣٨٥), whom ‘Uthm¡n had entrusted with a will (٤:٣٨٧). ‘Abdullah participated with his father in the battle of Jamal and prevented him from repenting (٤:٥٠٢), at the time when ‘ªishah had already assigned him the treasure house of Ba¥rah. He was her half brother through her mother, Umm R£m¡n (٤:٣٧٧). ‘Abdullah was injured in the battle of Jamal and was taken off the field and he later recovered (٤:٥٠٩). ‘Al¢ (‘a) used to call him ‘the evil son’ (٤:٥٠٩). He was with Mu’¡wiyah and was sent together with ‘Amru bin al-‘ª¥¥ to fight Mu¦ammad bin Ab¢ Bakr. When ‘Amru sought to kill Mu¦ammad, ‘Abdullah interceded with Mu’¡wiyah on his behalf, but he did not accept (٥:١٠٤). After the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a), ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair revolted in Makkah (٥:٤٧٤). He continued with his struggle there for twelve years until he was killed at the hands of °ajj¡j during the reign of Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n, in Jum¡da al-¬l¡ ٧٣ H (٦:١٨٧). In an expedition personally led by ‘Abd al-Malik, °ajj¡j had also killed ‘Abdullah’s brother, Mu¥’ab, at al-Anb¡r a year before.

[٢] The author of Usud al-Gh¡bah says: “’Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ Bakr left for Makkah before the allegiance to Yaz¢d was accomplished and he died at a place called °abash¢, about ten miles from Makkah, in the year ٥٥ H.” This report is not in agreement with the above will, and Allah knows best.

[٣] He came to know this from what the people of Iraq had written to the Imam (‘a) while he was in Mad¢nah, after the death of his brother al-°asan (‘a), as reported by al-Ya’q£b¢ (٢:٢١٦). According to al-Ya’q£b¢, “The people of Iraq were waiting for the

you and you were to gain victory over him, then you should pardon him[١]; for he belongs to an important family and has a great right [on the people]!

Regarding [‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n] Ibn Ab£ Bakr, he is a kind of person who will follow whatever his companions will do, and his only concern is women and sport.

The one who will crouch the crouching of a lion in wait of its prey, and will consistently engage in trickery like a fox and pounce on you when an opportunity presents itself, is Ibn al-Zubair. If he does that with you, tear him to pieces.”[٢]

[Mu’¡wiyah’s Death]

[Mu’¡wiyah died in the beginning of Rajab ٦٠ H][٣]. ®a¦¦¡k bin Qais [al-Fihr¢][٤] came out from the palace and went on the

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Imam to rise for his right and Mu’¡wiyah heard about this. So he reproached the Imam for this, but he refuted his claim. Mu’¡wiyah then left the issue.”

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

[٢] Al-Khw¡razm¢ also has related this in his *Maqtal* (pg.١٧٥) with some additions.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٢٤): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad has said…” Page ٣٣٨ of the same book says: “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad reported on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf that Yaz¢d ascended the throne in the beginning of Rajab ٦٠ H.”

[٤] *Al-±abar¢*: He was with Mu’¡wiyah in the battle of ¯iff¢n and

pulpit while Mu’¡wiyah’s shroud was visible in his hands. He praised and extolled Allah and then said: “Mu’¡wiyah was the backbone of the Arabs and their master. Allah wiped off dissension (*fitnah*) through him, made him in charge of His servants, and conquered new territories at his hands. He is now dead and this is his shroud with which we shall wrap him and put him in the grave and leave him to his deeds. He shall remain in *barzakh* till the Day of Judgement. Whosoever among you wishes to attend his funeral should come [at

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was appointed by him as the commander of the foot soldiers, the heart of the Damascus army. Later Mu’¡wiyah assigned him the administration of a peninsula under his control in °arr¡n. He thus became the focus of the partisans of ‘Uthm¡n living in Ba¥rah and K£fah. In the year ٣٦ H, ‘Al¢ sent M¡lik al-Ashtar al-Nakha’¢ to confront him. Mu’¡wiyah then appointed al-Fihr¢ as the head of his bodyguards in Damascus. He sent him to K£fah in ٥٥ H in order to invite people to pay allegiance to Yaz¢d as heir apparent. In the year ٥٨ H, he called him back (٥:٣٠٩). *Al-Mas’£d¢* (٢:٣٢٨): “He reinstated him as the head of the bodyguards. He continued to hold this position till ٦٠ H when the delegation sent by ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d from Ba¥rah arrived in Damascus and Mu’¡wiyah took allegiance from them for his son Yaz¢d.” It seems natural that he should have remained in this position until the time when the prisoners from the Prophet’s family entered Sh¡m.

Al-±abari: When Mu’¡wiyah bin Yaz¢d died in the year ٦٤ H, ®a''¡k invited the people first towards himself and later to Ibn al-Zubair! When Marw¡n arrived in Sh¡m and met ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d from Iraq, the latter tempted Marw¡n to take up the caliphate. So Marw¡n started inviting people towards himself and they paid him allegiance. This prompted al-®a''¡k to lead a protest against Marw¡n in Damascus and, later, rise to fight him at Marj R¡hi§, a few miles away from Damascus. The fight lasted for twenty days, at the end of which ®a''¡k was killed and his side defeated. His head was brought to Marw¡n in the month of Mu¦arram ٦٤ or ٦٥ H (٥:٥٣٥-٥٤٤). The Commander of the Faithful (‘a) used to curse ®a''¡k in the *qun£t* of his prayers as reported in *al-±abar¢* (٥:٧١) and *Waq’at Siffin* (pg.٧٢).

noon].”

A messenger had earlier been sent to Yaz¢d to inform him of Mu’¡wiyah’s critical condition.[١] [Upon receiving the news,] he

[١] This is how the narration by *al-±abar¢* leaves off at the will and picks up again at the dispatch of the messenger to Yaz¢d, without any mention of his journey and the place he was. For this reason ±abar¢ gives another report after this one, based on the authority of Hish¡m from ‘Aw¡nah bin al-°akam (d. ١٥٧) [who says]: “Yaz¢d was not present, so Mu’awiyah called ®a¦¡k bin Qais al-Fihr¢ - who was the head of his bodyguards- and Muslim bin ‘Aqabah al-Mariyy -who led the raid of °arrah in Mad¢nah- and made his will. Then he told them: “Inform Yaz¢d of my will.”
This narration from *al-±abar¢* about the will of Mu’¡wiyah slightly differs from that of Ab£ Mikhnaf, both in wording and meaning. [Firstly,] while Ab£ Mikhnaf’s report mentions ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Umar as one of the four people about whom Mu’¡wiyah was apprehensive that they might not pay allegiance to Yaz¢d, this narration omits him.
[Secondly,] in the previous account Yaz¢d is advised not to avenge al-°usain (‘a), while in the present narration from *al-±abar¢*, Mu’¡wiyah hopes that Allah would save Yaz¢d through those who killed the father of al-°usain [‘a] and abandoned his brother –i.e. the people of K£fah.
[Thirdly,] Ab£ Mikhnaf reports that Mu’¡wiyah advised Yaz¢d to tear Ibn al-Zubair to pieces, while this narration enjoins him to make peace and not engage in bloodshed with the Quraish!
What backs the account of *al-±abar¢* is the fact that ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ Bakr is not mentioned in Yazid’s letter to Walid, and also that ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n died in the year ٥٥ H as previously reported by *Usud al-Gh¡bah*. In addition to that, the appointment of Ibn Ziy¡d by Mu’¡wiyah as the governer of Iraq in his letter deposited with Sarjaun, the Roman, confirms the present account, as we shall see later.
As for the place where Yaz¢d was at the time of his father’s death, *al-±abar¢* (٥:١٠) narrates from ‘Al¢ bin Mu¦ammad that he was at °awwar¢n. Al-Khw¡razm¢ relates in his *Maqtal* (pg.١٧٧) from Ibn al-A’tham that Yaz¢d had left for °aur¡n on the same day, after

said:

A carrier with a letter came trotting,

Casting fear in the heart, frightening.

So we said: Woe unto you! What is the news?

As if uprooted were its every foundation.

One whose soul remains in apprehension,

Almost brings about that which he does fear.

I found the mansion gate closed when I came near,

Ramlah’s voice wrecked my heart and it was rent apart.[١]

[Yaz¢d’s letter to Wal¢d]

Yaz¢d assumed power in the beginning of Rajab in the year ٦٠ H. The governor of Mad¢nah at the time was Wal¢d bin ‘Utbah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n[٢], while ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d bin al-‘ª¥¥

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the will, for hunting. He thus reconciles between the present version of the will and the absence of Yaz¢d at the time of Mu’¡wiyah’s death.

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: “I narrate, on the authority of Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad, from Ab£ Mikhnaf who said: “‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mas¡¦iq bin ‘Abdullah bin Makhramah told me that when Mu’¡wiyah died…” (**٥:٣٢٧**)

[٢] *Al-±abari*: He became the governer of Mad¢nah on the order of Mu’¡wiyah in the year ٥٨ H (**٥:٣٠٩**). Yaz¢d dismissed him in the month of Rama¤¡n of the same year for not handling the issue of Imam al-°usain (‘a) seriously, and instead appointed ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d al-Ashdaq in his place (**٥:٣٤٣**). His father was ‘Utbah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n who was among the supporters of Mu’¡wiyah at ¯iff¢n. According to *Waq’at ¯iff¢n* (pg.٤١٧), his grandfather had been earlier killed by ‘Al¢ (‘a).

The last place we read of Wal¢d in *al-±abar¢* is as follows: “After

was the governer of Makkah.[١]

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the death of Yaz¢d, ®a¦¦¡k called on the people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair. Wal¢d swore at ®a¦¦¡k due to which the latter imprisoned him (٥:٥٣٣).
Mu¦addith al-Qum¢ says in *Tatimmat al-Muntah¡* (pg.٤٩) that Wal¢d attended the funeral prayer of Mu’¡wiyah bin Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah where he was stabbed to death.
[١] He was appointed by Yaz¢d as the governor of Mad¢nah in the month of Rama¤¡n ٦٠ H. He also designated him as the head of pilgrimage affairs, thus he led the people to °ajj in the year ٦٠ H. This supports the assertion that Yaz¢d had ordered him to assassinate al-°usain [‘a] wherever he found him, even if he was holding to the covering of the Ka’bah.
He was paid allegiance as an heir apparent of Kh¡lid bin Mu’¡wiyah bin Yaz¢d on the same day that people pledged their allegiance to Marw¡n bin al-°akam. This took place at J¡biyah, situated in Jawl¡n, a place between Damascus and Jordan, either on Wednesday or Thursday, three or four days to the end of Dh£ al-Qa’dah ٦٤ H, after the death of Mu’¡wiyah bin Yaz¢d. It was agreed then that ‘Amru would assume the governorship of Damascus the same day.
When ®a¦¦¡k bin Qais al-Fihr¢ came over to them from Damascus inviting people to accept either him or Ibn al-Zubair as the governer, and Marw¡n decided to fight him, ‘Amru was in charge of the right wing of Marw¡n’s army (٥:٥٢٧). Later he also conquered Egypt for Marw¡n and fought Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair in Palestine till the latter was defeated (٥:٥٤٠). When ‘Amru set out to return to Marw¡n, he [i.e. Marw¡n] was informed that °ass¡n bin Bajdal al-Kalb¢ -the maternal uncle of Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah, the chief of the Ban£ Kil¡b, and the one who rallied the people round Marw¡n for allegiance- has paid allegiance to ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d directly. Marw¡n thus summoned °ass¡n and told him of what he had heard. He denied the claim and said: “I will protect you from ‘Amru.” So when the people assembled that evening, °ass¡n stood up and addressed them and called for allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik [bin Marw¡n] as the successor to Marw¡n. All the people, without exception, extended their pledges to him!
In the year ٦٩, ٧٠ or ٧١ H, he came out to fight Zafr bin al-°¡rith

al-Kil¡b¢, or was heading towards Dair al-J¡thal¢q to fight Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair. He left behind ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n al-Thaqaf¢ as his deputy in Damascus. So ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d al-Ashdaq said to ‘Abd al-Malik: “You are going towards Iraq, so appoint me as your deputy in your absence.” ‘Abd al-Malik refused to do so, so al-Ashdaq went back to Damascus while al-Thaqaf¢ fled from it. However, ‘Abd al-Malik personally traveled to Damascus, reconciled their differences and entered the city. He then assassinated al-Ashdaq in his palace with his own hands (٦:١٤٠-١٤٨). ‘Amru al-Ashdaq’s father, Sa’¢d bin al-‘[a]¥¥ was ‘Uthm¡n’s governor in K£fah. The people of K£fah had once complained against him to ‘Uthm¡n for consuming intoxicants. The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib (‘a), executed on him the legal punishment [specified by the Shar¢’ah].

The following report has appeared in *Majma’ al-Zaw¡id* (٥:٢٤٠) of Ibn °ajar al-Haitham¢, and also in *Ta§h¢r al-Jin¡n* which has been collected on the margins of *¯aw¡iq al-Mu¦riqah*: “From Ab£ Hurairah who said: ‘I heard the Messenger of Allah (¥) saying: ‘Verily, a tyrant from among the tyrants of the Ban£ Umayyah shall have a nose-bleed on my pulpit which shall flow [on it].’ This happened exactly in the case of ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d who had a nose-bleed while on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allah (¥) and his blood flowed [on it]!”

Nu’m¡n bin Bash¢r al-An¥¡r¢[١] was the governer of K£fah[٢]

[١] He was a Khazraj¢. In his *Rij¡l* (pg.٣٠), Shaikh al-±£s¢ counts him among the companions of the Prophet (¥), while according to ±abar¢ (٤:٤٣٠) he was among those who did not pay allegiance to ‘Al¢ (‘a) after the death of ‘Uthm¡n and instead joined Mu’¡wiyah and supported him at ¯iff¢n. Later, He was sent by Mu’¡wiyah to raid ‘Ain Tamr, and he did that as reported in *al-±abar¢* (٥:١٣٣; The Events of the Year ٣٤ H). In ٥٨ H, Mu’¡wiyah appointed Nu’m¡n as the governor of K£fah and he continued to hold this position until the former died. After succeeding Mu’¡wiyah, Yaz¢d replaced Nu’m¡n in ٦٠ H with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. Nu’m¡n thus returned to Yaz¢d and was with him till the martyrdom of Imam al-°usain (‘a). He accompanied the family of the Imam (‘a) to Mad¢nah on the order of Yaz¢d (٥:٤٦٢). He once again went back to Sh¡m and was with Yaz¢d till he sent him to Mad¢nah to dissuade the An¥¡r from supporting ‘Abdullah bin °an¨alah, and warn them of opposing Yaz¢d, but they did not pay heed to him (٥:٤٨١).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Sa’d bin Ab¢ Waqq¡¥ wrote to ‘Umar [bin al-Kha§§¡b] about the success granted by Allah to the Muslims in conquering Jalwal¡. In reply, ‘Umar wrote him: “Remain in your position, do not pursue them and prepare for the Muslims a place for migration (*hijrah*) and a point for Jih¡d.” Hence, Sa’d stopped at al-Anb¡r where they were caught by fever. So he wrote to ‘Umar informing him of the situation. ‘Umar wrote back to Sa’d saying: “No place will fit the Arabs except that which is suitable for their camels and sheep, a place where there is enough vegetation. Look for a plain beside the river [Euphrates] and take it up as a habitation for the Muslims.” So Sa’d returned and camped at K£fah. (٣:٥٧٩) Literally, K£fah means a plain with pebbles and red sand (٣:٦١٩). Any area with red sand is called ‘*sahlah*’. An area covered with the mixture of such pebbles and sand is called K£fah (٤:٤١). K£fah had three regions: °irqah, Umm ‘Amru and Silsilah (٤:٤١).
In the month of Mu¦arram ١٧ H, Sa’d and his men erected structures made of reed. There occured a great fire in K£fah due to which eighty structures were destroyed, and the reeds razed to the ground by the month of Shaww¡l. Sa’d therefore sent some people to ‘Umar asking for permission to build structures with mud bricks.

‘Umar replied saying: “Go ahead, but no one among you should have more than three houses, nor should you construct high buildings.” Ab£ al-Hayy¡j bin M¡lik was the person in charge of accommodating people in K£fah, so Sa’d sent him a message informing him of ‘Umar’s order regarding the plan for the city, and that the following method must be followed: the main streets were to be ٤٠ arms-lenght wide; the streets following that should be ٣٠ arms-length; ٢٠ arms-length for smaller streets; and ٧ arms-length for the alleys. Nothing should be below this. The experts then gathered to assess the plan and Ab£ al-Hayy¡j was to be informed about all they had agreed upon, so that he could assign everyone with a particular task. Accordingly, the first thing to be sketched out and built in K£fah was the mosque. It was located on that side of the market in K£fah which was held by the date and soap sellers. A man good in archery stood in the middle of the place where the mosque was to be constructed and shot arrows to his right, before and behind him, and then declared that everyone is free to build houses beyond the points the arrows have landed. A canopy of two hundred arm-lengths was erected in the front part of the mosque. It was placed on marble columns which belonged to the Persian kings; while its ceiling was similar to that of Roman churches. A ditch was dug around it to mark its borders in order to prevent encroachment. A residence was built for Sa’d adjacent to the mosque, separated by an overlaid street of ٢٠٠ arm-lengths. The treasure houses were located at this very place. This was the palace of K£fah which was constructed for him by R£zbah out of the burnt bricks used for the buildings of the Persian kings at °¢rah (٤:٤٤&٤٥).

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

and the governer of Ba¥rah was ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d.[١]

Yaz¢d’s most pressing concern was to take allegiance from

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d was born in the year ٢٠ H (٥:٢٩٧). In the year ٤١ H, Busr bin Ar§¡t imprisoned him in Ba¥rah together with his two brothers: ‘Abb¡d and ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n. He then wrote to Ziy¡d saying: “You should present yourself before Mu’¡wiyah, or else I will kill your sons.” (٥:١٦٨). Ziy¡d died in ٥٣ H (٥:٢٨٨), so his son ‘Ubaidullah went to see Mu’¡wiyah who then appointed him as the governor of Khur¡s¡n in the year ٥٤ H (٥:٢٩٧). In ٥٥ H he was transferred to Ba¥rah, leaving Aslam bin Zur’ah al-Kalb¢ over Khur¡s¡n (٥:٣٠٦). During his governership in Khur¡s¡n, ‘Ubaidullah had launched an attack on Bukh¡r¡ highlands and conquered the cities of Ram¢thnah and Bikand. He captured two thousand archers from Bukh¡r¡, won their hearts and brought them to Ba¥rah with himself (٥:٢٩٨). Mu’¡wiyah also appointed ‘Abb¡d bin Ziy¡d as the governer of Sajist¡n, and ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ziy¡d as the administrator of Khur¡s¡n together with his brother ‘Ubaidullah (٥:٣١٥). ‘Ubaidullah held this position for two years (٥:٣١٦), and was then also made in charge of Kerm¡n. Thereafter, Shar¢k bin al-A’war al-°¡rith¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ was assigned over Kerm¡n (٥:٣٢١).
Later, Yaz¢d dismissed ‘Abb¡d from Sajist¡n and ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n from Khur¡s¡n and appointed Silm bin Ziy¡d, their brother, over both the places; and he later sent Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d, Silm’s other brother, to Sajist¡n (٥:٤٧١). In ٦٠ H, Yaz¢d made ‘Ubaidullah in charge of K£fah, so he left Ba¥rah under his brother, ‘Uthm¡n bin Ziy¡d (٥:٣٥٨). ‘Ubaidullah was forty years old when al-°usain (‘a) was martyred. He returned to Ba¥rah in ٦١ H. When Yaz¢d and his son Mu’¡wiyah died, the people of Ba¥rah paid allegiance to ‘Ubaidullah temporarily and until the next caliph had been chosen. But then they opposed him and so he went to Sh¡m (٥:٥٠٣) together with his brother ‘Abdullah in ٦٤ H (٥:٥١٣). In Sham, ‘Ubaidullah paid allegiance to Marw¡n bin al-°akam and prompted him to wage a war on Iraq. Marw¡n thus sent him towards Iraq (٥:٥٣٠) where he fought the [members of the] movement of Taww¡b£n in the year ٦٥ H and defeated them (٥:٥٩٨). Then he fought Mukht¡r in ٦٦ H (٦:٨١) where he and those with him from Sh¡m were killed in ٦٧ H (٦:٨٧).

those four people who had refused to answer Mu’¡wiyah’s call for pledging allegiance to Yaz¢d as his heir apparent, and get rid of their opposition.

So he wrote to Wal¢d:

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

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

“Take allegiance from al-°usain, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair with as much severity as you can, and spare them not until they pledge their oath. That is all.”[١],[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٣٨**): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad narrated from Ab£ Mikhnaf…” This is the first among the numerous reports which ±abar¢ connects part of it to another by saying in the beginning of each report: ‘He narrated (*q¡la*)’, while the report is based on the narration of Ab£ Mikhnaf.

[٢] This is how ±abar¢’s report from Ab£ Mikhnaf, on the authority of Hish¡m, is restricted to the mention of ‘severity’ only, without any mention of bloodshed. So is the report of Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ (pg.**٢٣٥**), also from Hish¡m, and of Shaikh al-Muf¢d in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٠٠**), which is either from Hish¡m or al-Mad¡in¢. However, al-Ya’q£b¢ reproduces in his *Tar¢kh* (**٢:٢٢٩**) the text of Yaz¢d’s letter in the following words: “As soon as my letter reaches you, call on °usain bin ‘Al¢ and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair and take allegiance from both of them. If they refuse, behead them and send

When the news of Mu’¡wiyah’s death[١] reached Wal¢d, he was very shocked and could not bear the news. So he sent a message to Marw¡n bin al-°akam[٢]

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me their heads. Also invite the people to pay their allegiance. And whosoever refuses [to do so], then carry out my order on him, [and] on °usain bin ‘Al¢ and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair. That is all.”
Al-Khw¡razm¢ mentions the letter in *al-Maqtal* (pg.١٨٠) from Ibn al-A’tham in the same manner as *al-±abar¢* did from Hish¡m, and adds: “… And whoever among them refuses, then behead him and send me his head.”
Yaz¢d’s letter reached Wal¢d on the night preceding Friday, ٢٦th of Rajab, as it is inferred from Imam al-°usain’s date of departure from Mad¢nah, as we shall see later.

[١] Historians have not specified when exactly Yaz¢d wrote this letter and when he sent it to Mad¢nah, based on which the time period of traveling from Sh¡m to Mad¢nah could have been calculated. But we can infer that from what *al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٨٢) has reported from Ab£ Mikhnaf, on the authority of Hish¡m that: “‘Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n told the person he sent with the letter from the Ban£ Umayyah – when they were besieged in Mad¢nah before the event of °arrah- to Yaz¢d in Sh¡m: ‘I give you twelve nights for going and twelve for returning; so report back to me within ٢٤ days at this place.’ Later the messenger said: ‘I went and came back to ‘Abd al-Malik within that time or a little later.”
This is also confirmed by what *al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٩٨) has related from al-W¡qid¢ (d. ٢٠٧ H) that the news of Yaz¢d’s death reached Mad¢nah in the beginning of Rab¢’ al-ªkhar, while Yaz¢d had died ١٤ nights after [the month of] Rab¢’al-Awwal ٦٤ H began –as mentioned on the same page. Therefore the news of Yaz¢d’s death must have reached them after ١٦ days.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He was banished by the Messernger of Allah (¥) from Mad¢nah along with his father, °akam bin al-‘ª¥¥ bin Umayyah, because the latter used to mock at the Prophet (¥). ‘Uthm¡n escaped with °akam and married his daughter, N¡’ilah. ‘Uthm¡n granted °akam a tribute from Africa which weighed [around] ٣٠٠ *qin§¡r* of gold (٤:٢٥٦). [Marw¡n] purchased a series of wells in Iraq by that [tribute] which later came to be known as ‘Nahr Marw¡n’ (٤:٢٨٠).

He also gave Marw¡n ١٥،٠٠٠ silver coins (٤:٣٤٥). ‘Uthm¡n had become a puppet in the hands of Marw¡n as ‘Al¢ (‘a) once said (٤:٣٦٤).

[On the day of the siege,] Marw¡n fought in defence of ‘Uthm¡n and was struck with sword on [the back part of] his neck and fell to the ground. The people wanted to finish him off but his wet nurse, who was then an old woman, jumped on him saying: “If you are intending to kill the man, then he has already been killed. But if you intend to mangle his body, then this is abominable.” So they left him (٤:٣٨١). His servant, Ab£ °af¥ah al-Yam¡n¢, then carried him to his house (٤:٣٨٠). Marw¡n continued to live thereafter with a short neck (٤:٣٩٤).

He participated in the battle of Jamal and used to call to prayer (٤:٤٥٤). He shot an arrow at ±al¦ah on the day of Jamal and killed him (٤:٥٠٩). He also sustained injuries on that day (٤:٥٣٠), thus escaped from the battlefield and sought protection with M¡lik bin Masma’ al-Ghaz¡r¢ and he granted him (٤:٥٣٦). On his return, Marw¡n joined Mu’¡wiyah (٤:٥٤١) who appointed him as the governor of Mad¢nah after the Year of Unity (٥:١٧٢). There he invented the *maq¥£rah* for prayers in the year ٤٤ H (٥:٢١٥). [*Maq¥£rah* was a cabin-like place in the mosque from inside which the ruler used to lead the people in prayers. This norm was first invented by Mu’¡wiyah out of fear of being assassinated.]

Mu’¡wiyah had gifted him with Fadak but later took it back from him (٥:٢٣١). [Mu’¡wiyah] dismissed him from the governorship of Mad¢nah in ٤٩ H (٥:٢٣٢), and reinstated him in the same position in ٥٤ H (٥:٢٩٣). It was during Marw¡n’s rule in Mad¢nah that Mu’¡wiyah had gone for °ajj in ٥٦ H and prepared the grounds for the successorship of his son, Yaz¢d (٥:٣٠٤). However, in the year ٥٧ or ٥٨ H, Mu’¡wiyah replaced him with Wal¢d bin ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n. It was for this very reason that he used to dislike Wal¢d (٥:٣٠٩).

Marw¡n was in Damascus when the captives, together with the heads of the martyrs, arrived [in the city] (٥:٤٦٥). When the incident of °arrah took place in ٦٢ H, [Marw¡n] was in Mad¢nah. Actually, it was he who asked Yaz¢d for help, and the latter sent Muslim bin ‘Aqabah al-Mariyy to his help (٥:٤٨٢). As the people of Mad¢nah heard about the coming of Muslim bin ‘Aqabah, they besieged the Umayyads -who were a thousand men- at Marw¡n’s

to come to him.[١]

[Wal¢d Seeks Counsel from Marw¡n]

When Wal¢d read Yaz¢d’s letter to Marw¡n, the latter pronounced the verse: “Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return”, and invoked Allah’s mercy upon Mu’¡wiyah. Wal¢d then asked for his advice saying: “In your opinion what shall we do?”

Marw¡n replied: “I think you should send a messenger to these people and invite them to pledge their allegiance and submit to Yaz¢d’s authority. If they did that, accept it from them and leave them. But if they refused, you should strike their heads. You must do this before they become aware of Mu’¡wiyah’s death. Otherwise, each of them will scatter away and announce his opposition and rejection, and will

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house, and then expelled them from Mad¢nah. [Marw¡n] thus left his family in the custody of ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) at Yanb£’, who agreed to provide for them and protect them. ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) had earlier withdrawn from Mad¢nah to Yanb£’, as he detested witnessing the atrocities [of the Ban£ Umayyah] (٥:٤٨٥).
In the year ٦٤ H, ‘Ubaidah bin al-Zubair took charge of Mad¢nah for his brother ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair. He expelled the Umayyads from Mad¢nah to Sh¡m. Marw¡n was paid allegiance as the caliph in Sh¡m the same year (٥:٥٣٠). He died in the month of Rama¤¡n ٦٥ H.

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: The complete report is as follows: “Marw¡n reluctantly came to Mad¢nah on the same day as Wal¢d (٥:٣٢٥). When Wal¢d noticed that from him, he reviled [Marw¡n] in his gathering. The news reached Marw¡n and so he cut-off from Wal¢d. The situation continued to remain so until the news of Mu’¡wiyah’s death reached Wal¢d. The death of Mu’¡wiyah and Yaz¢d’s order to take allegiance from a particular group of people was so distressing for Wal¢d that he had to take refuge to Marw¡n and call on him.”

invite people toward himself.”[١]

[Wal¢d’s Envoy]

Wal¢d sent ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amru bin ‘Uthm¡n[٢] -who was then a young man- to summon al-°usain (‘a) and Ibn al-Zubair. He found them sitting in the mosque. So he came [later] at a time when Wal¢d did not usually have any meeting with the people, nor would the people come to him at such a time.[٣]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٣٩): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad related from Ab£ Mikhnaf that…” This has also been reported by al-Khw¡razm¢ in *al-Maqtal* (pg.١٨١).

[٢] He was alive till the year ٩١ H. He was among those men from the Quraish who welcomed Wal¢d bin ‘Abd al-Malik to Mad¢nah (*al-±abari*:٦:٤٦٥). His agnomen was al-Mu§arrif. He died in ٩٦ H (*al-Qamq¡m*, pg.٢٧٠). His father, ‘Amru, was the son of ‘Uthm¡n bin ‘Aff¡n, the third caliph. His mother was Umm ‘Amru bint Jundab al-Azd¢ (٤:٤٢٠).
Al-±abar¢ (٥:٤٩٤) reports that ‘Abdullah’s mother was from D£s. During the event of °arrah, Muslim bin ‘Uqbah accused him of not being sincere to the Ban£ Umayyah. So when [‘Abdullah] was brought before Muslim, the latter swore at him and ordered his beard to be plucked (٥:٤٩٤).

[٣] This is how the report of Ab£ Mikhnaf is restricted here to the description of this ‘hour’ as ‘the one in which Wal¢d did not usually meet the people’, without specifying whether it was in the daytime or at night. Nevertheless, the same report contains a number of contextual clues that help us in concluding that it was in the early hours of Friday, four days to the end of the month of Rajab. They are:
(a) The actual text of the report goes like this: “Then he sent… to summon both of them. The messenger saw them and said: ‘The governor is calling you, so answer him!’ They said: ‘Go, we are just coming.” Therefore, they were both invited at the same time. The end of the report relates Ibn al-Zubair as saying: “I am just coming.” He then went to his house and hid himself. Wal¢d sent for him a second time and found him among his companions well guarded. So Wal¢d went on insisting by repeatedly sending

messengers, one after the other [for a third and a forth time, at least]. Ibn al-Zubair said: “Do not be in haste with regard to me; grant me respite, for I will surely come to you.” Wal¢d sent a group of his servants [for the fifth time] who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of K¡hiliyyah! By Allah, either to the governer, or else he will kill you!”

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

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

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

(c) Ab£ Mikhnaf relates from ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mus¡¦iq bin Makhramah, who reported from Ab£ Sa’¢d al-Maqbar¢ who said: “I saw al-°usain (‘a) entering the mosque of Mad¢nah …and after only two days I was informed that he has left for Makkah (٥:٣٤٢).”

This report confirms another report by Ab£ Mikhnaf which suggests that Ibn al-Zubair concealed himself in his house guarded

The messenger said to them: “The governor is calling you, so answer him!”

They said: “Proceed! We are coming to him.”[١]

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by his companions. He spent there the whole day and the early hours of the night and then departed from Mad¢nah at night. In the morning Wal¢d sent to him but found that he had already left. So he dispatched eighty riders after him, but they could not reach him and returned. The authorities were preoccupied with this matter for the whole of the second day till evening when Wal¢d sent for al-°usain (‘a). He responded to them saying: “Wait until morning, then you will [have time to] consider so shall we.” So they left him that night and did not compel him, and [al-°usain (‘a)] left under the cover of darkness, on the night preceding Sunday, two days before the end of Rajab” (**٥:٤٣١**).

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

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

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٣٩**): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad narrated from Ab£ Mikhnaf…” Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ brings the above report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.**٢٠٣**), while al-Khw¡razm¢ has paraphrased it in his

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

Al-°usain (‘a) replied: “I think the tyrant among them has perished[١], so he has summoned us to take allegiance from us before the news spread to the people.”

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

Al-°usain (‘a) answered: “I will gather my young men right now and will go to see him. As I reach the entrance, I will leave the young men by the gate and enter myself.”

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

Al-°usain (‘a) replied: “I will not go to see him unless I am capable of refusing [what he wants from me].”

He then left the mosque and assembled his servants and the members of his household. They all walked until they reached

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Maqtal. It is not known why the pronoun (¤*am¢r*) in the report has appeared in the dual form, while the invitation was sent to three people. What appears from the final part of the report is that these two people were al-°usain (‘a) and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair only, and there is no any mention of ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ Bakr and ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar. What would probably account for the omission of Ibn Ab¢ Bakr is that he had died before this -as mentioned earlier, while Ibn ‘Umar was not present in Mad¢nah at that time as *al-±abar¢* has narrated from al-W¡qid¢ (**٥:٣٤٣**).
With regard to Wal¢d’s envoy and who he was, al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg. **١٨١**), based on the report of Ibn al-A’tham, and also Sib§ al-Jawz¢ (pg.**٢٣٥**), [are of the opinion that] he was ‘Amru bin ‘Uthm¡n. According to *Tar¢kh Ibn ‘As¡kir* (**٤:٣٢٧**), he was ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Amru bin ‘Uthm¡n bin ‘Aff¡n.

[١] The actual text reads: “I think I am going to see the tyrant among them”, but what we have mentioned is more correct.

the door of Wal¢d. He then said to his companions: “I am entering. If I call you, or you hear my voice raised, then rush your way in. Otherwise, remain in your positions until I come out.”[١]

[Al-°usain (‘a) Meets Wal¢d]

Al-°usain (‘a) entered and greeted the governer while Marw¡n was sitting next to him. [Marw¡n had once cut off from Wal¢d as mentioned earlier].

Al-°usain (‘a) said –as if he did not suspect Mu’¡wiyah’s death: “Maintaining the bond of kinship is better than severing it. May Allah set aright your difference.” But the two men did not return a word.

After al-°usain (‘a) took his seat, Wal¢d read him the letter and informed him about the death of Mu’¡wiyah, and asked him to pay allegiance [to Yaz¢d].

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

Wal¢d responded: “Yes, indeed!”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: “So when you go out to the people inviting them to pledge their allegiance, invite us along with them, thus the matter will take place at one time.”[٢]

Wal¢d [in fact] wanted to be excused from the issue of al-

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[١] Al-Muf¢d has narrated this briefly in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٠), and so has Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٣٦) and al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٣).

[٢] Al-Khw¡razm¢ has reported this on pg.١٨٣ of his *Maqtal* with different wordings.

°usain (‘a). So he said to him: “Go in the name of Allah until you come back to us with the people.”

[Here] Marw¡n interrupted “By Allah! If he parts from you now without paying allegiance, then you will never have the same power over him until a great number of people from among you and him are killed! Arrest him and do not let him leave you until after he has paid homage [to Yaz¢d], or you have executed him!”[١]

[At this] al-°usain (‘a) jumped up and said: “O son of Zarq¡’![٢] Are you going to kill me or he? By Allah, you have lied and sinned!”[٣]

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[١] See *al-Maqtal* of al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٤).

[٢] She was Zarq¡’ bint Mawhib. She was among the prostitutes who had banners [on their houses] as reported in *al-K¡mil* (٤:٧٥). Therefore, the Imam’s statement was not an accusation, nor was it ‘calling someone by bad names’. Rather, it is similar to what has appeared in the Holy Qur’an regarding Wal¢d bin al-Mugh¢rah al-Makhz£m¢: “Any violent tyrant, who is in addition base born” (٦٨:١٣). The word *zan¢m* –which has appeared in the verse just mentioned- literally means a ‘bastard’.

[٣] Al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٤) has related [the above words of the Imam (‘a)] and added: “Verily, we are the family to which belongs the Prophethood, [we are] the origin of the [divine] messengership (*ma’din al-ris¡lah*), the place frequented by the angels, and the point where the mercy of Allah descends. With us Allah began the creation and with us he will end it. Yaz¢d is an immoral person who drinks wine, kills innocent people and sins openly. A person like me cannot pay allegiance to someone like him! However, the matter will eventually come to light as to who among us deserves the allegiance and the caliphate.” [Meanwhile,] the people at the door heard the voice of al-°usain (‘a) raised, so they were about to enter with their swords drawn when al-°usain (‘a) came out and ordered them to return to their houses.” Sayyid Ibn ±¡w£s (d.٦٩٣ H) also has narrated this in *al-Malh£f fi Qatl¡ al-±uf£f*, and so has Ibn Nam¡ (d.٦٤٥ H) in *Muth¢r al-A¦z¡n*.

Then he went out and passed by his companions, so they accompanied him until he reached his house.[١]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٣٩**): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad narrated from Ab£ Mikhnaf…” Al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.**١٨٤**) has also related it with the following addition: “So Marw¡n said to Wal¢d: ‘You disobeyed me! By Allah! He will never give you the same opportunity over his life!’ Wal¢d retorted: ‘Blame someone other than myself, O Marw¡n! Indeed, you have chosen for me something which would destroy my religion! By Allah, I would not love to have all the worldly wealth [and dominion] which the sun rises and sets over, while I am [guilty of] killing al-°usain.” Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.**٢٢٦**) has briefly related this: “Wal¢d remarked: ‘Glory be to Allah! Should I kill al-°usain because he said ‘I will not pay allegiance’?! By Allah, I believe that anyone who is [responsible] for the blood of al-°usain shall certainly have light scales (*khaf¢f al-m¢z¡n*) before Allah on the Day of Judgement!’ ‘If this is your opinion, then you have acted correctly in what you did”, said Marw¡n. He said this showing his disapproval of his view.” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٠١**).

[The Stand of Ibn al-Zubair]

With regard to Ibn al-Zubair, he said to the messenger: “I am just coming.” He then went to his house and hid himself. Wal¢d sent for him and found him among his companions well guarded. So Wal¢d went on insisting by repeatedly sending messengers, one after the other… So Ibn al-Zubair said: “Do not be hasty with regard to me; I will surely come to you; grant me respite.” Ibn al-Zubair spent the whole day and part of the night by answering: “I will come soon.” Wal¢d sent a group of his servants who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of K¡hiliyyah! By Allah, either come to the governor, or else he will kill you!” But when they impelled him to come, he reacted in these words: “By Allah! I have grown suspicious because of the repeated summons and successive coming of these people. So do not rush me until I send someone to the governor to inform me of his orders.” He then sent his brother Ja’far bin al-Zubair who told Wal¢d: “May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from ‘Abdullah, for you have indeed scared him by sending too many messengers. He will come to you

[Al-°usain (‘a) in the Mosque of Mad¢nah]

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

[Wal¢d] then sent his men to al-°usain (‘a) in the evening [of the second day, Saturday, ٢٨th of Rajab]. His response was: “Come in the morning, then you will [have time to] consider [the situation] and so shall we.” So they left him for that [second] night, [i.e. the night preceding Sunday ٢٩th of

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tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone.” So Wal¢d ordered them to disperse and they did so. Ibn al-Zubair left [Mad¢nah] under the cover of the night preceding Saturday, [three days before the end of Rajab] and a night before al-°usain’s departure. He set out to Makkah by taking the unusual way -avoiding the main one in fear of being traced- together with his brother Ja’far without anyone accompanying them. [See also *al-Tadhkirah*, pg.٢٣٦]. In the morning Wal¢d sent for Ibn al-Zubair but he had already left. So Marw¡n said “By Allah! He has not gone except towards Makkah.” Wal¢d thus dispatched after him eighty riders from among the servants of the Ban£ Umayyah, but they could not reach him and returned.
Ibn al-Zubair entered Makkah saying: “I am only seeking refuge here.” ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d was then the governor of Makkah. While he was there, Ibn al-Zubair would neither pray with the people, nor leave the mosque with them. Instead, he used to pray in one corner together with his companions and then leave with them (See *al-±abar¢*:٥:٣٤٣, Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad reporting from Ab£ Mikhnaf). Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠١) also has related it and so has Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٣٦) saying: “Al-°usain (‘a) left Mad¢nah the following night together with his family and young men, while the authorities were preoccupied with the matter of Ibn al-Zubair.” On page ٢٤٥, Ibn al-Jawz¢ reports from Hish¡m and Mu¦ammad bin Is¦¡q that [al-°usain (‘a) left] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab. According to al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٩), he left on the third of Sha’b¡n!

Rajab], without insisting upon him [attending].[١]

[It was on the first of the two days that al-°usain (‘a) went to the mosque of Mad¢nah supported by two people as related] by Sa’¢d al-Maqbar¢ who said: “I saw al-°usain (‘a) entering the mosque of Mad¢nah. He was walking by leaning on two men, sometimes leaning on this, and at times on the other. I heard him quoting [Yaz¢d] bin al-Mufarragh [al-°imyar¢]: “Let me not live -and be called by my name and drive my flocks- if I were to be granted dignity only after humiliating myself, at a time when I can face death without degradation.”[٢]

Al-Maqbar¢ says: “I said to myself: By Allah! He did not repeat the two verses except that he had a purpose behind it.” After only two days I heard that he had left for Makkah.[٣]

[The Stance of Mu¦ammad bin al-°anafiyyah][٤]

[With regard to Mu¦ammad bin al-°anafiyyah, when he heard

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٣٨-٣٤١): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad reports from Ab£ Mikhnaf…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠١).

[٢] Al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٦) related it uptil here.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٤٢): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mus¡¦iq narrated to me from Ab£ Sa’¢d al-Maqbar¢ that…” We have given al-Maqbar¢’s biography in the introduction of this book. Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٣٧) has also narrated [the above report], but in different wordings.

[٤] *Al-±abar¢*: His mother was Khaulah bint Ja’far bin Qais from the clan of the Ban£ Bakr bin W¡il (٥:١٥٤). He was together with his father, ‘Al¢ (‘a) on the day of Jamal, and was given the banner by him (٥:٤٤٥). He fought and severed the hand of a man from the tribe of Azd who was urging his men to fight for [the companions of] the camel (٤:٥١٢). Ibn al-°anafiyyah participated in ¯iffin also where ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Umar challenged him for a duel but ‘Al¢ (‘a) prevented him, out of pity, lest he should be killed (٥:١٣). Ibn

about the matter, he came to his brother, al-°usain (‘a) and] said to him:

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al-°anafiyyah was residing in Mad¢nah when al-°usain (‘a) departed Makkah for Iraq (٥:٣٩٤).
Mukht¡r had claimed that he was calling the people of K£fah on behalf of Ibn al-°anafiyyah (٥:٥٦١). When he was informed about this and asked for his comments, he said: “I wish Allah grants us victory over our enemy through whoever he wishes from among his creatures.” When his observation reached Mukht¡r, he gave him [i.e. Ibn al-°anafiyyah] the appellation of ‘Imam al-Mahd¢’ (٦:١٤). Mukht¡r showed Ibr¡h¢m bin M¡lik al-Ashtar a document attributed to Ibn al-°anafiyyah, thus inviting Ibr¡h¢m to follow him on that authority (٦:٤٦). The incident was reported to Ibn al-°anafiyyah who refuted it in these words: “He claims to be our follower, while the murderers of al-°usain sit in his company and chat with him!” [A few years after the event of Karbal¡’] when Mukht¡r killed ‘Umar bin Sa’d and his son, he sent their heads to Ibn al-°anafiyyah (٦:٦٢). He also tried to dispatch an army to Ibn al-°anafiyyah in order for him to confront Ibn al-Zubair, but he refused the offer and stopped him from bloodshed (٦:٧٤). When Ibn al-Zubair heard this, he imprisoned Ibn al-°anafiyyah at Zamzam, along with other seventeen people from among his family members and the people of K£fah who were with him, and asked them to pay him allegiance, or else he would burn them! So Ibn al-°anafiyyah sent three men from K£fah to Mukht¡r seeking his help. So Mukht¡r sent ٤٠٠٠ men together with a great amount of money. As they reached Makkah, they entered Masjid al-°ar¡m and freed the prisoners. After this, they sought the permission of Ibn al-°anafiyyah to fight Ibn al-Zubair, but he did not allow them and distributed the money among them (٦:٦٧).
He also used to stop the Sh¢‘ah from exaggeration (*ghuluww)* (٦:١٠٣). Ibn al-°anafiyyah had a separate banner for the pilgrimage in the year ٦٨ H. He used to say: “I am a person seeking to get rid of Ibn al-Zubair and what he wants from me, but I do not want to achieve this aim at the cost of difference among people regarding me” (٦:١٣٨). He was alive until the Year of Draught in ٨١ H and was then ٦٥ years of age (٥:١٥٢). He passed away in ±¡if and his funeral prayer was led by Ibn ‘Abb¡s. (٥:١٥٤)

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

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

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

Al-°usain (‘a) responded to him saying: “My brother! You have given advice and shown your concern. I hope that your

judgement is correct and lucky.”[١]

[Al-°usain (‘a) Leaves Mad¢nah]

[Al-°usain (‘a) had told Wal¢d:] “Hold back! Give the matter a thought and so should we.” But they were preoccupied by the pursuit of ‘Abdullah [bin al-Zubair on the first day and the day he left] until evening. [In the evening, Wal¢d] sent his men to al-°usain [’a], the evening [of the second day, Saturday ٢٧th of Rajab]. Al-Husain (‘a) said: “Wait till tomorrow morning. Then you will [have time to] think [over the matter] and so shall we.” So, they left him that [second] night [the night preceding Sunday ٢٨th of Rajab] without compelling him.

Al-°usain (‘a) departed under the darkness of this [second] night, the night before Sunday and two days before the end of Rajab ٦٠ H. He took with him his children, his brothers, his nephews and most of his family members except for Mu¦ammad bin al-°anafiyyah.[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٤١): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad reports from Ab£ Mikhnaf…” Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠٢) also has narrated the report in *al-Irsh¡d*. Al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٨) has related it with some additions. He has also included the Imam’s will to Ibn al-°anafiyyah, narrating it from Ibn al-A’tham, [which says]: “Indeed, I have not come out…”, and then [al-Khw¡razm¢ mentions the following as part of the will also]: “[and that I may follow the path of the Prophet (¥)…] and that of the rightly guided caliphs!”

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٤٠-٣٤١), and the date of his departure has been mentioned in (٥:٣٨١), which he also related from Ab£ Mikhnaf, who narrated it from ¯aq’ab bin Zuhair, who in turn reported from ‘Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah. See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٩). Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٣٦) says: “And al-°usain (‘a) departed the following night along with his family and young men, while the authorities remained distracted from him by the issue of Ibn al-Zubair.” He

[As he was leaving the city,] he recited the following verse: “So he left the city, fearful and vigilant. He said: ‘My Lord, deliver me from the wrongdoing lot.’”[١] And when he entered Makkah, he recited this verse: “And when he turned his face toward Midian, he said: ‘May be my Lord will show me the right way.’”[٢],[٣]

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also narrated it on page ٢٤٥ from Mu¦ammad bin Is¦¡q and Hish¡m [saying]: “[It was] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab.” But al-Khw¡razm¢ says on page ١٨٩ of his *Maqtal*: “[It was on] the third day of Sha’b¡n.”!

[١] Qur’an: ٢٨:٢١.

[٢] Qur’an: ٢٨:٢٢.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٤٣): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad reported from Ab£ Mikhnaf…”

The Stand of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar

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

* As was acknowledged by Mu’¡wiyah in his will, and by Marw¡n in his advice to Wal¢d, as mentioned earlier.

** *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٤٢): “Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad reports on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf that…” Then *al-±abar¢* says: “Al-W¡qid¢ (d.٢٠٧ H) maintains that: ‘Ibn ‘Umar was not in Mad¢nah when the news of Mu’¡wiyah’s death and the matter of paying allegiance to Yaz¢d were brought to Wal¢d.” [So has been maintained by Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٣٧) also]. [Al-W¡qid¢ also says:] “And when Ibn al-Zubair and al-°usain [‘a] were summoned to pay allegiance to Yaz¢d, they refused to do so and left for Makkah the

same night. They were met on the way by Ibn ‘Abb¡s and Ibn ‘Umar who were coming from Makkah. So they asked them about the news. They answered: ‘Mu’¡wiyah’s death and allegiance to Yaz¢d.’ So Ibn ‘Umar said: ‘Fear Allah [both of you] and do not sow discord within the Muslim community!’ Ibn ‘Umar continued towards Mad¢nah and stayed there a number of days waiting, until the news of the people’s allegiance from different cities reached Mad¢nah. Thereafter, he along with Ibn ‘Abb¡s came forth and paid allegiance.”

AL-°USAIN (‘A)
IN MAKKAH

Al-°usain (‘a) on the Way to Makkah

‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n says: “We departed [from Mad¢nah] and kept to the main road. [Some of] al-°usain’s (‘a) family members said to him: ‘Would that you had avoided the high road, like Ibn al-Zubair did, the search [group] could not reach you?’ He replied: ‘No! By Allah, I will not part from it until Allah decrees what is more lovable to Him.’”[١]

‘Abdullah bin Mu§¢’ al-‘Adaw¢[٢]

We met ‘Abdullah bin Mu§¢’ al-‘Adaw¢. He said to al-°usain

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥١): “I narrate from Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad who reported from Ab£ Mikhnaf who said: ‘‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab informed me saying: ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n –a servant of Rab¡b bint Imra’ al-Qais al-Kalbiyyah, the wife of al-°usain (‘a) and the mother of Sak¢nah bint al-°us¡in (‘a)- has narrated to me [this report].’” We have given ‘Uqbah’s biography earlier. Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠٢) also has related this and so has al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٩) ascribing the report to Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l (‘a).

[٢] *Al-±abari*: He was a Quraish¢. He was born during the time of the Prophet (¥). He led the Quraish when the people of Mad¢nah revolted against Yaz¢d (٥:٤٨١). Then he joined Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah and fought on his side. Later, al-‘Adaw¢ served as the governor of K£fah under Ibn al-Zubair as reported by *al-±abar¢* (٥:٦٢٢). This has been related also by al-Ya’q£b¢ (٣:٣&٥), al-Mas’£d¢ (٣:٨٣) and al-Khw¡razm¢ (٢:٢٠٢), who narrated it from Mu¦ammad bin Is¦¡q. Al-‘Adawi used to oppose Mukht¡r until the latter expelled him from K£fah (٦:٣١). ±abar¢ shall also relate in the coming pages –from Hish¡m on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf who reported from Mu¦ammad bin Qais- another meeting between Ibn al-Mu§¢' and the Imam (‘a) which took place at some watering place of the Arabs, located after °¡jir and before Zar£d.

(‘a): “May I be your ransom, where do you intend to go?”

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

‘Abdullah said: “May Allah choose the best for you and make us your ransom…When you reach Makkah, beware of nearing [K£fah]; for it is an auspicious city. It was in this city that your father was killed and your brother betrayed and stabbed such that it almost took his life. So keep close to the holy sanctuary (¦*aram*), as you are the master of the Arabs, and by Allah, none of the people of °ij¡z equals you. The people will call one another from all sides and gather round you. Do not leave the ¦*aram*. May my paternal and maternal uncles be your ransom. By Allah! If you are killed, then we are indeed going to be enslaved after you!”[١]

[Al-°usain (‘a) in Makkah]

He continued the journey until he reached Makkah[٢] and entered the city on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha’b¡n.[٣]

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[١] Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٤٣) has related this from Hish¡m and Mu¦ammad bin Is¦¡q. Al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٨٩) narrated it from Ibn al-A’tham.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥١), from ‘Uqbah’s report.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٨٧): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair informed me on the authority of ‘Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah that...” Imam al-°usain’s departure from Mad¢nah was two days before the end of Rajab. Therefore, he must have covered the distance between Mad¢nah and Makkah in only five days. The distance between the two is around ٥٠٠ kilometers. So he must have covered around ١٠٠ km. a day, which is almost ١٨ *farsakh*. This is twice the normal distance that used to be covered in one day during those days. Thus, we conclude from here that although the Imam (‘a) did not avoid the main road in fear of being traced –as mentioned earlier, since it

He stayed there throughout Sha’b¡n, the month of Rama¤¡n, Dh£ al-Qa’dah and the first eight days of Dh£ al-°ijjah.[١]

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

Ibn al-Zubair was [already] in Makkah, having settled himself near the Ka’bah. He used to spend the whole day praying and performing the circumambulation (*§aw¡f*). He would visit al-°usain (‘a) with those who came to visit him. [Sometimes,] he would come for two consecutive days and sometimes once in two days. He continuously used to give his suggestions to [al-°usain (‘a)]. He (‘a) was the most despised of Allah’s creatures by Ibn al-Zubair, because he realized that the people of °ij¡z would never pledge allegiance to him so long as al-°usain (‘a) was in the city, and that al-°usain (‘a) was more revered in their eyes and hearts, and that he (‘a) was more capable of commanding the people’s obedience than him.[٢]

[The Letters from the People of K£fah][٣]

When the people of K£fah learnt about the death of Mu’¡wiyah,

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involved fear and escape which was unbecoming of the Imam (‘a), nonetheless, he sped in his journey.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٨١), also from the report of ‘Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah. Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٤٥) has related it on the authority of Hish¡m.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥١), from the report of ‘Uqbah. Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠٢) has narrated this also.

[٣] *Al-±abari*: There were ٣٠،٠٠٠ people in K£fah who had participated in the battle of al-Q¡disiyyah (٤:٧٥). In the year ١٨ H, ‘Umar appointed Shurai¦ bin al-°¡rith al-Kind¢ as the judge of K£fah (٤:١٠١). In ٢٠ H, ‘Umar dismissed Sa’d from the governorship of K£fah as a result of the people complaining that he did not even know how to pray! It was in the same year that ‘Umar evicted the Jews of Najr¡n to K£fah (٤:١١٢). In the year ٢١ H, he appointed ‘Amm¡r bin Y¡sir as the governor of K£fah, Ibn

Mas’£d as the treasurer and ‘Uthman bin °unaif as the one in charge of the lands and land tax. The people of K£fah complained against ‘Amm¡r, so he requested to be relieved of his post (٤:١٤٤). ‘Umar replaced him with Ab£ M£s¡ al-Ash’ar¢ who stayed with them for only a year before they complained against him. So ‘Umar dismissed him and instead appointed Mugh¢rah bin Shu’bah in his place.

K£fah then had ١٠٠،٠٠٠ fighters (٤:١٦٥), whereas during the time of ‘Umar, it had ٤٠،٠٠٠ combatants, ١٠،٠٠٠ of which would, every year, go on military expedition in defence of the territories. Accordingly, each of them participated in an expedition once in every four years (٤:٢٤٦).

In the year ٣٧ H, the Commander of the Faithful, [‘Al¢ (‘a)], ordered the leaders of each tribe to write down the number of warriors in their respective tribes, and also their sons who could then participate in battles, as well as the slaves of the tribes, and thereafter send them to him. They sent him [the names of] ٤٠،٠٠٠ combatants, ١٧،٠٠٠ sons capable of participating in battles, and ٨،٠٠٠ of their slaves. This sums up to ٦٥،٠٠٠ warriors (٥:٧٩), of which ٨٠٠ were from Mad¢nah (٤:٨٣).

Sa’d arranged them into groups: Kan¡nah and their allies from among the A¦¡b¢sh and Jad¢lah formed a group. Qadh¡’ah, Baj¢lah, Khath’am, Kindah, °a¤ramaut and Azd comprised another group. Madh¦ij, °imyar, Hamd¡n and their followers made up the third group. Tam¢m, Haw¡zin and al-Rub¡b were the fourth group. The fifth group consisted of Asad, Gha§f¡n, Mu¦¡rib, Al-Namr, ®ab¢’ah and Taghlib. The sixth group was made up of Ay¡d, ‘Akk, ‘Abd al-Qais and the people of Hijr and Dailam. This grouping remained in place throughout the reign of ‘Umar, ‘Uthm¡n and ‘Al¢ [‘a] until the time of Ziy¡d when he rearranged them into four groups (٤:٤٨).

[In the later order,] ‘Amru bin °¡r¢th was in charge of the group of the people of Mad¢nah. Kh¡lid bin ‘Arqa§ah was the head of the quarter of Tam¢m and Hamd¡n. Qais bin al-Wal¢d bin ‘Abd Shams was the leader of Rab¢’ah and Kindah, while Ab£ Burdah bin Ab£ M£s¡ al-Ash’ar¢ was the in charge of Madh¦ij and Asad. The leaders of all these groups [were among those who] testified against °ujr and his companions (٥:٢٦٨).

the people of Iraq spread rumours about Yaz¢d and said: “Al-°usain (‘a) and Ibn al-Zubair have refused to pay allegiance and have left for Makkah.”[١]

Mu¦ammad bin Bishr al-Hamd¡n¢ reports[٢]: “We assembled in the house of Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad [al-Khuz¡’¢[٣] and he

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥١), from the report of ‘Uqbah.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥٢): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘°ajj¡j bin ‘Al¢ informed me on the authority of Mu¦ammad bin Bishr al-Hamd¡n¢ who said…”

[٣] Al-Kashh¢ mentions him in his *Rij¡l* (pg. ٦٤, ¦ad¢th no. ١٢٤) on the authority of Fa¤l bin Sh¡dh¡n, under the topic: ‘From among the great personalities of the *t¡bi’£n*, their heads and the pious of them.’ Al-±£s¢ also has mentioned him in his *Rij¡l* (pg.٤٣) among the companions of the Prophet (¥) and of the Commander of the Faithful, [‘Al¢ (‘a)]. However, al-±£s¢ remarks: “He stayed away from him on the day of Jamal and whose excuse in this regard has been fabricated!” Both his staying behind and the excuse have been reported by Na¥r bin Muz¡¦im on page six of his book. [Ibn Muz¡¦im] says: “‘Al¢ (‘a) said to [Ibn ¯urad]: ‘You became doubtful, hung about and engaged in low trickery. I was considering you to be among the trustworthy people and among the quicker to support me.” Al-Khuz¡’¢ replied: ‘O the Commander of the Faithful…Have confidence in my love for you and I will be sincere to you. And there remain matters through which you will [come to] know your friend from your foe.’ So he left him.” In the battle of ¯iff¢n, ‘Al¢ (‘a) appointed him as the commander of the right flank of his foot soldiers (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٢٠٥). Sulaim¡n engaged °awshab -the leader of the people of Yemen who was from Sh¡m- in a duel and killed him saying: “‘Al¢ is loved by us. We ransom him with our fathers and mothers (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٤٠١). He was struck on his face with a sword in the same battle (*Waq’at ¯*iff¢n, pg.٥١٤). Ab£ Mikhnaf has counted Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad among the companions of the Prophet (¥) and the leaders of the Sh¢‘ah (*al-±abar¢*:٥:٥٥٢). He led the Taww¡b£n movement in ٦٤ H (٥:٥٥٥). His excuse [for not joining al-°usain (‘a)] was: “We acted smartly and waited to see what would happen until he was [finally] killed.”! (٥:٥٥٤).

addressed us] saying:

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

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

Sulaim¡n said: ‘Then write to him!’[١] So they wrote to him:

‘In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. To °usain bin ‘Al¢, from Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad, Musayyib bin Najabah[٢], Raf¡’ah bin Shadd¡d,[٣]

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[١] Al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٩٣) has narrated this in detail.

[٢] Al-Kashh¢ mentions him in his *Rij¡l* (pg.٦٤, ¦ad¢th no.١٢٤) under the topic: ‘From among the outstanding personalities of the *t¡bi’£n*, their heads and the pious of them.’ Al-±£s¢ counts him in his *Rij¡l* (pg.٥٨, no.٨) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful [‘Al¢ (‘a)] and al-°asan [‘a] (pg.٧٠, no.٤). Al-Faz¡r¢ has added that he was among the leaders of a group that rushed from K£fah to Ba¥rah in support of ‘Al¢ (‘a), as reported in *al-±abar¢* (٤:٤٤٨). Imam ‘Ali (‘a) had sent Ibn Najabah with Bishr, together with a large number of his people, to resist against the raid of ‘Abdullah bin Mas’adah al-Faz¡r¢ (٥:١٣٥). Ibn Najabah led the Tawwab£n movement after Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad and was killed with them in ٦٥ H (٥:٥٩٩).

[٣] Al-Kashh¢ has counted him in his *Rij¡l* (pg.٦٥, ¦ad¢th no.١١٨) among those righteous people who buried Ab£ Dharr. Shaikh al-±£s¢ [also] mentions him in his *Rij¡l* (pg.٤١) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful, [‘Al¢ (‘a)], and on page ٦٨ as one of the companions of Imam al-°asan (‘a). He has also added ‘al-Bajal¢’ to his name. He was with ‘Al¢ (‘a) in ¯iff¢n

°ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir[١] and his followers from among the believers and Muslims of K£fah. Peace be upon you. We praise Allah besides whom there is no deity.

All praise is to Allah who has broken your enemy, the obstinate tyrant who had leapt upon this community, robbed it and usurped its treasures (*fay’*). He was ruling over the people against their wish, killed their chosen ones and preserved the wicked among them. He made the wealth of

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as the leader of the Ban£ Bajalah [or Baj¢lah] (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٢٠٥). Later, Ibn Shadd¡d joined °ujr bin ‘Adiyy and ‘Amru bin al-°amq. When Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h pursued ‘Amru, Ibn Shadd¡d fled with him to the mountains in Mosul. Though ‘Amru was then captured, Ibn Shadd¡d managed to escape with his horse (*al-±abari*:٥:٢٦٥).

He was the second of the Taww¡b£n leaders to address his fellow colleagues (٥:٥٥٣). He was commissioned to mobilize them (٥:٥٨٧). He was the last commander of the Taww¡b£n movement (٥:٥٩٦). Ibn Shadd¡d was a storyteller, so he used to tell stories to the right flank, inciting them to fight (٥:٥٩٨). He himself was fighting (٥:٦٠١), but he returned to K£fah at night together with the people (٥:٦٠٥). Ibn Shadd¡d corresponded with Mukht¡r (٦:٨) and took allegiance for him from the people (٦:٩). However, he revolted against Mukht¡r in K£fah with the people of Yemen and was leading them in prayers (٦:٤٧). When Ibn Shadd¡d heard of a man from Hamdh¡n calling: ‘Revenge for ‘Uthm¡n!’ in response to the call of Mukht¡r: “Revenge for al-°usain (‘a)’, he retorted: “What have we to do with ‘Uthm¡n! I will not fight on the side of the avengers of ‘Uthm¡n’s blood. He then said: “I am the son of Shadd¡d, following the path of ‘Al¢. I am not a partisan of ‘Uthm¡n bin Arw¡.” Ibn Shadd¡d was killed at the bath of al-Mahbadh¡n at Sabkhah. He was an ascetic (*n¡sik*) person (٦:٥).

[١] *Al-±abari*: He led the left flank of al-°usain’s army (٥:٤٢٢). °u¥ain bin Tam¢m boasted of killing him and hanging his head on the breast of his horse. Q¡sim, son of °ab¢b, avenged his father’s assassin, Budail bin ¯uraim al-Tam¢m¢, as they were in the army of Mu¥ab bin al-Zubair during the expedition of B¡jm¢r¡.

Allah to be taken by turns (*d£latan*) among its tyrants and wealthy. So away with him as had been the case with the people of Tham£d.

We have no Imam over us, so proceed towards us. Perhaps Allah will unite us through you under the truth. Nu’m¡n bin Bash¢r is in the governer’s palace; we do not gather with him for the Friday [service], nor do we come out with him for ‘«d [prayers]. If we learn that you have set out to us, we will drive him away and send him [back] to Sh¡m, by the will of Allah. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.’[١]

Then we sent the letter with ‘Abdullah bin Sab’ al-Hamd¡n¢[٢] and ‘Abdullah bin W¡l [al-Tam¢m¢].[٣] The two men sped in their journey and met al-°usain (‘a) in Makkah on the tenth of the month of Rama¤¡n.[٤]

We waited for two days and then sent Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢°, ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-

[١] See *al-Maqtal* of al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٩٤).
[٢] Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠٣) mentions him as ‘Abdullah bin Masma’, while al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٩٤) refers to him as ‘Abdullah bin Sab¢’. He was killed together with al-°usain (‘a).
[٣] Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.١٤٤) names him as ‘Abdullah bin Masma’ al-Bakr¢. In his *Rij¡l* (pg.٧٧), Shaikh al-±£s¢ confines himself to mentioning their first names only and says: “‘Abdullah and ‘Ubaidullah; they are well known.” ‘Abdullah bin W¡l al-Tam¢m¢ was the third leader of the Taww¡b£n movement and who was [ultimately] killed (*al-±abari*:٥:٦٠٢).
[٤] Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠٣) has narrated this, and so has Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٤٤).
[٥] *Al-±abari*: Al-Asad¢. He returned to Iraq together with Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l (‘a). When things became straitened for Muslim at al-Ma¤¢q, he sent Qais with a letter to al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٣٥٤). On his way back, he accompanied Imam (‘a) till Ba§n al-°¡jir, who then sent him with a letter to the people of K£fah. When Qais reached al-Q¡disiyyah, he was arrested by °u¥a¢n bin Tam¢m al-Tam¢m¢

Ar¦ab¢[١] and ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Ubaid al-Sal£l¢,[٢] taking with them around [a hundred and] fifty letters,[٣] [some written] by a single person, and others by [a group of] two or four.”

