

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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

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

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ 3:

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

The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said:

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

Some of its references:

Al-°ikim an-Nayshibñr, *Al-Mustadrak `alaj al-`a/ç/ayn* (Beirut), vol. 3, pp. 109-110, 148, 533

Muslim, *Al-`a/ç/*, (English translation), book 31, /adçths 5920-3

At-Tirmidhç, *Al-`a/ç/*, vol. 5, pp. 621-2, /adçths 3786, 3788; vol. 2, p. 219

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A°mad ibn °anbal, *Al-Musnad*, vol. 3, pp. 14, 17, 26; vol. 3, pp. 26, 59; vol. 4, p. 371; vol. 5, pp. 181-182, 189-190

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Nj¥ir ad-Dçn al-Albanç, *Silsilat al-A/jdçth a¥-¥a/ç/ah* (Kuwait: Ad-Dar as-Salafiyyah), vol. 4, pp. 300-308

THE EVENT OF ±AFF

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE
TRAGEDY OF KARBAL^a

AB¬ MIKHNAF
L¬± BIN YA^oY^a AL-AZD« AL-GH^aMID«
AL-K¬F«

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**The Event of \pm aff: The Earliest Historical
Account of the Tragedy of Karbal \bar{a}**

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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, Muḥammad, and upon his pure and distinguished household.

The narration of the lord of the martyrs, Abī ‘Abdillāh, (‘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 Lāṣ bin Ya‘yī bin Sa‘ūd, [famously known as] Abī Mikhnaf. He compiled a book in this regard, recounting the events that occurred to al-‘usain, his children, brothers and companions (‘a). Shaikh al-Najjīshī describes him in his Rijāl as “The master of the narrators in Kāfah and a leading figure among them.”¹

¹ See Introduction for his biography.

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The eminent scholar, Shaikh Muhammad Hadi al-Yusufi al-Gharawi has undertaken the research and editing of [Abî Mikhnaf's] work. This institute has endeavoured to publish this work for the benefit of the seekers of knowledge and virtue. We are grateful to Allah, the Glorious, for granting us success in this regard. We would also like to extend our thanks to the honourable researcher of this work for his great efforts. We pray to Allah to grant this institute and him the tawfîq 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
(Jam'i'ah al-mudarrisîn)
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 (*jihiliyyah*) by heart. These people were known as the ‘most learned’ ones.¹

Al-Naṣr bin al-ʿirith 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 Qurʾan. 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

¹ Al-Kulainī reports in *al-Kif* (vol. 1, pg. 33) through his chain of transmission from Imam Mūsā bin Jaʿfar (ʿa) who said: “[one day] the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) entered the mosque and saw a group of people gathered around someone, upon which he asked: ‘Who is this?’ ‘A learned one’ he was told. He further enquired: ‘And who is a learned person?’ They replied: ‘The most knowledgeable of people about the Arab lineage and their affairs, the events of the pre-Islamic period and Arab poetry.’ Imam Mūsā bin Jaʿfar (ʿa) says that here the Prophet (ﷺ) 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 (ﷺ) then went on to say: ‘True knowledge is of three kinds: a concrete verse (*ḥaṭṭun muʿkamah*), a righteous precept (*farḥḥatun ʿidilah*) and an established tradition (*sunnatun qāimah*). All else is superfluous.”

Introduction

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[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 Maḍnah called Suwaid bin al-ʿiṃit who used to take stories of the past prophets from the Jews. After the advent of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) he had gone to Makkah either for *ʿajj* or *ʿumrah*. There he heard of the Prophet’s mission and went to see him. The Holy Prophet (ﷺ) invited him to Allah upon which Suwaid said: “I have with me the code of Luqṃn.” The Prophet (ﷺ) asked him to show it to him and he did that. The Prophet (ﷺ) then said: “Indeed this is a fine speech, but that which I have is better than this; the Qurʾan 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-ṭabaṛṭ* and Muḥammad bin Isḥ̣q, whose chains of transmission end up with the phrase: ‘some of the learned among the Jews’.

Islam rose and brought with it the Qurʾan; 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 Qurʾan was put on paper during the time of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) as others committed it to memory.

After the demise of the Prophet (ﷺ) 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

^١ Qurʾan, ٢١:٦-٧; *Tafṣir al-Qumi* (٢:١٦١; Najaf edition) and *Tafṣir Ibn ʿAbḅs* (pg.٢٤٤; Egypt edition).

^٢ *Al-ṭabaṛṭ* (٢:٣٥٣; Ḍir al-Maʿrif publications) and *Ṭiṛṭkh al-Yaʿq̣ḥ* (٢:٣٠; Najaf edition).

result, more than three hundred companions^١ were killed in the battle of Yamāmah alone. Following this, they felt the need for recording the traditions (*ʿadṭh*).

However, there was a difference of opinion in this regard. Some of the companions held that it was allowed to record the *ʿadṭh*, while others advocated its prohibition. The idea of prohibition gained more ground because of the ban on the recording of the *ʿadṭh* 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 *ʿadṭh*.

The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī bin Abī ṭalīb (‘a), always considered the recording of *ʿadṭh* 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 (*‘imm*) and the restricted (*khṣṣ*) verses of it; the absolute (*muṣṣṭaq*) and the qualified (*muqayyad*); the clear (*mubayyan*) and the unclear (*mujmal*); the concrete (*muḥkam*) and the ambiguous (*mutashābih*); and the abrogating (*nāsikh*) and the abrogated (*mansūkh*). He also made distinct the verses after whose recital prostration becomes obligatory from those which are otherwise. There was also a mention of the manners and norms

^١ *Al-ṭabarī* (٣:٢٦٩).

^٢ *Tadhkirah al-ʿuffī* (١:٣&٥).

^٣ *Tadhkirah al-ʿuffī* (١:٣٤&٧); *al-Bukhārī* (vol.٦, bāb al-istḍhān) and *ṭabarī of Ibn Sa’d* (٢:٢٠٦).

^٤ *Musnad Aḥmad* (١:٣٦٣). Regarding this see also *al-Sunnah qabl al-Taḥwīl*.

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that have appeared in it, together with the cases of revelation (*sha'n al-nuzul*). 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 'aḥḥfah'. Ibn Sa'd has brought this work at the end of his book famously known as *al-Jami'*. Al-Bukhari also narrates from this particular work in a number of places in his *ḥaḥḥ*, for instance in the beginning of the first volume of *Kitab al-'Ilm* (Book of Knowledge).

A group of his adherents at that time followed him in collecting the ḥadith. Among them was Abi Rifi' Ibrahim al-Qibḥ and his two sons: 'Alḥ and 'Ubaidullah. 'Ubaidullah has a book in which he lists those who participated in the battles of Jamal, ḥiffḥn and Nahrawḥn.^۱ Hence, this is the first book in history to be written by a follower of Imam 'Alḥ ('a).

Similarly, the Shḥ'ah have preceded the rest of the Muslims in historiography. The works of Mu'ammad bin al-Sḥib al-Kalbḥ (d. ۱۴۶ H), Abi Mikhnaf Lḥḥ (d. ۱۵۸ H), Hishḥm al-Kalbḥ (d. ۲۰۶ H) and others are all among the sources of Islamic history.^۲

Karbali'

It was in Karbali' 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 (ﷺ) and the lord of

^۱ *Rijl al-Najjishḥ* (pg. ۱-۵; India edition) and *al-Fihrist* (pg. ۱۲۲; Najaf edition).

^۲ See *Mu'allifḥ al-Shḥ'ah fḥ al-Islam, al-Shḥ'ah wa Funḥn al-Islam, Ta'sḥs al-Shḥ'ah li 'Ulḥm al-Islam* (pg. ۹۱-۲۸۷), *A'yḥn al-Shḥ'ah* (۱: ۸-۱۴۸) and *al-Ghadḥr* (۶: ۲۹۰-۲۹۷).

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the martyrs, Abġ ‘Abdillāh 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 Abġ Mikhnaf Lġ§ bin Ya|y| bin Sa’ċd bin Mikhnaf bin Salċm al-Azdċ al-Għ|midċ al-Kġfċ^١ undertook the collection of these oral accounts in a book which he named Kitġb 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.

Hishġm bin Muġammad bin al-Sġib al-Kalbċ al-Kġfċ al-Nassġbah^٢ was another personality from Kġfah who studied the reports on Islamic history under the tutelage of Abġ Mikhnaf. Hishġm used to read the books of Abġ 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: ‘Abġ Mikhnaf Lġ§ bin Ya|y| al-Azdċ narrated to me from...’

Among the works that Hishġm 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, Hishġm did not limit himself in his book on the Maqtal of al-°usain (‘a) only to the narrations of his master Abġ Mikhnaf, but he also included in it narrations from his other master in history named ‘Awġnah bin al-°akam (d. ١٠٨ H).

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

^١ *Fawġt al-Wafayġt* (٢:١٤٠) and *al-A’lġm* of al-Zarqalċ (٣:٨٢١)

^٢ *Murġj 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 Abū Mikhnaf as he was nearer in time to the events and so used to relate them in a detailed and precise manner.

Many historians have incorporated in their historical writings an abridged version of his works. This shows that his works were existent during their times. Some of these historians are: Muḥammad bin ‘Umar al-Wāqidī (d. ٢٠٧ H); al-ḡabarī (d. ٢١٠ H); Ibn Quṣaibah (d. ٢٢٢ H) in his book *al-Imḡamah wa al-Siyāsah*; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī (d. ٢٢٨ H) in *al-‘Aqd al-Farīd* when he discusses the *thaqāfah*; ‘Alī bin al-ʿusain al-Masʿūdī (d. ٢٤٥ H) when he mentions ‘Urwah bin al-Zubair’s apology on behalf of his brother, ‘Abd al-Allāh, for threatening the Banu Ḥ̣shim with fire as they refused to pay allegiance to the latter; Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. ٤١٣ H) in *al-ʿIrshād* when discussing the martyrdom of al-ʿusain (‘a), and in *al-Nuḡrah fī ʿarb al-Baḡrah*; al-Shahrīstānī (d. ٥٤٨ H) in *al-Milāl wa al-Niāl* when mentioning the sect of Naḡḡmiyyah; Khaṣṣab al-Khwārazmī (d. ٥٦٨ H) in his work on the martyrdom of al-ʿusain (‘a); Ibn al-Athār al-Jazrī (d. ٦٣٠ H) in *al-Kimīl fī al-Tārīkh*; and Sibṡ al-Jawzī (d. ٦٥٤ H) in *Tadhkirah al-Khawāṣṣ*.

In our observation, the last among the historians to have cited Abū Mikhnaf, without any reference to other book or narrator, which apparently indicates that he must have been quoting directly from his work, is Abū al-Fidī (d. ٧٣٢ H) in his *Tārīkh*.

Presently, we do not know of any of the existing works of Abū Mikhnaf in general, nor of his work on *Maqṭal* 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 Hishim al-Kalbī from Abī Mikhnaf, is the *Tārīkh* of Abī Ja'far Mu'ammad bin Jarīr al-ṭabarī (d.٢١٠ H). He did not, however, compose an independent work on these narrations, rather he just mentions the event of Karbalā' beside the events of the year ٦٠ and ٦١ H.^١

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

Another earliest text, after al-ṭabarī, which directly draws reports from Hishim al-Kalbī's work, is *Kitāb al-Irshād* of

^١ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٢٢٨-٤٦٧).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٤٨٧): Among the other things that lead us to this is also the fact that ṭabarī 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 Mukhtār.

Shaikh al-Mufḍ (d. ٤١٣ H). He says before relating the reports of Karbalī' that: "[This is] a selection of the reports...which al-Kalbḥ has narrated..."^۱

After that comes Tadhkirat al-Ummah bi Khaṣṣi'is al-A'immah of Sibḥ ibn al-Jawzḥ (d. ٦٠٤ H). He clearly states to have narrated many of his reports about Imam al-°usain ('a) from Hishjm al-Kalbḥ.

Comparing the reports of al-±abarḥ with those of al-Mufḍ and Ibn al-Jawzḥ, we find many similarities between these reports except in case of some letters or words (such as wḡw in the place of fḡ' or vice versa), as the reader shall see in the course of this work.

Abḥ Mikhnaf

The books of history do not mention his birthdate. But Shaikh al-±ḥsḥ (r), quoting from al-Kashhḥ (r), places [Abḥ Mikhnaf] in his *Rijāl* in the category of those who have narrated from the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alḥ ('a). Al-±ḥsḥ then says: "In my opinion, this is not correct; for Lḥḥ bin Yaḡy did not meet Amḥr al-Mu'minḥn ('a), rather his father, Yaḡy, was among his companions."^۲ However, al-±ḥsḥ has not mentioned his father, Yaḡy, among the companions of 'Alḥ ('a) either, instead he considers his grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Salḥm al-Azdḥ, to be among his companions and says: "[He was the son of 'aishah's aunt. He was an Arab, from Kḥfah."^۳

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

^۱ *Kitāb al-Irshād* (pg. ۲۰۰; Najaf edition).

^۲ *Rijāl al-±ḥsḥ* (pg. ۲۷; Najaf edition).

^۳ Ibid, pg. ۲۸.

from him; as al-Kashh  lived in the ۳rd century H, while al-      was born in ۳^{  } H. This work of al-Kashh  was titled *Ma'rifat al-Niqil n 'an al-A'immah al-  diq n*, as reported by Ibn Shahr     in *Ma'jlim al-'Ulam '.*^۱ This book is now lost, and, based on what Sayyid bin       has stated in *Faraj al-Mahm  m*, only that part of it has remained which was selected by Shaikh al-      in the year      H.^۲ [But] what al-      has quoted from al-Kashh  that Ab  Mikhnaf was among the companions of 'Al  ('a), is not found in this selection of al-     .

In his *Rij l*, al-      has mentioned Ab  Mikhnaf to be one of the companions of Imam al-  asan ('a)^۳, and then among the companions of Imam al-  usain ('a)[ ] and thereafter he mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-  diq ('a).[ ] [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-      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'   ], was among the companions of 'Al  ('a), though the former did not meet him."^۵ 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     mentions Ab  Mikhnaf in his *Rij l* and says:

^۱ *Ma'jlim al-'Ulam '* (pg.    ; Najaf edition).

^۲ *Faraj al-Mahm  m* (pg.    ; Najaf edition).

^۳ *Rij l al-     * (pg.    ).

[ ] Ibid, pg.    .

[ ] Ibid, pg.     .

^۵ *Al-Fihrist* of Shaikh al-      (pg.    ; Najaf edition).

“Lǝṣ bin Yaʿy bin Saʿd bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaim¹ al-Azd al-Gḥmid, [known as] Abǝ Mikhnaf, the master of the narrators in Kǝfah and the most prominent of them. He was reliable in his narrations. He has narrated [reports] from Jaʿfar bin Muḥammad (ʿa). It is said that he has narrated from Abǝ Jaʿfar [al-Ḅqir (ʿa)] also, which is not correct.”² Al-Najjisḥ then lists his works, among them being the book on the *maq̣tal* of al-ʿusain (ʿa). He then mentions his [own] chain of narration from Abǝ Mikhnaf through Hisḥm bin Muḥammad bin al-Ṣib al-Kalḅ.

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

The Family of Abǝ Mikhnaf as Reported by ±abaṛ

Regarding the companions (Ỵaʿbah) who passed away in the year ٨٠ H, ±abaṛ writes in his book *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*: “[Among them was] Mikhnaf bin Sulaṣm bin al-ʿirith... Ibn Gḥmid bin al-Azd... Mikhnaf professed Islam and accompanied the Prophet (Ỵ). He was the chief of the house of Azd in Kǝfah and he had three brothers: ʿAbd Shams -who was killed in the battle of Al-Nukhailah, ʿaqʿab and ʿAbdullah -both of whom were killed in the battle of Jamal. Lut bin Yaʿy bin Saʿd bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaṣm was among the descendents of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, from whom people

¹ It is strange that he names him as such and then attributes to him the book called *Akḥḅir ʿl Mikhnaf bin Sulaim*! This is likely to have been the error of the copyist.

² *Rij̣l a-Najjisḥ* (pg. ٢٢٤; India lithographic edition).

used to narrate historical events.^١

±abarç mentions [Mikhnaf bin Sulaim] in the reports of the battle of Baʿrah [i.e. Jamal], but not through Abʿ Mikhnaf. He says: “Mikhnaf bin Sulaim al-Azdç was in command of [the tribes of] Bajçlah, Anmçr, 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, ±abarç has related another report about the battle of Jamal from Abʿ Mikhnaf, who related from his uncle, Muʿammad 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 Kçfah was with Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. He was killed on that day, so the standard was held by two of his family members, ʿaq’ab and his brother ‘Abdullah bin Sulaim, who were also killed by the people.”^٣

This report is in agreement with what ±abarç has mentioned in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* regarding the death of the two brothers of Mikhnaf, ʿaq’ab and ‘Abdullah. Perhaps he narrated it from his *Tçrçkh*. 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 ±abarç has related [in *al-Dhayl*] -in the reports of [the battle of] ʿiffçn- on the authority of al-Kalbç from Abʿ Mikhnaf himself. Abʿ Mikhnaf says: “My father, Ya|yç bin Sa’çd, related to me from his uncle, Muʿammad bin Mikhnaf who said: ‘I was with

^١ *Al-Mašbʿ ma’a al-Tçrçkh* (١٣:٣٦; Dçr al-Qçmçs Publications and ١١:٥٤٧; Dçr Suwaidçn Publications).

^٢ *Al-±abarç* (٤:٥٠٠; Dçr al-Ma’çrif Publications).

^٣ *Ibid*, (٤:٥٠٠).

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my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on that day [i.e. in ʿiffʿn] and I was only seventeen years old...”^١

±abarʿ also reports from al-Kalbʿ who said: “ʿirith bin ʿaʿrah al-Azdʿ 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 Shjm...”^٢

He also related from al-Madjinʿ (d. ٢٢٥) and ʿAwjnah bin al-ʿakam (d. ١٥٨) -who was narrating through his chain of narration from an elder of the Banʿ Fazrah: “Muʿjwiyah dispatched Nuʿmjin bin Bashʿr [al-Anʿirʿ] with two thousand men. They raided ʿAin al-Tamr while the governor of ʿAlʿ, [Mjlik bin Kaʿb] al-Arabʿ, was in the city with three hundred soldiers. So he wrote to ʿAlʿ (ʿa) asking him for help.” [Mjlik] also wrote to Mikhnaf bin Sulaim who was nearer, requesting him for assistance. So Mikhnaf sent to him his son, ʿAbd al-Ralmjn, with fifty other men and they joined Mjlik and his followers... When the Syrians saw them, they thought that Mjlik has a [good] support, so they felt defeated and fled.”^٣

All these narrations clearly attest to the fact that Abʿ Mikhnaf’s [great] grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, was alive after the battle Jamal, rather even after the battle of ʿiffʿn; as the raids of Muʿjwiyah took place in the year ٣٩ H, that is after the battle of ʿiffʿn (٣٨ H). In contrary, the narration [that states that he was killed in Jamal] is a lone report. However, [it seems that] ±abarʿ 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 Abġ Mikhnaf as Reported by Naġr bin Muzġim al-Minqarġ

Apart from *al-ṭabarġ*, 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 ʿiffġn. Naġr bin Muzġim al-Minqarġ (d. ١١٢ H) relates in his book *Waqʿat ʿiffġn* on the authority of Yaʿiyġ bin Saʿġd from Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf who said: “‘Alġ (‘a) looked at my father –after his return from Baġrah– and said: ‘...but Mikhnaf bin Sulaim and his people did not lag behind...’”^٢

[Naġr] also says: “Our companions have said: “‘[Alġ (‘a)] appointed Mikhnaf bin Sulaim as the governor of Iḡfahġn and Hamadġn and dismissed from them Jarġr bin ‘Abdullah al-Bajalġ...’”^٣

He also reports: “When [‘Alġ (‘a)] wanted to advance towards Shġm, he wrote [a letter] to [all] his governors. The letter that he sent to Mikhnaf was written by ‘Ubaidullah bin Abġ Rġfi’ [in the year ٢٧ H]. Mikhnaf put in his position two men from his kinsmen and set out for ʿiffġn, where he fought alongside ‘Alġ [‘a].”^٤

[In another report] he says: “Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was in charge of the Azd, Bajġlah, the Anġġr and Khuzġʿah”;^٥ and also that: “[Mikhnaf] was accompanying ‘Alġ (‘a) in

^١ *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (١١:٥٤٧; Dġr Suwaidġn Publications), quoting from *al-ṭabarġ*.

^٢ *Waqʿat ʿiffġn* (pg.٨; al-Madanġ 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 Shīm, 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 Abī Mikhnaf from his father’s uncle, Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf, in which he says: “I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on the day [of ʿiffen] while I was seventeen years old.”^٣

It is evident from this report that Saʿd was younger than his brother, Muḥammad, and for this [very] reason he could not participate in [the battle of] ʿiffen. Therefore, he was relating the news about ʿiffen from his brother, Muḥammad. The [above] report also implies that Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf was born in the year ٢٠ H. Based on this, his brother Saʿd -the grandfather of Lḥṣ- must have been born around this [time]. Accordingly, [it is] Saʿd, the grandfather of Lḥṣ, [who] should be among the companions of ʿAlī (ʿa) and not even his father, Yaʿy.

Thus, we can assume, at the least, that Saʿd married and fathered a child, Yaʿy, when he was twenty years of age, that is in the year ٤٠ H.^٤ In this case, there is, definitely, no

^١ Ibid, (pg. ١٣٥).

^٢ Ibid, (pg. ٢٦٢). According to *Taqṛīb al-Tahdhīb*: “He was martyred with the followers of Tawwāb at ʿAin al-Wardah in ٦٤ H!” which is [absolutely] incorrect.

^٣ *Al-ṭabarī* (٤:٢٤٦).

^٤ In this case, how can Yaʿy, the father of Abī Mikhnaf, be among the companions of ʿAlī (ʿa) as claimed by Shaikh al-ṭūsī in two of his books?! Al-Fīṣṣal al-ʿirṣ pointed out to this fact before us in his book *Muntaha al-Maqāl*. He proves [in this book] that Abī

question of the existence of L£§ yet, nor of considering Ya|y; to be among the companions of ‘Alç (‘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 ۷• 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 ۸• 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 Amçr al-Mu’miṇ (‘a). He [also] regards the opinion of al-±£sç that Ya|y; -the father of L£§- met ‘Alç (‘a), as weak; for it was his father’s grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, who was among the companions of ‘Alç (‘a), as it has been stated by al-±£sç himself and others. Al-°jirç further says: “This [i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was among the companions of ‘Alç (‘a)] should prove for al-±£sç that L£§ did not see [‘Alç (‘a)], as it also weakens the possibility of his father, Ya|y;, to have met [‘Alç (‘a)].” That Ab£ Mikhnaf should be among the companions of Amçr al-Mu’miṇ (‘a) -as mentioned by al-Kashhç- is, therefore, impossible. Likewise, there is no room for Shaikh al-Ghifiri’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’çd, 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 ʿiffçn, and that his brother, Sa’çd, was younger than him. It was for this [very] reason that [Ab£ Mikhnaf] relates the report from [Sa’çd’s] brother, Mu|ammad, [and not from Sa’çd himself]. Based on this, the age of Sa’çd must have, then, been about fifteen years and not fifty-five [as it has appeared in al-Ghifiri’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 'adḥṭh, let alone history, was still disagreeable, but rather prohibited; and that the power was still in the hands of the Banī Marwān, the Umayyads; and that the atmosphere was that of fear and dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) for the Shā'ah and [those narrating] reports about them.

[Instead] there is an indication that Abī Mikhnaḥ compiled this work of his around the year ۱۳۰ H. For in his report about the arrival of Muslim bin 'Aqīl in Kāfah, [he says that Muslim] was residing in the house of Mukhtār bin Abī 'Ubaid al-Thaqafī. He then says: "...This is the house which is known today as the house of Muslim bin Musayyab." Since Ibn Musayyab was, in the year ۱۲۹ H, the governor of Ibn 'Umar in Shiraz, as reported in *al-ṭabarī* (۷:۳۷۷), [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 Banī 'Abbās were inviting people towards Imam al-Riḍā ('a), asking [them] to rise and revenge for the blood of al-'usayn ('a) and his household.

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

The Works of Abī Mikhnaḥ

Shaikh al-Najjīshī has mentioned the following books as

belonging to Abŧ Mikhnaf:

Kitjb al-Maghjzç, Kitjb al-Riddah, Kitjb Futŧ' al-Isljm, Kitjb Futŧ' al-'Irjq, Kitjb Futŧ' Khurjsjn, Kitjb al-Shŧrj, Kitjb Qatl 'Uthmjn, Kitjb al-Jamal, Kitjb 'iffçn, Kitjb al-°akamain, Kitjb al-Nahrawjn, Kitjb al-Ghjrjt, Kitjb Akhbjr Mu'ammad bin Abç Bakr, Kitjb Maqtal Mu'ammad bin Abç Bakr, Kitjb Maqtal Amçr al-Mu'minçn ('a), Kitjb Akhbjr Ziyjd, Kitjb Maqtal °ujr bin 'Adiyy, Kitjb Maqtal al-°asan ('a), Kitjb Maqtal al-°usain ('a), Kitjb Akhbjr al-Mukhtjr, Kitjb Akhbjr Ibn al-°anafïyyah, Kitjb Akhbjr al-°ajjj bin Yŧsuf al-Thaqafç, Kitjb Akhbjr Yŧsuf bin 'Umair, Kitjb Akhbjr Shabçb al-Khrijïyy, Kitjb Akhbjr Muŧarraŧ bin Mughçrah bin Shu'bah, Kitjb Akhbjr al-°uraith bin al-Asadç al-Njjç and Kitjb Akhbjr °l Mikhnaf bin Sulaim.

Al-Najjshç then mentions his link to these works and says: "...from his student Hishjm al-Kalbç."

Shaikh al-±ŧsç ascribes to him some of the books mentioned above in his *al-Fihrist* and adds: "He has [also] a book called *Kitjb Khuŧbah al-Zahrj* ('a)." He then states his link to these works.[†]

Ibn al-Nadçm 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 Abŧ Mikhnaf directed much of his efforts in compiling the reports about the Shç'ah in general, and those about Kŧfah in particular. There does not appear, in the above list, any book on reports about the Banŧ Umayyah or the Banŧ Marwjn. Nor is there

[†] *Rijl al-Najjshç* (pg. ۲۲۴; India lithographic edition).

[†] *Al-Fihrist* of al-±ŧsç (pg. ۱۵۵; Najaf edition).

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any book on the revolt of Abī Muslim al-Khurīṣīnī or the Abbasid rule. This is taking into consideration that he passed away twenty five years after all these events, in the year ۱۰۸ H. Not only this, but his last book, according to the list of his works, was the one on ʿajjāj bin Yūsuf al-ṭhaqafī whose reports ended by his death in ۹۰ H.

However, in his *Tirḥkh ṭabarī* relates reports from [Abī Mikhnaḥ] up until the end of the rule of the Umayyads, and to be specific, till the events of the year ۱۳۲ H.^۱

It is evident from his reports which are scattered in several of his books, especially in *al-ṭabarī*, that [Abī Mikhnaḥ] often narrates [reports] either from his father, or uncle, or one of his cousins, or from his elders within the tribe of Azd in Kḥfah. 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 Kḥfah, to the extent that he was considered the most learned of them in this regard.

His Faith (*madhhab*) and Reliability (*withiqah*)

It is [quite] obvious from his reports generally that he has not directly narrated, even a single report, from Imam Zain al-ʿabīdīn (ʿa) (d. ۹۰ H) nor from Imam al-Biqir (ʿa) (d. ۱۱۰ H). Rather, he has narrated from Imam al-Biqir (ʿa) through one person^۲ and from Imam ʿAlī bin al-ʿusain (ʿa) through two

^۱ Events about the revolt of Muḥammad bin Khilid in Kḥfah in ۱۳۲ H. See: *al-ṭabarī* (۷: ۴۱۷).

^۲ See the report on the martyrdom of the infant of al-ʿusain (ʿa) (۵: ۴۴۸).

links.^۱ He has a few direct reports from Imam al-ḥidīq (‘a) (d. ۱۴۸ H).^۲

The above facts prove what al-Najjīshī said: “It is said that he related [reports] from Abī Ja’far (‘a), but it is not correct.”^۳ [Abī Mikhnaf] has not narrated from Imam Mūsā bin Ja’far al-Kāḥimī (‘a), though he lived after Imam al-ḥidīq (‘a) and was a contemporary of al-Kāḥimī (‘a) for ten years. For this very reason no one has counted him to be among the companions of al-Kāḥimī (‘a).

All this may lead us to the fact that [Abī Mikhnaf] was not a Shāh in the technical sense of the word and whom the Ahl al-Sunnah term as the *rafiʿ*, nor was he among the companions of the Aimmah (‘a) as such. Rather, he was a Shāh in the sense that he had personal inclinations [towards them] like most of the other people in Kāfah, 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 *rafiʿ* 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 Shāh. 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 Shāh, but they also accuse him of *rafī*. This is the difference between the two terms according to their terminology.

[Regarding the reliability of Abī Mikhnaf,] al-Dhahabī says:

^۱ See the narration about the night of ‘sharī’ (۱:۴۸۸).

^۲ See the report on the martyrdom of al-ʿusayn (‘a) (۱:۴۵۳).

^۳ *Rijāl al-Najjīshī* (pg. ۲۲۴; India lithographic edition).

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“A corrupt and unreliable narrator. Abī ʿġtim and others have rejected him. According to Ibn Maʿġn, he is not reliable. He has also said elsewhere that he is of no importance. According to Ibn ʿAdiyy, he is a fanatic Shāʿah and the narrator of their reports.”^١

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

Ibn Abī al-ʿadīd states this clearly when he says: “Abī Mikhnaf is among the narrators (*muʿaddithin*) and among those who hold that the legitimacy of [the divine] leadership (*imjmaḥ*) is realized [only] through [the divine] designation. He is not a Shāʿah, nor is he counted to be among their outstanding figures.”^٢

The above passage has been quoted by Sayyid al-ʿadr in his *Taʿsīs al-Shāʿah li ʿUlūm al-Islām*. He then comments on it saying: “I would say: they do not accuse him of something other than *tashayyuʿ*’, which does not, according to their [own] scholars, contradict [his] being reliable. The great Sunnī scholars, such as Abī Jarīr al-ʿabarī and Ibn al-Athār, have relied on him. Especially Abī Jarīr who has filled his *Tijrīkh al-Kabīr* with the narrations of Abī Mikhnaf.”^٣

^١ *Mezjn al-ʿtidīl* (٣:٤٢٠; Aleppo edition).

^٢ *Taʿsīs al-Shāʿah* (pg. ٢٣٥; Baghdad edition).

^٣ Ibid, (pg. ٢٣٥). He says: “I have counted the number of instances where ʿabarī has narrated [reports] from Abī Mikhnaf. I found them to be around ٤٠٠ instances, as it appears in the index of names in *al-ʿabarī* (Dār al-Maʿrīf Publications). The last of these narrations is in (٧:٤١٧) which is pertaining to the revolt of

Imam Sharafuddġn (r) has devoted one whole chapter in *al-Murġja'it* in which he enumerates one hundred Shiite personalities found in the Sunni chains of narration (*isnġd*), but also in their *ʾiʾġʾ*, specifying the places [where these names have appeared].¹

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

None of the past Shiite scholars have declared him to be a Shġʿah. Al-Najġshġ (may Allah have mercy on him), who is an expert in this discipline [i.e. in *riġġl*], describes Abġ Mikhnaf only by saying: “He was the master (*shaikh*) of the narrators in Kġfah”, 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 Abġ al-ʾadjġ clearly states this fact, and [on the other hand] he narrates from him poems (*arġġz*) which he recited in the battle of Jamal on the succession of ʿAlġ (ʿa) to the Prophet (ﷺ); for narrating these verses implies only that he was a Shġʿah, [in the sense that he was] sympathetic [towards the Ahl al-Bait (ʿa)], not that he was an adherent of the Imġmiyyah sect. Many Sunni scholars have been [normally] relating the like of these verses too.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that Abġ Mikhnaf was a

Muʾammad bin Khġlid in Kġfah in ۱۳۲ H.”

¹ *Al-Murġja'it* (ch. ۱۶-۱۷, pg. ۵۲-۱۱۸, Dġr al-ʾġdiq publications).

Shə‘ah, but there is no evidence that he was, beside this, a follower of the Ahl al-Bait school of thought (*imjm*).

The best of what our scholars have said regarding him are the words of praise from al-Najjishə. He says: “He was the master of the narrators in Kffah 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 Rijl such as] *al-Wajəzah*, *al-Bulghah*, *al-‘jw* and other works.

Hishm al-Kalb

Shaikh al-Najjishə 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 Muammad (‘a) and he made me drink knowledge in a cup and I thus regained my knowledge.’ AbŒ ‘Abdillah [al-‘diq (‘a)] used to bring him closer to himself and encourage him. [Hishm] has many books.”¹

Al-Najjishə 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 AbŒ Mikhnaf.

It is, however, strange that in his selections from *Rijl al-Kashh*, Shaikh al-Œsə quotes al-Kashhə as saying: “Al-

¹ *Rijl al-Najjishə* (pg. ٣٠٥: India lithographic edition).

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

^١ *Rijl al-±£sç* (pg. ٣٩٠, ١adçth no. ٧٣٣; Mashad edition). It is evident that, in case of difference of opinion [between scholars of *rijl* about a personality], our scholars of *rijl* would prefer the view of al-Najjishç [over the others]. Shahçd al-Thinç [Zain al-Dçn al-‘amilç] writes in *al-Maslik*: “What is apparent about al-Najjishç is that he is the most precise (*a±ba±*) of the people [i.e. the experts in *rijl*] and the most acquainted of them about the status of the narrators.” His grandson says in *Shar’ al-Istib±ir*: “Al-Najjishç has precedence over Shaikh [al-±£sç] in such cases as it is known through experience.” His master, Mu’aqiq al-Astar±b±dç says in *Al-Rijl Al-Kabçr* when mentioning the biography of Sulaimn bin ±ili: “The difference in style between Shaikh [al-±£sç] and al-Najjishç is clear, and perhaps the latter is more accurate.” Sayyid Ba’r al-‘Ul£m says in *al-Fawj’id al-Rijliyyah*: “A±mad bin ‘Alç al-Najjishç 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’dçl*). 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-Kashhç, al-Najjishç says in his book (pg. ٣٦٣): “He was an outstanding and reliable personality... and has a book in *rijl*. Although he was knowledgeable, his book has many mistakes... He was an associate of al-‘Ayyishç and has studied under him. He has narrated [information] from weak [sources as well].” Regarding al-‘Ayyashç, he says on pg. ٣٤٧: “He is reliable and trustworthy. He was among the eminent personalities of the [Shç‘ah] sect. He was a Sunnç 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-Kashhç took this opinion [that al-

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

Many of the Sunnī historians and experts in biographies have attested to his knowledge, [good] memory and to his being a Shuʿah. Ibn Khallakān 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 *ʿadath* (*ʿuffi*). He died in the year ٢٠٦ H."²

Abī Aḥmad bin ʿAdiyy writes in *al-Kamil*: "Al-Kalbī has [narrated] sound traditions (*ʿadath*). 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 Muqṭil bin Sulaymān since the latter has got vile beliefs. Ibn ʿAbbān has

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

¹ *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī* (pg. ١٠٠; Najaf edition).

² Ṭabarī narrates from al-Kalbī in [some] three hundred and thirty places of his *Tārīkh*. But [still] he did not mention his biography in *Dhayl al-Mudhāyyal*. Instead he mentions his father on pg. ١٠١ and says: "His grandfather Bishr bin ʿAmru al-Kalbī and his sons: al-Sayb, ʿUbayd and ʿAbd al-Rahmān had participated in the battles of Jamal and ʿIfk along side ʿAlī (ʿa).

mentioned him in his *al-Thuq̣it*.^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 Sharafuddøn 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 (*kaddhjbah*) is large, and this [on its own] attests to his greatness.”^٢

Mu’addith al-Qumç 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

^١ *Lisjn al-Mçzn* (٢:٣٥٩).

^٢ *Mu’allif al-Shç‘ah fç ¯adr al-Isljm* (pg. ٤٢; al-Najjî Publications).

what \pm abarç and others have related from him. I have explained this in [my book] *Nafas al-Mahm£m* when talking about \pm irimmi| 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’akhhirçn*), who was neither acquainted with history and \pm adçth, 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 ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a), the second [no. ٩٤] from ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abbjs, the third one [no. ٨٢] from ‘Umjrah bin Sulaimjn 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-Kulainç (d. ٣٢٩ H) without its chain of narration (*marf£’ah*) and which is not found in *al-Kjfi*.

After narration no. ١٠٥٢, he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahrjz£rç who he considers to have traveled with the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) from K£fah to Shjm [and accompanied them] until their return to Madçnah! He [also] relates from this person ٣١ *mursal* narrations,

^١ *Al-Kunj wa al-Alqjb* (١: ١٤٨) and *Nafas al-Mahm£m* (pg. ١٩٥) and its Introduction (pg. ٨; Ba£çrah publications).

^٢ *Maqtal* (pg. ١٠٢; Najaf edition).

mentioning among them the report of Sahl bin Sa'd al-Sij'idī in the name of Sahl bin Sa'ūd al-Shahrīzūrī!

The remaining ١٣٨ reports in the book are ascribed to Abī Mikhnaḥ himself.

The Grave Errors of this *Maqṭal*

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

١. In the first line of the first page of this *Maqṭal*, a discerning reader is confronted with this grave mistake: “Abī Mikhnaḥ said: ‘Abī al-Mundhir Hishīm has narrated to us from Mu'ammad bin Sijib al-Kalbī!’” Here [we] find that Abī Mikhnaḥ, who was the teacher of Hishīm, is relating from Hishīm, his [own] student! Who, in turn, was reporting from his father, Mu'ammad bin al-Sijib al-Kalbī!

Thus, we can obviously tell how ignorant the compiler of this work was about the biographies of the narrators that such an inconsistency remained hidden to him.^١

٢. After three pages we read: “Al-Kulainī relates in a tradition...”^٢ Would that I knew who was this person relating from al-Kulainī who died in ٣٢٩ H, while Abī Mikhnaḥ died in ١٥٨ H! This is at a time when this tradition is not even

^١ Ibid, (pg. ١٢٣).

^٢ Sayyid al-Murtaḥī (r) has related a similar narration in *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā'* (pg. ١٧١; Qum edition) from someone whom he calls Ibn 'Abbās bin Hishīm, who related from his father, and who in turn was narrating from Abī Mikhnaḥ, who was reporting from Abī al-Kanḍ 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin 'Ubaid. It is probable that the compiler of the above *Maqṭal* narrated this from this work of al-Murtaḥī or from someone else, but with additions and distortions!

^٣ *Maqṭal* (pg. ٧).

found in *al-Kifc*!

٣. After a few more pages we find him saying: “He said: ‘[Yazcd] sent the letter to Walcd. It reached him ten days into the month of Sha’b;n.”’ While the historians, including Abf Mikhnaf according to the report of ±abarç, 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 ‘Aqcl, 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.’”

٥. Also concerning the martyrdom of Muslim, he is the only one to report [saying]: “When Muslim and H;nç 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 Madçnah! They set out moving before him until they entered the city! [Al-°usain] went to the grave of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) and clung to it. [There] he bitterly wept and [then] he fell asleep!”

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 Karbalj’, 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.¹

٧. He, again, is the only person to have narrated what Imam ‘Alī bin al-°usain said on the night of “shḥrj” and on the day of [al-°usain’s] arrival in Karbalā’.^٢

٨. He alone has reported that the number of Ibn Sa’d’s army in Karbalā’ 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 Karbalā’. He says in this regard: “He then advanced towards his followers and said: ‘O Muhjirċn and An¥jr! The speech of this accursed dog and his likes should not deceive you!! Indeed, he is not going to attain the intercession (*shafj’ah*) of Muḥammad (¥). 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 “shḥrj”. He mentions in the first the speech of al-°usain (’a) and the [martyrdom] of his brother, ‘Abbjs (’a)! He is alone in saying that: “... [‘Abbjs] then held the sword with his mouth.” He then says: “[Al-°usain] came to him and carried him on the back of his horse

¹ 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 ‘ashʿrj’ 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 ‘ashʿrj’ 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 Ḳhil, whereas, in fact, the [name of the] messenger was Anas bin al-°arth bin Ḳhil al-Asaḍ.

He reverts for a third time [and] talks about the night of ‘ashʿrj’ 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.”

١٢. He is the only one to mention Ibṛḥm bin al-°usain as one of the companions of Imam al-°usain.^٤

١٣. He mentions ±irimṃi [bin al-‘Adiyy] as one of those who were martyred along with al-°usain (‘a), whereas ±abaṛ relates on the authority of al-Kalḅ from Aḅ Mikhnaf that [±irimṃi] was not present in Karbaḷi’ 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-Qumç [also] has commented on this in his book *Nafas al-Mahmëm* (pg. ١٩٥).

١٤. He mentions some verses in the story of °urr al-Riyi|ç which are, in fact, of ‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr al-Ju’fç, [whom Imam (‘a) met] at Qaÿr Ban£ Muq|til, not realizing that they were not in tune with the conditions °urr [al-Riyi|ç] was in. The [writer] ascribes to al-Riyi|ç 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-Riyi|ç] 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!”

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.”^٣

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

^١ Ibid, (pg.٧٢).

^٢ Ibid, (pg.٧٧). ±abarç cites these verse in (•:٤٧٠; D;r al-Ma’jirif Publications) on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaf from ‘Abd al-Ra|mjin bin Jundab who said: “‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr had recited these verse in Madjin: ‘A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did not you fight the martyr, son of Fj\$imah?’” Notice that this disloyal compiler has changed some words [in the verses] so that they might fit °urr al-Riyi|ç, yet they did not!

^٣ Ibid, (pg.٧٩).

^٤ Ibid, (pg.٨٥).

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

١٨. After narration no. ١٠٥٤, he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-ShahrjzŒrŒ, who is regarded to have journeyed with the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) from KŒfah to Shj̄m [and accompanied them] until their return to MadŒnah! He then puts in his mouth verses -while he was in KŒfah- which were, in fact, said by Sulaimj̄n bin Qattah al-Hj̄shimŒ° by the grave of Imam al-°usain (‘a): “I passed by the houses of the household of Mu’ammad...”^٤ In Shj̄m, he ascribes to him the report of Sahl bin Sa’d al-Sj̄’idŒ in the name of Sahl bin Sa’d al-ShahrjzŒrŒ^٥, as though he considers [ShahrjzŒrŒ] to be [al-Sj̄’idŒ]!

١٩. He attributes a poem (*urjŒzah*) of thirty odd verses^٦ to

^١ Ibid, (pg. ٤٨).

^٢ Ibid, (pg. ٩٣).

^٣ *Al-±abarŒ* (٥:٤٠٩). The account of *al-±abarŒ* is backed by what al-ArbalŒ has related in *Kashf al-Ghummah* (٢:٢٥٢) through his chain of narration from Imam al-°j̄diq (‘a): “He was martyred on the day of ‘ashŒrj̄, [which fell] on Friday.”

^٤ *Maq̄tal*, (pg. ١٠٢)

^٥ Shaikh Mu’ammad al-Samj̄wŒ comments on this saying: “He was a Hashimite by clientage (*walj̄*’). His mother was Umm Qattah and his father °abŒb. He died in Damascus in ١٢٦ H. Al-Mas’ŒdŒ (٤:٧٤) mentions him as Ibn Qattah, quoting that from the book *Ansjb Quraish* of Zubair bin Bakjr.”

^٦ *Maq̄tal* (pg. ١٠٢-١٠٣).

^٧ Ibid, (pg. ١٢٣).

^٨ Ibid, (pg. ٧٦-٧٧). Seventeen of these verses have been related by ‘AlŒ bin ‘«sj̄ al-ArbalŒ (d. ٦٩٢ H) in his book *Kashf al-Ghummah*

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

¶. 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.”[¶] Or “His helpers went away (*rj/at*)”[¶], or “The one who was awake (*yaq”jnahu*)...”[¶] and “He was picking a quarrel (*yata’arrashu*)...”[¶]

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

(¶:¶¶¶; Tabriz edition). He related them from the book *al-Fut£’* of A£mad bin A’tam al-K£f£ (d.¶¶£ 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.¶¶¶) 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£rzm£ (d.¶¶¶ H) has mentioned in his *Maqtal* three of the [above] verses (¶:¶¶) from Ibn A’tam.

[¶] *Maqtal* (pg.¶.¶-¶.¶).

[¶] Ibid, (pg.¶¶).

[¶] Ibid, (pg.¶¶¶).

[¶] Ibid, (pg.¶¶¶).

[¶] Ibid, (pg.¶¶¶).

The Sources of Abġ Mikhnaf (*isn;d*)

Here, we will present a detailed list of the names of the intermediaries (*was;iš*) between Abġ 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 Abġ Mikhnaf related from them. They are:

١. This list comprises the names of those who witnessed the battle and *directly* related [its events] to Abġ Mikhnaf, without any intermediary. Thus, Abġ 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 Abġ 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 Abġ 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 Abġ 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;'. Abġ Mikhnaf narrates from each of them through one or two links. There are twenty one people in this

list.

۵. 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.

۶. 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 Karbalj’ 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 Karbalj’] and narrated it directly to Ab£ Mikhnaf. They are:

١. Thġbit bin Hubairah. He related the death of ‘Amru bin Qara’ah bin Ka’b al-Anṣīrī and the report about his brother, ‘Alġ bin Qara’ah (See *al-ṭabarġ*: ٥:٤٣٤).

He has this report only. We have not found any mention of him in the books of *rijāl*. The actual text of the the *Maqtal* regarding his report reads as follows: “Abġ Mikhnaf says: [I narrate] from Thġbit 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 [Abġ Mikhnaf] related it directly from [him].

٢. Ya’yī bin Hīnī bin ‘Urwah al-Murīdġ al-Madhīġ. He related the martyrdom of Nīfī bin Hilāl al-Jamalġ. The text reads: “Ya’yī has narrated to me... that Nīfī...” This is very clear in that it was a direct report. (See *al-ṭabarġ*: ٥:٤٣٥)

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

Ya’yī was present in Karbalġ together with his uncle in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d. He has narrated the martyrdom of Nīfī bin Hilāl al-Jamalġ. [Ya’yī] heard his uncle ‘Amru bin al-°ajjġ 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 Nīfī bin Hilāl, 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-Muṣġ al-‘Adawġ, the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kġfah, that he should stand firm in fighting Mukhtīr bin Abġ ‘Ubaid al-Thaqafġ. Ya’yī was along side his uncle in his combat against Mukhtīr. (٦:٢٨)

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Ibn ʿibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt*. Al-Dīrqaṣnʿ says that his [word] can be taken as a proof. According to al-Nassīḡ, he is reliable. Abī ʿītim adds that he was pious and among the chiefs in Kḡfah. Shuʿbah says that he was a leader of the people of Kḡfah, as reported in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*.

٢. Zuhair bin ʿAbd al-Raʿmān bin Zuhair al-Khathʿamʿ. He narrated the martyrdom of Suwaid bin ʿAmru bin Abī Muṣīʿ al-Khathʿamʿ. 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 *rijāl*.

The Second List

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

١. ʿUqbah bin Simʿān^١. He related the arrival of al-ʿusain [ʿa] at Karbalāʿ and the letter of Ibn Ziyād to ʿurr in this regard (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٤٠٧). [Abī Mikhnaf narrates from him] through one intermediary.

٢. Hānīʿ bin Thubait al-ʿaṣramʿ al-Sakḡnʿ. He narrated Ibn Saʿd's meeting with Imam al-ʿusain (ʿa) at a point between the two camps after the arrival of the Imam (ʿa) at Karbalāʿ and before the day of ʿaṣḡrī. The text says: "Abī Janāb has narrated to me from Hānīʿ ..."

He witnessed the martyrdom of al-ʿusain (ʿa) (*al-*

^١ He was the retainer of Rabāb, daughter of Imruʿ al-Qais al-Kalbʿ and the mother of Sakḡnah -daughter of al-ʿusain (ʿa). He was taken to ʿUmar bin Saʿd on the day of ʿaṣḡrī who asked him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am a slave." So he freed him (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٤٠٤).

±*abari*: ٥:٤١٣). He participated in the killing of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar al-Kalbī -the second person to be martyred from the companions of al-°usain (‘a) (٥:٤٣٦), and in the killing of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Alī bin Abī ḥlib (‘a), Ja’far bin ‘Alī (‘a), a lad from the household of al-°usain (٥:٤٤٨) and ‘Abdullah bin al-°usain bin ‘Alī (‘a) whose mother was Rabīb, daughter of Imru’ al-Qais al-Kalbī (٥:٤٦٨).

٣. °umaid bin Muslim al-Azdī. 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 Muḥarram] (٥:٤١٢); the dispatch of Shamir to Karbalā’ (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 °abīb bin Muḥīr al-Asadī (٥:٤٣٩); the words of the Imam (‘a) at the martyrdom of his son ‘Alī (‘a); the coming out of [Lady] Zainab at the martyrdom of al-°usain; the martyrdom of Qasim 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 ‘Alī (‘a); the story of ‘Uqbah bin Simīn 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 Ziyād by [°umaid] and Khawliyy bin Yazīd al-ʿAḥbalī (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 Ziyād 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 (ﷻ) and the reply of Ibn Ziyāḥ to him; the remarks of Zayd about Ibn Ziyāḥ; Zainab's entering the court of Ibn Ziyāḥ, his words to her and her answer; Ibn Ziyāḥ's attempt to beat her and the comments of 'Amru bin 'uraith; the words of Ibn Ziyāḥ to Imam Zain al-'ābidīn ('a) and his reply; the attempt to kill him and his aunt's clinging to him; and [finally] Ibn Ziyāḥ's sermon in the mosque and Ibn 'Aḥf's reply to him and his murder (*al-ṭabari*: ٥: ٤٥٦-٤٥٩).

The person from whom 'umaid narrated these reports was Sulaimīn bin Abī Rāshid.

It is noticed that Abī Mikhnaḥ 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 Karbalā' and end with reports about [what transpired in] the court of Ibn Ziyāḥ and the murder of Ibn 'Aḥf al-Azdī.

This implies that 'umaid was in the army of Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan al-Kilbī, 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-'usayn ('a), knowing that it was Shamir who attacked the tents with the foot soldiers.

Later, we see ['umaid] participating in the uprising of the Tawwābīn (٥: ٥٥٥). He used to visit Mukhtār in prison, but [at the same time] he cautioned Sulaimīn bin 'urād al-Khuzī'ī against him, informing him that Mukhtār was inciting people to betray him. [However,] Sulaimīn ignored this action of [Mukhtār] (٥: ٥٨١ & ٥٨٤). ['umaid] later returned with the defeated army of the Tawwābīn (٥: ٦٠٦). He was a friend of Ibrāhīm bin al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī whom

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he used to frequently visit and go with him to [see] Mukhṭr every evening—after the Tawwiḅn uprising. They would plan their affairs till late night and then disperse (٦:١٨). One Monday evening °umaid came out with Ibṛḥm 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 Mukhṭr on the night he departed. (٦:٢٣)

However, when [°umaid] came to know that Mukhṭr is determined to kill the assassins of al-°usain (‘a), he rose together with ‘Abd al-Rạṃn bin Mikhnaf al-Azḍ, Aḅ Mikhnaf’s uncle, against Mukhṭr. When ‘Abd al-Rạṃn was wounded, °umaid recited some verses in sympathy for him (٦:٥١). When ‘Abd al-Rạṃn bin Mikhnaf escaped from Ḳfah and sought refuge with Muʿ̣ab bin al-Zubair in Baʿrah, °umaid also joined him there (٦:٥٨)!

His name last appears in *al-±abaṛ* (٦:٢١٣) when he recited couplets in lamentation of ‘Abd al-Rạṃn bin Mikhnaf who was killed by the [followers of the] Aẓriqah [sect from the] Khaẉrij near Ḳzaṛn in ٧٥ H, as he was fighting them along with Muhallab bin ʿafrah on behalf of °aj̣j̣ bin Ỵsuf al-Thaqaf̣.

Al-Dhahaḅ has mentioned [°umaid] in *Ṃ̣ẓn al-Iʿtiḍl* (١:٦١٦) and so has Ibn Quḍmah in *al-Mughṇ* (١:١٩٥).

٤. @a||̣k bin ‘Abdillah al-Mushriq̣ al-Hamḍṇ. He narrated the reports about the night and the day of ‘asḥṛ; al-°usain’s preparation for the battle; and his important speech on the day of ‘asḥṛ’. (*al-±abari*: ٥: ٤١٨, ٤١٩, ٤٢١, ٤٢٣, ٤٢٥ & ٤٤٤)

Aḅ Mikhnaf relates from this person on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘aʿ̣im al-F̣isḥ al-Hamḍṇ -who was also

from the [Banʿ] Hamdīn- that he [i.e. ʿAlī] laid a condition before Imam al-ʿusain (ʿa) that he would be free to leave him in case [all] his companions were killed, and the Imam (ʿa) accepted it! Accordingly, he fled the battlefield. (٥:٤١٨&٤٤٤)

Al-ʿasq mentions him in his *Rijʿl* among the companions of Imam Zain al-ʿabidīn (ʿa)!

٥. Imam ʿAlī bin al-ʿusain (ʿa). [Abī Mikhnaf] narrates from him the report about the events of the night of ʿashʿrī through two intermediaries. They are:

(a) ʿIrith bin ʿaʿrah, who was narrating from ʿAbdullah bin Sharʿk al-ʿamīr, who narrated from [al-Sajjīd (ʿa)] (*al-ʿabari*:٥:٤١٨).

(b) ʿIrith bin Kaʿb al-Wilib al-Azdī al-Kʿfī and Abī al-ʿAlī [al-Baʿrī], both of whom were narrating from [al-Sajjīd (ʿa)] (*al-ʿabari*:٥:٤٢٠).

٦. ʿAmru al-ʿaʿram. He narrated the joining of [fresh] troops to the army of ʿUmar bin Saʿd (*al-ʿabari*:٥:٤٢٢) through two links. The identity of this person is not known.

٧. A servant of ʿAbd al-Raʿmīn bin ʿAbd Rabbīh al-Anʿīr. Abī Mikhnaf reports his joking with Burair bin Khuʿair al-Hamdīn through two links, namely: ʿAmru bin Murrah al-Jamalī who narrated from Abī ʿilī al-ʿanafī, 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-ʿabari*:٥:٤٢١&٤٢٢).

٨. Masʿūq bin Wajil al-ʿaʿram. [Abī Mikhnaf related from him] the story of Ibn ʿawzah at the beginning of the battle through two intermediaries, ʿAṣī bin al-Sīʿib who narrated it from Abd al-Jabbār bin Wajil al-ʿaʿram, who in turn

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reported [Masrʿq] as saying: “I was in the front line of the cavalry that marched against al-ʿusain... so that I may obtain the head of al-ʿusain which would gain me some position in the eyes ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ... Masrʿq then returned... and said: ‘Verily, I have seen something in the people of this house that I will never fight them [again]’.” (*al-ṭabari*: ٥: ٤٢١)

٩. Kathʿr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bʿ al-Hamdīnʿ. Abʿ Mikhnaf relates from him the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain through ‘Alʿ bin ʿanʿalah bin Asʿad al-Shabīmʿ who was narrating from one of his kinsmen called Kathʿr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bʿ who had happened to witness the martyrdom of al-ʿusain (ʿa) (*al-ṭabari*: ٥: ٤٢٦).

ṭabarʿ narrates from ‘Awīnah on the authority of Hishīm that: “[Al-Sha’bʿ] 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-ʿusain (ʿa) from Kʿfah] to go to al-ʿusain (ʿa) and inquire from him why he has come and what does he want, “All of them refused and expressed their dislike for that. Kathʿr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bʿ stood up and said: ‘I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assassinate him!... So he went to him... [Abʿ Thumīmah] 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). “[Kathʿr] and Muhjir bin Aws launched a violent attack on Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajalʿ and killed him.” (٥: ٤٤١).

١٠. Al-Zubaidiyy. He reported the second attack (*al-ṭabari*: 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-ʿajj al-Zubaidiyy!

١١. Ayyf̣b bin Mashraʾ al-Khayaẉṇ. He reported the command of al-Kalḅ. He was the one who lamed the horse of ʾurr [al-Riỵị]. Later his people accused him of killing ʾurr, 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, Aḅ al-Wadḍk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamḍṇ 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!” Aḅ al-Wadḍk 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-ʿabari*: ٥: ٤٣٧).

١٢. ‘Af̣f bin Zuhair bin Aḅ al-Akhnas. He reported the martyrdom of Burair bin Khuḏair al-Hamḍṇ (r). He was [also] among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-ʾusain (‘a). He says in this report: “Burair used to teach them the Qurʾan in the central mosque of Ḳfah” (*al-ʿabari*: ٥: ٤٣١).

١٣. Raḅʾ bin Taṃm al-Hamḍṇ. He reported the martyrdom of ‘abis bin Aḅ Shaḅb al-Sḥkiṛ. He was one of those who witnessed that day [i.e. the day of ‘asḥṛ] (*al-ʿabari*: ٥: ٤٤٤).

١٤. ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amṃr al-Ḅriq̣. He reported the state of al-ʾusain (‘a) when attacking the people. He was among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-ʾusain (‘a) and was [later] reproached for witnessing it. [But] he replied: “Indeed the Baṇ Ḥshim are obliged to me for a favour!! So we asked him: “What favour did you do them?” He said: “I attacked al-ʾusain with a lance, then I drew closer to him... then I quickly distanced myself from him!” (*al-ʿabari*: ٥: ٤٥١).

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١٥. Qurrah bin Qais al-°an°alç al-Tamçmç. He reported the severing of the heads and about the captives (*al-±abari*:°:٤٥٥). He had come out under °urr bin Yazçd al-Riyjç al-Tamçmç -a commander from his tribe, in the vanguard of Ibn Ziyjd against al-°usain (‘a) (°:٤٢٧).

[Qurrah] is the one whom Ibn Sa‘d had sent to al-°usain (‘a) to ask him the reason he came out [from Madçnah] and what he wanted. When he came to al-°usain (‘a), °abçb bin Mu°hir al-Asadç invited him to help al-°usain (‘a) but he declined (°: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)! (°: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£ Janjb Ya’yj bin Abç °ayyah al-Wadi’ç al-Kalbç. He has reported the following: the encounter of the companions of Muslim with Ibn Ziyjd (*al-±abari*:°:٣٦٩&٣٧٠); the dispatch of the heads of Muslim and Hjni’ by Ibn Ziyjd to Yazçd and his letter to him in this regard (°:٣٨٠).

