

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

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ 3:

إِنِّي تَارِكٌ فِيكُمْ الثَّقَلَيْنِ: كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَعِثْرَتِي أَهْلَ
بَيْتِي، مَا إِنْ تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدِي أَبَدًا،
وَأِيُّهُمَا لَنْ يَفْتَرَقَا 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 [/*awḡ*] (of *Kawthar*).”

Some of its references:

Al-°jkim an-Nayshib£r£, *Al-Mustadrak`alj al-
`a/£/ayn* (Beirut), vol. 3, pp. 109-110, 148, 533

Muslim, *Al-`a/£/*, (English translation), book 31,
/*ad£ths* 5920-3

At-Tirmidh£, *Al-`a/£/*, vol. 5, pp. 621-2, /*ad£ths* 3786,
3788; vol. 2, p. 219

An-Nassj`£, *Kha¥j`i¥`Al£ ibn Ab£ ±jlib*, /*ad£th* 79

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

Ibn al-Ath£r, *Jjmi` al-U¥£l*, vol. 1, p. 277

Ibn Kath£r, *Al-Bidjyah wa`n-Nihjyah*, vol. 5, p. 209

Ibn Kath£r, *Tafs£r al-Qur`jn al-`A`£m*, vol. 6, p. 199

Nj¥ir ad-D£n al-Alban£, *Silsilat al-A/jd£th a¥-¥a/£/ah*
(Kuwait: Ad-Dar as-Salafiyyah), vol. 4, pp. 355-358

THE EVENT OF ٱAFF

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE
TRAGEDY OF KARBAL^a

ABٱ MIKHNAF
Lٱٱ BIN YA°Y^a AL-AZD« AL-GH^aMID«
AL-KٱF«

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Account of the Tragedy of Karbala'**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE —15

PREAMBLE —17

INTRODUCTION —19

Karbalī' —23

Abġ Mikhnaf —26

The Family of Abġ Mikhnaf as Reported by ʿabarġ —28

The Family of Abġ Mikhnaf as Reported by Naʿr bin Muzġim al-Minqarġ —31

The Works of Abġ Mikhnaf —35

His Faith (*madhhab*) and Reliability (*withġqah*) —37

Hishġm al-Kalbġ —40

The Maqtal Currently in Circulation —43

The Grave Errors of this Maqtal —45

The Sources of Abġ Mikhnaf (*isnġd*) —52

The Detailed List of the Narrators —54

The First List —54

The Second List —56

The Third List —63

The Fourth List —65

The Fifth List —79

The Sixth List —99

AL-°USAIN (°A) IN MAD«NAH —109

Mu'ġwiyah's Last Will —109

Mu'ġwiyah's Death —114

Yazġd's letter to Walġd —117

Walġd Seeks Counsel from Marwġn —126

Walġd's Envoy —127

Al-°usain (°a) Meets Walġd —131

Al-°usain (°a) in the Mosque of Madġnah —135

The Stance of Muġammad bin al-°anafġyyah —136

Al-°usain (°a) Leaves Madġnah —138

AL-°USAIN (°A) IN MAKKAH —141

Al-°usain (°a) on the Way to Makkah —141

'Abdullah bin Muşġ' al-'Adawġ —141

Al-°usain (°a) in Makkah —142

The Letters from the People of Kġfah —144

The Reply of al-°usain (°a) —155

The Journey of Ibn 'Aqġl —156

Muslim's Letter to al-°usain (°a) On His Way to Kġfah —156

Al-°usain's Response to Muslim —157

THE EVENTS IN K-FAH AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF MUSLIM BIN 'AQ«L —159

Muslim (°a) Enters Kġfah —159

Al-°usain's Letter to the People of Baʿrah —166

Ibn Ziyġd's Address in Baʿrah —173

Ibn Ziyġd Enters Kġfah —174

Ibn Ziyad's Address Upon His Arrival in Kġfah —176

Muslim Moves from the House of Mukhtġr to that of Hġni' —178

Ma'qil al-Shġmġ spies on Muslim (°a) —179

The Meeting for Planning the Assassination of Ibn Ziyġd —181

Ma'qil Visits Muslim —183

Ibn Ziyġd Inquires About Hġni' —184

Hġni' Summoned to Ibn Ziyġd —187

Hġni' in the Presence of Ibn Ziyġd —189

Ibn Ziyġd's Speech After Hġni's Arrest —195

The Rise of Muslim (°a) —196

The Coming of the Noblemen to Ibn Ziyāḍ —197
 The Noblemen Come Out With Banners of Protection —199
 The Loneliness of Muslim (‘a) —201
 The Stand of Ibn Ziyāḍ —206
 Ibn Ziyāḍ’s Address after Muslim (‘a) had Remained Alone —208
 Ibn Ziyāḍ in Pursuit of Muslim (‘a) —208
 The Stand of Mukhtār —210
 Muslim’s Hiding Place Disclosed —212
 The Move to Arrest Muslim (‘a) —213
 Muslim (‘a) Fights Ibn Ash’ath —213
 Muslim (‘a) Attacked with Stones and Fire —214
 Muslim (‘a) Taken as a Prisoner —214
 Muslim’s Will to Ibn al-Ash’ath —216
 Muslim (‘a) at the Gate of the Palace —216
 Muslim’s Will to ‘Umar bin Sa’d —219
 Muslim (‘a) in the Presence of Ibn Ziyāḍ —220
 The Martyrdom of Ibn ‘Aq̣l (‘a) —222
 The Martyrdom of Ḥni’ bin ‘Urwah —224
 Those Who Were Killed After Muslim (‘a) and Ḥni’ —226
 The Imprisonment of Mukhtār —227
 The Heads of Muslim (‘a) and Ḥni’ Sent to Yaẓd —227

AL-°USAIN’S DEPARTURE FROM MAKKAH —233

Ibn al-Zubair’s Stand Vis-à-Vis al-°usain (‘a) —233
 Al-°usain’s Conversation with Ibn ‘Abbās —235
 A Second Conversation with Ibn ‘Abbās —238
 His Conversation with ‘Umar al-Makhẓṃ —239
 His Last Conversation with Ibn al-Zubair —240
 The Stand of ‘Amru bin Sa’̣d al-Ashdaq —242

THE STATIONS ON THE WAY TO K-FAH —249

Tan’̣m —249

‘if̣ —250
 °j̣ir —253
 A Watering Place of the Arabs —254
 Khuzaimiyyah] —255
 Zuhair bin al-Qain Joins al-°usain (‘a) —256
 Zaṛd —259
 Tha’labiyyah —261
 Zuḅlah, —263
 Baṣn al-‘Aqabah —264
 Shaṛf —265
 Dḥ °usam —266
 Baiṣah —271
 ‘Udhaib al-Hij̣ṇt —274
 Qaṣr Baṇ Muq̣til —278
 Nainaẉ —280

THE EVENTS FROM THE 3RD TO THE 8TH OF MU°ARRAM —286

The Coming Out of Ibn Sa’d Against al-°usain (‘a) —286
 Ibn Sa’d’s Arrival in Karbaḷ —289
 Ibn Sa’d’s First Letter to Ibn Ziyāḍ —292
 Ibn Ziyāḍ’s Response to Ibn Sa’d —293
 Ibn Sa’d’s Meeting With al-°usain (‘a) —293
 Ibn Sa’d’s Second Letter to Ibn Ziyāḍ —295
 Ibn Ziyāḍ’s Second Response to Ibn Sa’d —297
 Shamir Brings the Letter to Ibn Sa’d —298
 The Safe-Conduct of Ibn Ziyāḍ for ‘Abbās and His Brothers —299
 Obstructing the Imam (‘a) and His Companions from Reaching the Water —300

THE EVENTS OF THE 9TH OF MU°ARRAM —303

Ibn Sa’d Advances Against al-°usain (‘a) —303

THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT OF “SH-R” —309

- The Speech of al-°usain (‘a) on the Night of “shfrj’ —309
- The Stand of the Hashimites —310
- The Stand of His Companions —311
- The Imam (‘j) on the Night of “shfrj’ —312
- Al-°usain (‘a) and His Companions on the Night of “shfrj’ —315

THE DAY OF “SH-R” —319

- The First Speech of the Imam (‘a) —321
- The Speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain —327
- The Return of °urr al-Riyj’ —333
- The Speech of °urr —336

THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE —338

- The First Attack —340
- A Miracle and Guidance —341
- The Malediction of Burair and His Martyrdom —343
- The Second Attack —347
- The Martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Awsajah —348
- The Third Attack —350
- The Attacks of the Companions of al-°usain (‘a) —350
- The Fourth Attack —352
- Preparation for the Noon (‘uhr) Prayers —354

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE COMPANIONS OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) —355

- The Martyrdom of °abçb bin Mu”jhir —355
- The Martyrdom of °urr bin Yazçd al-Riyj’ —357
- The Noon (‘uhr) Prayers —358
- The Martyrdom of Zuhair bin al-Qain —359
- The Martyrdom of Njfi’ bin Hilj al-Jamalç —359

- The Martyrdom of the Two Brothers from Ghifjr —360
- The Martyrdom of the Two Young Men from Jjbir —361
- The Martyrdom of °an”alah bin As`ad al-Shabjmç —362
- The Martyrdom of “bis bin Abç Shabçb and His Retainer —364
- The Martyrdom of Yazçd ibn Ziyjd, Abu Sha’thj’ al- Kindç —366
- The Martyrdom of the Four Men —367
- The Martyrdom of Suwaid al-Khath’amç and Bashçr al-°aßramç —368

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF AL-HUSAIN (‘A) —372

- The Martyrdom of ‘Alç bin al-°usain al-Akbar (‘a) —372
- The Martyrdom of Qjsim bin al-°asan (‘a) —376
- The Martyrdom of ‘Abbjs bin ‘Alç (‘a) and His Brothers —378
- The Martyrdom of the Infant of al-°usain (‘a) —379
- The Martyrdom of the Two Sons of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far —380
- The Martyrdom of the Members from the Household of ‘Aqçl —381
- The Martyrdom of other Two Sons of al-°asan bin ‘Alç (‘a) —383

THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) —386

- Al-°usain (‘a) Advances Towards the Battlefield —386
- The Martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) —392

AFTER THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) —396

- The Looting of the Tents —396
- The Trampling on al-°usain’s Body —399

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN K-FAH —402

- The Burial of al-°usain (‘a) and His Companions —403
- The Head of the Imam (‘a) Before Ibn Ziyjd —403
- The Captives in the Court of Ibn Ziyjd —406
- The Stand of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Afçf —410

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN SH°M —414

In the Court of Yazçd —415

**THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL-°USAIN (‘A) IN MAD
«NAH —423**

The Arrival in Madçnah —423

**THE FIRST VISITOR OF AL-HUSAIN (‘A) FROM
K£FAH —429**

FINAL REMARKS —433



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 (ʿa), 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* (ʿa) 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* (ʿa) 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 Shīʿah 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 Shīʿah scholars of earlier ages to assist the seekers of the truth in discovering the truths which the School of the Prophet's Household (ʿa) 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 Mu ammad Taqī Mi bā 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 (ʿa) 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-ʿusain (‘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-ʿusain (‘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 Yalī bin Saʿd, [famously known as] Abī Mikhnaf. He compiled a book in this regard, recounting the events that occurred to al-ʿusain, his children, brothers and companions (‘a). Shaikh

al-Najjishʿ describes him in his Rijāl as “The master of the narrators in Kḥfah and a leading figure among them.”¹

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

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

¹ See Introduction for his biography.

INTRODUCTION

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

At the rise of Islam, history was limited among the Arabs to those who knew the Arab lineage and the events of the days of ignorance (*j̣hiliyyah*) 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

¹ Al-Kulaini reports in *al-Kiṭāb* (vol.1, pg.32) through his chain of transmission from Imam Mūsā bin Jaʿfar (‘a) 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 (‘a) 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 (*ḥikmah muḥkamah*), a righteous precept (*farḥatun ʿidilah*) and an established tradition (*sunnatun qimāh*). All else is superfluous.”

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

Another one among those considered as learned was a man from Madīnah called Suwaid bin al-ʿimīṭ 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 Luqmān.” 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.”²

Among such narrations are the pre-Islamic reports about the prophets and the past nations related by *al-ṭabarī* and Muḥammad bin Isḥāq, 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

¹ Qurʾan, 31:6-7; *Tafsīr al-Qumī* (2:161; Najaf edition) and *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās* (pg.344; Egypt edition).

² *Al-ṭabarī* (2:353; Dār al-Maʿārif publications) and *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī* (2:30; Najaf edition).

had submitted to him during his lifetime turned back from Islam. This prompted his companions to fight the apostates. As a result, more than three hundred companions¹ were killed in the battle of Yamīmah 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 first², the second³ and the third⁴ caliphs. The effect of such a prohibition and dislike continued up until the second century H when the Muslims unanimously agreed on the legitimacy of recording the *ʿadṭh*.

The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī bin Abī ṭlib (‘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 (*ʿimm*) 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*)

¹ *Al-ʿabar* (3:269).

² *Tadhkirah al-ʿuffi* (1:3&5).

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

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

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

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

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

Similarly, the Shāʿah have preceded the rest of the Muslims in historiography. The works of Muḥammad bin al-Sājib al-Kalbī (d.146 H), Abī Mikhnaḥ Lāṣ (d.158 H), Hishām al-Kalbī (d.206 H) and others are all among the sources of Islamic history.²

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

² See *Muʿallif al-Shāʿah fī al-Islām*, *al-Shāʿah wa Funūn al-Islām*, *Taʿsīs al-Shāʿah li ʿUlūm al-Islām* (pg.91-287), *Aʿyān al-*

Karbalj'

It was in Karbalj' 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 the martyrs, Abġ 'Abdillah al-°usain ('a).

This tragic event that took place in 61 H, similar to the narrations of the battles in the early period of Islam, was passed from mouth to mouth from those who had either witnessed the battle itself, or the events before or after it. It was not until the second century H when Abġ Mikhnaf Lġš bin Ya'yj bin Sa'ġd bin Mikhnaf bin Salġm al-Azdġ al-Gġmidġ al-Kġfġ¹ undertook the collection of these oral accounts in a book which he named Kitjb 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.

Hishjm bin Mu'ammad bin al-Sjib al-Kalbġ al-Kġfġ al-Nassjbah² was another personality from Kġfah who studied the reports on Islamic history under the tutelage of Abġ Mikhnaf. Hishjm 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 Lġš bin Ya'yj al-Azdġ narrated to me from...'

Among the works that Hishjm 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

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

¹ *Fawjt al-Wafayjt* (2:140) and *al-A'ljm* of al-Zarqalġ (3:821)

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

in the list of his works. However, Hishjm 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 'Awjnah bin al-°akam (d.158 H).

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

Many historians have incorporated in their historical writings an abridged version of his works. This shows that his works were existent during their times. Some of these historians are: Mu'ammad bin 'Umar al-Wjqidġ (d.207 H); al-±abarġ (d.310 H); Ibn Quᡣaibah (d.322 H) in his book *al-Imjmah wa al-Siyjsah*; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Andulusġ (d.328 H) in *al-'Aqd al-Farġd* when he discusses the *thaqġfah*; 'Alġ bin al-°usain al-Mas'ġdġ (d.345 H) when he mentions 'Urwah bin al-Zubair's apology on behalf of his brother, 'Abd al-Allah, for threatening the Banu Hjšhim with fire as they refused to pay allegiance to the latter; Shaikh al-Mufġd (d.413 H) in *al-Irshjd* when discussing the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a), and in *al-NuŸrah fġ °arb al-BaŸrah*; al-Shahristjnġ (d.548 H) in *al-Milal wa al-Ni'al* when mentioning the sect of Naᡣᡣmiyyah; Khaᡣġb al-Khwjrazmġ (d.568 H) in his work on the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a); Ibn al-Athġr al-Jazrġ (d.630 H) in *al-Kjmil fġ al-Tjrkġh*; and Sibᡣ al-Jawzġ (d.654 H) in *Tadhkirah al-KhawjŸŸ*.

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

narrator, which apparently indicates that he must have been quoting directly from his work, is Abŧ al-Fidj' (d.732 H) in his Tjrkħ.

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

The oldest text known to us [today] from among those who have been quoting in their works the narrations of Hishjm al-Kalbŧ from Abŧ Mikhnaf, is the Tjrkħ of Abŧ Ja'far Mu'ammad bin Jarŧr al-ŧabarŧ (d.310 H). He did not, however, compose an independent work on these narrations, rather he just mentions the event of Karbalj' beside the events of the year 60 and 61 H.¹

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

¹ *Al-ŧabarŧ* (5:338-467).

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

Another earliest text, after al-ŧabarŧ, which directly draws reports from Hishjm al-Kalbŧ's work, is Kitjb al-Irshjd of Shaikh al-Mufŧd (d.413 H). He says before relating the reports of Karbalj' that: "[This is] a selection of the reports...which al-Kalbŧ has narrated..."¹

After that comes Tadhkirat al-Ummah bi Khaŧj'is al-A'immah of Sibŧ ibn al-Jawzŧ (d.654 H). He clearly states to have narrated many of his reports about Imam al-ˆusain ('a) from Hishjm al-Kalbŧ.

Comparing the reports of al-ŧabarŧ with those of al-Mufŧd and Ibn al-Jawzŧ, we find many similarities between these reports except in case of some letters or words (such as wjw in the place of fj' or vice versa), as the reader shall see in the course of this work.

Abŧ Mikhnaf

The books of history do not mention his birthdate. But Shaikh al-ŧsŧ (r), quoting from al-Kashhŧ (r), places [Abŧ Mikhnaf] in his *Rijl* in the category of those who have narrated from the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alŧ ('a). Al-ŧsŧ then says: "In my opinion, this is not correct; for Lŧŧ bin Ya'yj did not meet Amŧr al-Mu'minŧn ('a), rather his father, Ya'yj, was among his companions."² However, al-

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

¹ *Kitjb al-Irshjd* (pg.200; Najaf edition).

² *Rijl al-ŧsŧ* (pg.57; Najaf edition).

±£sç has not mentioned his father, Ya'yj, among the companions of 'Alç ('a) either, instead he considers his grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Salçm al-Azdç, to be among his companions and says: "[He was the son of 'aishah's aunt. He was an Arab, from Kçfah]."¹

It should be noted, however, that al-±£sç quoted the above piece of information from al-Kashhç's work, and not directly from him; as al-Kashhç lived in the 3rd century H, while al-±£sç was born in 385 H. This work of al-Kashhç was titled *Ma'rifat al-Nçqilçn 'an al-A'immah al-çjdiqçn*, as reported by Ibn Shahrçshçb in *Ma'çlim al-'Ulamçj*.² This book is now lost, and, based on what Sayyid bin çw£s has stated in *Faraj al-Mahmçm*, only that part of it has remained which was selected by Shaikh al-±£sç in the year 456 H.³ [But] what al-±£sç has quoted from al-Kashhç that Ab£ Mikhnaf was among the companions of 'Alç ('a), is not found in this selection of al-±£sç.

In his *Rijçl*, al-±£sç has mentioned Ab£ Mikhnaf to be one of the companions of Imam al-°asan ('a)⁴, and then among the companions of Imam al-°usain ('a)⁵ and thereafter he mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-çjdiq ('a).⁶ [However,] he has neither mentioned him to be among the companions of Imam 'Alç bin al-°usain ('a), nor among those of Imam al-Bçqir ('a).

Al-±£sç has quoted al-Kashhç's assertion in his [another]

¹ Ibid, pg.58.

² *Ma'çlim al-'Ulamçj* (pg.152; Najaf edition).

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

⁴ *Rijçl al-±£sç* (pg.70).

⁵ Ibid, pg.79.

⁶ Ibid, pg.279.

work called *al-Fihrist* also. There he says: "The correct view is that his father, [Ya'yj], was among the companions of 'Alç ('a), though the former did not meet him."¹ He then goes on to mention his chain of narration from Ab£ Mikhnaf through Hishçm bin Mu'ammad bin al-Sç'ib al-Kalbç and Naçr bin Muzçlim al-Minqarç.

Al-Najjçshç mentions Ab£ Mikhnaf in his *Rijçl* and says: "Lç§ bin Ya'yj bin Sa'çd bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaim² al-Azdç al-Ghçmidç, [known as] Ab£ Mikhnaf, the master of the narrators in Kçfah and the most prominent of them. He was reliable in his narrations. He has narrated [reports] from Ja'far bin Mu'ammad ('a). It is said that he has narrated from Ab£ Ja'far [al-Bçqir ('a)] also, which is not correct."³ Al-Najjçshç then lists his works, among them being the book on the *maqtal* of al-°usain ('a). He then mentions his [own] chain of narration from Ab£ Mikhnaf through Hishçm bin Mu'ammad bin al-Sç'ib al-Kalbç.

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

The Family of Ab£ Mikhnaf as Reported by ±abarç

Regarding the companions (ça'çbah) who passed away in the year 80 H, ±abarç writes in his book *Dhayl al-*

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

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

³ *Rijçl a-Najjçshç* (pg.224; India lithographic edition).

Mudhayyal: “[Among them was] Mikhnaf bin Sulaym bin al-ʿirith... Ibn Ghāmid bin al-Azd... Mikhnaf professed Islam and accompanied the Prophet (ﷺ). He was the chief of the house of Azd in Kḥfah and he had three brothers: ‘Abd Shams -who was killed in the battle of Al-Nukhailah, ʿaqʿab and ‘Abdullah -both of whom were killed in the battle of Jamal. Lut bin Yaʿyī bin Saʿd bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaym was among the descendents of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, from whom people used to narrate historical events.”¹

ʿabārḥ mentions [Mikhnaf bin Sulaim] in the reports of the battle of Baʿrah [i.e. Jamal], but not through Abī Mikhnaf. He says: “Mikhnaf bin Sulaim al-Azdī was in command of [the tribes of] Bajlāh, Anmīr, Khathʿam and Azd.”²

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

This report is in agreement with what ʿabārḥ has mentioned in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* regarding the death of the two

¹ *Al-Maṣḥaf maʿa al-Tīrḥ* (13:36; Dīr al-Qīmīs Publications and 11:547; Dīr Suwaidīn Publications).

² *Al-ʿabārḥ* (4:500; Dīr al-Maʿīrif Publications).

³ *Ibid*, (4:500).

brothers of Mikhnaf, ʿaqʿab and ‘Abdullah. Perhaps he narrated it from his *Tīrḥ*. 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 ʿabārḥ has related [in *al-Dhayl*] -in the reports of [the battle of] ʿiffḥn -on the authority of al-Kalbḥ from Abī Mikhnaf himself. Abī Mikhnaf says: “My father, Yaʿyī bin Saʿd, related to me from his uncle, Muḥammad bin Mikhnaf who said: ‘I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on that day [i.e. in ʿiffḥn] and I was only seventeen years old...’”¹

ʿabārḥ also reports from al-Kalbḥ who said: “ʿirith bin ʿaḥrah al-Azdī related to me from some elders of [the tribe of] Namir and Azd that Mikhnaf [disliked] the invitation from the [fellow tribe of] Azd in Shīm...”²

He also related from al-Madḥīn (d. 225) and ‘Awḥnah bin al-ʿakam (d. 158) -who was narrating through his chain of narration from an elder of the Banī Fazrah: “Muʿwīyah dispatched Nuʿmīn bin Bashḥr [al-Anṣīrī] with two thousand men. They raided ‘Ain al-Tamr while the governor of ‘Alḥ, [Mīlik bin Kaʿb] al-Arīabḥ, was in the city with three hundred soldiers. So he wrote to ‘Alḥ (ʿa) asking him for help.” [Mīlik] also wrote to Mikhnaf bin Sulaim who was nearer, requesting him for assistance. So Mikhnaf sent to him his son, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, with fifty other men and they joined Mīlik and his followers... When the Syrians saw them, they thought that Mīlik has a [good] support, so they

¹ *Ibid*, (4:542).

² *Ibid*, (5:26).

felt defeated and fled.”¹

All these narrations clearly attest to the fact that Abī Mikhnaf’s [great] grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, was alive after the battle of Jamal, rather even after the battle of ṭ-iffḥn; as the raids of Mu’jwiyah took place in the year 39 H, that is after the battle of ṭ-iffḥn (38 H). In contrary, the narration [that states that he was killed in Jamal] is a lone report. However, [it seems that] ṭabarḥ did not realize this fact and therefore did not comment on this, though he has clearly stated in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* that Mikhnaf lived till the year 80 H.²

The Family of Abī Mikhnaf as Reported by Naṣr bin Muzjīm al-Minqarḥ

Apart from *al-ṭabarḥ*, 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 ṭ-iffḥn. Naṣr bin Muzjīm al-Minqarḥ (d.212 H) relates in his book *Waq’at ṭ-iffḥn* on the authority of Yalyj bin Sa’ḥd from Mu’ammad bin Mikhnaf who said: “‘Alḥ (‘a) looked at my father –after his return from Baṣrah– and said: ‘...but Mikhnaf bin Sulaim and his people did not lag behind...’”³

[Naṣr] also says: “Our companions have said: “‘[Alḥ (‘a)] appointed Mikhnaf bin Sulaim as the governor of Iṣfahjīn and Hamadjīn and dismissed from them Jarḥ bin ‘Abdullah

¹ Ibid, (5:133).

² *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (11:547; Dīr Suwaidjīn Publications), quoting from *al-ṭabarḥ*.

³ *Waq’at ṭ-iffḥn* (pg.8; al-Madanḥ Publications).

al-Bajalḥ...”¹

He also reports: “When [‘Alḥ (‘a)] wanted to advance towards Shjīm, he wrote [a letter] to [all] his governors. The letter that he sent to Mikhnaf was written by ‘Ubaidullah bin Abḥ Rjfi’ [in the year 37 H]. Mikhnaf put in his position two men from his kinsmen and set out for ṭ-iffḥn, where he fought alongside ‘Alḥ [‘a].”²

[In another report] he says: “Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was in charge of the Azd, Bajḥlah, the Anṣjīr and Khuzjī’ah”;³ and also that: “[Mikhnaf] was accompanying ‘Alḥ (‘a) in Babylon.”⁴

He narrates from the elders of Azd that: “When the men of Azd in Iraq were invited by the members of Azd in Shjīm, Mikhnaf disliked the [invitation] and it was unbearable for him. So he addressed [his people], expressing to them his aversion and dislike.”⁵

We have much to derive from the narration of Abī Mikhnaf from his father’s uncle, Mu’ammad bin Mikhnaf, in which he says: “I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on the day [of ṭ-iffḥn] while I was seventeen years old.”⁶

It is evident from this report that Sa’ḥd was younger than his brother, Mu’ammad, and for this [very] reason he could

¹ Ibid, (pg.11).

² Ibid, (pg.104).

³ Ibid, (pg.117).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.135).

⁵ Ibid, (pg.262). According to *Taqrḥb al-Tahdhḥb*: “He was martyred with the followers of Tawwjḥn at ‘Ain al-Wardah in 64 H!” which is [absolutely] incorrect.

⁶ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (4:246).

not participate in [the battle of] ʿiffen. Therefore, he was relating the news about ʿiffen from his brother, Muʿammad. The [above] report also implies that Muʿammad bin Mikhnaf was born in the year 20 H. Based on this, his brother Saʿd - the grandfather of Lʿs - must have been born around this [time]. Accordingly, [it is] Saʿd, the grandfather of Lʿs, [who] should be among the companions of ʿAlʿ (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 40 H.¹ In this case, there is, definitely, no

¹ In this case, how can Yaʿy, the father of Abʿ Mikhnaf, be among the companions of ʿAlʿ (ʿa) as claimed by Shaikh al-ʿs in two of his books?! Al-Fiʿil al-ʿiʿir pointed out to this fact before us in his book *Muntaha al-Maqil*. He proves [in this book] that Abʿ Mikhnaf never met Amʿr al-Muʿminʿn (ʿa). He [also] regards the opinion of al-ʿs that Yaʿy -the father of Lʿs- met ʿAlʿ (ʿa), as weak; for it was his father's grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, who was among the companions of ʿAlʿ (ʿa), as it has been stated by al-ʿs himself and others. Al-ʿiʿir further says: "This [i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was among the companions of ʿAlʿ (ʿa)] should prove for al-ʿs that Lʿs did not see [ʿAlʿ (ʿa)], as it also weakens the possibility of his father, Yaʿy, to have met [ʿAlʿ (ʿa)]." That Abʿ Mikhnaf should be among the companions of Amʿr al-Muʿminʿn (ʿa) -as mentioned by al-Kashh- 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 Abʿ Mikhnaf to have met even his father's grandfather, i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. This is by assuming that Lʿs was then fifteen years old, while his father, Yaʿy, was thirty-five and his grandfather Saʿd, 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 Abʿ Mikhnaf from his father's uncle, Muʿammad bin Mikhnaf, that the latter was seventeen years

question of the existence of Lʿs yet, nor of considering Yaʿy to be among the companions of ʿAlʿ (ʿa).

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

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

[Instead] there is an indication that Abʿ Mikhnaf compiled this work of his around the year 130 H. For in his report about the arrival of Muslim bin ʿAql in Kffah, [he says that Muslim] was residing in the house of Mukhtʿr bin Abʿ ʿUbaid al-Thaqaf. He then says: "...This is the house which is known today as the house of Muslim bin Musayyab." Since Ibn Musayyab was, in the year 129 H, the

old [during] the battle of ʿiffen, and that his brother, Saʿd, was younger than him. It was for this [very] reason that [Abʿ Mikhnaf] relates the report from [Saʿd's] brother, Muʿammad, [and not from Saʿd himself]. Based on this, the age of Saʿd must have, then, been about fifteen years and not fifty-five [as it has appeared in al-Ghifiri's argument].

governor of Ibn 'Umar in Shiraz, as reported in *al-ṭabarṭ* (7:372), [we conclude that the above book must have been compiled around this time]. [In fact,] this was the time when the power of the Umayyads had become weak and the Banī 'Abbās were inviting people towards Imam al-Riḍā ('a), asking [them] to rise and revenge for the blood of al-'usain ('a) and his household.

And who knows, may be the adherents of the Banī 'Abbās had asked Abī Mikhnaf to compile the reports on the martyrdom of al-'usain ('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 Mikhnaf

Shaikh al-Najjīshī has mentioned the following books as belonging to Abī Mikhnaf:

Kitāb al-Maghīẓa, Kitāb al-Riddah, Kitāb Futūḥ al-Islām, Kitāb Futūḥ al-'Irāq, Kitāb Futūḥ Khurāsān, Kitāb al-Sharīf, Kitāb Qatīl 'Uthmān, Kitāb al-Jamal, Kitāb 'iffa, Kitāb al-'akamān, Kitāb al-Nahrawān, Kitāb al-Ghīrāt, Kitāb Akhbār Mu'ammad bin Abī Bakr, Kitāb Maqtal Mu'ammad bin Abī Bakr, Kitāb Maqtal Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn ('a), Kitāb Akhbār Ziyād, Kitāb Maqtal 'ujr bin 'Adīyy, Kitāb Maqtal al-'asan ('a), Kitāb Maqtal al-'usain ('a), Kitāb Akhbār al-Mukhtār, Kitāb Akhbār Ibn al-'anafīyyah, Kitāb Akhbār al-'ajjī bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, Kitāb Akhbār Yūsuf bin 'Umair, Kitāb Akhbār Shabīb al-Khīrīyy, Kitāb Akhbār Muṣarrāf bin Muḥarrāf bin Shu'bah, Kitāb Akhbār al-'uraith bin al-Asad al-Nijī and Kitāb Akhbār al-Mikhnaf bin Sulaim.

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

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

Shaikh al-ṭūsī ascribes to him some of the books mentioned above in his *al-Fihrist* and adds: "He has [also] a book called *Kitāb Khuṣṣah al-Zahrī* ('a)." He then states his link to these works.²

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ Events about the revolt of Mu'ammad bin Khīlid in Kḥfah in 132 H. See: *al-ṭabarṭ* (7:417).

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-ʿabidīn (ʿa) (d.95 H) nor from Imam al-Biqir (ʿa) (d.115 H). Rather, he has narrated from Imam al-Biqir (ʿa) through one person¹ and from Imam ʿAlī bin al-ʿusain (ʿa) through two links.² He has a few direct reports from Imam al-ʿidīq (ʿa) (d.148 H).³

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

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

¹ See the report on the martyrdom of the infant of al-ʿusain (ʿa) (5:448).

² See the narration about the night of ʿashrī (5:488).

³ See the report on the martyrdom of al-ʿusain (ʿa) (5:453).

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

Shāʿah in the sense that he had personal inclinations [towards them] like most of the other people in Kḥfah, 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 *rāfiʿ* in their sense of the word; for according to them one who is simply inclined towards the Ahl al-Bait (ʿa) [without having even professed their school of thought], is considered a Shāʿah. But a person who is known [to them] to have been following the Ahl al-Bait (ʿa) in his beliefs, then they not only consider him to be a Shāʿah, but they also accuse him of *rafiʿ*. This is the difference between the two terms according to their terminology.

[Regarding the reliability of Abī Mikhnaf,] al-Dhahabī says: “A corrupt and unreliable narrator. Abī ʿitīm and others have rejected him. According to Ibn Maʿīn, he is not reliable. He has also said elsewhere that he is of no importance. According to Ibn ʿAdīyy, he is a fanatic Shāʿah and the narrator of their reports.”¹

[Notice that] none of the [above Sunnī] authorities have accused Abī Mikhnaf of *rafiʿ*. This is at a time when they used to charge with *rafiʿ* 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 (*muʾaddithīn*) and among those who hold that the legitimacy of [the divine] leadership (*imāmah*) is realized [only] through [the divine] designation.

¹ *Mazīn al-Iʿtidāl* (3:420; Aleppo edition).

He is not a Shə‘ah, nor is he counted to be among their outstanding figures.”¹

The above passage has been quoted by Sayyid al-ʿadr in his *Ta’sās al-Shə‘ah li ‘Ulēm al-Islām*. He then comments on it saying: “I would say: they do not accuse him of something other than *tashayyu*’, which does not, according to their [own] scholars, contradict [his] being reliable. The great Sunnə scholars, such as Abī Jarḥr al-ʿabarə and Ibn al-Athḥr, have relied on him. Especially Abī Jarḥr who has filled his *Tjrkḥ al-Kabḥr* with the narrations of Abī Mikhnaḥ.”²

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

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

¹ *Ta’sās al-Shə‘ah* (pg.235; Baghdad edition).

² Ibid, (pg.235). He says: “I have counted the number of instances where ʿabarə has narrated [reports] from Abī Mikhnaḥ. I found them to be around 400 instances, as it appears in the index of names in *al-ʿabarə* (Djīr al-Ma’jīrif Publications). The last of these narrations is in (7:417) which is pertaining to the revolt of Muḥammad bin Khīlid in Kḥfah in 132 H.”

³ *Al-Murja’it* (ch.16-17, pg.52-118, Djīr al-ʿīdiq publications).

None of the past Shiite scholars have declared him to be a Shə‘ah. Al-Najjīshḥ (may Allah have mercy on him), who is an expert in this discipline [i.e. in *rijāl*], describes Abī Mikhnaḥ only by saying: “He was the master (*shaikh*) of the narrators in Kḥfah”, 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 Abḥ al-ʿadḥ clearly states this fact, and [on the other hand] he narrates from him poems (*arjiz*) which he recited in the battle of Jamal on the succession of ‘Alḥ (‘a) to the Prophet (ﷺ); for narrating these verses implies only that he was a Shə‘ah, [in the sense that he was] sympathetic [towards the Ahl al-Bait (‘a)], not that he was an adherent of the Imīmiyyah sect. Many Sunni scholars have been [normally] relating the like of these verses too.

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

The best of what our scholars have said regarding him are the words of praise from al-Najjīshḥ. He says: “He was the master of the narrators in Kḥfah 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 (*ʿasan*) in [the texts of Rijāl such as] *al-Wajḥzah*, *al-Bulghah*, *al-ʿiwḥ* and other works.

Hishīm al-Kalbḥ

Shaikh al-Najjīshḥ has mentioned him [in his book] together with his lineage. He then says: “He was well versed with the [historical] events, well-known for his righteousness and

knowledge. He entirely belonged to our faith (*madhhab*). He has related the famous narration that says: "I was afflicted with a serious illness as a result of which I forgot all I knew. So I went to Ja'far bin Mu'ammad ('a) and he made me drink knowledge in a cup and I thus regained my knowledge.' Ab£ 'Abdillah [al-`jdiq ('a)] used to bring him closer to himself and encourage him. [Hishim] has many books."¹

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

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

¹ *Rijl al-Najjish£* (pg.305: India lithographic edition).

² *Rijl al-±£s£* (pg.390, 1ad£th no.733; 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-Najjish£ [over the others]. Shah£d al-Thj£ [Zain al-D£n al-°mil£] writes in *al-Maslik*: "What is apparent about al-Najjish£ 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¥jr*: "Al-Najjish£ has precedence over Shaikh [al-±£s£] in such cases as it is known through experience." His master, Mu'aggiq al-Astarjbid£ says in *Al-Rijl Al-Kab£r* when mentioning the biography of Sulaimj£ bin `jli: "The difference in style between

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

Shaikh [al-±£s£] and al-Najjish£ 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 'Al£ al-Najjish£ was among the reliable masters and the just among the trustworthy. He is one of the main personalities [referred to in matters] of defamation (*jur'*) and authentication (*ta'd£l*). He is the most learned in this discipline. Our 'Ulamj£ have unanimously relied on him and referred to him for information about [the narrators]. A group of scholars have explicitly stated his precedence [over the others] by virtue of his unique book in this field, and this view seems to be correct." Writing on the life of Shaikh al-Kashh£, al-Najjish£ says in his book (pg.363): "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-'Ayyish£ and has studied under him. He has narrated [information] from weak [sources as well]." Regarding al-'Ayyash£, he says on pg.247: "He is reliable and trustworthy. He was among the eminent personalities of the [Sh£'ah] sect. He was a Sunn£ in the beginning, who was then guided [to the Ahl al-Bait school of thought]. He frequently used to narrate from weak [narrators]." It is, therefore, probable that al-Kashh£ took this opinion [that al-Kalb£ was a Sunn£ in the beginning] from al-'Ayyish£, for he said with regard [to Hishim] that 'he is a Sunn£' since he himself [i.e. al-'Ayyish£] was a Sunn£ in the beginning. Likewise, he may have [also] taken from him the view that al-Kalb£ was hiding his [actual faith] and was practicing *taqiyyah*."

¹ *Rijl al-±£s£* (pg.155; Najaf edition).

Many of the Sunnæ historians and experts in biographies have attested to his knowledge, [good] memory and to his being a Shæ‘ah. Ibn Khalakīn 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 *ladæth* (*luffi*). He died in the year 206 H.”¹

Abæ Aīmad bin ‘Adiyy writes in *al-Kīmil*: “Al-Kalbæ has [narrated] sound traditions (*aīdæth*). 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 Muqītil bin Sulaimīn since the latter has got vile beliefs. Ibn ‘ibbīn has mentioned him in his *al-Thuqīt*.”²

The Maqtal Currently in Circulation

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

¹ ±abaræ narrates from al-Kalbæ in [some] three hundred and thirty places of his *Tīrækh*. But [still] he did not mention his biography in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*. Instead he mentions his father on pg.101 and says: “His grandfather Bishr bin ‘Amru al-Kalbæ and his sons: al-Sīib, ‘Ubaid and ‘Abd al-Raīmīn had participated in the battles of Jamal and īiffæn along side ‘Alæ (‘a).

² *Lisīn al-Mæzīn* (2:359).

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

Mu‘addith al-Qumæ says: “Let it be known that Abæ 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 what ±abaræ and others have related from him. I have explained this in [my book] *Nafas al-Mahmæm* when talking about ±irimmī bin ‘Adiyy. And Allah knows best.”²

Since I wanted to edit [Abæ Mikhnaf’s] work, I had to go through this fabricated *Maqtal*. There is no doubt that this book was compiled by someone other than Abæ 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’akhhiræn*), who was neither

¹ *Mu‘allifæ al-Shæ‘ah fæ īadr al-Islīm* (pg.42; al-Najīl Publications).

² *Al-Kunī wa al-Alqīb* (1:148) and *Nafas al-Mahmæm* (pg.195) and its Introduction (pg.8; BaḂærah publications).

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

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

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

The remaining 138 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:

¹ *Maqṭal* (pg.102; Najaf edition).

² *Ibid*, (pg.123).

1. 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 Muḥammad bin Sīb 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, Muḥammad bin al-Sīb al-Kalbī!

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

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

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

¹ Sayyid al-Murṭaḥī (r) has related a similar narration in *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā’* (pg.171; 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-Kanīd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Ubaid. It is probable that the compiler of the above *Maqṭal* narrated this from this work of al-Murṭaḥī or from someone else, but with additions and distortions!

² *Maqṭal* (pg.7).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.11).

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

5. Also concerning the martyrdom of Muslim, he is the only one to report [saying]: "When Muslim and Ḥiṇç 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 Maḍenah! 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!"²

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

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

7. He, again, is the only person to have narrated what Imam 'Aḷç bin al-°usain said on the night of "sḥf̣ṛi" and on the day of [al-°usain's] arrival in Karbaḷi'.⁴

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

¹ Ibid, (pg.35).

² Ibid, (pg.39).

³ Ibid, (pg.48).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.49).

in Karbaḷi' was eighty thousand [men]!¹

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

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

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

Then he comes back to the night of "sḥf̣ṛi" 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

¹ Ibid, (pg.52).

² Ibid, (pg.56).

³ Ibid, (pg.57).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.59).

morning...”¹

He then, once again, talks about the day of ‘shfrij’ 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 K̄hil, whereas, in fact, the [name of the] messenger was Anas bin al-°arth bin K̄hil al-Asad̄.

He reverts for a third time [and] talks about the night of ‘shfrij’ 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.²

12. He is the only one to mention Ibr̄h̄m bin al-°usain as one of the companions of Imam al-°usain.³

13. He mentions ±irimm̄ [bin al-‘Adiyy] as one of those who were martyred along with al-°usain (‘a), whereas ±abar̄ relates on the authority of al-Kalb̄ from Ab̄ Mikhnaḥ that [±irimm̄] was not present in Karbal̄’ and was [thus] not killed with al-°usain (‘a).⁴ Mu’addith al-Qum̄ [also] has commented on this in his book *Nafas al-Mahm̄m* (pg. 195).

14. He mentions some verses in the story of °urr al-Riȳ̄̄ which are, in fact, of ‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr al-Ju’f̄̄̄, [whom Imam (‘a) met] at Qaḡr Ban̄ Muq̄til, not realizing that they were not in tune with the conditions °urr [al-Riȳ̄̄] was in. The [writer] ascribes to al-Riȳ̄̄ the

¹ Ibid, (pg.59-60).

² Ibid, (pg.61-62).

³ Ibid, (pg.70).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.72).

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

15. He ascribes some verses to al-°usain (‘a) in lamentation of °urr [al-Riȳ̄̄] 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!”²

16. 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.”³

17. He is alone in specifying the day on which Imam al-°usain (‘a) arrived in Karbal̄’, saying that it was on Wednesday.⁴ He [also] says that he was martyred on Tuesday.⁵ According to this, Imam (‘a) must have arrived in Karbal̄’ on the 5th of Mu’arram! While the historians - including Ab̄ Mikhnaḥ as reported in *al-±abar̄* - unanimously agree that he reached Karbal̄’ on Thursday⁶,

¹ Ibid, (pg.77). ±abar̄ cites these verse in (5:470; D̄ir al-Ma’jirif Publications) on the authority of Ab̄ Mikhnaḥ from ‘Abd al-Ra’im̄ bin Jundab who said: “‘Ubaidullah bin al-°urr had recited these verse in Mad̄jin: ‘A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did not you fight the martyr, son of F̄̄̄imah?’” Notice that this disloyal compiler has changed some words [in the verses] so that they might fit °urr al-Riȳ̄̄, yet they did not!

² Ibid, (pg.79).

³ Ibid, (pg.85).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.48).

⁵ Ibid, (pg.93).

⁶ *Al-±abar̄* (5:409). The account of *al-±abar̄* is backed by what al-Arbal̄ has related in *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ* (2:252) through his

the second of Mu'arram, and he was [martyred] on Friday.

18. After narration no.105¹, he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahrjzfrç, who is regarded to have journeyed with the Ahl al-Bait ('a) from Kffah to Shjm [and accompanied them] until their return to Madçnah! He then puts in his mouth verses -while he was in Kffah- which were, in fact, said by Sulaimjn bin Qattah al-Hjshimç² by the grave of Imam al-°usain ('a): "I passed by the houses of the household of Mu'ammad..."³ In Shjm, he ascribes to him the report of Sahl bin Sa'd al-Sj'idç in the name of Sahl bin Sa'd al-Shahrjzfrç⁴, as though he considers [Shahrjzfrç] to be [al-Sj'idç]!

19. He attributes a poem (*urj£zah*) of thirty odd verses⁵ to

chain of narration from Imam al-°jdiq ('a): "He was martyred on the day of 'ash£rj, [which fell] on Friday."

¹ *Maqatal*, (pg.102)

² Shaikh Mu'ammad al-Samjwç comments on this saying: "He was a Hashimite by clientage (*wali*'). His mother was Umm Qattah and his father °abçb. He died in Damascus in 126 H. Al-Mas'£dç (4:74) mentions him as Ibn Qattah, quoting that from the book *Ansib Quraish* of Zubair bin Bakjr."

³ *Maqatal* (pg.102-103).

⁴ *Ibid*, (pg.123).

⁵ *Ibid*, (pg.76-77). Seventeen of these verses have been related by 'Alç bin '«sj al-Arbalç (d.693 H) in his book *Kashf al-Ghummah* (2:238; Tabriz edition). He related them from the book *al-Fut£'* of A'mad bin A'tham al-Kffç (d.314 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 *Maqatal*, 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-Arbalç (pg.250) clearly states that: "The *n£niyyah* verses that begin with: 'The people committed treachery...' have not been mentioned by Ab£

Imam al-°usain ('a) on the day of 'ash£rj'. Similarly, he ascribes to 'Abdullah bin 'Afçf al-Azdç a *qa£çdah* comprising about thirty verses before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd.¹

20. There appear words in different places of this book which are used in the colloquial language of the Arabs of the later period (*muta'akhhirçn*) 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'çn*) one approached and said to them... and fill it with grass (*daghl*) and earth.... we should then retreat from in front of him."² Or "His helpers went away (*rj'at*)"³, or "The one who was awake (*yaq"jnahu*)..."⁴ and "He was picking a quarrel (*yata/arrashu*)..."⁵

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

The Sources of Ab£ Mikhnaf (*isnjd*)

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

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

¹ *Maqatal* (pg.108-109).

² *Ibid*, (pg.35).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.135).

⁴ *Ibid*, (pg.129).

⁵ *Ibid*, (pg.132).

going to appear in this book.

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

1. 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.
2. 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.
3. This list contains the names of those who were in direct contact with the events before and after Karbalġ'. 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.
4. It consists of those who witnessed the events before or after Karbalġ' and Abġ Mikhnaf narrates from each of them through one or two links. There are twenty one people in this list.
5. It comprises people who neither witnessed the battle, nor were they in direct contact with the events. Rather, they served as links for the reports of Abġ Mikhnaf from [the narrators in the past four lists]. Thus, Abġ Mikhnaf narrates the battle or the events surrounding it through two links.

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

6. It contains the names of the just narrators ('udġl) 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 Karbalġ' to Abġ 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 *rijġl*, or by tracing the places wherein their reports have appeared in *al-ġabarġ*. [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 Karbalġ'] and narrated it directly to Abġ Mikhnaf. They are:

1. Thġbit bin Hubairah. He related the death of 'Amru bin Qara'ah bin Ka'b al-Anġġrġ and the report about his brother, 'Alġ bin Qara'ah (See *al-ġabarġ*: 5:434).

He has this report only. We have not found any mention of him in the books of *rijġl*. 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].

2. Ya’yġ bin Hġni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Murġdġ al-Madhġġġ. He related the martyrdom of Nġfi’ bin Hilġl al-Jamalġ. The text reads: “Ya’yġ has narrated to me... that Nġfi’...” This is very clear in that it was a direct report. (See *al-ṭabarġ*: 5:435)

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

Ya’yġ was present in Karbalġ together with his uncle in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d. He has narrated the martyrdom of Nġfi’ bin Hilġl al-Jamalġ. [Ya’yġ] heard his uncle ‘Amru bin al-°ajġġ 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 Nġfi’ bin Hilġl, suggesting to them, instead, to throw stones at al-°usain (‘a) and his companions. Yet, he did not part from his uncle. (5:435)

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 Mukhtġr bin Abġ ‘Ubaid al-Thaqafġ. Ya’yġ was along side his uncle in his combat against Mukhtġr. (6:28)

Ibn °ibbġn has mentioned him in *al-Thuġġt*. Al-Dġrquṣnġ says that his [word] can be taken as a proof. According to al-Nassġġ, he is reliable. Abġ °ġtim adds that he was pious

and among the chiefs in Kġfah. Shu’bah says that he was a leader of the people of Kġfah, as reported in *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb*.

3. Zuhair bin ‘Abd al-Raġmġn bin Zuhair al-Khath’amġ. He narrated the martyrdom of Suwaid bim ‘Amru bim Abġ Muṣġ’ al-Khath’amġ. The text says: “...has related to me saying...” (5:446).

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

The Second List

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

1. ‘Uqbah bin Sim’ġn¹. He related the arrival of al-°usain [‘a] at Karbalġ and the letter of Ibn Ziyġd to °urr in this regard (*al-ṭabarġ*: 5:407). [Abġ Mikhnaf narrates from him] through one intermediary.

2. Hġni’ bin Thubait al-°aṣramġ al-Sakġnġ. He narrated Ibn Sa’d’s meeting with Imam al-°usain (‘a) at a point between the two camps after the arrival of the Imam (‘a) at Karbalġ and before the day of “shġrġ”. The text says: “Abġ Janġb has narrated to me from Hġni’ ...”

He witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain (‘a) (*al-ṭabarġ*: 5:413). He participated in the killing of ‘Abdullah

¹ He was the retainer of Rabġb, daughter of Imru’ al-Qais al-Kalbġ and the mother of Sakġnah -daughter of al-°usain (‘a). He was taken to ‘Umar bin Sa’d on the day of “shġrġ” who asked him: “Who are you?” He replied: “I am a slave.” So he freed him (*al-ṭabarġ*: 5:454).

bin 'Umair al-Kalbċ -the second person to be martyred from the companions of al-°usain ('a) (5:436), and in the killing of 'Abdullah bin 'Alċ bin Abċ ±ilib ('a), Ja'far bin 'Alċ ('a), a lad from the household of al-°usain (5:448) and 'Abdullah bin al-°usain bin 'Alċ ('a) whose mother was Rabċb, daughter of Imru' al-Qais al-Kalbċ (5:468).

3. °umaid bin Muslim al-Azdċ. He reported the following:

Ibn Ziyad's letter to Ibn Sa'd, instructing him to prevent al-°usain ('a) and his companions from getting water; the endeavour of 'Abbas [°a] to get water on the seventh night [of Mu'arram] (5:412); the dispatch of Shamir to Karbalċ' (5:414); the beginning of the battle (5:429); [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 °abċb bin Mu°jhir al-Asadċ (5:439); the words of the Imam ('a) at the martyrdom of his son 'Alċ ('a); the coming out of [Lady] Zainab at the martyrdom of al-°usain; the martyrdom of Q°sim bin al-°usain ('a); the martyrdom of 'Abdullah bin al-°usain ('a) in [al-°usain's] lap (5:446-448); the state of al-°usain ('a) after the martyrdom of his companions till his own martyrdom (5:451&452); the difference [of opinion] within the [enemy's] camp after [al-°usain's] martyrdom regarding killing his son 'Alċ ('a); the story of 'Uqbah bin Sim°in 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 Ziyd by [°umaid] and Khauliyy bin Yazċd al-A°ba'ċ (5:455); '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 Ziyd and his hitting al-°usain's lips with a cane; the incident of Zayd bin Arqam narrating to him the tradition of the Messenger of Allah (°) and the reply of Ibn

Ziya° to him; the remarks of Zayd about Ibn Ziyd; Zainab's entering the court of Ibn Ziyd, his words to her and her answer; Ibn Ziyd's attempt to beat her and the comments of 'Amru bin °uraith; the words of Ibn Ziyd to Imam Zain al-°bidċn ('a) and his reply; the attempt to kill him and his aunt's clinging to him; and [finally] Ibn Ziyd's sermon in the mosque and Ibn 'Afċf's reply to him and his murder (*al-±abari*:5:456-459).

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

It is noticed that Ab° Mikhnaf brings in incomplete reports [from °umaid] and narrates [only] those parts which are relevant to the occasion in hand. It is also evident that [°umaid's] reports begin with the dispatch of Shamir to Karbalċ' and end with reports about [what transpired in] the court of Ibn Ziyd and the murder of Ibn 'Afċf al-Azdċ.

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

Later, we see [°umaid] participating in the uprising of the Tawwab°n (5:555). He used to visit Mukht°r in prison, but [at the same time] he cautioned Sulaim°n bin °urad al-Khuzċ'ċ against him, informing him that Mukht°r was inciting people to betray him. [However,] Sulaim°n ignored this action of [Mukht°r] (5:581&584). [°umaid] later returned with the defeated army of the Tawwċb°n (5:606). He was a friend of Ibr°hċm bin al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ċ whom

he used to frequently visit and go with him to [see] Mukhṭr every evening—after the Tawẉḅn uprising. They would plan their affairs till late night and then disperse (6:18). 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 (6:19). They advanced till they came to the house of Mukhṭr on the night he departed. (6:23)

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 (6:51). When ‘Abd al-Rạṃn bin Mikhnaf escaped from Ḳf̣ah and sought refuge with Mụ’ab bin al-Zubair in Bạrah, °umaid also joined him there (6:58)!

His name last appears in *al-±abari* (6:213) 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 75 H, as he was fighting them along with Muhallab bin ʿafrah on behalf of °ajj̣ bin Ỵsuf al-Thaqaf̣.

Al-Dhahaḅ has mentioned [°umaid] in *Ṃẓn al-Iʿtiḍl* (1:616) and so has Ibn Quḍmah in *al-Mughṇ* (1:195).

4. @alḷk 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*:5:418, 419, 421, 423, 425 & 444)

Aḅ Mikhnaf relates from this person on the authority of

‘Abdullah bin ‘ạim al-F̣isḥ al-Hamḍṇ -who was also from the [Baṇ] Hamḍn- that he [i.e. @alḷk] laid a condition before Imam al-°usain (‘a) that he would be free to leave him in case [all] his companions were killed, and the Imam (‘a) accepted it! Accordingly, he fled the battlefield. (5:418&444)

Al-±̣ṣ mentions him in his *Rij̣l* among the companions of Imam Zain al-‘ạbiḍn (‘a)!

5. Imam ‘Aḷ bin al-°usain (‘a). [Aḅ Mikhnaf] narrates from him the report about the events of the night of ‘asḥṛ through two intermediaries. They are:

(a) °irith bin °ạrah, who was narrating from ‘Abdullah bin Shaṛk al-‘ạmiṛ, who narrated from [al-Sajj̣d (‘a)] (*al-±abari*:5:418).

(b) °irith bin Ka’b al-Ẉliḅ al-Azḍ al-Ḳf̣ and Aḅ al-@alḷk [al-Bạṛ], both of whom were narrating from [al-Sajj̣d (‘a)] (*al-±abari*:5:420).

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

7. A servant of ‘Abd al-Rạṃn bin ‘Abd Rabbih al-Aṇiṛ. Aḅ Mikhnaf reports his joking with Burair bin Khụair al-Hamḍṇ through two links, namely: ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamaḷ who narrated from Aḅ ʿiḷ al-°anaf̣, who in turn related from this servant. The report ended saying: “When I saw that the people had been defeated, I escaped and left them” (*al-±abari*:5:421&422).

8. Masṛq bin Ẉil al-°ạraṃ. [Aḅ Mikhnaf related from him] the story of Ibn °awzah at the beginning of the battle through two intermediaries, ‘Ại bin al-Ṣib who narrated

it from Abd al-Jabbār bin Wjil al-°aṣram, who in turn reported [Masrʿq] as saying: “I was in the front line of the cavalry that marched against al-°usain... so that I may obtain the head of al-°usain which would gain me some position in the eyes ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd... 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*:5:421)

9. Kathʿr bin ‘Abdullah al-Shaʿb al-Hamdīn. Abʿ Mikhnaḥ relates from him the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain through ‘Alʿ bin °anʿalah bin Asʿad al-Shabīm who was narrating from one of his kinsmen called Kathʿr bin ‘Abdullah al-Shaʿb who had happened to witness the martyrdom of al-°usain (ʿa) (*al-ṭabari*:5:426).

ṭabarī narrates from ‘Awṇah on the authority of Hishīm that: “[Al-Shaʿb] was a brave knight whom nothing would cause to turn his face away from the battle. When ‘Umar bin Saʿd asked the leaders [who had written letters to al-°usain (ʿa) from Kḥfah] to go to al-°usain (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-Shaʿb 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 Thumamah] came forward and said to him: ‘Put down your sword.’ He said: ‘Nay by Allah, there is no honour [for you]!’... Then they cursed each other” (5:410). “[Kathʿr] and Muhjir bin Aws launched a violent attack on Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajal and killed him.” (5:441).

10. Al-Zubaidiyy. He reported the second attack (*al-ṭabari*:5:435). This man, who was from the tribe of Zubaid

in Yemen, used to narrate the [so called] glorious deeds of his tribal leader, ‘Amru bin al-°ajj al-Zubaidiyy!

11. Ayyf bin Mashraʿ al-Khayawīn. He reported the command of al-Kalb. He was the one who lamed the horse of °urr [al-Riyāʿ]. Later his people accused him of killing °urr, so he said: “Nay by Allah, I did not kill him. Rather, someone other than me killed him. I would not like to have killed him.” His father, Abʿ al-Waddīk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdīn 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!” Abʿ al-Waddīk said: “You are not going to meet Allah except with the sin of killing all of them... all of you have a share in [spilling] their blood.” (*al-ṭabari*:5:437).

12. ‘Afʿ bin Zuhair bin Abʿ al-Akhnas. He reported the martyrdom of Burair bin Khuṣair al-Hamdīn (r). He was [also] among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain (ʿa). He says in this report: “Burair used to teach them the Qurʾan in the central mosque of Kḥfah” (*al-ṭabari*:5:431).

13. Rabʿ bin Tamīm al-Hamdīn. He reported the martyrdom of ʿabis bin Abʿ Shabīb al-Shjīkī. He was one of those who witnessed that day [i.e. the day of “shʿrj”] (*al-ṭabari*:5:444).

14. ‘Abdullah bin ‘Ammīr al-Bīriq. He reported the state of al-°usain (ʿa) when attacking the people. He was among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain (ʿa) and was [later] reproached for witnessing it. [But] he replied: “Indeed the Banʿ Hjšim are obliged to me for a favour!!

So we asked him: “What favour did you do them?” He said: “I attacked al-°usain with a lance, then I drew closer to him... then I quickly distanced myself from him!” (*al-±abari*:5:451).

15. Qurrah bin Qais al-°an°alç al-Tamçmç. He reported the severing of the heads and about the captives (*al-±abari*:5:455). 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) (5:427).

[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°jhir al-Asaç invited him to help al-°usain (°a) but he declined (5:411). 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)! (5:427).

These are the fifteen people who witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain (°a) and from whom Abç 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 Abç Mikhnaf. They are:

1. Abç Janjb Ya°y bin Abç °ayyah al-Wadç° al-Kalbç. He has reported the following: the encounter of the companions of Muslim with Ibn Ziyjd (*al-±abari*:5:369&370); the dispatch of the heads of Muslim and Hjni° by Ibn Ziyjd to

Yazçd and his letter to him in this regard (5:380).

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that [Abç 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 23 reports from him. Nine of them are concerning the battles of Jamal, °iffçn and Nahrawjn, all through some links. [The other] nine are regarding Karbalj°, five of which have been transmitted indirectly and another three through an incomplete chain of narration (*irsjl*).

He is mentioned last in *al-±abarç* as relating -through an incomplete chain of narration- the letter of Mu¥°ab bin al-Zubair to Ibrjhçm bin al-Ashtar in the year 67 H and after the death of Mukhtjr, inviting him to support him. (6:111)

The author of *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (11:201) mentions his biography and says: “A truthful person from Kçfah who died in 147 H.”

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

2. Ja°far bin °udhaifah al-±jç. He reports the following: the letter of Muslim [bin °aqçl] to al-°usain (°a) before the former’s martyrdom, informing him of the allegiance of the people of Kçfah [to him]; and the letter of Mu°ammad bin al-Ash°ath bin Qais al-Kindç to Imam al-°usain (°a) through Ayjs bin al-°athal al-±jç, informing him of the arrest and murder of Muslim bin °aqçl (*al-±abari*:5:375).

Al-Dhahabç mentions [Ja°far] in *Mçzjn al-I°tidjl* and says: “He related [reports] from °Alç, and Abç Mikhnaf narrated from him. [Ja°far] was with °Alç at °iffçn. Ibn °ibbn has

mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt* and says: “It is not known who he is.”

Al-ṭabarī has narrated five reports from him. Two reports about ṭiffṭn and other two concerning the Khawṭrij from ṭay’ and [the fifth one is] the report [mentioned above].

3. Dulham bint ‘Amru, the wife of Zuhair bin al-Qain. She reported the joining [of Zuhair] with al-ṭusain (‘a). The text reads: “Abṭ Mikhnaf says: ‘Dulham has related to me that... She said: ‘So I said to [Zuhair]...’ (*al-ṭabari*:5:396).

4. ‘Uqbah bin Abṭ al-‘Aizjī. He narrated: the two sermons of the Imam (‘a) at al-Baiṭah and Dhṭ ṭusam; the reply of Zuhair bin al-Qain to the Imam (‘a); and the verses [recited] by the Imam (‘a) and ṭirimmjī bin ‘Adiyy (*al-ṭabari*:5:403). It seems he was among the companions of ṭurr and was saved. We have found no mention of him in our works of *rijāl*. The author of *Lisjīn al-Mṭzjīn* mentions him and says: “His narrations are reliable. Ibn ṭibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt*.”¹

These were the four [people] who were in direct contact with the happenings and they, apparently, narrated them directly to Abṭ 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. Abṭ Mikhnaf narrates [reports] from them through one or two links. They are:

1. Abṭ Sa’ṭd Dṭnjī, or Kaisjī, or ‘Aqṭṭjī al-Maqbarṭ. He

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

reported the verses [recited] by al-ṭusain (‘a) when he was leaving Madṭnah through one intermediary, namely ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musjīlīq bin Makhramah (*al-ṭabari*:5:342).

Al-Dhahabṭ mentions him in *Mṭzjīn al-I’tidjīl* and says: “He and his father were the companions of Abṭ Hurairah. He is reliable and an authority (*ṭujjāh*). He [lived and] became very old, but was not deranged... He died in 125 H. He was a supporter of the Banṭ Tamṭm. Ibn ṭibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt*. According to al-ṭjīkim, he is reliable and trustworthy.”¹

According to *Tahdhṭb al-Tahdhṭb*, al-Wjīqidṭ says: “He is reliable and a prolific narrator. He died in 100 H. Some say that [he died] during the rule of Walṭd bin ‘Abd al-Malik. It is said that ‘Umar had put him in charge of digging graves. So he used to live in the graveyard area and thus came to be known as ‘al-Maqbarṭ’.”²

Shaikh al-ṭṭsṭ mentions him in his *Rijāl* among the companions of ‘Alṭ and al-ṭusain (‘a), [but] by the name of Dṭnjī. His agnomen was Abṭ Sa’ṭd and his title ‘Aqṭṭjī. He was given this title because of a poem he had recited.³

Ibn Qudjīmah says in *al-Mughnṭ*: “He is al-Maqdisṭ, from al-Maqdis, the city of Prophet ṭliyī.”