Mu¦ammad bin Bishr continues: “Then we waited for two more days before sending another letter with H¡ni’ bin H¡ni’ al-Sab¢’¢ and Sa’¢d bin ‘Abdullah al-°an¡f¢[٤] saying:

‘In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. To

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and sent to Ibn Ziy¡d. The latter ordered him to be brought before him and then thrown down from the top of the palace. He was then cut into pieces and thus he passed away. May Allah shower his mercy upon him (**٥:٣٩٥**). When al-°usain (‘a) reached ‘Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t, he heard about the fate of Qais and could not control himself and his eyes flowed with tears. He said: “‘Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait…’ (Qur’an, **٣٣:٢٣**). O Allah, make the heaven to be our abode and their’s, and gather us with them under your ever-lasting mercy and where the desired rewards are deposited” (**٥:٤٠٥**).

[١] Al-Muf¢d (pg.**٢٠٣**) mentions him as ‘Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n Shadd¡d al-Ar¦ab¢! Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.**١٩٤**) calls him ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n! He was with Muslim on this way to Iraq (*al-±abari*:**٥:٣٥٤**).

[٢] Al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.**١٩٥**) calls him ‘ªmir bin ‘Ubaid. Al-Muf¢d (pg.**٢٠٣**) and Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.**٢٤٤**) mention him as ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Abdullah al-Sal£l¢. He was with Muslim on his way to Iraq (*al-±abari*:**٥:٣٥٤**), and also at H¡ni’s place (**٥:٣٦٣**). But nothing is known about him after this.

[٣] The text of *al-±abar¢* reads: “About **٥٣** letters”, but Shaikh al-Muf¢d (pg.**٢٠٣**) mentions a hundred and fifty. So has Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.**٢٤٤**) from Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad bin Ish¡q, and al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.**١٩٥**) from Ibn al-A’tham. Therefore, it seems that *‘thal¡thah’* [i.e. three] in *al-±abari*’s report is the distorted form (*ta¥¦¢f*) of ‘*al-mi’ah*’ [i.e. a hundred].

[٤] We shall mention later that the two returned to K£fah with the reply from Imam (‘a). With regard to H¡ni’, no trace of him is found. As for al-°anaf¢, he joined the Imam (‘a) and was martyred together with him.

°usain bin ‘Al¢, from his followers (*sh¢‘ah*) among the believers and the Muslims: ‘Make haste! The people are waiting for you. They have no opinion [of any man] except you. So speed, speed! Peace be upon you.”[١]

[There was another letter written to the Imam (‘a) by]

[١] Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠٣) has narrated this and so has Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.٢٤٤).

Shabath bin Rib’¢[١], °ajj¡r bin Abjar[٢],

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٩): Al-Yarb£’¢ al-Tam¢m¢. He was the caller to prayer (*mua’dhhin*) of Sajj¡¦, a man from the clan of Ma¤ariyyah who had claimed prophethood (٣:٢٧٣). He later professed Islam and supported the uprising against ‘Uthm¡n. He then joined ‘Al¢ (‘a) and was with him at ¯iff¢n, leading the warriors of the Ban£ ‘Amru bin °an¨alah from K£fah (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٢٠٥). He led the left flank of ‘Al¢’s army at Nahraw¡n (*al-±abar¢*:٥:٨٥). He was the emissary between ‘Al¢ (‘a) and Mu’¡wiyah together with a group of other people (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٩٧). Shabath testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy that he revolted against Ibn Ziy¡d (*al-±abari*:٥:٢٦٩). He was present at the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) and was leading the foot soldiers [of Ibn Ziy¡d] on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’ (٥:٤٢٢). The people noticed his dislike [on that day] to fight al-°usain (‘a); for when Ibn Sa’d asked him: “Why are you not coming forward to lead the archers to shoot at al-°usain (‘a)?”, he replied: “Glory be to Allah! Are you approaching the Shaikh of Mu¤ar and the rest of the people and send him with the archers?! Did not you find anyone else to entrust this job to and replace me with him?” After this, Shabath constantly used to say: “Allah will never give the inhabitants of this city any good after this, nor will he lead them to guidance. Are you not astonished that we fought alongside ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib and his son after him against the family of Ab£ Sufy¡n for five years, and now we are with their enemies against his son -while he is the best of the inhabitants on this earth; we are fighting him alongside the family of Mu’¡wiyah and the son of Sumayyah, the adulteress?! Misguidance! What a misguidance!” (٥:٤٣٢-٤٣٧). Shabath was exactly the one who had reproached the people of K£fah when they celebrated the killing of Ibn ‘Awsajah (٥:٤٣٦). However, he was afraid of Ibn Ziy¡d to express such kind of his stands, so he built a mosque to show his joy for the killing of al-°usain! (٦:٢٢). Later he fought against Mukht¡r along with ٣،٠٠٠ warriors of Ibn Mu§¢’ who was a proxy of Ibn al-Zubair (٦:٢٣).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Al-‘Ijl¢ (٥:٣٦٩). His father was a Christian and a revered personality amidst them (٥:١٤٥). Ibn Abjar was among those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy in favour of Ibn Ziy¡d (٥:٢٧٠). He also raised the banner of amnesty for his son on the

Yaz¢d bin al-H¡rith bin Yaz¢d bin Ruwaim[١],

day Muslim rose (**٥:٣٦٩**). On the day of ‘[a]sh£r¡’, he denied having written a letter to the Imam (‘a) (**٥:٤٢٥**). Later, al-‘Ijl¢ fought for Mu¥’ab against Mukht¡r (**٦:٢٢**) and also ‘Abdullah bin al-°urr and was defeated before Mu¥’ab’s eyes. So the latter swore at him and sent him back (**٦:١٣٦**). Ibn Abjar al-‘Ijl¢ was one of those people in K£fah to whom Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n had written [soliciting their support]. They accepted on the condition that they should be granted the governorship of I¥fah¡n. Accordingly, ‘Abd al-Malik granted it to all of them (**٦:١٥٦**). However, he had set out with Mu¥’ab pretending to fight ‘Abd al-Malik, but when Mu¥’ab invited him for the battle he said: “To this wicked man?!”(**٦:١٥٨**). He was alive until the year **٧١** H, after which there is no trace of him.

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He was Ab£ °awshab al-Shaib¡n¢. On the day of ‘[a]sh£r¡’, he denied having written to al-°usain (**٥:٤٢٥**). When Yaz¢d was killed and ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d appointed ‘Amru bin °uraith over K£fah, the latter started calling the people to pay allegiance to Ibn Ziy¡d. Here Yaz¢d bin al-°¡rith stood up and said: “Praise be to Allah who relieved us of the son of Sumayyah! No! [We will not pay allegiance to him] and he does not deserve that honour!” So ‘Amru bin °uraith ordered him to be imprisoned, but the Ban£ Bakr bin W¡il intervened and prevented him from that (**٥:٥٢٤**). He then became the follower of ‘Abdullah bin Yaz¢d al-Kha§m¢ al-An¥¡r¢, the governer of K£fah under Ibn al-Zubair, before Ibn Mu§¢’. Ibn al-°¡rith used to prompt al-An¥¡r¢ to fight Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad and his companions before their revolt (**٥:٥٦١-٥٦٣**). He also urged him to imprison Mukht¡r (**٥:٥٨٠**). Later, Ibn Mu§¢’ sent him to Jabb¡nah Mur¡d to fight Mukht¡r (**٦:١٨**). He also sent him with an army of **٢،٠٠٠** men to a road in La¦¡m Jar¢r. They stopped at the opening of the roads (**٦:٢٦**) and positioned their archers on top of the houses and hence stopped Mukht¡r from entering K£fah (**٦:٢٨**). He then rose against Mukht¡r during his reign over Ban¢ Rab¢’ah (**٦:٤٥**) and was defeated along with his companions (**٦:٥٢**). Yaz¢d was one of those who fought the followers of the sect of Az¡riqah, from the Kh¡w¡rij, in **٦٨** H, along with °¡rith bin Ab¢ Rab¢’ah, the governer of Ibn al-Zubair in K£fah (**٦:١٢٤**). Mu¥’ab appointed him as the administrator of Mad¡in

‘Azarah bin Qais[١], ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy[٢] and

(٦:١٣٤). In ٧٠ H, he was appointed the governor of Rayy under ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n (٦:١٦٤). He was finally killed by the Khaw¡rij (*Ib¥¡r al-‘Ain*, pg.١٥). His grandfather was Yaz¢d bin Ruwaim al-Shaib¡n¢, who was leading the K£fan tribe of Dhahl at ¯iff¢n alongside ‘Al¢ (‘a) (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٢٠٥).

[١] *Al-±abari*: Al-A¦mas¢. He was among those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٧٠) and this is why he wrote to the Imam (‘a) so that he may expiate for his action. [And since he had written to him], he felt ashamed to meet him as Ibn Sa’d’s envoy lest he should ask him what brought him [to Karbal¡’] (٥:٤١٠). It was exactly because of this that on the evening of the ninth of Mu¦arram, Zuhair bin al-Qain answered ‘Azarah alluding to that: “By Allah, I did not write any letter to him, nor did I send any messenger, nor had I promised him my support.” ‘Azarah was the partisan of ‘Uthm¡n. He told Zuhair: “I was never a follower of the people of this house [i.e. the family of the Prophet (¥)], I was rather a partisan of ‘Uthm¡n” (٥:٤١٧). On the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’, ‘Umar bin Sa’d appointed him as the head of the cavalry as he was also their night watchman (٥:٤٢٢). The companions of al-°usain (‘a) would not launch an attack on his cavalry except that they would break through them. So he complained to Ibn Sa’d about this and requested to be relieved of the task, and, instead, send towards them the foot soldiers and archers. Ibn Sa’d granted his request (٥:٤٣٦). Later, ‘Azarah was one of those who carried the heads of the Imam’s companions to Ibn Ziy¡d (٥:٤٥٦). No trace of him is found after this.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Al-Zubaid¢ is among those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٧٠). His sister, Raw’ah bint al-°ajj¡j, was the wife of H¡ni’ bin ‘Urwah and the mother of Ya¦y¡ bin H¡ni’ (٥:٣٦٤). When H¡ni’ was said to be killed, al-Zubaid¢ accompanied a large group of people from the clan of Madh¦ij [to the palace of Ibn Ziy¡d]. But when Shurai¦ informed them that H¡ni’ was still alive, they all dispersed (٥:٣٦٧). Al-Zubaid¢ was present in Karbal¡’. ‘Umar bin S’ad sent him together with ٥٠٠ horse riders to position themselves at the river bank and stop al-°usain [‘a] and his companions from reaching the water. This was three days before the martyrdom [of al-°usain (‘a)] (٥:٤١٢). He rebuked Ibn S’ad for

Mu¦ammad bin ‘Umar al-Tam¢m¢[١] saying:

“The gardens have grown green, the fruits have ripened and the waters have overflowed[٢]. So if you want to, then come to

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his delay in granting the request of the Imam [‘a] for respite for the tenth night (٥:٤١٧). Al-Zubaid¢ was leading the right flank –from the side of the Euphrates- of ‘Umar bin Sa’d on the tenth day (٥:٤٢٢). He launched attacks along with his men on al-°usain (‘a) and his companions and was inciting them to kill the Imam and his followers (٥:٤٣٥). He was among those who took the heads [of the martyrs] to K£fah (٥:٤٥٦). Ibn al-Zubaid¢ also supported Ibn Mu§¢’ against Mukht¡r (٦:٢٨) in an army of ٢٠٠٠ men from the Thauriyy¢n (٦:٢٩), and then he fought in the area of the [Ban£] Mur¡d alongaside his followers from Madh¦ij (٦:٤٥). When Mukht¡r attained victory, Ibn al-Zubaid¢ mounted his [horse] and took the direction of Shar¡f and W¡qi¥ah and was not seen after that (٦:٥٢).

[١] *Al-±abari*: Ibn ‘A§¡rud. He was one of those who bore witness against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٧٠). He was leading the Mu¤ar in fighting against Mukht¡r (٦:٤٧). Later, he paid allegiance to him and was sent to Azerbaijan as the governor (٦:٣٤). Ibn ‘a§¡rud was alongside °¡rith bin Ab¢ Rab¢’ah –the governer of K£fah under Ibn al-Zubair- in the latter’s struggle against the Kh¡rij¢ sect of Az¡riqah (٦:١٢٤). He was among the adherents of Marw¡n in K£fah to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n had written [asking for his support] (٦:١٥٦). He was later assigned by ‘Abd al-Malik with the governreship of Hamad¡n (٦:١٦٤). He then returned to K£fah and was there during the time of °ajjaj in ٧٥ H. (٦:٢٠٤). There is no trace of him after this period. His father, ‘Umar bin ‘A§¡rud, was leading the clan of Tam¢m from K£fah alongside ‘Al¢ (‘a) at ¯iff¢n (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٢٠٥). Ibn ‘A§¡rud was among those who slandered against ‘Amru bin al-°umq al-Khuz¡’¢ before Ziy¡d in order for him to be killed, to the extent that he was reproached by ‘Amru (٥:٢٣٦).

[٢] ‘*Al-jum¡m*’, [as it has appeared in the Arabic text of this letter] is the plural of ‘*jammah*’ which means ‘a place where water gathers’. ‘*±ammat*’ is a past tense verb which means ‘the waters have rose high and overflowed’. Notice, how the people who are attached to

an army which has been gathered for you. Peace be upon you.”[١]

[The Reply of al-°usain (‘a)]

All the messengers gathered before [al-°usain (‘a)]. He read the letters and inquired from them about the situation of the people. He then wrote his reply and sent it with H¡ni’ bin H¡ni’ al-Sab¢’¢ and Sa’¢d bin ‘Abdullah al-°anaf¢ -who were the last of the messengers. [The reply read as follows:]

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From °usain bin ‘Al¢ to the congregation of the believers and Muslims. H¡ni’ and Sa’¢d have brought me your letters; they are the last two of your messengers who have come to me. I have understood everything which you have described and mentioned. The main statement of most of you is: ‘There is no Imam over us, so come. Perhaps Allah will unite us through you under guidance and truth.’

I am sending you my brother, my cousin and the man from my family whom I trust, Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l. I have ordered him to write to me about your status, condition and opinion.

If he writes to me that the opinion of the majority of you and of the men of wisdom and merit among you is united, in the same way as the messengers who have come to me have described and as I have read in your letters, then I will come to you speedily, if Allah wills. For by my life, a leader (*im¡m*) is none but one who acts according to the Book [of Allah], upholds justice, follows the truth, and devotes himself

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this world consider the worldly and transient matters to be among the motives behind the Imam’s advance towards K£fah! What a short-mindedness!

[١] See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٣) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٤٤).

entirely to Allah. And that is all.”[١]

[The Journey of Ibn ‘Aq¢l]

He then summoned Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l and sent him with Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢[٢], ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Ubaid al-Sal£l¢[٣] ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Ar¦ab¢.[٤] Imam enjoined [Muslim] with the fear of Allah, and to conceal his affair, and to act in a kindly way. If he saw that the people are united and had commited themselves to agreement, then he should speedily inform him of that.

Muslim thus started his journey till he reached Mad¢nah. He prayed in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah (¥) and said farewell to whom he wished among his family members. Then he hired two guides from the clan of Qais. They set out with him but soon lost their way and were struck by severe thirst. The guides said to Muslim: “Take this road until you reach the watering place.” That was at [a place known as] al-Ma¤¢q in Ba§n al-Khubait.[٥]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٥٣**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Al-°ajj¡j bin ‘Al¢ informed me from Mu¦ammad bin Bishr al-Hamd¡n¢ who said…”. Al-Muf¢d (pg.**٢٠٤**) and Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg.**١٩٦**) have narrated this also.

[٢, ٣, ٤] These were the people who brought the one hundred and fifty letters from the people of K£fah to the Imam (‘a). We have already given their biographies [in brief]. Al-Muf¢d and Ibn al-Jawz¢ mention ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Ubaid as Ibn ‘Abdullah. With regard to ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Abdullah, al-Muf¢d (pg.**٢٠٤**) says: ‘Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n, the two sons of R¡shid al-Ar¦ab¢.

[٥] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٥٤**) brings this report after the narration of Ab£

[Muslim’s Letter to al-°usain (‘a) On His Way to K£fah]

Muslim bin Aq¢l sent a letter to al-°usain (‘a) with Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢. He wrote:

“I set out from Mad¢nah with two guides and they missed the way and got lost. We were overcome by thirst and soon both of them died. We kept going until we reached the watering place. We were only saved at the last moment of our lives. This watering place is in a place called al-Ma¤¢q at Ba§n al-Khubait.[١] I see an evil omen in what I have faced. Thus, if it seems fair to you, then relieve me of this [mission] and send someone else [in my place]. That is all.”[٢]

[Al-°usain’s Response to Muslim]

Imam (‘a) wrote to him:

“I am afraid that what has prompted you to write to me to relieve you of the task I sent you on is only cowardice. Therefore, go on with the task I have assigned to you. Peace be upon you.”

[When Muslim received the letter,] he told the one who read it for him: “This [mission] is not what I fear of myself.” He continued until he reached [some] watering place belonging to the tribe of ±ayyi’. He stayed there, and then as he rode

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Mikhnaf from Ab£ al-Makh¡riq al-R¡sib¢.

[١] Khub§ is located in the suburbs of Mad¢nah, in the direction of Makkah. It seems that the guides strayed to the extent that they turned towards Makkah, as reported in *Ib¥¡r al-‘Ain* (pg.١٦).

[٢] Al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٠٤) has narrated this and so has al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.١٩٧) with a slight difference. *Al-±abar¢* has also related it on the authority of Mu’¡wiyah bin ‘Amm¡r from Imam al-B¡qir (‘a) (٥:٣٤٧).

off, [he saw] a man shooting at fawn –as it drew closer to him- and killed it. Muslim hence said: “[Thus] shall our enemy be destroyed, by the will of Allah.”

THE EVENTS IN K¬FAH AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF MUSLIM BIN ‘AQ«L

[Muslim (‘a) Enters K£fah]

Muslim [‘a] continued his journey until he reached K£fah [together with his three companions: Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢, ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Ubaid al-Sal£l¢ and ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Ar¦ab¢].[١] [There] he stayed in the house of Mukht¡r bin Ab¢ ‘Ubaid.[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥٥). This was on the fifth of Shaww¡l as mentioned in *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٢:٨٦) of al-Mas’£d¢.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Al-Thaqaf¢. He was born in the first year of Hijrah (٢:٤٠٢). In ٣٧ H, his uncle Sa’d bin Mas’£d al-Thaqaf¢ appointed him over Mad¡in as his deputy (٥:٧٦). He remained there with his uncle until after the Year of Unity, ٤٠ H (٥:١٥٩). *Al-±abar¢* mentions what Mukht¡r pointed to his uncle about the surrender of al-°asan (‘a) to Mu’¡wiyah (٥:٥٦٩). During his rule over K£fah, Ziy¡d had invited Mukht¡r to testify against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy but he evaded it (٥:٢٧٠). Mukht¡r was the standard-bearer on the day Muslim rose in K£fah (٥:٣٨١). In fact, he came out with the banner and his servants –without prior agreement with his companions- as soon as he learned about the arrest of H¡ni, [even] before the [attempted] rise of Muslim (‘a). Mukht¡r yielded to the invitation of ‘Amru bin °uraith al-Makhz£m¢ to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziy¡d who struck out his face with a staff, which hit his eyes and seriously tore one. He was then imprisoned until the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a).

Mukht¡r had a sister by the name of ¯afiyyah, who was the wife of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar. Mukht¡r sent his cousin -Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢- to Ibn ‘Umar, asking him to write to Yaz¢d and request him to order Ibn Ziy¡d to free him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Ziy¡d expelled Mukht¡r from K£fah. He then went to °ij¡z and paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and participated with him in a severe battle against the people of Sh¡m. Five months after the death of Yaz¢d, Mukht¡r left Ibn al-Zubair and went to K£fah

The Sh¢‘ah began to visit him regularly. When a group of them gathered round him, he read out to them the letter of al-°usain (‘a) and they all started weeping.

‘Abb¡s bin Ab¢ Shu’aib al-Sh¡kir¢ [١] got up, praised Allah and

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(٥:٥٧٠-٥٧٨). He entered the city at the time when Sulaim¡n bin ¯urad al-Khuz¡’¢ was calling the Sh¢‘ah to repent and avenge the blood of al-°usain (‘a). Here Mukht¡r claimed that he was sent by Ibn al-°anafiyyah and that Sulaim¡n was not acquainted with warfare, and therefore, he would end up killing himself and his companions (٥:٥٦٠&٥٨٠). Mukht¡r was imprisoned by Ibn Mu§¢’ - the governor of Ibn al-Zubair- at the start of the Movement of Taww¡b£n (٥:٦٠٥). Mukht¡r sent his slave –Zarbiyy- to Ibn ‘Umar asking him to write and request Ibn Mu§¢’ to release him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Mu§¢’ released him after taking an oath and surety from him (٦:٨). Mukht¡r was freed and attained victory over the matter. He fought Ibn Ziy¡d and killed him. He also killed the assasins of al-°usain (‘a). He was finally killed by Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair in the year ٦٧ H (٦:١٠٧) who ordered his body to be hung. Thus, his body was nailed beside the mosque and remained there until it was removed by °ajj¡j al-Thaqaf¢ (٦:١١٠). Mu¥’ab also killed one of Mukht¡r’s wives by the name of ‘Umarah bint Nu’m¡n bin Bash¢r and freed his other wife, Umm Th¡bit, daughter of Samurat bin Jundab (٦:١١٢).

In the year ٧١ H, Mu¥’ab fought against ‘Abd al-Malik in whose army Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢ happened to be present. Z¡idah killed Mu¥’ab and cried: revenge for Mukht¡r! (٦:١٥٩). Mukht¡r’s house was situated near the mosque and was purchased by ‘«s¡ bin M£s¡ al-‘Abb¡s¢ from his heirs in ١٥٩ H (٨:١٢٢). It seems that the reason behind choosing Mukht¡r’s house for the stay of Muslim (‘a) was due to the fact that the former was the son in-law of Nu’m¡n bin Bash¢r, the governer of K£fah. This was enough as a protection, especially if we take into consideration *al-±abar¢*’s report (٥:٥٦٩) which says: “The Sh¢‘ah were reproaching and reviling Mukht¡r because of his stand in the case of °asan bin ‘Al¢ (‘a), on the day he was stabbed in the darkness of an overlaid lane and was then carried to Mad¡in in broad day light.”

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Thereafter, he took Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l’s letter to Imam

then said: “Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah, I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah, I will answer you when you call. I will indeed fight with you against your enemy. I will strike with my sword in defense of you until I meet Allah. I expect nothing from this except what lies with Allah.”

Thereafter stood °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir al-Faq’as¢ [al-Asad¢] and said: “May Allah have mercy on you! You have reflected all that is in your heart by your brief talk.” He then said: “By Allah beside whom there is no deity! I stand on the same position as he does.” Then al-°anaf¢[١] also said something similar to that.

The Sh¢‘ah visited [Muslim] so frequently that his place [of residence] became well-known and the news reached Nu’m¡n bin Bash¢r[٢]. [So he set out for the mosque] and went up on the pulpit. After praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said:

“O servants of Allah! Fear Allah and do not hasten to dissension (*fitnah*) and discord; for in that men will be destroyed, blood will be shed and property will be plundered... I will not combat one who does not combat me. I will not pounce on the one who does not pounce on me. I will neither reproach you, nor provoke you. I will not

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al-°usain (‘a) (**٥:٣٧٥**). He remained with him till he was killed (**٥:٤٤٤**). He was from the [Ban£] Hamd¡n.

[١] He is Sa’¢d bin ‘Abdullah al-°anaf¢, the messenger of the people of K£fah to Imam al-°usain (‘a). He had returned to K£fah with the Imam’s reply to them.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٥٥**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Ab£ al-Wadd¡k who said: ‘Nu’m¡n bin Bash¢r came out to us and ascended the pulpit…”

apprehend [you merely] on grounds of accusation and suspicion. But if you displayed your [true] face to me, violate your pledge of allegiance and oppose your leader (*im¡m*), then by Allah, other than whom there is no deity, I will indeed strike you with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand, even if I do not have any of you to help me! Yet I hope that those among you who know the truth are more numerous than those whom falsehood will destroy."

'Abdullah bin Muslim bin Sa'¢d al-°a¤ram¢[١] - an ally of the Ban£ Umayyah- stood up and said: "What you see can only be adequately dealt with by violence; for the view which you hold about what [should be done] between you and your enemy is that of the weak!"

Nu'm¡n retorted [saying]: "I would prefer to be one of the weak [while remaining] in obedience to Allah than to be one of the mighty [while being] in rebellion against Allah!" Thereafter he descended from the pulpit.

'Abdullah bin Muslim left the mosque and wrote to Yaz¢d bin Mu'¡wiyah [saying]:

"Muslim bin 'Aq¢l has arrived in K£fah and the Sh¢'ah have pledged allegiance to him on behalf of °usain bin 'Al¢. So if you have any need for K£fah, then send it a strong man, who will carry out your orders and act in the same way as you would against your enemy. Nu'm¡n bin Bash¢r is a weak man, or he is acting like a weak man."

Then 'Um¡rah bin 'Uqbah[٢] wrote to Yaz¢d in similar vein.

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: His name appears in the list of those who gave witness against °ujr bin 'Adiyy as 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin Shu'bah al-°a¤ram¢. (**٥:٢٦٩**)

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He is the brother of Wal¢d bin 'Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu¢§.

Then ‘Umar bin Sa‘d bin Ab¢ Waqq¡¥[١]

He and his brother, Wal¢d, had come from Makkah to Mad¢nah to request the Messenger of Allah (¥) to send back to them their sister, Umm Kulth£m -who had migrated to Mad¢nah- by virtue of the terms agreed in the treaty of °udaibiyyah, but the Prophet refused (٢:٦٤٠). Their house was [situated near] the valley of K£fah (٤:٢٧٤). ‘Um¡rah’s daughter, Umm Ayy£b, was the wife of Mugh¢rah bin Shu’bah. When Mugh¢rah died, she was married by Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h (٥:١٨٠). ‘Um¡rah is the one who slandered against ‘Amru bin al-°amq al-Khuz¡’¢ before Ziy¡d (٥:٢٣٦). His father, ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu’¢§, was brought to the Messenger of Allah [¥] while he was an infidel (*k¡fir*) and the Prophet [¥] ordered him to be killed. So he said: “O Mu¦ammad! Who is going to look after the children? The Prophet [¥] replied: “The fire” (٥:٣٤٩). ‘Um¡rah was present in the palace on the day Muslim was killed (٥:٣٧٦). He is also the one who slandered against Mukht¡r before Ibn Ziy¡d on the day Muslim rose (٥:٥٧٠). There are no reports about him after this.

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: His mother was Bushr¡, the daughter of Qais bin Ab¢ al-Kaisam, who was taken as a captive among those who had turned their back from Islam after the Prophet [¥] (٣:٣٤١). So he must have been born in the beginning of the second decade of Hijrah, and must have been around fifty in Karbal¡’. In the year ١٧ or ١٩ H when he was still a young man, his father, Sa’d, sent him with ‘Ay¡¤ bin Ghunm to conquer north of Iraq and Syria (٤:٥٣). In the year ٣٧ H, ‘Umar tempted his father to participate in the arbitration (*ta¦k¢m*), and so he brought him [for this purpose] from the watering place of the Ban£ Sulaim in a desert area, to D£mah al-Jandal, at a place known as Adhrakh. He then told him: “O my father! Attend their deliberations, for indeed you are a companion of the Prophet and were one of the members of the Sh£r¡ [i.e. the council formed by the second caliph]. So be present, for you are more entitled to the caliphate than any other person” (٥:٧-٦٦). [‘Umar bin Sa’d] was one of those who gave witness against °ujr (٥:٢٦٩) and among those who wrote to Yaz¢d advising him to save the situation in K£fah (٥:٣٥٦). He disliked Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l making his will to him and [later] disclosed it to Ibn Ziy¡d who said: “A trustworthy person never betrays you, but sometimes a

wrote to him in the same.[١]

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traitor has to be trusted" (٥:٣٧٧). Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash'ath al-Kind¢ wanted to appoint 'Umar bin Sa'd as the governor of K£fah after Ibn Ziy¡d, but the members of the Ban£ Hamd¡n opposed him; their men came out putting on swords, while their women were lamenting for al-°usain ('a) (٥:٥٢٤). Mukht¡r sent Ab£ 'Umrah against 'Umar bin Sa'd. The former managed to kill him and brought his head to Mukht¡r. He then killed his son, °af¥ bin 'Umar. Mukhtar then said: "By Allah! If I were to kill three quarters of the Quraish, they would not have still compensated for even a fingertip of al-°usain ('a)." He then dispatched their heads to Mu¦ammad bin al-°anafiyyah in Mad¢nah (٦:٢-٦١).

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥٧): Hish¡m says: "'Aw¡nah has narrated: 'When [all] the letters reached Yaz¢d with the [maximum] gap of two days between them, he summoned Sarjaun*, Mu'¡wiyah's retainer, and asked him: 'What is your opinion? Al-°usain has set out for K£fah, while Muslim bin 'Aq¢l is there receiving allegiance on behalf of al-°usain. I have been informed that Nu'm¡n is weak and [I have had] other bad reports about him. What do you think? Who should I appoint as the governer of K£fah?' [This was at a time when] Yaz¢d was angry with 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. Sarjaun said: 'Tell me, if Mu'¡wiyah was to be raised, would you accept his opinion?' Yaz¢d replied: 'Yes.' [Here,] Sarjaun took out Mu'¡wiyah's [letter in which] he had appointed 'Ubaidullah over K£fah and said: 'This is the opinion of Mu'¡wiyah. He enjoined this letter as he died.' Yaz¢d accepted the advice and summoned Muslim bin 'Amru al-B¡hil¢** and dispatched him to 'Ubaidullah in Ba¥rah with the [letter of] his appointment. He wrote to him [as follows]: 'My followers among the people of K£fah have written to me that Muslim bin 'Aq¢l is in K£fah gathering people, in order to cause difference in the ranks of the Muslims. Therefore, go to the people of K£fah when you read this letter of mine, and search for Ibn 'Aq¢l as if you were looking for a bead until you find him. Then bind him [in chains], kill him or expel him. That is all.' Muslim bin 'Amru set out till he reached Ba¥rah and urged 'Ubaidullah to get prepared and move to K£fah the next day.

±abar¢ has narrated this on the authority of 'Amm¡r al-Duhan¢*** from Ab£ Ja'far al-B¡qir ('a): "He then summoned his servant

called Sarjaun whose advice he used to seek, and informed him of the news. Sarjaun said to him: 'If Mu'¡wiyah was alive, would you have taken his counsel?' Yaz¢d answered: 'Yes.' Sarjaun said: 'Then accept [this] from me; there is no one suitable for K£fah except 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. So appoint him over it.' Yaz¢d was then angry with 'Ubaidullah and was even seriously thinking of dimissing him from Ba¥rah. Yet, Yaz¢d wrote to him showing his satisfaction and informing him that, besides Ba¥rah, he has also appointed him over K£fah. He also wrote [to him] that he must search for Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and kill him if he were to find him" (٥:٣٤٨).

* Sarjaun bin Man¥£r al-R£m¢ was Mu'¡wiyah's scribe and the record keeper of his office (*al-±abari*:٥:٢٣٠ & ٦:١٨٠).

** *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٢٢٨): Muslim bin 'Amru al-B¡hil¢ was in Ba¥rah together with Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h. He was respectable in the clan of B¡hilah and was leading it in the year ٤٦ H. He resided in Sh¡m [for some time] and was thus counted to be from both Sh¡m and Ba¥rah. He returned to Ba¥rah with Yaz¢d's letter to Ibn Ziy¡d and then moved with him to K£fah. When H¡ni' bin 'Urwah was brought before Ibn Ziy¡d, al-B¡hil¢ asked him to submit Muslim bin 'Aq¢l to him (٥:٣٦٦). Al-B¡hil¢ also abused Muslim when he reached the gate of the palace and asked for water (٥:٣٧٦). Later, he flattered Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair who then sent him to fight Ibn al-°urr al-Ju'f¢, but he was defeated in ٦٨ H (٦:١٣٢). He was acting as an assistant of Mu¥'ab (٦:١٣٦) and was killed together with Budair al-J¡thal¢q in a battle against Marw¡n in ٧١ H (٦:١٥٨). Al-B¡hil¢ used to love wealth exceedingly (٥:٤٣٢). He had seven sons: Qutaibah, 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n, 'Abdullah, 'Ubaidullah, ¯¡li¦, Bashsh¡r and Mu¦ammad (٦:٥١٦), all of whom joined °ajj¡j bin Y£suf. °ajj¡j appointed Qutaibah over Khur¡s¡n in the year ٨٦ H (٦:٤٢٤). Qutaibah later fought a battle and conqured B¢kand, N£shkath, R¡mth¢n, Bukh¡r¡, Sh£m¡n, Kush, Nasaf, Kh¡mjard, Samarqand, Sh¡sh, Fargh¡nah, K¡shghar upto the borders of China. He also made peace with N¢zak, Saghad and Khw¡razmsh¡h. Qutaibah was killed along with his brothers in ٩٦ H (٦:٤٢٩-٥٠٦).

*** 'Amm¡r al-Duhan¢ was the father of Mu'¡wiyah bin 'Amm¡r. Mu'¡wiyah was among the companions of Imam al-¯¡diq ('a) and Imam al-K¡¨im ('a). His father, 'Amm¡r, was an outstanding personality and considered to be reliable by the people. His

[Al-°usain's Letter to the People of Ba¥rah]

Al-°usain ('a) sent a copy of his letter -with his servant Sulaim¡n[١]- to the heads of the five districts of Ba¥rah[٢] and also to such noblemen as M¡lik bin Masma' al-Bakr¢[٣],

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agnomen was Ab£ Mu'¡wiyah. He has, at times, narrated [reports] from Ab£ Ja'far al-B¡qir ('a) (See *al-Rij¡l* of 'All¡mah al-°ill¢, pg.١٦٦). 'Amm¡r also wrote a book as reported by Ibn al-Nad¢m in *al-Fihrist* (pg.٢٣٥; Europe edition].

[١] Historians have differed over the name of this messenger of al-°usain ('a) to Ba¥rah. In this book, he is called Sulaim¡n as he is in *al-Maqtal* of al-Khw¡razm¢ (١:١٩٩) who narrated that from Ibn al-A'tham. Sayyid Ibn ±¡w£s has given him the same name in *al-Luh£f*, but with the agnomen of Ab£ Raz¢n, whereas this was in fact his father's agnomen. His mother was Kabshah, a slave of al-°usain ('a). She used to serve in the house of Umm Is¦¡q al-Tam¢miyyah, one of al-°usain's wives, and then got married to Ab£ Raz¢n and gave birth to Sulaim¡n. Ibn Nam¡ writes in *Muth¢r al-A¦z¡n* (pg.١٢) that Imam ['a] sent the letter through Dhuray' al-Sad£s¢. Sayyid al-Am¢n has mentioned both of them together in his *Law¡ij al-Ashj¡n* (pg.٣٦).

[٢] The city of Ba¥rah was divided into five parts, each of them having a leader from among their outstanding men.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: M¡lik bin Masma' al-Bakr¢ al-Ja¦dar¢. He was the head of the clan of Ban£ Bakr bin W¡il in Ba¥rah (٤:٥٠٥). He granted asylum to Marw¡n bin °akam on the day he was defeated. The descendants of Marw¡n remained grateful to them for this favour and honoured them, while the Ban£ Bakr made use of their good relationship with the Ban£ Marw¡n! (٥:٥٣٦). M¡lik was inclined towards the Ban£ Umayyah and therefore refused to support Ziy¡d against Ibn al-Kha¤ram¢, whom Mu'¡wiyah had earlier sent to Ba¥rah to invite the people to his authority (٥:١١٠). M¡lik was the one who swore allegiance to Ibn Marj¡nah when Yazid died, but later he infringed his allegiance and broke into the treasure house along with a group of other people, and plundered it (٥:٥٠٥). Later, M¡lik was accused of trying to restore Ibn Ziy¡d in the office in Ba¥rah (٥:٥١٢). M¡lik bin Masma' was the head of the quarter of Bakr bin W¡il from Yemen which comprised the

A¦naf bin Qais[١]

Lah¡zim, which consisted of the Ban£ Qais bin Tha'labah and their allies, Ghazzah; the clan of Shiya' al-L¡t and its allies: 'Ijl; and the family of Dhuhal bin Tha'labah along with its allies: Yashkur and ®ai'ah bin Rab¢'ah bin Nazz¡r. These groups were nomads, while the Han¢fah were city dwellers (٥:٥١٥). When the tribe of Azd moved to Ba¥rah towards the end of Mu'¡wiyah's rule and the early days of Yaz¢d's reign, M¡lik approached them and renewed the alliance with them (٥:٥١٦). In the year ٦٤ H, he once again renewed the alliance with them while Mas'£d bin 'Amru al-Ma'n¡ was in charge of them. They revolted against 'Abdullah bin al-°¡rith bin Naufal bin 'Abd al-Mu§§alib al-Qarash¢ al-H¡shim¢, with the intention of reinstating Ibn Ziy¡d in the office. They were defeated and M¡lik's house was set on fire (٥:٥٢١). M¡lik defended the followers of Mukht¡r in Ba¥rah under tribal fervor, though he did not share with them their views (٦:٦٨). When Mu¥'ab fought Mukht¡r, M¡lik led the district of Bakr bin W¡il in support of Mu¥'ab (٦:٩٥). He also gave refuge to Kh¡lid bin 'Abdullah bin Kh¡lid bin 'Ubaid who was sent to Ba¥rah by 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n to invite people to his authority. M¡lik even took up arms in his defence and sustained injuries to his eyes. As a result, he was annoyed by the battle and sought refuge with 'Ubaidullah bin 'Ubaidullah bin Mu'ammar, Mu¥'ab's deputy. 'Ubaidullah gave him asylum but also expelled Kh¡lid from Ba¥rah. Malik thereafter was afraid of Mu¥'ab, so he fled to his people at Tha'j (٦:١٥٢-١٥٥). Mu¥'ab [in turn] demolished his house (٦:١٥٥). There are no reports about him after this.

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Al-A¦naf Sakhr bin Qais Ab£ Ba¦r al-Sa'd¢. He has related [narrations] from 'Abb¡s bin 'Abd al-Mu§§alib (١:٢٦٣). In the year ١٧ H, 'Utbah bin Ghazw¡n sent him together with the delegation of the people of Ba¥rah to 'Umar (٤:٧٤). He was among those people of Ba¥rah who had participated in the battle against Persia in ١٧ H (٤:٨١). 'Umar –based on his own judgement- entrusted him with the standard of Khur¡s¡n in order to conquer it (٤:٩٤). He pursued Yazdgard until he was killed (٤:١٧١). Al-A¦naf also conquered Her¡t in ٣١ H (٤:٣٠١) and signed a peace treaty with [the people of] Mirwad£d (٤:٣١٠) and Balakh (٤:٣١٣). He was among those people of Ba¥rah with whom 'ªishah was in

correspondence (٤:٤٦١).
During the battle of Ba¥rah, A¦naf went to see ‘Al¢ (‘a) who invited him and his people in the city not to fight against him. A¦naf called on his men not to take up arms and they accepted his call and withdrew. When ‘Al¢ (‘a) gained victory, A¦naf entered the city with him, along with his ١٠،٠٠٠ (٤:٤٩٧) or ٦،٠٠٠ (٤:٤٦٨) or ٤،٠٠٠ men (٤:٥٠١). A¦naf renewed his pledge with ‘Al¢ (‘a) in the evening of the same day (٤:٥٤١). Later, A¦naf came to ‘Al¢ (‘a) at K£fah and wrote to his kinsmen in Ba¥rah inviting them to come over to K£fah, so that they could move together to ¯iff¢n and they accepted that (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٢٤). A¦naf was leading Tam¢m, ®ubbah and Rub¡b on that day (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.١١٧). Nevertheless, he was apprehensive about the loss of Arabs [in the battle] (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٣٨٧).
A¦naf proposed himself to ‘Al¢ (‘a) for the arbitration (*ta¦k¢m*) and pointed to the tenderness of Ab£ M£s¡, but his proposal was denied by Ash’ath bin Qais (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٥٠١). A¦naf stopped ‘Al¢ from erasing his name as the leader of the believers on the day of ¯iff¢n (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٥٠٨). When Ash’ath came out to read the agreement reached at the arbitration, A¦naf stopped him from that and a man from the Ban£ Tam¢m engaged in a [brief] skirmish with Ash’ath with his sword. On seeing this, the people of Yemen came forward to take revenge from the Ban£ Tam¢m, so A¦naf [immediately] went to Ash’ath and apologized to him (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*, pg.٥١٣). He had also adviced Ab£ M£s¡ not to be deceived [in the arbitration] (*Waq’at ¯iff¢n*: pg. ٥٣٦). ‘Al¢ (‘a) used to invite A¦naf together with the Ban£ H¡shim for consultation (٥:٥٣). A¦naf came out with the Ban£ Tam¢m in an army of ١،٥٠٠ men during his second departure to ¯iff¢n (*al-±abar¢*:٥:٧٨).
In the year ٥٠ H, A¦naf went to see Mu’¡wiyah who awarded him ١٠٠،٠٠٠ [dirhams] (٥:٢٤٢). Again in ٥٩ H, Ibn Ziy¡d sent him to Mu’¡wiyah where he was received last (٥:٣١٧). A¦naf later paid allegiance to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d after Yaz¢d in order to attain the governorship of Ba¥rah (٥:٥٠٧). He also promised Ibn Ziy¡d to bring to him Ibn al-Zubair’s propagandist. But when he saw the latter’s refusal, A¦naf gave up persuading him (٥:٥٠٨).
When the tribe of Azd was attempting to reinstate Ibn Ziy¡d to the governership after his escape, Ban£ Tam¢m flocked on A¦naf complaining to him of the return of Ibn Ziy¡d to power, and also of

Mundhir bin al-J¡r£d[١], Mas'£d bin 'Amru[٢],

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the killing of some men from the Ban£ Tam¢m at the hands of the Azd. So A¦naf rose with them against the Azd and killed Mas'£d bin 'Amru, the head of the Azd and the one who had granted protection to Ibn Ziy¡d. Upon this, Ibn Ziy¡d fled to Sh¡m (٥:٥١٩). Subsequently, A¦naf paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair (٥:٦١٥). In ٦٧ H, he fought against Mukht¡r alongside Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair (٦:٩٥) and was the one to advice Mu¥'ab to kill those of Mukht¡r's followers who had surrendered (٦:١١٦). It seems A¦naf was dead by the year ٧١ H (٦:١٥٧).

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He was leading the the clans of Jadh'ah and Bakr bin 'Abd al-Qais in support of 'Al¢ ('a) on the day of Jamal (٥:٥٠٥). His daughter, Ba¦riyyah, was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d's wife. When Yaz¢d bin al-Mufarragh al-°imyar¢ mocked at the family of Ziy¡d, Ibn J¡r£d gave him refuge, but Ibn Ziy¡d denied him (٥:٣١٨). Later, Ibn Ziy¡d appointed Ibn J¡r£d over Sindh in India where he died in ٦٢ H, as reported in *al-I¥¡bah* (٣:٤٨٠).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Mas'£d bin 'Amru bin 'Adiyy al-Azd¢, the head of the Azd during the battle of Jamal in Ba¥rah (٤:٥٠٥). He is the one who gave refuge to Ibn Marj¡nah [i.e. Ibn Ziy¡d] when the people opposed him. Ibn Marj¡nah waited for ninty days after the death of Yaz¢d before he went to Sh¡m (٥:٥٢٥). Mas'£d sent with Ibn Ziy¡d ١٠٠ men from the clan of Azd -who were led by Qurrah bin 'Amru bin Qais- to escort him to Sh¡m (٥:٥٢٢). Ibn Marj¡nah appointed Mas'£d as his deputy when he left Ba¥rah. Mas'£d thus set out accompanied by his clansmen until he reached the palace and entered (٥:٥٢٥). A group of the Khaw¡rij entered the mosque while Mas'£d was on the pulpit, accepting allegiance from whoever came to him. A Persian Muslim among them - who had embraced Islam after entering Ba¥rah and then joined the Khaw¡rij- shot at Mas'£d's heart and killed him and then they left the mosque (٥:٥٢٥). They were either ٤٠٠ or ٥٠٠ in number and were from the [a]sh£r¢'s (٥:٥١٩), together with the M¡h- Afr¢d£n who presented themselves to the Ban£ Tam¢m [on their way to Ba¥rah]. Salamah asked them: "Where are you heading to?" They replied: "Towards you [i.e. Ba¥rah]." So Salamah said: "Then move ahead of us." Accordingly, they were [moving] ahead of them. [Following Mas'£d's assassination] the people of Azd attacked this group of

Qais bin Haitham[١] and ‘Amru bin ‘Ubaidullah bin

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the Khaw¡rij killing a number of them and injuring others, and finally expelled them from Ba¥rah. Some members of the Ban£ Tam¢m confessed thereafter that they were the ones who invited this group to Ba¥rah and entered the city with them. So the Azd attacked the Ban£ Tam¢m and a great number from both sides were killed. They finally agreed on ١٠٠،٠٠٠ dirhams –ten times more than the amount specified by the Shar¢’ah- as the blood-money for Mas’£d’s killing and thus reconciled (٥:٥٢٦).

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٤:٣١٤): Qais bin al-Haitham al-Sulam¢. In the year ٣٢ H, ‘Abdullah bin ‘ªmir appointed him over Khur¡s¡n together with Qais’ cousin, ‘Abdullah bin Kh¡zim. When ‘Abdullah bin ‘ªmir came out of Khur¡s¡n, having mobilized around ٤٠،٠٠٠ men from Her¡t, Qahist¡n, ±abas and B¡dgh¢s, Ibn Kh¡zim took out a fake document -produced by himself- which he attributed to Ibn ‘ªmir, claiming that he had been appointed as the ruler of Khur¡s¡n, in case there was a war. So Qais accepted it and left the place to come to Ba¥rah. Thereafter, the uprise against ‘Uthm¡n came up and ‘Uthm¡n asked for help from the people of Ba¥rah through ‘Abdullah bin ‘ªmir. As ‘Abdullah asked for their assistance, Qais came forward and addressed the people urging them to assist ‘Uthm¡n. The people rushed to his help but were then informed of Uthman’s murder and so they returned (٥:٣٦٩).

It has been said that Qais had been the chief of security guards in Ba¥rah for ‘Abdullah bin ‘ªmir during the reign of Mu’¡wiyah in ٤١ H (٥:١٧٠). He later appointed him as the governer of Khur¡s¡n for two years (٥:١٧٢). Qais failed to send him the taxes on time and so Ibn ‘ªmir wanted to dismiss him. ‘Abdullah bin Kh¡zim asked Ibn ‘ªmir to make him in charge of Khur¡s¡n and the latter was about to write for him his letter of appointment when he learned about it. So Qais left Khur¡s¡n and went to see Ibn ‘ªmir. The latter ordered Qais to be whipped (٥:٢٠٩) hundred lashes, shaved his head and imprisoned him. Ibn ‘ªmir was [in fact] Qais’ uncle, so his mother pleaded for his release and he released him (٥:٢١٠). In the year ٤٤ H, Ibn ‘ªmir appointed a man from the Ban£ Yashkur –either ±ufail bin ‘Awf al-Yashkur¢ or ‘Abdullah bin Ab¢ Shaikh al-Yashkur¢ (٥:٢١٣)- as the governor of Khur¡s¡n (٥:٢٠٩), who sympathized with Qais bin Haitham and appointed him as his

Mu'ammar. The letter read:

"Allah chose Mu¦ammad (¥) over His creation, honoured him with prophethood and chose him to convey His message. Then Allah took him to Himself after he had sincerely admonished the people and conveyed to them what He had sent him with. We are his family, his friends, his trustees and his inheritors. We are more entitled from among the people

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deputy in Ba¥rah whenever he set out to visit Mu'¡wiyah (٥:٢١٣). Mu'¡wiyah gave the hand of his daughter, Hind, to him in marriage and dismissed him in ٤٤ H from the governership of Ba¥rah (٥:٢١٤). Mu'¡wiyah then appointed Ziy¡d bin Sumayyah in his place in the year ٤٥ H. Ziy¡d put Qais bin Haitham in charge of Mirwad al-Raudh, Al-F¡riyab and ±¡liq¡n (٥:٢٢٤). In the year ٦١ H -after the martyrdom of al-°usain ['a], Qais was appointed as the deputy of 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ziy¡d in Khur¡s¡n, whenever the latter would go to see Yaz¢d. However, Yaz¢d dismissed him and Qais remained in isolation (٥:٣١٦). When Yaz¢d died Qais was in Ba¥rah, and ®a¦¦¡k bin Qais wrote to him inviting him towards himself (٥:٥٠٤), though Qais was inclined towards Nu'm¡n bin ¯ahb¡n al-R¡sib¢, since the people of Ba¥rah had oppointed these two [i.e. Nu'm¡n and ¯ahb¡n] from among the Ban£ Umayyah as leaders over them after Ibn Ziy¡d. Afterwards, they [i.e. ®a¦¦¡k and Qais] agreed upon a Hashimite from the clan of Mu¤ar (٥:٥١٢). In ٦٦ H, Qais was the head of the security guards and the fighting forces in Ba¥rah for Ibn al-Zubair during the battle against Muthann¡ bin Mukharribah al-'Abd¢ al-Ba¥r¢, the one who used to invite people towards Mukht¡r (٦:٦٧). He, together with Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair, were at the head of the district of Ahl al-'ªliyah in their encounter with Mukht¡r in ٦٧ H (٦:٩٥). In the year ٧١ H, Qais was hiring people –in support of Ibn al-Zubair- to help him fight against Kh¡lid bin 'Abdullah, the one who was calling the people towards 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n (٦:٧١). Qais used to warn the people of Iraq against betraying Mu¥'ab (٦:١٥٧). This is our last encounter with the story of Qais. Perhaps, he was killed in ٧١ H along with the companions of Mu¥'ab at the hands of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n.

to his position than any other person is. But our community held onto it to our exclusion and we did not oppose them; [for] we detested disunity and loved the well-being [of the community]. We know that we are more entitled to that position and truly worthy of it than those who have taken it over.[١] They [may] have done well, put things in order and pursued the truth.

I am sending to you my messenger with this letter. I invite you to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Prophet (¥). Indeed, the Sunnah has been eradicated (*um¢tat*) and the innovations (*bid'ah*) have been revived. If you listen to my speech and obey my commands, I will guide you to the right path. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you."

All these noblemen read the letter and concealed it's content except for Mundhir bin J¡r£d. He was afraid, for he thought that [the sending of Sulaim¡n, the messenger of al-°usain (‘a)] might be a conspiracy by ‘Ubaidullah. Thus, he came with the messenger to Ibn Ziy¡d in the evening preceding the day he intended to leave for K£fah, and asked the messenger to read the letter to him. [‘Ubaidullah] asked the messenger to come forward and [as he did so,] he put him to the sword.

[Ibn Ziy¡d's Address in Ba¥rah]

Ibn Ziy¡d went on the pulpit of Ba¥rah, praised Allah and glorified Him and said:

"By Allah! The intractable camel (*¥u'bah*) shall never be coupled with me[٢]; and I will not let anyone clatter (*qa'qa'ah*)

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[١] This indicates that the acceptance of this situation by the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) was only to avoid discord [within the community] and ward off evil, not out of their willing consent.

[٢] *Al-¥u'bah* as it has appeared in the Arabic text means a she-camel

before me[١]; I will punish (*la-nakilun*) whoever is hostile towards me[٢]; I will prove to be a poison for whoever fights me; Indeed, the tribe of Q¡rrah fairly treated the one who shot at them[٣].

O people of Ba¥rah! Verily the commander of the faithful has made me in charge of K£fah and I am departing towards it tomorrow. I am placing 'Uthm¡n bin Ziy¡d bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n as my deputy. Beware of opposition and spreading rumours. By Him beside who there is no deity! If I am informed of any opposition from anyone of you, then I shall certainly kill him, and the one who knows him, and his near ones. Verily, I will punish severely for even the slightest act of disobedience

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who is not easy to mount. By using this term, Ibn Ziy¡d meant to say that as if he has mounted Ba¥rah and leading it. Thus, he would not allow it to become difficult for himself to get on.

[١] *Al-qa'qa'ah* means voice. As if he meant to say: I will not let the people speak about their hatred and dislike to me.

[٢] *Nakilun* comes from *al-nik¡l* which means punishment and revenge.

[٣] This is how *al-±abar¢* has reported. This statement was actually a call of a man from the tribe of Q¡rrah. This particular tribe was known for its proficiency in shooting during the days of Ignorance (*j¡hiliyyah*). So a member of this tribe happened to meet a person from another tribe and told him: "If you wish I can fight with you; and if you like I can race with you; and if you want I am ready to compete with you in shooting." The other person replied: "I have chosen shooting." Here the member of the tribe of Q¡rrah recited the following couplets: "Indeed the tribe of Q¡rrah fairly treated the one who shot at them; Verily if we were to meet any group, we shall send back its first one to its last." He then shot at him an arrow piercing his heart. Now, by repeating a part of these couplets, perhaps Ibn Ziy¡d meant to say that whoever chooses to shoot at the Ban£ Umayyah, then he is like the one who chose shooting with the member of the tribe of Q¡rrah; for the Ban£ Umayyah are as much proficient in shooting as the tribe of Q¡rrah.

until you totally submit to me and there remains among you no opponent or opposer! I am the son of Ziy¡d; I resemble him [more] than anyone else on this earth; I have not been taken away by similarity to [my] maternal uncle or [my] cousin."

[Ibn Ziy¡d Enters K£fah]

Ibn Ziy¡d then left Ba¥rah for K£fah together with Muslim bin ‘Amru al-B¡hil¢[١], Shar¢k bin al-A’war al-°¡rith¢[٢], his attendants and his family members who were around ten men[٣]. He entered K£fah with a black turban on his head, while he had covered his face. The people [of K£fah] had heard that al-°usain (‘a) had set out towards them, so they were waiting for his arrival.

When Ibn Ziy¡d arrived [in the city], they thought that he was al-°usain (‘a). He did not pass a group of people without them

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[١] We have already given his biography earlier.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He was oppointed over I¥§akhr F¡ris where he built a mosque in the year ٣١ H (٤:٣٠١). He participated in the battle of ¯iff¢n with ‘Al¢ (‘a) (٥:٣٦١). In the year ٣٨ H, ‘Al¢ (‘a) sent him together with J¡riyah bin Qud¡mah al-Sa’d¢ at the head of a group of men from the Ban£ Tam¢m to Ba¥rah to fight Ibn al-°a¤ram¢ and those with him who had responded to his call to Mu’¡wiyah (٥:١١٢). ‘Abdullah bin ‘ªmir had also sent Shar¢k to Ba¥rah along with ٣،٠٠٠ riders from the tribe of Rab¢’ah to fight Mustawrad bin ‘Allafah, the Kh¡rij¢ (٥:١٩٣). He also ruled over Kerm¡n for ‘Abdullah bin Ziy¡d in ٥٩ H (٥:٣٢١). He lived for a few days after reaching K£fah and then died. Ibn Ziy¡d led his funeral prayer (٥:٣٦٤).

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥٩) narrates on the authority of ‘«s¡ bin Yaz¢d al-Kan¡n¢ who said: "When Yaz¢d’s letter reached ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d, he selected ٥٠٠ men from the people of Ba¥rah among whom were ‘Abdullah bin al-°¡rith al-Naufal and Shar¢k bin al-A’war.

greeting him by saying: “Welcome to you, O son of the Messenger of Allah! Your arrival is a happy [event].” He saw in their welcoming of al-°usain (‘a) something which [greatly] troubled him. He was so angry at what he heard from them that he said: “I wish I could see them in other than this state!” When their number increased, Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-B¡hil¢] called out: “Move back! This is the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d.”

When he entered the palace and the people came to know that he was ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d, they became very sad and grief stricken![١]

[Ibn Ziyad’s Address Upon His Arrival in K£fah]

After he entered the palace, a caller shouted [in the morning of the following day]: “*al-¥al¡h j¡mi’atan* [the prayer is a general prayer which all should gather for].” The people gathered and he went out to them. He praised and glorified Allah and said:

“The commander of the faithful [i.e. Yaz¢d] –May Allah correct him- has appointed me over your city and frontier-station. He has ordered me to give justice to the oppressed among you, help the weak, treat the obedient among you with generosity and to be harsh with the disobedient and suspicious among you. I will follow his order with regard to you and execute his command on you. To the good and submissive among you, I will be like a kind father. But my sword and whip shall be for him who disobeys my orders and

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥٧): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Uthm¡n al-Hind¢ who said…” This has also been narrated in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg. ٢٠٦) and *al-Maqtal* (pg. ٢٠٠) of al-Khw¡razm¢.

opposes my commands. So let each man protect himself! ‘True belief (*sidq*) should declare itself on your behalf, not the threat of punishment (*wa’¢d*)’.”

Then, he descended from the pulpit and took the group leaders (*‘uraf¡’*) and the people harshly, and said:

“Write to me the strangers (*ghurab¡’*) and those among you who are the seekers of the commander of the faithful [i.e. Yaz¢d], and those among you are the [members of the] °ar£riyyah[١], and the suspicious ones who [only] think of discord and turmoil. Whoever writes to us in this regard will be free [from harm]. But he who does not write to us anyone, will have to guarantee that there is no opponent in his group (*‘ar¡fah*)[٢] who will oppose us, and no wrongdoer who will try to wrong us. Anyone who does not do so shall be denied protection and his blood and his property will be permitted to us. Any head of *‘ar¡fah* in whose group is found an opponent of the commander of the faithful whom he has not reported to us, will be crucified at the door of his house. I will abolish the pay (*‘a§¡’*) of that group and they shall be expelled to a

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[١] The Khaw¡rij. They are attributed to °arawr¡’ -which is located in the suburbs of K£fah- because that was the first place that they had gathered in on their return from ¯iff¢n and before entering K£fah.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: *‘Ar¡fah* was a governmental post responsible for the identification of the citizens and to organize their stipends from the tresure house (*bait al-m¡l*). There were a hundred people who held this position (*‘irr¢f*) in K£fah. The stipends used to be given to the heads of the four districts of the city, who would pass it to the *‘uraf¡’* (pl. of *‘irr¢f*), and the trustworthy people, who would then distribute it to the people within their areas (٤:٤٩) . They used to receive the order to distribute the stipends in the month of Mu¦arram of every year, and their grants at the harvest time every year (٤:٤٣). The system of *‘ar¡fah* used to exist even during the time of the Prophet (¥) (٣:٤٤٨).

place in ‘Umm¡n al-Z¡rah.”[١],[٢]

[Muslim Moves from the House of Mukht¡r to that of H¡ni’][٣]

Muslim learnt about the arrival of ‘Ubaidullah, about the speech he had made and his treatment of the *‘uraf¡’* and the

[١] ‘Umm¡n al-Z¡rah is the present day Oman which is situated in the coast of the Persian Gulf. This place is extremely hot and difficult to live in, and that is why Ibn Ziy¡d was threatening to deport his opponents to this place.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٥٨): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: “Mu’all¡ bin Kulaib has narrated to me from Ab£ Wadd¡k who said…” *Al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٢) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٠٠) have narrated this also.

[٣] Al-Mas’£d¢ writes: “He was the chief and leader of Mur¡d. In those days he used to ride accompanied by ٤،٠٠٠ armored worriors and ٨،٠٠٠ foot soldiers. If their allies from the [Ban£] Kindah and others were to respond to them, then H¡n¢ would ride amidst ٣٠،٠٠٠ armoured fighters” (See *Mur£j al-Dhahab*:٣:٦٩). It is thus known from here why Muslim left Mukht¡r’s place and moved to the house of H¡ni, the chief (*shaikh*) of the clan. Nevertheless, events turned out to be as al-Mas’£d¢ says: “But their leader could not find even a single supporter from among them due to their faint-heartedness and betrayal.

Both H¡ni’ and his father were among the companions [of the Prophet (¥)]. He was killed while he was either eighty or ninty years of age as mentioned in *al-±abaq¡t* of Ibn Sa’d. Al-Mubarrad says in *al-K¡mil* that H¡ni’s father was among those who rose with °ujr bin ‘Adiyy, but Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h interceded [with Mu’¡wiyah] on his behalf. This is why Ibn Ziy¡d had told H¡ni’ –as it has appeared in *al-±abar¢*: “O H¡ni’! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Sh¢‘ah except for your father and °ujr? And you well know what came to happen of °ujr. He [i.e. Ziy¡d] did not cease to show his kindness towards you to the extent that he even wrote to the governor of K£fah [saying]: ‘My request from you is that you should take care of H¡ni’. H¡ni’ answered: ‘Yes.’ Ibn Ziy¡d then said: ‘Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man that he may kill me!’” (٥:٣٦١).

people. So he left the house of Mukht¡r -where he was now known to be residing- until he reached the house of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah al-Mur¡d¢. He entered the door and asked him to come out. H¡ni' came out and disliked his presence when he saw him. Muslim said to him: "I have come to you so that you may give me refuge and take me in as a guest."

H¡ni' replied: "May Allah have mercy on you! Indeed, you are excessive in your demands of me! Had it not been that you have already entered my house and that you are a reliable man, I would have preferred –and asked- you to leave. However, I am now obliged to protect you. Someone like me cannot refuse you shelter out of ignorance. [So] enter." Thus, he sheltered him.

The Sh¢'ah began to visit Muslim in the house of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah.[١] After Muslim moved to the house of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah and eighteen thousand people paid allegiance to him, he sent a letter to al-°usain ('a) with '[a]bis bin Ab¢ Shab¢b al-Sh¡kir¢[٢] [saying]:

"Verily, a scout never lies to his people. Eighteen thousand from among the people K£fah have paid allegiance to me, so hasten to us as my letter reaches you; for the people are all with you. They have no liking or inclination to the family of Mu'¡wiyah. That is all."

The letter was dispatched twenty-seven nights before he was killed.[٣]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٦١**): [I narrate] from Ab£ Mikhnaf, who reported from Mu'all¡ bin Kula¢b, who related from Ab£ al-Wadd¡k that…"
[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٧٥**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Ja'far bin °udhaifah al-±¡¢ narrated to me that…"
[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٩٥**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports [that]: 'Mu¦ammad bin Qais narrated to me [saying]…"

[Ma'qil al-Sh¡m¢ spies on Muslim ('a)]

Ibn Ziy¡d summoned his servant called Ma'qil[١] and told him: "Take three thousand dirhams with you and search for Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and his followers, and give them this money. Tell them: 'Use it in the war against your enemy', and let them know that you are one of them. For if you give it to them, they will have confidence in you, trust you and they will not conceal any of their information from you. Thereafter, visit them frequently."

[Ma'qil] thus came to Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asad¢[٢] at the great mosque and saw him praying. He had heard the people saying that Ibn 'Awsajah was accepting people's allegiance for al-°usain ('a). So he waited until he finished his prayers. He then said [to him]: "O servant of Allah, I am from Sh¡m and a servant of Dh£ al-Kal¡'. Allah has blessed me with love for the people of this House [i.e. the family of the Prophet

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٠) relates on the authority of '«s¡ bin Yaz¢d al-Kan¡n¢ that Muslim bin 'Aq¢l arrived in K£fah a night before Ibn Ziy¡d. The latter was informed about Muslim's arrival while he was in the suburbs of K£fah. So he summoned a slave from the Ban£ Tam¢m and gave him some money and told him: "Take up this matter and help them with this money. Proceed to H¡ni' and Muslim, and make him stay at H¡ni's place."

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٦): Shabath bin Rib'¢ said in reply to those of his companions around him who had gathered to kill Muslim bin 'Awsajah: "May your mothers mourn you! You are killing yourselves with your own hands and abasing yourselves to the benefit of others. You are happy that someone like Muslim bin 'Awsajah has been killed?! I swear by the one to whom I have submitted! How often I have seen him amidst the Muslims doing a noble deed! I have seen him on the highlands of ªdharb¡ij¡n killing six idolaters before [even] the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. Should you be rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you?!"