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that [Ab£ Janjb] was relating these reports from his brother, Hjni’ bin Abç °ayyah, since he was the one whom Ibn Ziyjd sent with his

letter.

Al-±abarç has narrated ٧٧ reports from him. Nine of them are concerning the battles of Jamal, ʿiffçn 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-±abarç* as relating -through an incomplete chain of narration- the letter of Muṣʿab bin al-Zubair to Ibr;hçm 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 *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (١١:٢٠١) mentions his biography and says: “A truthful person from Kffah who died in ١٤٧ H.”

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

٧. Ja’far bin ʿudhaifah al-±;ç. He reports the following: the letter of Muslim [bin ‘Aqçl] to al-ʿusain (‘a) before the former’s martyrdom, informing him of the allegiance of the people of Kffah [to him]; and the letter of Mu’ammad bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kindç to Imam al-ʿusain (‘a) through Ay;s bin al-‘Ath al-±;ç, informing him of the arrest and murder of Muslim bin ‘Aqçl (*al-±abari*: ٥:٣٧٥).

Al-Dhahabç mentions [Ja’far] in *Mçz;n al-I’tid;l* and says: “He related [reports] from ‘Alç, and Abf Mikhnaf narrated from him. [Ja’far] was with ‘Alç at ʿiffçn. Ibn ʿibb;n has mentioned him in *al-Thuq;t* and says: “It is not known who he is.”

Al-±abarç has narrated five reports from him. Two reports about ʿiffçn and other two concerning the Khaw;r;ij 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-‘Aizir. He narrated: the two sermons of the Imam (‘a) at al-Baiḥah and Dh£ °usam; the reply of Zuhair bin al-Qain to the Imam (‘a); and the verses [recited] by the Imam (‘a) and ±irimmī 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 *rijāl*. The author of *Lis̄n al-Mḥzn* mentions him and says: “His narrations are reliable. Ibn °ibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*.”^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£nir, or Kaisīn, or ‘Aq£Ÿi al-Maqbar£. He reported the verses [recited] by al-°usain (‘a) when he was leaving Madḥnah through one intermediary, namely ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musīliq bin Makhramah (*al-±abari*:٥:٣٤٢).

Al-Dhahab£ mentions him in *Mḥzn al-I’tidāl* and says: “He and his father were the companions of Ab£ Hurairah. He is

^١ *Lis̄n al-Mḥzn* (٤:١٧٩, ٣:٨٨ and ٢:٤٣٣).

reliable and an authority (*ʿujjah*). He [lived and] became very old, but was not deranged... He died in ١٢٥ H. He was a supporter of the Banī Tamām. Ibn ʿibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. According to al-ʿākim, he is reliable and trustworthy.”^١

According to *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, al-Wāqidī says: “He is reliable and a prolific narrator. He died in ١٠٠ H. Some say that [he died] during the rule of Walīd bin ʿAbd al-Malik. It is said that ʿUmar had put him in charge of digging graves. So he used to live in the graveyard area and thus came to be known as ʿal-Maqbarī.”^٢

Shaikh al-ʿaṣṣ mentions him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of ʿAlī and al-ʿusayn (ʿa), [but] by the name of Dānīr. His agnomen was Abī Saʿd and his title ʿAqāʿī. He was given this title because of a poem he had recited.”

Ibn Qudamah says in *al-Mughnī*: “He is al-Maqdisī, from al-Maqdis, the city of Prophet ʿIlyā.”

Al-ʿaḍī narrates in his *Amālī* through a chain of narration going back to Abī Saʿd ʿAqāʿī who said: “[I relate] from al-ʿusayn who was reporting from his father, who narrated the Prophet (ﷺ) saying to him: “O ʿAlī! 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 (*imamah*). [O ʿAlī] I am the bearer of revelation (*tanzīl*) and you are [responsible] for its interpretation (*taʾwīl*). You and I are the [two] fathers of this Ummah. You are my trustee, successor, vizier, inheritor and the father of

^١ *Maʿzīn al-Iʿtidāl* (٢:١٣٩).

^٢ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (٨:٤٥٣).

^٣ *Rijāl al-ʿaṣṣ* (pg. ٤٠٠; Najaf edition).

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my offspring. Your followers (*shġ'atuka*) are my followers.”

٢. ‘Uqbah bin Sim’īn. He narrated the following: the departure of the Imam (‘a) from Madġnah; his meeting with ‘Abdullah bin Mušġ’ al-‘Adawġ; his arrival in Makkah (*al-ṭabari*:٣٥١); the conversation of Ibn ‘Abbas and Ibn al-Zubair with the Imam (‘a) when he was leaving Makkah (٣٨٣); the report about the messengers of ‘Amru bin Sa’ġd al-‘aṣ al-Ashdaq, the then governor of Makkah, to al-‘usain (‘a), asking him to return to Makkah; the report on the Yemeni dye (*waras*) at Tan’ġm (٣٨٥); the conversation of ‘Alġ bin al-‘usain [al-Akbar] with his father after they left Qaṣr Banġ Muqītil; the arrival of al-‘usain (‘a) at Nainawġ; the coming of the messenger of Ibn Ziyġd with his letter to ‘urr; al-‘usain’s camping at Nainawġ; the arrival of ‘Umar bin Sa’d (٤٠٧-٤٠٩); and the proposal of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Sa’d (٤١٣).

All these reports were related [by Abġ Mikhnaḡ] through one intermediary, namely ‘ġrith bin Ka’b al-Wġlibġ al-Hamdġnġ. This [also] backs the fact that Abġ Mikhnaḡ used to report only those parts of a report which were relevant to the occasion he was treating (*taqṣġ’*).

٣. Mu’ammad bin Bishr al-Hamdġnġ. The reports he narrated are: the gathering of the Shġ‘ah in Kġfah at the house of Sulaimġn bin ‘urad al-Khuzġ’ġ after the death of Mu’ġwiyah; the speech of Sulaimġn; their letters to al-‘usain (‘a); Imam’s reply to them through Muslim bin ‘Aqġl (*al-ṭabari*:٣٥٢-٣٥٣); the letter of Muslim to al-‘usain (‘a) on his way to Kġfah and the latter’s reply to him; Muslim’s arrival in Kġfah; the frequent visits of the Shġ‘ah to Muslim at the house of Mukhtġr (٣٥٤-٣٥٥); and Ibn Ziyġd’s sermon after the martyrdom of Hġni’ bin ‘Urwah (٣٦٨).

All these reports were transmitted through one link, namely °ajjj bin ‘Alç al-Bıriqç al-Hamdınç.

[Al-Bıriqç] was present in the gathering of the Shç‘ah [in Kçfah] at the house of Sulaimın bin ˘urad. He says: “We then mentioned the death of Mu’ıwiyah and expressed our gratitude to Allah for that. Then Sulaimın 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.” (°:٣٥٤-٣٥٥).

He was also present in the meeting of the Shç‘ah with Muslim at Mukhtır’s place, but he did not pay allegiance to him out of fear of being killed. °ajjj bin ‘Alç 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]!’” (°:٣٥٥).

The author of *Lisın al-Mçzın* says that Ab£ °ıtim used to say: “He is Mu‘ammad bin al-Sı’ib al-Kalbç al-Kçfç, when his lineage is traced back to his grandfather. Otherwise, he is [known as] Mu‘ammad bin al-Sı’ib bin Bishr.”^١

Al-£sç has mentioned him in his *Rijl* among the companions of Imam al-Bıqir and al-˘ıdiq (‘a).^٢

£. Ab£ al-Waddık Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdınç. He reported: the

^١ *Lisın al-Mçzın* (°:٩٤).

^٢ *Rijl al-£sç* (pg ١٣٦ & ٢٨٩). ±abarç mentions him in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg. ٦٥١; Dır Suwaidın publications), quoting from *al-±abaqıt* of Ibn Sa’d (٦:٣٥٨), and says that he died in Kçfah in the year ١٤٦ H during the rule of Man¥£r.

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speech of Nu'mān bin Bashṣr al-Anṣīrī -the governor of Kḥfah for Mu'jwiyah and Yazḥd; the letters of the people of Kḥfah to Yazḥd (*al-ṭabari*: ٣٥٥-٣٥٦); Ibn Ziyād's address in Kḥfah (٣٥٨-٣٥٩); Muslim's transfer to the house of H̥nī' bin 'Urwah; the spying of Ma'qal al-Sh̥mḥ on Muslim by the order of Ibn Ziyād; Ibn Ziyād's visit to H̥nī' when he was sick; the proposal of 'Umīrah bin 'Ubaid al-Saḥlī to kill Ibn Ziyād; the disagreement of H̥nī' about that; Ibn Ziyād's visit to Sharḥk bin al-A'war al-ʿirithḥ al-Hamdīnḥ at H̥nī's house and the signal given by Sharḥk to Muslim to kill Ibn Ziyād; Muslim's refusal of that due to the disapproval of H̥nī'; Ibn Ziyād's call on H̥nī', beating and imprisoning him; the arrival of 'Amru bin al-ʿajjī al-Zubaidīyy with the distinguished men from the Madhīj and their horsemen; and the meeting of Shuraiḥ al-Qīḥ with H̥nī' and his informing [H̥nī's] kinsmen about the latter's safety (٣٦١-٣٦٧).

[Abī Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Abī al-Waddīk] through a person called Numair bin Wa'lah al-Hamdīnḥ, except for the last report which was through Mua'llī bin Kulaib.

His complete name has appeared in his report about Imam 'Alī's speech at Nukhailah after he had lost all hopes in guiding the Khawārij (٣٧٨). It seems that he was in Kḥfah after the martyrdom of al-ʿusain ('a). He rebuked Ayyf̥b bin Mashraḥ al-Khayawīnḥ for laming the horse of ʿurr, 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-Dhahabġ mentions him in *Mġẓġn al-I'tidġl* and says: “[He was] the colleague of Abġ Sa'ġd al-Khuġrġ and well known for his truthfulness.”^١

The author of *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* says: “Ibn ʾibbġn has brought him in *al-Thuġġt*. Ibn Ma'ġn says that he is reliable. According to al-Nassġġġ, he was pious. He has also narrated [reports] from him in his *Sunan*.”^٢

٥. Abġ ʾUthmġn al-Nahdġ. He reported: the letter of Imam al-ʾusain (ʾa) to the people of Baʿġrah; the appointment of ʾUthmġn, Ibn Ziyġd's brother, by Ibn Ziyġd as his deputy over Baʿġrah; and Ibn Ziyġd's arrival in Kġfah (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٣٥٧-٣٥٨). [Abġ Mikhnaf narrated these reports] through one intermediary, namely ʾaq'ab bin Zuhair.

Abġ ʾUthmġn was among the companions of Mukhtġr and was appointed by him, upon his arrival in Kġfah to see Ibn Muṣġġ, [as the guardian] over the weak people at Sabkhah (٥:٢٢&٢٩).

The author of *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* mentions him and says that he was from [the tribe of] Quġġ'ah and lived during the times of the Prophet (ﷺ), though he did not see him. He was residing in Kġfah and thereafter went to Baʿġrah after the martyrdom of al-ʾusain (ʾa). [Abġ ʾUthmġn] was in charge of the monthly stipends of his people. He performed *ʾajj* and *ʾumrah* sixty times. He used to spend the night in prayers and

^١ *Mġẓġn al-I'tidġl* (٤:٥٨٤; Aleppo edition)

^٢ *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* (٢:٦٠) and in *Tanġġ' al-Maqġl* (٣:٢٧).

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

٦. ‘Abdullah bin Kḥizim al-Katḥṛḡ al-Azḍḡ. He narrated, through Ỵf̣suf bin Yaẓḡd, the uprising of Muslim (‘a) and the giving of the banners by him (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٣٦٧-٣٦٨). He also reported the people’s betrayal of Muslim (٥:٣٧٠-٣٧١) through Sulaiṃn bin Aḅḡ Ṛshid.

[‘Abdullah] was among those who paid allegiance to Muslim (‘a) and was sent by him to inquire about Ḥj̣nī’ [bin ‘Urwah] in the palace [of Ibn Ziỵd]. Then he became among those who betrayed Muslim and al-ʿusain (‘a) (٥:٣٦٨-٣٦٩). Later [‘Abdullah] repented along with the Tawẉḡḡf̣n and joined their uprising (٥:٥٨٣) until he was killed (٥:٦٠١).

٧. ‘Abḅis -or ‘Ayỵish- bin Ja’dah al-Judaḷḡ. He related: the uprising of Muslim (‘a) and how the people abandoned him, and the stand of Ibn Ziỵd (٥:٣٦٩), through one intermediary by the name of Ỵf̣nus bin Aḅḡ Iṣḷiq al-Suḅḡḡḡ al-Hamḍṇḡ.

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-Raḡṃn bin Aḅḡ ‘Umair al-Thaqaf̣ḡ. He reported the offer made to Mukhṭr to come under the safe-conduct granted by Ibn Ziỵd.

٩. Ẓj̣idah bin Quḍmah al-Thaqaf̣ḡ. He narrated: the coming out of Muḡammad bin al-Ash’ath against Muslim, the captivity of Muslim, (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٣٧٣) and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way it was] granted (٥:٣٧٥).

^١ Ibid, (٦:٢٧٧).

Al-ṭabarṣī names him as Qudjmaḥ bin Zijdah bin Qudjmaḥ al-Thaqafī.

The editor of this work says: I have found that Zijdah bin Qudjmaḥ, the grandfather of Qudjmaḥ bin Saʿd, was the one who was in direct contact with the events in Kḥfah. With regard his grandson, Qudjmaḥ bin Saʿd, Shaikh al-ṭṭṣī has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-ḥidīq (ʿa).¹ Therefore, it is more appropriate to put the chain of narrators this way: “Qudjmaḥ bin Saʿd narrates from Zijdah bin Qudjmaḥ al-Thaqafī...”

The grandfather of Qudjmaḥ was Zijdah bin Qudjmaḥ al-Thaqafī, the chief of the police in Kḥfah in the year ٥٨ H, under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Umm al-ʿakam al-Thaqafī, the governor of Muʿjwiyah bin Abī Sufyān after the Year of Unity (ʿim al-jamʿiyyah) (٥٣١). He was together with ʿAmru bin ʿuraith when the safe-conduct from ʿUbaidullah bin Ziyād was made public in Kḥfah after the uprising of Muslim bin ʿAqīl (ʿa), thus he interceded on behalf of Mukhtār, his cousin (٥٧١).

[Ibn Qudjmaḥ] was the one who took the letter of Mukhtār from the prison of Ibn Ziyād in Kḥfah to ʿAbdullah bin ʿUmar, the husband of Mukhtār’s sister, ʿafīyyah bint Abī ʿUbaid al-Thaqafī, requesting him to intercede with Yazīd on his behalf. Accordingly, Ibn Ziyād freed him, but wanted to punish Ibn Qudjmaḥ for this action of his, but he fled [the city] until after he was granted protection [from Ibn Ziyād] (٥٧١).

[Ibn Qudjmaḥ] was among those people of Kḥfah who paid allegiance to ʿAbdullah bin Muṣṣāʿ al-ʿAdawī, Ibn al-

¹ *Rijāl al-ṭṭṣī* (pg. ٢٧٥; Najaf edition).

Zubair's governor in Kffah. Ibn Muşç' sent him in pursuit of Mukhtjr, so he informed [Mukhtjr] about this but he did not pay heed (٦:١١). [In fact,] the uprising of Mukhtjr in Kffah began from the garden of Zijdah at Sabkhah (٦:٧٧). Mukhtjr had sent to unseat 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Ra'm:n al-Makhzfmç, Ibn al-Zubair's governor in Kffah, and he managed to do so through bribery and threat (٦:٧٧).

Later, Zijdah joined 'Abd al-Malik bin Marw:n and fought Muş'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 Mukhtjr (٦:١٥٩). Thereafter, °ajjj sent him with two thousand men to fight Shabçb al-Khrijç at Rfdbjr. He fought him until he was killed [by Shabçb] in the year ٧٦ H, while his companions surrounded him [helplessly] (٦:٢٤٦).

Thus, it becomes evident that Qudjmah bin Sa'çd bin Zijdah from whom Abç Mikhnaç narrates this report [i.e. the one about Muslim], was not in direct contact with the events of Kffah during the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aqçl.

And, perhaps, the chain of narration should read as such: 'Qudjmah bin Sa'çd narrated to me from Zijdah bin Qudjmah...'; for Zijdah was with 'Amrç bin °uraith as we have seen, so he must have been narrating to his grandson, Qudjmah bin Sa'çd, the report about Ibn Ziy:d's sending of Muçammad bin Ash'ath to Muslim ('a).

١٠. 'Umjrah bin 'Uqbah bin Abç Mu'çç al-Umawç. 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'çd bin 'Umjrah bin 'Uqbah.

The author of *Taqrçb al-Tahdhçb* says that: "[Umjrah] was

reliable and died in ١١٦ H.”

١١. ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin al-ʿurīth bin Hishām al-Makhzūmī. [Abū Mikhnaf] reports from him, through ‘aq’ab bin al-Zuhair, what he said to Imam al-ʿusain (‘a) as the latter was departing from Makkah (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٣٨٢).

‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair had appointed [‘Umar] as his governor over Kḥfah during the time of Mukhtār, but the latter drove him away through bribery and threats (٦:٧١). The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* says regarding him: “Ibn ʿibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt* and says that he has narrated reports from a group of companions.”^١

١٢. ‘Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhar bin al-Mushma’il, who were both from the Banī Asad. They reported: the conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with Imam al-ʿusain (‘a) which took place between the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) and the door [of the Ka’bah] (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٣٨٤); the meeting of Farazdaq with the Imam (‘a) (٥:٣٨٦); and the news of the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl (‘a) at Tha’labiyyah (٥:٣٩٧-٣٩٨). [Abū Mikhnaf narrated these reports from them] through two links: Abū Janīb Ya’yī bin Abū ʿayyāh al-Wadā’ī al-Kalbī, who related from ‘Adiyy bin ʿarmalah al-Asadī.

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

١٣. Imam ‘Alī bin al-ʿusain (‘a). He reported: the letter of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far to Imam al-ʿusain (‘a) which he sent through his two sons, ‘Aun and Muḥammad; the letter of

^١ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (٧:٤٧٧) and *Khulṣah Tadhhīb Tahdhīb al-Kamīl* (pg. ٢٨٤).

‘Amru bin Sa’ūd al-Ashdaq to the Imam (‘a) through his brother, Ya’yī, and the reply of the Imam (‘a). [Abf Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Ibn al-°usain] through one link, °jirith bin Ka’b al-Wjlib (°:٣٨٧-٣٨٨).

١٤. Bakr bin Mu¥’ab al-Muzn. [Abf Mikhnaf reports from him] the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin Yuq§ur and the report about what transpired at Zubjlah [on the way to Kffah], through Abf ‘Al. al-An¥jir (al-±abari:°:٣٩٨-٣٩٩).

The identity of both Bakr and Abf ‘Al is unknown.

١٥. Fazjriyy. He narrated the report on [how] Zuhair bin al-Qain jouined al-°usain (‘a), through al-Sudd. The text reads: “A man from the Banf Fazjrah [said]...” (al-±abari:°:٣٩٦).

١٦. ±irimmj bin ‘Adiyy. [Abf Mikhnaf relates a report concerning ±irimmj’s meeting with the Imam (‘a)] through Jam. bin Marthad al-Ghanaw (al-±abari:°:٤٠٦).

He met al-°usain (‘a) [on his way to Kffah]. 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-±f. counts him among the companions of ‘Al (‘a) and al-°usain (‘a). Al-Mjmqj. mentions him saying that he was reliable and that he succeeded in [coming back and] helping the Imam (‘a). He sustained injuries [in Karbalj] but was [later] cured and died after that. [However,] he has not mentioned the source for it.¹

¹ *Tanq. al-Maqjl* (٢:١٠٩). As we said earlier, the source of this assertion is the current *Maqtal* which is ascribed to Abf Mikhnaf. This is the report on which Mu’addith al-Qum has commented in *Nafas al-Mahm.£m* (pg. ١٩٥).

١٧. 'amir bin Sharjil bin 'Abd al-Sha'b al-Hamdj nç. [Abf Mikhnaf narrates from him] the report about Qaŕr Banç Muqtil, through Mujlid bin Sa'çd (*al-ṭabari*: ٥: ٤٠٧).

['amir] was born in ٢١ H (٤: ١٤٥). His mother was among the prisoners of Jalwalj' in the year ١٦ H. He and his father were the first to respond to Mukhtjr (٦: ١٥), and they both testified that Mukhtjr was on the right (٦: ١٧). Both he and his father came out in the streets of Madjin with Mukhtjr [and his followers] in the year ٦٧ H (٦: ٩١). After the death of Mukhtjr, ['amir] joined 'ajjij and used to be with him (٦: ٣٢٧). In ٨٢ H, he revolted against 'ajjij under 'Abd al-Ra'mj n bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindç (٦: ٣٥٠). When the later was defeated, ['amir] joined Qutaibah bin Muslim, 'ajjaj's governor over Rayy. [Qutaibah] asked for safe-conduct for him and [accordingly] 'ajjij granted him protection (٦: ٣٧٤). He continued to live until he took over the judgeship of Kffah for Yazçd bin 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwj n during the time of 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azçz, ٩٩-١٠١ H.

He was one of those who abandoned Muslim ('a) and al-'usain ('a) and did not accompany the latter. Abf Mikhnaf narrates from him through an incomplete chain of transmission (*mursalan*). He died suddenly in ١٠٤ H in Kffah as reported in *al-Kunj wa al-Alqjb* (٧: ٣٢٨). ṭabarç has related ١١٤ narrations from him in his *Tjrkçh*. The author of *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* mentions him and narrates from al-'Ajalç that al-Sha'bç heard narrations from forty eight companions [of the Prophet (Ŷ)] and lived during the time of 'Alç ('a). It has also been said that he died in the year ١١٠ H.^١

^١ *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (٥: ٦٥).

١٨. °assīn bin Fī'id bin Bukair al-‘Abṣ. [Abʔ Mikhnaf narrates from him] Ibn Sa'd's letter to Ibn Ziyīd and his reply to the former, through Naʔr bin ʔīlih bin °aḅb bin Zuhair al-‘Abṣ. The text reads: “I testify that the letter of ‘Umar bin Sa'd reached ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyīd and I was with him. [Ibn Ziyīd] said...” (*al-±abari*: ٥: ٤١١).

[°assīn] was among those who fought Mukhtīr and his followers along side Rīshid bin Ayīs, the head of the bodyguards of ‘Abdullah bin Muṣ̌' al-‘Adaẉ, Abdullah bin Zubair's governor in Ḳfah (٦: ٢٦). He was with Ibn Muṣ̌' during the siege of the palace [in Ḳfah] (٦: ٣١). He was killed in the outskirts of Ḳfah in ٦٤ H with the followers of Ibn Muṣ̌' (٦: ٤٩).

The author of *Tahdḥb al-Tahdḥb* writes: “Ibn °ibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt*. Regarding the meaning of [the word] *al-jibt* which has appeared in [verse ٥١ of] Ṣrat al-Nisī', al-Bukhīṛ narrates from Shu'bah, who related from Abʔ Isīq al-Suḅ'̣, who in turn was reporting from [°assīn], that ‘Umar bin al-Khaššīb said: ‘*Al-jibt* means sorcery (*si/r*).’ Al-Bukhīṛ [then] says: ‘He is counted among the Kufans.’”^١

١٩. Abʔ ‘Umīrah al-‘Abṣ. [Abʔ Mikhnaf narrates from him] through Abʔ Ja'far al-‘Abṣ: the words of Ya'yī bin al-°akam bin al-°aʔ and the report about [what transpired in] the court of Yaẓd (*al-±abari*: ٥: ٤٦٠ - ٤٦١).

٢٠. Qīsim bin Bukhait. He related reports about the heads [of the martyrs] in Damascus; the speech of Ya'yī bin al-°akam ibn al-°aʔ, the brother to Marwīn; the words of Hind, the wife of Yaẓd; and the poking of Yaẓd at the teeth of al-

^١ *Tahdḥb al-Tahdḥb* (٢: ٢٥١).

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°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£ (°:£٦°).

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£ ±ilib (*al-±abari*:°:£٦٦).

[Ab£ Kan£d] was the governor of K£fah for Ziy;d bin Ab£h (°:٢£٦). Later, he became among the followers of Mukht;r and claimed to have killed Shamir (٦:°٣). ±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*:°:£٦١-£٦٢).

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;liq 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*:°:٣£٢).

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

ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Rahman has narrated fifteen reports from him [in his *Tarikh*] through ʿAbd al-Malik bin Qais al-Fihri, who was relating from [ʿAbd al-Malik], who reported from some other person. Most of these reports are about Ibn al-Zubair's revolt in Makkah, the revolt of ʿAbdullah bin ʿAbd al-Rahman in Madinah, and the event of ʿAbd al-Rahman's death.

He related one of these reports from his father, Naufal (d. 70), the other from ʿAbdullah bin ʿUrwah (d. 75) and the third one from ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Rahman, who was among the associates of the Banu Umayyah (d. 75). He narrated the other seven reports from ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Rahman, also an associate of the Banu Umayyah and the standard bearer of Marwan bin al-Hakam (d. 75 & 76). His last narration was from Saʿd bin ʿAmr bin Saʿd bin al-ʿAbd al-Ashdaq (d. 77).

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

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

He has been considered as reliable in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (٥:٤٢٨) and [also] in *al-Kāshif* of al-Dhahabī (٢:٢١٦).

In the first part of [his book] *al-Khulʿah*, ‘Allīmah al-ʿillā counts him among the companions of ‘Alī (‘a).’ Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mʿzjn al-Iʿtidāl* and says: “He has narrated [reports] from ‘Alī (‘a).” He then says: “He is reliable and his name was Dānīr. He was a Shāh and he died in ١٢٠ H.”^{٢٧}

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* writes: “Al-Wiqidī says that he was a reliable person and has narrated many reports,

¹ *Al-Khuljyah* (pg. ۱۹۳).

1 *Məczjn al-ʿİtidil* (٢:١٢٩ and ٣:٨٨). In a report which has appeared in *Kjmil al-Ziyrah* of Ibn Qŕlawayh (pg. ٢٣) and whose chain of narration ends at [Abŕ Sa'ŕd], 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 than at a span from it; and it is dearer to me to be killed on the banks [of the Euphrates] than to be killed in [this] °aram." Based on this chain of narration, [Abŕ Sa'ŕd] directly heard [the words of] the Imam ('a), contrary to the manner Abŕ Mikhnaf narrates [the report] from him. [Anyhow,] *al-Kjmil* is more complete (*akmal*) [and correct in case of contradiction between what has appeared in it and what Abŕ Mikhnaf has narrated].

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

It is said that ‘Umar [bin al-Khaṣṣ;ib] 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-Maqbarḥ’ (Λ:٤٥٣). This view has appeared in *Lis;n al-Mḥz;n* also (٣:٤٢٢).

٣. ‘Abd al-Raḥm;n bin Jundab al-Azdḥ. He has narrated all his reports from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’;n. ṁabarḥ has related from him around thirty reports about the battles of Jamal, ʾiffḥn, Nahraw;n and [reports on the event of] Karbal;’, which he narrated from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’;n.

[Ibn Jundab] has directly narrated reports about ʾajj;j. He fought Shabḥb, the Kh;rijḥ, with the army of ʾajj;j alongside Z;jidah bin Qud;jmah al-Thaqafḥ at Rḥdb;r, in the year ٧٦ H (*Al-ṁabari*:٦:٢٤٤). He was taken as a prisoner and paid allegiance to Shabḥb out of fear (٦:٢٤٦). [Later,] he returned to Kḥfah and was present in the city when ʾajj;j addressed [the people] with the intention of dispatching an army, for the second time, against Shabḥb in ٧٧ H (٦:٢٦٢).

Al-Ardabḥlḥ, quoting from *al-Rij;l al-Waḥṣṣ* of Astar;b;dḥ, counts [‘Abd al-Raḥm;n] among the companions of ‘Alḥ (‘a).’ Al-‘Asqal;nḥ mentions him in *Lis;n al-Mḥz;n* and says: “He has narrated [reports] from Kumail bin Ziy;d, and Abḥ ʾamzah al-Thum;lḥ has reported from him.”^١

^١ *J;mi’ al-Ruw;t* (١:٤٤٧).

^٢ *Lis;n al-Mḥz;n* (٣:٤٠٨; Haiderabad edition).

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٤. °ajjj bin ‘Alç al-Bıriqç al-Hamdınç. He has narrated all his reports from Mu’ammad bin Bishr al-Hamdınç (see the fourth list, no. ٣). Of the reports that ±abarç has related from him [in his *Tırçkh*], none of his reports are from other than Ibn Bishr. The author of *Lisjn al-Mçzjn* mentions him and says: “A great personality (*shaikh*) from whom Ab£ Mikhnaf has narrated.”^١

٥. Numair bin Wa’lah al-Hamdınç al-Yanı’ç. He narrated [reports] from Ab£ al-Waddık Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdınç, Ayy£b bin Mashra’ al-Khayawınç and Rabç’ bin Tamçm al-Hamdınç.

±abarç has narrated ten reports from him [in his *Tırçkh*], the last of which is from al-Sha’bç about °ajjj’s court in the year ٨٠ H (*al-±abari*: ٦: ٣٢٨).

Al-‘Asqalınç mentions him in *Lisjn al-Mçzjn* saying: “He has narrated [reports] from al-Sha’bç and Ab£ Mikhnaf from him.”^٢ The same [assertion] has appeared in *al-Mughnç*.^٣

٦. °aq’ab bin Zuhair al-Azdç. He transmitted reports from Ab£ ‘Uthmın al-Nahdç, ‘Aun bin Abç Ju’aifah al-Sawıç, ‘Abd al-Ra’ımın bin Shurai’ al-Ma’ıfırç al-Iskandarınç -who died in Alexandria in ١٦٧ H as reported in *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (*al-±abari*: ٦: ١٩٣), ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Ra’ımın bin al-°ırıth bin Hishım al-Makhz£mç and °umaid bin Muslim.

±abarç narrates twenty reports from him [in his *Tırçkh*], all

^١ Ibid, (٣: ١٧٨).

^٢ Ibid, (٦: ١٧١).

^٣ *Al-Mughnç* (٣: ٧٠١; Dır al-Da’wah publications).

of which are through Abġ Mikhnaf who was relating them from [ʿaqʿab]. Three of these reports are about the death of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). [ʿaqʿab] was present with ʿAlġ (ʿa) at ʿiffġn and thus related the words of ʿAmmġr bin Yġsir (ﻭ:٣٨). He also narrated the report about the martyrdom of ʿujr bin ʿAdiyy (ﻭ:٢٥٣). Nine of these [reports] are pertaining to the event of Karbalġʿ and [another] three about Mukhtġr.

The author of *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* says: “Ibn ʿibbġn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqġt*. Abġ Zarʿah says that he was reliable, while according to Abġ ʿġtim, he is a master (*shaikh*) who is not renowned.”^١

It has appeared in the footnote of the book *Khulġġah Tadhhġb Tahdhġb al-Kamġl* that Abġ Zarʿah has attested to his reliability.^٢

٢. Muʿallġ bin Kulaib al-Hamdġnġ. He narrated [reports] from Abġ al-Waddġk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdġnġ (see the fourth list, no. ٤).

٣. Yġsuf bin Yazġd bin Bakr al-Azdġ. He related [reports] from ʿAbdullah bin Khġzim al-Azdġ and ʿAfġf bin Zuhair bin Abġ al-Akhnas.

His full name has appeared in *al-ṭabarġ* (٦:٢٨٤), from whom he has reported fifteen reports. He lived until after the year ٧٧ H. Al-Dhahabġ mentions him in *Mġzġn al-Iʿtidġl* and says: “He was truthful and noble. He was from Baġrah. A group [of narrators] have related [reports] from him. He has been

^١ *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* (٤:٤٣٢).

^٢ *Al-Khulġġah* (pg. ١٧٦; Dġr al-Daʿwah publications).

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

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* writes: “Ibn ʿibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. Al-Maqdisī says that he was reliable. According to Abī ʿītim, his narrations can be recorded.”^٢ He has mentioned in *Khuljāh Tadhīb al-Kamīl* also.^٣

١. Yūnus bin Abī Isḥāq, ‘Amru bin ‘Abdullah al-Subḥī al-Hamdīnī al-Kāfī. He reported from ‘Abbās bin Ju’dah al-Jadalī about his coming out with Muslim bin ‘Aqīl (‘a) with four thousand [men].

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

“The fact that his father, Abī Isḥāq ‘Amru bin ‘Abdillah al-Subḥī al-Hamdīnī was a Shāh has been asserted by Ibn Qutaibah in his *al-Ma’rīf* and al-Shahristānī in *al-Milāl wa al-Ni’āl*. He was among the leading scholars in ‘adab, whose stands in theological (*uṣūl*) and juridical (*furū’*) matters have not been praised [and approved] by the Nawāyib; this is because they adhered, in these issues, to the path of the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) and were devoted in following them in everything related to the religion.

This is why al-Juzjānī says [about him] -as it appears in the

^١ *Mūzīn al-I’tidāl* (٤:٤٧٥).

^٢ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (١١:٤٢٩).

^٣ *Al-Khuljāh* (pg. ٤٤٠).

biography of Zubaid in *Məzjn al-I'tidil*^١: ‘There was a group from among the people of Kəfah whose religious views [and beliefs] were not applauded by the people. [This group comprised] the leading scholars of ʾadəth in Kəfah, such as Abʿ Isʿiq, Manʿər, Zubaid al-Yimə, al-Aʾmash 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 Nawjib were reluctant to accept the *mursal* narrations of Abʿ Isʿiq was ‘Umar bin Ismʿəl’s report which he narrated from Abʿ Isʿiq [himself], as reported in *Məzjn al-I'tidil* under his biography.’ [Abʿ Isʿiq] says that the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) said: ‘The example of ‘Alə is that of a tree whose root is me and its branch is ‘Alə. Al-ʾasan and al-ʾusain are its fruits, and the Shə‘ah are its leaves.’”

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dən further adds: “Al-Mughərah did not say what has been reported in *Məzjn al-I'tidil* that ‘None other than Abʿ Isʿiq and al-Aʾmash have spoiled the ʾadəth of the people of Kəfah’^٢, or ‘Abʿ Isʿiq and your Uʾaimash^٣ have destroyed the Kufans’^٤, except for the reason that they were Shə‘ah and sincere to the progeny of Muḥammad (ﷺ), and that they used to preserve what has come in the Sunnah of their virtues, peace be upon them.”

^١ *Məzjn al-I'tidil* (٢:٦٦; Aleppo edition).

^٢ Ibid, (٢:٢٤٦).

^٣ Ibid, (٢:٢٧٠).

^٤ Uʾaimash is the diminutive noun of Aʾmash. It has been used here by al-Mughərah for the purpose of belittling the personality of Aʾmash.

^٥ Ibid, (٢:٢٢٤).

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn then says: “The authors of the *‘i/ī’* and others have adduced the narrations of each of these two [i.e. Abī Isḥāq and Aʿmash] as proofs.”¹

According to *al-Wafayit*, Abŧ Isŧiq was born three years before the end of the caliphate of ‘Uthmŧn, that is in ٢٢ H, and he died in ١٢٢ H, as reported by Ibn Ma’ŧn and al-Madŧnŧ.

His son, Yfñus bin Abç Isiq, has narrated [reports] from him. [Yfñus] died in the year ١٥٩ H while he was in his ninties, if not above that, as reported by *Mçzin al-I'tidjl*.^١ He is the one who related to Abç Mikhnaf the report on the uprising of Muslim [‘a] in Kffah from ‘Abbjs bin Ja’dah. There is another report by [Yfñus] in *al-±abarç*, apart from this one, regarding the dispatching of troops by Ibn Ziyd to besiege al-°usain (‘a) before his arrival in Kffah; though he does not specify from whom he was narrating it (٥:٣٩٤). ±abarç has narrated another eleven reports from him [in *al-Tjrçkh*] through Abç Mikhnaf, and other thirteen reports through other than Abç Mikhnaf.

The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* says: “Ibn ʿibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. Ibn Maʿḥūn says that he is reliable. According to Abū ʿĪtim, he was truthful. Al-Nassāʿī says that there is no objection about him. According to Ibn ʿAdīyy, he has agreeable (*ḥisn*) narrations and people have related from him.” He then says: “He died in the year ١٥٩

¹ *Al-Murjja'it* (pg. 111; al-Idiq publications).

⁷ *Mezjn al-Itidjl* (٤:٤٨٣).

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١٠. Sulaimīn bin Abū Rīshid al-Azdī. He narrated [reports] from ‘Abdullah bin Khizim al-Bakrī al-Azdī, ‘Umaid bin Muslim al-Azdī and Abī al-Kanīd ‘Abd al-Ra‘mīn bin ‘Ubaid.

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

١١. Mujlid bin Sa‘īd al-Hamdīnī. He narrated from ‘amir al-Sha‘bī al-Hamdīnī his report about the [the events] of Qaṣr Banī Muqītil (*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 ‘Aqīl by the people [of Kūfah] and his loneliness, his entering the house of ±aw‘ah, the speech of Ibn Ziyād, the [disclosure of the] news by Bilāl bin ±aw‘ah and the dispatch of Ibn al-Ash‘ath by Ibn Ziyād to fight Muslim (‘a) (٥: ٣٧١-٣٧٣).

±abarī has narrated seventy reports from him [in his *Tirēkh*], most of which are from al-Sha‘bī. Abī Mikhnaf describes him as *al-mu‘addith* [i.e. the narrator] (٥: ٤١٣).

Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Māzīn al-I‘tidāl* and says: “He was well-known and was a narrator. According to al-Ashba‘, he was a Shā‘ah. Mujlid died in ١٤٣ H.” Al-Dhahabī then relates from al-Bukhārī that the latter, while mentioning the

^١ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (١: ٤٣٣).

biography of Mujlid, narrated from him [a report] which he related from al-Sha'b c , that Ibn 'Abb is said: "When F ij simah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ), was born, he named her al-Man af rah. So Jibr il descended [onto the Prophet (ﷺ)] and said: 'O Mu h 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 ij simah; as she will save (*tufa ṣṣ imu*) her followers (*sh c 'ah*) from the hell fire.'"¹

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

١٢. Qud im ah bin Sa' c d bin Z ij dah bin Qud im ah al-Thaqaf c . He related from his grandfather, Z ij dah bin Qud im ah, the coming out of Mu h ammad bin al-Ash'ath to fight and capture Muslim bin 'Aq il ('a), and [also Muslim's] request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way he] was given the water (*al- ṭ abari*: ٣٧٣ & ٣٧٥).

ṭ abar c mentions him [in his *T ir ḩkh*] 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 ff ah. Rather, it was his grandfather, Z ij dah, who witnessed the events and was in contact with them. He was in the company of 'Amru bin ur raith -who had raised the banner of safe-

¹ *M c z in al-I'tid il* (٣: ٤٣٨). It has been said that he died in the month of Dh c al- ij jah ١٤٣ or ١٤٤ H, as reported in *Tahdh c b al-Tahdh c b*.

Introduction

ΛΛ

conduct from Ibn Ziyāḍ at the central mosque of Kḥfah [for anyone who wished to abandon Ibn ‘Aqḥl]- when Ibn Ziyāḍ ordered them to send seventy men from [the tribe of] Qais with Muḥammad bin al-Ash’ath to fight Muslim (٥:٣٧٣). It was there that Ziyāḍ interceded [with Ibn Ziyāḍ] on behalf of his cousin Mukhtār (٥:٥٧٠).

With regard to Qudāmah bin Sa’ḥd [himself], Shaikh [al-ḥṣṣ] has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-ḥḍiq (‘a)’. His biography has been mentioned earlier [see the fourth list (no. ٩)].

١٣. Sa’ḥd bin Mudrik bin ‘Umīrah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abḥ Mu’iṣ al-Umawī. He narrated from his grandfather, ‘Umīrah 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 Ziyāḍ (٥:٣٧٦).

The text reads: “[Abḥ Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Sa’ḥd narrated to me... that ‘Umīrah bin ‘Uqbah...” This report implies that [Sa’ḥd] 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, ‘Umīrah.

Regarding this particular incident, we have given precedence to the report of Qudāmah bin Sa’ḥd -for reasons which we have mentioned in its appropriate place in this book- according to which it was [in fact] ‘Amru bin ʿuraith, and not ‘Umīrah, who brought the water [for Ibn ‘Aqḥl].

’ *Rijāl al-ḥṣṣ* (pg. ٢٧٥; Najaf edition).

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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*: °: 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 (°: 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 (°: ٣٨٠).

±abar£ has narrated twenty three reports from him [in his *T;rk£h*], nine of which are about the battles of Jamal, ʿiff£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).

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The author of *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* says: “Ibn ʿibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thuqāt*. According to Ibn Numair, Ibn Kharīsh, Abī Zurʿah and al-Sijḥ, he was from Kḥfah and was truthful. Abī Naʿḥm says that there is no objection about him, and he died in ١٥٠ H. According to Ibn Maʿẓn, he died in ١٤٧ H.”^١

١٥. ʿIrīth bin Kaʿb bin Fuqaim al-Walīb al-Azd al-Kḥf. He narrated [his reports] from ʿUqbah bin Simʿīn, ʿAlī bin al-ʿusain and Fīṣimah bint ʿAlī (ʿa).

[ʿIrīth] was among the followers of Mukhtār (*al-ṭabari*: ٦: ٢٣), but he changed his opinion after him and [believed] in the divine leadership (*imamah*) of ʿAlī bin al-ʿusain (ʿa) and began narrating from him (٥: ٣٨٧). It seems that he had moved from Kḥfah to Madīnah after he heard [narrations from] Imam Zayn al-ʿabīdīn and Fīṣimah bint ʿAlī (ʿa) (٥: ٤٦١).

Shaikh al-ṭūsī counted him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of ʿAlī bin al-ʿusain (ʿa). However, according to the Najaf edition of his *Rijāl*, he calls him ʿurr bin Kaʿb al-Azd al-Kḥf, whereas the editor [of that book] names him ʿʿIrīth’ in the footnote, quoting it from another transcript [of *Rijāl al-ṭūsī*], which is in fact the correct opinion.

١٦. Ismīʿīl bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Karḥmah al-Sudd al-Kḥf. He related from Fazīr the report about Zuhair bin al-Qain.

Al-Dhahabī writes in *Mʿzīn al-Iʿtidāl*: “He was accused of being a Shāh and that he used to revile Abī Bakr and

^١ *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (١١: ٢٠١).

‘Umar. Ibn ‘Adiyy says: I consider him trustworthy. Aḥmad says: he was reliable. According to Ya‘yī bin Sa‘ūd, I have not seen anyone mentioning al-Sudd except with good, and none has abandoned [his narrations]. Shu‘bah and al-Thaurī have narrated [reports] from him.”^١

±abarī has related eighty four reports from him [in his *Tārīkh*], reports concerning the events of after [even] ١٠٠ H.

According to *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*^٢ and *al-Kāshif*,^٣ he died in ١٢٧ H. He used to sit at the gate (*suddah*) of the central mosque in Kāfah, and thus came to be known as ‘al-Suddī’. He was an associate of the Quraish. He has [also] narrated [reports] from al-‘asan (‘a).

١٧. Abī ‘Alī al-Anṣārī. He related from Bakr bin Muḥ‘ab al-Muzniyy his report about the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin Yuṣṣur. This is the only report mentioned in *al-±abarī* from him. There is no mention of him [either] in the works of Rijāl.

١٨. Laḍḥīn. He narrated from his uncle the report of his meeting with al-‘usain (‘a) on his way [to Kāfah]. His identity is not known.

١٩. Jamāl bin Marthad al-Ghanawī. He related a report from ±irimmī bin ‘Adiyy al-±ijī.

٢٠. Abī Zuhair al-Naṣr bin ḥilīh bin ‘abī al-‘Absī. He reported from ‘assīn bin Fajid bin Bukair al-‘Absī his report

^١ *Məzīn al-Itidāl* (١:٢٢٦; Aleppo edition).

^٢ *Tahdhīb alTahdhīb* (١:٢١٢).

^٣ Ibid, (١:٢٢٦).

about the letter of Ibn Sa'd to Ibn Ziyad and the latter's reply; and also from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamemī his report regarding ʿurr [al-Riyāḥ].

[Abī Zuhair] has thirty one narrations in *al-ṭabarī*. He lived during the time of Mukhtar (*al-ṭabari*: ٦:٨١). He then came out with the army of Muḥab bin al-Zubair to fight Quṣriyy, the Kharijī, in ٦٨ H (٦:١٢٧). Later he became the gatekeeper of Muṣarrāf bin al-Mughṭarāh bin Shu'bah al-Thaqafī, the Kharijī, in Madīn in ٧٧ H. He was a submissive young man and used to stand by [Muṣarrāf's] head with his sword (٦:٢٨٧&٢٨٩). He fought the army of ʿajjāj along with Muṣarrāf in ٧٧ H (٦:٢٩٨) and then returned to Kḥfah (٦:٢٩٩).

Imam al-Riḥ mentions [Abī Zuhair] in his *al-Jur' wa al-Ta'dīl* and says: "I heard my father saying that: Abī Mikhnaf has narrated from him, while he was narrating from 'Alī ('a) through [some] links."^١

٢١. ʿurīth bin ʿuḥairah al-Azdī. He related [reports] from 'Abdullah bin Sharḥk al-'amīr al-Nahdī and [also] from 'Alī bin al-'usain ('a) through ['Abdullah].

Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Māzin al-I'tidāl* and says: "Abī A'ḥmad al-Zubairī says: 'He believed in the return of the pious (*raḥ'ah*). According to Ya'yī bin Ma'ḥn, he was reliable and was a *ḥashabī*, attributed to the 'wood' (*ḥashabah*) on which Zayd bin 'Alī was crucified [i.e. he was the follower of Zayd]. Ibn 'Adiyy says that he was among the fanatic Shā'ah in Kḥfah. Abī ʿitim al-Riḥ believes that he was among the early Shā'ah; he would have been forsaken had al-

^١ *Al-Jur' wa al-Ta'dīl* (٨:٤٧٧).

Thaurç not narrated reports from him.”^١

Al-Dhahabç narrates [a report] from ʾirith bin ʾuḡairah - when mentioning the biography of Nufayʾ bin al-ʾirith al-Nakhaʾç al-Hamd;ñç al-Kḡfç, the blind one- and [then] says: “He is truthful, but he is a *rjfiḡç* [i.e. a Shçʾah]. He has narrated a tradition from ʾImr;ñ bin ʾuḡain, who said: ‘I was sitting with the Prophet (ṡ) and ʾAlç was by his side when the Prophet (ṡ) 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. ʾAlç [started] shivering [upon hearing the verse]. So the Prophet (ṡ) 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

±abarç has narrated ten reports from him [in his *Tjrçkh*], all of which are through Abḡ Mikhnaf.

Shaikh al-±ḡsç has mentioned him in his *Rij;l* in the circle of the companions of Amçr al-Muʾminçñ [ʾAlç](ʾa).^٤

٢٢. ʾAbdullah bin ʾaḡim al-F;ishç al-Hamd;ñç. He related the reports of @a||;k bin ʾAbdullah al-Mushriqç al-Hamd;ñç.

Al-Ardabçlç says in *J;miʾ al-Ruwjt*: “There is a report in *al-K;fç* by [ʾAbdullah] from Imam al-ḡdiq (ʾa) concerning the

^١ *Mçz;ñ al-Iʾtid;l* (١:٤٣٢; Aleppo edition).

^٢ Qurʾan, ٢٧:٦٢.

^٣ *Mçz;ñ al-Iʾtid;l* (٤:٢٧٢).

^٤ *Rij;l al-±ḡsç* (pg. ٣٩; Najaf edition). He also mentions him among the companions of Imam al-B;qir (ʾa) as ʾirith bin ʾuḡain al-Azdç, which is incorrect.

time of *tayammum*. Al-‘Asqalīnī has mentioned him in *al-Tahdhīb*. According to *Baʿjir al-Darajit*, Abīn bin ‘Uthmīn and Ja’far bin Bashīr have narrated [reports] from him.”^١

٢٢. Abī al-ʿAllīk. He related the report about the night of ‘aṣḥarī’ from ‘Alī bin al-ʿusayn (‘a).

Al-Dhahabī has mentioned him *Mʿzīn al-Iʿtidāl* (٣:٥٤٠; Haiderabad edition) and al-‘Asqalīnī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (١٢:١٣٦) saying that Shuʿbah has reported from him.

٢٤. ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamalī. He related the report of the retainer of ‘Abd Rabbih al-Anṣarī, on the authority of Abī Ṭalī al-ʿanafī, regarding the joking of his master with Burair bin Khuṣair (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٤٢٣).

Al-Dhahabī has mentioned him in his *Mʿzīn al-Iʿtidāl* (٣:٢٨٨). So has al-‘Asqalīnī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (٨:١٠٢) and says: “Ibn ʿabbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt* and says that he died in ١١٦ H. Almad bin ʿanbal has commended him and says that he died in ١١٨ H. According to al-Bukhārī, he has narrated around two hundred traditions from ‘Alī (‘a). Shuʿbah says that he was the most learned [of the narrators]. Abī ʿitim maintains that he was truthful and reliable. According to Ibn Maʿẓn, he was reliable.”

٢٥. ‘Aṣī bin al-Sīb. He narrated the report of Masrūq bin Wjīl al-ʿaṣramī, on the authority of his brother ‘Abd al-Jabbār bin Wjīl al-ʿaṣramī, on the falling of Ibn ʿawzah at the beginning of the battle (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٤٣١).

^١ *Jamiʿ al-Ruwīt* (١:٤٩٤).

Al-‘Asqalīnġ refers to [‘Abd al-Jabbār] in *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* as ‘Abd al-Jabbār bin Wjīl. He then says: “He has narrated from his brother. Ibn ‘ibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt* and said that he died in ١١٢ H.”

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

The author of *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* writes that: “Ibn ‘ibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt*. So has Ibn Sa’d in his *al-ṭabaqāt* and said that he died in ١٣٧ H.”

٢٦. ‘Alġ bin ‘an‘alah bin As’ad al-Shabīmġ al-Hamdīnġ. He related the report of Kathġr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bġ al-Hamdīnġ about the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain (*al-ṭabari*:٥:٤٢٦).

‘Alġ bin ‘an‘alah is the same Ibn ‘an‘alah bin As’ad al-Shabīmġ, 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 Karbalī’, 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 Kathġr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bġ, the assassin of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

٢٧. ‘usain bin ‘Uqbah al-Murīdġ. He narrated from al-Zubaidiyy the attack launched by ‘Amru bin al-‘ajjīj al-Zubaidiyy [on the day of ‘aṣḥrī’].

٢٨. Abġ ‘amzah Thībit bin Dġnīr al-Thumīlġ. He related

from Q̣isim bin Bukhait, on the authority of ‘Abdullah al-Thuṃiḷ, his report about the captives in Sḥim (°:٤٦°). Aḅ amzah is too renowned to be mentioned here.

٢٩. Aḅ Ja’far al-‘Abṣ. He related the report of Aḅ ‘Uṃrah al-‘Abṣ about the verses recited by Ya’ỵ bin al-°akam.

These were the twenty nine people who served as links between Aḅ 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 ‘Aḷ bin al-°usain, Zain al-‘^abiḍn (‘a). He narrated the letter of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far to Imam al-°usain (‘a), through his two sons ‘Aun and Muḥammad; the letter of ‘Amru bin Saḍ bin al-‘^a al-Ashdaq, through his brother Ya’ỵ bin Saḍ al-‘^a, to al-°usain (‘a) -as he was departing from Makkah- and his reply to him. Aḅ Mikhnaf related this through °irith bin Ka’b al-Ẉliḅ al-Azḍ, who was reporting it from ‘Aḷ bin al-°usain (‘a) (*al-ṭabari*:°:٣٨٧-٣٨٨). [Another narration from al-Saj̣id (‘a) was] Imam al-°usain’s request for respite for the night of ‘^asḥṛ and the speech he delivered to his companions. Aḅ Mikhnaf was narrating this from °irith al-Azḍ, who related it from ‘Abdullah bin Shaṛk al-‘^amiṛ al-Nahḍ, and he from Imam Zain al-‘^abiḍn (‘a) (°:٤١٨). [Also] the verses recited by al-°usain (‘a) on the night of ‘^asḥṛ and the words of [Lady] Zainab and al-°usain’s reply to her, which Aḅ Mikhnaf narrated from °irith

al-Azdī and Abī al-ʿAḥḥīk (٥:٤٧٠-٤٧١).

٢. Imam Muḥammad bin ʿAlī bin al-ʿusayn (ʿa). [Abī Mikhnaḥ related from him] the martyrdom of the infant [of al-ʿusayn (ʿa)], through ʿUqbah bin Bashīr al-ʿAsadī (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٤٤٨).

٣. Imam Jaʿfar bin Muḥammad bin ʿAlī bin al-ʿusayn. [Abī Mikhnaḥ narrated from him through an incomplete chain of narration] the number of stab wounds and [sword] strikes on the body of al-ʿusayn (ʿa) (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٤٥٣).

٤. Zayd bin ʿAlī bin al-ʿusayn (ʿa) and Dīwān bin ʿUbaidullāh bin ʿAbbās. They related the words of the sons of ʿAqīl [on the night of ʿaḥḥīrī] (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٣٩٧).

It was ʿAmru bin Khilīd al-Waṣīṣī, an associate of the Banī Ḥaṣīm, who narrated the report from them. He was [residing] in Kāfah and later moved to Waṣīṣ. He has related from Zayd and [from] Imam al-ʿAḥḥīdī (ʿa) [as well].

Al-Najjīshī mentions [ʿAmru] in his *Rijāl* (pg. ٢٠٥; India edition) saying: “He has a voluminous book from which Naḥr bin Muḥḥim al-Minqīrī and others have narrated.” In his *Rijāl* (pg. ١٢٨; Najaf edition), Shaikh al-ḥaṣī considers him to be among the companions of Imam al-Baqīr (ʿa).”

Al-Muḥḥīnī has mentioned him in his *al-Tanqīḥ* (٢:٣٣٠) and so has al-ʿAsqalīnī in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (٨:٣٦).

٥. Fāṣimah bint ʿAlī, as she has been referred to by *al-ṭabari*. She narrated [what transpired in] the court of Yazīd. [Abī Mikhnaḥ related this report from her] through ʿAḥḥīth bin Kaʿb al-Walībī al-Azdī (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٤٦١-٤٦٢). It is clear that the person who narrated [reports] from her and Imam al-Sajjīd (ʿa), is one and the same.

٦. Abġ Sa'ġd 'AqġŸj. [Abġ 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'rjm* (*al-±abari*:°:٣٨°).

'Alljmah al-°illġ mentions him in the circle of the companions of 'Alġ ('a) in the first part of his work, *al-KhuljŸah*.^١ Al-Dhababġ mentions him in *Mġzjn al-I'tidjl* saying: "He has related [reports] from 'Alġ ('a)." He then says: "According to Shu'bah, he is reliable and his name is Dġnjr. He was a Shġ'ah who died in ١٢° H."^٢ We have already mentioned him earlier [see the fourth list (no. ١)].

٧. Muġammad bin Qais. He narrated: the letter of Imam al-°usain ('a) which he sent with Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidjwġ to the people of Kġfah and the martyrdom of [Ibn Musahhar]; Muslim bin 'Aqġl's letter to al-°usain ['a]; the words of 'Abdullah bin Muġġ' al-'Adawġ to the Imam ('a) and his reply, through an incomplete chain of narration (*al-±abari*:°:٣٩٤-٣٩٦); and the martyrdom of °abġb bin Mu'jhira, [also] through an incomplete chain of narration (°:٤٤°).

Al-Kashhġ says: "[Muġammad once] informed Imam al-Biqir ('a) [of his narrations], so he ('a) stopped him from listening to such and such person."^٣ Al-Kashhġ [then] describes him as a defender of the divine leadership (*imjmah*) of Imam al-Biqir ('a).^٤

Al-Najjishġ says regarding him: "He is a notable personality and reliable. He was from Kġfah. He has narrations from Abġ

^١ *Al-KhuljŸah* (pg. ١٩٣; Najaf edition).

^٢ *Mġzjn al-I'tidjl* (٢: ١٣٩).

^٣ *Rijjl al-Kashhġ* (pg. ٣٤°; ġadġth no. ٦٣°).

^٤ *Ibid*, (pg. ٢٣٧; ġadġth no. ٤٣°).

Ja'far [al-Biqir] and Abf 'Abdillah [al-idiq ('a)]".^۱

Shaikh al-ṭṣṣ has mentioned him in *al-Fihrist* under entries ۵۹۱ and ۶۴۴.^۲ In his *Rijl*, al-ṭṣṣ has mentioned four persons, with this very name, to be among the companions of Imam al-idiq ('a).^۳ So has 'Allimah al-illḥ in *al-Khulṣah*.^۴

۵. 'Abdullah bin Sharḥ al-ʿamirḥ al-Nahdḥ. He related from 'Alḥ bin al-ʿusain ('a): al-ʿusain's request for respite for the night of 'ashḥrḥ'; the Imam's speech to his companions; the verses recited by al-ʿusain ('a) on the night of 'ashḥrḥ', the words of [Lady] Zainab ('a) and his reply to her (*al-ṭabari*: ۵: ۴۱۸ & ۴۲۰).

He has also narrated through an incomplete chains of narration reports about the arrival of Shamir at Karbalā' with the letter of safe-conduct for the brothers of 'Abbās ('a), and Ibn Sa'd's advancing against al-ʿusain ('a) in the evening of the ninth of Mu'arram (۵: ۴۱۵ & ۴۱۶).

Al-Kashhḥ says that he was a disciple of Imam al-Biqir and al-idiq ('a).^۵

According to a narration, ['Abdullah] will return to this world and be at the service al-Qim ('a), may Allah hasten his reappearance.^۶ [Yet] according to another tradition, he will be the standard bearer on that day."^۷

It appears from *al-ṭabarḥ* that he was one of the leading

^۱ *Rijl al-Najjishḥ* (pg. ۲۲۶; India edition).