Al-ṭadṭq narrates in his *Amjīlī* through a chain of narration going back to Abṭ Sa’ṭd ‘Aqṭṭjī who said: “[I relate] from al-ṭusain who was reporting from his father, who narrated

¹ *Mṭzjīn al-I’tidjīl* (2:139).

² *Tahdhṭb al-Tahdhṭb* (8:453).

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

the Prophet (ﷺ) saying to him: “O ‘Alç! 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 (*imjmah*). [O ‘Alç] I am the bearer of revelation (*tanzçl*) and you are [responsible] for its interpretation (*ta’wçl*). You and I are the [two] fathers of this Ummah. You are my trustee, successor, vizier, inheritor and the father of my offspring. Your followers (*shç’atuka*) are my followers.”

2. ‘Uqbah bin Sim’jñ. He narrated the following: the departure of the Imam (‘a) from Madçnah; his meeting with ‘Abdullah bin Muşç’ al-‘Adawç; his arrival in Makkah (*al-±abari*:5:351); the conversation of Ibn ‘Abbas and Ibn al-Zubair with the Imam (‘a) when he was leaving Makkah (5:383); the report about the messengers of ‘Amru bin Sa’çd al-‘aŸ 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’çm (5:385); the conversation of ‘Alç bin al-°usain [al-Akbar] with his father after they left QaŸr Banç Muqjtil; the arrival of al-°usain (‘a) at Nainawj; the coming of the messenger of Ibn Ziyjd with his letter to °urr; al-°usain’s camping at Nainawj; the arrival of ‘Umar bin Sa’d (5:407-409); and the proposal of the Imam (‘a) to Ibn Sa’d (5:413).

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

3. Mu’ammad bin Bishr al-Hamdjñç. The reports he narrated are: the gathering of the Shç’ah in Kçfah at the

house of Sulaimjñ bin °urad al-Khuzj’ç after the death of Mu’jwiyah; the speech of Sulaimjñ; their letters to al-°usain (‘a); Imam’s reply to them through Muslim bin ‘Aqçl (*al-±abari*:5:352-353); the letter of Muslim to al-°usain (‘a) on his way to Kçfah and the latter’s reply to him; Muslim’s arrival in Kçfah; the frequent visits of the Shç’ah to Muslim at the house of Mukhtjr (5:354-355); and Ibn Ziyjd’s sermon after the martyrdom of Hjñi bin ‘Urwah (5:368).

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

[Al-Bjriqç] was present in the gathering of the Shç’ah [in Kçfah] at the house of Sulaimjñ bin °urad. He says: “We then mentioned the death of Mu’jwiyah and expressed our gratitude to Allah for that. Then Sulaimjñ 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.” (5:354-355).

He was also present in the meeting of the Shç’ah with Muslim at Mukhtjr’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]!’” (5:355).

The author of *Lisjñ al-Mçzjñ* says that Abç °jtim used to say: “He is Mu’ammad bin al-Sj’ib al-Kalbç al-Kçfç, when his lineage is traced back to his grandfather. Otherwise, he

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

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

4. Abī al-Waddīk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdīnī. He reported: the speech of Nu'mān bin Bashīr al-Anṣarī -the governor of Kāfah for Mu'īwīyah and Yazīd; the letters of the people of Kāfah to Yazīd (*al-ṭabari*:5:355-356); Ibn Ziyād's address in Kāfah (5:358-359); Muslim's transfer to the house of Hānī' bin 'Urwah; the spying of Ma'qal al-Shīmī on Muslim by the order of Ibn Ziyād; Ibn Ziyād's visit to Hānī' when he was sick; the proposal of 'Umīrah bin 'Ubaid al-Sāfī to kill Ibn Ziyād; the disagreement of Hānī' about that; Ibn Ziyād's visit to Sharīk bin al-A'war al-ḥarithī al-Hamdīnī at Hānī's house and the signal given by Sharīk to Muslim to kill Ibn Ziyād; Muslim's refusal of that due to the disapproval of Hānī'; Ibn Ziyād's call on Hānī', beating and imprisoning him; the arrival of 'Amru bin al-ḥajjī al-Zubaidīy with the distinguished men from the Madhīj and their horsemen; and the meeting of Shurai' al-Qāṣi with Hānī' and his informing [Hānī's] kinsmen about the latter's safety (5:361-367).

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

His complete name has appeared in his report about Imam

¹ *Lisān al-Maẓīn* (5:94).

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

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

Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Maẓīn al-I'tidāl* and says: "[He was] the colleague of Abī Sa'īd al-Khuṣrī and well known for his truthfulness."¹

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

5. Abī 'Uthmān al-Nahdī. He reported: the letter of Imam al-ḥusayn ('a) to the people of Baḥrah; the appointment of 'Uthmān, Ibn Ziyād's brother, by Ibn Ziyād as his deputy over Baḥrah; and Ibn Ziyād's arrival in Kāfah (*al-ṭabari*:5:357-358). [Abī Mikhnaf narrated these reports] through one intermediary, namely 'aq'ab bin Zuhair.

¹ *Maẓīn al-I'tidāl* (4:584; Aleppo edition)

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

Abġ 'Uthmġn was among the companions of Mukhtġr and was appointed by him, upon his arrival in Kġfah to see Ibn Muŝġ', [as the guardian] over the weak people at Sabkhah (5:22&29).

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 Baġrah after the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a). [Abġ 'Uthmġn] was in charge of the monthly stipends of his people. He performed *'ajj* and *'umrah* sixty times. He used to spend the night in prayers and fast during the day time. [According to *al-Tahdhġb*,] he was reliable and died in 95 H at the age of one hundred and thirty.¹

6. 'Abdullah bin Khġzim al-Kathġrġ al-Azdġ. He narrated, through Yġsuf bin Yazġd, the uprising of Muslim ('a) and the giving of the banners by him (*al-°abari*:5:367-368). He also reported the people's betrayal of Muslim (5:370-371) through Sulaimġn bin Abġ Rġshid.

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

7. 'Abbġs -or 'Ayyġsh- bin Ja'dah al-Judalġ. He related: the uprising of Muslim ('a) and how the people abandoned him,

¹ Ibid, (6:277).

and the stand of Ibn Ziyġd (5:369), through one intermediary by the name of Yġnus bin Abġ Islġq al-Subġ'ġ al-Hamdġnġ.

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

8. 'Abd al-Ra'mġn bin Abġ 'Umair al-Thaqafġ. He reported the offer made to Mukhtġr to come under the safe-conduct granted by Ibn Ziyġd.

9. Zġidah bin Qudġmah al-Thaqafġ. He narrated: the coming out of Mu'ammad bin al-Ash'ath against Muslim, the captivity of Muslim, (*al-°abari*:5:373) and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way it was] granted (5:375).

Al-°abari names him as Qudġmah bin Zġidah bin Qudġmah al-Thaqafġ.

The editor of this work says: I have found that Zġidah bin Qudġmah, the grandfather of Qudġmah bin Sa'ġd, was the one who was in direct contact with the events in Kġfah. With regard his grandson, Qudġmah bin Sa'ġd, Shaikh al-±ġsġ has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-°ġdiq ('a).¹ Therefore, it is more appropriate to put the chain of narrators this way: "Qudġmah bin Sa'ġd narrates from Zġidah bin Qudġmah al-Thaqafġ..."

The grandfather of Qudġmah was Zġidah bin Qudġmah al-Thaqafġ, the chief of the police in Kġfah in the year 58 H, under 'Abd al-Ra'mġn bin Umm al-°akam al-Thaqafġ, the governor of Mu'ġwiyah bin Abġ Sufyġn after the Year of

¹ *Rijġl al-±ġsġ* (pg. 275; Najaf edition).

Unity ('*im al-jam'i'ah*) (5:310). He was together with 'Amru bin 'uraith when the safe-conduct from 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyid was made public in Kffah after the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aq'l ('a), thus he interceded on behalf of Mukhtir, his cousin (5:570).

[Ibn Qudmah] was the one who took the letter of Mukhtir from the prison of Ibn Ziyid in Kffah to 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, the husband of Mukhtir's sister, 'afiyyah bint Ab' 'Ubaid al-Thaqaf, requesting him to intercede with Yazid on his behalf. Accordingly, Ibn Ziyid freed him, but wanted to punish Ibn Qudmah for this action of his, but he fled [the city] until after he was granted protection [from Ibn Ziyid] (5: 571).

[Ibn Qudmah] was among those people of Kffah who paid allegiance to 'Abdullah bin Mu'az al-'Adaw, Ibn al-Zubair's governor in Kffah. Ibn Mu'az sent him in pursuit of Mukhtir, so he informed [Mukhtir] about this but he did not pay heed (6:11). [In fact,] the uprising of Mukhtir in Kffah began from the garden of Zidah at Sabkhah (6:22). Mukhtir had sent to unseat 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Ra'min al-Makhzumi, Ibn al-Zubair's governor in Kffah, and he managed to do so through bribery and threat (6:72).

Later, Zidah joined 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan and fought Mu'ab bin al-Zubair along side with him and managed to kill him at the monastery of the monks, in vengeance of the blood of Mukhtir (6:159). Thereafter, 'ajj sent him with two thousand men to fight Shabab al-Khrij at Rdbir. He fought him until he was killed [by Shabab] in the year 76 H, while his companions surrounded him [helplessly] (6:246).

Thus, it becomes evident that Qudmah bin Sa'd bin Zidah from whom Ab' Mikhnaf 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 'Aq'l.

And, perhaps, the chain of narration should read as such: 'Qudmah bin Sa'd narrated to me from Zidah bin Qudmah...'; for Zidah was with 'Amr bin 'uraith as we have seen, so he must have been narrating to his grandson, Qudmah bin Sa'd, the report about Ibn Ziyid's sending of Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath to Muslim ('a).

10. 'Umrah bin 'Uqbah bin Ab' Mu'az al-Umaw. He narrated Muslim's request for water and [the way] he was given the water (*al-abi:5:375*). This report has been related from him by his grandson, Sa'd bin 'Umrah bin 'Uqbah.

The author of *Taqrib al-Tahdh* says that: "[Umrah] was reliable and died in 116 H."

11. 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Ra'min bin al-'irith bin Hishm al-Makhzumi. [Ab' Mikhnaf] reports from him, through 'aq'ab bin al-Zuhair, what he said to Imam al-'usain ('a) as the latter was departing from Makkah (*al-abi:5:382*).

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

12. 'Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhr bin al-Mushma'il, who were both from the Ban' Asad. They reported: the

¹ *Tahdh al-Tahdh* (7:472) and *Khul'sah Tadhh al-Tahdh al-Kamil* (pg.284).

conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with Imam al-^ousain (‘a) which took place between the black stone (*al-/ajar al-aswad*) and the door [of the Ka’bah] (*al-[±]abari:5:384*); the meeting of Farazdaq with the Imam (‘a) (5:386); and the news of the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aq^l (‘a) at Tha’labiyyah (5:397-398). [Ab[£] Mikhnaf narrated these reports from them] through two links: Ab[£] Jan^b Ya^y bin Ab[£] ^oayyah al-Wada’[£] al-Kalb[£], who related from ‘Adiyy bin ^oarmalah al-Asad[£].

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

13. Imam ‘Al[£] bin al-^ousain (‘a). He reported: the letter of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far to Imam al-^ousain (‘a) which he sent through his two sons, ‘Aun and Mu^lammad; the letter of ‘Amru bin Sa’[£]d al-Ashdaq to the Imam (‘a) through his brother, Ya^y, and the reply of the Imam (‘a). [Ab[£] Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Ibn al-^ousain] through one link, ^oj^rith bin Ka’b al-W^lib[£] (5:387-388).

14. Bakr bin Mu[¥]ab al-Muzn[£]. [Ab[£] Mikhnaf reports from him] the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin Yuq[§]ur and the report about what transpired at Zub^llah [on the way to K[£]fah], through Ab[£] ‘Al[£] al-An[¥]j^r£ (*al-[±]abari:5:398-399*).

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

15. Faz^riyy. He narrated the report on [how] Zuhair bin al-Qain joined al-^ousain (‘a), through al-Sudd[£]. The text reads: “A man from the Ban[£] Faz^rrah [said]...” (*al-[±]abari:5:396*).

16. [±]irimm^l bin ‘Adiyy. [Ab[£] Mikhnaf relates a report concerning [±]irimm^l’s meeting with the Imam (‘a)] through

Jam^l bin Marthad al-Ghanaw[£] (*al-[±]abari:5:406*).

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

Shaikh al-[±]£s[£] counts him among the companions of ‘Al[£] (‘a) and al-^ousain (‘a). Al-M^lmqⁿ£ mentions him saying that he was reliable and that he succeeded in [coming back and] helping the Imam (‘a). He sustained injuries [in Karbal^l] but was [later] cured and died after that. [However,] he has not mentioned the source for it.¹

17. ‘a^mir bin Shar^l£l bin ‘Abd al-Sha’b[£] al-Hamdⁿ£. [Ab[£] Mikhnaf narrates from him] the report about Qa[¥]r Ban[£] Muq^jtil, through Muj^lid bin Sa’[£]d (*al-[±]abari:5:407*).

[‘a^mir] was born in 21 H (4:145). His mother was among the prisoners of Jalwal^j’ in the year 16 H. He and his father were the first to respond to Mukht^r (6:15), and they both testified that Mukht^r was on the right (6:17). Both he and his father came out in the streets of Mad^jin with Mukht^r [and his followers] in the year 67 H (6:91). After the death of Mukht^r, [‘a^mir] joined ^oajj^j and used to be with him (6:327). In 82 H, he revolted against ^oajj^j under ‘Abd al-Ra^mn bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kind[£] (6:350). When the later was defeated, [‘a^mir] joined Qutaibah bin Muslim, ^oajjaj’s governor over Rayy. [Qutaibah] asked for safe-

¹ *Tanq[£]’ al-Maq^ll* (2:109). As we said earlier, the source of this assertion is the current *Maqtal* which is ascribed to Ab[£] Mikhnaf. This is the report on which Mu^laddith al-Qum[£] has commented in *Nafas al-Mahm[£]m* (pg.195).

conduct for him and [accordingly] °ajjij granted him protection (6:374). He continued to live until he took over the judgeship of Kḥfah for Yazḍ bin ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwīn during the time of ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azḥ, 99-101 H.

He was one of those who abandoned Muslim (‘a) and al-°usain (‘a) and did not accompany the latter. Abḥ Mikhnaf narrates from him through an incomplete chain of transmission (*mursalan*). He died suddenly in 104 H in Kḥfah as reported in *al-Kunj wa al-Alqjb* (2:328). ±abarḥ has related 114 narrations from him in his *Tjrḥkh*. The author of *Tahdhḥb al-Tahdhḥb* mentions him and narrates from al-‘Ajalḥ that al-Sha’bḥ heard narrations from fourty eight companions [of the Prophet (ﷺ)] and lived during the time of ‘Alḥ (‘a). It has also been said that he died in the year 110 H.¹

18. °assjīn bin Fj’id bin Bukair al-‘Absḥ. [Abḥ Mikhnaf narrates from him] Ibn Sa’d’s letter to Ibn Ziyīd and his reply to the former, through Naḥr bin ṭīlih bin °abḥ bin Zuhair al-‘Absḥ. 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*:5:411).

[°assjīn] was among those who fought Mukhtjīr and his followers along side Rjshid bin Ayīs, the head of the bodyguards of ‘Abdullah bin Muṣḥ’ al-‘Adawḥ, Abdullah bin Zubair’s governor in Kḥfah (6:26). He was with Ibn Muṣḥ’ during the siege of the palace [in Kḥfah] (6:31). He was killed in the outskirts of Kḥfah in 64 H with the followers of Ibn Muṣḥ’ (6:49).

¹ *Tahdhḥb al-Tahdhḥb* (5:65).

The author of *Tahdhḥb al-Tahdhḥb* writes: “Ibn °ibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqjt*. Regarding the meaning of [the word] *al-jibt* which has appeared in [verse 51 of] Sḥrat al-Nisj’, al-Bukhīrḥ narrates from Shu’bah, who related from Abḥ Isīq al-Subḥ’ḥ, who in turn was reporting from [°assjīn], that ‘Umar bin al-Khaṣṣjīb said: ‘*Al-jibt* means sorcery (*si/r*).’ Al-Bukhīrḥ [then] says: ‘He is counted among the Kufans.’”¹

19. Abḥ ‘Umīrah al-‘Absḥ. [Abḥ Mikhnaf narrates from him] through Abḥ Ja’far al-‘Absḥ: the words of Yaīyī bin al-°akam bin al-‘aḥḥ and the report about [what transpired in] the court of Yazḍ (*al-±abari*:5:460-461).

20. Qjīm bin Bukhait. He related reports about the heads [of the martyrs] in Damascus; the speech of Yaīyī bin al-°akam ibn al-‘aḥḥ, the brother to Marwīn; the words of Hind, the wife of Yazḍ; and the poking of Yazḍ at the teeth of al-°usain (‘a) with a cane. These reports have been narrated from [Qjīm] through two links, namely: Abḥ °amzah al-Thumjīḥ, who reported from ‘Abdullah al-Thumjīḥ (5:465).

21. Abḥ al-Kanḥd ‘Abd al-Ra’mjīn bin ‘Ubaid. [Abḥ Mikhnaf narrates from him, through Sulaimjīn bin Rjshid, the verses [recited by] Umm Luqmīn, daughter of ‘Aqḥl bin Abḥ ±jlib (*al-±abari*:5:466).

[Abḥ Kanḥd] was the governor of Kḥfah for Ziyīd bin Abḥh (5:246). Later, he became among the followers of Mukhtjīr and claimed to have killed Shamir (6:53). ±abarḥ has narrated from him nine reports [in his *Tjrḥkh*] through Abḥ

¹ *Tahdhḥb al-Tahdhḥb* (2:251).

Mikhnaf, as reported in *al-A'lm*.

22. Fīṣimah, daughter of 'Alḥ, as ṭabarḥ calls her. [Abḥ Mikhnaf relates from her] what took place in the court of Yazḥd, through °irith bin Ka'b al-Wilibḥ al-Azdḥ (*al-ṭabari*:5:461-462).

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

The Fifth List

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

1. 'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Masīlīq bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah. He related the verses of the Imam ('a) when he was leaving Madḥnah, through Abḥ Sa'd Sa'ḥd bin Abḥ Sa'ḥd al-Maqbarḥ (*al-ṭabari*:5:342).

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

ṭabarḥ has narrated fifteen reports from him [in his *Tjrkḥ*] through Abḥ Mikhnaf, who was relating from ['Abd al-Malik], who reported from some other person. Most of these reports are about Ibn al-Zubair's revolt in Makkah, the

revolt of 'Abdullah bin °an'alah in Madḥnah, and the event of °arraḥ.

He related one of these reports from his father, Naufal (5:474), the other from 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah (5:478) and the third one from °umaid bin °amzah, who was among the associates of the Banḥ Umayyah (5:479). He narrated the other seven reports from °abḥb bin Karrah, also an associate of the Banḥ Umayyah and the standard bearer of Marwīn bin al-°akam (5:482&539). His last narration was from Sa'ḥd bin 'Amru bin Sa'ḥd bin al-°aḥ al-Ashdaq (5:577).

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

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

He has been considered as reliable in *Tahdhḥb al-Tahdhḥb* (5:428) and [also] in *al-Kjshif* of al-Dhahabḥ (2:216).

2. Abḥ Sa'ḥd 'Aqḥj. He narrated from some of his companions the conversation of Imam al-°usain ('a), while he was in the state of *i/rjm*, with Ibn al-Zubair inside the Sacred mosque in Makkah. (*al-ṭabari*:5:385).

In the first part of [his book] *al-Khuljāh*, ‘Alīmah al-°illā counts him among the companions of ‘Alī (‘a).¹ Al-Dhahabī mentions him in *Mʿzjn al-I’tidāl* and says: “He has narrated [reports] from ‘Alī (‘a).” He then says: “He is reliable and his name was Dʿnīr. He was a Shāh and he died in 125 H.”²

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

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

¹ *Al-Khuljāh* (pg.193).

² *Mʿzjn al-I’tidāl* (2:139 and 3:88). In a report which has appeared in *Kjmil al-Ziyrah* of Ibn Qʿlawayh (pg.23) and whose chain of narration ends at [Abī Saʿd], 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, [Abī Saʿd] directly heard [the words of] the Imam (‘a), contrary to the manner Abī 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 Abī Mikhnaf has narrated].

3. ‘Abd al-Raʿmīn bin Jundab al-Azdī. He has narrated all his reports from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’īn. ʿabarī has related from him around thirty reports about the battles of Jamal, ʿiffn, Nahrawīn and [reports on the event of] Karbalī, which he narrated from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’īn.

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

Al-Ardabīlī, quoting from *al-Rijāl al-Waʿṣ* of Astarībīdī, counts [‘Abd al-Raʿmīn] among the companions of ‘Alī (‘a).¹ Al-ʿAsqalīnī mentions him in *Lisjn al-Mʿzjn* and says: “He has narrated [reports] from Kumail bin Ziyād, and Abī °amzah al-Thumīlī has reported from him.”²

4. °ajjī bin ‘Alī al-Bīrīqī al-Hamdīnī. He has narrated all his reports from Muʿammad bin Bishr al-Hamdīnī (see the fourth list, no.3). Of the reports that ʿabarī has related from him [in his *Tjrkḥ*], none of his reports are from other than Ibn Bishr. The author of *Lisjn al-Mʿzjn* mentions him and says: “A great personality (*shaikh*) from whom Abī

¹ *Jīmi’ al-Ruwīt* (1:447).

² *Lisjn al-Mʿzjn* (3:408; Haiderabad edition).

Mikhnaf has narrated.”¹

5. Numair bin Wa'lah al-Hamdīnġ al-Yanj'ġ. He narrated [reports] from Abġ al-Waddġk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdīnġ, Ayyġb bin Mashraġ al-Khayawīnġ and Rabġ' bin Tamġm al-Hamdīnġ.

±abarġ has narrated ten reports from him [in his *Tġrġkh*], the last of which is from al-Sha'bġ about °ajġġ's court in the year 80 H (*al-±abari*:6:328).

Al-'Asqalīnġ mentions him in *Lisġn al-Mġzzġn* saying: “He has narrated [reports] from al-Sha'bġ and Abġ Mikhnaf from him.”² The same [assertion] has appeared in *al-Mughnġ*.³

6. °aq'ab bin Zuhair al-Azdġ. He transmitted reports from Abġ °uthmīn al-Nahdġ, 'Aun bin Abġ Ju'alfah al-Sawġġ, 'Abd al-Raġmīn bin Shuraiġ al-Ma'ġfirġ al-Iskandarīnġ -who died in Alexandria in 167 H as reported in *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* (*al-±abari*:6:193), 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Raġmīn bin al-°ġrith bin Hishġm al-Makhzġmġ and °umaid bin Muslim.

±abarġ narrates twenty reports from him [in his *Tġrġkh*], all of which are through Abġ Mikhnaf who was relating them from [°aq'ab]. Three of these reports are about the death of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). [°aq'ab] was present with 'Alġ ('a) at °iffġn and thus related the words of 'Ammġr bin Yġsir

¹ Ibid, (2:178).

² Ibid, (6:171).

³ *Al-Mughnġ* (2:701; Dġr al-Da'wah publications).

(5:38). He also narrated the report about the martyrdom of °ujr bin 'Adiyy (5:253). Nine of these [reports] are pertaining to the event of Karbalġ' and [another] three about Mukhtġr.

The author of *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* says: “Ibn °ibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqġt*. Abġ Zar'ah says that he was reliable, while according to Abġ °ġtim, he is a master (*shaikh*) who is not renowned.”¹

It has appeared in the footnote of the book *Khulġṡah Tadhhġb Tahdhġb al-Kamġl* that Abġ Zar'ah has attested to his reliability.²

7. Mu'allġ bin Kulaib al-Hamdīnġ. He narrated [reports] from Abġ al-Waddġk Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdīnġ (see the fourth list, no.4).

8. Yġsuf bin Yazġd bin Bakr al-Azdġ. He related [reports] from 'Abdullah bin Khġzim al-Azdġ and 'Afġf bin Zuhair bin Abġ al-Akhnas.

His full name has appeared in *al-±abarġ* (6:284), from whom he has reported fifteen reports. He lived until after the year 77 H. Al-Dhahabġ mentions him in *Mġzzġn al-I'tidġl* and says: “He was truthful and noble. He was from Baṡrah. A group [of narrators] have related [reports] from him. He has been praised by a number of people. His narrations [are

¹ *Tahdhġb al-Tahdhġb* (4:432).

² *Al-Khulġṡah* (pg.176; Dġr al-Da'wah publications).

reliable and] can be recorded.”¹

The author of *Tahdhēb al-Tahdhēb* writes: “Ibn ʿibbīn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqīt*. Al-Maqdisī says that he was reliable. According to Abī ʿītim, his narrations can be recorded.”² He has mentioned in *Khuljāh Tadhīb al-Tahdhēb al-Kamīl* also.³

9. Yūnus bin Abī Isḥāq, ‘Amru bin ‘Abdullah al-Subḥī al-Hamdī al-Kfī. 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-Hamdī 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 ḥadīth, whose stands in theological (*uṣūl*) and juridical (*furū’*) matters have not been praised [and approved] by the Nawīb; this is because they adhered, in these issues, to the path of the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) and were devoted in following them in everything related to the religion.

This is why al-Juzjānī says [about him] -as it appears in the biography of Zubaid in *Mūzīn al-I’tidāl*⁴: ‘There was a

¹ *Mūzīn al-I’tidāl* (4:475).

² *Tahdhēb al-Tahdhēb* (11:429).

³ *Al-Khuljāh* (pg.440).

⁴ *Mūzīn al-I’tidāl* (2:66; Aleppo edition).

group from among the people of Kfāh whose religious views [and beliefs] were not applauded by the people. [This group comprised] the leading scholars of ḥadīth in Kfāh, such as Abī Isḥāq, Manẓūr, Zubaid al-Yīmī, al-A’mash and their contemporaries. They were tolerated by the people because of their truthfulness in speech. However, in cases where they did not give complete chains of transmission (*arsāl*), people hesitated to accept their narrations. Among such cases in which the Nawīb were reluctant to accept the *mursal* narrations of Abī Isḥāq was ‘Umar bin Ismīl’s report which he narrated from Abī Isḥāq [himself], as reported in *Mūzīn al-I’tidāl* under his biography.¹ [Abī Isḥāq] says that the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) said: ‘The example of ‘Alī is that of a tree whose root is me and its branch is ‘Alī. Al-ʿasan and al-ʿusain are its fruits, and the Shāh are its leaves.’”

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn further adds: “Al-Mugherah did not say what has been reported in *Mūzīn al-I’tidāl* that ‘None other than Abī Isḥāq and al-A’mash have spoiled the ḥadīth of the people of Kfāh’², or ‘Abī Isḥāq and your U’aimash³ have destroyed the Kufans’⁴, except for the reason that they were Shāh 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.”

¹ Ibid, (3:246).

² Ibid, (3:270).

³ U’aimash is the diminutive noun of A’mash. It has been used here by al-Mugherah for the purpose of belittling the personality of A’mash.

⁴ Ibid, (2:224).

relates from al-Bukhārī that the latter, while mentioning the biography of Mujīlīd, narrated from him [a report] which he related from al-Sha'bī, that Ibn 'Abbās said: "When Fāṣimah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ), was born, he named her al-Manẓūrah. So Jibrīl descended [onto the Prophet (ﷺ)] and said: 'O Mu'ammad! Allah is sending greetings to you and to your [newly] born child, and He says: 'No child has been born dearer to me than her.' He has given her a name better than what you have named her, he has named her Fāṣimah; as she will save (*tufaṣṣimu*) her followers (*shā'ah*) from the hell fire.'"¹

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

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

ṭabarī mentions him [in his *Tārīkh*] without ascribing his report to his father or grandfather, which apparently does not seem to be correct; as he did not witness the events of Kāfah. Rather, it was his grandfather, Zaidah, who

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

witnessed the events and was in contact with them. He was in the company of 'Amru bin 'uraith -who had raised the banner of safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyād at the central mosque of Kāfah [for anyone who wished to abandon Ibn 'Aqīl]- when Ibn Ziyād ordered them to send seventy men from [the tribe of] Qais with Mu'ammad bin al-Ash'ath to fight Muslim (5:373). It was there that Zaidah interceded [with Ibn Ziyād] on behalf of his cousin Mukhtār (5:570).

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

13. Sa'ad bin Mudrik bin 'Umīrah bin 'Uqbah bin Abī Mu'īṣ 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 'Aqīl at the gate of the palace, before he was taken to Ibn Ziyād (5:376).

The text reads: "[Abī Mikhnaf says:] 'Sa'ad narrated to me... that 'Umīrah bin 'Uqbah...' This report implies that [Sa'ad] 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 Qudamah bin Sa'ad -for reasons which we have mentioned in its appropriate place in this

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

book- according to which it was [in fact] ‘Amru bin ‘uraith, and not ‘Umīrah, who brought the water [for Ibn ‘Aq̣l].

14. Aḅ Janj̣b Yaīỵ bin Aḅ ‘ayyah al-Waḍj’ al-Kalḅ. He narrated [reports] from ‘Adiyy bin ‘armalah al-Asaḍ, on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhṛ bin al-Mushma’il, who were both from the tribe of Asad; and from Ḥni’ bin Thubait al-‘aṣraṃ.

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 Ziỵd (*al-ṭabari*:5:369&370) and the one about the sending of the heads of Muslim and Ḥni’ to Yaẓd by Ibn Ziỵd, with a letter to him concerning the matter (5:380). [However,] it seems, as mentioned earlier, that he was narrating the above reports from his brother Ḥni’ bin Aḅ ‘ayyah al-Waḍj’ al-Kalḅ, the one who was sent by Ibn Ziỵd to Yaẓd with the letter and the head of Muslim (5:380).

ṭabaṛ has narrated twenty three reports from him [in his *Ṭṛkh*], nine of which are about the battles of Jamal, ‘iff̣ and Nahraẉn, all of which are through intermediaries. Another nine are regarding [the event of] Karbaḷ’, 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-ṭabaṛ*] when he narrated

[a report] -through an incomplete chain of narration- regarding the letter of Muṣa’b bin al-Zubair to Ibṛḥm bin al-Ashtar after the death of Mukhṭr, inviting him to [support and pay allegiance to] him in the year 67 H (6:111).

The author of *Tahdḥb al-Tahdḥb* says: “Ibn ‘ibḅn has mentioned him in *al-Thuq̣t*. According to Ibn Numair, Ibn Khaṛsh, Aḅ Zur’ah and al-Sij̣, he was from Ḳfah and was truthful. Aḅ Na’ṣm says that there is no objection about him, and he died in 150 H. According to Ibn Ma’ṣn, he died in 147 H.”¹

15. ‘irith bin Ka’b bin Fuqaim al-Ẉliḅ al-Azḍ al-Ḳf̣. He narrated [his reports] from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’̣n, ‘Aḷ bin al-‘usain and F̣ṣimah bint ‘Aḷ (‘a).

[‘irith] was among the followers of Mukhṭr (*al-ṭabari*:6:23), but he changed his opinion after him and [believed] in the divine leadership (*iṃmah*) of ‘Aḷ bin al-‘usain (‘a) and began narrating from him (5:387). It seems that he had moved from Ḳfah to Maḍnah after he heard [narrations from] Imam Zain al-‘abiḍn and F̣ṣimah bint ‘Aḷ (‘a) (5:461).

Shaikh al-ṭ̣ṣ counted him in his *Rij̣l* among the companions of ‘Aḷ bin al-‘usain (‘a). However, according to the Najaf edition of his *Rij̣l*, he calls him ‘urr bin Ka’b al-Azḍ al-Ḳf̣, whereas the editor [of that book] names him ‘‘irith’ in the footnote, quoting it from another transcript [of *Rij̣l al-ṭ̣ṣ*], which is in fact the correct

¹ *Tahdḥb al-Tahdḥb* (11:201).

opinion.

16. Ismī'ī bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Abī Karīm al-Suddī al-Kāfī. He related from Fazīr the report about Zuhair bin al-Qain.

Al-Dhahabī writes in *Māzīn al-I'tidāl*: "He was accused of being a Shā'ah and that he used to revile Abī Bakr and 'Umar. Ibn 'Adiyy says: I consider him trustworthy. Aḥmad says: he was reliable. According to Yā'yī bin Sa'd, I have not seen anyone mentioning al-Suddī except with good, and none has abandoned [his narrations]. Shu'bah and al-Thaurī have narrated [reports] from him."¹

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

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

17. Abī 'Alī al-Anṣārī. He related from Bakr bin Muḥ'ab al-Muzniyy his report about the martyrdom of 'Abdullah bin Yuqṣur. This is the only report mentioned in *al-Ṭabarī* from him. There is no mention of him [either] in the works

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

² *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (1:313).

³ *Ibid*, (1:236).

of Rijāl.

18. Laḍhīn. He narrated from his uncle the report of his meeting with al-ʿusain ('a) on his way [to Kāfī]. His identity is not known.

19. Jamāl bin Marthad al-Ghanawī. He related a report from ʿirimmī bin 'Adiyy al-ṭī.

20. Abī Zuhair al-Naḥr bin ʿīlīh bin ʿabīb al-'Absī. He reported from ʿassīn bin Fīd bin Bukair al-'Absī his report about the letter of Ibn Sa'd to Ibn Ziyād and the latter's reply; and also from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamīmī his report regarding ʿurr [al-Riyāḥ].

[Abī Zuhair] has thirty one narrations in *al-Ṭabarī*. He lived during the time of Mukhtār (*al-Ṭabarī*:6:81). He then came out with the army of Muḥ'ab bin al-Zubair to fight Quṣriyy, the Khirijī, in 68 H (6:127). Later he became the gatekeeper of Muṣarrāf bin al-Mughṣrah bin Shu'bah al-Thaqafī, the Khirijī, in Madīn in 77 H. He was a submissive young man and used to stand by [Muṣarrāf's] head with his sword (6:287&289). He fought the army of ʿajjī along with Muṣarrāf in 77 H (6:298) and then returned to Kāfī (6:299).

Imam al-Riḍā 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 ‘Alç (‘a) through [some] links.”¹

21. °irith bin °uYairah al-Azdç. He related [reports] from ‘Abdullah bin Sharçk al-°amirç al-Nahdç and [also] from ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a) through [‘Abdullah].

Al-Dhahabç mentions him in *Mçzjn al-I’tidjl* and says: “Abç Almad al-Zubairç says: ‘He believed in the return of the pious (*raj’ah*). According to Ya’yj bin Ma’çn, he was reliable and was a *khashabç*, attributed to the ‘wood’ (*khashabah*) on which Zayd bin ‘Alç was crucified [i.e. he was the follower of Zayd]. Ibn ‘Adiyy says that he was among the fanatic Shç’ah in Kçfah. Abç °itim al-Rjzç believes that he was among the early Shç’ah; he would have been forsaken had al-Thaurç not narrated reports from him.”²

Al-Dhahabç narrates [a report] from °irith bin °uYairah - when mentioning the biography of Nufay’ bin al-°irith al-Nakha’ç al-Hamdjnç al-Kçfç, the blind one- and [then] says: “He is truthful, but he is a *rjfiç* [i.e. a Shç’ah]. He has narrated a tradition from ‘Imrjn bin °uYain, who said: ‘I was sitting with the Prophet (¥) and ‘Alç was by his side when the Prophet (¥) recited: ‘Is not he [best] who answers the distressed when he calls to him, and removes the distress and makes you the successors in the earth...’³. ‘Alç [started] shivering [upon hearing the verse]. So the Prophet (¥) tapped him with his hand and said: ‘None other than a

¹ *Al-Jur’ wa al-Ta’dçl* (8:477).

² *Mçzjn al-I’tidjl* (1:432; Aleppo edition).

³ Qur’an, 27:62.

believer will love you, and none other than a hypocrite will hate you, till the Day of Judgement.”¹

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

Shaikh al-±çç has mentioned him in his *Rijjl* in the circle of the companions of Amçr al-Mu’minçn [‘Alç](‘a).²

22. ‘Abdullah bin °¥im al-Fjishç al-Hamdjnç. He related the reports of @a||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriçç al-Hamdjnç.

Al-Ardabçlç says in *Jjmi’ al-Ruwjt*: “There is a report in *al-Kjç* by [‘Abdullah] from Imam al-°idiç (‘a) concerning the time of *tayammum*. Al-‘Asqaljnç has mentioned him in *al-Tahdhçb*. According to *Ba¥jir al-Darajjt*, Abjn bin ‘Uthmjn and Ja’far bin Bashçr have narrated [reports] from him.”³

23. Abç al-@a||k. He related the report about the night of °ashçrj’ from ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a).

Al-Dhahabç has mentioned him *Mçzjn al-I’tidjl* (3:540; Haiderabad edition) and al-‘Asqaljnç in *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (12:136) saying that Shu’bah has reported from him.

¹ *Mçzjn al-I’tidjl* (4:272).

² *Rijjl al-±çç* (pg.39; Najaf edition). He also mentions him among the companions of Imam al-Bjçir (‘a) as °irith bin °uYain al-Azdç, which is incorrect.

³ *Jjmi’ al-Ruwjt* (1:494).

24. ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamalç. He related the report of the retainer of ‘Abd Rabbih al-Anṣūrç, on the authority of Abf̄ ʿlīl al-ʿanafç, regarding the joking of his master with Burair bin Khuṣair (*al-ṭabari*:5:423).

Al-Dhahabç has mentioned him in his *Mʿzjn al-Iʿtidj* (3:288). So has al-ʿAsqaljnç in *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (8:102) and says: “Ibn ʿibbn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqjt* and says that he died in 116 H. Aḥmad bin ʿanbal has commended him and says that he died in 118 H. According to al-Bukhjrç, he has narrated around two hundred traditions from ‘Alç (‘a). Shu’bah says that he was the most learned [of the narrators]. Abf̄ ʿjtim maintains that he was truthful and reliable. According to Ibn Maʿçn, he was reliable.”

25. ‘Aṣj’ bin al-Sjib. He narrated the report of Masrʿq bin Wjil al-ʿaṣramç, on the authority of his brother ‘Abd al-Jabbjr bin Wjil al-ʿaṣramç, on the falling of Ibn ʿawzah at the beginning of the battle (*al-ṭabari*:5:431).

Al-ʿAsqaljnç refers to [‘Abd al-Jabbjr] in *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* as ‘Abd al-Jabbjr bin Wjil. He then says: “He has narrated from his brother. Ibn ʿibbn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqjt* and said that he died in 112 H.”

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

The author of *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* writes that: “Ibn ʿibbn has mentioned him in *al-Thuqjt*. So has Ibn Sa’d in his *al-ṭabari* and said that he died in 137 H.”

26. ‘Alç bin ʿanʿalah bin Asʿad al-Shabjmç al-Hamdjnç. He related the report of Kathçr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bç al-Hamdjnç about the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain (*al-ṭabari*:5:426).

‘Alç bin ʿanʿalah is the same Ibn ʿanʿalah bin Asʿad al-Shabjmç, who [is said to have been] martyred from among the companions of al-ʿusain (‘a). [However,] it appears that he was either not present in Karbalj’, 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 Kathçr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bç, the assassin of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

27. ʿusain bin ‘Uqbah al-Murjdç. He narrated from al-Zubaidiyy the attack launched by ‘Amru bin al-ʿajjj al-Zubaidiyy [on the day of ‘ashʿrj’].

28. Abf̄ ʿamzah Thjbit bin Dçnr al-Thumjlç. He related from Qjsim bin Bukhait, on the authority of ‘Abdullah al-Thumjlç, his report about the captives in Shjm (5:465). Abf̄ ʿamzah is too renowned to be mentioned here.

29. Abf̄ Ja’far al-ʿAbsç. He related the report of Abf̄ ‘Umjrah al-ʿAbsç about the verses recited by Yalyj bin al-ʿakam.

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

The Sixth List

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

1. Imam 'Alç bin al-°usain, Zain al-°abidçn ('a). He narrated the letter of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far to Imam al-°usain ('a), through his two sons 'Aun and Mu'ammad; the letter of 'Amru bin Saçd bin al-°aŸ al-Ashdaq, through his brother Ya'yj bin Saçd al-°aŸ, to al-°usain ('a) -as he was departing from Makkah- and his reply to him. Abç Mikhnaf related this through °jrih bin Ka'b al-Wjlibç al-Azdç, who was reporting it from 'Alç bin al-°usain ('a) (*al-±abari*:5:387-388). [Another narration from al-Sajjd ('a) was] Imam al-°usain's request for respite for the night of °ashçrj' and the speech he delivered to his companions. Abç Mikhnaf was narrating this from °jrih al-Azdç, who related it from 'Abdullah bin Sharçk al-°amirç al-Nahdç, and he from Imam Zain al-°abidçn ('a) (5:418). [Also] the verses recited by al-°usain ('a) on the night of °ashçrj' and the words of [Lady] Zainab and al-°usain's reply to her, which Abç Mikhnaf narrated from °jrih al-Azdç and Abç al-°alljçk (5:420-421).

2. Imam Mu'ammad bin 'Alç bin al-°usain ('a). [Abç Mikhnaf related from him] the martyrdom of the infant [of al-°usain ('a)], through 'Uqbah bin Bashçr al-Asadç (*al-±abari*:5:448).

3. Imam Ja'far bin Mu'ammad bin 'Alç bin al-°usain. [Abç Mikhnaf narrated from him through an incomplete chain of narration] the number of stab wounds and [sword] strikes on the body of al-°usain ('a) (*al-±abari*:5:453).

4. Zayd bin 'Alç bin al-°usain ('a) and Djwfd bin

'Ubaidullah bin 'Abbjs. They related the words of the sons of 'Aqçl [on the night of °ashçrj'] (*al-±abari*:5:397).

It was 'Amru bin Khjlid al-Wjsiçç, an associate of the Banç Hjšhim, who narrated the report from them. He was [residing] in Kçfah and later moved to Wjsiç. He has related from Zayd and [from] Imam al-°jdiç ('a) [as well].

Al-Najjishç mentions ['Amru] in his *Rijl* (pg.205; India edition) saying: "He has a voluminous book from which NaŸr bin Muzjlim al-Minqjrç and others have narrated." In his *Rijl* (pg.128; Najaf edition), Shaikh al-°çsç considers him to be among the companions of Imam al-Bjçir ('a)."

Al-Mjmqjç has mentioned him in his *al-Tançç*' (2:330) and so has al-'Asqaljç in *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (8:36).

5. Fjçimah bint 'Alç, as she has been referred to by *al-±abarç*. She narrated [what transpired in] the court of Yazçd. [Abç Mikhnaf related this report from her] through °jrih bin Ka'b al-Wjlibç al-Azdç (*al-±abari*:5:461-462). It is clear that the person who narrated [reports] from her and Imam al-Sajjd ('a), is one and the same.

6. Abç Sa'çd 'AqçŸj. [Abç 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*:5:385).

'Alljmah al-°illç mentions him in the circle of the companions of 'Alç ('a) in the first part of his work, *al-KhuljŸah*.¹ Al-Dhahabç mentions him in *Mçzjn al-I'tidjl* saying: "He has related [reports] from 'Alç ('a)." He then says: "According to Shu'bah, he is reliable and his name is

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

D̥n̥j̥r. He was a Sh̥c̥'ah who died in 125 H."¹ We have already mentioned him earlier [see the fourth list (no.1)].

7. Mu'ammad bin Qais. He narrated: the letter of Imam al-°usain ('a) which he sent with Qais bin Musahhar al-°aid̥j̥w̥c̥ to the people of K̥f̥ah and the martyrdom of [Ibn Musahhar]; Muslim bin 'Aq̥l's letter to al-°usain ['a]; the words of 'Abdullah bin Muš̥c̥' al-'Adaw̥c̥ to the Imam ('a) and his reply, through an incomplete chain of narration (*al-±abari*:5:394-396); and the martyrdom of °ab̥c̥b bin Mu°̥j̥hir, [also] through an incomplete chain of narration (5:440).

Al-Kashh̥c̥ says: "[Mu'ammad once] informed Imam al-B̥iq̥ir ('a) [of his narrations], so he ('a) stopped him from listening to such and such person."² Al-Kashh̥c̥ [then] describes him as a defender of the divine leadership (*im̥mah*) of Imam al-B̥iq̥ir ('a).³

Al-Najj̥sh̥c̥ says regarding him: "He is a notable personality and reliable. He was from K̥f̥ah. He has narrations from Ab̥£ Ja'far [al-B̥iq̥ir] and Ab̥£ 'Abdillah [al-°̥diq ('a)]".⁴

Shaikh al-±̥s̥c̥ has mentioned him in *al-Fihrist* under entries 591 and 644.⁵ In his *Rij̥l*, al-±̥s̥c̥ has mentioned four persons, with this very name, to be among the companions of Imam al-°̥diq ('a).⁶ So has 'All̥mah al-°ill̥c̥

¹ *M̥c̥z̥n al-I'tid̥l* (2:139).

² *Rij̥l al-Kashh̥c̥* (pg.340; 1ad̥c̥th no.630).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.237; 1ad̥c̥th no.430).

⁴ *Rij̥l al-Najj̥sh̥c̥* (pg.226; India edition).

⁵ *Al-Fihrist* (pg.157&176).

⁶ *Rij̥l al-±̥s̥c̥* (pg.298, entry no.294; Najaf edition).

in *al-Khul̥j̥h̥*.¹

8. 'Abdullah bin Shar̥c̥k al-'°mir̥c̥ al-Nahd̥c̥. He related from 'Al̥c̥ bin al-°usain ('a): al-°usain's request for respite for the night of '°sh̥f̥r̥j̥'; the Imam's speech to his companions; the verses recited by al-°usain ('a) on the night of '°sh̥f̥r̥j̥', the words of [Lady] Zainab ('a) and his reply to her (*al-±abari*:5:418&420).

He has also narrated through an incomplete chains of narration reports about the arrival of Shamir at Karbal̥j̥' with the letter of safe-conduct for the brothers of 'Abb̥is ('a), and Ibn Sa'd's advancing against al-°usain ('a) in the evening of the ninth of Mu'arram (5: 415&416).

Al-Kashh̥c̥ says that he was a disciple of Imam al-B̥iq̥ir and al-°̥diq ('a).²

According to a narration, ['Abdullah] will return to this world and be at the service al-Q̥im ('a), may Allah hasten his reappearance.³ [Yet] according to another tradition, he will be the standard bearer on that day."⁴

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

9. Ab̥£ Kh̥lid al-K̥j̥bul̥c̥. He related a report, through an

¹ *Al-Khul̥j̥h̥* (pg.150, entry no.60 onwards; Najaf edition).

² *Rij̥l al-Kashh̥c̥* (pg.10, 1ad̥c̥th no.20).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.217, 1ad̥c̥th no.390).

⁴ *Ibid*, (1ad̥c̥th no.391).

incomplete chain of narration, about the supplication of al-°usain (‘a) on the morning of [the day of] ‘ash&ringr’. (*al-±abari*:5:423).

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

Al-Kashh&ringr&ringr says that he fled from °aj&ringr j&ringr and hid himself in Makkah and was thus saved from him. He [then] served Mu&ringr ammad bin al-°anaf&ringr iyyah, believing in his divine leadership (*im&ringr mah*). Later, he turned away from him to Imam al-Saj&ringr j&ringr d (‘a)¹ and became his disciple from among his companions². He served the Imam (‘a) for a long time before returning to his [home] town.³

Shaikh al-±&ringr s&ringr&ringr has counted him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Saj&ringr j&ringr d (‘a).⁴

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that he was among those non-Arabs (*maw&ringr jl&ringr&ringr*) who were [supporting] Mukht&ringr r. And this is why he believed in the *im&ringr mah* of Mu&ringr ammad bin al-°anaf&ringr iyyah and fled from °aj&ringr j&ringr; as there was no [other] reason for his fleeing from °aj&ringr j&ringr except that [he was with Mukht&ringr r].

10. ‘Uqbah bin Bash&ringr&ringr al-Asad&ringr. He related from Imam al-B&ringr q&ringr r (‘a) the martyrdom of the infant [of al-°usain (‘a)] (*al-±abari*:5:453).

¹ Ibid, (pg.124, lad&ringr th no.195).

² Ibid, (pg.9, lad&ringr th no.20).

³ Ibid, (pg.121, lad&ringr th no.193).

⁴ *Rij&ringr l al-±&ringr s&ringr&ringr* (pg.100, entry no.2, under the name ‘Kankar’).

Al-Kashh&ringr&ringr mentions him [in his *Rij&ringr l*] and says: “He sought the permission of Imam al-B&ringr q&ringr r (‘a) to be in charge of the monthly stipends of his people for the [then] ruler, but he (‘a) did not allow him.” Al-Kashh&ringr&ringr has brought the [above] report of his under the narrations of the martyrdom of the infant.¹

Shaikh al-±&ringr s&ringr&ringr has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam ‘Al&ringr&ringr bin al-°usain² and al-B&ringr q&ringr r (‘a)³.

‘Uqbah al-Asad&ringr has an elegy in *al-±abar&ringr&ringr* in lamentation of the companions of Mukht&ringr r (6:116).

11. Qud&ringr mah bin Sa’&ringr&ringr&ringr&ringr&ringr&ringr bin Z&ringr idah bin Qud&ringr mah al-Thaqaf&ringr. He narrated from him grandfather: the coming out of Mu&ringr ammad bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kind&ringr to fight and capture Muslim bin ‘Aq&ringr l (*al-±abari*:5:373), and his request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way] it was granted (5:375).

Al-±&ringr s&ringr&ringr mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-°id&ringr iq (‘a).⁴

12. °&ringr rith bin Ka’b al-W&ringr lib&ringr al-Azd&ring. He narrated [reports] from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’&ringr n, ‘Al&ringr&ringr bin al-°usain (‘a) and F&ringr&ringr&ringr&ringr&ringr&ringr bint ‘Al&ringr&ringr (‘a).

He was among the followers of Mukht&ringr r (*al-±abari*:6:23). He later moved to Mad&ringr nah and heard [narrations] from Imam [al-Saj&ringr j&ringr d (‘a)].

Al-±&ringr s&ringr&ringr has mentioned him in his *Rij&ringr l* among the

¹ *Rij&ringr l alKashh&ringr&ringr* (pg.203, lad&ringr th no.358).

² *Rij&ringr l al-±&ringr s&ringr&ringr* (pg.99, entry no.32; Najaf edition).

³ Ibid, (pg.129, entry no.29).

⁴ Ibid, (pg.129, entry no.29).

companions of ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a).¹

13. °irith bin °aYçrah al-Azdç. He related from ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a) on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Sharçk al-°amirç al-Nahdç. He has been mentioned earlier [see the fifth list (no.21)].

Al-±£sç mentions him among the companions of ‘Alç [bin al-°usain (‘a)] and al-Biqir (‘a).²

14. Ab£ °amzah Thibit bin Dçnr al-Thumjlç al-Azdç. He was an Azdç through a treaty of friendship (*wali*). He related [reports] from Qçsim bin Bukhait, on the authority of ‘Abdullah al-Thumjlç al-Azdç, regarding the captives in Shjm (*al-±abari*:5:465).

Al-Kashhç mentions him and then relates a tradition from Imam al-Riçj (‘a) in which he said: “Ab£ °amzah al-Thumjlç was in his time what Luqmjn was in his; this is because he served four of us: ‘Alç bin al-°usain, Mu’ammad bin ‘Alç, Ja’far bin Mu’ammad and M£Yç bin Ja’far for sometime.”³

°amir bin ‘Abdullah bin Judhi’ah al-Azdç [once] asked Ab£ ‘Abdillah [al-°idiq] (‘a) about intoxicants (*muskir*). He replied: “Any kind of intoxicant is forbidden (*harjm*).” [°amir] then said: “But Ab£ °amzah does drink.” When the news reached Ab£ °amzah, he repented and said: “Now I seek Allah’s forgiveness from it and repent to Him.”⁴

¹ *Rijl al-±£sç* (pg.87; Najaf edition).

² *Ibid*, (pg.39&118).

³ *Rijl al-Kashhç* (pg.203, ladçth no.357 and pg.485, ladçth no.919).

⁴ *Ibid*, (pg.201, ladçth no.354; Mashad edition).

[One day] Ab£ BaYçr visited Imam al-°idiq (‘a), so he (‘a) asked him about Ab£ °amzah. He replied: “He was sick when I left him.” The Imam [°a] said: “When you return to him, convey my greetings to him and inform him that he is going to die on a certain day of a certain month.”¹

‘Alç bin al-°asan bin Faççjl says: “Ab£ °amzah, Zurjrah and Mu’ammad bin Muslim [all of them] died in the same year; a year or so after the demise of Ab£ ‘Abdillah [al-°idiq] (‘a).”²

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’jbç al-Tamçmç, he was a retainer of Muhallab bin Abç °ufrah and his sons: °amzah, ManYçr and N£l, all of whom were killed along with Zayd bin ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a). He lived during the times of ‘Alç bin al-°usain, Ab£ Ja’far, Ab£ ‘Abdillah and Ab£ al-°asan (‘a), and has reported from them. He was among our outstanding personalities, trustworthy and reliable in [his] narrations.”³

Shaikh [al-±£sç] brings him in *al-Fihrist*⁴ and mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajjd⁵, Imam al-Biqir⁶, Imam al-°idiq⁷ and Imam al-Kçim (‘a).⁸

¹ *Ibid*, (pg.202, ladçth no.356).

² *Ibid*, (pg.201, ladçth no.353).

³ *Ibid*, (pg.83; India edition).

⁴ *Al-Fihrist* (pg.66; Najaf edition).

⁵ *Rijl al-±£sç* (pg.84; Najaf edition).

⁶ *Ibid*, (pg.110).

⁷ *Ibid*, (pg.160).

⁸ *Ibid*, (pg.345).

Al-Dhahabç has mentioned him in *al-Mçzin*¹ and so has al-‘Asqalīnç in *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb*.²

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

[However,] there are [some] other people from whom Abç Mikhnaf has related some historical events, who were not eye-witnesses [of the event], rather they were historians, like ‘Aun bin Abç Ju‘aifah al-Sawjç al-Kffç (d.116 H), as reported in *Taqrçb al-Tahdhçb*. [Abç Mikhnaf narrated from him,] among other reports, the date al-°usain (‘a) left Madçnah for Makkah, the duration of his stay in the city and his departure from Makkah, [all] through °aq’ab bin Zuhair.

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

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



¹ *Mçzin al-I’tidjl* (1:363).

² *Tahdhçb al-Tahdhçb* (2:7).

AL- \circ USAIN (‘A) IN MAD \ll NAH

[Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah’s¹ Last Will]

\pm abar $\dot{\text{c}}$ reports in his *Tjrk $\dot{\text{c}}$ kh* (5:322) saying: “Thereafter began the year 60 H...In this year Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah took allegiance for Yaz $\dot{\text{c}}$ d from a delegation that had come to see him together with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy $\dot{\text{d}}$.

His will was as Hish $\dot{\text{m}}$ bin Mu $\dot{\text{a}}$ hammad has reported from Ab $\dot{\text{f}}$ Mikhnaf who says that ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mus $\dot{\text{q}}$ liq bin ‘Abdullah bin Makhramah has narrated to me saying:

“When Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah became afflicted with the illness that

¹ *Al- \pm abar $\dot{\text{c}}$* : Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah bin $\dot{\text{a}}$ akhr bin \circ arb bin Umayyah bin ‘Abd Shams. He was born 25 years before the migration [of the Prophet (ﷺ) to Mad $\dot{\text{c}}$ nah] (5:325). Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah was with his father Ab $\dot{\text{f}}$ Sufy $\dot{\text{n}}$ in all his battles against the Prophet (ﷺ). He embraced Islam together with his father in 8 H, the year of the conquest of Makkah. The Prophet (ﷺ) then made him and his father in charge of the people whose hearts were to be won over (3:90). ‘Umar appointed him as the governor of Sh $\dot{\text{m}}$ (3:604) and he retained this position till ‘Uthm $\dot{\text{m}}$ was assassinated. He rose against ‘Al $\dot{\text{c}}$, the Commander of the Faithful, to avenge ‘Uthm $\dot{\text{m}}$ ’s blood and fought him at $\dot{\text{r}}$ iff $\dot{\text{c}}$ n for the same. He continued to stand against the Commander of the Faithful until the latter was martyred. Therafter he fought \circ asan bin ‘Al $\dot{\text{c}}$ till the month of Jum $\dot{\text{d}}$ al- $\dot{\text{r}}$ ij of the year 41 H when he signed a peace treaty with him. This year came to be known as the Year of Unity (‘*jm al-jam $\dot{\text{j}}$ ’ah*). He ruled for 19 years and just under three months and died in the beginning of Rajab of the year 60 H, at the age of 85, based on what \pm abari narrated from al-Kalb $\dot{\text{c}}$ and who, in turn, was reporting from his father (5:325).

took his life, he called upon his son Yaz $\dot{\text{c}}$ d¹ and said: My dear son! I have spared you the trouble of travelling and going from one place to another [for attaining the caliphate]; I have prepared the grounds for you; I have humbled the enemies for you; I have subjugated the Arabs for you; and I have produced a consensus [among them] in favour of you.² I have no fear that anyone will contend with

¹ *Al- \pm abar $\dot{\text{c}}$* : He was born in the year 28 H. His mother was Mais $\dot{\text{f}}$ n bint Bajdal al-Kalb $\dot{\text{c}}$. Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah summoned the people in 56 H to pay their allegiance to Yaz $\dot{\text{c}}$ d as his heir apparent and in 59 H he took allegiance from different delegations. Yaz $\dot{\text{c}}$ d assumed leadership in the beginning of Rajab 60 H, a few months after reaching the age of 32. He died at \circ aww $\dot{\text{r}}$ $\dot{\text{c}}$ n on the 14th night of Rab $\dot{\text{c}}$ ’ al-Awwal 64 H (5:499). Accordingly, he ruled for a period of 3 years, 8 months and 14 days, and was 36 years of age when he died. We shall comment in the coming pages on the presence of Yaz $\dot{\text{c}}$ d at his father’s deathbed. In *Tadhkirat al-Khaw $\dot{\text{r}}$ ij* (pg.235), Sib $\dot{\text{s}}$ bin al-Jawz $\dot{\text{c}}$ agrees [with the opinion that he was present]. The same has been reported by Shaikh al- $\dot{\text{a}}$ d $\dot{\text{f}}$ q in his *Am $\dot{\text{j}}$ l $\dot{\text{c}}$* through a chain of narration which goes back to Imam ‘Ali bin al- \circ usain (‘a). Al-Khw $\dot{\text{r}}$ azm $\dot{\text{c}}$ narrates in his *Maqtal al- \circ usain* (pg.177) from A $\dot{\text{m}}$ ad bin al-A $\dot{\text{t}}$ ham al-K $\dot{\text{f}}$ f $\dot{\text{c}}$ (d.314 H) that Yaz $\dot{\text{c}}$ d was present at that moment, but then left for hunting and returned after three days. On his return, he entered the palace and was not seen for another three days. This might have been the case, or, perhaps, Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah had two separate wills; one in the presence of Yaz $\dot{\text{c}}$ d and another in his absence, and which was reported by two people whom we shall mention later. For this very reason, we find differences in the two wills.

² This was done over a period of ten years, from the year 50 H uptil the time of his death in 60 H. \pm abar $\dot{\text{c}}$ (5:301) has mentioned the [following] reason for that: In the year 49 H, Mugh $\dot{\text{c}}$ rah bin Shu’bah had come to see Mu’ $\dot{\text{w}}$ iyah from K $\dot{\text{f}}$ fah, fleeing from the plague that had then struck the city. Mugh $\dot{\text{c}}$ rah had been the governor in the city since the year 41 H. He was complaining to Mu $\dot{\text{j}}$ ’wiyah of his deficiency and requested him to accept his

you in this matter which has already been settled in your favour, except for four people from the Quraish: ^ousain bin ‘Al^o, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar¹,

resignation from the office. Mu’^jwiyah accepted his resignation and thought of appointing Sa’^od bin al-^o in his place. This aroused Mugh^orah’s jealousy and so he came to Yaz^od and proposed his allegiance to him as the crown prince. Yaz^od brought the matter to this father and he reinstated Mugh^orah in the office and ordered him to return to K^ofah and prepare the people for Yaz^od’s heir-apparency. So Mugh^orah went back to K^ofah and discharged this duty and sent a delegation to Mu’^jwiyah for this purpose.

Mu’^jwiyah wrote to Ziy^od bin Sumayyah -who was then his governor in Ba^orah since 45 H- asking for his advice on the issue. So Ziy^od sent ‘Ubaid bin Ka’ab al-Numair^o al-Azd^o to Yaz^od proposing that the latter should leave all detestable behavior so that it would be easier for the governors to rally people round him. Ziy^od passed away in K^ofah in the month of Ramadh^on 53 H, while he was in charge of Ba^orah and K^ofah (*‘ir^oqain*).

Mu’^jwiyah went to *‘umrah* in the month of Rajab 56 H and there he announced that he had appointed Yaz^od as his successor and invited people to swear allegiance to him. Sa’^od bin ‘Uthm^on bin ‘Aff^on approached Mu’^jwiyah and declared his opposition to that upon which Yaz^od intervened and requested him to be appointed as the governor of Khur^os^on, and Mu’^jwiyah did that. Marw^on – who was then his governor in Mad^onah since the year 54 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 57 H, as reported by *al-^oabar^o* (5:309). Al-Mas’^od^o has extensively mentioned about Marw^on’s opposition in *Mur^oaj al-Dhahab* (3:38).

Finally, in the year 60 H ‘Ubaid Allah bin Ziy^od -Mu’^jwiyah’s governor in Ba^orah since 55 H- dispatched a delegation to Mu’^jwiyah and he took their allegiance on Yaz^od’s heir-apparency (5:322).

¹ *Al-^oabar^o*: He was born a few days after the beginning [of the month] of Sha’b^on in the year 4 H (3:555). He lived with his

‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair² and ‘Abd al-Ra’^om^on bin Ab^o Bakr.¹

grandfather, the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ), for 6 years, and with his father, the Commander of the Faithful [‘Al^o (‘a)], for 30 years. In the year 30 H and during the reign of ‘Uthm^on, he took part in a military expedition to Khur^os^on together with his brother, al-^oasan (‘a), ^oudhaifah bin al-Yam^on^o, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abb^os and a number of other Prophet’s companions, under the leadership of Sa’^od bin al-^o (4:269).

He spent 10 years with his brother ^oasan (‘a), while the period of his divine leadership (*im^omah*), after al-^oasan (‘a), also lasted for 10 years. He was a contemporary of Mu’^jwiyah bin Ab^o Sufy^on during these ten years until the latter’s death. Al-^ousain (‘a) was martyred in Karbal^o’ on Friday, 10th of Mu^oarram 61 H and was, at that time, fifty-six years and six months of age.

