Chronicles of the Martyrdom of
Imam Husayn

Muhammad Muhammadi Rayshahri

Translated by

Abbas Jaffer

The martyrdom of Imam Husayn (a) sent shockwaves through the early Muslim community. Today, this tragedy is still remembered, studied, and commemorated. However, in recent years, there have been increasing questions over the reliability of the historical accounts of his martyrdom. What material is reliable, and what sources can be used when presenting the narrative of his martyrdom to others?

The Chronicles of the Martyrdom of Imam Husayn was compiled to fill the need for a strongly reliable source on Imam Husayn's (a) final days. Meticulously researched, it contains narrations about the Imam's last stand that are found only in the earliest extant sources. Hand-selected for their reliability, they have been arranged and translated into fluid, precise English. No detail of the narrative of the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (a) has been left out, from his fateful journey towards Iraq, to the journey of the captives afterwards and the events surrounding Arba'in.

The *Chronicles* also includes narrations on related topics of interest, such as the custom of mourning the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (a) and fasting on the day of Ashura. Ample preliminary matter written by recognised Islamic scholars addresses the question of the reliability of early and medieval sources, the nature of the oral versus the written tradition, and the challenges faced in the modern era in presenting a reliable account of Imam Husayn's (a) martyrdom. The Arabic text of the narrations has been included throughout, and the work is rounded out with five detailed maps of the Imam's journey.

This work is certain to find a special place in the personal library of historians, students and scholars of Islam, those speaking from the pulpit, and anyone with an interest in Imam Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (a).

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Guzīdih-yi Shahādat Nāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn (a)

Muhammad Muhammadi Rayshahri

Translated by Abbas Jaffer

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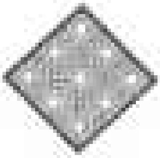

PREFACE

A comprehensive study of the lives of the divinely ordained leaders of the religion – the Messenger of God (s) and his Ahl al-Bayt (a) – in the manner that their words, conduct, and response to different situations may be properly understood is a very necessary undertaking. Merely contenting oneself with a cursory or partial knowledge about them may often result in misunderstanding some of their words and actions.

Such a study can only be made through an intellectual and systematic analysis of the lives of each of these great personalities, and this requires scholars with specialist knowledge in a variety of fields, at every stage of the research. A work of this magnitude takes many years to complete, and indeed, has long occupied myself and my colleagues at the Dār al-Hadith Scientific-Cultural Institute (Muassasih-yi 'Ilmī va Farhangī-yi Dār al-Ḥadīth).

Dānishnāmih-yi Amīr al-Mu'minīn (The Encyclopaedia of the Commander of the Faithful) that was published in 1420/2000[1] was the first work of this type, and was very well received both inside Iran and abroad. The second work in this genre is *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (The Encyclopaedia of Imam al-Ḥusayn), which by God's grace, was completed in 1429/2008, after several years of study and research by a group of scholars at the Institute. The work attracted the attention of both specialist and lay readers. In this work, an attempt was made to present details of all aspects of the life of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) [in addition to the historic epic of Karbala].

Of course, amongst the Shī'a, the general Muslim population, and even other communities, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is best remembered for the event of Karbala, which is the highlight of his life. However, a much better understanding of this great personality can be achieved by studying his life and contributions before that event as well. For this reason, we attempted to include details of all phases of the life of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in this encyclopaedia; however, the sensitivity and importance of the event of Ashura necessitated a special attention, so that this crowning phase of his life was properly treated. These efforts resulted in a work that presents to its readers the history of the radiant and honourable personality of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and especially his stand at Karbala, in the most complete, detailed, and intellectually sound manner possible.

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[1] *Dānishnāmih-yi Amīr al-Mu'minīn* was printed in fourteen volumes [thirteen volumes in Arabic/Persian, and one special volume of indices and maps]. The work has also been summarized into a single volume.

Introducing the perfect man and the speaking Qur'an

By taking advantage of the valuable opportunity provided by the event of Karbala, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was able to present an exceptional example of the manifest Qur'an (*al-Qur'ān al-nāṭiq*) and the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) before humanity, and create a unique epic through his sacrifice. His stand epitomized many lofty human values: patience and endurance, sacrifice and altruism, nobility and sublime morality, the struggle for freedom, and honesty. He remained steadfast in the face of the harshest trial against a variety of deceitful, oppressive, hard-hearted, and merciless enemies. He faced these challenges in such a masterful manner that even the angels were awestruck.[1]

His sacrifice was so explicit, clear-cut, evident, and public that the enemies of Imam 'Ali (a) and the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were not able to cover it up, or to obscure the radiant face of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his godly stand in Karbala.

The biggest lesson of Ashura

The history of Ashura contains many ethical, political, and social lessons for the Muslim nation, and in fact, for every freedom-loving community. However, its biggest lesson is the inspiration that it gives to a nation that seeks to change its cultural and political landscape. In the specific case of Iran, the influence of the lessons from Karbala had an extraordinary effect in bringing about a revolution based on Islamic values.

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[1] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 504

وقد عجبت من صبرك ملائكة السموات.

The events of Ashura have a huge potential to guide mankind and to inspire model societies based on Islamic values. This is the meaning of the Prophetic hadith saying that in the most exalted location on the Divine Throne, al-Ḥusayn is referred to as the lantern of guidance and the ark of salvation. The full text is: "Indeed, al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī is more exalted in the heavens than he is on the earth; indeed, it has been written on the right side of the *ʿarsh* of God, the Almighty, '[He is] the lantern of guidance and the ark of salvation.'"[1]

Without doubt, all the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) are lanterns of guidance and arks of salvation; however, the [greater] capacity for societal change of the history of Ashura established these titles uniquely for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). Indeed, a proper harnessing of this capacity can rescue not just Muslims but also the rest of the world from the various cultural and political malaises of today.

This is the reason why every subsequent member of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) laid such great emphasis on keeping the memory of Ashura alive, and on visiting Karbala and going for the *ziyārah* of the Doyen of the Martyrs (a).

The necessity of reviewing the history of Ashura

The widespread culture of Ashura and its great significance in the Muslim world, especially amongst the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), means that it is important that this fundamental issue of the Shi'a school should be a subject of diligent research and study by the most capable scholars and specialists in our religious seminaries and teaching institutions. Those most familiar with the Qur'an, hadith, and history of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) should embark on the task of compiling, verifying, and evaluating historical records in order to derive a variety of lessons from this instructive, honourable, and sacred event.

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[1] *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 1, p. 56.

إِنَّ الحُسَيْنَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام في السَّماءِ أكْبَرُ مِنْهُ في الأَرْضِ، و إِنَّهُ لَمَكْتوبٌ عَنْ يَمينِ عَرْشِ اللهِ عزّ وجلّ: مِصْباحُ هُدىً و سَفينَةُ نَجاةٍ.

However, with great regret, it must be acknowledged that the inattention to this important topic by religious seminaries and senior scholars on the one hand, and the conflation of the mourning ceremonies with the livelihood of many lay preachers on the other, has resulted in a focus in most mourning gatherings on arousing the emotion of the audience, at the expense of sharing the lofty ideals of the Ḥusayni movement. As a result, weak and baseless accounts – that contain highly emotive material – have become hugely popular, even if they sometimes disparage the noble status of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). In fact, in the words of Ayatollah Muṭahhari: "By this reasoning [laying greater emphasis on arousing emotion], they have added forged and false accounts into their elegies (*marthiyah*), thereby echoing the sentiments of Machiavelli, who believed that the end justifies the means."[1]

Some examples of these incredible reports, along with the rebuttals of Ayatollah Muṭahhari, are as follows:

- "Hāshim ibn 'Utbah al-Mirqāl came to support Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) with a spear that was seventeen yards long."[2] Notwithstanding the size of the spear, Hāshim ibn 'Utbah was a companion of Imam 'Alī (a) who was killed in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, nearly twenty years before the event of Karbala!
- "'Umar ibn Sa'd brought 1,600,000 men from Kufa to Karbala."[3] This was at a time when the total population of Kufa was around 100,000!
- "On the day of Ashura, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) himself killed 300,000 men."[4] This despite the fact that even if the Imam (a) killed one man every second, it would take eighty-three hours to kill 300,000 men!

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[1] *Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī*, vol. 1, p. 48.

[2] *Muḥriq al-Qulūb*, p. 152; see also *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 321, where he adds, "He carried a spear that was shaped like a writhing snake."

[3] *Asrār al-Shahādāt* (*Asrār al-Shahādah*), vol. 3, p. 29.

[4] See *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, p. 345 (early edition). This report has been omitted in the newer editions (vol. 3, p. 35).

- "Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās killed 25,000 men on the day of Ashura."[1] At the same rate as mentioned in the preceding example, this would *require* seven hours!
- In order to allow for the time that it would take to kill this number of men, the author of the previous reports then claimed that the day of Ashura was seventy-two hours long!"[3]

There are many such reports found in books that we have termed "weak sources".[4] To this discarded collection, we have to also add the material that was initially presented by elegy reciters and *marthiyah* composers out of poetic licence, and which gradually became accepted as factual.

The apathy of researchers and scholars in this field to the urgent need of the community to hear about the proper facts and noble ideals of the Ḥusaynī movement has resulted in the proliferation of books, especially in recent times, written about Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). These works number hundreds, if not thousands. Very few of them are referenced and reliable accounts of the true history of the revolution of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and its ideal objectives. For this reason, in modern-day Iran, whose Islamic revolution was inspired and is sustained by the revolution of Ashura, it is more important than ever to have an academic review and recompilation of its history by cleansing it of baseless and demeaning accounts. Indeed, this is the greatest service that academic and research institutes can provide to the sacred mission of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and to the school of Ahl al-Bayt (a).

Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn was a humble step in this direction. After many years of research and effort, with the collaboration of an able group of researchers of the Dar al-Hadith Scientific-Cultural Institute, a fourteen-volume[5] work was completed. It was made publicly available in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of 1430/2009.

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1 *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, vol. 3, p. 39.

2 See *Asrār al-Shahādāt* vol. 3, pp. 36-39.

3 *Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī*, vol. 1, pp. 28-29.

4 See ch. 1, part 1, "Unreliable sources".

5 With a fifteenth volume dedicated to indices and maps.

Some parts of the encyclopaedia – those dealing with martyrdom of *Sayyid al-Shuhadā'* (a) and his loyal companions – were of greater importance than the rest in making lay readers more familiar with an academic treatment of the history of the event of Karbala. They were also a valuable resource for preachers [especially when they travelled to recite *majālis*]. For this reason, these sections were printed separately under the title *Shahādat Nāmih-yi Imam Ḥusayn* (The Chronicles of the Martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn). Later, because of a perceived demand for a summarized work, another, more concise, work was also prepared.[1]

At this point, I would like to acknowledge my appreciation and gratitude to all the respected researchers who were involved in any way in the compilation of both *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* and *The Chronicles of the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn* (a). I would especially like to recognize the diligent efforts of the expert biographers of the Dar al-Hadith Scientific-Cultural Institute, in particular, Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭabāṭabā'ī Nejād and Sayyid Rūḥ Allāh Sayyid Ṭabā'ī, who were responsible for compiling the aforementioned research, and the esteemed scholar Murtaḍā Khūshnasīb, who prepared the summary that is in the hands of the reader, for which I am truly grateful. Similarly, I would like to acknowledge my appreciation and thanks to the esteemed linguists 'Abd al-Hādī al-Mas'ūdī, Mahdī Mahrīzī, and Muḥammad Murādī, who elegantly translated the *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* [into Persian]. I pray to God, the all-Generous, to reward them all amply for their efforts.

O God, grant us the intercession of al-Ḥusayn on the day that we arrive in Your presence, and allow us a sure footing before You, in the company of al-Ḥusayn, and the companions of al-Ḥusayn, who sacrificed themselves in defending al-Ḥusayn – may Your peace be upon him.

Muhammad Muhammadi Rayshahri

17 Mordād 1389 / 27 Sha'bān 1431 / 8 August 2010

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[1] The volume in the hand of the readers is a translation of that summarised work.

ABOUT THIS BOOK

In Islam, the Doyen of the Martyrs, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn (a), enjoys a uniquely exalted status. He is such an accepted and influential personality that many Islamic schools of thought, who possess otherwise differing views about various figures in Islamic history, are unanimous in their respect and veneration of him. Several verses of the Qur'an – such as the verse of imprecation (*mubāhilah*, 3:61) and "the contented soul" (*nafs al-mutma'innah*, 89:27) – allude to him, as is mentioned in their exegesis (*tafsīr*) or interpretation (*ta'wīl*). Many traditions of the Prophet (s) and the words of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and their companions speak highly of his merits. And finally, his own remarkable life is a great practical example for the development of mankind. All these qualities display different aspects of the exceptional individual that Imam al-Husayn (a) was.

Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Husayn is like a mirror in which a sincere attempt has been made to reflect this radiant personality. This valuable, fourteen-volume work, which was completed after several years work through the untiring efforts of Ayatollah Muhammadi Rayshahri and a team of scholars and researchers of the Scientific-Cultural Institute, was published in 1430/2009. It is a significant resource, examining the entire life of Imam al-Husayn (a) from every aspect: his personal, social, and political contributions; his knowledge; his ethical teachings; and more. The learned author and his diligent colleagues pored over verses of the Qur'an as well as thousands of narrations and historical accounts. After collating, refining, and evaluating these reports, they were able to fill a great void in the proper recognition of one of the most important personalities in history.

The four books that have been summarized from *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*

The format of *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* and the manner of its compilation resulted in a voluminous work. Therefore, it became necessary to prepare smaller excerpts from the main work for those interested readers who did not have at their disposal the time or the inclination to study the whole encyclopaedia. With this in mind, four summaries have been produced.

1. Selections from *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*

This book was produced by preserving the basic structure of *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* [the chapters, parts, sections, and analyses], but reducing the number of events examined. The result was a concise but methodical one-volume work, which was published under the title *Guzīdih-yi Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (Selections from the Encyclopaedia of Imam al-Ḥusayn).

2. *Ḥikmatnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (The Words of Wisdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn)

The objective of this book was to gather the aphorisms and wise words of the illustrious Imam (*a*) from both Shīʿī and Sunni sources, and present them in a novel and easily accessible format, in ten chapters. In addition to the words of the Imam (*a*) himself, the collection also includes some reports of the speeches that the Imam (*a*) narrated directly or through an intermediary from his esteemed father and grandfather.

3. *Shahādat Nāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (The Chronicles of the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn)

Since the tragedy of Karbala is the highlight of the life of Imam al-Ḥusayn (*a*), all the chapters that dealt with that great event [leaving aside the discussions about his personality, life, and speeches], were collected in two volumes and published under the title *Shahādat Nāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*.

4. A selection from the *Shahādat Nāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*

With the aim of making accessible the most important information about Ashura from the life of the Imam (a), the two-volume work mentioned above was again summarized into a single volume. This is the work that is being presented to the esteemed readers in this translation.

For a better understanding of the composition and manner of compilation of this selection, readers are reminded of the following.

1. *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* is a work of fifteen volumes [altogether comprising 6,600 pages], whose general contents are as follows:
    - Preface, a review of source books, the objectives of Ashura, the mourning ceremonies (*ʿazādārī*), etc.
    - Volume 1: The Family Life of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
    - Volume 2: The Merits and Virtues of Imam al-Husayn (a)
    - Volume 3: The Proofs of the Imamate of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his Descendants (a)
    - Volume 4: Imam al-Husayn (a) after the Passing of the Prophet (s), up to the Martyrdom of his Father (a)
    - Volume 5: Imam al-Husayn (a) after the Martyrdom of his Father (a), up to his Stand on the Day of Ashura
    - Volume 6: The Prophecies about the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
    - Volume 7: From Medina to the Arrival in Karbala
    - Volume 8: From the Arrival in Karbala to his Martyrdom
    - Volume 9: The Events after his Martyrdom
    - Volume 10: The Reaction to the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and the Fate of his Enemies
    - Volume 11: *ʿAzādārī* and Mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
    - Volume 12: Examples of Elegies (*Murthiyah*) that have been Composed for him During the Course of History
    - Volume 13: The Visitation (*Ziyārah*) of Imam al-Husayn (a)

- Volume 14: The Shrine of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
- Volume 15: The Words of Wisdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Shahādat Nāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn (The Chronicles of the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn) includes all the material from chapters six to eleven of the *Dānishnāmih*, as well as excerpts from the preface and volume one, and a small section from volume thirteen. The work is nearly 2,500 pages long and was printed in two volumes.

However, this particular book in hand is a summary of volumes six to eleven, including excerpts from the preface, and the same small section from volume thirteen [two salutation (*ziyārah*) texts about the event and the martyrs of Karbala].

2. All the chapters, and nearly all the analyses, contained in the aforementioned six volumes of the encyclopaedia have been included in this work, although in a summarized form.
3. A number of the secondary discussions, as well as the explanations of some terms useful in the analyses, are also included in this work. Most importantly, references to similar narrations and alternative historical reports that are about the same event, which have all been compiled in full in the encyclopaedia, have also been included in the footnotes of this book.
4. The most comprehensive and clear reports about each event, taken from the more reliable sources, have been included.
5. The Arabic text of the traditions and historical accounts has been preserved in the footnotes for the further benefit of the readers.
6. Most of the extra traditions in the footnotes of the encyclopaedia have been removed, and only a maximum of two reports, from the more reliable sources, have been retained for each topic.
7. One of the features of *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* is the inclusion of five unique maps showing areas of geographical and historical relevance, which were specially commissioned for the encyclopaedia. These five maps have also been included in this book.

AN OVERVIEW OF THIS BOOK

A general outline of this book is as follows.

Chapter One: Salient Aspects of the Epic of Ashura

In the first chapter of this book, several analyses and themes of Karbala and Ashura that have been discussed in more detail in scattered sections of the encyclopaedia have been condensed and presented together.

Chapter Two: Prophecies About the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

This chapter mentions the divine news received about the future martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). Several prophecies have been mentioned, describing the instances when the Prophet (s), the Commander of the Faithful (a), and their companions talked about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) many years prior to the event of Karbala.

There is also a discussion about how these prophecies did not negate his own free will and choice in the matter.

Chapter Three: The Departure of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Medina, until his Arrival in Karbala

In this chapter, important events such as the refusal of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to give allegiance to Yazid, the departure of the Imam (a) from Medina, his activities in Mecca, the despatch of Muslim ibn 'Aqil as his envoy to Kufa, the events of Kufa, and the martyrdom of Muslim and a group of other followers of the Imam (a) and the imprisonment of a number of others have all been mentioned.

The chapter also analyses the advice received by the Imam (a) from different senior members of the community, all discouraging him from going to Kufa.

Finally, it describes the journey of the Imam (a) to Karbala.

Chapter Four: From the Arrival of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Karbala Until his Martyrdom

This chapter discusses in detail the heartrending events leading to the day of Ashura, from the time the Imam (a) arrived in Karbala to the day on which his companions, his children, his brothers, the sons of his brother, the sons of his sister, his cousins, and finally, the Imam (a) himself were all martyred.

Chapter Five: The Events After the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

The fifth chapter discusses the events which transpired after the martyrdom of the Imam (a): the supernatural occurrences that have been reported in reliable sources, how the martyrs were buried, what happened to their blessed heads, the miracles associated with the sacred head of the Imam (a), how the caravan of the captives from the household of the Imam (a) were transported from Karbala to Kufa and then onwards to Damascus before being escorted back to Medina.

Chapter Six: The Reaction to the Martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the Fate of Those who Played a Role in Killing Him and his Companions

The sixth chapter mentions the reaction of both the enemies of the Imam (a) as well as several influential Muslim figures within Iraq and al-Ḥijāz, to his martyrdom and that of his companions.

Thereafter, there is mention of the evil end of those who played a direct role in the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), as well as the fate of those who refused to help him.

Chapter Seven: Mourning Ceremonies (*'Azādārī*) and Weeping for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

In this chapter, which is the final chapter in the book, several traditions about the importance of *'azādārī* and recounting the details of the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and the reward for weeping and making others weep over him, are presented. Details of the first people who mourned for the Imam (a) after the event of Karbala are mentioned, as are the reports about the particular importance of the day of Ashura and the etiquette of commemorating Ashura.

There is also a discussion about the manner in which every part of creation mourned for the Imam (a).

The chapter ends with two salutation texts that have been attributed to the sacred personages (*nāḥiyah al-muqaddasah*), which contain historical information about the events of Ashura.

Acknowledgments and appreciation

I praise God, the all-Generous, and present my abiding gratitude to Him for the opportunity He afforded this insignificant servant to serve the cause of the Doyen of Martyrs (a). I pray that this effort will be a guiding light on the day of darkness, and a provision for the one who will be in great need!

I must record my gratitude to the esteemed author of *Dānishnāmih yi Imām Ḥusayn*, Ayatollah Muhammadi Rayshahri. After I completed the compilation of this book, he gave me an opportunity to be of further service by preparing this summary. I pray to God, the all-Thankful, to bestow a suitable reward on him, and all the researchers and co-writers of this valuable encyclopaedia. In particular, I would like to mention the diligent hadith researchers Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭabāṭabā'ī Najād and Sayyid Rūḥ Allāh Sayyid Ṭabā'ī [both co-authors of this work] as well as 'Abd al-Hādī al-Mas'ūdī, Mahdī Mahrīzī and Muḥammad Murādī [all eloquent translators of the encyclopaedia into Persian], who have undoubtedly played a pivotal role in the production of this book. May God reward them all amply.

May God raise all those who have worked on this project in the company of the Doyen of Martyrs (a). Amen, O Lord of the worlds!

Murtada Khushnasib

Dar al-Hadith Scientific-Cultural Institute

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The position of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is unique in the Muslim world in general, and the Shi'a world in particular. He is a figure who evokes love, admiration, pride, inspiration, sorrow and hope in those who have come to know him.

His stand in Karbala and the tragedy of his martyrdom are a seminal event in world history. For generations afterwards, his sacrifice has served as an example of altruism, boldness and steadfastness in the face of tyranny and injustice.

From the moment of his martyrdom, and ever since, the event of Karbala itself has been the subject of dedicated study and analysis for a variety of reasons. For the Shi'a, the constant remembrance of Karbala has become a cornerstone of the gatherings convened to remember and learn from the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt (a).

The Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were guides for the nation of Islam. Their followers are required to emulate their example and learn from their words and deeds. In the case of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), the highlight of his legacy, and the most widely reported, occurred in the last year of his life, which culminated in the day of Ashura. The first step in analysing and drawing lessons from this tragic episode is to attempt to find the most reliable account of what transpired before, during, and after the events of Ashura. In the absence of this, it will not be possible to properly appreciate the motives, objectives, and message of the Imam (a). We need to understand why he refused to pay allegiance to Yazid, why he left Medina, why he went to Mecca, and why he set out for Kufa. We need to understand the reason why he chose to sacrifice his life and those of his dear ones, rather than back down in the face of the enemy's demands.

The narration of history has always had its own constraints and challenges, and the epic of Ashura is no exception. However, by developing a methodology for evaluating the available data, we can attempt to gain a clearer idea of the backdrop to the event of Ashura as well as the details of the individual sacrifices of brave and noble men, women, and children. To be content with unreliable and baseless accounts would be a disservice to the memory and sacrifice of Imam al-Husayn (a) and his companions.

For some time now I have been thinking about compiling or translating a reliable *maqtal* account in English. Such an undertaking is not as straightforward as it might initially appear. On the one hand, I was hesitant to dishearten the lay audiences, who mourn the tragedy of the Imam (a) out of love and devotion, by exposing the weakness or falsehood of some of the popular accounts of the event. On the other, I observed with disquiet as the recital of *maqtal* became more and more inaccurate over the years, with baseless, unsourced, and implausible accounts becoming the norm. It seemed that the focus on evoking emotion and mourning had made the reciters forget the equally important duty of maintaining accuracy. I felt a great responsibility in at least presenting a work that was better researched, so that reciters and laity alike would have access to a more reliable account of Ashura.

A large part of the problem stems from the reliance of reciters on oral tradition; they repeat what they have heard, rather than what they have read. My humble suggestion to all reciters of *maqtal* is to go back to the sources. A reciter may choose their benchmark; it could be *al-Irshād*, *al-Luhūf*, or even the expansive *Biḥār*. However, once they have decided what *maqtal* works they consider most reliable, then they should base their recitals on these texts rather than rely on what they have heard from others.

Some years ago, I came across the summary of the *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (Encyclopaedia of Imam al-Ḥusayn) that Dar al-Hadith had prepared after several years of research. It seemed to me that this would be an excellent work to render into English for the purposes mentioned above. Under the auspices of The Islamic College in London, the translation, which is the book in hand, was completed in 20 months.

The methodology employed by the author is to accept, and consider reliable, only those reports that are found in the early extant sources of the event of Karbala, principally those written in the first seven centuries of Islam. For this reason, reports that appear in later sources have largely been omitted. However, it is my humble opinion that the accounts found in some of the later compilations such as *Biḥār al-Anwār*, *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, and *Muntahā al-Āmāl* for example, are also valuable and worthy of consideration in providing information about events and personalities, even though they are not included in this work.

ABOUT THE TRANSLATION

This work covers the section of the encyclopaedia that deals with the departure of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Medina to the return of the freed captives from his family back to Medina after the Imam's (a) martyrdom in Karbala.

In this translation, I have left certain often recurring and familiar names without diacritics (e.g. Ashura) for ease of reading. For the same reason, I have not changed the spellings of modern towns and places. I have added minimal glosses for some terms and concepts.

The Arabic text of the various historical accounts included in the work has been preserved in the notes for the interest of the reader. The translation of these accounts has all been made from the original Arabic, while the analyses and discussions have been translated from the Persian.

The two-volume Arabic summary of the encyclopaedia has a brief section on the role and contribution of women in the events of Karbala. After discussion with the publishers, it was decided to add that valuable information to this work as well.

Five specially commissioned colour maps of the various locations that this caravan travelled along have been added.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God for the opportunity to be part of this project. I learned a lot in the process, and appreciated anew the significance and consequence of the matchless sacrifice of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). I was fortunate to be able to translate some relevant portions of the work in the cities of Medina, Mecca, Karbala, and Damascus as well.

My appreciation and thanks go to my wife Masuma and my son Shaahid Hasan for their diligent proofreading of the text and their suggestions. I am also deeply grateful to my brother Mustafa for his valuable critique of the translation of various parts of the work. I would also like to thank Amina Inloes for her meticulous reading of the final text and her suggestions, and Shaykh Mohammed Ali Ismail of The Islamic College for his constant encouragement from the inception to the completion of the project. The responsibility for the final work rests with me.

I hope that this will be a useful addition to the English works about the sacrifice of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the eternal message of Ashura.

This translation is dedicated to my father, Mulla Asgharali M M Jaffer, who passed away 20 years ago. It is equally dedicated to my mother, Sakina Asgharali Jaffer, who passed away too soon afterwards. They taught me about Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), not so much through words, but through their practice and their devotion to God, to His Prophet (s) and to the Ahl al-Bayt (a). "*My Lord, have mercy on the two of them, (just) as they cared for me in my young age.*"

Abbas Jaffer
London, UK
February 2020

Chronicles of the Martyrdom of Imam Husayn

CHAPTER ONE | SALIENT ASPECTS OF THE EPIC OF ASHURA

Part 1: A survey of the works on the history of Ashura

Part 2: The objectives of the stand of Ashura

Part 3: An assessment of the journey of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Iraq and the uprising in Kufa

Part 4: *'Azādārī* and weeping for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 5: The history and development of the mourning ceremonies for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

PART 1: A SURVEY OF THE WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF ASHURA

In the course of history, many works have been written about the movement of Imam al-Husayn (a), especially his stand on the day of Ashura. Similarly, many books have been written about the mourning ceremonies (ʿazādārī) associated with Imam al-Husayn (a) and the circumstances of his martyrdom, indicating the great importance attached to the event by scholars and historians.

Of course, these works are not all equal in their reliability, nor in the accuracy of their compilation and transmission. They can broadly be divided into two types: reliable and weak. Furthermore, this division can only be made for the books that are extant, because there are several works mentioned in bibliographical catalogues which have now been lost. However, while direct access to the original works is no longer possible, excerpts from them have been occasionally preserved in other books.

Therefore, in every work of research about the history of Ashura and ʿazādārī, four types of sources can be considered: (1) reliable sources, (2) unreliable sources, (3) contemporary sources, and (4) lost sources.[1]

By reliable sources, we mean those source texts that have historical standing; their authors are known and acknowledged to be reputable scholars. Notwithstanding this, we have occasionally presented our critical view on some of their reports.

Unreliable, or weak, sources are those texts that are about story-telling, containing narratives with no references or historical precedents. We will only refer to the reports presented in these works for corroboration of details contained in the more reliable works.

Hereunder, we begin by examining the general details of reliable sources (23 books), followed by famous, but unreliable sources (10 books),[1] then contemporary sources (20 books), and finally, lost sources (24 books). In every case, we will mention what has appeared in history about their authors. In total, we will examine 87 works.

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[1] In this work, to maintain brevity, we have not discussed in detail the sources that are now lost. Additionally, we have only provided a general introduction to the reliable and contemporary sources. For more detailed information, see *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, pp. 51-116.

I. Reliable sources

Fortunately, many early and reliable works about the stand of Ashura are still available. These works were continually produced in the first five centuries of Islam. They can be divided into two: those that only discuss the event of Karbala and its unique impact in history, and those that discuss the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) as part of a larger work.

We will devote ourselves here to a discussion, in chronological order, of the most famous [and perhaps most important] of the reliable sources. It should be noted that these sources are not equal in their reliability; however, they are all worthy of reference. By way of a meticulous study and comparison with other historical data, an informative and acceptable narrative can be formed.

A list of the most well-known [and perhaps important] reliable works[2] is presented below.

1. *Tasmiyah man Qutila maʿa al-Ḥusayn min Waldihi wa Ikhwatihi wa Ahl-i Baytihi wa Shīʿatihi* (An Index of those who were Killed with al-Ḥusayn, from amongst his Children, his Brothers, his Family Members, and his Partisans)

The author of this work is Fuḍayl ibn Zubayr al-Asadī al-Kūfī, a Shīʿī scholar of the 2nd/8th century. His short treatise is the earliest[3] extant work written solely about the event of Ashura.

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[1] In these introductions, we have mainly relied on the following four works: (1) *Kitāb Shināsī-yi Tārīkhī-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (An Index of Historical Works about Imam al-Ḥusayn) by Muḥammad Isfandayārī, (2) *ʿĀshūrā Pazhūhī* (A Research into Ashura) by Muḥammad Ṣiḥḥatī Sardrūdī, (3) *Taʾammulī dar Nahḍat-i ʿĀshūrā* (A Study of the Movement of Ashura) by Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, and (4) *ʿĀshūrā Nāmih* (An Anthology of Ashura), a collection of articles by various authors, vol. 4 (indices).

[2] For a detailed analysis of these works, see *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 52.

[3] See *Kitāb Shināsī-yi Tārīkhī-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, p. 47 and 74. It is worth mentioning that the *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā (d. 157/774), was written before this book; however, the original work is no longer extant.

2. *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, or *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Book of the Major Classes), a lengthy and valuable work by Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Manī' al-Zuhrī (d. 230/845), commonly known as Ibn Sa'd.
3. *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah* (Leadership and Politics), by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī al-Kūfī (d. 276/889).
4. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Genealogies of the Nobles) by Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892).
5. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Lengthy Narratives) by Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895 or 290/903).
6. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī* (The History of al-Ya'qūbī) by Ibn Wāḍiḥ Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb Isḥāq ibn Ja'far (d. 292/905).
7. *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* (The History of Nations and Kingdoms) or *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (The History of al-Ṭabarī) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922).
8. *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (Book of Conquests) by Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926).
9. *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd* (The Unique Necklace) by Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Andalusī (d. 328/940), famously known as Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.
10. *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (The Slaying of the Ṭālibids) by Abū al-Faraj 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn Umawī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967).
11. *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* (The Great Lexicon) by Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Shāmī al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971).
12. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār* (Explanation of Reports) by Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī (d. 363/974).
13. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* (Compendium of Salutations) by Abū al-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Qūlawayh al-Qummī (d. 368/979), known as Ibn Qūlawayh.
14. *Al-Amālī* (The Dictations) of al-Ṣadūq, by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 381/991), known as Shaykh al-Ṣadūq.

15. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Completion of the Two Ṣaḥīḥs) by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāfiʿī (d. 405/1014).
16. *Kitāb al-Irshād* (The Book of Guidance) by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Baghdādī (d. 413/1022), known as Shaykh al-Mufīd.
17. *Faḍl Ziyārat al-Ḥusayn* (The Merit of the Visitation of al-Ḥusayn) by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAlawī al-Shajarī (d. 445/1053).
18. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* (The Lantern of the Night Worshipper) by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068), known as Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifah.
19. *Al-Amālī al-Khamīsiyyah* (The Thursday Dictations) by Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ismāʿīl al-Shajarī (d. 479/1086).
20. *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn* (The Meadow of the Admonishers) by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (d. 508/1114), known as Fattāl or Ibn Fattāl al-Nīshābūrī.
21. *Iʿlām al-Warā bi Aʿlām al-Hudā* (Deliverance of the Creation by the Leaders of Guidance) by Amīn al-Islām Faḍl ibn Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153), the author of the seminal and well-known exegesis, *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*.
22. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (The Report of the Martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn) by Abū al-Muʾayyid Muwaffiq ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Khwārizmī al-Makkī (d. 568/1172), known as Akhṭab al-Khwārizm.
23. *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (The History of the City of Damascus) by Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan al-Shāfiʿī al-Dimashqī (d. 571/1175), known as Ibn ʿAsākir.
24. *Al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ* (Miracles of the Infallibles) by Abū al-Ḥusayn Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hibat Allāh, (d. 573/1177), known as Quṭb al-Dīn Rāwandī.
25. *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* (The Merits of the Progeny of Abū Ṭālib) by Abū Jaʿfar Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Māzandarānī (d. 588/1192), known as Ibn Shahr Āshūb.

26. *Al-Mazār al-Kabīr* (The Great Shrines) by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Mashhadī (d. 610/1213).
27. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (The Complete History) by Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Shībānī al-Jazarī (d. 630/1233), known as Ibn Athīr.
28. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān wa Munīr Subul al-Ashjān* (The Arouser of Sorrows and the Illuminator of the Pathways of Grief) by Najm al-Dīn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥillī (d. 645/1247), known as Ibn al-Namā.
29. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ* (The Mention of the Elite) by Abū Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Qizu'lī ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. 654/1257), famously known as Sibṭ ibn Jawzī.
30. *Al-Malhūf 'alā Qatlā al-Ṭufūf* (Heartbreak at the Killing of the People of al-Ṭaff) by Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far al-Ḥillī (d. 664/1267), famously known as Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs.[1]
31. *Kashf al-Ghummah fī Ma'rifat al-A'immah* (Removing the Hardships in Knowing the Imams) by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Abī al-Fatḥ al-Irbilī (d. 693/1293).
32. *Siyar al-A'lām al-Nubalā'* (The Lives of Noble Personalities) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347).
33. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (The Beginning and the End) by Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372), famously known as Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī.

2. Unreliable sources

The event of Ashura is a unique incident in history. A small band of heroic personalities stood resolutely until their last breath, willing to sacrifice everything they possessed for their beloved, against a large army which was determined to annihilate them with no mercy. From its immediate aftermath, and throughout history thereafter, this courageous stand has attracted and inspired orators and writers.

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[1] Ibn Ṭāwūs also wrote another *maqtal* work by the name of *Maṣra' al-Shayn fī Qatl al-Ḥusayn* (The Disgraceful Murder of al-Ḥusayn), which remains unpublished, but is worthy of study. See *Kitābkhāna-yi Ibn Ṭāwūs* (The Library of Ibn Ṭāwūs), p. 63.

Historians and biographers were the first to write about the event, focussing on every detail of it. Their efforts forestalled the attempts of writers who were under the employ of the Umayyads from hiding the glorious and valiant deeds of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions from the masses, or from presenting false or distorted objectives for the stand.

Scholars from amongst both the Shi'a and Sunnis, and even non-Muslim writers, have reported the event of Karbala as a seminal and defining occurrence in history; however, as with every historical narrative, there are differences of opinion about some details and particulars of individual events, with some omissions and exaggerations being normal and expected.

With the passing of time, and the centuries that have elapsed since the event took place, the possibility of discrepancies and distortions grows greater, making it more important than ever to refer to the earlier sources for a more accurate understanding of what actually transpired. Fortunately, early historical and biographical sources have reported in great detail on the events of Ashura and Karbala, and thus, distortions, errors, and carelessness in reporting can be easily detected.

These early books and data from other contemporaneous works, together with the application of textual and biographical criticism, are the criteria we have used for judging the reliability and authenticity of the reports contained in the books written in later times.

Additionally, since the event of Karbala is one of the greatest examples of the domain of the *Shīʿī* doctrine of *imāmah* [the authority of the Imam], the reports and lessons of Ashura must be judged by the standards of the infallibility (*ʿiṣmah*) possessed by the Imams (a), and their known personality and character must take precedence over any actions and words attributed to them.

On this basis, books and works whose authors have not critically examined the material that they have presented, or have not compared their narratives to original historical sources, or have included accounts whilst ignoring the implication of their words towards the nobility and personality of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, are thus weakened, and must be deemed unreliable. The relative weakness or strength of a book will depend on the number of unsubstantiated reports, or reports that do not conform to the noble character of the people of Ashura that it contains.

This means that our criticism of a work is more focussed on the book and its contents, rather than its writer or compiler. In fact, some of the writers of these kinds of books have compiled their works out of their sincere admiration and regard for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), the loyalty of his companions, and their role in the epic of Karbala. However, despite their good intentions, they were often writing in a field that they did not specialize in, and which was essentially different from their area of expertise, which may have been jurisprudence or exegesis, for example.

In other words, their sense of indebtedness to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) became mixed with the emotion that is evoked in every human being whenever the movement of Ashura is studied. Consequently, these writers were drawn to include in their books many baseless reports, to a degree that they even gave credence to stories that they had heard from some preachers, elegy-reciters and others, thereby adding inappropriate embellishments to the actual events of Ashura, often contrary to its objectives. In addition, they quoted from books that were unreliable, unknown, or even outright fabricated.

Other factors also contributed to this process, amongst which was the advent of the popularity of the recitals of the saga of Ashura to lay audiences. This popularity was fed by the natural human appetite for hearing engaging stories and accounts. This in turn led to exaggerated narratives designed to make the participants of the event appear grander and more heroic.

Some storytellers would justify relating fabricated stories in the name of "poetic licence", while, in some cases, they gave preference to salacious lies over the truth.

These emotionally-charged and imaginary tales gradually found their way onto the pulpits, and into elegies (*marthiyah*) and mourning rituals. In time, that which was created to be recited as storytelling and poetry to evoke emotion began to enter the books written about Ashura as established facts of history. This is more or less true for both the early as well as the more contemporary works.

All this is in addition to any unintentional human error in recording and transmitting historical narratives, such as a narrator incorrectly remembering an oral transmission, or an error in writing down the report, or when making a copy from a manuscript, especially when it already contained mistakes, or had poor handwriting, etc.

A cause of optimism for researchers is the pyramid-like nature of the corpus of reports about this unique event. In other words, although a number of the current sources contain correct reports mixed with false ones, the researcher is ultimately led to the handful of sources responsible for the original appearance of these fictional and non-historical accounts into the works about the events of Karbala.

The team of researchers of the *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* project, of which this book is an excerpt [of the section devoted to the event of Karbala and the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn (a) and his companions], studied hundreds of works, and went through their references step by step, identifying the most important of the unreliable works, evaluating them and exposing their weak points. However, this does not mean that everything reported in these books is false and distorted; indeed, the books contain correct reports taken from early and original historical and biographical works as well. What we mean is that in this collection of works, there is frequent mention of reports that are false, or that have no historical basis. Often, they have mentioned matters that go against the station and personality of Imam al-Husayn (a) and his noble family.