^۲ *Al-Fihrist* (pg. ۱۵۷ & ۱۷۶).

^۳ *Rijl al-ṭṣṣ* (pg. ۲۹۸, entry no. ۲۹۴; Najaf edition).

^۴ *Al-Khulṣah* (pg. ۱۵۰, entry no. ۶۰ onwards; Najaf edition).

^۵ *Rijl al-Kashhḥ* (pg. ۱۰, ḥadḥ no. ۲۰).

^۶ Ibid, (pg. ۲۱۷, ḥadḥ no. ۳۹۰).

^۷ Ibid, (ḥadḥ no. ۳۹۱).

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figures among the followers of Mukhtār (٦:٤٩, ٥١ & ١٠٤). He then joined Muṣṭab (٦:١٦١). Later, he left him because of the safe-conduct from ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (٦: ١٦١). [In any case,] he may have repented after this and thus became among the companions of the Aimmah (‘a).

٩. Abī Kḥlīd al-Ḳḥbuḷ. He related a report, through an incomplete chain of narration, about the supplication of al-°usain (‘a) on the morning of [the day of] ‘ashṛ. (*al-±abari*: ٥:٤٢٣).

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

Al-Kashḥ says that he fled from °ajj̣ and hid himself in Makkah and was thus saved from him. He [then] served Mu‘ammad bin al-°anafīyyah, believing in his divine leadership (*iṃmah*). Later, he turned away from him to Imam al-Sajjīd (‘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-±f̣ṣ has counted him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajjīd (‘a).^٤

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that he was among those non-Arabs (*maẉḷ*) who were [supporting] Mukhtār. And this is why he believed in the *iṃmah* of

^١ Ibid, (pg. ١٢٤, ḥaḍth no. ١٩٥).

^٢ Ibid, (pg. ٩, ḥaḍth no. ٢٠).

^٣ Ibid, (pg. ١٢١, ḥaḍth no. ١٩٣).

^٤ *Rijāl al-±f̣ṣ* (pg. ١٠٠, entry no. ٢, under the name ‘Kankar’).

) .)

١٠. 'Uqbah bin Bashçr al-Asadç. He related from Imam al-Bıqır ('a) the martyrdom of the infant [of al-°usain ('a)] (*al-±abari*: ٥: ٤٥٣).

Shaikh al-Biqir has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam ‘Alī bin al-ʿusayn and al-Biqir (‘a).

'Uqbah al-Asadç has an elegy in *al-±abarç* in lamentation of the companions of Mukht;r (٧:١١٧).

١١. Qudjmaḥ bin Sa'ūd bin Zjidaḥ bin Qudjmaḥ al-Thaqaf. He narrated from him grandfather: the coming out of Mu'ammad bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindi to fight and capture Muslim bin 'Aql (*al-ṭabari*: ٥:٣٧٣), and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way] it was granted (٥:٣٧٥).

Al-Ḥaṣṣi mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Jādiq ('a).⁴

١٧. °irith bin Ka'b al-Wilibç al-Azdç. He narrated [reports] from 'Uqbah bin Sim'n, 'Alç bin al-°usain ('a) and F;šimah

¹ *Rijl alKashh* (pg. ٢٠٣, hadith no. ٣٥٨).

¹ *Rijāl al-ʿaṣṣ* (pg. ۹۹, entry no. ۳۲; Najaf edition).

⁷ Ibid, (pg. 129, entry no. 29).

⁴ Ibid, (pg. 129, entry no. 29).

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

[One day] Abf BaYçr visited Imam al-¯idiq (‘a), so he (‘a) asked him about Abf °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

‘Alç bin al-°asan bin Faççil says: “Abf °amzah, Zurjrah and Mu’ammad bin Muslim [all of them] died in the same year; a year or so after the demise of Abf ‘Abdillah [al-¯idiq] (‘a).^٣

Al-Najjishç mentions him and says: “He was a non Arab (*maulan*) from Kçfah and he was reliable. According to Mu’ammad bin ‘Umar al-Ja’ibç al-Tamçmç, he was a retainer of Muhallab bin Abç ¯ufrah and his sons: °amzah, ManYçr and Nçl, all of whom were killed along with Zayd bin ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a). He lived during the times of ‘Alç bin al-°usain, Abf Ja’far, Abf ‘Abdillah and Abf al-°asan (‘a), and has reported from them. He was among our outstanding personalities, trustworthy and reliable in [his] narrations.”^٤

Shaikh [al-±çç] brings him in *al-Fihrist*[°] and mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajjid[¸], Imam al-

^١ Ibid, (pg. ٢٠١, ¯adçth no. ٣٥٤; Mashad edition).

^٢ Ibid, (pg. ٢٠٢, ¯adçth no. ٣٥٦).

^٣ Ibid, (pg. ٢٠١, ¯adçth no. ٣٥٣).

^٤ Ibid, (pg. ٨٣; India edition).

[°] *Al-Fihrist* (pg. ٦٦; Najaf edition).

[¸] *Rijl al-±çç* (pg. ٨٤; Najaf edition).

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Biqir^١, Imam al-ʿidīq^٢ and Imam al-Kiʿim (ʿa).^٣

Al-Dhahabʿ has mentioned him in *al-Mʿzjn*^٤ and so has al-ʿAsqalīnʿ in *Tahdhʿb al-Tahdhʿb*.^٥

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

[However,] there are [some] other people from whom Abʿ Mikhnaf has related some historical events, who were not eye-witnesses [of the event], rather they were historians, like ʿAun bin Abʿ Juʿaifah al-Sawjʿ al-Kʿfʿ (d. ١١٦ H), as reported in *Taqrʿb al-Tahdhʿb*. [Abʿ Mikhnaf narrated from him,] among other reports, the date al-ʿusain (ʿa) left Madʿnah for Makkah, the duration of his stay in the city and his departure from Makkah, [all] through ʿaqʿab 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-ʿaim*), the lord of martyrs, ʿusain bin ʿAlʿ (ʿa).

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

^١ Ibid, (pg. ١١٠).

^٢ Ibid, (pg. ١٦٠).

^٣ Ibid, (pg. ٣٤٥).

^٤ *Mʿzjn al-Iʿtidāl* (١:٣٦٣).

^٥ *Tahdhʿb al-Tahdhʿb* (٢:٧).

AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN MAD«NAH

[Mu’jwiyah’s¹ Last Will]

±abarç reports in his *Tjrkhh* (°:٣٢٢) saying: “Thereafter began the year ٦٠ H...In this year Mu’jwiyah took allegiance for Yazçd from a delegation that had come to see him together with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyîd.

His will was as Hishjm bin Mu’ammad has reported from Abf Mikhnaf who says that ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musjliq bin ‘Abdullah bin Makhramah has narrated to me saying:

“When Mu’jwiyah became afflicted with the illness that took his life, he called upon his son Yazçd² and said: My dear son!

¹ *Al-±abarç*: Mu’jwiyah bin ¯akhr bin °arb bin Umayyah bin ‘Abd Shams. He was born ٢٥ years before the migration [of the Prophet (¥) to Madçnah] (°:٣٢٥). Mu’jwiyah was with his father Abf Sufyjñ in all his battles against the Prophet (¥). He embraced Islam together with his father in ^ 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 (°:٩٠). ‘Umar appointed him as the governor of Shjm (°:٦٠٤) and he retained this position till ‘Uthmjñ was assassinated. He rose against ‘Alç, the Commander of the Faithful, to avenge ‘Uthmjñ’s blood and fought him at ¯iffçñ for the same. He continued to stand against the Commander of the Faithful until the latter was martyred. Therafter he fought °asan bin ‘Alç till the month of Jumjd 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 (‘jm al-jamj’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-Kalbç and who, in turn, was reporting from his father (°:٣٢٥).

² *Al-±abarç*: He was born in the year ٢٨ H. His mother was Maisññ bint Bajdal al-Kalbç. Mu’jwiyah 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.’ I have

pay their allegiance to Yaẓd as his heir apparent and in ٥٩ H he took allegiance from different delegations. Yaẓd assumed leadership in the beginning of Rajab ٦٠ H, a few months after reaching the age of ٣٢. He died at °awẉṛn on the ١٤th night of Raḅ’ 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 Yaẓd at his father’s deathbed. In *Tadhkirat al-Khaẉṛ* (pg. ٢٣٥), Siḅ bin al-Jawẓ agrees [with the opinion that he was present]. The same has been reported by Shaikh al-°aḍq in his *Aṃḷ* through a chain of narration which goes back to Imam ‘Ali bin al-°usayn (‘a). Al-Khẉrazṃ narrates in his *Maq̣tal al-°usayn* (pg. ١٧٧) from Aḥmad bin al-Aḥṡam al-Ḳf̣ (d. ٣١٤ H) that Yaẓd 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’j̣wiyah had two separate wills; one in the presence of Yaẓd 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.

’ This was done over a period of ten years, from the year ٥٠ H uptil the time of his death in ٦٠ H. ±abaṛ (٥:٣٠١) has mentioned the [following] reason for that: In the year ٤٩ H, Mugḥrah bin Shu’bah had come to see Mu’j̣wiyah from Ḳf̣ah, fleeing from the plague that had then struck the city. Mugḥrah had been the governor in the city since the year ٤١ H. He was complaining to Mu’j̣wiyah of his deficiency and requested him to accept his resignation from the office. Mu’j̣wiyah accepted his resignation and thought of appointing Sa’̣d bin al-°aḡ̣ in his place. This aroused Mugḥrah’s jealousy and so he came to Yaẓd and proposed his allegiance to him as the crown prince. Yaẓd brought the matter to this father and he reinstated Mugḥrah in the office and ordered him to return to Ḳf̣ah and prepare the people for Yaẓd’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 Mughḥrah went back to Kḥfah and discharged this duty and sent a delegation to Mu’jwiyah for this purpose.

Mu’jwiyah wrote to Ziyīd bin Sumayyah -who was then his governor in Baḥrah since ٤٠ H- asking for his advice on the issue. So Ziyīd sent ‘Ubaid bin Ka’ab al-Numairḥ al-Azdḥ to Yazḥd proposing that the latter should leave all detestable behavior so that it would be easier for the governors to rally people round him. Ziyīd passed away in Kḥfah in the month of Ramadhīn ٥٢ H, while he was in charge of Baḥrah and Kḥfah (*‘irḥqain*).

Mu’jwiyah went to ‘*umrah* in the month of Rajab ٥٦ H and there he announced that he had appointed Yazḥd as his successor and invited people to swear allegiance to him. Sa’ḥd bin ‘Uthmīn bin ‘Affīn approached Mu’jwiyah and declared his opposition to that upon which Yazḥd intervened and requested him to be appointed as the governor of Khurīsīn, and Mu’jwiyah did that. Marwīn – who was then his governor in Madḥnah since the year ٥٤ H- also came to see Mu’jwiyah and expressed his disapproval on the matter. This action so incensed Mu’jwiyah that he dismissed him from the post in ٥٧ H, as reported by *al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٣٠٩). Al-Mas’ḥdḥ has extensively mentioned about Marwīn’s opposition in *Murḥj al-Dhahab* (٣:٣٨).

Finally, in the year ٦٠ H ‘Ubaid Allah bin Ziyīd -Mu’jwiyah’s governor in Baḥrah since ٥٥ H- dispatched a delegation to Mu’jwiyah and he took their allegiance on Yazḥd’s heir-apparency (٥:٣٢٢).

from the Quraish: °usain bin ‘Aḷ’, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar’,

‘Al-±abaṛ: He was born a few days after the beginning [of the month] of Sha’ḅjn in the year ٤ H (٣:٥٥٥). He lived with his grandfather, the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ), for ٦ years, and with his father, the Commander of the Faithful [‘Aḷ (‘a)], for ٣٠ years. In the year ٣٠ H and during the reign of ‘Uthṃjn, he took part in a military expedition to Khuṛsj̣n together with his brother, al-°asan (‘a), °udhaifah bin al-Yaṃjṇ, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abḅjs and a number of other Prophet’s companions, under the leadership of Sa’̣d bin al-°aṣṣ̣ (٤:٢٦٩).

He spent ١٠ years with his brother °asan (‘a), while the period of his divine leadership (*iṃmah*), after al-°asan (‘a), also lasted for ١٠ years. He was a contemporary of Mu’j̣wiyah bin Aḅ̣ Sufỵjn during these ten years until the latter’s death. Al-°usain (‘a) was martyred in Karbaḷj’ on Friday, ١٠th of Mu’arram ٦١ H and was, at that time, fifty-six years and six months of age.

‘Al-±abaṛ: He did not pay allegiance to ‘Aḷ (‘a) after ‘Uthṃjn. ‘Aḷ (‘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, °afṣ̣ah, from accompanying ‘aishah when she rose [against ‘Aḷ (‘a)] (٤:٤٥١). He also refrained from joining ±alḷah and Zubair in their revolt against ‘Aḷ (‘a) (٤:٤٦٠). Beside that, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar was the son in-law of Aḅ̣ Ṃfṣj̣ al-Ash’aṛ̣. When the latter was approached for the arbitration, he invited ‘Abdullah along with a group of other people. Al-Ash’aṛ̣ also refused the proposal of ‘Amru bin al-°aṣṣ̣ that ‘Abdullah should be made the caliph. But when the matter was settled in favour of Mu’j̣wiyah, ‘Abdullah took his side (٥:٥٨).

Although he did not pay allegiance to Yaẓd at this stage, he wrote him a letter after the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) requesting for the release of Mukhṭjr, his brother in-law. Yaẓd granted his request and ‘Abdullah might have paid allegiance to him after this (٥:٥٧١). But al-Mas’̣ḍ clearly states that he paid allegiance to Yaẓd through Waḷḍ, and to Marẉjn through °ajj̣j̣ (*Muṛ̣j̣ al-Dhahab*: ٢:٣١٦).

‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair’ and ‘Abd al-Raḥm̄n bin Aḅ Bakr.’^١

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 ‘Aḷ, the people of Iraq will never leave him until they cause him to rise.’^٢ If he were to rise against

^١ *Al-ṭabaṛṭ*: He was born in the first or the second year of Hijrah. He defended ‘Uthm̄n during the siege until he sustained injuries (٤:٣٢٨). He did this on the order of his father, Zubair (٤:٣٨٥), whom ‘Uthm̄n 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 Baḥrah. He was her half brother through her mother, Umm R̄m̄n (٤:٣٧٧). ‘Abdullah was injured in the battle of Jamal and was taken off the field and he later recovered (٤:٥٠٩). ‘Aḷ (‘a) used to call him ‘the evil son’ (٤:٥٠٩). He was with Mu’j̄wiyah and was sent together with ‘Amru bin al-‘aḥ̄ to fight Muḥammad bin Aḅ Bakr. When ‘Amru sought to kill Muḥammad, ‘Abdullah interceded with Mu’j̄wiyah 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 °ajj̄j during the reign of Abd al-Malik bin Marw̄n, in Jum̄da al-ḥ̄ ٧٣ H (٦:١٨٧). In an expedition personally led by ‘Abd al-Malik, °ajj̄j had also killed ‘Abdullah’s brother, Muḥ̄ab, at al-Anb̄r a year before.

^٢ The author of *Usud al-Gh̄bah* says: “‘Abd al-Raḥm̄n bin Aḅ Bakr left for Makkah before the allegiance to Yaz̄d was accomplished and he died at a place called °abasḥ, 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 Maḍṇah, after the death of his brother al-°asan (‘a), as reported by al-Ya’q̄ḅ (٢:٢١٦). According to al-Ya’q̄ḅ, “The people of Iraq were waiting for the

you and you were to gain victory over him, then you should pardon him^۱; for he belongs to an important family and has a great right [on the people]!

Regarding [‘Abd al-Raḥmān] Ibn Abī 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.”^۲

[Mu’jwiyah’s Death]

[Mu’jwiyah died in the beginning of Rajab ۶۰ H]^۳. @aḥḥk bin Qais [al-Fihri]^۴ came out from the palace and went on the

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

^۱ 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’jwiyah was in this manner trying to combine two good things (*‘usnayayn*) for Yazīd; the victory over al-^ousayn and the privilege of not avenging him. What indicates the preparation of Mu’jwiyah for encountering al-^ousayn (‘a) is the former’s letter which he had given to Sarjaun, his Roman servant, containing the order to appoint Ibn Ziyāḍ over Iraq if such an incident were to occur, as we shall see later.

^۲ Al-Khwārazmī also has related this in his *Maqṭal* (pg. ۱۷۵) with some additions.

^۳ *Al-ṭabarī* (۵: ۳۲۴): “Hishām bin Muḥammad has said...” Page ۳۳۸ of the same book says: “Hishām bin Muḥammad reported on the authority of Abī Mikhnaf that Yazīd ascended the throne in the beginning of Rajab ۶۰ H.”

^۴ *Al-ṭabarī*: He was with Mu’jwiyah in the battle of ‘iffān and

pulpit while Muʿjwiyah's shroud was visible in his hands. He praised and extolled Allah and then said: "Muʿjwiyah 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

was appointed by him as the commander of the foot soldiers, the heart of the Damascus army. Later Muʿjwiyah assigned him the administration of a peninsula under his control in ʿarrj̄n. He thus became the focus of the partisans of ʿUthm̄j̄n living in Baʿrah and Kḥfah. In the year ۳۶ H, ʿAlḥ sent Mj̄lik al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿ to confront him. Muʿjwiyah then appointed al-Fihri as the head of his bodyguards in Damascus. He sent him to Kḥfah in ۵۵ H in order to invite people to pay allegiance to Yazḥd as heir apparent. In the year ۵۸ H, he called him back (۵:۳۰۹). *Al-Masʿūd* (۲:۳۲۸): "He reinstated him as the head of the bodyguards. He continued to hold this position till ۶۰ H when the delegation sent by ʿUbaidullah bin Ziȳd from Baʿrah arrived in Damascus and Muʿjwiyah took allegiance from them for his son Yazḥd." It seems natural that he should have remained in this position until the time when the prisoners from the Prophet's family entered Shj̄m.

Al-ṭabari: When Muʿjwiyah bin Yazḥd died in the year ۶۴ H, ʿaḥj̄k invited the people first towards himself and later to Ibn al-Zubair! When Marw̄j̄n arrived in Shj̄m and met ʿUbaidullah bin Ziȳd from Iraq, the latter tempted Marw̄j̄n to take up the caliphate. So Marw̄j̄n started inviting people towards himself and they paid him allegiance. This prompted al-ʿaḥj̄k to lead a protest against Marw̄j̄n in Damascus and, later, rise to fight him at Marj Rj̄hiṣ, a few miles away from Damascus. The fight lasted for twenty days, at the end of which ʿaḥj̄k was killed and his side defeated. His head was brought to Marw̄j̄n in the month of Muḥarram ۶۴ or ۶۵ H (۵:۵۳۵-۵۴۴). The Commander of the Faithful (ʿa) used to curse ʿaḥj̄k in the *qunḥ* of his prayers as reported in *al-ṭabar* (۵:۷۱) and *Waqʿat Siffin* (pg. ۷۲).

noon].”

A messenger had earlier been sent to Yaẓd to inform him of Mu’jwiyah’s critical condition.^۱ [Upon receiving the news,] he

^۱ This is how the narration by *al-±abaṛ* leaves off at the will and picks up again at the dispatch of the messenger to Yaẓd, without any mention of his journey and the place he was. For this reason *±abaṛ* gives another report after this one, based on the authority of Hisḥm from ‘Aẉnah bin al-°akam (d. ۱۰۷) [who says]: “Yaẓd was not present, so Mu’awiyah called @a||k bin Qais al-Fiḥṛ - who was the head of his bodyguards- and Muslim bin ‘Aqabah al-Mariyy - who led the raid of °arṛah in Maḍnah- and made his will. Then he told them: “Inform Yaẓd of my will.”

This narration from *al-±abaṛ* about the will of Mu’jwiyah slightly differs from that of Aḅ Mikhnaf, both in wording and meaning. [Firstly,] while Aḅ Mikhnaf’s report mentions ‘Abd al-Rạṃn bin ‘Umar as one of the four people about whom Mu’jwiyah was apprehensive that they might not pay allegiance to Yaẓd, this narration omits him.

[Secondly,] in the previous account Yaẓd is advised not to avenge al-°usain (‘a), while in the present narration from *al-±abaṛ*, Mu’jwiyah hopes that Allah would save Yaẓd through those who killed the father of al-°usain [‘a] and abandoned his brother –i.e. the people of Ḳf̣ah.

[Thirdly,] Aḅ Mikhnaf reports that Mu’jwiyah advised Yaẓd 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-±abaṛ* is the fact that ‘Abd al-Rạṃn bin Aḅ Bakr is not mentioned in Yaẓd’s letter to Walid, and also that ‘Abd al-Rạṃn died in the year ۰۰ H as previously reported by *Usud al-Gḥbah*. In addition to that, the appointment of Ibn Ziỵd by Mu’jwiyah as the governor of Iraq in his letter deposited with Sarjaun, the Roman, confirms the present account, as we shall see later.

As for the place where Yaẓd was at the time of his father’s death, *al-±abaṛ* (۰:۱۰) narrates from ‘Aḷ bin Mu’ammad that he was at °awwaṛn. Al-Khẉrazṃ relates in his *Maqtal* (pg. ۱۷۷) from Ibn al-A’tham that Yaẓd had left for °auṛn 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.'

[Yazʿd's letter to Walʿd]

Yazʿd assumed power in the beginning of Rajab in the year ٦٠ H. The governor of Madḥnah at the time was Walʿd bin 'Utbah bin Abʿ Sufyān', while 'Amru bin Sa'ʿd bin al-ʿayy

the will, for hunting. He thus reconciles between the present version of the will and the absence of Yazʿd at the time of Mu'jwiyah's death.

' *Al-ṭabarī*: "I narrate, on the authority of Hishām bin Muḥammad, from Abī Mikhnaf who said: "'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Masʿūd bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah told me that when Mu'jwiyah died..." (٥:٣٢٧)

' *Al-ṭabarī*: He became the governor of Madḥnah on the order of Mu'jwiyah in the year ٥٨ H (٥:٣٠٩). Yazʿd dismissed him in the month of Ramaḍān of the same year for not handling the issue of Imam al-ʿusayn (ʿa) seriously, and instead appointed 'Amru bin Sa'ʿd al-Ashdaq in his place (٥:٣٤٣). His father was 'Utbah bin Abʿ Sufyān who was among the supporters of Mu'jwiyah at ʿiffān. According to *Waqʿat ʿiffān* (pg.٤١٧), his grandfather had been earlier killed by Alʿ (ʿa).

The last place we read of Walʿd in *al-ṭabarī* is as follows: "After

was the governor of Makkah.’

the death of Yaẓd, @a||k called on the people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair. Waḷd swore at @a||k due to which the latter imprisoned him (۵:۵۳۳).

Mu‘addith al-Quṃ says in *Tatimmat al-Muntahı* (pg.۴۹) that Waḷd attended the funeral prayer of Mu’jwiyah bin Yaẓd bin Mu’jwiyah where he was stabbed to death.

’ He was appointed by Yaẓd as the governor of Maḍnah in the month of Ramaḡn ۶۰ H. He also designated him as the head of pilgrimage affairs, thus he led the people to °ajj in the year ۶۰ H. This supports the assertion that Yaẓd had ordered him to assassinate al-°usayn [‘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 Kḥlid bin Mu’jwiyah bin Yaẓd on the same day that people pledged their allegiance to Marẉn bin al-°akam. This took place at J̣biyah, situated in Jawḷn, a place between Damascus and Jordan, either on Wednesday or Thursday, three or four days to the end of Dḥ al-Qa’dah ۶۴ H, after the death of Mu’jwiyah bin Yaẓd. It was agreed then that ‘Amru would assume the governorship of Damascus the same day.

When @a||k bin Qais al-Fihṛ came over to them from Damascus inviting people to accept either him or Ibn al-Zubair as the governor, and Marẉn decided to fight him, ‘Amru was in charge of the right wing of Marẉn’s army (۵:۵۲۷). Later he also conquered Egypt for Marẉn and fought Muḡ’ab bin al-Zubair in Palestine till the latter was defeated (۵:۵۴۰). When ‘Amru set out to return to Marẉn, he [i.e. Marẉn] was informed that °asṣn bin Bajdal al-Kalḅ -the maternal uncle of Yaẓd bin Mu’jwiyah, the chief of the Baṇ Kiḷb, and the one who rallied the people round Marẉn for allegiance- has paid allegiance to ‘Amru bin Sa’̣d directly. Marẉn thus summoned °asṣn 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, °asṣn stood up and addressed them and called for allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik [bin Marẉn] as the successor to Marẉn. All the people, without exception, extended their pledges to him!

In the year ۶۹, ۷۰ or ۷۱ H, he came out to fight Zafr bin al-°irith

al-Kiljbç, or was heading towards Dair al-Jjthalçq to fight Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair. He left behind ‘Abd al-Ra’imjñ al-Thaqafç as his deputy in Damascus. So ‘Amru bin Sa’çd 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-Thaqafç 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 (۶:۱۴۰-۱۴۸). ‘Amru al-Ashdaq’s father, Sa’çd bin al-‘a¥¥ was ‘Uthmijñ’s governor in Kffah. The people of Kffah had once complained against him to ‘Uthmijñ for consuming intoxicants. The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alç bin Abç ±jlib (‘a), executed on him the legal punishment [specified by the Sharç’ah].

The following report has appeared in *Majma’ al-Zawjid* (۵:۲۴۰) of Ibn °ajar al-Haithamç, and also in *Taşher al-Jinjn* which has been collected on the margins of *awjiq 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’çd who had a nose-bleed while on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allah (¥) and his blood flowed [on it]!’”

Nu’m̄n bin Basḥr al-An̄j̄ṛ’ was the governor of K̄fah’

’ He was a Khazraj̣. In his *Rij̄l* (pg. ۳۰), Shaikh al-±f̄s̄ counts him among the companions of the Prophet (ﷺ), while according to ±abaṛ̣ (±:±۳۰) he was among those who did not pay allegiance to ‘Aḷ̣ (‘a) after the death of ‘Uthm̄n and instead joined Mu’j̄wiyah and supported him at ʿiff̄n. Later, He was sent by Mu’j̄wiyah to raid ‘Ain Tamr, and he did that as reported in *al-±abaṛ̣* (±:۱۳۳; The Events of the Year ۳۴ H). In ۵۸ H, Mu’j̄wiyah appointed Nu’m̄n as the governor of K̄fah and he continued to hold this position until the former died. After succeeding Mu’j̄wiyah, Yaẓd replaced Nu’m̄n in ۶۰ H with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziȳd. Nu’m̄n thus returned to Yaẓd and was with him till the martyrdom of Imam al-°usayn (‘a). He accompanied the family of the Imam (‘a) to Maḍnah on the order of Yaẓd (±:±۶۲). He once again went back to Sh̄m and was with Yaẓd till he sent him to Maḍnah to dissuade the An̄j̄ṛ from supporting ‘Abdullah bin °an̄alah, and warn them of opposing Yaẓd, but they did not pay heed to him (±:±۸۱).

’ *Al-±abaṛ̣*: Sa’d bin Aḅ̣ Waqq̄ṡ wrote to ‘Umar [bin al-Khaṣṣ̄] about the success granted by Allah to the Muslims in conquering Jalwal̄j̄. 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 Jih̄d.” Hence, Sa’d stopped at al-An̄j̄ṛ 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 K̄fah. (۳:۵۷۹) Literally, K̄fah means a plain with pebbles and red sand (۳:۶۱۹). Any area with red sand is called ‘*sahlah*’. An area covered with the mixture of such pebbles and sand is called K̄fah (±:±۱). K̄fah had three regions: °irqah, Umm ‘Amru and Silsilah (±:±۱).

In the month of Muḥarram ۱۷ H, Sa’d and his men erected structures made of reed. There occurred a great fire in K̄fah due to which eighty structures were destroyed, and the reeds razed to the ground by the month of Shaww̄l. 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.” Abḩ al-Hayyij bin Mḩlik was the person in charge of accommodating people in Kḩfah, 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-length wide; the streets following that should be ٣٠ arms-length; ٢٠ arms-length for smaller streets; and ١٠ arms-length for the alleys. Nothing should be below this. The experts then gathered to assess the plan and Abḩ al-Hayyij 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 Kḩfah was the mosque. It was located on that side of the market in Kḩfah 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 Kḩfah which was constructed for him by Rḩzbah out of the burnt bricks used for the buildings of the Persian kings at ʿḩrah (٤:٤٤&٤٥).

Sa’d was living in the palace adjacent to the *mi/rjb* 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 ʿḩrah. 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 governor of Baʿrah was ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd.¹

Yaz̥d’s most pressing concern was to take allegiance from

¹ *Al-±abar̥*: ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd was born in the year ٢٠ H (°:٢٩٧). In the year ٤١ H, Busr bin Ar̥ṣīt imprisoned him in Baʿrah together with his two brothers: ‘Abbīd and ‘Abd al-Raʿmīn. He then wrote to Ziyd saying: “You should present yourself before Mu’jwiyah, or else I will kill your sons.” (°:١٦٨). Ziyd died in ٥٢ H (°:٢٨٨), so his son ‘Ubaidullah went to see Mu’jwiyah who then appointed him as the governor of Khur̥sīn in the year ٥٤ H (°:٢٩٧). In ٥٥ H he was transferred to Baʿrah, leaving Aslam bin Zur’ah al-Kalb̥ over Khur̥sīn (°:٣٠٦). During his governorship in Khur̥sīn, ‘Ubaidullah had launched an attack on Bukh̥rj̥ highlands and conquered the cities of Ram̥thnah and Bikand. He captured two thousand archers from Bukh̥rj̥, won their hearts and brought them to Baʿrah with himself (°:٢٩٨). Mu’jwiyah also appointed ‘Abbīd bin Ziyd as the governor of Sajistīn, and ‘Abd al-Raʿmīn bin Ziyd as the administrator of Khur̥sīn together with his brother ‘Ubaidullah (°:٣١٥). ‘Ubaidullah held this position for two years (°:٣١٦), and was then also made in charge of Kermīn. Thereafter, Shar̥k bin al-A’war al-°irith̥ al-Hamdīn̥ was assigned over Kermīn (°:٣٢١).

Later, Yaz̥d dismissed ‘Abbīd from Sajistīn and ‘Abd al-Raʿmīn from Khur̥sīn and appointed Silm bin Ziyd, their brother, over both the places; and he later sent Yaz̥d bin Ziyd, Silm’s other brother, to Sajistīn (°:٤٧١). In ٦٠ H, Yaz̥d made ‘Ubaidullah in charge of K̥f̥ah, so he left Baʿrah under his brother, ‘Uthmīn bin Ziyd (°:٣٥٨). ‘Ubaidullah was forty years old when al-°usayn (‘a) was martyred. He returned to Baʿrah in ٦١ H. When Yaz̥d and his son Mu’jwiyah died, the people of Baʿrah paid allegiance to ‘Ubaidullah temporarily and until the next caliph had been chosen. But then they opposed him and so he went to Shīm (°:٥٠٣) together with his brother ‘Abdullah in ٦٤ H (°:٥١٣). In Sham, ‘Ubaidullah paid allegiance to Marwīn bin al-°akam and prompted him to wage a war on Iraq. Marwīn thus sent him towards Iraq (°:٥٣٠) where he fought the [members of the] movement of Tawwīb̥f̥n in the year ٦٥ H and defeated them (°:٥٩٨). Then he fought Mukht̥r in ٦٦ H (٦:٨١) where he and those with him from Shīm were killed in ٦٧ H (٦:٨٧).

those four people who had refused to answer Mu’jwiyah’s call for pledging allegiance to Yaẓd as his heir apparent, and get rid of their opposition.

So he wrote to Waḷd:

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. From Yaẓd -the commander of the faithful- to Waḷd bin ‘Utbah... Indeed, Mu’jwiyah 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 Waḷd, 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.”,¹

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (٥:٣٣٨): “Hisḥm bin Muḥammad narrated from Aḅ Mikhnaf...” This is the first among the numerous reports which ±abaṛ connects part of it to another by saying in the beginning of each report: ‘He narrated (*q̣ila*)’, while the report is based on the narration of Aḅ Mikhnaf.

² This is how ±abaṛ’s report from Aḅ Mikhnaf, on the authority of Hisḥm, is restricted to the mention of ‘severity’ only, without any mention of bloodshed. So is the report of Siḅ bin al-Jawẓ (pg. ٢٣٥), also from Hisḥm, and of Shaikh al-Muf̣d in *al-Irsḥd* (pg. ٢٠٠), which is either from Hisḥm or al-Maḍj̣. However, al-Ya’q̣ḅ reproduces in his *Taṛkh* (٢:٢٢٩) the text of Yaẓd’s letter in the following words: “As soon as my letter reaches you, call on °usain bin ‘Aḷ and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair and take allegiance from both of them. If they refuse, behead them and send

When the news of Mu’jwiyah’s death¹ reached Waḷd, he was very shocked and could not bear the news. So he sent a message to Marẉn bin al-°akam²

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 °usayn bin ‘Aḷ and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair. That is all.”

Al-Khẉrazṃ mentions the letter in *al-Maqtal* (pg. ١٨٠) from Ibn al-A’ṭham in the same manner as *al-±abaṛ* (°:٤٨٢) did from Hisḥm, and adds: “... And whoever among them refuses, then behead him and send me his head.”

Yaẓd’s letter reached Waḷd on the night preceding Friday, ٢٦th of Rajab, as it is inferred from Imam al-°usayn’s date of departure from Maḍnah, as we shall see later.

¹ Historians have not specified when exactly Yaẓd wrote this letter and when he sent it to Maḍnah, based on which the time period of traveling from Sḥm to Maḍnah could have been calculated. But we can infer that from what *al-±abaṛ* (°:٤٨٢) has reported from Aḅ Mikhnaḥ, on the authority of Hisḥm that: “‘Abd al-Malik bin Marẉn told the person he sent with the letter from the Baṇ Umayyah – when they were besieged in Maḍnah before the event of °arraḥ- to Yaẓd in Sḥm: ‘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-±abaṛ* (°:٤٩٨) has related from al-Ẉqiḍ (d. ٢٠٧ H) that the news of Yaẓd’s death reached Maḍnah in the beginning of Raḅ’ al-°khar, while Yaẓd had died ١٤ nights after [the month of] Raḅ’ al-Awwal ٦٤ H began –as mentioned on the same page. Therefore the news of Yaẓd’s death must have reached them after ١٦ days.

² *Al-±abaṛ*: He was banished by the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) from Maḍnah along with his father, °akam bin al-°aḥ̣ bin Umayyah, because the latter used to mock at the Prophet (ﷺ). ‘Uthṃn escaped with °akam and married his daughter, Ṇ’ilah. ‘Uthṃn granted °akam a tribute from Africa which weighed [around] ٣٠٠ *qinṣ̣ir* of gold (٤:٢٥٦). [Marẉn] purchased a series of wells in Iraq by that [tribute] which later came to be known as ‘Nahr Marẉn’ (٤:٢٨٠).

He also gave Marwîn ١٥٠٠٠ silver coins (٤:٣٤٥). ‘Uthmîn had become a puppet in the hands of Marwîn as ‘Alç (‘a) once said (٤:٣٦٤).

[On the day of the siege,] Marwîn fought in defence of ‘Uthmîn 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, Abç °afçah al-Yamînç, then carried him to his house (٤:٣٨٠). Marwîn 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 ±allah 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 Mçlik bin Masma’ al-Ghazîrç and he granted him (٤:٥٣٦). On his return, Marwîn joined Mu’îwiyah (٤:٥٤١) who appointed him as the governor of Madçnah after the Year of Unity (٥:١٧٢). There he invented the *maqççerah* for prayers in the year ٤٤ H (٥:٢١٥). [*Maqççerah* 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’îwiyah out of fear of being assassinated.]

Mu’îwiyah had gifted him with Fadak but later took it back from him (٥:٢٣١). [Mu’îwiyah] dismissed him from the governorship of Madçnah in ٤٩ H (٥:٢٣٢), and reinstated him in the same position in ٥٤ H (٥:٢٩٣). It was during Marwîn’s rule in Madçnah that Mu’îwiyah had gone for °ajj in ٥٦ H and prepared the grounds for the successorship of his son, Yazçd (٥:٣٠٤). However, in the year ٥٧ or ٥٨ H, Mu’îwiyah replaced him with Walçd bin ‘Uqbah bin Abç Sufyîn. It was for this very reason that he used to dislike Walçd (٥:٣٠٩).

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

to come to him.¹

[Waḷd Seeks Counsel from Marẉn]

When Waḷd read Yaẓd’s letter to Marẉn, the latter pronounced the verse: “Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return”, and invoked Allah’s mercy upon Mu’jwiyah. Waḷd then asked for his advice saying: “In your opinion what shall we do?”

Marẉn replied: “I think you should send a messenger to these people and invite them to pledge their allegiance and submit to Yaẓd’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’jwiyah’s death. Otherwise, each of them will scatter away and announce his opposition and rejection, and will

house, and then expelled them from Maḍnah. [Marẉn] thus left his family in the custody of ‘Aḷ bin al-°usain (‘a) at Yanḅf’, who agreed to provide for them and protect them. ‘Aḷ bin al-°usain (‘a) had earlier withdrawn from Maḍnah to Yanḅf’, as he detested witnessing the atrocities [of the Baṇ Umayyah] (°:٤٨°).

In the year ٦٤ H, ‘Ubaidah bin al-Zubair took charge of Maḍnah for his brother ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair. He expelled the Umayyads from Maḍnah to Sḥm. Marẉn was paid allegiance as the caliph in Sḥm the same year (°:°٣°). He died in the month of Ramaṣ̣n ٦٥ H.

¹ *Al-±abaṛ*: The complete report is as follows: “Marẉn reluctantly came to Maḍnah on the same day as Waḷd (°:٣٢°). When Waḷd noticed that from him, he reviled [Marẉn] in his gathering. The news reached Marẉn and so he cut-off from Waḷd. The situation continued to remain so until the news of Mu’jwiyah’s death reached Waḷd. The death of Mu’jwiyah and Yaẓd’s order to take allegiance from a particular group of people was so distressing for Waḷd that he had to take refuge to Marẉn and call on him.”

invite people toward himself.”^١

[Walḍ’s Envoy]

Walḍ sent ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amru bin ‘Uthmīn -who was then a young man- to summon al-^ousain (‘a) and Ibn al-Zubair. He found them sitting in the mosque. So he came [later] at a time when Walḍ did not usually have any meeting with the people, nor would the people come to him at such a time.”

^١ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٣٣٩): “Hishīm bin Muḥammad related from Abī Mikhnaḥ that...” This has also been reported by al-Khwārazmī in *al-Maqtal* (pg. ١٨٨).

^٢ He was alive till the year ٩١ H. He was among those men from the Quraish who welcomed Walḍ bin ‘Abd al-Malik to Madḥnah (*al-ṭabarī*: ٦:٤٦٥). His agnomen was al-Muṣarrif. He died in ٩٦ H (*al-Qamqīm*, pg. ٢٧٠). His father, ‘Amru, was the son of ‘Uthmīn bin ‘Affīn, the third caliph. His mother was Umm ‘Amru bint Jundab al-Azdī (٤:٤٢٠).

Al-ṭabarī (٥:٤٩٤) reports that ‘Abdullah’s mother was from Dḥs. During the event of ^oarraḥ, Muslim bin ‘Uqbah accused him of not being sincere to the Banī 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 Abī Mikhnaḥ is restricted here to the description of this ‘hour’ as ‘the one in which Walḍ 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. Walḍ sent for him a second time and found him among his companions well guarded. So Walḍ 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.” Walʿd sent a group of his servants [for the fifth time] who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of Kḥiliyyah! By Allah, either to the governor, or else he will kill you!”

Ibn al-Zubair spent the whole day and part of the night answering: “I will come soon.” But when they impelled him to come, he reacted by saying: “By Allah! I have grown suspicious because of the repeated summons and successive coming of these people. So do not rush me until I send someone to the governor to inform me of his orders.” He then sent his brother Jaʿfar bin al-Zubair who told Walʿd: “May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from ʿAbdullah; 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 Walʿd ordered them to disperse and they did so [in the evening], while Ibn al-Zubair left [Madḥnah] 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 *ʿaḥr*, but this is a mere illusion because the report says *ʿfa alaʿilʿ alaihim*, and *ilʿilʿ* 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) Abʿ Mikhnaf relates from ʿAbd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musʿliq bin Makhramah, who reported from Abʿ Saʿd al-Maqbarʿ who said: “I saw al-ʿusayn (‘a) entering the mosque of Madḥnah ...and after only two days I was informed that he has left for Makkah (٥:٣٤٢).”

This report confirms another report by Abʿ 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.”¹

by his companions. He spent there the whole day and the early hours of the night and then departed from Maḍnah at night. In the morning Waḷd 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 Waḷd 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” (°:٤٣١).

Accordingly, Ibn al-Zubair remained in Maḍnah 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 Maḍnah, 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 Waḷd 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 Waḷd 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 Aḅ Mikhnaf reported on the authority of al-Maqbaṛ that Imam °usain (‘a) entered the Prophet’s mosque supported by two men, must have been after his return from Waḷd’s palace with two of his men with whom he had gone to see him.

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

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (°:٣٣٩): “Hisḥm bin Muḷammad narrated from Aḅ Mikhnaf...” Siḅ bin al-Jawẓ brings the above report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٠٣), while al-Khẉrazṃ 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 perished¹, 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

Maqtal. It is not known why the pronoun (ʔaṃr) 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-Raʔṃn bin Aḅ Bakr and ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar. What would probably account for the omission of Ibn Aḅ Bakr is that he had died before this -as mentioned earlier, while Ibn ‘Umar was not present in Maḍnah at that time as al-±abaṛ has narrated from al-Ẉqiḍ (°:٣٤٣).

With regard to Waḷd’s envoy and who he was, al-Khẉrazṃ (pg. ١٨١), based on the report of Ibn al-Aʔtham, and also Siḅ al-Jawẓ (pg. ٢٣٥), [are of the opinion that] he was ‘Amru bin ‘Uthṃn. According to *Taṛkh Ibn ‘Aṣkir* (±:٣٢٧), he was ‘Abd al-Raʔṃn bin ‘Amru bin ‘Uthṃn bin ‘Aff̣n.

¹ 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 Waḷd. 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 Waḷd]

Al-°usain (‘a) entered and greeted the governor while Marẉn was sitting next to him. [Marẉn had once cut off from Waḷd as mentioned earlier].

Al-°usain (‘a) said –as if he did not suspect Mu’j̣wiyah’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, Waḷd read him the letter and informed him about the death of Mu’j̣wiyah, and asked him to pay allegiance [to Yaẓd].

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.”

Waḷd 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

Waḷd [in fact] wanted to be excused from the issue of al-

^١ Al-Muf̣d has narrated this briefly in *al-Irsḥd* (pg. ٢٠٠), and so has Ibn al-Jawẓ (pg. ٢٣٦) and al-Khẉrazṃ (pg. ١٨٣).

^٢ Al-Khẉrazṃ 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] Marwīn 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 Yaẓḍ], or you have executed him!”^١

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

^١ See *al-Maqtal* of al-Khw̄razmī (pg. ١٨٤).

^٢ She was Zarqī’ bint Mawhib. She was among the prostitutes who had banners [on their houses] as reported in *al-K̄mil* (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 Waḷḍ bin al-Mugh̄rah al-Makhz̄mī: “Any violent tyrant, who is in addition base born” (٦٨:١٣). The word *zan̄m* –which has appeared in the verse just mentioned- literally means a ‘bastard’.

^٣ Al-Khw̄razmī (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-ris̄lah*), 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. Yaẓḍ 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 ʿIw̄f̄s (d. ٦٩٣ H) also has narrated this in *al-Malh̄f̄fi Qat̄l̄i al-ʿIw̄f̄f̄*, and so has Ibn Namī (d. ٦٤٥ H) in *Muth̄ḥar al-Aʿz̄in*.

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

¹ *Al-^oabar^o* (٥:٣٣٩): “Hishim bin Mu^oammad narrated from Ab^o Mikhnaf...” *Al-Khw^orazm^o* (pg. ١٨٤) has also related it with the following addition: “So Marw^on said to Wal^od: ‘You disobeyed me! By Allah! He will never give you the same opportunity over his life!’ Wal^od retorted: ‘Blame someone other than myself, O Marw^on! 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-^ousain.” Ibn al-Jawz^o (pg. ٢٢٦) has briefly related this: “Wal^od remarked: ‘Glory be to Allah! Should I kill al-^ousain because he said ‘I will not pay allegiance’?! By Allah, I believe that anyone who is [responsible] for the blood of al-^ousain shall certainly have light scales (*khaf^of al-m^ocz^on*) before Allah on the Day of Judgement!’ ‘If this is your opinion, then you have acted correctly in what you did”, said Marw^on. He said this showing his disapproval of his view.” See also *al-Irsh^od* (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^od sent for him and found him among his companions well guarded. So Wal^od 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^od sent a group of his servants who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of K^ojiliyyah! 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^ofar bin al-Zubair who told Wal^od: “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 Maḍnah]

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.

[Waḷd] 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

tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone.” So Waḷd ordered them to disperse and they did so. Ibn al-Zubair left [Maḍnah] 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. ٢٢٦]. In the morning Waḷd sent for Ibn al-Zubair but he had already left. So Marẉn said “By Allah! He has not gone except towards Makkah.” Waḷd thus dispatched after him eighty riders from among the servants of the Baṇ 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-°abaṛ*: ٥: ٢٤٢, Hisḥm bin Mu’ammad reporting from Aḅ Mikhnaf). Al-Muf̣d (pg. ٢٠١) also has related it and so has Ibn al-Jawẓ (pg. ٢٢٦) saying: “Al-°usain (‘a) left Maḍnah 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-Jawẓ reports from Hisḥm and Mu’ammad bin Iṣiq that [al-°usain (‘a) left] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab. According to al-Khẉrazṃ (pg. ١٨٩), he left on the third of Sha’ḅn!

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 Maḍnah supported by two people as related] by Sa’°d al-Maqbar° who said: “I saw al-°usain (‘a) entering the mosque of Maḍnah. 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-°anafiiyyah]^٤

[With regard to Mu’ammad bin al-°anafiiyyah, when he heard

^١ *Al-±abar°* (°:٣٣٨-٣٤١): “Hishim bin Mu’ammad reports from Ab° Mikhnaf...” See also *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٠١).

^٢ Al-Khwirazm° (pg. ١٨٦) related it uptil here.

^٣ *Al-±abar°* (°:٣٤٢): “Ab° Mikhnaf says: “Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musilliq 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 Wjil (°:١٠٤). He was together with his father, ‘Al° (‘a) on the day of Jamal, and was given the banner by him (°: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 (°:٥١٢). Ibn al-°anafiiyyah participated in ʿiffin also where ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Umar challenged him for a duel but ‘Al° (‘a) prevented him, out of pity, lest he should be killed (°:١٣). Ibn

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

al-°anafiyah was residing in Maḍnah when al-°usain (‘a) departed Makkah for Iraq (°:٣٩٤).

Mukhṭr had claimed that he was calling the people of Ḳfah on behalf of Ibn al-°anafiyah (°:°٦١). 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 Mukhṭr, he gave him [i.e. Ibn al-°anafiyah] the appellation of ‘Imam al-Mahḍ’ (٦:١٤). Mukhṭr showed Ibṛḥm bin Ṃlik al-Ashtar a document attributed to Ibn al-°anafiyah, thus inviting Ibṛḥm to follow him on that authority (٦:٤٦). The incident was reported to Ibn al-°anafiyah 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 Karbaḷ] when Mukhṭr killed ‘Umar bin Sa’d and his son, he sent their heads to Ibn al-°anafiyah (٦:٦٢). He also tried to dispatch an army to Ibn al-°anafiyah 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-°anafiyah at Zamzam, along with other seventeen people from among his family members and the people of Ḳfah who were with him, and asked them to pay him allegiance, or else he would burn them! So Ibn al-°anafiyah sent three men from Ḳfah to Mukhṭr seeking his help. So Mukhṭr sent ٤٠٠٠ men together with a great amount of money. As they reached Makkah, they entered Maṣjid al-°aṛim and freed the prisoners. After this, they sought the permission of Ibn al-°anafiyah 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 Sḥ‘ah from exaggeration (*ghuluww*) (٦:١٠٣). Ibn al-°anafiyah 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 (°:١٥٢). He passed away in ±jif and his funeral prayer was led by Ibn ‘Abḅs. (°: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 Yaẓd bin Mu’jwiyah 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-°anafiyah 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 Maḍnah]

[Al-°usain (‘a) had told Waḷd:] “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, Waḷd] 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-°anafīyyah.^٢

^١ *Al-±abaṛ* (٥:٣٤١): “Hishim bin Mu‘ammad reports from Aḅ Mikhnaf...” Al-Muf̣d (pg. ٢٠٢) also has narrated the report in *al-Irsḥd*. Al-Khẉrazṃ (pg. ١٨٨) has related it with some additions. He has also included the Imam’s will to Ibn al-°anafīyyah, narrating it from Ibn al-A’tham, [which says]: “Indeed, I have not come out...”, and then [al-Khẉrazṃ mentions the following as part of the will also]: “[and that I may follow the path of the Prophet (ﷺ)...] and that of the rightly guided caliphs!”

^٢ *Al-±abaṛ* (٥:٣٤١-٣٤١), and the date of his departure has been mentioned in (٥:٣٨١), which he also related from Aḅ Mikhnaf, who narrated it from ‘aq’ab bin Zuhair, who in turn reported from ‘Aun bin Aḅ Jul’afah. See also *al-Irsḥd* (pg. ٢٠٩). Ibn al-Jawẓ (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

also narrated it on page ٢٤٥ from Muḥammad bin Isḥāq and Hishīm [saying]: “[It was] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab.” But al-Khwārazmī says on page ١٨٩ of his *Maqtal*: “[It was on] the third day of Shaʿbān.”!

^١ Qurʾan: ٢٨: ٢١.

^٢ Qurʾan: ٢٨: ٢٢.

^٣ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥: ٢٤٢): “Hishīm bin Muḥammad reported from Abī Mikhnaḥf...”

The Stand of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar

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

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

** *Al-ṭabarī* (٥: ٢٤٢): “Hishīm bin Muḥammad reports on the authority of Abī Mikhnaḥf that...” Then *al-ṭabarī* says: “Al-Wāqidī (d. ٢٠٧ H) maintains that: ‘Ibn ‘Umar was not in Madḥnah when the news of Muʿjwiyah’s death and the matter of paying allegiance to Yazīd were brought to Walīd.” [So has been maintained by Ibn al-Jawzī (pg. ٢٣٧) also]. [Al-Wāqidī also says:] “And when Ibn al-Zubair and al-^ousayn [‘a] were summoned to pay allegiance to Yazīd, they refused to do so and left for Makkah the

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

AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN MAKKAH

Al-°usain (‘a) on the Way to Makkah

‘Uqbah bin Sim’jīn says: “We departed [from Maḍḥnah] 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.’”¹

‘Abdullah bin Muṣṣ’ al-‘Adawṣ

We met ‘Abdullah bin Muṣṣ’ al-‘Adawṣ. He said to al-°usain

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (°:٣٥١): “I narrate from Hishām bin Muḥammad who reported from Abī Mikhnaf who said: “‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab informed me saying: ‘Uqbah bin Sim’jīn –a servant of Rabīʿ bint Imra’ al-Qais al-Kalbiyyah, the wife of al-°usain (‘a) and the mother of Saḳnah bint al-°usjīn (‘a)- has narrated to me [this report].” We have given ‘Uqbah’s biography earlier. Al-Mufḥḍ (pg. ٢٠٢) also has related this and so has al-Khwārazmī (pg. ١٨٩) ascribing the report to Muslim bin ‘Aq̣l (‘a).

² *Al-ṭabarī*: He was a Quraishī. He was born during the time of the Prophet (ﷺ). He led the Quraish when the people of Maḍḥnah revolted against Yazīd (°:٤٨١). Then he joined Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah and fought on his side. Later, al-‘Adawṣ served as the governor of Ḳfah under Ibn al-Zubair as reported by *al-ṭabarī* (°:٢٢٢). This has been related also by al-Ya’qūbī (٣:٣&°), al-Mas’ūdī (٣:٨٢) and al-Khwārazmī (٢:٢٠٢), who narrated it from Muḥammad bin Isḥāq. Al-‘Adawī used to oppose Mukhtār until the latter expelled him from Ḳfah (٦:٣١). ṭabarī shall also relate in the coming pages –from Hishām on the authority of Abī Mikhnaf who reported from Muḥammad bin Qais- another meeting between Ibn al-Muṣṣ’ and the Imam (‘a) which took place at some watering place of the Arabs, located after °jjir and before Zarḥd.

(‘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 °ijz 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’bān.^٣

^١ Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg. ٢٤٣) has related this from Hishām and Mu’ammad bin Isḥāq. Al-Khwārazm¢ (pg. ١٨٩) narrated it from Ibn al-A’tham.

^٢ *Al-±abar¢* (°:٣٥١), from ‘Uqbah’s report.

^٣ *Al-±abar¢* (°:٣٨٧): “Ab£ Mikhna£ 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’bān, the month of Ramaḍān, Dhī al-Qa’dah and the first eight days of Dhī 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 (§awīf). He would visit al-°usayn (‘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-°usayn (‘a)]. He (‘a) was the most despised of Allah’s creatures by Ibn al-Zubair, because he realized that the people of °ijz would never pledge allegiance to him so long as al-°usayn (‘a) was in the city, and that al-°usayn (‘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 Kḥfah]^٣

When the people of Kḥfah learnt about the death of Mu’jwiyah,

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

^١ *Al-±abarḥ* (°:٣٨١), also from the report of ‘Aun bin Abḥ Ju’aifah. Ibn al-Jawzḥ (pg. ٢٤٥) has related it on the authority of Hishām.

^٢ *Al-±abarḥ* (°:٣٥١), from the report of ‘Uqbah. Al-Mufḥḍ (pg. ٢٠٢) has narrated this also.

^٣ *Al-±abari*: There were ٣٠٠٠٠ people in Kḥfah who had participated in the battle of al-Qiḍiyyah (°:٧٥). In the year ١٨ H, ‘Umar appointed Shuraiḥ bin al-°irith al-Kindḥ as the judge of Kḥfah (°:١٠١). In ٢٠ H, ‘Umar dismissed Sa’d from the governorship of Kḥfah as a result of the people complaining that he did not even know how to pray! It was in the same year that ‘Umar evicted the Jews of Najrān to Kḥfah (°:١١٢). In the year ٢١ H, he appointed ‘Ammār bin Yisr as the governor of Kḥfah, 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 ‘Ammjr, so he requested to be relieved of his post (£: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 ١٠٠٠٠٠ fighters (£:١٦٥), whereas during the time of ‘Umar, it had £٠٠٠٠٠ combatants, ١٠٠٠٠٠ 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 (£:٢٤٦).

In the year ٢٧ 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] £٠٠٠٠٠ combatants, ١٧٠٠٠٠ sons capable of participating in battles, and ٨٠٠٠٠ of their slaves. This sums up to ٦٥٠٠٠٠ warriors (°:٧٩), of which ٨٠٠ were from Mad£nah (£:٨٣).

Sa’d arranged them into groups: Kanjnah and their allies from among the A|jb£sh and Jad£lah formed a group. Qadhj’ah, Baj£lah, Khath’am, Kindah, °a°ramaut and Azd comprised another group. Madhlj, °imyar, Hamd;n and their followers made up the third group. Tam£m, Haw;zín and al-Rub;b were the fourth group. The fifth group consisted of Asad, Ghašf;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 (£:٤٨).

[In the later order,] ‘Amru bin °ir£th was in charge of the group of the people of Mad£nah. Kh;líd bin ‘Arqašah 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 Madhlj and Asad. The leaders of all these groups [were among those who] testified against °ujr and his companions (°:٢٦٨).

the people of Iraq spread rumours about Yazḡd and said: “Al-^ousain (‘a) and Ibn al-Zubair have refused to pay allegiance and have left for Makkah.”^١

Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdjñḡ reports^٢: “We assembled in the house of Sulaimjñ bin ṭurad [al-Khuzj’ḡ^٣ and he

^١ Al-ṭabarḡ (٥:٣٥١), from the report of ‘Uqbah.

^٢ Al-ṭabarḡ (٥:٣٥٢): “Abḡ Mikhnaf says: ‘^oajjj bin ‘Alḡ informed me on the authority of Muḥammad bin Bishr al-Hamdjñḡ who said...”

^٣ Al-Kashhḡ mentions him in his *Rijl* (pg. ٦٤, ḡadḡth no. ١٢٤) on the authority of Faḡl bin Shjdhjñ, under the topic: ‘From among the great personalities of the *tjbi’ḡn*, their heads and the pious of them.’ Al-ṭḡḡḡ also has mentioned him in his *Rijl* (pg. ٤٣) among the companions of the Prophet (ḡ) and of the Commander of the Faithful, [‘Alḡ (‘a)]. However, al-ṭḡḡḡ 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 Naḡr bin Muzjñim on page six of his book. [Ibn Muzjñim] says: “‘Alḡ (‘a) said to [Ibn ṭurad]: ‘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-Khuzj’ḡ 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 ṭiffḡn, ‘Alḡ (‘a) appointed him as the commander of the right flank of his foot soldiers (*Waq’at ṭiffḡn*, pg. ٢٠٥). Sulaimjñ engaged ^oawshab -the leader of the people of Yemen who was from Shjm- in a duel and killed him saying: “‘Alḡ is loved by us. We ransom him with our fathers and mothers (*Waq’at ṭiffḡn*, pg. ٤٠١). He was struck on his face with a sword in the same battle (*Waq’at ṭiffḡn*, pg. ٥١٤). Abḡ Mikhnaf has counted Sulaimjñ bin ṭurad among the companions of the Prophet (ḡ) and the leaders of the Shḡ‘ah (*al-ṭabarḡ*: ٥:٥٥٢). He led the Tawwjbfḡn movement in ٦٤ H (٥:٥٥٥). His excuse [for not joining al-^ousain (‘a)] was: “We acted smartly and waited to see what would happen until he was [finally] killed.”! (٥:٥٥٤).

addressed us] saying:

‘Mu’jwiyah 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, Rafi’ah bin Shadd;d,^٣

^١ Al-Khw;rasm£ (pg. ١٩٣) has narrated this in detail.