¹ *Al-^oabar^o*: He did not pay allegiance to ‘Al^o (‘a) after ‘Uthm^on. ‘Al^o (‘a) is narrated to have told him: “You are ill-natured, both when you were a child and as a man” (4:428), or, according to another report, he said: “Had it not been because of what I know of your ill-nature, both as a child and now as a man, you would not have renounced me.” (4:436). However, he prevented his sister, ^oaf^oah, from accompanying ‘^oishah when she rose [against ‘Al^o (‘a)] (4:451). He also refrained from joining ^oallah and Zubair in their revolt against ‘Al^o (‘a) (4:460). Beside that, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar was the son in-law of Ab^o M^osa^o al-Ash’ar^o. When the latter was approached for the arbitration, he invited ‘Abdullah along with a group of other people. Al-Ash’ar^o also refused the proposal of ‘Amru bin al-^o that ‘Abdullah should be made the caliph. But when the matter was settled in favour of Mu’^jwiyah, ‘Abdullah took his side (5:58).

Although he did not pay allegiance to Yaz^od at this stage, he wrote him a letter after the martyrdom of al-^ousain (‘a) requesting for the release of Mukht^or, his brother in-law. Yaz^od granted his request and ‘Abdullah might have paid allegiance to him after this (5:571). But al-Mas’^od^o clearly states that he paid allegiance to Yaz^od through Wal^od, and to Marw^on through ^oajj^o (*Mur^oaj al-Dhahab*: 2:316).

² *Al-^oabar^o*: He was born in the first or the second year of Hijrah.

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 °usayn bin ‘Aḷ, the people of Iraq will never leave him until they cause him to rise.² If he were to rise against

He defended ‘Uthṃn during the siege until he sustained injuries (4:328). He did this on the order of his father, Zubair (4:385), whom ‘Uthṃn had entrusted with a will (4:387). ‘Abdullah participated with his father in the battle of Jamal and prevented him from repenting (4:502), at the time when “ishah had already assigned him the treasure house of Baʿrah. He was her half brother through her mother, Umm Ṛṃn (4:377). ‘Abdullah was injured in the battle of Jamal and was taken off the field and he later recovered (4:509). ‘Aḷ (‘a) used to call him ‘the evil son’ (4:509). He was with Mu’jwiyah and was sent together with ‘Amru bin al-° to fight Mu’ammad bin Aḅ Bakr. When ‘Amru sought to kill Mu’ammad, ‘Abdullah interceded with Mu’jwiyah on his behalf, but he did not accept (5:104). After the martyrdom of al-°usayn (‘a), ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair revolted in Makkah (5:474). He continued with his struggle there for twelve years until he was killed at the hands of °ajj̣ during the reign of Abd al-Malik bin Marẉn, in Juṃda al-°ḷ 73 H (6:187). In an expedition personally led by ‘Abd al-Malik, °ajj̣ had also killed ‘Abdullah’s brother, Muʿab, at al-Anḅr a year before.

¹ The author of Usud al-Gḥbah says: “‘Abd al-Raʿṃn bin Aḅ Bakr left for Makkah before the allegiance to Yaẓd was accomplished and he died at a place called °abasḥ, about ten miles from Makkah, in the year 55 H.” This report is not in agreement with the above will, and Allah knows best.

² He came to know this from what the people of Iraq had written to the Imam (‘a) while he was in Maḍnah, after the death of his brother al-°asan (‘a), as reported by al-Ya’q̣ḅ (2:216). According to al-Ya’q̣ḅ, “The people of Iraq were waiting for 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.

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

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

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

[Mu’jwiyah’s Death]

[Mu’jwiyah died in the beginning of Rajab 60 H]³. @aʿ̣k bin Qais [al-Fiḥṛ]⁴ came out from the palace and went on

Mu’jwiyah then left the issue.”

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

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

³ *Al-ʿabaṛ* (5:324): “Hisḥṃ bin Mu’ammad has said...” Page 338 of the same book says: “Hisḥṃ bin Mu’ammad reported on the authority of Aḅ Mikhnaf that Yaẓd ascended the throne in the beginning of Rajab 60 H.”

⁴ *Al-ʿabaṛ*: He was with Mu’jwiyah in the battle of ʿiff̣ṇ and was appointed by him as the commander of the foot soldiers, the

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

heart of the Damascus army. Later Mu'jwiyah assigned him the administration of a peninsula under his control in °arrjn. He thus became the focus of the partisans of °Uthmjn living in Ba°rah and K°fah. In the year 36 H, °Al° sent Mjlik al-Ashtar al-Nakha° to confront him. Mu'jwiyah then appointed al-Fihrc as the head of his bodyguards in Damascus. He sent him to K°fah in 55 H in order to invite people to pay allegiance to Yaz°d as heir apparent. In the year 58 H, he called him back (5:309). *Al-Mas'£de* (2:328): "He reinstated him as the head of the bodyguards. He continued to hold this position till 60 H when the delegation sent by °Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd from Ba°rah arrived in Damascus and Mu'jwiyah took allegiance from them for his son Yaz°d." It seems natural that he should have remained in this position until the time when the prisoners from the Prophet's family entered Shjm.

Al-±abari: When Mu'jwiyah bin Yaz°d died in the year 64 H, °a°jk invited the people first towards himself and later to Ibn al-Zubair! When Marwjn arrived in Shjm and met °Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd from Iraq, the latter tempted Marwjn to take up the caliphate. So Marwjn started inviting people towards himself and they paid him allegiance. This prompted al-°a°jk to lead a protest against Marwjn in Damascus and, later, rise to fight him at Marj Rjhi°, a few miles away from Damascus. The fight lasted for twenty days, at the end of which °a°jk was killed and his side defeated. His head was brought to Marwjn in the month of Mu°arram 64 or 65 H (5:535-544). The Commander of the Faithful (°a) used to curse °a°jk in the *qun£t* of his prayers as reported in *al-±abar°* (5:71) and *Waq'at Siffin* (pg.72).

barzakh till the Day of Judgement. Whosoever among you wishes to attend his funeral should come [at noon]."

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

¹ This is how the narration by *al-±abar°* leaves off at the will and picks up again at the dispatch of the messenger to Yaz°d, without any mention of his journey and the place he was. For this reason ±abar° gives another report after this one, based on the authority of Hishjm from °Awjnah bin al-°akam (d. 157) [who says]: "Yaz°d was not present, so Mu'awiyah called °a°jk bin Qais al-Fihrc -who was the head of his bodyguards- and Muslim bin °Aqabah al-Mariyy -who led the raid of °arraah in Mad°nah- and made his will. Then he told them: "Inform Yaz°d of my will."

This narration from *al-±abar°* about the will of Mu'jwiyah slightly differs from that of Ab£ Mikhnaf, both in wording and meaning. [Firstly,] while Ab£ Mikhnaf's report mentions °Abd al-Ra°mjn bin °Umar as one of the four people about whom Mu'jwiyah was apprehensive that they might not pay allegiance to Yaz°d, this narration omits him.

[Secondly,] in the previous account Yaz°d is advised not to avenge al-°usain (°a), while in the present narration from *al-±abar°*, Mu'jwiyah hopes that Allah would save Yaz°d through those who killed the father of al-°usain [°a] and abandoned his brother -i.e. the people of K°fah.

[Thirdly,] Ab£ Mikhnaf reports that Mu'jwiyah advised Yaz°d to tear Ibn al-Zubair to pieces, while this narration enjoins him to make peace and not engage in bloodshed with the Quraish!

What backs the account of *al-±abar°* is the fact that °Abd al-Ra°mjn bin Ab° Bakr is not mentioned in Yazid's letter to Walid, and also that °Abd al-Ra°mjn died in the year 55 H as previously reported by *Usud al-Ghjbah*. In addition to that, the appointment of Ibn Ziyjd 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 Yaz°d was at the time of his father's death, *al-±abar°* (5:10) narrates from °Al° bin Mu°ammad that

said:

A carrier with a letter came trotting,

Casting fear in the heart, frightening.

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

As if uprooted were its every foundation.

One whose soul remains in apprehension,

Almost brings about that which he does fear.

I found the mansion gate closed when I came near,

Ramlah's voice wrecked my heart and it was rent apart.¹

[Yazꝥd's letter to Walꝥd]

Yaz'îd assumed power in the beginning of Rajab in the year 60 H. The governor of Mad'înah at the time was Wal'îd bin 'Utbah bin Ab'î Sufyân², while 'Amru bin Sa'âd bin al-'a'ayy

he was at ʿawwarġn. Al-Khwārazmī relates in his *Maqātāl* (pg.177) from Ibn al-Aʿtham that Yazġd had left for ʿaurġn on the same day, after the will, for hunting. He thus reconciles between the present version of the will and the absence of Yazġd at the time of Muʾjwayah's death.

¹ *Al-ʿabar*: “I narrate, on the authority of Hishām bin Muʿammad, from Abī Mikhnaf who said: “ʿAbd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Masʿūq bin ʿAbdullah bin Makhramah told me that when Muʿjwiyah died...” (5:327)

² *Al-ʿabari*: He became the governor of Madḡnah on the order of Muʿjwiyah in the year 58 H (5:309). Yazʿd dismissed him in the month of Ramaḡn of the same year for not handling the issue of Imam al-ʿusain (ʿa) seriously, and instead appointed ʿAmru bin Saʿd al-Ashdaq in his place (5:343). His father was ʿUtbah bin Abʿ Sufyān who was among the supporters of Muʿjwiyah at

was the governor of Makkah.¹

ʿiffən. According to *Waq'at ʿiffən* (pg.417), his grandfather had been earlier killed by 'Alç ('a).

The last place we read of Walḡd in *al-ṭabarḡ* is as follows: “After the death of Yazḡd, @allīk called on the people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair. Walḡd swore at @allīk due to which the latter imprisoned him (5:533).

Mu'addith al-Qumḥ says in *Tatimmat al-Muntahj* (pg.49) that Walḥd attended the funeral prayer of Mu'jwiyah bin Yazḥd bin Mu'jwiyah where he was stabbed to death.

¹ He was appointed by Yazʿd as the governor of Madʿnah in the month of Ramaḏjūn 60 H. He also designated him as the head of pilgrimage affairs, thus he led the people to ʿajj in the year 60 H. This supports the assertion that Yazʿd had ordered him to assassinate al-ʿusain [ʿa] wherever he found him, even if he was holding to the covering of the Kaʿbah.

He was paid allegiance as an heir apparent of Kḥlīd bin Mu'jwiyah bin Yaẓʿd 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 64 H, after the death of Mu'jwiyah bin Yaẓʿd. It was agreed then that 'Amru would assume the governorship of Damascus the same day.

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

Nu’ṃn bin Basḥr al-Aṇj̣ṛ¹ was the governor of Ḳf̣ah¹

°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 69, 70 or 71 H, he came out to fight Zafr bin al-°iṛith al-Kiḷḅ, or was heading towards Dair al-J̣thaḷq̣ to fight Muḥ̣ab bin al-Zubair. He left behind ‘Abd al-Rạṃn al-Thaqaf̣ as his deputy in Damascus. So ‘Amru bin Sa’̣d al-Ashdaq said to ‘Abd al-Malik: “You are going towards Iraq, so appoint me as your deputy in your absence.” ‘Abd al-Malik refused to do so, so al-Ashdaq went back to Damascus while al-Thaqaf̣ fled from it. However, ‘Abd al-Malik personally traveled to Damascus, reconciled their differences and entered the city. He then assassinated al-Ashdaq in his palace with his own hands (6:140-148). ‘Amru al-Ashdaq’s father, Sa’̣d bin al-°ayỵ was ‘Uthṃn’s governor in Ḳf̣ah. The people of Ḳf̣ah had once complained against him to ‘Uthṃn for consuming intoxicants. The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Aḷ bin Aḅ ±̣lib (‘a), executed on him the legal punishment [specified by the Shaṛ’ah].

The following report has appeared in *Majma’ al-Zaẉj̣d* (5:240) of Ibn °ajar al-Haithaṃ, and also in *Taḥ̣ṛ al-J̣ṇn* which has been collected on the margins of *°aẉj̣q al-Mu’riqah*: “From Aḅ Hurairah who said: ‘I heard the Messenger of Allah (Ḥ) saying: ‘Verily, a tyrant from among the tyrants of the Baṇ Umayyah shall have a nose-bleed on my pulpit which shall flow [on it].’ This happened exactly in the case of ‘Amru bin Sa’̣d who had a nose-bleed while on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allah (Ḥ) and his blood flowed [on it]!”

¹ He was a Khazraj̣. In his *Rij̣l* (pg.30), Shaikh al-±̣ṣ counts him among the companions of the Prophet (Ḥ), while according to ±̣abaṛ (4:430) he was among those who did not pay allegiance to ‘Aḷ (‘a) after the death of ‘Uthṃn and instead joined Mu’̣ẉyah and supported him at ̣iff̣n. Later, He was sent by Mu’̣ẉyah to raid ‘Ain Tamr, and he did that as reported in *al-±̣abaṛ* (5:133; The Events of the Year 34 H). In 58 H, Mu’̣ẉyah appointed Nu’ṃn as the governor of Ḳf̣ah and he continued to hold this position until the former died. After

succeeding Mu’̣ẉyah, Yaẓd replaced Nu’ṃn in 60 H with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziỵd. Nu’ṃn thus returned to Yaẓd and was with him till the martyrdom of Imam al-°usain (‘a). He accompanied the family of the Imam (‘a) to Maḍnah on the order of Yaẓd (5:462). He once again went back to Sḥṃ and was with Yaẓd till he sent him to Maḍnah to dissuade the Aṇj̣ṛ from supporting ‘Abdullah bin °an’alah, and warn them of opposing Yaẓd, but they did not pay heed to him (5:481).

¹ *Al-±̣abaṛ*: Sa’d bin Aḅ Waqq̣ḡ wrote to ‘Umar [bin al-Khaṣṣ̣ib] about the success granted by Allah to the Muslims in conquering Jalwaḷ. 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 Jiḥd.” Hence, Sa’d stopped at al-Anḅṛ 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 Ḳf̣ah. (3:579)

Literally, Ḳf̣ah means a plain with pebbles and red sand (3:619). Any area with red sand is called ‘*sahlah*’. An area covered with the mixture of such pebbles and sand is called Ḳf̣ah (4:41). Ḳf̣ah had three regions: °iṛqah, Umm ‘Amru and Silsilah (4:41). In the month of Mu’arram 17 H, Sa’d and his men erected structures made of reed. There occurred a great fire in Ḳf̣ah due to which eighty structures were destroyed, and the reeds razed to the ground by the month of Shawẉl. 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.” Aḅ al-Hayỵj̣ bin Ṃlik was the person in charge of accommodating people in Ḳf̣ah, so Sa’d sent him a message informing him of ‘Umar’s order regarding the plan for the city, and that the following method must be followed: the main streets were to be 40 arms-length wide; the streets following that should be 30 arms-length; 20 arms-length for smaller streets; and 7 arms-length for the alleys. Nothing should be below this.

and the governor of Baḡrah was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyīd.¹

The experts then gathered to assess the plan and Abī 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 Kēfah was the mosque. It was located on that side of the market in Kēfah which was held by the date and soap sellers. A man good in archery stood in the middle of the place where the mosque was to be constructed and shot arrows to his right, before and behind him, and then declared that everyone is free to build houses beyond the points the arrows have landed. A canopy of two hundred arm-lengths was erected in the front part of the mosque. It was placed on marble columns which belonged to the Persian kings; while its ceiling was similar to that of Roman churches. A ditch was dug around it to mark its borders in order to prevent encroachment. A residence was built for Sa'd adjacent to the mosque, separated by an overlaid street of 200 arm-lengths. The treasure houses were located at this very place. This was the palace of Kēfah which was constructed for him by Rēzbah out of the burnt bricks used for the buildings of the Persian kings at °ērah (4:44&45).

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

¹ *Al-±abarē*: 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyīd was born in the year 20 H (5:297). In the year 41 H, Busr bin Aršjī imprisoned him in Baḡrah together with his two brothers: 'Abbīd and 'Abd al-Ra'mīn. He then wrote to Ziyīd saying: "You should present yourself before Mu'jwiyah, or else I will kill your sons." (5:168). Ziyīd died in 53 H (5:288), so his son 'Ubaidullah went to see

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

So he wrote to Walēd:

Mu'jwiyah who then appointed him as the governor of Khurjīn in the year 54 H (5:297). In 55 H he was transferred to Baḡrah, leaving Aslam bin Zur'ah al-Kalbē over Khurjīn (5:306). During his governorship in Khurjīn, 'Ubaidullah had launched an attack on Bukhīrjī highlands and conquered the cities of Ramēthnah and Bikand. He captured two thousand archers from Bukhīrjī, won their hearts and brought them to Baḡrah with himself (5:298). Mu'jwiyah also appointed 'Abbīd bin Ziyīd as the governor of Sajistīn, and 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Ziyīd as the administrator of Khurjīn together with his brother 'Ubaidullah (5:315). 'Ubaidullah held this position for two years (5:316), and was then also made in charge of Kermīn. Thereafter, Sharēk bin al-A'war al-°jirithē al-Hamdīnē was assigned over Kermīn (5:321). Later, Yazēd dismissed 'Abbīd from Sajistīn and 'Abd al-Ra'mīn from Khurjīn and appointed Silm bin Ziyīd, their brother, over both the places; and he later sent Yazēd bin Ziyīd, Silm's other brother, to Sajistīn (5:471). In 60 H, Yazēd made 'Ubaidullah in charge of Kēfah, so he left Baḡrah under his brother, 'Uthmīn bin Ziyīd (5:358). 'Ubaidullah was forty years old when al-°usayn ('a) was martyred. He returned to Baḡrah in 61 H. When Yazēd and his son Mu'jwiyah died, the people of Baḡrah paid allegiance to 'Ubaidullah temporarily and until the next caliph had been chosen. But then they opposed him and so he went to Shīm (5:503) together with his brother 'Abdullah in 64 H (5:513). 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 (5:530) where he fought the [members of the] movement of Tawwībēn in the year 65 H and defeated them (5:598). Then he fought Mukhtīr in 66 H (6:81) where he and those with him from Shīm were killed in 67 H (6:87).

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. From Yaẓd -the commander of the faithful- to Waḷd bin ‘Uṭbah... Indeed, Mu’j̣wiyah 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.”^{1,2}

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:338): “Hisḥm bin Mu‘ammad 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 (*q̣jla*)’, 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.235), also from Hisḥm, and of Shaikh al-Muf̣ḍ in *al-Irsḥd* (pg.200), which is either from Hisḥm or al-Maḍj̣ṇ. However, al-Ya’q̣f̣ḅ reproduces in his *Taṛkh* (2:229) 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 me their heads. Also invite the people to pay their allegiance. And whosoever refuses [to do so], then carry out my order on him, [and] on °usain bin ‘Aḷ and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair. That is all.”

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

Al-Khẉrazṃ mentions the letter in *al-Maqtal* (pg.180) from Ibn al-A’ṭham in the same manner as *al-±abaṛ* 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, 26th of Rajab, as it is inferred from Imam al-°usain’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* (5:482) has reported from Aḅ Mikhnaf, 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 °arṛh- to Yaẓd in Sḥm: ‘I give you twelve nights for going and twelve for returning; so report back to me within 24 days at this place.’ Later the messenger said: ‘I went and came back to ‘Abd al-Malik within that time or a little later.’” This is also confirmed by what *al-±abaṛ* (5:498) has related from al-Ẉj̣ḍ (d. 207 H) that the news of Yaẓd’s death reached Maḍnah in the beginning of Raḅ’ al-°khar, while Yaẓd had died 14 nights after [the month of] Raḅ’ al-Awwal 64 H began –as mentioned on the same page. Therefore the news of Yaẓd’s death must have reached them after 16 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] 300 *q̣ṇṣ̣jr* of gold (4:256). [Marẉn] purchased a series of wells in Iraq by that [tribute] which later came to be known as ‘Nahr Marẉn’ (4:280). He also gave Marẉn 15,000 silver coins (4:345). ‘Uthṃn had become a puppet in the hands of Marẉn as ‘Aḷ (‘a) once said (4:364).

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

He participated in the battle of Jamal and used to call to prayer (4:454). He shot an arrow at al-ah on the day of Jamal and killed him (4:509). He also sustained injuries on that day (4:530), thus escaped from the battlefield and sought protection with Mīlik bin Masma’ al-Ghazīrī and he granted him (4:536). On his return, Marwīn joined Mu’īwīyah (4:541) who appointed him as the governor of Madēnah after the Year of Unity (5:172). There he invented the *maqḥḥrah* for prayers in the year 44 H (5:215). [*Maqḥḥrah* 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’īwīyah out of fear of being assassinated.]

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

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

to come to him.¹

[Walīd Seeks Counsel from Marwīn]

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

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

who agreed to provide for them and protect them. ‘Alī bin al-°usayn (‘a) had earlier withdrawn from Madēnah to Yanbī’, as he detested witnessing the atrocities [of the Banī Umayyah] (5:485). In the year 64 H, ‘Ubaidah bin al-Zubair took charge of Madēnah for his brother ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair. He expelled the Umayyads from Madēnah to Shīm. Marwīn was paid allegiance as the caliph in Shīm the same year (5:530). He died in the month of Ramaḍān 65 H.

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

invite people toward himself.”¹

[Walīd’s Envoy]

Walīd sent ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amru bin ‘Uthmīn² -who was then a young man- to summon al-ʿusayn (ʿa) and Ibn al-Zubair. He found them sitting in the mosque. So he came [later] at a time when Walīd did not usually have any meeting with the people, nor would the people come to him at such a time.³ The messenger said to them: “The governor

¹ *Al-ʿabar* (5:339): “Hishām bin Mu‘ammad related from Abī Mikhnaḥ that...” This has also been reported by al-Khwārazmī in *al-Maqtal* (pg.181).

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

Al-ʿabar (5:494) reports that ‘Abdullah’s mother was from Dīs. During the event of ʿarraḥ, 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 (5:494).

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

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

coming.” He then went to his house and hid himself. Walīd sent for him a second time and found him among his companions well guarded. So Walīd went on insisting by repeatedly sending messengers, one after the other [for a third and a fourth time, at least]. Ibn al-Zubair said: “Do not be in haste with regard to me; grant me respite, for I will surely come to you.” Walīd sent a group of his servants [for the fifth time] who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of K̥hiliyyah! 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 Walīd: “May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from ‘Abdullah; for, indeed, you have scared him [by sending] numerous messengers. He will come to you tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone.” So Walīd ordered them to disperse and they did so [in the evening], while Ibn al-Zubair left [Madīnah] under the cover of the night.” It seems that all these exchanges took place in the day time. In addition, the text also is explicit in that when it says: “... he then lingered the whole day and part of the night...” Now, since he was summoned at the same time as the Imam (ʿa) was, it seems that the Imam (ʿa) 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 alaʿiḥ ʿalaihim, and ilʿiḥ 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) Abī Mikhnaḥ relates from ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Muṣliq bin Makhramah, who reported from Abī Saʿd al-

is calling you, so answer him!”

Maqbaṛ who said: “I saw al-°usain (‘a) entering the mosque of Maḍnah ...and after only two days I was informed that he has left for Makkah (5:342).”

This report confirms another report by Aḅ Mikhnaf which suggests that Ibn al-Zubair concealed himself in his house guarded by his companions. He spent there the whole day and the early hours of the night and then departed from 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” (5:431).

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.

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

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 perished², so he has summoned us to take allegiance from us before the news spread to the people.”

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

Al-°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.”

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:339): “Hisḥm bin Mu’ammad narrated from Aḅ Mikhnaf...” Siḅ bin al-Jawẓ brings the above report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.203), while al-Khẉrazṃ has paraphrased it in his *Maqtal*. It is not known why the pronoun (±aṃr) in the report has appeared in the dual form, while the invitation was sent to three people. What appears from the final part of the report is that these two people were al-°usain (‘a) and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair only, and there is no any mention of ‘Abd al-Ra’iṃ 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 (5:343).

With regard to Waḷd’s envoy and who he was, al-Khẉrazṃ (pg. 181), based on the report of Ibn al-A’tham, and also Siḅ al-Jawẓ (pg.235), [are of the opinion that] he was ‘Amru bin ‘Uthṃ. According to *Taṛkh Ibn ‘Aṣkir* (4:327), he was ‘Abd al-Ra’iṃ bin ‘Amru bin ‘Uthṃ bin ‘Aff̣n.

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

Al-°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 the door of Walēd. He then said to his companions: “I am entering. If I call you, or you hear my voice raised, then rush your way in. Otherwise, remain in your positions until I come out.”¹

[Al-°usain (‘a) Meets Walēd]

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

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

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.”

Walēd responded: “Yes, indeed!”

¹ Al-Mufēd has narrated this briefly in *al-Irshīd* (pg.200), and so has Ibn al-Jawzī (pg.236) and al-Khwīrazmī (pg.183).

[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.”¹

Walēd [in fact] wanted to be excused from the issue of al-°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 Yazēd], or you have executed him!”²

[At this] al-°usain (‘a) jumped up and said: “O son of Zarqī’!³ Are you going to kill me or he? By Allah, you have lied and sinned!”⁴

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

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

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

⁴ Al-Khwīrazmī (pg.184) has related [the above words of the Imam (‘a)] and added: “Verily, we are the family to which belongs the Prophethood, [we are] the origin of the [divine] messengership (*ma’din al-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. Yazēd is an

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

immoral person who drinks wine, kills innocent people and sins openly. A person like me cannot pay allegiance to someone like him! However, the matter will eventually come to light as to who among us deserves the allegiance and the caliphate.” [Meanwhile,] the people at the door heard the voice of al-°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 ±jw£s (d.693 H) also has narrated this in *al-Malh£f fī Qatlī al-±uf£f*, and so has Ibn Namī (d.645 H) in *Mutḥar al-A/zjn*.

¹ *Al-±abar£* (5:339): “Hishīm bin Mu’ammad narrated from Ab£ Mikhna£...” Al-Khwjrazm£ (pg.184) has also related it with the following addition: “So Marwīn said to Wal£d: ‘You disobeyed me! By Allah! He will never give you the same opportunity over his life!’ Wal£d retorted: ‘Blame someone other than myself, O Marwīn! Indeed, you have chosen for me something which would destroy my religion! By Allah, I would not love to have all the worldly wealth [and dominion] which the sun rises and sets over, while I am [guilty of] killing al-°usain.’” Ibn al-Jawz£ (pg.226) has briefly related this: “Wal£d remarked: ‘Glory be to Allah! Should I kill al-°usain because he said ‘I will not pay allegiance’?! By Allah, I believe that anyone who is [responsible] for the blood of al-°usain shall certainly have light scales (*khaf££ al-m£zjn*) before Allah on the Day of Judgement!’ ‘If this is your opinion, then you have acted correctly in what you did”, said Marwīn. He said this showing his disapproval of his view.” See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.201).

[The Stand of Ibn al-Zubair]

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

regard to me; I will surely come to you; grant me respite.” Ibn al-Zubair spent the whole day and part of the night by answering: “I will come soon.” Wal£d sent a group of his servants who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of Kjhiliyyah! By Allah, either come to the governor, or else he will kill you!” But when they impelled him to come, he reacted in these words: “By Allah! I have grown suspicious because of the repeated summons and successive coming of these people. So do not rush me until I send someone to the governor to inform me of his orders.” He then sent his brother Ja’far bin al-Zubair who told Wal£d: “May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from ‘Abdullah, for you have indeed scared him by sending too many messengers. He will come to you tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone.” So Wal£d ordered them to disperse and they did so. Ibn al-Zubair left [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.236]. In the morning Wal£d sent for Ibn al-Zubair but he had already left. So Marwīn said “By Allah! He has not gone except towards Makkah.” Wal£d thus dispatched after him eighty riders from among the servants of the Ban£ Umayyah, but they could not reach him and returned.

Ibn al-Zubair entered Makkah saying: “I am only seeking refuge here.” ‘Amru bin Sa’£d was then the governor of Makkah. While he was there, Ibn al-Zubair would neither pray with the people, nor leave the mosque with them. Instead, he used to pray in one corner together with his companions and then leave with them (See *al-±abar£*:5:343, Hishīm bin Mu’ammad reporting from Ab£ Mikhna£). Al-Muf£d (pg.201) also has related it and so has Ibn al-Jawz£ (pg.236) 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 245, Ibn al-Jawz£ reports from Hishīm and Mu’ammad bin Isīq that [al-°usain (‘a) left] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab. According to al-Khwjrazm£

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

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

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

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

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.³

(pg.189), he left on the third of Sha°b°n!

¹ *Al-±abar°* (5:338-341): "Hish°m bin Mu°ammad reports from Ab° Mikhnaf..." See also *al-Irsh°d* (pg.201).

² Al-Khw°razm° (pg.186) related it upto here.

³ *Al-±abar°* (5:342): "Ab° Mikhnaf says: "°Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Mus°liq narrated to me from Ab° Sa°d al-Maqbar°

[The Stance of Mu°ammad bin al-°anafiiyyah]¹

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

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

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

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

[With regard to Mu‘ammad bin al-°anafiiyyah, when he heard about the matter, he came to his brother, al-°usain (‘a) and] said to him:

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

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

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

family most humiliated!”

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

Ibn al-°anafiiyyah 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.”¹

[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

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:341): “Hisḥm bin Mu‘ammad reports from Aḅ Mikhnaḥ...” Al-Muf̣d (pg.202) also has narrated the report in *al-Irsḥd*. Al-Khẉrazṃ (pg.188) has related it with some additions. He has also included the Imam’s will to Ibn al-°anafiiyyah, 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!”

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

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

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

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:340-341), and the date of his departure has been mentioned in (5:381), which he also related from Aḅ Mikhnaf, who narrated it from ʿaqʿab bin Zuhair, who in turn reported from ‘Aun bin Aḅ Juʿaifah. See also *al-Irsḥd* (pg.209). Ibn al-Jawẓ (pg.236) 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 also narrated it on page 245 from Mu‘ammad bin Iṣiq and Hisḥm [saying]: “[It was] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab.” But al-Khẉrazṃ says on page 189 of his *Maqtal*: “[It was on] the third day of Shaʿḅn.”!

² Qurʿan:28:21.

³ Qurʿan:28:22.

⁴ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:343): “Hisḥm bin Mu‘ammad reported from Aḅ Mikhnaf...”

The Stand of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar

Waḷd sent for ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar and said [to him]: “Pay

allegiance to Yaẓd.” ‘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 Marẉn in his advice to Waḷd, as mentioned earlier.

** *Al-±abaṛ* (5:342): “Hisḥm bin Mu‘ammad reports on the authority of Aḅ Mikhnaf that...” Then *al-±abaṛ* says: “Al-Ẉqiḍ (d.207 H) maintains that: ‘Ibn ‘Umar was not in Maḍnah when the news of Muʿjwiyah’s death and the matter of paying allegiance to Yaẓd were brought to Waḷd.” [So has been maintained by Ibn al-Jawẓ (pg.237) also]. [Al-Ẉqiḍ also says:] “And when Ibn al-Zubair and al-°usain [‘a] were summoned to pay allegiance to Yaẓd, they refused to do so and left for Makkah the same night. They were met on the way by Ibn ‘Abḅs and Ibn ‘Umar who were coming from Makkah. So they asked them about the news. They answered: ‘Muʿjwiyah’s death and allegiance to Yaẓd.’ So Ibn ‘Umar said: ‘Fear Allah [both of you] and do not sow discord within the Muslim community!’ Ibn ‘Umar continued towards Maḍnah and stayed there a number of days waiting, until the news of the people’s allegiance from different cities reached Maḍnah. Thereafter, he along with Ibn ‘Abḅs 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 Madḥnah] 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-‘Adawḥ²

We met ‘Abdullah bin Muṣṣ’ al-‘Adawḥ. He said to al-

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:351): “I narrate from Hishām bin Mu’ammad who reported from Abī Mikhnaḥ who said: ‘‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab informed me saying: ‘Uqbah bin Sim’jīn –a servant of Rabīb bint Imra’ al-Qais al-Kalbiyyah, the wife of al-°usain (‘a) and the mother of Sakḥnah bint al-°usjīn (‘a)- has narrated to me [this report].’” We have given ‘Uqbah’s biography earlier. Al-Mufḥḍ (pg.202) also has related this and so has al-Khwārazmī (pg.189) ascribing the report to Muslim bin ‘Aqīl (‘a).

² *Al-ṭabarī*: He was a Quraishī. He was born during the time of the Prophet (ﷺ). He led the Quraish when the people of Madḥnah revolted against Yazīd (5:481). Then he joined Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah and fought on his side. Later, al-‘Adawḥ served as the governor of Kḥfah under Ibn al-Zubair as reported by *al-ṭabarī* (5:622). This has been related also by al-Ya’qūbī (3:3&5), al-Mas’ūdī (3:83) and al-Khwārazmī (2:202), who narrated it from Mu’ammad bin Isḥāq. Al-‘Adawī used to oppose Mukhtār until the latter expelled him from Kḥfah (6:31). *ṭabarī* shall also relate in the coming pages –from Hishām on the authority of Abī Mikhnaḥ who reported from Mu’ammad bin Qais- another meeting between Ibn al-Muṣṣ’ and the Imam (‘a) which took place at some watering place of the Arabs, located after °jīr and before Zarḥd.

°usain (‘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 [Kḥfah]; 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!”¹

[Al-°usain (‘a) in Makkah]

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

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

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

³ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:387): “Abī Mikhnaḥ says: ‘‘aq’ab bin Zuhair informed me on the authority of ‘Aun bin Abī Ju’āifah that...” Imam al-°usain’s departure from Madḥnah was two days before the end of Rajab. Therefore, he must have covered the distance between Madḥnah and Makkah in only five days. The distance between the two is around 500 kilometers. So he must have covered around 100 km. a day, which is almost 18 *farsakh*. This is twice the normal distance that used to be covered in one day during those days.

He stayed there throughout Sha’b^on, the month of Rama^on, Dh^o al-Qa’dah and the first eight days of Dh^o al-^oijjah.¹

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

Ibn al-Zubair was [already] in Makkah, having settled himself near the Ka’bah. He used to spend the whole day praying and performing the circumambulation (§*awj*f). He would visit al-^ousain (‘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-^ousain (‘a)]. He (‘a) was the most despised of Allah’s creatures by Ibn al-Zubair, because he realized that the people of ^oijz would never pledge allegiance to him so long as al-^ousain (‘a) was in the city, and that al-^ousain (‘a) was more revered in their eyes and hearts, and that he (‘a) was more capable of commanding the people’s obedience than him.²

Thus, we conclude from here that although the Imam (‘a) did not avoid the main road in fear of being traced –as mentioned earlier, since it involved fear and escape which was unbecoming of the Imam (‘a), nonetheless, he sped in his journey.

¹ *Al-^oabar^o* (5:381), also from the report of ‘Aun bin Ab^o Jul^oalifah. Ibn al-Jawz^o (pg.245) has related it on the authority of Hish^om.

² *Al-^oabar^o* (5:351), from the report of ‘Uqbah. Al-Muf^od (pg.202) has narrated this also.

[The Letters from the People of K^offah]¹

¹ *Al-^oabari*: There were 30,000 people in K^offah who had participated in the battle of al-Q^odisiyyah (4:75). In the year 18 H, ‘Umar appointed Shurai’ bin al-^oirith al-Kind^o as the judge of K^offah (4:101). In 20 H, ‘Umar dismissed Sa’d from the governorship of K^offah as a result of the people complaining that he did not even know how to pray! It was in the same year that ‘Umar evicted the Jews of Najr^on to K^offah (4:112). In the year 21 H, he appointed ‘Amm^or bin Y^oisir as the governor of K^offah, Ibn Mas’^od as the treasurer and ‘Uthman bin ^ounaif as the one in charge of the lands and land tax. The people of K^offah complained against ‘Amm^or, so he requested to be relieved of his post (4:144). ‘Umar replaced him with Ab^o M^oes^o al-Ash’ar^o who stayed with them for only a year before they complained against him. So ‘Umar dismissed him and instead appointed Mugh^oerah bin Shu’bah in his place.

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

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

Sa’d arranged them into groups: Kan^onah and their allies from among the Al^oib^osh and Jad^olah formed a group. Qadh^o’ah, Baj^olah, Khath’^oam, Kindah, ^oa^oramaut and Azd comprised another group. Madh^olij, ^oimyar, Hamd^on and their followers made up the third group. Tam^om, Haw^ozin and al-Rub^ob were the fourth group. The fifth group consisted of Asad, Gha^off^on, Mu^ol^orib, Al-Namr, @ab^o’ah and Taghlib. The sixth group was made up of Ay^od, ‘Akk, ‘Abd al-Qais and the people of Hijr and

When the people of Kffah learnt about the death of Mu’jwiyah, the people of Iraq spread rumours about Yazød and said: “Al-°usain (‘a) and Ibn al-Zubair have refused to pay allegiance and have left for Makkah.”¹

Mu’ammad bin Bishr al-Hamdjn reports²: “We assembled in the house of Sulaimjn bin °urad [al-Khuzj’ç³ and he

Dailam. This grouping remained in place throughout the reign of ‘Umar, ‘Uthmjn and ‘Alç [‘a] until the time of Ziyjd when he rearranged them into four groups (4:48).

[In the later order,] ‘Amru bin °irçth was in charge of the group of the people of Madçnah. Khjlid bin ‘Arqašah was the head of the quarter of Tamçm and Hamdjn. Qais bin al-Walçd bin ‘Abd Shams was the leader of Rabç’ah and Kindah, while Abç Burdah bin Abç Mçsç al-Ash’arç was the in charge of Madhlj and Asad. The leaders of all these groups [were among those who] testified against °ujr and his companions (5:268).

¹ Al-±abarç (5:351), from the report of ‘Uqbah.

² Al-±abarç (5:352): “Abç Mikhnaf says: “°ajjj bin ‘Alç informed me on the authority of Mu’ammad bin Bishr al-Hamdjnç who said...”

³ Al-Kashhç mentions him in his *Rijl* (pg. 64, ladçth no. 124) on the authority of Façl bin Shjdhjn, under the topic: ‘From among the great personalities of the *tjbi’çn*, their heads and the pious of them.’ Al-±çsç also has mentioned him in his *Rijl* (pg.43) among the companions of the Prophet (ç) and of the Commander of the Faithful, [‘Alç (‘a)]. However, al-±çsç 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 Naçr bin Muzjlim on page six of his book. [Ibn Muzjlim] says: “‘Alç (‘a) said to [Ibn °urad]: ‘You became doubtful, hung about and engaged in low trickery. I was considering you to be among the trustworthy people and among the quicker to support me.’ Al-Khuzj’ç replied: ‘O the Commander of the Faithful...Have confidence in my love for you and I will be sincere to you. And there remain matters through which you will [come to] know your friend from your foe.’ So he

addressed us] saying:

‘Mu’jwiyah is dead and al-°usain (‘a) has withheld his pledge of allegiance to the people [i.e. the Banç Umayyah] and has gone to Makkah. You are his followers (*shç’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!’

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

‘In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. To °usain bin ‘Alç, from Sulaimjn bin °urad, Musayyib bin Najabah², Rafj’ah bin Shaddjd,¹

left him.” In the battle of °iffçn, ‘Alç (‘a) appointed him as the commander of the right flank of his foot soldiers (*Waq’at °iffçn*, pg.205). Sulaimjn engaged °awshab -the leader of the people of Yemen who was from Shjm- in a duel and killed him saying: “‘Alç is loved by us. We ransom him with our fathers and mothers (*Waq’at °iffçn*, pg.401). He was struck on his face with a sword in the same battle (*Waq’at °iffçn*, pg.514). Abç Mikhnaf has counted Sulaimjn bin °urad among the companions of the Prophet (ç) and the leaders of the Shç’ah (*al-±abarç*:5:552). He led the Tawwjbçn movement in 64 H (5:555). His excuse [for not joining al-°usain (‘a)] was: “We acted smartly and waited to see what would happen until he was [finally] killed.”! (5:554).

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

² Al-Kashhç mentions him in his *Rijl* (pg.64, ladçth no.124) under the topic: ‘From among the outstanding personalities of the *tjbi’çn*, their heads and the pious of them.’ Al-±çsç counts him in his *Rijl* (pg.58, no.8) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful [‘Alç (‘a)] and al-°asan [‘a] (pg.70, no.4). Al-

°ab°b bin Mu°hir² and his followers from among the

Fazir° has added that he was among the leaders of a group that rushed from Kffah to Ba°rah in support of °Al° (°a), as reported in *al-±abar°* (4:448). 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-Fazir° (5:135). Ibn Najabah led the Tawwabfn movement after Sulaimn bin °urad and was killed with them in 65 H (5:599).

¹ Al-Kashh° has counted him in his *Rijl* (pg.65, lad°th no.118) among those righteous people who buried Ab° Dharr. Shaikh al-±s° [also] mentions him in his *Rijl* (pg.41) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful, [°Al° (°a)], and on page 68 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 as the leader of the Ban° Bajalah [or Bajlah] (*Waq°at °iff°n*, pg.205). Later, Ibn Shaddjd joined °ujr bin °Adiyy and °Amru bin al-°amq. When Ziyjd bin Ab°h pursued °Amru, Ibn Shaddjd fled with him to the mountains in Mosul. Though °Amru was then captured, Ibn Shaddjd managed to escape with his horse (*al-±abari*:5:265).

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

² *Al-±abari*: He led the left flank of al-°usain's army (5:422).

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

All praise is to Allah who has broken your enemy, the obstinate tyrant who had leapt upon this community, robbed it and usurped its treasures (*fay°*). He was ruling over the people against their wish, killed their chosen ones and preserved the wicked among them. He made the wealth of Allah to be taken by turns (*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°mj° 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.¹

Then we sent the letter with °Abdullah bin Sab° al-Hamdjn°² and °Abdullah bin Wjl [al-Tam°m°].³ The two

°u°ain bin Tam°m boasted of killing him and hanging his head on the breast of his horse. Qjsim, son of °ab°b, avenged his father's assassin, Budail bin °uraim al-Tam°m°, as they were in the army of Mu°ab bin al-Zubair during the expedition of Bj°m°rj°.

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

² Al-Muf°d (pg.203) mentions him as °Abdullah bin Masma°, while al-Khwjrazm° (pg.194) refers to him as °Abdullah bin Sab°°. He was killed together with al-°usain (°a).

³ Ibn al-Jawz° (pg.144) names him as °Abdullah bin Masma° al-Bakr°. In his *Rijl* (pg.77), 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 Tawwabfn movement and

men sped in their journey and met al-^ousain (‘a) in Makkah on the tenth of the month of Ramaḡn.¹

We waited for two days and then sent Qais bin Musahhar al-^oaidjwḡ², ‘Abd al-Raḡmīn bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arḡbḡ³ and ‘Umīrah bin ‘Ubaid al-Salḡlḡ,⁴ taking with them around [a hundred and] fifty letters,⁵ [some written] by

who was [ultimately] killed (*al-ṡabari*:5:602).

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

² *Al-ṡabari*: Al-Asadḡ. He returned to Iraq together with Muslim bin ‘Aqḡl (‘a). When things became straitened for Muslim at al-Maḡḡḡ, he sent Qais with a letter to al-^ousain (‘a) (5:354). On his way back, he accompanied Imam (‘a) till Baḡn al-^ojjir, who then sent him with a letter to the people of Kḡfah. When Qais reached al-Qiḡḡḡḡḡḡ, he was arrested by ^ouḡaḡn bin Tamḡm al-Tamḡmḡ and sent to Ibn Ziyīḡ. The latter ordered him to be brought before him and then thrown down from the top of the palace. He was then cut into pieces and thus he passed away. May Allah shower his mercy upon him (5:395). When al-^ousain (‘a) reached ‘Uḡhaib al-Hijjīnḡ, he heard about the fate of Qais and could not control himself and his eyes flowed with tears. He said: “Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait...” (Qur’an, 33:23). O Allah, make the heaven to be our abode and their’s, and gather us with them under your everlasting mercy and where the desired rewards are deposited” (5:405).

³ Al-Mufḡd (pg.203) mentions him as ‘Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Raḡmīn Shaddīḡ al-Arḡbḡ! Ibn al-Jawḡḡ (pg.194) calls him ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abd al-Raḡmīn! He was with Muslim on this way to Iraq (*al-ṡabari*:5:354).

⁴ Al-Khwīrazmḡ (pg.195) calls him “mir bin ‘Ubaid. Al-Mufḡd (pg.203) and Ibn al-Jawḡḡ (pg.244) mention him as ‘Umīrah bin ‘Abdullah al-Salḡlḡ. He was with Muslim on his way to Iraq (*al-ṡabari*:5:354), and also at Hīnī’s place (5:363). But nothing is known about him after this.

⁵ The text of *al-ṡabarḡ* reads: “About 53 letters”, but Shaikh al-
4 4

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

Muḡammad bin Bishr continues: “Then we waited for two more days before sending another letter with Hīnī’ bin Hīnī’ al-Sabḡḡḡ and Sa’ḡḡ bin ‘Abdullah al-^oanīḡḡ¹ saying:

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

[There was another letter written to the Imam (‘a) by] Shabath bin Rib’ḡḡ³, ^oajjīr bin Abjar¹,

Mufḡd (pg.203) mentions a hundred and fifty. So has Ibn al-Jawḡḡ (pg.244) from Hishīm bin Muḡammad bin Ishīḡ, and al-Khwīrazmḡ (pg.195) from Ibn al-A’ḡḡam. Therefore, it seems that ‘*thalīḡḡah*’ [i.e. three] in *al-ṡabari*’s report is the distorted form (*taḡīḡḡ*) of ‘*al-mī’ah*’ [i.e. a hundred].

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

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

³ *Al-ṡabarḡ* (5:369): Al-Yarbḡḡḡ al-Tamḡmḡ. He was the caller to prayer (*mua’dhīn*) of Sajjīḡ, a man from the clan of Maḡariyyah who had claimed prophethood (3:273). He later professed Islam and supported the uprising against ‘Uḡḡmīn. He then joined ‘Alḡ (‘a) and was with him at ḡiffḡn, leading the warriors of the Banḡ ‘Amru bin ^oan’alah from Kḡfah (*Waq’at ḡiffḡn*, pg.205). He led the left flank of ‘Alḡ’s army at Nahrawīn (*al-ṡabarḡ*:5:85). He was the emissary between ‘Alḡ (‘a) and Mu’jīwīyah together with a group of other people (*Waq’at ḡiffḡn*, pg.97). Shabath testified against ^oujr bin ‘Adīyy that he revolted against Ibn Ziyīḡ (*al-ṡabari*:5:269). He was present at the martyrdom of al-^ousain (‘a)

and was leading the foot soldiers [of Ibn Ziyāḍ] on the day of ‘ashḥarj’ (5:422). 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 Muḥar 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 ‘Alḥ bin Abḥ ±lib and his son after him against the family of Abḥ Sufyān for five years, and now we are with their enemies against his son -while he is the best of the inhabitants on this earth; we are fighting him alongside the family of Mu’jwiyah and the son of Sumayyah, the adulteress?! Misguidance! What a misguidance!” (5:432-437). Shabath was exactly the one who had reproached the people of Kḥfah when they celebrated the killing of Ibn ‘Awsajah (5:436). However, he was afraid of Ibn Ziyāḍ to express such kind of his stands, so he built a mosque to show his joy for the killing of al-°usain! (6:22). Later he fought against Mukhtār along with 3,000 warriors of Ibn Muḥḥ’ who was a proxy of Ibn al-Zubair (6:23).

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

Yazḥḍ bin al-Hjriḥ bin Yazḥḍ bin Ruwaim¹,

‘Azarah bin Qais², ‘Amru bin al-°ajjj al-Zubaidiyy¹ and

there is no trace of him.

¹ *Al-±abarḥ*: He was Abḥ °awshab al-Shaibānḥ. On the day of ‘ashḥarj’, he denied having written to al-°usain (5:425). When Yazḥḍ was killed and ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ appointed ‘Amru bin °uraith over Kḥfah, the latter started calling the people to pay allegiance to Ibn Ziyāḍ. Here Yazḥḍ bin al-°jriḥ 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 Banḥ Bakr bin Wjil intervened and prevented him from that (5:524). He then became the follower of ‘Abdullah bin Yazḥḍ al-Khaḥmḥ al-Anḥjirḥ, the governor of Kḥfah under Ibn al-Zubair, before Ibn Muḥḥ’. Ibn al-°jriḥ used to prompt al-Anḥjirḥ to fight Sulaimān bin °urad and his companions before their revolt (5:561-563). He also urged him to imprison Mukhtār (5:580). Later, Ibn Muḥḥ’ sent him to Jabbānah Murjāḍ to fight Mukhtār (6:18). He also sent him with an army of 2,000 men to a road in Laljān Jarḥr. They stopped at the opening of the roads (6:26) and positioned their archers on top of the houses and hence stopped Mukhtār from entering Kḥfah (6:28). He then rose against Mukhtār during his reign over Banḥ Rabḥ’ah (6:45) and was defeated along with his companions (6:52). Yazḥḍ was one of those who fought the followers of the sect of Azjriqah, from the Khjwārij, in 68 H, along with °jriḥ bin Abḥ Rabḥ’ah, the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kḥfah (6:124). Muḥ’ab appointed him as the administrator of Madjān (6:134). In 70 H, he was appointed the governor of Rayy under ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (6:164). He was finally killed by the Khawjriḥ (*Ibḥjir al-‘Ain*, pg.15). His grandfather was Yazḥḍ bin Ruwaim al-Shaibānḥ, who was leading the Kḥfan tribe of Dhahl at °iffḥn alongside ‘Alḥ (‘a) (*Waq’at °iffḥn*, pg.205).

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

lest he should ask him what brought him [to Karbalā] (5:410). It was exactly because of this that on the evening of the ninth of Mu‘arram, Zuhair bin al-Qain answered ‘Azarah alluding to that: “By Allah, I did not write any letter to him, nor did I send any messenger, nor had I promised him my support.” ‘Azarah was the partisan of ‘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” (5:417). On the day of ‘ash‘urā’, ‘Umar bin Sa’d appointed him as the head of the cavalry as he was also their night watchman (5:422). The companions of al-°usayn (‘a) would not launch an attack on his cavalry except that they would break through them. So he complained to Ibn Sa’d about this and requested to be relieved of the task, and, instead, send towards them the foot soldiers and archers. Ibn Sa’d granted his request (5:436). Later, ‘Azarah was one of those who carried the heads of the Imam’s companions to Ibn Ziyād (5:456). No trace of him is found after this.

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

Mu‘ammad bin ‘Umar al-Tamām¹ saying:

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

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

¹ *Al-±abari*: Ibn ‘Ašīrud. He was one of those who bore witness against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:270). He was leading the Mu‘arrān in fighting against Mukhtār (6:47). Later, he paid allegiance to him and was sent to Azerbaijan as the governor (6:34). Ibn ‘Ašīrud was alongside °irith bin Abī Rab‘ah –the governor of Kfah under Ibn al-Zubair– in the latter’s struggle against the Khārijī sect of Azīriqah (6:124). He was among the adherents of Marwān in Kfah to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān had written [asking for his support] (6:156). He was later assigned by ‘Abd al-Malik with the governorship of Hamādīn (6:164). He then returned to Kfah and was there during the time of °ajjāj in 75 H. (6:204). There is no trace of him after this period. His father, ‘Umar bin ‘Ašīrud, was leading the clan of Tamām from Kfah alongside ‘Alī (‘a) at ‘iffān (*Waq‘at ‘iffān*, pg.205). Ibn ‘Ašīrud was among those who slandered against ‘Amru bin al-°umq al-Khuzī before Ziyād in order for him to be killed, to the extent that he was reproached by ‘Amru (5:236).

² *‘Al-jum‘m*, [as it has appeared in the Arabic text of this letter] is the plural of *‘jammah*’ which means ‘a place where water gathers’. *‘±ammāt*’ is a past tense verb which means ‘the waters have rose high and overflowed’. Notice, how the people who are attached to this world consider the worldly and transient matters to be among the motives behind the Imam’s advance towards Kfah! What a short-mindedness!

³ See *al-Irshād* (pg.203) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.244).

[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-Saḅ’ and Sa’ad bin ‘Abdullah al-°anaf̣ -who were the last of the messengers. [The reply read as follows:]

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From °usain bin ‘Aḷ to the congregation of the believers and Muslims. Ḥini’ and Sa’ad 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 ‘Aq̣l. 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 entirely to Allah. And that is all.”¹

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:353): “Aḅ Mikhnaf says: ‘Al-°aj̣j̣ bin ‘Aḷ informed me from Muammad bin Bishr al-Hamḍṇ who said...”. Al-Muf̣ḍ (pg.204) and Ibn al-Jawẓ (pg.196) have narrated this also.

[The Journey of Ibn ‘Aq̣l]

He then summoned Muslim bin ‘Aq̣l and sent him with Qais bin Musahhar al-aiḍẉ¹, ‘Uṃrah bin ‘Ubaid al-Saḷḷ² and ‘Abd al-Rạṃṇ bin ‘Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Aṛaḅ.³ Imam enjoined [Muslim] with the fear of Allah, and to conceal his affair, and to act in a kindly way. If he saw that the people are united and had committed themselves to agreement, then he should speedily inform him of that.

Muslim thus started his journey till he reached Maḍnah. He prayed in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah (¥) and said farewell to whom he wished among his family members. Then he hired two guides from the clan of Qais. They set out with him but soon lost their way and were struck by severe thirst. The guides said to Muslim: “Take this road until you reach the watering place.” That was at [a place known as] al-Mạq̣q in Bašn al-Khubait.⁴

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

Muslim bin Aq̣l sent a letter to al-°usain (‘a) with Qais bin

^{1, 3, 4} These were the people who brought the one hundred and fifty letters from the people of Ḳf̣ah to the Imam (‘a). We have already given their biographies [in brief]. Al-Muf̣ḍ and Ibn al-Jawẓ mention ‘Uṃrah bin ‘Ubaid as Ibn ‘Abdullah. With regard to ‘Abd al-Rạṃṇ bin ‘Abdullah, al-Muf̣ḍ (pg.204) says: ‘Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Rạṃṇ, the two sons of Ṛshid al-Aṛaḅ.

⁴ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:354) brings this report after the narration of Aḅ Mikhnaf from Aḅ al-Makḥriq al-Ṛsiḅ.

Musahhar al-°aidjwç. He wrote:

“I set out from Madçnah 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-Maççq at Başn al-Khubait.¹ I see an evil omen in what I have faced. Thus, if it seems fair to you, then relieve me of this [mission] and send someone else [in my place]. That is all.”²

[Al-°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 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.”

¹ Khubş is located in the suburbs of Madçnah, in the direction of Makkah. It seems that the guides strayed to the extent that they turned towards Makkah, as reported in *Ib¥jr al-‘Ain* (pg.16).

² Al-Mufçd (pg.204) has narrated this and so has al-Khwjrazmç (pg.197) with a slight difference. *Al-±abarç* has also related it on the authority of Mu’jwiyah bin ‘Ammjr from Imam al-Biqir (‘a) (5:347).



THE EVENTS IN K-FAH AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF MUSLIM BIN 'AQ-L

[Muslim ('a) Enters Kḥfah]

Muslim ['a] continued his journey until he reached Kḥfah [together with his three companions: Qais bin Musahhar al-ṭaidīwḥ, 'Umīrah bin 'Ubaid al-Salḥlḥ and 'Abd al-Raḥmīn bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arḥabḥ].¹ [There] he stayed in the house of Mukhtīr bin Abḥ 'Ubaid.²

¹ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (5:355). This was on the fifth of Shawwāl as mentioned in *Murḥj al-Dhahab* (2:86) of al-Mas'ḥdḥ.

² *Al-ṭabarḥ*: Al-Thaqafḥ. He was born in the first year of Hijrah (2:402). In 37 H, his uncle Sa'd bin Mas'ḥd al-Thaqafḥ appointed him over Madīn as his deputy (5:76). He remained there with his uncle until after the Year of Unity, 40 H (5:159). *Al-ṭabarḥ* mentions what Mukhtīr pointed to his uncle about the surrender of al-ṭasan ('a) to Mu'īwīyah (5:569). During his rule over Kḥfah, Ziyīd had invited Mukhtīr to testify against 'ujr bin 'Adīyy but he evaded it (5:270). Mukhtīr was the standard-bearer on the day Muslim rose in Kḥfah (5:381). In fact, he came out with the banner and his servants –without prior agreement with his companions- as soon as he learned about the arrest of Hīnī, [even] before the [attempted] rise of Muslim ('a). Mukhtīr yielded to the invitation of 'Amru bin 'uraith al-Makhzḥmḥ to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyīd 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-ṭusain ('a).

Mukhtīr had a sister by the name of ṭafīyyah, who was the wife of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar. Mukhtīr sent his cousin -Zīdah bin Qudīmah al-Thaqafḥ- to Ibn 'Umar, asking him to write to Yazḥd and request him to order Ibn Ziyīd to free him. Ibn 'Umar did so and Ibn Ziyīd expelled Mukhtīr from Kḥfah. He then went to 'ījīz and paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and participated with him in a severe battle against the people of Shīm. Five months after the

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-ṭusain ('a) and they all started weeping.

death of Yazḥd, Mukhtīr left Ibn al-Zubair and went to Kḥfah (5:570-578). He entered the city at the time when Sulaimīn bin ṭurad al-Khuzī'ḥ was calling the Shḥ'ah to repent and avenge the blood of al-ṭusain ('a). Here Mukhtīr claimed that he was sent by Ibn al-ṭanafīyyah and that Sulaimīn was not acquainted with warfare, and therefore, he would end up killing himself and his companions (5:560&580). Mukhtīr was imprisoned by Ibn Muṣḥḥ' - the governor of Ibn al-Zubair- at the start of the Movement of Tawwībḥn (5:605). Mukhtīr 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 (6:8). Mukhtīr was freed and attained victory over the matter. He fought Ibn Ziyīd and killed him. He also killed the assassins of al-ṭusain ('a). He was finally killed by Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair in the year 67 H (6:107) who ordered his body to be hung. Thus, his body was nailed beside the mosque and remained there until it was removed by 'ajjīj al-Thaqafḥ (6:110). Muṣ'ab also killed one of Mukhtīr's wives by the name of 'Umarah bint Nu'mīn bin Bashḥr and freed his other wife, Umm Thībit, daughter of Samurat bin Jundab (6:112).

In the year 71 H, Muṣ'ab fought against 'Abd al-Malik in whose army Zīdah bin Qudīmah al-Thaqafḥ happened to be present. Zīdah killed Muṣ'ab and cried: revenge for Mukhtīr! (6:159). Mukhtīr's house was situated near the mosque and was purchased by '«sī bin Mḥsī al-'Abbīsḥ from his heirs in 159 H (8:122). It seems that the reason behind choosing Mukhtīr's house for the stay of Muslim ('a) was due to the fact that the former was the son in-law of Nu'mīn bin Bashḥr, the governor of Kḥfah. This was enough as a protection, especially if we take into consideration *al-ṭabarḥ*'s report (5:569) which says: "The Shḥ'ah were reproaching and reviling Mukhtīr because of his stand in the case of ṭasan bin 'Alḥ ('a), on the day he was stabbed in the darkness of an overlaid lane and was then carried to Madīn in broad day light."

‘Abbās bin Abī Shu’aib al-Shākir¹ got up, praised Allah and then said: “Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah, I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah, I will answer you when you call. I will indeed fight with you against your enemy. I will strike with my sword in defense of you until I meet Allah. I expect nothing from this except what lies with Allah.”

Thereafter stood ‘Abī bin Mu’jir al-Faq’as [al-Asad] and said: “May Allah have mercy on you! You have reflected all that is in your heart by your brief talk.” He then said: “By Allah beside whom there is no deity! I stand on the same position as he does.” Then al-‘anaf² also said something similar to that.

The Shāh visited [Muslim] so frequently that his place [of residence] became well-known and the news reached Nu’mān bin Bashīr³. [So he set out for the mosque] and went up on the pulpit. After praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said:

“O servants of Allah! Fear Allah and do not hasten to dissension (*fitnah*) and discord; for in that men will be

¹ *Al-ṭabarī*: Thereafter, he took Muslim bin ‘Aqīl’s letter to Imam al-‘usain (‘a) (5:375). He remained with him till he was killed (5:444). He was from the [Banī] Hamdān.

² He is Sa’ad bin ‘Abdullah al-‘anaf, the messenger of the people of Kffah to Imam al-‘usain (‘a). He had returned to Kffah with the Imam’s reply to them.

³ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:355): “Abī Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abī al-Waddīk who said: ‘Nu’mān bin Bashīr came out to us and ascended the pulpit...’”

destroyed, blood will be shed and property will be plundered... I will not combat one who does not combat me. I will not pounce on the one who does not pounce on me. I will neither reproach you, nor provoke you. I will not apprehend [you merely] on grounds of accusation and suspicion. But if you displayed your [true] face to me, violate your pledge of allegiance and oppose your leader (*imām*), then by Allah, other than whom there is no deity, I will indeed strike you with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand, even if I do not have any of you to help me! Yet I hope that those among you who know the truth are more numerous than those whom falsehood will destroy.”

‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Sa’ad al-‘aṣram¹ - an ally of the Banī Umayyah- stood up and said: “What you see can only be adequately dealt with by violence; for the view which you hold about what [should be done] between you and your enemy is that of the weak!”

Nu’mān retorted [saying]: “I would prefer to be one of the weak [while remaining] in obedience to Allah than to be one of the mighty [while being] in rebellion against Allah!” Thereafter he descended from the pulpit.

‘Abdullah bin Muslim left the mosque and wrote to Yazīd bin Mu’wiyah [saying]:

“Muslim bin ‘Aqīl has arrived in Kffah and the Shāh have pledged allegiance to him on behalf of ‘usain bin ‘Alī. So if you have any need for Kffah, then send it a strong

¹ *Al-ṭabarī*: His name appears in the list of those who gave witness against ‘ujr bin ‘Adiyy as ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Shu’bah al-‘aṣram. (5:269)

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 'Uqbah¹ wrote to Yazḍ in similar vein. Then 'Umar bin Sa'd bin Abḥ Waqqi²

¹ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: He is the brother of Walḍ bin 'Uqbah bin Abḥ Muḥḥ. He and his brother, Walḍ, had come from Makkah to Madḥnah to request the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) to send back to them their sister, Umm Kulthūm -who had migrated to Madḥnah- by virtue of the terms agreed in the treaty of ʿudaibiyyah, but the Prophet refused (2:640). Their house was [situated near] the valley of Kḥfah (4:274). 'Umīrah's daughter, Umm Ayyūb, was the wife of Mughḥrah bin Shu'bah. When Mughḥrah died, she was married by Ziyd bin Abḥ (5:180). 'Umīrah is the one who slandered against 'Amru bin al-ʿamq al-Khuzi'ḥ before Ziyd (5:236). His father, 'Uqbah bin Abḥ Muḥḥ, was brought to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) while he was an infidel (*kifir*) and the Prophet (ﷺ) ordered him to be killed. So he said: "O Mu'ammad! Who is going to look after the children? The Prophet (ﷺ) replied: "The fire" (5:349). 'Umīrah was present in the palace on the day Muslim was killed (5:376). He is also the one who slandered against Mukhtir before Ibn Ziyd on the day Muslim rose (5:570). There are no reports about him after this.