(¥)] and love for those who love them. These are three thousand dirhams with which I want to meet a man from them who I have learnt has come to K£fah to receive pledges of allegiance on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (¥). I have been wanting to meet him but I have not found anyone who will direct me to him, as his place [of stay] is unknown. I was just now sitting in the mosque and I heard a number of Muslims saying that this is a person who knows the people of this House. Therefore, I have come to you so that you may take this money from me and introduce me to your colleague (*¥¡¦ib*) so that I may pledge my allegiance to him. If you wish, you may receive my pledge of allegiance to him before I meet him."

[Muslim bin 'Awsajah] replied [him]: "I thank Allah that you met me. I am glad that you are going to attain what you wish, and that Allah will help the house of His prophet through you. Yet your knowledge of my connection with this affair before it is finished troubles me, due to [my] fear of this tyrant and his severity."

Then he received his allegiance before he departed and took a binding oath from him that he would be sincere and keep the matter concealed. He [in return] gave him whatever would make him satisfied about this. Then [Muslim] told him: "Visit me at my house for some days; for I will seek permission for you [to visit] your master."

Thereafter, he sought permission for him [from Ibn 'Aq¢l] and [Ma'qil] started visiting [Muslim] with other people.[١]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦١): "[I narrate] from Ab£ Mikhnaf who related from Mu'all¡ bin Kulaib, who reported from Ab£ al-Saww¡k that…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٧) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٠١).

[The Meeting for Planning the Assasination of Ibn Ziy¡d]

H¡ni' bin 'Urwah fell sick and 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d came to see him. 'Um¡rah bin 'Ubaid al-Sal£l¢[١] said to H¡ni': "[The purpose of] our gathering and plotting is to kill this tyrant. [At present] Allah has given you the upper hand over him, so kill him."

H¡ni' replied: "I do not like him to be killed in my house." [Ibn Ziy¡d paid him a visit and] left.

After only a week Shar¢k bin al-A'war [al-°¡rith¢] got sick. Although Shar¢k was very kind towards Ibn Ziy¡d and other heads of state, he was a staunch Sh¢'ah. Ibn Ziy¡d sent him a messenger to inform him that he was coming to visit him in the evening. At this [Shar¢k] told Muslim: "This sinner is going to visit me tonight, so kill him after he takes his seat. Then sit in the palace and there will be no obstacle between you and it. If I get well from my illness in the coming days, [then] I will proceed towards Ba¥rah and save you of its troubles."

At evening 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziy¡d] set out to see Sharik [al-°¡rith¢]. Muslim bin 'Aq¢l got up to enter [the room] when Shar¢k said to him: "You must not miss him when he takes his seat." [Here] H¡ni' bin 'Urwah stood up and said –as if he detested it: "I do not want him to be killed in my house."

Thereafter, Ibn Ziy¡d arrived and entered [the house] and

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Al-Sal£l¢ was among the messengers of the people of K£fah –with ٥٣ letters- to al-°usain ('a) while [the latter] was in Makkah. The Imam ['a] then sent him to K£fah together with Muslim bin 'Aq¢l, Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢ and 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n al-Ar¦ab¢ (٥:٣٤٣-٣٤٤).

took his seat. He inquired from Shar¢k about his illness and said: “How do you feel?” His queries took long. [When Shar¢k] saw that [Muslim] is not coming out, he feared that he would miss him and so he began [reciting the following verse]: “What are you waiting for to greet Salm¡?! Make me drink it even if it were to take my life!” He repeated this twice or three times.

Ibn Ziy¡d said: “What is the matter with him? Is he exhausted by the fits of delirium?”

H¡ni’ replied: “Yes –May Allah make you among the righteous. This has been his behaviour from the early morning uptil now.” Ibn Ziy¡d then stood up and left.

Muslim came out [after Ibn Ziy¡d went], so Shar¢k asked him: “What prevented you from killing him?”

Muslim answered: “Two things. The first was H¡ni’s dislike for him to be killed in his house. The other was the tradition (¦*ad¢th*) that people have related from the Prophet (¥): ‘Indeed *¢m¡n* prevents assassination, and a believer never commits assassination.”

[On hearing this] H¡ni’ said: “By Allah! Had you killed him, you would have had certainly killed a corrupt (*f¡siq*), sinful (*f¡jir*), unbelieving (*k¡fir*) and a treacherous (*gh¡dir*) person! But I detested him to be killed in my house!”[١]

[Ma’qil Visits Muslim]

Ma’qil used to regularly visit Muslim bin ‘Awsajah for some days so that he may arrange for him to meet Ibn ‘Aq¢l, until

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦١): “[I narrate] from Ab£ Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu’all¡ bin Kulaib, who reported from Ab£ al-Wadd¡k that…”

[one day] he took him to [Muslim]. Ma'qil informed him of his condition and [Muslim] received his allegiance and ordered Ab£ Thum¡mah al-¯¡id¢[١] to collect the money that Ma'qil had brought with him. Thereafter, Ma'qil would consistently visit them. He would be the first [to enter] and the last to leave. He would hear all their news and take note of all their secrets and he would then go and inform Ibn Ziyad of that.[٢]

Ibn Ziy¡d Inquires About H¡ni'

Ibn Ziy¡d said to his courtiers: "How is it that I do not see H¡ni'?" They replied: "He is ill." 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziy¡d] then summoned Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash'ath[٣],

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He used to collect their funds and all that by which they used to help one another. He used to buy them weapons and was proficient in this matter. He was among the brave warriors of the Arabs and a distinguished personality among the Sh¢'ah (٥:٣٦٤). Muslim had given him the banner [and he was leading] the quarter of [the Ban£] Tam¢m and Hamd¡n (٥:٣٦٩). He was present in Karbal¡' and was the gate-keeper of al-°usain ('a) (٥:٤١٠). He was the one who asked al-°usain ('a) to lead them in their prayers on the noon of ªsh£r¡', and the Imam ['a] prayed for him saying: "You have remembered the prayers (*¥al¡t*); may Allah make you among those who establish prayers (*mu¥all¢n*) and remember him (*dh¡kir¢n*)" (٥:٤٣٩). His cousin –who was in the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd- had engaged him in a duel -before the time of prayers [on that day]- and was killed by Ab£ Thum¡mah (٥:٤٤١).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦١): [I narrate] from Ab£ Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu'all¡ bin Kulaib, who reported from Ab£ al-Wadd¡k that..." See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٨).

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kind¢. He is the one whom Ziy¡d had asked to surrender °ujr to him. Hujr requested al-Ash'ath to seek protection (*am¡n*) for him from Ibn Ziy¡d so that he could go to Mu'¡wiyah who would have the final word on him,

and Ziy¡d accepted the request (٥:٢٦٣-٢٦٤). ‘Ubaidah al-Kind¢ has some verses in which he reproaches Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash’ath for his betraying °ujr and fighting Muslim (‘a). [He says]:
“You surrendered your uncle and did not fight for him out of cowardice; if it was not because of your action, he would not have been caught. You killed the envoy of the household of Mu¦ammad, and plundered his sword and armor plate” (٥:٢٨٥). Ibn al-Ash’ath had raised the banner of protection for those among the [men of] Kindah and °a¤ramaut who obeyed him, encouraging them to abandon Ibn ‘Aq¢l (٥:٣٦٩). However, in order to fight Ibn ‘Aq¢l, he had also sent some men from [the clan of] Qais together with his men; since every tribe disliked Ibn ‘Aq¢l to be killed by its kinsmen (٥:٣٧٣). Ibn al-Ash’ath granted protection to Ibn ‘Aq¢l also (٥:٣٧٤) and informed Ibn Ziy¡d of that, but he did not approve it (٥:٣٧٥). He also interceded for H¡n¢ bin ‘Urwah but was rejected by Ibn Ziy¡d (٥:٣٧٨).
The clan of Kindah was carrying out the orders of ‘Umar bin Sa’d as they were his maternal kin. So when Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah died and Ibn Ziy¡d invited them towards himself, they rejected him and instead appointed ‘Umar bin Sa’d as their head. However, when the men of Hamd¡n took up swords and their women lamented al-°usain (‘a), Ibn Ash’ath backed down and said: “A new situation has arised” (٥:٥٢٥). Subsequently, the [people of] Hamd¡n wrote to Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah, and the latter sent Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath bin Qais to Mosul. When ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Sa’¢d bin Qais arrived in Mosul as its governer under Mukht¡r, Ibn Ash`ath withdrew from it in his favour. Al-Ash’ath then went to Tikr¢t and stayed there with some of the noble men of his kinsmen and others, observing the stand of the people. [Ultimately,] he set out to Mukht¡r and paid allegiance to him (٦:٣٦). When Ibn Ziy¡d proceeded towards Mosul with the army of Sh¡m and the followers of Mukht¡r came out to fight him, the outstanding men of K£fah - among them being Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath- came together and spread calumnies against Mukht¡r. Al-Ash’ath’s son, Is¦¡q, came out amidst the Jab¡nah of Kindah and they attacked Mukht¡r, pouncing on him (٦:٣٩-٤٥) and [they] got broken. Thus, Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath withdrew to his village near al-Q¡disiyyah where Mukht¡r sent ١٠٠ warriors from among his slaves and others to chase him up. But Mu¦ammad managed to escape and joined

Asm¡' bin Kh¡rijah[١] and 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j[٢] -whose sister Raw'ah was H¡ni's wife- and told them: "What prevents H¡n¢ bin 'Urwah from visiting us?"

They said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! We do not know, but he is complaining (*la-yatashakk¡*)[٣]."

So Ibn Ziy¡d said: "I have heard that he has recovered and is [usually] seen sitting at the door of his house. Go to see him and enjoin him not to abandon his duty towards us; for I do not like an Arab nobleman like him to spoil [his reputation] with me."[٤]

Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair and instead his house was demolished (٦:٦٦). Mu¥'ab then sent Ibn al-Ash'ath with a letter to Muhallab bin Ab¢ ¯ufrah with whom he [once again] came for the battle against Mukht¡r (٦:٩٤). Mu¥'ab also dispatched Ibn Ash'ath with a huge group of riders from K£fah who had been expelled by Mukht¡r and, therefore, were more hostile towards him than the people of Ba¥rah such that they would not see a prisoner from a defeated army except that they would kill him (٦:٩٧). Ibn Ash'ath was killed in the battle between Mu¥'ab and Mukht¡r, so Mu¥'ab sent his son 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath to the suburbs (*kin¡sah*) of K£fah (٦:١٠٤).

[١] *Al-±abari*: Asm¡' bin Kh¡rijah al-Faz¡r¢. He was one of those who wrote his testimony against °ujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kind¢ (٥:٢٠٧). He was [also] the one to remind °ajj¡j of Kumail bin Ziy¡d al-Nakha'¢ and 'Umar bin ®¡bi' as those who rebelled against 'Uthm¡n and so he killed them (٤:٤٠٤). Al-Faz¡r¢ protested against Ibn Ziy¡d for beating and imprisoning H¡ni' bin 'Urwah and was consequently imprisoned by Ibn Ziy¡d (٥:٣٦٧). He later came to be among the companions of Ibn Mu§¢' al-'Adaw¢ (٦:٣١) and in ٦٨ H was among the followers of Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair (٦:١٢٤).

[٢] We have mentioned him earlier among those who had written to al-°usain ('a) from the people of K£fah.

[٣] *Yatashakk¡* means 'he is complaining (*yashtak¢*) of his illness'.

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦١&٣٦٤): "[I narrate] from Ab£ Mikhnaf who

[H¡ni' Summoned to Ibn Ziy¡d]

They came to him in the evening while he was sitting at the door of his house. They asked him: "What prevents you from meeting the governor? He has mentioned you and and said that: 'If I knew that he is ill, I would pay him a sick-visit.'"

H¡ni' replied: "[My] illness stops me."

So they said to him: "He has heard that you sit at the door of your house every evening. He finds you tardy; and tardiness and churlish behaviour are things which the authorities will not tolerate. We adjure you to ride with us."

So H¡ni' called for his clothes and got dressed. Then he called for his mule and mounted it. [They rode] until when he got near the palace, he began to feel some apprehension. He said to °ass¡n bin Kh¡rijah: "O my nephew! By Allah, I am afraid of this man! What do you think?" He answered: "O my uncle! By Allah, I do not fear anything for you. Why are you becoming suspicious while you are innocent?"

So they entered onto Ibn Ziy¡d and so did H¡ni'. When he appeared [before Ibn Ziy¡d, he] said [to himself]: "The fool's legs have brought him to you."[١] When [H¡ni'] came closer to Ibn Ziy¡d, while Shurai¦ al-Q¡¤i was present too[٢], he turned

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was reporting from Mu'all¡ bin Kulaib, who narrated from Ab£ al-Wadd¡k; and [also] from Muj¡lid bin Sa'¢d, °asan bin 'Uqbah al-Mur¡d¢ and Numair bin Wa'lah who reported from Abu al-Wadd¡k." See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٨).

[١] *Al-¦¡'in* means 'a fool'. This is an idiom [in Arabic] that is [usually] said in such a situation. Those who have recorded *al-¦¡'in* as *al-kh¡'in* are mistaken. See *al-F¡khir* (pg.٢٥١).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Shurai¦ bin °¡rith al-Kind¢. 'Umar had apponted him as the judge of K£fah in ١٨ H (٤:١٠١). He was among those who urged the people of K£fah to help 'Uthm¡n (٤:٣٥٢). He appears in

towards [H¡ni’] and recited:

I want to give him present (¦*ib¡’ahu*), but he wants to kill me.

The one who makes excuses to you is one of your own friends from the [Ban£] Mur¡d.”[١]

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the list of those who bore witness against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy as Shurai¦ bin al-°¡rith al-Q¡¤¢. However, he [himself] used to say: “Ziy¡d inquired from me about him, so I informed him that he is [a man who] exceedingly establishes prayers (*qaww¡m*) and fasts a lot (¥*aww¡m*)” (٥:٢٧٠). Ziy¡d had once sought his advice on amputating his leprous hand, so Shurai¦ suggested him not to do so and was reprimanded [by Ibn Ziy¡d’s companions]. He said [in reply]: “The Messenger of Allah [¥] has said: ‘A person from whom advice is sought (*mustash¡r*) must be trusted’ (٥:٢٨٩).
Ibn al-Zubair wanted him to serve as his judge in K£fah, but he refused (٥:٥٨٢). This was before he accepted the position for Mukht¡r. But when he heard that the followers of Mukht¡r were saying that he was a partisan of ‘Uthm¡n, and that he testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy, and that ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib had dismissed him from the judicial position, and that he did not convey the message that H¡ni’ had sent him with [when Ibn Ziy¡d had imprisoned him, and H¡ni’s kinsmen stormed the palace and Shurai¦ went to see them]; he pretended to be ill. Consequently, Mukht¡r replaced him with ‘Abdullah bin ‘Utbah bin Mas’£d and later with ‘Abdullah bin M¡lik al-±¡’¢ (٦:٣٤). After Mukht¡r, Shurai¦ accepted the position from Ibn al-Zubair (٦:١٤٩). He requested °ajj¡j to be relieved from this position and suggested to him Ab£ Burdah bin ‘Ab¢ M£s¡ al-Ash’ar¢ in the year ٧٩ H. °ajj¡j accepted his resignation and [instead] appointed Ab£ Burdah (٦:٣٢٤). Therefore, he held the judicial position for about ٦٠ years altogether!

[١] This verse is that of ‘Amru bin Ma’d Yakrub al-Zubaid¢. *Al-¦ib¡’* comes from ¦*abwah* which means ‘a gift’ (*‘a§¡’*). °*ib¡’ahu* [in the first verse] has appeared in *al-K¡mil* and *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٠٨) as ¦*ay¡tahu* [i.e. his life], but this is a [case of] phonetic distortion (*ta¦r¢f*) of the word.

[H¡ni' in the Presence of Ibn Ziy¡d]

H¡ni' said to Ibn Ziy¡d: "What is that, O governor?"

Ibn Ziy¡d replied: "Yes, O H¡ni' bin 'Urwah! What are these matters going on in your house against the commander of the faithful and the Muslim community? You have brought Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and taken him to your house. You have gathered arms and men for him in houses around you. You thought that was hidden from me!"

[H¡ni'] said: "I have not done that and Muslim is not with me."

[Ibn Ziy¡d] said: "Oh yes, you have done that!"

[H¡ni'] said: "I have not."

[Ibn Ziy¡d] said: "Indeed, you have."

When the argument between them had gone on for some time and H¡ni' persisted in rejecting and denying [his claim], Ibn Ziy¡d summoned Ma'qil, that spy. He came and stood before him. Then Ibn Ziy¡d asked [him]: "Do you know this man?"

Ma'qil replied: "Yes."

Here H¡ni' realized that he was a spy against them and that he has given all the information to him. So [H¡ni'] said to [Ibn Ziy¡d]: "Listen to me and believe me; for by Allah, I will not lie to you. I swear by Allah beside whom there is no deity, I did not summon him to my house. I did not know anything about his affair until I saw him sitting at my door, asking to stay with me. I was ashamed to refuse him and the duty of giving him protection fell upon me. Therefore, I received him in my house and gave him lodging and refuge. Then his affair developed as you have been informed. If you wish, I will give you strongly sworn testaments and that which will make you

satisfied that I will not do you any harm. If you wish, I will give you a guarantee which will be in your hand until I return to you. Then I will go to him and order him to leave my house for wherever in the land he wants to go. Thus, I would come out of my duty to protect him and to give him refuge."

[Ibn Ziy¡d] said: "Never by Allah. You will not leave me unless you bring him to me!"

[H¡ni'] said: "By Allah, I will never bring him to you! Should I bring my guest to you in order for you to kill him?!"

[Ibn Ziy¡d] said: "By Allah! You have to bring him to me?"

[H¡ni'] said: "By Allah! I shall never bring him!"

After their argument went on for some time, Muslim bin 'Amru al-B¡hil¢ stood up and said: "May Allah make the governor among the righteous! Allow me to talk to him." He then said to H¡ni': 'Come to me this way I want to talk to you.' So H¡ni' got up and moved with him to the side of Ibn Ziy¡d. They were [standing] where he could see them, such that if they raised their voices he could hear what they were saying, and if they lowered their voices he could not.

Muslim [bin 'Amru al-B¡hil¢] then said to him: "O H¡ni'! I adjure you before Allah not to kill yourself and bring tribulation on your people and kinsmen! By Allah! I hold you too precious to be killed. This man [i.e. Muslim bin Aq¢l] is the cousin of these people [i.e. the Ban£ Umayyah]; they will not kill him nor harm him. So hand him over to him. There will be no shame and failure for you by that, for you would only be handing him over to the ruler."

H¡ni' replied: "Indeed, by Allah, there will be shame and disgrace for me in doing that. Were I to hand over one who has come under my protection and is my guest, while I am still alive

and sound, I can hear and see well, and have a strong arm and many supporters! By Allah! If I was the only one without any helper, I would not hand him over to him until I had died on his behalf."

H¡ni' said this [to him] thinking that his kinsmen would come to his help. So as [al-B¡hil¢] was imploring him [to submit Muslim], he went on saying: "Nay by Allah. I will never hand him over!"

Ibn Ziy¡d heard that, so he said: "Bring him closer to me." So they brought him closer. He then said: "By Allah, either bring him to me, or I will have your head cutt off!"

"[If you do so] then there will be much flashing [of swords] around your house"[١], replied H¡ni', thinking that his tribesmen

[١] ±abar¢ (**٥:٣٦١**) narrates from '«s¡ bin Yaz¢d al-Kan¡n¢ that lbn Ziy¡d said to him [at this point]: "O H¡n¢! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Sh¢'ah except for your father and °ujr? And you well know what came to happen of °ujr. He [i.e. Ziy¡d] did not cease to show his kindness towards you and [even] wrote to the governor of K£fah [saying]: 'My request from you is [that you should take care of] H¡ni'.' H¡n¢ replied: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziy¡d then said: 'Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man who should kill me!' H¡ni' said: '[No] I have not done that.' [Here] Ibn Ziy¡d called forth his slave, al-Tam¢m¢, who had been spying against them. So when H¡ni' saw him, he realized that the man has given him all the information. So he said: 'O governor! What you have heard is true. However, I shall never be ungrateful with respect to your favours. You and your people are in safety, so move [freely] to wherever you like.' Mahr¡n, Ibn Ziyad's servant, was the guard standing behind him with a club in his hand. He said [to 'Ubaidullah]: 'What a humiliation! This deceiving slave is giving you protection in your [own] kingdom?' Then he threw Ibn Ziy¡d his club saying: 'Take it'. He grabbed H¡ni' by his braids while Ibn Ziy¡d began striking at his face with the club until he broke his nose and brow, and

were listening him.

[Ibn Ziy¡d] said: "What a pity! Do you frighten me with the flashing [of swords]? Bring him nearer to me." Thus, he was brought [nearer]. He then began hitting his face with a staff and continued striking his nose, forehead and cheeks to the extent that he broke his nose and blood flowed on his clothes, and the flesh of his cheek and forehead was sprinkled over his beard. [He hit him] till the cane broke.

[At this] H¡ni' stretched out his hand towards the hilt of the sword of one of the armed attendants but the guard pulled it away and prevented him.

'Ubaidullah [bin Ziy¡d] said: "Have you become a °ar£r¢ today?[١] You have made your blood permissible [to us] and it is now lawful for us to kill you. Throw him into one of the rooms of this building and lock him up and keep a guard over him." Accordingly, all that was done to him.

Asm¡' bin Kh¡rijah stood up and said [to Ibn Ziy¡d]: "Have we become the messengers of treachery today? You ordered us to bring this man, but when we brought him, you [started] smashing his face till blood ran over his beard and you thought of killing him!"

'Ubaidullah replied him: "You will be for it here [and now]!" He then ordered his men to take him, so he was beaten (*luhiza*) and harshly taken away (*tu'ta'a bihi*).[٢] He was then

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pushed him so violently that he crashed against the wall."

[١] That is, a Kh¡rij¢. They are attributed to °arawr¡' which is located in the suburbs of K£fah; since this was the first place they had gathered in against 'Al¢ ('a).

[٢] *Al-lahz* means beating at the meeting point of the clothes, from above the chest to the neck. *Al-ta'ta'ah* means a violent movement.

imprisoned.

As for Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath, he remarked: "We give consent to the governor's decision, be it in our favour or against us. Indeed, the governor is taking [only] disciplinary action (*mu'addib*).[١] Then he went near Ibn Ziy¡d and said to him:

"Verily, you know the position of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah in the city and among his clansmen. His people are aware that my companion and I have brought him to you. So I adjure you - by Allah- to hand him over to me; for I dislike the enemity of his kinsmen, as they are the most powerful people in the city and they comprise a good number of the people of Yemen in the city.[٢]

Ibn Ziy¡d promised him to do so.[٣]

[Meanwhile] 'Amru bin °ajj¡j heard that H¡ni' has been killed. So he set out with a large number of people from the Madh¦ij and surrounded the palace. Then he called out: "I am 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j, and these are the knights of Madh¦ij and their leading men. [They] have not broken away from obedience, nor [have they] separated from the community! [But] they have been informed that their companion has been killed and so they regarded it as a great crime."

'Ubaidullah was informed that Madh¦ij were at the gate. So he said to Shurai¦ al-Q¡¤¢: "Go and see their companion [i.e.

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٧): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Ghayr bin Wa'lah informed me on the authority of Ab£ al-Wadd¡k that…"

[٢] This is because Kindah was among the tribes of Yemen in K£fah, while Mur¡d and Madh¦ij were among the clans of Kindah.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٨): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: '¯aq'ab bin Zuhair related to me on the authority of 'Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah that…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢١٠) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.٢٠٥) of al-Khw¡razm¢.

H¡ni’], then inform them that he is alive and has not been killed, and that you have seen him.”[١]

[Shurai¦] says: “I went to see H¡ni’, and when he saw me he said: ‘O Allah and O the Muslims! Has my clan been destroyed! Where are the people (*ahl*) of religion! Where are the people of the city! They have gone and have left me alone with their enemy and the son of their enemy! -He said this with blood flowing down his beard. Just then [H¡ni’] heard the tumult at the gate of the palace. So I [i.e. Shurai¦] came out and he followed me saying: ‘O Shurai¦! I think these are the voices of Madh¦ij and my followers among the Muslims! If [only] ten of them reached me, they would rescue me.”

Shurai¦ says: “I came out to them with °am¢d bin Bukair al-A¦mar¢[٢] -who accompanied me on the order of Ibn Ziy¡d and was among his bodyguards. When I came out to them I said: “When the governor was informed about your stance and demand concerning your companion, he ordered me to go and see him, so I went to see him. He then asked me to inform you that he is [still] alive and that the report that he had been killed is false.”

[On hearing this,] ‘Amru [bin al-°ajj¡j] and his companions said: “Praise be to Allah since he has not been killed.” Then they went away.[٣]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٧): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Ab£ al-Wadd¡k that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢١٠) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.٢٠٥) of al-Khw¡razm¢.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢:* He was with Ziy¡d and used to spy on his officers. Ziy¡d had also sent him with a group of other people from among his companions to pursue the companions of °ujr bin ‘Adiyy. He was the one to strike Ibn ‘Aq¢l on his upper lip and [later] killed him (٥:٣٧٣&٣٧٨). A¦mar¢ was a slave from Sh¡m.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٣:٣٦٧): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair

[Ibn Ziy¡d's Speech After H¡ni's Arrest]

'Ubaidullah feared that people might rise against him. So he went out [to the mosque] accompanied by the noblemen [of the city], his bodyguards and slaves. He went on the pulpit, praised and glorified Allah, and then he said:

"O people! Hold fast onto the obedience of Allah and the obedience of your leaders. Do not differ or become divided, for you will be destroyed, humiliated, killed or harshly treated and deprived! Your brother is [only] he who speaks the truth to you! Indeed, he who warns [from the outset] is excused."[١]

[The Rise of Muslim ('a)]

Muslim bin 'Aq¢l sent 'Abdullah bin Kh¡zim as his messenger to the palace to follow up the issue of H¡ni'. He said: "When [H¡ni'] was beaten and imprisoned, I mounted my horse and I was the first of the members of the house to bring the information to Muslim bin 'Aq¢l. There the women of Mur¡d had gathered crying out: 'O the kinsmen [of °¡ni']! O bereavement of him!' I went in to see Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and gave him the news of H¡ni'. So he ordered me to announce to his companions: 'O the helped one! Kill [your enemy]'![٢] This was at a time when the houses around him were filled with [Muslim's] followers and eighteen thousand

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narrated to me from 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Shurai¦ who said: 'I heard him telling Ism¡'¢l bin ±al¦ah that…"

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٦٨**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: '°ajj¡j bin 'Al¢ related to me from Mu¦ammad bin Bishr al-Hamd¡n¢ that…"

[٢] '*Y¡ man¥£r, amit*'. This was the slogan raised by the Muslims in the battle of Badr for gathering the warriors and passing information to them, and was also raised in other battles after that. [Editor]

people had [already] paid allegiance to him, four thousand [of them] were present in the houses. So I called out: "*Y¡ man¥£r amit*!", and the people of K£fah called one another and [soon] they gathered around him.

Muslim (‘a) prepared a banner for ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Amru bin ‘Az¢z al-Kind¢ to lead the quarter of Kindah and Rab¢’ah and said: "Move ahead of me with your horses." He then issued a banner to Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asad¢ to lead the quarter of Madh¦ij and Asad and said: ‘Accompany the foot soldiers; you are their head." He then issued one to Ab£ Thum¡mah al-¯¡id¢ to lead the quarter of Tam¢m and Hamd¡n and the fourth to ‘Abb¡s bin Ju’dah al-Judal¢[١] as the leader of the quarter of the people of Mad¢nah. Muslim [himself] was moving amidst the people from [the] Mur¡d.

[The Coming of the Noblemen to Ibn Ziy¡d]

The noblemen started coming to Ibn Ziy¡d through the door which adjoined the building of the Romans.[٢] ‘Ubaidullah [bin

[١] We find in the left wing of the army of Mukht¡r -which he had sent to Mad¢nah to fight Ibn al-Zubair- someone called ‘Ayy¡sh bin Ju’dah al-Judal¢. *Al-±abar¢*: He, together with three hundred of his men, did not accept the safe-conduct from Ibn al-Zubair after they were defeated by his followers. When they were [finally] caught by them, they were killed except for about two hundred men, many of whom died on the way (٦:٧٤). Now, since we do not find any mention of ‘Abb¡s or ‘Ayy¡sh al-Judal¢ in apart from this case, and also by taking into consideration the fact that he remained loyal to Mukht¡r, it is very unlikely that they are two [different] persons. It is more probable that [the two names in fact indicate a] single person, either by the name of ‘Abb¡s or ‘Ayy¡sh, who continued to live after Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l and rose with Mukht¡r until he was either killed or died [somewhere] there.

[٢] This indicates that the house of the Romans followed the back side of the Palace. Since they were *ahl al-dhimmah* [i.e. the non-

Ziy¡d] summoned Kath¢r bin Shih¡b bin al-°u¥a¢n al-°¡rith¢[١] and ordered him to go out among those [men] of Madh¦ij who obeyed him and to go round K£fah and [try to] make the people desert Ibn ‘Aq¢l, make them afraid of the [possibility of] war and threaten them with the punishment of the authorities.

He ordered Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath to go with those among the Kindah and °a¤ramaut who were following him and to raise the banner of protection for those who joined him. Ibn Ziy¡d gave similar instructions to Qa’q¡’ bin Shaur al-Dhuhal¢[٢] , Shabath bin Rib’¢ al-Tam¢m¢, °ajj¡r bin Abjar al-‘Ijl¢ and Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan al-‘amir¢.[٣],[٤] He gave

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Muslims living under the protection of the Islamic government], Ibn Ziy¡d used to disguise himself as one of them while moving in and out of the palace. It escaped the followers of Muslim to block this passage.

[١] *Al-±abari*: He is among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٦٩). He took °ujr and his companions to Mu’¡wiyah (٥:٢٧٠). He is [also] the first person Ibn Ziy¡d issued a standard and the first to be made in charge of urging the people to desert Muslim (‘a) (٥:٣٧٠).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He is one of those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٦٩) and also fought Muslim (‘a). (٥:٢٧٠&٣٨١)

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٨): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Y£suf bin Yaz¢d narrated to me from ‘Abdullah bin Kh¡zim that…”

[٤] *Al-Tabar¢* (٥:٣٦٩): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Y£nus bin Is¦¡q narrated to me from ‘Abb¡s al-Judal¢ that…” Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan was with ‘Al¢ (‘a) at ¯iff¢n (٥:٢٨) and was among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٧٠). He was the one who incited Ibn Ziy¡d to kill al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٤١٤). He was present in Karbal¡’ and invited the sons of Umm al-Ban¢n, the brothers of ‘Abb¡s, to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziy¡d and to abandon the Imam (‘a) (٥:٤١٥). Ibn Sa’d sought his advice with regard to giving al-°usain (‘a) respite for the night before ‘ash£r¡’, but he did not respond (٥:٤١٧).

Shabath bin Rib'¢ the banner and said to him:

"Go amidst the people and give [glad tidings] to the obedient of increase [in their stipends] and kindness; and threaten the disobedient of deprivation and punishment, and inform them that the army of Sh¡m has [already] advanced towards them."[١]

[The Noblemen Come Out With Banners of

Shamir was in charge of the left flank of Ibn Sa'd's army (٥:٤٢٢). He responded to the speech of al-°usain ['a] with foul language and was rebuked by Ibn Mu¨¡hir (٥:٤٢٥). He responded to Zuhair bin al-Qain's address by shooting an arrow at him and was reproached by him. (٥:٤٣٦). He attacked the left wing of al-°usain's army with the left flank of Ibn Sa'd's army (٥:٤٣٦). Shamir was the one who pierced the tent of the Imam ['a] with his spear and called for fire to burn down the tents together with its inhabitants. So the women started screaming and walked out of their tents, upon which the Imam ['a] cursed him (٥:٤٣٨). He was the one who killed N¡fi' bin Hil¡l al-Jumal¢ (٥:٤٤٢) and attempted to kill Imam al-Sajj¡d ('a) but the people prevented him [from doing so] (٥:٤٥٤). He was [also] the one to bring the heads [of the martyrs] to Ibn Ziy¡d (٥:٤٥٦), and the heads, together with the captives, to Yaz¢d (٥:٤٦٠&٤٦٣). He along with the [members of] Haw¡zin had twenty heads (٥:٤٦٨). Ibn Mu§¢' sent Shamir as the head of the quarter of S¡lim in K£fah along with ٢،٠٠٠ fighters (٦:٢٩) to encounter Mukht¡r (٦:١٨). He had rose with the noblemen of K£fah to fight Mukht¡r (٦:٤٤) and was [ultimately] defeated and fled K£fah (٦:٥٢). He was killed by 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ al-Kan£d in ٦٦ H (٦:٥٣).

The word 'shamir' is a Hebrew word whose root is *sh¡mir* meaning entertainer (*s¡mir*). This word is prevalent today also as when it is said [for instance] 'Yitzhak Shamir'.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٩): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Ab£ al-Jan¡b al-Kalb¢ narrated to me that…"

Protection]

Kath¢r bin Shih¡b addressed the people first saying:

"O people! Return to your families; do not hasten to evil and do not expose yourselves to death. The army of the commander of the faithful, Yaz¢d, are approaching. The governer has given Allah a promise that if you persist in fighting him and do not go away by nightfall, he will deprive your children of their [right to] state allotment of money (*'a§¡'*) and he will scatter your soldiers in Syrian campaigns without any greed.[١] He will hold the healthy among you responsible for the sick and those present responsible for those who are absent until none of those rebellious people will remain who has not tasted the evil consequences of what their hands have earned."

The noblemen also talked in similar vein. When the people heard what they said, they began dispersing.[٢] [Such that] women would come to their sons and brothers saying: "Go, the people will be enough [without] you." Men were going to their sons and brothers and saying: "Tomorrow, the [army] of Sh¡m will come against you, so what are you going to do with the war and the evil? Go away!" Thus he would be taken.[٣]

Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash'ath went out till he stopped at the houses of the Ban£ 'Um¡rah. 'Um¡rah bin ¯alkhab al-Azd¢

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[١] That is, they will not have any share from the war booty that the Muslims shall attain from their battles against the Romans. [Editor.]

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٠): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid informed me on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Kh¡zim al-Kath¢r¢ -from the tribe of Azd- that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧١): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Muj¡lid bin Sa'¢d related to me that…"

came to him while he was armed and intending to go to Ibn ‘Aq¢l, but [Mu¦ammad] arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziy¡d where he was imprisoned.

[Thereafter,] Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l sent ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Shurai¦ al-Shab¡m¢[١] from the mosque [together with a large number of people] to fight [Ibn al-Ash’ath].

[Qa’q¡’ bin Sha£r al-Dhuhal¢ attacked Muslim and his companions from a place in K£fah known as al-‘Ir¡r[٢]] and sent [someone] to inform Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash’ath [that]: “I have attacked Ibn ‘Aq¢l from ‘Ir¡r and he has retreated from his position.”[٣]

[Shabath bin Rib’¢ [also] fought them saying: “Wait till the night falls and they will all disperse”. Qa’q¡’ bin Sha£r said to him: “You have obstructed the way for the people; open it for them and they shall [all] leave”].[٤]

[The Loneliness of Muslim (‘a)]

Abb¡s al-Jadal¢ says: “We came out with Ibn ‘Aq¢l while we were four thousand [men altogether], and before we [even] reached the palace our number fell to three hundred.[٥] The

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٩): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Ab£ °¡b al-Kalb¢ narrated to me that…”

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: This part has been mentioned by H¡r£n bin Muslim from ‘Al¢ bin ¯¡li¦, from ‘«s¡ bin Yaz¢d (٥:٣٨١). We have put it in brackets since it is has not been reported by Ab£ Mikhnaf.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٠): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has related it to me from ‘Abdullah bin Kh¡zim al-Kath¢r¢ -from the tribe of Azd- that…”

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧١): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Muj¡lid bin Sa’¢d has narrated to me saying…”

[٥] *Al-Tabari* (٥:٣٦٩): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Y£suf bin Ab¢ Ish¡q related to me that…”

people continued dispersing and scattering until the evening when Ibn ‘Aq¢l was left with only thrity men in the mosque. Thus, there were only thirty people who prayed with Ibn ‘Aq¢l.

When he saw this, he came out heading for the gates of Kindah. He reached the gates with only ten of them [left] with him. Then he left the gate with no one beside him. He looked around but could see no one to guide him along the road, to show him to his house or assist him if an enemy appeared before him.

He wandered amid the lanes of K£fah without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses of the Ban£ Jabalah of Kindah. He went on until he came to a door of a lady called ±aw’ah. She had been a slave-wife (*umm walad*) of Ash’ath bin Qais[١]

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Ash’ath bin Qais came to see the Messenger of Allah (¥) in the year ١٠ H amidst ٦٠ riders. He traced his ancestry from his mother’s side to ªkil al-Mir¡r who had royal blood and wanted to link the Holy Prophet (¥) to the same ancestry, but he related himself to al-Na¤r bin Kan¡nah, something which did not impress Ash’ath (٣:١٣٧). The Prophet of Allah (¥) married his sister Qutailah, but he passed away before having relation with her. So she turned her back from Islam together with her brother Ash’ath! (٣:١٦٨). Ash’ath turned his back from Islam after the Messenger of Allah (¥) and fought [the Muslims] but was defeated (٣:٣٣٥). He sought protection [from the Muslims] and they granted it to him (٣:٣٣٧). Then they sent him along with other captives to Ab£ Bakr. [Ash’ath] had earlier proposed Ab£ Bakr’s sister, Umm Farwah, in marriage and [later] married her but did not have coition with her. Thereafter, he turned his back from Islam, so Ab£ Bakr freed him from captivity [and later] overlooked his wrong doing, accepted his Islam and returned back to him his family (٣:٣٣٩). However, on his death bed, Ab£ Bakr [regretted his action] saying: “I wish I would have put Ash’ath to the sword the day he was brought to me

who had freed her. Then she was married by Usaid al-

as a captive; for he has made me believe that he did not come across any evil except that he supported it" (٣:٤٣٠). Ash'ath led ١،٧٠٠ men from among the people of Yemen to join the army of the battle of al-Q¡disiyyah (٣:٤٨٧). Sa'd [the commander in chief of the army] found Ash'ath among those with good physical features, an awe-inspiring personality and sound judgement and so he included him in the group of those who he sent to invite the Persian king to Islam (٣:٤٩٦). Ash'ath was urging his men –during the battle of al-Q¡disiyyah- to fight the Persian army in the cause of the Arabs, there being no mention of Allah! (٣:٥٣٩&٥٦٠). He marched with ٧٠٠ warriors from Kindah and killed the leader of the Persian brigade called 'Turk' (٣:٥٦٣). He craved for the the spoils of war attained by Kh¡lid bin Wal¢d and asked him for some and Kh¡lid allowed him [to take] ١٠،٠٠٠ [dirhams] (٤:٦٧). Ash'ath also participated in the battle of Nah¡wand (٤:١٢٩). In the year ٣٠ H, he purchased from 'Uthm¡n the spoils of war of ±¢rn¡b¡d in Iraq with [the money] he had in °a¤ramaut (٤:٢٨٠). In the year ٣٤ H, Sa'¢d bin al-'ª¥ sent him from K£fah as the governer of ªdharbaij¡n (٤:٣٣١) and he was still in this position when 'Uthm¡n died (٤:٤٢٢). Then 'Al¢ ('a) invited Ash'ath to pay allegiance to him and join him and he accepted the invitation (٤:٥٦١). He had accepted in ¯iff¢n the task of regaining control over the water from the followers of Mu'¡wiyah (٤:٥٦٩). He was the one who disobeyed Am¢r al-Mu'min¢n ('a) [at Nahraw¡n] and gave consent to arbitration and nominated al-Ash'ar¢ [for that] and refused to accept Ibn 'Abb¡s and al-Ashtar who were approved by 'Al¢ ('a), insisting on al-Ash'ar¢ while he was tired of the battle (٤:٥١). He was the first person whose witness appeared on the document of arbitration. He called on al-Ashtar to sign [the document] but he refused and reproached him. Al-Ash'ath [then] went out reading the document to the people (٥:٥٥). He declined to accompany 'Al¢ ('a) in his move towards Mu'¡wiyah after the Nahraw¡n and insisted on returning to K£fah under the pretext of [the need for] preparation (٥:٨٩). 'Uthm¡n had tempted him with the taxes from ªdharbaij¡n [nearing] ١٠٠،٠٠٠ [dinars] a year (٥:١٣٠). Ash'ath had also built a mosque in K£fah (٥:٢٢).

°a¤ram¢[1] and borne him [a son called] Bil¡l. Bil¡l had gone out with the people and his mother was standing [at the door] waiting for him.

Ibn ‘Aq¢l greeted her and she returned the greeting. He said to her: “O servant of Allah! Give me water to drink.” She entered the house and gave him a drink and he sat down. She took the vessel inside and then came out [again].

She said: “O servant of Allah! Have you not had your drink?”

He said: “Yes.”

She said: “Then go to your people.” But he was silent. She repeated it but he was [still] silent. Then she said to him: “Fear Allah with respect to me! Glory be to Allah, O servant of Allah! Go to your people, may Allah protect you. For it is not right for you to sit at my door and I will not permit you to do it.”

He stood up and said: “O servant of Allah! I have neither house nor kinsmen in this town. Would you show me generosity and kindness? Perhaps I will be able to repay it after this day?”

She said: “O Servant of Allah! What is it?”

He said: “I am Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l. These people have lied to me and deceived me.”

She said: “You are Muslim?!”

He said: “Yes.”

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[1] Usaid bin M¡lik al-°a¤ram¢. It is said that he is the one who killed ‘Abdullah bin Muslim in Karbal¡’. His son, Bil¡l, revealed the place in their house [where] Muslim [was hiding], which resulted in his killing.

She said: “Come in.” She took him into a room in her house, but not the room she used. She spread out a carpet for him and offered him supper but he did not eat.

Soon her son returned. He saw her frequently going in and out of that room. He said: “By Allah! Your constantly going into and coming out of that room this evening makes me suspect. There is something [there].”

She said: “O my son, forget about this.”

He said: “By Allah, you must tell me!”

She replied: “Go on with your own business and do not ask me about anything.” But he insisted to her until she said: “O my son! Do not tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you.” She took from him an oath and he swore [not to do so]. Then she informed him. He went to bed without saying anything.[١]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٧١**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Muj¡lid bin Sa’¢d narrated to me that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢١٢**) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.**٢٠٨**). *Al-±abar¢* reports on the authority of ‘Amm¡r al-Duhan¢ from Imam al-B¡qir (‘a) who said: “When Muslim saw that he was now alone [and just] wandering in the streets [of K£fah], he stopped at a door and a lady came out from the house. So he said to her: ‘Give me water to drink.’ She gave him water and then went inside. She came out again after sometime and found Muslim still at the door. So she said: ‘O servant of Allah! Your sitting [here] arouses suspicion, so go away!’ He said: ‘I am Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l, do you have shelter [for me]?’ She said: ‘Yes, come in.’ Her son was a servant of Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath, so when he learnt of Muslim [being in their house], he went to Mu¦ammad and informed him, who then went to ‘Ubaidullah and gave him the news. ‘Ubaidullah sent ‘Amru bin °uraith al-Makhz£m¢ -the head of his bodyguards- together with ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath [to arrest Muslim]. Muslim did not know of this until after the house was surrounded [by them]”

[The Stand of Ibn Ziy¡d]

A long time passed for Ibn Ziy¡d without him hearing the [voices of the] supporters of Ibn ‘Aq¢l as he heard them before. He said to his followers: “[Go and] look down at them. See whether you can see any of them?”

They looked down but did not see anyone. He said: “See whether they are in the shadows and are lying in ambush for you.”

They [went] taking refuge in the corridors of the mosque. They began to lower the torches of fire in their hands and then look whether there is anyone in the shadows. Sometimes the torches gave light for them and sometimes they did not give [as much] light for them as they would have wished. So they let down the torches and sticks of cane tied with rope on which was fire. They were let down until they reached the ground. They did this in [places in which was] the deepest darkness, [as well as] those parts which were closer and those which were in between. They [also] did that in the darkness around the pulpit. When they saw that there was nothing, they informed Ibn Ziy¡d [that the people had dispersed].

Then he ordered his scribe, ‘Amru bin N¡fi’,[١] to announce [saying]:

“There is no guarantee of security for any man of the bodyguards, or the group leaders (*‘uraf¡’*), the supporters and the fighters who prayed the night prayers (*‘ish¡’*) anywhere

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(٥:٣٥٠). But we shall see soon that the head of his bodyguards was [in fact] °u¥a¢n bin Tam¢m.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٨٠): He was Ibn Ziy¡d’s scribe who wrote the letter for him to Yaz¢d informing him of the killing of Muslim. He used to take long in writing letters and was disliked by Ibn Ziy¡d.

else except in the mosque."

It did not take an hour before the mosque was filled with the people. °u¥ain bin Tam¢m [al-Tam¢m¢] -the chief of his bodyguards-[1] said to Ibn Ziy¡d: "If you wish, you can lead the people in prayers, or someone else can lead them; for I fear that some of your enemies may attempt to assassinate you!"

He said: "Order my guards to stand behind me as they used to do and you should keep a watch on them." Then he opened the gateway which [went] into the mosque. He came out

[1] *Al-±abar¢*: Ibn Ziy¡d had sent him [i.e. °u¥ain] to al-Q¡disiyyah for arranging the horsemen from there to the cities of Khaff¡n, Qu§qu§¡nah and La'la' (٥:٣٩٤). He was the one who sent Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢, the messenger of al-°usain ('a), to Ibn Ziy¡d who latter killed him (٥:٣٩٥) and 'Abdullah bin Buq§ur (٥:٣٩٨). He was the one to send ahead °urr with an army of ١،٠٠٠ men of the Ban£ Tam¢m from al-Q¡disiyyah to encounter al-°usain ('a). He was the head of the guards in Karbal¡' and was [constantly] inciting them to kill °urr (٥:٤٣٤). Ibn Sa'd had sent him along with ٥٠٠ archers to shoot at the followers of al-°usain ('a), so they drew near them and showered them with arrows, stunning thereby their horses (٥:٤٣٧). Ibn Tam¢m also launched an attack on the companions of al-°usain ('a) as they were preparing for the prayers, so °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir came out to him and struck the face of his horse with [his] sword upon which it reared and [°a¥¢n] fell off. Consequently, Budail bin ¯uraim al 'Aqf¡n¢ al-Tam¢m¢ struck °ab¢b on the head with his sword. Another person from the Ban£ Tam¢m attacked him and stabbed him with a spear. Then °u¥ain bin Tam¢m returned to him and struck him on the head and [°ab¢b] fell [to the ground]. Then Budail beheaded °ab¢b and gave his head to °u¥ain. °u¥ain hung his head on the neck of his horse and went with it round the army and then gave it back to his killer (٥:٤٤٠). °u¥ain shot an arrow at the Imam ('a) when he drew near the water to drink and the arrow hit his mouth and the Imam ['a] prayed against him (٥:٤٤٩).

together with his followers. [He entered the mosque] and led the people [in prayers].

[Ibn Ziy¡d's Address after Muslim (‘a) had Remained Alone]

[Thereafter,] Ibn Ziy¡d went on the pulpit, praised Allah and said:

“Ibn ‘Aq¢l -that fool and ignorant- has caused [all] these differences and discord that you have seen! There will be no security from Allah for a man in whose house we find him. Whoever brings him, will have [the equivalent of] his blood-money. Fear Allah, [O] servants of Allah! And keep to obedience and your pledge of allegiance. Do not do anything which will be against yourselves.

O °u¥ain bin Tam¢m! May your mother mourn you, if any of the gates of the lanes of K£fah is open, or this man gets away and you do not bring him to me! I give you authority over the houses of the people of K£fah! Send guards to [keep watch over] the openings of the streets. Tomorrow morning clear out [the people from] the houses and search them thoroughly so that you bring me this man!”

[Ibn Ziy¡d in Pursuit of Muslim (‘a)]

Ibn Ziy¡d then descended [the pulpit] and went [inside the palace]. He gave a banner to ‘Amru bin °uraith[١] and

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: ‘Amru bin °uraith al-Makhz£m¢. He purchased from S¡’ib bin al-Aqra’ al-Thaqaf¢ -the scribe and accountant of the Muslim army at the conquest of Nah¡wand- two large boxes from the spoils of war that contained pearls, chrysolite, and rubies, for two million dirhams. He then went to the cities in Persia and sold them for four million. He was the richest man in K£fah by the year ٢١ H. (٥:١١٧)

appointed him over the people[١], and ordered him to raise [the banner of safe-conduct] for the people in the mosque.

The news of Muslim's rise reached Mukht¡r bin Ab¢ 'Ubaid while he was in his village called Laqaf¡ at Khu§raniyyah. Mukht¡r was among those people of K£fah who paid allegiance to Muslim and was sincere to him such that he even invited his followers to obey him. [After he received the news,] he set out for K£fah together with his followers and reached the gate of al-F¢l in the evening. This was at a time when 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d had already appointed 'Amru bin °uraith as the in charge over the people.

'Amru was the deputy of Sa'¢d bin al-'ª¥ in K£fah and helped calm the people with respect to [the crisis of] 'Uthm¡n in the year ٣٤ H (٤:٣٢٢). He also served as Ziy¡d bin Sumayyah's deputy in K£fah in ٥١ H and was [once] stoned by the companions of °ujr (٥:٢٥٦). He was the head of the quarter of the people of Mad¢nah [residing] in K£fah and was among those to testify against °ujr and his followers (٥:٢٦٨) in ٦٤ H. Ibn °uraith also served as Ibn Ziy¡d's deputy in K£fah in the year ٦٤ H. When Yaz¢d died and Ibn Ziy¡d made the bid for the caliphate, Ibn °uraith followed him and was inviting people towards his authority, on account of which he was stoned by the people of K£fah (٥:٥٢٤) and was expelled by them from the palace (٥:٥٦٠). He then detached himself from the people and joined the righteous people in the movement of Mukht¡r in ٦٦ H (٦:٣٠). Ibn °uraith owned a bathhouse in K£fah (٦:٤٨). In the year ٧١ H, he earned the favour of 'Abd al-Malik (٦:١٦٧) and served as the deputy of Bishr bin Marw¡n in K£fah in ٧٣ H (٦:١٤٤). Ibn °uraith refused to bring water to Muslim bin 'Aq¢l [when he was brought before Ibn Ziyad] (٥:٣٧٦). He pleaded for Zainab ('a) in the court of Ibn Ziy¡d only because of his fervor for the Quraish (٥:٤٥٧). He died in ٨٥ H. He was ١٢ years old when the the Prophet (¥) passed away, as reported in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.٥٢٧; Suwaid¡n publications).

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧١-٣٧٣): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Muj¡lid bin Sa'¢d narrated to me that…"

While Mukht¡r was at b¡b al-F¢l, H¡ni' bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-Wad¡'¢[١] passed by and said to Mukht¡r: "Why are you standing here?! You are neither with the people nor in your house."

Mukht¡r replied: "I am shocked at the gravity of your crime."

H¡ni' said: "By Allah! I think you are going to kill yourself." [He said this] and proceeded towards 'Amru bin °uraith and informed him about Mukht¡r.[٢]

[The Stand of Mukht¡r]

'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ 'Umair al-Thaqaf¢[٣] says: "I was sitting in the company of 'Amru bin °uraith when H¡ni' bin

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He was among those who testified against °ujr and his followers (٥:٢٧٠) and went with the heads of Muslim and H¡ni' to Yaz¢d (٥:٣٨). He met Mukht¡r in Makkah during the reign of Ibn al-Zubair in ٦٤ H and learnt that Mukht¡r was planning to return to K£fah and initiate a revolt there, so he warned Mukht¡r of [causing] dissension (٥:٥٧٨).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: (٥:٥٦٩): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports: 'Na¤r bin ¯¡lih related to me that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: He was with Mukht¡r in his uprising in ٦٧ H (٦:٩٨). Apparently, he seems to be 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin 'Abdullah bin 'Uthm¡n al-Thaqaf¢, the son of Mu'¡wiyah's sister by the name of Umm al-°akam. Mu'¡wiyah had appointed him as the governor of K£fah in ٥٨ H after ®a¦¦¡k bin Qais, while the head of his bodyguards then was Z¡'idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢ (٥:٣١٠). He was earlier the governer of Mosul under Mu'¡wiyah in ٥١ H. He was the one who killed 'Amru bin al-°umq al-Khuz¡'¢ while he was ill, claiming it to be a retaliation for 'Uthm¡n's blood (٥:٢٦٥). He maltreated the people of K£fah to the extent that they expelled him and he joined Mu'¡wiyah, his maternal uncle, who then appointed him as the governor of Egypt and he was [again] expelled from there, so he returned back to Mu'¡wiyah (٥:٣١٢). If it was not for his family ties with Yaz¢d, Ibn °uraith would not have benefited him.

Ab¢ °ayyah informed him of Mukht¡r's statement. [On hearing this,] Ibn °uraith said to me: 'Go to your uncle and inform him that the whereabouts of his companion [i.e. Muslim bin 'Aq¢l] are not known, so he should not complicate things for himself.' As I was leaving, Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah bin Mas'£d[١] stood up and said to [Ibn °uraith]: 'Will he be safe if he comes to you?' 'Amru bin °uraith replied: 'He is safe on my side. If anything about his affair reaches 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d, [then] I shall give witness before him in his favour and intercede on his behalf." Z¡'idah said: "In this case we hope for the best, by the will of Allah."

'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n says: "I went out to see Mukht¡r along with Z¡idah and informed him [of our conversation with Ibn °uraith] and adjured him by Allah that he should not act in a way that he could be accused. So Mukht¡r [accepted and] went to see Ibn °uraith and greeted him and stayed under his protection till morning."[٢]

Kath¢r [bin Shih¡b al-°¡rith¢] happened to see a man from the tribe of Kalb -who was known as 'Abd al-A'l¡ bin Yaz¢d- in Ban£ Fity¡n [an area in K£fah]. He had taken up arms with him, looking for Ibn 'Aq¢l. Kath¢r caught him and took him to Ibn Ziy¡d and informed him about his intention. He said to [Ibn Ziy¡d]: "I only intended [to join] you!" He said [mockingly]: "And you had, indeed, promised me that!" Then he ordered him to be imprisoned.[٣]

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[١] We have already given his biography in the introduction.
[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٥٧٠): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Na¤r bin ¯¡lih related to e from 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ 'Umair al-Thaqaf¢ that…"
[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٩): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Ab£ Jan¡b al-Kalb¢ has narrated to me that..."

[Muslim's Hiding Place Disclosed]

In the morning, Ibn Ziy¡d took his seat and allowed the people to come and see him. [When] Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath entered, Ibn Ziy¡d said: "Welcome to one whose [loyalty] is above suspicion and accusation!" Then he sat him by his side.

The son of that old woman who provided shelter to Muslim bin 'Aq¢l, that is Bil¡l bin Usaid, went to Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath in the morning and told him that Ibn 'Aq¢l was with his mother. So 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n went to his father who was with Ibn Ziy¡d and whispered the news to him.

Ibn Ziy¡d asked him: "What did he tell you?"

He replied: "He has informed me that Ibn 'Aq¢l is [hiding] in one of the houses of our [tribe]."

"Go and bring him to me immediately", said Ibn Ziy¡d, poking a cane into his side. [١]

[The Move to Arrest Muslim ('a)]

[Ibn Ziy¡d] sent an order to 'Amru bin °uraith -his representative in the mosque- that he should dispatch sixty or seventy men from the tribe of Qais [to accompany Ibn Ash'ath]. [The reason being that] Ibn Ziy¡d disliked sending Ash'ath's Kinsmen[٢] with him, for he well knew that every

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧١-٣٧٣): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports: 'Muj¡lid bin Sa'¢d narrated to me..." See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢١٣) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٠٨).

[٢] Ibn Ash'ath himself could have justified this act of his by saying that he was only taking out Muslim from the house of their slave lady, ±aw'ah, and her son Bil¡l. This indicates how well acquainted Ibn Ziy¡d was with regard to tribal matters such that he was careful of them and employed them for his own ends.

tribe detested a person like Ibn ‘Aq¢l to be arrested by them. So Ibn °uraith sent ‘Amru bin ‘Ubaid bin ‘Abb¡s al-Sulam¢ to accompany Ibn Ash’ath with [around] sixty or seventy men from Qais and they [proceeded] until they reached the house where Ibn ‘Aq¢l was hiding.

[Muslim (‘a) Fights Ibn Ash’ath]

When [Muslim (‘a)] heard the [voices of the] hooves of the horses and voices of the men, he understood that they have come [to arrest him]. [As] he went out to face them with his sword, they forced their way into the house. He severely resisted, striking them with his sword until he drove them out of the house. They repeated the attack and he counter-attacked in the same way.

Bukair [bin °amr¡n al-A¦mar¢ al-Sh¡m¢] struck Muslim’s mouth, cutting his upper lip and slicing down to the lower lip to knock out two of his front teeth. Muslim struck him a terrible blow on his head and repeated it again, severing a nerve along his shoulder with a blow which almost reached his stomach.

[Muslim (‘a) Attacked with Stones and Fire]

When they saw this, they [went up and] looked down on him from the rooftop of the house. They began throwing stones at him and to light canes of wood with fire which they threw on him from the top of the house. When [Muslim (‘a)] saw this, he went out against them into the lane with his sword unsheathed.

Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath came forward and said to him: “O young man! You are given security, do not kill yourself.” But he continued to fight against them saying:

I have taken an oath that I will only be killed as a free man, although I see death as a detestable thing.

Every man one day will meet evil, as the pleasant and easy [situation] gets mixed up with difficulty and bitterness.

The heart is at peace [now] after being terrified[١], [but] I fear that I will be cheated and deluded.

[Muslim (‘a) Taken as a Prisoner]

Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash’ath said to him: “You shall not be lied to or deceived or cheated; for these people [i.e. the Ban£ Umayyah] are your cousins, they will not fight against you or strike you.”

[Muslim] was [now] exhausted as a result of constant hail of stones and was unable to fight. [So he paused to rest] and leaned with his back to the wall of the house. Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath called out to him: “You are granted protection.”

So [Muslim] asked: “Am I granted security?”

Ibn Ash’ath replied: “Yes” and the people with him said: “[Yes] you are in safety.”

Ibn ‘Aq¢l said: “If it was not for this security that you have granted me, I would not have put my hand in yours.” [Here it

[١] In the actual text of *al-±abar¢* and other books that have reached us, the phrase *shi’¡’ al-nafs* has been replaced with *shi’¡’ al-shams* (rays of the sun). According to Shaikh al-Sam¡w¢ in *Ib¥¡r al-‘Ain* (pg.٤٩), this is a distortion by those who could not understand the meaning of *shi’¡’ al-nafs*, so it seemed to them that *shi’¡’ al-shams* was more appropriate. *Shi’¡’ al-nafs* means ‘the fearing of the heart’ as it is said: *m¡rat nafsuh£ shi’¡’an*, that is his heart became dispersed like the tiny rays out of fear (*tafarraqat nafsuh£ kasshi’¡’ al-daq¢q min al-khauf*); for *shi’¡’* means a thing which is totally scattered.

becomes apparent that he surrendered himself because of the protection he was granted].

A mule was brought and he was sat on it. They gathered around him and pulled away his sword from his neck, as if he was in despair for his life and his eyes filled with tears. He said: "This is the beginning of the deception."

Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath answered: "I hope no difficulty falls upon you."

"Is it just a hope, where is your protection?! 'Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return!'", he retorted as he wept.

'Amru bin 'Ubaidullah bin 'Abb¡s [al-Sulam¢ -the one who led the soldiers to capture Ibn 'Aq¢l] said to him: "One who has sought for the like of what you have sought for, would not weep when there befalls him what has befallen you."

Muslim replied: "By Allah! I am indeed not weeping for myself, nor am I lamenting for my own death, even though I have not the slightest desire for destruction. But I am weeping for my family who are coming to me, I am weeping for al-°usain and the family of al-°usain ['a]."

[Muslim's Will to Ibn al-Ash'ath]

Then he went to Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath and said: "O Servant of Allah! By Allah, I can see that you are unable to grant me protection. Yet do you have the goodness to be able to send one of your men to inform al-°usain on my behalf? For I have no doubt that he has [already] set out towards you today, or will be setting out tomorrow with his family members. The anxiety you witness in me is only because of this. [The messenger] should say: "Ibn 'Aq¢l has sent me to you. He is

a prisoner in the hands of the people and he does not expect to see the evening before he is killed. He says: ‘Return with your household and do not let the people of K£fah tempt you! For they were the followers of your father who desired separation from them through death or murder! The people of K£fah have lied to you and me. [Indeed,] a person who has been lied to has no say!”

Ibn Ash’ath said: “By Allah! I will do that and I will inform Ibn Ziy¡d that I have given you a guarantee of security.”[١]

[Muslim (‘a) at the Gate of the Palace]

Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath went with Ibn ‘Aq¢l to the gate of the palace while he was thirsty. There were [already] some people sitting there waiting for the permission to enter. Among them were ‘Um¡ra bin ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu’§¢’, ‘Amru bin °uraith, Muslim bin ‘Amru and Kath¢r bin Shih¡b.[٢]

There was a jug of cold water placed at the doorway. Ibn ‘Aq¢l said: “Give me a drink of this water.”

Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-B¡hil¢] said to him: “Do you see how cold it is! By Allah, you will never taste a drop of it until you taste the boiling water (¦*am¢m*) in the Hell fire!”

[Muslim] said: “Woe on you! Who are you?”

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٢): “Ab£ Mikhnaf said: ‘Qud¡mah bin Sa’¢d bin Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢ has related to me from his grandfather Zaydah that…” For more about him, see the Introduction.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٥): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Ja’far bin °udhaifah al-±¡¢ narrated to me that…”

Al-B¡hil¢ replied: "I am the one[١] who recognized the truth when you denied it; who was sincere to his leader (*im¡m*) while you deceived him, who listened and obeyed him when you disobeyed and opposed him! I am Muslim bin 'Amru al-B¡hil¢!"

Ibn 'Aqil retorted: "May your mother weep at the sorrow of your death! How coarse you are, how rough and hard your heart is. O Son of B¡hilah, you are more appropriate for the boiling water of the hell fire and to remain there forever than I am!"

Then he sat down resting his back against the wall. 'Amru bin °uraith [al-Makhz£m¢] sent his slave called Sulaim¡n and he brought [some] water in a pitcher[٢] with a napkin on it and

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[١] The actual text reads: "I am the son of one…", but the correct version is what has been mentioned in this text.

[٢] Here Ab£ Mikhnaf stops his report from Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d and begins relating from Sa'¢d bin Mudrak bin 'Um¡rah bin 'Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu'¢§ [saying] that he is the one who sent his servant called Qais to bring the pitcher. The report of Ibn Mudrak appears to go back to that of Qud¡mah. We [here] preferred Qud¡mah's report on the authority of his grandfather Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢, because we have indicted Ibn Mudrak for concocting [this] narration as a merit for his grandfather, 'Um¡ra, whereas such an objection cannot be made on the report of Qud¡mah since he has not attributed it to his grandfather, Z¡idah, although he was present at the scene, but instead attributes it to 'Amru bin °uraith. Ibn °uraith had two other stands [also]: his favourable word about Mukht¡r in the presence of Ibn Ziy¡d as he testified in favour of the former thus saving him from being killed; and his intervention when Ibn Ziy¡d intended to beat [Lady] Zainab ('a), though all this was out of his fervour for Quraish. As for 'Um¡rah bin 'Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu'¢§ al-Umawiyy, he is among the enemies of the Ahl al-Bait ('a) whose biography we have mentioned in the introduction. Shaikh al-Muf¢d has mentioned Qud¡mah's report in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢١٥) and so has al-Khw¡razm¢ in his *al-Maqtal* (pg.٢١٠). Al-

a cup. He poured water into it and gave him to drink. But whenever he went to drink, the cup filled with blood. When he filled the cup for the third time and went to drink, his front teeth fell into the cup. So he said: "All praise is due to Allah! If it was part of my decreed provision, I would have [indeed] drunk it."[١]

[Ibn al-Ash'ath] asked permission to enter and it was given to him.[٢] Muslim was brought before Ibn Ziy¡d but did not greet him. So a guard said to him: "Will you not salute the governor?"

[Muslim] replied: "If he wants to kill me, then what is [the point of] greeting him with words of peace?! But if he does not want to kill me, then -by my life- my greetings [of peace] to him would be profuse."

Ibn Ziy¡d then said to him: "By my life, you will surely be killed!"