^٢ Al-Kashh£ mentions him in his *Rijl* (pg. ٦٤, lad£th no. ١٢٤) under the topic: ‘From among the outstanding personalities of the *tjbi’£n*, their heads and the pious of them.’ Al-±£s£ counts him in his *Rijl* (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 *Rijl* (pg. ٦٥, lad£th no. ١١٨) among those righteous people who buried Ab£ Dharr. Shaikh al-±£s£ [also] mentions him in his *Rijl* (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

ʿabḥb bin Muʿjhir¹ and his followers from among the believers and Muslims of Kḥfah. 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 (*fayʿ*). He was ruling over the people against their wish, killed their chosen ones and preserved the wicked among them. He made the wealth of

as the leader of the Banī Bajalah [or Bajḥlah] (*Waqʿat ʿiffḥn*, pg. ٢٠٥). Later, Ibn Shaddīd joined ʿujr bin ʿAdiyy and ʿAmru bin al-ʿamq. When Ziyīd bin Abḥh pursued ʿAmru, Ibn Shaddīd fled with him to the mountains in Mosul. Though ʿAmru was then captured, Ibn Shaddīd managed to escape with his horse (*al-ḥabari*: ٥:٢٦٥).

He was the second of the Tawwībīn leaders to address his fellow colleagues (٥:٥٥٣). He was commissioned to mobilize them (٥:٥٨٧). He was the last commander of the Tawwībīn movement (٥:٥٩٦). Ibn Shaddīd 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 Kḥfah at night together with the people (٥:٦٠٥). Ibn Shaddīd corresponded with Mukhtīr (٦:٨) and took allegiance for him from the people (٦:٩). However, he revolted against Mukhtīr in Kḥfah with the people of Yemen and was leading them in prayers (٦:٤٧). When Ibn Shaddīd heard of a man from Hamdhīn calling: ‘Revenge for ʿUthmīn!’ in response to the call of Mukhtīr: “Revenge for al-ʿusayn (‘a)’, he retorted: “What have we to do with ʿUthmīn! I will not fight on the side of the avengers of ʿUthmīn’s blood. He then said: “I am the son of Shaddīd, following the path of ʿAlī. I am not a partisan of ʿUthmīn bin Arwī.” Ibn Shaddīd was killed at the bath of al-Mahbadhīn at Sabkhah. He was an ascetic (*nāsik*) person (٦:٥).

¹ *Al-ḥabari*: He led the left flank of al-ʿusayn’s army (٥:٤٢٢). ʿuḥayn bin Tamḥm boasted of killing him and hanging his head on the breast of his horse. Qīsim, son of ʿabḥb, avenged his father’s assassin, Budail bin ʿuraim al-Tamḥmḥ, as they were in the army of Muḥab bin al-Zubair during the expedition of Bījmḥrī.

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’mjn bin Bash£r is in the governor’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 Shjm, by the will of Allah. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.’^١

Then we sent the letter with ‘Abdullah bin Sab’ al-Hamdjn£ and ‘Abdullah bin Wjl [al-Tam£m£].^٢ 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-°aidjw£°, ‘Abd al-Ramjn bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-

^١ See *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwjrazm£ (pg. ١٩٤).

^٢ Al-Muf£d (pg. ٢٠٣) mentions him as ‘Abdullah bin Masma’, while al-Khwjrazm£ (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 *Rijl* (pg. ٧٧), Shaikh al-££s£ confines himself to mentioning their first names only and says: “‘Abdullah and ‘Ubaidullah; they are well known.” ‘Abdullah bin Wjl al-Tam£m£ was the third leader of the Tawwjb£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-°jjir, who then sent him with a letter to the people of K£fah. When Qais reached al-Qjdisiyyah, he was arrested by °u£a£n bin Tam£m al-Tam£m£

Arʿabç¹ and ‘Umjrah bin ‘Ubaid al-Salʿlç,² taking with them around [a hundred and] fifty letters,³ [some written] by a single person, and others by [a group of] two or four.”

Muʿammad bin Bishr continues: “Then we waited for two more days before sending another letter with Hjñi’ bin Hjñi’ al-Sabç’ç and Sa’çd bin ‘Abdullah al-°anʿfç⁴ saying:

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

and sent to Ibn Ziyjd. 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 (°:٣٩°). When al-°usain (‘a) reached ‘Udhaib al-Hijñit, 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” (°:٤٠°).

¹ Al-Mufçd (pg.٢٠٣) mentions him as ‘Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Raʿmñ Shaddjd al-Arʿabç! Ibn al-Jawzç (pg.١٩٤) calls him ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abd al-Raʿmñ! He was with Muslim on this way to Iraq (*al-±abari*:°:٣٥٤).

² Al-Khwjrazmç (pg.١٩٥) calls him ‘amir bin ‘Ubaid. Al-Mufçd (pg.٢٠٣) and Ibn al-Jawzç (pg.٢٤٤) mention him as ‘Umjrah bin ‘Abdullah al-Salʿlç. He was with Muslim on his way to Iraq (*al-±abari*:°:٣٥٤), and also at Hjñi’s place (°:٣٦٣). But nothing is known about him after this.

³ The text of *al-±abarç* reads: “About ٥٣ letters”, but Shaikh al-Mufçd (pg.٢٠٣) mentions a hundred and fifty. So has Ibn al-Jawzç (pg.٢٤٤) from Hishjm bin Muʿammad bin Ishjq, and al-Khwjrazmç (pg.١٩٥) from Ibn al-Aʿtham. Therefore, it seems that ‘*thaljthah*’ [i.e. three] in *al-±abari*’s report is the distorted form (*taʿlç*) of ‘*al-mi’ah*’ [i.e. a hundred].

⁴ We shall mention later that the two returned to Kffah with the reply from Imam (‘a). With regard to Hjñi’, no trace of him is found. As for al-°anafç, he joined the Imam (‘a) and was martyred together with him.

Al-°usayn (‘a) in Makkah

١٤٨

°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. ٢٠٢) has narrated this and so has Ibn al-Jawz¢ (pg. ٢٤٤).

Shabath bin Rib’ç’, °ajjir bin Abjar’

‘ *Al-±abarç* (°:٣٦٩): Al-Yarbç’ç al-Tamçmç. He was the caller to prayer (*mu’adhhin*) of Sajjil’, a man from the clan of Ma°ariyyah who had claimed prophethood (°:٣٧٣). He later professed Islam and supported the uprising against ‘Uthmīn. He then joined ‘Alç (‘a) and was with him at ‘iffçn, leading the warriors of the Banf ‘Amru bin °an’alah from Kffah (*Waq’at ‘iffçn*, pg.٢٠٥). He led the left flank of ‘Alç’s army at Nahrawīn (*al-±abarç*:°:٨٥). He was the emissary between ‘Alç (‘a) and Mu’īwiyah together with a group of other people (*Waq’at ‘iffçn*, pg.٩٧). Shabath testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy that he revolted against Ibn Ziyīd (*al-±abari*:°:٢٦٩). He was present at the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) and was leading the foot soldiers [of Ibn Ziyīd] on the day of “shfrij’” (°: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 ‘Alç bin Abç ±ilib and his son after him against the family of Abç Sufyīn 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’īwiyah and the son of Sumayyah, the adulteress?! Misguidance! What a misguidance!” (°:٤٣٢-٤٣٧). Shabath was exactly the one who had reproached the people of Kffah when they celebrated the killing of Ibn ‘Awsajah (°:٤٣٦). However, he was afraid of Ibn Ziyīd to express such kind of his stands, so he built a mosque to show his joy for the killing of al-°usain! (°:٢٢٢). Later he fought against Mukhtir along with ٣٠٠٠ warriors of Ibn Muçç’ who was a proxy of Ibn al-Zubair (°:٢٣).

‘ *Al-±abarç*: Al-‘ljç (°:٣٦٩). His father was a Christian and a revered personality amidst them (°:١٤٥). Ibn Abjar was among those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy in favour of Ibn Ziyīd (°:٢٧٠). He also raised the banner of amnesty for his son on the

Yaz°d bin al-H;riþ bin Yaz°d bin Ruwaim’,

day Muslim rose (°:٣٦٩). On the day of ‘ashfrj’, he denied having written a letter to the Imam (‘a) (°:٤٢٥). Later, al-‘Ijl° fought for Mu¥’ab against Mukhtjr (°: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 (°:١٣٦). Ibn Abjar al-‘Ijl° was one of those people in Kffah 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 Iffah;n. Accordingly, ‘Abd al-Malik granted it to all of them (°: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?!” (°:١٥٨). He was alive until the year ٧١ H, after which there is no trace of him.

’ *Al-±abar°*: He was Ab£ °awshab al-Shaib;n°. On the day of “ashfrj”, he denied having written to al-°usain (°:٤٢٥). When Yaz°d was killed and ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy;d appointed ‘Amru bin °uraith over Kffah, the latter started calling the people to pay allegiance to Ibn Ziy;d. Here Yaz°d bin al-°;riþ 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;jil intervened and prevented him from that (°:٥٢٤). He then became the follower of ‘Abdullah bin Yaz°d al-Khašm° al-An¥;r°, the governor of Kffah under Ibn al-Zubair, before Ibn Muš°’. Ibn al-°;riþ used to prompt al-An¥;r° to fight Sulaim;n bin °urad and his companions before their revolt (°:٥٦١-٥٦٣). He also urged him to imprison Mukhtjr (°:٥٨٠). Later, Ibn Muš°’ sent him to Jabb;nah Mur;jd to fight Mukhtjr (°:١٨). He also sent him with an army of ٢٠٠٠ men to a road in La’;jm Jar°. They stopped at the opening of the roads (°:٢٦) and positioned their archers on top of the houses and hence stopped Mukhtjr from entering Kffah (°:٢٨). He then rose against Mukhtjr during his reign over Ban° Rab°’ah (°:٤٥) and was defeated along with his companions (°:٥٢). Yaz°d was one of those who fought the followers of the sect of Az;riqah, from the Kh;jw;rij, in ٦٨ H, along with °;riþ bin Ab° Rab°’ah, the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kffah (°:١٢٤). Mu¥’ab appointed him as the administrator of Mad;jn

‘Azarah bin Qais’, ‘Amru bin al-^oajjj al-Zubaidiyy[†] and

(٦:١٣٤). In ٧٠ H, he was appointed the governor of Rayy under ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (٦:١٦٤). He was finally killed by the Khawārij (*Ibāʾir al-‘Ain*, pg. ١٥). His grandfather was Yazīd bin Ruwaim al-Shaibnī, who was leading the Kffan tribe of Dhahl at ʾiffn alongside ‘Alī (‘a) (*Waqʾat ʾiffn*, pg. ٢٠٥).

[†] *Al-ṭabari*: Al-Aḥmasī. He was among those who testified against ^oujr 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 Karbalī] (٥:٤١٠). It was exactly because of this that on the evening of the ninth of Muḥarram, Zuhair bin al-Qain answered ‘Azarah alluding to that: “By Allah, I did not write any letter to him, nor did I send any messenger, nor had I promised him my support.” ‘Azarah was the partisan of ‘Uthmān. He told Zuhair: “I was never a follower of the people of this house [i.e. the family of the Prophet (ﷺ)], I was rather a partisan of ‘Uthmān” (٥:٤١٧). On the day of ‘aḥḥrī, ‘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-^ousain (‘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 Ziyāḍ (٥:٤٥٦). No trace of him is found after this.

[†] *Al-ṭabarī*: Al-Zubaidī is among those who testified against ^oujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٧٠). His sister, Raw’ah bint al-^oajjj, was the wife of Hānī bin ‘Urwah and the mother of Yaʿyī bin Hānī (٥:٣٦٤). When Hānī was said to be killed, al-Zubaidī accompanied a large group of people from the clan of Madhāj [to the palace of Ibn Ziyāḍ]. But when Shurāī informed them that Hānī was still alive, they all dispersed (٥:٣٦٧). Al-Zubaidī was present in Karbalī. ‘Umar bin S’ad sent him together with ٥٠٠ horse riders to position themselves at the river bank and stop al-^ousain [‘a] and his companions from reaching the water. This was three days before the martyrdom [of al-^ousain (‘a)] (٥:٤١٧). He rebuked Ibn S’ad for

Muḥammad bin ‘Umar al-Tamḥmḥ’ saying:

“The gardens have grown green, the fruits have ripened and the waters have overflowed^١. So if you want to, then come to

his delay in granting the request of the Imam [‘a] for respite for the tenth night (٥:٤١٧). Al-Zubaidḥ 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-^ousain (‘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 Kḥfah (٥:٤٥٦). Ibn al-Zubaidḥ also supported Ibn Muṣḥḥ’ against Mukhtīr (٦:٢٨) in an army of ٢٠٠٠ men from the Thauriyyḥn (٦:٢٩), and then he fought in the area of the [Banḥ] Murjḍ alongside his followers from Madhḥij (٦:٤٥). When Mukhtīr attained victory, Ibn al-Zubaidḥ mounted his [horse] and took the direction of Sharḥf and Wḥqīḥyah and was not seen after that (٦:٥٢).

^١ *Al-ṭabari*: Ibn ‘Aṣḥrud. He was one of those who bore witness against ^oujr bin ‘Adiyy (٥:٢٧٠). He was leading the Muṣḥar in fighting against Mukhtīr (٦:٤٧). Later, he paid allegiance to him and was sent to Azerbaijan as the governor (٦:٣٤). Ibn ‘aṣḥrud was alongside ^oirith bin Abḥ Rabḥ’ah –the governor of Kḥfah under Ibn al-Zubair- in the latter’s struggle against the Khḥrijḥ sect of Azḥriqah (٦:١٢٤). He was among the adherents of Marwḥn in Kḥfah to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwḥn had written [asking for his support] (٦:١٥٦). He was later assigned by ‘Abd al-Malik with the governreship of Hamadḥn (٦:١٦٤). He then returned to Kḥfah and was there during the time of ^oajjaj in ٧٥ H. (٦:٢٠٤). There is no trace of him after this period. His father, ‘Umar bin ‘Aṣḥrud, was leading the clan of Tamḥm from Kḥfah alongside ‘Alḥ (‘a) at ḥiffḥn (*Waq’at ḥiffḥn*, pg. ٢٠٥). Ibn ‘Aṣḥrud was among those who slandered against ‘Amru bin al-^oumq al-Khuzḥj’ḥ before Ziyḥd in order for him to be killed, to the extent that he was reproached by ‘Amru (٥:٢٣٦).

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

an army which has been gathered for you. Peace be upon you.”^۱

[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 Ḥini’ bin Ḥini’ al-Sabʕ’ and Sa’ʕd bin ‘Abdullah al-°anafʕ -who were the last of the messengers. [The reply read as follows:]

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From °usain bin ‘Alʕ to the congregation of the believers and Muslims. Ḥini’ and Sa’ʕd 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 ‘Aqʕl. 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 (*iṃm*) is none but one who acts according to the Book [of Allah], upholds justice, follows the truth, and devotes himself

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

^۱ See *al-Irsḥid* (pg. ۲۰۳) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ۲۴۴).

entirely to Allah. And that is all.”^١

[The Journey of Ibn ‘Aq̣l]

He then summoned Muslim bin ‘Aq̣l and sent him with Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidjẉç^٢, ‘Uṃrah bin ‘Ubaid al-Saḷḷç^٣ ‘Abd al-Ra’iṃn bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Aṛaḅç.^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 committed themselves to agreement, then he should speedily inform him of that.

Muslim thus started his journey till he reached Maḍnah. He prayed in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) 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-Mạçq̣ in Baṣ̣n al-Khubait.^٥

^١ *Al-±abaṛç* (٥:٣٥٣): “Aḅ Mikhnaf says: ‘Al-°ajjj̣ bin ‘Aḷ informed me from Mu’ammad bin Bishr al-Hamḍj̣ṇç who said...”. Al-Muf̣çd (pg.٢٠٤) and Ibn al-Jawẓç (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 Ḳffah to the Imam (‘a). We have already given their biographies [in brief]. Al-Muf̣çd and Ibn al-Jawẓç mention ‘Uṃrah bin ‘Ubaid as Ibn ‘Abdullah. With regard to ‘Abd al-Ra’iṃn bin ‘Abdullah, al-Muf̣çd (pg.٢٠٤) says: ‘Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Ra’iṃn, the two sons of Ṛshid al-Aṛaḅç.

^٥ *Al-±abaṛç* (٥:٣٥٤) brings this report after the narration of Aḅ

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

Muslim bin Aq̄l sent a letter to al-°usain (‘a) with Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidjw̄. He wrote:

“I set out from Mad̄nah 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-Māq̄q at Baṣn al-Khubait.^۱ 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.”^۲

[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

Mikhnaḥ from Ab̄ al-Makh̄riq al-R̄sib̄.

^۱ Khub̄ is located in the suburbs of Mad̄nah, in the direction of Makkah. It seems that the guides strayed to the extent that they turned towards Makkah, as reported in *Ib̄j̄r al-‘Ain* (pg. ۱۶).

^۲ Al-Muf̄d (pg. ۲۰۴) has narrated this and so has al-Khw̄razm̄ (pg. ۱۹۷) with a slight difference. *Al-±abar̄* has also related it on the authority of Mu’iwiyyah bin ‘Amm̄r from Imam al-B̄qir (‘a) (۰:۳۴۷).

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 KĦFAH AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF MUSLIM BIN ‘AQĤL

[Muslim (‘a) Enters KĦfah]

Muslim [‘a] continued his journey until he reached KĦfah [together with his three companions: Qais bin Musahhar al-‘aidjwċ, ‘Umjrah bin ‘Ubaid al-SalĤlċ and ‘Abd al-Ra’mjn bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Ar‘abċ].¹ [There] he stayed in the house of Mukhtjr bin Abċ ‘Ubaid.²

¹ *Al-ṭabarċ* (٥:٣٥٥). This was on the fifth of Shawwjl as mentioned in *MurĤj al-Dhahab* (٧:٨٦) of al-Mas’Ĥdċ.

² *Al-ṭabarċ*: Al-Thaqafċ. He was born in the first year of Hijrah (٧:٤٠٧). In ٣٧ H, his uncle Sa’d bin Mas’Ĥd al-Thaqafċ appointed him over Madjn as his deputy (٥:٧٦). He remained there with his uncle until after the Year of Unity, ٤٠ H (٥:١٥٩). *Al-ṭabarċ* mentions what Mukhtjr pointed to his uncle about the surrender of al-‘asan (‘a) to Mu’jwiyah (٥:٥٦٩). During his rule over KĦfah, Ziyċd had invited Mukhtjr to testify against ‘ujr bin ‘Adiyy but he evaded it (٥:٢٧٠). Mukhtjr was the standard-bearer on the day Muslim rose in KĦfah (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 Hjni, [even] before the [attempted] rise of Muslim (‘a). Mukhtjr yielded to the invitation of ‘Amru bin ‘uraith al-MakhzĤmċ to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyċd 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).

Mukhtjr had a sister by the name of ‘afiyyah, who was the wife of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar. Mukhtjr sent his cousin -Zjidah bin Qudjmah al-Thaqafċ- to Ibn ‘Umar, asking him to write to Yazċd and request him to order Ibn Ziyċd to free him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Ziyċd expelled Mukhtjr from KĦfah. He then went to ‘ijjz and paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and participated with him in a severe battle against the people of Shjm. Five months after the death of Yazċd, Mukhtjr left Ibn al-Zubair and went to KĦfah

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The Shḥ‘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.

‘Abbjs bin Abḥ Shu’aib al-Shjkirḥ ‘ got up, praised Allah and

(٥:٥٧٠-٥٧٨). He entered the city at the time when Sulaimjn bin ʿurad al-Khuzj’ḥ was calling the Shḥ‘ah to repent and avenge the blood of al-°usain (‘a). Here Mukhtjr claimed that he was sent by Ibn al-°anafiyah and that Sulaimjn was not acquainted with warfare, and therefore, he would end up killing himself and his companions (٥:٥٦٠ & ٥٨٠). Mukhtjr was imprisoned by Ibn Muṣḥḥ’ - the governor of Ibn al-Zubair- at the start of the Movement of Tawwjbfn (٥:٦٠٥). Mukhtjr sent his slave –Zarbiyy- to Ibn ‘Umar asking him to write and request Ibn Muṣḥḥ’ to release him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Muṣḥḥ’ released him after taking an oath and surety from him (٦:٨). Mukhtjr was freed and attained victory over the matter. He fought Ibn Ziyjd and killed him. He also killed the assassins of al-°usain (‘a). He was finally killed by Muṣ’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 °ajjj al-Thaqafḥ (٦:١١٠). Muṣ’ab also killed one of Mukhtjr’s wives by the name of ‘Umarah bint Nu’mjn bin Bashḥr and freed his other wife, Umm Thjbit, daughter of Samurat bin Jundab (٦:١١٢).

In the year ٧١ H, Muṣ’ab fought against ‘Abd al-Malik in whose army Zjidad bin Qudjmah al-Thaqafḥ happened to be present. Zjidad killed Muṣ’ab and cried: revenge for Mukhtjr! (٦:١٥٩). Mukhtjr’s house was situated near the mosque and was purchased by ‘«sj bin Mfsj al-‘Abbjsḥ from his heirs in ١٥٩ H (٨:١٢٢). It seems that the reason behind choosing Mukhtjr’s house for the stay of Muslim (‘a) was due to the fact that the former was the son in-law of Nu’mjn bin Bashḥr, the governor of Kḥfah. This was enough as a protection, especially if we take into consideration *al-±abarḥ*’s report (٥:٥٦٩) which says: “The Shḥ‘ah were reproaching and reviling Mukhtjr because of his stand in the case of °asan bin ‘Alḥ (‘a), on the day he was stabbed in the darkness of an overlaid lane and was then carried to Madjn in broad day light.”

‘ *Al-±abarḥ*: Thereafter, he took Muslim bin ‘Aql’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 °abċb bin Mu’jhir al-Faq’asċ [al-Asadċ] 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-°anafċ¹ also said something similar to that.

The Shċ‘ah visited [Muslim] so frequently that his place [of residence] became well-known and the news reached Nu’mġn bin Bashċr². [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

al-°usain (‘a) (°:٣٧°). He remained with him till he was killed (°:٤٤٤). He was from the [Banġ] Hamġn.

¹ He is Sa’ċd bin ‘Abdullah al-°anafċ, the messenger of the people of Kġfah to Imam al-°usain (‘a). He had returned to Kġfah with the Imam’s reply to them.

² *Al-±abarċ* (°:٣٥٥): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abġ al-Waddġk who said: ‘Nu’mġn bin Bashċr came out to us and ascended the pulpit...’”

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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 (*imim*), 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’ḍ al-°aḥramḥ¹ - an ally of the Banḥ 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’mīn 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 Yazḍ bin Mu’īwiyah [saying]:

“Muslim bin ‘Aqḥl has arrived in Kḥfah and the Shḥ‘ah have pledged allegiance to him on behalf of °usain bin ‘Alḥ. So if you have any need for Kḥfah, 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’mīn bin Bashḥr is a weak man, or he is acting like a weak man.”

Then ‘Umīrah bin ‘Uqbah² wrote to Yazḍ in similar vein.

¹ *Al-±abarḥ*: His name appears in the list of those who gave witness against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy as ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Shu’bah al-°aḥramḥ. (°:٢٦٩)

² *Al-±abarḥ*: He is the brother of Walḥd bin ‘Uqbah bin Abḥ Muḥḥ.

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Then ‘Umar bin Sa’d bin Abċ WaqqiŸ

He and his brother, Walċd, had come from Makkah to Madċnah to request the Messenger of Allah (Ÿ) to send back to them their sister, Umm Kulthċm -who had migrated to Madċnah- by virtue of the terms agreed in the treaty of ʿudaibiyyah, but the Prophet refused (٢:٦٤٠). Their house was [situated near] the valley of Kġfah (٤:٢٧٤). ‘Umġrah’s daughter, Umm Ayyġb, was the wife of Mughċrah bin Shu’bah. When Mughċrah died, she was married by Ziyġd bin Abċh (٥:١٨٠). ‘Umġrah is the one who slandered against ‘Amru bin al-ʿamq al-Khuzġċ before Ziyġd (٥:٢٣٦). His father, ‘Uqbah bin Abċ Mu’ċŸ, was brought to the Messenger of Allah [Ÿ] while he was an infidel (*kġfir*) and the Prophet [Ÿ] ordered him to be killed. So he said: “O Mu’ammad! Who is going to look after the children? The Prophet [Ÿ] replied: “The fire” (٥:٣٤٩). ‘Umġrah was present in the palace on the day Muslim was killed (٥:٣٧٦). He is also the one who slandered against Mukhtġr before Ibn Ziyġd on the day Muslim rose (٥:٥٧٠). There are no reports about him after this.

ʿAl-ʿabarċ: His mother was Bushrġ, the daughter of Qais bin Abċ al-Kaisam, who was taken as a captive among those who had turned their back from Islam after the Prophet [Ÿ] (٣:٣٤١). So he must have been born in the beginning of the second decade of Hijrah, and must have been around fifty in Karbalġ. In the year ١٧ or ١٩ H when he was still a young man, his father, Sa’d, sent him with ‘Ayġġ 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/kċm*), and so he brought him [for this purpose] from the watering place of the Banġ Sulaim in a desert area, to Dġmah 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 Shġrġ [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 ʿujr (٥:٢٦٩) and among those who wrote to Yazċd advising him to save the situation in Kġfah (٥:٣٥٦). He disliked Muslim bin ‘Aqġl making his will to him and [later] disclosed it to Ibn Ziyġd who said: “A trustworthy person never betrays you, but sometimes a

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wrote to him in the same.¹

traitor has to be trusted” (•:٣٧٧). Muḥammad bin al-Ash’ath al-Kindī wanted to appoint ‘Umar bin Sa’d as the governor of Kḥfah after Ibn Ziyād, but the members of the Banī Hamdān opposed him; their men came out putting on swords, while their women were lamenting for al-ʿusain (‘a) (•:•٢٤). Mukhtar sent Abī ‘Umrah against ‘Umar bin Sa’d. The former managed to kill him and brought his head to Mukhtar. He then killed his son, ʿafṣ 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-ʿusain (‘a).” He then dispatched their heads to Muḥammad bin al-ʿanafīyah in Madīnah (٦:٢-٦١).

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (•:٣•٧): Hishām says: “ʿAwḍ bin Ḥanẓal has narrated: ‘When [all] the letters reached Yazīd with the [maximum] gap of two days between them, he summoned Sarjaun*, Mu’jīyah’s retainer, and asked him: ‘What is your opinion? Al-ʿusain has set out for Kḥfah, while Muslim bin ‘Aqīl is there receiving allegiance on behalf of al-ʿusain. I have been informed that Nu’mān is weak and [I have had] other bad reports about him. What do you think? Who should I appoint as the governor of Kḥfah?’ [This was at a time when] Yazīd was angry with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. Sarjaun said: ‘Tell me, if Mu’jīyah was to be raised, would you accept his opinion?’ Yazīd replied: ‘Yes.’ [Here,] Sarjaun took out Mu’jīyah’s [letter in which] he had appointed ‘Ubaidullah over Kḥfah and said: ‘This is the opinion of Mu’jīyah. He enjoined this letter as he died.’ Yazīd accepted the advice and summoned Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bḥilī** and dispatched him to ‘Ubaidullah in Baʿrah with the [letter of] his appointment. He wrote to him [as follows]: ‘My followers among the people of Kḥfah have written to me that Muslim bin ‘Aqīl is in Kḥfah gathering people, in order to cause difference in the ranks of the Muslims. Therefore, go to the people of Kḥfah when you read this letter of mine, and search for Ibn ‘Aqīl as if you were looking for a bead until you find him. Then bind him [in chains], kill him or expel him. That is all.’ Muslim bin ‘Amru set out till he reached Baʿrah and urged ‘Ubaidullah to get prepared and move to Kḥfah the next day.

ṭabarī has narrated this on the authority of ‘Ammār al-Duḥan*** from Abī Ja’far al-Bḥqir (‘a): “He then summoned his servant

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called Sarjaun whose advice he used to seek, and informed him of the news. Sarjaun said to him: 'If Mu'jwiyah was alive, would you have taken his counsel?' Yazḡd answered: 'Yes.' Sarjaun said: 'Then accept [this] from me; there is no one suitable for Kḡfah except 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyḡd. So appoint him over it.' Yazḡd was then angry with 'Ubaidullah and was even seriously thinking of dismissing him from Baḡrah. Yet, Yazḡd wrote to him showing his satisfaction and informing him that, besides Baḡrah, he has also appointed him over Kḡfah. He also wrote [to him] that he must search for Muslim bin 'Aqḡl and kill him if he were to find him" (٥:٣٤٨).

* Sarjaun bin Manḡḡr al-Rḡmḡ was Mu'jwiyah's scribe and the record keeper of his office (*al-ḡabari*: ٥:٣٣٠ & ٦:١٨٠).

** *Al-ḡabarḡ* (٥:٣٣٨): Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bḡhilḡ was in Baḡrah together with Ziyḡd bin Abḡḡ. He was respectable in the clan of Bḡhilah and was leading it in the year ٤٦ H. He resided in Shḡm [for some time] and was thus counted to be from both Shḡm and Baḡrah. He returned to Baḡrah with Yazḡd's letter to Ibn Ziyḡd and then moved with him to Kḡfah. When Hḡni' bin 'Urwah was brought before Ibn Ziyḡd, al-Bḡhilḡ asked him to submit Muslim bin 'Aqḡl to him (٥:٣٦٦). Al-Bḡhilḡ also abused Muslim when he reached the gate of the palace and asked for water (٥:٣٧٦). Later, he flattered Muḡ'ab bin al-Zubair who then sent him to fight Ibn al-ḡurr al-Ju'fḡ, but he was defeated in ٦٨ H (٦:١٣٣). He was acting as an assistant of Muḡ'ab (٦:١٣٦) and was killed together with Budair al-Jḡthalḡḡ in a battle against Marwḡn in ٧١ H (٦:١٥٨). Al-Bḡhilḡ used to love wealth exceedingly (٥:٤٣٣). He had seven sons: Qutaibah, 'Abd al-Raḡmḡn, 'Abdullah, 'Ubaidullah, ḡliḡ, Bashshḡr and Muḡammad (٦:٥١٦), all of whom joined ḡajḡḡ bin Yḡsuf. ḡajḡḡ appointed Qutaibah over Khurḡsḡn in the year ٨٦ H (٦:٤٣٤). Qutaibah later fought a battle and conquered Bḡkand, Nḡshkath, Rḡmthḡn, Bukhḡrḡ, Shḡmḡn, Kush, Nasaf, Khḡmjard, Samarqand, Shḡsh, Fargḡnah, Kḡshghar upto the borders of China. He also made peace with Nḡzak, Saghad and Khwḡrazmshḡh. Qutaibah was killed along with his brothers in ٩٦ H (٦:٤٣٩-٥٠٦).

*** 'Ammḡr al-Duhanḡ was the father of Mu'jwiyah bin 'Ammḡr. Mu'jwiyah was among the companions of Imam al-ḡidiḡ ('a) and Imam al-Kḡ'im ('a). His father, 'Ammḡr, was an outstanding personality and considered to be reliable by the people. His

[Al-°usain's Letter to the People of Baʿrah]

Al-°usain (‘a) sent a copy of his letter -with his servant Sulaimīn- to the heads of the five districts of Baʿrah^١ and also to such noblemen as Mīlik bin Masma’ al-Bakr^٢,

agnomen was Abġ Mu’jwiyah. He has, at times, narrated [reports] from Abġ Ja’far al-Bīqir (‘a) (See *al-Rijāl* of ‘Allīmah al-°illġ, pg. ١٦٦). ‘Ammīr also wrote a book as reported by Ibn al-Nadġm in *al-Fihrist* (pg. ٢٣٥; Europe edition).

^١ Historians have differed over the name of this messenger of al-°usain (‘a) to Baʿrah. In this book, he is called Sulaimīn as he is in *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwīrazmġ (١:١٩٩) who narrated that from Ibn al-A’tham. Sayyid Ibn ±jwġs has given him the same name in *al-Luhġf*, but with the agnomen of Abġ Razġn, 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 Isġiq al-Tamġmiyyah, one of al-°usain’s wives, and then got married to Abġ Razġn and gave birth to Sulaimīn. Ibn Namġ writes in *Muthġr al-A/zġn* (pg. ١٢) that Imam [‘a] sent the letter through Dhuray’ al-Sadġsġ. Sayyid al-Amġn has mentioned both of them together in his *Lawġij al-Ashġjn* (pg. ٣٦).

^٢ The city of Baʿrah was divided into five parts, each of them having a leader from among their outstanding men.

^٣ *Al-±abarġ*: Mīlik bin Masma’ al-Bakrġ al-Ja’darġ. He was the head of the clan of Banġ Bakr bin Wġil in Baʿrah (٤:٥٠٥). He granted asylum to Marwġn bin °akam on the day he was defeated. The descendants of Marwġn remained grateful to them for this favour and honoured them, while the Banġ Bakr made use of their good relationship with the Banġ Marwġn! (٥:٥٣٦). Mīlik was inclined towards the Banġ Umayyah and therefore refused to support Ziyġd against Ibn al-Khaṡramġ, whom Mu’jwiyah had earlier sent to Baʿrah to invite the people to his authority (٥:١١٠). Mīlik was the one who swore allegiance to Ibn Marġnah 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, Mīlik was accused of trying to restore Ibn Ziyġd in the office in Baʿrah (٥:٥١٢). Mīlik bin Masma’ was the head of the quarter of Bakr bin Wġil from Yemen which comprised the

Aḥnaf bin Qais'

Lahjzim, which consisted of the Banḥ Qais bin Tha'labah and their allies, Ghazzah; the clan of Shiya' al-Ljt and its allies: 'Ijl; and the family of Dhuhāḥ bin Tha'labah along with its allies: Yashkur and ʿai'ah bin Rabḥ'ah bin Nazzir. These groups were nomads, while the Hanḥfah were city dwellers (٥:٥١٥). When the tribe of Azd moved to Baḥrah towards the end of Mu'ḥwiyah's rule and the early days of Yazḥd's reign, Mjlik 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'ḥd bin 'Amru al-Ma'nj was in charge of them. They revolted against 'Abdullah bin al-ḥrith bin Naufal bin 'Abd al-Muḥḥalib al-Qarashḥ al-Hjshimḥ, with the intention of reinstating Ibn Ziyḥd in the office. They were defeated and Mjlik's house was set on fire (٥:٥٢١). Mjlik defended the followers of Mukhtjir in Baḥrah under tribal fervor, though he did not share with them their views (٦:٦٨). When Muḥ'ab fought Mukhtjir, Mjlik led the district of Bakr bin Wjil in support of Muḥ'ab (٦:٩٥). He also gave refuge to Khjlid bin 'Abdullah bin Khjlid bin 'Ubaid who was sent to Baḥrah by 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwḥn to invite people to his authority. Mjlik even took up arms in his defence and sustained injuries to his eyes. As a result, he was annoyed by the battle and sought refuge with 'Ubaidullah bin 'Ubaidullah bin Mu'ammār, Muḥ'ab's deputy. 'Ubaidullah gave him asylum but also expelled Khjlid from Baḥrah. Malik thereafter was afraid of Muḥ'ab, so he fled to his people at Tha'j (٦:١٥٢-١٥٥). Muḥ'ab [in turn] demolished his house (٦:١٥٥). There are no reports about him after this.

' *Al-ḥabarḥ*: Al-Aḥnaf Sakhr bin Qais Abḥ Baḥr al-Sa'dḥ. He has related [narrations] from 'Abbjs bin 'Abd al-Muḥḥalib (١:٢٦٢). In the year ١٧ H, 'Utbah bin Ghazwḥn sent him together with the delegation of the people of Baḥrah to 'Umar (٤:٧٤). He was among those people of Baḥrah 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 Khurjsḥn in order to conquer it (٤:٩٤). He pursued Yazdgard until he was killed (٤:١٧١). Al-Aḥnaf also conquered Herjt in ٢١ H (٤:٣٠١) and signed a peace treaty with [the people of] Mirwadḥd (٤:٣١٠) and Balakh (٤:٣١٣). He was among those people of Baḥrah with whom 'aishah was in

correspondence (٤:٤٦١).

During the battle of Baḥrah, Aḥnaf went to see 'Alḥ ('a) who invited him and his people in the city not to fight against him. Aḥnaf called on his men not to take up arms and they accepted his call and withdrew. When 'Alḥ ('a) gained victory, Aḥnaf entered the city with him, along with his ١٠٠٠٠ (٤:٤٦٧) or ٦٠٠٠ (٤:٤٦٨) or ٤٠٠٠ men (٤:٥٠١). Aḥnaf renewed his pledge with 'Alḥ ('a) in the evening of the same day (٤:٥٤١). Later, Aḥnaf came to 'Alḥ ('a) at Kḥfah and wrote to his kinsmen in Baḥrah inviting them to come over to Kḥfah, so that they could move together to ṭiffḥn and they accepted that (*Waq'at ṭiffḥn*, pg. ٢٤). Aḥnaf was leading Tamḥm, ʔubbah and Rubḥb on that day (*Waq'at ṭiffḥn*, pg. ١١٧). Nevertheless, he was apprehensive about the loss of Arabs [in the battle] (*Waq'at ṭiffḥn*, pg. ٣٨٧).

Aḥnaf proposed himself to 'Alḥ ('a) for the arbitration (*ta/kḥm*) and pointed to the tenderness of Abḥ Mḥsḥ, but his proposal was denied by Ash'ath bin Qais (*Waq'at ṭiffḥn*, pg. ٥٠١). Aḥnaf stopped 'Alḥ from erasing his name as the leader of the believers on the day of ṭiffḥn (*Waq'at ṭiffḥn*, pg. ٥٠٨). When Ash'ath came out to read the agreement reached at the arbitration, Aḥnaf stopped him from that and a man from the Banḥ Tamḥm 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 Banḥ Tamḥm, so Aḥnaf [immediately] went to Ash'ath and apologized to him (*Waq'at ṭiffḥn*, pg. ٥١٣). He had also advised Abḥ Mḥsḥ not to be deceived [in the arbitration] (*Waq'at ṭiffḥn*: pg. ٥٣٦). 'Alḥ ('a) used to invite Aḥnaf together with the Banḥ Hḥshim for consultation (٥:٥٣). Aḥnaf came out with the Banḥ Tamḥm in an army of ١٠٥٠٠ men during his second departure to ṭiffḥn (*al-ḥabarḥ*: ٥:٧٨).

In the year ٥٠ H, Aḥnaf went to see Mu'jwiyah who awarded him ١٠٠٠٠٠ [dirhams] (٥:٢٤٢). Again in ٥٩ H, Ibn Ziyḥd sent him to Mu'jwiyah where he was received last (٥:٣١٧). Aḥnaf later paid allegiance to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyḥd after Yazḥd in order to attain the governorship of Baḥrah (٥:٥٠٧). He also promised Ibn Ziyḥd to bring to him Ibn al-Zubair's propagandist. But when he saw the latter's refusal, Aḥnaf gave up persuading him (٥:٥٠٨).

When the tribe of Azd was attempting to reinstate Ibn Ziyḥd to the governorship after his escape, Banḥ Tamḥm flocked on Aḥnaf complaining to him of the return of Ibn Ziyḥd to power, and also of

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Mundhir bin al-Jrḥd^١, Mas'ḥd bin 'Amru^٢,

the killing of some men from the Banḥ Tamḥm at the hands of the Azd. So Aḥnaf rose with them against the Azd and killed Mas'ḥd bin 'Amru, the head of the Azd and the one who had granted protection to Ibn Ziyḥd. Upon this, Ibn Ziyḥd fled to Shḥm (٥:٥١٩). Subsequently, Aḥnaf paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair (٥:٦١٥). In ٦٧ H, he fought against Mukhtḥr alongside Muḥ'ab bin al-Zubair (٦:٩٥) and was the one to advice Muḥ'ab to kill those of Mukhtḥr's followers who had surrendered (٦:١١٦). It seems Aḥnaf was dead by the year ٧١ H (٦:١٥٧).

^١ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: He was leading the the clans of Jadh'ah and Bakr bin 'Abd al-Qais in support of 'Alḥ ('a) on the day of Jamal (٥:٥٠٥). His daughter, Baḥriyyah, was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyḥd's wife. When Yazḥd bin al-Mufarragh al-ḥimyarḥ mocked at the family of Ziyḥd, Ibn Jrḥd gave him refuge, but Ibn Ziyḥd denied him (٥:٣١٨). Later, Ibn Ziyḥd appointed Ibn Jrḥd over Sindh in India where he died in ٦٢ H, as reported in *al-Iḥbah* (٣:٤٨٠).

^٢ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: Mas'ḥd bin 'Amru bin 'Adiyy al-Azdḥ, the head of the Azd during the battle of Jamal in Baḥrah (٤:٥٠٥). He is the one who gave refuge to Ibn Marjḥnah [i.e. Ibn Ziyḥd] when the people opposed him. Ibn Marjḥnah waited for ninety days after the death of Yazḥd before he went to Shḥm (٥:٥٢٥). Mas'ḥd sent with Ibn Ziyḥd ١٠٠ men from the clan of Azd -who were led by Qurrah bin 'Amru bin Qais- to escort him to Shḥm (٥:٥٢٢). Ibn Marjḥnah appointed Mas'ḥd as his deputy when he left Baḥrah. Mas'ḥd thus set out accompanied by his clansmen until he reached the palace and entered (٥:٥٢٥). A group of the Khawḥrij entered the mosque while Mas'ḥd was on the pulpit, accepting allegiance from whoever came to him. A Persian Muslim among them - who had embraced Islam after entering Baḥrah and then joined the Khawḥrij- shot at Mas'ḥd'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 'shḥrḥ's (٥:٥١٩), together with the Mḥh- Afrḥdḥn who presented themselves to the Banḥ Tamḥm [on their way to Baḥrah]. Salamah asked them: "Where are you heading to?" They replied: "Towards you [i.e. Baḥrah]." So Salamah said: "Then move ahead of us." Accordingly, they were [moving] ahead of them. [Following Mas'ḥd's assassination] the people of Azd attacked this group of

Qais bin Haitham¹ and ‘Amru bin ‘Ubaidullah bin

the Khawrij killing a number of them and injuring others, and finally expelled them from Ba‘rah. Some members of the Banī Tamīm 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 Banī Tamīm and a great number from both sides were killed. They finally agreed on ١٠٠٠٠٠ dirhams –ten times more than the amount specified by the Shar‘ah- as the blood-money for Mas‘ūd’s killing and thus reconciled (٥:٥٢٦).

¹ *Al-ṭabarq* (٤:٣١٤): Qais bin al-Haitham al-Sulamī. In the year ٢٢ H, ‘Abdullah bin ‘amir appointed him over Khurjīn together with Qais’ cousin, ‘Abdullah bin Khizim. When ‘Abdullah bin ‘amir came out of Khurjīn, having mobilized around ٤٠٠٠٠ men from Herjī, Qahistīn, ṭabas and Bīdghās, Ibn Khizim took out a fake document -produced by himself- which he attributed to Ibn ‘amir, claiming that he had been appointed as the ruler of Khurjīn, in case there was a war. So Qais accepted it and left the place to come to Ba‘rah. Thereafter, the uprising against ‘Uthmīn came up and ‘Uthmīn 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 ‘Uthmīn. The people rushed to his help but were then informed of Uthman’s murder and so they returned (٥:٢٦٩).

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‘īwiyah in ٤١ H (٥:١٧٠). He later appointed him as the governor of Khurjīn for two years (٥:١٧٢). Qais failed to send him the taxes on time and so Ibn ‘amir wanted to dismiss him. ‘Abdullah bin Khizim asked Ibn ‘amir to make him in charge of Khurjīn and the latter was about to write for him his letter of appointment when he learned about it. So Qais left Khurjīn 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 Banī Yashkur –either ṭufail bin ‘Awf al-Yashkurī or ‘Abdullah bin Abī Shaikh al-Yashkurī (٥:٢١٣)- as the governor of Khurjīn (٥:٢٠٩), who sympathized with Qais bin Haitham and appointed him as his

Mu'ammār. The letter read:

“Allah chose Mu'ammad (ﷺ) 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

deputy in Baʿrah whenever he set out to visit Mu'awiyah (ﷺ). Mu'awiyah gave the hand of his daughter, Hind, to him in marriage and dismissed him in ٤٤ H from the governorship of Baʿrah (ﷺ). Mu'awiyah then appointed Ziyād bin Sumayyah in his place in the year ٤٥ H. Ziyād put Qais bin Haitham in charge of Mirwad al-Raudh, Al-Firiyab and ṭiliqin (ﷺ). In the year ٦١ H -after the martyrdom of al-ʿusain [ʿa], Qais was appointed as the deputy of ʿAbd al-Raʿmān bin Ziyād in Khurāsān, whenever the latter would go to see Yazīd. However, Yazīd dismissed him and Qais remained in isolation (ﷺ). When Yazīd died Qais was in Baʿrah, and ʿAlīk bin Qais wrote to him inviting him towards himself (ﷺ), though Qais was inclined towards Nuʿmān bin ʿahbān al-Risibī, since the people of Baʿrah had appointed these two [i.e. Nuʿmān and ʿahbān] from among the Banī Umayyah as leaders over them after Ibn Ziyād. Afterwards, they [i.e. ʿAlīk and Qais] agreed upon a Hashimite from the clan of Muṣar (ﷺ). In ٦٦ H, Qais was the head of the security guards and the fighting forces in Baʿrah for Ibn al-Zubair during the battle against Muthannī bin Mukharribah al-ʿAbdī al-Baʿrī, the one who used to invite people towards Mukhtār (٦٦). He, together with Muṣʿab bin al-Zubair, were at the head of the district of Ahl al-ʿaliyah in their encounter with Mukhtār in ٦٧ H (٦٩٥). In the year ٧١ H, Qais was hiring people –in support of Ibn al-Zubair- to help him fight against Khilid bin ʿAbdullah, the one who was calling the people towards ʿAbd al-Malik bin Marwān (٦٧١). Qais used to warn the people of Iraq against betraying Muṣʿab (٦٩٥). This is our last encounter with the story of Qais. Perhaps, he was killed in ٧١ H along with the companions of Muṣʿab at the hands of ʿAbd al-Malik bin Marwān.

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 (ﷺ). Indeed, the Sunnah has been eradicated (*umġtat*) 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 Jirġd. He was afraid, for he thought that [the sending of Sulaimġn, the messenger of al-ġusain ('a)] might be a conspiracy by 'Ubaidullah. Thus, he came with the messenger to Ibn Ziyġd in the evening preceding the day he intended to leave for Kġfah, 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 Ziyġd's Address in Baġrah]

Ibn Ziyġd went on the pulpit of Baġrah, praised Allah and glorified Him and said:

“By Allah! The intractable camel (*ġu'bah*) shall never be coupled with me^٢; and I will not let anyone clatter (*qa'qa'ah*)

^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-ġu'bah* as it has appeared in the Arabic text means a she-camel

The Events In Kffah

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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 Qirrah fairly treated the one who shot at them^٣.

O people of Baʿrah! Verily the commander of the faithful has made me in charge of Kffah and I am departing towards it tomorrow. I am placing ‘Uthmīn bin Ziyād bin Abī Sufyān as my deputy. Beware of opposition and spreading rumours. By Him beside who there is no deity! If I am informed of any opposition from anyone of you, then I shall certainly kill him, and the one who knows him, and his near ones. Verily, I will punish severely for even the slightest act of disobedience

who is not easy to mount. By using this term, Ibn Ziyād meant to say that as if he has mounted Baʿrah 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-nikil* which means punishment and revenge.

^٣ This is how *al-ʿabar* has reported. This statement was actually a call of a man from the tribe of Qirrah. This particular tribe was known for its proficiency in shooting during the days of Ignorance (*jihiliyyah*). 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 Qirrah recited the following couplets: “Indeed the tribe of Qirrah fairly treated the one who shot at them; Verily if we were to meet any group, we shall send back its first one to its last.” He then shot at him an arrow piercing his heart. Now, by repeating a part of these couplets, perhaps Ibn Ziyād meant to say that whoever chooses to shoot at the Banī Umayyah, then he is like the one who chose shooting with the member of the tribe of Qirrah; for the Banī Umayyah are as much proficient in shooting as the tribe of Qirrah.

until you totally submit to me and there remains among you no opponent or opposer! I am the son of Ziyīd; 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 Ziyīd Enters Kḡfah]

Ibn Ziyīd then left Baʿrah for Kḡfah together with Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bḡhilḡ^١, Sharḡk bin al-Aʿwar al-ʾirithḡ^٢, his attendants and his family members who were around ten men^٣. He entered Kḡfah with a black turban on his head, while he had covered his face. The people [of Kḡfah] had heard that al-ʾusain (‘a) had set out towards them, so they were waiting for his arrival.

When Ibn Ziyīd arrived [in the city], they thought that he was al-ʾusain (‘a). He did not pass a group of people without them

^١ We have already given his biography earlier.

^٢ *Al-ṭabarḡ*: He was appointed over Iḡṣakhr Fḡris where he built a mosque in the year ٣١ H (٤:٣٠١). He participated in the battle of ʿiffḡn with ‘Alḡ (‘a) (٥:٣٦١). In the year ٣٨ H, ‘Alḡ (‘a) sent him together with Jḡriyah bin Qudḡmah al-Saʾdḡ at the head of a group of men from the Banḡ Tamḡm to Baʿrah to fight Ibn al-ʾaḡramḡ and those with him who had responded to his call to Muʾḡwiyah (٥:١١٢). ‘Abdullah bin ‘amir had also sent Sharḡk to Baʿrah along with ٣٠٠٠ riders from the tribe of Rabḡʾah to fight Mustawrad bin ‘Allafah, the Khḡrijḡ (٥:١٩٣). He also ruled over Kermḡn for ‘Abdullah bin Ziyīd in ٥٩ H (٥:٣٢١). He lived for a few days after reaching Kḡfah and then died. Ibn Ziyīd led his funeral prayer (٥:٣٦٤).

^٣ *Al-ṭabarḡ* (٥:٣٥٩) narrates on the authority of ‘«sḡ bin Yazḡd al-Kanḡnḡ who said: “When Yazḡd’s letter reached ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyīd, he selected ٥٠٠ men from the people of Baʿrah among whom were ‘Abdullah bin al-ʾirith al-Naufal and Sharḡk bin al-Aʿwar.

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-ʿusain (‘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-Bḥilʿ] called out: “Move back! This is the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyḍ.”

When he entered the palace and the people came to know that he was ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyḍ, they became very sad and grief stricken!’

[Ibn Ziyad’s Address Upon His Arrival in Kġfah]

After he entered the palace, a caller shouted [in the morning of the following day]: “*al-Ḥalḥ jḡmi’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. Yazḍ] –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

’ *Al-ṭabarʿ* (٥:٣٥٧): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: “‘aq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Uthmān al-Hindʿ who said...” This has also been narrated in *al-Irshḍ* (pg. ٢٠٦) and *al-Maqtal* (pg. ٢٠٠) of al-Khwārazmʿ.

opposes my commands. So let each man protect himself! 'True belief (*sidq*) should declare itself on your behalf, not the threat of punishment (*wa'ḥd*)'."

Then, he descended from the pulpit and took the group leaders (*'urafj*') and the people harshly, and said:

"Write to me the strangers (*ghurabj*') and those among you who are the seekers of the commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazḥd], and those among you are the [members of the] °arḡriyyah^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 (*'arjḡfah*)^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 *'arjḡfah* 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 (*'aṣj*') of that group and they shall be expelled to a

^١ The Khawḡrij. They are attributed to °arawḡj' -which is located in the suburbs of Kḡfah- because that was the first place that they had gathered in on their return from ḡiffḡn and before entering Kḡfah.

^٢ *Al-ḡabarḡ*: *'Arjḡfah* was a governmental post responsible for the identification of the citizens and to organize their stipends from the treasure house (*bait al-mḡl*). There were a hundred people who held this position (*'irrḡḡf*) in Kḡfah. The stipends used to be given to the heads of the four districts of the city, who would pass it to the *'urafj*' (pl. of *'irrḡḡf*), and the trustworthy people, who would then distribute it to the people within their areas (ḡ:ḡ٩). They used to receive the order to distribute the stipends in the month of Muḡarram of every year, and their grants at the harvest time every year (ḡ:ḡ٣). The system of *'arjḡfah* used to exist even during the time of the Prophet (ḡ) (ḡ:ḡ٨).

place in ‘Ummīn al-Zīrah.’^١,

[Muslim Moves from the House of Mukht̤r to that of H̤nī]^٢

Muslim learnt about the arrival of ‘Ubaidullah, about the speech he had made and his treatment of the ‘urafī’ and the

^١ ‘Ummīn al-Zīrah 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 Ziy̤d was threatening to deport his opponents to this place.

^٢ *Al-ṭabar̤* (٥:٣٥٨): “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: “Mu’allī bin Kulaib has narrated to me from Abḥ Waddīk who said...” *Al-Irshīd* (pg. ٢٠٢) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw̤* (pg. ٢٠٠) have narrated this also.

^٣ Al-Mas’ūdī writes: “He was the chief and leader of Mur̤d. In those days he used to ride accompanied by ٤٠٠٠ armored warriors and ٨٠٠٠ foot soldiers. If their allies from the [Banḥ] Kindah and others were to respond to them, then H̤nī would ride amidst ٣٠٠٠٠ armoured fighters” (See *Mur̤j al-Dhahab*: ٣:٦٩). It is thus known from here why Muslim left Mukht̤r’s place and moved to the house of H̤nī, the chief (*shaikh*) of the clan. Nevertheless, events turned out to be as al-Mas’ūdī says: “But their leader could not find even a single supporter from among them due to their faint-heartedness and betrayal.

Both H̤nī’ and his father were among the companions [of the Prophet (ﷺ)]. He was killed while he was either eighty or ninety years of age as mentioned in *al-ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa’d. Al-Mubarrad says in *al-Kmil* that H̤nī’s father was among those who rose with °ujr bin ‘Adiyy, but Ziy̤d bin Abḥ interceded [with Mu’jwiyah] on his behalf. This is why Ibn Ziy̤d had told H̤nī’ –as it has appeared in *al-ṭabar̤*: “O H̤nī’! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shḥ’ah except for your father and °ujr? And you well know what came to happen of °ujr. He [i.e. Ziy̤d] did not cease to show his kindness towards you to the extent that he even wrote to the governor of Kḥfah [saying]: ‘My request from you is that you should take care of H̤nī’. H̤nī’ answered: ‘Yes.’ Ibn Ziy̤d 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 Mukhtġr -where he was now known to be residing- until he reached the house of Hġni' bin 'Urwah al-Murġġ. He entered the door and asked him to come out. Hġni' 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."

Hġni' 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 Shġ'ah began to visit Muslim in the house of Hġni' bin 'Urwah.^١ After Muslim moved to the house of Hġni' bin 'Urwah and eighteen thousand people paid allegiance to him, he sent a letter to al-^٢usain ('a) with "abis bin Abġ Shabġb al-Shġkirġ [saying]:

"Verily, a scout never lies to his people. Eighteen thousand from among the people Kġfah 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'ġwiyah. That is all."

The letter was dispatched twenty-seven nights before he was killed.^٣

^١ *Al-ġabarġ* (•:٣٦١): [I narrate] from Abġ Mikhnaf, who reported from Mu'allġ bin Kulaġb, who related from Abġ al-Waddġk that..."

^٢ *Al-ġabarġ* (•:٣٧٥): "Abġ Mikhnaf says: 'Ja'far bin ^٣udhaifah al-ġġġ narrated to me that..."

^٣ *Al-ġabarġ* (•:٣٩٥): "Abġ Mikhnaf reports [that]: 'Mu'ammad bin Qais narrated to me [saying]..."

[Ma'qil al-Shġmġ spies on Muslim ('a)]

Ibn Ziyġd summoned his servant called Ma'qil¹ and told him: "Take three thousand dirhams with you and search for Muslim bin 'Aqġl 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-Asadġ at the great mosque and saw him praying. He had heard the people saying that Ibn 'Awsajah was accepting people's allegiance for al-^ousain ('a). So he waited until he finished his prayers. He then said [to him]: "O servant of Allah, I am from Shġm and a servant of Dhġ al-Kalġ'. Allah has blessed me with love for the people of this House [i.e. the family of the Prophet

¹ *Al-ġabarġ* (٥:٣٦٠) relates on the authority of '«ġ bin Yazġd al-Kanġnġ that Muslim bin 'Aqġl arrived in Kġfah a night before Ibn Ziyġd. The latter was informed about Muslim's arrival while he was in the suburbs of Kġfah. So he summoned a slave from the Banġ Tamġm and gave him some money and told him: "Take up this matter and help them with this money. Proceed to Hġni' and Muslim, and make him stay at Hġni's place."

² *Al-ġabarġ* (٥:٤٣٦): Shabath bin Rib'ġ 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 ^adharbġijġn 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 Kffah 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.¹

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (¢:±±±): “[I narrate] from Ab¢ Mikhnaf who related from Mu’allj bin Kulaib, who reported from Ab¢ al-Sawwjk that...” See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.±·¥) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawj¥¥* (pg.±·±).

[The Meeting for Planning the Assassination of Ibn Ziyāḍ]

Ḥinī' bin 'Urwah fell sick and 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ came to see him. 'Uṃjrah bin 'Ubaid al-Salḥlḥ' said to Ḥinī': "[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."

Ḥinī' replied: "I do not like him to be killed in my house." [Ibn Ziyāḍ paid him a visit and] left.

After only a week Sharḥk bin al-A'war [al-°j̣rithḥ] got sick. Although Sharḥk was very kind towards Ibn Ziyāḍ and other heads of state, he was a staunch Shḥ'ah. Ibn Ziyāḍ sent him a messenger to inform him that he was coming to visit him in the evening. At this [Sharḥk] 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 Baḡrah and save you of its troubles."

At evening 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyāḍ] set out to see Sharik [al-°j̣rithḥ]. Muslim bin 'Aqḥl got up to enter [the room] when Sharḥk said to him: "You must not miss him when he takes his seat." [Here] Ḥinī' bin 'Urwah stood up and said –as if he detested it: "I do not want him to be killed in my house."

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyāḍ arrived and entered [the house] and

¹ *Al-ṭabarḥ*: Al-Salḥlḥ was among the messengers of the people of Kġfah –with ٥٣ letters- to al-°usain ('a) while [the latter] was in Makkah. The Imam ['a] then sent him to Kġfah together with Muslim bin 'Aqḥl, Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidjwḥ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ar'abḥ (٥:٣٤٣-٣٤٤).