It is for this reason that, without a proper evaluation, the material in these books cannot be completely relied upon. These books are the following:[1]

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[1] The objective is to discuss the most important and influential works that are unreliable in nature. If we have not mentioned other works (such as *Sa'ādat al-Nāṣirī*, *Ṭūfān al-Bukā'*, or *Riyāḍ al-Quds*), it is because they are completely baseless.

1. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (The Report of the Martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn), ascribed to Abū Mikhnaf

Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd (d. 158/774) was a trustworthy historian and a companion of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a). He was most probably Shīʿī, but his testimony is accepted as reliable by both Muslim schools. For this reason, many historians and biographers have reported from his book about the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). Amongst them, one can name Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822); Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) in his *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) in his *Tārīkh*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/939) in his *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*; ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) in his *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Akhbār al-Zamān*; Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) in his *al-Irshād* and also in *al-Nuṣrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah*; al-Shahristānī (d. 548/1153) in his *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*; Khwārizmī (d. 568/1172) in his *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*; Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1175) in his *Tārīkh Dimashq*; Ibn Athīr (d. 630/1232) in his *al-Kāmil*; Sibṭ ibn Jawzī (d. 654/1256) in his *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*; and Abū al-Fidā (d. 732/1331) in his *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*.[1]

It must be mentioned, with great regret, that the original book of Abū Mikhnaf has been lost, and we only have access to that portion of his work that is preserved in the compilations of later scholars. In recent years, several writers, such as Muḥammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī, Ḥasan al-Ghaffārī, Sayyid al-Jamīlī, and Muḥammad Hādī Yūsufī al-Gharawī have worked hard to recreate the book from the works of al-Ṭabarī and others, who had included parts of the book in their own works. Versions of these recreations have been published under several names: *ʿAbarāt al-Muṣṭafayn*, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, *Istishhād al-Ḥusayn*, and *Waqʿat al-Ṭaff*.[2]

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[1] See *Waqʿat al-Ṭaff*, p. 9. It is worth noting that the traditions of Abū Mikhnaf are also mentioned in lesser known works such as *Maṣraʿ al-Shayn* (see *Library of Ibn Ṭāwūs*, p. 63) and *Maqtal Mashā* (see *Tarīkhund*, p. 68).

[2] It should be mentioned that Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Balʿamī (d. 363/973), a minister of the Sāmānid emirate, made an independent Persian translation (with valuable historical glosses) of the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī. His work was popularly known as *Tārīkh al-Balʿamī*. An excerpt from that work has been compiled and published by Muḥammad Sarwar al-Mawlāyī, entitled *Qiyām-i Sayyid-i Shuhadāʾ Ḥusayn ibn-i ʿAlī wa Khūnkhwāhī-yi Mukhtār*

Before these compilations, an unknown book by the name of *Maqtal Abī Mikhnaf* was published. However, there is no evidence that it has anything to do with Abū Mikhnaf at all. The book is considerably different from the account of Abū Mikhnaf preserved in the work of al-Ṭabarī, and moreover, it contains comments that are disrespectful to the noble personality of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), which a knowledgeable and trusted scholar such as Abū Mikhnaf would not make. We have referred to this work as *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn ascribed to Abū Mikhnaf*.

It is also worth noting that there are countless discrepancies between the printed form of this untraceable work and its written manuscripts, which make the work completely unreliable.[1] Unfortunately, the popularity of the work of Abū Mikhnaf has caused many people to unknowingly refer to this popular work, and attribute its contents to Abū Mikhnaf.

It should also be mentioned that in the last century, after studying the character of Abū Mikhnaf and his original report, many historians and writers have declared the popular book known as *Maqtal Abī Mikhnaf* [the false version] as unreliable and inauthentic. These scholars include Muḥaddith Nūrī,[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad Arbāb Qummī,[3]

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bi Riwāyat-i Ṭabarī va Inshā-yi Abū 'Alī-yi Bal'amī (The Stand of the Doyen of the Martyrs, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, and the revenge of al-Mukhtār, according to the report of al-Ṭabarī and the glosses of Abū 'Alī Bal'amī).

[1] This book (*Maqtal Abī Mikhnaf*) has been annexed at the end of *Biḥār al-Anwār*; however, its handwritten manuscript (*dated 1130/1718*) is also available in the library of Dār al-Ḥadīth. The manuscript does not contain any of the numerous additions found in the popular printed version. See the index of handwritten manuscripts of the Research Centre of Dār al-Ḥadīth, vol. 1, p. 129.

[2] *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, p. 156.

[3] *Arba'īn al-Ḥusayniyyah*, p. 9.

Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī,[1] Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn,[2] Sayyid Ḥasan al-Amīn,[3] and Shahīd Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Qāḍī Ṭabāṭabā'ī.[4]

2. *Nūr al-'Ayn fī Mashhad al-Ḥusayn* (The Gleam of the Eye in the Shrine of al-Ḥusayn)

Nūr al-'Ayn is a *maqtal* text attributed to Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyinī, who is Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Isfarāyinī (d. 417/1026), a jurist of the Shāfi'ī school. However, in describing his life and works, none of the early sources mention him authoring a book by this name.[5]

Amongst recent bibliographers, the first to attribute this book to him was Ismā'īl Pāshā al-Baghdādī;[7] later, he was followed by Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī[8] and Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs.[9]

Ismā'īl Pāshā's opinion is weakened because he refers to *Wafayāt al-A'yān* as his source, whereas we have not found any such information in *Wafayāt al-A'yān*; furthermore, in one of his other works, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, Ismā'īl Pāshā himself has mentioned the book without naming the author.[10]

Contemporary bibliographers, such as Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, also believe that this book has been falsely attributed to Isfarāyinī, because its style and methodology does not conform with

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1 *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, p. 9; *al-Kunā wa al-Alqāb*, vol. 1, p. 155; *Hadiyyat al-Aḥbāb*, p. 43.

2 *Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah fī Ṣadr al-Islām*, p. 41.

3 *Mustadrak A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 6, p. 256.

4 *Taḥqīq Darbāra-yi Awwal Arba'īn-i Ḥaḍrat Sayyid al-Shuhadā'*, p. 60, 76, 119, 121, and 122.

5 For further details about this book and related sources, see *Kitābshināsī-yi Tārīkhī-yi Imām al-Ḥusayn*, p. 72; Muṭahharī, *'Āshūrā, Taḥrīfāt*, pp. 396, 395, 397.

6 See *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*, vol. 4, p. 256; *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, vol. 1, p. 28; *Tabyīn Kidhb al-Muftarī*, p. 243; *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 17, p. 353; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 12, p. 30.

7 *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 8.

8 *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 17, pp. 72–73, no. 380.

9 *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt al-'Arabiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 436.

10 *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 685.

works written in the fourth century, the period in which Isfarāyinī was active in teaching and writing.[1]

Finally, the book does not list any references or sources for its material, and sometimes mentions matters that are so implausible or irrational[2] that it is difficult to imagine that a jurist and scholar would write such things. For this reason, researchers who are well-versed in the biography and history of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) have rejected this work.[3]

3. *Rawḍat al-Shuhadāʾ* (Garden of the Martyrs)

The author of this work, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504) was an innovator of a story-telling style that embellishes historical events by adding fiction to fact. It is not known whether he was a Shīʿa or Sunni, but he was fascinated with the Ahl al-Bayt (a). In order to attract the laity, he presented historical events, especially the event of Ashura, in pleasant and flowing prose, liberally mixing fact and fiction in the process. This new style was written in Persian, and the author liked to read out portions from his work to audiences gathered at mourning ceremonies. This resulted in the book of Kāshifī becoming popular not only as a novel portrayal of history, but also as a work of propagation of the message of Karbala.

Unfortunately, its serious flaws were not recognized in time. Meanwhile, the book became very popular and was reprinted several times. In fact, preachers who recited about the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) came to be known as the *rawḍah khwān* (reciters of the *Rawḍah*).

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[1] See *Ahl al-Bayt (a) fī al-Maktabat al-ʿArabiyyah*, p. 655.

[2] For example, that the horse of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) killed 26 horsemen and 9 horses by itself (*Nūr al-ʿAyn*, p. 51), or that the battle began from the 3rd of Muharram, and the Imam (a) killed 1000 men on that day (p. 36), and many other such stories (see, for example, pp. 7, 37–38, 41, 44, 48).

[3] Such as Shahīd Qāḍī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, who considers its weakness and fabrication at the level of the *Maqtal* attributed to Abū Mikhnaf (in fact, he calls the whole work a fiction; see *Taḥqīq Darbārih-yi Awwal Arbaʿīn-i Ḥaḍrat Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ* (a), p. 62), Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Arbāb in his *Arbaʿīn al-Ḥusayniyyah* (p. 272), and Faḍl ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī in his *al-Imām al-Ḥusayn (a) wa Aṣḥābuhu* (vol. 1, p. 192).

In time, the misinformation contained in this apocryphal work established a culture in which it became acceptable to add all sorts of accounts, in the name of poetic licence, to the telling of the event of Ashura.

'Allāmah Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan Sha'rānī, who set out to correct the text, and thereafter, republished the work with his own glosses in the margins, alludes to this fact in his introduction to the book, saying, "One should not be surprised at the inclusion of weak reports in *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, because it is effective in delivering the objective of a preacher, even though it is not sufficient for the objective of a historian."[1]

Even before Sha'rānī, Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh Afandī [a colleague of the scholar] and the prolific author 'Allāmah Majlisī wrote that most, if not all, of the reports contained in the book had been taken from unknown and unreliable works.[2]

Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn concurs with this view,[3] while Muḥaddith Nūrī notes that some of the reports in the book have no historical basis at all.[4] Shahīd Muṭahharī is scathing in his criticism of the book, calling it full of lies, and claiming that the writing and publishing of this book was the reason why people stopped referring to the original works and studying the true history of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).[5] Shahīd Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Qāḍī Ṭabāṭabā'ī considers the work to be at odds with reliable sources, and therefore unreliable and without worth.[6]

Many examples of fabricated and scarcely plausible reports can be found all through the work.[7]

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[1] *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 8 (annotated version).

[2] *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 190.

[3] *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 8, p. 122.

[4] *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, pp. 187–88.

[5] *Ḥamāsah-ye Ḥusaynī*, vol. 1, p. 54.

[6] *Taḥqīq Darbārah-ye Awwal Arba'īn-i Ḥaḍrat Sayyid al-Shuhadā'*, p. 68.

[7] For example, that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had 22,000 wounds on his body (*Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 60), that the severed heads of the two sons of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl joined back to their bodies (p. 241), that Hāshim al-Mirqāl [Hāshim ibn 'Utbah, who was killed at Ṣiffīn] was present in Karbala (p. 300), the story of Za'far the jinn (p. 346), and the alleged marriage of al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan (p. 321).

4. *Al-Muntakhab fī Jamʿ al-Marāthī wa al-Khuṭub* (A Selection from the Compendium of Elegies and Sermons)

This is a collection of reports and elegies about Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and other Imams (a), compiled by Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭurayḥī (d. 1085/1674), the author of the lexical compendium on Qurʾānic terms, *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*. He compiled the reports in brief sections with the intention of arousing grief amongst the believers and encouraging them to mourn over the tragedy of Karbala.

Al-Muntakhab is not a scholarly presentation of the biography of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) or the history of his stand in Karbala. Most of its reports do not cite sources, and its narrations are of incomplete chains (*mursal*); the book is a mixture of true and inaccurate material. Consequently, in recognition of the style and aims of the writer, the book is referred to as *Majālis al-Ṭurayḥī* (The Sermons of al-Ṭurayḥī) or *Majālis al-Fakhriyyah*.

Another weakness of the work is the fact that there are many discrepancies amongst the several extant manuscripts, indicating later emendations to the work.[1]

Muḥaddith Nūrī considers *al-Muntakhab al-Ṭurayḥī* to be a mixture of weak and strong reports,[2] and Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Arbāb al-Qummi has pointed out many errors in the book and does not believe its overall account to be reliable.[3]

Some of the weak reports in this book are quite implausible and a sample of these are presented as an example.[4]

5. *Muḥriq al-Qulūb* (Igniter of the Hearts)

Muḥriq al-Qulūb is a Persian *maqtal* text written by Mullā Mahdī Narāqī (d. 1209/1795). He adapted material from *Rawḍat al-Shuhadāʾ*

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[1] See the comments of Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Ṭihrānī in *al-Dharīʿah* (vol. 22, p. 420, no. 7696).

[2] *Luʾluʾ wa Marjān*, p. 187.

[3] *Arbaʿīn al-Ḥusayniyyah*, p. 64.

[4] For example, that more than 10,000 horsemen were killed on the day of Ashura (al-Ṭurayḥī, *al-Muntakhab*, p. 450), the presentation of three variant accounts of the martyrdom of al-ʿAbbās (a), his bringing of water to the camp for the children of the Imam (a), and the martyrdom of ʿAlī al-Akbar (p. 451).

and presented it in a manner designed to attract the people towards the event of Karbala and arouse their emotions and sorrow. However, because Narāqī's principal source was *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, a book that was an unreliable mix of truth and falsehood, his work is likewise counted amongst the weak and unreliable accounts of Karbala.

Narāqī himself acknowledged that some of the reports in his book were weak,[1] and for this reason he was criticised by some scholars after him. Mīrzā Muhammad Tunikābunī has dismissed some of the material in the book as fanciful, or outright lies.[2] Muhaddith Nūrī expressed great surprise that such a renowned scholar could author such a book, describing some of its contents as abominable (*munkar*).[3]

Shahīd Muṭahharī has also acknowledged Narāqī to be a proficient jurist, but does not consider him knowledgeable about the history of Ashura, and has criticised some of the contents of his book.[4]

It is also worth noting that while the attribution of this book to Narāqī is well established,[5] it is possible that he wrote the book in the early days of his studies, before he reached his scholarly excellence.

6. *Iksīr al-'Ibādāt fī Asrār al-Shahādah* (*Asrār al-Shahādah*) (The Elixir of Worship in the Secrets of Martyrdom)

The author of this work is Āqā ibn 'Ābid Darbandī al-Shirwānī (d. 1286/1869), popularly known as Fāḍil Darbandī or Mullā Āqā Darbandī. In addition to books in his field of specialization (jurisprudence), he wrote on other subjects also, such as the history of Ashura. He collected both strong and weak reports, and with an intention of analysing and reconciling contradictions in *maqtal* texts, compiled one of the most comprehensive works in Arabic about the event of Ashura. He was devoted to Imam al-Husayn (a), and his intention in writing this book was well-meant. However, by accepting material from weak sources alongside original sources, and adding some unknown reports, he was ultimately unsuccessful in producing a reliable *maqtal* text.

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[1] *Muhriq al-Qulūb*, introduction (cited in *Taḥrīf Pazhūhī*, p. 406).

[2] *Qiṣaṣ al-'Ulamā'*, p. 128.

[3] *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, p. 195.

[4] See *Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī*, vol. 1, p. 28.

[5] See *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 281, no. 1038, and vol. 20, p. 149, no. 2329; *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 443; *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 352.

He also used inaccurate sources and quoted liberally from books that included highly dubious reports. His criteria for inclusion of reports was that if there was a possibility, even remote, that a report was not a lie, then he had no hesitation in mentioning it. He believed that including such reports in works of history and biography was acceptable.

Muḥaddith Nūrī mentions that one of the weak sources of Darbandī was a muddled text, of unknown provenance and full of lies. This text had been brought to the scholars of Najaf for validation and they had rejected it, but it reached Darbandī's hands and he used it. This text has been declared by Muḥaddith Nūrī to be a pack of obvious lies and shameful reports, and could not have been the work of a scholar.[1] In another place he says that this book is the work of enemies in a malicious attempt to show that the Shī'a were liars.[2]

The view of Muḥaddith Nūrī has been echoed by many other scholars, who have cited several inaccurate and incredible reports in this book as proof. Some of these scholars are Mīrzā Muḥammad Tunikābunī [a student of Fāḍil Darbandī],[3] Shaykh Dhabīḥ Allāh al-Maḥallātī,[4] Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn,[5] Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī

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[1] *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, p. 192.

[2] "To the extent that they [the opponents of the Shī'a] have written in their books that, 'The Shī'a are a group of liars, and if anyone objects to this claim, then all one has to do is produce the book *Asrār al-Shahādah* as proof.'" *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, p. 289.

[3] "The unreliable reports in this book [*Asrār al-Shahādah*] are many and weak; in fact, many are outright lies, destroying the credibility of this book." *Qiṣaṣ al-'Ulamā'*, p. 108.

[4] "In *Asrār al-Shahādah*, Fāḍil Darbandī presents a long report about the thirst of Sukaynah, Burayr bringing water to the camp, and the splitting of the water-skin. I do not have much faith in this book, and therefore have refrained from quoting it." *Rayḥān al-Sharī'ah*, vol. 3, p. 272.

[5] "In his writings he has included many weak reports; in fact, he has mentioned things that are irrational, and cannot be found in any other texts." *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 2, p. 88.

Mudarrisī Tabrīzī,[1] Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī,[2] and Shahīd Murtaḍā Muṭahharī.[3]

It should be mentioned that many of the analyses of the writer of this book are attempts to reconcile reports that are scarcely credible to begin with.[4]

7. *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh* (Chronicler of Histories)

Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Sipihr (d.1297/1880), famously known as Lisān al-Mulk, was a writer and poet, and a secretary in the Qājār court. In additional to his official duties, he was instructed to write, in Persian,[5] a world history. The work was to span human activity from Prophet Ādam (a) to his own time. He was briefed to include reports of all events, as long as they were possible occurrences, no matter how implausible.

He maintained this methodology in the section of his work which discussed Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and thus includes "every story found in the books of a variety of historians and biographers".[6] Although from time to time he critiqued some of the reports, the book still ended up containing many historical errors and weak reports. For this reason, although preachers and elegy reciters often quote from it, its contents cannot be considered to be reliable.

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[1] "In all fairness, this book of his, and other maqtal works that he has compiled, were replete with exaggerations and fabrications due to the inordinate love that he had." *Rayḥānat al-Adab*, vol. 2, p. 217.

[2] "As a result of well-meaning intent and sincerity of heart, he reported material in this book that is not found in reliable works; in fact, he has taken them from unknown sources." *al-Dharīʿah*, vol. 2, p. 275, no. 1134.

[3] Some 60-70 years ago, Mullā Āqā-yi Darbandī collected all the material of *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, added other reports as well, and compiled them all in a book that he called *Asrār al-Shahādah*. Truly, the contents of this book would make a person lament for the fate of Islam. *Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī*, vol. 1, pp. 55 and p. 106.

[4] Reports that defy belief, for example al-ʿAbbās (a) killed 25,000 men, and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) killed 330,000 (early edition, p. 345); presenting the account of the departure of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Medina with the pomp of kings (vol. 3, p. 303); and claiming that that the soldiers of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd numbered 1,600,000. (*Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī*, vol. 3, p. 33).

[5] *Lughatnāmah-yi Dihkhudā*, vol. 8, p. 11848, s.v. "Sipihr-i Kāshānī".

[6] *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 378.

Shahīd Qāḍī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī considers *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh* to contain many errors and its unreferenced material to be unreliable.[1] Shahīd Muṭahharī too considers his work to be unreliable, although he acknowledges its author to be a pious person.[2]

8. *ʿUnwān al-Kalām* (Distinction of Speech)

The author, Mullā Bāqir Fishārakī (d. 1314/1896) was a 14th/19th century jurist in Iṣfahān. His original expertise was jurisprudence; however, he was also a preacher, and lectured from the pulpit as well. He would end his regular lessons with some words about the tragedy of Karbala, although it was not his intention to relate the history of the event. Thereafter, he compiled some of his sermons, which were about explanations of the daily supplications of the blessed month of Ramaḍān, into a book. He also added two further sections, which expressly discussed the tragedy of Karbala, and which would be typically recited at the end of a sermon.

Fishārakī was not a historian, and his intention was only to relate the tragedy of Karbala and evoke sorrow in his listeners. For this reason, in many cases he did not give references for his comments; sometimes, even when events were specifically negated in the reliable and well-known works,[3] he has still mentioned them as assumptions and possibilities.

ʿUnwān al-Kalām has never been a reference or source text for researchers and historians; however, some of its messages and stories have been occasionally relied upon by preachers.

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[1] *Taḥqīq Darbārah-yi Awwal Arbaʿīn-i Ḥaḍrat Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ* (ʿa), p. 54 and pp. 177-178 (footnotes).

[2] *Falsafah-yi Tārīkh*, p. 14.

[3] See ʿUnwān al-Kalām, p. 194.

The relatively late era of the author, the lack of scholarly references to original works, and the presence of isolated and unverifiable reports[1] are all reasons why researchers have not had any use for this work.[2]

9. *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'* (A Mention of the Martyrs)

Mulla Habīb Allāh Sharīf al-Kāshānī (d. 1340/1921) was a scholar, jurist, and prolific writer of the 14th/19th century. He authored more than 200 works, one of which is the Persian *maqtal*, *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*.

Al-Kāshānī's specialization was in jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and its related sciences. However, due to his deep attachment to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he also compiled a lengthy work about the biographies of the martyrs of Ashura. In this book, al-Kāshānī has gathered both strong and weak reports. Although he did reject some reports as false, a number of weak reports are still present in his book. These reports have no historical backing, and there is no other supporting evidence for their veracity either.

For this reason, the book is not reliable, and examples of unsubstantiated reports can be seen on almost every page of the work. It is worth mentioning that even though some of these reports are not implausible, nevertheless, they lack any credible reference or source.[3]

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[1] For details about the solitary reports that have no historical backing that are found in this book, see *'Unwān al-Kalām*, pp. 81 and 288 (about the elegy recited by the mother of 'Alī al-Aṣghar for her suckling baby), pp. 298 and 328 (about exhuming the body of 'Alī al-Aṣghar, and severing the head of the infant from his body), and several other reports on pp. 194, 280, 282, 322, etc.

[2] See *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 15, p. 268, no. 1740 and p. 353, no. 2267; *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 3, p. 92; *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 332.

[3] For example, that the arrow which struck the throat of 'Alī al-Aṣghar was poisoned and had three prongs (*Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*, pp. 218 and 220), that al-'Abbās's horse did not move towards the battlefield (p. 270), that the battle began on the 3rd of Muḥarram (pp. 246 and 299), that the survivors brought back gifts and souvenirs for the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and Umm al-Banīn (pp. 325 and 443), and that a voice was heard from the throat that had been cut (p. 365). Also see pp. 24, 156, 411, et al.

10. *Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn* (The Noble Rank of the Two Grandsons)

Muḥammad Mahdī al-Ḥāʾirī al-Māzandarānī (d. 1385/1965) is a 14th/20th century writer. Besides *Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn*, he has written two other books on the Ahl al-Bayt (a): *Shajarat al-Ṭūbā* and *al-Kawkab al-Durrī fī Aḥwāl al-Nabiyy wa al-Batūl wa al-Waṣiyy*.

In the Arabic work, *Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn*, al-Ḥāʾirī al-Māzandarānī starts by mentioning some details about the life of Imam al-Ḥasan (a), and devotes the rest of the book to the life of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). His book is a mixture of poetry and prose, and has been compiled in a manner that can be easily quoted in the lectures given at mourning ceremonies. He has collected historical accounts, traditions, and other matters to present a suitable narrative of the *maqtal* and event of Ashura. In the process, he has not avoided weak reports and unreliable sources (such as *Rawḍat al-Shuhadāʾ*, *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, *al-Muntakhab al-Ṭurayḥī*, and others).[1]

Shahid Sayyid Muhammad ʿAlī Qāḍī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī – who knew the author and was in correspondence with him – does not consider the accounts in this book very reliable, but rather believes them to be a mixture of true and weak reports. For this reason, he advises readers to be cautious when referring to this book.[2][3]

3. Contemporary sources

After the 9th/15th, and 10th/16th, centuries, the number of works about the history of Ashura proliferated to the extent that it is not possible to discuss all of them. However, in general, it can be said that the reliability of these books depends on the reliability of the sources that their respective authors have selected. In other words, the more reliant these recent and contemporary compilations are on older and more reliable books, and the more care taken by their authors to be true to these works, the more reliable their own books will be.

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[1] For examples of some of the weak reports in this book and their critique, see Ṣaḥīḥī, ʿAzādārī, *Taḥrīfāt*, pp. 388, 393, 396, 400.

[2] *Taḥqīq Darbārah-yi Awwal Arbaʿīn-i Ḥaḍrat Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ*, p. 382.

[3] Examples of weak and solitary reports found in this book are: when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) saw ʿAlī al-Akbar going to the battlefield, he nearly swooned to death three times; or that the aunts and sisters of ʿAlī al-Akbar prevented him from going to the battlefield, or that Zaynab (a) threw herself on the body of ʿAlī al-Akbar before the Imam (a) arrived, because she knew that he would die if he saw the martyred body of his son (*Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 254–255); or that after the martyrdom of ʿAlī al-Akbar, [his mother] Laylā came out of the tent with her head bare (vol. 2, p. 24).

Therefore, voluminous works such as *Biḥār al-Anwār* and popular works such as *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, *Muntahā al-Āmāl*, *Ibṣār al-ʿAyn*, and *Maqtal al-Muqarram* cannot be easily placed into one of the two previous categories. Similarly, books such as *al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar* of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Bīrjandī (d. 1352/1933) – a reputable scholar, who compiled his work after painstaking research – cannot be simply considered reliable or unreliable, because some of his sources are reliable, whilst others are not. The author has criticized some of the reports, but there are many instances when he has unquestioningly quoted from weak books.

It is worth mentioning that on this basis, *Biḥār al-Anwār* and *Nafas al-Mahmūm* are more reliable, because most of their reports are acceptable and taken from early and reliable sources.

In summary, the presence of a historical report in any of the contemporary books – no matter how well-known and popular – does not necessarily mean that it has any historical standing. One cannot attribute matters to the Ahl al-Bayt (a) purely on the basis of these reports; rather, the sources used in the book must be evaluated, and if they are weak or untraceable, then those reports should not be trusted. The same criteria apply to oral reports also, even if the speaker is a renowned scholar, because a great span of time has elapsed since the era of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), and orally transmitted reports are prone to errors. Relying on such reports without other evidence is against rational practice.

Isolated reports in later sources

A detailed study of the reports about the event of Ashura that are mentioned in the *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* [from which this book has been summarized] might raise some queries in the mind of the researcher, such as: why are many well-known events which have been mentioned in later sources, and material that is used by most elegy writers in their compilations, missing from this encyclopaedia? The choice of the title for the compendium would suggest that it would include every report mentioned about the event of Ashura. Or did the researchers and compilers of the *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* [and this *Shahādat Nāmih*] not come across these reports? Or is there another reason for their absence? In the next section we will answer these questions.

Disregarding later sources

The decision not to rely on later sources, and to leave out from this book a number of the well-known reports about the event of Ashura, was made for the following reasons.

1. The intention to present a reliable account of the event of Ashura

The first reason for avoiding reports only found in the later sources when compiling the *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, and this summary, was to present a reliable and referenced history about the life of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and, especially, the event of Ashura. For this reason, our methodology in this research was to refer primarily to the earliest sources [mostly from the 1st/6th to 7th/13 century, and occasionally to the 9th/14th century]. On this basis, reports that have only appeared in sources after that, and have no reference in the original and earlier sources, have been ignored.

We do not mean by this that everything that is mentioned in the early sources is reliable; rather, we mean that no material in the newer sources should be cited unless a reference to it can be found in the earlier sources. Of course, the reliability of reports in the early sources that are worthy of mention must be evaluated too; in fact, in this research, we have critically appraised a lot of material found in the old texts as well.

2. No need to consider isolated reports found in the later sources

A meticulous study of the texts and sources about the momentous stand of Imam al-Husayn (a) in Karbala confirms the claim that the history of Ashura is sufficiently described in early sources that are reliable and worthy of citation, and is not in any need of support from reports found in unreliable sources.

3. The clear distinction between the reports in the early sources and those in the later sources

It is highly regrettable to note that the reports found in the early sources [up to the 9th/14th century] about the event of Ashura are clearly different and distinct from those found in later works, for instance:

- In the books compiled in recent centuries, there are hundreds, rather thousands, of new reports, no trace of which is found in the old texts.
- The style adopted by the weak books of recent centuries in reporting the event of Ashura is a story-telling, discursive style, rather than the distinct, historical citations found in the old texts. For this reason, the succinct reports found in the original sources have been transformed, in these new works, into long narratives, with elaborate details.
- The objective of many of these newer works has been to inflame the emotions of the audience, even at the expense of the honour and dignity of the household of the Prophet (s).

A point worth noting

It is possible to say in defence of the books that have appeared in recent centuries that the absence of these isolated reports in the extant original sources does not mean that they are unreliable; it is possible that their compilers had access to sources which they considered reliable, and that these sources have not reached us.

The reply to this assertion is that, firstly, none of the authors of these well-known but unreliable books has claimed to have access to reliable manuscripts that others did not possess; in fact, their reports usually have no references, and when they do, they have quoted from books which are of similar unreliability to their own [and often, these references are themselves incorrect!].[1]

Secondly, in some cases, these types of books attribute their reports to reliable sources; however, when we turn to the original works, it is found that these attributions are erroneous.[2]

Types of reports in the later compilations

The types of reports found in the later compilations can be divided into three groups.

The first group consists of reports that are clearly false. Many of the accounts in *Rawḍat al-Shuhadāʾ*, *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, *al-Muntakhab* of al-Ṭurayḥī, and other weak works written in later times are of this type, and have been discussed earlier.

The second group consists of reports whose contents appear to be plausible; however, there is no evidence of their veracity; moreover, their absence in any of the original works, and their presence alongside reports that are patently false, makes it unlikely that they are true.

The third group consists of reports that are also found in the original historical and traditional sources.

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[1] For example, the report that some of the companions of the Imam (a) left Karbala on the night of Ashura, which the writer of *al-Damʿat al-Sākibah* (vol. 4, p. 271) quotes from *Nūr al-ʿAyn*, whereas no such report is found in that book; or that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) fell down in a swoon when ʿAlī al-Akbar went to the battlefield, which the writer of *Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn* (vol. 1, p. 254) quotes from Shaykh Jaʿfar Shushtari, whereas such a report is not found in any of his works; or that a three-pronged arrow was shot at ʿAlī al-Aṣghar, which the writer of *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadāʾ* (p. 268) reports from the *maqtal* attributed to Abū Mikhnaf, whereas this report is not found in the book.

[2] For example, the account of Hilāl ibn Nāfiʿ on the night of Ashura, which has been attributed to al-Mufīd by the writer of *al-Damʿat al-Sākibah* (vol. 4, p. 272). However, this account is not present in any of the works of al-Mufīd, or any other early scholar. Similarly, the report that Zaynab (a) prayed the night prayer (*tahajjud*) on the 11th night while sitting down, which the writer of *Wafayāt al-Aʾimmah* (p. 440) quotes from *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, whereas no such report is found in the work.

In our opinion, only the third group of reports in the later books is worthy of narration and citation. Some do not accept this view, and are unwilling to ignore isolated and emotive accounts gathered from unreliable works, because these stories evoke the grief of mourners at a gathering. At the very least, those who resort to such compilations should make a distinction between reports that are found in the original sources, and those that are not. In this way, they can ensure that they do not attribute falsehoods to the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and not fall into the error of committing a sin, while seeking to do something recommended (*mustaḥabb*). The Qur'an clearly warns, "*And do not pursue that of which you have no knowledge.*"[1]

Examples of isolated reports in the later sources

We will now present some examples of reports that are found in the later sources, or those that have become popular in the compositions of elegy (*marthiyah*) reciters. These reports are not found anywhere in the original sources.

1. The edict (*fatwā*) of *Shurayḥ al-Qāḍī*[2] about Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

In the original sources, the role of Shurayḥ al-Qāḍī is mentioned in the arrest and subsequent martyrdom of Hānī ibn 'Urwah al-Murādī; however, the popular claim that he issued a *fatwā* legitimising the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is only found in the later sources [such as *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*,[3] which was written in the 4th/10th century].

2. Consoling the daughter of Muslim (a)

In the book *al-Muntakhab* of al-Ṭurayḥī, in the description of the moment when the news of the martyrdom of Muslim (a) reached Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) while he was on his way to Kufa, it is mentioned that Muslim had an 11-year old daughter who was travelling with Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). When al-Ḥusayn (a) rose from the meeting, he came towards the camp, caressed that little girl and hugged her to him. He passed his hand on her head and face in the manner that orphans were consoled. The girl became anxious at this and asked, "Dear uncle! You did not behave this way with me before! Has my father been killed?" On hearing this, al-Ḥusayn (a) was moved to tears and he said, "My dear daughter! From today, I am your father, and my daughters are your sisters...."[1]

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[1] Q 17:36.

[2] He is Shurayḥ ibn Ḥārith al-Kindī, popularly known as Shurayḥ al-Qāḍī (Shurayḥ, the judge), a commercial judge appointed in Kufa by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. [Trans.]

[3] *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 279.

It appears that the original source for this report is *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'* [the Farsi *maqtal* of Mullā Ḥusayn Wā'iẓ Kāshifī], and al-Ṭurayḥī has translated the account into Arabic and included it in his *al-Muntakhab*. However, this report is not found in any of the early, reliable sources.

3. The instruction to extinguish the lamps on the night of Ashura

It is famously reported that that on the night of Ashura, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed the lamps to be extinguished in his camp so that whoever wanted to leave could do so in the anonymity of darkness. The lamps were extinguished, and the companions of the Imam (a) began to leave.

Apparently, this account has been taken from the weak source *al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, whose writer has taken it from an even more unreliable work, *Nūr al-'Ayn*.[2] The report is attributed to Sukaynah (a), who is supposed to have said:

> On a moonlit night I was sitting in the middle of a tent when I heard the sound of weeping and sobbing from behind it. I wrapped myself in my cloak and went out of the tent. I saw my father sitting surrounded by his companions. My father was weeping. I heard him say, "You all came with me thinking that I am going towards people who have pledged their allegiance to me, in word and deed; however, the situation has changed

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[1] Al-Ṭurayḥī, *al-Muntakhab*, p. 364. It should be mentioned that Muslim ibn 'Aqīl (a) was both the paternal cousin of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), as well as the husband of his sister. Therefore, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was the maternal uncle of the children of Muslim, and *maḥram* to his daughters.

[2] It should be noted that we could not find this report in the book *Nūr al-'Ayn*.

> completely, because Shayṭān has deceived them and made them forget God. Now, they desire nothing else except to kill me and those who are at my side, and take my family as captives. I am concerned that you may be embarrassed to speak your minds [in light of this development]. We, the Ahl al-Bayt, despise deceit [deceiving anyone]. Therefore, any of you who do not wish to stay may leave. The night is dark, the way is open, and the time is now. And whoever aids us shall be in our company in paradise, and safe from the wrath of the all-Merciful God. My grandfather, God's Messenger (s), has said, 'My son Ḥusayn shall be martyred, alone and thirsty, in the land of Karbala. Whoever comes to his aid, has helped me, and has also helped his son, the awaited al-Qā'im, may God hasten his reappearance. Whoever aids him [even] with his tongue shall be in our company on the Day of Judgement.'"
>
> By God, my father had hardly finished his words when the whole assembly, in tens and twenties, dispersed and left. In the end, only seventy-one people remained. I looked at my father and saw that his head was bowed. My tears threatened to choke me…'[1]

It should be noted that the account of the order given by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to extinguish the lamps cannot be found even in the unreliable *maqtal* texts. None of the reliable sources have reported that any of the companions of the Imam (a) left him on the night of Ashura; in fact, conversely, when the Imam (a) suggested that they leave Karbala, all of them showed their indifference to the spectre of death, bravely declared their resolve to stay at his side, and eloquently pledged their willingness to sacrifice their lives in the way of God. And in this manner, they became part of the eternal story of Karbala.

4. The account of Hilāl and Ḥabīb gathering the companions outside the tent of the Ahl al-Bayt (a)

The author of *al-Dam'at al-Sākibah* has related a detailed and emotional account of an event which occurred in the days leading up to Ashura. The gist of the report is as follows: One night, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) came out of the camp. Hilāl ibn Nāfi' followed him with the intention of protecting him from any attacker. When the Imam (a) became aware of his presence, he spoke to him about some matters, and then suggested that he leave Karbala and save himself. Hilāl was not willing to do this. Hilāl reports: "Then, the Imam (a) left me and entered the tent of his sister, Zaynab (a). She appeared to be unsure about the loyalty of his companions, because she said to him, 'My dear brother! Have you tested the loyalty of your companions? I worry that when the battle begins, and men fall to spears, they may surrender to the enemy!'

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[1] *Al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, vol. 4, p. 271.

"On hearing this, tears came to the eyes of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and he said, 'Never! By God, I have gauged and tested them. They are, without exception, men of honour and resolve, and their eagerness for death in my cause is like the eagerness of an infant for its mother's milk...'"

Hilāl continues that after hearing this exchange, he began to weep. Then he informed Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir about the conversation he had heard. Ḥabīb immediately called out to the rest of the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and gathered them around the tent of the Imam (a) in the heart of the night. They all pledged their support to him with great determination and dedication. At this time, the women of the camp came out and began to cry, pleading with them to [be true in their promise to] support the Imam (a).

There is no trace of this detailed report [to which the author of *al-Dam'at al-Sākibah* has devoted more than two pages] in reliable sources. It is possible that he is the first to report this event, although he has [erroneously] attributed it to al-Mufīd.[1] However, this account cannot be found in any of the extant works of al-Mufīd, or in any other reliable work either.

At the same time, it should be noted that Hilāl ibn Nāfi', mentioned in this report, is not one of the companions of Imam (a); rather, he was one of the soldiers of the enemy. The name of the companion of the Imam (a) was Nāfi' ibn Hilāl.

A list of some other isolated reports found in the later sources

If we were to list all the isolated reports about the event of Ashura found in the later sources, in the same detail as the examples above, we would need to compile a whole book just on that topic.[2] Therefore, for the sake of brevity, we will merely list the basic details of several such reports below:

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[1] *Al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, vol. 4, p. 272.

[2] Or, in the words of Shahid Muṭahhari, "If we attempted to collate the false accounts that are recited in the mourning ceremonies, we may end up with

- Reports about the speech attributed to the Imam (a) after the midday prayer on the day of Ashura.[1]
- The report about the presence in Karbala of Jābir ibn 'Amr al-Ghifārī – a companion of the Prophet (s) – and the blessing of the Imam (a), "May God reward your efforts, O Shaykh."[2]
- The report about Habib ibn Muẓāhir meeting Muslim ibn 'Awsajah at a perfumer's shop in the market of Kufa, where the latter had come to buy hair dye; and also the details of how Habib came to Karbala, and the greeting of Zaynab (a) to him on his arrival.[3]
- The report that Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn and Imam al-Husayn would play together as children during the lifetime of the Prophet (s), and how Zuhayr would kiss the dust from the footprints of the Imam (a), and in this manner earn the blessings of the Prophet (s).[4]
- Most of the reports found in *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, *Asrār al-Shahādah*, and *'Unwān al-Kalām* about the martyrdom of 'Alī al-Akbar (a);[5] the report that Imam al-Husayn (a) took 'Alī al-Aṣghar in his arms and said to the army of Kufa, "Give him a sip of water," because, due to her severe thirst, his mother's milk has run dry."[6]

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several volumes of 500 pages each." *Hamāsah-yi Husaynī*, vol. 1, p. 18.

[1] *Maqtal al-Husayn* (a), attributed to Abū Mikhnaf, p. 105; *Asrār al-Shahādah*, vol. 2, p. 266 (with some minor variances).

[2] *Maqtal al-Husayn* (a), attributed to Abū Mikhnaf, p. 115.

[3] *Asrār al-Shahādah*, vol. 2, p. 391.

[4] *Majālis al-Mawā'iẓ*, p. 391 also, *al-Muntakhab al-Turayhī*, p. 198. The name of Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn has not been mentioned in the latter source.

[5] *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 254; *Asrār al-Shahādah*, vol. 2, p. 344; *'Unwān al-Kalām*, p. 281.

[6] It should be noted that this phrase of the report has been mentioned in the Persian translation of *al-Futūḥ* (p. 900), compiled by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Mustawfī al-Harawī (6th/12th century), and is reliable.