² *Al-ḥabarḥ*: His mother was Bushrij, the daughter of Qais bin Abḥ al-Kaisam, who was taken as a captive among those who had turned their back from Islam after the Prophet (ﷺ) (3:341). So he must have been born in the beginning of the second decade of Hijrah, and must have been around fifty in Karbalā'. In the year 17 or 19 H when he was still a young man, his father, Sa'd, sent him with 'Ayīḥ bin Ghunm to conquer north of Iraq and Syria (4:53). In the year 37 H, 'Umar tempted his father to participate in the arbitration (*ta'kḥm*), and so he brought him [for this purpose] from the watering place of the Banī Sulaim in a desert area, to Dḥmah al-Jandal, at a place known as Adhrakh. He then told him: "O my father! Attend their deliberations, for indeed you are a companion of the Prophet and were one of the members of

wrote to him in the same.¹

the Shḥrij [i.e. the council formed by the second caliph]. So be present, for you are more entitled to the caliphate than any other person" (5:7-66). ['Umar bin Sa'd] was one of those who gave witness against ʿujr (5:269) and among those who wrote to Yazḍ advising him to save the situation in Kḥfah (5:356). He disliked Muslim bin 'Aqḥ making his will to him and [later] disclosed it to Ibn Ziyd who said: "A trustworthy person never betrays you, but sometimes a traitor has to be trusted" (5:377). Mu'ammad bin al-Ash'ath al-Kindḥ wanted to appoint 'Umar bin Sa'd as the governor of Kḥfah after Ibn Ziyd, but the members of the Banī Hamdīn opposed him; their men came out putting on swords, while their women were lamenting for al-ʿusain ('a) (5:524). Mukhtir sent Abḥ 'Umrah against 'Umar bin Sa'd. The former managed to kill him and brought his head to Mukhtir. He then killed his son, ʿafī 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 Mu'ammad bin al-ʿanafīyyah in Madḥnah (6:2-61).

¹ *Al-ḥabarḥ* (5:357): Hishīm says: "Awīnah has narrated: 'When [all] the letters reached Yazḍ with the [maximum] gap of two days between them, he summoned Sarjaun*, Mu'jwīyah's retainer, and asked him: 'What is your opinion? Al-ʿusain has set out for Kḥfah, while Muslim bin 'Aqḥ is there receiving allegiance on behalf of al-ʿusain. I have been informed that Nu'mīn 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] Yazḍ was angry with 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyd. Sarjaun said: 'Tell me, if Mu'jwīyah was to be raised, would you accept his opinion?' Yazḍ replied: 'Yes.' [Here,] Sarjaun took out Mu'jwīyah's [letter in which] he had appointed 'Ubaidullah over Kḥfah and said: 'This is the opinion of Mu'jwīyah. He enjoined this letter as he died.' Yazḍ accepted the advice and summoned Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bḥilḥ** and dispatched him to 'Ubaidullah in Baḥrah with the [letter of] his appointment. He wrote to him [as follows]: 'My

followers among the people of Kffah have written to me that Muslim bin 'Aqel is in Kffah gathering people, in order to cause difference in the ranks of the Muslims. Therefore, go to the people of Kffah when you read this letter of mine, and search for Ibn 'Aqel as if you were looking for a bead until you find him. Then bind him [in chains], kill him or expel him. That is all.' Muslim bin 'Amru set out till he reached Ba'rah and urged 'Ubaidullah to get prepared and move to Kffah the next day.

±abarç has narrated this on the authority of 'Ammir al-Duhanç*** from Abf Ja'far al-Biqir ('a): "He then summoned his servant called Sarjaun whose advice he used to seek, and informed him of the news. Sarjaun said to him: 'If Mu'jwiyah was alive, would you have taken his counsel?' Yazçd answered: 'Yes.' Sarjaun said: 'Then accept [this] from me; there is no one suitable for Kffah except 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyd. So appoint him over it.' Yazçd was then angry with 'Ubaidullah and was even seriously thinking of dismissing him from Ba'rah. Yet, Yazçd wrote to him showing his satisfaction and informing him that, besides Ba'rah, he has also appointed him over Kffah. He also wrote [to him] that he must search for Muslim bin 'Aqel and kill him if he were to find him" (5:348).

* Sarjaun bin Manÿr al-Rfmç was Mu'jwiyah's scribe and the record keeper of his office (*al-±abari*:5:230 & 6:180).

** *Al-±abarç* (5:228): Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bjhilç was in Ba'rah together with Ziyd bin Abçh. He was respectable in the clan of Bjhilah and was leading it in the year 46 H. He resided in Shjm [for some time] and was thus counted to be from both Shjm and Ba'rah. He returned to Ba'rah with Yazçd's letter to Ibn Ziyd and then moved with him to Kffah. When Hjñi' bin 'Urwah was brought before Ibn Ziyd, al-Bjhilç asked him to submit Muslim bin 'Aqel to him (5:366). Al-Bjhilç also abused Muslim when he reached the gate of the palace and asked for water (5:376). Later, he flattered Muÿ'ab bin al-Zubair who then sent him to fight Ibn al-urr al-Ju'fç, but he was defeated in 68 H (6:132). He was acting as an assistant of Muÿ'ab (6:136) and was killed together with Budair al-Jthalçq in a battle against Marwñ in 71 H (6:158). Al-Bjhilç used to love wealth exceedingly (5:432). He had seven sons: Qutaibah, 'Abd al-Ra'mjn, 'Abdullah,

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

Al-°usain ('a) sent a copy of his letter -with his servant Sulaimjn¹- to the heads of the five districts of Ba'rah² and also to such noblemen as Mjlik bin Masma' al-Bakrç³,

'Ubaidullah, °jli', Bashshjr and Mu'ammad (6:516), all of whom joined °ajjj bin Y£suf. °ajjj appointed Qutaibah over Khurjsñ in the year 86 H (6:424). Qutaibah later fought a battle and conquered Bçkand, N£shkath, Rjmhçn, Bukhjrj, Sh£mjñ, Kush, Nasaf, Khjmjard, Samarqand, Shjsh, Farghñnah, Kjshghar upto the borders of China. He also made peace with Nçzak, Saghad and Khwjrzmshjh. Qutaibah was killed along with his brothers in 96 H (6:429-506).

*** 'Ammir al-Duhanç was the father of Mu'jwiyah bin 'Ammir. Mu'jwiyah was among the companions of Imam al-°idiq ('a) and Imam al-Kj'im ('a). His father, 'Ammir, was an outstanding personality and considered to be reliable by the people. His agnomen was Abf Mu'jwiyah. He has, at times, narrated [reports] from Abf Ja'far al-Biqir ('a) (See *al-Rijl* of 'Alljmah al-°illç, pg.166). 'Ammir also wrote a book as reported by Ibn al-Nadçm in *al-Fihrist* (pg.235; Europe edition].

¹ Historians have differed over the name of this messenger of al-°usain ('a) to Ba'rah. In this book, he is called Sulaimjn as he is in *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwjrzmç (1:199) who narrated that from Ibn al-A'tham. Sayyid Ibn ±jw£s has given him the same name in *al-Luh£f*, but with the agnomen of Abf Razçn, 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 Isljq al-Tamçmiyyah, one of al-°usain's wives, and then got married to Abf Razçn and gave birth to Sulaimjn. Ibn Namj writes in *Muthçr al-A/zjn* (pg.12) that Imam [a] sent the letter through Dhuray' al-Sad£sç. Sayyid al-Amçn has mentioned both of them together in his *Lawjij al-Ashjn* (pg.36).

² The city of Ba'rah was divided into five parts, each of them having a leader from among their outstanding men.

³ *Al-±abarç*: Mjlik bin Masma' al-Bakrç al-Ja'darç. He was the head of the clan of Banf Bakr bin Wjil in Ba'rah (4:505). He

granted asylum to Marwān bin ʿakam on the day he was defeated. The descendants of Marwān remained grateful to them for this favour and honoured them, while the Banī Bakr made use of their good relationship with the Banī Marwān! (5:536). Mīlik was inclined towards the Banī Umayyah and therefore refused to support Ziyād against Ibn al-Khaṣṣam, whom Muʿīwiyah had earlier sent to Baʿrah to invite the people to his authority (5:110). Mīlik was the one who swore allegiance to Ibn Marjānah when Yazid died, but later he infringed his allegiance and broke into the treasure house along with a group of other people, and plundered it (5:505). Later, Mīlik was accused of trying to restore Ibn Ziyād in the office in Baʿrah (5:512). Mīlik bin Masmaʿ was the head of the quarter of Bakr bin Wajil from Yemen which comprised the Lahizim, which consisted of the Banī Qais bin Thaʿlabah and their allies, Ghazzah; the clan of Shiyaʿ al-Laj and its allies: ʿIjl; and the family of Dhuhāl bin Thaʿlabah along with its allies: Yashkur and ʿaiʿah bin Rabʿah bin Nazzār. These groups were nomads, while the Hanḡfah were city dwellers (5:515). When the tribe of Azd moved to Baʿrah towards the end of Muʿīwiyah's rule and the early days of Yazīd's reign, Mīlik approached them and renewed the alliance with them (5:516). In the year 64 H, he once again renewed the alliance with them while Masʿūd bin ʿAmru al-Maʿnī was in charge of them. They revolted against ʿAbdullah bin al-ʿirith bin Naufal bin ʿAbd al-Muṣṣalib al-Qarashī al-Hāshimī, with the intention of reinstating Ibn Ziyād in the office. They were defeated and Mīlik's house was set on fire (5:521). Mīlik defended the followers of Mukhtār in Baʿrah under tribal fervor, though he did not share with them their views (6:68). When Muḡʿab fought Mukhtār, Mīlik led the district of Bakr bin Wajil in support of Muḡʿab (6:95). He also gave refuge to Khilid bin ʿAbdullah bin Khilid bin ʿUbaid who was sent to Baʿrah by ʿAbd al-Malik bin Marwān to invite people to his authority. Mīlik 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 ʿUbaidullah bin ʿUbaidullah bin Muʿammar, Muḡʿab's deputy. ʿUbaidullah gave him asylum but also expelled Khilid from Baʿrah. Malik thereafter was afraid of Muḡʿab, so he fled to his people at Thaʿj (6:152-155). Muḡʿab [in

Aʿnaf bin Qais¹

turn] demolished his house (6:155). There are no reports about him after this.

¹ *Al-ʿabar*: Al-Aʿnaf Sakhr bin Qais Abī Baʿr al-Saʿdī. He has related [narrations] from ʿAbbās bin ʿAbd al-Muṣṣalib (1:263). In the year 17 H, ʿUtbah bin Ghazwān sent him together with the delegation of the people of Baʿrah to ʿUmar (4:74). He was among those people of Baʿrah who had participated in the battle against Persia in 17 H (4:81). ʿUmar –based on his own judgement- entrusted him with the standard of Khurāsān in order to conquer it (4:94). He pursued Yazdgard until he was killed (4:171). Al-Aʿnaf also conquered Herāt in 31 H (4:301) and signed a peace treaty with [the people of] Mirwādīd (4:310) and Balakh (4:313). He was among those people of Baʿrah with whom ʿaishah was in correspondence (4:461).

During the battle of Baʿrah, Aʿnaf went to see ʿAlī (ʿa) who invited him and his people in the city not to fight against him. Aʿnaf called on his men not to take up arms and they accepted his call and withdrew. When ʿAlī (ʿa) gained victory, Aʿnaf entered the city with him, along with his 10,000 (4:497) or 6,000 (4:468) or 4,000 men (4:501). Aʿnaf renewed his pledge with ʿAlī (ʿa) in the evening of the same day (4:541). Later, Aʿnaf came to ʿAlī (ʿa) at Kḡfah and wrote to his kinsmen in Baʿrah inviting them to come over to Kḡfah, so that they could move together to ʿiffān and they accepted that (*Waqʿat ʿiffān*, pg.24). Aʿnaf was leading Tamīm, ʿubbah and Rubīb on that day (*Waqʿat ʿiffān*, pg.117). Nevertheless, he was apprehensive about the loss of Arabs [in the battle] (*Waqʿat ʿiffān*, pg.387).

Aʿnaf proposed himself to ʿAlī (ʿa) for the arbitration (*taʿkīm*) and pointed to the tenderness of Abī Mḡsī, but his proposal was denied by Ashʿath bin Qais (*Waqʿat ʿiffān*, pg.501). Aʿnaf stopped ʿAlī from erasing his name as the leader of the believers on the day of ʿiffān (*Waqʿat ʿiffān*, pg.508). When Ashʿath came out to read the agreement reached at the arbitration, Aʿnaf stopped him from that and a man from the Banī Tamīm engaged in a [brief] skirmish with Ashʿath with his sword. On seeing this, the people of Yemen came forward to take revenge from the Banī

Mundhir bin al-Jrḥd¹, Mas'ḥd bin 'Amru²,

Tamḥm, so A'ḥnaf [immediately] went to Ash'ath and apologized to him (*Waq'at ḥiffḥn*, pg.513). He had also advised Abḥ Mḥsḥ not to be deceived [in the arbitration] (*Waq'at ḥiffḥn*: pg. 536). 'Alḥ ('a) used to invite A'ḥnaf together with the Banḥ Hḥshim for consultation (5:53). A'ḥnaf came out with the Banḥ Tamḥm in an army of 1,500 men during his second departure to ḥiffḥn (*al-ḥabarḥ*:5:78).

In the year 50 H, A'ḥnaf went to see Mu'ḥwiyah who awarded him 100,000 [dirhams] (5:242). Again in 59 H, Ibn Ziyḥd sent him to Mu'ḥwiyah where he was received last (5:317). A'ḥnaf later paid allegiance to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyḥd after Yazḥd in order to attain the governorship of Baḥrah (5:507). He also promised Ibn Ziyḥd to bring to him Ibn al-Zubair's propagandist. But when he saw the latter's refusal, A'ḥnaf gave up persuading him (5:508).

When the tribe of Azd was attempting to reinstate Ibn Ziyḥd to the governorship after his escape, Banḥ Tamḥm flocked on A'ḥnaf complaining to him of the return of Ibn Ziyḥd to power, and also of the killing of some men from the Banḥ Tamḥm at the hands of the Azd. So A'ḥnaf 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 (5:519). Subsequently, A'ḥnaf paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair (5:615). In 67 H, he fought against Mukhtḥr alongside Muḥ'ab bin al-Zubair (6:95) and was the one to advise Muḥ'ab to kill those of Mukhtḥr's followers who had surrendered (6:116). It seems A'ḥnaf was dead by the year 71 H (6:157).

¹ *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 (5:505). 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 (5:318). Later, Ibn Ziyḥd appointed Ibn Jrḥd over Sindh in India where he died in 62 H, as reported in *al-Iḥḥbah* (3:480).

² *Al-ḥabarḥ*: Mas'ḥd bin 'Amru bin 'Adiyy al-Azdḥ, the head of the Azd during the battle of Jamal in Baḥrah (4:505). He is the one who gave refuge to Ibn Marjḥnah [i.e. Ibn Ziyḥd] when the

Qais bin Haitham¹ and 'Amru bin 'Ubaidullah bin

people opposed him. Ibn Marjḥnah waited for ninety days after the death of Yazḥd before he went to Shḥm (5:525). Mas'ḥd sent with Ibn Ziyḥd 100 men from the clan of Azd -who were led by Qurrah bin 'Amru bin Qais- to escort him to Shḥm (5:522). 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 (5:525). 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 (5:525). They were either 400 or 500 in number and were from the ḥshḥrḥ's (5:519), 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 the Khawḥrij killing a number of them and injuring others, and finally expelled them from Baḥrah. Some members of the Banḥ Tamḥm confessed thereafter that they were the ones who invited this group to Baḥrah and entered the city with them. So the Azd attacked the Banḥ Tamḥm and a great number from both sides were killed. They finally agreed on 100,000 dirhams –ten times more than the amount specified by the Sharḥ'ah- as the blood-money for Mas'ḥd's killing and thus reconciled (5:526).

¹ *Al-ḥabarḥ* (4:314): Qais bin al-Haitham al-Sulamḥ. In the year 32 H, 'Abdullah bin ḥmir appointed him over Khurḥsḥn together with Qais' cousin, 'Abdullah bin Khḥzim. When 'Abdullah bin ḥmir came out of Khurḥsḥn, having mobilized around 40,000 men from Herḥt, Qahistḥn, ḥabas and Bḥdghḥs, Ibn Khḥzim took out a fake document -produced by himself- which he attributed to Ibn ḥmir, claiming that he had been appointed as the ruler of Khurḥsḥn, in case there was a war. So Qais accepted it and left the place to come to Baḥrah. Thereafter, the uprising against 'Uthmḥn came up and 'Uthmḥn asked for help from the people of Baḥrah

through ‘Abdullah bin ‘amir. As ‘Abdullah asked for their assistance, Qais came forward and addressed the people urging them to assist ‘Uthmĭn. The people rushed to his help but were then informed of Uthman’s murder and so they returned (5:369). It has been said that Qais had been the chief of security guards in Baʿrah for ‘Abdullah bin ‘amir during the reign of Muʿĭwiyah in 41 H (5:170). He later appointed him as the governor of Khurĭsĭn for two years (5:172). Qais failed to send him the taxes on time and so Ibn ‘amir wanted to dismiss him. ‘Abdullah bin Khĭzim asked Ibn ‘amir to make him in charge of Khurĭsĭn and the latter was about to write for him his letter of appointment when he learned about it. So Qais left Khurĭsĭn and went to see Ibn ‘amir. The latter ordered Qais to be whipped (5:209) 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 (5:210). In the year 44 H, Ibn ‘amir appointed a man from the Banĕ Yashkur –either ʿuḥayl bin ‘Awf al-Yashkurĕ or ‘Abdullah bin Abĕ Shaikh al-Yashkurĕ (5:213)- as the governor of Khurĭsĭn (5:209), who sympathized with Qais bin Haitham and appointed him as his deputy in Baʿrah whenever he set out to visit Muʿĭwiyah (5:213). Muʿĭwiyah gave the hand of his daughter, Hind, to him in marriage and dismissed him in 44 H from the governorship of Baʿrah (5:214). Muʿĭwiyah then appointed Ziyĭd bin Sumayyah in his place in the year 45 H. Ziyĭd put Qais bin Haitham in charge of Mirwad al-Raudh, Al-Fĭriyab and ʿĭliqĭn (5:224). In the year 61 H -after the martyrdom of al-ʿusain [ʿa], Qais was appointed as the deputy of ‘Abd al-Raʿmĭn bin Ziyĭd in Khurĭsĭn, whenever the latter would go to see Yazĕd. However, Yazĕd dismissed him and Qais remained in isolation (5:316). When Yazĕd died Qais was in Baʿrah, and ʿaʿĭk bin Qais wrote to him inviting him towards himself (5:504), though Qais was inclined towards Nuʿmĭn bin ʿahbĭn al-Rĭsibĕ, since the people of Baʿrah had oppointed these two [i.e. Nuʿmĭn and ʿahbĭn] from among the Banĕ Umayyah as leaders over them after Ibn Ziyĭd. Afterwards, they [i.e. ʿaʿĭk and Qais] agreed upon a Hashimite from the clan of Muʿar (5:512). In 66 H, Qais was the head of the security guards and the fighting forces in Baʿrah for Ibn al-Zubair during the battle against Muthannĭ bin Mukharribah al-

Muʿammar. The letter read:

“Allah chose Muʿammad (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 to his position than any other person is. But our community held onto it to our exclusion and we did not oppose them; [for] we detested disunity and loved the well-being [of the community]. We know that we are more entitled to that position and truly worthy of it than those who have taken it over.¹ They [may] have done well, put things in order and pursued the truth.

I am sending to you my messenger with this letter. I invite you to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Prophet (ﷺ). Indeed, the Sunnah has been eradicated (*umĕtat*) and the innovations (*bidʿah*) have been revived. If you listen to my speech and obey my commands, I will guide you to the right

ʿAbdĕ al-Baʿrĕ, the one who used to invite people towards Mukhtĭr (6:67). He, together with Muʿab bin al-Zubair, were at the head of the district of Ahl al-ʿĭliyah in their encounter with Mukhtĭr in 67 H (6:95). In the year 71 H, Qais was hiring people –in support of Ibn al-Zubair- to help him fight against Khĭlid bin ‘Abdullah, the one who was calling the people towards ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwĭn (6:71). Qais used to warn the people of Iraq against betraying Muʿab (6:157). This is our last encounter with the story of Qais. Perhaps, he was killed in 71 H along with the companions of Muʿab at the hands of ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwĭn.

¹ This indicates that the acceptance of this situation by the Ahl al-Bait (ʿa) was only to avoid discord [within the community] and ward off evil, not out of their willing consent.

path. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.”

All these noblemen read the letter and concealed it's content except for Mundhir bin Jirfd. He was afraid, for he thought that [the sending of Sulaimn, the messenger of al-°usain ('a)] might be a conspiracy by 'Ubaidullah. Thus, he came with the messenger to Ibn Ziyd in the evening preceding the day he intended to leave for Kffah, 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 Ziyd's Address in BaYrah]

Ibn Ziyd went on the pulpit of BaYrah, praised Allah and glorified Him and said:

“By Allah! The intractable camel (*Yu'bah*) shall never be coupled with me¹; and I will not let anyone clatter (*qa'qa'ah*) before me²; I will punish (*la-nakilun*) whoever is hostile towards me³; I will prove to be a poison for whoever fights me; Indeed, the tribe of Qirrah fairly treated the one who shot at them⁴.

¹ *Al-Yu'bah* as it has appeared in the Arabic text means a she-camel who is not easy to mount. By using this term, Ibn Ziyd meant to say that as if he has mounted BaYrah and leading it. Thus, he would not allow it to become difficult for himself to get on.

² *Al-qa'qa'ah* means voice. As if he meant to say: I will not let the people speak about their hatred and dislike to me.

³ *Nakilun* comes from *al-nikl* which means punishment and revenge.

⁴ This is how *al-±abar* 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

O people of BaYrah! 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 Ziyd bin Ab̄ Sufyīn as my deputy. Beware of opposition and spreading rumours. By Him beside who there is no deity! If I am informed of any opposition from anyone of you, then I shall certainly kill him, and the one who knows him, and his near ones. Verily, I will punish severely for even the slightest act of disobedience until you totally submit to me and there remains among you no opponent or opposer! I am the son of Ziyd; 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 Ziyd Enters Kffah]

Ibn Ziyd then left BaYrah for Kffah together with Muslim bin 'Amru al-B̄hil̄¹, Shar̄k bin al-A'war al-°irith̄², his

Ignorance (*j̄hiliyyah*). 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 Ziyd meant to say that whoever chooses to shoot at the Ban̄ Umayyah, then he is like the one who chose shooting with the member of the tribe of Qirrah; for the Ban̄ Umayyah are as much proficient in shooting as the tribe of Qirrah.

¹ We have already given his biography earlier.

² *Al-±abar*: He was appointed over IȲṣakhr F̄iris where he built a mosque in the year 31 H (4:301). He participated in the battle of

attendants and his family members who were around ten men¹. He entered Kġfah with a black turban on his head, while he had covered his face. The people [of Kġfah] had heard that al-°usain (‘a) had set out towards them, so they were waiting for his arrival.

When Ibn Ziyd arrived [in the city], they thought that he was al-°usain (‘a). He did not pass a group of people without them greeting him by saying: “Welcome to you, O son of the Messenger of Allah! Your arrival is a happy [event].” He saw in their welcoming of al-°usain (‘a) something which [greatly] troubled him. He was so angry at what he heard from them that he said: “I wish I could see them in other than this state!” When their number increased, Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-Bġhilġ] called out: “Move back! This is the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd.”

When he entered the palace and the people came to know that he was ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd, they became very sad

‘iffġn with ‘Alġ (‘a) (5:361). In the year 38 H, ‘Alġ (‘a) sent him together with Jġriyah bin Qudġmah al-Sa’dġ at the head of a group of men from the Banġ Tamġm to Baġrah to fight Ibn al-°aġramġ and those with him who had responded to his call to Mu’ġwiyah (5:112). ‘Abdullah bin ‘aġmir had also sent Sharġk to Baġrah along with 3,000 riders from the tribe of Rabġ’ah to fight Mustawrad bin ‘Allafah, the Khġrijġ (5:193). He also ruled over Kermġn for ‘Abdullah bin Ziyd in 59 H (5:321). He lived for a few days after reaching Kġfah and then died. Ibn Ziyd led his funeral prayer (5:364).

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (5:359) narrates on the authority of ‘«sġ bin Yazġd al-Kanġnġ who said: “When Yazġd’s letter reached ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyd, he selected 500 men from the people of Baġrah among whom were ‘Abdullah bin al-°ġrith al-Naufal and Sharġk bin al-A’war.

and grief stricken!¹

[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-ġalġh jġmi’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. Yazġd] –May Allah correct him- has appointed me over your city and frontier-station. He has ordered me to give justice to the oppressed among you, help the weak, treat the obedient among you with generosity and to be harsh with the disobedient and suspicious among you. I will follow his order with regard to you and execute his command on you. To the good and submissive among you, I will be like a kind father. But my sword and whip shall be for him who disobeys my orders and opposes my commands. So let each man protect himself! ‘True belief (*sidq*) should declare itself on your behalf, not the threat of punishment (*wa’ġd*)’.”

Then, he descended from the pulpit and took the group leaders (‘*urafġ*’) and the people harshly, and said:

“Write to me the strangers (*ghurabġ*’) and those among you who are the seekers of the commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazġd], and those among you are the [members of the]

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (5:357): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘aq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Uthmġn al-Hindġ who said...” This has also been narrated in *al-Irshġd* (pg. 206) and *al-Maqtal* (pg. 200) of al-Khwġrazmġ.

°arġriyyah¹, 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 ('arġfah)² who will oppose us, and no wrongdoer who will try to wrong us. Anyone who does not do so shall be denied protection and his blood and his property will be permitted to us. Any head of 'arġfah 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 ('aṣġi') of that group and they shall be expelled to a place in 'Ummġn al-Zġrah."^{3, 4}

¹ The Khawġrij. They are attributed to °arawġi' -which is located in the suburbs of Kġfah- because that was the first place that they had gathered in on their return from ġiffġn and before entering Kġfah.

² *Al-±abarġ*: 'Arġfah was a governmental post responsible for the identification of the citizens and to organize their stipends from the treasure house (*bait al-mġl*). There were a hundred people who held this position ('irġġf) in Kġfah. The stipends used to be given to the heads of the four districts of the city, who would pass it to the 'urafġi' (pl. of 'irġġf), and the trustworthy people, who would then distribute it to the people within their areas (4:49). They used to receive the order to distribute the stipends in the month of Muġarram of every year, and their grants at the harvest time every year (4:43). The system of 'arġfah used to exist even during the time of the Prophet (ﷺ) (3:448).

³ 'Ummġn al-Zġrah 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 Ziyġd was threatening to deport his opponents to this place.

⁴ *Al-±abarġ* (5:358): "Abġ Mikhnaf says: "Mu'allġ bin Kulaib has narrated to me from Abġ Waddġk who said..." *Al-Irshġd* (pg.202) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawġj* (pg.200) have narrated this also.

[Muslim Moves from the House of Mukhtġr to that of Hġni']¹

Muslim learnt about the arrival of 'Ubaidullah, about the speech he had made and his treatment of the 'urafġi' and the 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-Murġdġ. 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."

¹ Al-Mas'ġdġ writes: "He was the chief and leader of Murġd. In those days he used to ride accompanied by 4,000 armored warriors and 8,000 foot soldiers. If their allies from the [Banġ] Kindah and others were to respond to them, then Hġnġ would ride amidst 30,000 armoured fighters" (See *Murġġ al-Dhahab*:3:69). It is thus known from here why Muslim left Mukhtġr's place and moved to the house of Hġni, the chief (*shaikh*) of the clan. Nevertheless, events turned out to be as al-Mas'ġdġ says: "But their leader could not find even a single supporter from among them due to their faint-heartedness and betrayal.

Both Hġni' 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-±abaġġt* of Ibn Sa'd. Al-Mubarrad says in *al-Kġmil* that Hġni's father was among those who rose with °ujr bin 'Adiyy, but Ziyġd bin Abġh interceded [with Mu'ġwiyah] on his behalf. This is why Ibn Ziyġd had told Hġni' – as it has appeared in *al-±abarġ*: "O Hġni'! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shġ'ah except for your father and °ujr? And you well know what came to happen of °ujr. He [i.e. Ziyġd] did not cease to show his kindness towards you to the extent that he even wrote to the governor of Kġfah [saying]: 'My request from you is that you should take care of Hġni'. Hġni' answered: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziyġd then said: 'Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man that he may kill me!'" (5:361).

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.¹ After Muslim moved to the house of Hġni' bin 'Urwah and eighteen thousand people paid allegiance to him, he sent a letter to al-°usain ('a) with "bis bin Abġ Shabġb al-Shġkirġ² [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.³

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

Ibn Ziyġd summoned his servant called Ma'qil⁴ and told

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (5:361): [I narrate] from Abġ Mikhnaf, who reported from Mu'allġ bin Kulagb, who related from Abġ al-Waddġk that..."

² *Al-±abarġ* (5:375): "Abġ Mikhnaf says: 'Ja'far bin °udhaifah al-±ġġ narrated to me that..."

³ *Al-±abarġ* (5:395): "Abġ Mikhnaf reports [that]: 'Mu'ammad bin Qais narrated to me [saying]..."

⁴ *Al-±abarġ* (5:360) relates on the authority of '«sġ bin Yazġd al-Kanġnġ that Muslim bin 'Aqġl arrived in Kġfah a night before Ibn

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-Asadġ¹ at the great mosque and saw him praying. He had heard the people saying that Ibn 'Awsajah was accepting people's allegiance for al-°usain ('a). So he waited until he finished his prayers. He then said [to him]: "O servant of Allah, I am from 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 (¥)] 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 Kġfah to receive

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."

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (5:436): 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 °dharbġġġn killing six idolaters before [even] the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. Should you be rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you?!"

pledges of allegiance on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ). I have been wanting to meet him but I have not found anyone who will direct me to him, as his place [of stay] is unknown. I was just now sitting in the mosque and I heard a number of Muslims saying that this is a person who knows the people of this House. Therefore, I have come to you so that you may take this money from me and introduce me to your colleague (Ṣijīb) 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 ‘Aqĕl] and [Ma’qil] started visiting [Muslim] with other people.¹

[The Meeting for Planning the Assassination of Ibn

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:361): “[I narrate] from Abĕ Mikhnaf who related from Mu’allĭ bin Kulaib, who reported from Abĕ al-Sawwĭk that...” See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg.207) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawĭṣ* (pg.201).

Ziyĭd]

Hĭni’ bin ‘Urwah fell sick and ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyĭd came to see him. ‘Umĭrah bin ‘Ubaid al-Salĕlĕ¹ said to Hĭni’: “[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.”

Hĭni’ replied: “I do not like him to be killed in my house.” [Ibn Ziyĭd paid him a visit and] left.

After only a week Sharĕk bin al-A’war [al-°rithĕ] got sick. Although Sharĕk was very kind towards Ibn Ziyĭd and other heads of state, he was a staunch Shĕ’ah. Ibn Ziyĭd sent him a messenger to inform him that he was coming to visit him in the evening. At this [Sharĕk] told Muslim: “This sinner is going to visit me tonight, so kill him after he takes his seat. Then sit in the palace and there will be no obstacle between you and it. If I get well from my illness in the coming days, [then] I will proceed towards Baṣrah and save you of its troubles.”

At evening ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyĭd] set out to see Sharik [al-°rithĕ]. Muslim bin ‘Aqĕl got up to enter [the room] when Sharĕk said to him: “You must not miss him when he takes his seat.” [Here] Hĭni’ bin ‘Urwah stood up and said –as if he detested it: “I do not want him to be killed in my house.”

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyĭd arrived and entered [the house] and took his seat. He inquired from Sharĕk about his illness and

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ*: Al-Salĕlĕ was among the messengers of the people of Kĕfah –with 53 letters- to al-°usain (‘a) while [the latter] was in Makkah. The Imam [‘a] then sent him to Kĕfah together with Muslim bin ‘Aqĕl, Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidĭwĕ and ‘Abd al-Raĭmĭn al-Arĭabĕ (5:343-344).

said: “How do you feel?” His queries took long. [When Sharĕk] 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 Salmĭ?! Make me drink it even if it were to take my life!” He repeated this twice or three times.

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

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

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

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

[On hearing this] Hĭni’ said: “By Allah! Had you killed him, you would have had certainly killed a corrupt (*fĭsiq*), sinful (*fĭjir*), unbelieving (*kĭfir*) and a treacherous (*ghĭdir*) 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

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:361): “[I narrate] from Abĕ Mikhnaĕ who was relating from Mu’allĭ bin Kulaib, who reported from Abĕ al-Waddĭk that...”

‘Aqĕl, until [one day] he took him to [Muslim]. Ma’qil informed him of his condition and [Muslim] received his allegiance and ordered Abĕ Thumĭmah al-ĭĭdĕ¹ to collect the money that Ma’qil had brought with him. Thereafter, Ma’qil would consistently visit them. He would be the first [to enter] and the last to leave. He would hear all their news and take note of all their secrets and he would then go and inform Ibn Ziyad of that.²

Ibn Ziyĭd Inquires About Hĭni’

Ibn Ziyĭd said to his courtiers: “How is it that I do not see Hĭni’?” They replied: “He is ill.” ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyĭd] then summoned Mu’ammad bin al-Ash’ath³,

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ*: 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 Shĕ’ah (5:364). Muslim had given him the banner [and he was leading] the quarter of [the Banĕ] Tamĕm and Hamĭn (5:369). He was present in Karbalĭ’ and was the gate-keeper of al-ṭusain (‘a) (5:410). He was the one who asked al-ṭusain (‘a) to lead them in their prayers on the noon of ‘shĕrĭ’, and the Imam [‘a] prayed for him saying: “You have remembered the prayers (ṭalĭt); may Allah make you among those who establish prayers (*muṭallĕn*) and remember him (*dhĭkirĕn*)” (5:439). His cousin –who was in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d- had engaged him in a duel -before the time of prayers [on that day]- and was killed by Abĕ Thumĭmah (5:441).

² *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:361): [I narrate] from Abĕ Mikhnaĕ who was relating from Mu’allĭ bin Kulaib, who reported from Abĕ al-Waddĭk that...” See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg.208).

³ *Al-ṭabarĕ*: Mu’ammad bin Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kindĕ. He is the one whom Ziyĭd had asked to surrender ṭujr to him. Hujr requested al-Ash’ath to seek protection (*amĭn*) for him from Ibn

Ziyd so that he could go to Mu'jwiyah who would have the final word on him, and Ziyd accepted the request (5:263-264). 'Ubaidah al-Kindi 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" (5:285). 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 'Aql (5:369). However, in order to fight Ibn 'Aql, he had also sent some men from [the clan of] Qais together with his men; since every tribe disliked Ibn 'Aql to be killed by its kinsmen (5:373). Ibn al-Ash'ath granted protection to Ibn 'Aql also (5:374) and informed Ibn Ziyd of that, but he did not approve it (5:375). He also interceded for Hjn bin 'Urwah but was rejected by Ibn Ziyd (5:378).

The clan of Kindah was carrying out the orders of 'Umar bin Sa'd as they were his maternal kin. So when Yazd bin Mu'jwiyah died and Ibn Ziyd invited them towards himself, they rejected him and instead appointed 'Umar bin Sa'd as their head. However, when the men of Hamdn took up swords and their women lamented al-'usain ('a), Ibn Ash'ath backed down and said: "A new situation has arisen" (5:525). Subsequently, the [people of] Hamdn wrote to Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah, and the latter sent Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath bin Qais to Mosul. When 'Abd al-Ra'mn bin Sa'd bin Qais arrived in Mosul as its governor under Mukhtjr, Ibn Ash'ath withdrew from it in his favour. Al-Ash'ath then went to Tikrt 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 Mukhtjr and paid allegiance to him (6:36). When Ibn Ziyd proceeded towards Mosul with the army of Shjm and the followers of Mukhtjr came out to fight him, the outstanding men of Kffah -among them being Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath- came together and spread calumnies against Mukhtjr. Al-Ash'ath's son, Islq, came out amidst the Jabnah of Kindah and they attacked Mukhtjr, pouncing on him (6:39-45) and [they]

Asmj' bin Khrijah¹ and 'Amru bin al-'ajj² -whose sister Raw'ah was Hjni's wife- and told them: "What prevents Hjn bin 'Urwah from visiting us?"

They said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! We do not know, but he is complaining (*la-yatashakkj*)³."

So Ibn Ziyd said: "I have heard that he has recovered and is [usually] seen sitting at the door of his house. Go to see him

got broken. Thus, Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath withdrew to his village near al-Qdisiyyah where Mukhtjr sent 100 warriors from among his slaves and others to chase him up. But Mu'ammad managed to escape and joined Mu'ab bin al-Zubair and instead his house was demolished (6:66). Mu'ab then sent Ibn al-Ash'ath with a letter to Muhallab bin Ab'ufrah with whom he [once again] came for the battle against Mukhtjr (6:94). Mu'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 Ba'rah such that they would not see a prisoner from a defeated army except that they would kill him (6:97). Ibn Ash'ath was killed in the battle between Mu'ab and Mukhtjr, so Mu'ab sent his son 'Abd al-Ra'mn bin Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath to the suburbs (*kinjsah*) of Kffah (6:104).

¹ *Al-'abari*: Asmj' bin Khrijah al-Fazjr. He was one of those who wrote his testimony against 'ujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindi (5:207). He was [also] the one to remind 'ajj of Kumail bin Ziyd al-Nakha' and 'Umar bin 'jbi' as those who rebelled against 'Uthm and so he killed them (4:404). Al-Fazjr protested against Ibn Ziyd for beating and imprisoning Hjni' bin 'Urwah and was consequently imprisoned by Ibn Ziyd (5:367). He later came to be among the companions of Ibn Mu' al-'Adaw (6:31) and in 68 H was among the followers of Mu'ab bin al-Zubair (6:124).

² We have mentioned him earlier among those who had written to al-'usain ('a) from the people of Kffah.

³ *Yatashakkj* means 'he is complaining (*yashtak*) of his illness'.

and enjoin him not to abandon his duty towards us; for I do not like an Arab nobleman like him to spoil [his reputation] with me.”¹

[H_ini’ 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.’”

H_ini’ replied: “[My] illness stops me.”

So they said to him: “He has heard that you sit at the door of your house every evening. He finds you tardy; and tardiness and churlish behaviour are things which the authorities will not tolerate. We adjure you to ride with us.”

So H_ini’ 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 H_ini’. When he appeared [before Ibn Ziyāḍ, he] said [to himself]: “The

¹ *Al-ʿabar* (5:361&364): “[I narrate] from Abī Mikhnaf who was reporting from Muʿallī bin Kulaib, who narrated from Abī al-Waddīk; and [also] from Mujlīd bin Saʿd, ʿasan bin ʿUqbah al-Murjīd and Numair bin Waʿlah who reported from Abu al-Waddīk.” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.208).

fool’s legs have brought him to you.”¹ When [H_ini’] came closer to Ibn Ziyāḍ, while Shuraiḥ al-Qiṣi was present too², he turned towards [H_ini’] and recited:

I want to give him present (*ʿibj’ahu*), but he wants to kill

¹ *Al-ʿajin* means ‘a fool’. This is an idiom [in Arabic] that is [usually] said in such a situation. Those who have recorded *al-ʿajin* as *al-khij’in* are mistaken. See *al-Fjkhir* (pg.251).

² *Al-ʿabar*: Shuraiḥ bin ʿirith al-Kindī. ‘Umar had appointed him as the judge of Kġfah in 18 H (4:101). He was among those who urged the people of Kġfah to help ‘Uthmān (4:352). He appears in the list of those who bore witness against ʿujr bin ‘Adiyy as Shuraiḥ bin al-ʿirith al-Qiṣi. However, he [himself] used to say: “Ziyāḍ inquired from me about him, so I informed him that he is [a man who] exceedingly establishes prayers (*qawwīm*) and fasts a lot (*ʿawwīm*)” (5:270). Ziyāḍ had once sought his advice on amputating his leprous hand, so Shuraiḥ suggested him not to do so and was reprimanded [by Ibn Ziyāḍ’s companions]. He said [in reply]: “The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) has said: ‘A person from whom advice is sought (*mustashjir*) must be trusted’ (5:289). Ibn al-Zubair wanted him to serve as his judge in Kġfah, but he refused (5:582). This was before he accepted the position for Mukhtār. But when he heard that the followers of Mukhtār were saying that he was a partisan of ‘Uthmān, and that he testified against ʿujr bin ‘Adiyy, and that ‘Alī bin Abī ʿilīb had dismissed him from the judicial position, and that he did not convey the message that H_ini’ had sent him with [when Ibn Ziyāḍ had imprisoned him, and H_ini’s kinsmen stormed the palace and Shuraiḥ went to see them]; he pretended to be ill. Consequently, Mukhtār replaced him with ‘Abdullah bin ‘Utba bin Masʿūd and later with ‘Abdullah bin Mīlik al-ʿiḥ (6:34). After Mukhtār, Shuraiḥ accepted the position from Ibn al-Zubair (6:149). He requested ʿajjī to be relieved from this position and suggested to him Abī Burdah bin ‘Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī in the year 79 H. ʿajjī accepted his resignation and [instead] appointed Abī Burdah (6:324). Therefore, he held the judicial position for about 60 years altogether!

me.

The one who makes excuses to you is one of your own friends from the [Banḥ] Murīd.”¹

[Hḥni’ in the Presence of Ibn Ziyīd]

Hḥni’ said to Ibn Ziyīd: “What is that, O governor?”

Ibn Ziyīd replied: “Yes, O Hḥni’ 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 ‘Aqḥ 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!”

[Hḥni’] said: “I have not done that and Muslim is not with me.”

[Ibn Ziyīd] said: “Oh yes, you have done that!”

[Hḥni’] said: “I have not.”

[Ibn Ziyīd] said: “Indeed, you have.”

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

Ma’qil replied: “Yes.”

¹ This verse is that of ‘Amru bin Ma’d Yakrub al-Zubaidḥ. *Al-ibḥi’* comes from *‘abwah* which means ‘a gift’ (*‘aṣḥi’*). *‘ibḥi’ahu* [in the first verse] has appeared in *al-Kḥmil* and *al-Irshīd* (pg.208) as *‘ayḥtahu* [i.e. his life], but this is a [case of] phonetic distortion (*ta’rḥf*) of the word.

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

[Hḥni’] 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 Ziyīd] said: “By Allah! You have to bring him to me?”

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

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

Hĭni’ replied: “Indeed, by Allah, there will be shame and disgrace for me in doing that. Were I to hand over one who has come under my protection and is my guest, while I am still alive and sound, I can hear and see well, and have a strong arm and many supporters! By Allah! If I was the only one without any helper, I would not hand him over to him until I had died on his behalf.”

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

Ibn Ziyĭd 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”¹, replied Hĭni’, thinking that his tribesmen

¹  abarĕ (5:361) narrates from ‘    bin Yaz  d al-Kanĭn   that Ibn Ziy  d said to him [at this point]: “O H  n  ! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Sh  ‘ah except for your father and    r? And you well know what came to

were listening him.

[Ibn Ziy  d] said: “What a pity! Do you frighten me with the flashing [of swords]? Bring him nearer to me.” Thus, he was brought [nearer]. He then began hitting his face with a staff and continued striking his nose, forehead and cheeks to the extent that he broke his nose and blood flowed on his clothes, and the flesh of his cheek and forehead was sprinkled over his beard. [He hit him] till the cane broke.

[At this] H  ni’ stretched out his hand towards the hilt of the sword of one of the armed attendants but the guard pulled it away and prevented him.

‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziy  d] said: “Have you become a  ar  r   today?”¹ You have made your blood permissible [to us] and it

happen of    r. He [i.e. Ziy  d] did not cease to show his kindness towards you and [even] wrote to the governor of K  ffah [saying]: ‘My request from you is [that you should take care of] H  ni’.’ H  n   replied: ‘Yes.’ Ibn Ziy  d then said: ‘Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man who should kill me!’ H  ni’ said: ‘[No] I have not done that.’ [Here] Ibn Ziy  d called forth his slave, al-Tam  m  , who had been spying against them. So when H  ni’ saw him, he realized that the man has given him all the information. So he said: ‘O governor! What you have heard is true. However, I shall never be ungrateful with respect to your favours. You and your people are in safety, so move [freely] to wherever you like.’ Mahr  n, Ibn Ziy  d’s servant, was the guard standing behind him with a club in his hand. He said [to ‘Ubaidullah]: ‘What a humiliation! This deceiving slave is giving you protection in your [own] kingdom?’ Then he threw Ibn Ziy  d his club saying: ‘Take it’. He grabbed H  ni’ by his braids while Ibn Ziy  d began striking at his face with the club until he broke his nose and brow, and pushed him so violently that he crashed against the wall.”

¹ That is, a Kh  rij  . They are attributed to   araw  j’ which is

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.

‘Asmĭ’ bin Khĭrijah stood up and said [to Ibn Ziyĭd]: “Have we become the messengers of treachery today? You ordered us to bring this man, but when we brought him, you [started] smashing his face till blood ran over his beard and you thought of killing him!”

‘Ubaidullah replied him: “You will be for it here [and now]!” He then ordered his men to take him, so he was beaten (*luhiza*) and harshly taken away (*tu’ta’a bihi*).¹ He was then imprisoned.

As for Muĕammad bin Ash’ath, he remarked: “We give consent to the governor’s decision, be it in our favour or against us. Indeed, the governor is taking [only] disciplinary action (*mu’addib*).² Then he went near Ibn Ziyĭd and said to him:

“Verily, you know the position of Hĭni’ 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

located in the suburbs of Kĕfah; since this was the first place they had gathered in against ‘Alĕ (‘a).

¹ *Al-lahz* means beating at the meeting point of the clothes, from above the chest to the neck. *Al-ta’ta’ah* means a violent movement.

² *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:367): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘Ghayr bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abĕ al-Waddĭk that...”

Yemen in the city.¹

Ibn Ziyĭd promised him to do so.²

[Meanwhile] ‘Amru bin ‘ajĭj heard that Hĭni’ has been killed. So he set out with a large number of people from the Madhĭij and surrounded the palace. Then he called out: “I am ‘Amru bin al-‘ajĭj, and these are the knights of Madhĭij 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 Madhĭij were at the gate. So he said to Shurai’ al-Qĭṭĕ: “Go and see their companion [i.e. Hĭni’], then inform them that he is alive and has not been killed, and that you have seen him.”³

[Shurai’] says: “I went to see Hĭni’, 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 [Hĭni’] 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

¹ This is because Kindah was among the tribes of Yemen in Kĕfah, while Murĭd and Madhĭij were among the clans of Kindah.

² *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:378): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘aq’ab bin Zuhair related to me on the authority of ‘Aun bin Abĕ Ju’aifah that...” See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg.210) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.205) of al-Khwĭrazmĕ.

³ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:367): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abĕ al-Waddĭk that...” See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg.210) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.205) of al-Khwĭrazmĕ.

these are the voices of Madhlij and my followers among the Muslims! If [only] ten of them reached me, they would rescue me.”

Shuraiġ says: “I came out to them with ʿamʿd bin Bukair al-Aġmarġ¹ -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,] ʿAmru [bin al-ʿajġij] and his companions said: “Praise be to Allah since he has not been killed.” Then they went away.²

[Ibn Ziyġd’s Speech After Hġni’s Arrest]

ʿUbaidullah 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

¹ *Al-ʿabarġ*: 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 ʿAdiyy. He was the one to strike Ibn ʿAqġl on his upper lip and [later] killed him (5:373&378). Aġmarġ was a slave from Shġm.

² *Al-ʿabarġ* (3:367): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: “ʿaqʿab bin Zuhair narrated to me from ʿAbd al-Raġmġn bin Shuraiġ who said: ‘I heard him telling Ismġġl bin ʿalġah that...”

treated and deprived! Your brother is [only] he who speaks the truth to you! Indeed, he who warns [from the outset] is excused.”¹

[The Rise of Muslim (ʿa)]

Muslim bin ʿAqġl sent ʿAbdullah 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 ʿAqġl. There the women of Murġd had gathered crying out: ‘O the kinsmen [of ʿġni]! O bereavement of him!’ I went in to see Muslim bin ʿAqġl and gave him the news of Hġni. So he ordered me to announce to his companions: ‘O the helped one! Kill [your enemy]!’² This was at a time when the houses around him were filled with [Muslim’s] followers and eighteen thousand people had [already] paid allegiance to him, four thousand [of them] were present in the houses. So I called out: “*Yġ manʿġr amit!*”, and the people of Kġfah called one another and [soon] they gathered around him.

Muslim (ʿa) prepared a banner for ʿUbaidullah bin ʿAmru bin ʿAzġz al-Kindġ to lead the quarter of Kindah and Rabġʿah and said: “Move ahead of me with your horses.” He then issued a banner to Muslim bin ʿAwsajah al-Asadġ to lead the quarter of Madhlij and Asad and said:

¹ *Al-ʿabarġ* (5:368): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: “ʿajġij bin ʿAlġ related to me from Muġammad bin Bishr al-Hamdġnġ that...”

² “*Yġ manʿġr, 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]

‘Accompany the foot soldiers; you are their head.’ He then issued one to Abĕ Thumĭmah al-ĭidĕ to lead the quarter of Tamĕm and Hamĭn and the fourth to ‘Abbĭs bin Ju’dah al-Judalĕ¹ as the leader of the quarter of the people of Madĕnah. Muslim [himself] was moving amidst the people from [the] Murĭd.

[The Coming of the Noblemen to Ibn Ziyĭd]

The noblemen started coming to Ibn Ziyĭd through the door which adjoined the building of the Romans.² ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyĭd] summoned Kathĕr bin Shihĭb bin al-°uĕaĕn al-°ĭrithĕ³ and ordered him to go out among those [men] of

¹ We find in the left wing of the army of Mukhtĭr -which he had sent to Madĕnah to fight Ibn al-Zubair- someone called ‘Ayyĭsh bin Ju’dah al-Judalĕ. *Al-±abarĕ*: He, together with three hundred of his men, did not accept the safe-conduct from Ibn al-Zubair after they were defeated by his followers. When they were [finally] caught by them, they were killed except for about two hundred men, many of whom died on the way (6:74). Now, since we do not find any mention of ‘Abbĭs or ‘Ayyĭsh al-Judalĕ in apart from this case, and also by taking into consideration the fact that he remained loyal to Mukhtĭr, 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 ‘Abbĭs or ‘Ayyĭsh, who continued to live after Muslim bin ‘Aqĕl and rose with Mukhtĭr until he was either killed or died [somewhere] there.

² This indicates that the house of the Romans followed the back side of the Palace. Since they were *ahl al-dhimmah* [i.e. the non-Muslims living under the protection of the Islamic government], Ibn Ziyĭd used to disguise himself as one of them while moving in and out of the palace. It escaped the followers of Muslim to block this passage.

³ *Al-±abari*: He is among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:269). He took

Madhlĭj who obeyed him and to go round Kĕfah and [try to] make the people desert Ibn ‘Aqĕl, 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 °aĕramaut who were following him and to raise the banner of protection for those who joined him. Ibn Ziyĭd gave similar instructions to Qa’qĭ’ bin Shaur al-Dhuhālĕ¹, Shabath bin Rib’ĕ al-Tamĕmĕ, °ajĭr bin Abjar al-‘ĭjlĕ and Shamir bin Dhĕ al-Jaushan al-°amirĕ.^{2,3} He gave

°ujr and his companions to Mu’ĭwiyah (5:270). He is [also] the first person Ibn Ziyĭd issued a standard and the first to be made in charge of urging the people to desert Muslim (‘a) (5:370).

¹ *Al-±abarĕ*: He is one of those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:269) and also fought Muslim (‘a). (5:270&381)

² *Al-±abarĕ* (5:368): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘Yĕsuf bin Yazĕd narrated to me from ‘Abdullah bin Khĭzim that...”

³ *Al-Tabarĕ* (5:369): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘Yĕnus bin Isĭq narrated to me from ‘Abbĭs al-Judalĕ that...” Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan was with ‘Alĕ (‘a) at ĭiffĕn (5:28) and was among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:270). He was the one who incited Ibn Ziyĭd to kill al-°usain (‘a) (5:414). He was present in Karbalĭ’ and invited the sons of Umm al-Banĕn, the brothers of ‘Abbĭs, to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyĭd and to abandon the Imam (‘a) (5:415). Ibn Sa’d sought his advice with regard to giving al-°usain (‘a) respite for the night before “shĕrĭ”, but he did not respond (5:417). Shamir was in charge of the left flank of Ibn Sa’d’s army (5:422). He responded to the speech of al-°usain [‘a] with foul language and was rebuked by Ibn Mu’ĭhir (5:425). He responded to Zuhair bin al-Qain’s address by shooting an arrow at him and was reproached by him. (5:436). He attacked the left wing of al-°usain’s army with the left flank of Ibn Sa’d’s army (5:436). Shamir was the one who pierced the tent of the Imam [‘a]

Shabath bin Rib'ḡ 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 Shjm has [already] advanced towards them.”¹

[The Noblemen Come Out With Banners of Protection]

Kathḡr bin Shihjb 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, Yazḡd, are approaching. The governor has given Allah a promise that if you persist in

with his spear and called for fire to burn down the tents together with its inhabitants. So the women started screaming and walked out of their tents, upon which the Imam [‘a] cursed him (5:438). He was the one who killed Njfi’ bin Hiljl al-Jumalḡ (5:442) and attempted to kill Imam al-Sajjd (‘a) but the people prevented him [from doing so] (5:454). He was [also] the one to bring the heads [of the martyrs] to Ibn Ziyjd (5:456), and the heads, together with the captives, to Yazḡd (5:460&463). He along with the [members of] Hawjzin had twenty heads (5:468). Ibn Mušḡ’ sent Shamir as the head of the quarter of Sjlīm in Kḡfah along with 2,000 fighters (6:29) to encounter Mukhtjr (6:18). He had rose with the noblemen of Kḡfah to fight Mukhtjr (6:44) and was [ultimately] defeated and fled Kḡfah (6:52). He was killed by ‘Abd al-Ra’mjn bin Abḡ al-Kanfd in 66 H (6:53).

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

¹ *Al-ḡabarḡ* (5:369): “Abḡ Mikhnaf says: ‘Abḡ al-Janjb al-Kalbḡ narrated to me that...”

fighting him and do not go away by nightfall, he will deprive your children of their [right to] state allotment of money (‘aḡj’) and he will scatter your soldiers in Syrian campaigns without any greed.¹ He will hold the healthy among you responsible for the sick and those present responsible for those who are absent until none of those rebellious people will remain who has not tasted the evil consequences of what their hands have earned.”

The noblemen also talked in similar vein. When the people heard what they said, they began dispersing.² [Such that] women would come to their sons and brothers saying: “Go, the people will be enough [without] you.” Men were going to their sons and brothers and saying: “Tomorrow, the [army] of Shjm will come against you, so what are you going to do with the war and the evil? Go away!” Thus he would be taken.³

Mu’ammad bin al-Ash’ath went out till he stopped at the houses of the Banḡ ‘Umjrah. ‘Umjrah bin ḡalkhab al-Azdḡ came to him while he was armed and intending to go to Ibn ‘Aqḡl, but [Mu’ammad] arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyjd where he was imprisoned.

[Thereafter,] Muslim bin ‘Aqḡl sent ‘Abd al-Ra’mjn bin

¹ That is, they will not have any share from the war booty that the Muslims shall attain from their battles against the Romans. [Editor.]

² *Al-ḡabarḡ* (5:370): “Abḡ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sulaimjn bin Abḡ Rjshid informed me on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Khjzim al-Kathḡrḡ -from the tribe of Azd- that...”

³ *Al-ḡabarḡ* (5:371): “Abḡ Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujlid bin Sa’ḡd related to me that...”

Shurai' al-Shabim¹ from the mosque [together with a large number of people] to fight [Ibn al-Ash'ath].

[Qa'qi' bin Shafr al-Dhuhale attacked Muslim and his companions from a place in Kffah known as al-'Irj²] and sent [someone] to inform Mu'ammad bin al-Ash'ath [that]: "I have attacked Ibn 'Aql from 'Irj and he has retreated from his position."³

[Shabath bin Rib' [also] fought them saying: "Wait till the night falls and they will all disperse". Qa'qi' bin Shafr said to him: "You have obstructed the way for the people; open it for them and they shall [all] leave"].⁴

[The Loneliness of Muslim ('a)]

Abis al-Jadal says: "We came out with Ibn 'Aql while we were four thousand [men altogether], and before we [even] reached the palace our number fell to three hundred.⁵ The people continued dispersing and scattering until the evening when Ibn 'Aql was left with only thirty men in the mosque. Thus, there were only thirty people who prayed with Ibn 'Aql.

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:369): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: 'Abī 'ib al-Kalb narrated to me that..."

² *Al-ṭabarī*: This part has been mentioned by Hīrīn bin Muslim from 'Alī bin 'ilī, from 'sī bin Yazīd (5:381). We have put it in brackets since it has not been reported by Abī Mikhnaḥ.

³ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:370): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: 'Sulaymīn bin Abī Rīshid has related it to me from 'Abdullah bin Khizīm al-Kathīrī -from the tribe of Azd- that..."

⁴ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:371): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: 'Mujlīd bin Sa'ūd has narrated to me saying..."

⁵ *Al-Tabarī* (5:369): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: 'Yūsuf bin Abī Ishīq related to me that..."

When he saw this, he came out heading for the gates of Kindah. He reached the gates with only ten of them [left] with him. Then he left the gate with no one beside him. He looked around but could see no one to guide him along the road, to show him to his house or assist him if an enemy appeared before him.

He wandered amid the lanes of Kffah without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses of the Banī Jabalah of Kindah. He went on until he came to a door of a lady called ṭaw'ah. She had been a slave-wife (*umm walad*) of Ash'ath bin Qais¹

¹ *Al-ṭabarī*: Ash'ath bin Qais came to see the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) in the year 10 H amidst 60 riders. He traced his ancestry from his mother's side to 'kil al-Mirīr who had royal blood and wanted to link the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) to the same ancestry, but he related himself to al-Naṣr bin Kanīnah, something which did not impress Ash'ath (3:137). 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! (3:168). Ash'ath turned his back from Islam after the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) and fought [the Muslims] but was defeated (3:335). He sought protection [from the Muslims] and they granted it to him (3:337). Then they sent him along with other captives to Abī Bakr. [Ash'ath] had earlier proposed Abī 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 Abī Bakr freed him from captivity [and later] overlooked his wrong doing, accepted his Islam and returned back to him his family (3:339). However, on his death bed, Abī Bakr [regretted his action] saying: "I wish I would have put Ash'ath to the sword the day he was brought to me as a captive; for he has made me believe that he did not come across any evil except that he supported it" (3:430). Ash'ath led 1,700 men from among the people of Yemen to join the army of the battle of al-Qiḍisiyyah

who had freed her. Then she was married by Usaïd al-^oaġramċ¹ and borne him [a son called] Bilġl. Bilġl had gone

(3:487). Sa'd [the commander in chief of the army] found Ash'ath among those with good physical features, an awe-inspiring personality and sound judgement and so he included him in the group of those who he sent to invite the Persian king to Islam (3:496). Ash'ath was urging his men –during the battle of al-Qiḍiyyah- to fight the Persian army in the cause of the Arabs, there being no mention of Allah! (3:539&560). He marched with 700 warriors from Kindah and killed the leader of the Persian brigade called 'Turk' (3:563). He craved for the spoils of war attained by Khilid bin Walċd and asked him for some and Khilid allowed him [to take] 10,000 [dirhams] (4:67). Ash'ath also participated in the battle of Nahjwand (4:129). In the year 30 H, he purchased from 'Uthmġn the spoils of war of [±]ċrnġbġd in Iraq with [the money] he had in ^oaġramaut (4:280). In the year 34 H, Sa'ċd bin al-^aġ sent him from Kĕfah as the governor of ^adharbaiġn (4:331) and he was still in this position when 'Uthmġn died (4:422). Then 'Alċ ('a) invited Ash'ath to pay allegiance to him and join him and he accepted the invitation (4:561). He had accepted in ġiffġn the task of regaining control over the water from the followers of Mu'ġwiyah (4:569). He was the one who disobeyed Amċr al-Mu'minġn ('a) [at Nahrawġn] and gave consent to arbitration and nominated al-Ash'arċ [for that] and refused to accept Ibn 'Abbġs and al-Ashtar who were approved by 'Alċ ('a), insisting on al-Ash'arċ while he was tired of the battle (4:51). He was the first person whose witness appeared on the document of arbitration. He called on al-Ashtar to sign [the document] but he refused and reproached him. Al-Ash'ath [then] went out reading the document to the people (5:55). He declined to accompany 'Alċ ('a) in his move towards Mu'ġwiyah after the Nahrawġn and insisted on returning to Kĕfah under the pretext of [the need for] preparation (5:89). 'Uthmġn had tempted him with the taxes from ^adharbaiġn [nearing] 100,000 [dinars] a year (5:130). Ash'ath had also built a mosque in Kĕfah (5:22).

¹ Usaïd bin Mġlik al-^oaġramċ. It is said that he is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin Muslim in Karbalġ'. His son, Bilġl, revealed

out with the people and his mother was standing [at the door] waiting for him.

Ibn 'Aqċl 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 'Aqċl. These people have lied to me and deceived me."

She said: "You are Muslim?!"

He said: "Yes."

She said: "Come in." She took him into a room in her house,

the place in their house [where] Muslim [was hiding], which resulted in his killing.

but not the room she used. She spread out a carpet for him and offered him supper but he did not eat.

Soon her son returned. He saw her frequently going in and out of that room. He said: "By Allah! Your constantly going into and coming out of that room this evening makes me suspect. There is something [there]."

She said: "O my son, forget about this."

He said: "By Allah, you must tell me!"

She replied: "Go on with your own business and do not ask me about anything." But he insisted to her until she said: "O my son! Do not tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you." She took from him an oath and he swore [not to do so]. Then she informed him. He went to bed without saying anything.¹

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:371): "Abū Mikhnaḥ says: 'Mujlīd bin Sa'ūd narrated to me that...' See also *al-Irshād* (pg.212) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (pg.208). *Al-ṭabarī* reports on the authority of 'Ammār al-Duḥanī from Imam al-Biqir ('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 'Aqġl, do you have shelter [for me]?' She said: 'Yes, come in.' Her son was a servant of Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath, so when he learnt of Muslim [being in their house], he went to Mu'ammad and informed him, who then went to 'Ubaidullah and gave him the news. 'Ubaidullah sent 'Amru bin 'uraith al-Makhzūmī -the head of his bodyguards-together with 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath [to arrest Muslim]. Muslim did not know of this until after the house

[The Stand of Ibn Ziyāḍ]

A long time passed for Ibn Ziyāḍ without him hearing the [voices of the] supporters of Ibn 'Aqġl 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 Nġfi',¹ to announce [saying]:

"There is no guarantee of security for any man of the

was surrounded [by them]" (5:350). But we shall see soon that the head of his bodyguards was [in fact] 'uḤaġn bin Tamġm.

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:380): He was Ibn Ziyāḍ's scribe who wrote the letter for him to Yazġd informing him of the killing of Muslim. He used to take long in writing letters and was disliked by Ibn Ziyāḍ.

bodyguards, or the group leaders (*‘urafĭ*), the supporters and the fighters who prayed the night prayers (*‘ishĭ*) anywhere else except in the mosque.”