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took his seat. He inquired from Sharċk about his illness and said: “How do you feel?” His queries took long. [When Sharċk] 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 Salmi?! Make me drink it even if it were to take my life!” He repeated this twice or three times.

Ibn Ziyāḍ said: “What is the matter with him? Is he exhausted by the fits of delirium?”

Hġni’ replied: “Yes –May Allah make you among the righteous. This has been his behaviour from the early morning uptil now.” Ibn Ziyāḍ then stood up and left.

Muslim came out [after Ibn Ziyāḍ went], so Sharċk asked him: “What prevented you from killing him?”

Muslim answered: “Two things. The first was Hġni’'s dislike for him to be killed in his house. The other was the tradition (*‘adċeth*) that people have related from the Prophet (ﷺ): ‘Indeed *ċmġn* prevents assassination, and a believer never commits assassination.’”

[On hearing this] Hġni’ said: “By Allah! Had you killed him, you would have had certainly killed a corrupt (*fġsiq*), sinful (*fġjġir*), unbelieving (*kġfir*) and a treacherous (*ghġdir*) person! But I detested him to be killed in my house!”¹

[Ma’qil Visits Muslim]

Ma’qil used to regularly visit Muslim bin ‘Awsajah for some days so that he may arrange for him to meet Ibn ‘Aqċl, until

¹ *Al-ḡabarċ* (٥:٣٦١): “[I narrate] from Abġ Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu’allġ bin Kulaib, who reported from Abġ al-Waddġk that...”

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[one day] he took him to [Muslim]. Ma'qil informed him of his condition and [Muslim] received his allegiance and ordered Abġ Thumġmah al-ʿidġ 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.^١

Ibn Ziyġd Inquires About Hġni'

Ibn Ziyġd said to his courtiers: "How is it that I do not see Hġni'?" They replied: "He is ill." 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyġd] then summoned Muġammad bin al-Ash'ath^٢,

^١ *Al-ṭabarġ*: 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 Shġ'ah (٥:٣٦٤). Muslim had given him the banner [and he was leading] the quarter of [the Banġ] Tamġm and Hamġn (٥:٣٦٩). He was present in Karbalġ' and was the gate-keeper of al-ʿusain ('a) (٥:٤١٠). He was the one who asked al-ʿusain ('a) to lead them in their prayers on the noon of 'shġrġ', and the Imam ['a] prayed for him saying: "You have remembered the prayers (ʿalġt); may Allah make you among those who establish prayers (*muṣallġn*) and remember him (*dhġkirġn*)" (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 Abġ Thumġmah (٥:٤٤١).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٣٦١): [I narrate] from Abġ Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu'allġ bin Kulaib, who reported from Abġ al-Waddġk that..." See also *al-Irshġd* (pg. ٣٠٨).

^٣ *Al-ṭabarġ*: Muġammad bin Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindġ. He is the one whom Ziyġd had asked to surrender ʿujr to him. Hujr requested al-Ash'ath to seek protection (*amġn*) for him from Ibn Ziyġd so that he could go to Mu'ġwiyah who would have the final word on him,

and Ziyîd accepted the request (٥:٢٦٣-٢٦٤). 'Ubaidah al-Kindî 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 °aramaut who obeyed him, encouraging them to abandon Ibn 'Aqêl (٥:٢٦٩). However, in order to fight Ibn 'Aqêl, he had also sent some men from [the clan of] Qais together with his men; since every tribe disliked Ibn 'Aqêl to be killed by its kinsmen (٥:٣٧٣). Ibn al-Ash'ath granted protection to Ibn 'Aqêl also (٥:٣٧٤) and informed Ibn Ziyîd of that, but he did not approve it (٥:٣٧٥). He also interceded for Hîñî bin 'Urwah but was rejected by Ibn Ziyîd (٥:٣٧٨).

The clan of Kindah was carrying out the orders of 'Umar bin Sa'd as they were his maternal kin. So when Yazîd bin Mu'îwiyah died and Ibn Ziyîd invited them towards himself, they rejected him and instead appointed 'Umar bin Sa'd as their head. However, when the men of Hamdî took up swords and their women lamented al-°usain ('a), Ibn Ash'ath backed down and said: "A new situation has arisen" (٥:٥٢٥). Subsequently, the [people of] Hamdî wrote to Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah, and the latter sent Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath bin Qais to Mosul. When 'Abd al-Ra'mî bin Sa'êd bin Qais arrived in Mosul as its governor under Mukhtîr, Ibn Ash'ath withdrew from it in his favour. Al-Ash'ath then went to Tikrêt 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 Mukhtîr and paid allegiance to him (٦:٣٦). When Ibn Ziyîd proceeded towards Mosul with the army of Shîm and the followers of Mukhtîr came out to fight him, the outstanding men of Kffah - among them being Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath- came together and spread calumnies against Mukhtîr. Al-Ash'ath's son, Isîq, came out amidst the Jabînah of Kindah and they attacked Mukhtîr, pouncing on him (٦:٣٩-٤٥) and [they] got broken. Thus, Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath withdrew to his village near al-Qîdiyyah where Mukhtîr sent ١٠٠ warriors from among his slaves and others to chase him up. But Mu'ammad managed to escape and joined

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Asmī' bin Khrijah^١ and 'Amru bin al-°ajjij^٢ -whose sister Raw'ah was Hjnī's wife- and told them: "What prevents Hjnē bin 'Urwah from visiting us?"

They said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! We do not know, but he is complaining (*la-yatashakkj*)^٣."

So Ibn Ziyīd 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

Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair and instead his house was demolished (٦:٦٦). Muṣ'ab then sent Ibn al-Ash'ath with a letter to Muhallab bin Abē ṭufrah with whom he [once again] came for the battle against Mukhtjr (٦:٩٤). Muṣ'ab also dispatched Ibn Ash'ath with a huge group of riders from Kffah who had been expelled by Mukhtjr and, therefore, were more hostile towards him than the people of Baṣrah such that they would not see a prisoner from a defeated army except that they would kill him (٦:٩٧). Ibn Ash'ath was killed in the battle between Muṣ'ab and Mukhtjr, so Muṣ'ab sent his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath to the suburbs (*kinjsah*) of Kffah (٦:١٠٤).

^١ *Al-±abari*: Asmī' bin Khrijah al-Fazjrē. He was one of those who wrote his testimony against °ujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindē (٥:٢٠٧). He was [also] the one to remind °ajjij of Kumail bin Ziyīd al-Nakha'ē and 'Umar bin ®jbi' as those who rebelled against 'Uthmān and so he killed them (٤:٤٠٤). Al-Fazjrē protested against Ibn Ziyīd for beating and imprisoning Hjnī' bin 'Urwah and was consequently imprisoned by Ibn Ziyīd (٥:٢٦٧). He later came to be among the companions of Ibn Mušē' al-'Adawē (٦:٣١) and in ٦٨ H was among the followers of Muṣ'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 Kffah.

^٣ *Yatashakkj* means 'he is complaining (*yashtakē*) of his illness'.

^٤ *Al-±abarē* (٥:٣٦١&٣٦٤): "[I narrate] from Abē Mikhnaf who

[Hġni' Summoned to Ibn Ziyāḍ]

They came to him in the evening while he was sitting at the door of his house. They asked him: "What prevents you from meeting the governor? He has mentioned you and said that: 'If I knew that he is ill, I would pay him a sick-visit.'"

Hġni' 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 Hġni' 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 ʿassān bin Kharrījah: "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 Ziyāḍ and so did Hġni'. When he appeared [before Ibn Ziyāḍ, he] said [to himself]: "The fool's legs have brought him to you." When [Hġni'] came closer to Ibn Ziyāḍ, while Shuraiḥ al-Qaṣī was present too, he turned

was reporting from Mu'allī bin Kulaib, who narrated from Abī al-Waddīk; and [also] from Mujlīd bin Sa'ḍ, ʿasan bin 'Uqbah al-Murjḍ and Numair bin Wa'lah who reported from Abu al-Waddīk." See also *al-Irshād* (pg. ٢٠٨).

' *Al-ḥġin* means 'a fool'. This is an idiom [in Arabic] that is [usually] said in such a situation. Those who have recorded *al-ḥġin* as *al-khġin* are mistaken. See *al-Fjkhīr* (pg. ٢٥١).

' *Al-ṭabarḥ*: Shuraiḥ bin ʿirith al-Kindī. 'Umar had appointed him as the judge of Kġfah in ١٨ H (٤:١٠١). He was among those who urged the people of Kġfah to help 'Uthmān (٤:٣٥٢). He appears in

towards [H_ini'] and recited:

I want to give him present (*'ibj'ahu*), but he wants to kill me.

The one who makes excuses to you is one of your own friends from the [Ban£] Murjd.”¹

the list of those who bore witness against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy as Shurai’ bin al-°irith al-Qið£. However, he [himself] used to say: “Ziyðd inquired from me about him, so I informed him that he is [a man who] exceedingly establishes prayers (*qawwim*) and fasts a lot (*ʔawwim*)” (°:٢٧٠). Ziyðd had once sought his advice on amputating his leprous hand, so Shurai’ suggested him not to do so and was reprimanded [by Ibn Ziyðd’s companions]. He said [in reply]: “The Messenger of Allah [ʔ] has said: ‘A person from whom advice is sought (*mustashjr*) must be trusted’ (°:٢٨٩).

Ibn al-Zubair wanted him to serve as his judge in Kffah, but he refused (°:°٨٢). This was before he accepted the position for Mukhtjr. But when he heard that the followers of Mukhtjr were saying that he was a partisan of ‘Uthmñ, 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_ini’ had sent him with [when Ibn Ziyðd had imprisoned him, and H_ini’s kinsmen stormed the palace and Shurai’ went to see them]; he pretended to be ill. Consequently, Mukhtjr replaced him with ‘Abdullah bin ‘Utbah bin Mas’£d and later with ‘Abdullah bin Mjlik al-±j’£ (°:٢٤٤). After Mukhtjr, Shurai’ accepted the position from Ibn al-Zubair (°:١٤٩). He requested °ajjj to be relieved from this position and suggested to him Ab£ Burdah bin ‘Ab£ M£s; al-Ash’ar£ in the year ٧٩ H. °ajjj accepted his resignation and [instead] appointed Ab£ Burdah (°:٢٢٤). Therefore, he held the judicial position for about ٦٠ years altogether!

¹ This verse is that of ‘Amru bin Ma’d Yakrub al-Zubaid£. *Al-’ibj’* comes from *’abwah* which means ‘a gift’ (*’a§i’*). *°ibj’ahu* [in the first verse] has appeared in *al-Kmil* and *al-Irshð* (pg.٢٠٨) as *’ayjtahu* [i.e. his life], but this is a [case of] phonetic distortion (*ta’r£f*) of the word.

[Hġni' in the Presence of Ibn Ziyġd]

Hġni' said to Ibn Ziyġd: "What is that, O governor?"

Ibn Ziyġd replied: "Yes, O Hġni' 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 'Aqġl 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!"

[Hġni'] said: "I have not done that and Muslim is not with me."

[Ibn Ziyġd] said: "Oh yes, you have done that!"

[Hġni'] said: "I have not."

[Ibn Ziyġd] said: "Indeed, you have."

When the argument between them had gone on for some time and Hġni' persisted in rejecting and denying [his claim], Ibn Ziyġd summoned Ma'qil, that spy. He came and stood before him. Then Ibn Ziyġd asked [him]: "Do you know this man?"

Ma'qil replied: "Yes."

Here Hġni' realized that he was a spy against them and that he has given all the information to him. So [Hġni'] said to [Ibn Ziyġd]: "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 Ziyāḍ] said: “Never by Allah. You will not leave me unless you bring him to me!”

[Hānīʿ] 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 Ziyāḍ] said: “By Allah! You have to bring him to me?”

[Hānīʿ] said: “By Allah! I shall never bring him!”

After their argument went on for some time, Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bḥilġ stood up and said: “May Allah make the governor among the righteous! Allow me to talk to him.” He then said to Hānīʿ: ‘Come to me this way I want to talk to you.’ So Hānīʿ got up and moved with him to the side of Ibn Ziyāḍ. 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-Bḥilġ] then said to him: “O Hānīʿ! 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 Aqġl] is the cousin of these people [i.e. the Banġ 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.”

Hānīʿ 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

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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.”

Hḡni’ said this [to him] thinking that his kinsmen would come to his help. So as [al-Bḡhilḡ] was imploring him [to submit Muslim], he went on saying: “Nay by Allah. I will never hand him over!”

Ibn Ziyḡd 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”, replied Hḡni’, thinking that his tribesmen

’ ṡabarḡ (٥:٣٦١) narrates from ‘«sḡ bin Yazḡd al-Kanḡnḡ that Ibn Ziyḡd said to him [at this point]: “O Hḡnḡ! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shḡ‘ah except for your father and °ujr? And you well know what came to happen of °ujr. He [i.e. Ziyḡd] did not cease to show his kindness towards you and [even] wrote to the governor of Kḥfah [saying]: ‘My request from you is [that you should take care of] Hḡni’.’ Hḡnḡ replied: ‘Yes.’ Ibn Ziyḡd then said: ‘Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man who should kill me!’ Hḡni’ said: ‘[No] I have not done that.’ [Here] Ibn Ziyḡd called forth his slave, al-Tamḡmḡ, who had been spying against them. So when Hḡni’ 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.’ Mahrḡn, 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 Ziyḡd his club saying: ‘Take it’. He grabbed Hḡni’ by his braids while Ibn Ziyḡd began striking at his face with the club until he broke his nose and brow, and

were listening him.

[Ibn Ziyǧd] 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] Hǧni’ 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 Ziyǧd] said: “Have you become a ʾarḥrḥ today?’ 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.

Asmǧ’ bin Khǧrijah stood up and said [to Ibn Ziyǧd]: “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*).^ʿ He was then

pushed him so violently that he crashed against the wall.”

^ʿ That is, a Khǧrijǧ. They are attributed to ʾarawrǧ’ which is located in the suburbs of Kḥfah; since this was the first place they had gathered in against ‘Alǧ (‘a).

^ʿ *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 Muḥammad bin Ash'ath, he remarked: "We give consent to the governor's decision, be it in our favour or against us. Indeed, the governor is taking [only] disciplinary action (*mu'addib*).^١ Then he went near Ibn Ziyāḍ and said to him:

"Verily, you know the position of Ḥinī' bin 'Urwah in the city and among his clansmen. His people are aware that my companion and I have brought him to you. So I adjure you - by Allah- to hand him over to me; for I dislike the enmity of his kinsmen, as they are the most powerful people in the city and they comprise a good number of the people of Yemen in the city.^٢

Ibn Ziyāḍ promised him to do so.^٣

[Meanwhile] 'Amru bin 'ajjij heard that Ḥinī' has been killed. So he set out with a large number of people from the Madhij and surrounded the palace. Then he called out: "I am 'Amru bin al-'ajjij, and these are the knights of Madhij 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 Madhij were at the gate. So he said to Shuraiḥ al-Qiṣṣi: "Go and see their companion [i.e.

^١ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٣٦٧): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: 'Ḥayr bin Wa'lah informed me on the authority of Abī al-Waddīk that..."

^٢ This is because Kindah was among the tribes of Yemen in Kḥfah, while Murīḍ and Madhij were among the clans of Kindah.

^٣ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٣٧٨): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: 'ʿaq'ab bin Zuhair related to me on the authority of 'Aun bin Abī Ju'āifah that..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.٢١٠) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.٢٠٥) of al-Khwārazmī.

Hġni’], 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 Hġni’, 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 [Hġni’] 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 Madhġij 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 ʿamġd bin Bukair al-Aġmarġ^٢ -who accompanied me on the order of Ibn Ziyġd 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-ʿajġġ] and his companions said: “Praise be to Allah since he has not been killed.” Then they went away.”^٣

^١ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٣٦٧): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abġ al-Waddġk that...” See also *al-Irshġd* (pg.٧١٠) and *al-Maġtal* (pg.٧٠٥) of al-Khwġrazmġ.

^٢ *Al-ṭabarġ*: He was with Ziyġd and used to spy on his officers. Ziyġd had also sent him with a group of other people from among his companions to pursue the companions of ʿujr bin ‘Adiyy. He was the one to strike Ibn ‘Aqġl on his upper lip and [later] killed him (٥:٣٧٣&٣٧٨). Aġmarġ was a slave from Shġm.

^٣ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٣:٣٦٧): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘-aq’ab bin Zuhair

[Ibn Ziyġd's Speech After Hġni'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 ‘Aqġl sent ‘Abdullah bin Khġzim as his messenger to the palace to follow up the issue of Hġni’. He said: “When [Hġni’] 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 ‘Aqġl. There the women of Murġd had gathered crying out: ‘O the kinsmen [of ġġni’]! O bereavement of him!’ I went in to see Muslim bin ‘Aqġl and gave him the news of Hġni’. 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

narrated to me from ‘Abd al-Raġmġn bin Shuraiġ who said: ‘I heard him telling Ismġġġl bin ġalġah that...”

^١ *Al-ġabarġ* (٥:٣٦٨): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: “ġajġġ bin ‘Alġ related to me from Muġammad bin Bishr al-Hamdġnġ that...”

^٢ ‘*Yġ manġġr, 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 Kffah called one another and [soon] they gathered around him.

Muslim (‘a) prepared a banner for ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Amru bin ‘Azçz al-Kindç to lead the quarter of Kindah and Rabç’ah and said: “Move ahead of me with your horses.” He then issued a banner to Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadç 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-`idç to lead the quarter of Tamçm and Hamd;n and the fourth to ‘Abb;s bin Ju’dah al-Judalç¹ as the leader of the quarter of the people of Madçnah. 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.² ‘Ubaidullah [bin

¹ We find in the left wing of the army of Mukht;r -which he had sent to Madçnah to fight Ibn al-Zubair- someone called ‘Ayy;sh bin Ju’dah al-Judalç. *Al-±abarç*: 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 (¶:¥£). Now, since we do not find any mention of ‘Abb;s or ‘Ayy;sh al-Judalç 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 ‘Aqçl and rose with Mukht;r until he was either killed or died [somewhere] there.

² This indicates that the house of the Romans followed the back side of the Palace. Since they were *ahl al-dhimmah* [i.e. the non-

Ziyîd] summoned Kathêr bin Shihîb bin al-°uYâçn al-°îrithê' and ordered him to go out among those [men] of Madh'ij who obeyed him and to go round Kffah and [try to] make the people desert Ibn 'Aqêl, 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 Ziyîd gave similar instructions to Qa'qî' bin Shaur al-Dhuhale', Shabath bin Rib'ê al-Tamême, °ajjîr bin Abjar al-'Ijlê and Shamir bin Dhê al-Jaushan al-°amirê.^{٢, ٤} He gave

Muslims living under the protection of the Islamic government], Ibn Ziyîd 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 (°:٢٦٩). He took °ujr and his companions to Mu'îwiyah (°:٢٧٠). He is [also] the first person Ibn Ziyîd issued a standard and the first to be made in charge of urging the people to desert Muslim ('a) (°:٣٧٠).

^٢ *Al-±abarê*: He is one of those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin 'Adiyy (°:٢٦٩) and also fought Muslim ('a). (°:٢٧٠ & ٣٨١)

^٣ *Al-±abarê* (°:٣٦٨): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Y£suf bin Yazêd narrated to me from 'Abdullah bin Khîzim that...'"

^٤ *Al-Tabarê* (°:٣٦٩): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: 'Y£nus bin Isîiq narrated to me from 'Abbîs al-Judalê that...' Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan was with 'Alê ('a) at °iffên (°:٢٨) and was among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin 'Adiyy (°:٢٧٠). He was the one who incited Ibn Ziyîd to kill al-°usain ('a) (°:٤١٤). He was present in Karbalî' and invited the sons of Umm al-Banên, the brothers of 'Abbîs, to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyîd and to abandon the Imam ('a) (°:٤١٥). Ibn Sa'd sought his advice with regard to giving al-°usain ('a) respite for the night before "shêrî", but he did not respond (°:٤١٧).

Shabath bin Rib'ċ 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 Shġm 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-ʿusain [ʿa] with foul language and was rebuked by Ibn Muʿġhir (٥:٤٢٥). He responded to Zuhair bin al-Qain's address by shooting an arrow at him and was reproached by him. (٥:٤٢٦). He attacked the left wing of al-ʿusain'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 [ʿa] 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 [ʿa] cursed him (٥:٤٣٨). He was the one who killed Nġfi' bin Hilġl al-Jumalċ (٥:٤٤٢) and attempted to kill Imam al-Sajġid (ʿa) but the people prevented him [from doing so] (٥:٤٥٤). He was [also] the one to bring the heads [of the martyrs] to Ibn Ziyġd (٥:٤٥٦), and the heads, together with the captives, to Yazċd (٥:٤٦٠ & ٤٦٣). He along with the [members of] Hawġzin had twenty heads (٥:٤٦٨). Ibn Muşċ' sent Shamir as the head of the quarter of Sġlim in Kġfah along with ٢٠٠٠ fighters (٦:٢٩) to encounter Mukhtġr (٦:١٨). He had rose with the noblemen of Kġfah to fight Mukhtġr (٦:٤٤) and was [ultimately] defeated and fled Kġfah (٦:٥٢). He was killed by ʿAbd al-Ra'mġn bin Abċ al-Kanċd in ٦٦ H (٦:٥٣).

The word 'shamir' is a Hebrew word whose root is *shġmir* meaning entertainer (*sġmir*). This word is prevalent today also as when it is said [for instance] 'Yitzhak Shamir'.

^١ *Al-ṭabarċ* (٥:٢٦٩): “Abċ Mikhnaf says: ‘Abċ al-Janġb al-Kalbċ narrated to me that...”

Protection]

Kathċr bin Shihġb 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, Yazċd, are approaching. The governor has given Allah a promise that if you persist in fighting him and do not go away by nightfall, he will deprive your children of their [right to] state allotment of money (‘aṣġ’) and he will scatter your soldiers in Syrian campaigns without any greed.’ 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.^١ [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 Shġm will come against you, so what are you going to do with the war and the evil? Go away!” Thus he would be taken.^٢

Muġammad bin al-Ash’ath went out till he stopped at the houses of the Banġ ‘Umġrah. ‘Umġrah bin ġalkhab al-Azdċ

^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-ṡabarċ* (٥:٣٧٠): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sulaimġn bin Abċ Rġshid informed me on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Khġzim al-Kathċrċ -from the tribe of Azd- that...”

^٣ *Al-ṡabarċ* (٥:٣٧١): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujġlid bin Sa’ċd related to me that...”

came to him while he was armed and intending to go to Ibn ‘Aqġl, but [Muġammad] arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyġd where he was imprisoned.

[Thereafter,] Muslim bin ‘Aqġl sent ‘Abd al-Raġmġn bin Shuraiġ al-Shabġmġ from the mosque [together with a large number of people] to fight [Ibn al-Ash’ath].

[Qa’qġ’ bin Shaġr al-Dhuhaġġ attacked Muslim and his companions from a place in Kġfah known as al-‘Irġr’] and sent [someone] to inform Muġammad bin al-Ash’ath [that]: “I have attacked Ibn ‘Aqġl from ‘Irġr and he has retreated from his position.”^١

[Shabath bin Rib’ġ [also] fought them saying: “Wait till the night falls and they will all disperse”. Qa’qġ’ bin Shaġr said to him: “You have obstructed the way for the people; open it for them and they shall [all] leave”].^٢

[The Loneliness of Muslim (‘a)]

Abbġs al-Jadaġġ says: “We came out with Ibn ‘Aqġl while we were four thousand [men altogether], and before we [even] reached the palace our number fell to three hundred.”^٣ The

^١ *Al-ġabarġ* (٥:٣٦٩): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Abġ ٥ġb al-Kalbġ narrated to me that...”

^٢ *Al-ġabarġ*: This part has been mentioned by Hġrġn bin Muslim from ‘Alġ bin ٢ġliġ, from ‘ġsġ bin Yazġġd (٥:٣٨١). We have put it in brackets since it has not been reported by Abġ Mikhnaf.

^٣ *Al-ġabarġ* (٥:٣٧١): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sulaimġn bin Abġ Rġshid has related it to me from ‘Abdullah bin Khġzim al-Kathġrġġ -from the tribe of Azd- that...”

^٤ *Al-ġabarġ* (٥:٣٧١): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Muġġlid bin Sa’ġġd has narrated to me saying...”

^٥ *Al-Tabari* (٥:٣٦٩): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Yġsuf bin Abġ Ishġġ related to me that...”

people continued dispersing and scattering until the evening when Ibn 'Aqçl was left with only thirty men in the mosque. Thus, there were only thirty people who prayed with Ibn 'Aqçl.

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 Kffah without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses of the Banf 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 Qais¹

¹ *Al-±abarç*: Ash'ath bin Qais came to see the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) in the year ١٠ H amidst ٦٠ riders. He traced his ancestry from his mother's side to 'kil al-Mirjir who had royal blood and wanted to link the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) to the same ancestry, but he related himself to al-Naqr bin Kaninah, something which did not impress Ash'ath (٣:١٣٧). The Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) 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 (ﷺ) 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 Abf Bakr. [Ash'ath] had earlier proposed Abf 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 Abf 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, Abf Bakr [regretted his action] saying: "I wish I would have put Ash'ath to the sword the day he was brought to me

as a captive; for he has made me believe that he did not come across any evil except that he supported it” (٣:٤٣٠). Ash’ath led ١٧٠٠ men from among the people of Yemen to join the army of the battle of al-Q̣ḍisiyyah (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-Q̣ḍisiyyah- 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 spoils of war attained by Kḥlīd bin Waḷʿd and asked him for some and Kḥlīd allowed him [to take] ١٠٠٠٠ [dirhams] (٤:٦٧). Ash’ath also participated in the battle of Nahjwand (٤:١٢٩). In the year ٣٠ H, he purchased from ‘Uthṃn the spoils of war of ṣḡrnbjd in Iraq with [the money] he had in ʾaṣramaut (٤:٢٨٠). In the year ٣٤ H, Sa’ḍ bin al-^aʔ sent him from Kffah as the governor of ʾadharbaijn (٤:٣٣١) and he was still in this position when ‘Uthṃn died (٤:٤٢٢). Then ‘Aḷ (‘a) invited Ash’ath to pay allegiance to him and join him and he accepted the invitation (٤:٥٦١). He had accepted in ṭiff̣n the task of regaining control over the water from the followers of Mu’jwiyah (٤:٥٦٩). He was the one who disobeyed Aṃr al-Mu’ṃṇ (‘a) [at Nahrawjn] and gave consent to arbitration and nominated al-Ash’aṛ [for that] and refused to accept Ibn ‘Abbjs and al-Ashtar who were approved by ‘Aḷ (‘a), insisting on al-Ash’aṛ 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 ‘Aḷ (‘a) in his move towards Mu’jwiyah after the Nahrawjn and insisted on returning to Kffah under the pretext of [the need for] preparation (٥:٨٩). ‘Uthṃn had tempted him with the taxes from ʾadharbaijn [nearing] ١٠٠٠٠٠ [dinars] a year (٥:١٣٠). Ash’ath had also built a mosque in Kffah (٥:٢٢).

The Events In Kāfah

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ʿaṣram¹ and borne him [a son called] Bilāl. Bilāl had gone out with the people and his mother was standing [at the door] waiting for him.

Ibn ʿAqīl 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 ʿAqīl. These people have lied to me and deceived me.”

She said: “You are Muslim?!”

He said: “Yes.”

¹ Usaīd bin Mīlik al-ʿaṣram. It is said that he is the one who killed ʿAbdullah bin Muslim in Karbalāʾ. His son, Bilāl, revealed the place in their house [where] Muslim [was hiding], which resulted in his killing.

The Events In Kġfah

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She said: “Come in.” She took him into a room in her house, but not the room she used. She spread out a carpet for him and offered him supper but he did not eat.

Soon her son returned. He saw her frequently going in and out of that room. He said: “By Allah! Your constantly going into and coming out of that room this evening makes me suspect. There is something [there].”

She said: “O my son, forget about this.”

He said: “By Allah, you must tell me!”

She replied: “Go on with your own business and do not ask me about anything.” But he insisted to her until she said: “O my son! Do not tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you.” She took from him an oath and he swore [not to do so]. Then she informed him. He went to bed without saying anything.¹

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٢٧١): “Abū Mikhnaḥ says: ‘Mujlīd bin Saʿd narrated to me that...’ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.٢١٢) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (pg.٢٠٨). *Al-ṭabarī* reports on the authority of ‘Ammār al-Duḥanī from Imam al-Bīqir (‘a) who said: “When Muslim saw that he was now alone [and just] wandering in the streets [of Kġfah], he stopped at a door and a lady came out from the house. So he said to her: ‘Give me water to drink.’ She gave him water and then went inside. She came out again after sometime and found Muslim still at the door. So she said: ‘O servant of Allah! Your sitting [here] arouses suspicion, so go away!’ He said: ‘I am Muslim bin ‘Aqīl, do you have shelter [for me]?’ She said: ‘Yes, come in.’ Her son was a servant of Muḥammad bin Ash’ath, so when he learnt of Muslim [being in their house], he went to Muḥammad and informed him, who then went to ‘Ubaidullah and gave him the news. ‘Ubaidullah sent ‘Amru bin ‘uraith al-Makhzūmī -the head of his bodyguards- together with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad bin Ash’ath [to arrest Muslim]. Muslim did not know of this until after the house was surrounded [by them]”

[The Stand of Ibn Ziyāḍ]

A long time passed for Ibn Ziyāḍ without him hearing the [voices of the] supporters of Ibn ‘Aqḍl 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 Ziyāḍ [that the people had dispersed].

Then he ordered his scribe, ‘Amru bin Nifī’,¹ to announce [saying]:

“There is no guarantee of security for any man of the bodyguards, or the group leaders (‘*urafī*’), the supporters and the fighters who prayed the night prayers (‘*ishī*’) anywhere

(•:٣••). But we shall see soon that the head of his bodyguards was [in fact] °uḤaḡn bin Tamḡm.

¹ *Al-ḡabarḡ* (•:٣^•): He was Ibn Ziyāḍ’s scribe who wrote the letter for him to Yazḡd informing him of the killing of Muslim. He used to take long in writing letters and was disliked by Ibn Ziyāḍ.

else except in the mosque.”

It did not take an hour before the mosque was filled with the people. °uḤain bin Tamḥm [al-Tamḥmḥ] -the chief of his bodyguards-¹ said to Ibn Ziyā: “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-ṭabarḥ*: Ibn Ziyā had sent him [i.e. °uḤain] to al-Qiḍisiyyah for arranging the horsemen from there to the cities of Khaffīn, Quṣṣuṣīnah and La’la’ (•:٣٩٤). He was the one who sent Qais bin Musahhar al-ḥaidwḥ, the messenger of al-°usain (‘a), to Ibn Ziyā who latter killed him (•:٣٩٥) and ‘Abdullah bin Buḡṣur (•:٣٩٨). He was the one to send ahead °urr with an army of ١٠٠٠ men of the Banī Tamḥm from al-Qiḍisiyyah to encounter al-°usain (‘a). He was the head of the guards in Karbalā’ and was [constantly] inciting them to kill °urr (•: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 (•:٤٣٧). Ibn Tamḥm also launched an attack on the companions of al-°usain (‘a) as they were preparing for the prayers, so °abḥb bin Mu’jhir came out to him and struck the face of his horse with [his] sword upon which it reared and [°aḤḥn] fell off. Consequently, Budail bin ḥuraim al-‘Aqfīnḥ al-Tamḥmḥ struck °abḥb on the head with his sword. Another person from the Banī Tamḥm attacked him and stabbed him with a spear. Then °uḤain bin Tamḥm returned to him and struck him on the head and [°abḥb] fell [to the ground]. Then Budail beheaded °abḥb and gave his head to °uḤain. °uḤain hung his head on the neck of his horse and went with it round the army and then gave it back to his killer (•:٤٤٠). °uḤain 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 (•:٤٤٩).

together with his followers. [He entered the mosque] and led the people [in prayers].

[Ibn Ziyāḍ's Address after Muslim ('a) had Remained Alone]

[Thereafter,] Ibn Ziyāḍ went on the pulpit, praised Allah and said:

“Ibn ‘Aqġl -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 °uḤain bin Tamġm! May your mother mourn you, if any of the gates of the lanes of Kġfah 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 Kġfah! 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 Ziyāḍ in Pursuit of Muslim ('a)]

Ibn Ziyāḍ then descended [the pulpit] and went [inside the palace]. He gave a banner to ‘Amru bin °uraith’ and

¹ *Al-ṭabarġ*: ‘Amru bin °uraith al-Makhzġmġ. He purchased from Sġ’ib bin al-Aqra’ al-Thaqafġ -the scribe and accountant of the Muslim army at the conquest of Nahġwand- 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 Kġfah by the year ٢١ H. (٥:١١٧)

appointed him over the people¹, and ordered him to raise [the banner of safe-conduct] for the people in the mosque.

The news of Muslim's rise reached Mukhṭr bin Aḅ 'Ubaid while he was in his village called Laqaf̣j at Khuṣṣraniyyah. Mukhṭr was among those people of Kffah 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 Kffah together with his followers and reached the gate of al-F̣l in the evening. This was at a time when 'Ubaidullah bin Ziỵd had already appointed 'Amru bin °uraith as the in charge over the people.

'Amru was the deputy of Sa'̣d bin al-°aṣ in Kffah and helped calm the people with respect to [the crisis of] 'Uthṃn in the year ٣٤ H (٤:٣٢٢). He also served as Ziỵd bin Sumayyah's deputy in Kffah 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 Maḍnāh [residing] in Kffah and was among those to testify against °ujr and his followers (٥:٢٦٨) in ٦٤ H. Ibn °uraith also served as Ibn Ziỵd's deputy in Kffah in the year ٦٤ H. When Yaẓd died and Ibn Ziỵd 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 Kffah (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 Mukhṭr in ٦٦ H (٦:٣٠). Ibn °uraith owned a bathhouse in Kffah (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 Marẉn in Kffah in ٧٣ H (٦:١٤٤). Ibn °uraith refused to bring water to Muslim bin 'Aq̣l [when he was brought before Ibn Ziyad] (٥:٣٧٦). He pleaded for Zainab ('a) in the court of Ibn Ziỵd only because of his fervor for the Quraish (٥:٤٥٧). He died in ٨٥ H. He was ١٢ years old when the the Prophet (ﷺ) passed away, as reported in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg. ٥٢٧; Suwaiḍn publications).

¹ *Al-ṭabaṛ* (٥:٣٧١-٣٧٣): "Aḅ Mikhnaf says: 'Muj̣lid bin Sa'̣d narrated to me that..."

'*Al-ʿabar*': He was with Mukhtār in his uprising in ٦٧ H (٦:٩٨). Apparently, he seems to be 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abdullah bin 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī, the son of Mu'īwiyah's sister by the name of Umm al-ʿakam. Mu'īwiyah had appointed him as the governor of Kḥfah in ٥٨ H after ʿAbd al-ḥak bin Qais, while the head of his bodyguards then was Zayḍ bin Qudamah al-Thaqafī (٥:٢١٠). He was earlier the governor of Mosul under Mu'īwiyah in ٥١ H. He was the one who killed 'Amru bin al-ʿumq al-Khuzī' while he was ill, claiming it to be a retaliation for 'Uthmān's blood (٥:٢٦٥). He maltreated the people of Kḥfah to the extent that they expelled him and he joined Mu'īwiyah, 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'īwiyah (٥:٣١٢). If it was not for his family ties with Yazīd, Ibn ʿurayth would not have benefited him.

Abḥ ʿayyah informed him of Mukhṭr's statement. [On hearing this,] Ibn ʿuraith said to me: 'Go to your uncle and inform him that the whereabouts of his companion [i.e. Muslim bin 'Aqḥl] are not known, so he should not complicate things for himself.' As I was leaving, Ẓidah bin Quḍmah bin Mas'ḥd' stood up and said to [Ibn ʿuraith]: 'Will he be safe if he comes to you?' 'Amru bin ʿuraith replied: 'He is safe on my side. If anything about his affair reaches 'Ubaidullah bin Ziỵd, [then] I shall give witness before him in his favour and intercede on his behalf.' Ẓidah said: "In this case we hope for the best, by the will of Allah."

'Abd al-Raḥṃn says: "I went out to see Mukhṭr along with Ẓidah and informed him [of our conversation with Ibn ʿuraith] and adjured him by Allah that he should not act in a way that he could be accused. So Mukhṭr [accepted and] went to see Ibn ʿuraith and greeted him and stayed under his protection till morning."

Katḥr [bin Shiḥb al-ʿritḥ] happened to see a man from the tribe of Kalb -who was known as 'Abd al-A'ḷ bin Yazḥd- in Banḥ Fitỵn [an area in Kḥfah]. He had taken up arms with him, looking for Ibn 'Aqḥl. Katḥr caught him and took him to Ibn Ziỵd and informed him about his intention. He said to [Ibn Ziỵd]: "I only intended [to join] you!" He said [mockingly]: "And you had, indeed, promised me that!" Then he ordered him to be imprisoned."

¹ We have already given his biography in the introduction.

² *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٥٧٠): "Abḥ Mikhnaf says: 'Naḥr bin ʿḷliḥ related to e from 'Abd al-Raḥṃn bin Abḥ 'Umair al-Thaqaf̣ that..."

³ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٣٦٩): "Abḥ Mikhnaf says: 'Abḥ Jaṇb al-Kalḅ has narrated to me that..."

[Muslim's Hiding Place Disclosed]

In the morning, Ibn Ziyāḍ took his seat and allowed the people to come and see him. [When] Muḥammad bin Ash'ath entered, Ibn Ziyāḍ said: "Welcome to one whose [loyalty] is above suspicion and accusation!" Then he sat him by his side.

The son of that old woman who provided shelter to Muslim bin 'Aqīl, that is Bilāl bin Usaīd, went to Abd al-Ra'mān bin Muḥammad bin Ash'ath in the morning and told him that Ibn 'Aqīl was with his mother. So 'Abd al-Ra'mān went to his father who was with Ibn Ziyāḍ and whispered the news to him.

Ibn Ziyāḍ asked him: "What did he tell you?"

He replied: "He has informed me that Ibn 'Aqīl is [hiding] in one of the houses of our [tribe]."

"Go and bring him to me immediately", said Ibn Ziyāḍ, poking a cane into his side. ¹

[The Move to Arrest Muslim ('a)]

[Ibn Ziyāḍ] sent an order to 'Amru bin ʿuraith -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 Ziyāḍ disliked sending Ash'ath's Kinsmen² with him, for he well knew that every

¹ *Al-ṭabarānī* (٩:٣٧١-٣٧٣): "Abū Mikhnaḥ reports: 'Mujlīd bin Sa'ād narrated to me..." See also *al-Irshād* (pg.٢١٣) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.٢٠٨).

² Ibn Ash'ath himself could have justified this act of his by saying that he was only taking out Muslim from the house of their slave lady, ṭaw'ah, and her son Bilāl. This indicates how well acquainted Ibn Ziyāḍ 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 ‘Aqġl 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 ‘Aqġl 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 terrified¹, [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 Banū Umayyah] are your cousins, they will not fight against you or strike you."

[Muslim] was [now] exhausted as a result of constant hail of stones and was unable to fight. [So he paused to rest] and leaned with his back to the wall of the house. 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 'Aq̣l said: "If it was not for this security that you have granted me, I would not have put my hand in yours." [Here it

¹ In the actual text of *al-ṭabarī* and other books that have reached us, the phrase *shi'j' al-naḥs* has been replaced with *shi'j' al-shams* (rays of the sun). According to Shaikh al-Samīwī in *Iḥyā' al-'Ain* (pg. ٤٩), this is a distortion by those who could not understand the meaning of *shi'j' al-naḥs*, so it seemed to them that *shi'j' al-shams* was more appropriate. *Shi'j' al-naḥs* means 'the fearing of the heart' as it is said: *mīrat naḥsuhḥ shi'j'an*, that is his heart became dispersed like the tiny rays out of fear (*tafarraqat naḥsuhḥ kashshij' al-daqq min al-khauf*); for *shi'j'* 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."

Muġammad 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 'Abbġs [al-Sulamġ -the one who led the soldiers to capture Ibn 'Aqġl] 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 Muġammad 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 'Aqġl 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 Kġfah tempt you! For they were the followers of your father who desired separation from them through death or murder! The people of Kġfah 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 Ziyġd 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 ‘Aqġl 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 ‘Umġra bin ‘Uqbah bin Abġ Mu’sġġ’, ‘Amru bin ‘uraith, Muslim bin ‘Amru and Kathġr bin Shihġb.^٢

There was a jug of cold water placed at the doorway. Ibn ‘Aqġl said: “Give me a drink of this water.”

Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-Bġhilġ] 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 (*/amġm*) in the Hell fire!”

[Muslim] said: “Woe on you! Who are you?”

^١ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٣٧٢): “Abġ Mikhnaf said: ‘Qudġmah bin Sa’ġd bin Zġidah bin Qudġmah al-Thaqafġ has related to me from his grandfather Zaydah that...” For more about him, see the Introduction.

^٢ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٣٧٥): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Ja’far bin ‘udhaifah al-ṭġġ narrated to me that...”

Al-Bġhilċ replied: “I am the one¹ who recognized the truth when you denied it; who was sincere to his leader (*imġm*) while you deceived him, who listened and obeyed him when you disobeyed and opposed him! I am Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bġhilċ!”

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 Bġhilah, 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-Makhzġmġ] sent his slave called Sulaimġn and he brought [some] water in a pitcher² with a napkin on it and

¹ The actual text reads: “I am the son of one...”, but the correct version is what has been mentioned in this text.

² Here Abġ Mikhnaf stops his report from Qudġmah bin Sa’ġd and begins relating from Sa’ġd bin Mudrak bin ‘Umġrah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abġ Mu’ġġ [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 Qudġmah. We [here] preferred Qudġmah’s report on the authority of his grandfather Zġidah bin Qudġmah al-Thaqafġ, because we have indicted Ibn Mudrak for concocting [this] narration as a merit for his grandfather, ‘Umġra, whereas such an objection cannot be made on the report of Qudġmah since he has not attributed it to his grandfather, Zġidah, 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 Mukhtġr in the presence of Ibn Ziyġd as he testified in favour of the former thus saving him from being killed; and his intervention when Ibn Ziyġd intended to beat [Lady] Zainab (‘a), though all this was out of his fervour for Quraish. As for ‘Umġrah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abġ Mu’ġġ al-Umawiyy, he is among the enemies of the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) whose biography we have mentioned in the introduction. Shaikh al-Mufġd has mentioned Qudġmah’s report in *al-Irshġd* (pg. ٢١٥) and so has al-Khwġrazmġ 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 Ziyāḍ 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 Ziyāḍ 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

Samjwḥ has reconciled between the two reports by saying that both of them [i.e. 'Umīrah and 'Amru] had sent for the water, something which is not correct. See *Ibṣṣir al-'Ain* (pg. ٤٥) of al-Samjwḥ.

^١ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٣٧٥): "Abī Mikhnaḥ reports from Qudīmāḥ bin Sa'ḍ that..."

^٢ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٣٧٥): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: 'Ja'far bin 'udhaifah al-ṭi'ḥ related to me saying..."

‘Umar! Indeed there is kinship between you and me’ 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 Ziyāḍ could see him. [Ibn ‘Aqġl said]: “I have a debt in Kġfah. I have borrowed seven hundred dirhams since I arrived in Kġfah, [please] repay it on my behalf. Ask Ibn Ziyāḍ to give you my corpse [after I have been killed] and bury it. Send someone to al-ʿusain (‘a) to send him back. For I have written to him telling him that the people are with him, and now I can only think that he is coming.”¹

[Muslim (‘a) in the Presence of Ibn Ziyāḍ]

Then Ibn Ziyāḍ said: “Yes, Ibn ‘Aqġl! 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 (*ʾukm*) by the Book [of Allah].”

¹ Both of them were from Quraish and both were related to the Banġ Zuhrah –the tribe from which Ibn Sa’d came- from their mother’s side.

² 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 Madġnah drinking wine!”

Ibn ‘Aqġl 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 Ziyġd [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 Ziyġd?”

He answered: “Yazġd, the commander of the faithful.”

Ibn ‘Aqġl said: “Praise is due to Allah in all conditions. We accept Allah as a judge between you and us.”

Ibn Ziyġd 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 Ziyġd 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-^ousain, ‘Alċ and ‘Aqċl.

[The Martyrdom of Ibn ‘Aqċl (‘a)]

[Ibn Ziyċd] 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 Ziyċd] an account of Muslim’s [arrest] and how he was struck by Bukair [bin ^oamrċn] and informed him about the guarantee of security he gave to [Ibn ‘Aqċl].

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.”

^١ Sumayyah was the mother of Ziyċd [bin Abġh] and used to have a flag over her house during the days of Ignorance (*jġhiliyyah*) to indicate that she was was prostitute. Abġ Sufyċn and other men had illicit relations with her which resulted in the birth of Ziyċd. So they drew lots by using arrows which were without head and feathers in order to decide who would have Ziyċd. He fell to Abġ Sufyċn’s lot and he claimed him to be his son. Nevertheless, he came to be known as Ziyċd bin Sumayyah, that is after his mother, until after Mu’ġwiyah attributed him to his own father. [By doing so,] Mu’ġwiyah committed the most abominable act from the viewpoint of both religion and convention (*‘urf*).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarċ* (٥:٣٧٦): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’ċd bin Mudrak bin ‘Umġrah narrated to me from his grandfather, ‘Umġrah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abġ Mu’ġġ, that...”

^٣ *Al-ṭabarċ* (٥:٣٧٥): “Abġ Mikhnaf reports that: ‘Ja’far bin ^oudhaifah al-ṭġġ informed me that...”

Then Ibn Ziyāḍ said: “Where is this person whose head and shoulder Ibn ‘Aqīl struck with [his] sword?” So he was called and Ibn Ziyāḍ [told him]: “Go up and [now] you be the one who cuts his head off.”

So he went up with him. [Ibn ‘Aqīl] was exalting Allah saying *allāhu akbar* and seeking His forgiveness and sending salutations on His angels and prophets saying: “O Allah, You judge between us and a people who enticed us, lied to us and deserted us.”

So [Bukair al-Aḥmarī] led him up to a part which overlooked where the butchers are today.^١ His head was cut off and his body was made to follow his head.^٢

When Bukair bin ʿamrīn descended after killing Muslim, Ibn Ziyāḍ asked him: “Have you killed him?” He replied: “Yes.”

Ibn Ziyāḍ [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.”

^١ By ‘now’ Abī Mikhnaf meant his own times. *Al-Irshād* (pg. ٢١٦) says: “...now the location of the cobblers (*al-ḥadhjiyya*)”, while al-Khwārazmī 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-Khwārazmī] supports what has appeared in the text of *al-ḥabar*.

^٢ *Al-ḥabar* (٥:٣٧٦): “Abī Mikhnaf says: ‘Saʿd bin Mudrak bin ʿUmīrah narrated to me...”

Then his head was brought to Ibn Ziyġd.^١

‘Umar [bin Sa’d] said to Ibn Ziyġd: “Do you know what he said to me? He told me so and so.”

Ibn Ziyġd 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 Hġni’ bin ‘Urwah]

After the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqġl, [Ibn Ziyġd] declined to fulfil his promise [to Mu’ammad bin al-Ash’ath that he would return Hġni’ to him in order to avoid the enmity of [Hġnġ’s] tribesmen; for it was him who took him to Ibn Ziyġd]. ‘Ubaidullah then ordered for Hġni’ bin ‘Urwah and said: “Take him to the market place and cut off his head.”

^١ *Al-±abarġ* (•:٣٧٨): “Abġ Mikhnaf reports that: “°aq’ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from ‘Aun bin Abġ Ju’aifah that...”

^٢ When Ibn Sa’d saw that Ibn Ziyġd has asked Ibn °amrġn about the last words of Muslim (‘a), he immediately went on to disclose what Muslim had entrusted him with in order to win [Ibn Ziyġd’s] favour, but Ibn Ziyġd responded by charging him with treachery. Such is the reward of the bootlickers!

^٣ By saying: “With regard to your money...”, as if Ibn Ziyġd 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-±abarġ*:•:٣٧٧). This is found in the same narration by Abġ Mikhnaf which begins with [the following phrase]: “And they thought that he said...”

So Hġni' was taken -while he his hands were tied behind his back- to a place in the market where sheep were sold. Hġni' began to shout: "O Madhġij! There is no one from Madhġij for me today! O Madhġij! Where are the Madhġij 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." Hġni' 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 Rashġd' struck him with [his] sword to no avail. So Hġni' said: "To Allah is the return. O Allah, to Your mercy and pleasure [do I return]!" Then he struck him again and killed him.^١ [May Allah's mercy and pleasure be upon him. Then they took his head to Ibn Ziyġd].^٢

^١ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٣٧٩): [Later,] 'Abd al-Ra'mġn bin al-ʾuṣġain al-Murġdġ happened to see Rashġd with 'Ubaidullah and heard people saying that: "This is the killer of Hġni' bin 'Urwah." So he attacked him with a spear, stabbed him and killed him. See also *al-Irshġd* (pg. ٢١٧) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawġġġ* (pg. ٢١٤).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٣٧٨): "Abġ Mikhnaf says: "ʿa'qab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin Abġ Ju'aifah..."

^٣ *Al-ṭabarġ* does not mention here that they were dragged by their two legs in the markets. But after this, he reports from Abġ Mikhnaf himself who narrated from Abġ Janġb al-Kalbġ, who in turn was relating from 'Adiyy bin ʾarmalah al-Asadġ on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Salġm and Madhrġ bin al-Mushma'il – both of whom were from Banġ Asad, who reported from Bukair bin Math'abah al-Asadġ who said: "I did not leave Kġfah until after Muslim bin 'Aqġl and Hġni' 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 Hġni’]

After killing Muslim and Hġni’, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyġd ordered for ‘Abd al-A’alġ al-Kalbġ, the one arrested by Kathġr bin Shihġb at Banġ Fityġn. So he was brought [before Ibn Ziyġd]. Ibn Ziyġd 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 Kathġr bin Shihġb arrested me.”

[Ibn Ziyġd said]: “You must heavily swear that you did not come out for some other reason”, but al-Kalbġ refused to do so [and ‘Ubaidullah got convinced that he had come out in support of Muslim].

Then, Ibn Ziyġd ordered [saying]: “Take this man to the cemetery of Sabġ’ and behead him there.” So they took him and killed him.

Then ‘Umġrah bin ‘ġalkhab al-Azdġ was brought before ‘Ubaidullah. He was among those who intended to mobilize people in support of Muslim bin ‘Aqġl.

[Ibn Ziyġd] asked him: “From which clan are you?”

He replied: “From Azd.”

[Ibn Ziyġd] then said: “Take him to his people [and kill him there].” So he was taken and beheaded amidst his people.’

Khwġrazmġ (٢:٢١٥) and Ibn Shahrġshġb (٢:٢١٢) have mentioned that Ibn Ziyġd crucified them up side down in the outskirts of Kġfah.”

’ *Al-ġabarġ* (٥:٣٧٨): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: “‘aq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Aun bin Abġ Ju’aifah that...”

[The Imprisonment of Mukhṭr]

The next morning when the door of ‘Ubaidullah’s palace was opened and people were allowed to enter, Mukhṭr [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 ‘Aqġl?”

He replied: “[No,] I never did that. I only came under the banner of ‘Amru bin ʿuraith and spent the night with him till morning.” [Here] ‘Amru said: “He is right, may Allah preserve you.”

Then [Ibn Ziỵd] lifted his staff and struck the face of Mukhṭr 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-ʿusain [‘a].¹

[The Heads of Muslim (‘a) and Ḥni’ Sent to Yazġd]

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziỵd dispatched Ḥnġ bin Abġ ʿayyah al-Ẉjdi’ġ [al-Kalbġ al-Hamḍnġ] and Zubair bin al-Arwaʾ al-Tamġmġ with the heads of [Muslim] and [Ḥni’] to Yazġd bin Mu’̣wiyah. He [also] ordered his scribe ‘Amru bin Ṇjfi’ to write to Yazġd bin Mu’̣wiyah about what happened to Muslim and Ḥni’. He wrote a long letter. When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziỵd 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

¹ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٥٦٦): “Abġ Mikhnaḥ says: ‘Naḡr bin ʾġli’ 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 ‘Aqġl took refuge in the house of Hġni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Murġdġ. 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 Hġni’ bin Abġ ʿayyah al-Hamdġnġ and Zubair bin al-Arwa’ al-Tamġmġ. 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.”

Yazġd 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 ʿusain bin ‘Alġ has set out towards Iraq. So prepare watchtowers (*manġʿir*)¹ and outposts (*masġliʿ*). 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

¹ *Al-manġʿir* is the plural of *manʿarah* which means a place used for keeping an eye on the enemy, while *al-masġliʿ*, plural of *maslaʿah*, is a place in which armed men keep a watch on the enemy in order to avert any sudden attack. See also *al-Irshġd* (pg. ۲۱۷) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawġġġ* (pg. ۲۴۵).

The Events In Kḥfah

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of Allah be upon you.”^١

Muslim bin ‘Aqḥl rose in Kḥfah on Tuesday, ٨th of Dhḥ al-^{١٠}ijjah ٦٠ H, while al-^{١٠}usain [(‘a) left Makkah also] on Tuesday, the Day of Tarwiyah, on the same day when Muslim rose.^٢

‘Abdullah bin Zubair al-Asadḥ, or according to some al-Farazdaq, composed the following verses on the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqḥl and Hḥni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Murḥdḥ:

O soul! If you do not know what death is, then look at Hḥni’ in the market-place and Ibn ‘Aqḥl.

Look at a hero [i.e. Hḥni’] whose face has been smashed by the sword, and at another [i.e. Muslim] who fell dead from a high place.

The command of the governor struck them down, and they became legends for those who travel on every road.

You see a corpse whose colour death has changed, and a 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.

^١ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘I relate from Abḥ Janḥb Yaḥy bin Abḥ ‘ayyah al-Kalbḥ (٥:٢٨٠). He is the brother of Hḥni’ bin Abḥ ‘ayyah, the one who carried the heads of Muslim and Hḥni’ to Yazḥd. It appears from Abḥ Janḥb’s report about his brother that he was proud of the way Ibn Ziyḥd described him that he was a man of knowledge, truth, understanding and piety! And also the way Yazḥd characterized him, though such an attitude was not unexpected from the tribe of Kilḥb.

^٢ *Al-ḥabarḥ* (٥:٢٧٨): “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘‘aq’ab bin Zuhair narrates from ‘Aun bin Abḥ Ju’aifah that...”

How can Asmġ' safely ride on ambling horses, while the Madhġij urged him to seek vengeance.

The young and old from [the Banġ] Murġd, 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].^{١, ٢}

^١ This refers to Asma' bin Khġrijah al-Fazġrġ who brought Hġni' bin 'Urwah to Ibn Ziyġd.

^٢ *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٣٨١): "Abġ Mikhnaf says: "aq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin Abġ Ju'aifah that..."

^٣ *Al-ṭabarġ* narrates on the authority of 'Ammġr al-Duhanġ from Imam al-Bġqir ('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-Kġmil* of Ibn al-Athġr (٤:٣٦) and *Maġtil al-ṭlibiyyġn* (pg. ١٠٨). With regard al-Asadġ [the poet], al-Iġfahġnġ says in his book (pg. ٢٩٠): "He was one of the notable Shġ'ite narrators of ġadġth and 'Abbġd bin Ya'qġb al-Rawġjanġ (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-Iġfahġnġ that he was among the companions of Mu'ammad bin 'Abdillah bin al-ʿasan Dhġ al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, who was martyred during the rule of Manġġr in the year ١٤٥ H. Al-Iġfahġnġ then says: "He is the father of Abġ A'ġmad al-Zubairġ, the traditionist whose actual name was Mu'ammad bin 'Abdillah bin al-Zubair" (pg. ٢٩٠).

Al-Kashhġ narrates in his *al-Rijl* (ġadġth no. ٦٢١) from 'Abd al-Ra'ġmġn bin Sayġbah who said: "Abġ 'Abdillah ('a) gave me some dinars and asked 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-Rassġn was four dinars. Shaikh al-Mufġd reports in *al-Irshġd* (pg. ٢٦٩) from Abġ Khġlid al-Wġsiġġ who said: "Abġ '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 Fuṣail al-Rassīn, was four dinars.” In fact, they might be two different persons with the same name; for while al-Iṣfahīnī counts Ibn al-Zubair among the distinguished Sh‘ah traditionists, the author of *al-Aghīnī* (١٣:٣١) asserts that he was a partisan of the Banī Umayyah who was very zealous in their cause and supported them against their enemies! He further says: “Ibn al-Zubair never assisted anyone against them or their governors. ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād used to maintain relations with him, honour him and pay his debts. Ibn al-Zubair has in return a number of eulogies in praise of Ibn Ziyād and also Asmī’ bin Khirījah al-Fazīrī (*al-Aghīnī*: ١٣:٣٣&٣٧).

Sayyid al-Muqarram brings the above verses attributed to al-Asadī in his book *al-Shahīd Muslim* (pg.٢٠١) and says: “How can one ascribe these verses about Muslim and Hīnī’ to this man after knowing his inclination towards the Banī 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-Iṣfahīnī quotes these verses ascribed to Ibn al-Zubair al-Asadī from al-Madīnī who narrated them on the authority of Abī Mikhnaf from Yūsuf bin Yazīd.