[7] *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 342.

- The report about the argument that broke out in the army of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd about whether or not to give water to ʿAlī al-Aṣghar, and the command issued by ʿUmar ibn Saʿd to Ḥarmalah to end the discord.[1]
- The report of the conversation of Ḥarmalah with al-Mukhtār, where he said, "Now that you are about to kill me, let me tell you of all that I did, so that your heart may burn! On that day, I had three, three-pronged arrows, all tipped with poison; I pierced the throat of ʿAlī al-Aṣghar with the first, I shot the second into the heart of al-Ḥusayn, and aimed the third at the throat of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan."[2]
- The report about the smile that ʿAlī al-Aṣghar gave to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) after the arrow struck him.[3]
- The report that the mother of ʿAlī al-Aṣghar had breastmilk after she drank water on the 11th night of Muharram, and she called out for him, "O light of my eyes, ʿAlī al-Aṣghar! Where are you? Look, I have the milk to feed you!"[4]
- The report that the enemy unearthed the body of ʿAlī al-Aṣghar, severed his head, and placed it on a lance.[5]
- The report about the instruction given by Amīr al-Muʾminīn (a) on the 21st night of the month of Ramaḍān to al-ʿAbbās (a), "Beware, do not drink water on the day of Ashura, while your brother al-Ḥusayn remains thirsty!";[6] the report about the Commander of the Faithful (a) entrusting his children to the authority of Imam al-Ḥasan (a), but assigning Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to al-ʿAbbās (a) as a trust (*amānah*) of God, the Prophet (s), Fāṭimah (a), and himself (a).[7]

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[1] *Maṣraʿ al-Ḥusayn* (a), p. 181.

[2] *Sūgnāmih-yi Āl Muḥammad* (s), p. 525 (quoting *Muhīj al-Dumūʿ*, p. 411).

[3] *Muḥriq al-Qulūb*, p. 105.

[4] *ʿUnwān al-Kalām*, p. 125, and p. 268 (with two similar accounts).

[5] *ʿUnwān al-Kalām*, p. 54, p. 265, and p. 326.

[6] *Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 277.

[7] *Shaʿshaʿat al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 80.

- The report of the conversation of al-'Abbās (a) with Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), "I want to gaze at your face one more time, but Ḥarmalah has shot an arrow into my eyes."[1]
- The report about the words of Fāṭimah al-Kilābī [Umm al-Banīn] when she came into the house of the Commander of the Faithful (a), that she asked him not to call her "Fāṭimah", so that the children of al-Zahrā' (a) would not be reminded of their mother [and grieve].[2]
- The report that some of the family members of the Imam (a) tried to prevent his horse from advancing [to the battlefield], or the demand that he should dismount, or kissing him at the base of his throat,[3] or the statement, "*Mahlan, mahlan, yā ibn al-Zahrā'*? (Wait, wait, O son of Zahrā'!)"

It should be noted that this statement cannot be found even in weak sources. Only in *Asrār al-Shahādāt* is there a report that, "Then the Imam (a) wanted to leave the camp, but Zaynab (a) clung to him saying, 'Wait, O brother! Stop, so that I may gaze at you a while, and bid you farewell.'"[4]

- The report that Zaynab (a) rushed to the tent of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) just after Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, and asked why the entire atmosphere seemed to be in disarray, and the reply of the Imam (a), "O aunt! Lift the flap of the tent"; and at the sight of the severed head of his father, his words, "O aunt! Prepare yourself for captivity, for my father has been martyred."[5]

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[1] *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 272. After mentioning this report, the author, Mullā Ḥabīballāh Sharīf Kāshānī, writes, "This is extremely unlikely, and it has not been reported in any of the well-known works."

[2] This account is not found in any reliable, or even unreliable, source. As a matter of fact, even in the recent sources, there is no record of any conversation of this lady with the Commander of the Faithful (a), or with his children.

[3] *Anwār al-Majālis*, p. 98; *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 311.

[4] *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, vol. 3, p. 38.

فأراد عليه السلام أن يخرج من الخيمة، فتعلقت به زينب عليها السلام فقالت: مهلاً يا أخي، توقف حتى
أتزود من نظري و أودعك.

[5] *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 347.

- The reports that give details of what happened after the enemy invaded the tents, such as: slapping some of the ladies of the family of the Imam (a),[1] snatching the mattress from under Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) and throwing him to the ground,[2] trampling some little children underfoot,[3] the instruction of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) to his aunt Zaynab (a) to flee when she asked him what to do,[4] the counting of the children of the camp at the end of the day and finding two of them dead in one place.[5]
- The report of how the Banū Asad came to bury the bodies of the martyrs, and that when they wanted to help Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) to bury his blessed father (a), he said, "I have someone with me who will help me"; and that he addressed his father, saying, "After you, this world is only darkness"; and that, with his finger, he wrote on the grave of his father, "This is the grave of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who was killed thirsty in a foreign land."[6]
- The report that Zaynab (a) addressed the body of her brother, saying, "Are you my brother? Are you the son of my father?"[7][8]
- The report that she kissed the severed neck of her brother's body,[9] and that she said, "O God! Accept from us this small sacrifice."[10]

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[1] *Al-Muntakhab al-Ṭurayḥī*, p. 183; *'Unwān al-Kalām*, p. 213.

[2] *Nūr al-'Ayn*, p. 53; *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (a), attributed to *Abū Mikhnaf*, p. 154; *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 2, p. 51.

[3] *Wafayāt al-A'immah* (a), p. 162.

[4] *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 2, pp. 52-53.

[5] *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 2, pp. 52-53.

[6] *Al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, vol. 5, p. 13.

[7] Nowadays, it has become more popular to say "mother" instead of "father".

[8] *Sha'sha'at al-Ḥusaynī*, vol. 2, p. 127.

[9] *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥusayniyyah*, p. 180; *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 363; *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 2, p. 32.

[10] *Kibrīt al-Aḥmar*, p. 376 (quoting *al-Ṭirāz al-Mudhahhab*); *'Unwān al-Kalām*, p. 217.

اللهم تقبل منّا هذا القليل القربان.

- A number of reports describing Sukaynah in Karbala as a very young child,[1] when in fact, according to reliable sources, she was already married at the time, and had come to Karbala with her husband.
- The report of Muslim al-Jaṣṣāṣ about the arrival of the family of the Imam (a) in Kufa; that the Kufans tried to give bread and dates to the children, and Umm Kulthūm (a) stopping them by saying that charity was forbidden to them; and also that Zaynab (a) struck her head on the beam of her howdah and recited poetry that began with the line, "O moon that has not yet become full...!"[2]

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[1] *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, vol. 2, p. 422, and pp. 581-583; *'Unwān al-Kalām*, p. 302.

[2] *Nūr al-'Ayn*, p. 53; *al-Muntakhab al-Turayḥī*, p. 463; *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (a), attributed to Abū Mikhnaf, pp. 158-161. It is worth noting the comment that Muhaddith al-Qummī makes about this report: "The mention of howdahs or litters is not found in any report other than that of Muslim al-Jaṣṣāṣ. Although 'Allāmah Majlisī has mentioned this report, he has taken it from *al-Muntakhab* of al-Turayḥī and the book, *Nūr al-'Ayn*; the weak status of both these works is not unknown to those who are specialists in traditions... And then attributing the action of wilfully bruising her head to Zaynab (a), while she was reciting lines of famous poetry... such behaviour is far from the status of this great lady, who is 'the wise one amongst the Hashimites (*'aqīlat al-Hāshimiyyīn*)', 'the one who possesses knowledge without learning (*'ālimatu ghayr al-mu'allamah*)', 'the one nourished in the household of Prophethood (*raḍī'at thadyi al-nubuwwah*)', and the one who is content with God's decree and utterly submissive to His will." *Muntahā al-Āmāl*, p. 485.

In addition to what Muhaddith al-Qummī has said, there are three other points that are worthy of consideration.

Firstly, the giving of recommended charity (*ṣadaqat al-mustaḥab*) to a Hāshimī by a non-Hāshimī is not forbidden.

Secondly, how can it be believed that in public, and in front of thousands of Kufans, Zaynab (a) would deliberately strike her head on the beam of her howdah, causing her head to bleed? And that this event would remain unheard of for nearly a thousand years, and then after this long time, it would appear in sources that were very weak, that also reported from only one individual? It is also worth mentioning that not all the weak books that have reported this event from Muslim al-Jaṣṣāṣ mention the "striking of the head on the beam of the howdah". For example, that extra detail is not mentioned in the book, *Nūr al-'Ayn*, or in the printed manuscript of *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (a), attributed

- The report attributed to Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) that when he was asked what the most difficult part of the entire journey had been, he said three times, "al-Shām!"[1]
- The report that water, fire, and ash were thrown on the heads of the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Damascus; and that a burning ember struck the turban of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) and as a result, he suffered a burn on his head.[2]
- A report that that the captives of the family of the Imam (a) were tied together by a single rope, one end of which was tied to Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) and the other to Zaynab (a).[3]
- Reports that mention that when Zaynab (a) would become restless when she was a baby, she would be placed in the arms of al-Ḥusayn (a) and would calm down;[4] or that when Zaynab (a) was a young child, she fell asleep in the sun and that when al-Ḥusayn (a) saw her, he stood over her to shade her from the sun, until the event of Karbala came to pass, and this time it was the body of Imam (a) that lay under the sun (with no shade).[5]
- The report that at the time of her marriage to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, Zaynab (a) inserted a clause in the marriage contract that he would not stop her from travelling with Imam al-Ḥusayn (a);[6] or that at the time of his last farewell from Zaynab (a), Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) said to her, "Do not forget me in your night

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to Abū Mikhnaf; it is only found in *al-Muntakhab* of al-Ṭurayḥī and a handwritten manuscript of the aforementioned *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn (a)*.

Thirdly, Zaynab (a) would never go against the specific instructions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). According to reports found in reliable sources, the Imam (a) directed her, "O sister! I swear to you – and ask you to respect my oath – [that at my death], do not tear at your clothes for me, nor scratch your face for me…." For example, see *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 420.

[1] *ʿUnwān al-Kalām*, p. 118.

[2] *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadāʾ*, p. 411.

[3] Al-Ṭurayḥī, *al-Muntakhab*, p. 473.

[4] *Shajarat al-Ṭūbā*, vol. 2, p. 133.

[5] *Anwār al-Majālis*, p. 40.

[6] *Waqāyiʿ al-Aʾimmah*, p. 433.

> (*tahajjud*) prayers"?[1] or that Zaynab (*a*) prayed her *tahajjud* prayers on the 11th night, or at some of the stations on the way to Damascus, while sitting down;[2] or that when she returned to Medina, her husband 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far did not recognise her.[3]

And hundreds more reports of this type.

In summary, the reason why these isolated reports that are found in recent sources have been excluded from the *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, and from this summary of that compendium, is that they cannot be found in previous works, and consequently, cannot be relied upon.

It may be possible that some of them may indeed have occurred, but no evidence or even allusion that there is any truth in these accounts can be found.

On this basis, those reports that do not contradict rational principles or reliable accounts can be cited from their sources; however, the weakness inherent in them must be mentioned so that the listener is not misguided. Whilst it is appreciated that keeping to this standard is not possible for everybody, our strong advice is to completely avoid reporting accounts that are from weak sources, and refuse to give any credence to these types of works.

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[1] *Wafayāt al-A'immah*, p. 441.

[2] *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 2, p. 133; *Wafayāt al-A'immah*, p. 441; *Shajarat al-Ṭūbā*, vol. 2, p. 133.

[3] About this assertion, we have not found a single source, not even a weak one.

PART 2: THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STAND OF ASHURA[1]

One of the important discussions in the study of Ashura involves understanding the objectives behind the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in this great historical event.

The analysis of the event, with its many dimensions, has become more popular in recent times, alongside the formation of social and religious movements. In a relatively short space of time, many different opinions have been expressed.

Before we list, evaluate, and analyse these views, we must first outline the preliminary assumptions and methodology used in the discussions. This is necessary because it appears that most of the different views and opinions that have been presented can be reconciled; and the points of disagreement are due to the absence of clarity about the preliminary assumptions and methodology employed.

For this reason, the discussion in this analysis will be presented under four headings:

1. Preliminary assumptions before the study about the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
2. The methodologies employed in analysing and deducing the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
3. A listing and critical review of the opinions expressed about the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
4. The multi-layered nature of the objectives behind the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

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[1] The section has been written by the esteemed scholar Mahdi Mahrizi.

1. Preliminary assumptions

Without doubt, the event of Ashura and the movement of Imam al-Husayn (a) cannot be analysed properly without firstly keeping in mind the established beliefs and principles of the Shi'a school of thought – which are derived from the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and history – and, secondly, keeping in mind what conforms with rationality and common-sense.

These two factors are the preliminary assumptions that are the basis of our treatment of the subject. The most important aspects of these assumptions are discussed briefly below.

The general objectives of *imāmah* and the office of the vicegerent (*khalīfah*) of God

In proving the doctrine of *imāmah*, in addition to referring to the clear traditions of God's Messenger (s), the Shi'a cite several functions that can only be fulfilled by an Imam (a), for example:

- To clarify and explain the Qur'an and the Sunnah of God's Messenger (s)
- To strive to protect the religion from destruction and distortion
- To strive to establish the religion
- To be a role model

It is clear that these general objectives were constantly in the mind of the noble Imams (a) during their lifetimes, and that their words and deeds, and even their lives and deaths, were devoted to realizing these objectives.

The knowledge of the Imams (a) about the unseen (*'ilm al-ghayb*)

One of the integral and important beliefs of the Shi'a is that the Imams (a) have access to the knowledge of the unseen. Although there is some difference of opinion about how, and to what extent, this knowledge is known to them, there is no doubt about the principle of it. Of course, the Shi'a believe that this knowledge of the unseen is by the permission of God, and denotes access to God's knowledge at the level of human understanding. This belief is supported by many traditions which have been reported in the hadith collections.

Knowledge of the unseen does not preclude a person from carrying out their normal responsibilities

One of the issues that causes confusion and error in this discussion is the unfounded assumption that *'ilm al-ghayb* would preclude the possessor from carrying out their normal day-to-day activity.

This is not the case. In other words, although the Prophet (s) and the Imams (a) possessed *'ilm al-ghayb*, they did not base their actions on this knowledge. In his judgements and decisions, and even when he planned and went into battle, the Prophet (s) always acted on information that was available and apparent. He would say, "I judge between you according to clear evidence and oaths. Now, some of you are more eloquent in presenting proof than others, but if I was to award a person something that actually belonged to his brother [based on apparent – but false – evidence], in truth, I would have thereby given him a piece of the fire of hell."[1]

If this was not the case, it would not be possible to justify the Prophet's (s) journey to Mecca in the clothes of pilgrimage (*iḥrām*), and yet having to sign the treaty of Hudaybiyyah instead; nor would it account for how things went wrong at Uhud, or explain many of his actions at other times.

The foreknowledge of Imam al-Husayn (a) about his own martyrdom

On the basis of many reports found in books of history and traditions that have reached us in multiple, reliable transmissions (*mutawātir*), Imam al-Husayn (a) knew of his martyrdom before he left for Mecca and Karbala.[2]

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[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 7, p. 414, no. 1.

إنما أقضي بينكم بالبينات و الأيمان و بعضكم ألحن بحجته من بعض، فأيما رجل قطعت له من مال أخيه شيئاً فإنما قطعت له به قطعة من النار.

[2] See Part 2 (Prophecies about the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn (a)).

2. The methodologies employed in deducing and analysing the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

To study the different opinions and arrive at a preferred view, in addition to considering the presumptions mentioned above [which are fundamental to this discussion], we must apply the rules and methods of deducing the objectives behind social events, especially when they are shrouded in history and involve the conduct of sacred and respectable personalities.

These rules and principles require us to consider all dimensions and aspects in our analysis and to avoid being narrow-minded. We will examine some of these rules and principles.

1. The objectives behind the movement of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) can be identified in two ways: (i) by referring to theological principles and considering the overall objectives of the office of *imāmah*, and (ii) by studying the speeches and letters of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). The correct course is to take both these factors into account, because relying on just one or the other would result in an inaccurate or distorted analysis.

2. One of the factors that has caused disagreement about the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is conflating the goal (*maqṣad*) and the true objective (*maqṣūd*). For example, when a person travels to another town for the purpose of trading, or to visit a sacred site, the town is his *maqṣad*, but cannot be called his *maqṣūd*. His *maqṣūd*, and true objective, is trading or pilgrimage.

In the case of Ashura also, although the event ended with martyrdom, martyrdom was its *maqṣad*, not the *maqṣūd*. The maqṣūd of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was to revive the Sunnah of the Prophet (s) and to reform the state of the Muslim nation.

3. It is also necessary to distinguish between the objectives of an event and the influence it exerts in its aftermath. Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was willing to accept martyrdom to achieve his objectives; however, if afterwards, people achieve a spiritual excellence due to their mourning (*ʿazādārī*) and tears over his tragedy and receive reward in the hereafter, one cannot count the *ʿazādārī*, the tears, and the consequences thereafter, as part of the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) when he made his stand.

Therefore, those who believe that the objective of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was to provide a means of intercession for the nation, or a way for future generations to have their sins forgiven or gain reward in the hereafter, are mistaken.

3. Opinions about the objectives of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

In contemporary times, the question of the motivation behind the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) has been a topic of intense discussion and debate; many works have been produced in this regard, and a wide variety of viewpoints and opinions have been expressed. In general, the views about the objectives of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) can be broadly grouped into four:

1. That he sought martyrdom,
2. That he was trying to form a government,
3. That he was trying to protect his life, and
4. That he was both seeking to form a new government and was willing to be martyred in the process.

The meaning of the first three viewpoints is clear; however, the fourth view is an attempt to reconcile two factors: (i) the belief, based on Shī'ī theology, that the Imam (a) was aware of his impending martyrdom, and (ii) the speeches of the Imam (a) and other historical evidence suggesting that he wanted to overthrow the rule of Yazīd and establish an Islamic government in its place.

This last combination of motives has been described in four ways:

1. A stage-by-stage evolution of the objectives: initially, an intention to set up a government, and later, an intention to accept martyrdom [the view of Shahīd Muṭahharī],
2. A direct objective and an indirect objective [the view of 'Allāmah 'Askarī],
3. To form a government, with the knowledge that he would be martyred [the view of Ayatollah Ustādī],

4. An apparent and a hidden aspect to the objective [the view of Ayatollah Fāḍil and Ashrāqī].

Hereunder, we will briefly study these views.

1. The view that the Imam (a) was seeking martyrdom

This view[1] has been expounded in several ways, although some of these explanations have no proponents nowadays. Nevertheless, a general discussion of them is useful. In claiming that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was seeking martyrdom, four explanations have been put forward, each with its own supporters.

1.1. Martyrdom (*shahādah*) was his duty

This explanation is based on various narrations, from amongst which, two are most well-known. The first is a report from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), mentioned in al-*Kāfī*, which states that every Imam (a) has a particular responsibility: "When al-Ḥasan (a) passed away, al-Ḥusayn (a) opened the third seal and found therein the following instruction: 'Fight, kill, and be killed. Rise with a group resolved on martyrdom; there will be no martyrdom for them, except at your side.'"[2]

The second narration reports a dream that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) saw during his journey from Mecca to Kufa, where he heard, "O Ḥusayn! Rise, for God desires to see you killed!"[3]

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[1] It should be mentioned that Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn al-'Āmilī in his book *al-Majālis al-Fākhirah* (p. 94) has presented 35 proofs for the claim of seeking martyrdom.

'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn also, in the first volume of his *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, cites almost 20 proofs that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) thought, and in some cases, was certain, that he would be martyred.

Similarly, Ayatollah Ustādī, in his *Bar-rasī Qismatī az Kitāb-i Shahīd-i Jāvīd*, cites 20 proofs for this view. Ayatollah Luṭfullāh Ṣāfī Gulpaygānī also, in his book, *Shahīd-i Āgāh*, presents 33 proofs that the Imam (a) was seeking martyrdom.

[2] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 279, no. 1.

فلما توفي الحسن و مضى فتح الحسين عليه السلام الخاتم الثالث فوجد فيها أن قاتل فاقتل و تقتل اخرج بأقوام للشهادة لا شهادة لهم إلا معك.

[3] *al-Malhūf*, p. 127; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 364.

يا حسين! اخرج، فإنّ الله قد شاء أن يراك قتيلاً

Based on these traditions, some have said that the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was a personal duty in obedience to a specific instruction, and that he was carrying out his role in a mission that had long since been pre-planned. According to this group, the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had an unseen (*ghaybī*) component to it. In other words, the pen of knowledge of the unseen had written the play of Ashura, and the Imam (a) had acted it out, and after him, it is not possible to emulate him. On the basis of this opinion, the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was an exception, and not the rule; and principles cannot be derived from exceptions. A scholar writes, "About the event of Karbala, nothing else can be said except that a personal duty was fulfilled."[1]

1.2. Martyrdom as an atonement (*fidyah*)

The idea of martyrdom as an atonement, as held by Christians for the crucifixion of Jesus (a), is not unique. Some commentators suggest that just as Jesus (a) [allegedly] was martyred on the cross to atone for the sins of mankind, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred to wash away the sins of the nation and to become an intercessor for them.[2] This is a Christian-based exegesis of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and has no basis in our religion.

1.3. Martyrdom as a political action

The most popular explanation of the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is that his martyrdom was meant to have a political impact, and today, this view is often discussed and propagated in books and sermons. This explanation is, in fact, a political analysis of the stand of the Imam (a), arising from Islamic political theory. After present-day Muslims became more politically active, and they began to retrospectively give importance to the political aspects of the religion, this view developed.

Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahristānī says in this regard, "Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) knew that whether he gave allegiance or withheld it, he would be killed. The difference was that if he gave allegiance, not only would he be killed, but the reputation and work of his grandfather would be ruined as well; whereas if he did not give allegiance, only he would be killed, thus achieving his objectives, becoming a symbol of the faith, and gaining eternal honour.[1]

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[1] *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (a), p. 9.

[2] *Asrār al-Shahādah Āl Allāh*, p. 153.

1.4. Martyrdom as an act of heroism

Some modern writers are of the opinion that the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn (a) should not be just be considered as a political issue, devoid of heroism and symbolism, so that its influence is limited only to a minority; rather, it should be seen as a great epic that is not confined to a limited historical time frame, but is eternally relevant.[2]

However, they have not presented any proof for their assertions.

2. The view that the Imam (a) sought to form a government

Some early senior Shi'i scholars, such as al-Mufid and Sayyid Murtaḍā, as well as some contemporary scholars, believe that Imam al-Husayn (a) rose to set up a new government. They believe that the Imam (a), after refusing to accede to the demand of allegiance by Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah, first went from Medina to Mecca. Then, when he received confirmation from Muslim ibn 'Aqil about the support of the people of Kufa, he departed for Kufa with the intention of forming a government and reviving the Sunnah of the Prophet (s).

In the question and answer section of his *al-Masā'il al-'Ukbariyyah*, al-Mufid writes that the aim of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), like every other resistance fighter, was to gain victory and overcome the enemy:

> Question: Why did al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali (a) go to Kufa, when he knew that the Kufans would abandon and betray him, and that he would be killed if he undertook this journey?
>
> Answer: As for al-Ḥusayn (a) knowing that the Kufans would abandon him, we cannot be certain of that, for there is no rational or narrational evidence for this assertion.[3]

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[1] *Nahdat al-Husayn (a)*, p. 91.

[2] *Zīr-i Āsmānihā-yi Jahān*, p. 155.

[3] *al-Masā'il al-'Ukbariyyah*, pp. 69-71; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, pp. 257-258.

It is worth mentioning that in recent times, the only scholar who has tried to promote and prove that the Imam (a) was seeking to establish a government is Āqā Ṣāliḥī Najafābādī. He believes that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) did not have a specific plan in the beginning; rather, he made decisions and pursued objectives as the situation demanded. In his opinion, the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) comprised of four phases; and at each stage, the Imam (a) pursued a specific objective.

It should be kept in mind that that the prevailing Sunni analysis of the event of Karbala is also that the Imam (a) sought to form a government. Ibn Kathīr dedicated a section of his book to make this specific point, entitling it [in translation], "The account of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and the reason for his migration, with his family, from Mecca to Iraq, in order to gain political power."[1]

It is clear that the Sunni explanation about the *objective* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and their common opinion in this regard, is because they have viewed the matter only from the historical angle, and have not embarked upon a discussion about its theological aspects.

3. The view that the Imam (a) was trying to save his life

A contemporary writer has described the objective of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in the following words: "Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) left Medina for Mecca, and then Mecca towards Iraq, to protect his life; it was not a movement, nor a stand, nor was it to wage war against the enemy, or to form a government."[2]

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 149.

[2] *Haft Sālah Chirā Ṣadā dar Āvarad* (Why did Seven Years Create an Uproar?), pp. 123-124.

This was actually written by Najafābādī, in his *Shahīd-i Jāvīd* (The Eternal Martyr). The author of the book in the reference, 'Alī Panāh Ishtihārdī, wrote his book work as a criticism of the view of Najafābādī.

About the unusual title of his work, Ishtihārdī says, "If the author of *Shahīd-i Jāvīd*, instead of labouring for seven long years, had pondered for just seven hours, or even seven minutes, about what he was writing, he would not have produced a work that was disparaged by most scholars." [Trans.]

4. The view that there were multiple objectives

There are many traditions reported from the Prophet (s) and the Imams (a) that indicate that the Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had resolved to seek martyrdom. At the same time, his sermons and correspondence also show that he was seeking to form a government.

These two seemingly contradictory historical and theological facts have led some to attempt to reconcile and link them; four possibilities have been presented in this regard.

4.1. A reassessment of the objectives at different stages

From his writings, it appears that Shahid Muṭahhari was of the opinion that the objective of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) evolved in stages. In the first instance, he intended to form a government; however, after he received the news of the martyrdom of Muslim ibn 'Aqil, he was resolved to also achieve martyrdom.[1]

4.2. A direct objective and an indirect objective

In the introduction to his *Mirʾāt al-ʿUqūl* [which was later published under the title *Maʿālim al-Madrasatayn*], 'Allāmah Sayyid Murtaḍā al-'Askari presented the view that the objective of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was to attain martyrdom, but that he also wanted the people to rise in armed revolution against the regime of Yazid.[2]

4.3. To form a government, with the knowledge that he would be martyred

Ayatollah Riḍā Ustādī writes: "We do not say that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) left with the intention of becoming a martyr; rather, we say that he left despite possessing the knowledge that he would be killed. Furthermore, he acted according to the [apparently sincere] invitation of the people of Kufa to come and form a government."[3]

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[1] *Majmūʿah-yi Āthār-i Ustād Shahīd Muṭahharī*, vol. 17, p. 371.

[2] See the introduction to *Mirʾāt al-ʿUqūl*, pp. 433, 434; *Maʿālim al-Madrasatayn*, vol. 3, p. 308.

[3] *Sarguzasht-i Kitāb-i Shahīd-i Jāvīd*, p. 338.

Some points

Now that we have listed the different opinions, we will discuss, in general, some questions, ambiguities, and criticisms that arise from them. We emphasize that the intention is not to present a detailed and comprehensive study.

1. As discussed, martyrdom was not the intention or ultimate objective (*maqṣid*) of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), although it was his preliminary aim (*maqṣad*). Those who believe that the objective of the Imam (a) was to attain martyrdom have not differentiated between *maqāṣid* (ultimate goal) and *maqṣad* (immediate goal) on the one hand, and have ignored the sermons and letters of the Imam (a) on the other. In the books that we have mentioned, the Imam (a) has clearly outlined objectives other than the attainment of martyrdom.

2. Those who hold the view that the Imam (a) was seeking to establish a government have not paid much attention to, or indeed entirely overlooked, his foreknowledge about his martyrdom, even though it is mentioned in successively narrated (*mutawātir*) traditions. They have derived their view from the speeches, sermons, and letters of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and from the fact that he sent an envoy [Muslim] to Kufa, who then accepted the people's oaths of allegiance for him, and the fact that the Kufans openly declared their pledge of allegiance and confiscated a trade caravan belonging to Yazid.

Throughout the sermons and letters of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), the message we find is the request for assistance in enjoining the good (*al-amr bil-maʿrūf*) and forbidding the evil (*al-nahi ʿan al-munkar*), correcting the course of the *ummah*, and reviving the Sunnah of God's Messenger (s); these stated aims do not unambiguously prove that the Imam (a) wanted to form a government, unless we surmise that these aims required the formation of a government.

It should be noted however, that some reports mention that when the Imam (a) refused to pay allegiance to Yazid, he emphasized the fact that Yazid was not qualified to be the caliph, and that he himself was more deserving of that role.

Also, the phrase "coming out (*khurūj*)" in the speeches of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) does not mean rising to make a stand; rather, the term just denotes leaving Medina, even though it has occasionally been erroneously translated as "rising up".

3. The view about leaving to protect his life does not have any theological or historical evidence to back it up, and therefore, cannot be commented upon, save to say that it does not conform with the status of *imāmah*.

4. As for the view that seeks to reconcile the first two suggested objectives, it is certainly plausible, even though just like the other three, it ignores certain aspects of the event, which we will mention in the discussion that follows.

4.4. Multi-layered objectives in the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

To explain the view of "multi-layered objectives", and by beginning with the premise that "Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) knew of his impending martyrdom, but considered it to be his objective (*maqṣad*) and not his goal (*maqṣūd*)", we will describe how the objectives of the event of Ashura had two layers or aspects.

The first aspect

In this aspect, the objective of the event of Karbala will be analysed from the viewpoint of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and according to the general basis of *imāmah*.

The Imam (a) outlined the reasons for his actions in his speeches, sermons, and letters. Some of these objectives were mentioned at the time when he refused to give his allegiance to Yazid, and some were mentioned during his journey from Medina to Mecca, and yet others when he travelled from Mecca towards Kufa.

In the first instance, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) talks of the depravity of Yazid and his own greater right to govern the nation. In his address to the governor of Medina, the Imam (a) said:

> O chief! We are the household of the Prophethood, the treasury of God's Apostleship (*risālah*), [those who are] frequented by the angels, and the location of mercy. God began the creation with us, and He shall end it with us. Conversely, Yazid is a man who is a transgressor, a drinker of wine, a killer of innocents, and an open sinner. Someone like me can

> never give allegiance to someone like him. However, let us live together, and let us wait and see which of us is more qualified to be the caliph and to receive allegiance.[1]

At another time, he spoke of reforming the nation, reviving the Sunnah, enjoining the good, forbidding the evil, fighting the oppressive rules, and treading the path of honour and freedom. In this regard, it has been reported that he said:

> I did not come out to do mischief, or out of vanity, nor to cause corruption and oppression. Rather, I have come out to seek salvation and reform in the nation of my grandfather. I wish to enjoin to that which God has directed, and stop that which God has forbidden, and [in this], I follow the path of my grandfather, and my father, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib... So, whoever accepts me in truth [should know that] indeed, God is the source of truth; and whoever rejects me in this [mission], then I shall be patient until God judges between me and the people by the truth, and gives His verdict between me and them by the truth, for He is the best of judges.[2]

Besides these words and letters, an analysis based on the tenets of *imāmah*[3] also sheds light on the actions and conduct of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). The Imam (a) had a duty to expound on the tenets of religion and protect it from destruction and distortion. In occupying the office of *imāmah*, he had a mandate to manifest religious teachings, and to be a role model for the people. That mandate would have governed his conduct, his words, and his thoughts.

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 13; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 185.

أيها الأمير إنا أهل بيت النبوة و معدن الرسالة، و مختلف الملائكة، و محل الرحمة، و بنا فتح الله و بنا
ختم، و يزيد رجل فاسق شارب خمر، قاتل النفس المحرمة، معلن بالفسق، مثلي لا يبايع لمثله، و لكن
نصبح و تصبحون، و ننظر و تنظرون، أينا أحق بالخلافة و البيعة.

[2] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 21; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 188.

إني لم أخرج أشراً و لا بطراً و لا مفسداً و لا ظالماً، و إنما خرجت لطلب النجاح و الصلاح في أمة جدي
محمد صلى الله عليه و آله، أريد أن آمر بالمعروف، و أنهى عن المنكر، و أسير بسيرة جدي محمد صلى
الله عليه و آله، و سيرة أبي علي بن أبي طالب... فمن قبلني بقبول الحق فالله أولى بالحق، و من رد علي
هذا أصبر حتى يقضي الله بيني و بين القوم بالحق، و يحكم بيني و بينهم بالحق، و هو خير الحاكمين.

[3] For example, the duties and powers of an Imam, and the conditions and functions of the office of *imāmah*.

It is not possible to analyse an event of this magnitude, where the pure blood of sacred beings was shed, without first considering these objectives.

This is the first layer of the objectives of the event of Ashura, and it is possible that those who hold the view that the movement was about "forming a government" had some of these matters in mind. Of course, as we have mentioned earlier, this phrase is not explicitly mentioned in any of the words and messages of Imam al-Husayn (a).

The result of this objective was the weakening of the foundations of the Umayyad rule, the end of the rule of Yazid, and the laying of the foundations for movements to raise public awareness and rise to seek revenge. This objective was realised in a relatively short space of time.

The second aspect

The objective of the event of Ashura can also be viewed from the aspect of God, His Prophet (s), and the authorities of religion. Here, the objective is no longer confined to an epoch of history; rather it makes eternally relevant the flame of freedom, the fight against oppression, and the example of human nobility and enlightenment. Here, an emotional connection is formed between Imam al-Husayn (a) and human identity though the ages.

The following saying can be best understood and explained by considering this aspect of the objective: it has been reported that Prophet (s) stated, "At the killing of Husayn, a fire shall ignite in the hearts of the believers that shall never be extinguished."[1]

With this view, one can better explain and understand the philosophy of many Shi'a teachings that are specifically concerned with the event of Ashura and Imam al-Husayn (a). Some of these specific rulings are:

1. The permissibility of consuming some clay (*turbah*)[2] from the grave of Imam al-Husayn (a) as a cure from illness

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[1] *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, vol. 10, p. 318, no. 12084.

إنّ لقتل الحسين حرارة في قلوب المؤمنين لا تبرد أبدا.

[2] A small piece of earth, usually from the land of Karbala. [Trans.]

2. The recommendation to prostrate on the *turbah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) during prayer
3. The recommendation to recite the praise and glorification of God using a rosary (*tasbīḥ*) whose beads are made from the *turbah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
4. The recommendation to apply some *turbah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the palate of a new-born
5. The recommendation to mix a small amount of the *turbah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) with the camphor used for *taḥnīṭ*[1]
6. The recommendation to recite the *ziyārah* of Arbaʿīn
7. The recommendation to recite the *ziyārah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on various religious occasions
8. The recommendation to hold mourning sessions (*ʿazāʾ*) for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
9. The choice of praying either a truncated (*qaṣr*) or complete (*tamām*) prayer under the dome of the shrine of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)[2]
10. The recommendation to carry with oneself the *turbah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) whilst travelling
11. The recommendation to remember the thirst of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) when drinking water.

All of these recommendations[3] indicate that, aside from the objectives that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had in mind for his stand, God and the authorities of religion, too, had some objectives in mind. These are the issues that we have termed "the multi-layered objectives of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)".

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[1] *Taḥnīṭ*, or *ḥanūṭ*, is the application of camphor to the body of the deceased. It is applied to the seven parts of the body that are placed on the ground during prostration, and is an obligatory part of the rites of the dead. [Trans.]

[2] Travellers have to truncate their *ṣalāt* while on journey; however, they have the choice to pray the full *ṣalāt* in *al-ḥāʾir al-ḥusaynī*, an area approximately within 10 metres of the shrine. [Trans.]

[3] For a detailed study of these rulings and recommendations, see *al-Rasāʾil al-Muṣṭafā wa al-Shaʿāʾir al-Ḥusayniyyah*.

In other words, the Imam (a) knew that his stand would lead to his martyrdom; however, he entered the battlefield against the tyrant to achieve the following objectives:

1. Reform the affairs of the nation of Islam,
2. Establish the truth, and dispel falsehood,
3. Safeguard freedom, dignity, and liberty,
4. Expose the oppression and tyranny of the Umayyad regime, and
5. Lay the ground for the formation of an Islamic government.

For this stand, which ended in bloodshed, God too, had an objective in mind that was to last forever afterwards. What some writers have referred to as "the heroic epic" or "the emotional link between humanity and Imam al-Husayn (a)" is actually a reference to these the objectives.

Therefore, the consequences of the stand are not limited to just one part of history or just one group of people. Amongst the consequences of this stand are that it became an exemplary model for Shi'a revolutions in times to come, in the period of the greater occultation (*ghaybat al-kubrā*), as well as an inspiration for freedom fighters all over the world [like Gandhi].

◆

PART 3: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE JOURNEY OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) TO IRAQ AND THE UPRISING IN KUFA

After he left Medina, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) went to Mecca, where he stayed from the 5th of Sha'bān until the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 60/680 – a period of 4 months and 5 days. When he received the letter of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl from Kufa, informing him of the readiness of the Kufans to support him against the regime of Yazīd, and after he perceived the serious threat of harm during the days of the hajj from the agents of the ruler, he left Mecca for Kufa on the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

According to historical accounts, the Imam (a) accepted the invitation of the Kufans and set out towards Kufa. This was in spite of the determined direct and indirect efforts of the Umayyads to stop him, and the advice of several well-wishers and friends who described the journey as dangerous and who insisted that he should change his mind.

Throughout his journey to Karbala, he continually hinted at, and even openly spoke about, the fact that he and his companions faced martyrdom. For instance, when he set out towards Iraq from Mecca, he wrote in a letter to the Banū Hāshim that "whoever joins me shall be martyred, but whoever forsakes me shall never achieve success."[1]

In this regard, several pertinent questions arise.

1. Was the selection of Kufa as the base from which to make a stand against the regime of Yazīd a correct choice, in political terms? Keeping in mind the past conduct of the Kufans with his father and

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[1] *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, p. 187, no. 107; and similar wording in *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, p. 481, no. 5.

من لحق بي استشهد ومن تخلف عني لم يبلغ الفتح.

elder brother, why would someone as politically astute as Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) trust their promise to support him against the Umayyad regime, and choose Kufa to be the capital and base of his revolution against the ruling powers?

Was Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) unaware of the dangers of travelling to Kufa that others had warned him about? And finally, did the Imam (a) not realise that the popular support for him – that prevailed across Kufa before the arrival of Ibn Ziyād – was illusory and false?

2. Were all the people who invited Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Kufa his Shī'a, and his committed and true followers? Was he, as held by some,[1] betrayed by his own Shī'a after they had promised to support him? Given that, not only did they not stand by him, but they also rose to fight against him, was it the Shī'a themselves who were the primary culprits for the unfolding of the tragedy of Ashura?

Or, did the term "Shī'a" in those days denote something other than what it means today, and were those who abandoned Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) Shī'a in their political and social allegiance, rather than Shī'a by belief and true commitment?[2]

3. Why did the people of Kufa initially decide to accept the Ḥusaynī movement, but later turn against it? In other words, what were the factors that led to their ultimate failure in supporting the movement?

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[1] Like 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who writes in his book, *Man Qatala al-Ḥusayn?* (Who killed al-Ḥusayn?): "The people of Kufa wrote letters to al-Ḥusayn (a), asking him to come to Kufa; however, not long afterwards, they abandoned his envoy Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, and betrayed him. Then, it was the turn of al-Ḥusayn (a) to experience the same deceit that they had shown to Muslim. And it was not only al-Ḥusayn (a) that the Shī'a betrayed; rather, they had already betrayed his father and brother, and later, did so to other Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) as well." *Man Qatala al-Ḥusayn?*, p. 118. Of course, this assertion has been comprehensively answered by others; for example, see Sayyid 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī, *Man Hum Qatalat al-Ḥusayn?* (Who were those who killed al-Ḥusayn?) and Muḥammad Riḍā Hidāyat Panāh, *Bāztāb-i Tafakkur-i 'Uthmānī dar Wāqi'ah-yi Karbalā* (Echoes of 'Uthmānī Thought in the Event of Karbala).