It did not take an hour before the mosque was filled with the people. °uŷain bin Tamĕm [al-Tamĕmĕ] -the chief of his bodyguards-¹ said to Ibn Ziyĭd: “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

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ*: Ibn Ziyĭd had sent him [i.e. °uŷain] to al-Qĭdisiyyah for arranging the horsemen from there to the cities of Khaffĭn, Quṣquṣĭnah and La’la’ (5:394). He was the one who sent Qais bin Musahhar al-aidĭwĕ, the messenger of al-°usain (‘a), to Ibn Ziyĭd who latter killed him (5:395) and ‘Abdullah bin Buqṣur (5:398). He was the one to send ahead °urr with an army of 1,000 men of the Banĕ Tamĕm from al-Qĭdisiyyah to encounter al-°usain (‘a). He was the head of the guards in Karbalĭ’ and was [constantly] inciting them to kill °urr (5:434). Ibn Sa’d had sent him along with 500 archers to shoot at the followers of al-°usain (‘a), so they drew near them and showered them with arrows, stunning thereby their horses (5:437). Ibn Tamĕm also launched an attack on the companions of al-°usain (‘a) as they were preparing for the prayers, so °abĕb bin Muĭĭhir came out to him and struck the face of his horse with [his] sword upon which it reared and [°aŷĕn] fell off. Consequently, Budail bin °uraim al-‘Aqfĭnĕ al-Tamĕmĕ struck °abĕb on the head with his sword. Another person from the Banĕ Tamĕm attacked him and stabbed him with a spear. Then °uŷain bin Tamĕm returned to him and struck him on the head and [°abĕb] fell [to the ground]. Then Budail beheaded °abĕb and gave his head to °uŷain. °uŷain hung his head on the neck of his horse and went with it round the army and then gave it back to his killer (5:440). °uŷain shot an arrow at the Imam (‘a) when he drew near the water to drink and the arrow hit his mouth and the Imam [‘a] prayed against him (5:449).

to do and you should keep a watch on them.” Then he opened the gateway which [went] into the mosque. He came out together with his followers. [He entered the mosque] and led the people [in prayers].

[Ibn Ziyĭd’s Address after Muslim (‘a) had Remained Alone]

[Thereafter,] Ibn Ziyĭd went on the pulpit, praised Allah and said:

“Ibn ‘Aqĕl -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 °uŷain bin Tamĕm! May your mother mourn you, if any of the gates of the lanes of Kĕfah 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 Kĕfah! 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 Ziyĭd in Pursuit of Muslim (‘a)]

Ibn Ziyĭd then descended [the pulpit] and went [inside the palace]. He gave a banner to ‘Amru bin °uraith¹ and

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ*: ‘Amru bin °uraith al-Makhzĕmĕ. He purchased from Sĭ’ib bin al-Aqra’ al-Thaqafĕ -the scribe and accountant of the Muslim army at the conquest of Nahĭwand- two large boxes from

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 Mukhtġr bin Abġ 'Ubaġ while he was in his village called Laqafġ at Khuṣṣraniyyah. Mukhtġr was among those people of Kġfah who paid allegiance to Muslim and was sincere to him such that he even invited his followers to obey him. [After he received

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 21 H. (5:117)

'Amru was the deputy of Sa'ġd bin al-'aṣ in Kġfah and helped calm the people with respect to [the crisis of] 'Uthmġn in the year 34 H (4:322). He also served as Ziyġd bin Sumayyah's deputy in Kġfah in 51 H and was [once] stoned by the companions of 'ujr (5:256). He was the head of the quarter of the people of Madġnah [residing] in Kġfah and was among those to testify against 'ujr and his followers (5:268) in 64 H. Ibn 'uraith also served as Ibn Ziyġd's deputy in Kġfah in the year 64 H. When Yazġd died and Ibn Ziyġd 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 Kġfah (5:524) and was expelled by them from the palace (5:560). He then detached himself from the people and joined the righteous people in the movement of Mukhtġr in 66 H (6:30). Ibn 'uraith owned a bathhouse in Kġfah (6:48). In the year 71 H, he earned the favour of 'Abd al-Malik (6:167) and served as the deputy of Bishr bin Marwġn in Kġfah in 73 H (6:144). Ibn 'uraith refused to bring water to Muslim bin 'Aqġl [when he was brought before Ibn Ziyad] (5:376). He pleaded for Zainab ('a) in the court of Ibn Ziyġd only because of his fervor for the Quraish (5:457). He died in 85 H. He was 12 years old when the Prophet (Ṣ) passed away, as reported in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.527; Suwaidġn publications).

¹ *Al-ṭabarġ* (5:371-373): "Abġ Mikhnaġ says: 'Mujġlid bin Sa'ġd narrated to me that..."

the news,] he set out for Kġfah together with his followers and reached the gate of al-Fġl in the evening. This was at a time when 'Ubaġdullah bin Ziyġd had already appointed 'Amru bin 'uraith as the in charge over the people.

While Mukhtġr was at bġb al-Fġl, Hġni' bin Abġ 'ayyah al-Waġġ'ġ¹ passed by and said to Mukhtġr: "Why are you standing here?! You are neither with the people nor in your house."

Mukhtġr replied: "I am shocked at the gravity of your crime."

Hġni' said: "By Allah! I think you are going to kill yourself." [He said this] and proceeded towards 'Amru bin 'uraith and informed him about Mukhtġr.²

[The Stand of Mukhtġr]

'Abd al-Raġmġn bin Abġ 'Umair al-Thaqafġ³ says: "I was

¹ *Al-ṭabarġ*: He was among those who testified against 'ujr and his followers (5:270) and went with the heads of Muslim and Hġni' to Yazġd (5:38). He met Mukhtġr in Makkah during the reign of Ibn al-Zubair in 64 H and learnt that Mukhtġr was planning to return to Kġfah and initiate a revolt there, so he warned Mukhtġr of [causing] dissension (5:578).

² *Al-ṭabarġ*: (5:569): "Abġ Mikhnaġ reports: 'Naṣr bin ġlih related to me that..."

³ *Al-ṭabarġ*: He was with Mukhtġr in his uprising in 67 H (6:98). Apparently, he seems to be 'Abd al-Raġmġn bin 'Abdullah bin 'Uthmġn al-Thaqafġ, the son of Muġġwiyah's sister by the name of Umm al-'akam. Muġġwiyah had appointed him as the governor of Kġfah in 58 H after @aġġk bin Qais, while the head of his bodyguards then was Ziġidah bin Qudġmah al-Thaqafġ (5:310). He was earlier the governor of Mosul under Muġġwiyah in 51 H. He was the one who killed 'Amru bin al-'umq al-Khuzġ'ġ while

sitting in the company of ‘Amru bin ‘uraith when Hini’ bin Ab‘ ‘ayyah informed him of Mukhtir’s statement. [On hearing this,] Ibn ‘uraith said to me: ‘Go to your uncle and inform him that the whereabouts of his companion [i.e. Muslim bin ‘Aq‘l] are not known, so he should not complicate things for himself.’ As I was leaving, Zidah bin Qudmah bin Mas’ud¹ stood up and said to [Ibn ‘uraith]: ‘Will he be safe if he comes to you?’ ‘Amru bin ‘uraith replied: ‘He is safe on my side. If anything about his affair reaches ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyid, [then] I shall give witness before him in his favour and intercede on his behalf.’ Zidah said: “In this case we hope for the best, by the will of Allah.”

‘Abd al-Ra‘mīn says: “I went out to see Mukhtir along with Zidah and informed him [of our conversation with Ibn ‘uraith] and adjured him by Allah that he should not act in a way that he could be accused. So Mukhtir [accepted and] went to see Ibn ‘uraith and greeted him and stayed under his protection till morning.”²

Kathir [bin Shihb al-‘urithi] happened to see a man from the tribe of Kalb -who was known as ‘Abd al-A‘lī bin Yaz‘d- in Banī Fityān [an area in Kffah]. He had taken up

he was ill, claiming it to be a retaliation for ‘Uthmīn’s blood (5:265). He maltreated the people of Kffah 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 (5:312). If it was not for his family ties with Yaz‘d, Ibn ‘uraith would not have benefited him.

¹ We have already given his biography in the introduction.

² *Al-‘abar‘* (5:570): “Abī Mikhnaf says: ‘Na‘r bin ‘ilīh related to me from ‘Abd al-Ra‘mīn bin Ab‘ ‘Umar al-Thaqafī that...”

arms with him, looking for Ibn ‘Aq‘l. Kathir caught him and took him to Ibn Ziyid and informed him about his intention. He said to [Ibn Ziyid]: “I only intended [to join] you!” He said [mockingly]: “And you had, indeed, promised me that!” Then he ordered him to be imprisoned.¹

[Muslim’s Hiding Place Disclosed]

In the morning, Ibn Ziyid took his seat and allowed the people to come and see him. [When] Mu‘ammad bin Ash‘ath entered, Ibn Ziyid said: “Welcome to one whose [loyalty] is above suspicion and accusation!” Then he sat him by his side.

The son of that old woman who provided shelter to Muslim bin ‘Aq‘l, that is Bilāl bin Usaid, went to Abd al-Ra‘mīn bin Mu‘ammad bin Ash‘ath in the morning and told him that Ibn ‘Aq‘l was with his mother. So ‘Abd al-Ra‘mīn went to his father who was with Ibn Ziyid and whispered the news to him.

Ibn Ziyid asked him: “What did he tell you?”

He replied: “He has informed me that Ibn ‘Aq‘l is [hiding] in one of the houses of our [tribe].”

“Go and bring him to me immediately”, said Ibn Ziyid, poking a cane into his side.²

¹ *Al-‘abar‘* (5:369): “Abī Mikhnaf says: ‘Abī Janīb al-Kalbī has narrated to me that...”

² *Al-‘abar‘* (5:371-373): “Abī Mikhnaf reports: ‘Mujlīd bin Sa‘‘d narrated to me...” See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.213) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.208).

[The Move to Arrest Muslim ('a)]

[Ibn Ziyd] sent an order to 'Amru bin 'uraith -his representative in the mosque- that he should dispatch sixty or seventy men from the tribe of Qais [to accompany Ibn Ash'ath]. [The reason being that] Ibn Ziyd disliked sending Ash'ath's Kinsmen¹ with him, for he well knew that every tribe detested a person like Ibn 'Aq'el to be arrested by them. So Ibn 'uraith sent 'Amru bin 'Ubaid bin 'Abbās al-Sulamī to accompany Ibn Ash'ath with [around] sixty or seventy men from Qais and they [proceeded] until they reached the house where Ibn 'Aq'el 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 'amrīn al-Aḥmar al-Shāmī] struck Muslim's mouth, cutting his upper lip and slicing down to the lower lip to knock out two of his front teeth. Muslim struck him a terrible blow on his head and repeated it again, severing a nerve along his shoulder with a blow which almost reached his stomach.

¹ Ibn Ash'ath himself could have justified this act of his by saying that he was only taking out Muslim from the house of their slave lady, ṣaw'ah, and her son Bilāl. This indicates how well acquainted Ibn Ziyd was with regard to tribal matters such that he was careful of them and employed them for his own ends.

[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

¹ In the actual text of *al-ṣabar* 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 *Ibṣār al-'Ain* (pg.49), 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 nafsuhḥ shi'j'an*, that is his heart became dispersed like the tiny rays out of fear (*tafarraqat nafsuhḥ kashshī'j' al-daqq min al-khauf*); for *shi'j'* means a thing which is totally scattered.

Banʿ 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. Muʿammad 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 ‘Aqʿl said: “If it was not for this security that you have granted me, I would not have put my hand in yours.” [Here it becomes apparent that he surrendered himself because of the protection he was granted].

A mule was brought and he was sat on it. They gathered around him and pulled away his sword from his neck, as if he was in despair for his life and his eyes filled with tears. He said: “This is the beginning of the deception.”

Muʿammad 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 ‘Abbʿs [al-Sulamʿ -the one who led the soldiers to capture Ibn ‘Aqʿl] 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-ʿusain and the family of al-ʿusain [‘a].”

[Muslim’s Will to Ibn al-Ash’ath]

Then he went to Muʿammad 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-ʿusain 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 ‘Aqʿl 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 Kffah tempt you! For they were the followers of your father who desired separation from them through death or murder! The people of Kffah 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 Ziyʿd that I have given you a guarantee of security.”¹

[Muslim (‘a) at the Gate of the Palace]

Muʿammad bin Ash’ath went with Ibn ‘Aqʿl 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 ‘Umʿra bin ‘Uqbah bin Abʿ Mu’sʿʿ,

¹ *Al-ʿabarʿ* (5:372): “Abʿ Mikhnaf said: ‘Qudʿmah bin Sa’ʿd bin Zʿidah bin Qudʿmah al-Thaqafʿ has related to me from his grandfather Zaydah that...” For more about him, see the Introduction.

‘Amru bin ‘uraith, Muslim bin ‘Amru and Kathĕr bin Shihĭb.¹

There was a jug of cold water placed at the doorway. Ibn ‘Aqĕl said: “Give me a drink of this water.”

Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-Bĭhilĕ] 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 (*/amĕm*) in the Hell fire!”

[Muslim] said: “Woe on you! Who are you?”

Al-Bĭhilĕ replied: “I am the one² who recognized the truth when you denied it; who was sincere to his leader (*imĭm*) while you deceived him, who listened and obeyed him when you disobeyed and opposed him! I am Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bĭhilĕ!”

Ibn ‘Aqĭl 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 Bĭhilah, 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-Makhzĕmĕ] sent his slave called Sulaimĭn and he brought [some] water in a pitcher³ with a napkin on

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:375): “Abu Mikhnaĕ says: ‘Ja’far bin ‘udhaifah al-ṭĭĕ narrated to me that...”

² The actual text reads: “I am the son of one...”, but the correct version is what has been mentioned in this text.

³ Here Abĕ Mikhnaĕ stops his report from Qudĭmah bin Sa’ĕd and begins relating from Sa’ĕd bin Mudrak bin ‘Umĭrah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abĕ Mu’ĕĕ [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 Qudĭmah. We [here] preferred Qudĭmah’s

it and a cup. He poured water into it and gave him to drink. But whenever he went to drink, the cup filled with blood. When he filled the cup for the third time and went to drink, his front teeth fell into the cup. So he said: “All praise is due to Allah! If it was part of my decreed provision, I would have [indeed] drunk it.”¹

[Ibn al-Ash’ath] asked permission to enter and it was given to him.² Muslim was brought before Ibn Ziyĭd 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

report on the authority of his grandfather Zĭdah bin Qudĭmah al-Thaqafĕ, because we have indicted Ibn Mudrak for concocting [this] narration as a merit for his grandfather, ‘Umĭrah, whereas such an objection cannot be made on the report of Qudĭmah since he has not attributed it to his grandfather, Zĭdah, 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 Mukhtĭr in the presence of Ibn Ziyĭd as he testified in favour of the former thus saving him from being killed; and his intervention when Ibn Ziyĭd intended to beat [Lady] Zainab (‘a), though all this was out of his fervour for Quraish. As for ‘Umĭrah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abĕ Mu’ĕĕ al-Umawiyy, he is among the enemies of the Ahl al-Bait (‘a) whose biography we have mentioned in the introduction. Shaikh al-Mufĕd has mentioned Qudĭmah’s report in *al-Irshĭd* (pg.215) and so has al-Khwĭrazmĕ in his *al-Maqtal* (pg.210). Al-Samĭwĕ has reconciled between the two reports by saying that both of them [i.e. ‘Umĭrah and ‘Amru] had sent for the water, something which is not correct. See *Ibĕjr al-‘Ain* (pg.45) of al-Samĭwĕ.

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:375): “Abĕ Mikhnaĕ reports from Qudĭmah bin Sa’ĕd that...”

² *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:375): “Abĕ Mikhnaĕ says: ‘Ja’far bin ‘udhaifah al-ṭĭĕ related to me saying...”

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 ‘Umar! Indeed there is kinship between you and me¹ and I have need of you. I have a right on you that you should fulfill my request, but it is a secret.” [But ‘Umar bin Sa’d] refused to listen to him.

So ‘Ubaidullah told him: “Do not refuse to consider the need of your cousin.”

So ‘Umar got up with him and sat where Ibn 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-‘usain (‘a) to send him back. For I have written to him telling him that the people are with him, and

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.

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 (*ukm*) by the Book [of Allah].”

Ibn Ziyad retorted: “O sinner! What are you [to do] with that! Did not we do that when you were in 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]!”

¹ Muslim (‘a) repeated the last part of his will to Ibn Sa’d after he had earlier asked Ibn Ash’ath to do so, due to the significance of the matter and that may be one of them would act on it.

Ibn Ziyĭd [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 Ziyĭd?”

He answered: “Yazĕd, the commander of the faithful.”

Ibn ‘Aqĕl said: “Praise is due to Allah in all conditions. We accept Allah as a judge between you and us.”

Ibn Ziyĭd 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 Ziyĭd said: “May Allah kill me, if I do not kill you in a manner that no one in Islam has been killed before!”

He said: “You wil never abandon evil murder, wicked punishment, shameful practice, and avaricious domination to anyone [else], as no one among the people is more entitled to these [crimes] than you.”

[Hearing this,] the son of Sumayyah¹ began to curse him

¹ Sumayyah was the mother of Ziyĭd [bin Abĕh] and used to have a flag over her house during the days of Ignorance (*jĥiliyyah*) to indicate that she was was prostitute. Abĕ Sufyĭn and other men had illicit relations with her which resulted in the birth of Ziyĭd. So they drew lots by using arrows which were without head and feathers in order to decide who would have Ziyĭd. He fell to Abĕ Sufyĭn’s lot and he claimed him to be his son. Nevertheless, he came to be known as Ziyĭd bin Sumayyah, that is after his mother, until after Mu’ĭwiyah attributed him to his own father. [By doing so,] Mu’ĭwiyah committed the most abominable act from the viewpoint of both religion and convention (‘*urf*).

and to curse al-°usain, ‘Alĕ and ‘Aqĕl.

[The Martyrdom of Ibn ‘Aqĕl (‘a)]

[Ibn Ziyĭd] then ordered: “Take him up to the top of the palace and behead him and throw his body to the ground.”

[Muslim] said [to Ibn Ash’ath]: “O Ibn Ash’ath! By Allah, had you not offered me protection, I would not have surrendered myself. So rise with your sword in defense of me; for the security [you granted me] has been broken!”¹

So Ibn Ash’ath came forward and gave ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyĭd] an account of Muslim’s [arrest] and how he was struck by Bukair [bin °amrĭn] and informed him about the guarantee of security he gave to [Ibn ‘Aqĕl].

Ibn Ziyad said: “What have you to do with granting security! As if we had sent you to give him protection! We only sent you to bring him to us!” So [Ibn Ash’ath] kept quiet.²

Then Ibn Ziyĭd said: “Where is this person whose head and shoulder Ibn ‘Aqĕl struck with [his] sword?” So he was called and Ibn Ziyĭd [told him]: “Go up and [now] you be the one who cuts his head off.”

So he went up with him. [Ibn ‘Aqĕl] was exalting Allah saying *allĥu akbar* and seeking His forgiveness and sending salutations on His angels and prophets saying: “O

¹ *Al-±abarĕ* (5:376): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’ĕd bin Mudrak bin ‘Umĭrah narrated to me from his grandfather, ‘Umĭrah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abĕ Mu’ĕĕ, that...”

² *Al-±abarĕ* (5:375): “Abĕ Mikhnaf reports that: ‘Ja’far bin °udhaifah al-±ĭĕ informed me that...”

Allah, You judge between us and a people who enticed us, lied to us and deserted us.”

So [Bukair al-Aġmarġ] led him up to a part which overlooked where the butchers are today.¹ His head was cut off and his body was made to follow his head.²

When Bukair bin ʿamrġn descended after killing Muslim, Ibn Ziyġd asked him: “Have you killed him?” He replied: “Yes.”

Ibn Ziyġd [inquired]: “What was he saying as you were taking him up?”

He said: “He was mentioning the greatness of Allah and glorifying Him and seeking His forgiveness. When I drew him nearer to kill him, he said: ‘O Allah, You judge between us and a people who lied to us, deceived us, deserted us and killed us.’ I told him: ‘Get closer to me’ and gave him a blow but to no avail. Then I struck him for the second time and killed him.”

Then his head was brought to Ibn Ziyġd.³

ʿUmar [bin Saʿd] said to Ibn Ziyġd: “Do you know what he said to me? He told me so and so.”

¹ By ‘now’ Abġ Mikhnaf meant his own times. *Al-Irshġd* (pg.216) says: “...now the location of the cobblers (*al-ʿedhġiyyġn*)”, while al-Khwġrazmġ says on page 215 of his *al-Maqtal*: “...the market of the butchers”, and again on page 214 he says: “...at a place where sheep and goats were sold.” This report [of al-Khwġrazmġ] supports what has appeared in the text of *al-ʿabarġ*.

² *Al-ʿabarġ* (5:376): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Saʿġd bin Mudrak bin ʿUmġrah narrated to me...”

³ *Al-ʿabarġ* (5:378): “Abġ Mikhnaf reports that: “ʿaqʿab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from ʿAun bin Abġ Juʿaifah that...”

Ibn Ziyġd said: “The faithful would not betray you. But sometimes a treacherous man is given a trust.¹ With regard to your money, it belongs to you and we will not prevent you from doing with it what you like.² As for al-ʿusain, if he does not intend [harm] to us, so will we. But if he intends [harm] to us, we will not hold back from him. As for the body, we do not care what is done to it after we have killed him.”³

[The Martyrdom of Hġniʿ bin ʿUrwah]

After the martyrdom of Muslim bin ʿAqġl, [Ibn Ziyġd] declined to fulfil his promise [to Muʿammad bin al-Ashʿath that he would return Hġniʿ to him in order to avoid the enmity of [Hġnġʿs] tribesmen; for it was him who took him to Ibn Ziyġd]. ʿUbaidullah then ordered for Hġniʿ bin ʿUrwah and said: “Take him to the market place and cut off his head.”

So Hġniʿ was taken -while he his hands were tied behind his back- to a place in the market where sheep were sold. Hġniʿ began to shout: “O Madhlġj! There is no one from Madhlġj

¹ When Ibn Saʿd saw that Ibn Ziyġd has asked Ibn ʿamrġn about the last words of Muslim (ʿa), 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!

² By saying: “With regard to your money...”, as if Ibn Ziyġd considers him to be the inheritor of Muslim!

³ In another version he is reported to have said: “We will not grant your request regarding his corpse, since we do not consider him to deserve that, for he fought and opposed us and also tried to destroy us” (*al-ʿabarġ*:5:377). This is found in the same narration by Abġ Mikhnaf which begins with [the following phrase]: “And they thought that he said...”

for me today! O Madhlĭj! Where are the Madhlĭj 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.” Hĭni’ 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 Rashĕd¹ struck him with [his] sword to no avail. So Hĭni’ said: “To Allah is the return. O Allah, to Your mercy and pleasure [do I return]!” Then he struck him again and killed him.² [May Allah’s mercy and pleasure be upon him. Then they took his head to Ibn Ziyĭd].³

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:379): [Later,] ‘Abd al-Ra’mĭn bin al-ʿuṣĭin al-Murĭdĕ happened to see Rashĕd with ‘Ubaidullah and heard people saying that: “This is the killer of Hĭni’ bin ‘Urwah.” So he attacked him with a spear, stabbed him and killed him. See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg.217) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawĭ* (pg.214).

² *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:378): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘‘a’qab bin Zuhair narrated to me from ‘Aun bin Abĕ Ju’aifah...”

³ *Al-ṭabarĕ* does not mention here that they were dragged by their two legs in the markets. But after this, he reports from Abĕ Mikhnaf himself who narrated from Abĕ Janĭb al-Kalbĕ, who in turn was relating from ‘Adiyy bin ʿarmalah al-Asadĕ on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Salĕm and Madhrĕ bin al-Mushma’il – both of whom were from Banĕ Asad, who reported from Bukair bin Math’abah al-Asadĕ who said: “I did not leave Kĕfah until after Muslim bin ‘Aqĕl and Hĭni’ bin ‘Urwah were killed and I saw them being dragged by their two legs in the market (5:397). *Al-Khwĭrazmĕ* (2:215) and *Ibn Shahrĭshĕb* (2:212) have mentioned that Ibn Ziyĭd crucified them up side down in the

[Those Who Were Killed After Muslim (‘a) and Hĭni’]

After killing Muslim and Hĭni’, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyĭd ordered for ‘Abd al-A’alĭ al-Kalbĕ, the one arrested by Kathĕr bin Shihĭb at Banĕ Fityĭn. So he was brought [before Ibn Ziyĭd]. Ibn Ziyĭd 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 Kathĕr bin Shihĭb arrested me.”

[Ibn Ziyĭd said]: “You must heavily swear that you did not come out for some other reason”, but al-Kalbĕ refused to do so [and ‘Ubaidullah got convinced that he had come out in support of Muslim].

Then, Ibn Ziyĭd ordered [saying]: “Take this man to the cemetery of Sabĕ’ and behead him there.” So they took him and killed him.

Then ‘Umĭrah bin ʿalkhab al-Azdĕ was brought before ‘Ubaidullah. He was among those who intended to mobilize people in support of Muslim bin ‘Aqĕl.

[Ibn Ziyĭd] asked him: “From which clan are you?”

He replied: “From Azd.”

[Ibn Ziyĭd] then said: “Take him to his people [and kill him there].” So he was taken and beheaded amidst his people.¹

outskirts of Kĕfah.”

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:378): “Abĕ Mikhnaf says: ‘‘a’qab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Aun bin Abĕ Ju’aifah that...”

[The Imprisonment of Mukhtġr]

The next morning when the door of ‘Ubaidullah’s palace was opened and people were allowed to enter, Mukhtġr [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  uraith and spent the night with him till morning.” [Here] ‘Amru said: “He is right, may Allah preserve you.”

Then [Ibn Ziyġd] lifted his staff and struck the face of Mukhtġr tearing his eye, and said: “Woe onto you! By Allah! Were it not for the testimony of ‘Amru, I would have beheaded you. Take him to prison.”

He was then taken to prison and remained there until the martyrdom of al- usain [‘a].¹

[The Heads of Muslim (‘a) and Hġni’ Sent to Yazġd]

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyġd dispatched Hġnġ bin Abġ  ayyah al-Wġdi’ġ [al-Kalbġ al-Hamdġnġ] and Zubair bin al-Arwa’ al-Tamġmġ with the heads of [Muslim] and [Hġni’] to Yazġd bin Mu’ġwiyah. He [also] ordered his scribe ‘Amru bin Nġfi’ to write to Yazġd bin Mu’ġwiyah about what happened to Muslim and Hġni’. He wrote a long letter. When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyġd saw it, he disliked it and said: “What is this prolixity and this excess? Write [as I say]:

¹ *Al- abarġ* (5:566): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Na r bin  ġlil’ has narrated to me that...”

“All praise is due to Allah, who exacted the dues of the commander of the faithful and has given him sufficient provisions against his enemy. I [am writing to] inform the commander of the faithful -May Allah honour him- that Muslim bin ‘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  ayyah 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  usain bin ‘Alġ has set out towards Iraq. So prepare watchtowers (*manġ ir*)¹ and outposts (*masġli’*). Guard against any suspicious case and arrest [people] upon mere

¹ *Al-manġ ir* is the plural of *man arah* which means a place used for keeping an eye on the enemy, while *al-masġli’*, plural of *masla’ah*, is a place in which armed men keep a watch on the enemy in order to avert any sudden attack. See also *al-Irshġd* (pg.217) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawġ  * (pg.245).

accusation. Do not kill except one who fights you. Write to me about any news which occurs. May the peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.”¹

Muslim bin ‘Aqḥ rose in Kḥfah on Tuesday, 8th of Dhḥ al-ḥijjah 60 H, while al-ḥusain [(‘a) left Makkah also] on Tuesday, the Day of Tarwiyah, on the same day when Muslim rose.²

‘Abdullah bin Zubair al-Asadḥ, or according to some al-Farazdaq, composed the following verses on the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqḥ and Hḥni’ bin ‘Urwah al-Murḥḍḥ:

O soul! If you do not know what death is, then look at Hḥni’ in the market-place and Ibn ‘Aqḥ.

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

¹ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘I relate from Abḥ Janḥb Yaḥij bin Abḥ ḥayyah al-Kalbḥ (5:380). He is the brother of Hḥni’ bin Abḥ ḥayyah, the one who carried the heads of Muslim and Hḥni’ to Yazḥḍ. It appears from Abḥ Janḥb’s report about his brother that he was proud of the way Ibn Ziyḥḍ described him that he was a man of knowledge, truth, understanding and piety! And also the way Yazḥḍ characterized him, though such an attitude was not unexpected from the tribe of Kilḥb.

² *Al-ḥabarḥ* (5:378): “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘ḥaq’ab bin Zuhair narrates from ‘Aun bin Abḥ Jul’alfah that...”

young woman, [but] he was more decisive than the polished blade of a double-edged sword.

How can Asmḥi’¹ safely ride on ambling horses, while the Madhḥij urged him to seek vengeance.

The young and old from [the Banḥ] Murḥḍ, have surrounded him with their necks erected.

If you [still] do not avenge your brother’s blood, then you are like a whore who gives consent to the little [she is given].^{2,3}

¹ This refers to Asma’ bin Khḥrijah al-Fazḥrḥ who brought Hḥni’ bin ‘Urwah to Ibn Ziyḥḍ.

² *Al-ḥabarḥ* (5:381): “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘ḥaq’ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from ‘Aun bin Abḥ Jul’alfah that...”

³ *Al-ḥabarḥ* narrates on the authority of ‘Ammḥr al-Duhanḥ from Imam al-Bḥqir (‘a) who said: “Their poet said the following on that...” and the Imam [‘a] mentioned three verses of it, the first being “And (fa) [O soul!] If you do not know what death is, then look at...” (5:350), while in the text it reads “[O soul!] If you do not know...” which is not correct, as the couplet does not rhyme in this case. Al-Mu’alqqiq has recorded the name Zubair as ‘Zabair’ and he seems to have taken it from *al-Kḥmil* of Ibn al-Athḥr (4:36) and *Maḥḥtil al-ḥlibiyyḥn* (pg.108). With regard al-Asadḥ [the poet], al-Ḥḥfahḥnḥ says in his book (pg.290): “He was one of the notable Shḥ’ite narrators of ḥadḥḥ and ‘Abbḥḍ bin Ya’qḥb al-Rawḥjanḥ (d.205 H) and his like, and even more distinguished personalities than him, have also narrated from ‘Abdullah”. It has also been related from al-Ḥḥfahḥnḥ that he was among the companions of Mu’ammad bin ‘Abdillah bin al-ḥasan Dhḥ al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, who was martyred during the rule of Manḥḥr in the year 145 H. Al-Ḥḥfahḥnḥ then says: “He is the father of Abḥ Aḥmad al-Zubairḥ, the traditionist whose actual name was Mu’ammad bin ‘Abdillah bin al-Zubair” (pg.290).

Al-Kashḥḥ narrates in his *al-Rijḥl* (ḥadḥḥ no.621) from ‘Abd al-Raḥḥmḥn bin Sayḥbah who said: “Abḥ ‘Abdillah (‘a) gave me some

dinars and aksed me to distribute them among the families of those who were martyred along with his uncle Zayd. So I distributed the money, and the share of the family of ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair al-Rassīn was four dinars. Shaikh al-Mufḍ reports in *al-Irshād* (pg.269) from Abī Khilid al-Wṣīṣ who said: “Abī ‘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-ʿfahjī counts Ibn al-Zubair among the distinguished Shāʿah traditionists, the author of *al-Aghjī* (13:31) 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 Ziyd 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 Ziyd and also Asmī’ bin Khrijah al-Fazrī (*al-Aghjī*:13:33&37).

Sayyid al-Muqarram brings the above verses attributed to al-Asadī in his book *al-Shahīd Muslim* (pg.201) and says: “How can one ascribe these verses about Muslim and 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 *ʿajj* in the year 60 H.

Al-ʿfahjī quotes these verses ascribed to Ibn al-Zubair al-Asadī from al-Madījī who narrated them on the authority of Abī Mikhnaf from Yūsuf bin Yazīd.



AL-°USAIN'S DEPARTURE FROM MAKKAH

Al-°usain (°a) left Madḡnah for Makkah on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab 60 H¹, and reached Makkah on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha'bīn, and stayed there throughout the months of Sha'bīn, Ramaḡīn, Shawwāl and Dhḡ al-Qa'dah, and left Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dhḡ al-°ijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah, the very day Muslim bin 'Aqḡl 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 °ijjz would never follow or pay allegiance to him so long as al-°usain (°a) was

¹ *Al-ṣabarḡ* says: "And in this year -60 H- Yazḡd dismissed Walḡd bin 'Utbah in the month of Ramaḡīn [from the governorship of Madḡnah] and replaced him with 'Amru bin Sa'ḡd bin al-°aḡ al-Ashdaq who reached the city in the same month. Al-Ashdaq was eloquent and a very proud person (5:343). It has also been reported in a narration that he entered the city in Dhḡ al-Qa'dah of the year 60 H (5:346)." *Al-ṣabarḡ* also writes: "In this year [60 H] Yazḡd bin Mu'īwiyah dismissed Walḡd bin 'Utbah from Makkah and appointed 'Amru bin Sa'ḡd bin al-°aḡ as the governor of both Makkah and Madḡnah in the month of Ramaḡīn of the same year. 'Amru bin Sa'ḡd led the people to pilgrimage on the same year while he was Yazḡd's governor in both the cities." (5:399)

in the city, and that the latter was more revered in their eyes and that the 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 Banḡ Umayyah] and abstained from [rising against] them while we are the sons of the *muhjirīn* 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 Kḡfah, for my followers (*shḡ'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 Kḡfah, 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 °ijjz 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 °ijjz to Iraq. He understands that he would

¹ *Al-ṣabarḡ* (5:351): "Abḡ Mikhnaf says: "'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Jundab has narrated to me saying that 'Uqbah bin Sim'īn, the servant of Rubīb, the daughter of Imru' al-Qais and the wife of al-°usain (°a), related to me that..."

not attain [the caliphate] so long as I am there, and that the people do not consider him to be on par with me. He longs me to leave [Makkah] so that the city should be solely for him.”^{1,2}

[Al-°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 days³, if Allah wills.”

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (5:383): “Ab¢ Mikhnaf says: “°irith bin Ka'b al-Wilib¢ has related to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'n that...”

² The mental attitude and the treacherous and hypocritical nature of these people was not concealed from the Imam ('a), but he could not express what he knew of his fate to everyone who met him. One cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam [a] used to reply everyone according to his capacity of understanding. It should be observed here that Ibn al-Zubair was not against the rising of the Imam ('a), as he motivated him to do that. His only point was about the time and place of rising.

³ Since the Imam [a] departed from Makkah in the afternoon of the Day of Tarwiyah [i.e. eight of Dh¢ al-°ijjah] as the pilgrims were heading towards Min¢ (5:385), this conversation with Ibn 'Abbas must have taken place on the sixth day of Dh¢ al-°ijjah. Thus, the news of the Imam's intention to leave for Iraq must have spread among the people at most two days before this, that is, on the fourth; and there is nothing to indicate that anything was known about his journey earlier than that. So what happened during these days that made the Imam [a] leave on the Day of Tarwiyah and before the completion of the /ajj, after having

stayed in the city for [more than] four months? Yes, Muslim had sent a letter [to the Imam ('a)] 27 days before his martyrdom, that is on the 20th 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-±abar¢*:5:386). And this is why Shaikh al-Muf¢d says: “When al-°usain ('a) intended to leave for Iraq, he circumambulated the Ka'bah and performed the sa'y between °af¢ and Marw¢ and came out of his i/r¢m and concluded his /ajj as 'umrah; for he was unable to complete (*tam¢m*) the pilgrimage in fear of being caught and taken to Yaz¢d bin Mu'wiyah. Hence, the Imam ('a) immediately departed from Makkah (*al-Irshid*, pg.218).

Mu'wiyah bin 'Amm¢r narrates from Imam al-°iddiq ('a) that: “Al-°usain [a] performed 'umrah in the month of Dh¢ al-°ijjah and set off to Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while the pilgrims were heading to Min¢. There is no objection in performing 'umrah in [the month of] Dh¢ al-°ijja for one who does not intend to perform /ajj.”

Ibr¢hm bin 'Umar al-Yam¢n¢ narrates that he asked al-°iddiq ('a) about a person who goes to 'umrah during the months of /ajj and then returns back to his city [without performing /ajj]. The Imam [a] replied: “There is no objection.” He then continued till he said: “°usain bin 'Al¢ ('a) set out for Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while he had [only] performed 'umrah.” (*Was¢il al-Sh¢'ah*:10:246)

It is for this very reason that Shaikh al-Sh¢shtar¢ says: “They made every effort to catch him or assassinate him, even if he was found clinging to the covering of the Ka'bah! Therefore, he changed his decision and performed 'umrah *al-mufradah* and had to leave the /ajj (*Kha¥¢i 'i¥ al-°usainiyyah*: pg.32; Tabriz edition).

In *A'l¢m al-War¢*, in a separate section allocated for the reports on the journey of Imam [al-°usain ('a)] and his martyrdom,

Ibn 'Abbās said to him: "I then seek refuge for you with Allah in this regard. Tell me, may Allah have mercy on you, are you moving towards a people who have [already] killed their governor and taken control of their city and have expelled their enemy? If they have done all this [and prepared the grounds], then go to them. But if they are [inviting you] while they are still under the subjugation of their governor and his officers are collecting taxes from [them], then they have certainly invited you to war and fighting. I fear that they will deceive you, lie to you, oppose and abandon you, and that they may [even] fight against you and prove to be the most severe people against you!"

Al-°usain ('a) replied: "I pray to Allah for the best and I will see what is going to happen."¹

Shaikh al-±abrasç brings approximately the same particular section which has appeared in *al-Irshīd* of Shaikh al-Mufçd, without any mention of it. Al-±abrasç quotes, as it is, what al-Mufçd said except for the phrase '*tamīm al-°ajj*' where he says '*itmīm al-°ajj*'. The latter phrase is incorrect –and the error might probably have been from the transcribers [of al-±abrasç's work], since there is a clear difference [in meaning] between the two [phrases]; for the word *itmīm*, unlike *tamīm*, implies that the Imam ('a) had actually put on the *i°rīm* for *°ajj*.

However, it is equally probable that there are inconsistencies in the different copies of *al-Irshīd* itself; for Shaikh al-Qarashç (3:50) quotes al-Mufçd from *al-Irshīd* (pg.243), in the same manner as al-±abrasç has done, by bringing the phrase *itmīm al-°ajj*; while in the °aidariyyah edition of *al-Irshīd* (pg.218), we find the phrase *tamīm al-°ajj*, which is correct.

¹ Al-±abarç (5:383): "Ab£ Mikhnaf says: "°irith bin Ka'b al-Wilibç narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim°in that..." It is worthy of note here that Ibn 'Abbās was not opposed to the rising of the Imam ('a), rather he was doubting the establishment of the necessary grounds for it, and the Imam ('a) does not refute him in

[A Second Conversation with Ibn 'Abbās]

In the evening [of that day] or the next morning Ibn 'Abbās once again came to the Imam ('a) and said: "O my cousin! I tried to remain patient but could not. Indeed, I am apprehensive of your death and annihilation should you take this direction! The people of Iraq are a treacherous community, so never get closer to them! Stay in this city for you are the master of the people of °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 'Abbās then said: "Now that you are going, do not take your women and young children with you, for -by Allah- I

this regard, as it is evident.

¹ The Imam ('a) wanted to show that he knew that what Ibn 'Abbās said was out of sincerity, care and love [for him]. So he is not against the rising of the Imam ('a), rather he doubts the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for it. The Imam ('a) also does not refute him in what he said, instead he tells him that even in this case he is determined to rise; because he had felt the necessity to rise for the sake of the continuation of the divine Sharç'ah.

fear that you might get killed.”¹

[His Conversation with ‘Umar al-Makhz£m£]

‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Ra£m£n bin °irith bin Hish£m al-Makhz£m£² says: “When al-°usain (‘a) was ready for the journey towards Iraq, I came to him, praised and glorified Allah, and then said: “My cousin, I have come to give you a piece of advice. If you are ready to accept my advice, [then that is fine], otherwise I will restrain myself from what I intend to say.”

Al-°usain (‘a) said: “Say [what you want to say]. For by Allah, I do not consider you a person with unsound opinions, or evil intentions and deeds.”

He then said: “I have come to learn that you intend to go to Iraq, but I am concerned about you should you undertake this journey. You are moving towards a city which has its [own] rulers and governors and who have treasure houses at their disposal. Indeed people are slaves of these dirhams and dinars. I fear that those people will come to fight you who

¹ Al-±abar£ (5:383): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: “°irith bin Ka’b al-W£lib£ related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’£n that...”

² Al-±abar£: He was appointed by Ibn al-Zubair as the governor of K£ffah during the time of Mukht£r in 66 H. He had sent Z£dah bin Qud£mah al-Thaqaf£ towards Mukht£r with five hundred men and seventy thousand *dirhams* in order to drive him back by offering him the money, or to fight him in case he rejected that. So Mukht£r accepted the money and went to Ba£rah (6:71). What ‘Umar is narrating here of the Imam's commendation about him is actually being reported by himself [and does not carry much weight]. His grandfather was °irith bin Hish£m, the brother of Ab£ Jahl bin Hish£m, who was the enemy of the Holy Prophet (£). We have mentioned about him in the introduction.

have promised you their support and to whom you are more beloved than the one they will be fighting for against you.”

Al-°usain (‘a) replied: “May Allah reward you with good, O my cousin. By Allah, I know that you have given [me] a good advice and have spoken with wisdom. But whatever is decreed shall come to pass. I consider you a praiseworthy and sincere adviser, whether I act on your advice or not.”¹

[His Last Conversation with Ibn al-Zubair]

‘Abdullah bin Sulaim [al-Asad£] and Mudhr£ bin Mushma’il [al-Asad£] say: “We set out to Makkah as pilgrims and entered [the city on] the Day of Tarwiyah. [We were in Masjid al-°ar£m] when we suddenly saw al-°usain (‘a) and ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair standing between the [black] stone and the door of the Ka’bah. So we drew near them and heard Ibn al-Zubair saying to al-°usain (‘a): “If you like to stay [in Makkah], you can do so and assume the leadership [as well]. We shall support and help you, be sincere to you and pay allegiance to you.”

Al-°usain (‘a) replied him: “Indeed, my father informed me that: ‘A ram (*kabsh*) in Makkah shall violate the sanctity of [the *£aram*].’ So I do not like to be that ram!”^{2,3}

¹ Al-±abar£ (5:382): “Hish£m narrates from Ab£ Mikhnaf that: “-aq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-Ra£m£n [saying]...”

² Al-±abar£ (5:384): “Ab£ Minkhaf says: ‘Ab£ Jan£b Ya’y£ bin Ab£ °ayyah narrated to me from ‘Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad£ who related from ‘Abdullah that...”

³ *Kabsh* is a male sheep who most of the time moves ahead of a flock. It is for this reason that ‘leaders’ are usually likened to it. By this speech, the Imam (‘a) intended to remind Ibn al-Zubair

So Ibn al-Zubair said to him: "Get closer to me O son of Fīšimah, so al-°usain (°a) lent his ear to him and he whispered something to him. [°Abdullah and Mudhr̥ 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 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."^{1, 2}

only if it were to benefit him, "For admonition indeed benefits the faithful."

¹ *Al-±abar̥* (5:385): "Ab̥ Mikhnaf says: 'I report from Ab̥ Sa'°d 'Aq̥j, who narrated from some of his companions...'"

² This is the best and the shortest reply by which the Imam [°a] answered all the questions raised upto this point; this was by indicating that he was being [constantly] pursued wherever he went and that he was going to be attacked. Therefore, he decided to leave Makkah avoiding to become the ram mentioned by his father, the Commander of the Faithful (°a). He thus left Makkah for this very reason fleeing with his family lest the sanctity of [the °aram] be violated with his blood. If he was to depart from Makkah, then the best course for him was to proceed to K̥fah and attend to the needs of his followers (*sh̥°ah*), thus, leaving no room for any excuse on their part, "so that mankind may not have

[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-°Yy¹

any argument against Allah, after the [sending of the] apostles" (Qur'an, 4:165), and so that no one should say: "Why did you not send us a messenger as a warner, and appoint for us a guide so that we would have followed your signs." If he did not go to K̥fah, where else could he go, when the earth had become narrow for him inspite of its expanse?

¹ *Al-±abar̥*: When °Amru bin Sa'°d became the governor of Mad̥nah he summoned °Ubaidullah bin Ab̥ R̥jfi – the scribe of °Al̥ bin Ab̥ ±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 him 500 lashes. When °Amru repeated his question [for the sixth time.] °Ubaidullah replied: "Your slave" [and so he left him]. [After sometime,] when °Abd al-Malik killed °Amru bin Sa'°d, °Ubaidullah bin Ab̥ R̥jfi composed a poem thanking his killer. °Ab̥ R̥jfi was [once] the slave of Ab̥ Ḁyah Sa'°d bin al-°Yy – the older. After him his sons inherited Ab̥ R̥jfi from him. Three of these sons freed their portion of his servitude all of whom were killed in the battle of Badr. Kh̥lid bin Sa'°d [the fourth of the brothers] gifted his share of Ab̥ R̥jfi to the Messenger of Allah (°) and the Prophet freed him (3:170).

°Amru bin Sa'°d was the one who fought Ibn al-Zubair (5:343) and lashed between fourty to sixty times each of those who were fond of Ibn al-Zubair in Mad̥nah, among them being Mu'ammad bin °Amm̥r bin Y̥sir (5:344). °Amru rejoiced when the news of al-°usain's martyrdom reached him. When he heard the wails of the women of Ban̥ H̥shim as they mourned al-°usain (°a) he said: "These cries are in compensation for the cries on °Uthm̥n bin °Aff̥n!" Then, he ascended the pulpit and announced the news (5:466).

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.

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."^{2,3}

'Al° bin al-°usain bin 'Al° [(°a), i.e. the fourth Imam] says: "When we left Makkah 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab° ±lib⁴

[Later,] Yaz°d was informed that 'Amru bin Sa'°d was treating Ibn al-Zubair with kindness, so he dismissed him [from his position] in Dh° al-°ijjah of 61 H (5:477). As a result, 'Amru went to Yaz°d and apologized to him (5:479). His father was Sa'°d bin al-°°°, Mu'°wiyah's governor in Mad°nah (5:241).

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 (6:143-147). 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 (6:162).

² Qur'an, 10:41.

³ *Al-±abar°* (5:385): "Ab° Mikhna° says: "°irith bin Ka'b al-W°lib° narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim°n that..."

⁴ *Al-±abar°*: He was with the Commander of the Faithful in the battle of Jamal and assisted him in taking "ishah back to Mad°nah (4:510). 'Abdullah was among those whom the Commander of the Faithful used to consult when he was in K°fah and it was him who proposed to ['Al° ('a)] to appoint Mu'ammad

sent a letter to °usain bin 'Al° ('a) with his two sons: 'Aun and Mu'ammad¹ [saying]:

"I ask you for the sake of Allah to return as you receive my letter; for I am very concerned because the direction in which you are heading will have within it your destruction and the extirpation of your family. If you are destroyed today, the light of [guidance on] the earth will be extinguished; for you are the standard of the [rightly] guided ones and the hope of the believers. Do not hurry on your journey as I am following this letter. That is all."

[In the meanwhile,] 'Abdullah bin Ja'far went to see 'Amru bin Sa'°d bin al-°°° and talk to him and said: "Write a letter to al-°usain ('a) and guarantee him protection and promise him kind treatment [by being] trustful in your letter. Ask him to return, may be he will trust your word and return. Send the letter with your brother Ya'y° bin Sa'°d; for [al-°usain] will have confidence in him more than [any other

bin Ab° Bakr over Egypt. Mu'ammad was the half brother of 'Abdullah through his mother (4:554). He was with ['Al°] in °iff° and used to constantly protect him by moving ahead of him (5:148). 'Abdullah accompanied al-°asan ('a) [also] in his movement (5:160) and returned to Mad°nah with both of them [i.e. 'Al° and al-°asan] (5:165). His two sons Mu'ammad and 'Aun were with al-°usain ('a) [in Karbal°]. When he received the news of their martyrdom, he said: "By Allah, had I witness their fight, I would have loved not to part from them until I was killed with them" (5:466).

¹ *Al-±abar°* (5:469): They were martyred along with al-°usain ('a). With regard to 'Aun, his mother was Jam°nah, the daughter of Musayyib bin Najabah al-Faz°r° who was among the leaders of the Taww°b°n movement. As for Mu'ammad, his mother was Khau°°° bint Kha°afah bin Thaq°b from the tribe of Bakr bin W°°il.

person] and will acknowledge that you are serious.”

‘Amru bin Sa’°d said: “Write what you like and then bring it to me for the stamp.”

So ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far wrote:

“In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From ‘Amru bin Sa’°d to °usain bin ‘Al°: I pray to Allah to save you from what shall cause your destruction and guide you to what shall lead you to the right course. I have come to learn that you have set out for Iraq. I warn you against [causing] discord; for I fear that you will be destroyed because of that. I am sending to you ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far and Ya’y° bin Sa’°d, so come to me along with them and you shall be given protection and treated with kindness and enjoy [my] good neighbourhood. And I take Allah to be a witness, a guarantor, a guardian and a protector for [all I have said]. Peace be upon you.”

‘Abdullah then brought the letter to ‘Amru bin Sa’°d and said: “Seal it” and he did so. Thereafter, ‘Abdullah and Ya’y° bin Sa’°d [set out towards al-°usain (‘a)] with the letter. [When they reached,] Ya’y° read the letter to him.

Al-°usain (‘a) wrote [in reply]: “He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and does good and says: I am one of the Muslims, has not stood in opposition to Allah and his Messenger. Indeed you have invited [me] to [your] protection and kindness but the best protection (*am°n*) is the protection of Allah. He will never grant His protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment. If by your letter you were intending to show [your] kindness and benevolence

towards me, then may Allah reward you in this world and the hereafter. That is all.”

Thereafter both of them returned to [‘Umar bin Sa’°d]. They said: “We read the letter to him and tried our best [to convince him to return]. Among the excuses he put forward to us was that: “I have seen the Messenger of Allah (°) in a dream and I have been commanded in it with a task which I am [now] advancing to carry it out, be it against me or in my favour.”

They asked him: “What was the dream about?”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] replied: “I have not told anyone of it and I am not going to tell anyone until I meet my Lord!”^{1,2}

¹ *Al-°abar°* (5:388): “Ab° Mikhna° Says: “°irith bin Ka’b al-W°lib° narrated to me from ‘Al° bin al-°usain that...”

² The Imam (‘a) could not disclose what he knew of his fate to anyone who met him; for one cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam (‘a) used to reply everyone according to his capacity of understanding. The Imam (‘a) revealed to these people the actual answer when he said: “He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Sublime, and does good... has not stood in opposition to Allah and his Messenger... the best protection is the protection of Allah. He shall never grant protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment.” But since these people were not convinced by this answer from him, he instead told them that he was commissioned with a task in a dream in which he saw the Holy Prophet (°). Yet he did not reveal to them the actual dream but contented himself by saying: “I will not disclose it until I meet my Lord.”

It was probably from here that A°mad bin al-A°tham al-K°f° (d.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'ḥm¹]

Al-^ousain ('a) continued with his journey until he passed by Tan'ḥm. There he met a caravan which had been sent to Yazḥd bin Mu'ḥwiyah and was headed by Bulair bin Raisḥn al-^oimyarḥ², Yazḥd's governor in Yemen. The caravan was carrying *waras*³ and Yemeni dresses to Yazḥd.

Al-^ousain ('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-Buldḥn* (2:416) reports that Tan'ḥm is a place two *farsakh* away from Makkah. There is a hill on its right known as Na'ḥm and another one on its left called Nḥ'im, and the valley itself is known as Na'ḥmḥn. There is also a mosque there and beside that it is the nearest *mḥqḥt* and the closest point where the holy sanctuary ends (*ḥill*). 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 Madḥnah and Jiddah.

² *Al-ṭabarḥ*: It seems that he was an astrologer and had augured ill for 'Abdullah bin Mutḥ' al-'Adawḥ when he was sent to Kḥfah as the governor by Ibn al-Zubair (9:6). The renowned ṭḥwḥs al-Yamḥnḥ was his master who died in Makkah in the year 105 H (6:29).

³ *Al-wars* is a sesame-like plant used for dying and from which saffron is collected and which is not found except in Yemen.

Those among them who left him, [their account] was settled and he paid them in full. Those of them who accompanied him, he gave them their hire and [also] clothed them.¹

[^oifḥ¹²]

'Abdullah bin Salḥm [al-Asadḥ] and Mudhrḥ [bin Mushma'il al-Asadḥ] report:

"We moved on until we reached al-^oifḥ where we met Farazdaq bin Ghḥlib³, the poet, who came near al-^ousain ('a) and said to

¹ *Al-ṭabarḥ* (5:385): "Abḥ Mikhnaḥ says: '^oḥrith bin Ka'b al-Wḥlibḥ narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'ḥn that..."

² It is located between ^ounain and the points which identify the sanctuary of the *ḥaram*. It is situated on the left of one who enters the city of Makkah [from Mushḥsh].

³ *Al-ṭabarḥ*: He is Hamḥm bin Ghḥlib bin ṭa'ḥa'ah. His two uncles were Dhuhail and Zaḥḥf, who were in the treasury office (*dḥwḥn*) of Ziyḥd bin Sumayyah, each being in charge of a thousand people. Farazdaq had mocked the Banḥ Nahshal and Faḥḥm, so they sued him before Ziyḥd and the latter summoned Farazdaq but he fled. Whenever Ziyḥd would come to Baḥḥrah, Farazdaq would go to Kḥfah, and if Ziyḥd was to come to Kḥfah, he would go to Baḥḥrah. Ziyḥd used to stay in Baḥḥrah and Kḥfah each for six months. Farazdaq then went to ^oijz seeking refuge with Sa'ḥd bin al-^oḥḥḥ from Ziyḥd until the latter died (5:242-250). Farazdaq scorned at Ziyḥd and one who elegized him, saying: "You are mourning a disbeliever from the family of Sufyḥn, who was like Choesroe or Ceaser in aggression" (5:290). Farazdaq then returned to Baḥḥrah and resided in the city. He went to *ḥajj* with his mother in the year 60 H and this is why he did not accompany al-^ousain ('a) (5:386). Later, he composed a poem in praise of ^oajjḥḥ! (6:380&394) and was among the courtiers of Sulaimḥn bin 'Abd al-Malik (5:548). Farazdaq was alive till the year 102 H (6:616). At the time when he mocked at the Banḥ Nahshal he was a young man, rather a bedouin young boy residing in the desert (5:242). Therefore, he must have been less

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 (*taqwā*) 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.¹

than thirty years old when he met al-°usain ('a).

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (5:386): "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 consistence 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.

When 'Ubaydullah bin Ziyġd learnt of the journey of al-°usain ('a) from Makkah to Kġfah, he sent °uġain bin Tamġm [al-Tamġmġ], the head of his bodyguards, to al-Qġdisiyyah.² [Al-Tamġmġ] stationed at this place and set up a [protective] link of cavalry between [the area of] al-Qġdisiyyah to Khaffġn,³ and [the area of] al-Qġdisiyyah to Quġquġġnah⁴ and La'la'.⁵

¹ *Al-±abarġ* says: "Hishġm has narrated on the authority of 'Awġnah bin °akam from Lubġah bin al-Farazdaq bin Ghġlib who reported from his father that he said: 'I went to /*ajj* in the year 60 H and entered the holy sanctuary during the days of pilgrimage. I met °usain bin 'Alġ 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 Banġ 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 (*nudhġr*) and /*ajj* rituals, and he explained them to me." (5:386)

² Al-Qġdisiyyah is situated fifteen *farsakh* from Kġfah and just four miles from 'Adhġb. It is also called al-Dġwġniyyah as it was the first big city on the way to the deserts of °ijġz from Iraq. Al-Qġdisiyyah was the first place in Iraq to be conquered by the Muslims under the leadership of Sa'd bin Abġ Waqqġġ.

³ According to *Mu'jam al-Buldġn* (3:451), Khaffġn is a village near Kġfah and contains a water-spring owned by the Banġ 'Abbġs.

⁴ Quġquġġnah is some twenty miles away from al-Rahġmah on the way to Kġfah, as reported in *Mu'jam al-Buldġn* (7:125). According to al-Ya'qġbġ (2:230; Najaf edition): "The news of the martyrdom of Muslim reached the Imam at Quġquġġnah."

⁵ *Al-±abarġ* (5:394): "Abġ Mikhnaf says: 'Yġnus bin Abġ Isġġq

[°jjir¹]

Al-°usain (‘a) went on with his journey until when he reached al-°jjir, which is situated in Başn al-Rumma, he sent Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidjwç with a letter to the people of Kffah. He wrote to them:

“In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From °usain bin ‘Alç 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 ‘Aqçl’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 Dhç 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-°aidjwç set off for Kffah with al-°usain’s letter. When Qais reached al-Qjdisiyyah, °u¥ain bin Tamçm arrested him and sent him to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd.

Ibn Ziyjd 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 ‘Alç -

al-Sabç narrated to me saying...”

¹ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldjn* (4:290) and *Tijj al-‘Arçs* (3:139), al-°jjir is a valley in the highlands of Najd, whereas Başn al-Rummah is a point where travelers coming from the cities of Kffah and Ba¥rah meet on their way to Madçnah.

the best of Allah’s creatures- is the son of Fjşimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah. I am his messenger to you. I parted with him at °jjir. Answer him.” Then he cursed ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd and his father, and sought Allah’s mercy for ‘Alç bin Abç ±jlib.

[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 Muşç’ al-‘Adawç² 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 Muşç’ said: “O son of the Messenger of Allah, I remind you of Allah and the sanctity (*jurmah*) 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

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:394): “Abç Mikhnaç says: ‘Mu’ammad bin Qais related to me [saying]...” Al-Mufçd has reported the report in *al-Irshjd* (pg.220) also, but he has confused the account of Ibn Qais with that of ‘Abdullah bin Buqşur. The [above] report has also appeared in *Tadhkirat al-Khawj¥¥* (pg.245; Najaf edition).

² His biography has appeared when mentioning the sources of this text.

the Arabs! For by Allah, if you seek that which is in the hands of the Banġ Umayyah, they will surely kill you. If they kill you, they will never fear anyone after you.¹ By Allah, it is the sanctity of Islam which shall indeed be violated, and the sacredness of the Quraish and that of the Arabs. Do not do that and do not go to Kġfah. Do not expose yourself to the Banġ Umayyah.”

But [al-°usain (‘a)] insisted on continuing with the journey.

[Khuzaimiyyah²]

Al-°usain (‘a) proceeded till he reached a watering place somewhere above Zarġd³ [known as al-Khuzaimiyyah].

¹ 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 Muşġ’ 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 Muşġ’ 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 Muşġ’ 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].

² 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.

³ *Al-±abarġ* (5:394): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Mu’ammad bin Qais related to me that...’ He is, perhaps, Ibn Qais bin Musahhar.

[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 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 ‘Abdillah °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 Allah has sent for you and you are not going to him?! Glory be to Allah! Go to him and see what he says, and then come back.”

So Zuhair bin al-Qain went to see him. It was not long before he returned joyfully while his countenance was glowing.

¹ *Al-±abarġ* (5:396): “Abġ Mikhnaf says: ‘Al-Siddġ narrated to me from a person among the Banġ Fazġrah saying: ‘During the time of °ajġġ bin Yġsuf we used to hide in the house of Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajalġ, as the people of Shġm would not enter it. So [one day] I said to this man from the Banġ Fazġrah: ‘Tell me about your journey with °usain bin ‘Alġ.’ He said...” See also *al-Irshġd* (pg.221) and *al-Maqtal* (pg.325) of al-Khwġrazmġ.

Then he said to his companions: “Whoever among you wishes to follow me [may do so], otherwise this is the last time [we see each other]! I will tell you a story: ‘We participated in the expedition of Balanjar¹ and Allah granted us victory and we won booty. Salmīn al-Bjhilç said²: ‘Are you happy with the victory which Allah has granted you and the booty you won?’ We replied: ‘Yes.’ Then he said to us: ‘If you met the young men from the family of Mu’ammad (¥), then be happier to fight with them than you are because of the booty you have obtained today.’ As for me, I leave you [all] to Allah’s protection!”

Then he told his wife: “You are divorced. Go back to your

¹ A city around the Caspian sea at Bj̄b al-Abw̄jb which was conquered in the year 33 H, during the reign of ‘Uthmīn bin ‘Affīn, at the hands of Salmīn bin Rabç’ah al-Bjhilç. See *Mu’jam al-Buldj̄n*.

² *Al-±abarç* (4:305) says: Both Salmīn al-Fjrsç and Ab£ Hurairah were among the conquerors of Balanjar. Ibn al-Athçr clearly says in *al-Kj̄mil* (4:17) that the one who spoke to them [about the young men of the family of Mu’ammad] was Salmīn al-Fjrsç, not Salmīn al-Bjhilç. This is keeping in mind that the aim of Ibn al-Athçr in writing *al-Kj̄mil fç al-Tj̄rçkh* was to supplement *Tj̄rikh al-±abarç*, and for this very reason he quotes most of his reports from *al-±abarç*. Among others who have asserted that it was Salmīn al-Fjrsç [and not al-Bjhilç] are al-Mufçd in *al-Irshjd*, al-Fatj̄l in *Rawæjt al-Wa’iççn* (pg.153), Ibn Namj̄ in *Muthçr al-A/zjn* (pg.23), al-Khwj̄razmç in *al-Maqtal* (1:275) and al-Bakrç in *al-Mu’jam min-mj̄ Ustu’jima* (1:376). This assertion is also supported by *al-±abarç*’s report that Salmīn al-Fjrsç was present in the expedition. However, what has been said here does not seem to be correct; for what is apparent is that Salmīn al-Fjrsç was the governor of Madj̄in after it was conquered in the year 17 H and did not leave the city for any other expedition until he died; and also that he passed away before this [expedition] during the time of ‘Umar.

family; for I do not want anything to befall you because of me except good.”^{1,2}

Somewhere on the way [to Kffah], Al-°usain (‘a) dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Buqşur al-°imyarç³ to Muslim bin ‘Aqçl⁴, but he was arrested by the soldiers of °usain bin Tamçm at al-Qj̄disiyyah. He sent him to Ibn Ziyjd who said to him: “Go to the top of the palace and curse the liar son of the liar. Then come down and I will give my judgment on you!”

So he went up. He said while he was looking down at the people: “O people! I am the messenger of al-°usain, son of Fjşimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah (¥). [He is

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:396): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Dalham bint ‘Amru, Zuhair bin al-Qain’s wife, narrated to me that...” See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.221).

² It will be known later from the speech of Zuhair in Karbalj̄ that he was angry right from the beginning about Mu’j̄wiyah’s declaration of Ziyjd as his brother and his killing of °ujr bin ‘Adiyy.

³ His mother was a nurse-maid of al-°usain (‘a) and this is why it has been said about him that he is al-°usain’s foster brother. The word ‘Buqşur’ has appeared with the letter ‘bj̄’ in *al-±abarç* and so has been recorded by al-Jazarç in *al-Kj̄mil*. But our masters (*mashjikh*) like al-Samj̄wç in *Ib¥jr al-‘Ain* (pg.52) have recorded it with the letter ‘yj̄’ (Yuqşur). We shall later see that the news of al-Yuqşur’s martyrdom reached the Imam (‘a) at a point called Zabj̄lah; that is before he received the news of the martyrdom of al-°aidj̄wç. Therefore, it seems that Ibn Yuqşur was sent [to Muslim bin ‘Aqçl] before al-°aidj̄wç [was dispatched to the people of Kffah].