He said: "Is it so?"

He replied: "Yes."

He said: "Then let me make a will to some of my tribesmen."

[Muslim's Will to 'Umar bin Sa'd]

So he looked at the people who were seated with 'Ubaidullah and among them was 'Umar bin Sa'd. So he called out: "O

Sam¡w¢ has reconciled between the two reports by saying that both of them [i.e. 'Um¡rah and 'Amru] had sent for the water, something which is not correct. See *Ib¥¡r al-'Ain* (pg.٤٥) of al-Sam¡w¢.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٥): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports from Qud¡mah bin Sa'¢d that…"

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٥): "Ab£ Mihnaf says: 'Ja'far bin °udhaifah al-±¡'¢ related to me saying…"

‘Umar! Indeed there is kinship between you and me[١] and I have need of you. I have a right on you that you should fulfill my request, but it is a secret.” [But ‘Umar bin Sa‘d] refused to listen to him.

So ‘Ubaidullah told him: “Do not refuse to consider the need of your cousin.”

So ‘Umar got up with him and sat where Ibn Ziy¡d could see him. [Ibn ‘Aq¢l said]: “I have a debt in K£fah. I have borrowed seven hundred dirhams since I arrived in K£fah, [please] repay it on my behalf. Ask Ibn Ziy¡d to give you my corpse [after I have been killed] and bury it. Send someone to al-°usain (‘a) to send him back. For I have written to him telling him that the people are with him, and now I can only think that he is coming.”[٢]

[Muslim (‘a) in the Presence of Ibn Ziy¡d]

Then Ibn Ziy¡d said: “Yes, Ibn ‘Aq¢l! You came to the people while they were united in order to scatter them and divide their opinions so that some of them may attack others?!”

He replied: “Never! I did not come for that, but [because] the people of the city claimed that your father had killed their best men and shed their blood and that he ruled over them the rule of Choesroe and Caesar. We came to them to enjoin justice and invite [them] to the rule (¦*ukm*) by the Book [of Allah].”

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[١] Both of them were from Quraish and both were related to the Ban£ Zuhrah –the tribe from which Ibn Sa’d came- from their mother’s side.

[٢] Muslim (‘a) repeated the last part of his will to Ibn Sa’d after he had earlier asked Ibn Ash’ath to do so, due to the significance of the matter and that may be one of them would act on it.

Ibn Ziyad retorted: “O sinner! What are you [to do] with that! Did not we do that when you were in Mad¢nah drinking wine!”

Ibn ‘Aq¢l exclaimed: “Me, drink wine! By Allah, verily, Allah knows that you are not speaking the truth and you have spoken without any knowledge and that I am not like you have said. [He knows] that the more deserving [to be accused] of drinking wine than me and the more entitled to that, is you who laps the blood of Muslims, kills the soul which Allah has forbidden, kills innocent people, sheds sacred blood and kills out of rage, enmity and suspicion, while he is indulged in play and sport as if he has done nothing [wrong]!”

Ibn Ziy¡d [angrily] said: “O sinner! Your soul is making you desire that [i.e. caliphate] which Allah has deprived you of and did not regard you worthy of it.”

He said: “Who is worthy of it, O Ibn Ziy¡d?”

He answered: “Yaz¢d, the commander of the faithful.”

Ibn ‘Aq¢l said: “Praise is due to Allah in all conditions. We accept Allah as a judge between you and us.”

Ibn Ziy¡d said: “As if you assume that you have a right to it!”

He replied: “By Allah, it is not an assumption (*¨ann*) but a conviction!”

Ibn Ziy¡d said: “May Allah kill me, if I do not kill you in a manner that no one in Islam has been killed before!”

He said: “You wil never abandon evil murder, wicked punishment, shameful practice, and avaricious domination to anyone [else], as no one among the people is more entitled to these [crimes] than you.”

[Hearing this,] the son of Sumayyah[١] began to curse him and to curse al-°usain, ‘Al¢ and ‘Aq¢l.

[The Martyrdom of Ibn ‘Aq¢l (‘a)]

[Ibn Ziy¡d] then ordered: “Take him up to the top of the palace and behead him and throw his body to the ground.”

[Muslim] said [to Ibn Ash’ath]: “O Ibn Ash’ath! By Allah, had you not offered me protection, I would not have surrendered myself. So rise with your sword in defense of me; for the security [you granted me] has been broken!”[٢]

So Ibn Ash’ath came forward and gave ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziy¡d] an account of Muslim’s [arrest] and how he was struck by Bukair [bin °amr¡n] and informed him about the guarantee of security he gave to [Ibn ‘Aq¢l].

Ibn Ziyad said: “What have you to do with granting security! As if we had sent you to give him protection! We only sent you to bring him to us!” So [Ibn Ash’ath] kept quiet.[٣]

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[١] Sumayyah was the mother of Ziy¡d [bin Ab¢h] and used to have a flag over her house during the days of Ignorance (*j¡hiliyyah)* to indicate that she was was prostitute. Ab£ Sufy¡n and other men had illicit relations with her which resulted in the birth of Ziy¡d. So they drew lots by using arrows which were without head and feathers in order to decide who would have Ziy¡d. He fell to Ab£ Sufy¡n’s lot and he claimed him to be his son. Nevertheless, he came to be known as Ziy¡d bin Sumayyah, that is after his mother, until after Mu’¡wiyah attributed him to his own father. [By doing so,] Mu’¡wiyah commited the most abominable act from the viewpoint of both religion and convention (*‘urf*).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٧٦**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’¢d bin Mudrak bin ‘Um¡rah narrated to me from his grandfather, ‘Um¡rah bin ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ Mu’¢§, that…”

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٧٥**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf reports that: ‘Ja’far bin °udhaifah al-±¡¢ informed me that…”

Then Ibn Ziy¡d said: “Where is this person whose head and shoulder Ibn ‘Aq¢l struck with [his] sword?” So he was called and Ibn Ziy¡d [told him]: “Go up and [now] you be the one who cuts his head off.”

So he went up with him. [Ibn ‘Aq¢l] was exalting Allah saying *all¡hu akbar* and seeking His forgiveness and sending salutations on His angels and prophets saying: “O Allah, You judge between us and a people who enticed us, lied to us and deserted us.”

So [Bukair al-A¦mar¢] led him up to a part which overlooked where the butchers are today.[١] His head was cut off and his body was made to follow his head.[٢]

When Bukair bin °amr¡n descended after killing Muslim, Ibn Ziy¡d asked him: “Have you killed him?” He replied: “Yes.”

Ibn Ziy¡d [inquired]: “What was he saying as you were taking him up?”

He said: “He was mentioning the greatness of Allah and glorifying Him and seeking His forgiveness. When I drew him nearer to kill him, he said: ‘O Allah, You judge between us and a people who lied to us, deceived us, deserted us and killed us.’ I told him: ‘Get closer to me’ and gave him a blow but to no avail. Then I struck him for the second time and killed him.”

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[١] By ‘now’ Ab£ Mikhnaf meant his own times. *Al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢١٦) says: “…now the location of the cobblers (*al-¦¢dh¡iyy¢n*)”, while al-Khw¡razm¢ says on page ٢١٥ of his *al-Maqtal*: “…the market of the butchers”, and again on page ٢١٤ he says: “…at a place where sheeps and goats were sold.” This report [of al-Khw¡razm¢] supports what has appeared in the text of *al-±abar¢*.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٦): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’¢d bin Mudrak bin ‘Um¡rah narrated to me…”

Then his head was brought to Ibn Ziy¡d.[١]

'Umar [bin Sa'd] said to Ibn Ziy¡d: "Do you know what he said to me? He told me so and so."

Ibn Ziy¡d said: "The faithful would not betray you. But sometimes a treacherous man is given a trust.[٢] With regard to your money, it belongs to you and we will not prevent you from doing with it what you like.[٣] As for al-°usain, if he does not intend [harm] to us, so will we. But if he intends [harm] to us, we will not hold back from him. As for the body, we do not care what is done to it after we have killed him."[٤]

[The Martyrdom of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah]

After the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l, [Ibn Ziy¡d] declined to fulfil his promise [to Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash'ath that he would return H¡ni' to him in order to avoid the enmity of [H¡n¢'s] tribesmen; for it was him who took him to Ibn Ziy¡d]. 'Ubaidullah then ordered for H¡ni' bin 'Urwah and said: "Take him to the market place and cut off his head."

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٨): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports that: "¯aq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from 'Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah that…"

[٢] When Ibn Sa'd saw that Ibn Ziy¡d has asked Ibn °amr¡n about the last words of Muslim ('a), he immediately went on to disclose what Muslim had entrusted him with in order to win [Ibn Ziy¡d's] favour, but Ibn Ziy¡d responded by charging him with treachery. Such is the reward of the bootlickers!

[٣] By saying: "With regard to your money…", as if Ibn Ziy¡d considers him to be the inheritor of Muslim!

[٤] In another version he is reported to have said: "We will not grant your request regarding his corpse, since we do not consider him to deserve that, for he fought and opposed us and also tried to destroy us" (*al-±abar¢*:٥:٣٧٧). This is found in the same narration by Ab£ Mikhnaf which begins with [the following phrase]: "And they thought that he said…"

So H¡ni' was taken -while he his hands were tied behind his back- to a place in the market where sheep were sold. H¡ni' began to shout: "O Madh¦ij! There is no one from Madh¦ij for me today! O Madh¦ij! Where are the Madh¦ij to help me!"

When he saw that no one is helping him, he pulled his hand and wrenched it free of the handcuff, saying: "Is there no stick, knife, stone or bone with which one can defend himself!" [At this] they jumped on him and tied him [more] tightly. Then it was said to him: "Stretch your neck forward." H¡ni' said: "I am not so generous with my life, I will not help you against myself."

Then a Turkish slave of 'Ubaidullah by the name of Rash¢d[١] struck him with [his] sword to no avail. So H¡ni' said: "To Allah is the return. O Allah, to Your mercy and pleasure [do I return]!" Then he struck him again and killed him.[٢] [May Allah's mercy and pleasure be upon him. Then they took his head to Ibn Ziy¡d].[٣]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٩): [Later,] 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin al-°u¥ain al-Mur¡d¢ happened to see Rash¢d with 'Ubaidullah and heard people saying that: "This is the killer of H¡ni' bin 'Urwah." So he attacked him with a spear, stabbed him and killed him. See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢١٧) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢١٤).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٨): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: '¯a'qab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* does not mention here that they were dragged by their two legs in the markets. But after this, he reports from Ab£ Mikhnaf himself who narrated from Ab£ Jan¡b al-Kalb¢, who in turn was relating from 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad¢ on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Sal¢m and Madhr¢ bin al-Mushma'il – both of whom were from Ban£ Asad, who reported from Bukair bin Math'abah al-Asad¢ who said: "I did not leave K£fah until after Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and H¡ni' bin 'Urwah were killed and I saw them being dragged by their two legs in the market (٥:٣٩٧). Al-

[Those Who Were Killed After Muslim (‘a) and H¡ni’]

After killing Muslim and H¡ni’, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d ordered for ‘Abd al-A’al¡ al-Kalb¢, the one arrested by Kath¢r bin Shih¡b at Ban£ Fity¡n. So he was brought [before Ibn Ziy¡d]. Ibn Ziy¡d said to him: “Tell me about your case.”

He said: “May Allah make you among the righteous! I had [just] come out to see what the people were doing when Kath¢r bin Shih¡b arrested me.”

[Ibn Ziy¡d said]: “You must heavily swear that you did not come out for some other reason”, but al-Kalb¢ refused to do so [and ‘Ubaidullah got convinced that he had come out in support of Muslim].

Then, Ibn Ziy¡d ordered [saying]: “Take this man to the cemetery of Sab¢’ and behead him there.” So they took him and killed him.

Then ‘Um¡rah bin ¯alkhab al-Azd¢ was brought before ‘Ubaidullah. He was among those who intended to mobilize people in support of Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l.

[Ibn Ziy¡d] asked him: “From which clan are you?”

He replied: “From Azd.”

[Ibn Ziy¡d] then said: “Take him to his people [and kill him there].” So he was taken and beheaded amidst his people.[١]

Khw¡razm¢ (**٢:٢١٥**) and Ibn Shahr¡sh£b (**٢:٢١٢**) have mentioned that Ibn Ziy¡d crucified them up side down in the outskirts of K£fah.”

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٧٨**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah that…’”

[The Imprisonment of Mukht¡r]

The next morning when the door of ‘Ubaidullah’s palace was opened and people were allowed to enter, Mukht¡r [also] went in. [Upon seeing him,] ‘Ubaidullah called him and said: “You are the one who was moving in a group of people to help Ibn ‘Aq¢l?”

He replied: “[No,] I never did that. I only came under the banner of ‘Amru bin °uraith and spent the night with him till morning.” [Here] ‘Amru said: “He is right, may Allah preserve you.”

Then [Ibn Ziy¡d] lifted his staff and struck the face of Mukht¡r tearing his eye, and said: “Woe onto you! By Allah! Were it not for the testimony of ‘Amru, I would have beheaded you. Take him to prison.”

He was then taken to prison and remained there until the martyrdom of al-°usain [‘a].[١]

[The Heads of Muslim (‘a) and H¡ni’ Sent to Yaz¢d]

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d dispatched H¡n¢ bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-W¡di’¢ [al-Kalb¢ al-Hamd¡n¢] and Zubair bin al-Arwa¦ al-Tam¢m¢ with the heads of [Muslim] and [H¡ni’] to Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah. He [also] ordered his scribe ‘Amru bin N¡fi’ to write to Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah about what happened to Muslim and H¡ni’. He wrote a long letter. When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d saw it, he disliked it and said: “What is this prolixity and this excess? Write [as I say]:

“All praise is due to Allah, who exacted the dues of the

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٥٦٦): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Na¤r bin ¯¡li¦ has narrated to me that…”

commander of the faithful and has given him sufficient provisions against his enemy. I [am writing to] inform the commander of the faithful -May Allah honour him- that Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l took refuge in the house of H¡ni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Mur¡d¢. I set look-outs and spies on them, concealed men against them, I tricked them until I brought them out. Allah gave me power over them. Thus I came upon them and had them executed. I have sent their heads to you with H¡ni’ bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-Hamd¡n¢ and Zubair bin al-Arwa¦ al-Tam¢m¢. They are both men of loyalty, obedience and sincerity. Let the commander of the faithful ask them about whatever of the affair he may wish; for they have knowledge, truth, understanding and piety. That is all.”

Yaz¢d wrote [in reply]: “You have not gone beyond what I wanted. You have acted with the decisive action I wanted. You have launched into the attack with the violence of man who has control of his emotion. You have sufficed me, been sufficient [for the task], and acted true to my expectation and opinion of you. I have summoned your two messengers, questioned them and talked to them. I found them in their views and merit as you had mentioned. Receive them both with kindness on my recommendation. I have come to learn that °usain bin ‘Al¢ has set out towards Iraq. So prepare watchtowers (*man¡¨ir*)[١] and outposts (*mas¡li¦*). Guard against any suspicious case and arrest [people] upon mere accusation. Do not kill except one who fights you. Write to me about any news which occurs. May the peace and mercy

[١] *Al-man¡¨ir* is the plural of *man¨arah* which means a place used for keeping an eye on the enemy, while *al-mas¡li¦*, plural of *masla¦ah*, is a place in which armed men keep a watch on the enemy in order to avert any sudden attack. See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢١٧) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٥).

of Allah be upon you."[١]

Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l rose in K£fah on Tuesday, ٨th of Dh£ al-°ijjah ٦٠ H, while al-°usain [(‘a) left Makkah also] on Tuesday, the Day of Tarwiyah, on the same day when Muslim rose.[٢]

‘Abdullah bin Zubair al-Asad¢, or according to some al-Farazdaq, composed the following verses on the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l and H¡ni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Mur¡d¢:

O soul! If you do not know what death is, then look at H¡ni’ in the market-place and Ibn ‘Aq¢l.

Look at a hero [i.e. H¡ni’] whose face has beed smashed by the sword, and at another [i.e. Muslim] who fell dead from a high place.

The command of the governer struck them down, and they became legends for those who travel on every road.

You see a corpse whose colour death has changed, and a spattering of blood, which has flown abundantly.

A young man [who was even] more bashful than a shy young woman, [but] he was more decisive than the polished blade of a double-edged sword.

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘I relate from Ab£ Jan¡b Ya¦y¡ bin Ab¢ °ayyah al-Kalb¢ (٥:٣٨٠). He is the brother of H¡ni’ bin Ab¢ °ayyah, the one who carried the heads of Muslim and H¡ni’ to Yaz¢d. It appears from Ab£ Jan¡b’s report about his brother that he was proud of the way Ibn Ziy¡d described him that he was a man of knowledge, truth, understanding and piety! And also the way Yaz¢d characterized him, though such an attitude was not unexpected from the tribe of Kil¡b.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٧٨): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair narrates from ‘Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah that…"

How can Asm¡'[١] safely ride on ambling horses, while the Madh¦ij urged him to seek vengeance.

The young and old from [the Ban£] Mur¡d, have surrounded him with their necks erected.

If you [still] do not avenge your brother's blood, then you are like a whore who gives consent to the little [she is given].[٢],[٣]

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[١] This refers to Asma' bin Kh¡rijah al-Faz¡r¢ who brought H¡ni' bin 'Urwah to Ibn Ziy¡d.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٨١**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: '¯aq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin Ab¢ Ju¦aifah that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* narrates on the authority of 'Amm¡r al-Duhan¢ from Imam al-B¡qir ('a) who said: "Their poet said the following on that…" and the Imam ['a] mentioned three verses of it, the first being "And (*fa*) [O soul!] If you do not know what death is, then look at…" (**٥:٣٥٠**), while in the text it reads "[O soul!] If you do not know…" which is not correct, as the couplet does not rhyme in this case. Al-Mu¦aqqiq has recorded the name Zubair as 'Zabair' and he seems to have taken it from *al-K¡mil* of Ibn al-Ath¢r (**٤:٣٦**) and *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.**١٠٨**). With regard al-Asad¢ [the poet], al-I¥fah¡n¢ says in his book (pg.**٢٩٠**): "He was one of the notable Sh¢'ite narrators of ¦ad¢th and 'Abb¡d bin Ya'q£b al-Raw¡jan¢ (d.**٢٠٥** H) and his like, and even more distinguished personalities than him, have also narrated from 'Abdullah". It has also been related from al-I¥fah¡n¢ that he was among the companions of Mu¦ammad bin 'Abdillah bin al-°asan Dh¢ al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, who was martyred during the rule of Man¥£r in the year **١٤٥** H. Al-I¥fah¡n¢ then says: "He is the father of Ab£ A¦mad al-Zubair¢, the traditionist whose actual name was Mu¦ammad bin 'Abdillah bin al-Zubair" (pg.**٢٩٠**).
Al-Kashh¢ narrates in his *al-Rij¡l* (¦ad¢th no.**٦٢١**) from 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Say¡bah who said: "Ab£ 'Abdillah ('a) gave me some dinars and aksed me to distribute them among the families of those who were martyred along with his uncle Zayd. So I distributed the money, and the share of the family of 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair al-Rass¡n was four dinars. Shaikh al-Muf¢d reports in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٦٩**) from Ab£ Kh¡lid al-W¡si§¢ who said: "Ab£ 'Abdillah ('a)

gave me a thousand *dinars* and ordered me to distribute them among the families of those who had been martyred with Zayd and the share of the family of ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair, the brother of Fu¤ail al-Rass¡n, was four dinars.” In fact, they might be two different persons with the same name; for while al-I¥fah¡n¢ counts Ibn al-Zubair among the distinguished Sh¢‘ah traditionists, the author of *al-Agh¡n¢* (١٣:٣١) asserts that he was a partisan of the Ban£ Umayyah who was very zealous in their cause and supported them against their enemies! He further says: “Ibn al-Zubair never assisted anyone against them or their governors. ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d used to maintain relations with him, honour him and pay his debts. Ibn al-Zubair has in return a number of eulogies in praise of Ibn Ziy¡d and also Asm¡’ bin Kh¡rijah al-Faz¡r¢ (*al-Agh¡n¢*:١٣:٣٣&٣٧).

Sayyid al-Muqarram brings the above verses attributed to al-Asad¢ in his book *al-Shah¢d Muslim* (pg.٢٠١) and says: “How can one ascribe these verses about Muslim and H¡ni’ to this man after knowing his inclination towards the Ban£ Umayyah and his eulogies in their praise?!” Al-Muqarram then prefers to attribute them to Farazdaq who composed them after his return from ¦*ajj* in the year ٦٠ H.

Al-I¥fah¡n¢ quotes these verses ascribed to Ibn al-Zubair al-Asad¢ from al-Mad¡in¢ who narrated them on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf from Y£suf bin Yaz¢d.

AL-°USAIN'S DEPARTURE FROM MAKKAH

Al-°usain (‘a) left Mad¢nah for Makkah on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab ٦٠ H[١], and reached Makkah on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha'b¡n, and stayed there throughout the months of Sha’b¡n, Rama¤¡n, Shaww¡l and Dh£ al-Qa’dah, and left Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dh£ al-°ijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah, the very day Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l launched his uprising.

The people of Makkah started frequenting [al-°usain (‘a)] and so did others who had come for the *‘umrah*, and those from other places.

[Ibn al-Zubair's Stand Vis-à-Vis al-°usain (‘a)]

Ibn al-Zubair was among those who used to come to see [the Imam (‘a)]. Sometimes he would come for two consecutive days and sometimes once after every two days. Ibn al-Zubair well knew that the people of °ij¡z would never follow or pay allegiance to him so long as al-°usain (‘a) was in the city, and that the latter was more revered in their eyes and that the

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* says: “And in this year -٦٠ H- Yaz¢d dismissed Wal¢d bin ‘Utbah in the month of Rama¤¡n [from the governership of Mad¢nah] and replaced him with ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d bin al-‘ª¥¥ al-Ashdaq who reached the city in the same month. Al-Ashdaq was eloquent and a very proud person (٥:٣٤٣). It has also been reported in a narration that he entered the city in Dh£ al-Qa’dah of the year ٦٠ H (٥:٣٤٦).” *Al-±abar¢* also writes: “In this year [٦٠ H] Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah dismissed Wal¢d bin ‘Utbah from Makkah and appointed ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d bin al-‘ª¥¥ as the governor of both Makkah and Mad¢nah in the month of Rama¤¡n of the same year. ‘Amru bin Sa’¢d led the people to pilgrimage on the same year while he was Yaz¢d’s governer in both the cities.” (٥:٣٩٩)

people would obey [al-°usain] more than they would obey him.[١]

One day [Ibn al-Zubair] talked to the Imam [‘a] for a while saying: “I do not know why we distanced [ourselves] from these people [i.e. the Ban£ Umayyah] and abstained from [rising against] them while we are the sons of the *muh¡jir£n* and [more entitled] to this position than they are! Tell me what do you intend to do.”

Al-°usain (‘a) replied: “By Allah! I am thinking of going towards K£fah, for my followers (*sh¢‘ah*) and the noblemen in the city have written to me about this, and I pray to Allah for the best.”

Ibn al-Zubair said to him: “If I had the like of your followers in K£fah, I would not have abandoned going there!”

[Having said this,] Ibn al-Zubair feared that the Imam might doubt his intentions [and think that he wants him to leave Makkah so that he could then secure the support of the people for himself,] so he [immediately] said: “However, if you stay in °ij¡z and pursue your aim [of attaining the caliphate], you will not face opposition by the will of Allah.” Ibn al-Zubair then stood up and left.

[After Ibn al-Zubair went away,] al-°usain (‘a) said: “There is nothing more lovable in this world for this man than my departure from °ij¡z to Iraq. He understands that he would not attain [the caliphate] so long as I am there, and that the people do not consider him to be on par with me. He longs me to

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٥١**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: “‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab has narrated to me saying that ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n, the servant of Rub¡b, the daughter of Imru’ al-Qais and the wife of al-°usain (‘a), related to me that…”

leave [Makkah] so that the city should be solely for him."[١],[٢]

[Al-°usain's Conversation with Ibn 'Abb¡s]

When [al-°usain ('a)] decided to go to K£fah, Ibn 'Abb¡s came to him and said: "O my cousin, the people have spread rumours that you are advancing towards Iraq, so [please] explain to me what you intend to do."

[Al-°usain ('a)] replied: "I am determined to leave in the coming one or two days[٣], if Allah wills."

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٨٣**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: '°¡rith bin Ka'b al-W¡lib¢ has related to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'¡n that…"

[٢] The mental attitude and the treacherous and hypocritical nature of these people was not concealed from the Imam ('a), but he could not express what he knew of his fate to everyone who met him. One cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam ['a] used to reply everyone according to his capacity of understanding. It should be observed here that Ibn al-Zubair was not against the rising of the Imam ('a), as he motivated him to do that. His only point was about the time and place of rising.

[٣] Since the Imam [a'] departed from Makkah in the afternoon of the Day of Tarwiyah [i.e. eight of Dh£ al-°ijjah] as the pilgrims were heading towards Min¡ (**٥:٣٨٥**), this conversation with Ibn 'Abbas must have taken place on the sixth day of Dh£ al-°ijjah. Thus, the news of the Imam's intention to leave for Iraq must have spread among the people at most two days before this, that is, on the fourth; and there is nothing to indicate that anything was known about his journey earlier than that. So what happened during these days that made the Imam ['a] leave on the Day of Tarwiyah and before the completion of the ¦*ajj*, after having stayed in the city for [more than] four months? Yes, Muslim had sent a letter [to the Imam ('a)] ٢٧ days before his martyrdom, that is on the ٢٠th of Dh£ al-Qa'dah -and since it took around ten days for a letter to reach [Makkah from K£fah] in those days, the letter must have

reached the Imam (‘a) towards the end of this month or in the beginning of Dh£ al-°ijjah-, but still that does not suffice as a reason for him not to complete the ¦*ajj* which would have taken another four days only!

Farazdaq, the poet, had asked the Imam (‘a) about this saying: “What made you leave the ¦*ajj* incomplete?” “I would have been caught had I not hurried”, he replied (*al-±abar¢*:**٥:٣٨٦**). And this is why Shaikh al-Muf¢d says: “When al-°usain (‘a) intended to leave for Iraq, he circumambulated the Ka’bah and performed the *sa’y* between ¯af¡ and Marw¡ and came out of his *i¦r¡m* and concluded his ¦*ajj* as *‘umrah*; for he was unable to complete (*tam¡m*) the pilgrimage in fear of being caught and taken to Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah. Hence, the Imam (‘a) immediately departed from Makkah (*al-Irsh¡d*, pg.**٢١٨**).

Mu’¡wiyah bin ‘Amm¡r narrates from Imam al-¯¡diq (‘a) that: “Al-°usain [‘a] performed *‘umrah* in the month of Dh£ al-°ijjah and set off to Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while the pilgrims were heading to Min¡. There is no objection in performing *‘umrah* in [the month of] Dh£ al-°ijja for one who does not intend to perform ¦*ajj*.”

Ibr¡h¢m bin ‘Umar al-Yam¡n¢ narrates that he asked al-¯¡diq (‘a) about a person who goes to *‘umrah* during the months of ¦*ajj* and then returns back to his city [without performing ¦*ajj*]. The Imam [‘a] replied: “There is no objection.” He then continued till he said: “°usain bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) set out for Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while he had [only] performed *‘umrah*.” (*Was¡’il al-Sh¢‘ah*:**١٠:٢٤٦**)

It is for this very reason that Shaikh al-Sh£shtar¢ says: “They made every effort to catch him or assassinate him, even if he was found clinging to the covering of the Ka’bah! Therefore, he changed his decision and performed *‘umrah al-mufradah* and had to leave the ¦*ajj* (*Kha¥¡’i¥ al-°usainiyyah*: pg.**٣٢**; Tabriz edition).

In *A’l¡m al-War¡*, in a separate section allocated for the reports on the journey of Imam [al-°usain (‘a)] and his martyrdom, Shaikh al-±abras¢ brings approximately the same particular section which has appeared in *al-Irsh¡d* of Shaikh al-Muf¢d, without any mention of it. Al-±abras¢ quotes, as it is, what al-Muf¢d said except for the phrase ‘*tam¡m al-¦ajj*’ where he says ‘*itm¡m al-¦ajj*’. The latter phrase is incorrect –and the error might probably have been from the transcribers [of al-±abras¢’s work], since there is a clear difference [in meaning] between the two [phrases]; for the word

Ibn ‘Abb¡s said to him: “I then seek refuge for you with Allah in this regard. Tell me, may Allah have mercy on you, are you moving towards a people who have [already] killed their governor and taken control of their city and have expelled their enemy? If they have done all this [and prepared the grounds], then go to them. But if they are [inviting you] while they are still under the subjugation of their governor and his officers are collecting taxes from [them], then they have certainly invited you to war and fighting. I fear that they will deceive you, lie to you, oppose and abandon you, and that they may [even] fight against you and prove to be the most severe people against you!”

Al-°usain (‘a) replied: “I pray to Allah for the best and I will see what is going to happen.”[١]

[A Second Conversation with Ibn ‘Abb¡s]

In the evening [of that day] or the next morning Ibn ‘Abb¡s once again came to the Imam (‘a) and said: “O my cousin! I tried to remain patient but could not. Indeed, I am

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itm¡m, unlike *tam¡m*, implies that the Imam (‘a) had actually put on the *i¦r¡m* for ¦*ajj*.
However, it is equally probable that there are inconsistencies in the different copies of *al-Irsh¡d* itself; for Shaikh al-Qarash¢ (**٣:٥٠**) quotes al-Muf¢d from *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٤٣**), in the same manner as al-±abras¢ has done, by bringing the phrase *itm¡m al-¦ajj*; while in the °aidariyyah edition of *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢١٨**), we find the phrase *tam¡m al-¦ajj*, which is correct.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٨٣**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘°¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n that…” It is worthy of note here that Ibn ‘Abb¡s was not opposed to the rising of the Imam (‘a), rather he was doubting the establishment of the necessary grounds for it, and the Imam (‘a) does not refute him in this regard, as it is evident.

apprehensive of your death and annihilation should you take this direction! The people of Iraq are a treacherous community, so never get closer to them! Stay in this city for you are the master of the people of °ij¡z. If at all the people of Iraq want you -as they have claimed, then write and ask them to [first] expel their enemy [from their city], then make a move towards them. But if you still want to leave [this city], then go to Yemen; for it has got fortresses and mountain paths, and it is a vast and spacious land. From there you can send out your men to invite people to support you. I hope that in this way you can achieve your aim in a safer way."

Al-°usain (‘a) answered him: "My cousin, Verily, By Allah I know that you are sincere[١] and caring but I have resolved on the journey!"

Ibn ‘Abb¡s then said: "Now that you are going, do not take your women and young children with you, for -by Allah- I fear that you might get killed."[٢]

[His Conversation with ‘Umar al-Makhz£m¢]

‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin °¡rith bin Hish¡m al-Makhz£m¢[٣] says: "When al-°usain (‘a) was ready for the

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[١] The Imam (‘a) wanted to show that he knew that what Ibn ‘Abb¡s said was out of sincerity, care and love [for him]. So he is not against the rising of the Imam (‘a), rather he doubts the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for it. The Imam (‘a) also does not refute him in what he said, instead he tells him that even in this case he is determined to rise; because he had felt the necessity to rise for the sake of the continuation of the divine Shar¢’ah.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٨٣**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘°¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: He was appointed by Ibn al-Zubair as the governor of K£fah during the time of Mukht¡r in ٦٦ H. He had sent Z¡idah bin Qud¡mah al-Thaqaf¢ towards Mukht¡r with five hundred men and

journey towards Iraq, I came to him, praised and glorified Allah, and then said: "My cousin, I have come to give you a piece of advice. If you are ready to accept my advice, [then that is fine], otherwise I will restrain myself from what I intend to say."

Al-°usain (‘a) said: "Say [what you want to say]. For by Allah, I do not consider you a person with unsound opinions, or evil intentions and deeds."

He then said: "I have come to learn that you intend to go to Iraq, but I am concerned about you should you undertake this journey. You are moving towards a city which has its [own] rulers and governers and who have treasure houses at their disposal. Indeed people are slaves of these dirhams and dinars. I fear that those people will come to fight you who have promised you their support and to whom you are more beloved than the one they will be fighting for against you."

Al-°usain (‘a) replied: "May Allah reward you with good, O my cousin. By Allah, I know that you have given [me] a good advice and have spoken with wisdom. But whatever is decreed shall come to pass. I consider you a praiseworthy and sincere adviser, whether I act on your advice or not."[١]

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seventy thousand *dirhams* in order to drive him back by offering him the money, or to fight him in case he rejected that. So Mukht¡r accepted the money and went to Ba¥rah (٦:٧١). What ‘Umar is narrating here of the Imam's commendation about him is actually being reported by himself [and does not carry much weight]. His grandfather was °¡rith bin Hish¡m, the brother of Ab£ Jahl bin Hish¡m, who was the enemy of the Holy Prophet (¥). We have mentioned about him in the introduction.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٨٢): "Hish¡m narrates from Ab£ Mikhnaf that: "¯aq'ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n [saying]…"

[His Last Conversation with Ibn al-Zubair]

'Abdullah bin Sulaim [al-Asad¢] and Mudhr¢ bin Mushma'il [al-Asad¢] say: "We set out to Makkah as pilgrims and entered [the city on] the Day of Tarwiyah. [We were in Masjid al-°ar¡m] when we suddenly saw al-°usain ('a) and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair standing between the [black] stone and the door of the Ka'bah. So we drew near them and heard Ibn al-Zubair saying to al-°usain ('a): "If you like to stay [in Makkah], you can do so and assume the leadership [as well]. We shall support and help you, be sincere to you and pay allegiance to you."

Al-°usain ('a) replied him: "Indeed, my father informed me that: 'A ram (*kabsh*) in Makkah shall violate the sanctity of [the ¦*aram*].' So I do not like to be that ram!"[١],[٢]

So Ibn al-Zubair said to him: "Get closer to me O son of F¡§imah, so al-°usain ('a) lent his ear to him and he whispered something to him. ['Abdullah and Mudhr¢ say that] al-°usain ('a) then turned to us and said: "Do you know what Ibn al-Zubair is saying?"

"We do not know, may Allah make us your ransom", we said.

[Al-°usain ('a)] said: "He told me: 'Stay in this mosque and I will gather the people around you.'"

Then al-°usain ('a) said: "By Allah, it is more lovable for me

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٨٤): "Ab£ Minkhaf says: 'Ab£ Jan¡b Ya¦y¡ bin Ab¢ °ayyah narrated to me from 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad¢ who related from 'Abdullah that…"

[٢] *Kabsh* is a male sheep who most of the time moves ahead of a flock. It is for this reason that 'leaders' are usually likened to it. By this speech, the Imam ('a) intended to remind Ibn al-Zubair only if it were to benefit him, "For admonition indeed benefits the faithful."

to be killed a span away from the [¦*aram*] than to be killed inside it by just a span! I swear by Allah, even if I were to be in the hole of an insect, [these people] will pull me out [of it] in order to get what they want from me. By Allah, I shall be wronged [and the law of Allah be violated in my regard] as the Jews had violated the [sanctity of the] Sabbath."[١],[٢]

[The Stand of 'Amru bin Sa'¢d al-Ashdaq]

When al-°usain ('a) was departing from Makkah, the messengers of 'Amru bin Sa'¢d bin al-ª¥¥[٣]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٨٥**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'I report from Ab£ Sa'¢d 'Aq¢¥¡, who narrated from some of his companions…"

[٢] This is the best and the shortest reply by which the Imam ['a] answered all the questions raised upto this point; this was by indicating that he was being [constantly] pursued wherever he went and that he was going to be attacked. Therefore, he decided to leave Makkah avoiding to become the ram mentioned by his father, the Commander of the Faithful ('a). He thus left Makkah for this very reason fleeing with his family lest the sanctity of [the ¦*aram*] be violated with his blood. If he was to depart from Makkah, then the best course for him was to proceed to K£fah and attend to the needs of his followers (*sh¢'ah*), thus, leaving no room for any excuse on their part, "so that mankind may not have any argument against Allah, after the [sending of the] apostles" (Qur'an, **٤:١٦٥**), and so that no one should say: "Why did you not send us a messenger as a warner, and appoint for us a guide so that we would have followed your signs." If he did not go to K£fah, where else could he go, when the earth had become narrow for him inspite of its expanse?

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: When 'Amru bin Sa'¢d became the governor of Mad¢nah he summoned 'Ubaidullah bin Ab¢ R¡fi' – the scribe of 'Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib– and asked him: "Who is your master?" "The Messenger of Allah", he replied. So he whipped him hundred lashes. Again 'Amru asked him: "Whose slave are you?" and he answered: "The Messenger of Allah." So he whipped him another hundred lashes. Every time 'Amru asked him the question he received the same answer from 'Ubaidullah until he had whipped

led by Ya¦ya bin Sa'¢d[١] sought to block his way. They said to him: "Withdraw! Where are you going?", but he refused. The two groups came to blows and hit at each other with whips. Al-°usain ('a) continued his journey.

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him ٥٠٠ lashes. When 'Amru repeated his question [for the sixth time,] 'Ubaidullah replied: "Your slave" [and so he left him]. [After sometime,] when 'Abd al-Malik killed 'Amru bin Sa'¢d, 'Ubaidullah bin Ab¢ R¡fi' composed a poem thanking his killer. 'Ab£ R¡fi' was [once] the slave of Ab£ A¦ya¦ah Sa'¢d bin al-ª¥¥ - the older. After him his sons inherited Ab£ R¡fi' from him. Three of these sons freed their portion of his servitude all of whom were killed in the battle of Badr. Kh¡lid bin Sa'¢d [the fourth of the brothers] gifted his share of Ab£ R¡fi' to the Messenger of Allah (¥) and the Prophet freed him (٣:١٧٠).

'Amru bin Sa'¢d was the one who fought Ibn al-Zubair (٥:٣٤٣) and lashed between fourty to sixty times each of those who were fond of Ibn al-Zubair in Mad¢nah, among them being Mu¦ammad bin 'Amm¡r bin Y¡sir (٥:٣٤٤). 'Amru rejoiced when the news of al-°usain's martyrdom reached him. When he heard the wails of the women of Ban£ H¡shim as they mourned al-°usain ('a) he said: "These cries are in compensation for the cries on 'Uthm¡n bin 'Aff¡n!" Then, he ascended the pulpit and announced the news (٥:٤٦٦).

[Later,] Yaz¢d was informed that 'Amru bin Sa'¢d was treating Ibn al-Zubair with kindness, so he dismissed him [from his position] in Dh£ al-°ijjah of ٦١ H (٥:٤٧٧). As a result, 'Amru went to Yaz¢d and apologized to him (٥:٤٧٩). His father was Sa'¢d bin al-ª¥¥, Mu'¡wiyah's governor in Mad¢nah (٥:٢٤١).

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He was the brother of 'Amru bin Sa'¢d. On the day 'Amru was killed in the palace of 'Abd al-Malik in Sh¡m, Ya¦y¡ came to his help with one thousand men from among his followers, servants and slaves but they were all defeated and Ya¦y¡ was imprisoned. Later, he was freed and joined Ibn al-Zubair (٦:١٤٣-١٤٧). Then he went to K£fah and sought refuge with his maternal uncles from the tribe of Ju'f¢. When 'Abd al-Malik entered K£fah and people paid him allegiance, he also swore allegiance to him and asked for protection (٦:١٦٢).

Then they called out: "O °usain! Do you not fear Allah?! You are detaching yourself from the community and [trying] to cause division within this nation!"

In reply, al-°usain (‘a) recited the following verses: "My deeds belong to me and your deeds belong to you; you are absolved of what I do and I am absolved of what you do."[١],[٢]

‘Al¢ bin al-°usain bin ‘Al¢ [(‘a), i.e. the fourth Imam] says: "When we left Makkah ‘Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab¢ ±¡lib[٣] sent a letter to °usain bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) with his two sons: ‘Aun and Mu¦ammad[٤] [saying]:

"I ask you for the sake of Allah to return as you receive my letter; for I am very concerned because the direction in which

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[١] Qur'an, ١٠:٤١.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٨٥): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: '°¡rith bin Ka'b al-W¡lib¢ narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim'¡n that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: He was with the Commander of the Faithful in the battle of Jamal and assisted him in taking ‘ªishah back to Mad¢nah (٤:٥١٠). ‘Abdullah was among those whom the Commander of the Faithful used to consult when he was in K£fah and it was him who proposed to [‘Al¢ (‘a)] to appoint Mu¦ammad bin Ab¢ Bakr over Egypt. Mu¦ammad was the half brother of ‘Abdullah through his mother (٤:٥٥٤). He was with [‘Al¢] in ¯iff¢n and used to constantly protect him by moving ahead of him (٥:١٤٨). ‘Abdullah accompanied al-°asan (‘a) [also] in his movement (٥:١٦٠) and returned to Mad¢nah with both of them [i.e. ‘Al¢ and al-°asan] (٥:١٦٥). His two sons Mu¦ammad and ‘Aun were with al-°usain (‘a) [in Karbal¡']. When he received the news of their martyrdom, he said: "By Allah, had I witness their fight, I would have loved not to part from them until I was killed with them" (٥:٤٦٦).

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٩): They were martyred along with al-°usain (‘a). With regard to ‘Aun, his mother was Jam¡nah, the daughter of Musayyib bin Najabah al-Faz¡r¢ who was among the leaders of the Taww¡b£n movement. As for Mu¦ammad, his mother was Khau¥¡' bint Kha¥afah bin Thaq¢b from the tribe of Bakr bin W¡'il.

you are heading will have within it your destruction and the extirpation of your family. If you are destroyed today, the light of [guidance on] the earth will be extinguished; for you are the standard of the [rightly] guided ones and the hope of the believers. Do not hurry on your journey as I am following this letter. That is all."

[In the meanwhile,] 'Abdullah bin Ja'far went to see 'Amru bin Sa'¢d bin al-ª¥¥ and talk to him and said: "Write a letter to al-°usain ('a) and guarantee him protection and promise him kind treatment [by being] trustful in your letter. Ask him to return, may be he will trust your word and return. Send the letter with your brother Ya¦y¡ bin Sa'¢d; for [al-°usain] will have confidence in him more than [any other person] and will acknowledge that you are serious."

'Amru bin Sa'¢d said: "Write what you like and then bring it to me for the stamp."

So 'Abdullah bin Ja'far wrote:

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From 'Amru bin Sa'¢d to °usain bin 'Al¢: I pray to Allah to save you from what shall cause your destruction and guide you to what shall lead you to the right course. I have come to learn that you have set out for Iraq. I warn you against [causing] discord; for I fear that you will be destroyed because of that. I am sending to you 'Abdullah bin Ja'far and Ya¦y¡ bin Sa'¢d, so come to me along with them and you shall be given protection and treated with kindness and enjoy [my] good neighbourhood. And I take Allah to be a witness, a guarantor, a guardian and a protector for [all I have said]. Peace be upon you."

'Abdullah then brought the letter to 'Amru bin Sa'¢d and

said: "Seal it" and he did so. Thereafter, 'Abdullah and Ya¦y¡ bin Sa'¢d [set out towards al-°usain ('a)] with the letter. [When they reached,] Ya¦y¡ read the letter to him.

Al-°usain ('a) wrote [in reply]: "He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and does good and says: I am one of the Muslims, has not stood in opposition to Allah and his Messenger. Indeed you have invited [me] to [your] protection and kindness but the best protection (*am¡n*) is the protection of Allah. He will never grant His protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment. If by your letter you were intending to show [your] kindness and benevolence towards me, then may Allah reward you in this world and the hereafter. That is all."

Thereafter both of them returned to ['Umar bin Sa'¢d]. They said: "We read the letter to him and tried our best [to convince him to return]. Among the excuses he put forward to us was that: "I have seen the Messenger of Allah (¥) in a dream and I have been commanded in it with a task which I am [now] advancing to carry it out, be it against me or in my favour."

They asked him: "What was the dream about?"

[Al-°usain ('a)] replied: "I have not told anyone of it and I am not going to tell anyone until I meet my Lord!"[١],[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٨٨**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf Says: '°¡rith bin Ka'b al-W¡lib¢ narrated to me from 'Al¢ bin al-°usain that…"

[٢] The Imam ('a) could not disclose what he knew of his fate to anyone who met him; for one cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam ('a) used to reply everyone according

to his capacity of understanding. The Imam (‘a) revealed to these people the actual answer when he said: “He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Sublime, and does good… has not stood in opposition to Allah and his Messenger… the best protection is the protection of Allah. He shall never grant protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment.” But since these people were not convinced by this answer from him, he instead told them that he was commissioned with a task in a dream in which he saw the Holy Prophet (¥). Yet he did not reveal to them the actual dream but contented himself by saying: “I will not disclose it until I meet my Lord.”

It was probably from here that A¦mad bin al-A’tham al-K£f¢ (d.٣١٠ H) talked of the dream of the Imam (‘a) at the grave of his grandfather, the Prophet of Allah (¥), in Mad¢nah. But where is this from ?, when the Imam (‘a) himself said that he was not going to reveal it [to anyone] until he meets his Lord! Therefore, [Ibn al-A’tham] is solely responsible for what he has said. And Allah knows best about this.

THE STATIONS ON THE WAY TO K¬FAH

[Tan'¢m[1]]

Al-°usain (‘a) continued with his journey until he passed by Tan'¢m. There he met a caravan which had been sent to Yaz¢d bin Mu'¡wiyah and was headed by Bu¦air bin Rais¡n al-°imyar¢[2], Yaz¢d's governor in Yemen. The caravan was carrying *waras*[3] and Yemeni dresses to Yaz¢d.

Al-°usain (‘a) took the things [from them] and continued with his journey. He then told the owners of the camels:

"I will not force you; whoever [among you] wishes to come with us to Iraq, we will pay his hire in full and be a good company for him. [But] whoever wishes to part with us right from this place, we will pay his hire for the distance he has travelled."

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[1] *Mu'jam al-Buld¡n* (٢:٤١٦) reports that Tan'¢m is a place two *farsakh* away from Makkah. There is a hill on its right known as Na'¢m and another one on its left called N¡'im, and the valley itself is known as Na'¢m¡n. There is also a mosque there and beside that it is the nearest *m¢q¡t* and the closest point where the holy sanctuary ends (¦*ill*). Today it is located six kilometres from Makkah and therefore it is only one *farsakh* away from it, and not two. It is connected to Makkah for those who enter the city on the way from Mad¢nah and Jiddah.

[2] *Al-±abar¢*: It seems that he was an astrologer and had augured ill for ‘Abdullah bin Mut¢' al-‘Adaw¢ when he was sent to K£fah as the governer by Ibn al-Zubair (٩:٦). The renowned ±¡w£s al-Yam¡n¢ was his master who died in Makkah in the year ١٠٥ H (٦:٢٩).

[3] *Al-wars* is a sesame-like plant used for dying and from which saffron is collected and which is not found except in Yemen.

Those among them who left him, [their account] was settled and he paid them in full. Those of them who accompanied him, he gave them their hire and [also] clothed them.[١]

[¯if¡¦[٢]]

‘Abdullah bin Sal¢m [al-Asad¢] and Mudhr¢ [bin Mushma’il al-Asad¢] report:

“We moved on until we reached al-¯if¡¦ where we met Farazdaq bin Gh¡lib[٣], the poet, who came near al-°usain (‘a) and said to

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٨٥): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘°¡rith bin Ka’b al-W¡lib¢ narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n that…”

[٢] It is located between °unain and the points which identify the sanctuary of the ¦*aram*. It is situated on the left of one who enters the city of Makkah [from Mush¡sh].

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: He is Ham¡m bin Gh¡lib bin ¯a’¥a’ah. His two uncles were Dhuhail and Za¦¡f, who were in the treasury office (*d¢w¡n*) of Ziy¡d bin Sumayyah, each being in charge of a thousand people. Farazdaq had mocked the Ban£ Nahshal and Faq¢m, so they sued him before Ziy¡d and the latter summoned Farazdaq but he fled. Whenever Ziy¡d would come to Ba¥rah, Farazdaq would go to K£fah, and if Ziy¡d was to come to K£fah, he would go to Ba¥rah. Ziy¡d used to stay in Ba¥rah and K£fah each for six months. Farazdaq then went to °ij¡z seeking refuge with Sa’¢d bin al-‘ª¥¥ from Ziy¡d until the latter died (٥:٢٤٢-٢٥٠). Farazdaq scorned at Ziy¡d and one who elegized him, saying: “You are mourning a disbeliever from the family of Sufy¡n, who was like Choesroe or Ceaser in aggression” (٥:٢٩٠).

Farazdaq then returned to Ba¥rah and resided in the city. He went to ¦*ajj* with his mother in the year ٦٠ H and this is why he did not accompany al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٣٨٦). Later, he composed a poem in praise of °ajj¡j! (٦:٣٨٠&٣٩٤) and was among the courtiers of Sulaim¡n bin ‘Abd al-Malik (٥:٥٤٨). Farazdaq was alive till the year ١٠٢ H (٦:٦١٦). At the time when he mocked at the Ban£ Nahshal he was a young man, rather a bedouin young boy residing in the desert (٥:٢٤٢). Therefore, he must have been less than thirty years old when he met al-°usain (‘a).

him: “May Allah grant you your request and [fulfil] your hope in what you love [to achieve].”

Al-°usain (‘a) asked him: “Tell me about the people you have left behind you?”

Farazdaq replied: “You have asked one who is well-informed. The hearts of the people are with you but their swords are with the Ban£ Umayyah. [Verily,] the divine decree comes from the heaven and Allah does what He wishes.”

Al-°usain (‘a) said to him: “You have said the truth. The affair (*amr*) belongs to Allah. Allah does what he wills. ‘Every day our Lord manifests [Himself] in a [new] splendour’. If the decree is as we like, then we praise Allah for his blessings and He is the one whose help is sought in order to give thanks to him. But if fate hampers [the fulfilment of our] hopes, then he whose intention is [to attain the] truth (¦*aqq*) and whose heart is [filled with] God-conciousness (*taqw¡*) is never concerned [about that].”

Thereafter, al-°usain (‘a) set his mount in motion and said [to Farazdaq]: “Peace be upon you” and then they parted. [١],[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٨٦**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: “[I narrate] on the authority of Ab£ Jan¡b from ‘Adiyy bin °armalah who related from ‘Abdullah bin Sal¢m that…” This report of Ibn Sal¢m and Ibn Mushma’il is not in consistance with what we shall narrate from them that they joined al-°usain (‘a) at a point called Zar£d, which is located a several stations after ¯if¡¦ on the way to K£fah. Unless we say that they meant by the statement: “We moved on until we reached ¯if¡¦…” that they moved on from K£fah and reached ¯if¡¦ on their way to Makkah, and then, after finishing the ¦*ajj* rituals, they joined al-°usain (‘a) at Zar£d.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* says: “Hish¡m has narrated on the authority of ‘Aw¡nah bin °akam from Lub§ah bin al-Farazdaq bin Gh¡lib who

When ‘Ubaydullah bin Ziy¡d learnt of the journey of al-°usain (‘a) from Makkah to K£fah, he sent °u¥ain bin Tam¢m [al-Tam¢m¢], the head of his bodyguards, to al-Q¡disiyyah.[١] [Al-Tam¢m¢] stationed at this place and set up a [protective] link of cavalry between [the area of] al-Q¡disiyyah to Khaff¡n,[٢] and [the area of] al-Q¡disiyyah to Qu§qu§¡nah[٣] and La’la’.[٤]

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reported from his father that he said: ‘I went to ¦*ajj* in the year ٦٠ H and entered the holy sanctuary during the days of pilgrimage. I met °usain bin ‘Al¢ outside Makkah, so I approached and asked him: ‘May my father and mother be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! What made you to rush and leave the pilgrimage [incomplete]?’ He replied: ‘If I do not rush I will be caught.’ Then al-°usain asked me: ‘Where are you from?’ so I replied: ‘I am from Iraq’, and, by Allah, he did not inquire about me more than this. Then he continued: ‘Tell me about the people behind you.’ So I said: ‘The hearts are with you and the swords are with the Ban£ Umayyah; and the decree is in the hands of Allah.’ Al-°usain [‘a] then said: ‘You have said the truth.’ Then I asked him about some issues related to vowing (*nudh£r*) and ¦*ajj* rituals, and he explained them to me.” (**٥:٣٨٦**)

[١] Al-Q¡disiyyah is situated fifteen *farsakh* from K£fah and just four miles from ‘Adh¢b. It is also called al-D¢w¡niyyah as it was the first big city on the way to the deserts of °ij¡z from Iraq. Al-Q¡disiyyah was the first place in Iraq to be conquered by the Muslims under the leadership of Sa’d bin Ab¢ Waqq¡¥.

[٢] According to *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n* (**٣:٤٥١**), Khaff¡n is a village near K£fah and contains a water-spring owned by the Ban£ ‘Abb¡s.

[٣] Qu§qu§¡nah is some twenty miles away from al-Rah¢mah on the way to K£fah, as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n* (**٧:١٢٥**). According to al-Ya’q£b¢ (**٢:٢٣٠**; Najaf edition): “The news of the martyrdom of Muslim reached the Imam at Qu§qu§¡nah.”

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٩٤**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Y£nus bin Ab¢ Is¦¡q al-Sab¢’¢ narrated to me saying…”

[°¡jir[1]]

Al-°usain (‘a) went on with his journey until when he reached al-°¡jir, which is situated in Ba§n al-Rumma, he sent Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢ with a letter to the people of K£fah. He wrote to them:

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From °usain bin ‘Al¢ to his brothers from among the believers and the Muslims; peace be on you. I praise Allah beside who there is no deity except Him. Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l’s letter came to me, informing me of your sound opinion and the agreement of your people to support us and to seek our right. I have asked Allah to make your actions good and reward you with the greatest reward. I have set out to you from Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dh£ al-°ijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah. When my messenger reaches you, be urgent and serious in your affairs; for I am coming to you within the [next few] days, if Allah wills. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you.”

Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢ set of for K£fah with al-°usain’s letter. When Qais reached al-Q¡disiyyah, °u¥ain bin Tam¢m arrested him and sent him to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d.

Ibn Ziy¡d said to him: “Go on top of the palace and curse the liar son of the liar!”

He went up and said: “O people! Verily, °usain bin ‘Al¢ -the best of Allah’s creatures- is the son of F¡§imah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah. I am his messenger to you. I parted

[1] According to *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n* (٤:٢٩٠) and *T¡j al-‘Ar£s* (٣:١٣٩), al-°¡jir is a valley in the highlands of Najd, whereas Ba§n al-Rummah is a point where travelers coming from the cities of K£fah and Ba¥rah meet on their way to Mad¢nah.

with him at °¡jir. Answer him." Then he cursed ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d and his father, and sought Allah’s mercy for ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib.

[Hearing this from him,] ‘Ubaidullah ordered him to be thrown down from the top of the palace. He was thrown down and his body crushed into pieces and he died. [May Allah have mercy on him].[١]

[A Watering Place of the Arabs]

Al-°usain (‘a) continued to proceed towards K£fah till he arrived at a watering place of the Arabs where ‘Abdullah bin Mu§¢’ al-‘Adaw¢[٢] happened to have camped. When he saw al-°usain (‘a) he approached him and said: "May my father and mother be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! What has brought you [here]?"

Al-°usain (‘a) answered him: "The people of Iraq have written to me calling me towards them."

‘Abdullah bin Mu§¢’ said: "O son of the Messenger of Allah, I remind you of Allah and the sanctity (¦*urmah*) of Islam lest it be violated! By Allah, I implore you not to let the sanctity of the Messenger of Allah (¥) be broken! I adjure you before Allah [to think] about the sacredness of the Arabs! For by Allah, if you seek that which is in the hands of the Ban£ Umayyah, they will surely kill you. If they kill you, they will

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٤): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Mu¦ammad bin Qais related to me [saying]…" Al-Muf¢d has reported the report in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٠) also, but he has confused the account of Ibn Qais with that of ‘Abdullah bin Buq§ur. The [above] report has also appeared in *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٥; Najaf edition].

[٢] His biography has appeared when mentioning the sources of this text.

never fear anyone after you.[١] By Allah, it is the sanctity of Islam which shall indeed be violated, and the sacredness of the Quraish and that of the Arabs. Do not do that and do not go to K£fah. Do not expose yourself to the Ban£ Umayyah."

But [al-°usain (‘a)] insisted on continuing with the journey.

[Khuzaimiyyah[٢]]

Al-°usain (‘a) proceeded till he reached a watering place somewhere above Zar£d[٣] [known as al-Khuzaimiyyah].

[Zuhair bin al-Qain Joins al-°usain (‘a)]

A man from Ban£ Faz¡rah reports that: "We were with Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajal¢ when we left Makkah. [Although] we were travelling alongside al-°usain (‘a), there was nothing

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[١] The sancitity of Islam or that of the Messenger of Allah [¥], the Arabs, or of the Quraish was not violated because of the move of the Imam [‘a], rather it was violated because of the actions of the enemies of Islam. Ibn Mu§¢’ was indeed mistaken when he said: "…If they kill you, [then] they would not fear anyone else after you…" For in contrary to what Ibn Mu§¢’ was thinking, even those among the people of Makkah, Mad¢nah and K£fah who could not dare oppose the Ban£ Umayyah before the Imam’s martyrdom, became daring after that, including Ibn Mu§¢’ himself as he ruled over K£fah for Ibn al-Zubair. Rather, if it was not for al-°usain’s movement, no one could dare stand against the Ban£ Umayyah and they would, accordingly, have done all they wanted to destroy Islam [without encountering any opposition].

[٢] Al-Khuzaimiyyah is situated before Zar£d as one comes from Makkah, and after it for one who comes from K£fah as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n*. It has also been said that al-Khuzaimiyyah is thirty-two miles from Tha’labiyyah, as it is one of the stopping points of the pilgrims coming from K£fah after Tha’labiyyah.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٤): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Mu¡ammad bin Qais related to me that…’ He is, perhaps, Ibn Qais bin Musahhar.

more hateful to us than that we should stop with him at a halting place. Such that when al-°usain (‘a) would start out, Zuhair bin al-Qain would linger behind, and whenever al-°usain (‘a) would halt, Zuhair would move ahead, until we reached a station where we could not avoid halting with him. Al-°usain (‘a) halted at one side and we halted at the other side. While we were sitting, eating our food, al-°usain’s messenger approached us, greeeted us and entered [our tent]. He said: “O Zuhair bin al-Qain! Ab£ ‘Abdillah °usain bin ‘Al¢ has sent me to summon you to him.” [Here] each one of us threw away what was in his hands in amazement; it was [as surprising] as if birds had alighted on our heads.[١]

Dalham bint ‘Amru, Zuhair’s wife, says: “I said to him: “The son of the Prophet of Allah has sent for you and you are not going to him?! Glory be to Allah! Go to him and see what he says, and then come back.”

So Zuhair bin al-Qain went to see him. It was not long before he returned joyfully while his countenance was glowing.

Then he said to his companions: “Whoever among you wishes to follow me [may do so], otherwise this is the last time [we see each other]! I will tell you a story: ‘We participated in the expedition of Balanjar[٢] and Allah granted

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٦): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Al-Sidd¢ narrated to me from a person among the Ban£ Faz¡rah saying: ‘During the time of °ajj¡j bin Y£suf we used to hide in the house of Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajal¢, as the people of Sh¡m would not enter it. So [one day] I said to this man from the Ban£ Faz¡rah: ‘Tell me about your journey with °usain bin ‘Al¢.’ He said…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢١) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.٣٢٥) of al-Khw¡razm¢.

[٢] A city around the Caspian sea at B¡b al-Abw¡b which was conquered in the year ٣٣ H, during the reign of ‘Uthm¡n bin ‘Aff¡n, at the hands of Salm¡n bin Rab¢’ah al-B¡hil¢. See *Mu’jam al-*

us victory and we won booty. Salm¡n al-B¡hil¢ said[١]: 'Are you happy with the victory which Allah has granted you and the booty you won?' We replied: 'Yes.' Then he said to us: 'If you met the young men from the family of Mu¦ammad (¥), then be happier to fight with them than you are because of the booty you have obtained today.' As for me, I leave you [all] to Allah's protection!"

Then he told his wife: "You are divorced. Go back to your family; for I do not want anything to befall you because of me except good."[٢],[٣]

Buld¡n.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٤:٣٠٥) says: Both Salm¡n al-F¡rs¢ and Ab£ Hurairah were among the conquerors of Balanjar. Ibn al-Ath¢r clearly says in *al-K¡mil* (٤:١٧) that the one who spoke to them [about the young men of the family of Mu¦ammad] was Salm¡n al-F¡rs¢, not Salm¡n al-B¡hil¢. This is keeping in mind that the aim of Ibn al-Ath¢r in writing *al-K¡mil f¢ al-T¡r¢kh* was to supplement *T¡rikh al-±abar¢*, and for this very reason he quotes most of his reports from *al-±abar¢*. Among others who have asserted that it was Salm¡n al-F¡rs¢ [and not al-B¡hil¢] are al-Muf¢d in *al-Irsh¡d*, al-Fat¡l in *Raw¤¡t al-Wa'i³¢n* (pg.١٥٣), Ibn Nam¡ in *Muth¢r al-A¦z¡n* (pg.٢٣), al-Khw¡razm¢ in *al-Maqtal* (١:٢٧٥) and al-Bakr¢ in *al-Mu'jam min-m¡ Ustu'jima* (١:٣٧٦). This assertion is also supported by *al-±abar¢*'s report that Salm¡n al-F¡rs¢ was present in the expedition. However, what has been said here does not seem to be correct; for what is apparent is that Salm¡n al-F¡rs¢ was the governer of Mad¡in after it was conquered in the year ١٧ H and did not leave the city for any other expedition until he died; and also that he passed away before this [expedition] during the time of 'Umar.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٦): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Dalham bint 'Amru, Zuhair bin al-Qain's wife, narrated to me that…"See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢١).

[٣] It will be known later from the speech of Zuhair in Karbal¡' that he was angry right from the beginning about Mu'¡wiyah's

Somewhere on the way [to K£fah], Al-°usain (‘a) dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Buq§ur al-°imyar¢[١] to Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l[٢], but he was arrested by the soldiers of °usain bin Tam¢m at al-Q¡disiyyah. He sent him to Ibn Ziy¡d who said to him: “Go to the top of the palace and curse the liar son of the liar. Then come down and I will give my judgment on you!”

So he went up. He said while he was looking down at the people: “O people! I am the messenger of al-°usain, son of F¡§imah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah (¥). [He is asking] you to help and support him against the son of Marj¡nah, son of Sumayyah, the bastard!”

‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziy¡d] ordered him to be thrown from the top of the palace. He [fell on the ground and] broke his bones but was still breathing. Then ‘Abd al-Malik bin ‘Umair al-Lakham¢[٣] came to him and slaughtered him (*dhaba¦ahu*).

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declaration of Ziy¡d as his brother and his killing of °ujr bin ‘Adiyy.

[١] His mother was a nurse-maid of al-°usain (‘a) and this is why it has been said about him that he is al-°usain’s foster brother. The word ‘Buq§ur’ has appeared with the letter ‘*b¡*’ in *al-±abar¢* and so has been recorded by al-Jazar¢ in *al-K¡mil*. But our masters (*mash¡ikh*) like al-Sam¡w¢ in *Ib¥¡r al-‘Ain* (pg.٥٢) have recorded it with the letter ‘*y¡*’ (Yuq§ur). We shall later see that the news of al-Yuq§ur’s martyrdom reached the Imam (‘a) at a point called Zab¡lah; that is before he received the news of the martyrdom of al-¯aid¡w¢. Therefore, it seems that Ibn Yuq§ur was sent [to Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l] before al-¯aid¡w¢ [was dispathecd to the people of K£fah].

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٤٨): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Ab£ ‘Al¢ al-An¥¡r¢ narrated to me from Bakr bin Mu¥’ab al-Muzniyy [saying]…” *Al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٠) has related the report also, but he confused the report of Ibn Yuq§ur with that of Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢.

[٣] Al-Lakham¢ took up the judgeship in K£fah after al-Sha’b¢, and died in ١٣٦ H at the age of hundred and three, as reported in *M¢z¡n*

[Zar£d[١]]

‘Abdullah bin Sal¢m [al-Asad¢] and Mudhr¢ bin Mushma’il [al-Asad¢] report:

“After we finished the pilgrimage, there was no concern more important to us than to join al-°usain (‘a) on the way, so that we may see how his affair develops. So we speedily set off on our camels until we joined him at Zar£d.[٢]

As we neared him, we saw a man from K£fah who changed his way when he saw al-°usain (‘a). Al-°usain (‘a) had stopped as if he wanted [to speak] to him, but then he ignored him and went on. One of us said to the other: ‘Come with us to ask this man. If he has news of K£fah, we will get to know it.’