[2] Some researchers have coined a term for this type of Shī'ism, calling it "Kūfan Shī'ism (*tashayyu' al-Kūfī*)". See Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Tārīkh-i Tashayyu' dar Īrān* (The History of Shī'ism in Iran).

Answers to these questions are discussed below.

1. The reasons for choosing Kufa as the base for the uprising

In order to assess the journey of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Iraq, and the choice of Kufa as the base of his stand, it must be appreciated that the initial objective was to overthrow, with the (crucial) help of the masses, the rule of Yazīd, and to establish an Islamic government. As a subsequent priority, the plan was to enjoin good and forbid evil, foster a general revolt against the Umayyad rule and weaken its foundations, take steps to protect Islamic teachings, and in the end, complete the proof over the Muslim nation – even if the cost of realizing these objectives was his martyrdom, and that of his dear companions, and the captivity of his family.

In those days, Kufa had some distinctions, which made it the most strategic location in the Muslim world from which to achieve the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). These distinctions were as follows.

1.1. Its political and military position

The city of Kufa was established in 17/638 by Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, on the orders of the second caliph, ʿUmar. The intention was to create a large garrison town to station the army in a location that would facilitate the expansion of Muslim lands.

As a result, a considerable number of tribal chiefs, senior military commanders, and elite soldiers lived in Kufa. It is for this reason that when Imam ʿAlī (a) travelled from Medina to Iraq to quell the sedition of the *nākithūn* or oath-breakers,[1] he took only 700 soldiers from the Muhājirūn and *Anṣār* with him, and the main force of 12,000 soldiers joined his army from Kufa.

It is worth mentioning that when the Imam (a) was leaving Medina for Basra, he wrote a letter addressing the people of Kufa, which began with the following words: "From the servant of God, ʿAlī, the

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[1] A term referring to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and their supporters, who reneged on their oath of allegiance to Imam ʿAlī (a) and mobilized an army against him in the Battle of Jamal. [Trans.]

Commander of the Faithful, to the people of Kufa, foremost of allies and noblest of the Arabs.”[1]

According to a report in al-Tabari, when Imam 'Ali (a) was informed on the road to Kufa that the insurgents had gone to Basra, he expressed relief, saying, “Verily, the people of Kufa love me more than others, and amongst them are the chiefs of the Arabs and their leaders.”[2]

He also wrote to them, “I have chosen your city in preference to others, and I choose with care.”[3]

Another report mentions that he wrote, “For indeed, I have chosen you and preferred to live amongst you, because I know of your affection and love for God, most High, and for His Messenger (s)….”[4]

And when the Kufans joined the Imam (a) at the station called Dhū Qār, he praised them by saying, “You are the most intense of the Arabs in your love for the Prophet and his Ahl al-Bayt. Indeed, I came to you because of my trust, after God, in you.”[5]

After the Battle of Jamal was over, he showed his appreciation to them in the following words, “May God reward you, O townspeople [of Kufa], on behalf of the Ahl al-Bayt of your Prophet, the best of rewards that He has awarded to anyone for acting in obedience to Him, and for being grateful for His bounties; for verily, you heard [me] and obeyed, and [when] you were called, you responded."[1]

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[1] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 4, p. 500.

من عبد الله علي أمير المؤمنين إلى أهل الكوفة، جبهة الأنصار و سنام العرب.

[2] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 4, p. 477.

إنّ أهل الكوفة أشدّ إليّ حبّا و فيهم رؤوس العرب و أعلامهم.

[3] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 4, p. 477; Ibn Abi al-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 14, p. 18.

إنّي قد اخترتكم على الأمصار و إنّي بالأثرة.

[4] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 4, p. 477.

فإنّي قد اخترتكم و النزول بين أظهركم لما أعرف من مودّتكم و حبّكم لله عزّ وجلّ و لرسوله صلى الله عليه و آله…

[5] *al-Irshad*, vol. 1, p. 250.

أنتم أشدّ العرب ودّا للنبيّ و لأهل بيته، و إنّما جئتكم ثقة - بعد الله - بكم.

Similarly, in the Battle of Siffin [in which, according to historical sources, the army of Imam 'Ali (a) numbered up to 120,000], the bulk of his force was from Kufa. In this same battle, when Imam 'Ali (a) observed some faintheartedness in his soldiers as they stood against the ranks of the Syrian army, he reprimanded them and reminded them of their pre-eminence in the Muslim world, saying, "You are the best of the Arabs, the pinnacles of distinction, the foremost in dignity, and the possessors of great nobility."[2]

In another sermon, when censuring the Kufans, he addressed them as "the representatives of Islam and the inheritors of the nation."[3]

1.2. Its geographical location

In former times, Kufa was situated at the heart of the Islamic empire and was the most strategic place from which to administer Muslim lands, in particular, those that had been conquered at the time of the second caliph, 'Umar.

During his rule, Imam 'Ali (a) transferred the seat of government from Medina to Kufa. In addition to its economic advantage, this move allowed him more effective access to the various Muslim lands, especially when it became necessary to despatch an army to counter the threat from Mu'awiyah in Syria.

For the same reason, Kufa's geographical location made it the most suitable location to begin the resistance against the government of Yazid.

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[1] *Nahj al-Balaghah*, letter 1.

جزاكم الله من أهل مصر عن أهل بيت نبيكم أحسن ما يجزي العاملين بطاعته و الشاكرين لنعمته فقد سمعتم و أطعتم، و دعيتم فأجبتم

[2] *Nahj al-Balaghah*, sermon 107.

أنتم لهاميم العرب و يآفيخ الشرف، و الأنف المقدم و السنام الأعظم

[3] *Nahj al-Balaghah*, sermon 180.

و أنتم ركائز الإسلام، و بقية الناس

1.3. Its cultural standing

In addition to its political, military and geographical advantages, Kufa was also the most important cultural centre in the Islamic world. The strategy of the second caliph was to create a population of soldiers in Kufa who were familiar with the Qur'an but unfamiliar with the Sunnah. For this reason, he forbade the transmission of traditions (*aḥādīth*) in Kufa. As a result, the reciters of the Qur'an (*qurrā'*) of Kufa tended to be narrow-minded Muslims, largely unfamiliar with the Sunnah.

However, after Imam 'Alī (a) assumed the caliphate, his political worldview and the presence of senior companions of the Prophet (s) who had accompanied the Imam (a) to Kufa played an influential role in developing the culture of the populace of Kufa.

For this reason, by the time Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) made his stand, around twenty-five years after the start of the caliphate of Imam 'Alī (a) had elapsed, the Kufans undoubtedly enjoyed a relatively higher level of culture compared to the Muslims in other lands. More than anywhere else, the ground was prepared in Kufa for a program of reform and resistance against the oppression and tyranny of the Umayyads. The repeated revolts of the Kufans against the rulers of their time, even after the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), is a testimony to this assertion.

1.4. Its hostility to the government of Syria

The seminal role of the Kufans in the expansion of Muslim lands and their participation in the battles against the oppressive Syrian regime, especially during the rule of Imam 'Alī (a), resulted in their inherent resentment of Damascus being the capital and administrative centre of the Muslim Empire. Therefore, throughout the rule of the Umayyads, Kufa was the heartland of hostility and opposition to the Umayyad rulers. This is why many Kufans were killed, imprisoned, or exiled.

Ziyād ibn Abīhi,[1] when appointed governor of Kufa by Mu'āwiyah, killed and imprisoned many soldiers during his rule, and exiled scores of others to Damascus and other towns. According to some reports, just from Kufa and Basra alone, 50,000 people were banished to Khurāsān.

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[1] It was not known who Ziyād's father was. [Trans.]

Similarly, his son ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, aside from killing many soldiers, imprisoned several of the prominent Shiʿa of Kufa [such as al-Mukhtār, Hāniʾ, and others].

The uprising of the Tawwābūn (Repentants), the stand of al-Mukhtār after the event of Karbala, the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ashʿath in 82/701 [or 83/702], and the stand of Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) in the year 122/740 are all clear indications of the deep and considerable resentment of the people of Kufa towards the Umayyad government.

During the period of the *imāmah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), the open immoral and sinful conduct of Yazīd, who called himself the caliph of the Muslims, further increased the inherent animosity of the people of Kufa towards the government of Syria. For this reason, they wrote numerous letters to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), pleading with him to come to Kufa to spearhead a revolution against the Umayyad rule.

1.5. The presence of the partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a)

Although the true Shiʿa and loyal followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in Kufa were few in number, there were many more in that city who loved them, and were well-wishers of the family of the Prophet (s). In fact, because Kufa had been the capital of Imam ʿAlī (a) for five years, and several senior companions of the Prophet (s) had followed him to this city, many traditions outlining the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were well known by its people. In this way, Kufa had gradually become a centre of the partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in the Muslim world. As a result, after the death of Muʿāwiyah, when a small group of true followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) announced that they were supporting Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and planning to overthrow the Umayyad regime, they were able to sway public opinion in their favour, especially as Kufa had a weak governor at the time.

However, due to the political conditions that prevailed in Mecca and Medina, the people there did not hold the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in the same regard as the Kufans did. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, narrating from Abū

ʿUmar al-Nahdi, quotes Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) as saying, "In all of Mecca and Medina there are not twenty men who truly love us."[1]

In contrast, there are many reports that talk of the relatively widespread regard for the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in Kufa. For instance, it has been narrated in a report from Imam al-Bāqir (a), "Our love (*walāyah*) was presented to the townships, and none accepted it with more sincerity than the people of Kufa."[2]

Other reports emphasise that the partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in Kufa were more numerous than in any other city. Of course, not all these were loyal to the point of taking action to defend the Ahl al-Bayt (a) or sacrifice their lives for them; however, there was no other city where the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were so popular. This is why, when Ibn Ziyād ordered the soldiers of Kufa to go to Karbala to fight against Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), many of them deserted along the way and were not present on Ashura. Balādhurī writes in this regard, "A battalion of 1000 soldiers [from Kufa] would set out; however, due to their reluctance to carry out this mission – to attack al-Ḥusayn (a) – only 300 or 400, or even less, would arrive to carry out their orders."[3]

1.6. The invitation of the Kufans to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Across the whole Muslim world, no one except the people of Kufa invited Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to come and make a stand against the rule of Yazid. This is why one of the responses that the Imam (a) gave to those who opposed his journey was the letters of invitation from the Kufans. Under these conditions, if the Imam (a) had decided to begin his revolution somewhere else, and was killed by the agents of the regime in the process, would he not have been accused of being politically uninformed?

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[1] *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 4, p. 104; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 297.

ما بمكّة و المدينة عشرون رجلاً يحبّنا

[2] *Thawāb al-Aʿmāl*, p. 114, no. 20; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 46, no. 8.

إنّ ولايتنا عرضت على أهل الأمصار فلم يقبلها قبول أهل الكوفة شيء.

[3] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 388.

1.7. The decision of the Umayyad government to stop Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from going to Kufa

The prospect of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Kufa was very dangerous for the Umayyads, and that is why, before Ibn Ziyād had gained control over Kufa, Yazīd and his agents made a concerted attempt to stop the Imam (a) from reaching Kufa. Yazīd even reached out to Ibn 'Abbās to dissuade the Imam (a) from going to Kufa. Similarly, 'Amr ibn Sa'īd, the governor of Mecca, tried to stop the Imam (a) by dispatching a force to prevent the Imam (a) from leaving Mecca (but after a brief altercation, the Imam (a) was nonetheless able to depart for Iraq).

From the foregoing, it is clear that Kufa had the cultural, political, social, military, and geographical attributes to be the ideal location from which to begin the revolution against the government of Yazīd. For this reason, Sayyid Murtaḍā writes in his analysis of the event of Karbala, "The elements for victory against the enemy were all in place, however that misfortunate event [the coming of Ibn Ziyād] led to the opposite result, and then what happened, happened."[1]

Although we do not completely agree with this statement, we consider Kufa to have been the best choice to realize the objectives of the Husayni movement, for the reasons stated. We will provide further details in the sections that follow.

2. The responses of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to those who advised him of the dangers of going to Kufa

A study of the reports that are mentioned in the historical sources in this regard[2] reveals that several people, for different reasons, tried to dissuade Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from travelling to Iraq. Some had received direct instructions from Yazīd to stop him; others were indirectly working to achieve Yazīd's wishes. Yet others, due to their concern for [the safety of] Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), were unwittingly doing what the government of Yazīd wanted.

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[1] *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā'*, p. 178; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 98.

[2] To see some of these reports, refer to *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 4, p. 413, section 6.

Many perceived this journey to be ominous based on what they had heard the Prophet (s) say about the Imam's (a) martyrdom; some wanted him to adopt caution, just like them; and finally, there were some who had no other motive except their love for the Imam (a).

In order to analyse the response of the Imam (a) to those who considered the journey to be dangerous and were trying hard to get him to reconsider, we must keep in mind – as we have previously mentioned – the purpose of the Imam (a) in going to Kufa: in the first instance it was to form an Islamic government, and at a later stage, to weaken the foundations of the Umayyad regime, and protect the tenets of Islam even at the cost of his own martyrdom, and that of his loved ones. The realization of these objectives would not be possible without exposing himself to the likely, or rather, certain, dangers that this journey would bring.

On the one hand, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) knew how this journey would end, and was well aware of its dangers, but on the other hand, in order to fulfil his duty (*itmām al-ḥujjah*) to the people, he could not reveal to them all that he knew. For this reason, he gave different responses to those who considered his journey to Kufa to be dangerous (or did not want him to undertake the journey). These replies can be divided into three groups.

2.1. His reply to the agents of the government

The reply of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to the agents of Yazīd, who were trying to prevent him from travelling to Iraq, was in effect: "Do not interfere in my affairs." When the soldiers of ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd, the governor of Mecca, attempted to prevent the Imam (a) and his companions from leaving Mecca, there ensued a brief altercation between them and the Imam (a). They asked, "O Ḥusayn! Do you not fear God that you separate yourself from the community, and set out to divide the nation?" Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) confined his reply to a verse of the Qurʾan, "*For me are my deeds, and for you are your deeds; you are dissociated from what I do, and I am dissociated from what you do.*"[1]

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[1] Q 10:41. See *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 385.

According to the narration of Ibn A'tham, in response to the letter of Yazid to the people of Medina – which was meant to warn them against uprising – the Imam (a) only wrote back with the same verse.[1]

2.2. His reply to those who did not want to be blamed for the outcome of the journey

Since the primary reason for the Imam's (a) journey to Iraq was to form an Islamic government, in order to outwardly fulfil his duty to the people, he could not reveal the fateful outcome of the journey to everyone, not even to those closest to him. Therefore, in response to most of those who were concerned that the journey was too dangerous, and who wanted him to reconsider his decision, he confined himself to general statements; so for instance, in reply to the advice of Ṭarimmāh ibn 'Adiyy and Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, he said, "Whatever God decrees of His affair shall happen."[2]

He gave similar general replies in response to Bishr ibn al-Ghālib, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muṭī', 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Farazdaq, and others like them.

2.3. His reply to those close to him

As for the response of the Imam (a) to senior personalities of the family, such as Umm Salamah, 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, it was completely different from what he said to others. In his reply to them, the Imam (a) was candid about his impending martyrdom; for example, he said to Umm Salamah, "By God! I shall be killed in this manner, and even if I do not go to Iraq, they will kill me also."[3]

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 68.

[2] al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah), vol. 1, p. 477; Tahdhīb al-Kamāl, vol. 6, p. 418.

فما يقضي الله من أمر يكن

[3] al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ, vol. 1, p. 253, no. 6a; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 45, p. 89, no. 27.

إني والله مقتولٌ كذلك، وإن لم أخرج إلى العراق يقتلوني أيضا

And he said to 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, "Even if I was in a chamber in the depths of the earth, they would bring me out and kill me."[1]

What he meant by these words was: whether I go to Kufa or not, there is no doubt that I will be killed at the hands of Yazid's men. Therefore, I must choose the place of my martyrdom, where my blood will be of the greatest benefit for Islam, and will cause the maximal damage to the Umayyad regime, while preserving the sanctity of the sacred places (in Medina and Mecca); and this place is nowhere else but Iraq.

With this in mind, the choice of Kufa, and the decision to take his family and young children, and the best of companions, were all calculated to achieve this lofty and godly objective.

3. The factors that led the Kufans to respond positively to the Ḥusayni revolution

In light of what we mentioned earlier about the cultural and political position of Kufa, the reasons that led the people of Kufa to respond positively to the Ḥusayni revolution can be attributed to the following factors:

1. The higher level of cultural refinement of some of the people of Kufa

2. The conflicting political and economic interests between Kufa and Damascus. Kufa had once been an important centre of decision-making in the Muslim world, and had been at war with Shām. Now, with the government in Damascus, the Kufans felt humiliated and inferior.

3. The great regard of the people of Kufa for the household of the Prophet (s), the Ahl al-Bayt (a)

4. The corrupt nature of the Umayyad regime, and especially the open debauchery of Yazid

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 67; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 217.

لو كنتُ في جحر هامّة من هوامّ الأرض لاستخرجوني يقتلوني.

5. The absence of an alternative leader more suitable than Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) who could lead the Kufans to oppose the government of Damascus and topple it.

The combination of all these factors motivated a group of true and loyal partisans of Imam al-Husayn (a) to launch an opposition against the Umayyad regime; and when they invited the people to support their rebellion against the government, the masses welcomed their call.

The quiescence of [the Umayyad governor] al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, who was not keen on getting embroiled in the dispute, paved the way for a rapid build-up of support for the Husaynī revolution amongst the populace of Kufa. Matters reached a point where even pro-government leaders, like 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj and Shabath ibn Rib'ī, who perceived themselves as being in danger, resigned to the popular mood. They ostensibly aligned themselves with the supporters of revolution and joined in writing letters of invitation to Imam al-Husayn (a).

Now, we need to ask why matters completely turned around within such a short space of time after the arrival of Ibn Ziyād in Kufa, and why the mood of the people of Kufa swung in favour of the government of Yazīd. In other words, what other qualities, aside from the positive attributes that we mentioned earlier, did the people of Kufa possess that made the masses favour the cause of Imam al-Husayn (a) one moment, and then turn back to Yazīd the next? And can this behaviour of the people of Kufa be blamed on the Shī'a?

To answer these questions, we must acquaint ourselves with the social and psychological traits of the people of Kufa, as well as the social and economic structures that prevailed in that city. In the next sections, we will discuss these matters, and then afterwards, look at the most important reasons for the failure of the revolution in Kufa.

4. The Kufan society

In evaluating the journey of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Kufa and the revolution of the Kufans, in addition to what we have mentioned already, we must study the nature of the Kufan society. The Kufa of those days can be examined from several aspects because it was a unique and diverse city.

4.1. The demographics of Kufan society[1]

The population of Kufa consisted of Arabs and non-Arabs. Most of the Arab residents of Kufa belonged to tribes that had migrated to Iraq from lands around the Arabian peninsula when the Islamic conquests began to expand into Persia. They had come to take part in the conquests and, later, settled in Kufa and Basra.

Another group of Arabs resident in Kufa belonged to tribes such as the Banū Taghlib who lived in Iraq from pre-Islamic times, and were constantly at war with the Persians. They allied themselves to the Muslims during the conquests, and fought at their side. Many of them later settled in the newly-formed Muslim townships.

The non-Arab population of Kufa – who were in the minority – included groups such as the *mawālī* (non-Arab clients),[2] Suryānīs (Syriacs or Assyrians),[3] and the Nabṭīs (Nabataeans).[4]

4.2. The different faiths practised amongst the Kufans

In terms of their beliefs, the Kufans of that time can be divided into Muslims and non-Muslims. The non-Muslims in Kufa comprised of Arab Christians [such as the Banū Taghlib], the Christians of Najrān, the Nabataean Christians, the Jews who had been expelled from Arabia at the time of ʿUmar, and the Persian Zoroastrians. The total number of non-Muslims in Kufa was insignificant.

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[1] See Qarashi, *Ḥayāt al-Imām al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 433.

[2] *Mawālī* was a term for non-Arab Muslims (like the Persians, Romans and Turk converts). See Jurjī Zaydān, *Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī* (The History of Islamic Civilization), p. 686.

[3] Suryānī refers to people who spoke the Syriac language. Today they are mainly Christian, and live in Syria and Northern Iraq. al-*Munjid*, p. 354, s.v. "al-Suryānī".

[4] The Nabṭī were an originally Arab people who had been gradually assimilated by the Persians and Romans, and had lost their culture and language over time. (*Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, vol. 3, p. 1746).

4.3. The politics of Kufa

In terms of their political affiliation, the Muslims of Kufa can be divided into four groups.

1. The supporters of the Ahl al-Bayt (a)

We have previously mentioned that at the time of the Husaynī revolution, Kufa was a centre for the partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a); however, this does not mean that all those who declared their love for them were their real followers and "Shī'a" in the true sense of the term. In fact, the supporters of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), and those who claimed to be Shī'a in those days, were themselves divided into several groups, which we will examine in the next section.

2. The supporters of the Banū Umayyah

The supporters of the Umayyads formed a considerable part of the population of Kufa. During the 20 years of Umayyad rule, many people had been drawn to them. The Umayyad supporters in Kufa were associated with powerful groups and organizations. Men like 'Amr ibn al-Hajjāj al-Zubaydī, Yazīd ibn al-Harth, 'Amr ibn al-Hurayth, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim, 'Ammārah ibn 'Aqbah, 'Umar ibn Sa'd, and Muslim ibn 'Amr al-Bāhilī were amongst their leaders. They were the same individuals who sensed the danger when they saw the spreading influence of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, and the weak and ineffective response of al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr. They sent word to Damascus and paved the way for the appointment of Ibn Ziyād as the governor in place of al-Nu'mān.

It has been said that the leading and influential tribes in Kufa were from this party, and this fact, in itself, led to most people aligning themselves with them.[1]

3. The Khawārij

Despite the comprehensive rout of the Khawārij in the Battle of Nahrawān, the anti-Islamic political manoeuvring of Mu'āwiyah against Imam 'Alī (a) resulted, during his time, in the emboldening of the Khawārij in Kufa. In 43/663, they made a brief, but unsuccessful, uprising under the leadership of al-Mustawrid, when al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah was the governor of Kufa. When Ziyād ibn Abīhi ('Ziyād of uncertain parentage') became the governor of Kufa in 50/670, he played an important role in suppressing them. After the death of Ziyād (in 53/673), the Khawārij of Kufa made another uprising in 58/678, this time under the leadership of Ḥayyān ibn Ẓibyān. On this occasion, Ibn Ziyād, who had become the next governor of Kufa, suppressed them.

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[1] See *Bāztāb-i Tafakkur-i 'Uthmānī dar Wāqi'ah-yi Karbalā*, pp. 31, 78, 119, and 186.

Therefore, it appears that there was no love lost between the Khawārij and the Umayyads, and we can surmise that they remained neutral during the Ḥusayni revolution.

4. The opportunists and those who were indifferent

There was a considerable number of different groups who placed no importance on what was happening in society, or who changed their colours every day. There were also many people in Kufa who neither had any particular affection for the Ahl al-Bayt (a), nor did they care for the Banū Umayyah; they were more concerned about keeping their bellies full and satisfying their desires, and would follow whoever could assure them of comfort and security.

5. The type of Shi'a in those times

In the narrations of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), those who claim to be Shi'a and the partisans of the household of the Prophet (s) have been divided into several levels or groups.

5.1. The first grade of the Shi'a

The best of the Shi'a were those who were genuine in the love that they professed for the household of the Prophet (s); they supported their causes openly and secretly. In the words of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), they have been called the friends of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) of the highest degree: "The group that loves us openly and in secret are indeed of the highest standard."[1]

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[1] *Tuḥaf al-ʿUqūl*, p. 325.

فرقة يحبونا في السر و العلانية، هم النمط الأعلى

The Imam (a) continued by describing the qualities of this group in these words, "They have been wounded and slaughtered, and are dispersed in every distant township... they are few in number, but their value and status is great before God."[1]

At the time of the Husaynī revolution, men like Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir, Muslim ibn 'Awsajah, and Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī were known examples of this degree of the Shī'a and adherents of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). After the death of Mu'āwiyah, they gathered at the house of Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī, and were responsible for the letters written to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

5.2. The second grade of the Shī'a

This group was made up of those who had affection for the household of the Prophet (s), and were conversant with his narrations about the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), as reported to them by his senior companions. They had been attracted to Kufa by the rulership of Imam 'Alī (a). However, their friendship did not exceed beyond their words.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) describes this group as the lowest degree of the partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), saying, "As for the second group, they are of the lower standard; they declare their love for us in public, but they behave like the kings; their tongues are with us, but their swords are drawn against us."[2]

During the rule of Imam 'Alī (a) and other Imams (a), most of the people of Kufa were of this type; for this reason, towards the end of his rule, the Imam (a) continually berated them for their attitude, calling them "O semblances of men!"[3] He would say, "I have been afflicted by

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[1] *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 325.

فمن بين مجروح و مذبوح، متفرقين في كل بلاد قاصية... و هم الأقلون عددا، الأعظمون عند الله قدرا و خطرا

[2] *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 325.

و الطبقة الثانية: النمط الأسفل، أحبونا في العلانية و ساروا بسيرة الملوك، فألسنتهم معنا و سيوفهم علينا

[3] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 27; *al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 6, no. 6; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 65, no. 931.

يا أشباه الرجال ولا رجال

followers who do not obey,"[1] "There is no benefit in your large numbers,"[2] "You are the worst kindling for the fire of war!"[3] and, "You are not worthy of me sharing the secrets of justice with you."[4]

Also, according to some reports, Imam al-Ḥasan (*a*) stated that he had to sign a truce with Mu'āwiyah because of this group of companions, whom he described in the following manner: "They say they are with us; indeed, their hearts are with us, but their swords are drawn against us."[5]

Similarly, when al-Farazdaq met Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he described these partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) by saying, "[Their] hearts are with you, but [their] swords are for Banū Umayyah."[6]

It is interesting that in describing the attitude of this second level, it has been said that, "Their tongues were with the Ahl al-Bayt (a), while their swords were against them"; however, in the words of al-Farazdaq and others, we read that "their hearts were with the Ahl al-Bayt (a), while their swords were against them."

The point is that if their hearts were truly with the Ahl al-Bayt (a), their swords could never be drawn against them. The fact that they could draw arms against members of the household of prophethood shows that their actual allegiance to them did not reach further than their tongues.

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1 *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 39; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 32, no. 905.

منيتُ بمن لا يُطيع

2 *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 119; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 98, no. 944.

لا غناء في كثرة عددكم

3 *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 125; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 49, no. 910, 911.

لبئس حشاش نار الحرب أنتم

4 *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 131; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 116, no. 949.

هيهات أن أطلع بكم سرار العدل.

5 *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, p. 72, no. 159; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 147, no. 14.

يقولون إنّه إنّ قلوبهم معنا و إنّ سيوفهم لمشهورة علينا.

6 *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 386.

القلوب معك، و السيوف مع بني أمية.

5.3. The third grade of the Shi'a

The third group of partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were unlike the first group, who defended their cause in open and in secret; nor were they like the second, with their commitment confined to words only. This group had love for the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in their hearts but lacked the courage to display this love openly. In the words of Imam al-Sadiq (a), their friendship was of a middle standard. About them the Imam (a) remarked, "As for the third group, they are of the middle standard; they love us in secret, but do not show love for us openly."[1] He then added, "I swear by my soul! If they truly loved us in secret and not openly, they would fast in the day and stand in prayers in the night, and you would see the signs of asceticism on their faces, and they would be men of submission and obedience."[2]

In a tradition from Imam al-Baqir (a) the Shi'a have been classified in a different manner: "The Shi'a are of three types: a group who adorn themselves through us, a group who gain material benefit through us, and a group who are from us, and attached to us."[3]

After deliberating on these traditions, one can divide the Kufans who claimed to be of the Shi'a into one of three groups.

The first group was made up of people whose hearts were with the Ahl al-Bayt (a), and they supported the causes of this family through their actions also. The number of people in this group was very small.

The second group was of those who truly loved the Ahl al-Bayt (a), but they did not have the courage to stand up and defend their causes.

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[1] *Tuhaf al-'Uqul*, p. 325.

و الطبقة الثالثة النمط الأوسط، أحبونا في السر و لم يحبونا في العلانية.

[2] *Tuhaf al-'Uqul*, p. 325.

ولعمري لئن كانوا أحبونا في السر دون العلانية فهم الصوامون بالنهار القوامون بالليل، ترى أثر الرهبانية في وجوههم، أهل سلم و انقياد.

[3] *Mishkat al-Anwar*, p. 127, no. 297.

الشيعة ثلاثة أصناف: صنف يتزينون بنا، و صنف يستأكلون بنا، و صنف منا و إلينا.

The number of these individuals was greater than the first, but less than the third group.[1]

The third group was of those who had attached themselves to the Ahl al-Bayt (a) because it suited their interests politically, socially, and economically; however, their swords were at the service of the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). Most of the Shi'a of Kufa were of this type; they were not truly Shi'a in the actual sense, rather they were motivated only by political or economical concerns. Such men are, in reality, followers of anyone who will secure their own interests. For this reason, when it appeared that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) would attain political victory, this group were quick to pledge their allegiance to the Imam (a) at the hands of Muslim; however, when the political mood changed, and they saw that supporting Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was now dangerous for them, they joined the supporters of the Banū Umayyah.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the sin of not supporting the revolution of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is on the shoulders of these kind of Shi'a, men motivated only by political, social and economic benefit, or those who misappropriated the name, Shi'a; the committed and genuine Shi'a cannot be held accountable.

6. The psychology of the Kufans

Generally speaking, the psychological qualities of most of the population of Kufa of that time, which played a role in the outward defeat of the revolution of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), can be listed as below.

6.1. Disorderliness

The original citizens of the town of Kufa comprised of Bedouin tribes, who for various reasons, had participated in the Islamic expansion wars. Afterwards, they had left their nomadic and harsh lifestyle, and turned to living in townships. However, they still retained many of their rough habits and mannerisms. One of the qualities of the desert-dwellers was the love of unrestricted freedom that they had become accustomed to in the desert. As a result, right from the start, they were at loggerheads with the restrictions imposed on them by their rulers, to a point that they exasperated the second caliph who complained, "What greater nuisance than the problem of administering a population of 100,000, who are neither content with a governor, nor is any governor willing to rule over them?"[1]

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[1] Perhaps this is the same group about whom Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah says, "[On the day of Ashura] some of our [Kufan] elders stood on the crest of a hill [overlooking the battlefield], weeping while they prayed, 'O God! Send down Your help to them.' I said to them, 'O enemies of God! Why don't you go down and help him yourselves?'" *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 392.

Such a community would not respond to a just and tolerant ruler. They would merely take advantage of such a governor, rebel against him, and pay no heed to his orders. We can see examples of all these traits in the conduct of the Kufans with Imam 'Ali (a). The only kind of governor suitable for such a community was a governor like Ziyād, son of his father, who forced them to obey the government through brutality and repression.

6.2. Materialism

Although most Muslims in the early days of Islam participated in the expansion with sincere intentions, seeking the pleasure of God and the spread of Islam, there were quite a few individuals and tribes who participated in these wars with the intention of earning war booty. Later, after they settled in Kufa, they were reluctant to relinquish their comfortable lifestyles. The moment they sensed any threat, they would hang back; conversely, whenever they sensed a benefit for themselves, they would rush to get involved.

One of the proofs of this assertion is the participation of Kufans in the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn. In 36/656, when Imam 'Ali (a) went to Iraq from Medina, to engage the insurgents fortified in Basra, he requested help from the Kufans. The Kufans considered the rule of Imam 'Ali (a) to still be in its infancy, and were afraid of how the battle would end, especially as they knew of the powerful force gathering in Basra. Therefore, they tried to excuse themselves from responding to his call. In the end, after a lot of urging and encouragement, only 12,000, or 10% of the fighting men of Kufa, came out to fight at the side of Imam 'Ali (a) in this battle. And then, after the battle was over, one of the complaints of their leaders and commanders was that Imam 'Alī (a) had not ordered booty to be taken and distributed.

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[1] *Tarikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 165

However, in preparation for the Battle of Ṣiffīn, the Kufans had already observed the establishment of the rule of Imam 'Alī (a). They were very optimistic of victory and showed more willingness to join the army. The soldiers of Imam 'Alī (a) have been recorded to number between 65,000 to 120,000, amongst whom hardly any were non-Kufans.

Most of those who gave their allegiance to Muslim can be regarded to be from this group, although a few sincere individuals were also amongst them.

The people of Kufa in those days considered the central government in Damascus to be weakened following Mu'āwiyah's death and the callowness of Yazīd, and they did not think the governor of Kufa, al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, would be able to withstand a determined rebellion. For this reason, the efforts of a small group of sincere Shī'a, under the leadership of Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī, and the suggestion of inviting Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to form a government based in Kufa, was quickly accepted by the rest of the Kufans. This was because they considered the chances of victory and the subsequent formation of a new government to be very high.

Even after the arrival of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād in Kufa, the Kufans were still confident of victory. For this reason, a large number of them supported Muslim in surrounding the palace of 'Ubayd Allāh; but once they realized the impending danger, they quickly withdrew their support for the revolution, and delivered Muslim and Hānī' into the hands of 'Ubayd Allāh.

This sense of danger changed to widespread panic when the supporters of 'Ubayd Allāh circulated the news amongst the people that the Syrian army had been mobilized. Of course, fear of the Syrian army can also be considered as a cause of the materialistic (rather than religious) outlook of the people of Kufa.

6.3. A tendency to follow their emotions

By studying different segments of Kufan history, we can see how they were inclined to be fickle in their allegiances. The basic reason for this tendency was that they did not have faith rooted in their hearts; we cannot expect anything much from individuals and tribes who initially accepted Islam after witnessing its might and power, and subsequently joined in wars for amassing worldly gains.

Perhaps the reputation of the Kufans for deceit, deception, and disloyalty – to an extent where phrases like "more deceptive than a Kufan" or "Kufans can never remain loyal" became common – arose from their fickle nature.

6.4. Aggressiveness

The military nature of the town of Kufa and the continual opportunity to fight had made their mentality particularly aggressive. Their military prowess and successes in the expansion wars made them arrogant, prone to react aggressively against any change, and willing to use force to protect their interests or gain benefit.

6.5. Tribalism

The tribalism that had long prevailed in Iraq and the Arab peninsula also cast its shadow over Kufa; people belonging to one tribe would be more loyal to their chieftain than to the ruler. On the other hand, shrewd politicians such as Mu'āwiyah and Ibn Ziyād, by offering enticements to tribal leaders, would use their influence to support their oppression of the Shī'a Imams (a).

7. The role of the administrative and economic system of Kufa in the military mobilization of its citizens

The tribal, religious, and political affiliations of the people of Kufa, as well as their particularly aggressive mentality, meant that the administration and economic conditions of the city played a very influential role in their mobilization. To underline this point, it is necessary to briefly describe the nature of the administration in Kufa and the sources of income of its people.

7.1. Administration

The main officials of the government of Kufa consisted of the following.

1. The governor (*wālī*)

He was the most important official in Kufa, and was appointed directly by the head of the central government. He was responsible for the administration of Kufa and its environs.[1]

2. The chiefs of the four quarters

When Ziyād, the son of his father, was appointed as the governor of Kufa in 50/670, he divided the city into four quarters (*arbā'*) to facilitate more efficient administation: the quarter of the people of Medina, the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān, the quarter of Rabī'ah and Kindah, and the quarter of Madhḥij and Asad. He also appointed a head for each of the quarters, who were collectively referred to as the chiefs of the quarters (*ru'asā' al-arbā'*).

The heads of the four quarters selected by Ziyād were in order: 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith, Khālid ibn 'Arafṭah, Qays ibn al-Walīd, and Abū Burdah ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī.

When Muslim ibn 'Aqīl made his stand, he also worked with this system, organizing individuals within their own quarter and replacing the heads appointed by the government with new leaders.

During the stand of Muslim in Kufa, after the arrest of Hānī' and the siege of the palace, we find mention of the following *ru'asā' al-arbā'* who had been appointed by him: Muslim ibn 'Awsajah al-Asadī in the quarter of Madhḥij and Asad, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn 'Azīz al-Kindī in the quarter of Kindah and Rabī'ah, al-'Abbās ibn Ja'dah al-Jadalī in the quarter of the people of Medina, and Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī in the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān.

Hānī' ibn 'Urwah had not been appointed by the governor to head the quarter of Kindah and Rabī'ah; however, such was his respect amongst the members of this quarter – which was the most densely populated of the quarters of Kufa – that it has been said that when he called for help, 30,000 swordsmen rallied to his aid. Of course, by his political manoeuvring, and with the help of 'Amr ibn al-Hajjāj al-Zubaydī, the arch-rival of Hānī', Ibn Ziyād was able to neutralise Hānī''s influence, and ultimately martyr him, without any violence breaking out in the quarter!

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[1] In those days, the governate of Kufa included all its central lands, as well as the northern part of Persia (such as Āzarbāyjān, Qafqāz, Qazvīn, Khurāsān, al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Kābul, and Samarkand).

3. The *'urafā'*

The *'urafā'* (sing. *'arīf*) of tribes were leaders of sub-groups within the tribe and in charge of their affairs. They were answerable to the government for the actions of the tribesmen under their charge. The duties of the *'arīf* and the number of people he was responsible for was called *'irāfah*.

This post also existed in Arab tribes in the pre-Islamic era. In terms of authority, it was one or two levels lower than that of the tribal chieftain; however, after the establishment of the system of "sevens" (*al-niẓām al-asbā'*) in Kufa in 17/637, the *'urafā'* system was transformed into something else; individuals under the guardianship of every *'arīf* were amalgamated into groups, and the total stipend for their upkeep, and that of their wives and children, was fixed at 100,000 dirhams. The number of tribesmen in different *'irāfahs* varied from one another; this was because the system that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had devised to distribute the wages for the soldiers had not been based on equity; rather it varied according to a hierarchy of particular merits [such as being a companion of the Prophet (s), having participated in wars under the command of the Prophet (s), participation in the expansion wars, etc.]. For this reason, *'irāfahs* consisted of between 20 to 60 soldiers, in addition to their wives and children.

The primary responsibility of the *'urafā'* in those days was to collect the salaries and stipends allocated by the administrators of the *asbā'* and distribute them to all the tribesmen under their care. Additionally, at the time of war, their job was to mobilise their charges; occasionally, they would inform the governor, or the commander of the *asbā'*, of the names of any tribesman who had refused to take part in a war.

As Arab soldiers began to live in cities and became concentrated in Kufa, the *'urafā'* gained in prominence; this was because, in addition to their previous duties, they were also given sole responsibility for maintaining security in the area allocated to them. Furthermore, they prepared journals containing the names of soldiers, their wives and children, and their clients or servants (*mawālī*); they also recorded the dates of birth of new-borns. When an individual died, their name was erased from the journal. In this way, they had a perfect census of the people for whom they were responsible.

It appears that since the *'urafā'* in those days were answerable to the governor, he was also in charge of their appointment and dismissal.

At times of tension and restlessness in the city, the role and importance of the *'urafā'* doubled, because they were each responsible for maintaining order amongst the people in their own *'irāfah*. Naturally, if the central administration of the city was strong, they would demand from them the identities of troublemakers and insurgents.

7.2. Sources of income of the people

In general, there were two means of income of the Kufans in those days: work and employment, and allowances and provisions from the government.

1. Work and employment

The work and employment of the people in those days usually consisted of agriculture, craftwork, trade, or employment by the state or local administration [such as civil service, policing, etc.].

It appears, from the strong reliance of the people on the state for their allowances and provisions, that the Arabs of Kufa were minimally involved in work and employment, and that most trades in Kufa were run by foreigners (*mawālī*); in fact, the Arabs generally considered getting involved in trades and craftmanship to be beneath them.

2. State allowances and provisions

Allowances were cash payments from the government of Kufa, made once or several times a year to the soldiers stationed in that city. Provisions, on the other hand, were personal supplies, such as dates, wheat, barley, oil, etc., that were regularly delivered to them gratis every month.