⁴ *Al-±abarç* (5:348): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Ab£ ‘Alç al-An¥j̄rç narrated to me from Bakr bin Mu¥’ab al-Muzniyy [saying]...” *Al-Irshjd* (pg.220) has related the report also, but he confused the report of Ibn Yuqşur with that of Qais bin Musahhar al-°aidj̄wç.

asking] you to help and support him against the son of Marjīnah, son of Sumayyah, the bastard!”

‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyīd] 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-Lakham¹ came to him and slaughtered him (*dhaba’ahu*).

[Zarfd²]

‘Abdullah bin Salēm [al-Asadē] and Mudhrē bin Mushma’il [al-Asadē] 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 Zarfd.³

¹ Al-Lakhamē took up the judgeship in Kffah after al-Sha’bē, and died in 136 H at the age of hundred and three, as reported in *Mēzjn al-I’tidāl* (1:151) and *Tahdhēb al-Asmī*’ (pg.309).

² Zarfd is located between al-Khuzaimiyyah and al-Tha’labiyyah on the way to Kffah. See *Mu’jam al-Buldjn* (4:327).

³ This report is inconsistent with what has been narrated from them earlier about their meeting Farazdaq at ‘ifa’, which is several stations before Zarfd; for according to this report they joined al-°usain (‘a) at Zarfd and not before that. It was, however, not possible for them to join him at ‘ifa’ if they were to complete their *‘ajj*, for ‘ifa’ is situated in the beginning of the way [to Kffah] while the Imam (‘a) had left [Makkah] on the Day of Tarwiyah. Therefore, if they had joined him at ‘ifa’, [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 Zarfd]. What is surprising here is that the narrators of both the reports were they themselves, but neither Abē Janīb, nor Abē Mikhnaf, nor ±abarē could realize the contrariety in the

As we neared him, we saw a man from Kffah 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 Kffah, we will get to know it.’

We went to him and said: ‘Peace be upon you.’

He replied: ‘Peace and mercy of Allah be on you [too].’

Then we asked him: ‘Which tribe do you come from?’

He said: ‘[I am] an Asadē.’

We said: ‘We are from the Banē 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 Kffah after Muslim bin ‘Aqēl and Hīni’ bin ‘Urwah had been killed. I saw them being dragged by their legs in the market.’

[Ibn Salēm and Mushma’il] continue: “We went on to al-°usain (‘a) and we were travelling close to him until he stopped.

reports. Unless we reconcile between the two reports by saying that they met al-°usain (‘a) at ‘ifa’ before the *‘ajj* and then joined him at Zarfd after the pilgrimage.

[Tha'labiyyah¹]

He stopped at al-Tha'labiyyah in the evening. So we approached him when he stopped and greeted him. He returned our greeting. Then we said to him: 'May Allah have mercy on you, we have a news. If you wish, we can say it publicly, and if you wish, in privacy.'

Al-°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 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 Kffah after Muslim bin 'Aqel and Hjn bin 'Urwah had been killed, and he had seen them being dragged by their legs in the market!'

[Hearing this,] he said: 'Indeed, we belong to Allah and to him do we indeed return'. May Allah's mercy be on them both!' He repeated this several times.²

¹ It comes after al-Shuqf for one traveling to Makkah from Kffah. It has been named after a man from the Ban Asad known as Tha'labah. See *Mu'jam al-Buldjn*.

² What is apparent from this narration is that the news of Muslim's martyrdom had already spread by the time [the Imam ('a)] reached this point. But as we shall see later, the Imam ('a) informed his companions about this through a letter he read out to the people at Zublah. Accordingly, it is highly probable that by his statement [at Tha'labiyyah]: "...Nothing is to be concealed

Then we said to him: 'We implore you before Allah for your own life and for your family members that you should go back [right] from this point; for you have [now] no any helper or follower in Kffah. We are afraid that the [people of the] city will be against you!'

On hearing this, the sons of 'Aqel bin Ab ±lib¹ sprung up and said: 'Nay, by Allah! We shall not leave until we have taken our vengeance, or have tasted what our brothers have tasted!'²

They continue with their report and say: "Al-°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.'

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 Zublah. But according to al-Ya'qfb (2:230; Najaf edition), the news of Muslim's martyrdom reached the Imam ['a] at Ququqnah.

¹ *Al-±abar* (5:397): "Ab Mikhnaf says: 'Ab Janb al-Kalb related to me on the authority of 'Adiyy bin °armalah al-Asad, from 'Abdullah that..." *Al-Irshd* (pg.222; Najaf edition) says: "'Abdullah bin Sulaimn reported that..."

² *Al-±abar* (5:397): "Ab Mikhnaf says: "'Umar bin Khlid narrated to me on the authority of Zayd bin 'Al bin al-°usain, from Dwf bin 'Al bin 'Abdullah bin 'Abb who said that the sons of 'Aqel reported that..." See also *al-Irshd* (pg.222), *Murj al-Dhahab* (3:70) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawj* (pg.245; Najaf edition).

Then he waited till dawn when he told his young men and servants: 'Take plenty of water.' So they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then they set out and went on until they reached Zubĭlah.

[Zubĭlah^{1,2}]

There he received the news of the martyrdom of his foster brother, 'Abdullah bin Yuqşur. So he read out a written statement to the people and announced:

'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Shocking news has reached us! The martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil, Hĭnĉ bin 'Urwah and 'Abdullah bin Yuqşur. Our followers³ have indeed deserted us. So any of you who like to leave, may leave; we have freed him of all obligations.'

The people began to disperse from him to right and left until there remained with him only those of his companions who had come with him from Madĉnah.

¹ According to *Mu'jam al-Buldĭn*, Zubĭlah comes before al-Shuqĕq 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.

² *Al-ṭabarĉ* (5:398): "Abĕ Mikhnaf says: 'I narrate on the authority of Abĕ Janĭb al-Kalbĉ from 'Adiyy bin 'armalah who related from 'Abdullah bin Salĉm that..." See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg.222; Najaf edition).

³ 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.

He did that because the Bedouins who had followed him were thinking that he was going to a city where he was being steadfastly obeyed. And he disliked them to accompany him without being [fully] aware of what they were getting into. He well knew that if they were informed [of the reality], none would accompany him except he who is determined to help him and die beside him!¹

At dawn he ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then he set out until he passed by Başn al-'Aqabah.

[Başn al-'Aqabah²]

He stopped at this point³ [and a man from the Banĕ '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

¹ This is the most complete answer as to why the Imam ('a) allowed them to leave him, and it suffices from all other answers.

² It is a station after Wĭqiŷah and before al-Qĭ' on the way to Makkah.

³ *Al-ṭabarĉ* (5:398): "Abĕ Mikhnaf says: 'Abĕ 'Alĉ al-Anŷĭrĉ narrated to me from Bakr bin Muŷ'ab al-Muzniyy that..." See also *al-Irshĭd* (pg.222; Najaf edition).

[right] opinion. But Allah is never defeated in His affair.’¹
Thereafter, he set out from there.²

[Sharḥ³]

Al-°usain (‘a) went on till he stopped at Sharḥ. At dawn he ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they took enough water with them and then left the place. They sped in their journey in the early hours of the day until it was midday. [Suddenly,] a man [from his followers] exclaimed: ‘Allah is the greatest!’

Al-°usain (‘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-°usain (‘a) said: ‘In your opinion what did he see

¹ According to *al-Irshād* (pg.223), the Imam (‘a) then continued: “By Allah, they will not leave me until they take this beating [heart] out of my body. If they do so, then Allah will establish over them who will humiliate them until they become the most disgraced people of all nations.” The same has been reported in *A’līm al-Warj* (pg.232) also.

² *Al-ṭabarḥ* (5:399): “Abī Mikhnaf says: ‘Laudhīn -one of the Banī ‘Ikrimah- related to me that one of his uncles narrated to him that...’”

³ Sharḥ is two miles from Wīqīḥ and is situated before [one reaches] Iraq. Sa’d bin Abī Waqqīḥ had stopped here before he reached al-Qīdisiyyah. Sharḥ is named after a person who was known by this name and had discovered a spring in the area. Later several huge wells producing sweet drinking water were dug in the area. See *Mu’jam al-Buldīn*.

[then]?’

They replied: ‘We think he has seen the heads of horses.’

The [man] responded: ‘By Allah, I think so too.’

[Dhī °usam¹]

Here al-°usain (‘a) said: ‘Is not there any shelter we can seek refuge to and put it at our rear, so that we can face the people in one direction [i.e. so that we are not surrounded]?’”

We said to him: ‘Yes, there is [the hill of] Dhī °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 Yazīd al-Tamḥm al-

¹ According to *Mu’jam al-Buldīn*, it is the name of a hill where Nu’mīn used to go for hunting. It is 33 miles from ‘Udhaib al-Hijīnī on the way to Kffah as reported by *al-ṭabarḥ*. Ibn al-Jawzī relates in *al-Maqtal* (pg.245; Najaf edition) from [some] scholars of history that the Imam (‘a) did not know about what had befell Muslim bin ‘Aqīl until when he was three miles from al-Qīdisiyyah, where he met °urr bin Yazīd al-Riyīḥ who informed him of the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqīl and Hīnī bin ‘Urwah and also about Ibn Ziyīd’s arrival in Kffah and his preparation against him, and [then] asked him to return.

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 provided to another one until they had all been watered."^{2, 3, 1}

¹ Drinking a few draughts of water is what exactly *tarshḥf* means.

² *Al-±abarḥ* (5:400) says: "I have been informed on the authority of Hishjm who related from Abḥ Mikhnaf who said: 'Abḥ Janjb narrated to me on the authority of 'Adiyy bin °armalah from 'Abdullah bin Salḥm and al-Mudhrḥ that..." See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.223) and *Maqjtil al-±libiyyḥn* (pg.73) of Abḥ al-Faraj al-Ḥfahjnḥ.

³ *Al-±abarḥ* (5:401) says: "Hishjm said: 'Laqḥt narrated to me from 'Alḥ bin al-±a'jn al-Muḥribḥ that: 'I was together with °urr bin Yazḥd [al-Riyjḥ] and I was among the last of his companions [in the army] to arrive at Dhḥ °usam. When al-°usain ('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-°usain ['a] told me: 'Fold (*ikhniḥ*) the waterskin', but al-Muḥribḥ says I did not know how to do that! So al-°usain ['a] stood up and folded it for me; so I drank myself and watered my horse also." See *al-Irshjd* (pg.224) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwjrazmḥ (pg.230).

The time for the *uhr* prayer set in and al-°usain ('a) ordered °ajjj bin Masrḥq al-Ju'fḥ to make the call to prayer and he did so. When it was time for the *iqjmah*, al-°usain ('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 (*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'adhḥin*): "Make the *iqjmah*", 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

¹ *Al-±abarḥ* (5:401): "From here Abḥ 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-Kalbḥ from Laqḥt, who narrated from 'Alḥ bin Ta'jn al-Muḥribḥ. See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.224) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawjḥ* (pg.231).

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 *iqimāh*. 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’jīn! Bring out the two saddle-bags which contain their letters to me.”¹ So he

¹ *Khirjain* is the dual form of *khirj*. According to *Majma’ al-Ba’rain*, it is a sack with two straps. Later, we shall see the report by Ibn al-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.251) that when the Imam [‘a] addressed his opponents on the day of “shḥrj” and

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 Ziyā!”

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 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

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).

¹ See also *Maqātil al-ḥlibiyyen* (pg.74; Najaf edition) of Abī al-Faraj al-Ḥḥfahjīnī, who narrated it from Abī Mikhnaf.

‘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 38 miles from ‘Udhaib. Al-‘usain (‘a) moved with his companions while ‘urr [and his army] set out travelling close by him.¹

[Bai‘ah²]

At al-Bai‘ah, al-‘usain (‘a) addressed his companions and those of ‘urr. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

¹ Here comes to an end what *al-‘abarġ* reported from Hishġm to fill up the missing link in Abġ Mikhnaf’s report. See also: *al-Irshġd* (pg.225) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawġġġ* (pg.232).

² According to *Mu’jam al-Buldġn*, this point is situated between Wġqi‘ah and ‘Udhaib al-Hajġnġt.

“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 *shai‘ġn* and have forsaken obeying the All-Merciful. They openly indulge in corruption and have stopped the enforcement of *‘udġd*.¹ They have appropriated for themselves the spoils of war, they have made lawful what Allah has forbidden and have prohibited that which Allah has made lawful. And I am more entitled to bring changes than anyone else.

Your letters reached me and your messengers had come to me with your allegiance that you will not surrender me [to the enemy] nor desert me. [Now] if you are still on your pledge, [then] you have shown sound judgement; for I am ‘usain, son of ‘Alġ, and son of Fġ‘imah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). I am with you [i.e. living amidst you] and my family members with your families; you have an example (*uswah*) in me.

[But] if you do not [do so] and break your pledge and free yourselves from [the] allegiance [you paid me], then I swear by my life that this is not unexpected of you. You did the same to my father, my brother and my cousin, Muslim [bin ‘Aqġl]! A deceived is he who has been deceived by you. You have lost your felicity and wasted your share [in the

¹ The legal punishment prescribed by the Sharġ‘ah. [Editor]

hereafter]. ‘So whoever breaks his oath, breaks it only to his own detriment.’¹ And Allah will avail [me] against you. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you.”²

°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 [Banḥ] Aws said to his fellow tribesman when he met him as he was intending to support the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). [His tribesman] told him: ‘Where are you going? You are indeed going to be killed.’ He said [in reply]:

I will advance, for death is not a shame upon a young man,

When he intends the truth and fights as a Muslim.

And when he consoles the righteous by [sacrificing] his self,

And parts with the sinful who is a deceiver and whose nose shall be rubbed onto the ground.”³

¹ Qur’an, 48:10.

² *Al-ṭabarḥ* (5:403): “Abḥ Mikhnaf says: ‘[I narrate] from ‘Uqbah bin Abḥ al-‘Ayzir...”

³ Both Ibn al-Aṭḥar in *al-Kḥmil* and al-Mufḥd in *al-Irshjd* have narrated these verses but with the following addition: “If I live, I will do so without regret and if I die, I shall not be blamed, suffices you as humiliation that you live while your nose is

When °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-Hijjṇṭ.

['Udhaib al-Hijjṇṭ']

[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 Nḥfi’ bin Hilḥl with them, accompanied by their guide, ṭirimmḥl 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.

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.

rubbed onto the ground.”

¹ Gramatically ‘*udhaib* is a diminutive noun of ‘*adhḥb*. ‘Udhaib al-Hijjṇṭ was a valley owned by the Banḥ Tamḥm situated on the border of Iraq (*al-sawjd*). A military base of the Persians was [also] situated in the area. It is six miles from al-Qḥdisiyyah. The horses of Nu’mḥn, king of °ḥrah, used to graze there, thus the area came to be known as ‘Udhaib al-Hijjṇṭ as *al-hijjṇṭ* is the plural of *al-hajḥn* meaning an animal with mixed blood (i.e. a hybrid).

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 Yazðd came forward and said: “These people who have come from Kffah are not among those who came with you [from Madçnah]. 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 Ziyðd.”

°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-“idhç -one of the four men who had just come to him¹- said: “As for the noblemen, they have been heavily bribed and their pockets filled. Their

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:446): “They were probably Jðbir bin al-°irith al-Salmjñç, ‘Umar bin Khðlid al-°aidjwç and Sa’d, the servant of al-°aidjwç, about whom Abß Mikhnaf says that they fought together in the beginning of the battle and were killed at one place.”

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-°aidjwç.”

They said: “Yes. °u¥ain bin Tamçm had arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyðd. [Ibn Ziyðd] instructed him to curse you and your father, but he instead invoked [Allah’s] blessings on you and your father, and cursed Ibn Ziyðd and his father. He invited [people] to support you and informed them of your coming. So Ibn Ziyðd 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 ±irimmjð bin ‘Adiyy drew closer to al-°usain (‘a) and said to him: “By Allah, I see that there is no one to support you. If only these people whom I see following you [i.e. °urr and his army] were to fight you, they will be enough

¹ Qur’an, 33:23.

² *Al-±abarç* (5:403): “Abß Mikhnaf says: ‘... and ‘Uqbah bin Abç ‘Ayzjr has reported that...” See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.225; Najaf edition).

[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*'.¹ Then I will accompany you until [we] halt at *al-qurayyah*."²

[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."³

¹ *Aja* is a noun and its grammatical form is *fa-'a-l*. It is the name of a person after who the hill of ±ay has been named. It is situated in the west of this area and on the left of the hill of Sumair'.

² *Qurayyah* is the diminutive noun of *qaryah*. It is one of the areas in ±ay'.

³ *Al-±abar* (5:406): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports: 'Jam£l bin Mur£d related to me from ±irimmī that..." The complete report is as follows: [±irimmī said to al-°usain ('a):] "I have prepared some provision for my family from Kffah and I am carrying their expenditure with me. So I am going to leave the things with them

Al-°usain ('a) set out until he reached QaYr Ban£ Muqtil.

[QaYr Ban£ Muqtil¹]

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'f',³ he was answered.

He said: "Ask him to come to me" and send [a messenger] to him. When the messenger came to him he said: "°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 Kffah 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 [he had said to the messenger]!

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." [±irimmī] 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-Hijñt', Sami'ah bin Badr approached me and gave me the news of his martyrdom, and so I returned."

¹ According to *Mu'jam al-Buldñ*, this point is situated between Qurayyit, Quşquşñah and 'Ain al-Tamr.

² *Al-±abar* (5:407): "Ab£ Mikhnaf reports..."

³ His biography will follow towards the end of this book.

[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’jīn 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 Qaʿr Banʿ Muqītil 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, ‘Alʿ 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 (*istirjī*)?”

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?”

¹ *Al-ʿabarʿ* (5:407): “Abʿ Mikhnaʿ says: ‘Mujlīd bin Saʿʿ narrated to me from “amir al-Shaʿbʿ that...” See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.226).

He replied: “Indeed [we are], by Him to Whom all his servants will return.”

He then said: “O father! Then we need have no concern. We will die righteously.”

He said to him: “May Allah reward you with the best of what he has rewarded a son on account of his father.”

He stopped in the morning and offered the Morning Prayer. Then he hurried to remount and began veering to the left with his companions, with the intention of separating from [the army of °urr]. So °urr bin Yazʿd came to him, driving them back. When he [tried] to forcefully turn them towards Kffah, they resisted him, so they desisted from doing that, but still accompanied them until they reached Nainawī.

[Nainawī]¹

This is a place where al-°usain [‘a] halted. There appeared, suddenly, a rider who was on a horse of a noble breed, carrying weapon with a bow on his shoulder, coming from Kffah. They all stopped, waiting for him. When he reached them, he greeted °urr bin Yazʿd and his followers but did not greet al-°usain [‘a] and his companions. He handed a letter from ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyīd to °urr. It read:

“When this letter reaches you and my messenger comes to you, make al-°usain come to a halt. But only let him stop in an open place, with no shelter and water. I have ordered my messenger to stay with you and not to leave you until he brings me [news of] your carrying out my instructions. That

¹ Nainawī was a village on the bank of the Euphrates which was inhabited until the end of the 2nd century H.

is all.”

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.”

[Abf] al-Sha’tḥi’ Yazʿd bin Ziyīd al-Muḥīʿar al-Kindʿ al-Bahdalʿ¹ looked at the messenger of ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyīd], stood in front of him and said: “Are you Mīlik bin al-Nusair al-Baddʿ² [from the tribe of Kindah]?”

¹ 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.” Abf Mikhnaf has narrated from Fuʿail bin Khudaij al-Kindʿ that: “Yazʿd 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), Yazʿd 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.

² *Al-±abarʿ*: Mīlik bin al-Nusair from the Banf Baddi’. ±abarʿ narrates on the authority of Abf Mikhnaf that he was present in Karbalj’ 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. (5:448)

It has been narrated also that ‘Abdullah bin Dabbjs had pointed out for Mukhtjr a number of men who had killed al-°usain (‘a) and among them was Mīlik bin al-Nusair al-Baddʿ. So Mukhtjr sent to them Mīlik bin ‘Amru al-Nahdʿ who met them at al-Qīdisiyyah. Mīlik arrested and took them to Mukhtjr one

He answered: “Yes.”

So Yazʿd bin Ziyīd 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 (*imjmʿ*) and remained faithful to my pledge of allegiance.”

Abf al-Sha’tḥi’ said: “You have been disobedient to your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘We made them leaders who invite to the fire, and on the Day of Resurrection they will not receive any help.’¹ Such [a person] is your leader!”

°urr bin Yazʿd [al-Riyīʿ] began to make the people halt at that place which was without water and where there was no village.²

evening. Mukhtjr said to al-Baddʿ: ‘Are you the one who took his cap?’ ‘Abdullah bin Kīmil said: ‘Yes! He is the one.’ Mukhtjr then said: ‘Cut off his hands and legs and then leave him to writhe till he dies.’ So was done to him and he bled to death. He died in the year 66 H.” (6:57)

¹ Qur’an, 28:41.

² This indicates that Karbalj’ was not the name of a village, rather a name of an area known as Kfr Bjil, i.e. the villages of Bjil, as reported in *Kitjb al-Daljl wa al-Masjl* of Sayyid Hibah al-Dʿn al-Shahristānʿ. Ibn al-Jawzʿ reports in his *Tadhkirat al-Khawj* (pg.250; Najaf edition): “... Al-°usain [‘a] then said: ‘What is this land called?’ They replied: ‘Karbalj’. It is also called Nainawj which is a village in it.’ [Hearing this,] al-°usain wept and said: ‘Karb wa Balj’ [i.e. grief and tribulation].’ He then said: ‘Umm Salamah informed me that: ‘[One day] Jibrīl was with the Messenger of Allah [‘ŷ] and you [i.e. al-°usain] were with me. You happened to cry, so the Messenger of Allah

So they said: “Allow us to stop at this village –meaning Nainawj, or that one –meaning al-Ghaḥiriyyah¹, or that one –

[ʔ] 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 Karbalj’ and showed it to him.’ [After relating this] al-ʔusain [(ʔa) took in his hands the sand of this place and] smelled it and said: ‘By Allah! This is the land about which Jibrīl informed the Messenger of Allah, [the land] I shall indeed be killed in.’ Ibn al-Jawzʔ continues and says: “Ibn Sa’d has mentioned something similar in meaning to this report in his *al-ʔabaqit* from al-Wḥidʔ.” Ibn al-Jawzʔ then says: “Ibn Sa’d has also reported [the following incident] from al-Sha’bʔ who said: ‘When ‘Alʔ (ʔa) passed by Karbalj’ on his way to ʔiffʔn and stood opposite Nainawj –a village on the Euphrates, he stopped and called upon the one who carried water for ablution and said: ‘O Abj ‘Abdillah, tell me what is this land called?’ ‘Karbalj’, 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 (ʔ) and saw him weeping. So I asked him: ‘What has made you to weep?’ He said: ‘Jibrīl was with me a moment ago and he informed me that my son, al-ʔusain, shall be killed by the bank of the Euphrates, at a place called Karbalj’.’ Jibrīl then took a handful of sand [of that land] and made me smell it, so I could not hold my tears.”

Ibn al-Jawzʔ says: “ʔasan bin Kathʔr and ‘Abd Khair have said: ‘When ‘Alʔ (ʔa) reached Karbalj’, 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 Muzjīm has narrated this report through four [different] chains of narration in *Waq’at ʔiffʔn* (pg.140-142; Hḥrʔn publications).

¹Al-Ghḥiriyyah is named after Ghḥirah which belong to the

meaning Shafiyyah¹.”

He replied: “No! By Allah I cannot do that. This man has been sent to me as a spy.”

Zuhair bin al-Qain said to [al-ʔusain (ʔa)]: “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-ʔusain [ʔa] 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-ʔusain [ʔa] said: “Which village is it?”

He replied: “Al-ʔAqr.”²

Al-ʔusain [ʔa] said: “O Allah! I seek refuge with you from ‘aqr (destruction).” Then he stopped. This was on Thursday, second of Muḥarram 61 H.

On the next day, ‘Umar bin Sa’d bin Abʔ Waqqiʔ¹ arrived

Banʔ Asad and which are in fact lands around the grave of ‘Aun which are now a *farsakh* from Karbalj’. There stand the ruins of a fortress which is today known as the fortress of the Banʔ Asad.

¹ These were wells owned by the Banʔ Asad situated near Karbalj’.

² This was a place where the way station of Nubʔkḥadh Naʔr from Kʔr Bjbil was located. Kʔr Bjbil was later misspelt and came to be pronounced as Karbalj’.

from Kĕfah with four thousand soldiers

THE EVENTS FROM THE 3RD TO THE 8TH OF MU^oARRAM

[The Coming Out of Ibn Sa'd Against al-^ousain (‘a)]

The reason why Ibn Sa'd came against al-^ousain (‘a) was that ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyġd had dispatched him with four thousand men from Kĕfah to Dastbay.¹ This was at a time when the people of Dailam had attacked Dastbay and seized control of it. So Ibn Ziyġd wrote [a letter of] appointment to him, appointing him over Rayy, and ordered him to set out [to that place].

Ibn Sa'd left Kĕfah and assembled his army [outside the city] at [a point called] ^oammġm A’yan.² [But] when the issue of al-^ousain (‘a) came up and he set out for Kĕfah, Ibn Ziyġd summoned ‘Umar bin Sa'd and said: “Go to al-^ousain. You can continue with your mission after we have settled the matter between us and him.”

‘Umar bin Sa'd said: “If you deem it right to exempt me from this task, then do so. May Allah have mercy on you.”

‘Ubaidullah said to him: “Yes! With the condition that you return to us the [letter of your] appointment.”

¹ Known in Persian as Dashtbeh, it is a sizeable district situated between Hamadġn and Rayy. It was later annexed to Qazwġn as reported in *Mu’jam al-Buldġn* (4:58). *Dastbay* is an Arabicised form of the Persian word *Dashtbeh* which means a beautiful oasis.

² According to *al-Qamqġm* (pg.486), it was one of the districts of Kĕfah which contained a public bath owned by ‘Umar bin Sa'd, runned by his servant A’yan after whom the area was named.

¹ We have given his biography earlier.

When he told him that, 'Umar bin Sa'd said: "Give me a day so that I may consider [the matter]."

'Umar bin Sa'd left [the court] and began taking counsel from his advisers. There was none he took advice from except that he stopped him [from accepting the mission].

'amzah bin Mugherah bin Shu'bah¹, [Ibn Sa'd's] nephew from his sister's side, came to him and said: "I implore you by Allah -O my uncle- not to advance against al-'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."²

[According to what has been recorded in al-ṭabarī, there is some discontinuity here in the report of Abī Mikhnaḥ as he leaves off here and picks up again at Ibn Sa'd's arrival in

¹ *Al-ṭabarī*: 'ajjj bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafī had appointed him over Hamadīn in 77 H (5:284), while his brother, Muṣarraf bin Mugherah, was the governor of Madīn. Muṣarraf later revolted against 'ajjj and was secretly supported by 'amzah with funds and weapons (5:292). 'ajjj then sent a letter to Qais bin Sa'd al-'Ajalī -who was then 'amzah's head of bodyguards- appointing him as the next governor of Hamadīn and [also] instructed him to fetter 'amzah bin Mugherah with chains and imprison him and he did so (5:294).

² *Al-ṭabarī* (5:407): "Abī Mikhnaḥ says: "'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'īn that..." Abī Faraj al-Iḥfahīnī has mentioned this report with the same chain of narration in his *Maqṭil al-ṭlibīyyīn* (pg.74) with the difference that instead of 'Uqbah he records 'Utbah bin Sim'īn al-Kalbī! See also *al-Irshād* (pg.226).

Karbalj'. Accordingly ṭabarī fills up this gap by bringing in 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.]

Hishīm says: "'Awjnah bin al-'akam related to me on the authority of 'Ammār bin 'Abdullah bin Yaṣīr al-Juhānī 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 Yaṣīr] 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 Kḥfah, who I am not more brave and powerful than him in warfare.' Then he proposed some names to him.

Ibn Ziyād said to him: 'Do not teach me of the noblemen of Kḥfah! I have not commissioned you to advise me who I

should send. If you go with our army [then that is it], otherwise give us [back] the [letter of your] appointment!’

‘I will go’, he said, when he saw how obstinate he was.”

[Ibn Sa’d’s Arrival in Karbalā’]

[‘Abdullah] says: “He set out with [an army of] four thousand¹ men until he reached where al-°usain [had camped], on the following day of his arrival in Nainawj.”

He says: “Umar bin Sa’d asked ‘Azarah bin Qais al-A’masq² 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.”

¹ See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.227). He says as follows regarding the martyrdom Mu’ammad bin Abq ±jlib: “Ibn Ziyjd dispatched Ibn Sa’d towards al-°usain with 9,000 men and later Yazqd bin Rikjb al-Kalbq with an army of 2,000 soldiers. He also sent °u¥ain bin Tamqm al-Sakfnq with 4,000 men, Fuljn al-Mizanzq with 3,000 and Na¥r bin Fuljn with 2,000 soldiers. This summed up to 20,000 riders and foot soldiers. In *Maşjlib al-Sa’El* al-Shjfi’q mentions that they were 22,000 men altogether. Shaikh al-°adfq narrates in his *Amjli* (pg.101; Beirut edition) with his chain of narration from Imam al-°jdiq (‘a) that they numbered 30,000 men. Ibn al-Jawzq relates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.247; Najaf edition) from Mu’ammad bin Sqrqn that the latter used to say: “In this matter the nobility of ‘Alq bin Abq ±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?!’”

² Al-Mufqd 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 Kffah who wrote letters to the Imam (‘a).

[‘Abdullah] says: “‘Umar bin Sa’d then made the same proposal to those leaders who had written to him, but all of them refused it and expressed their dislike for that.”

[‘Abdullah] says: “Kathqr bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bq¹ -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 Abf Thumjmah al-°aidq saw him, he said to al-°usain (‘a): ‘May Allah guide you, O Abj ‘Abdillah! The most vicious man on this earth, the most daring in [shedding] blood and the deadliest of them has come to you.’ [Abf Thumjmah] went to him and said: ‘Put down your sword!’

[Kathqr] 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 [Abf Thumjmah] 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.’

¹ *Al-±abarq*: Kathqr was present when al-°usain (‘a) was martyred and he also narrated the speech given by Zuhair bin al-Qain (5:426). He is the one who killed Zuhair in association with Muhjir bin Aws (5:441). And he was the one who followed @a||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqq al-Hamdjnq with the intention of killing him. But when he came to know that @a||k was from Hamdjn, he said: “This is our cousin” and so he left him (5:445).

[Ab£ Thumamah] then told him: 'Tell me what you have brought and I will convey it to him. For I will not let you go near him, as you are a corrupt man.' They both [stood there and] cursed each other. Then he went back to 'Umar bin Sa'd and told him the news."

['Abdullah] says: "'Umar bin Sa'd summoned Qurrah bin Qais al-°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.'"²

¹ This is the first time that his name appears in the reports of Karbalj' 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.

² *Al-±abarç*: Qurrah bin Qais was with °urr bin Yazçd al-Riyjç. '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) (5:427). Ab£ 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) (5:456).

°abçb bin Mu`jhir 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

['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 Ziyjd about all this]."

[This is the end of the supplementary reports that were from other than Ab£ Mikhnaç].

[Ibn Sa'd's First Letter to Ibn Ziyjd]

The letter of 'Umar bin Sa'd reached Ibn Ziyjd 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 Ziyjd he recited the

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 (5:411). See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.228).

following verse:

Now when our claws cling to him, he hopes for delivery but there is no time to escape!

[Ibn Ziy'd's Response to Ibn Sa'd]

He wrote to Ibn Sa'd:

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Your letter has reached me and I have understood what you mentioned. Offer al-°usain [the opportunity] of him and all his companions pledging allegiance to Yaz°d bin Mu'°wiyah. If he does that, we will then see what our judgement will be. That is all."

When the letter reached Ibn Sa'd, he said: "I had anticipated that Ibn Ziy'd would not spare me [fighting al-°usain]."¹

[Ibn Sa'd's Meeting With al-°usain ('a)]

Al-°usain ('a) sent 'Amru bin Qur'ah bin Ka'b al-An°ir° 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

¹ *Al-±abar°* (5:411): "[Ab° Mikhna° says:] 'Na°r bin °jlih bin °ab°b bin Zuhair al-'Abas° narrated to me from °assjn bin Fj'id bin Bukair al-'Abas° who said: 'I bear witness that the letter of 'Umar bin Sa'd came...' See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.228).

² *Al-±abar°*: He was with al-°usain ('a) while his brother 'Al° bin Qur'ah was with 'Umar bin Sa'd. When 'Amru was martyred 'Al° bin 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 Njfi' bin Hiljl al-Murjd° and fell to the ground. His colleagues carried him away and he was then treated and recovered (5:434).

to move away from him and so did 'Umar bin Sa'd. Then they started talking and their conversation took long such that part of the night lapsed. Then each of the two returned to his camp with his companions.

People started making assumptions about what transpired between the two. They were presuming that al-°usain ('a) told 'Umar bin Sa'd: "Come along with me to Yaz°d bin Mu'°wiyah and let us leave the two armies." 'Umar said: "In that case my house will be demolished." "I will rebuild it for you", he replied. So [Ibn Sa'd] said: "My estate will be confiscated." So he said: "In that case I shall give you what is better than that from my wealth in °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].¹

[Among other assumptions they made were that] they said: "Al-°usain said: 'Accept any three of my requests:

1. I should either return to where I came from [i.e. Mad°nah].

¹ *Al-±abar°* (5:413): "[Ab° Mikhna° says:] 'Ab° Janjb related to me from Hjni' bin Thubait al-°a°ram°..." Hjni' 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-Irshjd* (pg.229). According to Ibn al-Jawz° in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.248; Najaf edition): "It was 'Umar who sent for [al-°usain ('a)] requesting a meeting with him, and they met in privacy."

2. Or I should put my hand in the hand of Yazʿd bin Mu'jwiyah and then he should decide on the matter [which is] between him and I.

3. Or take me to any of the border outposts of the Islamic land you like, so that I may become one of them, with the same rights and duties as them.”¹

‘Uqbah bin Sim’in says: “I accompanied al-ʿusain (‘a) and came out with him from Madʿnah 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 Madʿnah, or in Makkah, or on the way [to Kffah], 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 Yazʿd bin Mu'jwiyah, or that he should be taken to a frontier among the frontiers of the Islamic land. Rather, he said: “Allow me to go wherever I like in this spacious land until we see how the people’s attitude to the affair develops.”²

[Ibn Sa’d’s Second Letter to Ibn Ziyʿd]

‘Umar bin Sa’d wrote [a second] letter to Ibn Ziyʿd [saying]:

¹ *Al-ʿabarʿ* (5:413): “This is what a group of *muʿaddithūn* have recorded and has [also] been narrated to us by al-Mujlid bin Saʿd, ʿaqʿab bin Zuhair al-Azdʿ and others who said ...” See also *Maʿjtil al-ʿlibiyyʿn* (pg.75; Najaf edition).

² *Al-ʿabarʿ* (5:413): “As for ‘Abd al-Raim bin Jundab, he related to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’in who said: ...” See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawʿ* (pg.248) who has mentioned the report in brief.

“Indeed, Allah has put out the fire [of war], united [the people] in one opinion, and set right the affairs of the community. Al-ʿusain 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 Yazʿd, the commander of the faithful, and offer him his hand and see [if the difference] between them [can be reconciled]. In this [offer] you will be pleased and there is good for the *ummah*.”

When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyʿd 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 Dhʿ al-Jaushan¹ stood up and said: “Are you going to accept this from him [i.e. al-ʿusain] when he has encamped on your land nearby! By Allah, if he leaves your city without putting his hand on yours, then he will gain more strength and might and you will become weaker and helpless [in your position]. Do not give him this opportunity; for that is [a mark of] weakness. Rather, let him submit to your authority,² he and his companions. Then if you punish them, you will be the [person] most appropriate to do so, and if you forgive them, then you have the right to do so. By Allah, I have heard that al-ʿusain and ‘Umar bin Sa’d have been sitting between the two armies

¹ We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kffah who were with Ibn Ziyʿd.

² Ibn al-Jawzʿ has briefly narrated this in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.248) and adds that [Ibn Sa’d] wrote the following verse at the end of his letter: “Now that he is caught in our trap, he hopes for delivery but there is no longer time for escape.”

engaged in conversation the whole night!"

Ibn Ziyāḍ said: "Your opinion is excellent. Your view is the correct view."¹

[Ibn Ziyāḍ's Second Response to Ibn Sa'd]

'Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ thus wrote to 'Umar bin Sa'd:

"I did not send you to al-ʿusain 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-ʿusain 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-ʿusain 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 Dhḥ al-Jaushan; for we have given him our instructions. That is all."²

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:414): "Al-Mujlīd bin Sa'ḍ al-Hamdīn and 'aq'ab bin Zuhair have narrated to me that..." See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.229).

² *Al-ṭabarī* (5:415): "Abī Janīb al-Kalbī has related to me that..." See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.229) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*

'Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ then summoned Shamir bin Dhḥ al-Jaushan and said to him: "Take this letter to 'Umar bin Sa'd and let him propose to al-ʿusain and his companions to submit to my authority. If they did so, then he should send them to me as prisoners. And if they refused, then he should fight them. If he does [what I have said], then listen to him and obey him. [But] if he refuses, then you [take up the authority and] fight them, as you will be [then] the commander of the people; and attack [Ibn Sa'd], cut off his head and send it to me."¹

After Shamir bin Dhḥ al-Jaushan took the letter, as he and 'Abdullah bin Abḥ al-Ma'all bin ʿizīm [al-Kilībī] stood up to leave, 'Abdullah said: "May Allah preserve the governor! The sons of our sister [Umm al-Banīn: 'Abbās, 'Abdullah, Ja'far and 'Uthmīn] are with al-ʿusain. If you deem it right to grant them protection (*amīn*), then [please] do so."

[Ibn Ziyāḍ] replied: "Yes, with pleasure." He then ordered his scribe to write a guarantee of security for them and sent it through 'Abdullah bin Abḥ al-Ma'all [bin ʿizīm al-Kilībī] and his servant Kuzmīn.

[Shamir Brings the Letter to Ibn Sa'd]

Shamir bin Dhḥ al-Jaushan set out with the letter of 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ 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

(pg.248).

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:414): "Sulaimīn bin Abḥ Rīshīd has related to me from ʿumaid bin Muslim that..." See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.229).

to me. By Allah! I suspect you to have dissuaded him from accepting what I wrote to him. You ruined for us a matter which we had hoped to set right. By Allah, al-°usain will not surrender. An unsubmissive soul exists within him!”

Shamir said to him: “Tell me what you are going to do. Are you going to carry out the instructions of your governor and kill his enemy? Otherwise leave the command of the army to me.”

[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 ‘Uthmān, the sons of ‘Alī (‘a), came forward and said: “What is the matter and what do you want?”

He said: “You are guaranteed security, O sons of my sister!”

The young men replied him: “May Allah curse you -even if you be our uncle- and curse your security. You offer us protection while the son of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) remains without protection!”

[Hearing this,] Kuzmān, the servant of ‘Abdullah bin Abī al-Ma’āl [bin °izām al-Kilābī] called them out and said: “This is the security which your uncle has sent it to you.”

So the young men said: “Convey our salutations to our uncle and tell him: ‘We do not need your security. The protection of Allah is better than that of the son of

Sumayyah!’”¹

[Obstructing the Imam (‘a) and His Companions from Reaching the Water]

‘Umar bin Sa’d received a letter from ‘Ubaidullah bin 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 commander of the faithful, ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān, the pious, the chaste and the oppressed!”

So ‘Umar bin Sa’d dispatched ‘Amru bin al-°ajjāj² 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 ḥlib 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-Jamāl³

¹ See also *al-Irshād* (pg.230) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (pg.249).

² We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kḥfah who were with Ibn Ziyāḍ.

³ *Al-ʿabar*: He had sent his horse with the four men from Kḥfah towards the Imam (‘a) alongwith ʿirimmī 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 (5:434). Nāfi’ had written his name on top of his arrows and killed with them twelve men from the enemy until finally both his arms were broken and Shamir took him as a captive and later killed him after taking him

leading the way with the standard.

[As they approached] 'Amru bin al-°ajjj al-Zubaidç said:
"Who is that?"

[He said: "Nîfi' bin Hilîl].

'Amru asked: "Why have you come?"

Nîfi' replied: "We have come to drink from this water
which you obstructed us from."

['Amru] said: "Drink and enjoy."

"Nay by Allah, I shall not have a drop from it while al-
°usain is thirsty and these of his companions", said [Nîfi'
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
Nîfi' drew near him, he [told them]: "Fill your waterskins!"
So they forced their way and filled their waterskins.

[Seeing this] 'Amru bin al-°ajjj and his companions rushed
towards them, but 'Abbîs bin 'Alç and Nîfi' bin Hilîl
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-°ajjj 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] Nîfi' bin Hilîl had stabbed one of the

to 'Umar bin Sa'd (5:442).

companions of 'Amru bin °ajjj' such that the wound later
festered and he died of it.¹ [Accordingly, this is the first
person to have been killed from Ibn Sa'd's army after he
sustained injuries on that night.]

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:412): "Sulaimjn bin Abç Rjshid has narrated to me
from °umaid bin Muslim al-Azdç that ..." See also *Maqîtil al-
±jlibiyyçn* (pg.78) [who related the report] from Abç Mikhnaf
through the same chain of narration; and *al-Irshid* (pg.228) from
°umaid bin Muslim.

THE EVENTS OF THE 9TH OF MU^oARRAM

[Ibn Saʿd Advances Against al-^ousain (ʿa)]

[ʿrith bin ʿaʿrah] reports: “Ibn Saʿd announced after the ʿaʿr 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 (ʿa) and his companions].

Al-^ousain [ʿa] 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 [ʿa] 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!”

ʿAbbās bin ʿAlī [ʿa] said: “O my brother! The army has come!” So al-^ousain [ʿa] got up and said: “O ʿAbbās! 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 ʿAbbās went to meet them with about twenty horsemen, among whom were Zuhair bin al-Qain and ʿabḥ bin Muḥḥir. ʿAbbās 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 ʿAbdillah 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.”

ʿAbbās went galloping back to al-^ousain [ʿa] to give him the information. His companions stood [by the enemy] addressing the people. ʿabḥ bin Muḥḥir¹ 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.”

ʿabḥ 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 ʿAzarah bin Qais].

ʿAzarah bin Qais² said to him: “You are asserting purity for yourself!”

So Zuhair replied him: “O ʿAzarah! Allah has indeed

¹ We mentioned him when discussing those among the followers of the Imam (ʿa) who wrote to him from Kḥfah.

² We have given his biography when mentioning those among the hypocrites of Kḥfah who had written to the Imam (ʿa).

purified and guided his soul. Fear Allah O 'Azarah; I am [sincerely] advising you. I beseech you by Allah, O 'Azarah, not to be of those who help the misled in killing the pure souls!"

'Azarah said: "O Zuhair! We had never been -in our opinion- among the followers of the people of this House. Rather, you were a partisan of 'Uthmīn ('*uthmīn*')."¹

Zuhair answered: "Have you still not come to know -after seeing my stand- that I am one of them! By Allah! I never wrote to [al-°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]

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*'.

many invocations and seeking His forgiveness."

So 'Abbās bin 'Alī ('a) galloped his horse and went back to them and said: "O people! Abī 'Abdillah is requesting you to grant him respite for tonight, so that he may consider the matter; for there has not taken place any discussion [so far] between you and him concerning this [proposal]. So we shall now meet in the morning, if Allah wills. [Either] we would give consent to it and do what you want from us and are insisting upon; or we would dislike it and therefore reject it."

By doing so [al-°usain ('a)] intended to keep them away that night so that he might [have the opportunity to] give his instructions and make his will to his family.

'Umar bin Sa'd said: "O Shamir! What do you think?"

He said: "It is up to you. You are the commander and the decision lies with you."

['Umar] said: "I wish I had not been there!" He then turned to his army and said: "What is your opinion?"

'Amru bin al-°ajjj bin Salamah al-Zubaidī said: "Glory be to Allah! By Allah! [Even] if they were from Dailam and had asked from you such [a thing], it would have been incumbent on you to grant them their demand."

Qais bin Ash'ath¹ said: "Grant them their request. I swear

¹ *Al-°abarī*: On the day of 'ash'arj' he was leading the quarter of Kindah and Rab'ah (5:422). He was the one who plundered the Imam's silken cloak and came to be known after that as 'Qais of the cloak' (5:453). He was with Shamir bin Dhī al-Jaushan, 'Amru bin al-°ajjj and 'Azarah bin Qais in carrying the heads of the companions of the Imam ('a) to Ibn Ziyād in Kāfah (5:456).

by my life that they are definitely going to fight you tomorrow morning!”

[Ibn Sa'd] said: “By Allah, if I knew that they are going to do so, I would not have left them for tonight.”¹

‘Alç 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 Ziyd. But if you refused to do so, then we are not going to leave you!’”²



He was leading the Kindah who were carrying thirteen of these heads (5:468). Ibn al-Ash'ath is the brother of Mu'ammad bin Ash'ath -the assassin of Muslim, and the brother of Ja'dah -the killer of al-°asan (‘a).

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:415): “[I narrate] on the authority of °irith bin °a¥çrah, from Sharçk al-°mirç who said...” See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.230).

² *Al-±abarç* (5:417): “°irith bin °a¥çrah has related to me from ‘Abdullah bin Sharçk al-°mirç, who reported from ‘Alç bin al-°usain (‘a) that...”

THE EVENTS OF THE NIGHT OF “SH-R”

[The Speech of al- \circ usain (‘a) on the Night of ‘ \circ sh $\&$ r:]

‘Al $\&$ bin al- \circ usain (‘a) says: “Al- \circ usain gathered his companions after ‘Umar bin Sa’d went back, and this was just before the sunset. So I went near to hear him [even though] I was sick. I heard my father say to his companions:

“I praise Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, with the best of praises. I praise him in ease and difficulty. O Allah, I praise You for honouring us with the prophethood (*nubuwwah*), teaching us the Qur’an and making us comprehend your religion. You gave us [the faculties of] hearing, sight and the hearts; and you did not make us among the idolaters.

I know of no companions more loyal and more virtuous than my companions, nor of any household more righteous and more close-knit than my household. May Allah reward you all the best of rewards on my behalf.

Indeed, I think tomorrow is the day of our [encounter] with these enemies. I deem appropriate that you should all freely leave [me]. I have exempted you of your obligations towards me. Here is the night which has drawn its veil on you, so take it as a mount [and leave].¹ Let each one of you hold the hand of one of my family members and get

¹ *Al- \pm abar $\&$* (5:418): “ \circ irith bin \circ a $\&$ rah has narrated to me from ‘Abdullah bin Shar $\&$ k al- \circ mir $\&$, who narrated from ‘Al $\&$ bin al- \circ usain (‘a) that...” See also *Maq $\&$ til al- \pm libiyy $\&$ n* (pg.74) and *al-Irsh $\&$ d* (pg.231) from Imam ‘Al $\&$ bin al- \circ usain (‘a).

scattered to your [respective] residences and cities so that may Allah deliver [you]; for these people are after me only, and if they get hold of me they will not be concerned about the rest.”

[The Stand of the Hashimites]

‘Abb $\&$ s bin ‘Al $\&$ (‘a) was the first to talk. He said to him: “Why should we do [that]? Just in order to remain alive after you?! May Allah never show us that [day]!”

Then his brothers and the sons [of al- \circ usain (‘a)] and the sons of his brother [al- \circ asan (‘a)], and the two sons of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far [Muhammad and ‘Abdullah], all spoke in similar vein.

Al- \circ usain (‘a) then said: “O sons of ‘Aq $\&$ l, the martyrdom of Muslim is a sacrifice sufficient on your part. Go as I permit you [to leave].”

They answered: “What will the people say! They will say that we deserted our master, our leader and the sons of our uncles, who was the best of the uncles; that we did not [even] shoot an arrow alongside them, nor did we stab with the spears and strike with the swords with them, nor did we know what they did. Nay, by Allah! We will never do [such a thing]. Rather we will ransom you with our lives, our wealth and our children. We will fight by your side until we enter the place you shall enter! May Allah make life abominable [for us] after your [death]!”¹

¹ See *Maq $\&$ til al- \pm libiyy $\&$ n* (pg.74), *al-Irsh $\&$ d* (pg.231) and *Tadhkirat al-Khaw $\&$ j $\&$* (pg.249).

² *Al-Irshād* (pg.232) names him as Juwain, while *Maqātil al-ḥilībiyya* (pg.75) refers to him as Jaun, and so has *al-Manjīb* of Ibn Shahrshūb (2:218), *al-Tadhkirah* of Ibn al-Jawzī (2:19) and *al-Maqtal* of al-Khwārazmī (1:237). *Al-ṭabarī* does not mention anything about him, neither before this nor after this. Nor does he say anything about his martyrdom alongside the Imam (‘a).

And every living creature will have to journey along my path.

He repeated it twice or three times. I understood it and realized what he meant. Tears choked me and I pushed them back and kept silent, as I knew that tribulation had come upon us. As for my aunt, she heard what I heard, [but since] she was a woman -and tenderness and grief are part of a woman- she could not control herself. She jumped up and went near [al-°usain], while her clothes dragged on the ground and her head was uncovered. She cried out: “What a bereavement! If only death would deprive me of life! [There was] a day when my mother, F–imah, died and [then] my father, ‘Al– and [then] al-°asan, my brother. Only you have remained O the successor and the surviving of those who have gone!”¹

So al-°usain (‘a) looked at her and said: “O sister, do not let Shai–n take away your forbearance.”

[My aunt] said: “May my father and mother be your ransom, O Ab– ‘Abdillah! Are you ready to die? May my life be sacrificed for you!”

[Here my father] swallowed his grief and his eyes filled with tears and he said: “[Remember] if the sandgrouse are left [alone] at night, they will sleep [i.e. had these people left me on my own, I would not have come here].”

[At this] she lamented: “O my grief! Is your life going to be

¹ This has appeared in *al-Irsh–d* (pg.232) 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.250; Najaf edition) with the following addition: “...and she then struck her face.”

violently wrenched from you?! This is too wounding to my heart and harsher to my soul”, and then she struck her face and grabbed the upper part of her garment and [began to] tear it and fell down in a faint.

So al-°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 him]. He is unique and alone. [O my sister,] my father was better than me, my mother was better than me and my brother was better than me. They and I and every Muslim have an ideal model in the Prophet of Allah (¥).”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] tried to console her by this and the like and then said to her: “Sister! I swear to you -and I [always] keep my oaths- that you must not tear your clothes, nor scratch your face, nor cry out in grief and loss when I die.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] then brought her and made her sit with me.

He [then] went to his companions and ordered them to bring their tents closer together and to make the tent-pegs come within the area of each other’s tents. [He also asked them] to remain between the tents except the side from which the enemy could come against them.¹

¹ *Al-±abar– (5:420): “°irith bin Ka’b and Ab– al-°a–jk have related to me from ‘Al– bin al-°usain that...” See also *Maq–til al-±libiyy–n* (pg.75; Najaf edition), *al-Ya’q–b– (2:230)* and *al-Irsh–d* (pg.232; Najaf edition), all of whom narrated this report from Imam al-Saj–j–d (‘a).*

Al-°usain (‘a) then gathered stalks and firewood to a sunken place –which was similar to a canal- behind their tents. They dug it at some hour of the night and turned it into something like a ditch. Then they filled it with those firewood and reed and said: “When they attack and fight us, we will set it on fire, so that we are not attacked from the rear and we would fight them from one side.”¹

[Al-°usain (‘a) and His Companions on the Night of ‘sh&fr;’]

When the night entered al-°usain (‘a) and his companions spent the whole night in performing prayers, seeking forgiveness and making supplications.

[@a||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq al-Hamd;n, the one among the companions of al-°usain (‘a) who was saved from being killed reports:]

“A group of their horsemen passed us keeping watch over us, while al-°usain [‘a] was reciting: ‘Let the faithless not suppose that the respite that We grant them is good for their souls; We give them respite only that they may increase in sin, and there is a humiliating punishment for them. Allah will not leave the faithful in your present state, until he has separated the bad ones from the good.’² So a man from among those horsemen –who were keeping watch over us- heard that and said: ‘By the Lord of the Ka’bah, we are pure and have been distinguished from you.’”

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:421): “[I relate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘aYim from @a||k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq who said...” See also *al-Irsh;d* (pg.233) who narrated it from @a||k bin ‘Abdullah.

² Qur’an, 3:178-179.

[@a||k says:] “I recognized the person and said to Burair bin °u&haçr [al-Hamd;n]¹: ‘Do you know who this man is?’ He said: ‘No.’ I said: ‘He is Ab& °arb al-Sabç’ç al-Hamd;n ‘Abdullah bin Shahr. He is a joker and an idle [person], [though] a noble, brave, and a killer whom Sa’çd bin Qais² had –as if- once imprisoned for a crime!’

¹ The predominant view about his father’s name is what has appeared in *al-Irsh;d* (pg.233) and other works (i.e. °u&air). The above narration is the first among the narrations of Karbal’ in which his name has appeared, without there being any mention of how he joined the Imam (‘a). *Al-±abariç*: Burair was the best reciter of the Qur’an in K&fah (5:431) and a devout man. He was the first person who stood up to fight in the beginning of the battle [on the day of ‘sh&fr;’], but the Imam (‘a) ordered him to sit down (5:429). Burair is the one who said to ‘Abd al-Ra’m;n bin ‘Abdi Rabbih al-AnY;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 nothing between us and the /&r al-‘ain [as a barrier] except that these people should strike us with their swords. And I wish that they would do so” (5:423). Burair used to say that ‘Uthm;n bin ‘Aff;n was an extravagant [personality] and that Mu’wiyah bin Abç Sufy;n was a person who went astray and misled others, and that the leader of the truth and guidance was ‘Alç bin Abç ±;lib (‘a). He challenged a man from the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d called Yazçd bin Ma’qil about the truth of the aforementioned beliefs and prayed that the one who is right among the two should kill the one who is on the wrong. He then fought him and killed him (5:431).

² *Al-±abarç*: Sa’çd bin Qais al-Hamd;n was the governor of Hamad;n and was later dismissed from the post by Sa’çd bin al-‘aY al-Ashraq, the governor of K&fah, who then appointed him over Rayy in 33 H (5:330). ‘Alç (‘a), the Commander of the Faithful, had sent Ibn Qais together with Shabath bin Rib’ç and Bashçr bin ‘Amru before the battle [of ‘iffçn] to Mu’wiyah, inviting him to obedience and to [join] the community [of the

So Burair bin  u air said to him: ‘O sinner! Has Allah made you among the pure ones?!’

He said: ‘Who are you?’

[Burair] replied: ‘I am Burair bin Hu air.’

[Ab   arb] said: ‘Verily, we belong to Allah! How painful it is for me. By Allah, You are destroyed. By Allah, you are destroyed O Burair!’

[Burair] said: ‘O Ab   arb! Is there any way for you to repent for your great sins?! For by Allah, we are the ones who are indeed the pure, while you people are, indeed, the impure ones!’

[Ab   arb mockingly] said: ‘And I bear witness to that!’

So I [i.e.  a   k] said to him: ‘Woe onto you! Did your knowledge not benefit you?!’

[Ab   arb scornfully] said: ‘May I be sacrificed for you. Who will then carouse with Yaz d bin ‘Adharah al-Anz  who is here with me?!’

[Burair] said: ‘May Allah make your opinion vile! You are

believers] (4:573). Sa’ d was fighting along side ‘Al  in  iff n (4:574). He was among the first people to carry out the instructions of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) (5:79). Am r al-Mu’min n (‘a) had dispatched him to chase Sufy n bin ‘Auf after the latter’s raid on al-Anbj r and al-Hait. So he came out in pursuit of them until he passed al-Hait but could not reach them (5:134). There is no mention of him after this report, or any trace of him in [the books of] history. [In any case,] his imprisonment of Ab   arb al-Sab ’  was, perhaps, during his governorship over Hamad n or Rayy during the time of ‘Uthm n.

in any way a fool!’ [Hearing this,] he went away.”¹

¹ *Al- abar * (5:421): “Ab  Mikhnaf says: ‘[I relate] from  a   k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushri  on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘ay im ...’”

THE DAY OF ‘*ʿSH-R*’

On the day of ‘*ʿshṭrj*’ –which fell on Saturday- ‘Umar bin Sa’d offered the morning prayers and then came out with his men.¹

‘Abdullah bin Zuhair al-Azd² was at the time leading the quarter of the people of Madṭnah. The quarter of Madhlj and Asad was led by ‘Abd al-Raṭmīn bin Abṭ Sabrah al-Ju’f³, while Qais bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais [al-Kindṭ] was in charge of the group of Rabṭ’ah and Kindah. ‘Urr bin Yazṭd al-Riyīṭ [al-Tamṭmṭ al-Yarbṭ’ṭ] was leading the quarter of Tamṭm and Hamṭn.

‘Umar bin Sa’d put ‘Amru bin al-‘ajjj al-Zubaidiyy on his right wing and Shamir bin Dhṭ al-Jaushan al-ṭabbjṭ al-Kiljṭ on his left wing. ‘Azarah bin Qais al-Aṭmasṭ was given the command of the cavalry and Shabath bin Rib’ṭ al-Riyīṭ [al-Tamṭmṭ] of the foot soldiers. He gave the

¹ *Al-ṭabarṭ* (5:421-422): “Abṭ Mikhnaf reports: ‘[I narrate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Ṭim from ṭaḥḥk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriṭ...’”

² *Al-ṭabarṭ*: He was on the right wing of ‘Adiyy bin Wattjṭ –the leader of the pilgrims from Rayy- during his battle with Muṣṭarraf bin al-Mughṭrah bin Shu’bah in Iṭfahjṭ (6:296). The last thing we read about him in *al-ṭabarṭ* is that he was among the guards of al-Saghd in 102 H and sustained many injuries therein, such that he became like a porcupine as a result of the arrows that struck his body (6:613). There is no mention of him before Karbalj’ [in the books of history].

³ *Al-ṭabarṭ*: He is the one whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against ‘ujr bin ‘Adiyy in the year 51 H (5:270). He was leading the foot soldiers from the Madhlj and Asad. Shamir had incited him to slaughter (*dhib*’) al-‘usain (‘a) but he refused and cursed him (5:450).

standard to Dhuwaid, his retainer.¹

When the cavalry approached al-‘usain [‘a] in the morning, he raised his hands and said: “O Allah, it is You in whom I trust amid all grief. You are my hope amid all difficulties. You are my trust and provision in everything that happens to me. How many a calamity in which the heart may seem to weaken and trickery may seem to diminish and the friend may seem to desert [me] and the enemy may seem to rejoice, [but] I brought [it] before You and complained to You of it; that was because of my turning away from [all] other than You; and You averted it and warded it off. You are the Master of all blessings, the Possessor of all goodness and the Ultimate Resort of all desire.”²

[ṭaḥḥk bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriṭ, the one among the companions of al-‘usain (‘a) who survived on the day of ‘*ʿshṭrj*’] reports:

“When they approached us and saw the fire burning the firewood and cane -which we had set on fire behind our tents to prevent them from attacking us from the rear- one of them came towards us galloping [his horse] while he was fully armed. He did not speak to us but just passed by our tents and had a look at them, but he saw nothing except the

¹ *Al-ṭabarṭ* (5:422): “Fuṭail bin Fadṭj al-Kindṭ has narrated to me on the authority of Muṭammad bin Bishr from ‘Amru al-‘aṭramṭ that...”

² *Al-ṭabarṭ* (5:423): “[I relate this] on the authority of some of the companions [of Abṭ Mikhnaf] who reported from Abṭ Khḥlid al-Kḥhilṭ...” See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.233) who narrated it from ‘Alṭ bin al-‘usain [‘a]. Since Abṭ Khḥlid is among the companions of Imam al-Sajjṭd (‘a), he must be relating the report from him, though *al-ṭabarṭ* does not explicitly mention this.

firewood that was ablaze. So he returned and called out at the top of his voice: ‘O °usain! Are you hurrying to the fire before the Day of Resurrection?’

Al-°usain (‘a) said: ‘Who is that? [It sounds] like Shamir bin Dh& al-Jaushan?’

His companions said: ‘Yes, may Allah guide you. It is him.’

[Al-°usain] then said: ‘Son of a goat-herdess! You deserve most to be burnt therein!’

So Muslim bin ‘Awsajah said to him: ‘O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is within my range and I never miss the target. This vicious man is one of the great tyrants.’

[But] al-°usain [‘a] said to him: ‘Do not shoot at him, for I dislike to begin [fighting] against them.’¹

[The First Speech of the Imam (‘a)]

When the enemy had neared him, he [called] for his mount and mounted it. He then called out at the top of his voice which was heard by most of the people [and said]:

“O people! Listen to my words and do not hurry [to attack me] so that I may remind you of the duties you have towards me, so that I may free myself from any blame for coming to you. If you accept my excuse, believe in what I say and give me justice, you will become happier through that and you will have no reason to fight against me. [But] if

¹ *Al-±abar& (5:423): “‘Abdullah bin ‘a°im has related to me saying: ‘@a°jk al-Mushriq& narrated to me...” See al-Irshjd (pg.234).*

you do not accept my excuse and do not give me justice of your own accord, ‘So conspire together, along with your partners, leaving nothing vague in your plan, then carry it out against me without giving me any respite.’¹ ‘My guardian is indeed Allah who sent down the Book, and He takes care of the righteous.’”²

When his sisters heard what he said, they screamed and lamented. His daughters also [began] weeping and their voices rose. So [al-°usain (‘a)] sent to them his brother, ‘Abbjs bin ‘Al&, and his son, ‘Al&, and told them: “Make them silent. For by my life, they are going to weep even more.”

When the women became quite, he praised Allah and extolled Him and mentioned what He is entitled to. He called for blessings on Mu’ammad (¥) and on the angels and the prophets.

[Here the reporter says:] “By Allah, I have never heard a speaker before or after him more eloquent in his speech than he was.”

He then said: “Trace back my lineage and consider who I am?! Then look back at yourselves and remonstrate with yourselves. Then consider whether it is right for you to kill me and to violate my sanctity. Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet, and the son of his successor and cousin, the first of the believers in Allah and the one who believed [first] in what the Messenger brought from his Lord? Was not °amzah, the lord of the martyrs, the uncle of my father?! Was not Ja’far, the martyr, the one who flies [in

¹ Qur’an, 10:71.

² Qur’an, 7:196.

Heaven] and the one with two wings, my uncle?! Have you not heard the words common amidst you that the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said to me and my brother: ‘These [two] are the lords of the youths of Paradise?’