We went to him and said: ‘Peace be upon you.’

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al-I’tid¡l (١:١٥١) and *Tahdh¢b al-Asm¡’* (pg.٣٠٩).

[١] Zar£d is located between al-Khuzaimiyyah and al-Tha’labiyyah on the way to K£fah. See *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n* (٤:٣٢٧).

[٢] This report is inconsistent with what has been narrated from them earlier about their meeting Farazdaq at ¯ifa¦, which is several stations before Zar£d; for according to this report they joined al-°usain (‘a) at Zar£d and not before that. It was, however, not possible for them to join him at ¯if¡¦ if they were to complete their ¦*ajj*, for ¯if¡¦ is situated in the beginning of the way [to K£fah] while the Imam (‘a) had left [Makkah] on the Day of Tarwiyah. Therefore, if they had joined him at ¯if¡¦, [then] they could not have completed their ¦*ajj*. [And since they left Makkah after the completion of ¦*ajj*, then this implies that they joined him at Zar£d]. What is surprising here is that the narrators of both the reports were they themselves, but neither Ab£ Jan¡b, nor Ab£ Mikhnaf, nor ±abar¢ could realize the contrariety in the reports. Unless we reconcile between the two reports by saying that they met al-°usain (‘a) at ¯if¡¦ before the ¦*ajj* and then joined him at Zar£d after the pilgrimage.

He replied: ‘Peace and mercy of Allah be on you [too].”

Then we asked him: ‘Which tribe do you come from?’

He said: ‘[I am] an Asad¢.’

We said: ‘We are from the Ban£ Asad as well. What is your name?’

He said: ‘I am Bukair bin al-Matha’bah.’ We [also] told him our lineage.

Then we asked him: ‘Tell us about the people you have left behind you.’

He answered: ‘I only left K£fah after Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l and H¡ni’ bin ‘Urwah had been killed. I saw them being dragged by their legs in the market.”

[Ibn Sal¢m and Mushma’il] continue: “We went on to al-°usain (‘a) and we were travelling close to him until he stopped.

[Tha’labiyyah[١]]

He stopped at al-Tha’labiyyah in the evening. So we approached him when he stopped and greeted him. He returned our greeting. Then we said to him: ‘May Allah have mercy on you, we have a news. If you wish, we can say it publicly, and if you wish, in privacy.’

Al-°usain (‘a) looked at his companions and said: ‘Nothing is to be concealed from these [people].’

We said to him: ‘Did you see that rider who you confronted

[١] It comes after al-Shuq£q for one traveling to Makkah from K£fah. It has been named after a man from the Ban£ Asad known as Tha’labah. See *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n*.

yesterday evening?'

He replied: 'Yes, I wanted to inquire from him.'

We said: 'We have collected for you the news that he had and spared you [the trouble of] questioning him. He was a man from the Asad, our [tribe], of sound judgement, truthful, of merit and intelligence. He told us that he had only left K£fah after Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and H¡n¢ bin 'Urwah had been killed, and he had seen them being dragged by their legs in the market!'

[Hearing this,] he said: 'Indeed, we belong to Allah and to him do we indeed return'. May Allah's mercy be on them both!' He repeated this several times.[١]

Then we said to him: 'We implore you before Allah for your own life and for your family members that you should go back [right] from this point; for you have [now] no any helper or follower in K£fah. We are afraid that the [people of the] city will be against you!'

On hearing this, the sons of 'Aq¢l bin Ab¢ ±¡lib[٢] sprung up

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[١] What is apparent from this narration is that the news of Muslim's martyrdom had already spread by the time [the Imam ('a)] reached this point. But as we shall see later, the Imam ('a) informed his companions about this through a letter he read out to the people at Zub¡lah. Accordingly, it is highly probable that by his statement [at Tha'labiyyah]: "…Nothing is to be concealed from these people", the Imam ('a) meant to say that "Apart from these people who are present, the news must be kept secret". Hence, it was not disclosed till at Zub¡lah. But according to al-Ya'q£b¢ (**٢:٢٣٠**; Najaf edition), the news of Muslim's martyrdom reached the Imam ['a] at Qu§qu§¡nah.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٩٧**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Ab£ Jan¡b al-Kalb¢ related to me on the authority of 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad¢, from 'Abdullah that…" *Al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٢; Najaf edition) says:

and said: ‘Nay, by Allah! We shall not leave until we have taken our vengeance, or have tasted what our brothers have tasted!’[١]

They continue with their report and say: “Al-°usain (‘a) then looked at us and said; ‘There is no good in life after these [men].’

So we knew that he is determined to continue with his journey. We said [to him]: ‘May Allah choose the best for you.’

He replied: ‘May Allah have mercy on you both.’

Then he waited till dawn when he told his young men and servants: ‘Take plenty of water.’ So they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then they set out and went on until they reached Zub¡lah.

[Zub¡lah[٢,٣]]

There he received the news of the martyrdom of his foster brother, ‘Abdullah bin Yuq§ur. So he read out a written

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“‘Abdullah bin Sulaim¡n reported that…”

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٧): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘‘Umar bin Kh¡lid narrated to me on the authority of Zayd bin ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain, from D¡w£d bin ‘Al¢ bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abb¡s who said that the sons of ‘Aq¢l reported that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٢), *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٧٠) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٥; Najaf edition).

[٢] According to *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n*, Zub¡lah comes before al-Shuq£q for one traveling to Makkah from K£fah. It contains fortresses and a large mosque belonging to the Ban£ Asad. Zub¡lah is, in fact, the name of a lady from the ‘Am¡liqah.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٨): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘I narrate on the authority of Ab£ Jan¡b al-Kalb¢ from ‘Adiyy bin °armalah who related from ‘Abdullah bin Sal¢m that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٢; Najaf edition).

statement to the people and announced:

‘In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Shocking news has reached us! The martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqil, H¡n¢ bin ‘Urwah and ‘Abdullah bin Yuq§ur. Our followers[١] have indeed deserted us. So any of you who like to leave, may leave; we have freed him of all obligations.’

The people began to disperse from him to right and left until there remained with him only those of his companions who had come with him from Mad¢nah.

He did that because the Bedouins who had followed him were thinking that he was going to a city where he was being steadfastly obeyed. And he disliked them to accompany him without being [fully] aware of what they were getting into. He well knew that if they were informed [of the reality], none would accompany him except he who is determined to help him and die beside him![٢]

At dawn he ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then he set out until he passed by Ba§n al-‘Aqabah.

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[١] This is a clear assertion from the Imam [‘a] that his followers in K£fah have betrayed him. This is the first announcement of the news about K£fah and the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l (‘a), though he had already received the news before this at Zar£d, but it apparently remained disclosed -by the order of the Imam [‘a]- for other than those who were present around him at the time, until he announced it to them at this point.

[٢] This is the most complete answer as to why the Imam (‘a) allowed them to leave him, and it suffices from all other answers.

[Ba§n al-‘Aqabah[١]]

He stopped at this point[٢] [and a man from the Ban£ ‘Ikrimah told him saying:] ‘I beseech you in the name Allah that you should return; for -by Allah- you are only advancing toward the points of spears and the edges of swords. If those who sent for you had spared you [the trouble of] fighting and had prepared the ground for you, and then you had gone to them, [then] that would be reasonable. But in this situation that you are describing, I do not think that you ought to do so.’

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said to him: ‘O servant of Allah! This [i.e. wise decision] is not hidden from me. Your opinion is the [right] opinion. But Allah is never defeated in His affair.’[٣] Thereafter, he set out from there.[٤]

[Shar¡f°]

Al-°usain (‘a) went on till he stopped at Shar¡f. At dawn he

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[١] It is a station after W¡qi¥ah and before al-Q¡’ on the way to Makkah.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٩٨**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Ab£ ‘Al¢ al-An¥¡r¢ narrated to me from Bakr bin Mu¥’ab al-Muzniyy that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٢٢**; Najaf edition).

[٣] According to *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٢٣**), the Imam (‘a) then continued: “By Allah, they will not leave me until they take this beating [heart] out of my body. If they do so, then Allah will establish over them who will humiliate them until they become the most disgraced people of all nations.” The same has been reported in *A’l¡m al-War¡* (pg.**٢٣٢**) also.

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٩٩**): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Laudh¡n -one of the Ban£ ‘Ikrimah- related to me that one of his uncles narrated to him that…’”

[٥] Shar¡f is two miles from W¡qi¥ah and is situated before [one reaches] Iraq. Sa’d bin Ab¢ Waqq¡¥ had stopped here before he reached al-Q¡disiyyah. Shar¡f is named after a person who was

ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they took enough water with them and then left the place. They sped in their journey in the early hours of the day until it was midday. [Suddenly,] a man [from his followers] exclaimed: 'Allah is the greatest!'

Al-°usain ('a) said: '[Indeed,] Allah is greatest! [But] why did you say the *takb¢r*?'

He replied: 'I saw palm trees.'

['Abdullah bin Sal¢m and Mudhr¢ bin Mushma'il] the two men from the Ban£ Asad said to him: 'This is a place in which we never see a palm-tree.'

Al-°usain ('a) said: 'In your opinion what did he see [then]?'

They replied: 'We think he has seen the heads of horses.'

The [man] responded: 'By Allah, I think so too.'

[Dh£ °usam[١]]

Here al-°usain ('a) said: 'Is not there any shelter we can seek refuge to and put it at our rear, so that we can face the people

known by this name and had discovered a spring in the area. Later several huge wells producing sweet drinking water were dug in the area. See *Mu'jam al-Buld¡n*.

[١] According to *Mu'jam al-Buld¡n*, it is the name of a hill where Nu'm¡n used to go for hunting. It is ٣٣ miles from 'Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t on the way to K£fah as reported by *al-±abar¢*. Ibn al-Jawz¢ relates in *al-Maqtal* (pg.٢٤٥; Najaf edition) from [some] scholars of history that the Imam ('a) did not know about what had befell Muslim bin 'Aq¢l until when he was three miles from al-Q¡disiyyah, where he met °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Riy¡¦¢ who informed him of the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and H¡ni' bin 'Urwah and also about Ibn Ziy¡d's arrival in K£fah and his preparation against him, and [then] asked him to return.

in one direction [i.e. so that we are not surrounded]?"

We said to him: 'Yes, there is [the hill of] Dh£ °usam on your side. Turn left to go towards it. If you reach it before them, it will be [in] just [the position] you want."

So he veered left towards it and we went in that direction with him. We tried to get there before them and we managed to do so. When they saw that we had moved off the road, they [also] moved off towards us. Al-°usain ('a) halted there and ordered for his tents and they were erected.

It was not long before the heads of their horses appeared to us. Their flags looked like the wings of birds. They were one thousand men led by °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Tam¢m¢ al-Yarb£'¢. He and his cavalry stood facing al-°usain ('a) under the midday heat, while al-°usain ('a) and his companions were in turbans and with their swords.

Al-°usain ('a) ordered his young men: 'Provide water to these men and quench their thirst and give some (*tarsh¢f*) to the horses [also].'

So the young men served them water till they quenched their thirst. [Then] they began filling their jugs, vessels and bowls and take them near [their] horses. When a horse had drunk three or four or five draughts[١], it was taken away from it and

[١] Drinking a few draughts of water is what exactly *tarsh¢f* means.

provided to another one until they had all been watered."[١],[٢],[٣]

The time for the *¨uhr* prayer set in and al-°usain (‘a) ordered °ajj¡j bin Masr£q al-Ju’f¢ to make the call to prayer and he did so. When it was time for the *iq¡mah*, al-°usain (‘a) came out [before the people] dressed in a waist-cloth (*iz¡r*), a cloak (*rid¡’*) and slippers. He praised and glorified Allah, then he said:

“O people! This is [my] excuse before Allah and you: I did not come to you until your letters came to me and your messengers [saying]: ‘Come to us, for we have no leader

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٠) says: “I have been informed on the authority of Hish¡m who related from Ab£ Mikhnaf who said: ‘Ab£ Jan¡b narrated to me on the authority of ‘Adiyy bin °armalah from ‘Abdullah bin Sal¢m and al-Mudhr¢ that…’” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٣) and *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٣) of Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠١) says: “Hish¡m said: ‘Laq¢t narrated to me from ‘Al¢ bin al-±a’¡n al-Mu¦¡rib¢ that: ‘I was together with °urr bin Yaz¢d [al-Riy¡¦¢] and I was among the last of his companions [in the army] to arrive at Dh£ °usam. When al-°usain (‘a) saw how thirsty my horse and I were, he said: ‘Make the horse (*r¡wiyah*) kneel.’ I thought that by *r¡wiyah* he meant ‘the waterskin’. [But when he saw that I misunderstood him] he said: ‘O cousin! Make your camel kneel.’ So I made him kneel. Then he said: ‘Drink!’ So I started drinking but whenever I tried to do so the water used to spill on the ground from the waterskin. So al-°usain [‘a] told me: ‘Fold (*ikhnith*) the waterskin’, but al-Mu¦¡rib¢ says I did not know how to do that! So al-°usain [‘a] stood up and folded it for me; so I drank myself and watered my horse also.” See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٤) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khw¡razm¢ (pg.٢٣٠).

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠١): “From here Ab£ Mikhnaf’s chain of reports misses a link. So we had no choice to make up for what was missing except by bringing in the account of Hish¡m al-Kalb¢ from Laq¢t, who narrated from ‘Al¢ bin Ta’¡n al-Mu¦¡rib¢. See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٤) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٣١).

(*im¡m*); perhaps Allah shall unite us under guidance through you.' [Now] if you are still on the [same stance], then I have come to you. If you give me promises and pledges that assure me [of your support], I will come to your city. But if you will not and are averse to my coming, I will leave you [and go back] to the place from which I came to you."

They were silent before him. They said to the caller to prayer (*mu'adhhin*): "Make the *iq¡mah*", and he did so.

Al-°usain (‘a) said to °urr: "Do you want to lead your followers in prayer?"

He replied: "No, you pray and we will pray [following the lead of] your prayer."

Al-°usain (‘a) thus led them in prayers. Then he entered [his tent] and his followers gathered around him.

°urr also went back to his place and entered the tent which had been erected for him. Some of his followers gathered around him while the rest returned to their ranks which they had been in and which now they went back to. Each one of them held the reins of his mount and sat in the shade [of its body].

At the time of *‘a¥r,* al-°usain (‘a) ordered [his companions] to prepare for departure. He then came out and ordered his *muadhhin* [to make the call for prayers], and he made the call for the *‘a¥r* prayers and the *iq¡mah*. Al-°usain (‘a) came forward and led the people in prayer. After saying the final greeting [of the prayer], he turned his face towards the people. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

"O people! Verily, if you fear Allah and recognize the rights of those who have rights then that is more pleasing for Allah. We, the People of the House (*ahl al-bait*), are more entitled

to the authority (*wil¡yah*) of this affair [i.e. the caliphate] over you than those who claim what does not belong to them and who rule amidst you with injustice and oppression! But if you dislike us and do not know our right, and your view is now other than what came in your letters and was brought by your messengers, then I will go away from you!"

So °urr bin Yaz¢d said to him: "By Allah! We do not know of these letters that you are talking about!"

Al-°usain (‘a) said: "O ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n! Bring out the two saddle-bags which contain their letters to me."[١] So he brought out two saddle-bags full of letters and spread it before them.

So °urr said: "[But] we are not among those who wrote [them] to you. We have only been ordered that when we meet you we should not leave you until we have brought you to ‘Ubaidullah Ibn Ziy¡d!"

Al-°usain (‘a) said: "Death is closer to you than doing such a thing!" Then he said to his companions: "Rise and get on your mounts!" So they all mounted and waited until their women had been mounted.

When they set out to leave, the people [with °urr] prevented

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[١] *Khirjain* is the dual form of *khirj*. According to *Majma’ al-Ba¦rain*, it is a sack with two straps. Later, we shall see the report by Ibn al-Jawz¢ in *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٥١) that when the Imam [‘a] addressed his opponents on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’ and appealed to them that they were the ones to write to him, they responded saying: "We do not know what you are saying." So °urr said: "Indeed -by Allah- we had written to you and we are the ones who invited you to come [to our city]. May Allah eliminate falsefood and its followers! By Allah, I shall not prefer this world over the hereafter." He then stroke his horse and joined the camp of al-°usain (‘a).

them from going. So al-°usain (‘a) said to °urr: “May your mother mourn for your death! What do you want?!”

He replied: “By Allah! If any of the Arabs other than you were to say that to me even though he were in the same situation as you, I would not leave him without mentioning his mother being deprived of him, whoever he might be. But -by Allah- there is no way for me to mention your mother except by [saying] the best things possible!”[١]

Al-°usain (‘a) said to him: “What is it that you want?”

°urr replied: “By Allah, I want to go with you to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d!”

Al-°usain (‘a) said: “Then by Allah I will not follow you!”

°urr said: “Then by Allah I will not leave you!”

When the conversation between them became lengthy, °urr said to him: “I have not been ordered to fight you. I have only been instructed not to leave you until I take you to K£fah. If you refuse [to do that], then take any road which will not bring you into K£fah, nor take you back to Mad¢nah, let that be a compromise between us until I write to Ibn Ziy¡d [and await further instructions]. And if you wish, you can write to Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah, or if you want to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. Perhaps Allah will cause something to happen by then which will relieve me from having to do anything against you. So take this [road] here and bear to the left of the road to al-‘Udhaib and al-Q¡disiyyah.”

[All this happened while they were still at Dh£ °usam] which is situated at ٣٨ miles from ‘Udhaib. Al-°usain (‘a) moved

[١] See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٤; Najaf edition) of Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢, who narrated it from Ab£ Mikhnaf.

with his companions while °urr [and his army] set out travelling close by him.[١]]

[Bai¤ah[٢]]

At al-Bai¤ah, al-°usain (‘a) addressed his companions and those of °urr. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

“O people! The Messenger of Allah (¥) has said: ‘Whoever sees a tyrannical ruler making lawful what Allah has forbidden, breaking the covenant of Allah, opposing the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allah and behaving sinfully and unjustly with the servants of Allah, but does not [rise to] change the situation neither by his action nor his word, then it is binding on Allah to make him enter where the tyrant shall enter.”

Indeed these people have clung to the obedience of *shai§¡n* and have forsaken obeying the All-Merciful. They openly indulge in corruption and have stopped the enforcement of ¦*ud£d*.[٣] They have appropriated for themselves the spoils of war, they have made lawful what Allah has forbidden and have prohibited that which Allah has made lawful. And I am more entitled to bring changes than anyone else.

Your letters reached me and your messengers had come to me with your allegiance that you will not surrender me [to the enemy] nor desert me. [Now] if you are still on your pledge, [then] you have shown sound judgement; for I am

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[١] Here comes to an end what *al-±abar¢* reported from Hish¡m to fill up the missing link in Ab£ Mikhnaf’s report. See also: *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٥) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٣٢).

[٢] According to *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n*, this point is situated between W¡qi¥ah and ‘Udhaib al-Haj¡n¡t.

[٣] The legal punishment prescribed by the Shar¢’ah. [Editor]

°usain, son of ‘Al¢, and son of F¡§imah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (¥). I am with you [i.e. living amidst you] and my family members with your families; you have an example (*uswah*) in me.

[But] if you do not [do so] and break your pledge and free yourselves from [the] allegiance [you paid me], then I swear by my life that this is not unexpected of you. You did the same to my father, my brother and my cousin, Muslim [bin ‘Aq¢l]! A deceived is he who has been deceived by you. You have lost your felicity and wasted your share [in the hereafter]. ‘So whoever breaks his oath, breaks it only to his own detriment.’[١] And Allah will avail [me] against you. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you.”[٢]

°urr said to him as he moved along with him: “O °usain! I implore you for the sake of Allah to save your life. I bear witness that if you fight [these people], you will definitely be killed. And if they fight you, then I think you will surely be destroyed!”

Al-°usain (‘a) said to him: “Do you seek to frighten me with death? Are you going to kill me just because the war has been waged [against me]?! I do not know what to tell you? I can only tell you what the man from the [Ban£] Aws said to his fellow tribesman when he met him as he was intending to support the Prophet of Allah (¥). [His tribesman] told him: ‘Where are you going? You are indeed going to be killed.’ He said [in reply]:

I will advance, for death is not a shame upon a young man,

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[١] Qur’an, ٤٨:١٠.
[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٣): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘[I narrate] from ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ al-‘Ayz¡r…”

When he intends the truth and fights as a Muslim.

And when he consoles the righteous by [sacrificing] his self,

And parts with the sinful who is a deceiver and whose nose shall be rubbed onto the ground."[١]

When °urr heard this [he understood that he is ready to die but not to accept humiliation], so he drew away from him. He and his followers travelled on one side [of the road] while al-°usain (‘a) travelled on the other side, until they reached ‘Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t.

[‘Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t[٢]]

[When the caravan of al-°usain (‘a) reached this point] there appeared, all of a sudden, four people who came from K£fah on their mounts and had the horse of N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l with them, accompanied by their guide, ±irimm¡¦ bin ‘Adiyy, who was riding on a horse. When they reached al-°usain (‘a), they recited him the following verses:

O my camel, do not get terrified by my swift drive,

And get ready [to take me quickly] before the break of dawn.

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[١] Both Ibn al-Ath¢r in *al-K¡mil* and al-Muf¢d in *al-Irsh¡d* have narrated these verses but with the following addition: "If I live, I will do so without regret and if I die, I shall not be blamed, suffices you as humiliation that you live while your nose is rubbed onto the ground."

[٢] Gramatically *‘udhaib* is a diminutive noun of *‘adh¢b*. ‘Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t was a valley owned by the Ban£ Tam¢m situated on the border of Iraq (*al-saw¡d*). A military base of the Persians was [also] situated in the area. It is six miles from al-Q¡disiyyah. The horses of Nu’m¡n, king of °¢rah, used to graze there, thus the area came to be known as ‘Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t as *al-hij¡n¡t* is the plural of *al-haj¢n* meaning an animal with mixed blood (i.e. a hybrid).

With the best of riders and in the best of journeys,

Till you get adorned by [being in the presence of] the noble in lineage [i.e. al-°usain (‘a)].

A praiseworthy, free and generous man,

Whom Allah has sent to carry out the best mission.

May He preserve him forever!

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: “Indeed by Allah; I hope that Allah has decreed for us the best, whether we are killed or become victorious!”

°urr bin Yaz¢d came forward and said: “These people who have come from K£fah are not among those who came with you [from Mad¢nah]. I will arrest them or send them back.”

Al-°usain (‘a) said to him: “I will indeed defend them against that which I defend myself. These people are my helpers and supporters. You had given me [promise] not to confront me in any matter until after you receive letter from Ibn Ziy¡d.”

°urr said: “Yes, but they did not come with you.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] retorted: “They are my companions. They enjoy the same position as those who have come with me. If you stand by the word agreed upon between you and me, [then well and good]. otherwise I will fight you!”

Thus, °urr desisted [from arresting them].

Then al-°usain (‘a) asked them: “Tell me the news of the people you have left behind.”

Mujamma’ bin ‘Abdullah al-‘ª’idh¢ -one of the four men who had just come to him[١]- said: “As for the noblemen, they have

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٦): “They were probably J¡bir bin al-°¡rith al-

been heavily bribed and their pockets filled. Their hearts have been won and their loyalty secured for them. So they are [now] all united against you! With regard to the rest of the people, their hearts are inclined towards you, but tomorrow their swords shall be drawn against you!"

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: "Tell me, did my messenger come to you?"

They asked: "Who was he?"

He replied: "Qais bin Musahhar al-¯aid¡w¢."

They said: "Yes. °u¥ain bin Tam¢m had arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziy¡d. [Ibn Ziy¡d] instructed him to curse you and your father, but he instead invoked [Allah's] blessings on you and your father, and cursed Ibn Ziy¡d and his father. He invited [people] to support you and informed them of your coming. So Ibn Ziy¡d ordered him to be thrown [to the ground] from the top of the palace."

The eyes of al-°usain (‘a) filled with tears and he could not restrain his tears. Then he said: ‘Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait.'[١] O Allah grant them and us the heaven as an abode, and gather us all under your mercy and your desired reward which is reserved [for the believers]."[٢]

Then ±irimm¡¦ bin ‘Adiyy drew closer to al-°usain (‘a) and

Salm¡n¢, ‘Umar bin Kh¡lid al-¯aid¡w¢ and Sa'd, the servant of al-¯aid¡w¢, about whom Ab£ Mikhnaf says that they fought together in the beginning of the battle and were killed at one place."

[١] Qur'an, **٣٣:٢٣**.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٠٣**): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: '… and ‘Uqbah bin Ab¢ ‘Ayz¡r has reported that…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٢٥**; Najaf edition).

said to him: "By Allah, I see that there is no one to support you. If only these people whom I see following you [i.e. °urr and his army] were to fight you, they will be enough [to defeat you]. A day before I left K£fah, I saw at the back side of the K£fah and I found there [a crowd of] people such that my eyes had never seen a gathering bigger than that at one place. So I inquired about them and was told: 'They have gathered [here] to be inspected and then they are going to be sent against al-°usain ('a).' I implore you not to move towards them even a span if you can! And if you wish to stay in a town through which Allah would protect you until you have considered [the matter] and it has become clear for you what [exactly] you are going to do, then come with me and I will take you to an impenetrable hill which belongs to us and is called *Aja'*.[١] Then I will accompany you until [we] halt at *al-qurayyah*."[٢]

[Al-°usain ('a)] replied him: "May Allah reward you and your kinsmen with the best of rewards. There has been an agreement between us and these people, so we cannot leave. And we do not know how will this matter come to an end between us and them!"

±irimm¡¦ bin 'Adiyy [continues with his report and] says: "So I bade him farewell and said: may Allah avert from you the mischief of the jinn and the mankind."[٣]

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[١] *Aja'* is a noun and its grammatical form is *fa-'a-l*. It is the name of a person after who the hill of ±ay' has been named. It is situated in the west of this area and on the left of the hill of Sumair¡'.

[٢] *Qurayyah* is the diminutive noun of *qaryah*. It is one of the areas in ±ay'.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٦): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports: 'Jam¢l bin Mur¢d related to me from ±irimm¡¦ that…" The complete report is as follows: [±irimm¡¦ said to al-°usain ('a):] "I have prepared some

Al-°usain (‘a) set out until he reached Qa¥r Ban¢ Muq¡til.

[Qa¥r Ban¢ Muq¡til[١]]

He halted [at this point] and there a tent had [already] been erected.[٢] He said: “Whose tent is this?” ‘It belongs to ‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr al-Ju’f¢’[٣], he was answered.

He said: “Ask him to come to me” and send [a messenger] to him. When the messenger came to him he said: “°usain bin ‘Ali is calling you.”

‘Ubaidullah replied: “Indeed, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return! By Allah, I only left K£fah out of dislike that al-Husain would enter it while I am there. By Allah, I do not want to see him nor him to see me.”

The messenger returned to him and informed him. So he put on his slippers, stood up and went to see him. He entered [his tent], greeted him and sat down. Then he asked him to accompany him, but Ibn al-°urr repeated the [same] words

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provision for my family from K£fah and I am carrying their expenditure with me. So I am going to leave the things with them and then I will proceed towards you, if Allah wills. If I happened to join you, then I shall be –by Allah- among your helpers.” Al-°usain [‘a] said: “If you are determined to do so then hasten! May Allah shower his mercy on you.” [±irimm¡¦] says: “When I reached my family I gave them what was of help to them and made my will and informed them of my intentions. Then I set out [to join al-°usain], but when I neared ‘Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t’, Sam¡’ah bin Badr approached me and gave me the news of his martyrdom, and so I returned.”

[١] According to *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n*, this point is situated between Qurayy¡t, Qu§qu§¡nah and ‘Ain al-Tamr.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٧): “Ab£ Mikhnaf reports…”

[٣] His biography will follow towards the end of this book.

[he had said to the messenger]!

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said to him: “If you are not going to help us, then fear Allah in that you should be of those who fight us. For by Allah, one who hears our cry but does not come to our help will [indeed] be destroyed!” Then he rose from him.[١]

‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n says: “At the final hours of the night al-°usain [‘a] ordered [us] to get provisions of water. Then he ordered us to [continue] the journey and we did so. An hour after we left Qa¥r Ban¢ Muq¡til al-°usain [‘a] dropped his head drowsily and then woke up saying: “Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return. All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds.” He repeated this twice or three times.

His son, ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain [‘a] approached him [while he was] on his horse and said: “Indeed, we belong to Allah and to Him shall we return, and all praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. O my father! May I be sacrificed for you. Why have you praised Allah and [pronounced] the verse of returning (*istirj¡’*)?”

He replied: “O my son! I nodded off and a horseman appeared to me, riding a horse, and he said: “The people are advancing and death is advancing towards them!” So I understood that it is our own souls announcing our deaths to us.”

He said to him: “O father! May Allah never let you see evil! Are not we on the right?”

He replied: “Indeed [we are], by Him to Whom all his

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٧): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Muj¡lid bin Sa’¢d narrated to me from ‘ªmir al-Sha’b¢ that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٦).

servants will return."

He then said: "O father! Then we need have no concern. We will die righteously."

He said to him: "May Allah reward you with the best of what he has rewarded a son on account of his father."

He stopped in the morning and offered the Morning Prayer. Then he hurried to remount and began veering to the left with his companions, with the intention of separating from [the army of °urr]. So °urr bin Yaz¢d came to him, driving them back. When he [tried] to forcefully turn them towards K£fah, they resisted him, so they desisted from doing that, but still accompanied them until they reached Nainaw¡.

[Nainaw¡[١]]

This is a place where al-°usain [‘a] halted. There appeared, suddenly, a rider who was on a horse of a noble breed, carrying weapon with a bow on his shoulder, coming from K£fah. They all stopped, waiting for him. When he reached them, he greeted °urr bin Yaz¢d and his followers but did not greet al-°usain [‘a] and his companions. He handed a letter from ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d to °urr. It read:

"When this letter reaches you and my messenger comes to you, make al-°usain come to a halt. But only let him stop in an open place, with no shelter and water. I have ordered my messenger to stay with you and not to leave you until he brings me [news of] your carrying out my instructions. That is all."

[١] Nainaw¡ was a village on the bank of the Euphrates which was inhabited until the end of the ٢nd century H.

When he had read the letter, °urr told them: “This is the letter of the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. He has ordered me to stop you at a point I received his letter. This is his messenger and he has ordered him not to leave me until I carry out his order.”

[Ab£] al-Sha’th¡’ Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d al-Muh¡¥ar al-Kind¢ al-Bahdal¢[١] looked at the messenger of ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziy¡d], stood infront of him and said: “Are you M¡lik bin al-Nusair al-Badd¢[٢] [from the tribe of Kindah]?”

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[١] He was an archer in al-°usain's army and was among the first ones to be martyred. He shot [about] a hundred arrows and then stood up and said: “Only five arrows of these [hundred] fell on the ground and so I have come to know that I have certainly killed five men.” Ab£ Mikhnaf has narrated from Fu¤ail bin Khudaij al-Kind¢ that: “Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d was with ‘Umar bin Sa’d in the beginning. But when [‘Umar bin Sa’d and his army] refused to make peace as proposed by al-°usain (‘a), Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d got inclined towards him and fought on his side until he was martyred.” However, this account is not in consistence with the report mentioned in this text.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: M¡lik bin al-Nusair from the Ban£ Badd¡’. ±abar¢ narrates on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf that he was present in Karbal¡’ and had struck the head of Imam al-°usain (‘a) with his sword, cutting his hood and thus causing bleeding. The Imam (‘a) said to him: “May you never eat or drink with your hand, and may Allah resurrect you with the oppressors.” After the Imam’s martyrdom M¡lik had snatched his cap from him and as a result he lived a life of poverty till his death. (٥:٤٤٨)

It has been narrated also that ‘Abdullah bin Dabb¡s had pointed out for Mukht¡r a number of men who had killed al-°usain (‘a) and among them was M¡lik bin al-Nusair al-Badd¢. So Mukht¡r sent to them M¡lik bin ‘Amru al-Nahd¢ who met them at al-Q¡disiyyah. M¡lik arrested and took them to Mukht¡r one evening. Mukht¡r said to al-Badd¢: ‘Are you the one who took his cap?’ ‘Abdullah bin K¡mil said: ‘Yes! He is the one.’ Mukht¡r then said: ‘Cut off his hands and legs and then leave him to writhe till he dies.’ So was done to him and he bled to death. He died in the year ٦٦ H.” (٦:٥٧)

He answered: “Yes.”

So Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d said to him: “May your mother mourn you! What an affair you have come to?!”

He replied: “I have not done so! I have [only] obeyed my leader (*im¡m¢*) and remained faithful to my pledge of allegiance.”

Ab£ al-Sha’th¡’ said: “You have been disobedient to your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘We made them leaders who invite to the fire, and on the Day of Resurrection they will not receive any help.’[١] Such [a person] is your leader!”

°urr bin Yaz¢d [al-Riy¡¦¢] began to make the people halt at that place which was without water and where there was no village.[٢]

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[١] Qur’an, ٢٨:٤١.

[٢] This indicates that Karbal¡’ was not the name of a village, rather a name of an area known as K£r B¡bil, i.e. the villages of B¡bil, as reported in *Kit¡b al-Dal¡il wa al-Mas¡il* of Sayyid Hibah al-D¢n al-Shahrist¡n¢. Ibn al-Jawz¢ reports in his *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٥٠; Najaf edition): “… Al-°usain [‘a] then said: ‘What is this land called?’ They replied: ‘Karbal¡’. It is also called Nainaw¡ which is a village in it.’ [Hearing this,] al-°usain wept and said: ‘Karb wa Bal¡’ [i.e. grief and tribulation].’ He then said: ‘Umm Salamah informed me that: ‘[One day] Jibr¡¢l was with the Messenger of Allah [‘¥] and you [i.e. al-°usain] were with me. You happened to cry, so the Messenger of Allah [‘¥] said: ‘Leave my son alone’, so I left you alone. He then lifted you and placed you on his lap. So Jibr¡¢l said: ‘Do you love him?’ He replied: ‘Yes.’ Jibr¡¢l then said: ‘Your nation will [one day] kill him. And if you wish I can show you the earth of the place where he shall be killed.’ So he said: ‘Yes! [Show it to me].’ So Jibr¡¢l spread his wing on the land of Karbal¡’ and showed it to him.’ [After relating this] al-

So they said: “Allow us to stop at this village –meaning Nainaw¡, or that one –meaning al-Gha¤iriyyah[١], or that one –meaning Shafiyyah[٢].”

He replied: “No! By Allah I cannot do that. This man has been sent to me as a spy.”

°usain [(‘a) took in his hands the sand of this place and] smelled it and said: ‘By Allah! This is the land about which Jibr¡’¢l informed the Messenger of Allah, [the land] I shall indeed be killed in.” Ibn al-Jawz¢ continues and says: “Ibn Sa’d has mentioned something similar in meaning to this report in his *al-±abaq¡t* from al-W¡qid¢.” Ibn al-Jawz¢ then says: “Ibn Sa’d has also reported [the following incident] from al-Sha’b¢ who said: ‘When ‘Al¢ (‘a) passed by Karbal¡’ on his way to ¯iff¢n and stood opposite Nainaw¡ –a village on the Euphrates, he stopped and called upon the one who carried water for ablution and said: ‘O Ab¡ ‘Abdillah, tell me what is this land called?’ ‘Karbal¡’, he replied. So he wept till the place [where he was standing] became wet with his tears. He then said: ‘[One day] I went to see the Prophet of Allah (¥) and saw him weeping. So I asked him: ‘What has made you to weep?’ He said: ‘Jibr¡¢l was with me a moment ago and he informed me that my son, al-°usain, shall be killed by the bank of the Euphrates, at a place called Karbal¡’.’ Jibr¡¢l then took a handful of sand [of that land] and made me smell it, so I could not hold my tears.”
Ibn al-Jawz¢ says: “°asan bin Kath¢r and ‘Abd Khair have said: ‘When ‘Al¢ (‘a) reached Karbal¡’, he stopped [there] and wept and then said: ‘May my father be sacrificed for the young men who shall be killed here. This [land] shall be the resting place of their mounts. This is [the land] where they shall camp. This [land] shall be the battleground of the [young] men.’ [Saying this] he wept [even] more.” Ibn Muz¡¦im has narrated this report through four [different] chains of narration in *Waq’at ¯iff¢n* (pg.١٤٠-١٤٢; H¡r£n publications).

[١] Al-Gh¡¤iriyyah is named after Gh¡¤irah which belong to the Ban£ Asad and which are in fact lands around the grave of ‘Aun which are now a *farsakh* from Karbal¡’. There stand the ruins of a fortress which is today known as the fortress of the Ban£ Asad.

[٢] These were wells owned by the Ban£ Asad situated near Karbal¡’.

Zuhair bin al-Qain said to [al-°usain (‘a)]: “O son of the Messenger of Allah! Fighting these people [now] is easier than fighting those who will come against us after them. By my life, after these there will come against us such [a number] that we will not have the power to face them.”

Al-°usain [‘a] said to him: “I will not begin to fight against them.”

Zuhair bin al-Qain said to him: “Let us go to this village and halt there, for it is secured and is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. If they stopped us, we will fight them, as it is easier for us to fight these [men] than to fight those who will come after them.”

So al-°usain [‘a] said: “Which village is it?”

He replied: “Al-‘Aqr.”[١]

Al-°usain [‘a] said: “O Allah! I seek refuge with you from *‘aqr* (destruction).” Then he stopped. This was on Thursday, second of Mu¦arram ٦١ H.

On the next day, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d bin Abȼ Waqq¡¥[٢] arrived from K£fah with four thousand soldiers

[١] This was a place where the way station of Nub£khadh Na¥r from K£r B¡bil was located. K£r B¡bil was later misspelt and came to be pronounced as Karbal¡’.
[٢] We have given his biography earlier.

THE EVENTS FROM THE ٣RD TO THE ٨TH OF MU°ARRAM

[The Coming Out of Ibn Sa‘d Against al-°usain (‘a)]

The reason why Ibn Sa‘d came against al-°usain (‘a) was that ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d had dispatched him with four thousand men from K£fah to Dastbay.[١] This was at a time when the people of Dailam had attacked Dastbay and seized control of it. So Ibn Ziy¡d wrote [a letter of] appointment to him, appointing him over Rayy, and ordered him to set out [to that place].

Ibn Sa‘d left K£fah and assembled his army [outside the city] at [a point called] °amm¡m A’yan.[٢] [But] when the issue of al-°usain (‘a) came up and he set out for K£fah, Ibn Ziy¡d summoned ‘Umar bin Sa‘d and said: “Go to al-°usain. You can continue with your mission after we have settled the matter between us and him.”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: “If you deem it right to exempt me from this task, then do so. May Allah have mercy on you.”

‘Ubaidullah said to him: “Yes! With the condition that you return to us the [letter of your] appointment.”

When he told him that, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: “Give me a day

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[١] Known in Persian as Dashtbeh, it is a sizeable district situated between Hamad¡n and Rayy. It was later annexed to Qazw¢n as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buld¡n* (٤:٥٨). *Dastbay* is an Arabicised form of the Persian word *Dashtbeh* which means a beautiful oasis.

[٢] According to *al-Qamq¡m* (pg.٤٨٦), it was one of the districts of K£fah which contained a public bath owned by ‘Umar bin Sa’d, runned by his servant A’yan after whom the area was named.

so that I may consider [the matter]."

'Umar bin Sa'd left [the court] and began taking counsel from his advisers. There was none he took advice from except that he stopped him [from accepting the mission].

°amzah bin Mugh¢rah bin Shu'bah[١], [Ibn Sa'd's] nephew from his sister's side, came to him and said: "I implore you by Allah -O my uncle- not to advance against al-°usain lest you disobey your Lord and sever relations with your near ones! By Allah! If you were to leave the [riches of the] world and the kingdom of the earth -if you had ever possessed them, [then] that would be better for you than meeting Allah with the blood of al-°usain [on your hands]!"

'Umar bin Sa'd said to him: "I will do so, if Allah wills."[٢]

[*According to what has been recorded in al-±abar¢, there is some discontinuity here in the report of Ab£ Mikhnaf as he leaves off here and picks up again at Ibn Sa'd's arrival in Karbal¡'. Accordingly ±abar¢ fills up this gap by bringing in*

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: °ajj¡j bin Y£suf al-Thaqaf¢ had appointed him over Hamad¡n in ٧٧ H (٥:٢٨٤), while his brother, Mu§arraf bin Mugh¢rah, was the governer of Mad¡in. Mu§arraf later revolted against °ajj¡j and was secretly supported by °amzah with funds and weapons (٥:٢٩٢). °ajj¡j then sent a letter to Qais bin Sa'd al-'Ajal¢ -who was then °amzah's head of bodyguards- appointing him as the next governor of Hamad¡n and [also] instructed him to fetter °amzah bin Mugh¢rah with chains and imprison him and he did so (٥:٢٩٤).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٧): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ''Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'¡n that…" Ab£ Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ has mentioned this report with the same chain of narration in his *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٤) with the difference that instead of 'Uqbah he records 'Utbah bin Sim'¡n al-Kalb¢! See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٦).

the report of ‘Aw¡nah bin al-°akam which we have no choice but to mention it here in order to create a link between the reports.]

Hish¡m says: “‘Aw¡nah bin al-°akam related to me on the authority of ‘Amm¡r bin ‘Abdullah bin Yas¡r al-Juhan¢ from his father who said:

“I went to see ‘Umar bin Sa‘d after he had been ordered to go to al-°usain (‘a). So he told me: ‘The governor has ordered me to go to al-°usain but I refused him.’ So I said to him: “May Allah guide you and show you the right path. Do not accept. Do not do that and do not go to him!”

[‘Abdullah bin Yas¡r] says: “I left his presence [and as I came out] a man came to me and said: ‘‘Umar bin Sa‘d is inviting people to [go to war with] al-°usain.”

[‘Abdullah] says: “I went to him [again] and saw him sitting. When he saw me, he turned his face away. So I understood that he is determined to set out against [al-°usain]. So I left his presence.”

He says: “‘Umar bin Sa‘d then went to Ibn Ziyad and said: ‘May Allah guide you! You have entrusted me with this task and have written for me the [letter of] appointment, about which the people [also] have come to know. [He meant his appointment over Rayy]. If you are [still] of the opinion to enforce it for me, then do so, and send to al-°usain, with this army, someone from the noblemen of K£fah, who I am not more brave and powerful than him in warfare.’ Then he proposed some names to him.

Ibn Ziy¡d said to him: ‘Do not teach me of the noblemen of K£fah! I have not commissioned you to advice me who I should send. If you go with our army [then that is it],

otherwise give us [back] the [letter of your] appointment!'

'I will go', he said, when he saw how abstinate he was."

[Ibn Sa'd's Arrival in Karbal¡']

['Abdullah] says: "He set out with [an army of] four thousand[١] men until he reached where al-°usain [had camped], on the following day of his arrival in Nainaw¡."

He says: "Umar bin Sa'd asked 'Azarah bin Qais al-A¦mas¢[٢] to go to al-°usain ('a). He told him: 'Go to him and ask him what has brought him [here] and what does he want?' 'Azarah was one of those who had written to al-°usain ('a), so he was ashamed to go to him."

['Abdullah] says: "'Umar bin Sa'd then made the same

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[١] See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٧). He says as follows regarding the martyrdom Mu¦ammad bin Ab¢ ±¡lib: "Ibn Ziy¡d dispatched Ibn Sa'd towards al-°usain with ٩،٠٠٠ men and later Yaz¢d bin Rik¡b al-Kalb¢ with an army of ٢،٠٠٠ soldiers. He also sent °u¥ain bin Tam¢m al-Sak£n¢ with ٤،٠٠٠ men, Ful¡n al-M¡zan¢ with ٣،٠٠٠ and Na¥r bin Ful¡n with ٢،٠٠٠ soldiers. This summed up to ٢٠،٠٠٠ riders and foot soldiers. In *Ma§¡lib al-Sa'£l* al-Sh¡fi'¢ mentions that they were ٢٢،٠٠٠ men altogether. Shaikh al-¯ad£q narrates in his *Am¡li* (pg.١٠١; Beirut edition) with his chain of narration from Imam al-¯¡diq ('a) that they numbered ٣٠،٠٠٠ men. Ibn al-Jawz¢ relates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٤٧; Najaf edition) from Mu¦ammad bin S¢r¢n that the latter used to say: "In this matter the nobility of 'Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib ('a) becomes evident; for he had once met 'Umar bin Sa'd while he was still young and said to him: 'Woe onto you O son of Sa'd! Just imagine in which state you will be the day you will given to choose between the heaven and the hell fire, and you shall go for the hell fire?!"

[٢] Al-Muf¢d mentions him in *al-Irsh¡d* as 'Urwah bin Qais. His biography has already been given when mentioning the hypocrites and the Umayyads from among the people of K£fah who wrote letters to the Imam ('a).

proposal to those leaders who had written to him, but all of them refused it and expressed their dislike for that."

[‘Abdullah] says: "Kath¢r bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’b¢[١] -a brave knight who never turned his face away from anything- stood up and said: ‘I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assasinate him.’

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: ‘I do not want him to be assassinated. But go to him and ask him what has brought him?’

So he went to him. When Ab£ Thum¡mah al-¯aid¢ saw him, he said to al-°usain (‘a): ‘May Allah guide you, O Ab¡ ‘Abdillah! The most vicious man on this earth, the most daring in [shedding] blood and the deadliest of them has come to you.’ [Ab£ Thum¡mah] went to him and said: ‘Put down your sword!’

[Kath¢r] said: ‘No! By Allah, [there is going to be] no advantage to you. I am only a messenger. If you listen to me, I will tell you the message which I have been sent to bring to you. If you refuse, I will go [away].’

So [Ab£ Thum¡mah] said to him: ‘I will take the hilt of your sword and you can say what you need to.’

He said: ‘No! By Allah, you will not touch it.’

[Ab£ Thum¡mah] then told him: ‘Tell me what you have brought and I will convey it to him. For I will not let you go

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Kath¢r was present when al-°usain (‘a) was martyred and he also narrated the speech given by Zuhair bin al-Qain (٥:٤٢٦). He is the one who killed Zuhair in association with Muh¡jir bin Aws (٥:٤٤١). And he was the one who followed ®a¦¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ with the intention of killing him. But when he came to know that ®a¦¡k was from Hamd¡n, he said: "This is our cousin" and so he left him (٥:٤٤٥).

near him, as you are a corrupt man.' They both [stood there and] cursed each other. Then he went back to 'Umar bin Sa'd and told him the news."

['Abdullah] says: "'Umar bin Sa'd summoned Qurrah bin Qais al-°an³al¢ and said to him: 'Woe onto you, O Qurrah! Go to al-°usain and ask him what has brought him and what he wants?"

['Abdullah] says: "So Qurrah bin Qais went to him. When al-°usain ('a) saw him coming, he said: 'Do you know this man?' °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir[١] said: 'Yes! He is from the °an¨alah, [a clan] of [the Banu] Tam¢m. He is the son of our sister. I used to know him as a man of sound judgement. I never thought that he would be present at this scene."[٢]

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[١] This is the first time that his name appears in the reports of Karbal¡' in this text, though it has not been specified how he reached there. We have already given his biography when discussing the Sh¢ite leaders who had written to the Imam ('a) from K£fah. Some [other] aspects of his life will follow in the reports of his martyrdom.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Qurrah bin Qais was with °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Riy¡¦¢. 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad¢ relates that he used to say: "By Allah! Had °urr informed me of what he intended, I would have [indeed] gone with him to al-°usain ('a) (٥:٤٢٧). Ab£ Zuhair al-'Abas¢ relates from him his report about the passing of the women of the household of al-°usain ('a) through the place where [al-°usain ('a)] and the members of his household were martyred, and also [his report on] the lamentation of Lady Zainab on her brother ('a) (٥:٤٥٦).

°ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir had invited Qurrah to come to the help of the Imam ('a) and that he should not return back to the oppressors. So Qurrah replied him: "[At the moment,] I am going back to my comrade with the answer to his message, thereafter I will make a decision." But he went to 'Umar bin Sa'd and did not come back to al-°usain until the Imam ('a) was martyred (٥:٤١١). See also *al-*

[‘Abdullah] says: “He came and greeted al-°usain [‘a] and conveyed to him the message of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d.

Al-°usain [‘a] said: ‘The people of your town wrote to me that I should come. But if they [now] dislike me, I will leave them [and return].”

[‘Abdullah] says: “The messenger went back to ‘Umar bin Sa‘d and gave him the report. ‘Umar bin Sa‘d told him: ‘I hope that Allah will spare me from making war on him and fighting against him.’ [Then he wrote to Ibn Ziy¡d about all this].”

[*This is the end of the supplementary reports that were from other than Ab£ Mikhnaf*].

[Ibn Sa‘d’s First Letter to Ibn Ziy¡d]

The letter of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d reached Ibn Ziy¡d and it read:

“In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. When I reached the place where al-°usain had stationed, I sent to him my messenger. He asked him what brought him and what he wants and he replied: ‘The people of this city wrote to me and their messengers came to me asking me to come, so I came. But if they [now] dislike me and [the position] now appears different to them from what their messengers brought to me, [then] I will go away from them.”

When the letter was read for Ibn Ziy¡d he recited the following verse:

Now when our claws cling to him, he hopes for delivery but there is no time to escape!

Irsh¡d (pg.٢٢٨).

[Ibn Ziy¡d's Response to Ibn Sa'd]

He wrote to Ibn Sa'd:

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Your letter has reached me and I have understood what you mentioned. Offer al-°usain [the opportunity] of him and all his companions pledging allegiance to Yaz¢d bin Mu'¡wiyah. If he does that, we will then see what our judgement will be. That is all."

When the letter reached Ibn Sa'd, he said: "I had anticipated that Ibn Ziy¡d would not spare me [fighting al-°usain]."[١]

[Ibn Sa'd's Meeting With al-°usain ('a)]

Al-°usain ('a) sent 'Amru bin Qur¨ah bin Ka'b al-An¥¡r¢[٢] to Ibn Sa'd [saying]: "Meet me at night somewhere between the two armies." So [at night] 'Umar bin Sa'd came out with around twenty horsemen and so did al-°usain ['a]. When they met each other, al-°usain ['a] ordered his companions to move away from him and so did 'Umar bin Sa'd. Then they started talking and their conversation took long such that part of the night lapsed. Then each of the two returned to his camp with his companions.

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١١): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Na¤r bin ¯¡lih bin °ab¢b bin Zuhair al-'Abas¢ narrated to me from °ass¡n bin F¡'id bin Bukair al-'Abas¢ who said: 'I bear witness that the letter of 'Umar bin Sa'd came…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٨).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He was with al-°usain ('a) while his brother 'Al¢ bin Qur¨ah was with 'Umar bin Sa'd. When 'Amru was martyred 'Al¢ bin Qur³ah put it on the companions of al-°usain ('a) in order to avenge for the blood of his brother. But he got stabbed by N¡fi' bin Hil¡l al-Mur¡d¢ and fell to the ground. His collegues carried him away and he was then treated and recovered (٥:٤٣٤).

People started making assumptions about what transpired between the two. They were presuming that al-°usain (‘a) told ‘Umar bin Sa‘d: “Come along with me to Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah and let us leave the two armies.” ‘Umar said: “In that case my house will be demolished.” “I will rebuild it for you”, he replied. So [Ibn Sa‘d] said: “My estate will be confiscated.” So he said: “In that case I shall give you what is better than that from my wealth in °ij¡z.” But ‘Umar did not like that.

The people were busy talking about this and rumours spread without [them] having heard or known anything of the conversation [between the two].[١]

[Among other assumptions they made were that] they said: “Al-°usain said: ‘Accept any three of my requests:

١. I should either return to where I came from [i.e. Mad¢nah].

٢. Or I should put my hand in the hand of Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah and then he should decide on the matter [which is] between him and I.

٣. Or take me to any of the border outposts of the Islamic land you like, so that I may become one of them, with the same

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٣): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Ab£ Jan¡b related to me from H¡ni’ bin Thubait al-°a¤ram¢…” H¡ni’ was in the camp of ‘Umar bin Sa’d at the time of the martyrdom of al-°usain [‘a]. It becomes evident from this very report that he was among the twenty horsemen who had accompanied ‘Umar bin Sa’d at night to meet the Imam (‘a). Al-°a¤ram¢ reports: “We moved away from the two such that we could neither hear their voices nor what they said.” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٩). According to Ibn al-Jawz¢ in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٤٨; Najaf edition): “It was ‘Umar who sent for [al-°usain (‘a)] requesting a meeting with him, and they met in privacy.”

rights and duties as them.’’’[١]

‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n says: “I accompanied al-°usain (‘a) and came out with him from Mad¢nah to Makkah, and from Makkah to Iraq, and I did not separate from him until he was martyred. There is not even a word from what he said to the people in Mad¢nah, or in Makkah, or on the way [to K£fah], or in Iraq or [even] in his camp until the day he was [martyred], that I may have not heard. By Allah! He did not offer them what people are talking and assuming of, [like] paying allegiance to Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah, or that he should be taken to a frontier among the frontiers of the Islamic land. Rather, he said: “Allow me to go wherever I like in this spacious land until we see how the people’s attitude to the affair develops.”[٢]

[Ibn Sa‘d’s Second Letter to Ibn Ziy¡d]

‘Umar bin Sa‘d wrote [a second] letter to Ibn Ziy¡d [saying]:

“Indeed, Allah has put out the fire [of war], united [the people] in one opinion, and set right the affairs of the community. Al-°usain has given me a promise that he will return to the place which he came from, or he will go to one of the border outposts and become like any other of the Muslims, with the same rights and duties as them; or he will go to Yaz¢d, the commander of the faithful, and offer him his

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٣): “This is what a group of *mu¦addith£n* have recorded and has [also] been narrated to us by al-Muj¡lid bin Sa¢’d, ¯aq’ab bin Zuhair al-Azd¢ and others who said …” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٥; Najaf edition).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٣): “As for ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab, he related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n who said: …” See also *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٨) who has mentioned the report in brief.

hand and see [if the difference] between them [can be reconciled]. In this [offer] you will be pleased and there is good for the *ummah*."

When 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d read the letter he said: "This is the letter of a man who is sincere to his governor and anxious for his community. Yes, I accept that."

Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan[١] stood up and said: "Are you going to accept this from him [i.e. al-°usain] when he has encamped on your land nearby! By Allah, if he leaves your city without putting his hand on yours, then he will gain more strength and might and you will become weaker and helpless [in your position]. Do not give him this opportunity; for that is [a mark of] weakness. Rather, let him submit to your authority,[٢] he and his companions. Then if you punish them, you will be the [person] most appropriate to do so, and if you forgive them, then you have the right to do so. By Allah, I have heard that al-°usain and 'Umar bin Sa'd have been sitting between the two armies engaged in conversation the whole night!"

Ibn Ziy¡d said: "Your opinion is excellent. Your view is the correct view."[٣]

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[١] We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of K£fah who were with Ibn Ziy¡d.

[٢] Ibn al-Jawz¢ has briefly narrated this in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٤٨) and adds that [Ibn Sa'd] wrote the following verse at the end of his letter: "Now that he is caught in our trap, he hopes for delivery but there is no longer time for escape."

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٤): "Al-Muj¡lid bin Sa'¢d al-Hamd¡n¢ and ¯aq'ab bin Zuhair have narrated to me that…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٩).

[Ibn Ziy¡d's Second Response to Ibn Sa'd]

'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d thus wrote to 'Umar bin Sa'd:

"I did not send you to al-°usain for you to restrain yourself from [fighting] him, nor to idle the time away with him, nor to promise him peace and preservation [of his life], nor to be an intercessor on his behalf with me. Look now, if al-°usain and his companions submit to [our] authority and surrender, then send them to me as captives. But if they refuse, then march against them until you kill them. Treat them in a manner that it should serve as a lesson for others, for they indeed deserve that! When al-°usain is killed, make the horses trample on his chest and back; for he is disobedient and an opponent, an oppressor and one who is set to sever [all] relations. I do not consider that this [i.e. trampling his body] will be in any way wrong after death. But I have promised myself that I would do this to him if I killed him! If you carry out our command with respect to him, we will reward you the reward of one who is obedient. [But] if you refuse, then leave our service and army and hand it over to Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan; for we have given him our instructions. That is all."[١]

'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d then summoned Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan and said to him: "Take this letter to 'Umar bin Sa'd and let him propose to al-°usain and his companions to submit to my authority. If they did so, then he should send them to me as prisoners. And if they refused, then he should fight them. If he does [what I have said], then listen to him and obey him. [But] if he refuses, then you [take up the

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٥): "Ab£ Jan¡b al-Kalb¢ has related to me that…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٩) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٨).

authority and] fight them, as you will be [then] the commander of the people; and attack [Ibn Sa‘d], cut off his head and send it to me.”[١]

After Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan took the letter, as he and ‘Abdullah bin Ab¢ al-Ma¦all bin °iz¡m [al-Kil¡b¢] stood up to leave, ‘Abdullah said: “May Allah preserve the governor! The sons of our sister [Umm al-Ban¢n: ‘Abb¡s, ‘Abdullah, Ja’far and ‘Uthm¡n] are with al-°usain. If you deem it right to grant them protection (*am¡n*), then [please] do so.”

[Ibn Ziy¡d] replied: “Yes, with pleasure.” He then ordered his scribe to write a guarantee of security for them and sent it through ‘Abdullah bin Ab¢ al-Ma¦all [bin °iz¡m al-Kil¡b¢] and his servant Kuzm¡n.

[Shamir Brings the Letter to Ibn Sa‘d]

Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan set out with the letter of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d to ‘Umar bin Sa‘d. When he arrived and read it to him ‘Umar said: “Woe onto you! What is wrong with you? May Allah never show favour to your house. May Allah make abominable what you have brought to me. By Allah! I suspect you to have dissuaded him from accepting what I wrote to him. You ruined for us a matter which we had hoped to set right. By Allah, al-°usain will not surrender. An unsubmissive soul exists within him!”

Shamir said to him: “Tell me what you are going to do. Are you going to carry out the instructions of your governor and kill his enemy? Otherwise leave the command of the army to me.”

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٤): “Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has related to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٩).

[Ibn Sa‘d] replied: “No! There is no honour for you! I will carry that out. Here you are! Take control of the foot soldiers!”

[The Safe-Conduct of Ibn Ziy¡d for ‘Abb¡s and His Brothers]

Then Shamir went and stopped near the companions of al-°usain (‘a) and said: “Where are the sons of our sister?” So ‘Abb¡s, Ja’far and ‘Uthm¡n, the sons of ‘Al¢ (‘a), came forward and said: “What is the matter and what do you want?”

He said: “You are guaranteed security, O sons of my sister!”

The young men replied him: “May Allah curse you -even if you be our uncle- and curse your security. You offer us protection while the son of the Prophet of Allah (‘¥) remains without protection!”

[Hearing this,] Kuzm¡n, the servant of ‘Abdullah bin Ab¢ al-Ma¦all [bin °iz¡m al-Kil¡b¢] called them out and said: “This is the security which your uncle has sent it to you.”

So the young men said: “Convey our salutations to our uncle and tell him: ‘We do not need your security. The protection of Allah is better than that of the son of Sumayyah!’”[١]

[Obstructing the Imam (‘a) and His Companions from Reaching the Water]

‘Umar bin Sa‘d received a letter from ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d which read [as follows]:

“Prevent al-°usain and his companions from reaching water. They should not taste [even] a drop of it as was done to the

[١] See also *al-Irshad* (pg.٢٣٠) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٩).

commander of the faithful, ‘Uthm¡n bin ‘Aff¡n, the pious, the chaste and the oppressed!”

So ‘Umar bin Sa‘d dispatched ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j[١] with five hundred horsemen who halted at the banks of the Euphrates and prevented al-°usain (‘a) and his companions from drinking [even] a drop from it. This was three days before al-°usain’s martyrdom.

When the thirst became unbearable for al-°usain [‘a] and his companions, he called his brother ‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib and sent him along with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers with whom he sent twenty waterskins. They advanced and neared the water at night with N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l al-Jamal¢[٢] leading the way with the standard.

[As they approached] ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaid¢ said: “Who is that?”

[He said: “N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l].

‘Amru asked: “Why have you come?”

N¡fi’ replied: “We have come to drink from this water which you obstructed us from.”

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[١] We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of K£fah who were with Ibn Ziy¡d.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He had sent his horse with the four men from K£fah towards the Imam (‘a) alongwith ±irimm¡¦ bin ‘Adiyy [as a guide]. This is the first report from which it is known that N¡fi’ reached the Imam (‘a) at Karbal¡’. And he is the one who had stabbed ‘Al¢ bin Qur¨ah al-An¥¡r¢ -the brother of ‘Amru bin Qur¨ah- who was with ‘Umar bin Sa’d (٥:٤٣٤). N¡fi’ had written his name on top of his arrows and killed with them twelve men from the enemy until finally both his arms were broken and Shamir took him as a captive and later killed him after taking him to ‘Umar bin Sa’d (٥:٤٤٢).

[‘Amru] said: “Drink and enjoy.”

“Nay by Allah, I shall not have a drop from it while al-°usain is thirsty and these of his companions”, said [N¡fi’ while he pointed to them]. So they all appeared before him.

He said: “There is no way these people can drink, as we have been placed here only to prevent them from reaching the water.”

When [the foot soldiers from among the] companions of N¡fi’ drew near him, he [told them]: “Fill your waterskins!” So they forced their way and filled their waterskins.

[Seeing this] ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j and his companions rushed towards them, but ‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢ and N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l attacked them and stopped them [from reaching the foot soldiers]. Then both of them went to the foot soldiers and told them: “[You] move [ahead]” while they were protecting them. [In the meanwhile,] ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j and his army came back and chased them for a while. The companions of al-°usain [‘a] managed to return to him with the waterskins.

[That night] N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l had stabbed one of the companions of ‘Amru bin °ajj¡j’ such that the wound later festered and he died of it.[١] [Accordingly, this is the first person to have been killed from Ibn Sa‘d’s army after he sustained injuries on that night.]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٢): “Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim al-Azd¢ that …” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٨) [who related the report] from Ab£ Mikhnaf through the same chain of narration; and *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٢٨) from °umaid bin Muslim.

THE EVENTS OF THE ¶TH OF MU°ARRAM

[Ibn Sa‘d Advances Against al-°usain (‘a)]

[°¡rith bin °a¥¢rah] reports: “Ibn Sa‘d announced after the *‘a¥r* prayers [saying]: “O soldiers of Allah! Get on your mounts and receive the good tidings [of Heaven]!” The soldiers mounted and advanced against [al-°usain (‘a) and his companions].

Al-°usain [‘a] was [at that time] sitting in front of his tent with his sword on his lap and his head on his knees having a short sleep. His sister, Zainab, heard the clamour [of the approaching soldiers] so she went near her brother and said: “O my brother! Do you not hear the noises that have drawn nearer?!”

So al-°usain [‘a] raised his head and said: “I have just seen the Messenger of Allah (¥) in my sleep and he said to me: ‘You are coming to us [soon].” So his sister struck her face and cried out [in grief]: “Woe onto me!” So he said to her: “May you not see any distress O sister. Keep calm, may the All-merciful have mercy on you!”

‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢ [‘a] said: “O my brother! The army has come!” So al-°usain [‘a] got up and said: “O ‘Abb¡s! Get on your mount, may I be sacrificed for you -O brother, and go to meet them and ask them: ‘What is the matter with you? What has appeared [appropriate] to you? And what has brought them?”

So ‘Abb¡s went to meet them with about twenty horsemen, among whom were Zuhair bin al-Qain and °ab¢b bin Mu³¡hir. ‘Abb¡s said to them: “What has appeared to you? What do

you want?"

They replied: "We have received an order from the governor that we should offer you [an opportunity] to submit to his authority, or else we should force you to do so."

He said: "Do not hurry until I have gone back to Ab£ ‘Abdillah and told him what you have said."

So they stopped and said: "Go to him and inform him, and tell us what he says to you."

‘Abb¡s went galloping back to al-°usain [‘a] to give him the information. His companions stood [by the enemy] addressing the people. °ab¢b bin Mu³¡hir[١] said to Zuhair bin al-Qain: "Talk to this people if you like, or else I shall speak to them." So Zuhair said to him: "You came up with this [idea], so you be the one to talk to them."

°ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir told him: "By Allah, the most wretched of the people before Allah tomorrow are a people who shall meet Him while they are guilty of having killed the children, progeny and household of His Prophet (¥), and the devout men of this city who strive [in worship] at dawn and who remember Allah much." [He said this to Zuhair bin al-Qain such that the army could hear him, and among those who heard was ‘Azarah bin Qais].

‘Azarah bin Qais[٢] said to him: "You are asserting purity for yourself!"