AL-°USAIN'S DEPARTURE FROM MAKKAH

Al-°usain (‘a) left Maḍnah for Makkah on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab ٦٠ H¹, and reached Makkah on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha'ḅn, and stayed there throughout the months of Sha'ḅn, Ramaḍ̣n, Shawẉl and Dḥ al-Qa'dah, and left Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dḥ al-°ijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah, the very day Muslim bin ‘Aq̣l 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 °ijz 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

¹ *Al-ṭabaṛ* says: “And in this year -٦٠ H- Yaẓd dismissed Waḷd bin ‘Utbah in the month of Ramaḍ̣n [from the governorship of Maḍnah] and replaced him with ‘Amru bin Sa’̣d bin al-°aḥ̣ al-Ashdaq who reached the city in the same month. Al-Ashdaq was eloquent and a very proud person (°:٣٤٣). It has also been reported in a narration that he entered the city in Dḥ al-Qa’dah of the year ٦٠ H (°:٣٤٦).” *Al-ṭabaṛ* also writes: “In this year [٦٠ H] Yaẓd bin Mu’jwiyah dismissed Waḷd bin ‘Utbah from Makkah and appointed ‘Amru bin Sa’̣d bin al-°aḥ̣ as the governor of both Makkah and Maḍnah in the month of Ramaḍ̣n of the same year. ‘Amru bin Sa’̣d led the people to pilgrimage on the same year while he was Yaẓd’s governor in both the cities.” (°:٣٩٩)

people would obey [al-°usain] more than they would obey him.¹

One day [Ibn al-Zubair] talked to the Imam [°a] for a while saying: "I do not know why we distanced [ourselves] from these people [i.e. the Ban£ Umayyah] and abstained from [rising against] them while we are the sons of the *muhjir£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

¹ *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 ‘Abbās]

When [al-°usain (‘a)] decided to go to Kffah, Ibn ‘Abbās came to him and said: “O my cousin, the people have spread rumours that you are advancing towards Iraq, so [please] explain to me what you intend to do.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] replied: “I am determined to leave in the coming one or two days^٣, if Allah wills.”

^١ *Al-±abarç* (°:٣^٣): “Ab£ Mikhna£ says: ‘°irith bin Ka’b al-Wilibç has related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’jn 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 Minj (°:٣^°), this conversation with Ibn ‘Abbās 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 Kffah] 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-±abarç:°:٢٨٦*). 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 °afj and Marwj and came out of his *i/rjm* and concluded his /*ajj* as '*umrah*'; for he was unable to complete (*tamjm*) the pilgrimage in fear of being caught and taken to Yaz£d bin Mu'jwiyah. Hence, the Imam (°a) immediately departed from Makkah (*al-Irshjd*, pg.٢١٨).

Mu'jwiyah bin °Ammjr narrates from Imam al-°idq (°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 Minj. There is no objection in performing '*umrah*' in [the month of] Dh£ al-°ijja for one who does not intend to perform /*ajj*."

Ibrjh£m bin °Umar al-Yamjn£ narrates that he asked al-°idq (°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*.'" (*Wasj'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£j'i¥ al-°usainiyyah*: pg.٢٢; Tabriz edition).

In *A'ljm al-Warj*, 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-Irshjd* 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 '*tamjm al-/ajj*' where he says '*itmjm 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 ‘Abbîs 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.”¹

[A Second Conversation with Ibn ‘Abbîs]

In the evening [of that day] or the next morning Ibn ‘Abbîs once again came to the Imam (‘a) and said: “O my cousin! I tried to remain patient but could not. Indeed, I am

itmjm, unlike *tamjm*, implies that the Imam (‘a) had actually put on the *i/rjm* for */ajj*.

However, it is equally probable that there are inconsistencies in the different copies of *al-Irshjd* itself; for Shaikh al-Qarashç (°:°°) quotes al-Mufçd from *al-Irshjd* (pg. ٢٤٣), in the same manner as al-±abrasç has done, by bringing the phrase *itmjm al-/ajj*; while in the °aidariyyah edition of *al-Irshjd* (pg. ٢١٨), we find the phrase *tamjm al-/ajj*, which is correct.

¹ *Al-±abarç* (°:٣٨٣): “Abf Mikhnaf says: ‘°irith bin Ka’b al-Wjlibç narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’in that...” It is worthy of note here that Ibn ‘Abbîs 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 °ijz. 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 sincere¹ and caring but I have resolved on the journey!”

Ibn ‘Abbjs 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.”²

[His Conversation with ‘Umar al-Makhz£mç]

‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Ra'mjn bin °jrih bin Hishjm al-Makhz£mç³ says: “When al-°usain (‘a) was ready for the

¹ The Imam (‘a) wanted to show that he knew that what Ibn ‘Abbjs 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 Sharç’ah.

² *Al-±abarç* (•:٣٨٣): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘°jrih bin Ka’b al-Wjlibç related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’jn that...”

³ *Al-±abarç*: He was appointed by Ibn al-Zubair as the governor of K£fah during the time of Mukhtjr in ٦٦ H. He had sent Zjidah bin Qudjmah al-Thaqafç towards Mukhtjr 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-ʿusain (ʿa) said: "Say [what you want to say]. For by Allah, I do not consider you a person with unsound opinions, or evil intentions and deeds."

He then said: "I have come to learn that you intend to go to Iraq, but I am concerned about you should you undertake this journey. You are moving towards a city which has its [own] rulers and governors and who have treasure houses at their disposal. Indeed people are slaves of these dirhams and dinars. I fear that those people will come to fight you who have promised you their support and to whom you are more beloved than the one they will be fighting for against you."

Al-ʿusain (ʿa) replied: "May Allah reward you with good, O my cousin. By Allah, I know that you have given [me] a good advice and have spoken with wisdom. But whatever is decreed shall come to pass. I consider you a praiseworthy and sincere adviser, whether I act on your advice or not."¹

seventy thousand *dirhams* in order to drive him back by offering him the money, or to fight him in case he rejected that. So Mukhtār accepted the money and went to Baʿrah (ب:٧١). What ʿUmar 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 ʿIrith bin Hishm, the brother of Abī Jahl bin Hishm, who was the enemy of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ). We have mentioned about him in the introduction.

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٣٨٢): "Hishm narrates from Abī Mikhnaf that: "ʿaqʿab bin Zuhair related to me from ʿUmar bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [saying]..."

[His Last Conversation with Ibn al-Zubair]

‘Abdullah bin Sulaim [al-Asadç] and Mudhrç bin Mushma’il [al-Asadç] say: “We set out to Makkah as pilgrims and entered [the city on] the Day of Tarwiyah. [We were in Masjid al-°arçim] 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,

So Ibn al-Zubair said to him: “Get closer to me O son of Fçšimah, so al-°usain (‘a) lent his ear to him and he whispered something to him. [‘Abdullah and Mudhrç 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

^١ *Al-±abarç* (°:٣٨٤): “Ab£ Minkhaf says: ‘Ab£ Jançb Ya|yç bin Abç °ayyah narrated to me from ‘Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asadç 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.”^۱,^۲

[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¥¥^۳

^۱ *Al-±abar°* (°:۳^°): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘I report from Ab£ Sa’°d ‘Aq°¥j, who narrated from some of his companions...”

^۲ 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, ۴:۱۶°), 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?

^۳ *Al-±abar°*: When ‘Amru bin Sa’°d became the governor of Mad°nah he summoned ‘Ubaidullah bin Ab° Rjfi’ – the scribe of ‘Al° bin Ab° ±jlib– 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'°d¹ 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.

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-°¥¥ - 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 (¥:١٧٠).

'Amru bin Sa'°d was the one who fought Ibn al-Zubair (°:٣٤٣) and lashed between forty 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 (°: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 (°: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-°jjah of ٦١ H (°:٤٧٧). As a result, 'Amru went to Yaz°d and apologized to him (°:٤٧٩). His father was Sa'°d bin al-°¥¥, Mu'jwiyah's governor in Mad°nah (°:٢٤١).

¹ *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

‘Alç bin al-°usain bin ‘Alç [(‘a), i.e. the fourth Imam] says: "When we left Makkah ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far bin Abç ±lib^٢ sent a letter to °usain bin ‘Alç (‘a) with his two sons: ‘Aun and Mu’ammad^٣ [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

^١ Qur’an, ١٠:٤١.

^٢ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٣٨٥): "Abç Mikhnaf says: ‘°irith bin Ka’b al-Wilibç narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’j in that..."

^٣ *Al-±abarç*: He was with the Commander of the Faithful in the battle of Jamal and assisted him in taking ‘ishah back to Madçnah (٤:٥١٠). ‘Abdullah was among those whom the Commander of the Faithful used to consult when he was in Kçfah and it was him who proposed to [‘Alç (‘a)] to appoint Mu’ammad bin Abç Bakr over Egypt. Mu’ammad was the half brother of ‘Abdullah through his mother (٤:٥٥٤). He was with [‘Alç] in °iffçn 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 Madçnah with both of them [i.e. ‘Alç and al-°asan] (٥:١٦٥). His two sons Mu’ammad and ‘Aun were with al-°usain (‘a) [in Karbalj]. 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-±abarç* (٥:٤٦٩): They were martyred along with al-°usain (‘a). With regard to ‘Aun, his mother was Jamçnah, the daughter of Musayyib bin Najabah al-Fazjrç who was among the leaders of the Tawwibçn movement. As for Mu’ammad, his mother was Kha¥ij’ bint Kha¥afah bin Thaçbç from the tribe of Bakr bin Wj’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’lyj 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’lyj 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'ød [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'ød]. 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 (ﷺ) 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!"',[†]

[†] *Al-±abarø* (•:٣٨٨): "Ab£ Mikhnaf Says: '°|rith bin Ka'b al-W|libø narrated to me from 'Alø bin al-°usain that..."

[†] 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 (ﷺ). 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 Ahmad bin al-A‘tham al-Khafi (d. 310 H) talked of the dream of the Imam (‘a) at the grave of his grandfather, the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ), in Madīnah. 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'çm']

Al-°usain (‘a) continued with his journey until he passed by Tan'çm. There he met a caravan which had been sent to Yazçd bin Mu'jwiyah and was headed by Bu'air bin Raisin al-°imyarç', Yazçd's governor in Yemen. The caravan was carrying *waras*^r and Yemeni dresses to Yazçd.

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.”

¹ *Mu'jam al-Buldjn* (٢:٤١٦) reports that Tan'çm is a place two *farsakh* away from Makkah. There is a hill on its right known as Na'çm and another one on its left called Nj'im, and the valley itself is known as Na'çmjn. There is also a mosque there and beside that it is the nearest *mçqjt* 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 Madçnah and Jiddah.

² *Al-±abarç*: It seems that he was an astrologer and had augured ill for 'Abdullah bin Mutç' al-‘Adawç when he was sent to Kçfah as the governor by Ibn al-Zubair (٩:٦). The renowned ±jwçs al-Yamjnç was his master who died in Makkah in the year ١٠٥ H (٦:٢٩).

^r *Al-wars* is a sesame-like plant used for dying and from which saffron is collected and which is not found except in Yemen.

The Stations On The Way To Kḥfah

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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_i!']

‘Abdullah bin Saḥm [al-Asadḥ] and Mudhrḥ [bin Mushma’il al-Asadḥ] report:

“We moved on until we reached al-⁻if_i! where we met Farazdaq bin Gh_ilib^٢, the poet, who came near al-^ousain (‘a) and said to

^١ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٣٨٥): “Abḥ Mikhnaḥ says: ‘^oiṛith bin Ka’b al-W_ilibḥ narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’_in that...”

^٢ It is located between ^ounain 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_ish].

^٣ *Al-ṭabarḥ*: He is Ham_im bin Gh_ilib bin ⁻a’Ḥa’ah. His two uncles were Dhuhail and Zaḥf, who were in the treasury office (*dḥw_in*) of Ziy_id bin Sumayyah, each being in charge of a thousand people. Farazdaq had mocked the Banḥ Nahshal and Faḥm, so they sued him before Ziy_id and the latter summoned Farazdaq but he fled. Whenever Ziy_id would come to Baḥrah, Farazdaq would go to Kḥfah, and if Ziy_id was to come to Kḥfah, he would go to Baḥrah. Ziy_id used to stay in Baḥrah and Kḥfah each for six months. Farazdaq then went to ^oij_iz seeking refuge with Sa’ḥd bin al-^aḤḥ from Ziy_id until the latter died (٥:٢٤٢-٢٥٠). Farazdaq scorned at Ziy_id and one who elegized him, saying: “You are mourning a disbeliever from the family of Sufy_in, who was like Choesroe or Ceaser in aggression” (٥:٢٩٠).

Farazdaq then returned to Baḥrah 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-^ousain (‘a) (٥:٣٨٦). Later, he composed a poem in praise of ^oajj_ij! (٦:٣٨٠ & ٣٩٤) and was among the courtiers of Sulaim_in bin ‘Abd al-Malik (٥:٥٤٨). Farazdaq was alive till the year ١٠٢ H (٦:٦١٦). At the time when he mocked at the Banḥ 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-^ousain (‘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 Banġ 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-consciousness (*taqwġ*) 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,

^١ *Al-±abarċ* (•:٢٨٦): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: “[I narrate] on the authority of Abġ Janġb from ‘Adiyy bin °armalah who related from ‘Abdullah bin Salġm that...” This report of Ibn Salġm 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 Zarġd, which is located a several stations after ‘ifġl on the way to Kġfah. Unless we say that they meant by the statement: “We moved on until we reached ‘ifġl...” that they moved on from Kġfah and reached ‘ifġl on their way to Makkah, and then, after finishing the *‘ajj* rituals, they joined al-°usain (‘a) at Zarġd.

^٢ *Al-±abarċ* says: “Hishġm has narrated on the authority of ‘Awġnah bin °akam from Lubġah bin al-Farazdaq bin Ghġlib who

The Stations On The Way To Kḥfah

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When ‘Ubaydullah bin Ziyāḍ learnt of the journey of al-‘usain (‘a) from Makkah to Kḥfah, he sent ‘uḡain bin Tamḥm [al-Tamḥmḥ], the head of his bodyguards, to al-Qiḍisiyyah.^١ [Al-Tamḥmḥ] stationed at this place and set up a [protective] link of cavalry between [the area of] al-Qiḍisiyyah to Khaffīn,^٢ and [the area of] al-Qiḍisiyyah to Quṣquṣīnah^٣ and La’la’.^٤

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 ‘Alḥ 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 Banī 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 (*nudhḥr*) and /ajj rituals, and he explained them to me.” (٥:٣٨٦)

^١ Al-Qiḍisiyyah is situated fifteen *farsakh* from Kḥfah and just four miles from ‘Adhḥb. It is also called al-Dḥwīniyyah as it was the first big city on the way to the deserts of ‘ijīz from Iraq. Al-Qiḍisiyyah was the first place in Iraq to be conquered by the Muslims under the leadership of Sa’d bin Abḥ Waqqīḡ.

^٢ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldīn* (٣:٤٥١), Khaffīn is a village near Kḥfah and contains a water-spring owned by the Banī ‘Abbīs.

^٣ Quṣquṣīnah is some twenty miles away from al-Rahḥmah on the way to Kḥfah, as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buldīn* (٧:١٢٥). According to al-Ya’qḥḥ (٢:٢٣٠; Najaf edition): “The news of the martyrdom of Muslim reached the Imam at Quṣquṣīnah.”

^٤ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٣٩٤): “Abī Mikhnaf says: ‘Yḥnus bin Abḥ Isḥīq al-Sabḥ’ḥ narrated to me saying...”

[°jir¹]

Al-°usain (‘a) went on with his journey until when he reached al-°jir, which is situated in Baṣn al-Rumma, he sent Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidjwḥ with a letter to the people of Kḥfah. He wrote to them:

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From °usain bin ‘Alḥ 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 ‘Aqḥl’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 Dhḥ 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-°aidjwḥ set off for Kḥfah with al-°usain’s letter. When Qais reached al-Qḍisiyyah, °uḤain bin Tamḥm arrested him and sent him to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyḍ.

Ibn Ziyḍ 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 ‘Alḥ -the best of Allah’s creatures- is the son of Fjṣimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah. I am his messenger to you. I parted

¹ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldjn* (٤:٢٩٠) and *Tij al-‘ArḤs* (٣:١٣٩), al-°jir is a valley in the highlands of Najd, whereas Baṣn al-Rumma is a point where travelers coming from the cities of Kḥfah and BaḤrah meet on their way to Madḥnah.

with him at °ijir. Answer him.” Then he cursed ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd 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].¹

[A Watering Place of the Arabs]

Al-°usain (‘a) continued to proceed towards Kffah till he arrived at a watering place of the Arabs where ‘Abdullah bin Mu§¢’ al-‘Adaw¢’ 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

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٤): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Mu|ammad bin Qais related to me [saying]...’ Al-Muf¢d has reported the report in *al-Irshjd* (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-Khawj¥¥* (pg.٢٤٥; Najaf edition).

² His biography has appeared when mentioning the sources of this text.

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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 Kġfah. Do not expose yourself to the Banġ 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 Zarġd^٣ [known as al-Khuzaimiyyah].

[Zuhair bin al-Qain Joins al-°usain (‘a)]

A man from Banġ Fazġrah reports that: “We were with Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajalġ when we left Makkah. [Although] we were travelling alongside al-°usain (‘a), there was nothing

^١ The sanctity of Islam or that of the Messenger of Allah [ﷺ], 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 Muġġ’ 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 Muġġ’ was thinking, even those among the people of Makkah, Madġnah and Kġfah who could not dare oppose the Banġ Umayyah before the Imam’s martyrdom, became daring after that, including Ibn Muġġ’ himself as he ruled over Kġfah for Ibn al-Zubair. Rather, if it was not for al-°usain’s movement, no one could dare stand against the Banġ Umayyah and they would, accordingly, have done all they wanted to destroy Islam [without encountering any opposition].

^٢ Al-Khuzaimiyyah is situated before Zarġd as one comes from Makkah, and after it for one who comes from Kġfah as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buldġn*. 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 Kġfah after Tha’labiyyah.

^٣ *Al-±abarġ* (٥:٣٩٤): “Abġ 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, greeted us and entered [our tent]. He said: “O Zuhair bin al-Qain! Abġ ‘Abdillāh °usain bin ‘Alġ has sent me to summon you to him.” [Here] each one of us threw away what was in his hands in amazement; it was [as surprising] as if birds had alighted on our heads.¹

Dalham bint ‘Amru, Zuhair’s wife, says: “I said to him: “The son of the Prophet of Allāh has sent for you and you are not going to him?! Glory be to Allāh! 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’ and Allāh granted

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (٥:٣٩٦): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Al-Siddġ narrated to me from a person among the Banġ Fazīrah saying: ‘During the time of °ajjij bin Yġsuf we used to hide in the house of Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajalġ, as the people of Shīm would not enter it. So [one day] I said to this man from the Banġ Fazīrah: ‘Tell me about your journey with °usain bin ‘Alġ.’ He said...” See also *al-Irshid* (pg.٢٢١) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.٣٢٥) of al-Khwārazmġ.

² A city around the Caspian sea at Bīb al-Abwīb which was conquered in the year ٢٢ H, during the reign of ‘Uthmīn bin ‘Affīn, at the hands of Salmīn bin Rabġ’ah al-Bīhilġ. See *Mu’jam al-*

us victory and we won booty. Salmġn al-Bġhilġ 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 Muġammad (ﷺ), 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

Buldġn.

^١ *Al-ġabarġ* (٤:٣٠٥) says: Both Salmġn al-Fġrsġ and Abġ Hurairah were among the conquerors of Balanjar. Ibn al-Athġr clearly says in *al-Kġmil* (٤:١٧) that the one who spoke to them [about the young men of the family of Muġammad] was Salmġn al-Fġrsġ, not Salmġn al-Bġhilġ. This is keeping in mind that the aim of Ibn al-Athġr in writing *al-Kġmil fġ al-Tġrġkh* was to supplement *Tġrikh al-ġabarġ*, and for this very reason he quotes most of his reports from *al-ġabarġ*. Among others who have asserted that it was Salmġn al-Fġrsġ [and not al-Bġhilġ] are al-Mufġd in *al-Irshġd*, al-Fatġl in *Rawġjt al-Wa’i’ġġn* (pg. ١٥٣), Ibn Namġ in *Muthġr al-A’zġn* (pg. ٢٣), al-Khwġrazmġ in *al-Maqtal* (١:٢٧٥) and al-Bakrġ in *al-Mu’jam min-mġ Ustu’jima* (١:٣٧٦). This assertion is also supported by *al-ġabarġ*’s report that Salmġn al-Fġrsġ was present in the expedition. However, what has been said here does not seem to be correct; for what is apparent is that Salmġn al-Fġrsġ was the governor of Madġn 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-ġabarġ* (٥:٣٩٦): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Dalham bint ‘Amru, Zuhair bin al-Qain’s wife, narrated to me that...” See also *al-Irshġd* (pg. ٢٢١).

^٣ It will be known later from the speech of Zuhair in Karbalġ that he was angry right from the beginning about Mu’ġwiyah’s

Somewhere on the way [to Kḥfah], Al-ʿusain (ʿa) dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Buqṣur al-ʿimyarḥ to Muslim bin ‘Aqḥl, but he was arrested by the soldiers of ʿusain bin Tamḥm at al-Qiḍisiyyah. He sent him to Ibn Ziyāḍ 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-ʿusain, son of Fīṣimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). [He is asking] you to help and support him against the son of Marjīnah, son of Sumayyah, the bastard!”

‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyāḍ] 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-Lakhamḥ came to him and slaughtered him (*dhaba/ahu*).

declaration of Ziyāḍ as his brother and his killing of ʿujr bin ‘Adiyy.

ʿ His mother was a nurse-maid of al-ʿusain (ʿa) and this is why it has been said about him that he is al-ʿusain’s foster brother. The word ‘Buqṣur’ has appeared with the letter ‘bḥ’ in *al-ṭabarḥ* and so has been recorded by al-Jazarḥ in *al-Kimil*. But our masters (*mashāikh*) like al-Samjwḥ in *Ibṣīr al-‘Ain* (pg. ٥٢) have recorded it with the letter ‘yḥ’ (Yuqṣur). We shall later see that the news of al-Yuqṣur’s martyrdom reached the Imam (ʿa) at a point called Zabīlah; that is before he received the news of the martyrdom of al-ʿaidjwḥ. Therefore, it seems that Ibn Yuqṣur was sent [to Muslim bin ‘Aqḥl] before al-ʿaidjwḥ [was dispatched to the people of Kḥfah].

ʿ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٣٤٨): “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘Abḥ ‘Alḥ al-Anṣīrḥ narrated to me from Bakr bin Muṣṣab al-Muzniyy [saying]...” *Al-Irshād* (pg. ٢٢٠) has related the report also, but he confused the report of Ibn Yuqṣur with that of Qais bin Musahhar al-ʿaidjwḥ.

ʿ Al-Lakhamḥ took up the judgeship in Kḥfah after al-Shaʿbḥ, and died in ١٢٦ H at the age of hundred and three, as reported in *Mḥzin*

[Zarġd^١]

‘Abdullah bin Salġm [al-Asadġ] and Mudhrġ bin Mushma’il [al-Asadġ] 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 Zarġd.^١

As we neared him, we saw a man from Kġfah 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 Kġfah, we will get to know it.’

We went to him and said: ‘Peace be upon you.’

al-I’tidāl (١:١٥١) and *Tahdhġb al-Asmġ*’ (pg.٣٠٩).

^١ Zarġd is located between al-Khuzaimiyyah and al-Tha’labiyyah on the way to Kġfah. See *Mu’jam al-Buldġn* (٤:٣٢٧).

^٢ This report is inconsistent with what has been narrated from them earlier about their meeting Farazdaq at ‘ifaġ, which is several stations before Zarġd; for according to this report they joined al-°usain (‘a) at Zarġd and not before that. It was, however, not possible for them to join him at ‘ifaġ if they were to complete their /*ajj*, for ‘ifaġ is situated in the beginning of the way [to Kġfah] while the Imam (‘a) had left [Makkah] on the Day of Tarwiyah. Therefore, if they had joined him at ‘ifaġ, [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 Zarġd]. What is surprising here is that the narrators of both the reports were they themselves, but neither Abġ Janġb, nor Abġ Mikhnaf, nor ±abarġ could realize the contrariety in the reports. Unless we reconcile between the two reports by saying that they met al-°usain (‘a) at ‘ifaġ before the /*ajj* and then joined him at Zarġd 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 Asadġ.’

We said: ‘We are from the Banġ 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 Kġfah after Muslim bin ‘Aqġl and Hġni’ bin ‘Urwah had been killed. I saw them being dragged by their legs in the market.’

[Ibn Salġm and Mushma’il] continue: “We went on to al-°usain (‘a) and we were travelling close to him until he stopped.

[Tha’labiyyah’]

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

’ It comes after al-Shuqġq for one traveling to Makkah from Kġfah. It has been named after a man from the Banġ Asad known as Tha’labah. See *Mu’jam al-Buldġn*.

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 Kġfah after Muslim bin ‘Aqġl and Hġnġ 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.’

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 Kġfah. We are afraid that the [people of the] city will be against you!’

On hearing this, the sons of ‘Aqġl bin Abġ ±ġlib^ʿ sprung up

^ʿ 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 Zubġlah. 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 Zubġlah. But according to al-Ya’qġbġ (٢:٢٣٠; Najaf edition), the news of Muslim’s martyrdom reached the Imam [‘a] at Quşquşġnah.

^ʿ *Al-±abarġ* (٥:٣٩٧): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Abġ Janġb al-Kalbġ related to me on the authority of ‘Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asadġ, from ‘Abdullah that...” *Al-Irshġd* (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 Zubĭlah.

[Zubĭlah^٢,^٣]

There he received the news of the martyrdom of his foster brother, ‘Abdullah bin Yuqşur. So he read out a written

“‘Abdullah bin Sulaimĭn reported that...”

^١ *Al-±abarĕ* (٥:٣٩٧): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: “‘Umar bin Khĭlid narrated to me on the authority of Zayd bin ‘Alĕ bin al-°usain, from Dĭwĕd bin ‘Alĕ bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abbĭs who said that the sons of ‘Aqĕl reported that...” See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg. ٢٢٢), *Murĕj al-Dhahab* (٣:٧٠) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawĭ* (pg. ٢٤٥; Najaf edition).

^٢ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldĭn*, Zubĭlah comes before al-Shuĕĕq for one traveling to Makkah from Kĕfah. It contains fortresses and a large mosque belonging to the Banĕ Asad. Zubĭlah is, in fact, the name of a lady from the ‘Amĭliqah.

^٣ *Al-±abarĕ* (٥:٣٩٨): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘I narrate on the authority of Abĕ Janĭb al-Kalbĕ from ‘Adiyy bin °armalah who related from ‘Abdullah bin Salĕm that...” See also *al-Irshĭd* (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, Ḥj̣ṇċ bin ‘Urwah and ‘Abdullah bin Yuqṣur. Our followers’ 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 Madċnah.

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!’

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 Baṣn al-‘Aqabah.

¹ This is a clear assertion from the Imam [‘a] that his followers in Kĕfah have betrayed him. This is the first announcement of the news about Kĕfah and the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqĕl (‘a), though he had already received the news before this at Zarĕd, 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.

² This is the most complete answer as to why the Imam (‘a) allowed them to leave him, and it suffices from all other answers.

[Baṣn al-‘Aqabah^١]

He stopped at this point^٢ [and a man from the Banġ ‘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

[Sharġf°]

Al-°usain (‘a) went on till he stopped at Sharġf. At dawn he

^١ It is a station after WġqĩŸah and before al-Qĩ’ on the way to Makkah.

^٢ *Al-±abarġ* (٥:٣٩٨): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Abġ ‘Alġ al-AnŸĩrġ narrated to me from Bakr bin MuŸ’ab al-Muzniyy that...” See also *al-Irshĩd* (pg. ٢٢٢; Najaf edition).

^٣ According to *al-Irshĩd* (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’lĩm al-Warĩ* (pg. ٢٣٢) also.

^٤ *Al-±abarġ* (٥:٣٩٩): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Laudhĩn -one of the Banġ ‘Ikrimah- related to me that one of his uncles narrated to him that...’”

[°] Sharġf is two miles from WġqĩŸah and is situated before [one reaches] Iraq. Sa’d bin Abġ WaqqĩŸ had stopped here before he reached al-Qĩdisiyyah. Sharġf is named after a person who was

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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-ʿusain (‘a) said: ‘[Indeed,] Allah is greatest! [But] why did you say the *takbīr*?’

He replied: ‘I saw palm trees.’

[‘Abdullah bin Salḥm and Mudhrḥ bin Mushma’il] the two men from the Banī Asad said to him: ‘This is a place in which we never see a palm-tree.’

Al-ʿusain (‘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.’

[Dhḥ ʿusam’]

Here al-ʿusain (‘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 *Muʿjam al-Buldīn*.

ʿ According to *Muʿjam al-Buldīn*, it is the name of a hill where Nuʿmān used to go for hunting. It is ٢٢ miles from ‘Udhaib al-Hijānī on the way to Kḥfah as reported by *al-ṭabarī*. Ibn al-Jawzī 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 ‘Aqīl until when he was three miles from al-Qīdisiyyah, where he met ʿurr bin Yazīd al-Riyāḥī who informed him of the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl and Hānī bin ‘Urwah and also about Ibn Ziyād’s arrival in Kḥfah 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] Dhḥ °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 Yazḥd al-Tamḥmḥ al-Yarbḥ’ḥ. 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 (*tarshḥf*) to the horses [also].’

So the young men served them water till they quenched their thirst. [Then] they began filling their jugs, vessels and bowls and take them near [their] horses. When a horse had drunk three or four or five draughts¹, it was taken away from it and

¹ Drinking a few draughts of water is what exactly *tarshḥf* means.

provided to another one until they had all been watered.”^{٢٢٠},^{٢٢١}

The time for the *uhr* prayer set in and al-^ousain (‘a) ordered ^oajjj bin Masrġq al-Ju’fġ to make the call to prayer and he did so. When it was time for the *iqjmah*, al-^ousain (‘a) came out [before the people] dressed in a waist-cloth (*izjr*), a cloak (*ridj*) 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

^{٢٢٠} *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٤٠٠) says: “I have been informed on the authority of Hishjm who related from Abġ Mikhnaf who said: ‘Abġ Janjb narrated to me on the authority of ‘Adiyy bin ^oarmalah from ‘Abdullah bin Salġm and al-Mudhrġ that...” See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.٢٢٢) and *Maqjtil al-ṭlibiyyġn* (pg.٢٢٣) of Abġ al-Faraj al-Iġfahjnġ.

^{٢٢١} *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٤٠١) says: “Hishjm said: ‘Laqġt narrated to me from ‘Alġ bin al-ṭa’jn al-Muġribġ that: ‘I was together with ^ourr bin Yazġd [al-Riyġġ] and I was among the last of his companions [in the army] to arrive at Dhġ ^ousam. When al-^ousain (‘a) saw how thirsty my horse and I were, he said: ‘Make the horse (*rjwiyah*) kneel.’ I thought that by *rjwiyah* 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-^ousain [‘a] told me: ‘Fold (*ikhnith*) the waterskin’, but al-Muġribġ says I did not know how to do that! So al-^ousain [‘a] stood up and folded it for me; so I drank myself and watered my horse also.” See *al-Irshjd* (pg.٢٢٤) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwġrazmġ (pg.٢٣٠).

^{٢٢٢} *Al-ṭabarġ* (٥:٤٠١): “From here Abġ 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 Hishjm al-Kalbġ from Laqġt, who narrated from ‘Alġ bin Ta’jn al-Muġribġ. See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.٢٢٤) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawġġġ* (pg.٢٣١).

(*imjm*); 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 *iqmah*”, 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 ‘aḥr, 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 ‘aḥr prayers and the *iqmah*. 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 (*wilāyah*) of this affair [i.e. the caliphate] over you than those who claim what does not belong to them and who rule amidst you with injustice and oppression! But if you dislike us and do not know our right, and your view is now other than what came in your letters and was brought by your messengers, then I will go away from you!”

So °urr bin Yazīd 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’īn! Bring out the two saddle-bags which contain their letters to me.”¹ 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 Ziyād!”

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

¹ *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-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-Khawārij* (pg. ٢٥١) that when the Imam [‘a] addressed his opponents on the day of ‘ashūrā 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 falsehood and its followers! By Allah, I shall not prefer this world over the hereafter.” He then stroke his horse and joined the camp of al-°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!”¹

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 Ziyġd!”

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 Kġfah. If you refuse [to do that], then take any road which will not bring you into Kġfah, nor take you back to Madġnah, let that be a compromise between us until I write to Ibn Ziyġd [and await further instructions]. And if you wish, you can write to Yazġd bin Mu’ġwiyah, or if you want to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyġd. 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-Qġdisiyyah.”

[All this happened while they were still at Dhġ °usam] which is situated at ٣^ miles from ‘Udhaib. Al-°usain (‘a) moved

¹ See also *Maqġtil al-±ġlibiyyġn* (pg.٧٤; Najaf edition) of Abġ al-Faraj al-Iġfahġnġ, who narrated it from Abġ Mikhnaf.

with his companions while ʾurr [and his army] set out travelling close by him.^١]

[Baiḥah^٢]

At al-Baiḥah, al-ʾusain (ʿa) addressed his companions and those of ʾurr. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

“O people! The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) has said: ‘Whoever sees a tyrannical ruler making lawful what Allah has forbidden, breaking the covenant of Allah, opposing the *sunnah* of the Messenger of Allah and behaving sinfully and unjustly with the servants of Allah, but does not [rise to] change the situation neither by his action nor his word, then it is binding on Allah to make him enter where the tyrant shall enter.”

Indeed these people have clung to the obedience of *shaiḥin* and have forsaken obeying the All-Merciful. They openly indulge in corruption and have stopped the enforcement of *ʾudḥd*.^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

^١ Here comes to an end what *al-ṭabarḥ* reported from Hishim to fill up the missing link in Abī Mikhnaḥ’s report. See also: *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٢٥) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawṭar* (pg. ٢٢٢).

^٢ According to *Muʿjam al-Buldin*, this point is situated between Wajīḥah and ‘Udhaib al-Hajīnī.

^٣ The legal punishment prescribed by the Sharḥ’ah. [Editor]

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°usain, son of ‘Alċ, and son of Fġšimah, 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 ‘Aqċl]! 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.’¹ And Allah will avail [me] against you. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you.”²

°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 [Banġ] 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,

¹ Qur’an, ٤٨:١٠.

² *Al-ṭabarċ* (٥:٤٠٣): “Abġ Mikhnaġ says: ‘[I narrate] from ‘Uqbah bin Abċ al-‘Ayzġr...”

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.”¹

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[†]]

[When the caravan of al-°usain (‘a) reached this point] there
appeared, all of a sudden, four people who came from Kḥfah
on their mounts and had the horse of N;fi’ bin Hil;l with
them, accompanied by their guide, ±irimm;l 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.

¹ Both Ibn al-Athḡr in *al-K;mil* and al-Mufḡd 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.”

[†] Gramatically ‘*udhaib* is a diminutive noun of ‘*adhḡb*. ‘Udhaib al-Hij;n;t was a valley owned by the Banḡ Tamḡm 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 °ḡrah, 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-hajḡn* 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 Yazḥd came forward and said: “These people who
have come from Kḥfah are not among those who came with
you [from Madḥnah]. 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 Ziyḍ.”

°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’idhḥ -one of the four men who
had just come to him’ - said: “As for the noblemen, they have

’ *Al-ḥabarḥ* (٥:٤٤٦): “They were probably Jḥbir bin al-°irith 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-°aidjwḥ.”

They said: “Yes. °uḤain bin Tamḥm had arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyḍ. [Ibn Ziyḍ] instructed him to curse you and your father, but he instead invoked [Allah’s] blessings on you and your father, and cursed Ibn Ziyḍ and his father. He invited [people] to support you and informed them of your coming. So Ibn Ziyḍ 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.’¹ O Allah grant them and us the heaven as an abode, and gather us all under your mercy and your desired reward which is reserved [for the believers].”²

Then ±irimmj| bin ‘Adiyy drew closer to al-°usain (‘a) and

Salmjñḥ, ‘Umar bin Khlid al-°aidjwḥ and Sa’d, the servant of al-°aidjwḥ, about whom Abḥ Mikhnaf says that they fought together in the beginning of the battle and were killed at one place.”

¹ Qur’an, ٢٢:٢٣.

² *Al-±abarḥ* (٥:٤٠٣): “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘... and ‘Uqbah bin Abḥ ‘Ayzir has reported that...” See also *al-Irshid* (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 Kffah, I saw at the back side of the Kffah 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!”

±irimmī| 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

^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 Sumairī’.

^٢ *Qurayyah* is the diminutive noun of *qaryah*. It is one of the areas in ±ay’.

^٣ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٠٦): “Ab£ Mikhna£ reports: ‘Jam£l bin Murçd related to me from ±irimmī| that...” The complete report is as follows: [±irimmī| said to al-°usain (‘a):] “I have prepared some

Al-°usain (‘a) set out until he reached QaYr Banç Muqĩtil.

[QaYr Banç Muqĩtil¹]

He halted [at this point] and there a tent had [already] been erected.² He said: “Whose tent is this?” ‘It belongs to ‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr al-Ju’fç³’, 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 Kġfah 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

provision for my family from Kġfah 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.” [±irimmĩ] 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-Hijĩnĩt’, Samĩ’ah bin Badr approached me and gave me the news of his martyrdom, and so I returned.”

¹ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldĩn*, this point is situated between Qurayyĩt, Quşquşĩnah and ‘Ain al-Tamr.

² *Al-±abarç* (•:•••): “Abġ Mikhnaġ reports...”

³ 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.¹

‘Uqbah bin Sim’ġn 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 Qaŷr Banġ Muqġtil 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, ‘Alġ 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 (*istirjġ*’)?”

He replied: “O my son! I nodded off and a horseman appeared to me, riding a horse, and he said: “The people are advancing and death is advancing towards them!” So I understood that it is our own souls announcing our deaths to us.”

He said to him: “O father! May Allah never let you see evil! Are not we on the right?”

He replied: “Indeed [we are], by Him to Whom all his

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (٥:٤٠٧): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujġlid bin Sa’ġd narrated to me from “amir al-Sha’bġ that...” See also *al-Irshġd* (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 ʿurr]. So ʿurr bin Yazʿd came to him, driving them back. When he [tried] to forcefully turn them towards Kḥfah, they resisted him, so they desisted from doing that, but still accompanied them until they reached Nainawj.

[Nainawj¹]

This is a place where al-ʿusain [ʿa] 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 Kḥfah. They all stopped, waiting for him. When he reached them, he greeted ʿurr bin Yazʿd and his followers but did not greet al-ʿusain [ʿa] and his companions. He handed a letter from ʿUbaidullah bin Ziyʿd to ʿurr. It read:

“When this letter reaches you and my messenger comes to you, make al-ʿusain come to a halt. But only let him stop in an open place, with no shelter and water. I have ordered my messenger to stay with you and not to leave you until he brings me [news of] your carrying out my instructions. That is all.”

¹ Nainawj was a village on the bank of the Euphrates which was inhabited until the end of the ۷nd century H.

When he had read the letter, °urr told them: “This is the letter of the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyīd. 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.”

[Abī] al-Sha’tihī Yazīd bin Ziyīd al-Muhīyar al-Kindī al-Bahdalī looked at the messenger of ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyīd], stood in front of him and said: “Are you Mīlik bin al-Nusair al-Baddī [from the tribe of Kindah]?”

‘ 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.” Abī Mikhnaf has narrated from Fuṣail bin Khudāij al-Kindī that: “Yazīd bin Ziyīd 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), Yazīd bin Ziyīd 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.

‘ *Al-ṭabarī*: Mīlik bin al-Nusair from the Banī Baddī. ṭabarī narrates on the authority of Abī Mikhnaf that he was present in Karbalī 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 Mīlik had snatched his cap from him and as a result he lived a life of poverty till his death. (۵: ۴۴۸)

It has been narrated also that ‘Abdullah bin Dabbīs had pointed out for Mukhtār a number of men who had killed al-°usain (‘a) and among them was Mīlik bin al-Nusair al-Baddī. So Mukhtār sent to them Mīlik bin ‘Amru al-Nahdī who met them at al-Qādisiyyah. Mīlik arrested and took them to Mukhtār one evening. Mukhtār said to al-Baddī: “Are you the one who took his cap?” ‘Abdullah bin Kīmīl said: ‘Yes! He is the one.’ Mukhtār 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 ۶۶ H.” (۶: ۵۷)

He answered: “Yes.”

So Yazʿd bin Ziyā 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 (*imām*) and remained faithful to my pledge of allegiance.”

Abū al-Shaʿthī 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.’” Such [a person] is your leader!”

ʿurr bin Yazʿd [al-Riyāʿ] began to make the people halt at that place which was without water and where there was no village.^۱

^۱ Qurʿan, ۲۸:۴۱.

^۲ This indicates that Karbalāʾ was not the name of a village, rather a name of an area known as Kār Bābil, i.e. the villages of Bābil, as reported in *Kitāb al-Dalīl wa al-Masājil* of Sayyid Hibah al-Dīn al-Shahristānī. Ibn al-Jawzī reports in his *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg. ۲۵۰; Najaf edition): “... Al-ʿusain [ʿa] then said: ‘What is this land called?’ They replied: ‘Karbalāʾ’. It is also called Nainawā which is a village in it.’ [Hearing this,] al-ʿusain wept and said: ‘Karb wa Balāʾ’ [i.e. grief and tribulation].’ He then said: ‘Umm Salamah informed me that: ‘[One day] Jibrīl was with the Messenger of Allah [ﷺ] and you [i.e. al-ʿusain] were with me. You happened to cry, so the Messenger of Allah [ﷺ] said: ‘Leave my son alone’, so I left you alone. He then lifted you and placed you on his lap. So Jibrīl said: ‘Do you love him?’ He replied: ‘Yes.’ Jibrīl 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 Jibrīl spread his wing on the land of Karbalāʾ and showed it to him.’ [After relating this] al-

So they said: “Allow us to stop at this village –meaning Nainawī, or that one –meaning al-Ghāṣiriyyah^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 Jibrī’el informed the Messenger of Allah, [the land] I shall indeed be killed in.’ Ibn al-Jawzī continues and says: “Ibn Sa’d has mentioned something similar in meaning to this report in his *al-ṭabaqāt* from al-Wiqidī.” Ibn al-Jawzī then says: “Ibn Sa’d has also reported [the following incident] from al-Sha’bī who said: ‘When ‘Alī (‘a) passed by Karbalī’ on his way to ʿiffen and stood opposite Nainawī –a village on the Euphrates, he stopped and called upon the one who carried water for ablution and said: ‘O Abī ‘Abdillah, tell me what is this land called?’ ‘Karbalī’, 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 (ﷺ) and saw him weeping. So I asked him: ‘What has made you to weep?’ He said: ‘Jibrī’el 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 Karbalī’.’ Jibrī’el then took a handful of sand [of that land] and made me smell it, so I could not hold my tears.’”

Ibn al-Jawzī says: “°asan bin Kathīr and ‘Abd Khair have said: ‘When ‘Alī (‘a) reached Karbalī’, 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 Muzīim has narrated this report through four [different] chains of narration in *Waq’at ʿiffen* (pg. ١٤٠-١٤٢; Hīrīn publications).

ʿAl-Ghāṣiriyyah is named after Ghāṣirah which belong to the Banī Asad and which are in fact lands around the grave of ‘Aun which are now a *farsakh* from Karbalī’. There stand the ruins of a fortress which is today known as the fortress of the Banī Asad.

^١ These were wells owned by the Banī Asad situated near Karbalī’.

The Stations On The Way To Kḥfah

٢٧٦

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 Muḥarram ٦١ H.

On the next day, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d bin Abḥ Waqqiḥ^٢ arrived from Kḥfah with four thousand soldiers

^١ This was a place where the way station of Nubḥkhaḥ Naḥr from Kḥr Bḥbil was located. Kḥr Bḥbil was later misspelt and came to be pronounced as Karbalā’.

^٢ We have given his biography earlier.

THE EVENTS FROM THE ٢RD 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 Ziyāḍ had dispatched him with four thousand men from Kḥfah to Dastbay.^١ This was at a time when the people of Dailam had attacked Dastbay and seized control of it. So Ibn Ziyāḍ wrote [a letter of] appointment to him, appointing him over Rayy, and ordered him to set out [to that place].

Ibn Sa'd left Kḥfah and assembled his army [outside the city] at [a point called] °ammjḡm A'yan.^٢ [But] when the issue of al-°usain ('a) came up and he set out for Kḥfah, Ibn Ziyāḍ 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

^١ Known in Persian as Dashtbeh, it is a sizeable district situated between Hamadḡn and Rayy. It was later annexed to Qazwḡn as reported in *Mu'jam al-Buldḡn* (٤:٥٨). *Dastbay* is an Arabicised form of the Persian word *Dashtbeh* which means a beautiful oasis.

^٢ According to *al-Qamqḡm* (pg. ٤٨٦), it was one of the districts of Kḥfah 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 Mughçrah 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-±abarç, there is some discontinuity here in the report of Ab£ Mikhna£ as he leaves off here and picks up again at Ibn Sa’d’s arrival in Karbalj’. Accordingly ±abarç fills up this gap by bringing in

^١ Al-±abarç: °ajjj bin Y£suf al-Thaqafç had appointed him over Hamadjn in ٧٧ H (°:٢٨٤), while his brother, Mu£arra£ bin Mughçrah, was the governor of Madjn. Mu£arra£ later revolted against °ajjj and was secretly supported by °amzah with funds and weapons (°:٢٩٢). °ajjj then sent a letter to Qais bin Sa’d al-‘Ajalç -who was then °amzah’s head of bodyguards- appointing him as the next governor of Hamadjn and [also] instructed him to fetter °amzah bin Mughçrah with chains and imprison him and he did so (°:٢٩٤).

^٢ Al-±abarç (°:٤٠٧): “Ab£ Mikhna£ says: “‘Abd al-Ra’hmjn bin Jundab narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’jn that...” Ab£ Faraj al-I£fahjnç has mentioned this report with the same chain of narration in his *Maqjtil al-±libiyyçn* (pg.٧٤) with the difference that instead of ‘Uqbah he records ‘Utbah bin Sim’jn al-Kalbç! See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.٢٢٦).

the report of 'Awjnah bin al-°akam which we have no choice but to mention it here in order to create a link between the reports.]

Hishjm says: “‘Awjnah bin al-°akam related to me on the authority of ‘Ammjr bin ‘Abdullah bin Yasjr al-Juhanç 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 Yasjr] 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 Kffah, who I am not more brave and powerful than him in warfare.’ Then he proposed some names to him.

Ibn Ziyd said to him: ‘Do not teach me of the noblemen of Kffah! 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 Nainawj.”

He says: “Umar bin Sa’d asked ‘Azarah bin Qais al-A’masø^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

^١ See also *al-Irshjd* (pg. ٢٢٧). He says as follows regarding the martyrdom Mu’ammad bin Abø ±jlib: “Ibn Ziyjd dispatched Ibn Sa’d towards al-°usain with ٩٠٠٠ men and later Yazød bin Rikjb al-Kalbø with an army of ٢٠٠٠ soldiers. He also sent °u¥ain bin Tamøm al-Sak£nø with ٤٠٠٠ men, Fuljn al-Mizanzø with ٢٠٠٠ and Na¥r bin Fuljn with ٢٠٠٠ soldiers. This summed up to ٢٠٠٠٠ riders and foot soldiers. In *Ma§jlib al-Sa’£l* al-Shifj’ø mentions that they were ٢٢٠٠٠ men altogether. Shaikh al-’ad£q narrates in his *Amjli* (pg. ١٠١; Beirut edition) with his chain of narration from Imam al-°jdiq (‘a) that they numbered ٢٠٠٠٠ men. Ibn al-Jawzø relates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٤٧; Najaf edition) from Mu’ammad bin Sørøn that the latter used to say: “In this matter the nobility of ‘Alø bin Abø ±jlib (‘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-Mufød mentions him in *al-Irshjd* 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).

The Events From The ٣RD To The ٨TH Of Mu'arram ٢٨١

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  -a brave knight who never turned his face away from anything- stood up and said: ‘I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assassinate him.’

‘Umar bin Sa’d said: ‘I do not want him to be assassinated. But go to him and ask him what has brought him?’

So he went to him. When 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

^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 ( :   ). He is the one who killed Zuhair in association with Muh jir bin Aws ( :   ). And he was the one who followed  a   k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushri  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 ( :    ).

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-°an³alç 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?' °abçb bin Mu"jhir¹ said: 'Yes! He is from the °an°alah, [a clan] of [the Banu] Tamçm. 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.'"¹

¹ This is the first time that his name appears in the reports of Karbalj¹ in this text, though it has not been specified how he reached there. We have already given his biography when discussing the Shçite leaders who had written to the Imam ('a) from Kçfah. Some [other] aspects of his life will follow in the reports of his martyrdom.

¹ *Al-±abarç*: Qurrah bin Qais was with °urr bin Yazçd al-Riyi¹ç. 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asadç 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) (°:ç²²). Abç Zuhair al-'Abasç 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) (°:ç²²).

°abçb bin Mu"jhir¹ 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 (°:ç¹¹). 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 Ziyāḍ 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 Ziyāḍ]

The letter of ‘Umar bin Sa’d reached Ibn Ziyāḍ 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 Ziyāḍ he recited the following verse:

Now when our claws cling to him, he hopes for delivery but there is no time to escape!

[Ibn Ziyā'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 Yazīd bin Mu'jwiyah. 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 Ziyā'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-Anṣarī 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.

^١ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٤١١): “Abū Mikhnaf says: ‘Naṣr bin Ḥilīl bin °abīb bin Zuhair al-‘Abasī narrated to me from °assīn bin Fī'id bin Bukair al-‘Abasī who said: ‘I bear witness that the letter of ‘Umar bin Sa'd came...’” See also *al-Irshād* (pg. ٢٢٨).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarī*: He was with al-°usain ('a) while his brother 'Alī bin Qur'ah was with 'Umar bin Sa'd. When 'Amru was martyred 'Alī bin Qur'ah put it on the companions of al-°usain ('a) in order to avenge for the blood of his brother. But he got stabbed by Nīfī' bin Hilāl al-Murīdī and fell to the ground. His colleagues carried him away and he was then treated and recovered (٥:٤٢٤).

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'jwiyah 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 °ijz." 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'jwiyah 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°* (°:٤١٣): "[Ab° Mikhnaf says:] 'Ab° Janb 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’īn says: “I accompanied al-°usain (‘a) and came out with him from Maḍnah 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 Maḍnah, or in Makkah, or on the way [to Ḳfah], 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 Yaẓd bin Mu’īwiyah, 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 Ziyāḍ]

‘Umar bin Sa’d wrote [a second] letter to Ibn Ziyāḍ [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 Yaẓd, the commander of the faithful, and offer him his

^١ *Al-±abaṛ* (٥:٤١٣): “This is what a group of *mu’additḥn* have recorded and has [also] been narrated to us by al-Muj̣lid bin Saḡ’d, ‘aq’ab bin Zuhair al-Azḍ and others who said ...” See also *Maq̣til al-±libiyỵn* (pg.٧٥; Najaf edition).

^٢ *Al-±abaṛ* (٥:٤١٣): “As for ‘Abd al-Ra’īṃ bin Jundab, he related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’īn who said: ...” See also *Tadhkirat al-Khaẉj̣* (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 Ziyāḍ 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 Dhḥ 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 Ziyāḍ said: “Your opinion is excellent. Your view is the correct view.”^٣

^١ We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kḥfah who were with Ibn Ziyāḍ.

^٢ Ibn al-Jawzḥ 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-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٤١٤): “Al-Mujlīd bin Sa’ḍ al-Hamdīnḥ and ‘aq’ab bin Zuhair have narrated to me that...” See also *al-Irshīd* (pg. ٢٢٩).

[Ibn Ziyā'd's Second Response to Ibn Sa'd]

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyā'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 Dhç al-Jaushan; for we have given him our instructions. That is all.”¹

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyā'd then summoned Shamir bin Dhç 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

¹ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤١٥): “Abf Janjb al-Kalbç has related to me that...” See also *al-Irshid* (pg.٢٢٩) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawj* (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 Dhç al-Jaushan took the letter, as he and ‘Abdullah bin Abç al-Ma'all bin ʿizim [al-Kiljbç] stood up to leave, ‘Abdullah said: “May Allah preserve the governor! The sons of our sister [Umm al-Bançn: ‘Abbıs, ‘Abdullah, Ja’far and ‘Uthmın] are with al-ʿusain. If you deem it right to grant them protection (*amın*), then [please] do so.”

[Ibn Ziyıd] replied: “Yes, with pleasure.” He then ordered his scribe to write a guarantee of security for them and sent it through ‘Abdullah bin Abç al-Ma'all [bin ʿizim al-Kiljbç] and his servant Kuzmın.

[Shamir Brings the Letter to Ibn Sa'd]

Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan set out with the letter of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyıd 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-ʿusain will not surrender. An unsubmitive soul exists within him!”

Shamir said to him: “Tell me what you are going to do. Are you going to carry out the instructions of your governor and kill his enemy? Otherwise leave the command of the army to me.”

^١ *Al-ṭabarç* (٥:٤١٤): “Sulaimın bin Abç Rıshid has related to me from ʿumaid bin Muslim that...” See also *al-Irshıd* (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 Ziyāḍ for 'Abbās 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 ‘Abbās, Ja’far and ‘Uthmīn, the sons of ‘Alī (‘a), came forward and said: "What is the matter and what do you want?"

He said: "You are guaranteed security, O sons of my sister!"

The young men replied him: "May Allah curse you -even if you be our uncle- and curse your security. You offer us protection while the son of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) remains without protection!"

[Hearing this,] Kuzmīn, the servant of ‘Abdullah bin Abī al-Ma‘all [bin °izīm al-Kiljibī] 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 Ziyāḍ 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-Khawāṣṣ* (pg. ٢٤٩).

commander of the faithful, ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān, the pious, the chaste and the oppressed!”

So ‘Umar bin Sa’d dispatched ‘Amru bin al-°ajjāj 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 ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī bin Abī ṭalīb and sent him along with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers with whom he sent twenty waterskins. They advanced and neared the water at night with Nāfi’ bin Hilāl al-Jamāl^١ leading the way with the standard.

[As they approached] ‘Amru bin al-°ajjāj al-Zubaidī said: “Who is that?”

[He said: “Nāfi’ bin Hilāl].

‘Amru asked: “Why have you come?”

Nāfi’ replied: “We have come to drink from this water which you obstructed us from.”

^١ We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kāfah who were with Ibn Zayd.

^٢ *Al-ṭabarī*: He had sent his horse with the four men from Kāfah towards the Imam (‘a) alongwith ṭarīmī bin ‘Adiyy [as a guide]. This is the first report from which it is known that Nāfi’ reached the Imam (‘a) at Karbalā’. And he is the one who had stabbed ‘Alī bin Qur’ah al-Anṣārī -the brother of ‘Amru bin Qur’ah- who was with ‘Umar bin Sa’d (٥:٤٣٤). Nāfi’ had written his name on top of his arrows and killed with them twelve men from the enemy until finally both his arms were broken and Shamir took him as a captive and later killed him after taking him 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 [Nġfi’ 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 Nġfi’ drew near him, he [told them]: “Fill your waterskins!” So they forced their way and filled their waterskins.

[Seeing this] ‘Amru bin al-°ajġġ and his companions rushed towards them, but ‘Abbġs bin ‘Alġ and Nġfi’ bin Hilġl 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-°ajġġ 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] Nġfi’ bin Hilġl had stabbed one of the companions of ‘Amru bin °ajġġ such that the wound later festered and he died of it.’ [Accordingly, this is the first person to have been killed from Ibn Sa’d’s army after he sustained injuries on that night.]

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (•:±١٢): “Sulaimġn bin Abġ Rġshid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim al-Azdġ that ...” See also *Maġtil al-±ġlibiyyġn* (pg.٧٨) [who related the report] from Abġ Mikhnaf through the same chain of narration; and *al-Irshġd* (pg.٢٢٨) from °umaid bin Muslim.

THE EVENTS OF THE 9TH OF MU^oARRAM

[Ibn Sa'd Advances Against al-^ousain ('a)]

[^oiṛith bin ^oaẓṛah] reports: "Ibn Sa'd announced after the 'aẓr prayers [saying]: "O soldiers of Allah! Get on your mounts and receive the good tidings [of Heaven]!" The soldiers mounted and advanced against [al-^ousain ('a) and his companions].

Al-^ousain ['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-^ousain ['a] raised his head and said: "I have just seen the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) in my sleep and he said to me: 'You are coming to us [soon].'" So his sister struck her face and cried out [in grief]: "Woe onto me!" So he said to her: "May you not see any distress O sister. Keep calm, may the All-merciful have mercy on you!"

'Abbās bin 'Alī ['a] said: "O my brother! The army has come!" So al-^ousain ['a] got up and said: "O 'Abbās! Get on your mount, may I be sacrificed for you -O brother, and go to meet them and ask them: 'What is the matter with you? What has appeared [appropriate] to you? And what has brought them?'"

So 'Abbās went to meet them with about twenty horsemen, among whom were Zuhair bin al-Qain and ^oabḥb bin Mu³ḥir. 'Abbās said to them: "What has appeared to you? What do

you want?"

They replied: "We have received an order from the governor that we should offer you [an opportunity] to submit to his authority, or else we should force you to do so."

He said: "Do not hurry until I have gone back to Abī 'Abdillāh and told him what you have said."

So they stopped and said: "Go to him and inform him, and tell us what he says to you."

'Abbās went galloping back to al-'usain [ʿa] to give him the information. His companions stood [by the enemy] addressing the people. 'Abḍ bin Muḥḥir^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."

'Abḍ bin Muḥḥir 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 (ﷺ), 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

^١ We mentioned him when discussing those among the followers of the Imam (ʿa) who wrote to him from Kḥfah.

^٢ We have given his biography when mentioning those among the hypocrites of Kḥfah who had written to the Imam (ʿa).

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 ‘Uthmīn (*‘uthmīn*).”

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 (ﷺ) 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 (ﷺ) which have been violated by you.”

When ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī came to al-°usain [‘a] with the proposal of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d, he said to [‘Abbās]: “Go back to them and if you can, delay them until the morning and keep them away from us this evening. Perhaps we may [be able to] spend the night praying to our Lord, supplicating to him and seeking his forgiveness; for he knows that I have always loved praying to Him, reciting His Book, [making] many invocations and seeking His forgiveness.”

¹ This is the first report related to the events of Karbalā’ in which this title has been attributed to Zuhair bin al-Qain. This is the first title that caused disunity among the Muslims in their differences about whether ‘Uthmīn was on the right or wrong. Accordingly, one who followed ‘Alī (‘a) was called *‘alawī* or *shī‘ī*, while the one who followed ‘Uthmīn and believed that he was on the right and was killed unjustly, came to be known as *‘uthmīnī*.

The Events Of The ٩TH Of Mu'arram

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So ‘Abbās bin ‘Alī (‘a) galloped his horse and went back to them and said: “O people! Abī ‘Abdillāh 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 Allāh 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-°usayn (‘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-°ajjj bin Salamah al-Zubaidī said: “Glory be to Allāh! By Allāh! [Even] if they were from Dailam and had asked from you such [a thing], it would have been incumbent on you to grant them their demand.”