The system of distribution of allowances and provisions was instituted by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb because he wanted to establish an army that was permanently prepared. Therefore, in order to forestall a situation where the soldiers were busy with other work, he allocated an annual salary to them. This allocation also varied according to special criteria [such as being a companion of the Prophet (s) or the number of times the soldier had participated in battles, etc.]. These annual stipends – which were usually funded by the Muslim expansion and taxes from newly-conquered lands – amounted, according to the status of the individual, to between 300 to 2000 dirhams per year. The maximum allowance, called the *sharaf al-'aṭā* (grant of honour), was reserved for individuals with outstanding merits, such as a display of great bravery or courage.

Therefore, the main source of financial income and security of the people of Kufa was in the hands of the government, and most of the population had no choice but to cooperate with the authorities in order to safeguard their livelihood.

It seems that the administrative and financial system present in Kufa was the most influential factor in keeping the people away from supporting the revolution of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). Ultimately, they sided with the government because, once he entered Kufa and gave his political sermon, Ibn Ziyād used the existing administrative and financial system to entice and threaten the people. The tactic was successful; al-Ṭabarī reports:

> Ibn Ziyād spoke harshly to the tribal chiefs (*'urafā'*), saying, "Write to me the names of the strangers, and those among you who the Commander of the Faithful is searching for, and the *ḥarūriyyah* (Khawārij), and the waverers – whose aim is to cause divisiveness and sedition. Whoever provides us with these names shall have security, and those who do not provide any name will have to guarantee to us that no member of his tribe (*'irāfah*) will oppose us or rise up against us. If one does not do so, then we will have nothing more to do with him; we shall consider it lawful for us to seize his property and spill his blood.

> "[Furthermore] if any *ʿarīf* finds out that one of the tribesmen in his *ʿirāfah* stands against the commander of the faithful, and does not hand him over to us, he shall be hanged at the door of his house, and the allowance of that *ʿirāfah* shall be cancelled; or he shall be banished to the wilderness of al-Zarāreh in Oman."[1]

Similarly, when Muslim ibn ʿAqīl surrounded the palace of Ibn Ziyād with his men, and put him under pressure, one of the successful ploys of Ibn Ziyād was to send a message to the soldiers of Muslim through the nobles and tribal chieftains of Kufa, that if they abandoned Muslim and went back to their duties, he would increase their allowances; but if they continued with their insurrection, he would cut off their allowance.

According to some reports, on the day of Ashura, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was presenting his case to the Kufans when they began to clamour loudly in an attempt to prevent him from speaking. At that time, the Imam (a) brought up the subject of their allowances (*ʿaṭāʾ*) and the fact that with these illicit funds, they had bought and consumed impure (*ḥarām*) food, and this was one of the reasons for their disloyalty and disobedience, saying: "You have all turned away from my authority, and do not listen to my words; your [impure] wealth has led you to that which is forbidden (*ḥarām*), your bellies are filled with *ḥarām* [as well], and so your hearts have been sealed."[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 359; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 536.

أخذ العرفاء والناس أخذا شديدا، فقال: اكتبوا إلي الغرباء ومن فيكم من طلبة أمير المؤمنين، ومن فيكم من الحرورية وأهل الريب الذين رأيهم الخلاف والشقاق، فمن كتبهم لنا فبرئ، ومن لم يكتب لنا أحدا فيضمن لنا ما في عرافته ألا يخالفنا منهم مخالف، ولا يبغي علينا منهم باغ، فمن لم يفعل برئت منه الذمة وحلال لنا ماله وسفك دمه.

وأيما عريف وجد في عرافته من بغية أمير المؤمنين أحد لم يرفعه إلينا صلب على باب داره، وألقيت تلك العرافة من العطاء، وسير إلى موضع بعمان الزارة.

[2] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 22; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 8.

وكلكم عاص لأمري غير مستمع قولي، قد انخزلت عطياتكم من الحرام، وملئت بطونكم من الحرام، فطبع على قلوبكم

8. The most important factors in the collapse of the revolution of Kufa

After considering the facts that have been mentioned about the demographics of Kufa and the mentality of the Kufans, it can be said that the most important factors that led to the failure of the revolution in Kufa and the reasons why they refrained from supporting Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) are the following.

8.1. Lack of organization, and the poor economic status of the partisans of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

We have previously explained that one of the qualities of the Kufans was their reluctance to accept control. For this reason, the partisans of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) did not have any particular organization. The Kufan system of tribal affiliations meant that the people unquestioningly followed the chieftain. Therefore, if the chief of the tribe was dismissed or arrested or committed treason, the tribesmen were incapable of making decisions.

In addition having no organization, the fact that they had few resources and were poorly equipped played a considerable role in the collapse of the revolution in Kufa.

8.2. The official organization and financial resources of the enemies of the Imam (a)

By contrast, the Imam's (a) enemies and the supporters of the Umayyad regime were at the heart of the Kufan administration; they were well organised, and most of the financial resources and military equipment in the city were in their hands. Despite this, when they had to face Muslim, they ran into two basic problems: firstly, the weak administration of al-Nu'mān ibn Bashir, and, secondly, the popular support for the revolution of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). However, with the arrival of Ibn Ziyād, both problems were resolved.

8.3. Threats and inducements offered to the people

When he entered the city, Ibn Ziyād found Kufa in the grip of political and social turmoil. The partisans of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had influenced the mood of the people. In order to restore control, Ibn Ziyād resorted to threatening the populace if they continued with their rebellion, and offering inducements to them if they recanted. In his first speech after arriving in Kufa, he said to them:

> The commander of the faithful [Yazīd] – may God make him prosper – has placed me in charge of your city. He has instructed me to relieve the oppressed amongst you, to distribute your allowances, to behave courteously with those of you who have listened [to our directives] and obeyed, and to punish those who have hesitated and disobeyed. I shall follow his command to the letter. To those of you who have been obedient I shall be like a kind father, but my whip and sword shall strike anyone who disobeys or opposes my command. So let everyone look out for himself.[1]

8.4. Inducements offered to the tribal chiefs

Another strategy of Ibn Ziyād in subduing the rebellion in Kufa was to give large bribes to the tribal chiefs and Kufan nobles. Keeping the tribal system of Kufa in mind, [one can understand how] this step was extraordinarily successful in dousing the flames of revolution. About this, Mujammi' ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ā'idhī (one of the four people who reported the events emerging in Kufa to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) while he was on his way) said to the Imam (a), "As for the nobles, they have accepted large bribes; their pockets are full, and their friendship has been redirected. Their loyalty is now completely to him, and they have united against you. As for the rest of the people, their hearts may still be with you, but tomorrow, their swords will be raised against you."[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 358.

ثم قال: أما بعد، فإن أمير المؤمنين أصلحه الله ولاني مصركم وثغركم، وأمرني بإنصاف مظلومكم، وإعطاء محرومكم، وبالإحسان إلى سامعكم ومطيعكم، وبالشدة على مريبكم وعاصيكم، وأنا متبع فيكم أمره، ومنفذ فيكم عهده، فأنا لمحسنكم ومطيعكم كالوالد البر، وسوطي وسيفي على من ترك أمري، وخالف عهدي، فليبق امرؤ على نفسه.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 405.

أما أشراف الناس فقد أعظمت رشوتهم، وملئت غرائرهم، يستمال ودهم، ويستخلص به نصيحتهم، فهم ألب واحد عليك، وأما سائر الناس بعد، فإن أفئدتهم تهوي إليك، وسيوفهم غدا مشهورة عليك.

8.5. The arrest of a number of the eminent supporters of the Imam (a)

One of the other steps that Ibn Ziyād took was to temporarily arrest a number of the important supporters of the Imam (a). Al-Ṭabarī reports in this regard: "And he detained several of the elders [of Kufa] and isolated them because he had very few men with him."[1]

Amongst those who were arrested by Ibn Ziyād was al-Mukhtār ibn Abū 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī, who remained in the prison [of the government mansion] until the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

It is worth mentioning that apart from all other factors, just the arrest of influential figures like al-Mukhtār, coupled with the inaction of Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad, was enough to cause the revolution of Kufa grave difficulties, or even lead to its failure.

8.6. Violent suppression

A policy of violence and ruthless killing was another tool used by Ibn Ziyād to suppress the revolution in Kufa. It has been reported, "Ibn Ziyād spent his first night at the palace, and the next morning, he assembled the people. He spoke to them in a harsh and threatening manner. He ordered killings, assassinations, and hangings, spilling blood freely."[2]

In another report, we read, "He detained a group of Kufans and had them killed impetuously."[3]

Hānī' ibn 'Urwah was one of the leaders amongst the partisans of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was arrested by Ibn Ziyād, and was martyred after being severely beaten and tortured.

8.7. Exploitation of influential religious and popular figures

Alongside all the other factors that caused the failure of the Kufan revolution, one of the most dangerous policies of Ibn Ziyād was the exploitation of members of the clergy, who were trusted by the people, such as Shurayḥ al-Qāḍī. After the arrest of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, some members of the tribe of Madhḥij surrounded the government mansion, wanting to free him. Ibn Ziyād sensed the danger that they posed, so he instructed Shurayḥ al-Qāḍī, "Go and look at their friend [Hānī'], and then go out and inform them that he lives, and has not been killed, and that you have seen him yourself."

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 369.

وحبس سائر وجوه الناس عنده استيحاشا إليهم لقلة عدد من معه من الناس

[2] Maqātil al-Ṭālibīn, p. 72; Kashf al-Ghummah, vol. 2, p. 253.

[3] al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah, p. 183.

Shurayḥ reports:

> I went to Hānī', and when he saw me, he exclaimed "O God! Woe be to the Muslims! Have you destroyed my tribe? Where are the people of religion? Where are the people of the city?" Blood had soaked his beard. I heard the clamouring of his kinsmen at the door of the palace, so I began to leave, but he followed me and said, "O Shurayḥ! I am guessing that those are the voices of Madhḥij, my partisans from amongst the Muslims. If ten of them manage to reach me, they would save me."[1]

Shurayḥ al-Qāḍī went out towards the people who had besieged the palace, and without elaborating on what he had seen and heard, he merely told them, "When the governor was informed of your presence and of your concern for your elder [Hānī'], he instructed me to go and see him, and he instructed me to meet you afterwards and reassure you that he is alive, and that the news that you have received about his death is false."[2]

On hearing the words of Shurayḥ, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj, who was a leader of the people who had surrounded the palace, said, "Praise be to God that he has not been killed!" Then the crowd dispersed from around the mansion.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 364; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 538.

فقال لشريح القاضي: ادخل على صاحبهم فانظر إليه، ثم اخرج فأعلمهم أنه حي لم يقتل، وأنك قد رأيته، فدخل إليه شريح فنظر إليه. قال: ... فدخلت على هانئ، فلما رآني قال: يا لله يا للمسلمين! أهلكت عشيرتي؟ فأين أهل الدين؟ وأين أهل المصر؟

تسيل على لحيته، إذ سمع الرجة على باب القصر، وخرجت واتبعني، فقال: يا شريح، إني لأظنها أصوات مذحج وشيعتي من المسلمين، إن دخل علي عشرة نفر أنقذوني.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 368.

فلما خرجت إليهم قلت: إن الأمير لما بلغه مكانكم ومقالتكم في صاحبكم أمرني بالدخول إليه، فأتيته فنظرت إليه، فأمرني أن ألقاكم، وأن أعلمكم أنه حي، وأن الذي بلغكم من قتله كان باطلاً.

It is worth mentioning that 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj was the brother of Raw'ah, the wife of Hānī'. He was a staunch supporter of Ibn Ziyād, and by this subterfuge, he saved Ibn Ziyād from the clutches of the tribe of Madhḥij.

Indeed, Ibn Ziyād, by playing cunning and ruthless politics, was able to extinguish the flames of revolution in Kufa; he murdered Muslim ibn 'Aqil and transformed the socio-political balance in Kufa to such an extent that he was able to despatch a sizable contingent of men from Kufa to Karbala to participate in the blood-soaked and terrible events of Ashura.

◆

PART 4: *ʿAZĀDĀRĪ* AND WEEPING FOR IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

ʿAzādārī (mourning ceremony) is one of the fundamental elements in the study of the culture of Ashura; it is not possible to ignore its positive role in the cultural evolution of Shīʿism. Notwithstanding its high and pivotal status, the *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), especially in contemporary times, has been the subject of questions and criticism.

We have therefore tried to present a comprehensive analysis of *ʿazādārī* by studying all the reports that exist about it so that we may establish its high status and answer the questions and doubts that have been raised about it. In order to begin an inclusive discussion about *ʿazādārī* and cover all its aspects, we have presented our discussion under four headings:

1. The status of *ʿazādārī* in the words and practice of the Imams (a)
2. The philosophy and wisdom behind *ʿazādārī*
3. A survey of the dangers facing *ʿazādārī*
4. The particularities of purposeful *ʿazādārī*

1. The status and position of *ʿazādārī* in the words and practice of the Imams (a)

Based on many narrations, establishing *ʿazādārī* for the Doyen of Martyrs, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and his companions – composing elegies (*marthiyah*) about them and weeping over the hardships that befell them, especially in the first ten days of Muḥarram, and particularly on the day of Ashura – has been emphasized by the Ahl al-Bayt (a). The *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is, in truth, a manifestation of one's love for the family of the Prophet (s), which the Qurʾan has deemed compulsory: "Say [O *Muhammad*], *I do not ask you any recompense for it [my efforts] except that you love my near kin.*"[1]

Indeed, the *'azādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is a display of sympathy for the greatest tragedy that befell the Ahl al-Bayt (a), and, indeed, Islam.

In addition to directly emphasizing it in their speeches, the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) also alluded to the importance of the *'azādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the need to keep it alive, in other ways. We will mention some of these in the discussion below.

1.1. Reciters of elegies for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) before the event of Karbala

According to historical records, the first to recite an elegy for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), even before the event of Karbala, was God, the Almighty, who informed Adam (a), Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl (a), and the last Prophet, Muḥammad (s), about the tragedy that would befall Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). On hearing this, they all wept. Similarly, when 'Īsā (Jesus) (a) crossed the land of Karbala, he mentioned to his disciples (the *ḥawāriyyūn*) the tragedy that would befall Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and they all wept together.

The Messenger of God (s) and the Commander of the Faithful (a) too made frequent references to the bloodstained events of Karbala; they would weep, along with Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (a), over the events that would befall their dear son.

1.2. The first reciters of elegies for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) after the event of Karbala

After the event of Karbala, the first reciters of elegies for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions were his son, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a); his dear sister, Zaynab al-Kubrā (a); his daughters [Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrā]; and his wife, al-Rabāb. Throughout the journey, in Karbala, Kufa, and Damascus, they propagated the mission of the Imam (a) through their instructional elegies.

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[1] Q 42:23

In Medina, however, the first person to recite an elegy for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions was Umm Salamah, the esteemed wife of the Messenger of God (s). Yaʿqūbī writes in this regard: "The first lamentation that was heard for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Medina was the lament of Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (s)."

1.3. Wearing black in mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

The first people to wear black clothes in mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) were Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (s), and the women of Banū Hāshim.[1] This action may have been due to the words of the Prophet (s) to Asmāʾ at the time of the martyrdom of her husband Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib.[2] Abū Muslim also, in order to attract attention when he rose against the government of the Banū Umayyah, chose to wear black clothes. In history, he and his companions became famously known as the "wearers of black". They would say, "These black garments are in mourning for the family of the Muḥammad (s), for the martyrs of Karbala, and for Zayd, and for Yaḥyā."[3]

In our times also, in some Shiʿa locations, the wearing of black is considered a sign of mourning.[4]

1.4. The emphasis on keeping the memory of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) alive

Many reports from the Imams (a) emphasise the necessity of continuously remembering Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). For example, in a report from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), we read, "Say thrice, 'May God's blessings be on you, O Abā 'Abd Allāh', for this greeting will reach him from near and from afar."[1]

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[1] See ch. 7, part 1, "The first to wear black in mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)."

[2] It has been reported from Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays: When Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) was martyred, the Prophet (s) said to me, "Wear black for three days (Tr.: تسلّبي)." *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, p. 409; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 1, p. 472. However, "tasallubī" has also been interpreted in a different manner. See ch. 7, part 3.

[3] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 3, p. 300.

[4] See *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 10, p. 19, no. 2782.

Similarly, it has been recommended to remember the great Imam (a) when one drinks water. Since a human being is constantly in need of water, this recommendation – of sending greetings to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and cursing his killers – when drinking water is an indication that the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) should never forget the events of Karbala and the memory of the great stand against tyrants and their oppression. Thus, the selfless martyrdom of the son of the Prophet (s) in this path will remain eternally alive in history.

1.5. The emphasis on constancy in *'azādārī*

Pondering over the advice of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) to establish gatherings to mourn the martyrs of Karbala and keep alive the memory of Ashura, their encouragement to poets to compose poems and elegies about this great calamity in the history of Islam, their informing people of the boundless reward for weeping and making others weep over this great tragedy, their emphasis on the importance of *'azādārī* in the first ten days of Muḥarram, and especially on the day of Ashura, clearly reveals that *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions is meant to achieve an important objective; and that as long as that objective is not realised, the practice of *'azādārī* must continue amongst the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a).

Therefore, the important question that arises is: what is the objective and philosophy of the need to continue the *'azādārī* and mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)?

2. The philosophy of *'azādārī*

As we have indicated earlier, manifesting one's love for the family of the Prophet (s) though mourning for the Doyen of Martyrs, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), is, without doubt, a commendable practice. In a way, it is the honouring of one of the symbols (*sha'ā'ir*) of God. However, an examination of the narrations which recommend and emphasize the perpetual establishment of the lamentation (*ma'tam*) of Sayyid al-Shuhadā' (a) reveals that the philosophy of *'azādārī* for him goes much deeper than a manifestation of love for the Ahl al-Bayt (a). In fact, it was the opinion of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs that even if loving the Ahl al-Bayt (a) had not been made compulsory in the Qur'an and Sunnah, we would still have displayed admiration and happiness at the great station that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions achieved through their martyrdom.[1]

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[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 575, no. 1.

قل: صلّى الله عليك يا أبا عبد الله [illegible] فإنّ السلام يصل إليه من قريب ومن بعيد.

Therefore, we must try to find out the reason why *'azādārī* and grieving for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) have been emphasized so greatly. In any case, the philosophy of his martyrdom, whatever that may be, will be exactly the same as the philosophy of the *'azādārī* for him.

2.1. The philosophy of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

The most fundamental reason for the stand and martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the fight against ignorance. According to many reliable sources, it is reported that, in this regard, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) said in a supplication to God, "He offered his blood for Your sake so that Your servants could come out of their state of ignorance and remove the yoke of misguidance."[2]

Everything that we have discussed about the objectives of the stand and the philosophy of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) can be summarized in one phrase: to dispel ignorance. Awakening the people from this ignorance was not only the objective of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), it was also the reason for the commission of the last Prophet (s) and the revelation of the Qur'an.

The primary mission of the Prophets and appointees of God is to dispel the malaise of ignorance from their societies, because as long as this sickness is not treated, religious values cannot be expected to prevail. In order to realise this noble goal, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) gave his sacred blood in the way of God. This is why the main reason cited by the followers of the school of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) for keeping alive the institution of martyrdom through the *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is to dispel ignorance from the Muslim nation. As long as this dangerous social malaise is not treated, and Islamic values are not ascendant in the world, it is vital for this practice to continue.

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[1] See *al-Malhūf*, p. 83.

[2] *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 114, no. 201; *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 788.

وبذل مهجته فيك ليستنقذ عبادك من الجهالة وحيرة الضلالة.

3. The threats facing the *'azādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

In contemporary times, awareness of the factors that threaten the goals and philosophy of the *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the most important and fundamental step in attaining the lofty goals of this valuable directive of the Ahl al-Bayt (a).

It must be asked – how has the original culture of Ashura been distorted by malevolent foes and unwitting friends? What are the dangers that threaten the institution of the *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)?

The general response to this question is: everything that stands against the objectives of *'azādārī* (dispelling the ignorance from the Muslim community), and especially the commemoration (*majlis*) of meaningful *'azādārī* – such as, God-focusedness, accurately recounting and analysing the events of Ashura, and correctly harnessing the emotions and sentiments of the masses towards the Ahl al-Bayt (a) – is a danger to the institution of the *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). In order to expound on this general answer, we will mention the most important of these factors.

3.1. Distortion of the objectives of *'azādārī*

The most dangerous issue facing the *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the distortion of its objectives. We have mentioned before that the philosophy of the *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the same as the philosophy of his martyrdom. Therefore, distortion of the former is the same as distorting the latter.

This distortion can manifest in two ways: (a) in lieu of enlightenment and awakening, *'azādārī* is presented only as a means of forgiveness of sins and purification of the soul, and, (b) instead of examining the various dimensions of the event, attention is focussed only on the atrocities committed by Yazid and his oppressive army during this event.

This does not mean that forgiveness of sins and purification of the soul are not the fruits and benefits of *ʿazādārī*, or that the atrocities of the evildoers should be overlooked; rather the meaning is to avoid a focus on one aspect only.

If, instead of dispelling ignorance and establishing Islamic values, the objective of the *ʿazādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is restricted to the purification of sinners from their sins, the actual objective of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the *ʿazādārī* for him has been distorted. This is exactly the same distortion that is presented in Christianity about Prophet Jesus (a).

In other words, what we consider distortion of the objectives of the *ʿazādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the restriction of this objective to a means of purification of sinners only, similar to the erroneous belief of the Christians about the alleged crucifixion of Jesus (a). Of course, this does not mean that we deny the role of *ʿazādārī* in the forgiveness of sinners.

On the other hand, if viewed more comprehensively, the event of Ashura has two dimensions: (1) the aspect of tyranny and oppression, and (2) the aspect of dignity, honour, and greatness. Therefore, a more appropriate analysis and explanation of this event is only possible if both these dimensions are considered and presented side by side. Otherwise, the audience will not be able to fully appreciate this important historical episode.[1]

3.2. Reliance on unreliable sources

A major issue that has threatened the *ʿazādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), especially in the last few centuries, is the heavy usage of unreliable and weak sources of information by preachers and *marthiyah* composers.

A point worth noting is that the history of Ashura can be found much more readily in reliable and trustworthy sources compared to other events. Therefore, conscientious composers of elegies do not need to resort to unreliable works for material. In the words of Shahid Mutahhari:

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[1] For a discussion about the objectives of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the distortion that has come about in this regard, see *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 3.

> If someone reads the history of Ashura, he will find it to be one of the most vibrant, reliable, and well-documented events in history. The late Ākhund Khurāsānī commented, "Those who wish to narrate unheard details of the tragedy should seek out those sound traditions that have not yet been heard by anyone!"[1]
>
> Many composers of elegies believe that everything that has been printed and distributed can be relied upon. They are not concerned with the reliability of the source.[2]

Many of the baseless and false accounts, which actually demean the status of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and have unfortunately become the subject of *marthiyahs*, are taken from unreliable works. For this reason, a critical survey of sources is the first task of those who wish to genuinely recite and compose poetry about the blood-soaked history of Ashura. Those who do not care about this are not properly qualified to mention the tragedy of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), no matter how sincere their intentions.

3.3. Shameful accounts

Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) is the manifestation of divine honour, Ashura is a culmination of his epical stance, and his stirring slogan "Far from us is humiliation!"[3] is his everlasting legacy. In reliable sources, it has been reported that in his inspiring speech on the day of Ashura, he addressed the enemy:

> The illegitimate one, son of the illegitimate one has forced me between two choices: the sword or humiliation. And far from us is

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[1] Ayatollah Ākhund Muhammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī was born in 1255/1839 in Mashhad, and passed away in 1329/1911 in Najaf. He was one of the great Shiʿa scholars and reformers. Due to his wide-ranging scholarship and systematic manner of teaching *fiqh* and *uṣūl*, he was a unique scholar of his age. He was one of the main clerical supporters of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911). His most famous work is *Kifāyat al-Uṣūl* (Sufficiency in the Principles of Jurisprudence).

[2] For further details about reliable and unreliable sources of the history of Ashura, see ch. 1, part 1, "Works on the history of Ashura"; also see Muḥammadīrayshahrī and Ṭabāṭabāʾīnizhād, vol. 4 (s.v. "Āshūrā", "ʿAzādārī", "Taḥrīf").

[3] هيهات منّا الذلّة

> humiliation! God holds us away from that, as does His Messenger (s), and the believers. Men of intellect, who are of pure and purified thoughts, and possessors of lofty resilient souls, would never choose submission to the depraved over death with honour.[1]

Therefore, every report about the history of Ashura that indicates that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) accepted humiliation should be considered as false, and an attempt to discredit him by his enemies. An example of such a report is that the Imam (a) allegedly said, "Accept one of three suggestions from me: let me return to whence I came; or allow me to place my hand in the hand of Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah, and let him decide matters between us; or escort me to the edge of any of the Muslim lands that you wish, so that I may live there with the same rights and duties [as its other citizens]."[2]

Or, the account of the Imam (a) asking for water from the accursed Shimr, when the latter was about to kill him. The following statement has been attributed to the Imam in the work *Nūr al-'Ayn*:

> [The Imam (a) said,] "Now that you are resolved to kill me, then [at least] give me a sip of water." Shimr replied, "You shall never taste water; rather you shall taste death, slowly and painfully."[3]

These kinds of reports are contrary to the established account of the history of Ashura and the dignified personality of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a); moreover, they are against the fundamental beliefs of the Shi'a about the high status of the household of the Prophet (s).

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 155.

ألا وإنّ الدعيّ ابن الدعيّ قد ركزني بين اثنتين، بين السلّة والذلّة، وهيهات منّا الذلّة، يأبى الله لنا ذلك ورسوله والمؤمنون، وحجورٌ طابت، وحجورٌ طهرت، وأنوفٌ حميّة، ونفوسٌ أبيّة من أن نؤثر طاعة اللئام على مصارع الكرام.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 413.

إختاروا مني خصالاً ثلاثاً: إما أن أرجع إلى المكان الذي أقبلت منه، و إما أن أضع يدي في يد يزيد بن معاوية، فيرى فيما بيني و بينه رأيه، و إما أن تسيّروني إلى أيّ ثغر من ثغور المسلمين شئتم، فأكون رجلاً من أهله لي ما لهم و عليّ ما عليهم

[3] *Nūr al-'Ayn*, p. 52.

إذاً و لا بدّ من قتلي فاسقني شربة ماء. فقال: هيهات أن تذوق الماء بل تذوق الموت غصة بعد غصة و جرعة بعد جرعة.

Consequently, one of the problems with the gatherings of *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) are the shameful *marthiyahs* that are recited about him. Therefore, it becomes incumbent for conscientious reciters to strenuously avoid mentioning anything about the event of Ashura that imputes humiliation or helplessness to the Imam (a) or his family.

3.4. Exaggeration (*ghuluww*)

Humiliating accounts bring down the true status of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), while exaggerated views attempt to raise their true status. Unfortunately, both these problems are observable in some *marthiyah* compositions.

There are those who attribute divinity to the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in their *'azādārī* gatherings, and instead of making God the focus of the *majlis* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and inspiring hearts and minds towards God through the Ahl al-Bayt (a) – who are the gateways to recognising God – they talk of the "divinity of Ḥusayn" or the "divinity of Zaynab". Sometimes, in an attempt to aggrandise the Ahl al-Bayt (a), they reduce the status of the great prophets of God in contrast. All such attempts, whether done wittingly or unwittingly, serve only the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (a); Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is far removed from such people.[1]

3.5. Fabrications

The most despicable and dangerous of lies are those that are attributed to God, His Prophet (s), and the Ahl al-Bayt (a). Such lies are counted amongst the major sins, and if uttered knowingly while fasting, they nullify the fast.[2]

The *marthiyah* composers and reciters who attribute words and events to the Ahl al-Bayt (a) without any proof are not only doing a disservice to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) but should be also aware that they are committing a grave sin.

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[1] For further information about the danger of *ghuluww* with regards to the *Ahl al-Bayt* (a), see *Ahl al-Bayt dar Qur'ān wa Sunnah*, ch. 16.

[2] For details about the variety of fabrications, see *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, p. 135 (part 4).

In truth, many people have a difficult time believing the accounts mentioned by some reciters of the tragedy; however, regrettably, we have to acknowledge that this phenomenon [the fabrication of events by elegy reciters and composers] exists. In fact, this great calamity that has cast its shadow on the history of Ashura needs to be mourned over even more than the tragedy of Ashura itself, because this calamity has severely harmed the sacred stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

For details of these distortions, interested readers can refer to the works *Luʾluʾ wa Marjān* of Muḥaddith Nūrī – who wrote the work in 1319/1901 – and *Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī* of Ustād Murtaḍā Muṭahharī.

3.6. Innovation in the forms of ʿazādārī

The corruption that we have mentioned thus far is limited to the content of the *majālis* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a); however, a number of innovations have appeared in the form and manner of the *ʿazādārī* commemorations as well.

From a juristic (*fiqhī*) perspective, acts of worship, whether obligatory or recommended, have always been according to the guidance of the Prophet (s), as directed by God (*swt*). Any other act which is performed as an act of worship is considered to be an innovation (*bidʿah*), and is not only undesirable, but forbidden.

The recommendation of *ʿazādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is established according to decisive arguments, and, due to its individual and societal effect and blessings, it is counted amongst the greatest acts of worship. As for how this act of worship is to be performed, the guidelines can be derived from the manner and form in which *ʿazādārī* was observed when it was first instituted.

In fact, these guidelines can be expanded to include the types of *ʿazādārī* that developed in later times, as long as the form of *ʿazādārī* conforms to the original objectives for which it was established in the first place. It should not be a practice that demeans the status of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) or be accompanied by acts that are unlawful according to the sharīʿah.[1] Accordingly, undesirable practices that have gradually made an appearance in the ceremonies of *ʿazādārī* [such as the use of musical instruments, inappropriate melodies, men dressed as women, and striking the body with blades] are all considered to be innovations (*bid'ah*). Of particular mention is the practice of striking the head and body with blades (*taṭbīr* or *qameh zanī*), which in current times has fostered negative propaganda against the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and weakened the image of the Shī'a school of thought.[1]

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[1] In this regard, see Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *[illegible]*, *ʿAzādārī*, *Taḥrīfāt*, et al.

As a final word on this issue, if the culture of Ashura is presented to the world as it truly was and is, without any distortion, it is a powerful force, capable of overturning the dictatorial and arrogant regimes of the world. It is able to motivate not only the Muslim nation, but free oppressed people across the world from the yoke of tyrants and usurpers. In the words of the leader of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Khāmene'ī, "Today, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī can grant the world salvation, as long as his face is not clouded by the haze of distortion."[2]

4. Purposeful gatherings of mourning

It is possible to have gatherings for *'azādārī* that are true to its original objectives and free from the distortions that have contaminated it. Those who sit to mourn Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) can be guided to these objectives as long as their gatherings have three features.

4.1. God-focusedness

Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and other righteous martyrs in the course of history endured adversity and carried out the religious duty to go to war so as to establish the path of God and to ensure the survival of monotheism. Therefore, it is not possible to present a correct analysis of the stand of Ashura in isolation from a proper understanding of religion. For this reason, the fundamental basis of the programmes established to commemorate the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and the lectures and elegies recited about the event must centre on God. The primary focus should be to bring the hearts of the people closer to Him and to incline towards spiritual values.

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[1] In this regard, see '*Az 'Āshūrā-yi Ḥusayn tā 'Āshūrā-yi Shī'ah*', in *'Āshūrāshināsī*, vol. 3.

[2] An excerpt from his speech during a meeting with clerics and preachers in the month of Muharram 1418/1997.

4.2. Presentation of a correct account and analysis of the event of Ashura

Without a proper analysis of the stand of Ashura, it is not possible to educate the mourners about the lofty objectives of *ʿazādārī* and to inspire them to apply them. Therefore, lecturers and reciters in the gatherings of the *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) should take care to present correct accounts and analyses by quoting reliable sources. They must assiduously avoid the material and practices that are damaging to *ʿazādārī* – which we have listed earlier. The best way to do so is to recite the account of the tragedy directly from reliable works.

4.3. To strengthen affection and attachment to the Ahl al-Bayt (a)

A correct analysis and presentation of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) by lecturers and reciters is invaluable in arousing the sorrow and emotions of the people towards the blood-soaked tragedy of Karbala. Sorrow and emotion have a special influence in spiritual progression which nothing else can match. For this reason, the Ahl al-Bayt (a) placed a distinct emphasis on weeping and making others weep over the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). They would encourage composers to produce elegies and urge people to listen to these compositions, thereby laying the foundation of this culture amongst their followers.

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PART 5: THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOURNING CEREMONIES FOR IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)[1]

Without doubt, the blood-soaked stand at Karbala in 61/680 is an extraordinary and seminal episode in human history, and no effort should be spared in keeping its memory alive. The widespread commemoration of the sacrifices of the martyrs of this incomparable event is one of the most important steps in this regard.

From the time that the event of Karbala occurred, the ʿazādārī of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was always considered important, and gradually it became a structured institution. It is worth examining how this institution formed and evolved over time.

The first stage: From the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to the death of his killers

During this stage, the efforts of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were devoted to awakening the masses from their slumber of apathy, opening their closed minds, and countering the widespread false propaganda that had been spread in the nation by the Umayyads.

For example, when the family of the Prophet (s) were brought to Kufa as prisoners, and the Kufans heard their eloquent sermons, they were reduced to tears. On the one hand, they were reminded of the several years during which these personalities had resided in Kufa, and on the other, they were shaken by their powerful and stirring words. The episode had a great impact on the city.

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[1] This section has been written by the esteemed scholar, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṣāliḥ Ābādī.

In Syria too, the momentous and unsettling arrival of the prisoners affected even the ruling elite; fearing political instability, the government took the step of allowing a mourning ceremony to be arranged. And when the caravan of prisoners was allowed to leave Damascus for Medina, [according to some reports] they went to Karbala to mourn at the graves of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his fellow martyrs.

Likewise, in the city of Medina, there was widespread mourning and lamentation at the news of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). They first knew of what had transpired when they heard the cries of sorrow of Umm Salamah, the widow of the Prophet (s), who became aware of the tragedy in a dream [according to another report, the clay that the Prophet (s) had entrusted to her became blood-soaked]. When the news of the martyrdom was officially announced by the governor of the Banū Umayyah in Medina, Umm Salamah and the people turned the city into a state of mourning, arranging gatherings to grieve over the great loss. The family of Banū Hāshim led the mourning, with Ibn ʿAbbās and Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafiyyah, the daughters of ʿAqīl, and the other ladies of the family participating in the lamentation.

Other recorded episodes of mourning at that time deserve mention: the mourning of the people of Medina when the caravan of survivors returned, the mourning of the wives of the Imam (a), and the lamentation of Umm al-Banīn for her sons at the graveyard of al-Baqīʿ.

In addition, the family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib arranged gatherings in Medina, where elegies were recited and the martyrs were mourned for every day the first year, and thereafter on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). First and second-generation companions (*ṣaḥābah* and *tābiʿūn*) would participate in these assemblies. The Ahl al-Bayt (a) wore clothes symbolizing their grief and arranged continual gatherings of mourning and lamentation until the death of Ibn Ziyād, and several of the *ṣaḥābah* and *tābiʿūn* joined them in this practice.

These efforts resulted in an environment that led to the formation of groups such as the Tawwābīn (Repentants), who rose to avenge the atrocities perpetrated in Karbala. On their way to Shām to join the battle against the killers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), they first went to Karbala and mourned at the graves of the Imam (a) and the rest of the martyrs. From there, they continued their journey to Shām.[1] [2]

The second stage: The establishment of *'azādārī* as a ritual of faith by the Imams (a)

During this stage, the mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) became an established ritual of religious practice. This happened in three phases.

1. Preparing the ground – the work of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a)

During this phase, the necessary groundwork was laid in order to establish the ritual of *'azādārī* as a recommended practice. Credit for this phase goes to the seminal role of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a).

The grief of the Imam (a) sometimes aroused curiosity, especially when he would weep at the sight of food and water. He would weep so frequently that well-wishers would ask him to weep less so as to preserve his health. However, the Imam (a) continued to weep, revealing the depth of the tragedy of Karbala, and the honour in the eyes of society and religion of those who are martyred. He wept, and moved others to weep also.

In order to establish a permanent practice, he taught that weeping over the tragedy that befell Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions was a means of achieving salvation from the punishment of God, entering into His sanctuary, and being admitted to paradise. In addition to arranging mourning assemblies until the death of 'Ubayd Allāh

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[1] See *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 389.

[2] It is worth mentioning that while the event of Karbala had a great impact on the Islamic world and caused great sorrow, for the Banū Hāshim in particular, it was so devastating that they did not stop grieving and lamenting over the tragedy until they received the news of the killing of Ibn Ziyād. Whether this was due to the culture and practice of the Arabs – who would grieve over a murdered relative until his killer was dead – is debatable.

In any case, in these 5-6 years, the *Ahl al-Bayt* (a) made the practice of *'azādārī* prevalent and familiar. This gave rise to an ideological, popular, and militant movement, which later became an established ritual of faith under the guidance and encouragement of the Imams (a).

Ibn Ziyād and the other killers of the martyrs of Karbala, the Imam (a) mourned for them until the end of his life.

2. Development of *ʿazādārī* – the eras of Imam al-Bāqir (a) and Imam al-Ṣādiq (a)

At the time of Imam al-Bāqir (a)

The time of Imam al-Bāqir (a) was somewhat different to the time of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a). The raised awareness and continual reminder of the event due to the efforts of the fourth Imam (a), and the support of his companions, had influenced the intellectual and political climate in the nation. Furthermore, the liberation of Iraq from the yoke of Umayyad rule in just ten years after the tragedy of Karbala prepared the ground for the establishment of *ʿazādārī* as an institution.

Due to past events and new socio-political developments, Imam al-Bāqir (a) enjoyed great respect in the society and became popular as a source of religious knowledge, with most people turning to him for guidance. As a result, his sphere of influence was greater than that of his esteemed father. The Imam (a) made use of this opportunity by employing various strategies to establish the *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) as a practice based on a seminal event in history. For example:

1. He emphasised the directive of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a), as a witness to the atrocities of Karbala, about the merits of grieving over Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).
2. He arranged gatherings of mourning at his own house.
3. He encouraged composers of elegies to mention comprehensive details of the tragedy of Karbala in their compositions and recitals.
4. He advised the Shīʿa to hold gatherings of mourning in their own homes, taking care not to become the target of harassment by the rulers.
5. He promoted poetry and elegies dedicated to the propagation of the message of Karbala.

6. For the first time, he encouraged people not to work on the day of Ashura.
7. He advised that those who observed the *'azādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) that this would be of benefit to their religion in this world, and that they would be granted the companionship of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the Prophet (s) in the next.

At the time of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a)

When Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) assumed the office of the *imāmah* of the Shī'a, half a century had elapsed since the tragic events at Karbala. By then, society had changed considerably in its political, cultural, and religious attitude. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) took ample advantage of this opportunity, using it to explain and expound on many matters of the religion and the Qur'an.

Amongst this activity, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) gave great importance to the event of Karbala, both in his sermons as well as by his deeds and conduct. His teachings about the manner, philosophy, and form of *'azādārī* are worthy of study.

The Imam (a) emphasized that the day of Ashura should always be alive in the minds of the people, its tragedies never forgotten, and its commemoration ever-enduring. To this end, he advised the believers to gather to grieve on the day of Ashura, and if possible, congregate at the grave of that eternal martyr; they should wear the clothes of mourning and refrain from pleasures, merriment, and fine food; they should bring to mind the sorrowful and tragic events of Karbala and observe *'azādārī*, even if they were on their own.

The practice of the Imams (a) indicates that the remembrance of Ashura is necessary for an important legacy to endure; it is a dynamic movement, not just a commemoration of a tragic and regrettable event in history.

3. Development of *ʿazādārī* – the eras of Imam al-Kāẓim (a) and Imam al-Riḍā (a)

The era of Imam al-Kāẓim (a) is worth examining because of the socio-political changes that were occurring at his time. It was a time when the Shīʿa were on the brink of a mass uprising; therefore, the example set by Imam al-Kāẓim (a) was particularly important.