If you believe in what I am saying, [then know that] it is the truth, for, by Allah, I never thought of lying since I learnt that Allah hated the liars and that he punishes the one who lies. [But] if you regard it as a lie, then there are among you those who, if you asked them about it, would inform you [that the Prophet (ﷺ) had said so]. Ask Jḥbir bin ‘Abdillah al-Anḥḥr¹, or Abḥ Sa’ḥd al-Khuḥr², or Sahl bin Sa’d al-Si’id³, or Zayd bin Arqam¹,

¹ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: Jḥbir bin ‘Abdullah al-Anḥḥr refused to pay allegiance to Mu’ḥwiyah at the hands of Busr bin Arḥḥt in the year 40 H, that was before the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alḥ (‘a). Jḥbir maintained that this was an allegiance to falsehood. But he came under pressure from Busr and had to give allegiance out of fear for his life (5:139). In the year 50 H, when Mu’ḥwiyah went on pilgrimage and was intending to move the pulpit and the staff of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) to Shḥm, Jḥbir stopped him and he desisted [from doing that] (5:239). In the year 74 H when ‘ajḥḥ entered Madḥnah on the orders of ‘Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Jḥbir bin ‘Abdillah al-Anḥḥr (6:195).

² *Al-ḥabarḥ*: When the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) was examining his companions for the battle of Uḥd, he rejected Abḥ Sa’ḥd because of being too young (2:505). Abḥ Sa’ḥd used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) on the merits of ‘Alḥ (‘a) (3:149). However, he was one of those who refused to pay allegiance to ‘Alḥ (‘a) after the murder of ‘Uthmḥn and was among his partisans (‘uthmḥnḥ) (4:430).

³ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: He used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) on the merits of ‘Alḥ (‘a) (3:409). He also reported that

or Anas bin Mḥlik² 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.”³

² *ishah* had ordered ‘Uthmḥn bin ‘unaif to be killed and later to be imprisoned (4:468). He has also narrated reports about ‘Alḥ (‘a) (4:547). In the year 74 H when ‘ajḥḥ entered Madḥnah 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. ‘ajḥḥ had accused him of betraying ‘Uthmḥn (6:195).

¹ *Al-ḥabarḥ*: He used to narrate the merits of ‘Alḥ (‘a) (2:310). Zayd is the one who informed the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) of the words of ‘Abdullah bin Ubayy bin Salḥl, the hypocrite (2:605). He was [also] the one who objected to Ibn Ziyḥd and stopped him from hitting the lips of Abḥ ‘Abdillah (‘a) (5:456). Zayd passed away in the year 68 H, as reported in *A’lḥm al-Warḥ* (4:188).

² *Al-ḥabarḥ*: It was by the assistance of Anas bin Mḥlik that ‘Umar [bin al-Khaḥḥḥb] could appoint Abḥ Mḥsḥ al-Ash’arḥ over Baḥrah in 17 H (4:71). He participated in the conquest of Tustar (4:86). He was among those who aroused people in Baḥrah to help ‘Uthmḥn in the year 35 H (4:352). He was [also] among those in Baḥrah from whom Ziyḥd bin Abḥḥ had asked for help in 45 H (5:224). Anas was in Baḥrah on the day of ‘shḥrj’. After Ibn Ziyḥd was killed in 64 H, Ibn al-Zubair appointed him as the governor of Baḥrah. He led the people in prayers for 40 days (5:528). When ‘ajḥḥ took over Madḥnah in 64 H for ‘Abd al-Malik and was treating contemptuously the companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) and branding them by their necks, he [also] branded Anas with the intention of humiliating him on account of his acceptance of the governorship for Ibn al-Zubair (6:195).

³ See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawḥḥḥ* (pg.252; Najaf edition).

So °ab&gb bin Mu‘‘hir said to him: “By Allah, I think you are worshipping Allah on seventy edges. I testify that you are right, you do not understand what he is saying; for indeed Allah has sealed your heart [from the truth].”

Al-°usain [‘a] then told them: “If you are in any doubt about this, then are you going to doubt what I am going to say after 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,

¹ Ibn al-Jawz& writes in *al-Tadkhirah* (pg.251): “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.’”

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 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 (*iqrjr*) of the slaves!¹ O servants of Allah! ‘I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord, lest you should stone me.’² ‘Indeed I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord from every arrogant one who does not believe in the Day of

¹ Both al-Muf&d in *al-Irshjd* (pg.235) and after him Ibn Nam& in *Muth&r al-A/zjn* (pg.26) have recorded this statement of the Imam (‘a) in the following manner: “And I will not flee like a slave.” Al-Muqarram has preferred [in *al-Maqtal*] this version [to the one which appears in this text]. However, the more suitable statement [among these two] as an answer to Ibn Ash’ath’s question is [that which contains the concept of] ‘submission’ (*iqrjr*), and not ‘fleeing’ (*firjr*); 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.

² Qur’an, 44:20.

Reckoning.’”¹

Then, [he returned to (his tent)] and made his mount kneel and ordered ‘Uqbah bin Sim’jn to tie it up and he did so.²

[The Speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain]

Zuhair bin al-Qain then went out on his thick-tailed (*dhan&b*) horse [while he was] fully armed. He said to them:

“O People of K&fah! Beware of the punishment of Allah, beware! Indeed a Muslim is obliged to admonish his fellow Muslim brother. So long as the sword does not separate us, we are [all] brothers, following the same religion, members of the same nation and [in that case] you are worthy of our advice. But when the sword comes [inbetween us], the bond [of brotherhood] will get severed. We will become a community and you will become a [different] community.

Allah has put you and us into test through the children of his Prophet, Mu’ammad (¥), so that He may see what we and you are going to do in their right. We are inviting you to support them and to abandon the tyrant, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziy&d; for, indeed, you have only seen evil throughout their rule. They gouged your eyes, severed your hands and legs, mutilated your bodies and crucified you on date palms. They killed the exemplary personalities among you and the reciters of the Qur’an like °ujr bin ‘Adiyy³ and his

¹ Qur’an, 40:27.

² *Al-±abar&* (5:423-426): “Abu Mikhnaf says: “‘Abdullah bin ‘a¥im has narrated to me that @a&jk al-Mushriq& said...”

³ *Al-±abar&*: °ujr was in the reinforcement troops sent from Yemen to the battle of al-Q&disiyyah in 16 H (4:27). He was among the first people from K&fah to answer to the call of ‘Al& (‘a) for the battle of Jamal (5:485). He was one of those who had

companions, H&ni’ bin ‘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&simah, may Allah’s pleasure be with her, are more entitled to [your] love and help than the son of Sumayyah.¹ If you are

risen against ‘Uthmjn (4:488). °ujr was the head of the Madh&i& and the Ash’ariyy&n, who were from Yemen residing in K&fah (4:500). He was with ‘Al& (‘a) at °iff&n and participated in the battle (4:574). He was among the witnesses to the agreed document for [choosing] the two arbitrators at °iff&n (5:54). He was on the command of the right wing of ‘Al& (‘a) in the battle of Nahraw&n against the Khaw&rij (5:85). In the year 39 H, ‘Al& (‘a) dispatched him with 4000 men from K&fah to encounter the raid of @a&jk bin Qais who had come with 3000 soldiers. °ujr met @a&jk at Tadmur in the Syrian border. He had killed twenty men from @a&jk’s army when the night set in and @a&jk fled, so °ujr returned (5:135). When Mu’jwiyah came to K&fah in the Year of Unity, he appointed Mugh&rah bin Shu’bah over the city. Mugh&rah used to abuse ‘Al& (‘a) and °ujr used to strongly refute him. This continued until Mugh&ra died. When Ziy&d bin Ab&h was appointed by Mu’jwiyah 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’jwiyah who killed him (5:270).

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&ffah, he arrested ‘&ujr and gathered witnesses against him. When Ziy&d saw the name of Shadd&d bin Baz&’ah among the witnesses, he said: “Has he not a father to be attributed to him! Take him off from the witnesses.” So it was said to him: “He is the brother of al-‘&u&ain, son of Ibn al-Mundhir.” Ziy&d said: “Then attribute him to his father.” So his name was recorded together with that of his father. When Shadd&d heard about this incident he retorted: “Woe onto the son of the adulteress! Is not his mother much known than his father is?! By Allah, [Ziy&d] has not been attributed but to his mother, Sumayyah!” (5:270).

Yaz&d bin Mufarragh al-‘&imyar& was with ‘Abb&d bin Ziy&d, the brother of ‘Ubaidullah, during the wars on Sajist&n. They happened to be under constraint when Ibn Mufarragh swore at ‘Abb&d by reciting the following verses:

When Mu’&wiyah bin ‘&arb perishes, know that the base of your bowl has broken.

Be witness that your mother did not sleep with Ab& Sufy&n as a chaste woman.

It was a dubious affair surrounded by great apprehension and dismay.

He also said:

Has not the parcel from the man from Yemen reached Mu’&wiyah bin ‘&arb,

Do you get angry when it is said that your father is chaste, but are pleased when it is said that your father is a fornicator?

Know that your kinship with Ziy&d is like the relationship of an elephant with the young of a she donkey.

A man from descendants of Ziy&d called al-‘&ughd& bin Salam bin ‘&arb came to see Mahd&, the Abbasid caliph, while he was looking into public complaints. So he asked him: “Who are you?”

The man replied: “Your cousin.” “Which cousin of mine are you?” asked Mahd&. So the man traced back his lineage to Ziy&d! So Mahd& said to him: “Son of Sumayyah, the adulteress! When did you become my cousin?” He then ordered him to be beaten

and taken out.

Mahd& then turned towards those who were present and said: “Who has knowledge about the family of Ziy&d?” But no one of them knew anything. Later, one of those who were present in the court of Mahd& called ‘s& bin M&f&s&, or M&f&s& bin ‘s&, happened to meet Ab& ‘Al& Sulaim&n and requested him to write for him all he has been saying about Ziy&d and his family, so that he could take it to Mahd&. So Ab& ‘Al& wrote and sent it to the caliph through ‘s& bin M&f&s&.

H&rf&n al-Rash&d was at that time the governor of Ba&rah for Mahd&. So Mahd& wrote a letter to H&rf&n al-Rash&d instructing him to remove the names of the members of the family of Ziy&d from the account books of the treasury (*d&w&n*) of the Quraish and the Arabs. Some of what he wrote to him is as follows:

“The decision of Mu’&wiyah bin Ab& Sufy&n in claiming Ziy&d - son of ‘Ubaid who was a slave of the family of ‘Al&, 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 (*f&r&sh*) [i.e. the husband of the woman who committed adultery], and the adulterer (*’&hir*) gets the stone [i.e. the man who committed adultery with the married woman gets nothing].’ He also said: ‘Whoever is named behind other than his father, or traces back his origin to other than those who are related to him, then the curse of Allah, [His] angels and of the mankind is upon him.

Allah will not accept from him repentance or [any] ransom.’

By my life, Ziy&d was neither born in the lap of Ab& Sufy&n [i.e. under his guardianship], nor in his bed [i.e. as a result of his sleeping with Sumayyah]. Nor ‘Ubaid was his slave, nor was Sumayyah his maid. Neither of the two were part of his possession, nor did they become part his property through any means. Therefore, by claiming Ziy&d as the son of Ab& Sufy&n, Mu’&wiyah went against the ruling of Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and against the orders of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). He followed in that his own desire [because he] disliked the truth and wanted to move away from it. Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘And who is more astray than him who follows his desires without any guidance from Allah? Indeed Allah does not guide the wrongdoing lot’ [Qur’an, 28:50]. And Allah tells [Prophet] 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, 38:26]. In a similar incident known to the people who preserve the narrations, when Mu’&wiyah was speaking to the associates of the Ban& Mugh&rah from the Makhz&m, who intended to claim Na&r bin °aj&j al-Salam& as one of their family members, he threw at them a stone which he had prepared for that beneath his bed – following the words of the Holy Prophet: ‘...And the adulterer deserves the stone’. So the Ban& Mugh&rah retorted: ‘Should we let you do what you did in the case of Ziy&d, but you are not ready to accept what we have done in the case of our companion [i.e. Na&r]? So Mu’&wiyah replied: ‘The ruling of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) is better for you than the judgement of Mu’&wiyah!’ (8:131).

It is known from here that though Zuhair bin al-Qain was a follower of ‘Uthm&n before he was guided aright and he answered the call of the Imam (‘a), he was angry on Mu’&wiyah [right from those days]; because of his claiming Ziy&d as his family member and killing °ujr bin ‘Adiyy. This shows that, in reality, Zuhair was prepared from within to leave the side of ‘Uthm&n and to show his resentment for Mu’&wiyah, his son Yaz&d, and their governors, as he was equally ready to answer the call of the Imam (‘a) for rising against them.

not willing to help them, then I seek refuge for you with Allah that you should kill them. Leave this man [alone] with his cousin, Yaz&d bin Mu’&wiyah. For by my life, Yaz&d will consider you obedient even if you do not kill al-°usain (‘a).”

[Here] Shamir bin Dh& al-Jaushan shot an arrow at him and said: “Quite! May Allah silence your voice. You have wearied us by your prattle!”

So Zuhair said to him: “O Son of the one who used to urinate on the heels of his feet. I am not speaking to you; you are, indeed, an animal! By Allah, I do not think that you can read properly even two verses from the Book of Allah! Humiliation and a painful punishment is awaiting you on the Day of Resurrection!”

Shamir said to him: “Allah is soon going to kill you and your master!”

[Zuhair] said: “Do you threaten me with death? By Allah, it is dearer for me to die with him than to live with you [people] forever!” He then turned to the people raising his voice and said:

“Servants of Allah! This rude and rough man and his likes should not deceive you with regard to your religion; for by Allah the intercession of Mu’ammad (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: “Ab& ‘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 °urr al-Riy&ç]

When ‘Umar bin Sa’d began to march [against al-°usain], °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.³ [°urr] said:

¹ The Imam (‘a) likens him to the believer from the people of Fir’aun because Zuhair was previously a partisan of ‘Uthm&n. So it is as if he was from among the Ban& Umayyah [who later changed his stance and joined the camp of truth].

² *Al-±abar&* (5:426): “‘Al& bin ‘an’alah bin As’ad al-Sh&m& has narrated to me from a man from his tribe called Kath&r bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’b& -who witnessed the martyrdom of al-°usain- that: ‘When we advanced against al-°usain, Zuhair bin al-Qain came out to us...’” This speech has also been related by al-Ya’q&b& (2:230; Najaf edition).

³ We have given his biography under the reports which discuss the arrival of the Imam (‘a) at Karbal&. °ab&b bin Mu’&hir had

“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 Aws¹ 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

invited him to help the Imam (‘a) and he promised him to think about this, but he did not come back. It seems that he is relating this report and claiming it.

¹ He, together with al-Sha’b&, were the killers of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

whipped his horse and joined al-°usain [‘a].

[When he saw al-°usain (‘a)] he said to him: “May I be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! I was your companion who stopped you from returning. I accompanied you along the road and made you stop in this place. By Allah beside whom there is no diety, I did not think that the people would refuse to respond to what you have offered them and that they would ever come to this position [which they have now come to] with regard to you. Thus I said to myself: I am not concerned if I obey the people in some of the matters, so that they may not think that I no longer obey them. [I told myself] that these people will accept the offer al-°usain has made to them. By Allah, if I had known that they would not accept that from you, I would not have done what I did with you. [But now] I have come to you repenting to my Lord for what I have committed and [I now intend] to support you until I die before you. Are you going to accept this as repentance?”

The [Imam (‘a)] said: “Yes, Allah will accept your repentance and forgive you. What is your name?”

He replied: “I am °urr bin Yaz&d.”¹

[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.”

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.

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 going to the broad land of Allah so that he and his family might be safe. He has become like a captive in your hands; he has no longer the power over his profit or loss. You have prevented him, his womenfolk, his children, and his companions from [drinking] the water of the Euphrates which Jews, Christians and Majians may drink, and in which the pigs and the dogs of Saw&d wallow. Here are the [family of al-°usain] who have been overcome by thirst. How wickedly you have treated the offspring left by Mu’ammad after him! May Allah not give you water to drink on the Day of Thirst if you do not repent and desist from this stand of your’s on this day and at

this moment.”¹

Some of the foot-soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him. So he went and stood in front of al-ʿusain (‘a’).²

One of the people who had advanced [from Kḥfah] with ‘Umar bin Sa’d against al-ʿusain was Yazʿd bin Ziyāḍ bin Muḥjir. When they rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-ʿusain (‘a’), Yazʿd got inclined to [al-ʿusain (‘a’) and joined him].³ [Therefore, he was among those who were guided on the day of ‘shḥrj’ by the speech of ʿurr al-Riyāḍ].

THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE

‘Umar bin Sa’d advanced towards [the camp of al-ʿusain (‘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 Ziyāḍ bin Abʿ Sufyān, and Sālim, the retainer of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyāḍ, came forward and said: “Who is ready to combat us? Let some of you come forward.”

So ʿabʿb bin Muḥjir and Burair bin ʿuḥair jumped up [to go to meet them], but al-ʿusain (‘a’) said to them: “Sit down.”

Then ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umair al-Kalbʿ³ stood and said: “O

¹ Al-Mufʿd refers to him in *al-Irshīd* (pg.233&236; Najaf edition) as ‘Duraid’.

² *Al-ṭabarʿ* (5:429): “[Abʿ Mikhnaḥ says: ‘I narrate on the authority of ʿaqʿab bin Zuhair and Sulaymān bin Abʿ Rīshid, from ʿumaid bin Muslim...’ See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.236).

³ *Al-ṭabarʿ*: He had come to Kḥfah and took up residence near Biʿr al-Juʿd where people of the tribe of Hamḍān used to live. He saw the people being examined at al-Nukhailah in order to be sent against al-ʿusain (‘a’). So he inquired about them and was told: ‘They are going to be sent against ʿusain bin Fīḥimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ).’ Al-Kalbʿ said: ‘By Allah, I was [very] eager to participate in the *jihād* against the idolaters. I hope that the *jihād* against these people, who are going to fight the son of the daughter of their Prophet, is not lesser in

¹ See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.235) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawḍij* (pg.252).

² *Al-ṭabarʿ* (5:427): “[Abʿ Mikhnaḥ says: ‘I relate on the authority of Abʿ Janīb al-Kalbʿ from ‘Adiyy bin ʿarmalah who said...’ See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.235).

³ *Al-ṭabarʿ* (5:445): “Fuḥail bin Khudaij al-Kindʿ has narrated to me that Yazʿd bin Ziyāḍ, who is Abʿ al-Shaʿshīʿ al-Kindʿ, from the Banʿ Bahdalah...”

Abi ‘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!”

Yasjr, [the retainer of Ziyjd], was ready for combat before Sjim [the retainer of °Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd]. So al-Kalbç said to [Yasjr]: “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 [Yasjr] with his sword, Sjim [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 [Sjim] 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.

reward before Allah than the reward he would have given me for fighting the *mushrikèn!*” (5:429)

He had a wife called Umm Wahab. He went to his wife and informed her of what he heard and of what he intended to do. She said: ‘You are right. May Allah guide you to the most correct of your affairs. Do so and take me with you!’ So he left [Kffah] at night together with her until he joined al-°usain [‘a] and stayed with him.

Then he turned on [Sjim] 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 Ban£ °Ulaim.

I am a man of bitterness and anger, I am not a weakling in the face of disaster.

I guarantee you O Umm Wahab, I will stab and strike them and make my way ahead.

The blow of a young man who believes in the Lord.

Umm Wahab, his wife [who was witnessing the combat of al-Kalbç], 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-Kalbç 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.¹

[A Miracle and Guidance]

A man from the Banī Tamām called ‘Abdullah bin °awzah [came forward and] stopped in front of al-°usain (‘a) and said: “°usain! °usain!”

Al-°usain [‘a] said: “What do you want?”

He said: “Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: “Never! I am advancing to a merciful Lord and an intercessor who is listened to [i.e. the Prophet]. Who is that?”

His companions said to him: “This is Ibn °awzah.”

[Al-°usain (‘a)] said: “O Lord, drive him into the fire!”

With that his horse upset him in a creek and he fell in it, [such that] his leg was stuck in the stirrups and he fell to the ground headfirst. The horse galloped off [dragging] him [along] while his head struck every stone and tree until he died!²

Masrīq bin Wjīl says: “I was at the front of the cavalry that

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:429): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Abī Janīb has related to me [saying]...” See also *al-Irshād* (pg.236; Najaf edition).

² *Al-ṭabarī* (5:430): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Abī Ja’far °usain narrated to me saying...”

was advancing towards [the camp of] al-°usain [‘a]. I said to myself: let me be at the front. The head of al-°usain might fall in my hands and by that I will gain status before ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. When we reached al-°usain [‘a], a man from the [army of Ibn Sa’d] called Ibn °awzah came forward and said: “Is al-°usain amidst you?”

Al-°usain (‘a) kept silent. He said that for a second time, but 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 Wjīl al-°aḥḥamī narrates: “Masrīq 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

[The Malediction of Burair and His Martyrdom]

Yazʿd bin Maʿqil came forward from the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d and said: “Burair bin ʿuṣair! 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 ‘Affīn was indeed extravagant, and that Muʿjīyah bin Abʿ Sufyīn was a person who went astray (ṣḥīll) and misled others (muṣīll), and that the leader of the truth and guidance was ‘Alī bin Abʿ ṭlib?!”

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 ʿuṣair said to him: “Are you ready for invoking a curse [upon 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

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:421): “[I narrate] on the authority of ‘Aṣḥ bin Ṣḥib from ‘Abd al-Jabbār bin Wajil al-ʿaṣramī, who was relating from his brother, Masrūq bin Wajil, that...”

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 ʿuṣair with a light blow of no avail. Burair gave him [in 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.”

Raṣīyy bin Munqidh al-‘Abdī [from the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d] attacked on [Burair] and grappled with him. They fought one another for sometime before Burair sat on his chest. Raṣīyy called out: “Where are the fighters and the defenders?!”

[At this] Kaʿb bin Jabbār al-Azdī attacked Burair with a spear and stabbed him in [his] back. When [Burair] felt the penetration of the spear, he knelt on [the body of Raṣīyy bin Munqidh al-‘Abdī] and bit off his nose and severed part of it. Kaʿb bin Jabbār [again] stabbed him and took him off [al-‘Abdī]. 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]^{1,2}

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:431): “Yūsuf bin Yazʿd has narrated to me from ‘Aḥḥ bin Zuhair bin Abʿ al-Akhnas -who had witnessed the martyrdom of al-ʿusayn (‘a)...” The remaining part of the report follows in footnote no. 2.

² When Kaʿb bin Jabbār al-Azdī returned [home after the event of Karbalā’], his wife or his sister, called Nawwār bint Jabbār, said to

Thereafter, ‘Amru bin Qara’ah al-Anṣūrī came forward fighting in defense of al-ʿusain [‘a]. He was saying:

The group of Anṣūrī certainly knows, that I am going to defend [its] honour.

[With] the blow of a young man who does not turn away from the enemy; [I will sacrifice] my life and my household for al-ʿusain.¹

He was then killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

His brother, ‘Alḍ [bin Qara’ah] was with ‘Umar bin Sa’d. He called out: “O ʿusain! O liar son of the liar! You misled my brother, deceived him and then killed him.”

[Al-ʿusain (‘a)] replied: “Indeed Allah did not mislead your brother. Rather, he guided your brother and misled you!”

[Ibn Qara’ah] said: “May Allah kill me if I do not kill you or die in the way of destroying you.” [With that] he launched an attack on [the Imam (‘a)].

Najfi’ bin Hilāl al-Murjūd obstructed him and stabbed him, throwing him [to the ground]. [Ibn Qara’ah’s] companions attacked [Najfi’] and rescued him.²

[The situation was such that] the people were moving here and there and fighting each other. ʿurr bin Yazd [al-Riyāḍi]

him: “You assisted [the people] against the son of Fīṣmah and killed the chief of the reciters [of the Qur’an]?! You have indeed committed a heinous deed! By Allah, I will never speak a word to you!”

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:433): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab narrated to me that...”

² *Al-ṭabarī* (5:434): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘I narrate from Thabit bin Hubairah...”

was one of them. He attacked the [army of Ibn Sa’d] saying: “With my charger’s neck and breast thrust forward I will launch myself at them again and again until [I am] clothed in blood.”¹ His horse was struck at its ears and forehead and it was bleeding.

Yazd bin Sufyān [al-Tamīmī was saying]: “By Allah, if I happen to see ʿurr bin Yazd coming out, I will throw a spear at him!” ʿuḥayn bin Tamīm² said to him: “Here is ʿurr bin Yazd the one you wished [to see]!” He said: “Yes.” He then went towards him and said: “O ʿurr bin Yazd, are you ready for a single combat?” ʿurr said: “Yes, I want it.” ʿurr then went out to meet him. It was as though [Yazd’s] soul was in the hands [of ʿurr]. It did not take long before ʿurr went out to him and killed him.³

Najfi’ bin Hilāl al-Murjūd al-Jamālī was [also] fighting [the enemy] saying: “I am the Jamālī. I follow the religion of ‘Alḍ.”

A man called Muzīlim bin ʿuraith came forward against him and said: “I believe in the religion of ‘Uthmān!”

Najfi’ said to him: “You are on the religion of Shaiṣīn.” [Saying this,] he attacked him and killed him.

[So] ‘Amru bin al-ʿajjāj [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

¹ These are the words of ‘Antarah.

² He was the head of the bodyguards of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyād. He had sent him with ‘Umar bin Sa’d against al-ʿusain (‘a) and put him in command of the armoured soldiers.

³ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:434): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Abī Zuhair Naḥr bin ḥilāl al-‘Abasī related to me that...”

not let any of you go forward to fight them in single combat. They are only few and they are hardly going to remain [in this state]. By Allah, if you only threw stones at them, you would kill them.”

‘Umar bin Sa’d said: “True, you have come to the right conclusion.” He then sent [the message] to his army that: “None of you should fight any of them in single combat.”¹

[The Second Attack]

‘Amru bin al-°ajjj 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. Yazd]!”

Al-°usain (‘a) said to him: “‘Amru bin al-°ajjj! 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-°ajjj 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].

¹ *Al-±abar* (5:435): “[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports:] ‘Ya’y bin H_jni’ bin ‘Umar al-Murjd has related to me that...”

[The Martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Awsajah¹]

‘Abd al-Ra’mjn al-Bajal and Muslim bin ‘Abdillah al-°abbjb [were the ones from the companions of ‘Amru bin al-°ajjj who killed Ibn ‘Awsajah]. The companions of ‘Amru shouted: “We have killed Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asad! [Hearing this,] ‘Amru bin al-°ajjj and his companions withdrew, leaving a cloud of dust. [When the dust settled] al-°usain’s companions found Muslim stretched

¹ This report says: “Then Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asad fell to the ground, being the first among al-°usain’s companions to be martyred,” whereas Burair and Ibn Qara’ah were martyred before this. Taking into consideration that the single combat were stopped [at a stage by the command of Ibn Sa’d] and instead the general attacks began, Ibn ‘Awsajah was, accordingly, the first to be killed in the first attacks [after the single combat ceased]. *Al-±abar*: [Ibn ‘Awsajah] was receiving allegiance from the people for al-°usain (‘a). It was through him that Ma’qil [the spy of Ibn Ziyd] could see Muslim bin ‘Aqel (5:362). Muslim bin ‘Aqel had made him in charge of the Madhlj and Asad [during his attempted rise in Kffah] (5:369).

He is the one who stood up after the address of the Imam (‘a) on the night of ‘sh£rj and said: “If we leave you alone, what excuse would we give to Allah for not fulfilling your rights [on us]? By Allah! [I will fight] till I break my spear in their chests. I will strike them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. I will not part with you. If I remain without any weapon to fight them, I will throw stones at them in your defence until I die along with you!” (5:419). He was the one who asked for permission from al-°usain (‘a) to shoot at Shamir and said: “O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is among the great tyrants.” Al-°usain (‘a) replied: “Do not shoot at him, for I indeed dislike beginning [the fight]” (5:424). It is not known how Ibn ‘Awsajah joined al-°usain (‘a) from Kffah, as history has mentioned nothing about this.

out dying.

Al-°usain [‘a] walked towards him and he was on the point of death. He said: “May your Lord have mercy on you, O Muslim bin ‘Awsajah. ‘Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait, and they have not changed in the least.’”¹

°abçb bin Mu`jhir went closer to him and said: “O Muslim, your death is hard for me to bear. Receive the good news of Heaven.”

“May Allah bring you good news too”, replied Muslim in a weak voice.

°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!”²

¹ Qur’an, 33:23.

² *Al-±abarç* (5:436): At this the companions of ‘Amru bin al-°ajjij 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

[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-°aæramç and Bukair bin °ayy al-Tamçmç attacked [‘Abdullah bin ‘Umail] al-Kalbç and killed him. [May Allah bless him].¹

[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 horsemen²–

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 °dharbçijjñ 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?!”

¹ 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.

² 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 500 horsemen from among his family members and companions, and with around 100 foot soldiers.” He further says: “The total number of those killed alongside al-°usain on the day of “ashfrj’ in Karbalj was 87 men” (*Murçj al-Dhahab*:3:70&71).

Sayyid Ibn ±jwçs narrates in *al-Malhçf* (pg.88) from Imam al-Biqir (‘a) that: “There were 45 horsemen and 100 foot soldiers.” The same has been reported by Sibç bin al-Jawzç in *Tadhkirat al-Khawjç* (pg.246&251). But what is amazing [here] is that Ibn al-Jawzç quotes al-Mas’fdç saying that their total number was 1000 men, whereas this is not found in *Murçj al-Dhahab*!

began to launch attacks. They did not attack any side of the Kĕfan army without putting it to flight.

When ‘Azarah bin Qais [al-Tamĕmĕ], the commander of the Kĕfan cavalry, saw that his forces were dispersing from every side, he sent ‘Abd al-Raĕmĭn bin ʾiĕn 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’ĕ [al-Tamĕmĕ]: “Will you not go [to help them]?” He said: “Glory be to Allah! Do you approach the leader (*shaikh*) of the Muĕar and the people for leading the archers! Did you not find anyone else other than me who could get this task done for you?!”

‘Umar bin Sa’d summoned ʾuĕain bin Tamĕmĕ and dispatched him with [a group of] the armour-clad soldiers and five hundred archers. They advanced and as they got closer to al-ʾusain and his companions, they showered them with arrows and lamed their horses. [Then] they [all turned to become] foot soldiers.¹

[The horse of ʾurr bin Yazĕd al-Riyĭĕ was lamed]. It was not long before his horse trembeled and became upset and fell to the ground. So ʾurr 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 [ʾurr], braver than a maned lion.²

¹ *Al-ṭabarĕ* (5:435-436): “[Abĕ Mikhnaĕ says:] ‘ʾusain bin ‘Uqbah al-Murĭdĕ has related to me that al-Zubaidiyy said...”

² The above verse says: “I am the son of ʾurr”, while it has been

[The followers of al-ʾusain (‘a)] continued to fight them fiercely until it was midday. [The enemy] could not advance against them except from one side, due to their tents being closer together. When ‘Umar bin Sa’d saw this, he sent [his] men to strike [their] tents from the right and left sides, so that they might surround them. So three or four men from al-ʾusain’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-ʾusain [‘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 Dhĕ al-Jaushan, among the others, launched an attack and struck the tents of al-ʾusain [‘a] with his spear and shouted: “Bring me fire so that I may burn down this

said by ʾurr himself. None of Abĕ Mikhnaĕ, al-Kalbĕ, ṭabarĕ, or others have mentioned [any other verse] as a completion to the above mentioned verse. Those who believe that the son of ʾurr was also present in Karbalĭ’, and that he had repented and then martyred alongside al-ʾusain (‘a), are likely to have developed this opinion as a result of the above verse. However, it is also probable that ‘ʾurr’ was the name of his grandfather, or one among his great grandfathers, or he might have intended from the word *ʾurr* its literal meaning [i.e. a free man]. The above verse has also been recorded by al-Mufĕd in *al-Irshĭd* (pg.237), but he has not mentioned any other verse as a completion to the above one.

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 governor.”²

Shabath bin Rib’ç [al-Tamçmç also] came to Shamir and said: “I have not seen a word worst than what you have said, nor a standing more wicked than that of yours. Have you [now] turned to become one who frightens the women?!”

Zuhair bin al-Qain attacked Shamir with ten of his colleagues. They fought Shamir and his followers fiercely. They drove them away from the tents until they moved away.

Thereafter, the [enemy] turned against the [followers of al-°usain (‘a)] in large number. The number of the killed from al-°usain’s companions continued to grow. [Even] if one or two among their men were killed, it would be apparent [due to the fewness of their number], while it was not so apparent

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:437): “Ab£ Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wj’lah has narrated to me that Ayy£b bin Mashrakh al-Khayawjñç used to say...”

² [Shamir] said: “Who are you?” But I was afraid that if he recognizes me, he would complain to the governor about me. So I replied: “I will not tell you who I am.”

among the [enemy] because of their great number.

[Preparation for the Noon (‘uhr) Prayers]

When Ab£ Thumj mah ‘Amru bin ‘Abdillah al-°jidç¹ saw this, he said to al-°usain [‘a]: “O Abj ‘Abdillah, my life be sacrificed for you! I see these people getting closer to you. By Allah, you will not be killed until I am killed defending you, if Allah wills. I wish to meet my Lord while I have offered this prayer (¥aljt) whose time has now entered.”

Al-°usain [‘a] raised his head and said: “You have remembered the prayers. May Allah make you among those who establish prayers and remember [Him]. Yes, this is the beginning of its time.” He then said: “Ask them to cease [fighting] so that we can pray.”

°u¥ain bin Tamçm said to [al-°usain’s companions]: “They will not be accepted!”

So °abçb bin Mu°jhir retorted: “Do you think that the prayers of the family of the Messenger of Allah (¥) will not be accepted, but they will be accepted from you, O donkey?!”

¹ *Al-±abarç*: Al-°jidç al-Hamdjñç. He was in K£fah collecting funds to help the followers of Muslim bin ‘Aq£l and purchase them weapons on the instructions of Muslim (5:364). Ibn ‘Aq£l had given him the banner over the Tamçm and Hamdjñ the day he rose (5:369). Ab£ Thumj mah was the one who introduced the messenger of ‘Umar bin Sa’d [i.e. ‘Azarah bin al-Aimasç] to the Imam (‘a) in Karbalj’ by saying: “O Abj ‘Abdillah, the most vicious and the most daring in killing and the deadliest of the people on this earth has come to see you”, and did not allow him to see the Imam (‘a) lest he should harm him (5:410).

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE COMPANIONS OF AL-°USAIN (°A)

[The Martyrdom of °abḥb bin Mu°hir¹]

[Incensed at °abḥb's comments,] °uḥain bin Tamḥm [al-

¹ *Al-ṣabarḥ*: °abḥb was one of those who had written to the Imam (°a) from among the Shiite leaders in Kḥfah (5:352). He answered Muslim bin °Aqḥl's invitation for paying allegiance to the Imam (°a) saying: "By Allah beside whom there is no other deity, I believe in what this man believes in, pointing towards °abis bin Abḥ Shabḥb al-Shḥkirḥ (5:355). [°abḥb] had said to Qurrah bin Qais al-°an°alḥ al-Tamḥmḥ, °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 (5:411). When Ibn Sa'd moved towards al-°usain (°a) in the evening of the ninth of Muḥarram and proceeded against him after the °aḥr prayers, °Abbjs bin °Alḥ (°a) went to see him alongwith around twenty horsemen, among them being °abḥb 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 °abḥb 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 (ḥ), and the devout men of this city who strive [in worship] at dawn and who remember Allah much (5:416). The Imam (°a) had given him the command of his left wing (5:422). When [°abḥb] went to the help of Muslim bin °Awsajah, the latter advised him to help the Imam (°a), to which he replied: "By the Lord of Ka'bah, I will do that" (5:436). °uḥain bin Tamḥm boasted of killing [°abḥb] and hung his head on the chest of his horse. His son, Qjsim bin °abḥb, avenged his father's assassin, Budail bin °uraim al-Tamḥmḥ, as they were in the army of Muḥ°ab bin al-Zubair during the battle of Bḥjmḥrj.

Tamḥmḥ] mounted an attack against them. °abḥb bin Mu°hir [al-Asadḥ] went out to meet him. He struck the face of his horse with [his] sword. The horse reared up and [°uḥain] fell from it. His companions carried him away and rescued him.

°abḥb then started saying:

I am °abḥb and my father is Mu°hir, a furious cavalier [amidst] a burning battle.

You are more prepared and greater in number [than us], [but] we are more loyal and patient [than you].

We are the best proof and our being on the truth is more apparent, we are more pious than you and have better excuse [than you do].

He also used to say:

I swear had we been equal to you in number or half of you, you would have turned your backs to us in large numbers.

O most wicked of people in deeds and lineage!

[°abḥb] fought a fierce battle. A man from the Banḥ Tamḥm called Budail bin °uraim attacked him and stabbed him and he fell [to the ground]. As he tried to get up, °uḥain bin Tamḥm [al-Tamḥmḥ] struck him on his head with the sword and he [again] fell [down]. The man from the [Banḥ] Tamḥm then went to him and beheaded him.^{1,2}

¹ *Al-ṣabarḥ* (5:438-439): "[Abḥ Mikhnaḥ says:] °Sulaimjn bin Abḥ Rjshid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that..."

² [At this] °uḥain said to Budail: "I have a share in killing him." Budail retorted: "By Allah, no one other than me has killed him!" So °uḥain said: "Give me [his head] and I will hang it on the

Al-°usain was broken by the the martyrdom of °ab°b bin Mu³hir. He said: "I anticipate a reward from Allah for myself and [my] supporters from among my companions."

[The Martyrdom of °urr bin Yaz°d al-Riyi°]

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.

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 Ziyd. I do not need the reward he is going to give you for killing him." Budail did not accept this, but his colleagues mediated between the two to resolve the issue. Eventually, Budail gave him the head of °ab°b bin Mu³hir. So [°u°ain] went round the army with the head, while he hung it on the neck of his horse. He later gave it to Budail. When they returned back to K°fah [after the event of Karbal°], Budail took the head of °ab°b and hung it on the chest of his horse and proceeded to the palace of Ibn Ziyd.

Q°sim bin °ab°b bin Mu³hir, who was then a young man, happened to see him [with his father's head]. So he followed him closely. Budail became suspicious and said: "Why are you following me, O my son?" Q°sim replied: "This head which is with you is the head of my father. Give it back to me so that I can bury it." Budail said: "My son! The governor will not give consent that it should be buried. And I want the governor to reward me handsomely for killing him." The young man thus told him: "But Allah is not going to reward you for that except the worst of the rewards. By Allah, you have killed one who was better than yourself", and he began to weep.

When Mu°°ab bin al-Zubair invaded Bj°m°rj, Q°sim bin °ab°b had happened to join Mu°°ab's army. There he found his father's assassin in one of the tents. He entered upon him at midday while he was resting. He struck him with the sword until he died (5:440).

[In defence] of the best of those who have been in Minj and al-Khaif, [I will strike them, and I do not see any wrong [in doing so].

He also said:

I have sworn that I will not be killed until after I have killed, and I will not be struck today except while facing [them].

I give them a cutting blow with [my] sword, neither will I desist from them nor will I get frightened.

Zuhair bin Qain [also] came out with him. They both fought a fierce battle. If one of them launched an attack and was surrounded [by the enemy], the other would [come to his help by] attacking them and free him. They continued [to combat] in this way for sometime until the foot soldiers [of the enemy] intensified [their attacks] on °urr bin Yaz°d and he was killed. [May Allah shower his mercy on him.]

[The Noon ("u^{hr}) Prayers]

Al-°usain ['a] then led them for the prayers of those in fear (*°aljt al-khawf*).¹ [Sa°d bin 'Abdullah al-°anaf°] stood in front of him. He thus became their target and [the enemy] began shooting arrows at him left and right. He continued to be shot at as he remained standing in front of [al-°usain ('a)], until he fell to the ground. [May Allah have mercy on him].

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 'ash°rj has been related also in *al-Irshid* (pg.238) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.252 & 256).

[The Martyrdom of Zuhair bin al-Qain]

[Then Zuhair bin Qain came forward]. He began tapping the shoulder of al-°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.

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.¹

Kathçr bin °Abdullah al-Sha°bç and Muhjir bin Aws
attacked him and killed him. [May Allah have mercy on
him].

[The Martyrdom of Nçfi° bin Hil°l al-Jamalç²]

Nçfi° bin Hil°l al-Jamalç had written his name on the head

¹ See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawj* (pg.253; Najaf edition).

² *Al-±abarç*: He was the one who sent his horse with ±irimmj° bin °Adiyy to the Imam (°a) when he was on his way to Kffah (5:405). When thirst became unbearable on the Imam (°a) and his companions, he called upon his brother, °Abb°s bin °Alç (°a), and sent him with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers [to bring water]. Nçfi° bin Hil°l was moving ahead of them and was welcomed by °Amru bin al-°ajjij [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" (5:412). When °Alç bin Qara°ah, the brother of °Amru bin Qara°ah al-Ançrç, attacked al-°usain (°a), Nçfi° bin Hil°l al-Murjdç obstructed him, stabbed him and grappled with him (5:434).

of his arrows. He began to shoot [the enemy] with the marked arrows saying: "I am Jamalç, I follow the religion of °Alç." He killed twelve [men] from among the followers of °Umar bin Sa°d, apart from those who were injured.

Nçfi° [was injured during the fight] and his arms were broken. Shamir bin Dhç 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 Nçfi°! What led you to do [all] this with yourself?"

Nçfi° 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 Nçfi° said to him: "By Allah, were you a Muslim, it would have been distressing for you to meet Allah with our blood [on your hands]! All praise is due to Allah who put our death in the hands of the wicked among his creatures."

Shamir then killed him. [May Allah have mercy on him].

[The Martyrdom of the Two Brothers from Ghif°r]

When the companions of al-°usain [°a] realized that they were unable to defend al-°usain and themselves [from the enemy], they began vying [with each other] to be killed in

his presence.

'Abdullah and 'Abd al-Ra'mīn, the [two] sons of 'Azarah al-Ghifīr came to him and said: "O Abī '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:

Banī Ghifīr have well known, and so has Khindaf and Banī Nizīr.

[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 Jībīr]

Thereafter, the two young men from the Banī Jībīr, Saif bin al-°īrith bin Suray' and Mīlik 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-Shabīm]

°an'alah bin As'ad al-Shabīm 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 Nēī, of °ad and Thamūd, and those who were after them, and Allah does not desire any wrong for [His] servants. O my people! Indeed I fear for you a day of mutual distress calls, a day when you will turn back [to flee], not having anyone to protect you from Allah, and whomever Allah leads astray has no guide."¹ O people, do not kill al-°usain, lest Allah should annihilate you with [his] punishment. 'Whoever fabricates lies certainly fails'.²

¹ Qur'an, 40:30-33.

² Qur'an, 20:61.

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 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: "*mçn, 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 Retainer¹]

°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?"

[Shaudhab] replied: "What should I do? I will fight along with you in defence of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (¥) until I am killed."

[°abis] said: "That is what [I] expected of you. If you are not going to leave [him], then go forward and fight before Abç °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

¹ *Al-±abarç*: When Muslim bin °Aqçl read the letter of the Imam (°a) to the people of Kçfah, °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°hir said to him: "May Allah have mercy on you. You have said what was in your heart by your brief talk" (5:355).

When Muslim bin °Aqçl moved to the house of Hjñç bin °Urwah and 18,000 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 Kçfah]" (5:375).

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 (*/isjb*)."

Shaudhab then came forward and greeted al-°usain ['a]. [He sought his permission and] thereafter went [to the battlefield]. He fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him].

'abis bin Abç Shabçb then said: "O Abj '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 Abj 'Abdillah. I take Allah as a witness that I am on your path and the path of your father."

He then walked towards [the enemy] with the sword drawn. It was with it that he was struck on his forehead.¹

Rabç' bin Tamçm [al-Hamdjnç] says: "When I saw him coming, I recognized him. So I said: 'O people! This is the black lion. This is Ibn Abç Shabçb. No one among you should come out to face him!'

['abis] began calling out: 'Is not there anyone to fight me man to man?'

'Umar bin Sa'd cried out: 'Bring him to his knees by stoning him!'

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:444): "Numair bin Wa'lah related to me from a man from the Banç 'Abd of Hamdjn, who happened to witness that day..."

So he was pelted from all sides. When 'abis saw this, he threw aside his armour and helmet and attacked the people furiously."

[Rabç' says:] "I swear by Allah, I saw him driving back more than two hundred [men] from the [enemy]! Thereafter, they surrounded him from all sides and he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him]."^{1, 2}

[The Martyrdom of Yazçd ibn Ziyjd, Abu Sha'thj' al- Kindç]

Yazçd bin Ziyjd bin MuhjYir, Abç Sha'thj' al-Kindç, was among those who had come out with 'Umar bin Sa'd against 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 Yazçd and my father is MuhjYir, 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].³

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:440): "[Abç Mikhnaç says:] 'Mu'ammad bin Qais narrated to me saying that..."

² [Rabç' says:] "I saw his head in the hands of a number of men, each of whom claimed to have killed him. So they came to 'Umar bin Sa'd [to settle the matter] and he said: 'Do not quarrel. This man has not been killed by a single spear [head]!' This is how he settled the issue between them."

³ This narration is from Fuçail bin Khudaij al-Kindç. [This report of Fuçail indicates that Abç al-Sha'thj' 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 Fuçail concluded that Abç al-Sha'thj'

[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. 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 ±irimmī bin 'Adiyy to al-°usain (°a):] J̄bir bin °irith al- Salmīn, Mujammi' bin 'Abdillah al-°aidh¹, 'Umar bin Kh̄lid al-°aidw, and Sa'd,

abandoned Ibn Sa'd and came to the help of the Imam (°a) after the former rejected the Imam's proposal. [In contrary, the earlier report from 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Jundab contradicts the report of Fuṣail]. The report is as follows: 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Jundab relates from 'Uqbah bin Sim'īn that: "The messenger of Ibn Ziyād who brought his letter to °urr al-Riyāḥ in Karbalā' was M̄lik bin al-Nusair al-Badd al-Kind. So Abu al-Sha'thī' said to him: 'May your mother be deprived of you! What kind of mission have you embarked upon? M̄lik replied: "I have not done so! I have [only] obeyed my leader and fulfilled my allegiance to him." Abf al-Sha'thī' said: "You have disobeyed your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned [but] shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: 'And We made them leaders who invite [people] to the fire, and on the day of judgment they shall not receive any help.' [Such] is your leader!" (al-±abar:5:408). Now this report implies that Abf al-Sha'thī' was with the Imam (°a) before his arrival in Karbalā', rather even before he met °urr al-Riyāḥ. And this point has remained unnoticed by both, Abf Mikhnaḥ and ±abar.

¹ Al-±abar (5:405): He is the one who informed al-°usain (°a) at

the retainer of 'Umar bin Kh̄lid, 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 'Alḥ attacked [the enemy] and saved them. Then they [again] launched an attack and fought until they were [all] killed at the same point.¹ [May Allah have mercy on them].

[The Martyrdom of Suwaid al-Khath'am and Bashḥr al-°aḥram]

The last to remain with al-°usain [°a] from among his companions were Suwaid bin 'Amru bin Abḥ Muṣī' al-Khath'am² and Bashḥr bin 'Amru al-°aḥram. [With regard to Bashḥr, 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].³ He fell amidst the bodies of those killed [in the battle] and his sword was snatched away.

'Udhaib al-Hij̄nī about the situation in K̄fah 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!"

¹ Al-±abar (5:445): "[Abf Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Fuṣail bin Khudaij al-Kind has related to me that..."

² Al-±abar (5:446): "[Abf Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Zuhair al-Khath'am narrated to me that..."

³ Al-±abar (5:444): "[Abf Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Abdullah bin '°im has related to me from @aḥk bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriḥ that..."

When al-°usain [ʿa] was killed and he heard them saying: ‘Al-°usain has been killed!’, he regained consciousness. He had a knife with him, so he [got up and] fought them with his knife for a while until Zayd bin Ruq̣id al-Janaḅ¹ and ‘Urwah bin Bašṣ̌ir al-Taghlaḅ killed him.

He was the last person [from among al-°usain's companions] to be killed.^{2, 3}

¹ *Al-ʿabaṛ*: He is the assassin of ‘Abḅis bin ‘Aḷ (ʿa) (5:468). He shot ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin ‘Aq̣l 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.”

Mukhṭir had dispatched ‘Abdullah bin Ḳmil al-Sḥkiṛ to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janaḅ came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Ḳmil said: “Shower him with arrows and stone him.” They did so until he fell to the ground. Ibn Ḳmil then ordered for fire and burnt him while he was still alive (6:64). Al-Janaḅ was from the Baṇ Janaḅ (6:64). In other books of history apart from *al-ʿabaṛ*, he is referred to as al-Juhaṇ or al-°anaf̣.

² *Al-ʿabaṛ* (5:453): “[Aḅ Mikhnaf says:] ‘Zuhair bin ‘Abd al-Rạṃ al-Khatḥ’aṃ has related to me that...”

³ *Al-ʿabaṛ*: “Aḅ Mikhnaf says: “‘Abdullah bin ‘Ẉim related to me from @ạiḳ bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq̣ who said: ‘When I saw that [all] the companions of al-°usain [ʿa] 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 Aḅ al-Muṣ̌j̣ al-Khatḥ’aṃ and Bishr bin ‘Amru al-°ạraṃ, I moved to [take] my horse -whom I had kept in one of the tents of our companions when I saw their horses being lamed [by the enemy]. Then I came out to fight

on foot. I managed to kill two men in the presence of al-°usain [ʿa] and cut off the hand of another. Al-°usain (ʿa) 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 (ʿ)!’ So I said to him: ‘O son of the Messenger of Allah! Do you remember what was agreed between us, I had told you that I will fight defending you so long as there are others fighting [alongside me]. But if I do not see any other fighter [apart from myself], then I am free to go [and leave you]. And you had accepted this from me. So al-°usain [ʿa] said: ‘That is true, but how are you going to escape?! If you are able to do so, then you are free to go.”

[@ạiḳ 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] Katḥir bin ‘Abdullah al-Shạḅ, Ayyf̣ bin Mushrị al-Khayaẉṇ and Qais bin ‘Abdullah al-aiḍẉ recognized me and said: ‘This is @ạiḳ bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq̣. He is our cousin. We beseech you for the sake of Allah to leave him!’ Three men from the Baṇ Taṃṃ who were with them said: ‘By Allah, we will indeed respond to our brothers who call on us to free their companion.” [@ạiḳ says:] “When the men from the Taṃṃ agreed with [the request of my] clansmen, the rest [of them] held back. Thus, Allah saved me” (5:445).

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF AL-HUSAIN (‘A)

[The Martyrdom of ‘Alç bin al-°usain al-Akbar (‘a)]

‘Alç al-Akbar bin al-°usain bin ‘Alç [‘a]¹ was the first to be killed on that day from the Banî Abç ±lib. His mother was Laili, daughter of Abî Murrah bin Mas’fd al-Thaqafç.² He

¹ *Al-±abarç*: In his narration on the authority of Sulaimin bin Abç Rišhid from °umaid bin Ziyid, Abî Mikhnaf describes Imam al-Sajjid [‘a] as ‘Alç bin al-°usain al-Ağghar [i.e. the younger ‘Alç] (5:454). 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 (5:448). In his book *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.630; Dir 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 Karbalj’. He did not have any offspring. ‘Alç bin al-°usain al-Ağghar was present at Karbalj with his father and he was 23 years of age. He was ill, confined to the bed. ‘Alç [al-Ağghar] says: ‘When I was taken before Ibn Ziyid, 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, 39:42]. Abî al-Faraj al-Iřfahinç has related the above incident in *al-Maqtil* (pg.80; Najaf edition) also. Al-Ya’qEbç (2:233; Najaf edition) also refers to ‘Alç bin al-°usain as *al-akbar* and to Imam al-Sajjid (‘a) as *al-ağghar*. And so has been done by al-Mas’fdç in *Murğj al-Dhahab* (3:71) and by Ibn al-Jawzç in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.225). Al-Mufçd mentions ‘Alç bin al-°usain in *al-Iřshjd* (pg.238) but without referring to him as *al-akbar*.

² *Al-±abarç*: In the 6th year of Hijrah ‘Urwah bin Mas’fd fled from the Banî Thaqef in ±jif and went to Makkah. There he came in alliance with the Quraish, together with his family and his

followers. When the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) visited Makkah in the year of °udaibiyah with his companions for the 'umrah and Budail bin Warqī' al-Khuzī' 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 Mu'ammad! Tell me, if you are thinking of destroying your people, then have you [ever] heard of any Arab before you who has annihilated his community! I swear that I see different faces and people surrounding you, who will flee and leave you alone if such a thing is going to happen!" With that, he began looking at the companions of the Prophet (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 Mu'ammad. I swear that he does not spit but it falls on the hands of one of them, who would then rub it on his face and skin. When he commands them, they vie with each other to carry out his order. When he performs ablution, they almost fight to obtain the water [he uses]. When they speak in his presence, they lower their voices. They never stare at him out of their respect for him! Such a man has proposed to you a sensible proposal, [you had better] accept." (2:627)

'Urwah was in Jordan during the battle of °unain in the year 8 H, learning the skills of making weaponry and catapults and therefore could not participate in it (3:628).

'Urwah was related to Abu Sufyān as he had married his daughter,

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 Ziyā] shall not judge us.¹

°minah. Ab£ Sufyān and Mughçrah bin Shu'bah went to ±jif on the day of °unain and there they called out the Ban£ Thaqif: "Grant us protection so that we may speak to you!" So they granted them protection. The two men then invited the women from Quraish [who were in ±jif to come with them to Makkah], fearing that they might be taken as prisoners. But they rejected their invitation (3:84).

When the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ) left ±jif, 'Urwah bin Mas'£d 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 Thaqef 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 *Şerah Ibn Hishām* (3:97) that the Prophet of Allah [ﷺ] said concerning him: "His example in his community is that of the believer [mentioned] in *S£rat Ysçn*" (2:325). The Messenger of Allah [ﷺ] repaid his debts and those of his brother, Aswad bin Mas'£d, from the jewellery of al-Ljt, the idol [worshipped by] the Thaqef (3:100).

¹ Ab£ al-Faraj al-İfahīnç narrates in *al-Maqtil* (pg.77) 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

He did that several times. Then Murrah bin Munqidh bin al-Nu'mīn al-'Abdī¹ saw him. He said: "May the felonies of the Arabs come on me, if he gets past me doing the same as he has been doing [and] I do not deprive his mother of him."

['Alī bin al-^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.^{2,3}

Messenger of Allah [ﷺ] is going to give you a drink with his chalice by this evening.' [According to Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Alī ('a)] did this for several times."

¹ *Al-ṭabarī*: His lineage goes back to the Banī 'Abd al-Qais. He was with his father Munqidh bin Nu'mīn at ḥiffān along side ['Alī], the Commander of the Faithful ('a). There Murrah took from his father the standard of the 'Abd al-Qais and it remained with him (4:522). In the year 66 H, Mukhtār sent 'Abdullah bin Kīmīl al-Shīkīrī 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 Muṣ'ab bin al-Zubair, while his hand was paralysed (6:64).

² *Al-ṭabarī* (5:446): "[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Ra'mīn bin Zuhair al-Khath'amī narrated to me that...' Abī al-Faraj al-Ḥafḥīnī has related the incident in *al-Maqṭil* (pg.76) 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."

³ Abī al-Faraj says in *al-Maqṭil* (pg.77): "['Alī al-Akbar] then called out: 'O father! Peace be upon you. Here is my grandfather, the Messenger of Allah, sending you salutations and saying: come to us quickly.' Then he sighed deeply and [his soul] departed."

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 after you."

A woman came hurrying out, crying: "O my brother! O my nephew! She came up and threw herself on [his body]. Al-^ousayn ['a] came near to her, held her by her hand and led her back to the tent. He then turned towards his young men and said: "Carry your brother [back]." They carried him from the place he was killed and put him before the tent which they had been fighting in front of.¹

[The Martyrdom of Qasim bin al-^oasan ('a)]

Ṭumayd bin Muslim says: "A young lad came out against us, his face was like the first splinter of the new moon and he carried a sword. He was wearing a shirt and a waistcloth (*izār*), and a pair of sandals, one of whose straps was broken, and I will not forget that it was the [strap of the] left [foot].

'Amru bin Sa'd bin Nufail al-Azdī² said to me: 'By Allah, I am going to attack him.'

I said to him: 'Glory be to Allah! What do you want to do that for? These people whom you see surrounding him are

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:446): "[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] 'Sulaymīn bin Abī Rīshid related to me from Ṭumayd bin Muslim al-Azdī that...' See also *Maqṭil al-ṭlibīyyīn* (pg.76&77) through the same chain of narration.

² His name appears in *al-ṭabarī* (5:468) as Sa'd bin 'Amru bin Nufail al-Azdī. Both the names have appeared in the report of Abī Mikhnaḥ.

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: ‘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!’¹

Then he carried him [in his arms]. It is just as if I am looking at the two legs of the body making marks [as they trail] on the ground, while al-°usain [‘a] had put the chest [of the lad] on his chest. He took him and put him with his son ‘Al¢ bin al-°usain around whom were [other] bodies of those slain from among his household.”

¹ This statement of the Imam (‘a) means that the cry of Q°sim has many helpers amidst the Ban¢ H°shim, though they could not be present at Karbal¢ to help him.

[°umaid continues with his report and says:] “I asked about the boy and was told that he was al-Q°sim bin al-°asan bin ‘Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±lib [‘a].”¹

[The Martyrdom of ‘Abb°s bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) and His Brothers]

‘Abb°s bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) then said to his brothers on his mother’s side -‘Abdullah, Ja’far and ‘Uthm°n: “O sons of my mother! Go forward [and fight] so that I may mourn over you; for you have no children [to grieve over you]!”

They did so [and went out and fought a severe battle until] they were killed. [May Allah have mercy on them].^{2,3}

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (5:447): “[Ab¢ Mikhna¢ says:] ‘Sulaim°n bin Ab¢ R°shid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...” See also *al-Irsh°d* (pg.239).

² *Al-±abar¢* (5:448): “Ab¢ Mikhna¢ says...”

³ The Martyrdom of ‘Abb°s bin ‘Al¢ (‘a) does not appear in *al-±abar¢*. Hence, we mention it from *al-Irsh°d* of Shaikh al-Muf¢d (pg.240; Najaf edition). He says: “The thirst of al-°usain (‘a) became severe. He set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. In front of him was his brother, al-‘Abb°s. However, the cavalry of Ibn Sa’d, may Allah curse him, blocked his way. Among these was a man from the Ban¢ D°rim, he said [to the cavalry]: ‘Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the Euphrates, do not let him get water!’

Al-°usain (‘a) said: ‘O Allah, make him thirsty!’ So the man from D°rim became angry and shot an arrow at him which lodged in his throat. Al-°usain (‘a) pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. He put his hands under his throat, and both his palms were filled with blood which he shook away and said: ‘O Allah, I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet!’ He then returned to his position, while his thirst had become [even more] severe. [Meanwhile,] the people [had] surrounded al-‘Abb°s and cut him off from [al-

[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-°usain¹

and he seated him on his lap.² [The baby] was in his lap as one of the Ban£ Asad [either °armalah bin K̄h̄il or H̄j̄ni' bin Thubait al-°aṣṣam̄] 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."³¹

°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 Warq̄i' al-°anaf̄* and °ak̄m̄ bin al-±ufail al-Sinbisiyy.

*Al-±abar̄ refers to him as Zayd bin Ruq̄id al-Janab̄ (5:468). In the same book (6:64), he says: "He was a man from Janab. He is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aq̄l and Suwaid bin 'Amru al-Khath'am̄, who were among the companions of al-°usain ('a). His biography has been given earlier under the reports of the martyrdom of Suwaid. 'Al-°anaf̄' is obviously a phonetic distortion (*ta'r̄f̄*) of the word.

¹ Al-±abar̄: His mother was Rab̄j̄b, daughter of Imru' al-Qais al-Kalb̄ (5:468). Al-Irsh̄d (pg.240) has also related this incident and says that ['Abdullah] was a [small] child (*ṣ̄ifl̄*).

² Al-±abar̄ (5:448): [Ab£ Mikhnaṣ reports that:] 'Uqbah bin Bash̄r al-Asad̄ said: 'Ab£ Ja'far Muḥammad bin 'Al̄ bin al-°usain told me that..."

³ Al-±abar̄ (5:448): "[Ab£ Mikhnaṣ says:] 'Sulaim̄n bin Ab̄ R̄j̄shid narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said..."

[The Martyrdom of the Two Sons of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far]

The people encircled them from all sides. 'Abdullah bin Quṣbah al-Nabah̄n̄ al-±j̄' attacked 'Aun bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab̄ ±lib and killed him.² Then 'amir bin

¹ Al-±abar̄ relates on the authority of 'Amm̄r al-Duhan̄ from Imam al-B̄q̄ir ('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'" (5:389).

Al-Ya'q̄b̄ writes in his *T̄r̄k̄h* (2:232; 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 kinsmen. He was on his horse when a new-born baby, who had just born, was brought to him. He recited the *adh̄j̄n* 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 ṭ̄l̄i]. And indeed Muḥammad is more honourable before Allah than [Prophet ṭ̄l̄i].' He then came and put [his body] together with [the bodies of] his son and nephews." Sib̄ al-Jawz̄ says in his *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.252; 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.'"

² Al-±abar̄ (5:469): "His mother was J̄m̄nah, daughter of

Nahshal al-Taim \mathring{c} attacked Mu'ammad bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab \mathring{c} \pm jlib and killed him.¹

[The Martyrdom of the Members from the Household of 'Aq \mathring{c} l]

'Uthm \mathring{n} bin Kh \mathring{l} id bin As \mathring{c} r al-Juhan \mathring{c} and Bishr bin ^oaw \mathring{s} al-Q \mathring{j} bi \mathring{c} al-Hamd \mathring{n} \mathring{c} launched an attack on 'Abd al-Ra \mathring{m} \mathring{n} , son of 'Aq \mathring{c} l bin Ab \mathring{c} \pm jlib, and killed him.² [Thereafter,] they plundered [his belongings].

'Abdullah bin 'Azarah al-Khath'am \mathring{c} ³ shot [an arrow] at

Musayyab bin Najabah al-Ghaz \mathring{r} \mathring{c} .” Musayyab was one of the heads of the Taww \mathring{b} fn movement, from among the Sh \mathring{c} 'ah in K \mathring{f} fah. Ab \mathring{f} al-Faraj al-I \mathring{f} fah \mathring{n} \mathring{c} says in *al-Maq \mathring{t} il* (pg.60; Najaf edition): “‘Aun’s mother was [Lady] Zainab, the wise lady (*al-‘aq \mathring{c} lah*) [of the Ban \mathring{f} H \mathring{j} shim], daughter of ‘Al \mathring{c} bin Ab \mathring{c} \pm jlib (‘a).”

¹ *Al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* (5:469): “His mother was Khaw \mathring{f} \mathring{i} , daughter of Kha \mathring{f} afah bin Thaq \mathring{f} al-Taim \mathring{c} , from the clan of Bakr bin W \mathring{i} ’il.” So has been narrated by Ab \mathring{f} al-Faraj also in *al-Maq \mathring{t} il* (pg.60; Najaf edition). But bin Ibn al-Jawz \mathring{c} mentions her in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.255; Najaf edition) as ^oaw \mathring{s} , daughter of ^oaf \mathring{f} ah al-Tam \mathring{c} m \mathring{c} .