Qais bin Ash’ath¹ said: “Grant them their request. I swear by

¹ *Al-±abarī*: On the day of “ashfī” 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 Dhī al-Jaushan, ‘Amru bin al-°ajjj and ‘Azarah bin Qais in carrying the heads of the companions of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Ziyād in Kffah (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

‘Alċ 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 Ziyċd. But if you refused to do so, then we are not going to leave you!’”^٢

^١ *Al-±abarċ* (٥:٤١٥): “[I narrate] on the authority of °ċrith bin °a¥ċrah, from Sharċk al-^amirċ who said...” See also *al-Irshċd* (pg. ٢٣٠).

^٢ *Al-±abarċ* (٥:٤١٧): “°ċrith bin °a¥ċrah has related to me from ‘Abdullah bin Sharċk al-^amirċ, who reported from ‘Alċ bin al-°usain (‘a) that...”

THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT OF ‘^aSH-R^a’

[The Speech of al-^ousain (‘a) on the Night of ‘^ash^ḥrⁱ’]

‘Al^ḥ bin al-^ousain (‘a) says: “Al-^ousain gathered his companions after ‘Umar bin Sa‘d went back, and this was just before the sunset. So I went near to hear him [even though] I was sick. I heard my father say to his companions:

“I praise Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, with the best of praises. I praise him in ease and difficulty. O Allah, I praise You for honouring us with the prophethood (*nubuwwah*), teaching us the Qur’an and making us comprehend your religion. You gave us [the faculties of] hearing, sight and the hearts; and you did not make us among the idolaters.

I know of no companions more loyal and more virtuous than my companions, nor of any household more righteous and more close-knit than my household. May Allah reward you all the best of rewards on my behalf.

Indeed, I think tomorrow is the day of our [encounter] with these enemies. I deem appropriate that you should all freely leave [me]. I have exempted you of your obligations towards me. Here is the night which has drawn its veil on you, so take it as a mount [and leave].¹ Let each one of you hold the hand of one of my family members and get scattered to your [respective] residences and cities so that may Allah deliver

¹ *Al-ṭabar^ḥ* (٥:٤١٨): “^oIrith bin ^oa^ḥrah has narrated to me from ‘Abdullah bin Shar^ḥk al-^amir^ḥ, who narrated from ‘Al^ḥ bin al-^ousain (‘a) that...” See also *Maqⁱtil al-ṭⁱlibiyy^ḥn* (pg.٧٤) and *al-Irshⁱd* (pg.٢٣١) from Imam ‘Al^ḥ bin al-^ousain (‘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]

‘Abbas bin ‘Alé (‘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 [Muhammad and ‘Abdullah], all spoke in similar vein.

Al-‘usain (‘a) then said: “O sons of ‘Aqél, the martyrdom of Muslim is a sacrifice sufficient on your part. Go as I permit you [to leave].”

They answered: “What will the people say! They will say that we deserted our master, our leader and the sons of our uncles, who was the best of the uncles; that we did not [even] shoot an arrow alongside them, nor did we stab with the spears and strike with the swords with them, nor did we know what they did. Nay, by Allah! We will never do [such a thing]. Rather we will ransom you with our lives, our wealth and our children. We will fight by your side until we enter the place you shall enter! May Allah make life abominable [for us] after your [death]!”¹

[The Stand of His Companions]

Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadé then stood up and said: “If

¹ See *Maqétil al-‘ajlibiyyén* (pg.٧٤), *al-Irshéd* (pg.٢٢١) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawéjé* (pg.٢٤٩).

² We have given his biography along with other Shi’ite noblemen of Kéfah who were with Muslim bin ‘Aqél. This is the first report

The Events At The Night Of ‘ash–’

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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’– 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 (ﷺ) 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.¹

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.

¹ *Al-±abar–* (°:± ١٨): “‘Abdullah bin ‘a–im al-F–ish– has related to

[The Imam (‘i) on the Night of ‘^ash&ri’]

‘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’, 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

me from @a|||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushri& al-Hamd&n& who said...” See also *Ma&til al-±libiyy&n* (pg.٧٤; Najaf edition), *Tj&kh al-Ya’q&b&* (٢:٢٣١) and *al-Irsh&d* (pg.٢٣١).

‘ *Al-Irsh&d* (pg.٢٣٢) names him as Juwain, while *Ma&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-Jaw& (٢:١٩) and *al-Ma&tal* 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).

The Events At The Night Of ‘ash˚irî’

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head was uncovered. She cried out: “What a bereavement! If only death would deprive me of life! [There was] a day when my mother, Fîşimah, 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!”¹

So al-°usain (‘a) looked at her and said: “O sister, do not let Shaişîn take away your forbearance.”

[My aunt] said: “May my father and mother be your ransom, O Abî ‘Abdillah! Are you ready to die? May my life be sacrificed for you!”

[Here my father] swallowed his grief and his eyes filled with tears and he said: “[Remember] if the sandgrouse are left [alone] at night, they will sleep [i.e. had these people left me on my own, I would not have come here].”

[At this] she lamented: “O my grief! Is your life going to be 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

¹ This has appeared in *al-Irshîd* (pg. ٣٣٣) 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. ٣٥٠; 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 (ﷺ).”

[Al-ʿusain (‘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-ʿusain (‘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.’

Al-ʿusain (‘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.”^١

[Al-ʿusain (‘a) and His Companions on the Night

^١ *Al-ṭabarānī* (٢:٤٢٠): “ʿIrith bin Kaʿb and Abī al-ʿAḥḥīk have related to me from ‘Alī bin al-ʿusain that...” See also *Maqṭil al-ṭabībīyyīn* (pg.٧٥; Najaf edition), *al-Yaʿqūbī* (٢:٢٣٠) and *al-Irshād* (pg.٢٢٢; Najaf edition), all of whom narrated this report from Imam al-Sajjīd (‘a).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarānī* (٢:٤٢١): “[I relate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Aḥḥīk from ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqī who said...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.٢٢٣) who narrated it from ‘Abdullah bin ‘Aḥḥīk.

of ‘a^{sh}fr;’]

When the night entered al-^ousain (‘a) and his companions spent the whole night in performing prayers, seeking forgiveness and making supplications.

[^oa^{ll}ik bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq al-Hamd;ñç, the one among the companions of al-^ousain (‘a) who was saved from being killed reports:]

“A group of their horsemen passed us keeping watch over us, while al-^ousain [‘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.’” 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.”

[^oa^{ll}ik says:] “I recognized the person and said to Burair bin ^ou^haçr [al-Hamd;ñç]: ‘Do you know who this man is?’ He

¹ Qur’an, ٣:١٧٨-١٧٩.

² The predominant view about his father’s name is what has appeared in *al-Irsh;d* (pg. ٢٢٢) and other works (i.e. ^ou^hair). 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-[±]abariç*: Burair was the best reciter of the Qur’an in Kffah (٥:٤٢١) and a devout man. He was the first person who stood up to fight in the beginning of the battle [on the day of ‘a^{sh}fr;’], but the Imam (‘a) ordered him to sit down (٥:٤٢٩). Burair is the one who said to ‘Abd al-Ra^min bin ‘Abdi Rabbih al-An^hi^rç: “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

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said: ‘No.’ I said: ‘He is Abī ʿarab al-Sabʿ al-Hamdīn ʿAbdullah bin Shahr. He is a joker and an idle [person], [though] a noble, brave, and a killer whom Saʿd bin Qais’ had –as if– once imprisoned for a crime!’

So Burair bin ʿuḡair said to him: ‘O sinner! Has Allah made you among the pure ones?!’

He said: ‘Who are you?’

[Burair] replied: ‘I am Burair bin Huḡair.’

nothing between us and the *ʿIr al-ʿain* [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 ‘Uthmīn bin ‘Affīn was an extravagant [personality] and that Muʿīwīyah bin Abī Sufyīn was a person who went astray and misled others, and that the leader of the truth and guidance was ‘Alī bin Abī ḥlib (‘a). He challenged a man from the army of ‘Umar bin Saʿd called Yazīd bin Maʿqil 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).

ʿ *Al-ʿabarʿ*: Saʿd bin Qais al-Hamdīn was the governor of Hamadīn and was later dismissed from the post by Saʿd bin al-ʿaṣ al-Ashraq, the governor of Kḥfah, who then appointed him over Rayy in ٣٣ H (٥:٣٣٠). ‘Alī (‘a), the Commander of the Faithful, had sent Ibn Qais together with Shabath bin Ribʿ and Bashīr bin ‘Amru before the battle [of ʿiffīn] to Muʿīwīyah, inviting him to obedience and to [join] the community [of the believers] (٤:٥٧٣). Saʿd was fighting along side ‘Alī in ʿiffīn (٤:٥٧٤). He was among the first people to carry out the instructions of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) (٥:٧٩). Amīr al-Muʾminīn (‘a) had dispatched him to chase Sufyīn bin ‘Auf after the latter’s raid on al-Anbār and al-Hait. So he came out in pursuit of them until he passed al-Hait but could not reach them (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 Abī ʿarab al-Sabʿ al-Hamdīn was, perhaps, during his governorship over Hamadīn or Rayy during the time of ‘Uthmīn.

The Events At The Night Of ‘ashʿr;

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[Abʿ ʿarb] 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 Abʿ ʿarb! 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!’

[Abʿ ʿarb mockingly] said: ‘And I bear witness to that!’

So I [i.e. ʿaʿiʿk] said to him: ‘Woe onto you! Did your knowledge not benefit you?!’

[Abʿ ʿarb scornfully] said: ‘May I be sacrificed for you. Who will then carouse with Yazʿd bin ‘Adharah al-Anzʿ 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.”¹

¹ *Al-ʿabarʿ (٥:٤٢١)*: “Abʿ Mikhnaf says: ‘[I relate] from ʿaʿiʿk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriʿ on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘aʿim ...”

THE DAY OF ‘^aSH-R^a’

On the day of ‘a^ash^hfrⁱ’ –which fell on Saturday- ‘Umar bin Sa‘d offered the morning prayers and then came out with his men.’

‘Abdullah bin Zuhair al-Azdċ’ was at the time leading the quarter of the people of Madċnah. The quarter of Madhlċj and Asad was led by ‘Abd al-Ra’mċn bin Abċ Sabrah al-Ju’fċ’, while Qais bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais [al-Kindċ] was in charge of the group of Rabċ’ah and Kindah. °urr bin Yazċd al-Riyċċ [al-Tamċmċ al-Yarbċ’ċ] was leading the quarter of Tamċm and Hamdċn.

‘Umar bin Sa’d put ‘Amru bin al-°ajjij al-Zubaidiyy on his right wing and Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan al-®abbjbç al-Kiljbç on his left wing. ‘Azarah bin Qais al-A’masç was given the command of the cavalry and Shabath bin Rib’ç al-Riyj|ç [al-Tamçmç] of the foot soldiers. He gave the standard

Al-ṭabarq (٥:٢٢١-٢٢٢): “Abf Mikhnaf reports: ‘[I narrate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘aym from @a||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq...”

¹ *Al-ṭabarṭi*: He was on the right wing of ‘Adiyy bin Wattīd –the leader of the pilgrims from Rayy- during his battle with Muṣarrāf bin al-Mughṭrah bin Shu’bah in Iṣfahān (٦:٢٩٦). The last thing we read about him in *al-ṭabarṭi* 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 Karbalā’ [in the books of history].

* *Al-±abarç*: He is the one whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy in the year ٥١ H (٥٢٧). He was leading the foot soldiers from the Madhlij and Asad. Shamir had incited him to slaughter (*dhib*‘) al-°usain (‘a) but he refused and cursed him (٥٢٨).

to Dhuwaid, his retainer.^۱

When the cavalry approached al-^ousain [‘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 warding it off. You are the Master of all blessings, the Possessor of all goodness and the Ultimate Resort of all desire.”^۲

[ʔa^{||}jīk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriḥ, the one among the companions of al-^ousain (‘a) who survived on the day of ‘a^{sh}ḥrī’] 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

^۱ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (۵:۴۲۲): “Fuṣail bin Fadḥj al-Kindḥ has narrated to me on the authority of Muḥammad bin Bishr from ‘Amru al-^oaṣramḥ that...”

^۲ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (۵:۴۲۳): “[I relate this] on the authority of some of the companions [of Abḥ Mikhnaf] who reported from Abḥ Khīlid al-Kīhīlḥ...” See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.۲۲۲) who narrated it from ‘Alḥ bin al-^ousain [‘a]. Since Abḥ Khīlid is among the companions of Imam al-Sajjīd (‘a), he must be relating the report from him, though *al-ṭabarḥ* 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 DhÓ 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.’”¹

[The First Speech of the Imam (‘a)]

When the enemy had neared him, he [called] for his mount and mounted it. He then called out at 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

¹ *Al-±abarÓ* (°;±±±): “‘Abdullah bin °¥im has related to me saying: ‘@a||k al-MushriÓ narrated to me...” See *al-Irshid* (pg.±±±).

nothing vague in your plan, then carry it out against me without giving me any respite.’¹ ‘My guardian is indeed Allah who sent down the Book, and He takes care of the righteous.’²”

When his sisters heard what he said, they screamed and lamented. His daughters also [began] weeping and their voices rose. So [al-°usain (‘a)] sent to them his brother, ‘Abbîs bin ‘Alç, and his son, ‘Alç, 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

¹ Qur’an, ١٠:٧١.

² 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 (ﷺ) had said so]. Ask Jībīr bin ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī^١, or Abī Sa‘ūd al-Khuṣrī^٢, or Sahl bin Sa‘d al-Sijīdī^٣, or Zayd

^١ *Al-ṭabarānī*: Jībīr bin ‘Abdullāh al-Anṣārī refused to pay allegiance to Mu‘īwiyah at the hands of Busr bin Arṣīṭ in the year ٤٠ H, that was before the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī (‘a). Jībīr 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‘īwiyah went on pilgrimage and was intending to move the pulpit and the staff of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) to Shīm, Jībīr stopped him and he desisted [from doing that] (٥:٢٣٩). In the year ٧٤ H when ‘ajjāj entered Madīnah on the orders of ‘Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Jībīr bin ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī (٦:١٩٥).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarānī*: When the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) was examining his companions for the battle of Uḥūd, he rejected Abī Sa‘ūd because of being too young (٢:٥٠٥). Abī Sa‘ūd used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) on the merits of ‘Alī (‘a) (٣:١٤٩). However, he was one of those who refused to pay allegiance to ‘Alī (‘a) after the murder of ‘Uthmān and was among his partisans (*‘uthmānī*) (٤:٤٣٠).

^٣ *Al-ṭabarānī*: He used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) on the merits of ‘Alī (‘a) (٣:٤٠٩). He also reported that ‘aīshah had ordered ‘Uthmān bin ‘unāif to be killed and later to be imprisoned (٤:٤٦٨). He has also narrated reports about ‘Alī (‘a) (٤:٥٤٧). In the year ٧٤ H when ‘ajjāj entered Madīnah on the orders of ‘Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Sahl bin Sa‘d. ‘ajjāj had accused him of betraying ‘Uthmān (٦:١٩٥).

bin Arqam’,

or Anas bin Mjlik’ and they will inform you that they have heard this statement from the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) concerning myself and my brother. Is there not [sufficient] in this to prevent you shedding my blood?!”

Shamir bin Dhḥ al-Jaushan said: “Whoever understands what you are saying is [indeed] worshipping Allah on the fringe.”^٢

So °abḥb bin Mu’jhir 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

^١ *Al-±abarḥ*: He used to narrate the merits of ‘Alḥ (‘a) (٢:٣١٠). Zayd is the one who informed the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) of the words of ‘Abdullah bin Ubayy bin Salḥl, the hypocrite (٢:٦٠٥). He was [also] the one who objected to Ibn Ziyjḍ and stopped him from hitting the lips of Abḥ ‘Abdillah (‘a) (٥:٤٥٦). Zayd passed away in the year ٦٨ H, as reported in *A’līm al-Warj* (٤:١٨٨).

^٢ *Al-±abarḥ*: It was by the assistance of Anas bin Mjlik that ‘Umar [bin al-Khaṣṣjḥ] could appoint Abḥ Mḥs; al-Ash’arḥ over Baḥrah in ١٧ H (٤:٧١). He participated in the conquest of Tustar (٤:٨٦). He was among those who aroused people in Baḥrah to help ‘Uthm; in the year ٣٥ H (٤:٣٥٢). He was [also] among those in Baḥrah from whom Ziyjḍ bin Abḥh had asked for help in ٤٥ H (٥:٢٢٤). Anas was in Baḥrah on the day of “shḥrj’”. After Ibn Ziyjḍ was killed in ٦٤ H, Ibn al-Zubair appointed him as the governor of Baḥrah. He led the people in prayers for ٤٠ days (٥:٥٢٨). When °ajjij took over Madḥnah in ٦٤ H for ‘Abd al-Malik and was treating contemptuously the companions of the Prophet [ﷺ] and branding them by their necks, he [also] branded Anas with the intention of humiliating him on account of his acceptance of the governorship for Ibn al-Zubair (٦:١٩٥).

^٣ See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawj* (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 °ajjir bin Abjar, O Qais bin al-Ash’ath, O Yaz&d bin °irith! Did you not write to me [saying]: ‘The fruits have ripened, the gardens have grown green and the water spots have been filled. You are only coming to an army which has been prepared for you. So come’?”

They replied: “We did not!”¹

So he said [with amazement]: “Glory be to Allah! Indeed, 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

¹ 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!’ O servants of Allah! ‘I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord, lest you should stone me.’” ‘Indeed I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord from every arrogant one who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning.’”^٢

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.^٣

^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, ٤:٢٠.

^٣ Qur’an, ٤:٢٧.

^٤ *Al-±abar&* (٥:٤٢٣-٤٢٦): “Abu Mikhnaf says: “‘Abdullah bin ‘a&im has narrated to me that @a!&k al-Mushri&q& 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 (ﷺ), 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’ and his companions, H&ni’ bin

¹ *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&i& 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 ٢٩ H, ‘Al& (‘a) dispatched him with ٤٠٠٠ men from K&fah to encounter the raid of @a&i&k bin Qais who had come with ٣٠٠٠ soldiers. ‘ujr met @a&i&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 his companions to the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy&d as captives!”

Zuhair said: “O Servants of Allah, the children of F&ṣimah, may Allah’s pleasure be with her, are more entitled to [your] love and help than the son of Sumayyah.¹ If you are not

Syrian border. He had killed twenty men from @a||k’s army when the night set in and @a||k fled, so °ujr returned (•:١٣•). 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&rah 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 (•:٢٧•).

¹ *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&id] has not been attributed but to his mother, Sumayyah!” (•:٢٧•).

Yaz&id bin Mufarragh al-°imyar& was with ‘Abb&id bin Ziy&id, the brother of ‘Ubaidullah, during the wars on Sajist&in. They happened to be under constraint when Ibn Mufarragh swore at ‘Abb&id 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&in 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&id is like the relationship of an elephant with the young of a she donkey.

A man from descendants of Ziy&id called al-°ugh&id bin Salam bin °arb came to see Mah&id, 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 Mah&id. So the man traced back his lineage to Ziy&id! So Mah&id said to him: “Son of Sumayyah, the adulteress! When did you become my cousin?” He then ordered him to be beaten and taken out.

Mah&id then turned towards those who were present and said: “Who has knowledge about the family of Ziy&id?” But no one of them knew anything. Later, one of those who were present in the court of Mah&id called <s&id bin M&id, or M&id bin <s&id, happened to meet Ab& ‘Al& Sulaim&in and requested him to write for him all he has been saying about Ziy&id and his family, so that he could take it to Mah&id. So Ab& ‘Al& wrote and sent it to the caliph through <s&id bin M&id.

H&ir&in al-Rash&id was at that time the governor of Ba&rah for Mah&id. So Mah&id wrote a letter to H&ir&in al-Rash&id 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 (ﷺ) has said: ‘The child belongs to the husband (*fir'sh*) [i.e. the husband of the woman who committed adultery], and the adulterer (‘*h'ir*) 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 (ﷺ). He followed in that his own desire [because he] disliked the truth and wanted to move away from it. Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘And who is more astray than him who follows his desires without any guidance from Allah? Indeed Allah does not guide the wrongdoing lot’

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’jwiyah. 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, ٣٨:٥٠]. 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, ٣٨:٣٦].

In a similar incident known to the people who preserve the narrations, when Mu’jwiyah was speaking to the associates of the Ban& Mugh&rah from the Makhz&m, who intended to claim Na&r bin °ajjj 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’jwiyah replied: ‘The ruling of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) is better for you than the judgement of Mu’jwiyah!’ (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’jwiyah [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’jwiyah, his son Yaz&d, and their governors, 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 Muḥammad (ﷺ) shall not reach those who spill the blood of his offspring and household, and kill those who helped them and defended their sanctity!”

A man called out [Zuhair] and said: “Abū ‘Abdillah is saying [to you]: “Come back. By my life, if the believing man from among the people of Fir’aun¹ had admonished his people and did his best in inviting them [to the right path], you also have admonished these people and done your best, if only admonition and invitation was of benefit to them.”²

[The Return of ʿurr al-Riyāʿ]

When ‘Umar bin Sa’d began to march [against al-ʿusain],

¹ The Imam (‘a) likens him to the believer from the people of Fir’aun because Zuhair was previously a partisan of ‘Uthmīn. So it is as if he was from among the Banū Umayyah [who later changed his stance and joined the camp of truth].

² *Al-ṭabarq* (٥:٤٢٦): “Alḥ bin ʿanʿalah bin Asʿad al-Shīmī has narrated to me from a man from his tribe called Kathīr bin ‘Abdullah al-Shaʿbī -who witnessed the martyrdom of al-ʿusain- that: ‘When we advanced against al-ʿusain, Zuhair bin al-Qain came out to us...’” This speech has also been related by al-Yaʿqūbī (٢:٢٣٠; Najaf edition).

°urr bin Yaz'd 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 governor 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.¹ [°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

¹ We have given his biography under the reports which discuss the arrival of the Imam (‘a) at Karbal'. °ab'b bin Mu'jhir 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[’] 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-^ousain [‘a].

[When he saw al-^ousain (‘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-^ousain 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

[’] 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.”

[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

¹ 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 Sawḍ wallow. Here are the [family of al-ʿusain] who have been overcome by thirst. How wickedly you have treated the offspring left by Muḥammad after him! May Allah not give you water to drink on the Day of Thirst if you do not repent and desist from this stand of your’s on this day and at this moment.”¹

Some of the foot-soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him. So he went and stood in front of al-ʿusain (ʿa).²

One of the people who had advanced [from Kḥfah] with ʿUmar bin Saʿd against al-ʿusain was Yazḍ bin Ziyḍ bin Muḥḥir. When they rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-ʿusain (ʿa), Yazḍ got inclined to [al-ʿusain (ʿa) and joined him].³ [Therefore, he was among those who were guided on the day of “shḥrj’ by the speech of ʿurr al-Riyḥ].

¹ See also *al-Irshjd* (pg. ٢٣٥) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawḥ* (pg. ٢٥٢).

² *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٤٢٧): “[Abḥ Mikhnaḥ says: ‘I relate on the authority of Abḥ Janḥ al-Kalbḥ from ‘Adiyy bin ʿarmalah who said...” See also *al-Irshjd* (pg. ٢٣٥).

³ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٤٤٥): “Fuḥail bun Khudaij al-Kindḥ has narrated to me that Yazḍ bin Ziyḍ, who is Abḥ al-Shaʿshj’ al-Kindḥ, from the Banḥ 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 Yasir, the retainer of Ziyid bin Abç Sufyin, and Silim, the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyid, came forward and said: “Who is ready to combat us? Let some of you come forward.”

So °abçb bin Mu’jhir and Burair bin °uair jumped up [to go to meet them], but al-°usain (‘a) said to them: “Sit down.”

Then ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umair al-Kalbç³ stood and said: “O Abç

¹ Al-Mufçd refers to him in *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٢٣ & ٢٣٦; Najaf edition) as ‘Duraid’.

² *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٢٩): “[Abç Mikhnaif says: ‘I narrate on the authority of °aq’ab bin Zuhair and Sulaimin bin Abç Rishid, from °umaib bin Muslim...” See also *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٢٦).

³ *Al-±abarç*: He had come to Kffah and took up residence near Bi’r al-Ju’d where people of the tribe of Hamdin 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 Fijimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ).’ Al-Kalbç said: ‘By Allah, I was [very] eager to participate in the *jihad* against the idolaters. I hope that the *jihad* 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 *mushrikun*!’ (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

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‘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 °abçb bin Mu¨hir or Burair bin °udair come out against us!”

Yasir, [the retainer of Ziyid], was ready for combat before Sïlim [the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyid]. So al-Kalbç said to [Yasir]: “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-Kalbç] was occupied striking [Yasir] with his sword, Sïlim [the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah] attacked him. [Al-°usain’s companions] cried out [in warning]: “The [other] servant is closing in on you.” [Al-Kalbç] did not pay attention to him until [Sïlim] was upon him and gave him an unexpected blow. [Ibn al-Kalbç] warded off his blow with his left arm but the fingers of his left hand were cut off. Then he turned on [Sïlim] 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 Kalbç. It is sufficient for me as a noble descent that my family is from the Banç

your affairs. Do so and take me with you!’ So he left [Kçfah] at night together with her until he joined al-°usain [‘a] and stayed with him.

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‘Ulam.

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-Kalbø], took up the post [of a tent] and began going towards her husband while she said to him: “May my father and mother be your ransom. Fight for the pure ones, the children of Mu|ammad!” [Seeing this] al-Kalbø 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 °ajjj, 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.’

[A Miracle and Guidance]

A man from the Banī Tamīm called ‘Abdullah bin ʿawzah [came forward and] stopped in front of al-ʿusain (‘a) and said: “ʿusain! ʿusain!”

Al-ʿusain [‘a] said: “What do you want?”

He said: “Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!”

[Al-ʿusain (‘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 ʿawzah.”

[Al-ʿusain (‘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!’

Masʿūd bin Wajil says: “I was at the front of the cavalry that was advancing towards [the camp of] al-ʿusain [‘a]. I said to myself: let me be at the front. The head of al-ʿusain might fall in my hands and by that I will gain status before ‘Ubaidullah bin Zayd. When we reached al-ʿusain [‘a], a man from the [army of Ibn Sa’d] called Ibn ʿawzah came forward and said: “Is al-ʿusain amidst you?”

Al-ʿusain (‘a) kept silent. He said that for a second time, but

ʿ *Al-ṭabarq* (٥:٤٢٩): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Abī Janīb has related to me [saying]...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.٢٣٦; Najaf edition).

ʿ *Al-ṭabarq* (٥:٤٣٠): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Abī Jaʿfar ʿusain narrated to me saying...”

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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-Jabbār bin Wjil al-°aṣramḥ narrates: “Masrḥq 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 (ﷺ)] something that I will never fight them!’”

¹ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (•:٤٢١): “[I narrate] on the authority of ‘Aṣḥ bin Sḥib from ‘Abd al-Jabbār bin Wjil al-°aṣramḥ, who was relating from his brother, Masrḥq bin Wjil, that...”

[The Malediction of Burair and His Martyrdom]

Yazʿd bin Maʿqil came forward from the army of ʿUmar bin Saʿd and said: “Burair bin ʿuḥair! 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 Maʿqil] 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 Banī Laudhīn– you were saying: ‘Uthmīn bin ʿAffīn was indeed extravagant, and that Muʿīwiyah bin Abī Sufyīn was a person who went astray (ḥall) and misled others (muḥall), and that the leader of the truth and guidance was ʿAlī bin Abī ḥlib?!”

Burair said to him: “I testify that this is my opinion and my statement!”

Yazʿd bin Maʿqil said: “I bear witness that you are among those who have gone astray.”

So Burair bin ʿuḥair 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, Yazʿd bin Maʿqil struck Burair bin ʿuḥair with a light blow of no avail. Burair gave him [in

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return] a blow that penetrated [his] helmet and reached the brain. [Yazʿd] fell down as if he fell from [high] above, while Burair's sword was still [stuck] in his head. [Ibn Abʿ al-Akhnas says: "I still remember the event and] it is as if I am seeing [Burair] wrenching his sword off [Yazʿd's] head."

Raʿiyy bin Munqidh al-ʿAbdʿ [from the army of ʿUmar bin Saʿd] attacked on [Burair] and grappled with him. They fought one another for sometime before Burair sat on his chest. Raʿiyy called out: "Where are the fighters and the defenders?!"

[At this] Kaʿb bin J̄bir al-Azdʿ 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 Raʿiyy bin Munqidh al-ʿAbdʿ] and bit off his nose and severed part of it. Kaʿb bin J̄bir [again] stabbed him and took him off [al-ʿAbdʿ]. The spearhead had pierced deep into [Burair's] back. Kaʿb then began striking him with his sword until he killed him. [May Allah's mercy be upon him'].^ʿ

Thereafter, ʿAmru bin Qaraʿah al-Anʿirʿ came forward fighting in defense of al-ʿusain [ʿa]. He was saying:

The group of Anʿir certainly knows, that I am going to

^ʿ *Al-ʿabarʿ* (٥:٤٣١): "Yʿsuf bin Yazʿd has narrated to me from ʿAfʿf bin Zuhair bin Abʿ al-Akhnas -who had witnessed the martyrdom of al-ʿusain (ʿa)..." The remaining part of the report follows in footnote no. ٢.

^ʿ When Kaʿb bin J̄bir al-Azdʿ returned [home after the event of Karbal̄], his wife or his sister, called Naww̄r bint J̄bir, said to him: "You assisted [the people] against the son of F̄ṣimah and killed the chief of the reciters [of the Qurʿan]?! You have indeed committed a heinous deed! By Allah, I will never speak a word to you!"

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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.^۱

He was then killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

His brother, ‘Alʕ [bin Qaraʔah] was with ‘Umar bin Saʕd. 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 Qaraʔah] 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)].

Nʕfiʕ bin Hilʕl al-Murʕdʕ obstructed him and stabbed him, throwing him [to the ground]. [Ibn Qaraʔah’s] companions attacked [Nʕfiʕ] and rescued him.^۲

[The situation was such that] the people were moving here and there and fighting each other. °urr bin Yazʕd [al-Riyʕʕ] was one of them. He attacked the [army of Ibn Saʕd] 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.”^۳ His horse was struck at its ears and forehead and it was bleeding.

Yazʕd bin Sufyʕn [al-Tamʕmʕ was saying]: “By Allah, if I

^۱ *Al-±abarʕ* (۵:۴۳۳): “[Abʕ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abd al-Raʕmʕn bin Jundab narrated to me that...”

^۲ *Al-±abarʕ* (۵:۴۳۴): “[Abʕ Mikhnaf says:] ‘I narrate from Thʕbit bin Hubairah...”

^۳ These are the words of ‘Antarah.

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happen to see °urr bin Yazçd coming out, I will throw a spear at him!” °uḡain bin Tamçm¹ said to him: “Here is °urr bin Yazçd the one you wished [to see]!” He said: “Yes.” He then went towards him and said: “O °urr bin Yazçd, are you ready for a single combat?” °urr said: “Yes, I want it.” °urr then went out to meet him. It was as though [Yazçd’s] soul was in the hands [of °urr]. It did not take long before °urr went out to him and killed him.¹

Nḡfi¹ bin Hil¹l al-Mur¹dç al-Jamalç was [also] fighting [the enemy] saying: “I am the Jamalç. I follow the religion of ‘Alç.”

A man called Muz¹lim bin °uraith came forward against him and said: “I believe in the religion of ‘Uthm¹n!”

Nḡfi¹ said to him: “You are on the religion of Shaiḡ¹n.” [Saying this,] he attacked him and killed him.

[So] ‘Amru bin al-°ajj¹j [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:

¹ He was the head of the bodyguards of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy¹d. He had sent him with ‘Umar bin Sa’d against al-°usain (‘a) and put him in command of the armoured soldiers.

¹ *Al-±abarç* (•:•٢٤): “[Ab¹ Mikhnaḡ says:] ‘Ab¹ Zuhair Naçr bin ḡ¹l¹ al-‘Abasç related to me that...”

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“None of you should fight any of them in single combat.”^۱

[The Second Attack]

‘Amru bin al-°ajjij drew closer to al-°usain’s companions while he was saying: “O people of Kffah! 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. Yazçd]!”

Al-°usain (‘a) said to him: “‘Amru bin al-°ajjij! 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-°ajjij 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’]

^۱ *Al-±abarç* (•:۴۳۵): “[Abf Mikhnaf reports:] ‘Ya|yi bin H|ni’ bin ‘Umar al-Murjdç has related to me that...”

^۲ This report says: “Then Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadç 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-±abarç*: [Ibn ‘Awsajah] was receiving allegiance from the people for al-°usain

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‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bajalī and Muslim bin ‘Abdillāh al-ʿAbbāsī [were the ones from the companions of ‘Amru bin al-ʿajjīj who killed Ibn ‘Awsajah]. The companions of ‘Amru shouted: “We have killed Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadī! [Hearing this,] ‘Amru bin al-ʿajjīj and his companions withdrew, leaving a cloud of dust. [When the dust settled] al-ʿusain’s companions found Muslim stretched out dying.

Al-ʿusain [‘a] walked towards him and he was on the point of death. He said: “May your Lord have mercy on you, O Muslim bin ‘Awsajah. ‘Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait, and they have not changed in the least.”¹

ʿabḥb bin Muḥḥir 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 Maʿqil [the spy of Ibn Ziyāḍ] could see Muslim bin ‘Aqīl (٥:٢٦٢). Muslim bin ‘Aqīl had made him in charge of the Madhīj and Asad [during his attempted rise in Kḥfah] (٥:٢٦٩).

He is the one who stood up after the address of the Imam (‘a) on the night of ‘ashḥrī 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-ʿusain (‘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-ʿusain (‘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-ʿusain (‘a) from Kḥfah, as history has mentioned nothing about this.

¹ Qur’an, ٢٢:٢٣.

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“May Allah bring you good news too”, replied Muslim in a weak voice.

°abçb 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.”

[°abçb] 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!”¹

[The Third Attack]

Shamir bin Dhç 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 Hjnç bin Thubait al-°aꝛramç and Bukair bin °ayy

¹ *Al-±abarç* (•:٤٣٦): At this the companions of ‘Amru bin al-°ajjj chanted to one another saying: ‘We have killed Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadç!’ Shabath bin Rib’ç al-Tamçmç 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 °dharbçij;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?!’”

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al-Tamçmç attacked [‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar] al-Kalbç and killed him. [May Allah bless him].^۱

[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^۲- began to launch attacks. They did not attack any side of the Kffan army without putting it to flight.

When ‘Azarah bin Qais [al-Tamçmç], the commander of the Kffan cavalry, saw that his forces were dispersing from every side, he sent ‘Abd al-Ra|m|n bin °içn 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’ç [al-Tamçmç]: “Will you not go [to help them]?” He said: “Glory be to Allah! Do you approach the leader (*shaikh*) of the Muçar and

^۱ 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.

^۲ Perhaps this was the number of the remaining horsemen from [al-°usain’s] companions. Otherwise, according to al-Mas’fdç: “[Al-°usain (‘a)] diverted [his way] to Karbalj’ with around ۵۰۰ horsemen from among his family members and companions, and with around ۱۰۰ foot soldiers.” He further says: “The total number of those killed alongside al-°usain on the day of ‘ashçrj’ in Karbalj was ۸۷ men” (*Murçj al-Dhahab*:۳:۷۰&۷۱).

Sayyid Ibn ±jwfs narrates in *al-Malhçf* (pg.۸۸) from Imam al-Bçqir (‘a) that: “There were ۴۵ horsemen and ۱۰۰ foot soldiers.” The same has been reported by Sibç bin al-Jawzç in *Tadhkirat al-Khawç* (pg.۲۴۶&۲۵۱). But what is amazing [here] is that Ibn al-Jawzç quotes al-Mas’fdç saying that their total number was ۱۰۰۰ men, whereas this is not found in *Murçj al-Dhahab*!

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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 ‘uṣāin bin Tamḥmḥ 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.’

[The horse of ‘urr bin Yaz‘d al-Riyāḥ was lamed]. It was not long before his horse trembled 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.’

[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]

’ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٤٣٥-٤٣٦): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘‘usain bin ‘Uqbah al-Mur‘dḥ has related to me that al-Zubaidiyy said...”

’ The above verse says: “I am the son of ‘urr”, while it has been said by ‘urr himself. None of Abī Mikhnaḥ, al-Kalbḥ, ṭabarḥ, 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 Karbalā’, 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-Muḥḍ in *al-Irshād* (pg.٣٣٧), but he has not mentioned any other verse as a completion to the above one.

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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 Dhç 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 Dhç al-Jaushan! You are asking for fire to burn down my house on its dwellers?! May Allah burn you with the fire!"¹

°umaid bin Muslim [al-Azdç] 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

¹ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٣٧): "Ab£ Mikhna£ says: 'Numair bin W£lah has narrated to me that Ayy£b bin Mashra£h al-Khayaw£nç used to say..."

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governor.”^١

Shabath bin Ribʿ [al-Tamḥmḥ 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-ʿusain (ʿa)] in large number. The number of the killed from al-ʿusain’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 (ʿuḥr) Prayers]

When Abī Thumjāmah ʿAmru bin ʿAbdillāh al-ʿjīdʿ saw this, he said to al-ʿusain [ʿa]: “O Abī ʿAbdillāh, my life be sacrificed for you! I see these people getting closer to you.

^١ [Shamir] said: “Who are you?” But I was afraid that if he recognizes me, he would complain to the governor about me. So I replied: “I will not tell you who I am.”

^٢ *Al-ṭabarḥ*: Al-ʿjīdʿ al-Hamdjīnʿ. He was in Kffah collecting funds to help the followers of Muslim bin ʿAqʿl and purchase them weapons on the instructions of Muslim (٥:٣٦٤). Ibn ʿAqʿl had given him the banner over the Tamḥm and Hamdjīn the day he rose (٥:٣٦٩). Abī Thumjāmah was the one who introduced the messenger of ʿUmar bin Saʿd [i.e. ʿAzarah bin al-Aḥmasʿ] to the Imam (ʿa) in Karbalīʿ by saying: “O Abī ʿAbdillāh, 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 (ʿa) lest he should harm him (٥:٤١٠).

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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 (*Ṣalat*) whose time has now entered.”

Al-ʿusain [ʿa] 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.”

ʿuṣayn bin Tamīm said to [al-ʿusain’s companions]: “They will not be accepted!”

So ʿabūb bin Muḥir retorted: “Do you think that the prayers of the family of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) 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 °abçb bin Mu”hir¹]

[Incensed at °abçb’s comments,] °uẕain bin Tamçm [al-Tamçmç] mounted an attack against them. °abçb bin Mu”hir [al-Asadç] went out to meet him. He struck the face of his

¹ *Al-±abarç*: °abçb was one of those who had written to the Imam (‘a) from among the Shiite leaders in Kffah (°:³°²). He answered Muslim bin ‘Aqçl’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 “bis bin Abç Shabçb al-Shjkirç (°:³°°). [°abçb] had said to Qurrah bin Qais al-°an’alç al-Tamçmç, ‘Umar bin Sa’d’s messenger to al-°usain (‘a) in Karbalj’: “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 (°:±¹¹). When Ibn Sa’d moved towards al-°usain (‘a) in the evening of the ninth of Mu’arram and proceeded against him after the ‘aẕr prayers, ‘Abbjs bin ‘Alç (‘a) went to see him alongwith around twenty horsemen, among them being °abçb bin Mu”hir. While ‘Abbjs 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 °abçb 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 (°:±¹¹). The Imam (‘a) had given him the command of his left wing (°:±²²). When [°abçb] 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” (°:±³¹). °uẕain bin Tamçm boasted of killing [°abçb] and hung his head on the chest of his horse. His son, Qjsim bin °abçb, avenged his father’s assassin, Budail bin ¼uraim al-Tamçmç, as they were in the army of Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair during the battle of Bjmrçj.

horse with [his] sword. The horse reared up and [ʿuḡayn] fell from it. His companions carried him away and rescued him.

ʿabḡb then started saying:

I am ʿabḡb and my father is Muʿḡhir, 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!

[ʿabḡb] fought a fierce battle. A man from the Banʿ Tamḡm called Budail bin ʿuraim attacked him and stabbed him and he fell [to the ground]. As he tried to get up, ʿuḡayn bin Tamḡm [al-Tamḡmḡ] struck him on his head with the sword and he [again] fell [down]. The man from the [Banʿ] Tamḡm then went to him and beheaded him.^{١, ٢}

^١ *Al-ṭabarḡ* (٥:٤٣٨-٤٣٩): “[Abʿ Mikhnaḡ says:] ‘Sulaimiḡ bin Abḡ Rjshid has narrated to me from ʿumaid bin Muslim that...’”

^٢ [At this] ʿuḡayn said to Budail: “I have a share in killing him.” Budail retorted: “By Allah, no one other than me has killed him!” So ʿuḡayn 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 Ziyid. 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-°usayn was broken by the the martyrdom of °abçb bin Mu³jhir. He said: "I anticipate a reward from Allah for myself and [my] supporters from among my companions."

[The Martyrdom of °urr bin Yazçd al-Riyç]

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 Minç 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,

gave him the head of °abçb bin Mu³jhir. 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 Kçfah [after the event of Karbalç], Budail took the head of °abçb and hung it on the chest of his horse and proceeded to the palace of Ibn Ziyçd. Qçsim bin °abçb bin Mu³jhir, 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?" Qçsim 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 Bçjmçrç, Qçsim bin °abçb 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 (°:ççç).

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 Yazød 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 (¥aljt al-khawf).¹ [Sa’ød bin ‘Abdullah al-°anafç] 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 ‘Alç, the chosen one; and the one with the two wings [Ja’far], the brave martyr.

¹ It is also probable that he did not offer ¥aljt al-khawf, rather he shortened the prayers (*qa¥r*). The offering of the prayers on the noon of ‘ashçr_i’ has been related also in *al-Irshid* (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

Kathør bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bø and Muhjir bin Aws attacked him and killed him. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of Njfi’ bin Hil:l al-Jamalø’]

Njfi’ bin Hil:l al-Jamalø had written his name on the head of his arrows. He began to shoot [the enemy] with the marked arrows saying: “I am Jamalø, I follow the religion of ‘Alø.” He killed twelve [men] from among the followers of ‘Umar bin Sa’d, apart from those who were injured.

Njfi’ [was injured during the fight] and his arms were broken. Shamir bin Dhø 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 Njfi! What led

^١ See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawj* (pg. ٢٥٣; Najaf edition).

^٢ *Al-±abarø*: He was the one who sent his horse with ±irimmj:l bin ‘Adiyy to the Imam (‘a) when he was on his way to Kffah (ø:øøø). When thirst became unbearable on the Imam (‘a) and his companions, he called upon his brother, ‘Abbjs bin ‘Alø (‘a), and sent him with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers [to bring water]. Njfi’ bin Hil:l was moving ahead of them and was welcomed by ‘Amru bin al-°ajjj [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” (ø:ø١٢). When ‘Alø bin Qara’ah, the brother of ‘Amru bin Qara’ah al-An¥jrø, attacked al-°usain (‘a), Njfi’ bin Hil:l al-Murjdø obstructed him, stabbed him and grappled with him (ø:ø٣٤).

you to do [all] this with yourself?”

Nġfi' 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 Nġfi' 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 Ghifġr]

When the companions of al-°usain [‘a] realized that they were unable to defend al-°usain and themselves [from the enemy], they began vying [with each other] to be killed in his presence.

‘Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Raġmġn, the [two] sons of ‘Azarah al-Ghifġrġ came to him and said: “O Abġ ‘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:

Banġ Ghifġr have well known, and so has Khindaf and Banġ

Nizjr.

[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 Jjbir]

Thereafter, the two young men from the Ban£ Jjbir, Saif bin al-°jirith bin Suray' and Mlik 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 your ransom! Nay by Allah, we are not weeping on ourselves, rather we are crying for you. We see that you have been encircled [with the enemy] while we are not able to defend you."

He said: "O sons of my brother, may Allah reward you for your grief at that and for helping me with your persons, with the best of the reward of the pious ones."

Then, the two young men began advancing [towards the battlefield], while they kept looking back over their shoulders at al-°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;mç]

°an`alah bin As`ad al-Shab;mç 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.”¹ O people, do not kill al-°usain, lest Allah should annihilate you with [his] punishment. ‘Whoever fabricates lies certainly fails’.”²

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 (*jkhirah*) and join our brothers [i.e. has not the time come for us to join

¹ Qur'an, 4:30-33.

² Qur'an, 2:21.

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 Abj ‘Abdillah. May Allah bless you and your family. May Allah introduce us to each other in his Heaven.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: “*amçn, jmçn.*”

[°an`alah al-Shabjmç] then went out and fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of ‘abis bin Abç Shabçb and His Retainer^۱]

‘abis bin Abç Shabçb al-Shjkirç came forward together with his Shaudhab, his retainer, and asked him: “O Shaudhab, what are you intending to do?”

^۱ *Al-±abarç*: When Muslim bin ‘Aqçl read the letter of the Imam (‘a) to the people of Kffah, ‘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 °abçb bin Mu`jhir said to him: “May Allah have mercy on you. You have said what was in your heart by your brief talk” (•:۳۵۵).

When Muslim bin ‘Aqçl moved to the house of Hjñç bin ‘Urwah and ۱۸۰۰۰ men paid allegiance to him, he sent ‘abis bin Abç Shabçb al-Shjkirç with a letter to al-°usain (‘a) telling him: “Come quickly [to Kffah]” (•:۳۷۵).

[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 (ﷺ) until I am killed."

['°bis] 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 (*'isib*)."

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].

°bis 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.^۱

Rabʿ bin Tamʿm [al-Hamdīn] says: “When I saw him coming, I recognized him. So I said: ‘O people! This is the black lion. This is Ibn Abʿ Shabʿb. No one among you should come out to face him!’

[ʿabis] began calling out: ‘Is not there anyone to fight me man to man?!’

ʿUmar bin Saʿd cried out: ‘Bring him to his knees by stoning him!’

So he was pelted from all sides. When ʿabis saw this, he threw aside his armour and helmet and attacked the people furiously.”

[Rabʿ 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].”^{۲, ۳}

[The Martyrdom of Yazʿd ibn Ziyāḍ, Abu Shaʿthīʿ al-Kindī]

Yazʿd bin Ziyāḍ bin Muhīḍir, Abʿ Shaʿthīʿ al-Kindī, was among those who had come out with ʿUmar bin Saʿd against

^۱ *Al-ṭabarq* (۵: ۴۴۴): “Numair bin Waʿlah related to me from a man from the Banʿ ʿAbd of Hamdīn, who happened to witness that day...”

^۲ *Al-ṭabarq* (۵: ۴۴۴): “[Abʿ Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Muʿammad bin Qais narrated to me saying that...’

^۳ [Rabʿ 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 ʿUmar bin Saʿd [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 Yazød and my father is Muhjÿir, 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].¹

[Yazød] 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.

¹ This narration is from Fuṣail bin Khudaij al-Kindi. [This report of Fuṣail indicates that Abī al-Sha’thi’ 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 Fuṣail concluded that Abī al-Sha’thi’ abandoned Ibn Sa’d and came to the help of the Imam (‘a) after the former rejected the Imam’s proposal. [In contrary, the earlier report from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab contradicts the report of Fuṣail]. The report is as follows: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab relates from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’īn that: “The messenger of Ibn Ziyād who brought his letter to ‘urr al-Riyāḥi in Karbalā’ was Mīlik bin al-Nusair al-Baddi al-Kindi. So Abu al-Sha’thi’ said to him: ‘May your mother be deprived of you! What kind of mission have you embarked upon? Mīlik replied: “I have not done so! I have [only] obeyed my leader and fulfilled my allegiance to him.” Abī al-Sha’thi’ said: “You have disobeyed your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned [but] shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘And We made them leaders who invite [people] to the fire, and on the day of judgment they shall not receive any help.’ [Such] is your leader!” (*al-ṭabarī*: ۵: ۴۰۸). Now this report implies that Abī al-Sha’thi’ was with the Imam (‘a) before his arrival in Karbalā’, rather even before he met ‘urr al-Riyāḥi. And this point has remained unnoticed by both, Abī Mikhnaf and ṭabarī.

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 ±irimmī¹ bin 'Adiyy to al-°usain ('a):] Jībīr bin °īrith al- Salmīn², Mujammi' bin 'Abdillāh al-°a'idh³, 'Umar bin Khīlid al-°aidīw⁴ and Sa'd, the retainer of 'Umar bin Khīlid, went out attacking the people with their swords. After they penetrated [the army], the people surrounded them, having the upper hand over them and cutting them off from their companions.

So 'Abbās bin 'Al⁵ attacked [the enemy] and saved them. Then they [again] launched an attack and fought until they were [all] killed at the same point.⁶ [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of Suwaid al-Khath'am⁷ and Bash⁸ al-°aṣram⁹]

The last to remain with al-°usain ['a] from among his companions

¹ *Al-±abar¹⁰ (°:±•°)*: He is the one who informed al-°usain ('a) at 'Udhaib al-Hijnī¹¹ about the situation in Kḥfah 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-±abar¹² (°:±•°)*: "[Abḥ Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Fuḥail bin Khudaij al-Kind¹³ has related to me that..."

were Suwaid bin 'Amru bin Abç Muşij' al-Khath'amç¹ and Bashçr bin 'Amru al-^oaçramç. [With regard to Bashçr, 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].² He fell amidst the bodies of those killed [in the battle] and his sword was snatched away.

When al-^ousain ['a] was killed and he heard them saying: 'Al-^ousain 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 Ruqid al-Janabç³ and 'Urwah bin Başşijr al-Taghlabç killed him.

¹ *Al-±abarç* (•:•••): "[Abç Mikhnaf says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Ra'mijn bin Zuhair al-Khath'amç narrated to me that..."

² *Al-±abarç* (•:•••): "[Abç Mikhnaf says:] 'Abdullah bin 'aYim has related to me from @a||k bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriç that..."

³ *Al-±abarç*: He is the assassin of 'Abbjs bin 'Alç ('a) (•:•••). He shot 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aqçl 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."

Mukhtjr had dispatched 'Abdullah bin Kjmil al-Shjkirç to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janabç came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Kjmil said: "Shower him with arrows and stone him." They did so until he fell to the ground. Ibn Kjmil then ordered for fire and burnt him while he was still alive (•:••). Al-Janab was from the Banç Janab (•:••). In other books of history apart from *al-±abarç*, he is referred to as al-Juhanç or al-^oanafç.

He was the last person [from among al-°usayn's companions] to be killed.`,[†]

[†] *Al-±abarç* (•:٤•٣): “[Abf Mikhnaf says:] ‘Zuhair bin ‘Abd al-Raīm; al-Khath’amç has related to me that...”

[†] *Al-±abarç*: “Abf Mikhnaf says: “‘Abdullah bin “ayim related to me from @a||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriç who said: ‘When I saw that [all] the companions of al-°usayn [‘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 Abç al-Muṣī’ al-Khath’amç and Bishr bin ‘Amru al-°aḥramç, 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-°usayn [‘a] and cut off the hand of another. Al-°usayn (‘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-°usayn [‘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] Kathçr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bç, Ayyf̄b bin Mushri’ al-Khayaw;ñç and Qais bin ‘Abdullah al-°aid;wç recognized me and said: ‘This is @a||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriç. He is our cousin. We beseech you for the sake of Allah to leave him!’ Three men from the Banf Tamçm 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 Tamçm agreed with [the request of my] clansmen, the rest [of them] held back. Thus, Allah saved me” (•:٤٤•).

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF AL-HUSAIN (‘A)

[The Martyrdom of ‘Alç bin al-°usain al-Akbar (‘a)]

‘Alç al-Akbar bin al-°usain bin ‘Alç [‘a]’ was the first to be killed on that day from the Ban£ Abç ±lib. His mother was Laili, daughter of Ab£ Murrah bin Mas’fd al-Thaqafç.¹ He

¹ *Al-±abarç*: In his narration on the authority of Sulaim;n bin Abç R;shid from °umaid bin Ziy;d, Ab£ Mikhnaf describes Imam al-Sajj;d [‘a] as ‘Alç bin al-°usain al-A¥ghar [i.e. the younger ‘Alç] (°:£ °£). 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 (°:£ ££). In his book *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg. ٦٣٠; D;r al-Ma’rif publications), ±abarç says: “As for ‘Alç 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. ‘Alç 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. ‘Alç [al-A¥ghar] says: ‘When I was taken before Ibn Ziy;d, he asked me: ‘What is your name?’ I replied: ‘‘Alç bin al-°usain’. He said: ‘Has not Allah killed ‘Alç?’ I said: ‘I had a brother called ‘Alç 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:£ ٢]. Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fah;nç has related the above incident in *al-Maq;til* (pg. ٨٠; Najaf edition) also. Al-Ya’qfbç (٢:٢٣٣; Najaf edition) also refers to ‘Alç 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’fdç in *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٣:٧١) and by Ibn al-Jawzç in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٢٥). Al-Mufçd mentions ‘Alç bin al-°usain in *al-Irsh;d* (pg. ٢٣٨) but without referring to him as *al-akbar*.

¹ *Al-±abarç*: In the ٦th year of Hijrah ‘Urwah bin Mas’fd fled from the Ban£ Thaqçf 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

Martyrdom Of Al-°usayn's Family Members

٣٦.

year of °udaibiyyah with his companions for the 'umrah and Budail bin Warqī' al-Khuzī'ċ informed them of what the Prophet [ﷺ] 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 (ﷺ) and talked to him. The Prophet [ﷺ] told him the like of what he had told Budail, that is: "We have not come to fight anyone. We have only come to perform the 'umrah. The Quraish have been worn out by war and they have been harmed by it. [Accordingly,] if they wish to accept what [other] people have accepted [i.e. make a peace treaty with us], they should do so. [Otherwise, they should know that the Muslims] have [today] grown in number. [But] if they reject [our proposal], then I swear by the one in whose hand is my soul, I will fight them on this issue [i.e. Islām] until I am killed or Allah enforces his affair."

Here 'Urwah said: "O Muḥammad! Tell me, if you are thinking of destroying your people, then have you [ever] heard of any Arab before you who has annihilated his community! I swear that I see different faces and people surrounding you, who will flee and leave you alone if such a thing is going to happen!" With that, he began looking at the companions of the Prophet (ﷺ). He then returned to his people and said: "O people! I have, indeed, visited [different] kings. I have visited Choesroe, Caesar and Negus! But I swear that I have never seen any king esteemed by his followers more than Muḥammad. I swear that he does not spit but it falls on the hands of one of them, who would then rub it on his face and skin. When he commands them, they vie with each other to carry out his order. When he performs ablution, they almost fight to obtain the water [he uses]. When they speak in his presence, they lower their voices. They never stare at him out of their respect for him! Such a man has proposed to you a sensible proposal, [you had better] accept." (٢:٦٢٧)

'Urwah was in Jordan during the battle of °unain in the year [^]H, learning the skills of making weaponry and catapults and therefore could not participate in it (٢:٦٢٨).

'Urwah was related to Abu Sufyān as he had married his daughter, °aminah. Abī Sufyān and Mughārah bin Shu'bah went to ±jif on the day of °unain and there they called out the Banī Thaqif: "Grant us

began attacking the people while he recited the following:

I am 'Alç, son of °usain bin 'Alç; 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.¹

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 ±jif 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 (ﷺ) left ±jif, 'Urwah bin Mas'fd followed him and met him before the Prophet [ﷺ] reached Madçnah. He embraced Islam and asked the Prophet [ﷺ] to allow him to return to his people with the message of Islam. Since 'Urwah was a beloved personality among the Thaqçf 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 (ﷺ) before he left your [city]. So bury me with them." And they did so. It is reported in *Sçrah Ibn Hishjm* (٣:٩٧) that the Prophet of Allah [ﷺ] said concerning him: "His example in his community is that of the believer [mentioned] in Sçrat Yjsçn" (٢:٣٢٥). The Messenger of Allah [ﷺ] repaid his debts and those of his brother, Aswad bin Mas'fd, from the jewellery of al-Ljt, the idol [worshipped by] the Thaqçf (٣:١٠٠).

¹ Abç al-Faraj al-Içfah;nç narrates in *al-Maqjtil* (pg.٧٧) that: "['Alç 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 [ﷺ] is going to give you a drink with his chalice by this evening.' [According to Ibn al-Jawzç, 'Alç ('a)] did this for several times."

He did that several times. Then Murrah bin Munqidh bin al-Nu'mīn al-‘Abdī saw him. He said: “May the felonies of the Arabs come on me, if he gets past me doing the same as he has been doing [and] I do not deprive his mother of him.”

[‘Alī bin al-^ousayn (‘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. ^{١, ٢}

Al-^ousayn [‘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

^١ *Al-ṭabarq*: His lineage goes back to the Banī ‘Abd al-Qais. He was with his father Munqidh bin Nu’mīn at Ṭiffān along side [‘Alī], the Commander of the Faithful (‘a). There Murrah took from his father the standard of the ‘Abd al-Qais and it remained with him (٤:٥٢٢). In the year ٦٦ H, Mukhtār sent ‘Abdullah bin Kīmīl al-Shīkīr against him. He surrounded his house and so [Murrah] forced his way out on a fine horse, with a spear in his hand. Ibn Kīmīl struck him with [his] sword but he guarded against it with his left hand and escaped. He then [went and] joined Muḥ‘ab bin al-Zubair, while his hand was paralysed (٦:٦٤).

^٢ *Al-ṭabarq* (٥:٤٤٦): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Zuhair bin ‘Abd al-Ra’mīn bin Zuhair al-Khath‘amī narrated to me that...’ Abī al-Faraj al-Iḥḥānī has related the incident in *al-Maqṭil* (pg.٧٦) from Abī Mikhnaḥ, who narrated it from Zuhair bin ‘Abdillāh al-Khath‘amī. According to another chain of narration: “When ‘Alī bin al-^ousayn [‘a] came out to the people, al-^ousayn (‘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 (ﷺ) most among all the creatures.”

^٣ Abī al-Faraj says in *al-Maqṭil* (pg.٧٧): “[‘Alī al-Akbar] then called out: ‘O father! Peace be upon you. Here is my grandfather, the Messenger of Allah, sending you salutations and saying: come to us quickly.’ Then he sighed deeply and [his soul] departed.”

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.'