So Zuhair replied him: "O ‘Azarah! Allah has indeed purified

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[١] We mentioned him when discussing those among the followers of the Imam (‘a) who wrote to him from K£fah.

[٢] We have given his biography when mentioning those among the hypocrites of K£fah who had written to the Imam (‘a).

and guided his soul. Fear Allah O ‘Azarah; I am [sincerely] advising you. I beseech you by Allah, O ‘Azarah, not to be of those who help the misled in killing the pure souls!”

‘Azarah said: “O Zuhair! We had never been -in our opinion- among the followers of the people of this House. Rather, you were a partisan of ‘Uthm¡n (*‘uthm¡n¢*).”[١]

Zuhair answered: “Have you still not come to know –after seeing my stand- that I am one of them! By Allah! I never wrote to [al-°usain], nor did I send to him any messenger, nor did I promise him my support. But it was the way that brought us together. When I saw [al-°usain], he made me recall the Messenger of Allah (¥) and his position to him. So I knew the enemy he is going to face, that is your party. So I decided to help him and be in his party and lay down my life for him, in defence of those rights of Allah and His Prophet (¥) which have been violated by you.”

When ‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢ came to al-°usain [‘a] with the proposal of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d, he said to [‘Abb¡s]: “Go back to them and if you can, delay them until the morning and keep them away from us this evening. Perhaps we may [be able to] spend the night praying to our Lord, supplicating to him and seeking his forgiveness; for he knows that I have always loved praying to Him, reciting His Book, [making] many invocations and seeking His forgiveness.”

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[١] This is the first report related to the events of Karbal¡’ in which this title has been attributed to Zuhair bin al-Qain. This is the first title that caused disunity among the Muslims in their differences about whether ‘Uthm¡n was on the right or wrong. Accordingly, one who followed ‘Al¢ (‘a) was called *‘alaw¢* or *sh¢’¢*, while the one who followed ‘Uthm¡n and believed that he was on the right and was killed unjustly, came to be known as *‘uthm¡n¢*.

So ‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) galloped his horse and went back to them and said: “O people! Ab£ ‘Abdillah is requesting you to grant him respite for tonight, so that he may consider the matter; for there has not taken place any discussion [so far] between you and him concerning this [proposal]. So we shall now meet in the morning, if Allah wills. [Either] we would give consent to it and do what you want from us and are insisting upon; or we would dislike it and therefore reject it.”

By doing so [al-°usain (‘a)] intended to keep them away that night so that he might [have the opportunity to] give his instructions and make his will to his family.

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: “O Shamir! What do you think?”

He said: “It is up to you. You are the commander and the decision lies with you.”

[‘Umar] said: “I wish I had not been there!” He then turned to his army and said: “What is your opinion?”

‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j bin Salamah al-Zubaid¢ said: “Glory be to Allah! By Allah! [Even] if they were from Dailam and had asked from you such [a thing], it would have been incumbent on you to grant them their demand.”

Qais bin Ash’ath[١] said: “Grant them their request. I swear by

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: On the day of “ªsh£r¡’ he was leading the quarter of Kindah and Rab¢’ah (٥:٤٢٢). He was the one who plundered the Imam’s silken cloak and came to be known after that as ‘Qais of the cloak’ (٥:٤٥٣). He was with Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan, ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j and ‘Azarah bin Qais in carrying the heads of the companions of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Ziy¡d in K£fah (٥:٤٥٦). He was leading the Kindah who were carrying thirteen of these heads (٥:٤٦٨). Ibn al-Ash’ath is the brother of Mu¦ammad bin Ash’ath - the assassin of Muslim, and the brother of Ja’dah -the killer of al-°asan (‘a).

my life that they are definitely going to fight you tomorrow morning!"

[Ibn Sa'd] said: "By Allah, if I knew that they are going to do so, I would not have left them for tonight."[١]

'Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a) says: "Then a messenger came to us from 'Umar bin Sa'd and stood at a point where he could be heard. He said: 'We have granted you a day until tomorrow. If you surrendered, we will send you to our governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¦d. But if you refused to do so, then we are not going to leave you!"[٢]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٥): "[I narrate] on the authority of °¦rith bin °a¥¢rah, from Shar¢k al-ªmir¢ who said…" See also *al-Irsh¦d* (pg.٢٣٠).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٧): "°¦rith bin °a¥¢rah has related to me from 'Abdullah bin Shar¢k al-ªmir¢, who reported from 'Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a) that…"

THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT OF ‘ªSH¬Rª’

[The Speech of al-°usain (‘a) on the Night of ‘ªsh£r¡’]

‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) says: “Al-°usain gathered his companions after ‘Umar bin Sa‘d went back, and this was just before the sunset. So I went near to hear him [even though] I was sick. I heard my father say to his companions:

“I praise Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, with the best of praises. I praise him in ease and difficulty. O Allah, I praise You for honouring us with the prophethood (*nubuwwah*), teaching us the Qur’an and making us comprehend your religion. You gave us [the faculties of] hearing, sight and the hearts; and you did not make us among the idolaters.

I know of no companions more loyal and more virtuous than my companions, nor of any household more righteous and more close-knit than my household. May Allah reward you all the best of rewards on my behalf.

Indeed, I think tomorrow is the day of our [encounter] with these enemies. I deem appropriate that you should all freely leave [me]. I have exempted you of your obligations towards me. Here is the night which has drawn its veil on you, so take it as a mount [and leave].[١] Let each one of you hold the hand of one of my family members and get scattered to your [respective] residences and cities so that may Allah deliver

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٨): “°¡rith bin °a¥¢rah has narrated to me from ‘Abdullah bin Shar¢k al-ªmir¢, who narrated from ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) that...” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٤) and *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣١) from Imam ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a).

[you]; for these people are after me only, and if they get hold of me they will not be concerned about the rest.”

[The Stand of the Hashimites]

‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) was the first to talk. He said to him: “Why should we do [that]? Just in order to remain alive after you?! May Allah never show us that [day]!”

Then his brothers and the sons [of al-°usain (‘a)] and the sons of his brother [al-°asan (‘a)], and the two sons of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far [Mu¦ammad and ‘Abdullah], all spoke in similar vein.

Al-°usain (‘a) then said: “O sons of ‘Aq¢l, the martyrdom of Muslim is a sacrifice sufficient on your part. Go as I permit you [to leave].”

They answered: “What will the people say! They will say that we deserted our master, our leader and the sons of our uncles, who was the best of the uncles; that we did not [even] shoot an arrow alongside them, nor did we stab with the spears and strike with the swords with them, nor did we know what they did. Nay, by Allah! We will never do [such a thing]. Rather we will ransom you with our lives, our wealth and our children. We will fight by your side until we enter the place you shall enter! May Allah make life abominable [for us] after your [death]!”[١]

[The Stand of His Companions]

Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asad¢[٢] then stood up and said: “If

[١] See *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٤), *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣١) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٩).

[٢] We have given his biography along with other Shi’ite noblemen of K£fah who were with Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l. This is the first report

we leave you alone, what excuse would we give to Allah for not fulfilling your rights [on us]? By Allah! [I will fight] till I break my spear in their chests. I will strike them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. I will not leave you. If I have no weapon to fight them with, I will throw stones at them in your defence until I die with you!”

[After Ibn ‘Awsajah] Sa’¢d bin ‘Abdullah al-°anaf¢ said: “By Allah we will not leave you until Allah knows that we have preserved through you [the company of] the Prophet of Allah (¥) in his absence. By Allah! If I knew that I would be killed and then be revived and then be burnt alive and then scattered, and that would be done to me seventy times, I would [still] not leave you until I met my death [fighting] on your behalf! Why should I not do so when it is only [a matter of] getting killed once? Then, it is an everlasting honour.”

Zuhair bin al-Qain said: “By Allah! I wish I would be killed and then revived and again be killed until I get killed like this a thousand times, so that Allah should avert death from you and from these youths of your household!”

A group among his companions [then rose] and said: “By Allah! We will not part with you; may our souls be sacrificed for you. We will protect you with our throats, foreheads and hands. If we get killed, then we would have fulfilled and performed what lies on us.”

[Another] group among his companions [also stood] and spoke words to the same effect.[١]

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among the reports of Karbal¡’ in which his name has appeared, without there being any mention in the books of history about how he got there.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤١٨): “‘Abdullah bin ‘ª¥im al-F¡ish¢ has related to

[The Imam (‘¡) on the Night of ‘ªsh£r¡’]

‘Al¢ bin al-°usain bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) says: “I was sitting on the night before the morning of the day in which my father was martyred, and my aunt Zainab was looking after me, when my father distanced himself [from us] to a tent erected for him together with his companions. °uwayy[١], the slave of Ab£ Dharr al-Ghaff¡r¢, was by his side preparing his sword and putting it right, while my father recited the following verses:

O Time! Shame on you as a friend!

At the days dawning and the sun’s setting,

How many a companion or seeker [of yours] will be a corpse!

Time will not be satisfied with any substitute.

Indeed the matter will rest with the Mighty One,

And every living creature will have to journey along my path.

He repeated it twice or three times. I understood it and realized what he meant. Tears choked me and I pushed them back and kept silent, as I knew that tribulation had come upon us. As for my aunt, she heard what I heard, [but since] she was a woman -and tenderness and grief are part of a woman- she could not control herself. She jumped up and went near [al-°usain], while her clothes dragged on the ground and her

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me from ®a||¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ who said…” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٤; Najaf edition), *T¡r¢kh al-Ya’q£b¢* (٢:٢٣١) and *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣١).

[١] *Al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٢) names him as Juwain, while *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٥) refers to him as Jaun, and so has *al-Man¡qib* of Ibn Shahr¡sh£b (٢:٢١٨), *al-Tadhkirah* of Ibn al-Jawz¢ (٢:١٩) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khw¡razm¢ (١:٢٣٧). *Al-±abar¢* does not mention anything about him, neither before this nor after this. Nor does he say anything about his martyrdom alongside the Imam (‘a).

head was uncovered. She cried out: “What a bereavement! If only death would deprive me of life! [There was] a day when my mother, F¡§imah, died and [then] my father, ‘Al¢ and [then] al-°asan, my brother. Only you have remained O the successor and the surviving of those who have gone!”[١]

So al-°usain (‘a) looked at her and said: “O sister, do not let Shai§¡n take away your forebearance.”

[My aunt] said: “May my father and mother be your ransom, O Ab¡ ‘Abdillah! Are you ready to die? May my life be sacrificed for you!”

[Here my father] swallowed his grief and his eyes filled with tears and he said: “[Remenber] if the sandgrouse are left [alone] at night, they will sleep [i.e. had these people left me on my own, I would not have come here].”

[At this] she lamented: “O my grief! Is your life going to be violently wrenched from you?! This is too wounding to my heart and harsher to my soul”, and then she struck her face and grabbed the upper part of her garment and [began to] tear it and fell down in a faint.

So al-°usain [‘a] got up and sprinkled water on to her face and consoled her [saying]: “O sister, fear Allah and take comfort in the consolation of Allah. Know that the people on the earth are [all] going to die and the inhabitants of heaven will not live [forever]. Everything is going to perish except the face of Allah who created the earth by His power, sends forth creatures and [ultimately] they [all] return [back to

[١] This has appeared in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٢) also, but with a slight literal difference in the wordings of the last statement. Ibn al-Jawz¢ also brings this report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٠; Najaf edition) with the following addition: “…and she then struck her face.”

him]. He is unique and alone. [O my sister,] my father was better than me, my mother was better than me and my brother was better than me. They and I and every Muslim have an ideal model in the Prophet of Allah (¥).”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] tried to console her by this and the like and then said to her: “Sister! I swear to you -and I [always] keep my oaths- that you must not tear your clothes, nor scratch your face, nor cry out in grief and loss when I die.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] then brought her and made her sit with me.

He [then] went to his companions and ordered them to bring their tents closer together and to make the tent-pegs come within the area of each other’s tents. [He also asked them] to remain between the tents except the side from which the enemy could come against them.[١]

Al-°usain (‘a) then gathered stalks and firewood to a sunken place –which was similar to a canal- behind their tents. They dug it at some hour of the night and turned it into something like a ditch. Then they filled it with those firewood and reed and said: “When they attack and fight us, we will set it on fire, so that we are not attacked from the rear and we would fight them from one side.”[٢]

[Al-°usain (‘a) and His Companions on the Night

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٠): “°¡rith bin Ka’b and Ab£ al-®a¦¡k have related to me from ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain that…” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٥; Najaf edition), *al-Ya’q£b¢* (٢:٢٣٠) and *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٢; Najaf edition), all of whom narrated this report from Imam al-Sajj¡d (‘a).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢١): “[I relate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘ª¥im from ®a¦¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ who said…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٣) who narrated it from ®a¦¡k bin ‘Abdullah.

of ‘ªsh£r¡’]

When the night entered al-°usain (‘a) and his companions spent the whole night in performing prayers, seeking forgiveness and making supplications.

[®a||¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢, the one among the companions of al-°usain (‘a) who was saved from being killed reports:]

“A group of their horsemen passed us keeping watch over us, while al-°usain [‘a] was reciting: ‘Let the faithless not suppose that the respite that We grant them is good for their souls; We give them respite only that they may increase in sin, and there is a humiliating punishment for them. Allah will not leave the faithful in your present state, until he has separated the bad ones from the good.’[١] So a man from among those horsemen –who were keeping watch over us- heard that and said: ‘By the Lord of the Ka’bah, we are pure and have been distinguished from you.”

[®a||¡k says:] “I recognized the person and said to Burair bin °u¤ha¢r [al-Hamd¡n¢][٢]: ‘Do you know who this man is?’ He

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[١] Qur’an, ٣:١٧٨-١٧٩.

[٢] The predominant view about his father’s name is what has appeared in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٣) and other works (i.e. °u¤air). The above narration is the first among the narrations of Karbal¡’ in which his name has appeared, without there being any mention of how he joined the Imam (‘a). *Al-±abari¢*: Burair was the best reciter of the Qur’an in K£fah (٥:٤٣١) and a devout man. He was the first person who stood up to fight in the beginning of the battle [on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’], but the Imam (‘a) ordered him to sit down (٥:٤٢٩). Burair is the one who said to ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Abdi Rabbih al-An¥¡r¢: “By Allah, my people know that I never loved falsehood both as a youth and as an old man. But -by Allah- I am happy with what we are going to achieve! By Allah, there is

said: ‘No.’ I said: ‘He is Ab£ °arb al-Sab¢’¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ ‘Abdullah bin Shahr. He is a joker and an idle [person], [though] a noble, brave, and a killer whom Sa’¢d bin Qais[١] had –as if- once imprisoned for a crime!’

So Burair bin °u¤air said to him: ‘O sinner! Has Allah made you among the pure ones?!’

He said: ‘Who are you?’

[Burair] replied: ‘I am Burair bin Hu¤air.’

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nothing between us and the ¦£r *al-‘ain* [as a barrier] except that these people should strike us with their swords. And I wish that they would do so” (٥:٤٢٣). Burair used to say that ‘Uthm¡n bin ‘Aff¡n was an extravagant [personality] and that Mu’¡wiyah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n was a person who went astray and misled others, and that the leader of the truth and guidance was ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib (‘a). He challenged a man from the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d called Yaz¢d bin Ma’qil about the truth of the aforementioned beliefs and prayed that the one who is right among the two should kill the one who is on the wrong. He then fought him and killed him (٥:٤٣١).

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Sa’¢d bin Qais al-Hamd¡n¢ was the governer of Hamad¡n and was later dismissed from the post by Sa’¢d bin al-‘ª¥ al-Ashraq, the governor of K£fah, who then appointed him over Rayy in ٣٣ H (٥:٣٣٠). ‘Al¢ (‘a), the Commander of the Faithful, had sent Ibn Qais together with Shabath bin Rib’¢ and Bash¢r bin ‘Amru before the battle [of ¯iff¢n] to Mu’¡wiyah, inviting him to obedience and to [join] the community [of the beievers] (٤:٥٧٣). Sa’¢d was fighting along side ‘Al¢ in ¯iff¢n (٤:٥٧٤). He was among the first people to carry out the instructions of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) (٥:٧٩). Am¢r al-Mu’min¢n (‘a) had dispatched him to chase Sufy¡n bin ‘Auf after the latter’s raid on al-Anb¡r and al-Hait. So he came out in pursuit of them until he passed al-Hait but could not reach them (٥:١٣٤). There is no mention of him after this report, or any trace of him in [the books of] history. [In any case,] his imprisonment of Ab£ °arb al-Sab¢’¢ was, perhaps, during his governership over Hamad¡n or Rayy during the time of ‘Uthm¡n.

[Ab£ °arb] said: ‘Verily, we belong to Allah! How painful it is for me. By Allah, You are destroyed. By Allah, you are destroyed O Burair!’

[Burair] said: ‘O Ab¡ °arb! Is there any way for you to repent for your great sins?! For by Allah, we are the ones who are indeed the pure, while you people are, indeed, the impure ones!’

[Ab£ °arb mockingly] said: ‘And I bear witness to that!’

So I [i.e. ®a||¡k] said to him: ‘Woe onto you! Did your knowledge not benefit you?!’

[Ab£ °arb scornfully] said: ‘May I be sacrificed for you. Who will then carouse with Yaz¢d bin ‘Adharah al-Anz¢ who is here with me?!’

[Burair] said: ‘May Allah make your opinion vile! You are in any way a fool!’ [Hearing this,] he went away.”[١]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢١): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘[I relate] from ®a||¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘ª¥im …’”

THE DAY OF ‘ªSH¬Rª’

On the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’ –which fell on Saturday- ‘Umar bin Sa‘d offered the morning prayers and then came out with his men.[١]

‘Abdullah bin Zuhair al-Azd¢[٢] was at the time leading the quarter of the people of Mad¢nah. The quarter of Madh¦ij and Asad was led by ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Ab¢ Sabrah al-Ju’f¢[٣], while Qais bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais [al-Kind¢] was in charge of the group of Rab¢’ah and Kindah. °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Riy¡¦¢ [al-Tam¢m¢ al-Yarb£’¢] was leading the quarter of Tam¢m and Hamd¡n.

‘Umar bin Sa‘d put ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j al-Zubaidiyy on his right wing and Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan al-®abb¡b¢ al-Kil¡b¢ on his left wing. ‘Azarah bin Qais al-A¦mas¢ was given the command of the cavalry and Shabath bin Rib’¢ al-Riy¡¦¢ [al-Tam¢m¢] of the foot soldiers. He gave the standard

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢١-٤٢٢): “Ab£ Mikhnaf reports: ‘[I narrate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘ª¥im from ®a¦¦¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢…”

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He was on the right wing of ‘Adiyy bin Watt¡d –the leader of the pilgrims from Rayy- during his battle with Mu§arraf bin al-Mugh¢rah bin Shu’bah in I¥fah¡n (٦:٢٩٦). The last thing we read about him in *al-±abar¢* is that he was among the guards of al-Saghd in ١٠٢ H and sustained many injuries therein, such that he became like a porcupine as a result of the arrows that struck his body (٦:٦١٣). There is no mention of him before Karbal¡’ [in the books of history].

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: He is the one whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy in the year ٥١ H (٥:٢٧٠). He was leading the foot soldiers from the Madh¦ij and Asad. Shamir had incited him to slaughter (*dhib¦*) al-°usain (‘a) but he refused and cursed him (٥:٤٥٠).

to Dhuwaid, his retainer.[١]

When the cavalry approached al-°usain [‘a] in the morning, he raised his hands and said: “O Allah, it is You in whom I trust amid all grief. You are my hope amid all difficulties. You are my trust and provision in everything that happens to me. How many a calamity in which the heart may seem to weaken and trickery may seem to diminish and the friend may seem to desert [me] and the enemy may seem to rejoice, [but] I brought [it] before You and complained to You of it; that was because of my turning away from [all] other than You; and You averted it and warded it off. You are the Master of all blessings, the Possessor of all goodness and the Ultimate Resort of all desire.”[٢]

[®a||¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢, the one among the companions of al-°usain (‘a) who survived on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’] reports:

“When they approached us and saw the fire burning the firewood and cane -which we had set on fire behind our tents to prevent them from attacking us from the rear- one of them came towards us galloping [his horse] while he was fully armed. He did not speak to us but just passed by our tents and had a look at them, but he saw nothing except the firewood that was ablaze. So he returned and called out at the top of

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٢): “Fu¤ail bin Fad¢j al-Kind¢ has narrated to me on the authority of Mu¦ammad bin Bishr from ‘Amru al-°a¤ram¢ that…”

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٣): “[I relate this] on the authority of some of the companions [of Ab£ Mikhnaf] who reported from Ab£ Kh¡lid al-K¡hil¢...” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٣) who narrated it from ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain [‘a]. Since Ab£ Kh¡lid is among the companions of Imam al-Sajj¡d (‘a), he must be relating the report from him, though *al-±abar¢* does not explicitly mention this.

his voice: ‘O °usain! Are you hurrying to the fire before the Day of Resurrection?’

Al-°usain (‘a) said: ‘Who is that? [It sounds] like Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan?’

His companions said: ‘Yes, may Allah guide you. It is him.’

[Al-°usain] then said: ‘Son of a goat-herdess! You deserve most to be burnt therein!’

So Muslim bin ‘Awsajah said to him: ‘O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is within my range and I never miss the target. This vicious man is one of the great tyrants.’

[But] al-°usain [‘a] said to him: ‘Do not shoot at him, for I dislike to begin [fighting] against them.”[١]

[The First Speech of the Imam (‘a)]

When the enemy had neared him, he [called] for his mount and mounted it. He then called out at he top of his voice which was heard by most of the people [and said]:

“O people! Listen to my words and do not hurry [to attack me] so that I may remind you of the duties you have towards me, so that I may free myself from any blame for coming to you. If you accept my excuse, believe in what I say and give me justice, you will become happier through that and you will have no reason to fight against me. [But] if you do not accept my excuse and do not give me justice of your own accord, ‘So conspire together, along with your partners, leaving

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٣): “‘Abdullah bin ‘ª¥im has related to me saying: ‘®a||¡k al-Mushriq¢ narrated to me…” See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٤).

nothing vague in your plan, then carry it out against me without giving me any respite.’[١] ‘My guardian is indeed Allah who sent down the Book, and He takes care of the righteous.’”[٢]

When his sisters heard what he said, they screamed and lamented. His daughters also [began] weeping and their voices rose. So [al-°usain (‘a)] sent to them his brother, ‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢, and his son, ‘Al¢, and told them: “Make them silent. For by my life, they are going to weep even more.”

When the women became quite, he praised Allah and extolled Him and mentioned what He is entitled to. He called for blessings on Mu¦ammad (¥) and on the angels and the prophets.

[Here the reporter says:] “By Allah, I have never heard a speaker before or after him more eloquent in his speech than he was.”

He then said: “Trace back my lineage and consider who I am?! Then look back at yourselves and remonstrate with yourselves. Then consider whether it is right for you to kill me and to violate my sanctity. Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet, and the son of his successor and cousin, the first of the believers in Allah and the one who believed [first] in what the Messenger brought from his Lord? Was not °amzah, the lord of the martyrs, the uncle of my father?! Was not Ja’far, the martyr, the one who flies [in Heaven] and the one with two wings, my uncle?! Have you not heard the words common amidst you that the Messenger of Allah (¥) said to me and my

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[١] Qur’an, ١٠:٧١.
[٢] Qur’an, ٧:١٩٦.

brother: ‘These [two] are the lords of the youths of Paradise?’

If you believe in what I am saying, [then know that] it is the truth, for, by Allah, I never thought of lying since I learnt that Allah hated the liars and that he punishes the one who lies. [But] if you regard it as a lie, then there are among you those who, if you asked them about it, would inform you [that the Prophet (¥) had said so]. Ask J¡bir bin ‘Abdillah al-An¥¡r¢[١], or Ab£ Sa’¢d al-Khu¤r¢[٢], or Sahl bin Sa‘d al-S¡’id¢[٣], or Zayd

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: J¡bir bin ‘Abdullah al-An¥¡r¢ refused to pay allegiance to Mu’¡wiyah at the hands of Busr bin Ar§¡t in the year ٤٠ H, that was before the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Al¢ (‘a). J¡bir maintained that this was an allegiance to falsehood. But he came under pressure from Busr and had to give allegiance out of fear for his life (٥:١٣٩). In the year ٥٠ H, when Mu’¡wiyah went on pilgrimage and was intending to move the pulpit and the staff of the Prophet of Allah [¥] to Sh¡m, J¡bir stopped him and he desisted [from doing that] (٥:٢٣٩). In the year ٧٤ H when °ajj¡j entered Mad¢nah on the orders of ‘Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet [¥] contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was J¡bir bin ‘Abdillah al-An¥¡r¢ (٦:١٩٥).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: When the Holy Prophet (¥) was examining his companions for the battle of U¦ud, he rejected Ab£ Sa’¢d because of being too young (٢:٥٠٥). Ab£ Sa’¢d used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (¥) on the merits of ‘Al¢ (‘a) (٣:١٤٩). However, he was one of those who refused to pay allegiance to ‘Al¢ (‘a) after the murder of ‘Uthm¡n and was among his partisans (*‘uthm¡n¢*) (٤:٤٣٠).

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: He used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (¥) on the merits of ‘Al¢ (‘a) (٣:٤٠٩). He also reported that ‘ªishah had ordered ‘Uthm¡n bin °unaif to be killed and later to be imprisoned (٤:٤٦٨). He has also narrated reports about ‘Al¢ (‘a) (٤:٥٤٧). In the year ٧٤ H when °ajj¡j entered Mad¢nah on the orders of ‘Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet [¥] contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Sahl bin Sa’d. °ajj¡j had accused him of betraying ‘Uthm¡n (٦:١٩٥).

bin Arqam[١],

or Anas bin M¡lik[٢] and they will inform you that they have heard this statement from the Prophet of Allah (¥) concerning myself and my brother. Is there not [sufficient] in this to prevent you shedding my blood?!”

Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan said: “Whoever understands what you are saying is [indeed] worshipping Allah on the fringe.”[٣]

So °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir said to him: “By Allah, I think you are worshipping Allah on seventy edges. I testify that you are right, you do not understand what he is saying; for indeed Allah has sealed your heart [from the truth].”

Al-°usain [‘a] then told them: “If you are in any doubt about this, then are you going to doubt what I am going to say after

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He used to narrate the merits of ‘Al¢ (‘a) (٢:٣١٠). Zayd is the one who informed the Holy Prophet (¥) of the words of ‘Abdullah bin Ubayy bin Sal£l, the hypocrite (٢:٦٠٥). He was [also] the one who objected to Ibn Ziy¡d and stopped him from hitting the lips of Ab£ ‘Abdillah (‘a) (٥:٤٥٦). Zayd passed away in the year ٦٨ H, as reported in *A’l¡m al-War¡* (٤:١٨٨).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: It was by the assistance of Anas bin M¡lik that ‘Umar [bin al-Kha§§¡b] could appoint Ab£ M£s¡ al-Ash’ar¢ over Ba¥rah in ١٧ H (٤:٧١). He participated in the conquest of Tustar (٤:٨٦). He was among those who aroused people in Ba¥rah to help ‘Uthm¡n in the year ٣٥ H (٤:٣٥٢). He was [also] among those in Ba¥rah from whom Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h had asked for help in ٤٥ H (٥:٢٢٤). Anas was in Ba¥rah on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’. After Ibn Ziy¡d was killed in ٦٤ H, Ibn al-Zubair appointed him as the governor of Ba¥rah. He led the people in prayers for ٤٠ days (٥:٥٢٨). When °ajj¡j took over Mad¢nah in ٦٤ H for ‘Abd al-Malik and was treating contemptuously the companions of the Prophet [¥] and branding them by their necks, he [also] branded Anas with the intention of humiliating him on account of his acceptance of the governership for Ibn al-Zubair (٦:١٩٥).

[٣] See also *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٥٢; Najaf edition).

this? Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet? By Allah, there is no son of the daughter of a prophet, between the East and the West, other than me; neither from among you, nor from other than you. I, only, am the son of the daughter of your Prophet. Now tell me, are you seeking retribution from me for one of your dead whom I have killed, or for property [of yours] which I expropriated, or are you seeking retaliation for a wound [which I have inflicted on one of you]?"

[They remained silent and] did not say anything to him.

Then he called out: "O Shabath bin Rib'¢, O °ajj¡r bin Abjar, O Qais bin al-Ash'ath, O Yaz¢d bin °¡rith! Did you not write to me [saying]: 'The fruits have ripened, the gardens have grown green and the water spots have been filled. You are only coming to an army which has been prepared for you. So come'?"

They replied: "We did not!"[١]

So he said [with amazement]: "Glory be to Allah! Indeed, by Allah you did so." Then he said: "O people! [Now] that you dislike me, let me go away from you to a secured place on this earth."

So Qais bin al-Ash'ath said to him: "Will you not submit to the authority of the sons of your uncle [i.e. the Ban£ Umayyah]?! They will only treat you the way you wish and

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[١] Ibn al-Jawz¢ writes in *al-Tadkhirah* (pg.٢٥١): "They said: 'We do not know what you are talking about. °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Yarb£'¢ was one of their chiefs, so he said: 'Yes, by Allah, we have written to you and we are the ones who have invited you to come. May Allah distance the falsehood and its followers. By Allah, I will not choose this world over the hereafter."

nothing detestful will touch you from them!”

Al-°usain [‘a] said: “You are the brother of your brother [i.e. Mu¦ammad bin al-Ash’ath]. Do you want the Ban£ H¡shim to seek [retribution] from you for more than the blood of Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l?! Nay by Allah, I will not give them my hand like one who has been humiliated, nor will I submit [to their demands] like the submission (*iqr¡r*) of the slaves![١] O servants of Allah! ‘I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord, lest you should stone me.’[٢] ‘Indeed I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord from every arrogant one who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning.’”[٣]

Then, [he returned to (his tent)] and made his mount kneel and ordered ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n to tie it up and he did so.[٤]

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[١] Both al-Muf¢d in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٥) and after him Ibn Nam¡ in *Muth¢r al-A¦z¡n* (pg.٢٦) have recorded this statement of the Imam (‘a) in the following manner: “And I will not flee like a slave.” Al-Muqarram has preferred [in *al-Maqtal*] this version [to the one which appears in this text]. However, the more suitable statement [among these two] as an answer to Ibn Ash’ath’s question is [that which contains the concept of] ‘submission’ (*iqr¡r*), and not ‘fleeing’ (*fir¡r*); because what Ibn al-Ash’ath proposed to the Imam (‘a) was submission [to the authority of the Ban£ Umayyah], not to flee [to some secured place]. Although al-Muqarram attests the validity of his preference by citing the following statement of Imam ‘Al¢ (‘a) regarding Ma¥qalah bin Hubairah: ‘And he fled like the fleeing of a slave’, but that action of Ma¥qalah does not, in any way, conform with the circumstances al-°usain (‘a) was in, as it is very obvious.

[٢] Qur’an, ٤٤:٢٠.

[٣] Qur’an, ٤٠:٢٧.

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٣-٤٢٦): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘‘Abdullah bin ‘ª¥im has narrated to me that ®a¦¡k al-Mushriq¢ said…”

[The Speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain]

Zuhair bin al-Qain then went out on his thick-tailed (*dhan£b*) horse [while he was] fully armed. He said to them:

“O People of K£fah! Beware of the punishment of Allah, beware! Indeed a Muslim is obliged to admonish his fellow Muslim brother. So long as the sword does not separate us, we are [all] brothers, following the same religion, members of the same nation and [in that case] you are worthy of our advice. But when the sword comes [inbetween us], the bond [of brotherhood] will get severed. We will become a community and you will become a [different] community.

Allah has put you and us into test through the children of his Prophet, Mu¦ammad (¥), so that He may see what we and you are going to do in their right. We are inviting you to support them and to abandon the tyrant, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d; for, indeed, you have only seen evil throughout their rule. They gouged your eyes, severed your hands and legs, mutilated your bodies and crucified you on date palms. They killed the exemplary personalities among you and the reciters of the Qur’an like °ujr bin ‘Adiyy[١] and his companions, H¡ni’ bin

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: °ujr was in the reinforcement troops sent from Yemen to the battle of al-Q¡disiyyah in ١٦ H (٤:٢٧). He was among the first people from K£fah to answer to the call of ‘Al¢ (‘a) for the battle of Jamal (٥:٤٨٥). He was one of those who had risen against ‘Uthm¡n (٤:٤٨٨). °ujr was the head of the Madh¦ij and the Ash’ariyy¢n, who were from Yemen residing in K£fah (٤:٥٠٠). He was with ‘Al¢ (‘a) at ¯iff¢n and participated in the battle (٤:٥٧٤). He was among the witnesses to the agreed document for [choosing] the two arbitrators at ¯iff¢n (٥:٥٤). He was on the command of the right wing of ‘Al¢ (‘a) in the battle of Nahraw¡n against the Khaw¡rij (٥:٨٥). In the year ٣٩ H, ‘Al¢ (‘a) dispatched him with ٤٠٠٠ men from K£fah to encounter the raid of ®a¦¡k bin Qais who had come with ٣٠٠٠ soldiers. °ujr met ®a¦¡k at Tadmur in the

‘Urwah and his likes.”

[Hearing this,] they started abusing him and praising ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d and prayed for him. They said: “By Allah, we will not leave [this place] until after we have killed your master and those with him, or send him and and his companions to the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d as captives!”

Zuhair said: “O Servants of Allah, the children of F¡§imah, may Allah’s pleasure be with her, are more entitled to [your] love and help than the son of Sumayyah.[١] If you are not

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Syrian border. He had killed twenty men from ®a¦¡k’s army when the night set in and ®a¦¡k fled, so °ujr returned (٥:١٣٥). When Mu’¡wiyah came to K£fah in the Year of Unity, he appointed Mugh¢rah bin Shu’bah over the city. Mugh¢rah used to abuse ‘Al¢ (‘a) and °ujr used to strongly refute him. This continued until Mugh¢ra died. When Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h was appointed by Mu’¡wiyah to replace Mugh¢rah [and he continued with the same practice of abusing ‘Al¢ (‘a),] °ujr once again stood against him in defence of ‘Al¢ (‘a). Ziy¡d thus arrested him and sent him to Mu’¡wiyah who killed him (٥:٢٧٠).

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Sumayyah was the adulteress slave. She was among those prostitutes who had banners [on top of their houses reflecting their identity] during the days of Ignorance (*j¡hiliyyah*). Six men from Quraish had slept with her and as a result she gave birth to Ziy¡d. The six men contended for the child but his actual father could not be known. He thus came to be known as Ziy¡d bin Ab¢h, or Ziy¡d bin ‘Ubaid, or Ziy¡d bin Sumayyah. Later, Mu’¡wiyah claimed him as the son of his father, Ab£ Sufy¡n, thus he also came to be known as Ziy¡d bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n.

When Mu’¡wiyah appointed him over K£fah, he arrested °ujr and gathered witnesses against him. When Ziy¡d saw the name of Shadd¡d bin Baz¢’ah among the witnesses, he said: “Has he not a father to be attributed to him! Take him off from the witnesses.” So it was said to him: “He is the brother of al-°u¥ain, son of Ibn al-Mundhir.” Ziy¡d said: “Then attribute him to his father.” So his name was recorded together with that of his father. When Shadd¡d

heard about this incident he retorted: “Woe onto the son of the adulteress! Is not his mother much known than his father is?! By Allah, [Ziy¡d] has not been attributed but to his mother, Sumayyah!” (٥:٢٧٠).

Yaz¢d bin Mufarragh al-°imyar¢ was with ‘Abb¡d bin Ziy¡d, the brother of ‘Ubaidullah, during the wars on Sajist¡n. They happened to be under constraint when Ibn Mufarragh swore at ‘Abb¡d by reciting the following verses:

When Mu’¡wiyah bin °arb perishes, know that the base of your bowl has broken.

Be witness that your mother did not sleep with Ab£ Sufy¡n as a chaste woman.

It was a dubious affair surrounded by great apprehension and dismay.

He also said:

Has not the parcel from the man from Yemen reached Mu’¡wiyah bin °arb,

Do you get angry when it is said that your father is chaste, but are pleased when it is said that your father is a fornicator?

Know that your kinship with Ziy¡d is like the relationship of an elephant with the young of a she donkey.

A man from descendants of Ziy¡d called al-¯ughd¡ bin Salam bin °arb came to see Mahd¢, the Abbasid caliph, while he was looking into public complaints. So he asked him: “Who are you?” The man replied: “Your cousin.” “Which cousin of mine are you?” asked Mahd¢. So the man traced back his lineage to Ziy¡d! So Mahd¢ said to him: “Son of Sumayyah, the adulteress! When did you become my cousin?” He then ordered him to be beaten and taken out.

Mahd¢ then turned towards those who were present and said: “Who has knowledge about the family of Ziy¡d?” But no one of them knew anything. Later, one of those who were present in the court of Mahd¢ called «s¡ bin M£s¡, or M£s¡ bin «s¡, happened to meet Ab£ ‘Al¢ Sulaim¡n and requested him to write for him all he has been saying about Ziy¡d and his family, so that he could take it to Mahd¢. So Ab£ ‘Al¢ wrote and sent it to the caliph through «s¡ bin M£s¡.

H¡r£n al-Rash¢d was at that time the governer of Ba¥rah for Mahd¢. So Mahd¢ wrote a letter to H¡r£n al-Rash¢d instructing

him to remove the names of the members of the family of Ziy¡d from the account books of the treasury (*d¢w¡n*) of the Quraish and the Arabs. Some of what he wrote to him is as follows:

“The decision of Mu’¡wiyah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n in claiming Ziy¡d - son of ‘Ubaid who was a slave of the family of ‘Al¡j, from the tribe of Thaq¢f- as the son of Ab£ Sufy¡n was rejected by the community of the Muslims after the death of Mu’¡wiyah. This decision was not accepted even during his lifetime by many personalities known for their contentment, merits, piety and knowledge; that was because they knew well [the personality of] Ziy¡d, his father and mother.

Mu’¡wiyah had not done that out of piety or guidance, or because of following an upright tradition, or due to the authority he received from the past rightful leaders; rather, he did that [for several reasons:] out of desire to destroy his religion and the hereafter, his determination to oppose the Book and the Sunnah, taking pride in the extension of his kinsmen and influence, and [finally] because he expected him to support and assist him on [the path of] falsehood he was inclined to, from his evil deeds to his evil conduct. [All this on one side,] while the Prophet of Allah (¥) has said: ‘The child belongs to the husband (*fir¡sh*) [i.e. the husband of the woman who committed adultery], and the adulterer (*‘¡hir*) gets the stone [i.e. the man who committed adultery with the married woman gets nothing].’ He also said: ‘Whoever is named behind other than his father, or traces back his origin to other than those who are related to him, then the curse of Allah, [His] angels and of the mankind is upon him. Allah will not accept from him repentance or [any] ransom.’

By my life, Ziy¡d was neither born in the lap of Ab£ Sufy¡n [i.e. under his guardianship], nor in his bed [i.e. as a result of his sleeping with Sumayyah]. Nor ‘Ubaid was his slave, nor was Sumayyah his maid. Neither of the two were part of his possession, nor did they become part his property through any means. Therefore, by claiming Ziy¡d as the son of Ab£ Sufy¡n, Mu’¡wiyah went against the ruling of Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and against the orders of the Prophet of Allah (¥). He followed in that his own desire [becaused he] disliked the truth and wanted to move away from it. Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘And who is more astray than him who follows his desires without any guidance from Allah? Indeed Allah does not guide the wrongdoing lot’

willing to help them, then I seek refuge for you with Allah that you should kill them. Leave this man [alone] with his cousin, Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah. For by my life, Yaz¢d will consider you obedient even if you do not kill al-°usain (‘a).”

[Here] Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan shot an arrow at him and said: “Quite! May Allah silence your voice. You have wearied us by your prattle!”

So Zuhair said to him: “O Son of the one who used to urinate on the heels of his feet. I am not speaking to you; you are, indeed, an animal! By Allah, I do not think that you can read properly even two verses from the Book of Allah!

[Qur’an, ٢٨:٥٠]. And Allah tells [Prophet] D¡w£d (‘a), whom he had granted wisdom, prophethood and wealth: ‘O D¡w£d! Indeed We have made you a vicegerent on the earth. So judge between people with justice’ [Qur’an, ٣٨:٢٦].

In a similar incident known to the people who preserve the narrations, when Mu’¡wiyah was speaking to the associates of the Ban£ Mugh¢rah from the Makhz£m, who intended to claim Na¥r bin °ajj¡j al-Salam¢ as one of their family members, he threw at them a stone which he had prepared for that beneath his bed – following the words of the Holy Prophet: ‘…And the adulterer deserves the stone’. So the Ban£ Mugh¢rah retorted: ‘Should we let you do what you did in the case of Ziy¡d, but you are not ready to accept what we have done in the case of our companion [i.e. Na¥r]? So Mu’¡wiyah replied: ‘The ruling of the Prophet of Allah (¥) is better for you than the judgement of Mu’¡wiyah!” (٨:١٣١).

It is known from here that though Zuhair bin al-Qain was a follower of ‘Uthm¡n before he was guided aright and he answered the call of the Imam (‘a), he was angry on Mu’¡wiyah [right from those days]; because of his claiming Ziy¡d as his family member and killing °ujr bin ‘Adiyy. This shows that, in reality, Zuhair was prepared from within to leave the side of ‘Uthm¡n and to show his resentment for Mu’¡wiyah, his son Yaz¢d, and their governers, as he was equally ready to answer the call of the Imam (‘a) for rising against them.

Humiliation and a painful punishment is awaiting you on the Day of Resurrection!”

Shamir said to him: “Allah is soon going to kill you and your master!”

[Zuhair] said: “Do you threaten me with death? By Allah, it is dearer for me to die with him than to live with you [people] forever!” He then turned to the people raising his voice and said:

“Servants of Allah! This rude and rough man and his likes should not deceive you with regard to your religion; for by Allah the intercession of Mu¦ammad (¥) shall not reach those who spill the blood of his offspring and household, and kill those who helped them and defended their sanctity!”

A man called out [Zuhair] and said: “Ab£ ‘Abdillah is saying [to you]: “Come back. By my life, if the believing man from among the people of Fir’aun[١] had admonished his people and did his best in inviting them [to the right path], you also have admonished these people and done your best, if only admonition and invitation was of benefit to them.”[٢]

[The Return of °urr al-Riy¡¦¢]

When ‘Umar bin Sa‘d began to march [against al-°usain],

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[١] The Imam (‘a) likens him to the believer from the people of Fir’aun because Zuhair was previously a partisan of ‘Uthm¡n. So it is as if he was from among the Ban£ Umayyah [who later changed his stance and joined the camp of truth].

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٦): “‘Al¢ bin °an¨alah bin As’ad al-Sh¡m¢ has narrated to me from a man from his tribe called Kath¢r bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’b¢ -who witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain- that: ‘When we advanced against al-°usain, Zuhair bin al-Qain came out to us…’” This speech has also been related by al-Ya’q£b¢ (٢:٢٣٠; Najaf edition).

°urr bin Yazǿd said to him: “May Allah guide you! Are you going to fight this man?!”

He said: “Yes, by Allah! I am going to fight him a battle the least part of which will be heads falling and severed hands flying.”

[°urr] said: “Is not any of the options he proposed to you acceptable?”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: “By Allah, if the matter rested with me, I would have [considered it]. But your governer has refused [any alternative].”

So °urr went and stood apart from the people. With him was a man from his tribe called Qurrah bin Qais.[١] [°urr] said: “Qurrah! Have you watered your horse today?”

He replied: “No.”

[°urr] asked: “Do you want to water it?”

[Here Qurrah] says that: “By Allah, I thought that (°urr) intended to leave the battle so that he may not witness it, but was unwilling to be seen by me when he left lest I should report against him. So I asked him: ‘I have not watered it, but I am [just] going to water it.’ Then I left the point where he was. By Allah, had he told me what he was intending to do, I would have gone with him to al- °usain [‘a].”

[In the meanwhile,] °urr gradually began to move closer to al-°usain [‘a]. A man from among his tribe called Muh¡jir bin

[١] We have given his biography under the reports which discuss the arrival of the Imam (‘a) at Karbal¡’. °abǿb bin Mu¨¡hir had invited him to help the Imam (‘a) and he promised him to think about this, but he did not come back. It seems that he is relating this report and claiming it.

Aws[1] asked him: “What do you want to do, O son of Yaz¢d? Do you want to attack [them]?”

[°urr] remained silent and [instead] a great shudder came over him. So the man said: “Son of Yaz¢d! By Allah, the state you are in makes me suspicious. By Allah, I have never seen in you something like this before. If I was asked who was the bravest [man] from the people of K£fah, I would not neglect to mention you. So what is this I see in you [today]?”

[°urr] said: “By Allah, I see myself between Heaven and the fire [of hell]. By Allah, I will not choose anything before Heaven, even though I am cut to pieces and burnt.” [With that] he whipped his horse and joined al-°usain [‘a].

[When he saw al-°usain (‘a)] he said to him: “May I be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! I was your companion who stopped you from returning. I accompanied you along the road and made you stop in this place. By Allah beside whom there is no diety, I did not think that the people would refuse to respond to what you have offered them and that they would ever come to this position [which they have now come to] with regard to you. Thus I said to myself: I am not concerned if I obey the people in some of the matters, so that they may not think that I no longer obey them. [I told myself] that these people will accept the offer al-°usain has made to them. By Allah, if I had known that they would not accept that from you, I would not have done what I did with you. [But now] I have come to you repenting to my Lord for what I have committed and [I now intend] to support you until I die before you. Are you going to accept this as repentance?”

The [Imam (‘a)] said: “Yes, Allah will accept your repentance

[1] He, together with al-Sha’b¢, were the killers of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

and forgive you. What is your name?”

He replied: “I am °urr bin Yaz¢d.”[١]

[Al-°usain] said: “You are indeed a freeman (¦*urr*) as your mother named you. You are free, by the will of Allah, in this world and the hereafter. Get down.”

[°urr] said: “You will have no horseman better than me. I will fight with them on my horse for sometime and when I come down, [then] that will be my end.”

Al-°usain (‘a) said: “Do as you deem fine.”

[The Speech of °urr]

So [°urr] advanced in front of [al-°usain’s] companions and said [addressing the army of Ibn Sa‘d]: “O people! Are you not going to accept from al-°usain what he has offered you so that may Allah save you from having to go to war with him and fight him?”

They replied: “Here is the commander, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d. Talk to him.” So [°urr] told him all that he had told him and his army before this.

‘Umar [bin Sa‘d] replied: “I have done all that I could. If I had a way to that, I would have certainly considered [his offer].”

[°urr then turned towards the people and] said: “O people of K£fah! May destruction befall your mothers! For you summoned him [to come to you], [now] when he has come to you, you have handed him over [to his enemies]! You claimed to fight with your own lives for him, [but] you have begun to attack him in order to kill him. You have laid hold of his life and seized his throat. You have encircled him on every side in order to prevent him from

[١] Perhaps °urr was armed to the teeth and his head bowed in shame that the Imam (‘a) could not recognize him, and so he had to inquire about his identity. Otherwise, he knew him from before.

going to the broad land of Allah so that he and his family might be safe. He has become like a captive in your hands; he has no longer the power over his profit or loss. You have prevented him, his womenfolk, his children, and his companions from [drinking] the water of the Euphrates which Jews, Christians and Majians may drink, and in which the pigs and the dogs of Saw¡d wallow. Here are the [family of al-°usain] who have been overcome by thirst. How wickedly you have treated the offspring left by Mu¦ammad after him! May Allah not give you water to drink on the Day of Thirst if you do not repent and desist from this stand of your’s on this day and at this moment.”[١]

Some of the foot-soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him. So he went and stood infront of al-°usain (‘a).[٢]

One of the people who had advanced [from K£fah] with ‘Umar bin Sa‘d against al-°usain was Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d bin Muh¡¥ir. When they rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-°usain (‘a), Yaz¢d got inclined to [al-°usain (‘a) and joined him].[٣] [Therefore, he was among those who were guided on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’ by the speech of °urr al-Riy¡¦¢].

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[١] See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٥) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٥٢).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٧): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘I relate on the authority of Ab£ Jan¡b al-Kalb¢ from ‘Adiyy bin °armalah who said…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٥).

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٥): “Fu¤ail bun Khudaij al-Kind¢ has narrated to me that Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d, who is Ab£ al-Sha’sh¡’ al-Kind¢, from the Ban£ Bahdalah…”

THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE

‘Umar bin Sa‘d advanced towards [the camp of al-°usain (‘a)] and called out: “Dhuwaid![1] Bring your standard closer!” So he brought it nearer. [Ibn Sa‘d] then put an arrow in his bow and let it fly. He said: “Be witnesses that I was the first [person] to shoot.”[2] When ‘Umar bin Sa‘d came closer and shot an arrow, the people began to shoot at each other.

Then Yas¡r, the retainer of Ziy¡d bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n, and S¡lim, the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d, came forward and said: “Who is ready to combat us? Let some of you come forward.”

So °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir and Burair bin °u¤air jumped up [to go to meet them], but al-°usain (‘a) said to them: “Sit down.”

Then ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umair al-Kalb¢[3] stood and said: “O Ab¡

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[1] Al-Muf¢d refers to him in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٣&٢٣٦; Najaf edition) as ‘Duraid’.

[2] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٩): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘I narrate on the authority of ¯aq’ab bin Zuhair and Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid, from °umaid bin Muslim…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٦).

[3] *Al-±abar¢*: He had come to K£fah and took up residence near Bi’r al-Ju’d where people of the tribe of Hamd¡n used to live. He saw the people being examined at al-Nukhailah in order to be sent against al-°usain (‘a). So he inquired about them and was told: ‘They are going to be sent against °usain bin F¡§imah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (¥).’ Al-Kalb¢ said: ‘By Allah, I was [very] eager to participate in the *jih¡d* against the idolaters. I hope that the *jih¡d* against these people, who are going to fight the son of the daughter of their Prophet, is not lesser in reward before Allah than the reward he would have given me for fighting the *mushrik¢n*!’ (٥:٤٢٩)
He had a wife called Umm Wahab. He went to his wife and informed her of what he heard and of what he intended to do. She said: ‘You are right. May Allah guide you to the most correct of

‘Abdillah –may Allah have mercy on you, allow me to go and meet them.” Al-°usain (‘a) found him to be tall, strong and with broad shoulders. Al-°usain (‘a) said: “I think he can kill his peers! Go if you wish.” So he went out to meet them.

The two [men] said to him: “Who are you.” So he gave them his lineage. They said: “We do not know you. Let Zuhair bin al-Qain or °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir or Burair bin °udair come out against us!”

Yas¡r, [the retainer of Ziy¡d], was ready for combat before S¡lim [the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d]. So al-Kalb¢ said to [Yas¡r]: “O son of adulteress! It seems you do not like to combat with any one who comes forward. [Know that] no one is going to come to fight you except that he is better than you.” With that he attacked him and struck him with his sword until he died.

While [al-Kalb¢] was occupied striking [Yas¡r] with his sword, S¡lim [the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah] attacked him. [Al-°usain’s companions] cried out [in warning]: “The [other] servant is closing in on you.” [Al-Kalb¢] did not pay attention to him until [S¡lim] was upon him and gave him an unexpected blow. [Ibn al-Kalb¢] warded off his blow with his left arm but the fingers of his left hand were cut off. Then he turned on [S¡lim] and struck him and killed him.

After having killed them both, he recited the following as he was returning:

If you do not know me, I am the son of Kalb¢. It is sufficient for me as a noble descent that my family is from the Ban£

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your affairs. Do so and take me with you!’ So he left [K£fah] at night together with her until he joined al-°usain [‘a] and stayed with him.

‘Ulaim.

I am a man of bitterness and anger, I am not a weakling in the face of disaster.

I guarantee you O Umm Wahab, I will stab and strike them and make my way ahead.

The blow of a young man who believes in the Lord.

Umm Wahab, his wife [who was witnessing the combat of al-Kalb¢], took up the post [of a tent] and began going towards her husband while she said to him: “May my father and mother be your ransom. Fight for the pure ones, the childeren of Mu¦ammad!” [Seeing this] al-Kalb¢ tried to send her back where the women were, but she held on to his clothes, pulling it back and forth. She said: “I will never leave you until I die along with you!”

So al-°usain (‘a) called her and said: “May you be rewarded the best on behalf of [my] family. Go back to the women – may Allah have mercy on you - and sit with them; for women have no obligation to fight.”

Umm Wahab then returned to the [place where the] women [had gathered].

[The First Attack]

‘Amru bin °ajj¡j, who had the command of the right wing of the people, launched an attack on the right wing of [al-°usain (‘a)]. When he [and his forces] drew near to al-°usain (‘a), [the followers of al-°usain (‘a)] knelt down and pointed their spears at them. Hence, the horses [of the attackers] could not come forward against the spears and began to retreat. The [companions of al-°usain (‘a)] began to shoot arrows at them,

killing some of them and wounding others.[١]

[A Miracle and Guidance]

A man from the Ban£ Tam¢m called ‘Abdullah bin °awzah [came forward and] stopped in front of al-°usain (‘a) and said: “°usain! °usain!”

Al-°usain [‘a] said: “What do you want?”

He said: “Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: “Never! I am advancing to a merciful Lord and an intercessor who is listened to [i.e. the Prophet]. Who is that?”

His companions said to him: “This is Ibn °awzah.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: “O Lord, drive him into the fire!”

With that his horse upset him in a creek and he fell in it, [such that] his leg was stuck in the stirrups and he fell to the ground headfirst. The horse galloped off [dragging] him [along] while his head struck every stone and tree until he died![٢]

Masr£q bin W¡il says: “I was at the front of the cavalry that was advancing towards [the camp of] al-°usain [‘a]. I said to myself: let me be at the front. The head of al-°usain might fall in my hands and by that I will gain status before ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. When we reached al-°usain [‘a], a man from the [army of Ibn Sa‘d] called Ibn °awzah came forward and said: “Is al-°usain amidst you?”

Al-°usain (‘a) kept silent. He said that for a second time, but

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢٩): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Ab£ Jan¡b has related to me [saying]…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٦; Najaf edition).
[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٠): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Ab£ Ja’far °usain narrated to me saying…”

al-°usain did not reply. When he said it the third time, al-°usain [‘a] said: “Tell him: yes, al-°usain is here. What do you want?”

The man said: “O °usain! Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] retorted: “You are lying. I am advancing to a forgiving Lord and an intercessor who is listened to. Who are you?”

He replied: “Ibn °awzah.”

Al-°usain [‘a] then raised both his hands -such that we could see the whiteness of his armpits through his clothes- and prayed: “O Allah, take him away from us and throw him into the hell fire.”

Ibn °awzah became angry and wanted to attack [al-°usain (‘a)] with his horse. A brook ran between them. [As he was mounting his horse] his leg got stuck in the stirrups. The horse started moving and he [was upset by that] and fell to the ground. His foot, calf and thigh were severed and were left hanging on the stirrups.

‘Abd al-Jabb¡r bin W¡’il al-°a¤ram¢ narrates: “Masr£q left the cavalry behind him and came back. So I asked him what had happened and he said: ‘Indeed, I have seen from the people of this House [i.e. of the Prophet (¥)] something that I will never fight them!’[١]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٢١): “[I narrate] on the authority of ‘A§¡ bin S¡ib from ‘Abd al-Jabb¡r bin W¡il al-°a¤ram¢, who was relating from his brother, Masr£q bin W¡il, that…”

[The Malediction of Burair and His Martyrdom]

Yaz¢d bin Ma'qil came forward from the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd and said: "Burair bin °u¤air! Do you not see what Allah has done to you?!"

He replied: "By Allah, He has done good to me and evil to you!"

[Ibn Ma'qil] said: "You are lying. You were not a liar before this! Do you remember –[one day] as I was walking with you in the area of Ban£ Laudh¡n– you were saying: ''Uthm¡n bin 'Aff¡n was indeed extravagant, and that Mu'¡wiyah bin Ab¢ Sufy¡n was a person who went astray (¤*¡ll*) and misled others (*mu¤ill*), and that the leader of the truth and guidance was 'Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib?!"

Burair said to him: "I testify that this is my opinion and my statement!"

Yaz¢d bin Ma'qil said: "I bear witness that you are among those who have gone astray."

So Burair bin °u¤air said to him: "Are you ready for invoking a curse [upon the the one who is on the wrong among us]? Let us pray to Allah to curse the liar and that the one [who is] on the falsehood should be killed. [After that] come forward so that I can combat you!"

So both of them came forward and raised their hands towards Allah beseeching him to send down his curse on the liar [among the two] and that the one who is on the right should kill the one who is on the wrong.

Thereafter, each of them began attacking the other. They exchanged two blows, Yaz¢d bin Ma'qil struck Burair bin °u¤air with a light blow of no avail. Burair gave him [in

return] a blow that penetrated [his] helmet and reached the brain. [Yaz¢d] fell down as if he fell from [high] above, while Burair's sword was still [stuck] in his head. [Ibn Ab¢ al-Akhnas says: "I still remember the event and] it is as if I am seeing [Burair] wrenching his sword off [Yaz¢d's] head."

Ra¤iyy bin Munqidh al-'Abd¢ [from the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd] attacked on [Burair] and grappled with him. They fought one another for sometime before Burair sat on his chest. Ra¤iyy called out: "Where are the fighters and the defenders?!"

[At this] Ka'b bin J¡bir al-Azd¢ attacked Burair with a spear and stabbed him in [his] back. When [Burair] felt the penetration of the spear, he knelt on [the body of Ra¤iyy bin Munqidh al-'Abd¢] and bit off his nose and severed part of it. Ka'b bin J¡bir [again] stabbed him and took him off [al-'Abd¢]. The spearhead had pierced deep into [Burair's] back. Ka'b then began striking him with his sword until he killed him. [May Allah's mercy be upon him[١]].[٢]

Thereafter, 'Amru bin Qara¨ah al-An¥¡r¢ came forward fighting in defense of al-°usain ['a]. He was saying:

The group of An¥¡r certainly knows, that I am going to

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣١): "Y£suf bin Yaz¢d has narrated to me from 'Af¢f bin Zuhair bin Ab¢ al-Akhnas -who had witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a)…" The remaining part of the report follows in footnote no. ٢.

[٢] When Ka'b bin J¡bir al-Azd¢ returned [home after the event of Karbal¡'], his wife or his sister, called Naww¡r bint J¡bir, said to him: "You assisted [the people] against the son of F¡§imah and killed the chief of the reciters [of the Qur'an]?! You have indeed commited a heinous deed! By Allah, I will never speak a word to you!"

defend [its] honour.

[With] the blow of a young man who does not turn away from the enemy; [I will sacrifice] my life and my household for al-°usain.[١]

He was then killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

His brother, ‘Al¢ [bin Qara¨ah] was with ‘Umar bin Sa‘d. He called out: “O °usain! O liar son of the liar! You misled my brother, deceived him and then killed him.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] replied: “Indeed Allah did not mislead your brother. Rather, he guided your brother and misled you!”

[Ibn Qara¨ah] said: “May Allah kill me if I do not kill you or die in the way of destroying you.” [With that] he launched an attack on [the Imam (‘a)].

N¡fi’ bin Hil¡l al-Mur¡d¢ obstructed him and stabbed him, throwing him [to the ground]. [Ibn Qara¨ah’s] companions attacked [N¡fi’] and rescued him.[٢]

[The situation was such that] the people were moving here and there and fighting each other. °urr bin Yaz¢d [al-Riy¡¦¢] was one of them. He attacked the [army of Ibn Sa‘d] saying: “With my charger’s neck and breast thrust forward I will launch myself at them again and again until [I am] clothed in blood.”[٣] His horse was struck at its ears and forehead and it was bleeding.

Yaz¢d bin Sufy¡n [al-Tam¢m¢ was saying]: “By Allah, if I

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٣): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab narrated to me that…”

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٤): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘I narrate from Th¡bit bin Hubairah...”

[٣] These are the words of ‘Antarah.

happen to see °urr bin Yaz¢d coming out, I will throw a spear at him!" °u¥ain bin Tam¢m[١] said to him: "Here is °urr bin Yaz¢d the one you wished [to see]!" He said: "Yes." He then went towards him and said: "O °urr bin Yaz¢d, are you ready for a single combat?" °urr said: "Yes, I want it." °urr then went out to meet him. It was as though [Yaz¢d's] soul was in the hands [of °urr]. It did not take long before °urr went out to him and killed him.[٢]

N¡fi' bin Hil¡l al-Mur¡d¢ al-Jamal¢ was [also] fighting [the enemy] saying: "I am the Jamal¢. I follow the religion of 'Al¢."

A man called Muz¡¦im bin °uraith came forward against him and said: "I believe in the religion of 'Uthm¡n!"

N¡fi' said to him: "You are on the religion of Shai§¡n." [Saying this,] he attacked him and killed him.

[So] 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j [al-Zubaidiyy] shouted [at his men]: "O fools! Do you know who are you fighting with?! [These] knights of the town are people who are seeking death. Do not let any of you go forward to fight them in single combat. They are only few and they are hardly going to remain [in this state]. By Allah, if you only threw stones at them, you would kill them."

'Umar bin Sa'd said: "True, you have come to the right conclusion." He then sent [the message] to his army that:

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[١] He was the head of the bodyguards of 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. He had sent him with 'Umar bin Sa'd against al-°usain ('a) and put him in command of the armoured soldiers.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٣٤**): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Ab£ Zuhair Na¤r bin ¯¡li¦ al-'Abas¢ related to me that…"

"None of you should fight any of them in single combat."[١]

[The Second Attack]

'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j drew closer to al-°usain's companions while he was saying: "O people of K£fah! Keep to your obedience and stay united. Do not doubt in killing one who has renounced the religion and has gone against the leader [i.e. Yaz¢d]!"

Al-°usain ('a) said to him: "'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j! Are you inciting the people against me?! We are the ones who have renounced [the religion], while you have remained firm on it?! By Allah, you will come to know -when your souls will be taken and you will die on these actions- that who among us deviated from the religion and who deserves most to enter the hell [fire]!"

Thereafter, 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j launched an attack against al-°usain ['a] from the right wing of 'Umar bin Sa'd's [army], from the direction of the Euphrates. The two armies clashed for some time [and a number of al-°usain's companions] fell [to the ground].

[The Martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Awsajah[٢]]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٥): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports:] 'Ya¦y¡ bin H¡ni' bin 'Umar al-Mur¡d¢ has related to me that…"

[٢] This report says: "Then Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asad¢ fell to the ground, being the first among al-°usain's companions to be martyred," whereas Burair and Ibn Qara¨ah were martyred before this. Taking into consideration that the single combat were stopped [at a stage by the command of Ibn Sa'd] and instead the general attacks began, Ibn 'Awsajah was, accordingly, the first to be killed in the first attacks [after the single combat ceased]. *Al-±abar¢*: [Ibn 'Awsajah] was receiving allegiance from the people for al-°usain

‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n al-Bajal¢ and Muslim bin ‘Abdillah al-®abb¡b¢ [were the ones from the companions of ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j who killed Ibn ‘Awsajah]. The companions of ‘Amru shouted: “We have killed Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asad¢! [Hearing this,] ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j and his companions withdrew, leaving a cloud of dust. [When the dust settled] al-°usain’s companions found Muslim stretched out dying.

Al-°usain [‘a] walked towards him and he was on the point of death. He said: “May your Lord have mercy on you, O Muslim bin ‘Awsajah. ‘Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait, and they have not changed in the least.’”[١]

°ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir went closer to him and said: “O Muslim, your death is hard for me to bear. Receive the good news of Heaven.”

(‘a). It was through him that Ma’qil [the spy of Ibn Ziy¡d] could see Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l (**٥:٣٦٢**). Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l had made him in charge of the Madh¦ij and Asad [during his attempted rise in K£fah] (**٥:٣٦٩**).

He is the one who stood up after the address of the Imam (‘a) on the night of ‘ªsh£r¡’ and said: “If we leave you alone, what excuse would we give to Allah for not fulfilling your rights [on us]? By Allah! [I will fight] till I break my spear in their chests. I will strike them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. I will not part with you. If I remain without any weapon to fight them, I will throw stones at them in your defence until I die along with you!” (**٥:٤١٩**). He was the one who asked for permission from al-°usain (‘a) to shoot at Shamir and said: “O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is among the great tyrants.” Al-°usain (‘a) replied: “Do not shoot at him, for I indeed dislike beginning [the fight]” (**٥:٤٢٤**). It is not known how Ibn ‘Awsajah joined al-°usain (‘a) from K£fah, as history has mentioned nothing about this.

[١] Qur’an, **٣٣:٢٣**.

"May Allah bring you good news too", replied Muslim in a weak voice.