From the beginning of Muḥarram until the day of Ashura, the Imam (a) would openly display his sorrow. In this manner, he established the practice of observing *ʿazādārī* during the first 10 days of Muḥarram. In fact, he left an example of the manner of *ʿazādārī* on the day of Ashura for the Shīʿa. By his own practice, the Imam (a) showed that believers should always commemorate the day of Ashura, and that they should make arrangements to honour this important event from a few days before, leading to profound *ʿazādārī* on the day of Ashura itself.

Imam al-Riḍā (a) occupied a unique position due to the socio-political circumstances at his time. As a result, his influence was significantly enhanced. He attached great importance to the *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), making the Shīʿa aware of the importance of Muḥarram and its first 10 days. In keeping with the practice of his father with regards to the event of Karbala, he made great efforts to promote its message.

The foregoing was a passing mention of the practice of the Imams (a) with regards to their speeches, personal observances, and guidance following the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). These can be generally divided into two parts: (1) their efforts to show the importance of the *ʿazādārī* and mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and (2) making the day of Ashura an important occasion, and promoting the gathering for mourning and lamentation on that day.

The third stage: *ʿAzādārī*, before it became an established institution in the middle of the 4th/10th century

Imam al-Jawād (a) assumed the office of *imāmah* in his childhood (in 203/818). The oppressive ʿAbbāsid regime had learnt, from their previous experience with the Imams (a), that it was necessary to keep the Imam (a) of the time under constant surveillance. Earlier, they had forced Imam al-Riḍā (a) to reside at Marv, so that they could keep a watch on him. Now, their efforts were directed at disrupting the connection between Imam al-Jawād (a) and his followers to stop them from having access to his guiding influence.

In response, to this scrutiny, the Imams (a) communicated through a network of agents that had initially been set up by Imam al-Bāqir (a) and Imam al-Ṣādiq (a). The network was gradually expanded so that they could impart important and necessary guidance to their Shi'a.

On the basis of these instructions, the Shi'a began to organize themselves. They maintained a constant contact with the scholars and intellectuals who had been trained by the Imams (a), thereby receiving guidance for their religious needs.

In time, the Shi'a had more contact with the scholars due to the severe restrictions imposed by the government on open interaction with the Imams (a). Furthermore, due to the repeated imprisonment and confinement of the Imams (a), the Shi'a had very infrequent and fleeting first-hand contact with them. Therefore, it becomes clear why very little of the words and deeds of the later Imams (a) regarding the commemoration of Ashura can be found in historical records. This is especially true of the era of Mutawakkil, during which the general persecution of the Shi'a reached its height, especially when it came to the visitation of the sacred grave of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

Despite all this, it appears that the Shi'a followed the directives of the Imams (a) and faithfully observed the mourning ceremonies for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), gathering in their homes and assemblies, just as they did at the time of Imam al-Bāqir (a) and Imam al-Ṣādiq (a). However, the clandestine nature of these gatherings on the one hand, and the strict censoring of the government on the other, meant that not much information has been recorded in history about their activities in this era.

The fourth stage: *'Azādārī* in Muḥarram as an established institution in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Iran was ruled by the Būyid dynasty,[1] while North Africa was ruled by the Fāṭimids,[2] who were gradually expanding the territory under their control. In the second half of the century, Iran [except for its eastern region] and Iraq were under the Būyid rule, while North-east Africa, Egypt, Shām, and Palestine were ruled by the Fāṭimids. In the year 352/963, Mu'izz al-Dawlah al-Daylamī, the governor of the Būyids in Baghdad, issued a directive to observe *'azādārī* ceremonies in the streets on the day of Ashura,[3] and in this manner, *'azādārī* became established. A decade later, the Fāṭimids did the same thing in Egypt.

After the directive of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, *'azādārī* became a formal ritual in Baghdad. It was observed by the Shī'a every year, in every quarter and street.[1] The Sunnis living in the capital did not view this development favourably, and sometimes fights would break out as a result.

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[1] The Būyid dynasty originated from Daylam [modern-day Gīlān] in Iran. This region and its surroundings were Shī'a-populated territories, and had been governed by pro-'Alids for some time. It is for this reason that they were called Daylamites, and were known to be Shī'a .

[2] The Ismā'īlīs, under 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, managed to establish the foundations of the Fāṭimid dynasty in North Africa (the Maghrib) in 296/909. The absence of a strong government in Egypt gave the Fāṭimids an opportunity to extend their control over the area, and in 362/973, they created their new capital, Fusṭāṭ, in Egypt. The empire gradually extended to include al-Shām and al-Ḥijāz. The Fāṭimid rule lasted for more than two centuries, and finally came to end with the death of its last caliph, al-'Āḍid, in 567/1171.

[3] Historians writing about the events of the year 352/963 mention, "On the 10th of Muḥarram of that year, Mu'izz al-Dawlah ordered the people to close their businesses, shut the bazaars, and cease trade; thereafter, he directed them to come out into the streets reciting monodies and wearing coarse clothes. The women were to come out with dishevelled hair, blackened faces, and torn collars [showing grief], reciting elegies, and slapping their faces in sorrow for the tragedy that befell Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). The people obeyed the directive, and because the governor himself was with them, accompanied by a large contingent of Shī'a, the Sunnis could not do anything to stop them" (*Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 331).

ʿAzādārī in Egypt

With the establishment of the Fāṭimid empire, a group of Shīʿa would gather to mourn at the shrines of the ladies Umm Kulthūm and Nafīsah,[2] two of the descendants of the Imams (a) who were buried in that area. After some time, they began to observe the commemoration in Cairo and the place where the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was said to be buried, known as *mashhad raʾs al-Ḥusayn*. Under the Fāṭimids, *ʿazādārī* became an official institution, carried out with special ceremonies, the details of which are recorded in historical works. In some years, for various reasons, *ʿazādārī* was not officially observed; however, *ʿazādārī* in general continued until the fall of the Fāṭimids.

When the Ayyūbids took over, they made concerted efforts to remove all signs of Shīʿī culture, and naturally they stopped the official mourning ceremonies as well. Despite this, the Shīʿa who lived in regions that were distant from the capital (such as al-Shām, Ḥalab, and northern Iraq) took advantage of every opportunity to practise their rituals, including the gatherings of mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

The fifth stage: *ʿAzādārī* in the 6th/12th to the 9th/15th centuries

The 6th/12th century

At the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Shīʿa regions in Iran and Iraq were ruled by the Saljūqs. In those days, the Fāṭimids, who were

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[1] In *al-Muntaẓam* (vol. 14, p. 210), describing the events of 361/972, it is mentioned, "The rituals that were observed every Ashura, such as closing the bazaars, stopping all trading, and displaying black flags, were all practised in Baghdad."

[2] Lady Umm Kulthūm is the daughter of al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (a), and Lady Nafīsah is the daughter of al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn Imam al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (a). [Trans.]

Shiʿa Ismāʿīlīs, still ruled over Egypt. Over time, the Saljūqs became more tolerant, and gradually the Shiʿa, enjoying more freedom, began to observe the *ʿazādārī* of Ashura openly.

About the 6th/12th century, the account of ʿAbd al-Jalīl Rāzī Qazwīnī in the work *Kitāb al-Naqḍ* is particularly useful. In response to some questions [raised in a contemporaneous anti-Shiʿa work], Rāzī provided details about the *ʿazādārī* practised by Sunnis in various regions, concluding that the practice was natural and indicative of a person's humanity and faith. He also mentioned the Ashura speeches of two well-known orators, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn Ghaznawī and Quṭb al-Dīn Muẓaffar Amīr ʿAbādī, and confirmed that every Ashura, the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was commemorated in Baghdad, accompanied by mourning and lamentation.[1]

The 7th/13th century

The 7th/13th century saw the establishment of the Khwārazmian [Sunni] dynasty in the eastern Islamic lands. It also saw a revival of the Abbasid caliphate, which had been only a nominal force during the rule of the Būyids and Saljūqs in Baghdad.

According to available records, the practice of *ʿazādārī* in this century was similar to that in the previous century, but in some places, it was more prevalent. Records from the first half of the century, when the Mongols had not yet sacked Baghdad, indicate that *ʿazādārī* and the recital of the *maqtal* were practised in the ʿAbbāsid capital. In 641/1243, the caliph Mustaʿṣim al-ʿAbbāsī ordered the treasurer of Baghdad [Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī] to prevent the people from reciting the *maqtal* on Ashura in the streets of Baghdad; however, he allowed them to recite the *maqtal* next to the shrine of Imam al-Kāẓim (a).

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (fl. 600/1202) also reports about the gathering of multitudes of visitors (*zuwwār*) at the shrines of Imam ʿAlī (a) and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) during the days of mourning.[2]

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[1] *Al-Naqḍ*, pp. 370–373.

[2] *Asrār al-Imāmah*, p. 144.

In his *Mathnawī*, Mawlawī, the great poet of the 7th/13th century, alludes to the public display of *'azādārī* in the city of Halab (Aleppo) in the following words:

They cry and wail in sorrow, the Shī'a, at Ashura, for Karbala.[1]

The great Shī'ī scholar, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, speaks about the prevalence of *'azādārī* ceremonies on the 10th of Muharram and defends the practice.[2] Additionally, his advice to recite the tragedy from his *al-Malhūf* on the day of Ashura[3] indicates that there was a practice of mourning and reciting the *maqtal* on the 10th of Muḥarram during his time, viz. the 7th/13th century.

In the second half of the century, the Mughals, under Hulāgū Khān, conquered Iraq. In order to prevent bloodshed and plunder, prudent scholars asked Hulāgū for sanctuary and protection. He agreed, and in this way the Shi'a in the south of Baghdad (like in Hillah and Kufa) became free from persecution. Thus, with the fall of the Abbasids, the Shi'a were freer to practice their faith. Furthermore, during the last decades of the century, one of the successors of Hulāgū, by the name of Ghāzān Khān, became a Shi'a. He made efforts to reconstruct Karbala, thereby preparing the ground for the establishment of Shi'a rituals.

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[1] *Mathnawī*, p. 994, bk. 6, couplet 777. It is worth mentioning that Mawlawī himself has composed and moving and sorrowful elegy entitled "Kujā-īd ay Shahīdān-i Khudāyī" ("Where are you, O martyrs of God!") in honour of the martyrs of Karbala. See *Dīwān-i Shams*.

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 90.

[3] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 98: "According to the *riwāyā*, one of the important practices of the day of Ashura is to join the angels, the prophets, and their successors in *'azādārī*, because of the violation of the sacred boundaries of God, the great loss to the household of the Prophet (s), the humiliation and disgrace that was, and is, brought to Islam by its enemies, and the domination of Iblīs and his army over the army of God Almighty and His special servants. The people must sit in the *majālis* and hear about the tragedy that befell the son of the chief of the prophets (s). They should recount the sorrows that were renewed by the spilling of their blood and the disgraceful way in which they were treated. They should read from the work, *al-Luhūf 'alā Qatlā al-Ṭufūf*..."

The 8th/14th century

During this century, the aforementioned Ghāzān Khān, whose rule began in 694/1294, took steps to spread Shi'a practices. After him, his brother Sultan Muḥammad Khudābandih came to power, and in time, he also became Shi'a. He also made efforts to promote the Shi'a faith and make it official. As the Mughals adopted the Shi'a faith and it became more mainstream, the open practice of *'azādārī* and other Shi'a rituals became widespread.

When the Jalāyar dynasty [cousins of Sultan Muḥammad] came to power in Iraq, they too followed the Shi'a school. Their rule lasted until 814/1411. The traveller, Ibn Baṭūṭah (d. 779/1377), writes that the regions of Karbala, Ḥillah, Baḥrain, Qom, Kāshān, Sāveh, and Ṭūs were staunchly Shi'a lands.[1]

The 9th/15th century

This century began with the devastating raids of Tīmūr-i Lang (Tīmūr the Lame, Tamerlane), and Iraq and Shām were not spared from his pillaging. After Tīmūr's death and succession by his son, Shāhrukh, matters improved. He began a program of cultural reform and constructed new cities, attempting to rebuild the lands devastated by his father. His wife commissioned a beautiful mosque, called Gawharshād, next to the shrine of Imam 'Alī al-Riḍā (a).

These developments indicate that in those days, there was considerable freedom allowed to the Shi'a to practice their faith and rituals.

Furthermore, this century saw the establishment of the rule of the Āq Qōyūnlū[2] in the west of Iran. They must have had an affinity to the Shi'a, which appears to have allowed the practice of *'azādārī* to flourish under their rule.

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[1] al-Riḥlah, vol. 1, p. 118.

[2] Turkish for "White Sheep"; the name of an Uzbek-Turkmen confederation. [Trans.]

The sixth stage: *ʿAzādārī* in the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries (the Safavid era)

Shah Ismāʿīl I, the first Safavid king, was coronated in 907/1501 in Tabriz. He declared the Shiʿa faith as the state religion of Iran. Subsequently, the promotion of Shiʿa rituals became one of the important objectives of the new rulers.

During this era, mourning ceremonies began to be held publicly. Just as in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries [the days of the Būyids and the Fāṭimids], the Shiʿa were able to conduct their rituals elaborately. The details of these ceremonies during the Safavid era have been widely recorded in the sources; in particular, the travelogues of European and Iranian travellers, which contain rich and detailed descriptions.

Personally, the Safavid rulers were greatly attached to the *ʿazādārī* rituals of Muḥarram, to a point where they would commemorate them even in their army encampments. During Muḥarram of 1013/1604, Shah ʿAbbās had laid siege to the Yerevan fortress in Armenia. On the eve of Ashura, he observed the rituals of *ʿazādārī* in their barracks. Their cries and lamentations were so loud that the people in the fortress assumed that the command for a night attack had been issued, and they sent out a messenger to communicate their surrender. Before this event also, in 1011/1602, during the battle against the Uzbeks, the Safavid army camped at the banks of the Khattab River on the day of Ashura, where they observed the *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

On the days of Muḥarram and Ashura, the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was recounted in the Safavid courts. In addition, the kings would attend the mourning ceremonies of the people in the streets of the city and observe the groups of mourners. They would wear the clothes of mourning and donate money to pay for the costs of the rituals of *ʿazādārī*.

The seventh stage: *ʿAzādārī* after the Safavid era

The Safavid dynasty declined and weakened after two centuries, finally collapsing when they were unable to withstand the surge of the Afghans from the east, despite a brief resistance offered by Shah

Ṭahmāsp II. However, later, Nādir Shah, through a series of daring campaigns, was successful in regaining the territories lost to the Afghans and the Ottoman Empire, and restored the lands back to Iran.

From the start of his rule, Nādir embarked on changing the religious culture prevalent in Iran, motivated by, or using the excuse of, the need for unity and peace. Amongst the practices that he forbade was the *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). This was one of the matters he enshrined in a document called the Manshūr Bayāniyyah Mughān (Mughan Steppe statement). The efforts of Nādir to eliminate all displays of Shīʿa rituals has been documented by Mīrzā Muḥammad Khalīl Ṣafavī.

Nādir's rule did not last long, and after him, other rulers [such as the kings of the Zand and Qājār dynasties] adopted Shīʿism, and the practice of Shīʿa rituals, including *ʿazādārī*, was revived. With the advent of the Qājār dynasty, the *ʿazādārī* of Muḥarram became more widespread: its form and manner evolved, and the rituals of *ʿazādārī* became amplified. Wealthy patrons sponsored the displays of *ʿazādārī*, and official bodies were established to regulate the practice.

ʿAzādārī also became established in Iraq and India, and Shīʿa in different parts of the Muslim world engaged in the practice. However, in Iran, a decline ensued, and with the arrival of British colonialism and then the oppressive government of Reza Shah, there began a clampdown on religious displays, and the practice of *ʿazādārī* was abruptly forbidden. After Reza Shah left Iran, *ʿazādārī* was restored to the customary popularity that it had enjoyed in previous centuries.

In Iraq also, at the time of Saddam and the Baʿthist regime, especially in the last years of his rule, the Shīʿa *ʿazādārī* faced difficulties. However with his fall, the practice of *ʿazādārī* was restored to Iraq with all its former fervour and passion.

The foregoing was merely a brief glance at the development of *ʿazādārī* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in the course of history. We have not mentioned the role of Muḥarram, *Ashura*, and *ʿazādārī* in the shaping of the Islamic revolution in Iran, and its extraordinary effect in the awakening and victory of the people of this land. It is a long and noteworthy account, but beyond the scope of the present work.

CHAPTER TWO | THE PROPHECIES ABOUT THE MARTYRDOM OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

Part 1: The announcement of God, the Almighty, of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 2: The prophecies of God's Messenger (s) about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 3: The prophecies of Imam 'Ali (a) about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 4: Other prophecies about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 5: The role of women in the event of Karbala

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PART 1: THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF GOD, THE ALMIGHTY, OF THE MARTYRDOM OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

1/1: The chief of all the martyrs in history

1. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Ibn Abī Ya'fūr from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The Prophet (s) was in the house of Fāṭimah (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a) was in his arms. Suddenly, tears came to his eyes, and he lowered himself in prostration. Then he said, "O Fāṭimah! O daughter of Muḥammad! The archangel of God appeared before me in this house of yours, just at this moment, in the most beautiful form and features. He said to me: 'O Muḥammad! Do you love al-Ḥusayn?' I replied, 'I do, by God! He is the delight of my eye, my sweet basil, the fruit of my heart, and a part of me.' Then he said to me [on behalf of God], while he placed his hand on the head of al-Ḥusayn,' 'O Muḥammad! Congratulations on the new-born, on him shall be My blessings, My bounties, My mercy and My pleasure. However, My wrath, My malediction, My displeasure, My punishment, My contempt, and My affliction shall befall the one who kills him, opposes him, is hostile to him, and fights against him. Verily, he is the chief of the martyrs from the beginning to the end of time, in this world and the next; and he is the chief of the youth of paradise amongst all creation; and his father is greater than him in merit and goodness. So send him My greetings, and give him the good tidings that he is the banner of guidance, the light tower amongst My close servants, My delegate and witness over My creation, the

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1 'Allāmah Majlisī writes, "The meaning of the archangel (al-'aliyya al-a'lā) here is Jibra'īl (a). 'Appeared before me (tarā'ā lī)' is a metaphor for a perfect transference of knowledge, 'beautiful features (aḥsan al-ṣūrah)' is a metaphor for the manifestation to him of the perfect attributes of God Almighty, and 'placing his hand (waḍa'a yadahu)' is a metaphor for enveloping the baby in mercy."

custodian of My knowledge, and My proof over the inhabitants of the heavens and the inhabitants of the earth, from amongst the multitude of jinn and men."[1]

1/2: Al-Ḥusayn (a) would be killed, along with his children and his companions, while surrounded on all sides

a. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Ḥammād ibn ʿUthmān, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): On the night when the Prophet (s) was raised to the heavens, he was told, "Verily, God Almighty shall test you with three matters to examine your forbearance.... The third is about the manner in which the members of your household shall be killed after you. As for your brother ʿAlī, he will face abuse, censure, blame, denial, disobedience, oppression, and ultimately, death at the hands of your nation."

He said, "My Lord, I accept this, and I am content. From You comes succour and forbearance."

"As for your daughter, she will be oppressed, deprived, and her rights, which you had granted to her, will be usurped. And she will have from your brother [in faith] two sons; one shall be killed treacherously. He will be plundered, and his body transfixed with arrows; and this will be done to him by your nation."

He said, "My Lord, I accept this, and I submit. Verily we are from God, and we shall return to Him, and from You comes succour and forbearance."

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 147, no. 174; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 238, no. 29.

بينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله في منزل فاطمة عليها السلام والحسين عليه السلام في حجره إذ بكى وخر ساجداً ثم قال: يا فاطمة يا بنت محمد، إن العلي الأعلى تراءى لي في بيتك هذا في ساعتي هذه في أحسن صورة وأهيأ هيئة، فقال لي:

يا محمد، أتحب الحسين؟ فقلت: نعم يا رب، قرة عيني وريحانتي وثمرة فؤادي وجلدة ما بين عيني.

فقال لي: يا محمد - ووضع يده على رأس الحسين - بورك من مولود، عليه بركاتي وصلواتي ورحمتي ورضواني، ولعنتي وسخطي وعذابي وخزيي ونكالي على من قتله وناصبه وناواه ونازعه.

أما إنه سيد الشهداء من الأولين والآخرين في الدنيا والآخرة، وسيد شباب أهل الجنة من الخلق أجمعين، وأبوه أفضل منه وخير، فأقرئه السلام وبشره بأنه راية الهدى ومنار أوليائي، وحفيظي وشهيدي على خلقي، وخازن علمي، وحجتي على أهل السماوات وأهل الأرضين والثقلين الجن والإنس.

"As for her other son, your nation will invite him to rise for war, but then they shall become resolute to kill him. They will kill his children, and those with him from his household, and then they shall desecrate his body. He will seek My help, but My command has already decreed that he is to be martyred along with his companions. His death shall be a sign over all of creation. The inhabitants of the heavens, and the inhabitants of the earth shall weep over him in sorrow, and the angels shall weep that they could not assist him. Then I shall make appear from his descendants a man, and through him I shall help you. His spirit is with Me, residing under the throne (*'arsh*)."[1]

1/3: The soil of the land on which al-Ḥusayn (a) would be martyred

3. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting Sadīr, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): Jibra'īl descended, bringing for the Prophet (s) the soil of the land on which al-Ḥusayn (a) would be martyred.

Imam al-Bāqir (a) then said, "That soil remains with us."[2]

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 548, no. 840; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 28, p. 61, no. 24.

لمّا أُسري بالنّبيّ صلّى الله عليه و آله إلى السّماء قيل له: إنّ الله تبارك وتعالى يختبرك في ثلاث لينظر كيف صبرك...

وأمّا الثّانية: فما يلقى أهل بيتك من بعدك من القتل، أمّا أخوك عليّ فيلقى من أمّتك الشّتم والتّعنيف والتّوبيخ والحرمان والجحد والظّلم، وآخر ذلك القتل.

فقال: يا ربّ، قبلت ورضيت، ومنك التّوفيق والصّبر.

وأمّا ابنتك فتظلم وتحرم، ويؤخذ حقّها غصبا الّذي تجعله لها...

ويكون لها من أخيك ابنان يقتل أحدهما غدرا ويسلب ويطعن، تفعل به ذلك أمّتك.

قال: يا ربّ، قبلت وسلّمت، إنّا لله وإنّا إليه راجعون، ومنك التّوفيق والصّبر.

وأمّا ابنها الآخر فتدعوه أمّتك للجهاد، ثمّ يقتلونه صبرا، ويقتلون ولده ومن معه من أهل بيته، ثمّ يسلبون حرمه، فيستعين بي وقد مضى القضاء منّي فيه بالشّهادة له ولمن معه، ويكون قتله حجّة على من بين قطريها، فيبكيه أهل السّماوات وأهل الأرضين جزعا عليه، وتبكيه ملائكة لم يدركوا نصرته.

ثمّ أخرج من صلبه ذكرا به أنصرك، وإنّ شبحه عندي تحت العرش...

[2] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 318, no. 645; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 231, no. 2.

إنّ جبرئيل عليه السّلام جاء إلى النّبيّ صلّى الله عليه و آله بالتّربة الّتي يقتل عليها الحسين عليه السّلام.

قال أبو جعفر عليه السّلام: فهي عندنا.

1/4: The martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a) has been decreed

4. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ: When Jibra'īl informed the Prophet (s) that people from his nation would kill al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), he asked, "O Jibra'īl, can I not ask for this to be averted for him?" He replied, "No, it is a matter already written by God."[1]

1/5: Call for forbearance

5. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Sa'īd ibn Yasār, or other than him: I heard Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) say, "When Jibra'īl brought down the news of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a) to the Prophet (s), he held the hand of 'Alī (a), and spent a long part of the day alone with him. They were both overcome with tears, and did not part from one another until Jibra'īl [or 'the messenger of the Lord of the worlds'] descended to them and addressed them, saying: 'Your Lord sends greetings to you, and He says, "My decree requires that the two of you should have forbearance."' So they adopted forbearance."[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 197, no. 3539; *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 142, no. 1058.

إنّ رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و آله حين أخبره جبرئيل عليه السلام أنّ أمّته ستقتل حسين بن عليّ عليه السلام، فقال: يا جبرئيل، أفلا أراجع فيه؟ قال: لا، لأنّه أمر قد كتبه الله.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 121, no. 132; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 231, no. 15.

سمعت أبا عبد الله [الصادق] عليه السلام يقول: لمّا أن هبط جبرئيل عليه السلام على رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و آله بقتل الحسين عليه السلام، أخذ بيد عليّ عليه السلام، فخلا به مليّاً من النهار، فغلبتهما العبرة فلم يتفرّقا حتّى هبط عليهما جبرئيل عليه السلام -أو قال: رسول ربّ العالمين- فقال لهما: ربّكما يقرئكما السلام ويقول: قد عزمت عليكما لمّا صبرتما. قال: فصبرا.

PART 2: THE PROPHECIES OF GOD'S MESSENGER (S) ABOUT THE MARTYRDOM OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

2/1: The prophecy about his martyrdom at the time of the birth of al-Ḥusayn (a)

6. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Ṣafiyyah, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was born, I brought him to the Prophet (s). The Prophet (s) placed his tongue in the mouth of al-Ḥusayn (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a) sucked on the tongue of the Prophet (s). I did not think that the Prophet (s) would feed him except with milk or honey...

Al-Ḥusayn (a) passed water, and then the Prophet (s) kissed him between his eyes. Then he handed him back to me and said, whilst weeping, "May God curse the people who kill you, my son." He repeated this thrice.

I said, "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! Who will kill him?" He replied, "The offspring of a group of rebels from the Banu Umayyah, may God curse them all!"[1]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 199, no. 212; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 172.

لما سقط الحسين عليه السلام من بطن أمه، فدفعته إلى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله، فوضع النبي لسانه في فيه، وأقبل الحسين عليه السلام على لسان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يمصه، فما كنت أحسب رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يغذوه إلا لبناً أو عسلاً.

قالت: فبال الحسين عليه السلام، فقبل النبي صلى الله عليه و آله بين عينيه، ثم دفعه إلي وهو يبكي، ويقول: لعن الله قوماً هم قاتلوك يا بني. يقولها ثلاثاً.

قالت: فقلت: فداك أبي وأمي، ومن يقتله؟ قال: بقية الفئة الباغية من بني أمية، لعنهم الله.

2/2: The prophecy about his martyrdom when al-Ḥusayn (a) was one year old

7. *al-Malhūf*: When Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had completed one year of his life, twelve angels descended to the Prophet (s)... with faces flushed red, eyes filled with tears, wings widespread, saying, "O Muhammad! Your son al-Ḥusayn (a), the son of Fāṭimah (a), shall experience what Hābil underwent at the hands of Qābil, and his reward shall be the same as that of Hābil; his killers shall be made to carry the burden [of sin and punishment] just as Qābil did."

And there was not a single senior angel in the heavens except that he descended to the Prophet (s), offering his salutations and presenting his condolences for al-Ḥusayn (a), informing him about the reward that he would be given, and presenting him with the soil of his resting place. The Prophet (s) kept saying, "O God! Humiliate the one who humiliates him, and kill the one who kills him, and do not allow his killer to enjoy what he seeks."[1]

2/3: The prophecy about his martyrdom when al-Ḥusayn (a) was two years old

8. *al-Futūḥ*, quoting Miswar ibn Makhramah: When al-Ḥusayn (a) completed two years of his life, the Prophet (s) went on a journey. Along the way, he stopped and recited the verse "Verily we are from God, and to Him we shall return", and his eyes filled with tears. When he was asked about this, he said, "Here is Jibra'īl, informing me about a land at the banks of the Euphrates, called Karbala. My son al-Ḥusayn, the son of Fāṭimah, shall be killed there."

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 92; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 163.

فلما أتت على الحسين عليه السلام من مولده سنة كاملة هبط على رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله
اثنا عشر ملكاً... محمرة وجوههم باكية عيونهم قد نشروا أجنحتهم وهم يقولون: يا محمد سينزل بولدك
الحسين بن فاطمة ما نزل بهابيل من قابيل، وسيعطى مثل أجر هابيل، ويحمل على قاتله مثل وزر قابيل.
ولم يبق في السماوات ملك مقرّب إلا ونزل إلى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله يقرئه السلام، ويعزيه في
الحسين عليه السلام، ويخبره بثواب ما يعطى، ويعرض عليه تربته، والنبي صلى الله عليه و آله يقول:
اللهم اخذل من خذله، واقتل من قتله، ولا تمتعه بما طلبه.

Someone asked, "Who will kill him, O Messenger of God?" He replied, "A man by the name of Yazīd, may God curtail his life! It is as if I can see the place where he shall fall, and where he shall be buried. His head shall be carried away as a trophy. By God! No one shall gaze at the head of my son al-Ḥusayn and be pleased, except the one whose tongue God has separated from his heart."

The Prophet (s) returned from this journey sorrowful. He ascended the pulpit and began to give his sermon and advice, while al-Ḥusayn (a) and al-Ḥasan (a) were next to him.

When he finished his sermon, he placed his right hand on the head of al-Ḥasan (a), and his left on the head of al-Ḥusayn (a). Then he raised his head to the heavens and said, "O God! I am Muhammad, your bondsman and Your prophet, and these two are the purest of my offspring, the choicest of my children and descendants, and those who will take my place in my nation. O God! Jibra'īl has informed me that this son of mine shall be killed and abandoned. O God! Bless him in death, and make him the chief of the martyrs. Indeed, You have power over all things. O God! Do not bless the one who kills him and the one who deserts him!"

On hearing this the people in the mosque began to weep loudly.

The Prophet (s) said, "Do you weep, but stay away from assisting him? O God! You Yourself be his guardian and aide."

Ibn 'Abbās said, "Then he resumed his speech, while his colour was changed, and his face was flushed red. With his eyes filled with tears, he gave a brief and eloquent sermon."[1]

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 4, p. 325; al-Malhūf, p. 33.

فلما أتت على الحسين عليه السلام من مولده سنتان كاملتان، خرج النبي صلى الله عليه و آله في سفر له، فلما كان في بعض الطريق وقف، فاسترجع ودمعت عيناه، فسئل عن ذلك، فقال: هذا جبرئيل عليه السلام يخبرني عن أرض بشاطئ الفرات، يقال لها كربلاء، يقتل بها ولدي الحسين ابن فاطمة.

فقيل: من يقتله يا رسول الله؟ فقال: رجل يقال له: يزيد، لا بارك الله في نفسه، وكأني أنظر إلى مصرعه ومدفنه بها، وقد أهدي برأسه، و والله، ما ينظر أحد إلى رأس ولدي الحسين فيفرح، إلا خالف الله بين قلبه ولسانه.

قال: ثم رجع النبي صلى الله عليه و آله من سفره ذلك مغموما، ثم صعد المنبر، فخطب ووعظ، والحسين بن علي عليه السلام بين يديه مع الحسن عليه السلام.

2/4: The prophecy about the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a) in the last hours of the life of the Prophet (s)

9. *al-Futūḥ*, quoting Ibn 'Abbās: I arrived at the side of the Prophet (s) while he was in the last hours (*iḥtiḍār*) of his life. He was hugging al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) to his chest, while he said, "This is the purest of my lineage, the brightest light of my family, and the choicest of my progeny; may God never bless the one who does not protect him after me."

Then the Prophet (s) became unconscious for some time. When he awoke, he said, "O Ḥusayn! On the Day of Judgement, there shall be a meeting between me and your killer before my Lord, and a reckoning. I am pleased that God has chosen me to be the claimant against your killer on the Day of Judgement."[1]

10. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Ibn 'Abbās: During his last illness, the Prophet (s) would keep saying, "Call to me my beloved." Different people were summoned, one after another, but he turned away from each of them. So Fāṭimah (a) was told, "Call for 'Alī (a), because we

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قال: فلما فرغ من خطبته وضع يده اليمنى على رأس الحسن عليه السلام، واليسرى على رأس الحسين عليه السلام، ثمّ رفع رأسه إلى السّماء فقال:

اللّهمّ إنّ محمّداً عبدك ونبيّك، وهذان أطائب عترتي وخيار ذرّيّتي وأرومتي، ومن أخلّفهم في أمّتي. اللّهمّ وقد أخبرني جبرئيل أنّ ولدي هذا مقتول مخذول. اللّهمّ فبارك له في قتله، واجعله من سادات الشّهداء، إنّك على كلّ شيء قدير. اللّهمّ ولا تبارك في قاتله وخاذله.

قال: وضجّ النّاس في المسجد بالبكاء،

فقال النّبيّ صلّى الله عليه وآله: أتبكونه ولا تنصرونه؟! اللّهمّ فكن أنت له وليّاً وناصراً.

قال ابن عبّاس: ثمّ رجع وهو متغيّر اللّون، محمرّ الوجه، فخطب خطبة أخرى موجزة وعيناه يهملان دموعاً.

[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 350.

إنّي حضرت رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وهو في السّياق، وقد ضمّ الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام إلى صدره، وهو يقول: هذا من أطائب أرومتي وأبرار عترتي وخيار ذرّيّتي، لا بارك الله فيمن لا يحفظه بعدي.

قال ابن عبّاس: ثمّ أغمي على النّبيّ صلّى الله عليه وآله ساعة، ثمّ أفاق وقال:

يا حسين، إنّ لي ولقاتلك يوم القيامة مقاماً بين يدي ربّي وخصومة، وقد طابت نفسي إذ جعلني الله خصماً لمن قاتلك يوم القيامة.

do not think the Prophet (s) desires to see anyone other than ʿAlī (a).' Fāṭimah sent for ʿAlī (a), and when he entered, the Prophet (s) opened his eyes, and his face lit up.

Then he said, "Come closer, O ʿAlī, come closer, O ʿAlī!" He kept calling him forward until he took his hand and made him sit by his head. He then became unconscious. Al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a) came in sobbing and crying and threw themselves on the Prophet (s). ʿAlī (a) wanted to move them away from him, when the Prophet (s) awoke. He said, "O ʿAlī, let me inhale their scent and let them inhale mine, for I shall take their fragrance as my provision, and they shall take their provision from mine. Indeed, they will be oppressed after me, and they will be unjustly killed. May God's curse be on those who oppress them." He repeated this thrice.[1]

2/5: Informing Fāṭimah (a) about the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a)

11. *Faḍl Ziyārat al-Ḥusayn (a)*, quoting al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from Umm Salamah: The Prophet (s) informed Fāṭimah (a) about the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a), and she began to weep. He said, "O Fāṭimah, be patient and accepting."

She replied, "I shall be patient and accepting, O Messenger of God. Where shall he be killed?"

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 736, no. 1004; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 86.

إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله في ذلك المرض كان يقول: ادعوا لي حبيبي، فجعل يدعى له رجل بعد رجل، فيعرض عنه، فقيل لفاطمة عليها السلام: امضي إلى علي عليه السلام، فما نرى رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يريد غير علي عليه السلام، فبعثت فاطمة عليها السلام إلى علي عليه السلام، فلما دخل فتح رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله عينيه، وتهلل وجهه.

ثم قال: إلي يا علي، إلي يا علي، فما زال صلى الله عليه و آله يدنيه حتى أخذه بيده وأجلسه عند رأسه، ثم أغمي عليه، فجاء الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام يصيحان ويبكيان، حتى وقعا على رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، فأراد علي عليه السلام أن ينحيهما عنه، فأفاق رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله.

ثم قال: يا علي، دعني أشمهما ويشماني، وأتزود منهما ويتزودان مني، أما إنهما سيظلمان بعدي ويقتلان ظلما، فلعنة الله على من يظلمهما، يقول ذلك ثلاثا.

He replied, "He shall be killed in a land called Karbala, isolated from his relatives and kin. [After his death,] Fāṭimah, a community shall keep coming to visit him."[1]

2/6: Informing Umm Salamah about the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a)

12. *Tarīkh Dimashq*, quoting Dāwūd: Umm Salamah said, "Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to the Prophet (s), and he became distressed." Umm Salamah asked, "What has happened, O Messenger of God?"

He replied, "Jibra'īl informed me that this son of mine shall be killed, and that God's wrath will be intense against the one who kills him."[2]

13. *al-Irshād*, quoting Umm Salamah: One day, the Prophet (s) was sitting with al-Ḥusayn (a) on his lap, when suddenly, his eyes welled up with tears. I said to him, "May I be sacrificed for you! Why do I see you in tears?"

He replied, "Jibra'īl came to me and gave me condolences for my son, al-Ḥusayn. He informed me that a group from my nation shall kill him. May God never allow them my intercession."[3]

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[1] *Faḍl Ziyārat al-Ḥusayn* (a), p. 34.

أخبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله فاطمة عليها السلام بقتل الحسين عليه السلام، فبكت فقال: يا فاطمة اصبري وبكى، قالت: حبيبك ونسلك يا رسول الله، فأين يكون قتله؟ قال: يقتل بأرض يقال لها كربلاء في غربة من الأهل والعشيرة، يزوره يا فاطمة قوم.

[2] *Tarīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 193, no. 3529; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 409.

قالت أم سلمة: دخل الحسين عليه السلام على رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله ففزع، فقالت أم سلمة: ما لك يا رسول الله؟ قال: إن جبريل عليه السلام أخبرني أن ابني هذا يقتل، وإنه اشتد غضب الله على من يقتله.

[3] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 130; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 219.

بينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله ذات يوم جالس والحسين عليه السلام جالس في حجره إذ هملت عيناه بالدموع، فقلت له: يا رسول الله، ما لي أراك تبكي جعلت فداك؟

فقال: جاءني جبرئيل عليه السلام فعزاني بابني الحسين، وأخبرني أن طائفة من أمتي تقتله، لا أنالهم الله شفاعتي.

2/7: Informing ʿĀʾishah about the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a)

14. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Ghandar, from a Shīʿa narrator, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): One day al-Ḥusayn (a) was sitting in the lap of the Prophet (s), who was playing with him and making him laugh. ʿĀʾishah said, "O Messenger of God, how taken you are by this little child!"

He said to her, "Woe be on you, woe be on you! How can I not love him so, when he is the fruit of my heart, and the delight of my eye! Yes, but my nation will soon kill him. Whoever visits him after his death, God shall write for him the reward of a pilgrimage equal to a pilgrimage that I have performed myself."[1]

2/8: Foretelling the date of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a)

15. *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, quoting Umm Salamah: The Prophet (s) said, "Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī will be killed 60 years after my migration [to Medina]."[2]

16. *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, quoting Saʿd ibn Ṭarīf, from Imam al-Bāqir (a), from Umm Salamah: The Prophet (s) said, "Al-Ḥusayn will be killed when his beard will have turned white."[3]

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[1] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 668, no. 1401; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 144, no. 169.

كانَ الحُسَينُ عليه السلام ذاتَ يَومٍ في حِجرِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه و آله يُلاعِبُهُ ويُضاحِكُهُ، فَقالَت عائِشَةُ: يا رَسولَ اللهِ، ما أشَدَّ إعجابَكَ بِهٰذَا الصَّبِيِّ!

فَقالَ لَها: وَيلَكِ وَيلَكِ، وكَيفَ لا اُحِبُّهُ ولا اُعجَبُ بِهِ وهُوَ ثَمَرَةُ فُؤادي وقُرَّةُ عَيني؟! أما إنَّ اُمَّتي سَتَقتُلُهُ، فَمَن زارَهُ بَعدَ وَفاتِهِ كَتَبَ اللهُ لَهُ حَجَّةً مِن حِجَجي.

[2] *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 105, no. 2807.

يُقتَلُ حُسَينُ بنُ عَلِيٍّ عَلى رَأسِ سِتّينَ مِن مُهاجَري.

[3] *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 105, no. 2808; Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 184.

يُقتَلُ الحُسَينُ حينَ يَعلوهُ القَتيرُ.