² *Al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* (6:59): “Mukht \mathring{r} had dispatched 'Abdullah bin K \mathring{j} mil against them while they were trying to move to al-Jaz \mathring{c} rah [i.e. Mosul]. Ibn al-K \mathring{j} mil and his men chased them up and caught up with them at al-Jabb \mathring{n} ah. They [were arrested and] brought before [Ibn K \mathring{j} 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 \mathring{i} al-Hamd \mathring{n} \mathring{c} .” However, according to *al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* (5:469): “The assassin of 'Abd al-Ra \mathring{m} \mathring{n} bin 'Aq \mathring{c} l was 'Uthm \mathring{n} bin Kh \mathring{l} id al-Juhan \mathring{c} only, without the association of Bishr bin ^oaw \mathring{s} al-Hamd \mathring{n} \mathring{c} .” Ab \mathring{f} al-Faraj mentions both of them as his assassins in *al-Maq \mathring{t} il* (pg.61; Najaf edition), through the same chain of narration (*sanad*) which has appeared in *al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* .

³ According to *al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* (5:469), He was killed by Bishr bin ^oaw \mathring{s} al-Hamd \mathring{n} \mathring{c} , whereas in (6:65) he mentions al-Khath'am \mathring{c}

Ja'far, [another] son of 'Aq \mathring{c} l bin Ab \mathring{c} \pm jlib and killed him.

Then 'Amru bin ⁻ubaih al-⁻udd \mathring{i} ' \mathring{c} ¹ shot an arrow at

saying: “‘Abdullah bin 'Urwah al-Khath'am \mathring{c} , the one who was pursued by Mukht \mathring{r} but he escaped and joined Mu \mathring{f} 'ab.” Ab \mathring{f} al-Faraj refers to him in *al-Maq \mathring{t} il* (pg.61; Najaf edition) as 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah al-Khath'am \mathring{c} , through the same chain of narration as mentioned in *al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* .

¹ *Al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* : Mukht \mathring{r} was chasing him. His men entered upon ['Amru] at night when people were asleep. He was in his bed and did not realize. They arrested him while his sword was beneath his head, so he said regarding this [afterwards]: ‘Shame on you O sword. You were very close, yet so far!’ He used to say [after his arrest]: ‘I have [only] stabbed and wounded some of [the members of the household of the Prophet in Karbal \mathring{i} ']. I did not kill anyone of them.’ He was brought to Mukht \mathring{r} who imprisoned him in the palace. The next morning when Mukht \mathring{r} allowed people to visit him, ['Amru] was brought before him in shackles. He said: ‘O the infidels and the wicked! By Allah, had I a sword in my hand, you would have come to know that I do not tremble 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 K \mathring{j} mil who was [standing] by his side. Ibn K \mathring{j} mil laughed [at this] and grabbed his hand, stopping him [from repeating that act]. [Ibn K \mathring{j} mil] then said [to Mukht \mathring{r}]: ‘He claims to have [only] wounded and stabbed [some] among the family of Mu'ammad. So give us your order concerning him.’ Mukht \mathring{r} said: ‘Bring me a spear.’ So he was brought [a spear]. He then ordered: ‘Stab him to death!’ and he was stabbed to death” (6:65). *Al- \pm abar \mathring{c}* reports in (5:469) from Ab \mathring{f} Mikhnaf that: “[‘Amru] is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin 'Aq \mathring{c} l bin Ab \mathring{c} \pm jlib (‘a).” Whereas in (6:64) he says that: “The one who shot an arrow at 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aq \mathring{c} l was Zayd bin Ruq \mathring{d} al-Janab \mathring{c} . [Zayd] used to say: ‘I shot a young man from among them with an arrow [on his forehead]. He tried

‘Abdullah, son of Muslim bin ‘Aqel¹, which stitched his hand to his forehead, such that he could no longer move his hand. [‘Amru] then shot another arrow at him which tore his heart.² Labet bin Yjsir al-Juhanç killed Mu‘ammad, son of Abç Sa’çd bin ‘Aqel.³

[The Martyrdom of other Two Sons of al-°asan bin ‘Alç (‘a)]

‘Abdullah bin Uqbah al-Ghanawç⁴ shot an arrow at Abç

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 while he was still alive (6:64).

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:469): “His mother was Ruqayyah, daughter of ‘Alç bin Abç ±jlib (‘a).” See also *Maqjtil al-±jlibiyyçn* (pg.62; Najaf edition).

² *Al-±abarç* (5:469): “Abç Mikhnaf says...” See also *Maqjtil al-±jlibiyyçn* (pg.62; Najaf edition).

³ *Al-±abarç* (5:447): “[Abç Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimjn bin Abç Rjshid narrated to me from °umaïd bin Muslim al-Azdç who said...”

⁴ *Al-±abarç*: He was among those who had revolted with Mustawrad bin ‘Alafah in Kçfah in the year 43 H, during the governorship of Mughçrah bin Shu’bah over the city.

Bakr, son of al-°asan¹ bin ‘Alç and killed him.² ‘Abdullah, [another] son of al-°asan bin Abç ±jlib, was [also] killed; [that is when] °armalah bin Kjhil³ shot an arrow at him and

Ghanawç was a scribe, so al-Mustawrad instructed him to write [a letter for him] and then take it to Sammjk bin ‘Ubaid, the governor of Madjin, inviting him to [pay allegiance to] al-Mustawrad. He did so and then returned to al-Mustawrad. (5:190) When the followers of al-Mustawrad were killed, al-Ghanawç fled and entered Kçfah [and put up at] Sharçk bin Namlah’s [place]. He asked the latter to go to see Mughçrah bin Shu’bah and request him for a safe-conduct for him. [Sharçk] did so and Mughçrah [accepted his request and] said: “I have granted him protection (5:206). After the event of Karbalj’, [al-Ghanawç] fled from Mukhtjr and joined Mu¥’ab bin al-Zubair. Later, he joined ‘Abd al-Ra’mjn bin Mu‘ammad bin Ash’ath (5:205). Mukhtjr tried to pursue him but found him to have escaped, so he demolished his house (6:65).

¹ He was the son of al-°asan (‘a) as recorded in *al-±abarç* (5:468). On page 448 of the same volume, his name appears as Abç Bakr, son of al-°usain bin ‘Alç, which is incorrect.

² *Al-±abarç* (5:448): “[Abç Mikhnaf says:] ‘Uqbah bin Bashçr al-Asadç reports that ‘Abç Ja’far Mu‘ammad bin ‘Alç bin al-°usain said to me...” Abç al-Faraj al-I¥fahjnç has narrated this report in *Maqjtil al-±jlibiyyçn* (pg.57; 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 Abç Mikhnaf from Sulaimjn bin Abç Rjshid...” [While the second one reads:] “From ‘Amru bin Shamir who related on the authority of Jjbir from Abç Ja’far al-Bjqir (‘a)...”

³ Ibn Kjhil as reported by *al-±abarç* (6:65). However, in (5:468) he says Ibn Kjhin, which is [definitely] not correct. [*Al-±abarç*] has not mentioned that Mukhtjr was in pursuit of him and the manner in which he [eventually] killed him.

Hishjm says: “Abç al-Hudhayl –a man from the Sakçn- related to me saying: ‘I saw Hjni’ bin Thubait al-°a¶ramç sitting in a gathering of the Hadramis during the time of Khjlid bin ‘Abdillah, who was an old man at that time. I heard him say: ‘I

killed him.¹

was among those who witnessed the killing of al-°usain. By Allah, I was standing in a group of ten men, all of whom were on the horses. The cavalry [of Ibn Sa'd] were moving around and were scattered apart. Suddenly a young boy from the family of al-°usain came out from those tents, with the pillar of a tent in his hands. He was wearing a waist-cloth and a shirt. He seemed frightened and was [repeatedly] looking to his right and left. It is just as if I am looking at the two pearls on his ears swinging as he turns. A man approached him, galloping his horse. As he drew closer to the boy, he bent down from his horse, targeted the boy with the sword and cut him down!" Ab£ al-Faraj relates this report from al-Mad£in£ in his *al-Maq£til* (pg.79; Najaf edition). Ab£ Mikhnaf says: "°asan bin al-°asan and 'Umar bin al-°asan were considered too young by the people and were, therefore, not killed (5:449)."

Among the retainers (*mawjil£*) killed in Karbal£ were Sulaim£n and Manja£, the retainers of al-°usain ('a) (*al-±abar£*:5:469).

¹ This is as it has been reported in *al-±abar£* (5:468) and *Maq£til al-±£libiyy£n* (pg.58; Najaf edition) from al-Mad£in£. However, the predominant view is that he is the one who escaped from the tents to the point where his uncle [al-°usain] had come to the ground, and was killed there, as we shall see later. And this is the version recorded by al-Muf£d in *al-Irsh£d* (pg.241; 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 (*sarjw£l*). He tore them [and put them on], so that he should not have them plundered [after his martyrdom].^{1,2}

He waited for a good part of the day. Whenever someone from the people came to him, he would go away, disliking to take up the responsibility of killing him and [to shoulder] the great sin.

M£lik bin al-Nusair [al-Badd£ al-Kind£]³ came to him and struck his head with [his] sword. It cut through the hood he was wearing and reached his head. He started bleeding and the hood was filled with blood. Al-°usain ['a] said to M£lik: "May you not eat or drink with [your hand]. May Allah resurrect you with the oppressors!"

¹ *Al-±abar£* (5:451): "Some of his companions said to him: 'You better wear a *tabb£n* (short dress) under [the trouser].' He said: 'That is the garment of humiliation. It does not befit me to wear it.' When he was killed, Ba£r bin Ka'b plundered [the trouser] from him. Ab£ Mikhnaf says: "Amru bin Shu'aib narrated to me from Mu£ammad bin 'Abd al-Ra£m£n that the hands of Ba£r bin Ka'b used to sprinkle drops of water in winter, and they would become dry in the summer as if they were sticks."

² *Al-±abar£* (5:451): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaim£n bin Ab£ R£shid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim that..." See also *al-Irsh£d* (pg.241).

³ *Al-±abar£*: He was the messenger of Ibn Ziy£d who brought his letter to °urr bin Yaz£d while he was on the way, [instructing him] to force al-°usain ('a) to halt. (5:408)

[Al-°usain ('a)] then threw away the hood and called for a cap. He wore it and surrounded it with a turban.^{1,2}

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:448): 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 Mîlik 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-Irshîd* (pg.241). He refers to Mîlik 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.

² Ab£ al-Faraj al-I¥fahîñç narrates in *al-Maqîtil* (pg.78; Najaf edition) from Ab£ Mikhnaf who said: "Hishîm reports from Qîsim bin al-A¥bagh bin Nubîtah on the authority of his father, Mu¥ammad bin Sî'ib, that: 'Someone who happened to see al-°usain ['a] in his camp has related to me that: 'When the army of [al-°usain ('a)] was overpowered, he whipped his horse and set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. A man from the Ban£ Abîñ bin Dîrim 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£ Dîrim 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!'"

Qîsim 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

So he had the cloth tied [over the hood which was made of black silk]. He put on a shirt¹ [or] a cloak of made of silken material, while his hair was dyed. [Al-°usain ('a)] fought like a brave knight, guarding against the [arrows], availing the weak points [of the enemy] and attacking the cavalry fiercely.²

[Meanwhile,] Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan advanced with around ten foot soldiers from among the K£fan army towards the tent of al-°usain ['a], inside which there was his load and family. [Seeing this, al-°usain ('a) began] walking towards [the tent], but [the people] came between him and the tents. So al-°usain ['a] said: "Woe upon you! If you have no religion and do not fear the Day of Resurrection, then be free men of noble descent in this world! Protect my tent and family from your rabble and ignorant men!"

you! Give me a drink! I am dying of thirst!' By Allah, it was not long before his belly bursted like the bursting of the stomach of a camel."

Al-±abarç (5:449-450): "Hishîm says: "Amru bin Shamir related to me from Jîbir 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 °u¥ain 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.' (5:449-450). In (5:447-448) [the chain of narration of this report appears as such:] "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaimîñ bin Abç Rîshid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim that..."

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:452): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] "aq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that..."

² *Al-±abarç* (5:452): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports] on the authority of al-°ajjîj from 'Abdullah bin 'Ammîr al-Bîriqç who said..."

Ibn Dh^o al-Jaushan said: "You are granted that O son of Fⁱṣmah!" and proceeded towards him with the foot soldiers. [At this] al-^ousain [‘a] began attacking them and they would disperse from him.¹

‘Abdullah bin ‘Ammir al-Bⁱriq^o 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-^ousain [‘a], his sister Zainab, daughter of Fⁱṣmah, came out and said: "O ‘Umar bin Sa’d! Is Ab^o ‘Abdillah being killed while you [stand by and] watch?! So he turned away his face from her³. It is just as if I am seeing the tears of ‘Umar running down his cheeks and beard!"⁴

¹ *Al-ṭabar^o* (5:450): "Ab^o Mikhnaḥ reports..." See also *Maqⁱtil al-ṭalib^{iyy}^o* (pg.79).

² *Al-ṭabar^o* (5:565): He is the person who gave an account of the order of the Commander of the Faithful [‘Al^o (‘a)] -as he was advancing towards ‘iff^o in the year 26 H- that a bridge be built over the Euphrates.

³ See also *al-Irshⁱd* (pg.242; Najaf edition).

⁴ *Al-ṭabar^o* (5:451): "[Ab^o Mikhnaḥ reports] from ‘Abd al-Raⁱmⁱn bin ‘Ammir al-Bⁱriq^o, who narrated from ‘ajjⁱj that..." Al-Muḥ^o has narrated the report in *al-Irshⁱd* (pg.241) from ‘umaid bin Muslim.

[Meanwhile,] al-^ousain [‘a] was attacking the cavalry and saying: "Are you inciting one another to kill me! By Allah, you are not going to kill any servant of Allah after me whose killing will incur more wrath upon you than [killing] me. By Allah, I anticipate that Allah shall honour me by disgracing you, and shall take vengeance on you from where you do not perceive¹. By Allah, if you kill me, Allah will cause you to fight one another and to shed your blood. Then he will not leave you until he doubles for you the severe punishment."²

Thereafter, Shamir bin Dh^o al-Jaushan advanced towards al-^ousain [‘a] with the foot soldiers. Among them were Sinⁱn bin Anas al-Nakha’^o, Khauliyy bin Yaz^od al-A^oba’^o, ‘ⁱli

¹ The prayer of the Imam (‘a) was answered. Thus came Mukhtⁱr and sent Ab^o ‘Umrah to ‘Umar bin Sa’d, ordering him to bring Ibn Sa’d to him. Ab^o ‘Umrah came to ‘Umar and said: "The governor is summoning you." As ‘Umar stood up, he was tripped by his garment. So Ab^o ‘Umrah struck him with [his] sword and killed him. Then he put his head under his cloak, [went to Mukhtⁱr,] and placed it before him!

‘af^o bin ‘Umar bin Sa’d was sitting with Mukhtⁱr. So Mukhtⁱr asked him: "Do you know this head?" ‘af^o recited the verse: 'Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return', and said: "Yes, and life is worthless after him!" Mukhtⁱr 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-ṭabar^o*: 6:61).

² *Al-ṭabar^o* (5:452): "[Ab^o Mikhnaḥ says:] '‘aq‘ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from ‘umaid bin Muslim that..."

³ *Al-ṭabar^o* (6:59): Mukhtⁱr had sent Ma’ⁱdh bin Hⁱni’ bin ‘Adiyy al-Kind^o -the nephew of ‘ujr bin ‘Adiyy, and Ab^o ‘Amarah -the head of his bodyguards, in pursuit of him. Khauliyy hid himself near the exit [of his house]. So Ma’ⁱdh ordered Ab^o ‘Amarah to search for him in the house. As they were entering the

bin Wahab al-Yazanç, Qash'am bin Amr al- Ju'fç and 'Abd al-Ra'mjñ al-Ju'fi.¹ Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan began inciting them [against Husein ('a)], so they completely encircled [al-°usain ('a)].

A boy² from among his household came out towards al-°usain ['a]. Al-°usain ['a] said to his sister, Zainab bint 'Alç: "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:

house, his wife came out to them. They said to her: "Where is your husband? She replied: "I do not know" and pointed towards the exit. So they entered [the house] and found him [at its exit], with a basket made of date palm leaves on his head. They took him out and burnt him.

¹ *Al-±abarç*: He was among those who gave witness against °ujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindç (5:270). He was in command of the Madhlj and Asad in the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd on the day of "shçrj"(5:422).

² According to Shaikh al-Mufçd in *al-Irshjd* (pg.241), 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. Abç al-Faraj al-Iyfahjñç also has narrated this incident -at this particular point of the event of Karbalj'- in *al-Maqjtil* (pg.77; Najaf edition), from Abç Mikhnaf who reported from Sulaimjñ bin Abç Rjshid, who related from °umaid bin Muslim.

"My nephew, be patient on what has come to you, and anticipate in this the best [from Allah], for Allah will unite you with your righteous ancestors, the Messenger of Allah, 'Alç bin Abç ±jlib, °amzah and °asan bin 'Alç.¹ May Allah bless them all. O Allah, withhold rain from them and deprive them of the blessings of the earth. O Allah, if you are going to give them comfort till a time, then divide them into factions and make them sects following different ways. Let their rulers never be pleased with them. They summoned us so that they might support us, [but] they became hostile to us and killed us."²

He waited for a large part of the day. Had the people wished to kill him, they could have done so. But [they were hesitant in killing him such that] each of them would take refuge in the other and a group among them would wish that the other group may spare it [the great sin]. Then Shamir shouted at the people: "Woe onto you! Why are you waiting for the man?! Kill him! May your mothers be deprived of you!" So he was attacked from every side.

[The Martyrdom of al-°usain ('a)]

Zur'ah bin Sharçk al-Tamçmç struck him on his palm³ and

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:450): "Abç Mikhnaf says in a report..." See also *Maqjtil al-±jlibiyyçñ* (pg.77; Najaf edition). He narrated it from °umaid bin Muslim on the authority of Sulaimjñ bin Abç Rjshid.

² *Al-±abarç* (5:451): "[Abç Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaimjñ bin Abç Rjshid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said..." See *al-Irshjd* (pg.241).

³ It was his left shoulder according to *al-Irshjd* (pg.242) and *Tadhkirat al-Khawj¥¥* (pg.253). 'Abd al-Razzjç al-Muqarram narrates this report in *al-Maqtal* (pg.16) from the book *al-It'jf bi-°ubb al-Ashrjçf*.

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'¢ 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 fall in the hands of someone else. He then bent down, slaughtered him and separated his head.¹ Thereafter, he handed [the head] to Khauliyy bin Yaz¢d [al-A¥ba'¢].

Al-°usain ['a] was plundered of all that was on him. Qais bin al-Ash'ath² took his plush, while Is!q bin °aiwah al-°a¶ram¢ his shirt³. A man from the Ban£ Na!shal took his sword. His slippers were taken by Aswad [al-Aud¢] and Ba'r bin Ka'b took his trousers⁴, leaving him uncovered.⁵

¹ Ibn al-Jawz¢ mentions five different views concerning the assassin of the Imam ('a) and [ultimately] prefers that it was Sinjn. He then narrates that [one day] Sinjn entered upon °ajjjj, so he asked him: "Are you the killer of al-°usain?" "Yes", he replied. °ajjjj said: "Good news to you, as you will never be with him in the same abode." The people said that °ajjjj has never been heard saying a better word than this!" Ibn al-Jawz¢ further says: "[After the martyrdom of al-°usain ('a)], people counted [the number of wounds] on his body and found that he was stabbed 33 times and 34 sword strikes [were evident on his body]. And they found on his clothes that he was shot 120 arrows."

² *Al-±abar¢* (5:453): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'aq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that..."

³ *Al-±abar¢* (5:455): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports:] 'Sulaimjn bin Ab¢ Rjshid has related to me from °umaid bin Muslim..."

⁴ *Al-±abar¢* (5:452): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'aq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that..."

⁵ *Al-±abar¢* (5:451): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf reports:] 'Sulaimjn bin Ab¢ Rjshid related to me from °umaid bin Muslim, who said..." Sib£ al-Jawz¢ has clearly stated this fact in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.253)

saying: "They plundered all that was on him, even his trousers which was taken by Ba'r bin Ka'b al-Tam¢m¢." Al-Muf¢d mentions this in *al-Irshjd* (pg.241&242) adding that: "After this, the two hands of Ba'r bin Ka'b, may Allah curse him, used to become so dry in the summer that they were like sticks, and then soaking wet in the winter such that they sprinkled blood and pus, until Allah destroyed him."

AFTER THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-°USAIN (‘A)

[The Looting of the Tents]

The people turned to the womenfolk of al-°usain [‘a], plundering them, his belongings and provision, the [Yemeni] dye¹, the garments and the camels. [The people] would wrest the clothes of the women from their backs and take them.²

The people said to Sinjñ bin Anas: “You have killed °usain bin ‘Alç, son of Fjşimah, the daughter of the Prophet of Allah (ﷺ). You have killed a person from among the Arabs

¹ *Waras* is a yellow flower similar to saffron with a good fragrance. It used to be brought from Yemen. The Imam (‘a) had taken it from the people who were carrying it to 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 ‘ashçrj’ were Ziyjd bin Mjlik al-@abç’ç, ‘Imrjñ bin Khjlid al-‘Anzç, ‘Abd al-Ra’mjñ al-Bajalç and ‘Abdullah bin Qais al-Khauljñç. When Mukhtjr 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* (6:58).

² *Al-±abarç* (5:453): “[Abç Mikhnaç says:] ‘aq’ab bin Zuhair has related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...” Al-Ya’qfbç says in *al-Tjrçkh* (2:232): “They looted his tents and robbed [the belongings of] his womenfolk.” Al-Mufçd has also related this report in *al-Irshjd* (pg. 242). Sibş al-Jawzç says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.254): “They stripped his womenfolk and daughters of their clothes.”

who posed the greatest threat [to the Banī Umayyah]. He had come to these people in order to remove them from the power. So go to your masters and ask your reward from them! Even if they were to give you their treasuries for killing al-°usain, it would [still] be little!”

Sinīn, who was a little crazy, came with his horse and stopped at the door of ‘Umar bin Sa’d’s tent. He shouted at the top of his voice:

Fill my saddles with silver and gold, I have killed the lord of the chosen ones.

I have killed the best of men with regard to his mother and father, the best of them mentioned in lineage.¹

‘Umar bin Sa’d said: “Bring him to me.” When [Sinīn] was brought in, he threw [his] staff at him and then said: “O mad! I testify that you are mad and you have never regained sanity. How dare you speak like this! By Allah, if Ibn Ziyād had heard you [saying this], he would have killed you!”

Shamir bin Dḥ al-Jaushan [attacked] the belongings of al-°usain [‘a] with a group of foot soldiers. Then they came to ‘Aḷ bin al-°usain al-Aḡghar, 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!”² ‘Umar

¹ See also *Maq̣til al-°libiyyen* (pg.80; Najaf edition), *Tadhkirat al-Khaẉj* (pg.254; Najaf edition) and *Muṛfj al-Dhahab* (3:70).

² ±abaṛ writes in his *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.630; Ḍr al-Ma’jirif publications, edited by Muḡammad Aḅ al-Faḡl Ibṛḥṃ): “‘Aḷ bin al-°usain al-Aḡghar [i.e. the younger] was present in Karbaḷ’

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’j̣n 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.¹

with his father. He was then 23 years of age. He was ill, sleeping on the bed. When al-°usain [‘a] was killed, Shamir bin Dḥ al-Jaushan said: ‘Kill this [man]!’ So a man from among his followers said: ‘Glory be to Allah! Will you kill a young man, who is sick and did not fight?’ ‘Umar bin Sa’d then arrived and said: ‘Do not disturb these women nor this sick man.” *Al-Irsḥid* (pg.242) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.256&258; Najaf edition) have narrated this in similar vein.

¹ *Al-±abaṛ*: Marq̣’ bin Thuṃmah al-Asaḍ had spread his arrows on the ground and fighting while he was kneeling. A number of his clansmen came and said to him: “You are safe. Come over to us.” So he went to them. When ‘Umar bin Sa’d returned to Ibn Ziyād with the army and informed him, among other things, of the case of Marq̣’, Ibn Ziyād deported him to al-Ẓrah (5:454). Al-Ẓrah is a place in Oman, known for its severe heat. Those sentenced to deportation were being sent to this place. We mentioned earlier how @aḡ̣k bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriq̣ al-Hamḍṇ 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 “sḥṛj̣’], Aḅ Mikhnaf says: “‘Aḷ bin al-°usain was considered very young [by the enemy] (5:468). °asan bin al-°asan bin ‘Aḷ and ‘Umar bin al-°asan bin ‘Aḷ were [also] considered to be very young. So they were spared and were not killed (5:469). As for ‘Abdullah bin al-°asan, he was also killed (5:468). According to Aḅ al-Faraj in *al-Maq̣til* (pg.79; Najaf

[The Trampling on al-°usain's Body]

Thereafter, 'Umar bin Sa'd called out to his followers: "Who will volunteer [to go] to al-°usain and make his horse trample on [his body]?" Ten [men] volunteered. Of these, Ishiq bin °aiwah al-°a°ramç and A'bash bin Mirthad al-°a°ramç came forward and trampled on [the body of] al-°usain ['a] with their horses until they had crushed his back and chest.¹

'Umar bin Sa'd then performed the funeral prayer for those of his followers who were killed, and buried them. He dispatched on the same day the head of [the Imam ('a)] with Khauliyy bin Yazçd to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyçd. When Khauliyy approached the palace, he found that the gate of

edition): "°asan bin al-°asan bin 'Alç was covered with wounds and was thus carried [away from the battlefield]."

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:415): Later Ishiq bin °aiwah al-°a°ramç was afflicted by leprosy. I [have also] heard that during another battle after this, A'bash bin Mirthad al-°a°ramç was standing when an arrow, whose thrower was not known, came and splitted his heart, leaving him dead. Ibn Sa'd committed this atrocity because of the order of Ibn 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-Maqçtil* (pg.79) of Abç al-Faraj, *Murçj al-Dhahab* (3:72) of al-Mas'çdç, *al-Irshçd* (pg.242; Najaf edition) of al-Mufçd and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.254) 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."

the palace was closed. So he went to his house¹ and placed the head beneath a [large] bowl. In the early morning of the next day, he went to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyçd with the head.

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:455): "Hishjm reports: 'My father has related to me from Nawwçr, daughter of Mçlik bin 'Aqrab -who was a °a°ramç, 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 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 (ç)?! 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-°ajjj and ‘Azarah bin Qais. They journeyed until they brought them to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyîd.

[‘Umar] then ordered °umaid bin Bukair al-A!març³ to summon the people for the journey to Kffah. 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 Fîšimah, 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

¹ See also *al-Irshîd* (pg.243).

² See *al-Irshîd* (pg.243). Sibš bin al-Jawzç says in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.256; Najaf): “There were ninty-two heads.” But this is, perhaps, due to the misspelling of seventy (*sab’çn*), for he himself asserts on page 259 of the same book: “There were more than seventy heads.”

³ *Al-±abarç* (5:368): “He was one of the bodyguards of Ibn Ziyîd. Ibn Ziyîd had sent him with Shurai!, the chief judge, to monitor [Shurai!] when he sent the latter to see Hîni’ 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 Hîni’ what he had asked me to tell them.”

⁴ *Al-±abarç* (5:453-455): “[Abç Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaimîñ bin Abç Rjshid narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...”

salute you! Here is al-°usain lying in the plains, covered in [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 weep¹. The women lamented and struck their faces."²

[The Burial of al-°usain ('a) and His Companions]

[Some of] the Ban£ Asad, who had been staying at al-Gḥirīyyah, buried al-°usain ['a] and his followers, a day after they were killed.^{3,4}

[The Head of the Imam ('a) Before Ibn Ziỵd]

°umaid bin Muslim narrates: "Umar bin Sa'd summoned me and sent me to his family members to give them the good news of the victory of Allah granted to him and that he was in safety. So I proceeded until I came to his family and informed them about that.

There [I saw] Ibn Ziỵd sitting, while the delegation that

¹ See *Maq̣til al-°libīyyen* (pg.256).

² *Al-°abar* (5:455): "[Ab£ Mikhna£ says:] 'Ab£ Zuhair al-'Abs£ related to me from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tam£m£ that...."

³ *Al-°abar* (5:453-455): "[Ab£ Mikhna£ report:] 'Sulaiṃn bin Ab£ Ṛshid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...."

⁴ See *al-Irsḥd* (pg.243&249) and *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (3:72). However, the predominant opinion is [that the burial took place] three days after they were [martyred] and in the presence of Imam al-Sajj̣d ('a), as the the debate between 'Al£ bin °amzah and Imam al-Rị£ ('a) attests to this fact. See *Maq̣tal al-°usain* (pg.415) of 'Abd al-Razẓq al-Muqarram.

brought [the heads] had [just] entered on him. The [people of] Kindah, led by Qais bin al-Ash'ath, came forward with thirteen heads. The [people of] Hauẓn, under Shamir bin Dh£ al-Jaushan, came with twenty heads. Seventeen heads were brought by the [men from the] Tam£m. Ban£ Asad brought six heads. Madḥij came with seven heads and the rest of the army came [in] with seven heads. This comes up to seventy heads.

[Ibn Ziỵd] 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 (¥) on those two lips, kissing them!' [With that] the old man broke into tears.

Ibn Ziỵd said to him: 'May Allah make your two eyes weep! By Allah, if it was not for the fact that you are an old man who has become silly and your mind has left you, I would cut off your head.'

[Zayd bin Arqam] stood up and went out² saying: 'A slave has appointed [another] slave to rule and he is treating [the people] as his [own] property. O the community of the

¹ Sib£ bin al-Jawz£ narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.257) from Ibn Ṣṛn on the authority of al-Bukḥṛ that: "When the head of al-°usain ['a] was placed in front of Ibn Ziỵd, it was put in a wash-bowl. [Ibn Ziỵd] began striking [al-°usain's] teeth with a cane. Anas bin Ṃlik 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-Irsḥd* (pg.243).

Arabs! [Know that] you have become slaves henceforth! You have killed the son of Fjšimah and taken the son of Marjñnah as [your] ruler! He will kill the righteous among you and enslave the wicked. You have thus accepted humiliation! And away from the people who have accepted humiliation!'¹

After he went out, I heard people saying: 'By Allah, Zayd has said something that if Ibn Ziyjd had heard, he would

¹ Sibš bin al-Jawzç has narrated this incident in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.257). He further adds: "[Zayd] then said: 'O Ibn Ziyjd! I am indeed going to tell you a word which is harsher for you than this: I have seen the Prophet of Allah (¥) seat al-°asan on his right lap and al-°usain on his left. Then he placed his hand on the crown of their heads and said: 'O Allah, I commend to Your protection both of them and the righteous among the believers!' So how have you treated the trust of the Messenger of Allah (¥) with you, O Ibn Ziyjd?!" Ibn al-Jawzç then says: "Hishjm bin Mu'ammad reports: 'When the head [of al-°usain] was put before Ibn Ziyjd, his fortuneteller said to him: 'Stand up and put your foot on the mouth of your adversary! So he stood and put his foot on [al-°usain's] mouth. Then he said to Zayd bin Arqam: 'How do you find this?' [Zayd] said: 'By Allah, I have seen the Prophet of Allah (¥) keeping his mouth where you have kept your foot.'" Ibn al-Jawzç then writes: "Al-Sha'bç said: 'Qais bin 'Abbjd was with Ibn Ziyjd. So he asked [Qais]: 'What is your opinion regarding me and al-°usain?' He said: 'His grandfather, his father and mother will come and intercede for him on the Day of Judgement, while your grandfather, your father and mother will come and intercede for you!' [At this,] Ibn Ziyjd became angry and asked him to leave the gathering." Ibn al-Jawzç relates from *al-±abaqjt* of Ibn Sa'd that he said: "Marjñnah, the mother of Ibn Ziyjd, said to his son [Ibn Ziyjd]: 'O vicious [man]! You have killed the son of the Prophet of Allah! By Allah, you will never see the heaven!" See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.259). Ibn al-Athçr has also narrated this in *al-Kjmil* (4:265).

have killed him.'

[The Captives in the Court of Ibn Ziyjd]

When [al-°usain's] sisters, his womenfolk and children were brought before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd, Zainab, the daughter of Fjšimah, put on her mean clothes, pretending not to be herself. Her maids crowded around her and she sat.

'Ubaidullah bin Ziyjd 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 Fjšimah.'

'Ubaidullah said to her: 'All praise is due to Allah Who has disgraced you, killed you and revealed the false nature of your claims.'

[Zainab] replied: 'Praise be to Allah Who honoured us with Mu'ammad (¥) and purified us with a thorough purification. It is not the way you have said. Only a sinner is disgraced [by Allah] and [only] the false nature of the wicked is revealed!'

He said: 'How do you consider Allah has treated the members of your household?'

She replied: 'Death had been decreed for them and they went forward [bravely] to their resting places. Allah will gather you and them, and you will argue against each other and dispute with one another before him.'¹

¹ See *al-Irshjd* (pg.243) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.258&259; Najaf edition).

[At this] Ibn Ziyd became enraged and he burnt with anger. He said to her: 'Allah has cured my soul from your tyrant [brother] and the rebellious members of your family!'

[Here] Zainab wept. She then said: 'By my life, you have killed my elders and destroyed my family. [You have] cut my branches and extracted my roots! If this is what cures you, then you have been cured!'

'Ubaidullah said: 'This is a woman who rhymes her speech (*sajji'ah*).¹ By my life, your father used to speak in rhymed prose and was a poet.'

She answered: 'What has a woman to do with rhythmic construction of statements! I have [things] to distract me from that. But this is the agony of my heart that is flowing on my tongue.'²

Thereafter, 'Ubaidullah bin 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°.

¹ 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.244; 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.

² *Al-±abar°* (5:456-457): "[Ab° Mikhna° says:] 'Sulaimin bin Ab° Rjshid has narrated to me from °umaid bin Muslim that...'"

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.'¹ 'No soul may die except with Allah's leave.'²

Ibn Ziyd said: 'By Allah, you are one of them [i.e. the rebellious].' [Then he said to Mariyy bin Ma'jdh al-A°mar°:] 'Woe onto you! Kill him.'

His aunt, Zainab, clung on to him and said: 'O Ibn Ziyd! 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-Sajjid] and said: 'I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.'

'Al° [bin al-°usain] called on him: 'If you have a bond of kinship with them [i.e. these women], then ask a pious man to accompany them in a manner worthy of Islam.'

Ibn Ziyd looked at them and said: 'How wonderful is family relationship! By Allah, she likes me to kill her with him, if I were to kill him. Leave the boy.'^{3, 4}

¹ Qur'an, 39:42.

² Qur'an, 3:145.

³ *Al-±abar°* (5:457): "[Ab° Mikhna° reports:] 'As for Sulaimin bin Ab° Rjshid, he related to me from °umaid bin Muslim who said...'"

⁴ ±abar° writes in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* that: "'Al° [bin al-°usain al-A°ghar] said: 'When I was brought before Ibn Ziyd, he asked me: 'What is your name?' I answered: 'Al° bin Husain.' He said: 'Did Allah not kill 'Al°?' I said: 'I had a brother who was older

than me and the people killed him!' He said: 'Rather Allah killed him.' I said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death.' So he ordered me to be killed. Zainab bint 'Al¢ ['a] then said to him: 'O Ibn Ziyd! You have had enough of our blood! I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.' So he left him." ¢abar¢ then relates in *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (pg.630; Djr al-Ma'rif publications), quoting from *al-±abaqit* of Ibn Sa'd (5:211-218), that he narrated from Mjlik bin Ismj'¢l, who was relating from Sahl bin Shu'aib, who reported from his father Shu'aib, that Minhjl bin 'Amru said: "[One day] I went to see 'Al¢ bin al-°usain ('a). I said to him: 'How are you this morning, may Allah guide you?' He said: 'I have not seen an old man like you in this city, who does not know our condition! But if you are not aware and do not know about it, then I will inform you. [He then said:] 'Our position among our people is that of the children of Israel amidst the people of Fir'aun. 'They were slaying their sons and sparing their women.' Abusing and cursing our master and leader ['Al¢ bin Ab¢ ±jlib] 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'mjn bin Yfn narrated to us from Ja'far bin Mu'ammad [al- jdiq] on the authority of Sufyjñ that: "'Al¢ bin al-°usain died at the age of 58 years.' This implies that 'Al¢ bin al-°usain was with his father [in Karbalj'] when he was 23 or 24 years old. Therefore, the view

'Ubaidullah bin Ziyd then stuck the head of al-°usain [(°a) on a spear] and ordered it to be taken round [the city of] Kffah."¹

[The Stand of 'Abdullah bin 'Af¢f]

[After the gathering was over], it was announced: "Offer your prayers in congregation." So people gathered in the great mosque [of Kffah]. Ibn Ziyd ascended the pulpit and said:

"Praise be to Allah Who has revealed the truth and the followers [of the truth], and has given victory to the commander of the faithful, Yaz¢d bin Mu'jwiyah, and his party, and has killed the liar son of the liar: al-°usain bin 'Al¢, and his followers."

Ibn Ziyd had not yet finished his speech when 'Abdullah bin 'Af¢f al-Azd¢ al-Ghjmide -who was among the Sh¢'ah of 'Al¢ -[lit.] may Allah honour his face, and who would hardly leave the great mosque as he used to [be busy] praying in it the whole day²- sprung up as he heard [these

that says that he was still a child at that time, who had not grown up, is in no way correct. Rather, he was sick at that time and thus could not fight. Besides this, how can he be a child at that time while Ab¢ Ja'far Mu'ammad bin 'Al¢ [al-Bjqir] ('a) had been born to him?" See also *al-Irshid* (pg.244) for the conversation that took place between al-Sajjd and Ibn Ziyd. Ibn al-Jawz¢ has briefly related the actual report [i.e. the conversation between Ibn Ziyd, Lady Zainab and Imam al-Sajjd] in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.258; Najaf edition).

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (5:459): "Ab¢ Mikhnaf says..."

² *Al-±abar¢* (5:458): "He lost his left eye in the battle of Jamal, fighting alongside 'Al¢ ('a). He was struck on his head in the battle of iff¢ñ and a second strike on his eyebrow. He thus lost

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!¹ You kill the sons of Prophets and speak the speech of the men of truth?!”

Ibn Ziyāḍ said: “Get him for me.”

The soldiers rushed towards him and arrested him. He gave the battle cry of al-Azd [saying]: “O the kind one!” So a number of young men from Azd quickly came forward, freed him and took him to his family.²

his other eye too.” See *al-Irshād* (pg.244) for the actual incident. Sibṣ bin al-Jawzʿ has also narrated the incident briefly in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.259).

¹ *Marjānah* is an Arabicized version of the Persian word *mehrgjn*. She was the mother of Ibn Ziyāḍ, who was a slave girl supposedly from Khuzistān.

² *Al-ṭabarī*: ‘Abd al-Raʿmān bin Mikhnaf al-Azdī was sitting. So he said: “Woe onto other than you! You have destroyed yourself and your clan!” (5:459). ‘Abd al-Raʿmān was the uncle of Abu Mikhnaf’s father, for he was the brother of Saʿd, the grandfather of Abī Mikhnaf. He participated in the battle of ʿiffān and had also stood against the raids launched by Muʿīwīyah’s army, as reported in *al-ṭabarī* (5:133). He was with ‘Abdullah bin al-Muṣṣalḥ al-ʿAdawīyy –the governor of Ibn al-Zubair in Kḥfah– during the uprising of Mukhtār in 66 H. Al-ʿAdawīyy had sent him with some horsemen to the cemetery of the people of ʿijīd (6:18). ‘Abd al-Raʿmān was also among the advisers to al-ʿAdawīyy, who advised him to leave Kḥfah and go to ʿijīz (6:31). He disliked rising against Mukhtār, but when they insisted him to do so, he [ultimately] rose against him (6:44). He fought [the followers of Mukhtār] [near] the Euphrates. He was covered with wounds and was carried away by the soldiers (6:51). [ʿAbd al-Raʿmān] then joined Muṣʿab bin al-Zubair in Baʿrah, along with those noblemen of Kḥfah who had risen [against Mukhtār] (6:55).

Ibn Ziyāḍ then sent someone who brought [Ibn ʿAḥf] to him. He killed him and ordered him to be crucified in al-Sabkhah, so he was crucified there.¹

Muṣʿab sent him to Kḥfah in 67 H to invite people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and to persuade them to go [and join] Muṣʿab (6:95). He remained with Muṣʿab throughout his war against Mukhtār (6:104). In the year 74 H, during the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik bin Marwān, [ʿAbd al-Raʿmān] fought against the Azīriqah sect of the Khawārij, on the order of Bishr bin Marwān, the governor of Baʿrah (6:197). 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. ʿAbd al-Raʿmān continued to fight until he was killed in the year 75 H (6:212).

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:458): “[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 Abū Bardah bin ‘Auf al-Azdī and ṣarīq bin ṣabyān al-Azdī, and sent them with the head of al-°usain [‘a] and those of his companions to Yazīd bin Mu’jwiyah.²

¹ *Al-ṣabar*: [Zahr bin Qais] al-Ju’fī al-Kindī. He was one of those who testified against °ujr bin ‘Adiyy al-Kindī (5:270). He was with Ibn al-Muṣṣa’ against Mukhtār in the year 66 H, and was sent against [Mukhtār] with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Kindah (6:18). He fought until he and his son were severely wounded near Furāt (6:51). In the year 67 H, he was with Muṣ’ab bin al-Zubair in his battle against Mukhtār, and he was sent with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Murīd (6:105). He stopped at a place where the blacksmiths used to work, near a point where animals were given out on hire (6:106). He was among those people of Iraq to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān had written a letter in the year 71 H. [He was asking them to abandon Muṣ’ab and] they answered his call and betrayed him (6:156). In the year 74 H, he was leading the Madhij and Asad in the battle against the Khawrij (6:197). In 76 H, °ajjj sent [Zahr] with 1,800 horsemen, who were riding on fine horses, to fight Shabīb, the Khrijī. They met and Shabīb fought him [bravely] until he wounded him and he fell to the ground. Zahr was then taken to °ajjj while he was wounded (6:242). This is the last information we have about him. May Allah curse him.

² *Al-ṣabar* (5:460): “Hishām says: “‘Abdullah bin Yazīd bin Rauḥ bin Zandīgh al-Judhīm related to me from his father, who narrated from al-Ghiz bin Rab’ah al-Jirshī -who was from the °imyar- that: ‘By Allah, I was with Yazīd bin Mu’jwiyah in Damascus when Zahr bin Qais entered upon Yazīd bin Mu’jwiyah. 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

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]¹ and Shamir bin Dhç al-Jaushan. So they set out with them [towards Shjm] and entered upon Yazçd.²

[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.^{3, 1}

'Alç ['a] came against us with eighteen men of his house and sixty of his followers. We went out to meet them and we asked them to [either] surrender and submit to the authority of the governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyçd, 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-Irshjd* (pg.254) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.260).

¹ *Al-±abarç* (3:465-477): Mu'affaz participated in [different] battles since the year 13 H, including that of al-Qiçdiyyah. The events of these battles have been narrated from him. Regarding his going to Shjm with the captives, see *al-Irshjd* (pg.245).

² *Al-±abarç* (5:459): "Abç Mikhnaf reports..."

³ This is part of the *Mufaaliyyt* poems by °uYain bin Hamjm al-Mariyy. See *Dçwjn al-°amjsah* (1:193).

Ya'yj bin al-°akam², the brother of Marwjn bin al-°akam,

¹ *Al-±abarç* (5:460): "[Abç Mikhnaf says:] 'aq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Qisim bin 'Abd al-Ra'mjn, the slave of Yazçd that..." See also *al-Irshjd* (pg.246; Najaf edition), *Murçj al-Dhahab* (3:70) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.262).

Sibç bin al-Jawzç narrates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.261) from al-Zuharç that: "When the heads arrived, Yazçd was in his watch-tower at Jairfn. He recited:

When those litters appeared and those suns shone on the hill of Jairfn,

The crow croaked, so I said: whether you croak or not, I have [already] settled my debt with my adversary!

Ibn al-Jawzç further says: "What has commonly appeared in all narrations regarding what Yazçd said, is that: 'When the head [of al-°usain] was brought before him, he gathered the people of Shjm and began poking at it with a cane as he recited the verses of Ibn al-Zab'arç:

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-Jawzç says: "And al-Sha'bç 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-Jawzç] narrates on the authority of Qjdhç Ibn Abç Ya'lj from A'mad bin °anbal that he said: "If this is true of Yazçd, then he is indeed a sinner (*fasaqa*)."

² *Al-±abarç*: He was with his brother, Marwjn bin al-°akam, in the battle of Jamal in Ba'rah. He fled defeated [from the battlefield] after he was wounded. He joined Mu'jwiyah in Shjm in 37 H (5:535). [Ya'yj] was the governor of Madçnah for his nephew, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwjn, in the year 75 H (5:202). He remained in this position until the year 78 H, when 'Abd al-Malik sent him on a military expedition (6:321). This is the last

recited [in objection]:

On the bank [of the river] lies a head which is closer in kinship to us than Ibn Ziyd, the slave with a false lineage.

The offspring of Sumayyah has largely increased, while the daughter of the Prophet of Allah remains without offspring!

Yazd bin Mu'jwiyah struck his hand against the chest of Ya'y bin al-°akam and said: "Be quiet!"¹

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£², one of the

information we have about him. Hishm bin 'Abd al-Malik had married [Ya'y's] daughter called Umm °akam (7:67).

¹ *Al-±abar£* (5:460): "[Ab£ Mikhnaf says:] 'Ab£ Ja'far al-'Abs£ has related to me from Ab£ 'Amrah al-'Abs£ that..." See also *al-Irshid* (pg.246; Najaf edition) and *al-Aghn£* (12:74) of Ab£ al-Faraj al-I£fahin£. Ibn al-Jawz£ relates in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.262) from °asan al-Ba£r£ that: "Yazd 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.

² *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] (3:60). Ab£ Barazah participated in the conquest of Egypt as well, under [the command of] 'Amru bin al-°a££ in the year 20 H (4:11). ±abar£ also has narrated Ab£ Barazah's objection to Yazd in his *Tjrk£h* (5:390), from Ab£ Ja'far al-Biqir ('a) on the authority of 'Ammir al-Duhan£. Al-Mas'£d£ writes in *Mur£j al-Dhahab* (3:71) that [Ab£ Barazah] said: "Keep away [the] cane! By Allah, I have often seen the Prophet of Allah

companions of the Messenger of Allah (£), said:

"You are poking with your cane at the teeth of al-°usain! Indeed you have placed your staff at a point where I have often seen the Prophet of Allah (£) sucking it. O Yazd! You will indeed come on the Day of Judgment while your intercessor will be Ibn Ziyd, whereas [al-°usain] will come on the Day of Judgment with Mu'ammad (£) as his intercessor." He then stood and went away.

Hind, the daughter of 'Abdullah bin °amir bin Kuraiz¹, [the

(£) 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 Yazd's [court] and said these words was Anas bin M£lik." Ibn al-Jawz£ comments on this and says: "This is not correct, since Anas was in K£fah with Ibn Ziyd as we mentioned." See *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.262; Najaf edition).

¹ *Al-±abar£*: Uthm£n had sent him to Kabul from Sajist£n and he conquered it in the year 24 H (4:244). He then dismissed him from [Kabul] and appointed him as the governor of Ba£rah in 29 H, after Ab£ M£s£ al-Ash'ar£. ['Abdullah] was then 25 years old, and he was the son of 'Uthm£n's maternal uncle (4:264). [While he was the governor of Ba£rah], he [also] conquered Persia (4:265). In the year 31 H, he set out to Khur£s£n and conquered Abrashh£, ±£s, Ab£ward, and Nass£at£. He reached up to Sarakhs and signed a peace treaty with the people of Marw (4:300). He appointed Ziyd bin Sumayyah as his deputy over Ba£rah [while he was away] (4:301). In the year 23 H, Ibn °amir conquered Marw, ±£liq£n, F£ry£b, Juz££n and ±akh£rist£n (4:309). He [also] conquered Her£t and B£dgh£s (4:314). 'Uthm£n sought his advice in the year 34 H concerning those who revolted against him. Ibn °amir advised him to send them on military expeditions (4:333). In 35 H, 'Uthm£n wrote to him asking him to mobilize the people of Ba£rah to come to defend him. He read the letter to them and people rushed to his aid. When they reached al-Rabadhah, they received the news that ['Uthm£n] was killed, so they returned [to Ba£rah] (4:368). Ibn °amir was [still] the

wife of Yazid], heard their conversation. So she put on her veil and came out. She said [addressing Yaz¢d]: "O commander of the faithful! Is this the head of al-°usain, son of Fj§imah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah?!"

He said: "Yes! So lament on him and mourn over the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah and the succor of the Quraish! Ibn Ziy¢d dealt with him hastily and killed him. May Allah kill him!"

governor of Ba¶rah when °Uthm¢n was killed in 35 H (4:421). He [later] went to °ijz and met ±allah, Zubair, Sa'¢d bin al-°ayy, Wal¢d bin °Uqbah and the rest of the Ban¶ Umayyah. After long deliberations, they [all] decided to go to Ba¶rah. Earlier they were about to go to Shjm, but °Abdullah said to them: "The man in charge of Shjm [i.e. Mu'jwiyah] will take care of that place. Come to Ba¶rah, for there are traders in [Ba¶rah] who are inclined towards ±allah." °ishah and °af¶ah [also] accepted their [decision], but °Abdullah bin °Umar prevented the 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" (4:451). He was wounded in the battle of Jamal and fled to Shjm (4:536). He was the one sent by Mu'jwiyah to Madjin to sign the peace treaty with al-°asan ('a) (5:159). Mu'jwiyah reinstated him as the governor of Ba¶rah (5:212). Mu'jwiyah married him his daughter, Hind bint Mu'jwiyah. °Abdullah [once] debased Ziy¢d because of his lineage. So Mu'jwiyah became angry on him, but Yaz¢d pleaded with [Mu'jwiyah] on his behalf (5:214). Although ±abar¢ does not mention when [exactly] Yaz¢d married [Ibn °amir's] daughter, Hind, it appears that the marriage must have taken place when [Ibn °amir] took the hand of Yaz¢d's sister, Hind. [Hind, daughter of Ibn °amir], bore °Abdullah for Yaz¢d. She used to be known as Umm Kulth¶m (5:500). In the year 64 H, after Yaz¢d died and Ibn Ziyad fled from Ba¶rah, a group from the people of Ba¶rah chose [Ibn Amir's] son, °Abd al-Malik bin °Abdullah bin °amir, as their governor. He held the position for a month, before the governorship of Ibn al-Zubair (5:527).

Yaly¢ 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] Yaz¢d bin Mu'jwiyah took his place, he summoned the noblemen of Shjm and seated them around him. Then he called in °Al¢ bin al-°usain and the children and womenfolk of al-°usain ['a]. They were brought in, while the people were looking [at them]. They were seated in front of [Yaz¢d]. When he saw their disheveled state, he said: "May Allah disgrace Ibn Marjnah! If there was any relation or kinship between you and him, he would not have done this to you, nor would he have sent you in this condition!"

Yaz¢d then said to °Al¢ [bin al-°usain ('a)]: "O °Al¢! Your father cut the bond of kinship with me and showed ignorance of my rights and contested my leadership. So Allah treated him in the way you have seen."

°Al¢ ['a] replied: "No affliction visits the earth or yourselves but it is in a book before We bring it about."²

¹ *Al-±abar¢* (5:465): "[Ab¶ Mikhnaf says:] °Ab¶ °amzah al-Thimlj¢ narrated to me from Qjsim bin Bukhait, on the authority of °Ubaidullah al-Thimlj¢ that..."

² Qur'an, 57:22. Ab¶ al-Faraj relates in *al-Maqtil* (pg.80) the remaining part of the verse also: "...That is indeed easy for Allah, so that you may not grieve for what escapes you, nor exult for what comes your way, and Allah does not like any swaggering braggart." Ibn al-Jawz¢ has narrated the whole verse and says: "°Al¢ bin al-°usain and the women were tied up in ropes. So °Al¢ called out Yaz¢d: °O Yaz¢d! What will the Prophet of Allah think [of you] if he was to see us [in this state], tied up in ropes and uncovered on the hump of the camels?! There was no one among the people [who heard this] except that he wept." See *al-*

So Yaz̧d said to him: "Whatever affliction that may visit you is because of what your hands have earned, though He excuses many [an offense]."¹,²

Fīšimah, daughter of 'Aļ³ ['a] says: "When we were seated before Yaz̧d bin Mu'jwiyah, 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 lowness! Such a thing is neither for you [to decide] nor for him."

Yaz̧d 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] Yaz̧d became distraught with anger and was

Tadhkirah (pg.262).

¹ Qur'an, 42:30. According to Ab̧ al-Faraj: "Yaz̧d first recited this verse, and thereafter Imam al-Sajjīd ('a) replied him with the verse 57 of Şrat al-°aḑd [Ch.57]." This seems to be more appropriate.

² *Al-±abaŗ* (5:461): "Ab̧ Mikhnaf says..." See also *al-Irshīd* (pg.246; Najaf edition).

³ This is how it has appeared in the text. However, al-Muf̧d in *al-Irshād* (pg.246) and Ibn al-Jawz̧ in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.264) say: "[Fīšimah,] daughter of al-°usain..."

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 authority!"

[Yaz̧d was ashamed and] thus became silent.

The Syrian man repeated [his request] and said: "O commander of the faithful! Give me this slave girl."

[Yaz̧d] 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] 'Aļ 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-±abaŗ* (5:390) narrates this report from Imam al-Bīqir ('a) on the authority of 'Ammīr al-Duḥaņ.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AL- \circ USAIN ('A) IN MAD ϵ NAH

When they intended to return, Yaz ϵ d bin Mu'j \circ iyah said: "O Nu'm \circ n bin Bash ϵ r! Prepare for them whatever they need and send a righteous and trustworthy person from among the people of Sh \circ m with them. [Also] send some horsemen and helpers with him to guide them towards Mad ϵ nah.

[Nu'm \circ n] thus went with them. He used to advance with them at night. [During the journey], the [family of al- \circ usain ('a)] moved ahead of him so that they should never be out of his sight. When they stopped, he would go aside from them, and he and his followers would separate around them like a group of guards over them. They would keep away from them such that if any person from the [group] wanted to wash or perform a need, he would not be ashamed. He continued to stop [the caravan] on the way in this manner, being kind to them and looking after them until they entered Mad ϵ nah.¹

[The Arrival in Mad ϵ nah]

When the news of the death of al- \circ usain ['a] reached the people of Mad ϵ nah, Umm Luqm \circ n², the daughter of 'Aq ϵ l

¹ *Al- \pm abar ϵ* (5:461): "[Ab ϵ Mikhnaf relates this] from F \circ šimah on the authority of \circ j \circ rith bin Ka'b..." See also *Maq \circ til al- \pm j \circ libiyy ϵ n* (pg.80) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.264).

² Shaikh al-Muf ϵ d says in *al-Irsh \circ d* (pg.248): "Umm Luqm \circ n, the daughter of 'Aq ϵ l bin Ab ϵ \pm j \circ lib, may Allah have mercy on them, came out crying when she heard the news of the death of al- \circ usain ('a). Her head was uncovered as she came out with her

bin Ab ϵ \pm j \circ 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.¹

When 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Ab ϵ \pm j \circ lib² heard about the

sisters: Umm H \circ n ϵ , Asm \circ j', Ramlah and Zainab, daughters of 'Aq ϵ l bin Ab ϵ \pm j \circ lib, may Allah have mercy on them. She wept for her [relatives] slain on the bank [of the Euphrates], saying..." Sib \circ š bin al-Jawz ϵ has also related this in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.267) from Zainab bint 'Al ϵ on the authority of al-W \circ j \circ id ϵ .

¹ \pm abar ϵ has related these verses from Imam al-B \circ j \circ qir ('a) on the authority of 'Amm \circ r al-Duhan ϵ . [Al-B \circ j \circ qir says:] "He prepared them [for the journey] and took them to Mad ϵ nah. When they entered [Mad ϵ nah], a woman from the Ban ϵ 'Abd al-Mu \circ ššalib came out with dishevelled hair and with the sleeve [of her garment] on her head. She approached them wailing and saying: What will you answer if the Prophet asked you, what have you done, while you were the last of the nations.

To my progeny and household after my death? from them are captives and others are covered with their blood.

This was not the recompense to which I directed you, that after me you deal with my kin with such evil.

² *Al- \pm abar ϵ* : He is the one who narrated the incident of \circ al ϵ mah al-Sa'diyyah (2:158). In the year 8 H, when the soldiers returned from the battle of Mu'tah [and his father, Ja'far, had been martyred], the Messenger of Allah [ﷺ] asked [the family of 'Abdullah to bring him. So they brought him to the Prophet and] he took him in his hands (3:42). 'Abdullah was the one who suggested to 'Al ϵ ('a) to dismiss Qais bin Sa'd from the governorship of Egypt and to appoint over it his half brother from

death of his two sons [Mu'ammad and 'Aun] along with al-°usain ['a], people [began] coming up to him to condole him. He turned to those sitting around him and said: "All praise is due to Allah -the Almighty and the Majestic- for [every misfortune, even for the] martyrdom of al-°usain ('a). If my two hands could not assist al-°usain ['a], then my two sons have [at least] helped him. By Allah, had I been with him, I would have loved not to part from him until I am killed with him. By Allah, what makes me too glad to give up [both of] them and makes easy for me to bear their loss, is [the fact] that they were killed together with my brother and cousin, while they supported him and persevered with him."^{1, 2}

his mother's side, Mu'ammad bin 'Aḅ Bakr. The Imam ('a) accepted his suggestion (4:36). 'Abdullah was with 'Aḷ ('a) in ʿiff̣n (5:61). 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 (5:165). We have given his biography when we mentioned his letter to al-°usain from Makkah through his [two] sons, Mu'ammad and 'Aun.

¹ *Al-±abaṛ* (5:466): "[Aḅ Mikhnaf says that I narrate this] from 'Abd al-Ra'ṃn bin 'Ubaid Aḅ al-Kaṇd, on the authority of Sulaiṃn bin Aḅ Ṛshid..."

² Hisḥm reports: "'Aẉnah bin al-°akam has related to me saying: 'When 'Ubaidullah bin Ziỵd killed °usain bin 'Aḷ, he summoned 'Abd al-Malik bin Aḅ °irith al-Salaṃ and said: 'Go to Maḍnah and meet 'Amru bin Sa'̣d bin al-° -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 (*daṇṇr*). 'Abd al-Malik says: 'So I came to Maḍnah and went to see 'Amru bin Sa'̣d. He said: 'What is the news?' I said: 'That which would please the governor! Al-°usain bin 'Aḷ has been killed!' He said: 'Then

announce his death!' So I announced it. I had never heard before the like of the wails of the women of the Hashimite from their houses, mourning al-°usain. 'Amru bin Sa'̣d laughed [at this] and said: The women of the Baṇ Ziỵd raised a great lament like the lamentation of our women, mourning [after the battle] of al-Arnab.'* 'Amṛ then ascended the pulpit and informed the people about his death." See also *al-Irsḥd* (pg.247; Najaf edition).

[In another report] Hisḥm says: "'Aẉnah related to me that: 'Ubaidullah bin Ziỵd 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 Ziỵd. 'It is lost', 'Umar replied. 'By Allah, you must bring it to me,' he repeated. 'Umar said, 'By Allah, it has been left in Maḍnah 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 Aḅ Waqq̣, I would have discharged my duty towards him.' [Here] 'Uthṃn bin Ziỵd, 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 Baṇ Ziỵd till the Day of Resurrection, but that al-°usain should not have been killed!'"

Hisḥm says: "'Amṛ bin °aiẓm al-Kalḅ 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 Ḍjẉd, and [that] of Ṃṣj and [that] of the bearer of the Inj̣l.

See also *al-Irsḥd* (pg.248) and *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.270; Najaf edition).

* The verse is of 'Umar bin Mu'id Yakrub al-Zubaiḍ. They had waged a battle against the Baṇ Ziỵd in retaliation to the battle fought by the latter against the Baṇ Zubaiḍ.

Siḅ bin al-Jawẓ has briefly narrated this report in *al-Tadhkirah* (pg.266). He also narrates from al-Sha'ḅ that: "Marẉn bin al-°akam was in Maḍnah. So [Abd al-Malik] took the head [of al-



°usain] and placed it before [Marwīn]. 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 'Uthmīn!" Ibn Aḅ al-°aḍd writes in his *Shar' Nahj al-Balighah* (4:72): "The correct version is that: Ubaidullah bin Ziyād wrote to 'Amru bin Sa'̣d bin al-°a'̣, giving him the good news of al-°usain's death. 'Amru read his letter from the pulpit and recited the verses [mentioned above]. He pointed towards the grave of the Prophet and said: 'Today for the day of Badr.' So a group of Anṣīr reproached him for [saying] that." This has also been mentioned by Aḅ 'Ubaidah in *al-Mathjlib*.

THE FIRST VISITOR OF AL-HUSAIN (ʿA) FROM KĒFAH

[After the martyrdom of al-ʿusain] ʿUbaidullah bin Ziyāḍ inquired about the noblemen of KĒfah. He did not see ʿUbaidullah bin al-ʿurr [al-Juʿfā]. After a couple of days, Ibn ʿurr came to Ibn Ziyāḍ. So he asked: “Where were you, O son of ʿurr?”

He replied: “I was sick.”

[Ibn Ziyāḍ] 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 Ziyāḍ 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 Ziyāḍ [then] became inattentive of him for a moment. So Ibn ʿurr [availed the opportunity and] took his way out and mounted his horse. [After sometime] Ibn Ziyāḍ said: “Where is Ibn al-ʿurr?”

“He has just left”, the people answered.

Ibn Ziyāḍ said: “Get him for me.”

So [his] guards went after him and said to him: “The governor is calling you!”

[Ibn al-ʿurr] 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 Karbalāʾ. He recited in this regard:

A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did you not fight the martyr, son of Fīṣmah?

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-ʿusain] 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.^{1, 2}

¹ *Al-ṭabarī* (5:469): “[Abī Mikhnaḥ says:] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin Jundab al-Azdī narrated to me that...”

² *Al-ṭabarī*: 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 Kāfah and went to Muḥḥīyah. He remained there until the [martyrdom] of ‘Alī (‘a) (5:128). Thereafter, he returned to Kāfah. When ^oujr [bin ‘Adīyy] was arrested, Ibn al-^ourr wished that if only five to ten men had helped him, he could have saved ^oujr and his companions (5:271). When al-^ousayn (‘a) invited him to join him, he said: “By Allah, I only left Kāfah 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” (5:407). After the death of Yazīd and the flight of Ibn Zīyīd and during the uprising of Mukhtār, Ibn al-^ourr went to Madīn with 700 horsemen, collecting money [from the people]. Mukhtār detained his wife in Kāfah and told her: “I am going to kill his companions” (5:129). Ibn al-^ourr later joined Muḥḥab bin al-Zubair and fought against Mukhtār (5:105). 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 (5:116). Then, Muḥḥab feared him for his own life, so he imprisoned him. A group from the Madhīj interceded with him on his behalf, so he freed him. Thereafter, [Ibn al-^ourr] rose against him (5:131). He later joined ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān. The latter sent him to Kāfah at a time when [the city] was under the governor of Ibn al-Zubair. So [Ibn al-^ourr] fought him in the year 68 H and killed him (5:135). We made some mention of his life when giving the account of his meeting with the Imam (‘a) at 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 *Tjrkħ al-±abarç*, and which [±abarç narrated] on the authority of Hishjm al-Kalbç from AbŒ 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.