°ab¢b said to him: "Had it not been that I would follow you at this very moment, I would like you to make your will to me regarding what concerns you, so that I may have carried it out as was deserving to you by virtue of [our] kinship and religion."

[Muslim] said as he pointed towards al-°usain with his hand: "I enjoin you [not to leave] this man, may Allah bless you, and to die for him."

[°ab¢b] said: "By the Lord of Ka'bah, I will [do so]."

It was not long before he died in their hands. [May Allah have mercy on him]. [At this,] a slave girl of his screamed: "O Ibn 'Awsajah! O my master!"[١]

[The Third Attack]

Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan launched an attack with his left wing on the left wing [of al-°usain's companions]. They stood firm against him and forced him and his companions away. Then H¡n¢ bin Thubait al-°a¤ram¢ and Bukair bin °ayy

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٦): At this the companions of 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j chanted to one another saying: 'We have killed Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asad¢!' Shabath bin Rib'¢ al-Tam¢m¢ said to those around him among his colleagues: 'May your mothers mourn you! You are only killing yourselves with your own hands and humiliating yourselves for others' sake. You are happy that someone like Muslim bin 'Awsajah has been killed! I swear by the one to who I have submitted! How often I have seen him doing a noble deed amidst the Muslims! I have seen him on the highlands of ªdharb¡ij¡n killing six idolaters even before the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. You are rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you?!"

al-Tam¢m¢ attacked [‘Abdullah bin ‘Umair] al-Kalb¢ and killed him. [May Allah bless him].[١]

[The Attacks of the Companions of al-°usain (‘a)]

The companions of al-°usain (‘a) fought a severe battle. Their cavalry –which consisted of thirty-two horsemen[٢]- began to launch attacks. They did not attack any side of the K£fan army without putting it to flight.

When ‘Azarah bin Qais [al-Tam¢m¢], the commander of the K£fan cavalry, saw that his forces were dispersing from every side, he sent ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin °i¤n to tell ‘Umar bin Sa‘d: “Do you not see what my cavalry is receiving today from this small number [of men]! Send the foot soldiers and archers against them!”

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said to Shabath bin Rib’¢ [al-Tam¢m¢]: “Will you not go [to help them]?” He said: “Glory be to Allah! Do you approach the leader (*shaikh*) of the Mu¤ar and

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[١] It has appeared in this report that: “And he was the second martyr from among the companions of al-°usain.” But it is no more than a delusion.

[٢] Perhaps this was the number of the remaining horsemen from [al-°usain’s] companions. Otherwise, according to al-Mas’£d¢: “[Al-°usain (‘a)] diverted [his way] to Karbal¡’ with around ٥٠٠ horsemen from among his family members and companions, and with around ١٠٠ foot soldiers.” He further says: “The total number of those killed alongside al-°usain on the day of ‘[a]sh£r¡’ in Karbal¡ was ٨٧ men” (*Mur£j al-Dhahab*:٣:٧٠&٧١).
Sayyid Ibn ±¡w£s narrates in *al-Malh£f* (pg.٨٨) from Imam al-B¡qir (‘a) that: “There were ٤٥ horsemen and ١٠٠ foot soldiers.” The same has been reported by Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ in *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٤٦&٢٥١). But what is amazing [here] is that Ibn al-Jawz¢ quotes al-Mas’£d¢ saying that their total number was ١٠٠٠ men, whereas this is not found in *Mur£j al-Dhahab*!

the people for leading the archers! Did you not find anyone else other than me who could get this task done for you?!"

'Umar bin Sa'd summoned °u¥ain bin Tam¢m¢ and dispatched him with [a group of] the armour-clad soldiers and five hundred archers. They advanced and as they got closer to al-°usain and his companions, they showered them with arrows and lamed their horses. [Then] they [all turned to become] foot soldiers.[١]

[The horse of °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Riy¡¦¢ was lamed]. It was not long before his horse trembeled and became upset and fell to the ground. So °urr jumped from it as though he was a lion. His sword was in his hands, while he was saying:

Even if you lame my [horse], I am the son of free man [¦*urr*], braver than a maned lion.[٢]

[The followers of al-°usain ('a)] continued to fight them fiercely until it was midday. [The enemy] could not advance against them except from one side, due to their tents being closer together. When 'Umar bin Sa'd saw this, he sent [his]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٥-٤٣٦): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] '°usain bin 'Uqbah al-Mur¡d¢ has related to me that al-Zubaidiyy said…"

[٢] The above verse says: "I am the son of °urr", while it has been said by °urr himself. None of Ab£ Mikhnaf, al-Kalb¢, ±abar¢, or others have mentioned [any other verse] as a completion to the above mentioned verse. Those who believe that the son of °urr was also present in Karbal¡', and that he had repented and then martyred alongside al-°usain ('a), are likely to have developed this opinion as a result of the above verse. However, it is also probable that '°urr' was the name of his grandfather, or one among his great grandfathers, or he might have intended from the word ¦*urr* its literal meaning [i.e. a free man]. The above verse has also been recorded by al-Muf¢d in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٧), but he has not mentioned any other verse as a completion to the above one.

men to strike [their] tents from the right and left sides, so that they might surround them. So three or four men from al-°usain's companions positioned themselves between the tents. They would attack [any] one who was striking [the tents], kill him, shoot at him and lame [his horse].

At this point 'Umar bin Sa'd ordered [his men] saying: "Set the tents on fire."

Al-°usain ['a]: "Leave them alone. Let them burn [the tents]. If they do so, they will not be able to cross over to you." And it happened to be so. [Accordingly, the enemy] could not fight them except from one direction.

[The Fourth Attack]

Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan, among the others, launched an attack and struck the tents of al-°usain ['a] with his spear and shouted: "Bring me fire so that I may burn down this house on its inhabitants!" [At this,] the women started screaming and came out of the tents.

Al-°usain ['a] shouted at him: "O son of Dh¢ al-Jaushan! You are asking for fire to burn down my house on its dwellers?! May Allah burn you with the fire!"[١]

°umaid bin Muslim [al-Azd¢] says: "I said to Shamir: Glory be to Allah! This does not suit you. Do you want to bear upon yourself two things: to punish [the creatures] with the punishment of Allah and to kill the children and women! By Allah, by killing these men you can [only] please your

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٧): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Numair bin W¡'lah has narrated to me that Ayy£b bin Mashrakh al-Khayaw¡n¢ used to say…"

governor."[١]

Shabath bin Rib'¢ [al-Tam¢m¢ also] came to Shamir and said: "I have not seen a word worst than what you have said, nor a standing more wicked than that of yours. Have you [now] turned to become one who frightens the women?!"

Zuhair bin al-Qain attacked Shamir with ten of his colleagues. They fought Shamir and his followers fiercely. They drove them away from the tents until they moved away.

Thereafter, the [enemy] turned against the [followers of al-°usain (‘a)] in large number. The number of the killed from al-°usain's companions continued to grow. [Even] if one or two among their men were killed, it would be apparent [due to the fewness of their number], while it was not so apparent among the [enemy] because of their great number.

[Preparation for the Noon (¨*uhr*) Prayers]

When Ab£ Thum¡mah ‘Amru bin ‘Abdillah al-¯¡id¢[٢] saw this, he said to al-°usain [‘a]: "O Ab¡ ‘Abdillah, my life be sacrificed for you! I see these people getting closer to you.

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[١] [Shamir] said: "Who are you?" But I was afraid that if he recognizes me, he would complain to the governer about me. So I replied: "I will not tell you who I am."

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: Al-¯¡id¢ al-Hamd¡n¢. He was in K£fah collecting funds to help the followers of Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l and purchase them weapons on the instructions of Muslim (٥:٣٦٤). Ibn ‘Aq¢l had given him the banner over the Tam¢m and Hamd¡n the day he rose (٥:٣٦٩). Ab£ Thum¡mah was the one who introduced the messenger of ‘Umar bin Sa'd [i.e. ‘Azarah bin al-A¦mas¢] to the Imam (‘a) in Karbal¡' by saying: "O Ab¡ ‘Abdillah, the most vicious and the most daring in killing and the deadliest of the people on this earth has come to see you", and did not allow him to see the Imam (‘a) lest he should harm him (٥:٤١٠).

By Allah, you will not be killed until I am killed defending you, if Allah wills. I wish to meet my Lord while I have offered this prayer (¥*al¡t*) whose time has now entered."

Al-°usain [‘a] raised his head and said: "You have remembered the prayers. May Allah make you among those who establish prayers and remember [Him]. Yes, this is the beginning of its time." He then said: "Ask them to cease [fighting] so that we can pray."

°u¥ain bin Tam¢m said to [al-°usain’s companions]: "They will not be accepted!"

So °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir retorted: "Do you think that the prayers of the family of the Messenger of Allah (¥) will not be accepted, but they will be accepted from you, O donkey?!

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE COMPANIONS OF AL-°USAIN (‘A)

[The Martyrdom of °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir[1]]

[Incensed at °ab¢b’s comments,] °u¥ain bin Tam¢m [al-Tam¢m¢] mounted an attack against them. °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir [al-Asad¢] went out to meet him. He struck the face of his

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[1] *Al-±abar¢*: °ab¢b was one of those who had written to the Imam (‘a) from among the Shiite leaders in K£fah (٥:٣٥٢). He answered Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l’s invitation for paying allegiance to the Imam (‘a) saying: “By Allah beside whom there is no other deity, I believe in what this man believes in, pointing towards ‘ªbis bin Ab¢ Shab¢b al-Sh¡kir¢ (٥:٣٥٥). [°ab¢b] had said to Qurrah bin Qais al-°an¨al¢ al-Tam¢m¢, ‘Umar bin Sa’d’s messenger to al-°usain (‘a) in Karbal¡’: “Woe onto you Qurrah bin Qais! How can you return to the unjust people? Help this man [i.e. al-°usain], through whose ancestors Allah supported you and us with his grace (٥:٤١١). When Ibn Sa’d moved towards al-°usain (‘a) in the evening of the ninth of Mu¦arram and proceeded against him after the *‘a¥r* prayers, ‘Abb¡s bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) went to see him alongwith around twenty horsemen, among them being °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir. While ‘Abb¡s had gone to the Imam (‘a) to inform him about the situation, some of the companions remained [with the enemy] admonishing them. Among them was °ab¢b who said: “By Allah, the most wretched of the people before Allah tomorrow are a people who shall meet him while they are guilty of having killed the children, progeny and household of His Prophet (¥), and the devout men of this city who strive [in worship] at dawn and who remember Allah much (٥:٤١٦). The Imam (‘a) had given him the command of his left wing (٥:٤٢٢). When [°ab¢b] went to the help of Muslim bin ‘Awsajah, the latter advised him to help the Imam (‘a), to which he replied: “By the Lord of Ka’bah, I will do that” (٥:٤٣٦). °u¥ain bin Tam¢m boasted of killing [°ab¢b] and hung his head on the chest of his horse. His son, Q¡sim bin °ab¢b, avenged his father’s assasin, Budail bin ¯uraim al-Tam¢m¢, as they were in the army of Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair during the battle of B¡jm¢r¡.

horse with [his] sword. The horse reared up and [°u¥ain] fell from it. His companions carried him away and rescued him.

°ab¢b then started saying:

I am °ab¢b and my father is Mu¨¡hir, a furious cavalier [amidst] a burning battle.

You are more prepared and greater in number [than us], [but] we are more loyal and patient [than you].

We are the best proof and our being on the truth is more apparent, we are more pious than you and have better excuse [than you do].

He also used to say:

I swear had we been equal to you in number or half of you, you would have turned your backs to us in large numbers.

O most wicked of people in deeds and lineage!

[°ab¢b] fought a fierce battle. A man from the Ban£ Tam¢m called Budail bin ¯uraim attacked him and stabbed him and he fell [to the ground]. As he tried to get up, °u¥ain bin Tam¢m [al-Tam¢m¢] struck him on his head with the sword and he [again] fell [down]. The man from the [Ban£] Tam¢m then went to him and beheaded him.[١],[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٣٨-٤٣٩): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…"

[٢] [At this] °u¥ain said to Budail: "I have a share in killing him." Budail retorted: "By Allah, no one other than me has killed him!" So °u¥ain said: "Give me [his head] and I will hang it on the chest of my horse, so that people may see that and come to know that I participated in killing him. You can take it after that and go to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. I do not need the reward he is going to give you for killing him." Budail did not accept this, but his colleagues mediated between the two to resolve the issue. Eventually, Budail

Al-°usain was broken by the the martyrdom of °ab¢b bin Mu³¡hir. He said: "I anticipate a reward from Allah for myself and [my] supporters from among my companions."

[The Martyrdom of °urr bin Yaz¢d al-Riy¡¦¢]

Thereafter, °urr went out. He began reciting these verses:

I am °urr, [whose house] is renowned for its hospitality, I will strike in their midst with my sword.

[In defence] of the best of those who have been in Min¡ and al-Khaif, [I will strike them, and I do not see any wrong [in doing so].

He also said:

I have sworn that I will not be killed until after I have killed,

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gave him the head of °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir. So [°u¥ain] went round the army with the head, while he hung it on the neck of his horse. He later gave it to Budail. When they returned back to K£fah [after the event of Karbal¡'], Budail took the head of °ab¢b and hung it on the chest of his horse and proceeded to the palace of Ibn Ziy¡d. Q¡sim bin °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir, who was then a young man, happened to see him [with his father's head]. So he followed him closely. Budail became suspicious and said: "Why are you following me, O my son?" Q¡sim replied: "This head which is with you is the head of my father. Give it back to me so that I can bury it." Budail said: "My son! The governor will not give consent that it should be buried. And I want the governer to reward me handsomely for killing him." The young man thus told him: "But Allah is not going to reward you for that except the worst of the rewards. By Allah, you have killed one who was better than yourself", and he began to weep.

When Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair invaded B¡jm¢r¡, Q¡sim bin °ab¢b had happened to join Mu¥'ab's army. There he found his father's assassin in one of the tents. He entered upon him at midday while he was resting. He struck him with the sword until he died (٥:٤٤٠).

and I will not be struck today except while facing [them].

I give them a cutting blow with [my] sword, neither will I desist from them nor will I get frightened.

Zuhair bin Qain [also] came out with him. They both fought a fierce battle. If one of them launched an attack and was surrounded [by the enemy], the other would [come to his help by] attacking them and free him. They continued [to combat] in this way for sometime until the foot soldiers [of the enemy] intensified [their attacks] on °urr bin Yaz¢d and he was killed. [May Allah shower his mercy on him.]

[The Noon (*¨uhr*) Prayers]

Al-°usain [‘a] then led them for the prayers of those in fear (*¥al¡t al-khawf*).[١] [Sa'¢d bin ‘Abdullah al-°anaf¢] stood in front of him. He thus became their target and [the enemy] began shooting arrows at him left and right. He continued to be shot at as he remained standing in front of [al-°usain (‘a)], until he fell to the ground. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of Zuhair bin al-Qain]

[Then Zuhair bin Qain came forward]. He began tapping the shoulder of al-°usain [‘a] while he recited:

Be firm, you have been guided, the guide and the guided; today you will meet your grandfather, the Prophet.

And °asan and ‘Al¢, the chosen one; and the one with the two wings [Ja'far], the brave martyr.

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[١] It is also probable that he did not offer *¥al¡t al-khawf*, rather he shortened the prayers (*qa¥r*). The offering of the prayers on the noon of ‘ªsh£r¡' has been related also in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٨) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٢ & ٢٥٦).

And the Lion of Allah [i.e. °amzah], the living martyr.

He fought severely as he said:

I am Zuhair and I am the son of al-Qain, I will drive you away from the family of al-°usain with my sword.[١]

Kath¢r bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'b¢ and Muh¡jir bin Aws attacked him and killed him. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of N¡fi' bin Hil¡l al-Jamal¢[٢]]

N¡fi' bin Hil¡l al-Jamal¢ had written his name on the head of his arrows. He began to shoot [the enemy] with the marked arrows saying: "I am Jamal¢, I follow the religion of 'Al¢." He killed twelve [men] from among the followers of 'Umar bin Sa'd, apart from those who were injured.

N¡fi' [was injured during the fight] and his arms were broken. Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan and his followers took him as a captive and carried him to 'Umar bin Sa'd as blood flowed down his beard.

'Umar bin Sa'd said to him: "Woe onto you O N¡fi! What led

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[١] See also *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٥٣; Najaf edition).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He was the one who sent his horse with ±irimm¡¦ bin 'Adiyy to the Imam ('a) when he was on his way to K£fah (٥:٤٠٥). When thirst became unbearable on the Imam ('a) and his companions, he called upon his brother, 'Abb¡s bin 'Al¢ ('a), and sent him with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers [to bring water]. N¡fi' bin Hil¡l was moving ahead of them and was welcomed by 'Amru bin al-°ajj¡j [from the enemy's army]. 'Amru said to him: "Drink and enjoy", and he replied: "Nay by Allah, I will not drink a drop from it while al-°usain is thirsty" (٥:٤١٢). When 'Al¢ bin Qara¨ah, the brother of 'Amru bin Qara¨ah al-An¥¡r¢, attacked al-°usain ('a), N¡fi' bin Hil¡l al-Mur¡d¢ obstructed him, stabbed him and grappled with him (٥:٤٣٤).

you to do [all] this with yourself?"

N¡fi' replied: "My Lord knows what I intended. By Allah, I have killed twelve among your [men] apart from those I wounded. I do not blame myself for the trouble [I am in]. Had I been left with only an arm, you would not have taken me as a captive!"

Shamir said to [Ibn Sa'd]: "Kill him, may Allah guide you!"

He replied: "You can kill him, if you wish."

Shamir unsheathed his sword. So N¡fi' said to him: "By Allah, were you a Muslim, it would have been distressing for you to meet Allah with our blood [on your hands]! All praise is due to Allah who put our death in the hands of the wicked among his creatures."

Shamir then killed him. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of the Two Brothers from Ghif¡r]

When the companions of al-°usain ['a] realized that they were unable to defend al-°usain and theirselves [from the enemy], they began vying [with each other] to be killed in his presence.

'Abdullah and 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n, the [two] sons of 'Azarah al-Ghif¡r¢ came to him and said: "O Ab¡ 'Abdillah! Peace be on you. The enemy is gaining control over us. We would like to be killed before you, defending and protecting you."

[Al-°usain ('a)] said: "You are [all] welcomed. Get closer to me." So they came closer to him. Thereafter, they started fighting while one of them was reciting:

Ban£ Ghif¡r have well known, and so has Khindaf and Ban£

Niz¡r.

[That] we shall strike the community of the wicked [people], with the sharp and cutting sword.

O people defend the sons of the free men, with strong swords and dangerous lances.

[Then they fought before him a furious battle until they were killed. [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of the Two Young Men from J¡bir]

Thereafter, the two young men from the Ban£ J¡bir, Saif bin al-°¡rith bin Suray' and M¡lik bin 'Abd bin Suray' –who were cousins from their father's side and also half brothers, came to al-°usain ['a] and got closer to him weeping.

[Al-°usain ('a)] said: "O sons of my brother, what makes you weep? For I hope, by Allah, that you are soon going to be delighted."

They replied: "May Allah make us you ransom! Nay by Allah, we are not weeping on ourselves, rather we are crying for you. We see that you have been encircled [with the enemy] while we are not able to defend you."

He said: "O sons of my brother, may Allah reward you for your grief at that and for helping me with your persons, with the best of the reward of the pious ones."

Then, the two young men began advancing [towards the battlefield], while they kept looking back over their shoulders at al-°usain ['a] and saying: "Peace be upon you, O son of the Prophet of Allah!" [Al-°usain ('a)] replied: "Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you."

They fought until they were killed. [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of °an¨alah bin As`ad al-Shab¡m¢]

°an¨alah bin As'ad al-Shab¡m¢ came forward and stood in front of al-°usain ['a] and began addressing [the army of Ibn Sa'd]:

"O my people! Indeed I fear for you a day like the day of the [heathen] factions; like the case of the people of N£¦, of 'ªd and Tham£d, and those who were after them, and Allah does not desire any wrong for [His] servants. O my people! Indeed I fear for you a day of mutual distress calls, a day when you will turn back [to flee], not having anyone to protect you from Allah, and whomever Allah leads astray has no guide."[١] O people, do not kill al-°usain, lest Allah should annihilate you with [his] punishment. 'Whoever fabricates lies certainly fails'."[٢]

Al-°usain ['a] said to him: "O son of As'ad! May Allah have mercy on you! These people have [already] been entitled to the punishment [from Allah] when they rejected your call to the truth and rose to destroy you and your colleagues. Let alone now that they have already killed your righteous brothers."

He said: "You have said the truth, may I be your ransom! You are more learned than me and you are worthier for that [too]. Are we not going to proceed to the hereafter (*¡khirah*) and join our brothers [i.e. has not the time come for us to join

[١] Qur'an, ٤٠:٣٠-٣٣.
[٢] Qur'an, ٢٠:٦١.

them]?"

[Al-°usain (‘a)] replied: "Advance to [the abode] which is better than this world and all it contains. [Depart] to the kingdom which never perishes."

[°an¨alah] then said: "Peace be on you, O Ab¡ ‘Abdillah. May Allah bless you and your family. May Allah introduce us to each other in his Heaven."

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: "*ªm¢n, ¡m¢n*."

[°an¨alah al-Shab¡m¢] then went out and fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of ‘ªbis bin Ab¢ Shab¢b and His Retainer[١]]

‘ªbis bin Ab¢ Shab¢b al-Sh¡kir¢ came forward together with his Shaudhab, his retainer, and asked him: "O Shaudhab, what are you intending to do?"

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: When Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l read the letter of the Imam (‘a) to the people of K£fah, ‘ªbis stood up and said, after praising Allah and extolling him: "Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah! I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah! I will answer you when you call. I will certainly be with you to fight your enemies. I will be striking [the enemy] with my sword in defence of you until I meet Allah. I want nothing from that except that which lies with Allah." So °ab¢b bin Mu¨¡hir said to him: "May Allah have mercy on you. You have said what was in your heart by your brief talk" (**٥:٣٥٥**).
When Muslim bin ‘Aq¢l moved to the house of H¡n¢ bin ‘Urwah and ١٨،٠٠٠ men paid allegiance to him, he sent ‘ªbis bin Ab¢ Shab¢b al-Sh¡kir¢ with a letter to al-°usain (‘a) telling him: "Come quickly [to K£fah]" (**٥:٣٧٥**).

[Shaudhab] replied: "What should I do? I will fight along with you in defence of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (¥) until I am killed."

['ªbis] said: "That is what [I] expected of you. If you are not going to leave [him], then go forward and fight before Ab¢ 'Abdillah, so that he may anticipate a reward from Allah in the hereafter because of your [martyrdom] as he did with regard to his other companions. I also will [have the opportunity to] do the same; for if I had anyone, at this moment, on whom I had a greater claim than I have on you, I would have been happy if he would go to fight before me, so that I may anticipate [from Allah] a reward for that. This is the day in which we should seek the reward [of Allah] through whatever means possible. Indeed there is no [room for performing] deeds after today, all that remains is the reckoning (¦*is¡b*)."

Shaudhab then came forward and greeted al-°usain ['a]. [He sought his permission and] thereafter went [to the battlefield]. He fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

'ªbis bin Ab¢ Shab¢b then said: "O Ab¡ 'Abdillah! By Allah, there is no one on the face of this earth, from among [my] kin or distant ones, who is more beloved and dearer to me than you are. If I was able to ward off oppression and death from you with something dearer to me than my life and blood, I would have done so. Peace be upon you, O Ab¡ 'Abdillah. I take Allah as a witness that I am on your path and the path of your father."

He then walked towards [the enemy] with the sword drawn.

It was with it that he was struck on his forehead.[١]

Rab¢' bin Tam¢m [al-Hamd¡n¢] says: "When I saw him coming, I recognized him. So I said: 'O people! This is the black lion. This is Ibn Ab¢ Shab¢b. No one among you should come out to face him!'

['ªbis] began calling out: 'Is not there anyone to fight me man to man?!'

'Umar bin Sa'd cried out: 'Bring him to his knees by stoning him!'

So he was pelted from all sides. When 'ªbis saw this, he threw aside his armour and helmet and attacked the people furiously."

[Rab¢' says:] "I swear by Allah, I saw him driving back more than two hundred [men] from the [enemy]! Thereafter, they surrounded him from all sides and he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him]."[٢],[٣]

[The Martyrdom of Yaz¢d ibn Ziy¡d, Abu Sha'th¡' al- Kind¢]

Yaz¢d bin Ziy¡d bin Muh¡¥ir, Ab£ Sha'th¡' al-Kind¢, was among those who had come out with 'Umar bin Sa'd against

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٤): "Numair bin Wa'lah related to me from a man man from the Ban£ 'Abd of Hamd¡n, who happened to witness that day…"

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٠): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Mu¦ammad bin Qais narrated to me saying that…"

[٣] [Rab¢' says:] "I saw his head in the hands of a number of men, each of whom claimed to have killed him. So they came to 'Umar bin Sa'd [to settle the matter] and he said: 'Do not quarrel. This man has not been killed by a single spear [head]!' This is how he settled the issue between them."

al-°usain [‘a]. When [the people] rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-°usain [‘a], he got inclined to him [and then joined him]. He fought alongside al-°usain [‘a] while he recited [the following verses] on that day:

I am Yaz¢d and my father is Muh¡¥ir, braver than a lion who is asleep in the thicket.

O Lord I am a helper to al-°usain, I have abandoned Ibn Sa‘d and parted [from him].[١]

[Yaz¢d] was an archer. He knelt down before al-°usain [‘a] and shot a hundred arrows [towards the enemy]. Only five of those [who were struck with the arrows] fell to the ground.

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[١] This narration is from Fu¤ail bin Khudaij al-Kind¢. [This report of Fu¤ail indicates that Ab£ al-Sha'th¡' was with ‘Umar bin Sa'd before he left him to join the Imam (‘a)]. It is probable that it was from the above verses that Fu¤ail concluded that Ab£ al-Sha'th¡' abandoned Ibn Sa'd and came to the help of the Imam (‘a) after the former rejected the Imam's proposal. [In contrary, the earlier report from ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab contradicts the report of Fu¤ail]. The report is as follows: ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab relates from ‘Uqbah bin Sim'¡n that: "The messenger of Ibn Ziy¡d who brought his letter to °urr al-Riy¡¦¢ in Karbal¡' was M¡lik bin al-Nusair al-Badd¢ al-Kind¢. So Abu al-Sha'th¡' said to him: ‘May your mother be deprived of you! What kind of mission have you embarked upon? M¡lik replied: "I have not done so! I have [only] obeyed my leader and fulfilled my allegiance to him." Ab£ al-Sha'th¡' said: "You have disobeyed your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned [but] shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘And We made them leaders who invite [people] to the fire, and on the day of judgment they shall not receive any help.' [Such] is your leader!" (*al-±abar¢*:٥:٤٠٨). Now this report implies that Ab£ al-Sha'th¡' was with the Imam (‘a) before his arrival in Karbal¡', rather even before he met °urr al-Riy¡¦¢. And this point has remained unnoticed by both, Ab£ Mikhnaf and ±abar¢.

Whenever he shot [an arrow], he would say: "I am the son of Bahdalah, the knight of [the day of] 'Arjalah", while al-°usain ['a] would pray: "O Allah, direct his shooting and make Heaven his reward."

He then fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of the Four Men]

[Then the four men who had come with ±irimm¡¦ bin 'Adiyy to al-°usain ('a):] J¡bir bin °¡rith al- Salm¡n¢, Mujammi' bin 'Abdillah al-'a"idh¢[1], 'Umar bin Kh¡lid al-¯aid¡w¢ and Sa'd, the retainer of 'Umar bin Kh¡lid, went out attacking the people with their swords. After they penetrated [the army], the people surrounded them, having the upper hand over them and cutting them off from their companions.

So 'Abb¡s bin 'Al¢ attacked [the enemy] and saved them. Then they [again] launched an attack and fought until they were [all] killed at the same point.[2] [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of Suwaid al-Khath'am¢ and Bash¢r al-°a¤ram¢]

The last to remain with al-°usain ['a] from among his companions

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[1] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٠٥): He is the one who informed al-°usain ('a) at 'Udhaib al-Hij¡n¡t about the situation in K£fah saying: "As for the noblemen, they have been heavily bribed and their pockets filled. Their hearts have been won and their loyalty secured for them. [Now] they are all united against you! With regard to the rest of the people, their hearts are inclined towards you, but tomorrow their swords shall be drawn against you!"

[2] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٥): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Fu¤ail bin Khudaij al-Kind¢ has related to me that…"

were Suwaid bin 'Amru bin Ab¢ Mu§¡' al-Khath'am¢[١] and Bash¢r bin 'Amru al-°a¤ram¢. [With regard to Bash¢r, he went out and fought until he was killed]. [May Allah have mercy on him].

As for Suwaid, he [also] went out and fought till he was exhausted and collapsed [unconscious].[٢] He fell amidst the bodies of those killed [in the battle] and his sword was snatched away.

When al-°usain ['a] was killed and he heard them saying: 'Al-°usain has been killed!', he regained consciousness. He had a knife with him, so he [got up and] fought them with his knife for a while until Zayd bin Ruq¡d al-Janab¢[٣] and 'Urwah bin Ba§§¡r al-Taghlab¢ killed him.

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٦): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Zuhair al-Khath'am¢ narrated to me that…"

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٤): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Abdullah bin 'ª¥im has related to me from ®a¦¡k bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: He is the assassin of 'Abb¡s bin 'Al¢ ('a) (٥:٤٦٨). He shot 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aq¢l with an arrow. Regarding this he used to say: "I shot a young man from among them with an arrow [on his forehead]. He tried to protect himself by putting his hand on his forehead, but I fixed his hand to his forehead such that he was unable to take it off from it!" He then shot another arrow at the young man and killed him. On that he used to say: "He was dead when I got to him. I had to wrench the arrow off his forehead. I managed to take it off but its arrowhead was stuck on his forehead such that I was unable to take it out."
Mukht¡r had dispatched 'Abdullah bin K¡mil al-Sh¡kir¢ to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janab¢ came out with his sword drawn. Ibn K¡mil said: "Shower him with arrows and stone him." They did so until he fell to the ground. Ibn K¡mil then ordered for fire and burnt him while he was still alive (٦:٦٤). Al-Janab was from the Ban£ Janab (٦:٦٤). In other books of history apart from *al-±abar¢*, he is referred to as al-Juhan¢ or al-°anaf¢.

He was the last person [from among al-°usain's companions] to be killed.[١],[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٥٣**): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n al-Khath'am¢ has related to me that…"

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ''Abdullah bin 'ª¥im related to me from ®a||¡k bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ who said: 'When I saw that [all] the companions of al-°usain ['a] had been killed and that they had displayed their loyalty to him and his household, and that there remained no one with him except Suwaid bin 'Amru bin Ab¢ al-Mu§¡' al-Khath'am¢ and Bishr bin 'Amru al-°a¤ram¢, I moved to [take] my horse -whom I had kept in one of the tents of our companions when I saw their horses being lamed [by the enemy]. Then I came out to fight on foot. I managed to kill two men in the presence of al-°usain ['a] and cut off the hand of another. Al-°usain ('a) was repeatedly telling me at that time: 'May you not be crippled. May Allah not sever your hand. May Allah reward you the best on behalf of the household of your Prophet (¥)!' So I said to him: 'O son of the Messenger of Allah! Do you remember what was agreed between us, I had told you that I will fight defending you so long as there are others fighting [alongside me]. But if I do not see any other fighter [apart from myself], then I am free to go [and leave you]. And you had accepted this from me. So al-°usain ['a] said: 'That is true, but how are you going to escape?! If you are able to do so, then you are free to go."

[®a||¡k says:] "When he granted me the permission, I brought out my horse from the tent and mounted it. I sat firmly on it and whipped it. When it reared up, I charged with it against the people and they opened up [the way] for me. Fifteen men from the [army] began to chase me until I reached Shufayyah, a village near the bank of the Euphrates. When they caught me there, I aroused their sympathy for me. [Here] Kath¢r bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'b¢, Ayy£b bin Mushri¦ al-Khayaw¡n¢ and Qais bin 'Abdullah al-¯aid¡w¢ recognized me and said: 'This is ®a||¡k bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriq¢. He is our cousin. We beseech you for the sake of Allah to leave him!' Three men from the Ban£ Tam¢m who were with them said: 'By Allah, we will indeed respond to our brothers who call on us to free their companion." [®a||¡k says:] "When the men from the Tam¢m agreed with [the request of my] clansmen, the rest [of them] held back. Thus, Allah saved me" (**٥:٤٤٥**).

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF AL-HUSAIN (‘A)

[The Martyrdom of ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain al-Akbar (‘a)]

‘Al¢ al-Akbar bin al-°usain bin ‘Al¢ [‘a][1] was the first to be killed on that day from the Ban£ Ab¢ ±¡lib. His mother was Lail¡, daughter of Ab£ Murrah bin Mas’£d al-Thaqaf¢.[2] He

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[1] *Al-±abar¢*: In his narration on the authority of Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid from °umaid bin Ziy¡d, Ab£ Mikhnaf describes Imam al-Sajj¡d [‘a] as ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain al-A¥ghar [i.e. the younger ‘Al¢] (٥:٤٥٤). He names the other child of the Imam (‘a) who was killed in his lap as ‘Abdullah bin al-°usain, through the same chain of narration (٥:٤٤٨). In his book *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.٦٣٠; D¡r al-Ma’¡rif publications), ±abar¢ says: “As for ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain al-Akbar [the older], he was killed along with his father by the river [Euphrates] in Karbal¡’. He did not have any offspring. ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain al-A¥ghar was present at Karbal¡ with his father and he was ٢٣ years of age. He was ill, confined to the bed. ‘Al¢ [al-A¥ghar] says: ‘When I was taken before Ibn Ziy¡d, he asked me: ‘What is your name?’ I replied: ‘‘Al¢ bin al-°usain’. He said: ‘Has not Allah killed ‘Al¢?’ I said: ‘I had a brother called ‘Al¢ al-Akbar who was older than me and was killed by the people.’ He said: ‘Nay, Allah killed him.’ I said: ‘Allah takes the souls at the time their death.” [Qur’an, ٣٩:٤٢]. Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ has related the above incident in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٨٠; Najaf edition) also. Al-Ya’q£b¢ (٢:٢٣٣; Najaf edition) also refers to ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain as *al-akbar* and to Imam al-Sajj¡d (‘a) as *al-a¥ghar*. And so has been done by al-Mas’£d¢ in *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٧١) and by Ibn al-Jawz¢ in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٢٥). Al-Muf¢d mentions ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٨) but without referring to him as *al-akbar*.

[2] *Al-±abar¢*: In the ٦th year of Hijrah ‘Urwah bin Mas’£d fled from the Ban£ Thaq¢f in ±¡if and went to Makkah. There he came in alliance with the Quraish, together with his family and his followers. When the Messenger of Allah (¥) visited Makkah in the

year of °udaibiyyah with his companions for the *'umrah* and Budail bin Warq¡' al-Khuz¡'¢ informed them of what the Prophet [¥] said [regarding the peace treaty], 'Urwah stood up and said to the wise men of the Quraish: "This man has proposed a sensible thing to you. Accept it and allow me to go to see him." They said: "You can go." Thus, ['Urwah] went to see the Prophet (¥) and talked to him. The Prophet [¥] told him the like of what he had told Budail, that is: "We have not come to fight anyone. We have only come to perform the *'umrah*. The Quraish have been worn out by war and they have been harmed by it. [Accordingly,] if they wish to accept what [other] people have accepted [i.e. make a peace treaty with us], they should do so. [Otherwise, they should know that the Muslims] have [today] grown in number. [But] if they reject [our proposal], then I swear by the one in whose hand is my soul, I will fight them on this issue [i.e. Isl¡m] until I am killed or Allah enforces his affair."

Here 'Urwah said: "O Mu¦ammad! Tell me, if you are thinking of destroying your people, then have you [ever] heard of any Arab before you who has annihilated his community! I swear that I see different faces and people surrounding you, who will flee and leave you alone if such a thing is going to happen!" With that, he began looking at the companions of the Prophet (¥). He then returned to his people and said: "O people! I have, indeed, visited [different] kings. I have visited Choesroe, Caesar and Negus! But I swear that I have never seen any king esteemed by his followers more than Mu¦ammad. I swear that he does not spit but it falls on the hands of one of them, who would then rub it on his face and skin. When he commands them, they vie with each other to carry out his order. When he performs ablution, they almost fight to obtain the water [he uses]. When they speak in his presence, they lower their voices. They never stare at him out of their respect for him! Such a man has proposed to you a sensible proposal, [you had better] accept." (٢:٦٢٧)

'Urwah was in Jordan during the battle of °unain in the year ٨ H, learning the skills of making weaponry and catapults and therefore could not participate in it (٣:٦٢٨).

'Urwah was related to Abu Sufy¡n as he had married his daughter, ªminah. Ab£ Sufy¡n and Mugh¢rah bin Shu'bah went to ±¡if on the day of °unain and there they called out the Ban£ Thaqif: "Grant us

began attacking the people while he recited the following:

I am 'Al¢, son of °usain bin 'Al¢; by the Lord of the House, we are closest to the Prophet.

By Allah! A man born of fornication [i.e. Ibn Ziy¡d] shall not judge us.[١]

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protection so that we may speak to you!" So they granted them protection. The two men then invited the women from Quraish [who were in ±¡if to come with them to Makkah], fearing that they might be taken as prisoners. But they rejected their invitation (٣:٨٤).

When the Prophet of Allah (¥) left ±¡if, 'Urwah bin Mas'£d followed him and met him before the Prophet [¥] reached Mad¢nah. He embraced Islam and asked the Prophet [¥] to allow him to return to his people with the message of Islam. Since 'Urwah was a beloved personality among the Thaq¢f and obeyed by them, he began inviting them to Islam, hoping that they would not oppose him because of the position he held between them. But they showered him with arrows from all sides and he was killed. He was asked before he was killed: "How do you find dying?" He replied: "It is an honour bestowed on me by Allah, and a martyrdom driven by Allah towards me. My position is the same as of those martyrs who were killed alongside the Messenger of Allah (¥) before he left your [city]. So bury me with them." And they did so. It is reported in *S¢rah Ibn Hish¡m* (٣:٩٧) that the Prophet of Allah [¥] said concerning him: "His example in his community is that of the believer [mentioned] in S£rat Y¡s¢n" (٢:٣٢٥). The Messenger of Allah [¥] repaid his debts and those of his brother, Aswad bin Mas'£d, from the jewellery of al-L¡t, the idol [worshipped by] the Thaq¢f (٣:١٠٠).

[١] Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ narrates in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٧٧) that: "['Al¢ al-Akbar] would attack [the enemy] and then return to his father saying: 'O father, thirst [is overcoming me]!' and al-°usain ['a] would say to him: 'Have patience, O love of my heart; for the Messenger of Allah [¥] is going to give you a drink with his chalice by this evening.' [According to Ibn al-Jawz¢, 'Al¢ ('a)] did this for several times."

He did that several times. Then Murrah bin Munqidh bin al-Nu'm¡n al-'Abd¢[١] saw him. He said: "May the felonies of the Arabs come on me, if he gets past me doing the same as he has been doing [and] I do not deprive his mother of him."

['Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a)] continued to attack the people with his sword. Murrah bin Munqidh came against him and stabbed him. He was struck down and the people fell upon him, cutting him with their swords. [٢,٣]

Al-°usain ['a] came to [his body] saying: "May Allah kill [the] people who killed you, my son! How foolhardy they are against the Merciful and in violating the sacredness of the family of the Prophet! There will [only] be dust on the world

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: His lineage goes back to the Ban£ 'Abd al-Qais. He was with his father Munqidh bin Nu'm¡n at ¯iff¢n along side ['Al¢], the Commander of the Faithful ('a). There Murrah took from his father the standard of the 'Abd al-Qais and it remained with him (٤:٥٢٢). In the year ٦٦ H, Mukht¡r sent 'Abdullah bin K¡mil al-Sh¡kir¢ against him. He surrounded his house and so [Murrah] forced his way out on a fine horse, with a spear in his hand. Ibn K¡mil struck him with [his] sword but he guarded against it with his left hand and escaped. He then [went and] joined Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair, while his hand was paralysed (٦:٦٤).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٦): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Zuhair al-Khath'am¢ narrated to me that…" Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ has related the incident in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٧٦) from Ab£ Mikhnaf, who narrated it from Zuhair bin 'Abdillah al-Khath'am¢. According to another chain of narration: "When 'Al¢ bin al-°usain ['a] came out to the people, al-°usain ('a) lowered his eyes and wept. He said: 'O Allah, be witness against these people, for [now] a youth has gone out to them who resembles the Messenger of Allah (¥) most among all the creatures."

[٣] Ab£ al-Faraj says is *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٧٧): "['Al¢ al-Akbar] then called out: 'O father! Peace be upon you. Here is my grandfather, the Messenger of Allah, sending you salutations and saying: come to us quickly.' Then he sighed deeply and [his soul] departed."

after you."

A woman came hurrying out, crying: "O my brother! O my nephew! She came up and threw herself on [his body]. Al-°usain [‘a] came near to her, held her by her hand and led her back to the tent. He the turned towards his young men and said: "Carry your brother [back]." They carried him from the place he was killed and put him before the tent which they had been fighting in front of.[١]

[The Martyrdom of Q¡sim bin al-°asan (‘a)]

°umaid bin Muslim says: "A young lad came out against us, his face was like the first splinter of the new moon and he carried a sword. He was wearing a shirt and a waistcloth (*iz¡r*), and a pair of sandals, one of whose straps was broken, and I will not forget that it was the [strap of the] left [foot].

‘Amru bin Sa‘d bin Nufail al-Azd¢[٢] said to me: ‘By Allah, I am going to attack him.’

I said to him: ‘Glory be to Allah! What do you want to do that for? These people whom you see surrounding him are enough [to kill him]!’

[‘Amru] insisted: ‘By Allah, I will attack him.’ So he rushed against him and did not turn back until he had struck his head with his sword. The lad fell face downwards and called out:

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٦): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim al-Azd¢ that…" See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٦&٧٧) through the same chain of narration.

[٢] His name appears in *al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٨) as Sa’d bin ‘Amru bin Nufail al-Azd¢. Both the names have appeared in the report of Ab£ Mikhnaf.

'O uncle!'

[At this,] al-°usain ['a] showed himself just like the hawk shows itself. He launched into attack like a raging lion and struck 'Amru with [his] sword. 'Amru tried to fend off the blow with his arm but his arm was cut off from the elbow. The cavalry [of the enemy] made a move [in order to save him] but they [only] trampled him to death.

[As] the cloud of dust settled, al-°usain ['a] was seen standing by the head of the young lad. He was rubbing his heels on the ground while al-°usain ['a] was saying: 'Away with the people who have killed you, a people against whom your grandfather will complain on the Day of Judgement on your behalf. By Allah, it is hard on your uncle that you called him but he could not answer you, or he answered but could not help you. By Allah, it was a cry whose avengers were many, but whose helpers [at the moment] are few!'[١]

Then he carried him [in his arms]. It is just as if I am looking at the two legs of the body making marks [as they trail] on the ground, while al-°usain ['a] had put the chest [of the lad] on his chest. He took him and put him with his son 'Al¢ bin al-°usain around whom were [other] bodies of those slain from among his household."

[°umaid continues with his report and says:] "I asked about the boy and was told that he was al-Q¡sim bin al-°asan bin 'Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib ['a]."[٢]

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[١] This statement of the Imam ('a) means that the cry of Q¡sim has many helpers amidst the Ban£ H¡shim, though they could not be present at Karbal¡' to help him.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٧): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٣٩).

[The Martyrdom of 'Abb¡s bin 'Al¢ ('a) and His Brothers]

'Abb¡s bin 'Al¢ ('a) then said to his brothers on his mother's side -'Abdullah, Ja'far and 'Uthm¡n: "O sons of my mother! Go forward [and fight] so that I may mourn over you; for you have no children [to grieve over you]!

They did so [and went out and fought a severe battle until] they were killed. [May Allah have mercy on them].[١,٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٨): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says…"

[٢] The Martyrdom of 'Abb¡s bin 'Al¢ ('a) does not appear in *al-±abar¢*. Hence, we mention it from *al-Irsh¡d* of Shaikh al-Muf¢d (pg.٢٤٠; Najaf edition). He says: "The thirst of al-°usain ('a) became severe. He set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. In front of him was his brother, al-'Abb¡s. However, the cavalry of Ibn Sa'd, may Allah curse him, blocked his way. Among these was a man from the Ban£ D¡rim, he said [to the cavalry]: 'Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the Euphrates, do not let him get water!'
Al-°usain ('a) said: 'O Allah, make him thirsty!' So the man from D¡rim became angry and shot an arrow at him which lodged in his throat. Al-°usain ('a) pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. He put his hands under his throat, and both his palms were filled with blood which he shook away and said: 'O Allah, I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet!' He then returned to his position, while his thirst had become [even more] severe. [Meanwhile,] the people [had] surrounded al-'Abb¡s and cut him off from [al-°usain ('a)]. Single-handed he began to attack them until he was killed, may Allah have mercy on him. The [two] who took part in killing him -after he had been covered with wounds and could not move- were Zayd bin Warq¡'al-°anaf¢* and °ak¢m bin al-±ufail al-Sinbisiyy.
**Al-±abar¢* refers to him as Zayd bin Ruq¡d al-Janab¢ (٥:٤٦٨). In the same book (٦:٦٤), he says: "He was a man from Janab. He is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aq¢l and Suwaid bin 'Amru al-Khath'am¢, who were among the companions of al-

[The Martyrdom of the Infant of al-°usain ('a)]

Al-°usain [('a) then] sat down and his baby was brought to him. [He was an infant or [a little] older than that] called 'Abdullah bin al-°usain[١]

and he seated him on his lap.[٢] [The baby] was in his lap as one of the Ban£ Asad [either °armalah bin K¡hil or H¡ni' bin Thubait al-°a¤ram¢] shot an arrow which slaughtered him. Al-°usain ['a] caught [the child's] blood [in the palm of his hand]. When his palm was full, he poured it on to the ground and said: "O Lord, if it be so that You have kept the help of Heaven from us, then let it be for something better [according to Your wisdom]. Take vengeance on these oppressors on our behalf."[٣],[٤]

°usain ('a). His biography has been given earlier under the reports of the martyrdom of Suwaid. 'Al-°anaf¢' is obviously a phonetic distortion (*ta¦r¢f*) of the word.

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: His mother was Rab¡b, daughter of Imru' al-Qais al-Kalb¢ (٥:٤٦٨). *Al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٠) has also related this incident and says that ['Abdullah] was a [small] child (*§ifl*).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٨): [Ab£ Mikhnaf reports that:] 'Uqbah bin Bash¢r al-Asad¢ said: 'Ab£ Ja'far Mu¦ammad bin 'Al¢ bin al-°usain told me that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٨): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said…"

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* relates on the authority of 'Amm¡r al-Duhan¢ from Imam al-B¡qir ('a) who said: "And an arrow came and struck his son who was in his lap. [Al-°usain ('a)] began wiping the blood from him and saying: 'O Allah, You judge between us and a people who invited us in order to help us, and now they are killing us" (٥:٣٨٩).

Al-Ya'q£b¢ writes in his *T¡r¢kh* (٢:٢٣٢; Najaf edition): "Then [the companions of al-°usain ('a)] came forward one after another. [They fought and were all killed] until he remained alone. There was no one with him from among his family, children or his

[The Martyrdom of the Two Sons of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far]

The people encircled them from all sides. 'Abdullah bin Qu§bah al-Nabah¡n¢ al-±¡'¢ attacked 'Aun bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab¢ ±¡lib and killed him.[١] Then 'ªmir bin Nahshal al-Taim¢ attacked Mu¦ammad bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab¢ ±¡lib and killed him.[٢]

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kinsmen. He was on his horse when a new-born baby, who had just born, was brought to him. He recited the *adh¡n* in his ear and gave him a bit of chewed dates. Just then an arrow came and struck the throat of the child and slaughtered it. Al-°usain ('a) removed the arrow from [the child's] throat and began to spread the blood on the [child's body] saying: 'By Allah, you are more honourable in the eyes of Allah than the she-camel [of Prophet ¯¡li¦]. And indeed Mu¦ammad is more honourble before Allah than [Prophet] ¯¡li¦.' He then came and put [his body] together with [the bodies of] his son and nephews." Sib§ al-Jawz¢ says in his *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٢; Najaf edition): "As al-°usain ['a] looked [around], [he saw] his son crying of thirst. He took him in his arms and said [to his enemies]: 'O people! If you have no mercy on me, then have mercy on this child! [In reply,] a man from among them shot an arrow at [the child] and slaughtered it. [At this] al-°usain ['a] started weeping and saying: 'O Allah, judge between us and a people who invited us in order to help us, and [now] they are killing us.' A cry was heard from the heavens: 'Leave him O °usain! For he has a wet-nurse [who will suckle him] in Heaven."

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٩): "His mother was J£m¡nah, daughter of Musayyab bin Najabah al-Ghaz¡r¢." Musayyab was one of the heads of the Taww¡b£n movement, from among the Sh¢'ah in K£fah. Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ says in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٦٠; Najaf edition): "'Aun's mother was [Lady] Zainab, the wise lady (*al-'aq¢lah*) [of the Ban£ H¡shim], daughter of 'Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib ('a)."

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٩): "His mother was Khaw¥¡', daughter of Kha¥afah bin Thaq¢f al-Taim¢, from the clan of Bakr bin W¡'il." So has been narrated by Ab£ al-Faraj also in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٦٠;

[The Martyrdom of the Members from the Household of 'Aq¢l]

'Uthm¡n bin Kh¡lid bin As¢r al-Juhan¢ and Bishr bin °au§ al-Q¡bi¤¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ launched an attack on 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n, son of 'Aq¢l bin Ab¢ ±¡lib, and killed him.[١] [Thereafter,] they plundered [his belongings].

'Abdullah bin 'Azarah al-Khath'am¢[٢] shot [an arrow] at Ja'far, [another] son of 'Aq¢l bin Ab¢ ±¡lib and killed him.

Then 'Amru bin ¯ubaih al-¯udd¡'¢[٣] shot an arrow at

Najaf edition). But bin Ibn al-Jawz¢ mentions her in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٥; Najaf edition) as °aw§, daughter of °af¥ah al-Tam¢m¢.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٦:٥٩): "Mukht¡r had dispatched 'Abdullah bin K¡mil against them while they were trying to move to al-Jaz¢rah [i.e. Mosul]. Ibn al-K¡mil and his men chased them up and caught up with them at al-Jabb¡nah. They [were arrested and] brought before [Ibn K¡mil]. He then took them to a place called Bi'r al-Ja'd. There he beheaded them and burnt their bodies. They were mourned by A'sh¡' al-Hamd¡n¢." However, according to *al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٩): "The assassin of 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin 'Aq¢l was 'Uthm¡n bin Kh¡lid al-Juhan¢ only, without the association of Bishr bin °aw§ al-Hamd¡n¢." Ab£ al-Faraj mentions both of them as his assassins in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٦١; Najaf edition), through the same chain of narration (*sanad*) which has appeared in *al-±abar¢*.

[٢] According to *al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٩), He was killed by Bishr bin °aw§ al-Hamd¡n¢, whereas in (٦:٦٥) he mentions al-Khath'am¢ saying: "'Abdullah bin 'Urwah al-Khath'am¢, the one who was pursued by Mukht¡r but he escaped and joined Mu¥'ab." Ab£ al-Faraj refers to him in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٦١; Najaf edition) as 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah al-Khath'am¢, through the same chain of narration as mentioned in *al-±abar¢*.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢*: Mukht¡r was chasing him. His men entered upon ['Amru] at night when people were asleep. He was in his bed and did not realize. They arrested him while his sword was beneath his head, so he said regarding this [afterwards]: 'Shame on you O sword. You were very close, yet so far!' He used to say [after his

arrest]: 'I have [only] stabbed and wounded some of [the members of the household of the Prophet in Karbal¡']. I did not kill anyone of them.' He was brought to Mukht¡r who imprisoned him in the palace. The next morning when Mukht¡r allowed people to visit him, ['Amru] was brought before him in shackles. He said: 'O the infidels and the wicked! By Allah, had I a sword in my hand, you would have come to know that I do not tremble infront of a sword, nor am I a coward. If I am going to die by being killed, then it is not dear to me to get killed by any of the creatures other than you! For I know that you are the worst of the creatures of Allah! But I still wish that I had a sword in my hand, so that I would have fought with you for a while!' Then he raised his hand and slapped the eye of Ibn K¡mil who was [standing] by his side. Ibn K¡mil laughed [at this] and grabbed his hand, stopping him [from repeating that act]. [Ibn K¡mil] then said [to Mukht¡r]: 'He claims to have [only] wounded and stabbed [some] among the family of Mu¦ammad. So give us your order concerning him.' Mukht¡r said: 'Bring me a spear.' So he was brought [a spear]. He then ordered: 'Stab him to death!' and he was stabbed to death" (٦:٦٥). *Al-±abar¢* reports in (٥:٤٦٩) from Ab£ Mikhnaf that: "['Amru] is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin 'Aq¢l bin Ab¢ ±¡lib ('a)." Whereas in (٦:٦٤) he says that: "The one who shot an arrow at 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aq¢l was Zayd bin Ruq¡d al-Janab¢. [Zayd] used to say: 'I shot a young man from among them with an arrow [on his forehead]. He tried to guard against it by putting his hand on his forehead, but I stitched his hand to his forehead such that he was unable to take it off from it! As his hand was stuck to his forehead, [the young man said: 'O Allah, they have belittled us and humiliated us. O Allah, kill them the way they have killed us.' [Zayd] then shot another arrow at him which killed him. He used to say about this: 'He was dead when I got to him. I had to wrench the arrow off his forehead. I managed to take it off but its arrowhead was stuck on his forehead such that I was unable to take it out."

[Sometime after the event of Karbal¡',] Mukht¡r dispatched 'Abdullah bin K¡mil al-Sh¡kir¢ to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janab¢ came out with his sword drawn. Ibn K¡mil said: "Shower him with arrows and stone him." They did so until he fell on the ground. Ibn K¡mil then ordered for fire and burnt him

'Abdullah, son of Muslim bin 'Aq¢l[١], which stitched his hand to his forehead, such that he could no longer move his hand. ['Amru] then shot another arrow at him which tore his heart.[٢] Lab¢t bin Y¡sir al-Juhan¢ killed Mu¦ammad, son of Ab¢ Sa'¢d bin 'Aq¢l.[٣]

[The Martyrdom of other Two Sons of al-°asan bin 'Al¢ ('a)]

'Abdullah bin Uqbah al-Ghanaw¢[٤] shot an arrow at Ab£

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while he was still alive (٦:٦٤).

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٩): "His mother was Ruqayyah, daughter of 'Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib ('a)." See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٦٢; Najaf edition).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٩): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says…" See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٦٢; Najaf edition).

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٧): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim al-Azd¢ who said…"

[٤] *Al-±abar¢*: He was among those who had revolted with Mustawrad bin 'Alafah in K£fah in the year ٤٣ H, during the governership of Mugh¢rah bin Shu'bah over the city. Al-Ghanaw¢ was a scribe, so al-Mustawrad instructed him to write [a letter for him] and then take it to Samm¡k bin 'Ubaid, the governer of Mad¡in, inviting him to [pay allegiance to] al-Mustawrad. He did so and then returned to al-Mustawrad. (٥:١٩٠)
When the followers of al-Mustawrad were killed, al-Ghanaw¢ fled and entered K£fah [and put up at] Shar¢k bin Namlah's [place]. He asked the latter to go to see Mugh¢rah bin Shu'bah and request him for a safe-conduct for him. [Shar¢k] did so and Mugh¢rah [accepted his request and] said: "I have granted him protection (٥:٢٠٦). After the event of Karbal¡', [al-Ghanaw¢] fled from Mukht¡r and joined Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair. Later, he joined 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mu¦ammad bin Ash'ath (٥:٢٠٥). Mukht¡r tried to pursue him but found him to have escaped, so he demolished his house (٦:٦٥).

Bakr, son of al-°asan [١] bin 'Al¢ and killed him.[٢] 'Abdullah, [another] son of al-°asan bin Ab¢ ±¡lib, was [also] killed; [that is when] °armalah bin K¡hil[٣] shot an arrow at him and

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[١] He was the son of al-°asan ('a) as recorded in *al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٨). On page ٤٤٨ of the same volume, his name appears as Ab£ Bakr, son of al-°usain bin 'Al¢, which is incorrect.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٤٨): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ''Uqbah bin Bash¢r al-Asad¢ reports that 'Ab£ Ja'far Mu¦ammad bin 'Al¢ bin al-°usain said to me…" Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ has narrated this report in *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٥٧; Najaf edition) [from two different chains of narration]. [The first chain of narration reads as follows:] "From al-Mad¡in¢ who was narrating on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf from Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid..." [While the second one reads:] "From 'Amru bin Shamir who related on the authority of J¡bir from Ab£ Ja'far al-B¡qir ('a)…"

[٣] Ibn K¡hil as reported by *al-±abar¢* (٦:٦٥). However, in (٥:٤٦٨) he says Ibn K¡hin, which is [definitely] not correct. [*Al-±abar¢*] has not mentioned that Mukht¡r was in pursuit of him and the manner in which he [eventually] killed him.

Hish¡m says: "Ab£ al-Hudhayl –a man from the Sak£n- related to me saying: 'I saw H¡ni' bin Thubait al-°a¤ram¢ sitting in a gathering of the Hadramis during the time of Kh¡lid bin 'Abdillah, who was an old man at that time. I heard him say: 'I was among those who witnessed the killing of al-°usain. By Allah, I was standing in a group of ten men, all of whom were on the horses. The cavalry [of Ibn Sa'd] were moving around and were scattered apart. Suddenly a young boy from the family of al-°usain came out from those tents, with the pillar of a tent in his hands. He was wearing a waist-cloth and a shirt. He seemed frightened and was [repeatedly] looking to his right and left. It is just as if I am looking at the two pearls on his ears swinging as he turns. A man approached him, galloping his horse. As he drew closer to the boy, he bent down from his horse, targeted the boy with the sword and cut him down!" Ab£ al-Faraj relates this report from al-Mad¡in¢ in his *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٧٩; Najaf edition). Ab£ Mikhnaf says: "°asan bin al-°asan and 'Umar bin al-°asan were considered too young by the people and were, therefore, not killed (٥:٤٤٩)."

Among the retainers (*maw¡l¢*) killed in Karbal¡' were Sulaim¡n and

killed him.[١]

Manja¦, the retainers of al-°usain (ʿa) (*al-±abar¢*:٥:٤٦٩).

[١] This is as it has been reported in *al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٨) and *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٥٨; Najaf edition) from al-Mad¡in¢. However, the predominant view is that he is the one who escaped from the tents to the point where his uncle [al-°usain] had come to the ground, and was killed there, as we shall see later. And this is the version recorded by al-Muf¢d in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤١; Najaf edition).

THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-°USAIN (‘A)

[Al-°usain (‘a) Advances Towards the Battlefield]

When [only] three or four people had remained with al-°usain [‘a], he called for a pair of dazzling Yemeni trousers (*sar¡w¢l*). He tore them [and put them on], so that he should not have them plundered [after his martyrdom].[1],[2]

He waited for a good part of the day. Whenever someone from the people came to him, he would go away, disliking to take up the responsibilty of killing him and [to shoulder] the great sin.

M¡lik bin al-Nusair [al-Badd¢ al-Kind¢][3] came to him and struck his head with [his] sword. It cut through the hood he was wearing and reached his head. He started bleeding and the hood was filled with blood. Al-°usain [‘a] said to M¡lik: “May you not eat or drink with [your hand]. May Allah resurrect you with the oppressors!”

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[1] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥١): “Some of his companions said to him: ‘You better wear a *tabb¡n* (short dress) under [the trouser].’ He said: ‘That is the garment of humiliation. It does not befit me to wear it.’ When he was killed, Ba¦r bin Ka’b plundered [the trouser] from him. Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘‘Amru bin Shu’aib narrated to me from Mu¦ammad bin ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n that the hands of Ba¦r bin Ka’b used to sprinkle drops of water in winter, and they would become dry in the summer as if they were sticks.”

[2] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥١): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…” See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤١).

[3] *Al-±abar¢*: He was the messenger of Ibn Ziy¡d who brought his letter to °urr bin Yaz¢d while he was on the way, [instructing him] to force al-°usain (‘a) to halt. (٥:٤٠٨)

[Al-°usain (‘a)] then threw away the hood and called for a cap. He wore it and surrounded it with a turban.[١],[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٤٨**): The hood was made of silk. Al-Kind¢ came [to the body of the Imam (‘a) and] plundered it. When he went back with it to his family, he started washing off the blood from it. His wife saw him doing that and she understood [the matter]. So she said: ‘Do you bring into my house that which you have plundered from the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (¥)?! Take it out from me!’ The friends of M¡lik say that he continued to remain poor with it [as a result his action] until he died.” Al-Muf¢d has also related this report in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٤١**). He refers to M¡lik as ‘Ibn al-Yasr’ instead of Ibn al-Nusair. According to *Majma’ al-Ba¦rain*, the hood (*al-barnas*) was a long cap made of cotton. It was worn by Christian monks and was later adopted by Muslim ascetics during the early period of Islam.

[٢] Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ narrates in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.**٧٨**; Najaf edition) from Ab£ Mikhnaf who said: “Hish¡m reports from Q¡sim bin al-A¥bagh bin Nub¡tah on the authority of his father, Mu¦ammad bin S¡’ib, that: ‘Someone who happened to see al-°usain [‘a] in his camp has related to me that: ‘When the army of [al-°usain (‘a)] was overpowered, he whipped his horse and set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. A man from the Ban£ Ab¡n bin D¡rim said: ‘Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the water!’ So the people chased him and came between him and the Euphrates. The man from the Ban£ D¡rim took an arrow [and shot it at him] which lodged in his throat. Al-°usain pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. Both his palms were filled with blood and then he said: ‘O Allah! I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet. O Allah, afflict him with thirst!”

Q¡sim bin A¥bagh says: “Indeed I have seen him, by his side there were jugs of milk and pitchers of water. The water was being cooled for him and sweetened with sugar. He would say: ‘Woe onto you! Give me water to drink. I am dying of thirst!’ So they would give him the jug or the pitcher and he would have some from it. The moment he removed it from his lips and the satisfaction would go away, he would [again] say: ‘Woe upon you! Give me a drink! I am dying of thirst!’ By Allah, it was not long before his belly

So he had the cloth tied [over the hood which was made of black silk]. He put on a shirt[١] [or] a cloak of made of silken material, while his hair was dyed. [Al-°usain (‘a)] fought like a brave knight, guarding against the [arrows], availing the weak points [of the enemy] and attacking the cavalry fiercely.[٢]

[Meanwhile,] Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan advanced with around ten foot soldiers from among the K£fan army towards the tent of al-°usain [‘a], inside which there was his load and family. [Seeing this, al-°usain (‘a) began] walking towards [the tent], but [the people] came between him and the tents. So al-°usain [‘a] said: “Woe upon you! If you have no religion and do not fear the Day of Resurrection, then be free men of noble descent in this world! Protect my tent and family from your rabble and ignorant men!”

Ibn Dh¢ al-Jaushan said: “You are granted that O son of F¡§imah!” and proceeded towards him with the foot soldiers. [At this] al-°usain [‘a] began attacking them and they would

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bursted like the bursting of the stomach of a camel.”
Al-±abar¢ (٥:٤٤٩-٤٥٠): “Hish¡m says: ‘‘Amru bin Shamir related to me from J¡bir al-Ju’f¢ who said: ‘Al-°usain [‘a] was thirsty. When his thirst became severe, he drew near [the Euphrates] to drink from its water. So °u¥ain bin Tam¢m shot an arrow at him which lodged in his mouth. [Al-°usain (‘a)] began collecting the blood from his mouth and throwing it to the sky. He said: ‘O Allah, take account of them, destroy them entirely and do not leave a single of them on the earth.’(٥:٤٤٩-٤٥٠). In (٥:٤٤٧-٤٤٨) [the chain of narration of this report appears as such:] “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…”

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٢): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…”

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٢): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports] on the authority of al-°ajj¡j from ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amm¡r al-B¡riq¢ who said…”

disperse from him.[١]

‘Abdullah bin ‘Amm¡r al-B¡riq¢[٢] says: “The foot soldiers that were on his right and left side launched an assault on him. He thus attacked those who were on his right such that they were frightened [and retreated]. [He then attacked] those on the left and they [also] were terrified. By Allah, I have never seen a broken [and a wounded] person, whose children, kinsmen and companions had been slain, so tranquil, more resolute and more courageous than him. By Allah, I have not seen his like, neither before him, nor after him. Indeed, the foot soldiers were fleeing from his right and left as goats would flee [and scatter] from a wolf.