2/9: Foretelling the place of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a)

1. The land of Karbala

17. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah* of Ibn Ḥanbal, quoting Umm Salamah: Jibra'īl was visiting the Prophet (s), and al-Ḥusayn (a) was with me. He began to cry so I let him go, and he approached the Prophet (s). Jibra'īl asked, "Do you love him, O Muḥammad?" The Prophet (s) replied, "Yes!"

Then he said, "Your nation will soon kill him. If you wish, I could show you the soil of the land on which he will be killed." He showed it to him, and it was from a land known as Karbala.[1]

18. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting Jumhān: Jibra'īl came to the Prophet (s) with the soil from the land in which al-Ḥusayn (a) would be killed. It was said that its name was Karbala.

The Prophet (s) remarked, "*Karb* (sorrow) and *balā'* (affliction)."[2]

19. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, quoting Umm Salamah: One day, the Prophet (s) was sitting in my apartment, and he instructed me, "Do not let anyone enter." I kept watch, but in the meanwhile, al-Ḥusayn (a) entered, and then, I heard the sound of the Prophet (s) weeping. I went to check, and saw that al-Ḥusayn (a) was sitting in his lap, and the Prophet (s) had placed his hand on his own forehead and was weeping. I exclaimed, "By God! I didn't realize when he entered!"

He said, "Jibra'īl was with us in the room, and he asked me, 'Do you love al-Ḥusayn?' I replied, 'I love him more than anyone in this world.'"

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1 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2, p. 782, no. 1391; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 193, no. 3530.

كان جبريل عليه السلام عند النبي صلى الله عليه و آله والحسين عليه السلام معي، فبكى فتركته، فدنا من النبي صلى الله عليه و آله، فقال جبريل: أتحبه يا محمد؟

فقال: نعم، فقال: إن أمتك ستقتله، وإن شئت أريتك من تربة الأرض التي يقتل بها، فأراه إياه فإذا الأرض يقال لها كربلاء.

2 *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 192, no. 3538; *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 290.

إن جبريل عليه السلام أتى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله بتراب من تربة القرية التي يقتل فيها الحسين عليه السلام، وقيل: اسمها كربلاء، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: كرب و بلاء.

He said, "Your nation shall soon kill him in a land called Karbala." Jibra'il brought out some soil from that land and showed it to the Prophet (s).

[Years afterwards] when al-Ḥusayn (a) was surrounded and killed, he had asked, "What is the name of this place?" They had replied, "Karbala." He had remarked, "God and His Messenger spoke the truth; this is indeed a land of *karb* (sorrow) and *bala'* (affliction)."[1]

2. The plains of al-Ṭaff

20. ***Mu'jam al-Kabir*, quoting 'Ā'ishah, from the Prophet (s):** Jibra'il informed me that after me, my son al-Ḥusayn (a) will be killed in the plains of al-Ṭaff. He brought me this soil and told me that his resting place will be in this land.[2]

21. ***al-Ṭabaqat al-Kubra* (*al-ṭabaqah al-khamisah min al-ṣaḥabah*),** quoting Abū Salamah, from 'Ā'ishah: We owned a small arbour, and whenever the Prophet (s) wanted to meet with Jibra'il, he would meet him there. During one of these meetings, he instructed 'Ā'ishah not to let anyone come to see him. Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali (a) entered without her knowing.

Jibra'il asked, "Who is this?" The Prophet (s) replied, "My son." Then he picked him up and placed him on his thigh.

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[1] al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. 3, p. 108, no. 2819; *Kanz al-'Ummal*, vol. 13, p. 656, no. 37668.

كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله جالسا ذات يوم في بيتي فقال: لا يدخل علي أحد. فانتظرت، فدخل
الحسين عليه السلام، فسمعت نشيج رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يبكي، فاطلعت فإذا الحسين عليه
السلام في حجره، والنبي صلى الله عليه و آله يمسح جبينه وهو يبكي، فقلت: والله ما علمت حين دخل.
فقال: إن جبريل عليه السلام كان معنا في البيت، فقال: أفتحبه؟ قلت: أما من الدنيا فنعم.
قال: إن أمتك ستقتل هذا بأرض يقال لها: كربلاء. فتناول جبريل عليه السلام من تربتها، فأراها النبي
صلى الله عليه و آله. فلما أحيط بحسين عليه السلام حين قتل قال: ما اسم هذه الأرض؟ قالوا: كربلاء.
قال: صدق الله ورسوله، أرض كرب وبلاء.

[2] al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. 3, p. 107, no. 2814; *Fitan al-Nuhasawah*, p. 282.

أخبرني جبريل عليه السلام أن ابني الحسين يقتل بعدي بأرض الطف، وجاءني بهذه التربة، وأخبرني
أن فيها مضجعه.

He said, "He will soon be killed!" The Prophet (s) asked, "And who will kill him?" He replied, "Your nation." The Prophet (s) asked, "My nation will kill him?" He said, "Yes! And if you wish I shall inform you of the land where he will be killed." Jibra'il then pointed out to him al-Ṭaff in Iraq, took out some red soil, showed it to him, and said, "This is soil from the place of his death."[1]

3. The land of Iraq

22. *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, quoting Umm Salamah: One night the Prophet (s) lay down to sleep, then he awoke and appeared distressed. He went back to sleep, but woke up again, even more distressed than the first time. He went back to sleep once more, and when he woke, he had in his hand some red soil, which he was kissing. I asked him, "What is this soil, O Messenger of God?"

He replied, "Jibra'il informed that al-Husayn would be killed in the land of Iraq. So I said to Jibra'il, 'Show me the soil of the land where he will be killed,' and this is its soil."[2]

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 429; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 195.

كانت لنا مشربة، فكان النبي صلى الله عليه و آله إذا أراد لقاء جبريل عليه السلام لقيه فيها، فلقيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله مرة من ذلك فيها، وأمر عائشة ألا يصعد إليه أحد.

فدخل حسين بن علي عليه السلام ولم تعلم حتى غشيها، فقال جبريل عليه السلام: من هذا؟ فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: ابني، فأخذه النبي صلى الله عليه و آله فجعله على فخذه، فقال: أما إنه سيقتل، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: ومن يقتله؟ قال: أمتك، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: أمتي تقتله؟ قال: نعم، وإن شئت أخبرتك بالأرض التي يقتل بها، فأشار له جبريل إلى الطف بالعراق، وأخذ تربة حمراء، فأراه إياها، فقال: هذه من تربة مصرعه.

[2] *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 4, p. 440, no. 8202; *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 109, no. 2821.

أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله اضطجع ذات ليلة للنوم فاستيقظ وهو خاثر، ثم اضطجع فرقد، ثم استيقظ وهو خاثر دون ما رأيت به المرة الأولى، ثم اضطجع فاستيقظ وفي يده تربة حمراء يقبلها، فقلت: ما هذه التربة يا رسول الله؟ قال: أخبرني جبريل - عليه الصلاة والسلام - أن هذا يقتل بأرض العراق للحسين، فقلت لجبريل عليه السلام: أرني تربة الأرض التي يقتل بها، فهذه تربتها.

4. The Land of Bābil

23. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: 'Amrah bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān wrote a letter to al-Ḥusayn (a), warning him of the great danger of what he was attempting to do, and advising him to remain compliant and maintain the unity of the people. She warned him that he was heading to the place of his death, saying, "I testify that 'Ā'ishah informed me that she heard the Prophet (s) say, 'Al-Ḥusayn will be killed in the land of Bābil.'"

After he read her letter, he said, "In that case, I have no choice but to proceed towards the place where I shall be killed," and he departed.[1]

5. At the banks of the Euphrates

24. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, quoting 'Āmir al-Sha'bī, from Imam 'Alī (a), from the Prophet (s): Jibra'īl informed me that al-Ḥusayn will be killed at the banks of the Euphrates.[2]

25. *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Nujā, from his father, from Imam 'Alī (a): One day, when I came to the Prophet (s), his eyes were full of tears. I asked, "O Prophet of God, has someone caused you distress? Why are there tears in your eyes?"

He replied, "Jibra'īl just departed from me, and he informed me that al-Ḥusayn will be killed at the banks of the Euphrates."[3]

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 448; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 418.

كتبت إليه [أي إلى الحسين عليه السلام] عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن تعظّم عليه ما يريد أن يصنع وتأمره بالطاعة ولزوم الجماعة وتخبره أنّه إنّما يساق إلى مصرعه وتقول: أشهد لحدّثتني عائشة أنّها سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: يقتل حسين بأرض بابل.

فلمّا قرأ كتابها قال: فلا بدّ لي إذاً من مصرعي ومضى.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 429, no. 417; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 189, no. 3536.

أخبرني جبرئيل عليه السلام أنّ حسيناً يقتل بشاطئ الفرات.

[3] Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 184, no. 648; Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 206, no. 358.

2/10: The Prophet (s) is shown the soil of the land in which the blood of al-Ḥusayn (a) would be shed

26. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Usāmah Zayd Shaḥḥām, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Jibra'īl was informing the Prophet (s) of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a) while he was in the house of Umm Salamah, when al-Ḥusayn (a) entered. Jibra'īl, who was still present, remarked, "Verily, this boy will be killed by your nation."

The Prophet (s) asked, "Show me the soil of the land where his blood will be spilt."

So, Jibra'īl presented him with a handful of that soil, and it was red in colour.[1]

27. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, quoting Abū Umāmah: The Prophet (s) had instructed his wives, "Do not make this child cry," and he meant al-Ḥusayn (a). One day when it was the turn of Umm Salamah [to have the Prophet (s) over], Jibra'īl came down just as the Prophet (s) entered the house. He said to Umm Salamah, "Do not let anyone enter." Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to the door, and when he saw the Prophet (s) in the house, he wanted to come in. Umm Salamah picked him up and hugged him at her side. She began talking with him and attempted to distract him, but when he began to cry, she released him, and he entered and sat on the lap of the Prophet (s).

Jibra'īl remarked, "Your nation will soon kill this son of yours."

The Prophet (s) asked, "They will kill him, while they are believers in me?"

He replied, "Yes! They will kill him." Then he presented him with the soil [of the land of his death], and said, "In such and such place."

دخلت على النبي ذات يوم وعيناه تفيضان. قلت: يا نبي الله أغضبك أحد؟ ما شأن عينيك تفيضان؟ قال: قام من عندي جبرئيل قبل، فحدثني أن الحسين يقتل بشط الفرات.

[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 128, no. 143; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 236, no. 25.

نعى جبرئيل عليه السلام الحسين عليه السلام إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله في بيت أم سلمة، فدخل عليه الحسين عليه السلام وجبرئيل عليه السلام عنده، فقال: إنّ هذا تقتله أمّتك.

فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: أرني من التربة التي يسفك فيها دمه، فتناول جبرئيل عليه السلام قبضة من تلك التربة، فإذا هي تربة حمراء.

Then the Prophet (s) came out holding al-Husayn (a) close in his arms, while he appeared distressed and troubled. Umm Salamah thought that he was annoyed because the child had disturbed him, and so she said, "O Prophet of God, may I be sacrificed for you! You had told us not to let this child cry, and had also instructed me not to let anyone enter, but he wanted to come in, and so I let him."

He did not reply to her, and went out to his companions who were sitting [in the mosque]. He said to them, "My nation shall kill this child." Amongst those who were gathered were Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and they were the boldest amongst his companions [in questioning him]. They asked, "O Prophet of God, they will kill him while they are believers?"

He said, "Yes! And this is the soil [from the land where he will be killed]." And he showed it to them.[1]

28. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, quoting 'Ā'ishah: Al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a) came to the Prophet (s), and he said to me, "O 'Ā'ishah, shall I tell you something amazing? An angel, who had never appeared before me previously, just came to me and said, 'This son of yours will be killed.' And he said, 'If you wish, I will show you the soil of the land where he will

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[1] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 8, p. 285, no. 8096; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 192, no. 3530.

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله لنسائه: لا تبكوا هذا الصبي - يعني حسيناً عليه السلام قال: وكان يوم أم سلمة، فنزل جبرئيل عليه السلام، فدخل رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله الداخل وقال لأم سلمة: لا تدعي أحداً يدخل علي. فجاء الحسين عليه السلام، فلما نظر إلى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله في البيت أراد أن يدخل، فأخذته أم سلمة فاحتضنته، وجعلت تناغيه وتسكته، فلما اشتد في البكاء خلت عنه، فدخل حتى جلس في حجر رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله.

فقال جبرئيل عليه السلام: إن أمتك ستقتل ابنك هذا. فقال النبي صلى الله عليه و آله: يقتلونه وهم مؤمنون بي؟ قال: نعم، يقتلونه. فتناول جبرئيل تربة، فقال: بمكان كذا وكذا.

فخرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله قد احتضن حسيناً عليه السلام، كاسف البال مهموماً، فظنت أم سلمة أنه غضب من دخول الصبي عليه، فقالت: يا نبي الله، جعلت لك الفداء، إنك قلت لنا لا تبكوا هذا الصبي، وأمرتني ألا أدع (أحداً) يدخل عليك، فجاء، فخليت عنه.

فلم يرد عليها، فخرج إلى أصحابه وهم جلوس، فقال لهم: إن أمتي يقتلون هذا. وفي القوم أبو بكر وعمر، وكانا أجرأ القوم عليه، فقالا: يا نبي الله، يقتلونه وهم مؤمنون؟! قال: نعم، وهذه تربته. وأراهم إياها.

be killed.' Then the angel brought it forth in his hand, and showed me red soil."[1]

28. ***al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*****, quoting Umm Salamah:** Al-Hasan (a) and al-Husayn (a) were playing in front of the Prophet (s) in my apartment, when Jibra'il descended. He pointed his hand towards al-Husayn (a), and said, "O Muhammad! Your nation will kill this son of yours after you." The Prophet (s) began to weep and hugged al-Husayn (a) to his chest. He instructed me, "Keep this soil in your care." Then he smelled it and exclaimed, "Woe from *karb* (sorrow) and *bala'* (affliction)!"

She continued: Then the Prophet (s) said, "O Umm Salamah, when this soil is transformed to blood, then know that my son has been killed."

Umm Salamah preserved the soil in a glass phial and would look at it every day. She would address it, saying, "The day that you change into blood will indeed be a grievous day."[2]

2/11: The appeal of the Prophet (s) to his nation to assist al-Husayn (a)

29. ***Tarikh Dimashq*****, quoting Suhaym, from Anas ibn al-Harith:** I heard the Prophet (s) say, "This son of mine" – and he meant al-Husayn (a)

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[1] al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. 3, p. 107, no. 2817; *Kanz al-'Ummal*, vol. 12, p. 128, no. 34299.

إنّ الحسين بن علي عليه السلام دخل على رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، فقال النبي صلى الله عليه و آله: يا عائشة، ألا أعجبك لقد دخل عليّ ملكٌ آنفاً ما دخل عليّ قطّ، فقال: إنّ ابني هذا مقتولٌ، وقال: إن شئت أريتك تربة يقتل فيها، فتناول الملك بيده فأراني تربة حمراء.

[2] al-Mu'jam al-Kabir, vol. 3, p. 108, no. 2819; *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, vol. 6, p. 408.

كان الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام يلعبان بين يدي النبي صلى الله عليه و آله في بيتي، فنزل جبرئيل عليه السلام فقال: يا محمد، إنّ أمتك تقتل ابنك هذا من بعدك. فأومأ بيده إلى الحسين عليه السلام، فبكى رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وضمّه إلى صدره، ثمّ قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: وديعةٌ عندك هذه التربة. فشمّها رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وقال: ويح كرب وبلاء!

قالت: وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: يا أمّ سلمة، إذا تحوّلت هذه التربة دماً فاعلمي أنّ ابني قد قتل.

قال: فجعلتها أمّ سلمة في قارورة، ثمّ جعلت تنظر إليها كلّ يوم وتقول: إنّ يوماً تحوّلين دماً ليومٌ عظيم.

– "will be killed in a land known as Karbala. Whoever amongst you is present at that time should go to his aid."

[Suḥaym said] Anas ibn al-Ḥārith went to Karbala and was martyred alongside al-Ḥusayn (a).[1]

2/12: The prophecy of the Prophet (s) about the characteristics of the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a)

1. The worst of the nation

31. ***ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā (a)*, quoting his chain of narrators, from Imam ʿAlī (a), from the Prophet (s):** The worst of the nation will kill al-Ḥusayn. Only those who have no faith in me will disassociate themselves from the progeny of al-Ḥusayn (a).[2]

32. ***Kifāyat al-Athar*, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās:** I entered the presence of the Prophet (s), while al-Ḥasan (a) was hugging his neck and al-Ḥusayn (a) was sitting on his lap. The Prophet (s) was kissing the faces of the two boys.... Then he said, "O Ibn ʿAbbās, it is as if I can see his white beard dyed with his own blood. He is calling out, but no one answers him, and he is asking for help, but no one comes to his aid."

I asked, "Who will do this [to him], O Messenger of God?"

He replied, "The most wretched of my nation. What is wrong with them? May God never avail them of my intercession!"[3]

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[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 224, no. 3549; *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, p. 271.

سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يقول: إن ابني هذا - يعني الحسين عليه السلام - يقتل بأرض يقال لها كربلاء، فمن شهد ذلك منكم فلينصره.

قال: فخرج أنس بن الحارث إلى كربلاء فقتل مع الحسين عليه السلام.

[2] *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 62, no. 277; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 300, no. 5.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه و آله: يقتل الحسين شر الأمة، ويتبرأ من ولده من يكفر بي.

[3] *Kifāyat al-Athar*, p. 16; *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil*, vol. 10, p. 278, no. 11993.

دخلت على النبي صلى الله عليه و آله والحسن عليه السلام على عاتقه والحسين عليه السلام على فخذه يلثمهما ويقبلهما...

2. An illegitimate offspring of an illegitimate offspring

33. ***Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib, from the Prophet (s):** My son, al-Ḥusayn, will be killed by the sword. He will be killed by a rebel, son of a rebel; an illegitimate offspring, son of an illegitimate offspring; a hypocrite, son of a hypocrite."[1]

3. A man who would strike a damaging blow to religion

34. ***al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting his chain or narrators, from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), from Asmā' bint 'Umays:** When al-Ḥusayn (a) was seven days old, the Prophet (s) came to me and said, "Bring me my son...." Then he said, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh, I love you very much." Then he wept.

I said, "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! You behave in this way today, just as you did on the first day. What is the matter?"

He said, "I weep for this son of mine; he will be killed by a group of faithless rebels from the Banū Umayyah, may God never avail them of my intercession on the Day of Judgement. He will be killed by a man who would strike a damaging blow to the religion, and defy God, the Almighty!"[2]

ثم قال: إن جبرئيل أتاني به وقد [illegible] شيئاً من دمه [illegible] فلا تحزن. فقلت:
من يقتله يا رسول الله؟
قال: شرار أمتي، ما لهم؟ لا أنالهم الله شفاعتي.

[1] *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, vol. 2, p. 838, no. 42; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 267, no. 534.

يقتل ابني الحسين بالسيف، يقتله طاغ ابن طاغ، دعي ابن دعي، منافق ابن منافق.

[2] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 367, no. 781; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 250, no. 1.

فلما كان يوم سابعه [أي الحسين عليه السلام] جاءني النبي صلى الله عليه وآله فقال: هلمي ابني... ثم
قال: يا أبا عبد الله، عزيز علي. ثم بكى.
فقلت: بأبي أنت وأمي، فعلت في هذا اليوم وفي اليوم الأول، فما هو؟
فقال: أبكي على ابني هذا، تقتله فئة باغية كافرة من بني أمية، لا أنالهم الله شفاعتي يوم القيامة، يقتله
رجل يثلم الدين، ويكفر بالله العظيم.

4. A man of the Banū Umayyah by the name of Yazīd

35. *Siyar al-A'lām al-Nubalā'*, quoting Abū 'Ubaydah, with a chain of narrators leading to the Prophet (s): My nation shall continue to prosper, until it is harmed by a man from the Banū Umayyah by the name of Yazīd.[1]

36. *al-Malhūf*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) completed two years of his life, the Prophet (s) went out on a journey. Along the way, he stopped and recited the verse, "*Verily we are from God, and to Him we shall return,*" and his eyes filled with tears. When he was asked about this he said, "Here is Jibra'īl, informing me about a land at the banks of the Euphrates, called Karbala. My son al-Ḥusayn, the son of Fāṭimah, shall be killed there."

Someone asked, "Who will kill him, O Messenger of God?"

He replied, "A man by the name of Yazīd. It is as if I can see the place where he shall fall and be buried."[2]

5. May Yazīd never be blessed!

37. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, quoting Ibn 'Amr, from the Prophet (s): Yazīd! May God never bless Yazīd, the vile, the accursed! Indeed, I was informed of the killing of my beloved dear child al-Ḥusayn. The soil of his grave was brought for me, and I saw his killer. Indeed, he will not be killed in front of any bystanders who stay their hands from helping him, except that God shall chastise all of them.[3]

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[1] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 39; Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 399, no. 868.

لا يزال أمر أمتي قائما، حتى يثلمه رجل من بني أمية يقال له يزيد.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 93; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 18.

لما أتى على الحسين عليه السلام سنتان من مولده، خرج النبي صلى الله عليه و آله في سفر له، فوقف في بعض الطريق، فاسترجع ودمعت عينه.

فسئل عن ذلك، فقال: هذا جبرئيل يخبرني عن أرض بشط الفرات يقال لها: كربلاء، يقتل بها ولدي الحسين ابن فاطمة. فقيل له: من يقتله يا رسول الله؟ فقال: رجل اسمه يزيد، وكأني أنظر إلى مصرعه ومدفنه.

[3] *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 12, p. 128, no. 34324.

يزيد، لا بارك الله في يزيد، الطعان اللعان، أما إنه نعي إلي حبيبي وسخيلي حسين، أتيت بتربته ورأيت قاتله، أما إنه لا يقتل بين ظهراني قوم فلا ينصرونه إلا عمهم الله بعقاب.

6. Woe be on the one who kills al-Ḥusayn (a)!

38. *al-Amālī* of Ibn al-Shajari, quoting his chain of narrators, from the Prophet (s): My son, al-Ḥusayn, will be killed beyond Kufa. Woe be on his killer, and to the one who deserts him, and to the one who refuses to help him.[1]

39. *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (a), quoting his chain of narrators, from the Prophet (s): Verily, the killer of al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) shall be placed in a casket of fire, receiving the punishment of half of the inhabitants of the world. His hands and feet will be tethered by chains of fire, and he will be upturned in the fire until he is lowered into the depths of hell (*jahannam*). He shall emit a foul stench, from which the inmates of hell will beg for God's deliverance. He shall remain there forever, continually receiving painful chastisement, along with the others who took part in the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a). Whenever their skin blisters away, God will replace it so that they may taste the punishment anew, never experiencing a moment of respite. They shall be made to drink from the scalding water of hell (*ḥamīm*). So, woe unto them from the punishment of God, the Almighty, in the fires of hell.[2]

40. *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (a), quoting his chain of narrators, from the Prophet (s): On the Day of Judgement, my daughter Fāṭimah (a) will come forth with a garment stained with blood, and she will drape it on a pillar from the pillars of the throne (*ʿarsh*). Then she will say, "O Justice, judge between me and the killer of my son."

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[1] Ibn al-Shajari, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 185; *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-Wardiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 117.

يُقتَلُ ابني الحسينُ بظهرِ الكوفة، الويلُ لقاتلِه، وخاذلِه، وتاركِ نُصرتِه.

[2] *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 47, no. 178; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, p. 66, no. 93.

إنّ قاتلَ الحسينِ بنِ عليٍّ عليه السلام في تابوتٍ من نارٍ، عليه نصفُ عذابِ أهلِ الدنيا، وقد شُدَّت يداه ورجلاه بسلاسلَ من نارٍ، مُنكَّسٌ في النارِ، حتّى يقعَ في قعرِ جهنّم، وله ريحٌ يتعوّذُ أهلُ النارِ إلى ربِّهم من شدّةِ نتنِه، وهو فيها خالدٌ ذائقُ العذابِ الأليمِ مع جميعِ من شايعَ على قتلِه، كلّما نضجَت جلودُهم بدّلَ اللهُ عزّ وجلّ عليهم الجلودَ، حتّى يذوقوا العذابَ الأليمَ، لا يُفتَّرُ عنهم ساعةً، ويُسقَونَ من حميمِ جهنّم، فالويلُ لهم من عذابِ اللهِ تعالى في النار.

I swear by the Lord of the Ka'bah, God, the Almighty, will judge in favour of my daughter.'[1]

2/13: The foretelling of the Prophet (s) about the manner in which al-Ḥusayn (a) would be killed

41. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Ibn 'Abbās, from the Prophet (s): Whenever I would see al-Ḥusayn (a), I would recall what they would do to him after me. It is as if I see him seeking sanctuary in my courtyard and at my grave, but he is denied sanctuary. In his dream, I clasp him to my chest, and direct him to leave the land where I migrated to, and I give him the glad tidings of martyrdom, and he leaves me for the land where he will be killed, and the place where he will fall – the land of sorrow and affliction (*karbin wa balā'*), and death and destruction.

A group of Muslims will help him. They shall be the elite of the martyrs of my nation on the Day of Judgement. It is as if I am looking at him while his body is the target of an arrow that makes him fall from his horse; then he is slaughtered in the manner sheep are callously slaughtered.[2]

42. *Kifāyat al-Athar*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās: I entered the presence of the Prophet (s) while al-Ḥasan (a) was hugging his neck, and al-Ḥusayn (a) was sitting on his lap. The Prophet (s) was kissing the faces of the two boys and saying, "O God! Love those who love these two, and be the enemy of their enemies."

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[1] *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 26, no. 8; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, p. 64, no. 91.

تُحشَرُ ابنَتي فاطِمَةُ يَومَ القِيامَةِ ومَعَها ثِيابٌ مَصبوغَةٌ بِالدَّمِ، فَتَتَعَلَّقُ بِقائِمَةٍ مِن قَوائِمِ العَرشِ، فَتَقولُ: يا
عَدلُ، احكُم بَيني وبَينَ قاتِلِ وَلَدي.
قالَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه و آله: فَيَحكُمُ اللّهُ لِابنَتي ورَبِّ الكَعبَةِ.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 177, no. 178; *Mukhtaṣar al-Manāqib*, p. 199.

إنّي لَمّا رَأَيتُهُ (أي الحسين عليه السلام) تَذَكَّرتُ ما يُصنَعُ بِهِ بَعدي، كَأَنّي بِهِ وقَدِ استَجارَ بِحَرَمي وقَبري
فَلا يُجارُ، فَأَضُمُّهُ في مَنامِهِ إلى صَدري، وآمُرُهُ بِالرِّحلَةِ عَن دارِ هِجرَتي، وأُبَشِّرُهُ بِالشَّهادَةِ، فَيَرتَحِلُ عَنها إلى
أرضِ مَقتَلِهِ ومَوضِعِ مَصرَعِهِ، أرضِ كَربٍ وبَلاءٍ وقَتلٍ وفَناءٍ، تَنصُرُهُ عِصابَةٌ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ، أُولئِكَ مِن
سادَةِ شُهَداءِ اُمَّتي يَومَ القِيامَةِ، كَأَنّي أنظُرُ إلَيهِ وقَد رُمِيَ بِسَهمٍ فَخَرَّ عَن فَرَسِهِ صَريعا، ثُمَّ يُذبَحُ كَما يُذبَحُ
الكَبشُ مَظلوما.

Then he said, "O Ibn 'Abbās, it is as if I can see his white beard dyed with his own blood. He is calling out, but no one answers him, and he is asking for help, but no one comes to his aid."

I asked, "Who will do this [to him], O Prophet of God?"

He replied, "The most wretched of my nation. What is wrong with them? May God never avail them of my intercession!"[1]

2/14: The prophecy of the Messenger of God (s) about the shrine of al-Ḥusayn (a) and about those who would come for his visitation (ziyārah)

43: *al-Irshād*: One day, the Prophet (s) was sitting with 'Alī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn – peace be upon them all. He said to them, "How would you feel if, when you leave this world, your graves would be in different lands?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked, "Will we die natural deaths, or will we be killed?"

He replied, "No, my son, you will be killed unjustly, and your brother will be killed unjustly, and your offspring will be scattered in the land."

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) asked, "Who will kill us, O Messenger of God?"

He replied, "The most wretched of men."

He asked, "Will anyone visit us after we are killed?"

He replied, "Yes! A group from my nation will desire to come for your visitation, seeking my happiness and closeness. And on the Day of Judgement, I shall come to them when they are in difficulty, take them by their arms, and save them from its terrors and difficulties."[2]

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[1] *Kifāyat al-Athar*, p. 18; *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, vol. 10, p. 276, no. 12009.

دخلت على النبي صلى الله عليه و آله والحسن عليه السلام على عاتقه والحسين عليه السلام على فخذه يلثمهما ويقبلهما ويقول: اللهم وال من والاهما وعاد من عاداهما. ثم قال: يا ابن عباس كأني به وقد خضبت شيبته من دمه، يدعو فلا يجاب ويستنصر فلا ينصر.

قلت: من يفعل ذلك يا رسول الله؟ قال: شرار أمتي، ما لهم لا أنالهم الله شفاعتي

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 131; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 220.

إن النبي صلى الله عليه و آله كان ذات يوم جالسا وحوله علي وفاطمة والحسن والحسين عليهم السلام فقال لهم: كيف بكم إذا كنتم صرعى وقبوركم شتى؟

44. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting Jābir, from Imam al-Bāqir (a), from Imam ʿAlī (a):

The Prophet (s) visited us. Umm Ayman had brought us a gift of milk, cream, and dates. We presented the food to him. The Prophet (s) ate a little, and then rose and made his way to a corner of the room, where he prayed several units of prayer. During the final prostration of his prayers, he wept greatly. Out of respect, none of us asked him the reason.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) stood up and went to sit on his lap. He said to him, "O father, you entered our house, and nothing gave us greater pleasure than your arrival, but then you wept, and the manner of your weeping has saddened us. What made you cry?"

The Prophet (s) replied, "My dear son, Jibra'il came to me just then, and informed me that you will all be killed, and your graves will be scattered in the land."

He asked, "O father, what will be the reward of those who will visit our graves, despite the fact that they are scattered?"

He replied, "My dear son, they shall be the people from my nation who shall visit you and thereby gain blessings. I will consider it incumbent upon myself to come to them on the Day of Judgement, to save them from the terrors of that day due to their sins, and so that God may settle them in paradise."[1]

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: الموت سويا أو تقتل؟ فقال: بل تقتل يا بني ظلما، ويقتل أخوك ظلما، وتشرد ذريتك في الأرض.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: ومن يقتلنا يا رسول الله؟ قال: شرار الناس. قال: فهل يزورنا بعد قتلنا أحد؟ قال: نعم، طائفة من أمتي يريدون بزيارتكم بري وصلتي، فإذا كان يوم القيامة جئتهم إلى الموقف حتى آخذ بأعضادهم فأخلصهم من أهواله وشدائده.

[1] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 669, no. 1404; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 125, no. 140.

زارنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وقد أهدت لنا أم أيمن لبنا وزبدا وتمرا، فقدمنا منه فأكل منه، ثم قام النبي صلى الله عليه و آله إلى زاوية البيت فصلى ركعات، فلما كان في آخر سجوده بكى بكاء شديدا، فلم يسأله أحد منا إجلالا له.

فقام الحسين عليه السلام فقعد في حجره وقال له: يا أبت، لقد دخلت بيتنا فما سررنا بشيء كسرورنا بدخولك، ثم بكيت بكاء غمنا فلم بكيت؟

PART 3: THE PROPHECIES OF IMAM 'ALĪ (A) ABOUT THE MARTYRDOM OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

On the basis of the traditions that we will mention in this section, it appears that all, or most of that which has been reported from Imam 'Alī (a) about the event of Karbala was stated by him during his caliphate. Most of his words were uttered in the land of Karbala itself.

During his caliphate, Imam 'Alī (a) passed through Karbala on at least three occasions; twice during the journey to and from the Battle of Ṣiffīn, and once on the way to the Battle of Nahrawān. Therefore, several details about the event of Karbala were reported from the Imam (a) during these journeys.

It is also worth noting that during these expeditions, Imam 'Alī (a) was accompanied by both his older sons, al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a). For this reason, when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) arrived at Karbala in Muḥarram of 61/680, it was, at least, his fourth visit to that land. His enquiry about the name of that valley when he arrived there[1] does not mean that he had never been there before.

فقال: يا بني، [illegible] أيضًا، [illegible]
فقال: يا أبت، فما لمن يزور قبورنا على تشتّتها؟
فقال: يا بني، أولئك طوائف من أمّتي يزورونكم يلتمسون بذلك البركة، وحقيق عليّ أن آتيهم يوم القيامة حتّى أخلّصهم من أهوال الساعة من ذنوبهم ويسكنهم الله الجنّة.

[1] See *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 253; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2604.

3/1: Foretelling the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a) when crossing Karbala

1. This is the place where their camels will be tethered

45. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Imam ʿAlī (a) passed Karbala with a group of his companions. As he crossed the area, his eyes filled with tears, and he said, "This is where their mounts will be stabled, and this is where they will store their provisions, and here their blood will be spilt. Blessed are you, O land, for the blood of loved ones shall be spilt on your sands!"[1]

2. This is Karbala

46. *al-Irshād*, quoting Juwayriyyah ibn Mushar al-ʿAbadī: When we travelled with the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), towards Ṣiffīn, we came to the plains of Karbala. The Imam (a) stood a distance aside from the army. He glanced towards his right and left, and then he began to weep. He said, "This is where, by God, their mounts will be stabled, and where they will be killed."

He was asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, what is this place?"

He replied, "This is Karbala; here, a group of people will be killed who shall enter paradise without account." Then he departed.[2]

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 453, no. 685; *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Aʾimmah (a)*, p. 47.

مر أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام بكربلاء في أناس من أصحابه، فلما مر بها اغرورقت عيناه بالبكاء، ثم قال: هذا مناخ ركابهم، وهذا ملقى رحالهم، وهنا تهراق دماؤهم، طوبى لك من تربة، عليك تهراق دماء الأحبة.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 332; *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, p. 100, no. 92.

لما توجهنا مع أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام إلى صفين، فبلغنا طفوف كربلاء، وقف عليه السلام ناحية من العسكر، ثم نظر يميناً وشمالاً واستعبر، ثم قال: هذا - والله - مناخ ركابهم وموضع مقتلهم.

فقيل له: يا أمير المؤمنين، ما هذا الموضع؟

قال: هذا كربلاء، يقتل فيه قوم يدخلون الجنة بغير حساب. ثم سار.

3. Karbala, the land of *karb* (sorrow) and *balā'* (affliction)

47. ***Waqa'at Ṣiffīn*, quoting al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kathīr, from his father:** 'Ali (a) came to Karbala and stopped there. He was told, "O Commander of the Faithful! This is Karbala."

He said, "The place of sorrow and affliction (*karbin wa balā'*)." Then, he pointed with his hand to a spot, and said, "That is the place where they will keep their provisions, and where they will stable their mounts." Then he pointed with his hand to another spot, and said, "That is where their blood will be spilt."[1]

4. May my father be sacrificed for that lonely warrior!

48. ***Usd al-Ghābah*, quoting Gharfat al-Azdi:** I had doubts about the status of 'Ali (a). Then, I rode [with his company] out with him to the banks of the Euphrates. On the way he drew aside and stopped, and we stopped around him. He pointed with his hand, and said, "This is where they will keep their provisions, and where they will stable their mounts, and where their blood will be spilt. May my father be sacrificed for the one who will have no helper in the heavens and the earth except God!"

When al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, I went to the place where they had killed him, and it was just as 'Ali (a) had described. He had not made a mistake in any detail.

I sought God's forgiveness for my previous doubts, and realized that 'Ali (a) had not spoken of anything other than that [knowledge] which he had been entrusted with.[2]

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[1] *Waqa'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 142; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 171.

إنّ عليا عليه السلام أتى كربلاء فوقف بها، فقيل: يا أمير المؤمنين، هذه كربلاء.

قال: ذات كرب و بلاء. ثم أومأ بيده إلى مكان، فقال: ها هنا موضع رحالهم ومناخ ركابهم، وأومأ بيده إلى موضع آخر فقال: ها هنا مهراق دمائهم.

[2] *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 4, p. 302.

دخلني شكّ من شأن عليّ عليه السلام، فخرجت معه على شاطئ الفرات، فعدل عن الطريق ووقف، ووقفنا حوله، فقال بيده: هذا موضع رواحلهم ومناخ ركابهم ومهراق دمائهم، بأبي من لا ناصر له في الأرض ولا في السماء إلّا الله.

فلما قتل الحسين عليه السلام خرجت حتى أتيت المكان الذي قتلوه فيه، فإذا هو كما قال، ما أخطأ شيئاً.

5. Those who came before al-Ḥusayn (a) could not precede him in rank, and those who came after him would not reach his status

49. *Tahdhib al-Aḥkām*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Sinān, from someone who had been told this by Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The Commander of the Faithful (a) was marching with a company of men when they reached a mile or two from Karbala. He went ahead of the company until he reached the place where the martyrs would fall. Then he said, "In this place 200 prophets, 200 successors of prophets, 200 grandsons of prophets, and their companions left the world."

He then rode around the area mounted on his mare with his feet out of his stirrups, while he said, "[This is] the place where mounts shall rest and the bodies of martyrs shall fall. Those who came before them shall not precede them [in rank], and those who come after them shall not reach them [in status]."

6. Peerless martyrs

50. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*, quoting Shayban ibn al-Mukharram, who was a partisan of 'Uthmān: I was with 'Alī (a) when he came to Karbala, and he said, "In this place men will be killed who will be martyrs without any peer, except for the martyrs of Badr. I said [to myself], "This is another one of his lies!" I saw a bone sticking out from the ground that belonged to the skeleton of a donkey. I said to my bondsman, "Take the leg of this donkey and drive it into the sand and cover it to mark the spot."

Many years passed, and when al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was killed, I returned to the place with some companions. I saw the body of

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قال: فاستغفرت الله مما كان مني من الشك، وعلمت أن عليا عليه السلام لم يقدم إلا بما عهد إليه فيه.

1 *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 72, no. 138; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 453, no. 686.

خرج أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام يسير بالناس، حتى إذا كان من كربلاء على مسيرة ميل أو ميلين، تقدم بين أيديهم حتى إذا صار بمصارع الشهداء، قال: قبض فيها مائتا نبي ومائتا وصي ومائتا سبط شهداء بأتباعهم

فطاف بها على بغلته خارجا رجليه من الركاب، وأنشأ يقول: مناخ ركاب ومصارع الشهداء، لا يسبقهم من كان قبلهم ولا يلحقهم من كان بعدهم

al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) lying on the spot where the bone had been, with the bodies of his companions lying around him.'[1]

7. At the banks of the Euphrates: "Have forbearance, O Abā 'Abd Allāh!"

51. *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Nujā, about his father: He was the person who was responsible for washing the containers in the company of 'Alī (a), and he was with him when they reached Naynawā[2] while on their way to Ṣiffīn. [At that time,] 'Alī (a) called out, "Have forbearance, O Abā 'Abd Allāh, have forbearance, O Abā 'Abd Allāh, at the banks of the Euphrates!"

My father asked, "What do you mean?"

He replied, "I came to the Prophet (s) one day and found him with his eyes full of tears. I asked him, 'O Prophet of God, has someone caused you distress, why are there tears in your eyes?' He replied, 'Jibra'īl just departed from me. He informed me that al-Ḥusayn (a) will be killed at the banks of the Euphrates.' Then he [Jibra'īl] asked, 'Do you wish to smell the soil of the land where he will die?' I said, 'Yes.' Then he stretched out his hand and brought a handful of soil and gave it to me, and I could not stop myself from weeping."[3]

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[1] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 111, p. 2826; *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, p. 427.

إنّي لمع عليّ عليه السلام إذ أتى كربلاء، فقال: يقتل في هذا الموضع شهداء ليس مثلهم شهداء إلّا شهداء بدر.