°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 (*izjr*), 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].

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:

⁷ His name appears in *al-ṭabarṭ* (٩:٤٦٨) as Sa'd bin 'Amru bin Nufail al-Azdī. Both the names have appeared in the report of Abū 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!’^۱

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 ‘Alç 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-Qısim bin al-°asan bin ‘Alç bin Abç ±lib [‘a].”^۲

^۱ This statement of the Imam (‘a) means that the cry of Qısim has many helpers amidst the Banı Hıshim, though they could not be present at Karbalı’ to help him.

^۲ *Al-±abarç* (۵: ۴۴۷): “[Abı Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimın bin Abç Rıshid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...” See also *al-Irshıd* (pg. ۲۳۹).

[The Martyrdom of ‘Abbīs bin ‘Alç (‘a) and His Brothers]

‘Abbīs bin ‘Alç (‘a) then said to his brothers on his mother’s side -‘Abdullah, Ja’far and ‘Uthmīn: “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}

^١ *Al-±abarç* (°:٤٤٨): “Ab£ Mikhna£ says...”

^٢ The Martyrdom of ‘Abbīs bin ‘Alç (‘a) does not appear in *al-±abarç*. Hence, we mention it from *al-Irshīd* of Shaikh al-Mufçd (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-‘Abbīs. However, the cavalry of Ibn Sa’d, may Allah curse him, blocked his way. Among these was a man from the Ban£ Dīrim, 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 Dīrim 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-‘Abbīs 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 Warqī’al-°anafç* and °akçm bin al-±ufail al-Sinbisiyy.

**Al-±abarç* refers to him as Zayd bin Ruqīd al-Janabç (°: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 ‘Aqçl and Suwaid bin ‘Amru al-Khath’amç, 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’

and he seated him on his lap.^۱ [The baby] was in his lap as one of the Ban£ Asad [either °armalah bin Ḳihil or Ḥini’ bin Thubait al-°aṣṣaṃ] 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.”^۲;

°usain (‘a). His biography has been given earlier under the reports of the martyrdom of Suwaid. ‘Al-°anaf̣’ is obviously a phonetic distortion (*ta/ṛef̣*) of the word.

^۱ *Al-±abaṛ*: His mother was Raḅib, daughter of Imru’ al-Qais al-Kalḅ (°:£۶۸). *Al-Irsḥid* (pg.۲۴۰) has also related this incident and says that [‘Abdullah] was a [small] child (*ṣifl*).

^۲ *Al-±abaṛ* (°:£۴۸): [Ab£ Mikhnaf reports that:] ‘Uqbah bin Basḥr al-Asaḍ said: ‘Ab£ Ja’far Muḥammad bin ‘Aḷ bin al-°usain told me that...”

^۳ *Al-±abaṛ* (°:£۴۸): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaiṃn bin Ab£ Ṛjsḥid narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...”

^۴ *Al-±abaṛ* relates on the authority of ‘Amṃr al-Duhaṇ from Imam al-Ḅiqir (‘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” (°:۳۸۹).

Al-Ya’q̣f̣ḅ writes in his *Ṭj̣ṛḥ̣kh* (۲:۲۳۲; 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 Quṣbah al-Nabahīn al-±j’ç attacked ‘Aun bin ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far bin Abç ±jlib and killed him.¹ Then ‘amir bin Nahshal al-Taimç attacked Muḥammad bin ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far bin Abç ±jlib and killed him.²

kinsmen. He was on his horse when a new-born baby, who had just born, was brought to him. He recited the *adhīn* 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 ṭjli]. And indeed Muḥammad is more honourable before Allah than [Prophet] ṭjli.’ He then came and put [his body] together with [the bodies of] his son and nephews.” Sibṣ al-Jawzç 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.”

¹ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٦٩): “His mother was Jfmīnah, daughter of Musayyab bin Najabah al-Ghazīrç.” Musayyab was one of the heads of the Tawwībīn movement, from among the Shç‘ah in Kḥfah. Abç al-Faraj al-İḥfahīnç says in *al-Maqṭil* (pg. ٦٠; Najaf edition): “‘Aun’s mother was [Lady] Zainab, the wise lady (*al-aqḥlah*) [of the Banç Hīshim], daughter of ‘Alç bin Abç ±jlib (‘a).”

² *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٦٩): “His mother was Khawḩī, daughter of Khaḩfah bin Thaḩç al-Taimç, from the clan of Bakr bin Wī’il.” So has been narrated by Abç al-Faraj also in *al-Maqṭil* (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 °aw  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.' [Thereafter,] they plundered [his belongings].

'Abdullah bin 'Azarah al-Khath'am  shot [an arrow] at Ja'far, [another] son of 'Aq l bin Ab   lib and killed him.

Then 'Amru bin  ubaih al- udd '  shot an arrow at

Najaf edition). But bin Ibn al-Jawz  mentions her in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.    ; Najaf edition) as °aw , daughter of °af ah al-Tam m .

' *Al- abar * ( :  ): "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 * ( :   ): "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.   ; Najaf edition), through the same chain of narration (*sanad*) which has appeared in *al- abar *.

' According to *al- abar * ( :   ), He was killed by Bishr bin °aw  al-Hamd n , whereas in ( :  ) 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.   ; Najaf edition) as 'Abdullah bin Urwah al-Khath'am , through the same chain of narration as mentioned in *al- abar *.

' *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 Karbalj']. I did not kill anyone of them.' He was brought to Mukhtjr who imprisoned him in the palace. The next morning when Mukhtjr allowed people to visit him, ['Amru] was brought before him in shackles. He said: 'O the infidels and the wicked! By Allah, had I a sword in my hand, you would have come to know that I do not tremble in front of a sword, nor am I a coward. If I am going to die by being killed, then it is not dear to me to get killed by any of the creatures other than you! For I know that you are the worst of the creatures of Allah! But I still wish that I had a sword in my hand, so that I would have fought with you for a while!' Then he raised his hand and slapped the eye of Ibn Kjmil who was [standing] by his side. Ibn Kjmil laughed [at this] and grabbed his hand, stopping him [from repeating that act]. [Ibn Kjmil] then said [to Mukhtjr]: 'He claims to have [only] wounded and stabbed [some] among the family of Mu'ammad. So give us your order concerning him.' Mukhtjr said: 'Bring me a spear.' So he was brought [a spear]. He then ordered: 'Stab him to death!' and he was stabbed to death" (۶:۶۵). *Al-±abarç* reports in (۵:۴۶۹) from Ab£ Mikhnaf that: "['Amru] is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin 'Aqçl bin Abç ±jlib ('a)." Whereas in (۶:۶۴) he says that: "The one who shot an arrow at 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aqçl was Zayd bin Ruqçd al-Janabç. [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 Karbalj,] Mukhtjr dispatched 'Abdullah bin Kjmil al-Shjkirç to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janabç came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Kjmil said: "Shower him with arrows and stone him." They did so until he fell on the ground. Ibn Kjmil then ordered for fire and burnt him

‘Abdullah, son of Muslim bin ‘Aq^ll’, 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.’ Lab^{et} bin Yⁱsir al-Juhan^ç killed Mu^lammad, son of Ab^ç Sa[’]çd bin ‘Aq^ll.’

[The Martyrdom of other Two Sons of al-^oasan bin ‘Al^ç (‘a)]

‘Abdullah bin Uqbah al-Ghanaw^ç^ç shot an arrow at Ab^ç

while he was still alive (۶:۶۴).

^۱ Al-[±]abar^ç (۵:۴۶۹): “His mother was Ruqayyah, daughter of ‘Al^ç bin Ab^ç [±]lib (‘a).” See also *Maq^{til} al-[±]libiyy^çn* (pg.۶۶; Najaf edition).

^۲ Al-[±]abar^ç (۵:۴۶۹): “Ab^ç Mikhnaf says...” See also *Maq^{til} al-[±]libiyy^çn* (pg.۶۶; Najaf edition).

^۳ Al-[±]abar^ç (۵:۴۴۷): “[Ab^ç Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimⁿ bin Ab^ç Rⁱshid narrated to me from ^oumaid bin Muslim al-Azd^ç who said...”

^۴ Al-[±]abar^ç: He was among those who had revolted with Mustawrad bin ‘Alafah in K^çfah in the year ۴۳ H, during the governership of Mugh^çrah bin Shu’bah over the city. Al-Ghanaw^ç was a scribe, so al-Mustawrad instructed him to write [a letter for him] and then take it to Samm^k bin ‘Ubaid, the governor of Mad^jin, inviting him to [pay allegiance to] al-Mustawrad. He did so and then returned to al-Mustawrad. (۵:۱۹۰)

When the followers of al-Mustawrad were killed, al-Ghanaw^ç fled and entered K^çfah [and put up at] Shar^çk bin Namlah’s [place]. He asked the latter to go to see Mugh^çrah bin Shu’bah and request him for a safe-conduct for him. [Shar^çk] did so and Mugh^çrah [accepted his request and] said: “I have granted him protection (۵:۲۰۶). After the event of Karbal^j, [al-Ghanaw^ç] fled from Mukht^r and joined Mu[¥]ab bin al-Zubair. Later, he joined ‘Abd al-Ra^mn bin Mu^lammad bin Ash’ath (۵:۲۰۵). Mukht^r tried to pursue him but found him to have escaped, so he demolished his house (۶:۶۵).

Bakr, son of al-°asan ' bin 'Alç and killed him.' 'Abdullah, [another] son of al-°asan bin Abç ±ilib, was [also] killed; [that is when] °armalah bin Kjhil^۲ shot an arrow at him and

^۱ He was the son of al-°asan ('a) as recorded in *al-±abarç* (°:±۶۸). On page ±±۸ of the same volume, his name appears as Ab£ Bakr, son of al-°usain bin 'Alç, which is incorrect.

^۲ *Al-±abarç* (°:±±۸): “[Ab£ Mikhnaḥ says:] “Uqbah bin Bashçr al-Asadç reports that ‘Ab£ Ja’far Muḥammad bin ‘Alç bin al-°usain said to me...” Ab£ al-Faraj al-Iḥḥahinç has narrated this report in *Maqṭil al-±ilibiyyçn* (pg.°۷; Najaf edition) [from two different chains of narration]. [The first chain of narration reads as follows:] “From al-Madjinç who was narrating on the authority of Ab£ Mikhnaḥ from Sulaimin bin Abç Rjshid...” [While the second one reads:] “From ‘Amru bin Shamir who related on the authority of Jjbir from Ab£ Ja’far al-Bjqir ('a)...”

^۳ Ibn Kjhil as reported by *al-±abarç* (۶:۶۵). However, in (°:±۶۸) he says Ibn Kjhin, which is [definitely] not correct. [*Al-±abarç*] has not mentioned that Mukhtir was in pursuit of him and the manner in which he [eventually] killed him.

Hishim says: “Ab£ al-Hudhayl –a man from the Sak£n- related to me saying: ‘I saw Hjni’ bin Thubait al-°aḥramç sitting in a gathering of the Hadramis during the time of Khlid 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-Madjinç in his *al-Maqṭil* (pg.۷۹; Najaf edition). Ab£ Mikhnaḥ says: “°asan bin al-°asan and ‘Umar bin al-°asan were considered too young by the people and were, therefore, not killed (°:±±۹).”

Among the retainers (*mawjilç*) killed in Karbal^۱ were Sulaimin and

killed him.'

Manja', the retainers of al-°usayn ('a) (*al-±abarç:°:±¶¶*).

' This is as it has been reported in *al-±abarç (°:±¶¶)* and *Maqîtil al-±libiyyçn* (pg.°^; Najaf edition) from al-Madjinç. However, the predominant view is that he is the one who escaped from the tents to the point where his uncle [al-°usayn] had come to the ground, and was killed there, as we shall see later. And this is the version recorded by al-Mufçd in *al-Irshîd* (pg.²±¹; 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 (*sarjwḥl*). He tore them [and put them on], so that he should not have them plundered [after his martyrdom].^١

He waited for a good part of the day. Whenever someone from the people came to him, he would go away, disliking to take up the responsibility of killing him and [to shoulder] the great sin.

Mḥlik bin al-Nusair [al-Baddḥ al-Kindḥ]^٢ 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 Mḥlik: “May you not eat or drink with [your hand]. May Allah resurrect you with the oppressors!”

^١ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٤٥١): “Some of his companions said to him: ‘You better wear a *tabbīn* (short dress) under [the trouser].’ He said: ‘That is the garment of humiliation. It does not befit me to wear it.’ When he was killed, Baḥr bin Ka’b plundered [the trouser] from him. Abḥ Mikhnaf says: “‘Amru bin Shu’aib narrated to me from Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān that the hands of Baḥr bin Ka’b used to sprinkle drops of water in winter, and they would become dry in the summer as if they were sticks.”

^٢ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:٤٥١): “[Abḥ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimān bin Abḥ Rīshid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...” See also *al-Irshīd* (pg. ٢٤١).

^٣ *Al-ṭabarḥ*: He was the messenger of Ibn Ziyād who brought his letter to °urr bin Yazīd 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

^١ *Al-±abarç* (°:±±±): The hood was made of silk. Al-Kindç 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 M̄lik say that he continued to remain poor with it [as a result his action] until he died.” Al-Mufçd has also related this report in *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٤١). He refers to M̄lik 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¥fahjñç narrates in *al-Maqtil* (pg. ٧٨; Najaf edition) from Ab£ Mikhna£ who said: “Hishjm reports from Qjsim bin al-A¥bagh bin Nubtah on the authority of his father, Mu£ammad bin Sijib, 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£ Abjn bin Djrim 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£ Djrim 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!’”

Qjsim 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 Dhç al-Jaushan advanced with around ten foot soldiers from among the Kffan 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 Dhç al-Jaushan said: “You are granted that O son of Fjšimah!” and proceeded towards him with the foot soldiers. [At this] al-°usain [‘a] began attacking them and they would

burstled like the bursting of the stomach of a camel.”

Al-±abarç (•:٤٤٩-٤٥٠): “Hishim says: “Amru bin Shamir related to me from Jbir al-Ju’fç who said: ‘Al-°usain [‘a] was thirsty. When his thirst became severe, he drew near [the Euphrates] to drink from its water. So °uřain bin Tamçm 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.’(•:٤٤٩-٤٥٠). In (•:٤٤٧-٤٤٨) [the chain of narration of this report appears as such:] “[Abf Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimn bin Abç Rjšhid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...”

^١ *Al-±abarç* (•:٤٥٢): “[Abf Mikhnaf says:] “‘aq’ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...”

^٢ *Al-±abarç* (•:٤٥٢): “[Abf Mikhnaf reports] on the authority of al-°ajjij from ‘Abdullah bin ‘Ammir al-Briqç who said...”

disperse from him.’

‘Abdullah bin ‘Ammār al-Bīriqī^١ 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-°usayn [‘a], his sister Zainab, daughter of Fīṣimah, came out and said: “O ‘Umar bin Sa’d! Is Abī ‘Abdillah being killed while you [stand by and] watch?! So he turned away his face from her^٢. It is just as if I am seeing the tears of ‘Umar running down his cheeks and beard!”^٣

[Meanwhile,] al-°usayn [‘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

^١ *Al-±abar* (٥:٤٥٠): “Abī Mikhnaḥ reports...” See also *Maqītil al-±libiyy* (pg.٧٩).

^٢ *Al-±abar* (٥:٥٦٥): He is the person who gave an account of the order of the Commander of the Faithful [‘Alī (‘a)] -as he was advancing towards ṭiff in the year ٢٦ H- that a bridge be built over the Euphrates.

^٣ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.٢٤٢; Najaf edition).

^٤ *Al-±abar* (٥:٤٥١): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ reports] from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Ammār al-Bīriqī, who narrated from °ajj that...” Al-Mufīd has narrated the report in *al-Irshād* (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 Dhç al-Jaushan advanced towards al-°usain [‘a] with the foot soldiers. Among them were Sin:n bin Anas al-Nakha’ç, Khauliyy bin Yazçd al-A¥ba|ç^٣, °jli| bin Wahab al-Yazanç, Qash’am bin Amr al- Ju’fç and ‘Abd al-

^١ The prayer of the Imam (‘a) was answered. Thus came Mukhtjr and sent Abç ‘Umrah to ‘Umar bin Sa’d, ordering him to bring Ibn Sa’d to him. Abç ‘Umrah came to ‘Umar and said: “The governor is summoning you.” As ‘Umar stood up, he was tripped by his garment. So Abç ‘Umrah struck him with [his] sword and killed him. Then he put his head under his cloak, [went to Mukhtjr,] and placed it before him!

°af¥ bin ‘Umar bin Sa’d was sitting with Mukhtjr. So Mukhtjr 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!” Mukhtjr 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-±abarç*: ٦:٦١).

^٢ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٥٢): “[Abç Mikhnaç says:] ‘aq’ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...”

^٣ *Al-±abarç* (٦:٥٩): Mukhtjr had sent Ma’jdh bin Hjni’ bin ‘Adiyy al-Kindç -the nephew of °ujr bin ‘Adiyy, and Abç ‘Amarah -the head of his bodyguards, in pursuit of him. Khauliyy hid himself near the exit [of his house]. So Ma’jdh ordered Abç ‘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 Dhø 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 'Alø: "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, 'Alø bin Abø ±jlib, °amzah and °asan bin 'Alø.^٣ May Allah

^١ *Al-±abarø*: He was among those who gave witness against °ujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindø (ø:٢٧٠). He was in command of the Madh'ij and Asad in the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd on the day of "shfrj" (ø:٤٢٢).

^٢ According to Shaikh al-Mufød in *al-Irshjd* (pg.٢٤١), he was 'Abdullah bin al-°asan. There are indications [also] that support this view. It has been mentioned earlier that °armalah bin Kjhil was the one who shot an arrow at him which killed him. Abø al-Faraj al-Iÿfahjñø also has narrated this incident -at this particular point of the event of Karbalj'- in *al-Maqjtil* (pg.٧٧; Najaf edition), from Abø Mikhnaf who reported from Sulaim;n bin Abø Rjshid, who related from °umaid bin Muslim.

^٣ *Al-±abarø* (ø:٤٥٠): "Abø Mikhnaf says in a report..." See also *Maqjtil al-±jlibiyyen* (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.”^۱

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 Sharck al-Tamcmç struck him on his palm^۲ 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, Sinjn bin Anas al-Nakha’ç stabbed him with a spear such that he [‘a] fell [to the ground]. No one would get closer to al-°usain [‘a] except that Sinjn bin Anas would charge on him, fearing that the head of [al-°usain (‘a)] may

°umaid bin Muslim on the authority of Sulaimjn bin Abç Rjshid.

^۱ *Al-±abarç* (۵:۴۵۱): “[Abf Mikhnaç says:] ‘Sulaimjn bin Abç Rjshid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...” See *al-Irshjd* (pg.۲۴۱).

^۲ It was his left shoulder according to *al-Irshjd* (pg.۲۴۲) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawj¥¥* (pg.۲۵۳). ‘Abd al-Razzq al-Muqarram narrates this report in *al-Maqtal* (pg.۱۶) from the book *al-It’jf bi-°ubb al-Ashrjf*.

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 Yazʿd [al-Aʿbaʿ].

Al-°usain [ʿa] was plundered of all that was on him. Qais bin al-Ashʿath^٢ took his plush, while Isḥāq bin °aiwah al-°aḥramʿ his shirt^٣. A man from the Banī Naʿshal took his sword. His slippers were taken by Aswad [al-Audʿ] and Baḥr bin Kaʿb took his trousers^٤, leaving him uncovered.^٥

^١ Ibn al-Jawzʿ mentions five different views concerning the assassin of the Imam (ʿa) and [ultimately] prefers that it was Sinʿn. He then narrates that [one day] Sinʿn entered upon °ajjij, so he asked him: “Are you the killer of al-°usain?” “Yes”, he replied. °ajjij said: “Good news to you, as you will never be with him in the same abode.” The people said that °ajjij has never been heard saying a better word than this!” Ibn al-Jawzʿ further says: “[After the martyrdom of al-°usain (ʿa)], 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-±abarʿ* (٥:٤٥٣): “[Abī Mikhnaf says:] ‘°aqʿab bin Zuhair narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...”

^٣ *Al-±abarʿ* (٥:٤٥٥): “[Abī Mikhnaf reports:] ‘Sulaimʿn bin Abʿ Rjshid has related to me from °umaid bin Muslim...”

^٤ *Al-±abarʿ* (٥:٤٥٦): “[Abī Mikhnaf says:] ‘°aqʿab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...”

^٥ *Al-±abarʿ* (٥:٤٥١): “[Abī Mikhnaf reports:] ‘Sulaimʿn bin Abʿ Rjshid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim, who said...” Sibʿ al-Jawzʿ 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 Baḥr bin Kaʿb al-Tamʿmʿ.” Al-Mufʿd mentions this in *al-Irshid* (pg.٢٤١&٢٤٢) adding that: “After this, the two hands of Baḥr bin Kaʿb, 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.”

Martyrdom Of Al-usayn

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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] dye¹, the garments and the camels. [The people] would wrest the clothes of the women from their backs and take them.¹

The people said to Sinjñ bin Anas: “You have killed °usain bin ‘Alç, son of Fjřimah, 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

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 Yazçd [bin Mu’jwiyah] at Tan’çm, at the beginning of his departure from Makkah. Among those who plundered the dye on the day of “shçrj” were Ziyid bin Mjlik al-®abç’ç, Imrjñ bin Khjlid al-‘Anzç, ‘Abd al-Ra’mjñ al-Bajalç and ‘Abdullah bin Qais al-Khauljñç. When Mukhtjñr was informed about them, he called them and they came to him. He told them: “O killers of the righteous! Assassins of the lord of the youths in Heaven! Do you not think that Allah has brought you [here] today [to take vengeance on you]?! The dye has, indeed, brought on you an ominous day!” He then took them to the market place and killed them. See *al-±abarç* (°:°^).

¹ *Al-±abarç* (°:°^): “[Ab£ Mikhna£ says:] “‘aq’ab bin Zuhair has related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...” Al-Ya’q£bç says in *al-Tjrchkh* (°:°^): “They looted his tents and robbed [the belongings of] his womenfolk.” Al-Mufçd has also related this report in *al-Irshjd* (pg. °^°). Sibş al-Jawzç says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. °^°): “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!”

Sinjn, 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 [Sinjn] 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 Ziyd had heard you [saying this], he would have killed you!”

Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan [attacked] the belongings of al-°usain [‘a] with a group of foot soldiers. Then they came to ‘Alç 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!” ‘Umar

^١ See also *Maqjtil al-±libiyyçn* (pg. ٨٠; Najaf edition), *Tadhkirat al-Khawj¥¥* (pg. ٢٥٤; Najaf edition) and *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (٢:٧٠).

^٢ ±abarç writes in his *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg. ١٢٠; Djr al-Ma’jirif publications, edited by Muammad Ab£ al-Fa£l Ibrjhçm): “‘Alç bin al-°usain al-A¥ghar [i.e. the younger] was present in Karbal’ with his father. He was then ٢٢ years of age. He was ill, sleeping on the bed. When al-°usain [‘a] was killed, Shamir bin Dhç 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'in 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.'

[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-Irshid* (pg.٢٤٢) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٦&٢٥٨; Najaf edition) have narrated this in similar vein.

' *Al-±abarç*: Marqa' bin Thumamah al-Asadç 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 Ziyid with the army and informed him, among other things, of the case of Marqa', Ibn Ziyid deported him to al-Zirah (°:٤٥٤). Al-Zirah 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-Mushriç al-Hamdinç 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 "shfrij"], Abç Mikhnaf says: "'Alç bin al-°usain was considered very young [by the enemy] (°:٤٦٨). °asan bin al-°asan bin 'Alç and 'Umar bin al-°asan bin 'Alç were [also] considered to be very young. So they were spared and were not killed (°:٤٦٩). As for 'Abdullah bin al-°asan, he was also killed (°:٤٦٨). According to Abç al-Faraj in *al-Maqtil* (pg.٧٩; Najaf edition): "'°asan bin al-°asan bin 'Alç was covered with wounds and was thus carried [away from the battlefield]."

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will volunteer [to go] to al-°usain and make his horse trample on [his body]?” Ten [men] volunteered. Of these, Ishiq bin °aiwah al-°aṣramç and Aḥbash bin Mirthad al-°aṣramç 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 Yazçd to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyçd. 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

^١ *Al-ṭabarç* (٥:٤١٥): Later Ishiq bin °aiwah al-°aṣramç was afflicted by leprosy. I [have also] heard that during another battle after this, Aḥbash bin Mirthad al-°aṣramç was standing when an arrow, whose thrower was not known, came and splittied his heart, leaving him dead. Ibn Sa’d committed this atrocity because of the order of Ibn Ziyçd 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-Maqṭil* (pg. ٧٩) of Abī al-Faraj, *Murçj al-Dhahab* (٧:٧٧) of al-Mas’ūdç, *al-Irshçd* (pg. ٧٤٧; Najaf edition) of al-Mufçd and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٧٥٤) of Sibç bin al-Jawzç. Ibn al-Jawzç 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 Madçnah.”

^٢ *Al-ṭabarç* (٥:٤٥٥): ‘Hishjm reports: ‘My father has related to me from Nawwçr, daughter of Mçlik bin ‘Aqrah -who was a °aṣramç, 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

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head beneath a [large] bowl. In the early morning of the next day, he went to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ 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 (ﷺ)?! 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.¹ 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 heads² with Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan, Qais bin Ash’ath, ‘Amru bin al-°ajjij and ‘Azarah bin Qais. They journeyed until they brought them to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyid.

[‘Umar] then ordered °umaid bin Bukair al-Aimarç³ to summon the people for the journey to Kçfah. He took with him the daughters and sisters of al-°usain [‘a], the children, and ‘Alç bin al-°usain who was [still] sick.⁴

Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamçmç reports: “I will not forget Zainab, the daughter of Fijimah, 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

¹ See also *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٤٣).

² See *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٤٣). Sibş bin al-Jawzç says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٥٦; Najaf): “There were ninety-two heads.” But this is, perhaps, due to the misspelling of seventy (*sab’çn*), for he himself asserts on page ٢٥٩ of the same book: “There were more than seventy heads.”

³ *Al-±abarç* (ç: ٣٦٨): “He was one of the bodyguards of Ibn Ziyid. Ibn Ziyid had sent him with Shurai‘, the chief judge, to monitor [Shurai‘] when he sent the latter to see Hçni’ 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 Hçni’ what he had asked me to tell them.”

⁴ *Al-±abarç* (ç: ٤٥٣-٤٥٥): “[Abf Mikhnaç says:] ‘Sulaimin bin Abç Rjshid 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'. The women lamented and struck their faces.'"^٢

[The Burial of al-ʿusain (ʿa) and His Companions]

[Some of] the Banī Asad, who had been staying at al-Ghāḍiriyyah, buried al-ʿusain [ʿa] and his followers, a day after they were killed.^{٣, ٤}

[The Head of the Imam (ʿa) Before Ibn Ziyād]

ʿumaid bin Muslim narrates: "Umar bin Sa'd summoned me and sent me to his family members to give them the good news of the victory of Allah granted to him and that he was in safety. So I proceeded until I came to his family and informed them about that.

There [I saw] Ibn Ziyād sitting, while the delegation that 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] Hauzīn, under Shamir bin

^١ See *Maqātil al-ʿajlibiyya* (pg. ٢٥٦).

^٢ *Al-ʿabar* (٥: ٤٥٥): "[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Abī Zuhair al-ʿAbsī related to me from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamīmī that...."

^٣ *Al-ʿabar* (٥: ٤٥٣-٤٥٥): "[Abī Mikhnaḥ report:] 'Sulaimīn bin Abī Rāshid has narrated to me from ʿumaid bin Muslim who said..."

^٤ See *al-Irshād* (pg. ٢٤٣ & ٢٤٩) and *Murāj al-Dhahab* (٣: ٢٢). However, the predominant opinion is [that the burial took place] three days after they were [martyred] and in the presence of Imam al-Sajjīd (ʿa), as the the debate between ʿAlī bin ʿamzah and Imam al-Riḍā (ʿa) attests to this fact. See *Maqātil al-ʿusain* (pg. ٤١٥) of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram.

Dhç al-Jaushan, came with twenty heads. Seventeen heads were brought by the [men from the] Tamçm. Ban£ Asad brought six heads. Madhlj came with seven heads and the rest of the army came [in] with seven heads. This comes up to seventy heads.

[Ibn Ziyjd] 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 Arqam¹ saw that he would not stop poking [the teeth], he said: 'Take your cane away from those [two] lips. For, by He beside whom there is no deity, I have seen the lips of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) on those two lips, kissing them!' [With that] the old man broke into tears.

Ibn Ziyjd said to him: 'May Allah make your two eyes weep! By Allah, if it was not for the fact that you are an old man who has become silly and your mind has left you, I would cut off your head.'

[Zayd bin Arqam] stood up and went out² saying: 'A slave has appointed [another] slave to rule and he is treating [the people] as his [own] property. O the community of the Arabs! [Know that] you have become slaves henceforth! You have killed the son of Fjşimah and taken the son of Marjnah as [your] ruler! He will kill the righteous among you and enslave the wicked. You have thus accepted humiliation! And away

¹ Sibş bin al-Jawzç narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٥٧) from Ibn Sçrçn on the authority of al-Bukhjrç that: "When the head of al-°usain [°a] was placed in front of Ibn Ziyjd, it was put in a wash-bowl. [Ibn Ziyjd] began striking [al-°usain's] teeth with a cane. Anas bin Mjlik was with him and so he started weeping and said: 'He is the most resemblance of them to the Prophet of Allah.'"

² See also *al-Irshjd* (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 Ziyd had heard, he would have killed him.’

[The Captives in the Court of Ibn Ziyd]

When [al-°usayn's] sisters, his womenfolk and children were brought before ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd, Zainab, the daughter of Fšimah, put on her mean clothes, pretending not to be

^١ Sibš bin al-Jawzç has narrated this incident in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٥٧). He further adds: “[Zayd] then said: ‘O Ibn Ziyd! I am indeed going to tell you a word which is harsher for you than this: I have seen the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) seat al-°asan on his right lap and al-°usayn 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 (ﷺ) with you, O Ibn Ziyd?!” Ibn al-Jawzç then says: “Hishm bin Muammad reports: ‘When the head [of al-°usayn] was put before Ibn Ziyd, 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-°usayn'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 (ﷺ) keeping his mouth where you have kept your foot.’” Ibn al-Jawzç then writes: “Al-Sha'bç said: ‘Qais bin ‘Abbd was with Ibn Ziyd. So he asked [Qais]: ‘What is your opinion regarding me and al-°usayn?’ 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 Ziyd became angry and asked him to leave the gathering.” Ibn al-Jawzç relates from *al-±abaqit* of Ibn Sa'd that he said: “Marjnah, the mother of Ibn Ziyd, said to his son [Ibn Ziyd]: ‘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-Athçr has also narrated this in *al-Kmil* (٤:٢٦٥).

herself. Her maids crowded around her and she sat.

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ 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 Fāṣimah.’

‘Ubaidullah said to her: ‘All praise is due to Allah Who has disgraced you, killed you and revealed the false nature of your claims.’

[Zainab] replied: ‘Praise be to Allah Who honoured us with Muḥammad (ﷺ) and purified us with a thorough purification. It is not the way you have said. Only a sinner is disgraced [by Allah] and [only] the false nature of the wicked is revealed!’

He said: ‘How do you consider Allah has treated the members of your household?!’

She replied: ‘Death had been decreed for them and they went forward [bravely] to their resting places. Allah will gather you and them, and you will argue against each other and dispute with one another before him.’¹

[At this] Ibn Ziyāḍ 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!’

¹ See *al-Irshād* (pg. ٢٤٣) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٥٨ & ٢٥٩; Najaf edition).

‘Ubaidullah said: ‘This is a woman who rhymes her speech (*sajji’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 Ziyd looked at ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain and asked him: ‘What is your name?’

He replied: ‘I am ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain.’

[Ibn Ziyd] said: ‘Did Allah not kill ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain?!’ [At this, Imam al-Sajjid] remained silent.

So Ibn Ziyd said to him: ‘Why are you not speaking?’

[Al-Sajjid] said: ‘I had a brother who was also called ‘Al¢. The people killed him.’

Ibn Ziyd said: ‘Allah has indeed killed him.’ [Again] he remained quiet. So Ibn Ziyd 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

^١ The word *sajji’ah* and *sajj’ah* in the text above have been recorded by ±abar¢ as *shajj’ah* and *shujj’ah* (a brave woman). In *al-Irshid* (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:] ‘Sulaimin bin Ab¢ Rishid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...’”

^٣ Qur’an, ٢٩: ٤٢.

^٤ Qur’an, ٢: ١٤٥.

Ibn Ziyāḍ said: ‘By Allah, you are one of them [i.e. the rebellious].’ [Then he said to Mariyy bin Maʿīdh al-Aḥmarḥ:] ‘Woe onto you! Kill him.’

His aunt, Zainab, clung on to him and said: ‘O Ibn Ziyāḍ! 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-Sajjāḍ] and said: ‘I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.’

‘Alḥ [bin al-ʿusayn] 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 Ziyāḍ 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

^١ Al-ṭabarḥ (٥:٤٥٧): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ reports:] ‘As for Sulaymān bin Abḥ Rīshid, he related to me from ʿumaid bin Muslim who said...”

^٢ ṭabarḥ writes in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* that: “‘Alḥ [bin al-ʿusayn al-Aḥḡhar] said: ‘When I was brought before Ibn Ziyāḍ, he asked me: ‘What is your name?’ I answered: ‘Alḥ bin Husayn.’ He said: ‘Did Allah not kill ‘Alḥ?’ 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 ‘Alḥ [‘a] then said to him: ‘O Ibn Ziyāḍ! 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.” ṭabarḥ then relates in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg. ٦٣٠; Dīr al-Maʿārif publications), quoting from *al-ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saʿd (٥:٢١١-٢١٨), that he narrated from Mīlik bin Ismīʿīl, who was relating from Sahl bin Shuʿaib, who reported from his father Shuʿaib, that Minhīl bin ‘Amru said: “[One day] I went to see ‘Alḥ bin al-ʿusayn (‘a). I said to him: ‘How are you this

'Ubaidullah bin Ziyd then stuck the head of al-°usain [(°a) on a spear] and ordered it to be taken round [the city of]

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'min bin Y£nus narrated to us from Ja'far bin Mu'ammad [al-°idiq] on the authority of Sufyin 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 ٢٢ 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-Biqir] (°a) had been born to him?" See also *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٤٤) for the conversation that took place between al-Sajjid and Ibn Ziyd. Ibn al-Jawz£ has briefly related the actual report [i.e. the conversation between Ibn Ziyd, Lady Zainab and Imam al-Sajjid] in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٥٨; Najaf edition).

Kʿfah.”^١

[The Stand of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Afʿf]

[After the gathering was over], it was announced: “Offer your prayers in congregation.” So people gathered in the great mosque [of Kʿfah]. Ibn Ziyāḍ ascended the pulpit and said:

“Praise be to Allah Who has revealed the truth and the followers [of the truth], and has given victory to the commander of the faithful, Yazīd bin Muʿwiyah, and his party, and has killed the liar son of the liar: al-ʿusayn bin ‘Alī, and his followers.”

Ibn Ziyāḍ had not yet finished his speech when ‘Abdullah bin ‘Afʿf al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī -who was among the Shāʿah of ‘Alī -[lit.] may Allah honour his face, and who would hardly leave the great mosque as he used to [be busy] praying in it the whole day^٢- sprung up as he heard [these words from] Ibn Ziyāḍ. He said:

“The liar, son of the liar, is you and your father, and the one who appointed you as the governor [i.e. Yazīd] and his father. O son of Marjānah!^٣ You kill the sons of Prophets and speak the speech of the men of truth?!”

^١ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٤٥٩): “Abī Mikhnaf says...”

^٢ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٤٥٨): “He lost his left eye in the battle of Jamal, fighting alongside ‘Alī (‘a). He was struck on his head in the battle of ʿiffān and a second strike on his eyebrow. He thus lost his other eye too.” See *al-Irshād* (pg.٢٤٤) for the actual incident. Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī has also narrated the incident briefly in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.٢٥٩).

^٣ *Marjānah* is an Arabicized version of the Persian word *mehrgīn*. She was the mother of Ibn Ziyāḍ, who was a slave girl supposedly from Khuzistān.

Ibn Ziyd 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.¹

Ibn Ziyd then sent someone who brought [Ibn 'Aḫḫ] to him. He killed him and ordered him to be crucified in al-Sabkhah,

¹ *Al-ṭabarḥ*: 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Mikhnaḥ al-Azdī was sitting. So he said: "Woe onto other than you! You have destroyed yourself and your clan!" (٥:٤٥٩). 'Abd al-Ra'mīn was the uncle of Abu Mikhnaḥ's father, for he was the brother of Sa'ḫd, the grandfather of Abī Mikhnaḥ. He participated in the battle of 'iffḥn and had also stood against the raids launched by Mu'īwīyah's army, as reported in *al-ṭabarḥ* (٥:١٣٣). He was with 'Abdullah bin al-Muṣṣ' al-'Adawiyy –the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kʿfah– during the uprising of Mukhtār in ٦٦ H. Al-'Adawiyy had sent him with some horsemen to the cemetery of the people of 'īd (٦:١٨). 'Abd al-Ra'mīn was also among the advisers to al-'Adawiyy, who advised him to leave Kʿfah and go to 'ijz (٦:٣١). He disliked rising against Mukhtār, but when they insisted him to do so, he [ultimately] rose against him (٦:٤٤). He fought [the followers of Mukhtār [near] the Euphrates. He was covered with wounds and was carried away by the soldiers (٦:٥١). ['Abd al-Ra'mīn] then joined Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair in Baḥrah, along with those noblemen of Kʿfah who had risen [against Mukhtār] (٦:٥٥). Muṣ'ab sent him to Kʿfah in ٦٧ H to invite people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and to persuade them to go [and join] Muṣ'ab (٦:٩٥). He remained with Muṣ'ab throughout his war against Mukhtār (٦:١٠٤). In the year ٧٤ H, during the rule of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān, ['Abd al-Ra'mīn] fought against the Azīriqah sect of the Khawrij, on the order of Bishr bin Marwān, the governor of Baḥrah (٦:١٩٧). He pursued them up to Kīzarān, where they [bravely] fought him. [Most of] his followers were put to flight except for a few of them. 'Abd al-Ra'mīn continued to fight until he was killed in the year ٧٥ H (٦:٢١٢).

so he was crucified there.¹

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (٥:٤٥٨): “[Abī Mikhnaf relates that:] ‘ʿumaid bin Muslim said...”

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN SH^aM

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyāḍ summoned Zahr bin Qais¹, with whom were Abī Bardah bin ‘Auf al-Azdī and ṣūriq bin ṣabyīn al-Azdī, and sent them with the head of al-°usain [‘a] and those of his companions to Yazīd bin Muṣṣawiyah.²

¹ *Al-ṣabarī*: [Zahr bin Qais] al-Juḥf al-Kindī. He was one of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy al-Kindī (°: 270). He was with Ibn al-Muṣṣaḥ against Mukhtār in the year 66 H, and was sent against [Mukhtār] with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Kindah (6: 18). He fought until he and his son were severely wounded near Furj (6: 21). In the year 66 H, he was with Muṣṣab bin al-Zubair in his battle against Mukhtār, and he was sent with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Murj (6: 100). He stopped at a place where the blacksmiths used to work, near a point where animals were given out on hire (6: 106). He was among those people of Iraq to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān had written a letter in the year 66 H. [He was asking them to abandon Muṣṣab and] they answered his call and betrayed him (6: 106). In the year 66 H, he was leading the Madhlīj and Asad in the battle against the Khawārij (6: 199). In 66 H, °ajjāj sent [Zahr] with 1000 horsemen, who were riding on fine horses, to fight Shabīb, the Khārijī. They met and Shabīb fought him [bravely] until he wounded him and he fell to the ground. Zahr was then taken to °ajjāj while he was wounded (6: 242). This is the last information we have about him. May Allah curse him.

² *Al-ṣabarī* (°: 460): “Hishām says: “‘Abdullah bin Yazīd bin Rauḥ bin Zanjīgh al-Judhīmī related to me from his father, who narrated from al-Ghāz bin Rabī‘ah al-Jirshī -who was from the °imyar- that: ‘By Allah, I was with Yazīd bin Muṣṣawiyah in Damascus when Zahr bin Qais entered upon Yazīd bin Muṣṣawiyah. Yazīd said to him: ‘Woe upon you! What is behind you? What have you got?’ He said: ‘O commander of the faithful, I bring good news of Allah’s victory and support! Al-°usain bin ‘Alī [‘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 'Alç bin al-°usain ('a) on his order. Then he sent [the caravan] under the command of Mu|affaz bin Tha'labah al-^a'idhç [al-Qarashç]' and Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan. So they set out with them [towards Shjm] and entered upon Yazçd.^٢

[In the Court of Yazçd]

When the heads of al-°usain and those of his family members and companions were placed in front of Yazçd, he recited:

The swords have splitted the heads of people who were dear to us, but they were most rebellious and unjust.^{٢, ٤}

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-±abarç* (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 Shjm with the captives, see *al-Irsh;d* (pg. ٢٤٥).

^٢ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٥٩): "Abf Mikhnaf reports..."

^٣ This is part of the *Mufa±aliyy;t* poems by °uYain bin Hamjm al-Mariyy. See *Dçwjn al-°amjsah* (١:١٩٣).

^٤ *Al-±abarç* (٥:٤٦٠): "[Abf Mikhnaf says:] 'aq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Qjsim bin 'Abd al-Ra'mjn, the slave of Yazçd that..." See also *al-Irsh;d* (pg. ٢٤٦; Najaf edition), *Murçj al-Dhahab* (٣:٧٠) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٦٢).

Sib§ bin al-Jawzç narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٦١) from al-Zuharç that: "When the heads arrived, Yazçd was in his watch-

Ya'yī bin al-°akam', the brother of Marwīn bin al-°akam, recited [in objection]:

On the bank [of the river] lies a head which is closer in kinship to us than Ibn Ziyā, the slave with a false lineage.

tower at Jairfān. He recited:

When those litters appeared and those suns shone on the hill of Jairfān,

The crow croaked, so I said: whether you croak or not, I have [already] settled my debt with my adversary!

Ibn al-Jawzī further says: "What has commonly appeared in all narrations regarding what Yazīd said, is that: 'When the head [of al-°usayn] was brought before him, he gathered the people of Shīm 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-Jawzī says: "And al-Sha'bī has added [the following]:

The Hashimites played with the kingdom, for no news [from Allah] has come nor did revelation descend.

I will not be of the Khunduf, if I do not avenge the sons of A'mad for what they have done."

Then [Ibn al-Jawzī] narrates on the authority of Qidhā Ibn Abī Ya'lī from A'mad bin °anbal that he said: "If this is true of Yazīd, then he is indeed a sinner (*fasāq*).” According to Mujāhid, Ibn °anbal said: "...then he has indeed become a hypocrite (*nifāq*).”

¹ *Al-±abar*: He was with his brother, Marwīn bin al-°akam, in the battle of Jamal in Ba'rah. He fled defeated [from the battlefield] after he was wounded. He joined Mu'wīyah in Shīm in ٣٧ H (٥:٥٣٥). [Ya'yī] was the governor of Madīnah for his nephew, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwīn, 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. Hishīm bin 'Abd al-Malik had married [Ya'yī'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'iwiyah struck his hand against the chest of Ya'iy bin al-°akam and said: "Be quiet!"

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¢¹, one of the companions of the Messenger of Allah (¥), said:

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (°:٤٦٠): "[Ab£ Mikhna£ says:] 'Ab£ Ja'far al-°Abs¢ has related to me from Ab£ 'Amjah al-°Abs¢ that..." See also *al-Irshid* (pg. ٢٤٦; Najaf edition) and *al-Aghn¢* (١٢:٧٤) of Ab£ al-Faraj al-I£fahin¢. 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.

¹ *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] (°: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 *Tjreckh* (°:٣٩٠), from Ab£ Ja'far al-Biqir ('a) on the authority of 'Ammir al-Duhan¢. Al-Mas'£d¢ writes in *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (°: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-Balidhar¢ saying: "The person who was present in Yaz¢d's [court] and said these words was Anas bin Mjlik." Ibn al-Jawz¢ comments on this and says: "This is not correct, since Anas was in K£fah with Ibn Ziyid 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 (ﷺ) sucking it. O Yazðd! You will indeed come on the Day of Judgment while your intercessor will be Ibn Ziyðd, whereas [al-°usain] will come on the Day of Judgment with Mu'ammad (ﷺ) as his intercessor.” He then stood and went away.

Hind, the daughter of ‘Abdullah bin ‘amir bin Kuraiz’, [the wife

¹ *Al-±abarç*: Uthmjin had sent him to Kabul from Sajistjn and he conquered it in the year ٢٤ H (٤:٢٤٤). He then dismissed him from [Kabul] and appointed him as the governor of Baḡrah in ٢٩ H, after Abʔ Mʔs; al-Ash'arç. [‘Abdullah] was then ٢٥ years old, and he was the son of ‘Uthmjin’s maternal uncle (٤:٢٦٤). [While he was the governor of Baḡrah], he [also] conquered Persia (٤:٢٦٥). In the year ٣١ H, he set out to Khurjsjn and conquered Abrashhʔ, ±ʔs, Abçward, and Nassjlatç. He reached up to Sarakhs and signed a peace treaty with the people of Marw (٤:٣٠٠). He appointed Ziyðd bin Sumayyah as his deputy over Baḡrah [while he was away] (٤:٣٠١). In the year ٣٣ H, Ibn ‘amir conquered Marw, ±jliqjn, Fjryjb, Juzjrn and ±akhjristjn (٤:٣٠٩). He [also] conquered Herjt and Bjðghçs (٤:٣١٤). ‘Uthmjin 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, ‘Uthmjin wrote to him asking him to mobilize the people of Baḡrah 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 [‘Uthmjin] was killed, so they returned [to Baḡrah] (٤:٣٦٨). Ibn ‘amir was [still] the governor of Baḡrah when ‘Uthmjin was killed in ٣٥ H (٤:٤٢١). He [later] went to °ijz and met ±al'ah, Zubair, Sa'çd bin al-°aḡḡ, Walçd bin ‘Uqbah and the rest of the Banʔ Umayyah. After long deliberations, they [all] decided to go to Baḡrah. Earlier they were about to go to Shjm, but ‘Abdullah said to them: “The man in charge of Shjm [i.e. Mu'jwiyah] will take care of that place. Come to Baḡrah, for there are traders in [Baḡrah] who are inclined towards ±al'ah.” ‘aishah and °afḡah [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 Yazǧd]: “O commander of the faithful! Is this the head of al-°usain, son of Fǧšimah, 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 Ziyǧd dealt with him hastily and killed him. May Allah kill him!”

Ya'lyǧ 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.¹

[Before] Yazǧd bin Mu'ǧwiyah took his place, he summoned

latter [from joining them]. Ibn °amir 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 Shīm (٤:٥٣٦). He was the one sent by Mu'ǧwiyah to Maǧin to sign the peace treaty with al-°asan (°a) (٥:١٥٩). Mu'ǧwiyah reinstated him as the governor of Baʿrah (٥:٢١٢). Mu'ǧwiyah married him his daughter, Hind bint Mu'ǧwiyah. °Abdullah [once] debased Ziyǧd because of his lineage. So Mu'ǧwiyah became angry on him, but Yazǧd pleaded with [Mu'ǧwiyah] on his behalf (٥:٢١٤). Although ±abarǧ does not mention when [exactly] Yazǧd married [Ibn °amir's] daughter, Hind, it appears that the marriage must have taken place when [Ibn °amir] took the hand of Yazǧd's sister, Hind. [Hind, daughter of Ibn °amir], bore °Abdullah for Yazǧd. She used to be known as Umm Kulthfm (٥:٥٠٠). In the year ٦٤ H, after Yazǧd died and Ibn Ziyad fled from Baʿrah, a group from the people of Baʿrah chose [Ibn Amir's] son, °Abd al-Malik bin °Abdullah bin °amir, as their governor. He held the position for a month, before the governorship of Ibn al-Zubair (٥:٥٢٧).

¹ *Al-±abarǧ* (٥:٤٦٥): “[Abʿ Mikhnaf says:] °Abʿ °amzah al-Thimlǧ narrated to me from Qǧsim bin Bukhait, on the authority of °Ubaidullah al-Thimlǧ that...”

the noblemen of Sh;m and seated them around him. Then he called in 'Alç 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 [Yazçd]. 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!"

Yazçd then said to 'Alç [bin al-°usain ('a)]: "O 'Alç! 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."

'Alç ['a] replied: "No affliction visits the earth or yourselves but it is in a book before We bring it about."^١

So Yazçd said to him: "Whatever affliction that may visit you is because of what your hands have earned, though He excuses many [an offense]."^٢,

^١ Qur'an, ٥٧:٢٢. Ab£ al-Faraj relates in *al-Maqtil* (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-Jawzç has narrated the whole verse and says: "'Alç bin al-°usain and the women were tied up in ropes. So 'Alç called out Yazçd: 'O Yazçd! 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: "Yazçd first recited this verse, and thereafter Imam al-Sajj;d ('a) replied him with the verse ٥٧ of S£rat al-°adçd [Ch. ٥٧]." This seems to be more appropriate.

^٣ *Al-±abarç* (٥: ٤٦١): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says..." See also *al-Irsh;d* (pg. ٢٤٦; Najaf edition).

Fīṣimah, daughter of ‘Alḥ’ [‘a] says: “When we were seated before Yazʿd bin Mu’īwiyah, a man with a red face from the people of Shīm 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.”

Yazʿd 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] Yazʿd 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-Mufʿd in *al-Irshad* (pg. ٢٤٦) and Ibn al-Jawzʿ in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٤٤) say: “[Fīṣimah,] daughter of al-ʿusayn...”

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!”¹

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’jwiyah except that she came to receive them, weeping and bewailing al-°usain [‘a]. They mourned him for three days.

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (٥:٣٩٠) narrates this report from Imam al-Biqir (‘a) on the authority of ‘Amm;r al-Duhan¢.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN MADϢNAH

When they intended to return, YazϢd bin Mu’jwiyah said: “O Nu’mjñ bin BashϢr! Prepare for them whatever they need and send a righteous and trustworthy person from among the people of Shjñ with them. [Also] send some horsemen and helpers with him to guide them towards MadϢnah.

[Nu’mjñ] 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 MadϢnah.¹

[The Arrival in MadϢnah]

When the news of the death of al-°usain [‘a] reached the people of MadϢnah, Umm Luqmjñ², the daughter of ‘AqϢl

¹ *Al-±abarϢ* (°:±¶¶): “[AbϢ Mikhnaf relates this] from Fj§imah on the authority of °jriñ bin Ka’b...” See also *Maqjtil al-±libiyyñ* (pg. 80) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. 264).

² Shaikh al-MufϢd says in *al-Irshjð* (pg. 248): “Umm Luqmjñ, the daughter of ‘AqϢl bin AbϢ ±jlib, 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 HjñϢ, Asmj’, Ramlah and Zainab, daughters of ‘AqϢl bin AbϢ ±jlib, may Allah have mercy on them. She wept for her [relatives] slain on the bank [of the Euphrates], saying...” Sib§ bin al-JawzϢ has also related this in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. 266) from

bin Aḅ ±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 Aḅ ±lib^٢ heard about the

Zainab bint 'Aḷ on the authority of al-Wiqiḍ.

^١ ±abaṛ has related these verses from Imam al-Biqir ('a) on the authority of 'Amṃr al-Duhaṇ. [Al-Biqir says:] "He prepared them [for the journey] and took them to Maḍnah. When they entered [Maḍnah], a woman from the Baṇ 'Abd al-Muṣṣalib 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-±abaṛ: He is the one who narrated the incident of °aḷmah 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 [ﷺ] asked [the family of 'Abdullah to bring him. So they brought him to the Prophet and] he took him in his hands (٢:٤٢). 'Abdullah was the one who suggested to 'Aḷ ('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 'Aḅ Bakr. The Imam ('a) accepted his suggestion (٤:٣٦). 'Abdullah was with 'Aḷ ('a) in ʿiff̣n (٥:١١). He, together with al-°asan and al-°usain, undertook the arrangement for the burial of Imam 'Aḷ ('a). Then he returned with them to Maḍnah (٥:١٦٥). We have given his biography when

death of his two sons [Muḥammad 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

we mentioned his letter to al-°usain from Makkah through his [two] sons, Muḥammad and 'Aun.

^١ *Al-ṭabaṛṭ* (٥:٤٦٦): “[Aḅḥ Mikhnaf says that I narrate this] from ‘Abd al-Raḥṃn bin ‘Ubaid Aḅḥ al-Kaṇḍ, on the authority of Sulaiṃn bin Aḅḥ Ṛshid...”

^٢ Hisḥm reports: “‘Aẉnah bin al-°akam has related to me saying: ‘When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziỵḍ killed °usain bin ‘Aḷḥ, he summoned ‘Abd al-Malik bin Aḅḥ °iṛith al-Salaṃḥ and said: ‘Go to Maḍnah and meet ‘Amru bin Sa’ḥḍ bin al-^aḤ̣ḥ -who was then the governor of Maḍnah- 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 (*daṇj̣ṇḥr*). ‘Abd al-Malik says: ‘So I came to Maḍnah and went to see ‘Amru bin Sa’ḥḍ. He said: ‘What is the news?’ I said: ‘That which would please the governor! Al-°usain bin ‘Aḷḥ 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’ḥḍ laughed [at this] and said: The women of the Baṇḥ Ziỵḍ raised a great lament like the lamentation of our women, mourning [after the battle] of al-Arnab.’* ‘Amṛḥ then ascended the pulpit and informed the people about his death.” See also *al-Irsḥj̣ḍ* (pg. ٢٤٧; Najaf edition).

[In another report] Hishjm says: “‘Awjnah related to me that: ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd 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 Ziyjd. ‘It is lost’, ‘Umar replied. ‘By Allah, you must bring it to me,’ he repeated. ‘Umar said, ‘By Allah, it has been left in Madçnah 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 Abç WaqqiŸ, I would have discharged my duty towards him.’ [Here] ‘Uthmjn bin Ziyjd, 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 BanŸ Ziyjd till the Day of Resurrection, but that al-°usain should not have been killed!’”

Hishjm says: “‘AmrŸ bin °aizŸm al-Kalbç 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 DjwŸd, and [that] of MŸsj and [that] of the bearer of the InjŸl.

See also *al-Irshjd* (pg. ٢٤٨) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٧٠; Najaf edition).

* The verse is of ‘Umar bin Mu’id Yakrub al-Zubaidç. They had waged a battle against the BanŸ Ziyjd in retaliation to the battle fought by the latter against the BanŸ Zubaid.

SibŸ bin al-Jawzç has briefly narrated this report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg. ٢٦٦). He also narrates from al-Sha’bç that: “Marwjn bin al-°akam was in Madçnah. So [Abd al-Malik] took the head [of al-°usain] and placed it before [Marwjn]. 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 ‘Uthmjn!’ Ibn Abç al-°adçd writes in his *Shar’ Nahj al-Balighah* (٤:٢٧٠): “The correct version is that: Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd wrote to ‘Amru bin Sa’çd bin al-°aŸŸ, 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 Anṣār reproached him for [saying] that.” This has also been mentioned by Abū ‘Ubaidah in *al-Mathlib*.

THE FIRST VISITOR OF AL-HUSAIN (‘A) FROM KĒFAH

[After the martyrdom of al-°usain] ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyîd inquired about the noblemen of KĒfah. He did not see ‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr [al-Ju’fĕ]. After a couple of days, Ibn °urr came to Ibn Ziyîd. So he asked: “Where were you, O son of °urr?”

He replied: “I was sick.”

[Ibn Ziyîd] 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 Ziyîd 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 Ziyîd [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 Ziyîd said: “Where is Ibn al-°urr?”

“He has just left”, the people answered.

Ibn Ziyîd 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 [KĒfah] and went to Karbalî’. He recited in this regard:

A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did you not fight the martyr, son of Fîṣimāh?

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-°usayn] 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 Ziyāḍ] 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.^{١٢}

^١ *Al-ṭabarṣī* (٥:٤٦٩): “[Abī Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab al-Azdī narrated to me that...”

^٢ *Al-ṭabarṣī*: The reason Ibn al-^ourr brings in the example of the Dailamites is because of the valour they exhibited during the battles of resistance, after the fall of the Sasanid dynasty. He was a follower of ‘Uthmān. When [‘Uthmān] was assassinated, Ibn al-^ourr left Kḥfah and went to Muḥḥīyah. He remained there until the [martyrdom] of ‘Alī (‘a) (٥:١٢٨). Thereafter, he returned to Kḥfah. When ^oujr [bin ‘Adiyy] was arrested, Ibn al-^ourr wished that if only five to ten men had helped him, he could have saved ^oujr and his companions (٥:٢٧١). When al-^ousayn (‘a) invited him to join him, he said: “By Allah, I only left Kḥfah out of dislike that you may enter it while I am there.” Al-^ousayn (‘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 Yazīd and the flight of Ibn Ziyād and during the uprising of Mukhtār, Ibn al-^ourr went to Madīn with ٧٠٠ horsemen, collecting money [from the people]. Mukhtār detained his wife in Kḥfah and told her: “I am going to kill his companions” (٥:١٢٩). Ibn al-^ourr later joined Muḥḥab bin al-Zubair and fought against Mukhtār (٥:١٠٥). Ibn al-^ourr is the one who suggested to Muḥḥab, after Mukhtār was killed, to kill the non-Arabs among [Mukhtār’s] followers and leave the Arabs. And Muḥḥab did so (٥:١١٦). Then, Muḥḥab feared him for his own life, so he imprisoned him. A group from the Madhij interceded with him on his behalf, so he freed him. Thereafter, [Ibn al-^ourr] rose against him (٥:١٣١). He later joined ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān. The latter sent him to Kḥfah at a time when [the city] was under the governor of Ibn al-Zubair. So [Ibn al-^ourr] 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 Qaḥr Banī Muqatil, on the way to Karbalā’.

FINAL REMARKS

With the mercy of Allah, the Most High, we have come to the end of the reports about Imam al-°usain (‘a) which have appeared in *Tjrkhh al-±abarç*, and which [±abarç narrated] on the authority of Hishim al-Kalbç 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, *Tarçkh al-±abarç*, except for the information that we could not find in it.

All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the Worlds.