As ‘Umar bin Sa‘d drew closer to al-°usain [‘a], his sister Zainab, daughter of F¡§imah, came out and said: “O ‘Umar bin Sa‘d! Is Ab£ ‘Abdillah being killed while you [stand by and] watch?! So he turned away his face from her[٣]. It is just as if I am seeing the tears of ‘Umar running down his cheeks and beard!”[٤]

[Meanwhile,] al-°usain [‘a] was attacking the cavalry and saying: “Are you inciting one another to kill me! By Allah, you are not going to kill any servant of Allah after me whose

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٠): “Ab£ Mikhnaf reports…” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٩).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٥٦٥): He is the person who gave an account of the order of the Commander of the Faithful [‘Al¢ (‘a)] -as he was advancing towards ¯iff¢n in the year ٣٦ H- that a bridge be built over the Euphrates.

[٣] See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٢; Najaf edition).

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥١): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports] from ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin ‘Amm¡r al-B¡riq¢, who narrated from °ajj¡j that...” Al-Muf¢d has narrated the report in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤١) from °umaid bin Muslim.

killing will incur more wrath upon you than [killing] me. By Allah, I anticipate that Allah shall honour me by disgracing you, and shall take vengeance on you from where you do not perceive[١]. By Allah, if you kill me, Allah will cause you to fight one another and to shed your blood. Then he will not leave you until he doubles for you the severe punishment."[٢]

Thereafter, Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan advanced towards al-°usain ['a] with the foot soldiers. Among them were Sin¡n bin Anas al-Nakha'¢, Khauliyy bin Yaz¢d al-A¥ba¦¢[٣], ¯¡li¦ bin Wahab al-Yazan¢, Qash'am bin Amr al- Ju'f¢ and 'Abd al-

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[١] The prayer of the Imam ('a) was answered. Thus came Mukht¡r and sent Ab£ 'Umrah to 'Umar bin Sa'd, ordering him to bring Ibn Sa'd to him. Ab£ 'Umrah came to 'Umar and said: "The governor is summoning you." As 'Umar stood up, he was tripped by his garment. So Ab£ 'Umrah struck him with [his] sword and killed him. Then he put his head under his cloak, [went to Mukht¡r,] and placed it before him!
°af¥ bin 'Umar bin Sa'd was sitting with Mukht¡r. So Mukht¡r asked him: "Do you know this head?" °af¥ recited the verse: 'Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return', and said: "Yes, and life is worthless after him!" Mukht¡r said: "But you [too] are not going to live after him." He then ordered him to be killed and he was killed. His head was then put with that of his father. (See *al-±abar¢*: ٦:٦١).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٢): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] '¯aq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…"

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٦:٥٩): Mukht¡r had sent Ma'¡dh bin H¡ni' bin 'Adiyy al-Kind¢ -the nephew of °ujr bin 'Adiyy, and Ab£ 'Amarah -the head of his bodyguards, in pursuit of him. Khauliyy hid himself near the exit [of his house]. So Ma'¡dh ordered Ab£ 'Amarah to search for him in the house. As they were entering the house, his wife came out to them. They said to her: "Where is your husband? She replied: "I do not know" and pointed towards the exit. So they entered [the house] and found him [at its exit], with a basket made of date palm leaves on his head. They took him out and burnt him.

Ra¦m¡n al-Ju'fi.[١] Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan began inciting them [against Husein (‘a)], so they completely encircled [al-°usain (‘a)].

A boy[٢] from among his household came out towards al-°usain [‘a]. Al-°usain [‘a] said to his sister, Zainab bint ‘Al¢: “Stop him.” So she held him in order to stop him, but he refused [to take notice of her] and determinedly advanced towards al-°usain [‘a].

Ba¦r bin Ka'b rushed towards al-°usain [‘a] with [his] sword. The young lad said [to him]: “O son of an impure woman! Are you [trying to] kill my uncle?!” [Ba¦r] struck at him with [his] sword. The boy tried to fend off [the blow] with his arm, but the sword cut through [his arm] to the skin [on the other side]. The boy cried out: “O my mother!”

Al-°usain [‘a] took hold of him and embraced him. He said: “My nephew, be patient on what has come to you, and anticipate in this the best [from Allah], for Allah will unite you with your righteous ancestors, the Messenger of Allah, ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib, °amzah and °asan bin ‘Al¢.[٣] May Allah

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[١] *Al-±abar¢*: He was among those who gave witness against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy al-Kind¢ (٥:٢٧٠). He was in command of the Madh¦ij and Asad in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa'd on the day of ‘ash£r¡’(٥:٤٢٢).

[٢] According to Shaikh al-Muf¢d in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤١), he was ‘Abdullah bin al-°asan. There are indications [also] that support this view. It has been mentioned earlier that °armalah bin K¡hil was the one who shot an arrow at him which killed him. Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢ also has narrated this incident -at this particular point of the event of Karbal¡’- in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٧٧; Najaf edition), from Ab£ Mikhnaf who reported from Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid, who related from °umaid bin Muslim.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٠): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says in a report…” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٧٧; Najaf edition). He narrated it from

bless them all. O Allah, withhold rain from them and deprive them of the blessings of the earth. O Allah, if you are going to give them comfort till a time, then divide them into factions and make them sects following different ways. Let their rulers never be pleased with them. They summoned us so that they might support us, [but] they became hostile to us and killed us."[١]

He waited for a large part of the day. Had the people wished to kill him, they could have done so. But [they were hesitant in killing him such that] each of them would take refuge in the other and a group among them would wish that the other group may spare it [the great sin]. Then Shamir shouted at the people: "Woe onto you! Why are you waiting for the man?! Kill him! May your mothers be deprived of you!" So he was attacked from every side.

[The Martyrdom of al-°usain ('a)]

Zur'ah bin Shar¢k al-Tam¢m¢ struck him on his palm[٢] and struck [another blow] on his shoulder. Thus, he would [try to] stand, but would fall prostrate on his noble face. In such a condition, Sin¡n bin Anas al-Nakha'¢ stabbed him with a spear such that he ['a] fell [to the ground]. No one would get closer to al-°usain ['a] except that Sin¡n bin Anas would charge on him, fearing that the head of [al-°usain ('a)] may

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°umaid bin Muslim on the authority of Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥١): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said…" See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤١).

[٢] It was his left shoulder according to *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٢) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٥٣). 'Abd al-Razz¡q al-Muqarram narrates this report in *al-Maqtal* (pg.١٦) from the book *al-It¦¡f bi-°ubb al-Ashr¡f*.

fall in the hands of someone else. He then bent down, slaughtered him and separated his head.[١] Thereafter, he handed [the head] to Khauliyy bin Yaz¢d [al-A¥ba¦¢].

Al-°usain [‘a] was plundered of all that was on him. Qais bin al-Ash’ath[٢] took his plush, while Is¦¡q bin °aiwah al-°a¤ram¢ his shirt[٣]. A man from the Ban£ Na¦shal took his sword. His slippers were taken by Aswad [al-Aud¢] and Ba¦r bin Ka’b took his trousers[٤], leaving him uncovered.[٥]

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[١] Ibn al-Jawz¢ mentions five different views concerning the assasin of the Imam (‘a) and [ultimately] prefers that it was Sin¡n. He then narrates that [one day] Sin¡n entered upon °ajj¡j, so he asked him: “Are you the killer of al-°usain?” “Yes”, he replied. °ajj¡j said: “Good news to you, as you will never be with him in the same abode.” The people said that °ajj¡j has never been heard saying a better word than this!” Ibn al-Jawz¢ further says: “[After the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a)], people counted [the number of wounds] on his body and found that he was stabbed ٣٣ times and ٣٤ sword strikes [were evident on his body]. And they found on his clothes that he was shot ١٢٠ arrows.”

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٣): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…”

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٥): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports:] ‘Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has related to me from °umaid bin Muslim…”

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٢): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…”

[٥] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥١): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports:] ‘Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim, who said…” Sib§ al-Jawz¢ has clearly stated this fact in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٣) saying: “They plundered all that was on him, even his trousers which was taken by Ba¦r bin Ka’b al-Tam¢m¢.” Al-Muf¢d mentions this in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤١&٢٤٢) adding that: “After this, the two hands of Ba¦r bin Ka’b, may Allah curse him, used to become so dry in the summer that they were like sticks, and then soaking wet in the winter such that they sprinkled blood and pus, until Allah destroyed him.”

AFTER THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-°USAIN (‘A)

[The Looting of the Tents]

The people turned to the womenfolk of al-°usain [‘a], plundering them, his belongings and provision, the [Yemeni] dye[1], the garments and the camels. [The people] would wrest the clothes of the women from their backs and take them.[2]

The people said to Sin¡n bin Anas: “You have killed °usain bin ‘Al¢, son of F¡§imah, the daughter of the Prophet of Allah (¥). You have killed a person from among the Arabs who posed the greatest threat [to the Ban£ Umayyah]. He had come to these people in order to remove them from the power. So go to your masters and ask your reward from them! Even

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[1] *Waras* is a yellow flower similar to saffron with a good fragrance. It used to be brought from Yemen. The Imam (‘a) had taken it from the people who were carrying it to Yaz¢d [bin Mu’¡wiyah] at Tan’¢m, at the beginning of his departure from Makkah. Among those who plundered the dye on the day of “a sh£r¡’ were Ziy¡d bin M¡lik al-®ab¢’¢, ‘Imr¡n bin Kh¡lid al-‘Anz¢, ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n al-Bajal¢ and ‘Abdullah bin Qais al-Khaul¡n¢. When Mukht¡r was informed about them, he called them and they came to him. He told them: “O killers of the righteous! Assasins of the lord of the youths in Heaven! Do you not think that Allah has brought you [here] today [to take vengeance on you]?! The dye has, indeed, brought on you an ominous day!” He then took them to the market place and killed them. See *al-±abar¢* (٦:٥٨).

[2] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٣): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘¯aq’ab bin Zuhair has related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said…” Al-Ya’q£b¢ says in *al-T¡r¢kh* (٢:٢٣٢): “They looted his tents and robbed [the belongings of] his womenfolk.” Al-Muf¢d has also related this report in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg. ٢٤٢). Sib§ al-Jawz¢ says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٤): “They stripped his womenfolk and daughters of their clothes.”

if they were to give you their treasuries for killing al-°usain, it would [still] be little!"

Sin¡n, who was a little crazy, came with his horse and stopped at the door of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d’s tent. He shouted at the top of his voice:

Fill my saddles with silver and gold, I have killed the lord of the chosen ones.

I have killed the best of men with regard to his mother and father, the best of them mentioned in lineage.[١]

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: "Bring him to me." When [Sin¡n] was brought in, he threw [his] staff at him and then said: "O mad! I testify that you are mad and you have never regained sanity. How dare you speak like this! By Allah, if Ibn Ziy¡d had heard you [saying this], he would have killed you!"

Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan [attacked] the belongings of al-°usain [‘a] with a group of foot soldiers. Then they came to ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain al-A¥ghar, who was stretched out on a bed. The foot soldiers were saying [to one another]: "Should we not kill this [man]?"

°umaid bin Muslim reports: "[At this] I said: Glory be to Allah! Shall we kill boys [too]?! This is only a boy![٢] ‘Umar

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[١] See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٨٠; Najaf edition), *Tadhkirat al-Khaw¡¥¥* (pg.٢٥٤; Najaf edition) and *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٧٠).

[٢] ±abar¢ writes in his *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg. ٦٣٠; D¡r al-Ma’¡rif publications, edited by Mu¦ammad Ab£ al-Fa¤l Ibr¡h¢m): "‘Al¢ bin al-°usain al-A¥ghar [i.e. the younger] was present in Karbal¡’ with his father. He was then ٢٣ years of age. He was ill, sleeping on the bed. When al-°usain [‘a] was killed, Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan said: ‘Kill this [man]!’ So a man from among his followers said: ‘Glory be to Allah! Will you kill a young man, who is sick and did not fight?’ ‘Umar bin Sa’d then arrived and said: ‘Do not disturb

bin Sa‘d then arrived and said: “No one should disturb this sick boy or enter the tents of these women. Whoever has taken any of their belongings should return it to them.” But none of them returned anything.

‘Umar bin Sa‘d then arrested ‘Uqbah bin Sim’¡n and asked him: “Who are you?” He replied: “I am a slave.” So he let him go. He was, thus, the only person among [al-°usain’s companion] to be saved.[١]

[The Trampling on al-°usain’s Body]

Thereafter, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d called out to his followers: “Who

these women nor this sick man.” *Al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٢) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٦&٢٥٨; Najaf edition) have narrated this in similar vein.

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Marqa’ bin Thum¡mah al-Asad¢ had spread his arrows on the ground and fighting while he was kneeling. A number of his clansmen came and said to him: “You are safe. Come over to us.” So he went to them. When ‘Umar bin Sa’d returned to Ibn Ziy¡d with the army and informed him, among other things, of the case of Marqa’, Ibn Ziy¡d deported him to al-Z¡rah (٥:٤٥٤). Al-Z¡rah is a place in Oman, known for its severe heat. Those sentenced to deportation were being sent to this place. We mentioned earlier how ®a||¡k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq¢ al-Hamd¡n¢ left [the battlefield] with the permission of the Imam (‘a), in accordance with the conditions he had put before him. [These were those who left the Imam (‘a) for one reason or the other]. But as for those who were saved from being killed [on the day of ‘ªsh£r¡’], Ab£ Mikhnaf says: “‘Al¢ bin al-°usain was considered very young [by the enemy] (٥:٤٦٨). °asan bin al-°asan bin ‘Al¢ and ‘Umar bin al-°asan bin ‘Al¢ were [also] considered to be very young. So they were spared and were not killed (٥:٤٦٩). As for ‘Abdullah bin al-°asan, he was also killed (٥:٤٦٨). According to Ab£ al-Faraj in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٧٩; Najaf edition): “°asan bin al-°asan bin ‘Al¢ was covered with wounds and was thus carried [away from the battlefield].”

will volunteer [to go] to al-°usain and make his horse trample on [his body]?" Ten [men] volunteered. Of these, Ish¡q bin °aiwah al-°a¤ram¢ and A¦bash bin Mirthad al-°a¤ram¢ came forward and trampled on [the body of] al-°usain [‘a] with their horses until they had crushed his back and chest.[١]

‘Umar bin Sa‘d then performed the funeral prayer for those of his followers who were killed, and buried them. He dispatched on the same day the head of [the Imam (‘a)] with Khauliyy bin Yaz¢d to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d. When Khauliyy approached the palace, he found that the gate of the palace was closed. So he went to his house[٢] and placed the

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤١٥**): Later Is¦¡q bin °aiwah al-°a¤ram¢ was afflicted by leprosy. I [have also] heard that during another battle after this, A¦bash bin Mirthad al-°a¤ram¢ was standing when an arrow, whose thrower was not known, came and splitted his heart, leaving him dead. Ibn Sa’d committed this atrocity because of the order of Ibn Ziy¡d in his letter to ‘Umar: "If al-°usain is killed, then make the horses trample his chest and back. For he is disobedient and an opponent; an oppressor and one who is set to sever [all] relations; I do not believe that this action [of trampling the body] after death does any harm [to the dead], but I have promised myself that I would do this to him, if I killed him!" The trampling [of the body of al-°usain (‘a)] has been reported also in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.**٧٩**) of Ab£ al-Faraj, *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (**٣:٧٢**) of al-Mas’£d¢, *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.**٢٤٢**; Najaf edition) of al-Muf¢d and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.**٢٥٤**) of Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢. Ibn al-Jawz¢ further adds: "[After trampling the body,] they found a black spot on his back. So they inquired about it and were told: "He used to carry food on his back at night to the needy people of Mad¢nah."

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٥٥**): "Hish¡m reports: ‘My father has related to me from Naww¡r, daughter of M¡lik bin ‘Aqrab -who was a °a¤ram¢, and the wife of Khauliyy, that she said: ‘Khauliyy came with the head of al-°usain [‘a] and put it under a [large] vessel in the house. He then entered the room and went to sleep. I asked him: ‘What are the news? What have you brought?’ He replied: ‘I have brought you endless wealth. This is the head of al-°usain with you

head beneath a [large] bowl. In the early morning of the next day, he went to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d with the head.

in this house!’ So I said: ‘Woe onto you! The people have come with gold and silver, and you have come with the head of the son of the Messenger of Allah (¥)?! Nay by Allah, I will never live with you [again]!’ She further says: ‘Then I rose from my bed and went out. I sat down looking [at the vessel]. By Allah, I was continuously seeing [a beam of] light, like a pillar, shining from the heavens down to the vessel. I also saw a white bird fluttering around it.”

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN K¬FAH

‘Umar bin Sa‘d remained [there for the rest of] that day and the next day.[١] He ordered the heads of the remainder [of al-°usain’s followers who had been slain] to be cut off. He then sent seventy-two heads[٢] with Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan, Qais bin Ash’ath, ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¡j and ‘Azarah bin Qais. They journeyed until they brought them to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d.

[‘Umar] then ordered °umaid bin Bukair al-A¦mar¢[٣] to summon the people for the journey to K£fah. He took with him the daughters and sisters of al-°usain [‘a], the children, and ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain who was [still] sick.[٤]

Qurrah bin Qais al-Tam¢m¢ reports: “I will not forget Zainab, the daughter of F¡§imah, when she passed by her brother al-°usain [‘a] lying dead. She was crying: ‘O Mu¦ammad! O Mu¦ammad! The angels from the heavens salute you! Here is al-°usain lying in the plains, covered in

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[١] See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٣).

[٢] See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٣). Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٦; Najaf): “There were ninty-two heads.” But this is, perhaps, due to the misspelling of seventy (*sab’¢n*), for he himself asserts on page ٢٥٩ of the same book: “There were more than seventy heads.”

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٦٨): “He was one of the bodyguards of Ibn Ziy¡d. Ibn Ziy¡d had sent him with Shurai¦, the chief judge, to monitor [Shurai¦] when he sent the latter to see H¡ni’ and then to inform his clansmen that he was safe. Shurai¦ later used to say: “I swear by Allah, had he not been with me, I would have conveyed to the followers of H¡ni’ what he had asked me to tell them.”

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٣-٤٥٥): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…”

[his] blood, with his limbs severed from his body. O Mu¦ammad! And your daughters have become captives, while your offspring have been killed and left for the east wind to blow on them.' By Allah, her wails made every friend and foe weep[١]. The women lamented and struck their faces."[٢]

[The Burial of al-°usain ('a) and His Companions]

[Some of] the Ban£ Asad, who had been staying at al-Gh¡¤iriyyah, buried al-°usain ['a] and his followers, a day after they were killed.[٣],[٤]

[The Head of the Imam ('a) Before Ibn Ziy¡d]

°umaid bin Muslim narrates: "Umar bin Sa'd summoned me and sent me to his family members to give them the good news of the victory of Allah granted to him and that he was in safety. So I proceeded until I came to his family and informed them about that.

There [I saw] Ibn Ziy¡d sitting, while the delegation that brought [the heads] had [just] entered on him. The [people of] Kindah, led by Qais bin al-Ash'ath, came forward with thirteen heads. The [people of] Hauz¡n, under Shamir bin

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[١] See *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٢٥٦).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٥): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Ab£ Zuhair al-'Abs¢ related to me from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tam¢m¢ that…."

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٣-٤٥٥): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf report:] 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said…"

[٤] See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٣&٢٤٩) and *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٧٢). However, the predominant opinion is [that the burial took place] three days after they were [martyred] and in the presence of Imam al-Sajj¡d ('a), as the the debate between 'Al¢ bin °amzah and Imam al-Ri¤¡ ('a) attests to this fact. See *Maqtal al-°usain* (pg.٤١٥) of 'Abd al-Razz¡q al-Muqarram.

Dh¢ al-Jaushan, came with twenty heads. Seventeen heads were brought by the [men from the] Tam¢m. Ban£ Asad brought six heads. Madh¦ij came with seven heads and the rest of the army came [in] with seven heads. This comes up to seventy heads.

[Ibn Ziy¡d] let them in and granted the [rest of] people the permission to enter. I was one of those who went in. I saw the head of al-°usain ['a] placed in front of him, while he was poking at his front teeth with a staff. When Zayd bin Arqam[١] saw that he would not stop poking [the teeth], he said: 'Take your cane away from those [two] lips. For, by He beside whom there is no deity, I have seen the lips of the Prophet of Allah (¥) on those two lips, kissing them!' [With that] the old man broke into tears.

Ibn Ziy¡d said to him: 'May Allah make your two eyes weep! By Allah, if it was not for the fact that you are an old man who has become silly and your mind has left you, I would cut off your head.'

[Zayd bin Arqam] stood up and went out[٢] saying: 'A slave has appointed [another] slave to rule and he is treating [the people] as his [own] property. O the community of the Arabs! [Know that] you have become slaves henceforth! You have killed the son of F¡§imah and taken the son of Marj¡nah as [your] ruler! He will kill the righteous among you and enslave the wicked. You have thus accepted humiliation! And away

[١] Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٧) from Ibn S¢r¢n on the authority of al-Bukh¡r¢ that: "When the head of al-°usain ['a] was placed in front of Ibn Ziy¡d, it was put in a wash-bowl. [Ibn Ziy¡d] began striking [al-°usain's] teeth with a cane. Anas bin M¡lik was with him and so he started weeping and said: 'He is the most resemblance of them to the Prophet of Allah."

[٢] See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٣).

from the people who have accepted humiliation!'[١]

After he went out, I heard people saying: 'By Allah, Zayd has said something that if Ibn Ziy¡d had heard, he would have killed him.'

[The Captives in the Court of Ibn Ziy¡d]

When [al-°usain's] sisters, his womenfolk and children were brought before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d, Zainab, the daughter of F¡§imah, put on her mean clothes, pretending not to be

[١] Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ has narrated this incident in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٧). He further adds: "[Zayd] then said: 'O Ibn Ziy¡d! I am indeed going to tell you a word which is harsher for you than this: I have seen the Prophet of Allah (¥) seat al-°asan on his right lap and al-°usain on his left. Then he placed his hand on the crown of their heads and said: 'O Allah, I commend to Your protection both of them and the righteous among the believers!' So how have you treated the trust of the Messenger of Allah (¥) with you, O Ibn Ziy¡d?!" Ibn al-Jawz¢ then says: "Hish¡m bin Mu¦ammad reports: 'When the head [of al-°usain] was put before Ibn Ziy¡d, his fortuneteller said to him: 'Stand up and put your foot on the mouth of your adversary! So he stood and put his foot on [al-°usain's] mouth. Then he said to Zayd bin Arqam: 'How do you find this?' [Zayd] said: 'By Allah, I have seen the Prophet of Allah (¥) keeping his mouth where you have kept your foot." Ibn al-Jawz¢ then writes: "Al-Sha'b¢ said: 'Qais bin 'Abb¡d was with Ibn Ziy¡d. So he asked [Qais]: 'What is your opinion regarding me and al-°usain?' He said: 'His grandfather, his father and mother will come and intercede for him on the Day of Judgement, while your grandfather, your father and mother will come and intercede for you!' [At this,] Ibn Ziy¡d became angry and asked him to leave the gathering." Ibn al-Jawz¢ relates from *al-±abaq¡t* of Ibn Sa'd that he said: "Marj¡nah, the mother of Ibn Ziy¡d, said to his son [Ibn Ziy¡d]: 'O vicious [man]! You have killed the son of the Prophet of Allah! By Allah, you will never see the heaven!" See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٩). Ibn al-Ath¢r has also narrated this in *al-K¡mil* (٤:٢٦٥).

herself. Her maids crowded around her and she sat.

'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d said: 'Who is that woman sitting?' She did not answer him. He repeated that three times, but she did not speak.

One of her maids [then] said: 'This is Zainab, daughter of F¡§imah.'

'Ubaidullah said to her: 'All praise is due to Allah Who has disgraced you, killed you and revealed the false nature of your claims.'

[Zainab] replied: 'Praise be to Allah Who honoured us with Mu¦ammad (¥) and purified us with a thorough purification. It is not the way you have said. Only a sinner is disgraced [by Allah] and [only] the false nature of the wicked is revealed!'

He said: 'How do you consider Allah has treated the members of your household?!'

She replied: 'Death had been decreed for them and they went forward [bravely] to their resting places. Allah will gather you and them, and you will argue against each other and dispute with one another before him.'[١]

[At this] Ibn Ziy¡d became enraged and he burnt with anger. He said to her: 'Allah has cured my soul from your tyrant [brother] and the rebellious members of your family!'

[Here] Zainab wept. She then said: 'By my life, you have killed my elders and destroyed my family. [You have] cut my branches and extracted my roots! If this is what cures you, then you have been cured!'

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[١] See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٣) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٨&٢٥٩; Najaf edition).

'Ubaidullah said: 'This is a woman who rhymes her speech (*sajj¡'ah*).[١] By my life, your father used to speak in rhymed prose and was a poet.'

She answered: 'What has a woman to do with rhythmic construction of statements! I have [things] to distract me from that. But this is the agony of my heart that is flowing on my tongue.'[٢]

Thereafter, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d looked at 'Al¢ bin al-°usain and asked him: 'What is your name?'

He replied: 'I am 'Al¢ bin al-°usain.'

[Ibn Ziy¡d] said: 'Did Allah not kill 'Al¢ bin al-°usain?!' [At this, Imam al-Sajj¡d] remained silent.

So Ibn Ziy¡d said to him: 'Why are you not speaking?'

[Al-Sajj¡d] said: 'I had a brother who was also called 'Al¢. The people killed him.'

Ibn Ziy¡d said: 'Allah has indeed killed him.' [Again] he remained quiet. So Ibn Ziy¡d said: 'Why are you not speaking?'

He said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death.'[٣] 'No soul may die except with Allah's leave.'[٤]

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[١] The word *sajj¡'ah* and *saj¡'ah* in the text above have been recorded by ±abar¢ as *shaj¡'ah* and *shuj¡'ah* (a brave woman). In *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٤; Najaf edition), al-Muf¢d has recorded these words in the same manner as we have brought them in the text, which is more appropriate and suitable as far as the context of the speech is concerned.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٦-٤٥٧): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that…"

[٣] Qur'an, ٣٩:٤٢.

[٤] Qur'an, ٣:١٤٥.

Ibn Ziy¡d said: 'By Allah, you are one of them [i.e. the rebellious].' [Then he said to Mariyy bin Ma'¡dh al-A¦mar¢:] 'Woe onto you! Kill him.'

His aunt, Zainab, clung on to him and said: 'O Ibn Ziy¡d! You have had enough of our blood! Have you still not quenched your thirst by our blood?! Is there anyone you have left among us?!' Then she embraced [al-Sajj¡d] and said: 'I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.'

'Al¢ [bin al-°usain] called on him: 'If you have a bond of kinship with them [i.e. these women], then ask a pious man to accompany them in a manner worthy of Islam.'

Ibn Ziy¡d looked at them and said: 'How wonderful is family relationship! By Allah, she likes me to kill her with him, if I were to kill him. Leave the boy.'[١],[٢]

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٥٧**): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports:] 'As for Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid, he related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said…"

[٢] ±abar¢ writes in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* that: "'Al¢ [bin al-°usain al-A¥ghar] said: 'When I was brought before Ibn Ziy¡d, he asked me: 'What is your name?' I answered: 'Al¢ bin Husain.' He said: 'Did Allah not kill 'Al¢?' I said: 'I had a brother who was older than me and the people killed him!' He said: 'Rather Allah killed him.' I said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death.' So he ordered me to be killed. Zainab bint 'Al¢ ['a] then said to him: 'O Ibn Ziy¡d! You have had enough of our blood! I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.' So he left him." ±abar¢ then relates in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.٦٣٠; D¡r al-Ma'¡rif publications), quoting from *al-±abaq¡t* of Ibn Sa'd (**٥:٢١١-٢١٨**), that he narrated from M¡lik bin Ism¡'¢l, who was relating from Sahl bin Shu'aib, who reported from his father Shu'aib, that Minh¡l bin 'Amru said: "[One day] I went to see 'Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a). I said to him: 'How are you this

'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d then stuck the head of al-°usain [('a) on a spear] and ordered it to be taken round [the city of]

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morning, may Allah guide you?' He said: 'I have not seen an old man like you in this city, who does not know our condition! But if you are not aware and do not know about it, then I will inform you. [He then said:] 'Our position among our people is that of the children of Israel amidst the people of Fir'aun. 'They were slaying their sons and sparing their women.' Abusing and cursing our master and leader ['Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±¡lib] from the pulpits has become a means of gaining closeness to our enemy. The Quraish consider themselves superior than the Arabs because Mu¦ammad was from them, not because of any other reason; while the Arabs are acknowledging that for them. The Arabs [on their part] see themselves to be superior to the non-Arabs because Mu¦ammad is from them, and they have no other reason for their superiority except this; while the non-Arabs have accepted this from them. [Now], if the claim of the Arabs that they are superior to the non-Arabs is true, and if the claim of the Quraish that they enjoy superiority over the Arabs is [also] true, because [both the sides] argue that Mu¦ammad is from them, then we, the household of Mu¦ammad, certainly enjoy superiority over the Quraysh, because Mu¦ammad was from us. But [unfortunately] they began taking our right and do not acknowledge any right for us! This is our situation, if you do not know what our condition is." Ibn Sa'd says: "'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Y£nus narrated to us from Ja'far bin Mu¦ammad [al-¯¡diq] on the authority of Sufy¡n that: ''Al¢ bin al-°usain died at the age of ٥٨ years.' This implies that 'Al¢ bin al-°usain was with his father [in Karbal¡'] when he was ٢٣ or ٢٤ years old. Therefore, the view that says that he was still a child at that time, who had not grown up, is in no way correct. Rather, he was sick at that time and thus could not fight. Besides this, how can he be a child at that time while Ab£ Ja'far Mu¦ammad bin 'Al¢ [al-B¡qir] ('a) had been born to him?" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٤) for the conversation that took place between al-Sajj¡d and Ibn Ziy¡d. Ibn al-Jawz¢ has briefly related the actual report [i.e. the conversation between Ibn Ziy¡d, Lady Zainab and Imam al-Sajj¡d] in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٨; Najaf edition).

K£fah."[١]

[The Stand of 'Abdullah bin 'Af¢f]

[After the gathering was over], it was announced: "Offer your prayers in congregation." So people gathered in the great mosque [of K£fah]. Ibn Ziy¡d ascended the pulpit and said:

"Praise be to Allah Who has revealed the truth and the followers [of the truth], and has given victory to the commander of the faithful, Yaz¢d bin Mu'¡wiyah, and his party, and has killed the liar son of the liar: al-°usain bin 'Al¢, and his followers."

Ibn Ziy¡d had not yet finished his speech when 'Abdullah bin 'Af¢f al-Azd¢ al-Gh¡mid¢ -who was among the Sh¢'ah of 'Al¢ -[lit.] may Allah honour his face, and who would hardly leave the great mosque as he used to [be busy] praying in it the whole day[٢]- sprung up as he heard [these words from] Ibn Ziy¡d. He said:

"The liar, son of the liar, is you and your father, and the one who appointed you as the governer [i.e. Yaz¢d] and his father. O son of Marj¡nah![٣] You kill the sons of Prophets and speak the speech of the men of truth?!"

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٩): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says…"

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٨): "He lost his left eye in the battle of Jamal, fighting alongside 'Al¢ ('a). He was struck on his head in the battle of ¯iff¢n and a second strike on his eyebrow. He thus lost his other eye too." See *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٤) for the actual incident. Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ has also narrated the incident briefly in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٩).

[٣] *Marj¡nah* is an Arabicized version of the Persian word *mehrg¡n*. She was the mother of Ibn Ziy¡d, who was a slave girl supposedly from Khuzist¡n.

Ibn Ziy¡d said: "Get him for me."

The soldiers rushed towards him and arrested him. He gave the battle cry of al-Azd [saying]: "O the kind one!" So a number of young men from Azd quickly came forward, freed him and took him to his family.[١]

Ibn Ziy¡d then sent someone who brought [Ibn 'Af¢f] to him. He killed him and ordered him to be crucified in al-Sabkhah,

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Mikhnaf al-Azd¢ was sitting. So he said: "Woe onto other than you! You have destroyed yourself and your clan!" (٥:٤٥٩). 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n was the uncle of Abu Mikhnaf's father, for he was the brother of Sa'¢d, the grandfather of Ab£ Mikhnaf. He participated in the battle of ¯iff¢n and had also stood against the raids launched by Mu'¡wiyah's army, as reported in *al-±abar¢* (٥:١٣٣). He was with 'Abdullah bin al-Mu§¢' al-'Adawiyy –the governer of Ibn al-Zubair in K£fah- during the uprising of Mukht¡r in ٦٦ H. Al-'Adawiyy had sent him with some horsemen to the cemetery of the people of ¯¡id (٦:١٨). 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n was also among the advisers to al-'Adawiyy, who advised him to leave K£fah and go to °ij¡z (٦:٣١). He disliked rising against Mukht¡r, but when they insisted him to do so, he [ultimately] rose against him (٦:٤٤). He fought [the followers of Mukht¡r [near] the Euphrates. He was covered with wounds and was carried away by the soldiers (٦:٥١). ['Abd al-Ra¦m¡n] then joined Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair in Ba¥rah, along with those noblemen of K£fah who had risen [against Mukht¡r] (٦:٥٥). Mu¥'ab sent him to K£fah in ٦٧ H to invite people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and to persuade them to go [and join] Mu¥'ab (٦:٩٥). He remained with Mu¥'ab throughout his war against Mukht¡r (٦:١٠٤). In the year ٧٤ H, during the rule of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n, ['Abd al-Ra¦m¡n] fought against the Az¡riqah sect of the Khaw¡rij, on the order of Bishr bin Marw¡n, the governor of Ba¥rah (٦:١٩٧). He pursued them up to K¡zar£n, where they [bravely] fought him. [Most of] his followers were put to flight except for a few of them. 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n continued to fight until he was killed in the year ٧٥ H (٦:٢١٢).

so he was crucified there.[١]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٥٨**): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf relates that:] '°umaid bin Muslim said…"

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN SHªM

Thereafter, Ibn Ziy¡d summoned Za¦r bin Qais[1], with whom were Ab£ Bardah bin ‘Auf al-Azd¢ and ±¡riq bin ²aby¡n al-Azd¢, and sent them with the head of al-°usain [‘a] and those of his companions to Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah.[2]

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[1] *Al-±abar¢*: [Za¦r bin Qais] al-Ju’f¢ al-Kind¢. He was one of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy al-Kind¢ (٥:٢٧٠). He was with Ibn al-Mu§¢’ against Mukht¡r in the year ٦٦ H, and was sent against [Mukht¡r] with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Kindah (٦:١٨). He fought until he and his son were severely wounded near Fur¡t (٦:٥١). In the year ٦٧ H, he was with Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair in his battle against Mukht¡r, and he was sent with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Mur¡d (٦:١٠٥). He stopped at a place where the blacksmiths used to work, near a point where animals were given out on hire (٦:١٠٦). He was among those people of Iraq to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n had written a letter in the year ٧١ H. [He was asking them to abandon Mu¥’ab and] they answered his call and betrayed him (٦:١٥٦). In the year ٧٤ H, he was leading the Madh¦ij and Asad in the battle against the Khaw¡rij (٦:١٩٧). In ٧٦ H, °ajj¡j sent [Za¦r] with ١،٨٠٠ horsemen, who were riding on fine horses, to fight Shab¢b, the Kh¡rij¢. They met and Shab¢b fought him [bravely] until he wounded him and he fell to the ground. Za¦r was then taken to °ajj¡j while he was wounded (٦:٢٤٢). This is the last information we have about him. May Allah curse him.

[2] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٠): “Hish¡m says: ‘‘Abdullah bin Yaz¢d bin Rau¦ bin Zanb¡gh al-Judh¡m¢ related to me from his father, who narrated from al-Gh¡z bin Rab¢’ah al-Jirsh¢ -who was from the °imyar- that: ‘By Allah, I was with Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah in Damascus when Za¦r bin Qais entered upon Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah. Yaz¢d said to him: ‘Woe upon you! What is behind you? What have you got?’ He said: ‘O commander of the faithful, I bring good news of Allah’s victory and support! Al-°usain bin ‘Al¢ [‘a] came against us with eighteen men of his house and sixty of his followers. We

He then ordered for the womenfolk of al-°usain and his children, so they got ready. Shackles were put on the neck of ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain (‘a) on his order. Then he sent [the caravan] under the command of Mu¦affaz bin Tha'labah al-‘a’idh¢ [al-Qarash¢][١] and Shamir bin Dh¢ al-Jaushan. So they set out with them [towards Sh¡m] and entered upon Yaz¢d.[٢]

[In the Court of Yaz¢d]

When the heads of al-°usain and those of his family members and companions were placed in front of Yaz¢d, he recited:

The swords have splitted the heads of people who were dear to us, but they were most rebellious and unjust.[٣],[٤]

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went out to meet them and we asked them to [either] surrender and submit to the authority of the governer, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d, or to fight. They chose to fight rather than to surrender. We attacked them as the sun rose and surrounded them on every side. Eventually, [our] swords took their toll of the heads of the people until we [killed] the last of them. Their bodies were [left] naked, their clothes were blood-stained and their faces thrown in the dust. The sun is melting their [bodies], the wind is scattering [dust] over them, and their visitors at Qayy Sabsab are eagles and vultures. See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٥٤) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٠).

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٣:٤٦٥-٤٧٧): Mu¦affaz participated in [different] battles since the year ١٣ H, including that of al-Q¡disiyyah. The events of these battles have been narrated from him. Regarding his going to Sh¡m with the captives, see *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٥).

[٢] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٥٩): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports…"

[٣] This is part of the *Mufa¤¤aliyy¡t* poems by °u¥ain bin Ham¡m al-Mariyy. See *D¢w¡n al-°am¡sah* (١:١٩٣).

[٤] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٠): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘¯aq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Q¡sim bin ‘Abd al-Ra¦m¡n, the slave of Yaz¢d that…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٦; Najaf edition), *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٧٠) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٢).
Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦١) from al-Zuhar¢ that: "When the heads arrived, Yaz¢d was in his watch-

Ya¦y¡ bin al-°akam', the brother of Marw¡n bin al-°akam, recited [in objection]:

On the bank [of the river] lies a head which is closer in kinship to us than Ibn Ziy¡d, the slave with a false lineage.

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tower at Jair£n. He recited:
When those litters appeared and those suns shone on the hill of Jair£n,
The crow croaked, so I said: whether you croak or not, I have [already] settled my debt with my adversary!
Ibn al-Jawz¢ further says: "What has commonly appeared in all narrations regarding what Yaz¢d said, is that: 'When the head [of al-°usain] was brought before him, he gathered the people of Sh¡m and began poking at it with a cane as he recited the verses of Ibn al-Zab'ar¢:
Had my elders at Badr witnessed the anguish of Khazraj at the striking spears.
Indeed we have killed a person from their chiefs, and have equaled by it [the loss at] Badr and so it is equalled.'"
Ibn al-Jawz¢ says: "And al-Sha'b¢ has added [the following]:
The Hashimites played with the kingdom, for no news [from Allah] has come nor did revelation descend.
I will not be of the Khunduf, if I do not avenge the sons of A¦mad for what they have done."
Then [Ibn al-Jawz¢] narrates on the authority of Q¡dh¢ Ibn Ab¢ Ya'l¡ from A¦mad bin °anbal that he said: "If this is true of Yaz¢d, then he is indeed a sinner (*fasaqa*)." According to Muj¡hid, Ibn °anbal said: "…then he has indeed become a hypocrite (*n¡faqa*)."

' *Al-±abar¢*: He was with his brother, Marw¡n bin al-°akam, in the battle of Jamal in Ba¥rah. He fled defeated [from the battlefield] after he was wounded. He joined Mu'¡wiyah in Sh¡m in ٣٧ H (٥:٥٣٥). [Ya¦y¡] was the governer of Mad¢nah for his nephew, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n, in the year ٧٥ H (٥:٢٠٢). He remained in this position until the year ٧٨ H, when 'Abd al-Malik sent him on a military expedition (٦:٣٢١). This is the last information we have about him. Hish¡m bin 'Abd al-Malik had married [Ya¦y¡'s] daughter called Umm °akam (٧:٦٧).

The offspring of Sumayyah has largely increased, while the daughter of the Prophet of Allah remains without offspring!

Yaz¢d bin Mu'¡wiyah struck his hand against the chest of Ya¦y¡ bin al-°akam and said: "Be quiet!"[١]

Then he granted permission to the people, so they entered [the court]. The head [of al-°usain] was placed before him. He had a cane with him by which he was poking at the teeth [of al-°usain]. Ab£ Barazah al-Aslam¢[٢], one of the companions of the Messenger of Allah (¥), said:

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٠): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Ab£ Ja'far al-'Abs¢ has related to me from Ab£ 'Am¡rah al-'Abs¢ that…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٦; Najaf edition) and *al-Agh¡n¢* (١٢:٧٤) of Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah¡n¢. Ibn al-Jawz¢ relates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٢) from °asan al-Ba¥r¢ that: "Yaz¢d hit the head of al-°usain and the part which the Prophet of Allah (¥) used to kiss." Then °asan al-Ba¥r¢ recited:

The offspring of Sumayyah has largely increased, while the daughter of the Prophet of Allah remains without offspring.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He was together with the Messenger of Allah [¥] during the conquest of Makkah. He helped in killing 'Abdullah bin Kha§al, the apostate whose blood had been declared by the Prophet of Allah [¥] as lawful [i.e. it was allowed for a Muslim to kill him] (٣:٦٠). Ab£ Barazah participated in the conquest of Egypt as well, under [the command of] 'Amru bin al-'ª¥¥ in the year ٢٠ H (٤:١١). ±abar¢ also has narrated Ab£ Barazah's objection to Yaz¢d in his *T¡r¢kh* (٥:٣٩٠), from Ab£ Ja'far al-B¡qir ('a) on the authority of 'Amm¡r al-Duhan¢. Al-Mas'£d¢ writes in *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٧١) that [Ab£ Barazah] said: "Keep away [the] cane! By Allah, I have often seen the Prophet of Allah (¥) placing his mouth on his and kissing it." Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ also has narrated this report. He then quotes al-Bal¡dhar¢ saying: "The person who was present in Yaz¢d's [court] and said these words was Anas bin M¡lik." Ibn al-Jawz¢ comments on this and says: "This is not correct, since Anas was in K£fah with Ibn Ziy¡d as we mentioned." See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٢; Najaf edition).

"You are poking with your cane at the teeth of al-°usain! Indeed you have placed your staff at a point where I have often seen the Prophet of Allah (¥) sucking it. O Yaz¢d! You will indeed come on the Day of Judgment while your intercessor will be Ibn Ziy¡d, whereas [al-°usain] will come on the Day of Judgement with Mu¦ammad (¥) as his intercessor." He then stood and went away.

Hind, the daughter of 'Abdullah bin 'ªmir bin Kuraiz[١], [the wife

[١] *Al-±abar¢*: Uthm¡n had sent him to Kabul from Sajist¡n and he conquered it in the year ٢٤ H (٤:٢٤٤). He then dismissed him from [Kabul] and appointed him as the governer of Ba¥rah in ٢٩ H, after Ab£ M£s¡ al-Ash'ar¢. ['Abdullah] was then ٢٥ years old, and he was the son of 'Uthm¡n's maternal uncle (٤:٢٦٤). [While he was the governer of Ba¥rah], he [also] conquered Persia (٤:٢٦٥). In the year ٣١ H, he set out to Khur¡s¡n and conquered Abrashh£, ±£s, Ab¢ward, and Nass¡¦at¢. He reached up to Sarakhs and signed a peace treaty with the people of Marw (٤:٣٠٠). He appointed Ziy¡d bin Sumayyah as his deputy over Ba¥rah [while he was away] (٤:٣٠١). In the year ٢٣ H, Ibn 'ªmir conquered Marw, ±¡liq¡n, F¡ry¡b, Juzj¡n and ±akh¡rist¡n (٤:٣٠٩). He [also] conquered Her¡t and B¡dgh¢s (٤:٣١٤). 'Uthm¡n sought his advice in the year ٣٤ H concerning those who revolted against him. Ibn 'ªmir advised him to send them on military expeditions (٤:٣٣٣). In ٣٥ H, 'Uthm¡n wrote to him asking him to mobilize the people of Ba¥rah to come to defend him. He read the letter to them and people rushed to his aid. When they reached al-Rabadhah, they received the news that ['Uthm¡n] was killed, so they returned [to Ba¥rah] (٤:٣٦٨). Ibn 'ªmir was [still] the governer of Ba¥rah when 'Uthm¡n was killed in ٣٥ H (٤:٤٢١). He [later] went to °ij¡z and met ±al¦ah, Zubair, Sa'¢d bin al-'ª¥¥, Wal¢d bin 'Uqbah and the rest of the Ban£ Umayyah. After long deliberations, they [all] decided to go to Ba¥rah. Earlier they were about to go to Sh¡m, but 'Abdullah said to them: "The man in charge of Sh¡m [i.e. Mu'¡wiyah] will take care of that place. Come to Ba¥rah, for there are traders in [Ba¥rah] who are inclined towards ±al¦ah." 'ªishah and °af¥ah [also] accepted their [decision], but 'Abdullah bin 'Umar prevented the

of Yazid], heard their conversation. So she put on her veil and came out. She said [addressing Yaz¢d]: "O commander of the faithful! Is this the head of al-°usain, son of F¡§imah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah?!"

He said: "Yes! So lament on him and mourn over the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah and the succor of the Quraish! Ibn Ziy¡d dealt with him hastily and killed him. May Allah kill him!"

Ya¦y¡ bin al-°akam said: "You will be distanced from Mu¦ammad on the Day of Resurrection. I shall never work together with you again." Then he stood up and went away.[١]

[Before] Yaz¢d bin Mu'¡wiyah took his place, he summoned

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latter [from joining them]. Ibn '[a]mir told [those who were ready to go with him]: "I have so-and-so much with me, so get yourselves prepared with it" (٤:٤٥١). He was wounded in the battle of Jamal and fled to Sh¡m (٤:٥٣٦). He was the one sent by Mu'¡wiyah to Mad¡in to sign the peace treaty with al-°asan ('a) (٥:١٥٩). Mu'¡wiyah reinstated him as the governor of Ba¥rah (٥:٢١٢). Mu'¡wiyah married him his daughter, Hind bint Mu'¡wiyah. 'Abdullah [once] debased Ziy¡d because of his lineage. So Mu'¡wiyah became angry on him, but Yaz¢d pleaded with [Mu'¡wiyah] on his behalf (٥:٢١٤). Although ±abar¢ does not mention when [exactly] Yaz¢d married [Ibn '[a]mir's] daughter, Hind, it appears that the marriage must have taken place when [Ibn '[a]mir] took the hand of Yaz¢d's sister, Hind. [Hind, daughter of Ibn '[a]mir], bore 'Abdullah for Yaz¢d. She used to be known as Umm Kulth£m (٥:٥٠٠). In the year ٦٤ H, after Yaz¢d died and Ibn Ziyad fled from Ba¥rah, a group from the people of Ba¥rah chose [Ibn Amir's] son, 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abdullah bin '[a]mir, as their governer. He held the position for a month, before the governership of Ibn al-Zubair (٥:٥٢٧).

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٥): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Ab£ °amzah al-Thim¡l¢ narrated to me from Q¡sim bin Bukhait, on the authority of 'Ubaidullah al-Thim¡l¢ that…"

the noblemen of Sh¡m and seated them around him. Then he called in 'Al¢ bin al-°usain and the children and womenfolk of al-°usain ['a]. They were brought in, while the people were looking [at them]. They were seated in front of [Yaz¢d]. When he saw their disheveled state, he said: "May Allah disgrace Ibn Marj¡nah! If there was any relation or kinship between you and him, he would not have done this to you, nor would he have sent you in this condition!"

Yaz¢d then said to 'Al¢ [bin al-°usain ('a)]: "O 'Al¢! Your father cut the bond of kinship with me and showed ignorance of my rights and contested my leadership. So Allah treated him in the way you have seen."

'Al¢ ['a] replied: "No affliction visits the earth or yourselves but it is in a book before We bring it about."[١]

So Yaz¢d said to him: "Whatever affliction that may visit you is because of what your hands have earned, though He excuses many [an offense]."[٢,٣]

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[١] Qur'an, ٥٧:٢٢. Ab£ al-Faraj relates in *al-Maq¡til* (pg.٨٠) the remaining part of the verse also: "…That is indeed easy for Allah, so that you may not grieve for what escapes you, nor exult for what comes your way, and Allah does not like any swaggering braggart." Ibn al-Jawz¢ has narrated the whole verse and says: "'Al¢ bin al-°usain and the women were tied up in ropes. So 'Al¢ called out Yaz¢d: 'O Yaz¢d! What will the Prophet of Allah think [of you] if he was to see us [in this state], tied up in ropes and uncovered on the hump of the camels?!' There was no one among the people [who heard this] except that he wept." See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٢).

[٢] Qur'an, ٤٢:٣٠. According to Ab£ al-Faraj: "Yaz¢d first recited this verse, and thereafter Imam al-Sajj¡d ('a) replied him with the verse ٥٧ of S£rat al-°ad¢d [Ch.٥٧]." This seems to be more appropriate.

[٣] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦١): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says…" See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٦; Najaf edition).

F¡§imah, daughter of 'Al¢[1] ['a] says: "When we were seated before Yaz¢d bin Mu'¡wiyah, a man with a red face from the people of Sh¡m stood up and said: "O commander of the faithful! Give me this one as a gift", and he meant me. I shuddered and became afraid, thinking that it is allowed for them to do that. So I caught hold of the garment of my sister, Zainab. She was [then] older and more matured than I was, and she knew that that would not happen. She said to [the man]: "You are a liar –by Allah- and have showed your lowliness! Such a thing is neither for you [to decide] nor for him."

Yaz¢d was enraged and said [to Zainab]: "By Allah, you are a liar! That is for me [to decide]. If I wish to do that, I can do it!"

She said: "No by Allah! Allah has not given you that [right], unless if you were to leave our faith and profess belief in another religion."

[Hearing this] Yaz¢d became distraught with anger and was agitated. He said: "Are you saying this in front of me? It is your father and brother who have left the religion!"

She said: "It is through the religion of Allah and the religion of my father, brother and my grandfather that you, your father and grandfather have been guided aright."

Yazid said: "You are lying, O enemy of Allah!"

[Zainab] said: "You are a ruler who holds power, [yet] you vilify unjustly and you have become oppressive with your

[1] This is how it has appeared in the text. However, al-Muf¢d in *al-Irshad* (pg.٢٤٦) and Ibn al-Jawz¢ in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٤) say: "[F¡§imah,] daughter of al-°usain…"

authority!"

[Yaz¢d was ashamed and] thus became silent.

The Syrian man repeated [his request] and said: "O commander of the faithful! Give me this slave girl."

[Yaz¢d] shouted: "Go away! May Allah grant you death!"[١]

He then ordered the women to be lodged in a separate house, with them [he sent] 'Al¢ bin al-°usain and [they were provided with] all that they needed. So they came out [of the court] and entered [that house]. There was no woman from the family of Mu'¡wiyah except that she came to receive them, weeping and bewailing al-°usain ['a]. They mourned him for three days.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٣٩٠**) narrates this report from Imam al-B¡qir ('a) on the authority of 'Amm¡r al-Duhan¢.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN MAD«NAH

When they intended to return, Yaz¢d bin Mu’¡wiyah said: “O Nu’m¡n bin Bash¢r! Prepare for them whatever they need and send a righteous and trustworthy person from among the people of Sh¡m with them. [Also] send some horsemen and helpers with him to guide them towards Mad¢nah.

[Nu’m¡n] thus went with them. He used to advance with them at night. [During the journey], the [family of al-°usain (‘a)] moved ahead of him so that they should never be out of his sight. When they stopped, he would go aside from them, and he and his followers would separate around them like a group of guards over them. They would keep away from them such that if any person from the [group] wanted to wash or perform a need, he would not be ashamed. He continued to stop [the caravan] on the way in this manner, being kind to them and looking after them until they entered Mad¢nah.[١]

[The Arrival in Mad¢nah]

When the news of the death of al-°usain [‘a] reached the people of Mad¢nah, Umm Luqm¡n[٢], the daughter of ‘Aq¢l

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[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦١): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf relates this] from F¡§imah on the authority of °¡rith bin Ka’b...” See also *Maq¡til al-±¡libiyy¢n* (pg.٨٠) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٤).

[٢] Shaikh al-Muf¢d says in *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٨): “Umm Luqm¡n, the daughter of ‘Aq¢l bin Ab¢ ±¡lib, may Allah have mercy on them, came out crying when she heard the news of the death of al-°usain (‘a). Her head was uncovered as she came out with her sisters: Umm H¡n¢, Asm¡’, Ramlah and Zainab, daughters of ‘Aq¢l bin Ab¢ ±¡lib, may Allah have mercy on them. She wept for her [relatives] slain on the bank [of the Euphrates], saying…” Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ has also related this in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٧) from

bin Ab¢ ±¡lib, came out together with the [other] women - while her head was unveiled and she was covering herself with her garment. She recited:

What would you say if the Prophet asked you: What have you done while you are the last of the nations.

With my offspring and my family after my departure? Some of them have become prisoners, and some other stained with blood.[١]

When 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab¢ ±¡lib[٢] heard about the

Zainab bint 'Al¢ on the authority of al-W¡qid¢.

[١] ±abar¢ has related these verses from Imam al-B¡qir ('a) on the authority of 'Amm¡r al-Duhan¢. [Al-B¡qir says:] "He prepared them [for the journey] and took them to Mad¢nah. When they entered [Mad¢nah], a woman from the Ban£ 'Abd al-Mu§§alib came out with dishevelled hair and with the sleeve [of her garment] on her head. She approached them wailing and saying:
What will you answer if the Prophet asked you, what have you done, while you were the last of the nations.
To my progeny and household after my death? from them are captives and others are covered with their blood.
This was not the recompense to which I directed you, that after me you deal with my kin with such evil.

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: He is the one who narrated the incident of °al¢mah al-Sa'diyyah (٢:١٥٨). In the year ٨ H, when the soldiers returned from the battle of Mu'tah [and his father, Ja'far, had been martyred], the Messenger of Allah [¥] asked [the family of 'Abdullah to bring him. So they brought him to the Prophet and] he took him in his hands (٣:٤٢). 'Abdullah was the one who suggested to 'Al¢ ('a) to dismiss Qais bin Sa'd from the governorship of Egypt and to appoint over it his half brother from his mother's side, Mu¦ammad bin 'Ab¢ Bakr. The Imam ('a) accepted his suggestion (٤:٣٦). 'Abdullah was with 'Al¢ ('a) in ¯iff¢n (٥:٦١). He, together with al-°asan and al-°usain, undertook the arrangement for the burial of Imam 'Al¢ ('a). Then he returned with them to Mad¢nah (٥:١٦٥). We have given his biography when

death of his two sons [Mu¦ammad and 'Aun] along with al-°usain ['a], people [began] coming up to him to condole him. He turned to those sitting around him and said: "All praise is due to Allah -the Almighty and the Majestic- for [every misfortune, even for the] martyrdom of al-°usain ('a). If my two hands could not assist al-°usain ['a], then my two sons have [at least] helped him. By Allah, had I been with him, I would have loved not to part from him until I am killed with him. By Allah, what makes me too glad to give up [both of] them and makes easy for me to bear their loss, is [the fact] that they were killed together with my brother and cousin, while they supported him and persevered with him."[١،٢]

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we mentioned his letter to al-°usain from Makkah through his [two] sons, Mu¦ammad and 'Aun.

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٤٦٦): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says that I narrate this] from 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin 'Ubaid Ab£ al-Kan£d, on the authority of Sulaim¡n bin Ab¢ R¡shid…"

[٢] Hish¡m reports: "'Aw¡nah bin al-°akam has related to me saying: 'When 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d killed °usain bin 'Al¢, he summoned 'Abd al-Malik bin Ab¢ °¡rith al-Salam¢ and said: 'Go to Mad¢nah and meet 'Amru bin Sa'¢d bin al-'ª¥¥ -who was then the governor of Mad¢nah- and give him the news of the death of al-°usain. None other than you should inform him of the news. Do not fall ill. If your mount happened to tire, buy another one.' He [also] gave him some money (*dan¡n¢r*). 'Abd al-Malik says: 'So I came to Mad¢nah and went to see 'Amru bin Sa'¢d. He said: 'What is the news?' I said: 'That which would please the governor! Al-°usain bin 'Al¢ has been killed!' He said: 'Then announce his death!' So I announced it. I had never heard before the like of the wails of the women of the Hashimite from their houses, mourning al-°usain. 'Amru bin Sa'¢d laughed [at this] and said: The women of the Ban£ Ziy¡d raised a great lament like the lamentation of our women, mourning [after the battle] of al-Arnab.'* 'Amr£ then ascended the pulpit and informed the people about his death." See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٧; Najaf edition).

[In another report] Hish¡m says: "'Aw¡nah related to me that: 'Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d said to 'Umar bin Sa'd: 'O 'Umar! Where is the letter that I wrote to you [instructing] you to kill al-°usain?' He said: 'I carried out your order, [but] the letter is lost.' 'You must bring it!' insisted Ibn Ziy¡d. 'It is lost', 'Umar replied. 'By Allah, you must bring it to me,' he repeated. 'Umar said, 'By Allah, it has been left in Mad¢nah to be read for the olden women of Quraish, as an apology to them! By Allah, I have been sincere [enough] with you with regard to the issue of al-°usain, such that if I had acted with such loyalty to my own father, Sa'd bin Ab¢ Waqq¡¥, I would have discharged my duty towards him.' [Here] 'Uthm¡n bin Ziy¡d, the brother of 'Ubaidullah, says: 'By Allah, he has said the truth. I wish I would have seen the mark of slavery on every man of the Ban£ Ziy¡d till the Day of Resurrection, but that al-°usain should not have been killed!"

Hish¡m says: "'Amr£ bin °aiz£m al-Kalb¢ narrated to me from his father that he heard a voice calling out:

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

All the people of heaven, prophets, angels and their likes, are cursing you.

You have been cursed by the tongue of the son of D¡w£d, and [that] of M£s¡ and [that] of the bearer of the Inj¢l.

See also *al-Irsh¡d* (pg.٢٤٨) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٧٠; Najaf edition).

* The verse is of 'Umar bin Mu'id Yakrub al-Zubaid¢. They had waged a battle against the Ban£ Ziy¡d in retaliation to the battle fought by the latter against the Ban£ Zubaid.

Sib§ bin al-Jawz¢ has briefly narrated this report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٦٦). He also narrates from al-Sha'b¢ that: "Marw¡n bin al-°akam was in Mad¢nah. So [Abd al-Malik] took the head [of al-°usain] and placed it before [Marw¡n]. He touched the tip of his nose and said: 'How excellent is [the touch of] your coldness for the hands, and [the sight] of redness on [your] cheeks!' He then said: "By Allah! It is as if I am looking at the days of 'Uthm¡n!' Ibn Ab¢ al-°ad¢d writes in his *Shar¦ Nahj al-Bal¡ghah* (٤:٧٢): "The correct version is that: Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d wrote to 'Amru bin Sa'¢d bin al-'ª¥¥, giving him the good news of al-°usain's death. 'Amru read his letter from the pulpit and recited the verses

[mentioned above]. He pointed towards the grave of the Prophet and said: ‘Today for the day of Badr.’ So a group of An¥¡r reproached him for [saying] that.” This has also been mentioned by Ab£ ‘Ubaidah in *al-Math¡lib*.

THE FIRST VISITOR OF AL-HUSAIN (‘A) FROM K£FAH

[After the martyrdom of al-°usain] ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¡d inquired about the noblemen of K£fah. He did not see ‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr [al-Ju’f¢]. After a couple of days, Ibn °urr came to Ibn Ziy¡d. So he asked: “Where were you, O son of °urr?”

He replied: “I was sick.”

[Ibn Ziy¡d] said: “Sick in soul or in body?!”

He said: “As for my heart, it has not ailed. With regard to my body, Allah has granted me soundness in health!”

Ibn Ziy¡d said to him: “You are a liar. Rather you were with our enemy.”

He said: “If I was with your enemy, it would have been known. The place of someone like me is never unknown.”

Ibn Ziy¡d [then] became inattentive of him for a moment. So Ibn °urr [availed the opportunity and] took his way out and mounted his horse. [After sometime] Ibn Ziy¡d said: “Where is Ibn al-°urr?”

“He has just left”, the people answered.

Ibn Ziy¡d said: “Get him for me.”

So [his] guards went after him and said to him: “The governor is calling you!”

[Ibn al-°urr] drove his horse and then said: “Tell him that, by Allah, I will never submit to his obedience again!”

Then he left [K£fah] and went to Karbal¡’. He recited in this regard:

A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did you not fight the martyr, son of F¡§imah?

I regret that I did not help him, a soul which is not rightly directed [always] regrets.

Since I was not among his supporters, I am in a grief that will not part me!

May Allah make the souls -that determinedly helped him- to drink from the everlasting shower [of his mercy].

[Now] that I am standing by their graves and places, I am torn apart from within and my eyes are tearful.

By my life, they were valiant amidst the tumult, hurrying towards the battle and defending [al-°usain] like lions.

[Now] that they have been killed, every pious soul on the earth has become despondent.

None has seen [a people] better than them, at death [they were] like chiefs and blooming flowers.

[O Ibn Ziy¡d] you kill them unjustly and then expect our love; leave this plan which is not favourable for us.

By my life, you have rubbed our nose in the ground by killing them, what a large number of man and woman from us will take revenge from you.

Many a time I intend to advance with an army against a group which has unjustly deviated from the truth.

So restrain yourselves or else I will drive you away with the support of an army, severer than the [forces] of the

Dailamites.[١],[٢]

[١] *Al-±abar¢* (**٥:٤٦٩**): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Abd al-Ra¦m¡n bin Jundab al-Azd¢ narrated to me that…"

[٢] *Al-±abar¢*: The reason Ibn al-°urr brings in the example of the Dailamites is because of the valour they exhibited during the battles of resistance, after the fall of the Sasanid dynasty. He was a follower of 'Uthm¡n. When ['Uthm¡n] was assassinated, Ibn al-°urr left K£fah and went to Mu'¡wiyah. He remained there until the [martyrdom] of 'Al¢ ('a) (**٥:١٢٨**). Thereafter, he returned to K£fah. When °ujr [bin 'Adiyy] was arrested, Ibn al-°urr wished that if only five to ten men had helped him, he could have saved °ujr and his companions (**٥:٢٧١**). When al-°usain ('a) invited him to join him, he said: "By Allah, I only left K£fah out of dislike that you may enter it while I am there." Al-°usain ('a) said: "If you are not [intending] to help us, then [at least] fear Allah in that you should be among those who fight us; for by Allah, one who hears our call [for help] but does not come to our help, is, indeed, going to perish" (**٥:٤٠٧**). After the death of Yaz¢d and the flight of Ibn Ziy¡d and during the uprising of Mukht¡r, Ibn al-°urr went to Mad¡in with ٧٠٠ horsemen, collecting money [from the people]. Mukht¡r detained his wife in K£fah and told her: "I am going to kill his companions" (**٥:١٢٩**). Ibn al-°urr later joined Mu¥'ab bin al-Zubair and fought against Mukht¡r (**٥:١٠٥**). Ibn al-°urr is the one who suggested to Mu¥'ab, after Mukht¡r was killed, to kill the non-Arabs among [Mukht¡r's] followers and leave the Arabs. And Mu¥'ab did so (**٥:١١٦**). Then, Mu¥'ab feared him for his own life, so he imprisoned him. A group from the Madh¦ij interceded with him on his behalf, so he freed him. Thereafter, [Ibn al-°urr] rose against him (**٥:١٣١**). He later joined 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw¡n. The latter sent him to K£fah at a time when [the city] was under the governer of Ibn al-Zubair. So [Ibn al-°urr] fought him in the year ٦٨ H and killed him (**٥:١٣٥**). We made some mention of his life when giving the account of his meeting with the Imam ('a) at Qa¥r Ban¢ Muqatil, on the way to Karbal¡'.

FINAL REMARKS

With the mercy of Allah, the Most High, we have come to the end of the reports about Imam al-°usain (‘a) which have appeared in *T¡r¢kh al-±abar¢*, and which [±abar¢ narrated] on the authority of Hish¡m al-Kalb¢ from Ab£ Mikhnaf, who in turn related [these reports] from his [chain of] narrators. We also edited the reports, bringing in our comments and remarks. The primary source for our comments happened to be, again, *Tar¢kh al-±abar¢*, except for the information that we could not find in it.

All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the Worlds.