فقلت: بعض كذباته، وثَمّ رِجل حمار ميّت، فقلت لغلامي: خذ رِجل هذا الحمار فأوتدها في مقعده وغيّبها، فضرب الدهر ضربته، فلمّا قتل الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام انطلقت ومعي أصحاب لي، فإذا جثّة الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام على رِجل ذاك الحمار، وإذا أصحابه ربضة حوله.

[2] Naynawā is a locality near Kufa, and Karbala is a part of that locality. See *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 5, p. 399; also see Map 4.

[3] Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 184, no. 648; Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 206, no. 358.

أنّه سار مع عليّ عليه السلام، وكان صاحب مطهرته، فلمّا حاذى نينوى وهو منطلق إلى صفّين، فنادى عليّ عليه السلام: اصبر أبا عبد الله، اصبر أبا عبد الله بشطّ الفرات. قلت: وماذا؟

قال: دخلت على النبيّ صلّى الله عليه و آله ذات يوم وعيناه تفيضان، قلت: يا نبيّ الله أغضبك أحد، ما شأن عينيك تفيضان؟

8. Right here, right here!

52. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, quoting Abū Juḥayfah: ʿUrwah al-Bāriqī came to Saʿīd ibn Wahab and asked him, while I was listening, "You once mentioned to me an account that you heard from ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a)." He said, "Yes! Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym had sent me to ʿAlī (a), and I reached him at Karbala. I found him pointing at a spot with his hand, saying, 'Right here! Right here!' Someone asked him, 'What is there, O Commander of the Faithful?' He replied, 'The provisions and baggage of the household of Muhammad (s) will be stored here. Woe be unto them from you, and woe be unto you from them!'

"The man asked, 'What do these words mean, O Commander of the Faithful?' He replied, 'Woe be unto them from you, for you will kill them; and woe be unto you from them, for God will bring you into hellfire because you killed them.'"[8]

9. What does the family of Abū Sufyān want from me?

53. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī, quoting Ḥākim al-Jishumī: When the Commander of the Faithful (a) was travelling towards Ṣiffīn, he stopped at Karbala and asked Ibn ʿAbbās, "Do you know what this place is?" He said, "No." He remarked, "If you knew, you would weep as I do." Then the Imam (a) wept profusely.

Then he said, "What does the family of Abū Sufyān want from me?"

قال: بل قام من عندي جبرئيل عليه السلام قبل، فحدثني أنّ الحسين يُقتل بشطّ الفرات.
قال: فقال: هل لك إلى أن أشمّك من تربته؟ قال: قلت: نعم، فمدّ يده فقبض قبضة من تراب فأعطانيها،
فلم أملك عينيّ أن فاضتا.

[8] *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 141; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 3, p. 170.

جاء عروة البارقي إلى سعيد بن وهب فسأله وأنا أسمع فقال: حديثٌ حدّثتنيه عن عليّ بن أبي طالب
عليه السلام. قال: نعم، بعثني مخنف بن سليم إلى عليّ عليه السلام، فأتيته بكربلاء، فوجدته يشير بيده
ويقول: هاهنا هاهنا. فقال له رجلٌ: وما ذلك يا أمير المؤمنين؟
قال: ثَقَلٌ لآل محمد ينزل هاهنا، فويلٌ لهم منكم، وويلٌ لكم منهم!
فقال له الرجل: ما معنى هذا الكلام يا أمير المؤمنين؟
قال: ويلٌ لهم منكم، تقتلونهم، وويلٌ لكم منهم، يدخلكم الله بقتلهم إلى النار.

Then he turned to al-Ḥusayn (a) and said, "Have forbearance, my dear son, for your father has already experienced from them what you will experience at their hands after him."[1]

10. The heavens and the earth will weep over al-Ḥusayn (a)

54. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, quoting Aṣbagh ibn Nubātah: We were travelling with ʿAlī (a) to the banks of the Euphrates, when a monk passed by. He asked him, "O monk, where is the spring that flowed near here?"

He replied, "I do not know of it, except by reputation; it is said that no one knows its true location, except a prophet or the successor of a prophet."

So, ʿAlī (a) began to move down the valley (*wādī*), looking to the right and the left. Finally, he pointed to a spot and instructed, "Dig here". The men dug where he had indicated, and uncovered a slab of rock. He instructed them to lift it, and when they did, they discovered a spring of water underneath it. We drank and watered our animals.

Then ʿAlī (a) informed us, "This is where a young man from the progeny of Muḥammad will be killed, and the heavens and the earth shall weep over him."[2]

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 162.

إنّ أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام لمّا سار إلى صفّين نزل بكربلاء، وقال لابن عبّاس: أتدري ما هذه البقعة؟ قال: لا. قال: لو عرفتها لبكيت بكائي. ثمّ بكى بكاءً شديداً.

ثمّ قال: ما لي ولآل أبي سفيان؟ ثمّ التفت إلى الحسين عليه السلام وقال: صبراً يا بنيّ، فقد لقي أبوك منهم مثل الذي تلقى بعده.

[2] *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 137, no. 1079.

سرنا مع عليّ عليه السلام إلى شاطئ الفرات، فمرّ راهب، فقال له: يا راهب، أين العين التي هاهنا؟ قال: لا أعلم بها إلّا بالخبر، فإنّه يقال: إنّه لا يعلم مكانها إلّا نبيّ أو وصيّ نبيّ.

فأخذ عليّ عليه السلام مع الوادي، وجعل ينظر يميناً وشمالاً، ثمّ قال: احفروا هاهنا. فحفروا، فوجدوا حجراً، فقال: ارفعوه، فرفعوه، فإذا عين ماء تحته، فشربنا وسقينا دوابّنا. ثمّ قال عليّ عليه السلام لنا: يُقتل هاهنا من آل محمّد فتيةٌ تبكي عليهم السماء والأرض.

3/2: A dream that the Commander of the Faithful (a) had in Karbala

55. *Kamāl al-Dīn*, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās: I accompanied the Commander of the Faithful (a) on his campaign to Ṣiffīn. When he stopped at Naynawā, which is next to the river Euphrates, he said to me in a raised voice, "O Ibn ʿAbbās, do you know this place?"

I replied, "No, I do not know it, O Commander of the Faithful."

He said, "If you knew it the way I know it, you would not pass by it except while weeping in the manner that I weep."

Then, he wept for a long time, until his beard was soaked, and his tears fell to his chest. We wept with him, while he was saying, "Ah, ah! What does the offspring of Abū Sufyān want from me? What does the offspring of Ḥarb want from me? [They are] the party of Shayṭān, the well-wishers of faithlessness. Have forbearance, O Abā ʿAbd Allāh, for your father has already experienced from them what you will experience at their hands."

Then he asked for water, performed the ablution (*wuḍūʾ*), and performed lengthy prayers. Afterwards, he repeated some of his earlier words. Then he fell into a light sleep. When he awoke, he called out, "O Ibn ʿAbbās!"

I replied, "Yes, I am here."

He said, "Shall I tell you what I saw in my dream when I rested just now?"

I replied, "I hope you saw goodness in your sleep, O Commander of the Faithful."

He replied, "It was as if I was looking at radiant men who had descended from the skies. They had a white banner with them, and they had white, shining swords hanging at their sides. They came and stood in a circle around this land. Then I saw these date palms striking the earth with their branches, and I saw that they were dripping with fresh blood, and it was as if my dear, beloved son al-Ḥusayn (a) was drowning in the midst of all the blood; he was calling out for help, but no one would come to his aid.

"I saw that it was as if the radiant men who had descended from the skies were calling out to him, 'Have forbearance, O child of the

Prophet, for you shall be killed at the hands of the most wretched of men. But here is paradise, O Abū 'Abd Allāh, waiting eagerly to receive you.'

"Then, they greeted me and said, 'O Abū al-Ḥasan! Receive glad tidings, for God will cool your eyes due to this son of yours, on the Day of Judgement, when all mankind shall be brought before the Lord of the worlds.' Then I woke up.

"And I swear by the One in whose hands is my life, that this is what will happen. It was related to me by the most truthful, Abū al-Qāsim (s). He had told me that I would see this land when I came out to face those who had rebelled against us. This is the land of sorrow and affliction (*karbin wa balā'*); in it shall be buried al-Ḥusayn and 17 other men, all of them from my offspring and the offspring of Fāṭimah (a). They are famous in the heavens, where the land of Karbala is mentioned with the same reverence as the lands of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem."[1]

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[1] Kāmil al-Ziy., p. 452, no. 1; al-Ṣadūq, al-Amālī, p. 694, no. 951.

كنت مع أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام في خروجه إلى صفين فلما نزل بنينوى وهو بشط الفرات، قال بأعلى صوته: يا ابن عباس أتعرف هذا الموضع؟ قال: قلت: ما أعرفه يا أمير المؤمنين.

فقال: لو عرفته كمعرفتي لم تكن تجوزه حتى تبكي كبكائي.

قال: فبكى طويلاً حتى اخضلت لحيته وسالت الدموع على صدره، وبكينا معاً وهو يقول: أوه أوه! ما لي ولآل أبي سفيان؟! ما لي ولآل حرب، حزب الشيطان، وأولياء الكفر؟! صبراً يا أبا عبد الله فقد لقي أبوك مثل الذي تلقى منهم.

ثم دعا بماء فتوضأ وضوءه للصلاة، فصلى ما شاء الله أن يصلي، ثم ذكر نحو كلامه الأول، إلا أنه نعس عند انقضاء صلاته وكلامه ساعة، ثم انتبه، فقال: يا ابن عباس! فقلت: ها أنا ذا.

فقال: ألا أحدثك بما رأيت في منامي آنفاً عند رقدتي؟ فقلت: نامت عيناك، ورأيت خيراً يا أمير المؤمنين.

قال: رأيت كأني برجال بيض قد نزلوا من السماء معهم أعلام بيض، قد تقلدوا سيوفهم وهي بيض تلمع، وقد خطوا حول هذه الأرض خطة، ثم رأيت هذه النخيل قد ضربت بأغصانها إلى الأرض، فرأيتها تضطرب بدم عبيط، وكأني بالحسين سخلي وفرخي ومضغتي ومخي قد غرق فيه يستغيث فلا يغاث، وكأن الرجال البيض قد نزلوا من السماء ينادونه ويقولون: صبراً آل الرسول، فإنكم تقتلون على أيدي شرار الناس، وهذه الجنة يا أبا عبد الله إليك مشتاقة. ثم يعزونني ويقولون: يا أبا الحسن أبشر، فقد أقر الله عينك به يوم القيامة يوم يقوم الناس لرب العالمين. ثم انتبهت.

3/3: The prophecy of 'Alī (a) about the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a), [related] in the Mosque of Kufa

56. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī: The Commander of the Faithful (a) came and sat in the mosque, and his companions assembled around him. Al-Ḥusayn (a) came and stood before him. 'Alī (a) placed his hand over his head and said, "My dear son, verily, God has condemned communities in the Qur'an, saying, '*And the heavens and the earth did not weep over them, nor were they given respite.*'[1] By God, you will certainly be killed after me, but the heavens and the earth shall weep over you."[2]

3/4: The prophecy of 'Alī (a) about those who would participate in the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a)

1. Banū Umayyah

57. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Jābir, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Imam 'Alī (a) said to al-Ḥusayn (a), "O Abā 'Abd Allāh! You were always a role model… I swear by the One in whose hands is my life, the Banū Umayyah shall spill your blood, but they will not be able to separate you from your religion, nor make you forget the remembrance of your Lord."[3]

مكثنا والذي نفس علي بيده، لقد حدثني الصادق المصدق أبو القاسم صلى الله عليه و آله أني سأراها في خروجي إلى أهل البغي علينا، وهذه أرض كرب وبلاء، يدفن فيها الحسين وسبعة عشر رجلاً كلهم من ولدي وولد فاطمة عليها السلام، وإنها لفي السماوات معروفة، تذكر أرض كرب وبلاء، كما تذكر بقعة الحرمين وبقعة بيت المقدس.

[1] Q 44:29.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 180, no. 242; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 209, no. 16.

خرج أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام فجلس في المسجد واجتمع أصحابه حوله وجاء الحسين عليه السلام حتى قام بين يديه، فوضع يده على رأسه فقال: يا بني إن الله عير أقواماً بالقرآن، فقال: ﴿فما بكت عليهم السماء والأرض وما كانوا منظرين﴾، وايم الله ليقتلنك بعدي ثم تبكيك السماء والأرض.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 149, no. 176; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 262, no. 17.

قال علي عليه السلام للحسين عليه السلام: يا أبا عبد الله أسوة أنت قدماً ... فوالذي نفسي بيده ليسفكن بنو أمية دمك، ثم لا يزيلونك عن دينك ولا ينسونك ذكر ربك.

2. The Kufans

58. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, quoting Mujāhid: 'Alī (a) said in Kufa, "In what state are you when the family of the Prophet (a) come amongst you?" In reply, the Kufans gave examples of their conduct.

He shook his head and said, "Rather, you bring them to you, then turn away from them. You refuse to defend them, then you seek to be free from blame, but that is not possible."[1]

3/5: The prophecy of 'Alī (a) about the name of the standard-bearer of the army who would fight al-Ḥusayn (a)

59. *al-Irshād*, quoting Suwayd ibn Ghaflah: A man came to the Commander of the Faithful (a) and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I passed by Wādī al-Qurā.[2] I saw that Khālid ibn 'Urfuṭah had died there, so I sought forgiveness for him."

The Commander of the Faithful said, "No! He has not died, and neither shall he die until he leads an army of deviants, whose standard-bearer will be Ḥabīb ibn Ḥimār."

A man rose from beneath the pulpit, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful! By God, I am your Shī'a, and I love you."

He asked, "And who are you?"

The man replied, "I am Ḥabīb ibn Ḥimār."

He said, "Beware that you should carry the standard. In fact, you shall certainly carry it, and you will enter with it from this door" – and he pointed at the Door of the Elephant (Bāb al-Fīl).

When the Commander of the Faithful (a) had passed away, and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (a) had passed away after him also, and the various events surrounding al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and his stand occurred, Ibn Ziyād despatched 'Umar ibn Sa'd against al-Ḥusayn (a). He placed Khālid ibn 'Urfuṭah in command of the vanguard of the army, and appointed Ḥabīb ibn Ḥimār as his standard-bearer. Ḥabīb took it and entered the mosque of Kufa, carrying it through Bāb al-Fīl.

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 409.

قال علي عليه السلام بالكوفة: كيف أنتم إذا أتاكم أهل بيت نبيكم؟ قالوا: نفعل ونفعل

قال: فحرك رأسه، ثم قال: بل توردونهم، ثم تصدرون عنهم فلا تنصرونهم، ثم تطلبون البراءة ولا براءة لكم

[2] See Map 5.

[The author, al-Mufīd, comments:] This too, is a famous report, that has not been denied by scholars and traditionists. It was spread amongst the people of Kufa, and well-known in their society. Not even two of them have denounced it. It is amongst the miracles of ʿAlī (a) that we have mentioned earlier.[1]

3/6: The prophecy of ʿAlī (a) about the names of some of those who would fight against al-Ḥusayn (a)

60. ***al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah, from Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a), from his father, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a):** When ʿAlī (a) wanted to go towards Nahrawān, he told the Kufans to prepare to march and instructed them to set up camp in Madāʾin. Shabath ibn Ribʿī, ʿAmr ibn Ḥurayth, al-Ashʿath ibn Qays, and Jarīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī asked for some respite, saying, "Allow us to join you after a few days, so that we can finish some work that we are busy with."

He replied, "You have made this up. Woe be on you, O elders! For by God, you have no pressing work that would cause you to delay. I know what is in your hearts, and I will inform you of it: you wish to separate the people from me. It is as if I can see you sitting in the palace of Khawarnaq, and you have laid out your food to eat, and a lizard crawls past you, and you order your children to hunt it down, then you denounce me [and mock me] by giving your allegiance to it [the lizard]."

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 1, p. 329; al-Iḥtijāj, vol. 2, p. 109.

إنَّ رَجُلاً جاءَ إلى أميرِ المؤمنين عليه السلام فقال: يا أميرَ المؤمنين، إنّي مررتُ بوادي القرى فرأيتُ خالدَ بن عرفطة قد مات بها فاستغفر له.

فقال أميرُ المؤمنين عليه السلام: مه، إنّه لم يمت ولا يموت حتّى يقود جيش ضلالة صاحب لوائه حبيب بن حمار. فقام رجلٌ من تحت المنبر فقال: يا أميرَ المؤمنين، والله إنّي لك شيعةٌ وإنّي لك محبٌّ.

قال: ومن أنت؟ قال: أنا حبيب بن حمار.

قال: إيّاك أن تحملها، ولتحملنّها فتدخل بها من هذا الباب - وأومأ بيده إلى باب الفيل.

فلمّا مضى أميرُ المؤمنين عليه السلام ومضى الحسن بن عليّ عليه السلام من بعده، وكان من أمر الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام ومن ظهوره ما كان، بعث ابن زياد بعمر بن سعد إلى الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام، وجعل خالد بن عرفطة على مقدّمته، وحبيب بن حمار صاحب رايته، فسار بها حتّى دخل المسجد من باب الفيل.

[قال المفيد:] وهذا أيضاً خبرٌ مستفيضٌ لا يتناكره أهل العلم الرواة للآثار، وهو منتشر في أهل الكوفة ظاهر في جماعتهم، لا يتناكره منهم اثنان، وهو من المعجز الذي بيّنّاه.

Then he went to Madā'in, while those four went to Khawarnaq. They prepared food for themselves, and when they sat down to eat on the cloth that they had spread out, a lizard crawled past. They instructed their children to catch it and bring it to them. Then they wiped their hands over its limbs [to signify allegiance], just as 'Ali (a) had informed them, before they turned to leave for Madā'in.

The Commander of the Faithful said to them, "*Evil is [this] exchange for the wrong-doers!*[1] On the Day of Judgement, God will certainly raise you with your Imam, the same lizard whom you gave your allegiance to. It is as if I can see you on the Day of Judgement, and it is leading you to hellfire."

Then he said, "Just as there were hypocrites with the Prophet (s), there are hypocrites accompanying me as well. But by God, you, O Shabath, and you, Ibn Hurayth, you will fight against my son al-Husayn; the Prophet (s) has informed me of this."[2]

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[1] Q 18:50.

[2] *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'ih*, vol. 1, p. 225, no. 70; *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 275.

لما أراد علي أن يسير إلى النهروان استنفر أهل الكوفة وأمرهم أن يعسكروا بالمدائن، فتأخر عنه: شبث بن ربعي وعمرو بن حريث والأشعث بن قيس وجرير بن عبد الله البجلي، وقالوا: ائذن لنا أياما نتخلف عنك في بعض حوائجنا ونلحق بك.

فقال لهم: قد فعلتموها، سوأة لكم من مشايخ، والله ما لكم من حاجة تتخلفون عليها، وإني لأعلم ما في قلوبكم، وسأبين لكم: تريدون أن تثبطوا عني الناس، وكأني بكم بالخورنق وقد بسطتم سفرتكم للطعام، إذ يمر بكم ضب، فتأمرون صبيانكم فيصيدونه، فتخلعوني وتبايعونه.

ثم مضى إلى المدائن، وخرج القوم إلى الخورنق، وهيأوا طعاما، فبينا هم كذلك على سفرتهم وقد بسطوها، إذ مر بهم ضب، فأمروا صبيانهم فأخذوه وأوثقوه ومسحوا أيديهم على يده كما أخبر علي عليه السلام، وأقبلوا على المدائن.

فقال لهم أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: بئس للظالمين بدلا، ليبعثكم الله يوم القيامة مع إمامكم الذي بايعتم، لكأني أنظر إليكم يوم القيامة وهو يسوقكم إلى النار.

3/7: The prophecy of 'Alī (a) about the names of some of those who would refuse to help al-Ḥusayn (a)

61. *al-Irshād*, quoting Ismā'īl ibn Ziyād: One day, 'Alī (a) said to al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib, "O Barā', my son al-Ḥusayn will be killed while you will still be alive, but you will not go to help him."

After al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was killed, al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib used to say, "By God, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) spoke the truth. Al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, but I did not help him!" He expressed great remorse and regret about that.[1]

62. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jadalī: I came to the Commander of the Faithful (a) while al-Ḥusayn (a) was at his side. He struck the shoulder of al-Ḥusayn (a) with his hand and said, "He will be killed, and no one will help him."

I said, "O Commander of the Faithful! By God, that is a bad [end to] life!"

He replied, "This will certainly come to pass."[2]

3/8: The prophecy of 'Alī (a) about the killer of al-Ḥusayn (a)

1. Yazīd will kill him

63. *al-Futūḥ*, quoting Ibn 'Abbās: After 'Alī (a) returned from Ṣiffīn, and had also dealt with the people of Nahrawān, al-A'war al-Hamdānī came to see him.

ثُمَّ قالَ: لَئِن كُنّا مَعَ رَسولِ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه وآله [illegible] أما وَاللهِ يا [illegible]
[illegible] ابنِيَ الحُسَينَ، [illegible] رَسولَ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه وآله.

[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 331; *Kashf al-Yaqīn*, p. 99, no. 91.

إنَّ عَلِيًّا عليه السلام قالَ لِلبَراءِ بنِ عازِبٍ يَومًا: يا بَراءُ، يُقتَلُ ابنِيَ الحُسَينُ وأنتَ حَيٌّ لا تَنصُرُهُ.
فَلَمّا قُتِلَ الحُسَينُ بنُ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام كانَ البَراءُ بنُ عازِبٍ يَقولُ: صَدَقَ وَاللهِ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ عليه السلام، قُتِلَ الحُسَينُ عليه السلام ولَم أنصُرهُ. ثُمَّ يُظهِرُ الحَسرَةَ عَلى ذلِكَ وَالنَّدَمَ.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 149, no. 176; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 261, no. 15.

دَخَلتُ عَلى أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام وَالحُسَينُ عليه السلام إلى جَنبِهِ، فَضَرَبَ بِيَدِهِ عَلى كَتِفِ الحُسَينِ عليه السلام، ثُمَّ قالَ: إنَّ هذا يُقتَلُ ولا يَنصُرُهُ أحَدٌ.
قالَ: قُلتُ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، وَاللهِ إنَّ تِلكَ لَحَياةُ سَوءٍ! قالَ: إنَّ ذلِكَ لَكائِنٌ.

'Ali (a) said to him, "O Ḥārith! Do you know that since yesterday I have been distressed, sorrowful, anxious, and apprehensive?"

Al-Ḥārith replied, "Why is that so, O Commander of the Faithful? Are you regretting the wars with the people of Syria, Basra, and Nahrawān?"

He said, "No, woe be on you, O Ḥārith! I am pleased about that; but I saw the land of Karbala in my dream, and I saw my son al-Ḥusayn lying on the earth, slaughtered and headless! And I saw that the trees had been uprooted, the skies cleaved open, and the provisions strewn about. I heard a caller calling out in between the heavens and the earth, saying, 'Do you seek to scare us, O killers of al-Ḥusayn? May God scare you and kill you!'

"Then I woke up, and since then I am distressed at what I saw."

Al-Ḥārith said, "Never, O Commander of the Faithful! Nothing but good will happen [to him]."

But 'Ali (a) said to him, "No, O Ḥārith, the word of God has passed, and it has become decree; indeed, my beloved, Muhammad (s), informed me that my son al-Ḥusayn will be killed by Yazīd, may God prolong his punishment in hellfire."[1]

2. The accursed one from this nation shall behead al-Ḥusayn (a)

64. *al-Futūḥ*, quoting Zuhayr ibn al-Arqam: After 'Ali (a) was struck by Ibn Muljim's sword, I came to see him. When I entered, he was hugging al-Ḥusayn (a) to his chest and kissing him, saying to him, "O light of my eyes, O fruit of the heart of the Prophet of God, and his representative, O treasure of the best of mankind, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh! It is as if I see you slaughtered mercilessly soon."

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 2, p. 553.

لما رجع علي عليه السلام من صفين وفرغ من أهل النهروان، دخل عليه الأعور الهمداني،

فقال له علي عليه السلام: يا حارث، أعلمت أني منذ البارحة ألفيت حزين فزع وجل؟

فقال له الحارث: ولم ذلك يا أمير المؤمنين؟ ألندامة بعد على قتال أهل الشام وأهل البصرة والنهروان؟

فقال: لا، ويحك يا حارث، ولكن بالبارحة سررت، ولكني رأيت في منامي أرض كربلاء، ورأيت ابني الحسين مذبوحاً مطروحاً على وجه الأرض، ورأيت الأشجار منكبة، والسماء منشقة، والوسائل متطايرة، وسمعت منادياً ينادي بين السماء والأرض وهو يقول: أترهبونا يا قتلة الحسين، أرهبكم الله وقتلكم!

ثم إني انتبهت وأنا منه على وجل لما رأيت، فقال له الحارث: كلا يا أمير المؤمنين لا يكون إلا خيراً.

فقال له علي عليه السلام: هيهات يا حارث، سبقت كلمة الله وكان قضاؤه، ولقد أخبرني حبيبي محمد صلى الله عليه وآله أن ابني يقتله يزيد، زاده الله في النار عذاباً.

I asked, "And who will slaughter him, O Commander of the Faithful?"

He said, "He will be slaughtered by the accursed one of this nation, and God will never forgive him. He will take his soul while he is full of wine, inebriated."

I [Zuhayr] began to weep.

ʿAlī (a) said to me, "Do not weep, O Zuhayr. That which He has decreed shall certainly come to pass."[1]

3. Sinān ibn Anas

65. ***Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*** **of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd**: ʿAlī (a) announced, "Ask me, before you lose me, for by God, you will not ask me about a group who mislead a hundred people, and guide a hundred, except that I will inform you of its promotor and its sponsor."

At that time, a man stood up and asked, "Tell me how many strands of hair I have in my head and beard."

ʿAlī (a) said to him, "By God, my friend [the Prophet (s)] informed me that for every strand of hair in your head there is an angel who curses you, and for every strand of hair in your beard there is a devil who misguides you. [Go home] for in your house there is a worthless child who will one day kill the son of the of God's Messenger (s)."

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 2, p. 344.

لما أصيب علي عليه السلام بضربة ابن ملجم دخلت عليه وقد ضم الحسين عليه السلام إلى صدره وهو يقبله ويقول له: يا قرة عيني ويا ثمرة نبي الله وخليفته ويا ذخيرة خير العالمين محمد بن عبد الله كأني بك وقد ذبحت عن قليل ذبحة بلا رحمة قال: فقلت: ومن يذبحه يا أمير المؤمنين؟

فقال: يذبحه لعين هذه الأمة، لا يتوب الله عليه ويقبضه الله إليه وهو ملآن من الخمر سكران.

قال زهير: فبكيت فقال لي علي عليه السلام: لا تبك يا زهير فالأمر أمضى كائن.

And his son, who was then still a crawling infant, grew up and became the killer of al-Ḥusayn (a). His name was Sinān ibn Anas.[1,2]

3/9: The prophecy of 'Alī (a) about the shrine of al-Ḥusayn (a) and those who come for his visitation (*ziyārah*)

66. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā (a)*, quoting his chain of narrators, from Imam 'Alī (a): It is as if I see large buildings built around the shrine of al-Ḥusayn, and it is as if I see caravans leaving Kufa and coming towards his grave. Not many days and nights shall pass before they

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[1] In his *al-Amālī* (p. 196, no. 207), al-Ṣadūq quotes the same report, attributing it to Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and says that the infant referred to was 'Umar ibn Sa'd. A similar report is found in *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* (p. 155, no. 191) and *Khaṣā'iṣ al-A'immah* (p. 62).

However, during the caliphate of Imam 'Alī (a), Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was dismissed as the governor of Kufa. He refused to give his allegiance to the Imam (a) and lived outside Kufa. Therefore, it is unlikely that he would attend the sermons of the Imam (a).

Furthermore, 'Umar ibn Sa'd is generally thought to have been born in 23/643, although some historians believe that he was born at the time of the Prophet (s) (*Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 21, p. 357). In either case, during the era that Imam 'Alī (a) was giving sermons in Kufa (between 36/656 and 40/661), he would not have been a crawling infant.

Based on this, what has been mentioned by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in his *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (vol. 2, p. 286), as reported from *Kitāb al-Ghārāt*, appears to be more correct. This is possibly why al-Mufīd does not mention the name of the questioner or the child in his report in his more precise work (*al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 330).

[2] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 2, p. 286; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 34, p. 297.

لما قال علي عليه السلام: سلوني قبل أن تفقدوني، فوالله لا تسألوني عن فئة تضل مائة وتهدي مائة إلا أنبأتكم بناعقها وسائقها، قام إليه رجل فقال: أخبرني بما في رأسي ولحيتي من طاقة شعر. فقال له علي عليه السلام: والله لقد حدثني خليلي أن على كل طاقة شعر من رأسك ملكاً يلعنك، وأن على كل طاقة شعر من لحيتك شيطاناً يغويك، وأن في بيتك سخلاً يقتل ابن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله.

وكان ابنه قاتل الحسين عليه السلام يومئذ طفلاً يحبو، وهو سنان بن أنس النخعي.

start to come to visit him from every direction. This will happen after the rule of the Banū Marwān comes to an end.'[1]

67. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting al-Ḥārith al-A'war, from Imam 'Alī (a): May my father and mother be sacrificed for al-Ḥusayn, who will be slain just beyond Kufa! By God, it is as if I see various wild animals turning their necks towards his grave, weeping for him and spending all night lamenting him; and when this comes to pass, beware that you do not abandon him.[2]

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[1] *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 48, no. 190; *Ṣaḥīfah al-Imām al-Riḍā (a)*, p. 248, no. 181.

كأني بالقصور قد شيدت حول قبر الحسين عليه السلام، وكأني بالمحامل تخرج من الكوفة إلى قبر الحسين، ولا تذهب الليالي والأيام حتى يسار إليه من الآفاق، وذلك عند انقطاع ملك بني مروان.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 165, no. 214; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 205, no. 9.

بأبي وأمي الحسين المقتول بظهر الكوفة، والله كأني أنظر إلى الوحوش مادة أعناقها على قبره من أنواع الوحش، يبكونه ويرثونه ليلاً حتى الصباح، فإذا كان ذلك فإياكم والجفاء.

PART 4: OTHER PROPHECIES ABOUT THE MARTYRDOM OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

4/1: The prophecy of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

68. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Mufaḍḍal ibn 'Umar, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, from his grandfather, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): One day, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a) came to al-Ḥasan (a), and when he saw him, he began to weep. Al-Ḥasan (a) asked him, "What makes you weep, O Abā 'Abd Allāh?"

He replied, "I weep at what will be done to you."

Al-Ḥasan (a) said to him, "What will be done to me is that I will be given poison by intrigue, and I shall die by it. But there shall be no day like your day, O Abā 'Abd Allāh! You will be surrounded by an army of 30,000 men, all alleging to be from the nation of our grandfather, Muḥammad (s), and claiming to be on the religion of Islam. They shall assemble to kill you, to spill your blood, to violate your sanctity, to take your women and children captives, and to seize your property. That is when the curse of God will descend on the Banū Umayyah; ash and blood shall rain from the skies, and every creature shall weep over you, even the wild beasts in the plains and the fish in the seas."

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1 al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 177, no. 179; *al-Malhūf*, p. 99.

إنّ الحسين بن عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام دخل يوماً إلى الحسن عليه السلام، فلمّا نظر إليه بكى، فقال له: ما يبكيك يا أبا عبد الله؟ قال: أبكي لما يصنع بك.

فقال له الحسن عليه السلام: إنّ الذي يؤتى إليّ سمّ يدسّ إليّ فأقتل به، ولكن لا يوم كيومك يا أبا عبد الله، يزدلف إليك ثلاثون ألف رجل، يدّعون أنّهم من أمّة جدّنا محمّد صلى الله عليه وآله، وينتحلون دين الإسلام، فيجتمعون على قتلك، وسفك دمك، وانتهاك حرمتك، وسبي ذراريك ونسائك، وانتهاب

4/2: The prophecy of Salmān about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

69. *al-Rijāl* of al-Kashshī, quoting al-Musayyib ibn Najabah al-Fazārī: When Salmān al-Fārisī was coming to us [the Kufans, as their governor], I was amongst the people who went out to welcome him. When he reached Karbala, he asked, "What is this place called?" He was told, "Karbala."

He said, "This is the place where my brothers will be killed. This is where they will keep their provisions, this is the place where they will stable their mounts, and this is the place where their blood will be spilt. The best of the earlier generations were killed in this land, and the best of the later generations shall be killed here also."[1]

4/3: The prophecy of Abū Dharr about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

70. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr: I heard Abū Dharr on the day when 'Uthmān had banished him to Rabadhah,[2] and some people said to him, "O Abū Dharr! Be glad, for this exile is a small price to pay in the way of God, the Almighty."

He replied, "It is a very small price! But what will you say when al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) is killed?" – or he said "slaughtered."[3]

[illegible] قتل بني أمية الحسين، وأمطرت السماء دماً وماءً، وبكى عليه كل شيء حتى الوحوش في الفلوات، والحيتان في البحار.

[1] *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 1, p. 79, no. 46; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 22, p. 386, no. 25.

لما أتانا سلمان الفارسي قادماً تلقيناه فيمن تلقاه، فسار حتى انتهى إلى كربلاء، فقال: ما تسمون هذه؟ قالوا: كربلاء، فقال: هذه مصارع إخواني، هذا موضع رحالهم، وهذا مناخ ركابهم، وهذا مهراق دمائهم، قتل بها خير الأولين، ويقتل بها خير الآخرين.

[2] See Map 3.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 153, no. 190; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 219, no. 47.

سمعت أبا ذر وهو يومئذ قد أخرجه عثمان إلى الربذة، فقال له الناس: يا أبا ذر، أبشر فهذا قليل في الله تعالى.

فقال: ما أيسر هذا، ولكن كيف أنتم إذا قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام قتلاً - أو قال: ذبحاً.

4/4: The prophecy of Ibn 'Abbās about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

71. *Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, quoting Ibn 'Abbās: We, and many of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), were in no doubt that al-Ḥusayn (a) would be killed in al-Ṭaff.[1]

4/5: The prophecy of companions of Imam 'Alī (a) about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

72. *al-Irshād*, quoting **'Abd Allāh ibn Sharīk al-'Āmirī**: Whenever 'Umar *ibn* Sa'd entered the door of the mosque [of Kufa], I would hear the companions of 'Alī (a) remark, "This is the man who will kill al-Ḥusayn *ibn* 'Alī (a)" – and this was a long time before he was slain.[2]

A study of the reports foretelling the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

As we have mentioned, the Prophet (s), members of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), and several companions continuously foretold the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

Their accounts contain several other details of the event, apart from the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a) itself, such as the date and place of the martyrdom, the names of those who would take part in his killing, their leaders, and those who would refrain from helping him.

There are some points worthy of mention about these prophecies.

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[1] *Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 197, no. 4826; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 160.

ما كنا نشك وأهل البيت متوافرون أن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام يقتل بالطف.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 132; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 221.

كنت أسمع أصحاب علي عليه السلام إذا دخل عمر بن سعد من باب المسجد يقولون: هذا قاتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، وذلك قبل قتله بزمان.

1. The reliability of the sources

The reports and accounts about the foretelling of the event of Karbala are so many that any objective researcher would be satisfied that they originate from the Prophet (s) and the Ahl al-Bayt (a), even though some of the details may be difficult to ascertain.

2. The basis of the prophecies

The main source of the prophecies related to the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the Prophet of God (s) *himself*, and consequently, they are based on the instruction and revelation of God, the Almighty. Regardless of whether others have acknowledged it or not, the original report was received from the Prophet (s).

3. The awareness of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) about the outcome of his stand

By studying these reports, all doubts whether Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) chose the path of martyrdom with knowledge and awareness are dispelled; as for why Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) made his stand knowing that he would be martyred, that will become clear when we discuss the reasons for his stand.

4. Destiny does not negate the principle of human free will

From some of the reports, it can be deduced that the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was irrevocably decreed by God. When the Prophet (s) was discussing the matter with Jibra'il, and he enquired if what was destined for al-Ḥusayn (a) could be changed, Jibra'il answered in the negative, saying, "No, it is a matter already written by God."[1]

Here, this question is worthy of consideration: if the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was a matter already decreed, and foretold numerous times, what was the fault of the perpetrators?

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[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 191, no. 3536.

لأمر قد كتبه الله

The answer is as follows. Firstly, this report [about the unalterable decree] is not reliable according to its chain of transmission. Secondly, even if the chain of transmission can be assumed to be sound, Islamic theology holds that everything that happens in the world is based on the decree of God; however, the decree of God, the Almighty, does not contradict the principle of human free will. In fact, man's freedom to choose is itself part of God's decree.

Therefore, what is meant when we say that the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was written, decreed, and irrevocable, is that God, in His eternal knowledge, knew that the event would definitely occur, due to the abuse of their free will by a group of corrupt people. Based on the immutable system in creation, such a result would be inevitable.[1]

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[1] For a more detailed discussion, see *Dānishnāmih-yi ʿAqāʾid-i Islāmī*, vol. 8, part 2 (*ʿAdālat va Qaḍā va Qadr*).

PART 5: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE EVENT OF KARBALA[1]

The presence of women and their roles in the event of Karbala are worth of study and analysis, because Ashura called for the entire nation to apply Islamic teachings in the most trying circumstances. As we look at the accounts of some outstanding women, we will be able to appreciate the power of women, their role, and their natural potentials.

The issue of women and Ashura began to receive the attention of Shi'i thinkers in the second half of the last century, when the rights and role of women become an important discussion in the modern world. These thinkers proceeded to introduce prominent women from Islamic history and recount their contributions so that they could present examples from religious figures as a counter to the attraction of Muslim women towards the undesirable Western culture.

Shahīd Murtaḍā Muṭahharī is perhaps one of the first Shi'i scholars to seriously address the role of women in the event of Karbala. In his work, *Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī*, he emphasizes that the revolution of Ashura was achieved through the contributions of both men and women. He says in this regard:

> The history of Karbala is a story and account of both men and women. It is an incident in which men and women jointly contributed, according to their respective scope of activity. This is the miracle of Islam; whether the modern world accepts it or not, the future will attest to it. Abū 'Abd Allāh (a) set out with his womenfolk so that they could [also] convey a message in this great movement of history; this was achieved

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[1] This chapter was written in collaboration with the esteemed scholar Shaykh Mahdī al-Mahrīzī.

> by their direct contribution under the able leadership of Zaynab (a), and without going beyond their scope.[1]

His words paved the way for *Shīʿī* writers to write about this subject, and many books and articles in this field were produced afterwards.

Among the topics that deserve to be studied and analysed in this work about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the role of women in the event of Ashura. Although the accounts of the contributions of women are found in separate places and incidents, we will study and analyse them together in this section.

We will first mention themes that are useful for an introductory and general analysis, and then mention the accounts that have been reported concerning women.

Introduction and analysis

The role of women in the event of Ashura is not just confined to the ladies who accompanied Imam al-Husayn (a) on his journey to Karbala. In fact, many women played a role before and after the event in different cities, such as Medina, Kufa, Damascus and Basra.

Keeping this in mind, the role of a total of thirty-six women will be mentioned. However, since many incidents involved several women, their total number must be undoubtedly more.

It is also worth mentioning the role of women in various periods after the event of Karbala, for example:

1. The establishment of gatherings of mourning (*ʿazādārī*) and the recital of the tragedy (*maqtal*) by women.
2. The construction of centres of worship (*al-takāyā*) and mourning of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) (*al-ḥusayniyyāt*) by women
3. Religious trusts (mortmain, *mawqūfāt*) set up by women for holding mourning assemblies
4. The poetry by women about the events of Ashura
5. Books written by woman about the event of Ashura
6. Speeches and sayings by women about Ashura

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[1] *Ḥamāsah-yi Ḥusaynī*, p. 408.

A proper analysis of these contributions is outside the scope of this work but is deserving of serious study.

There are other considerations that are relevant when researching the nature and aspects of the role of women in the event of Ashura. In this regard we can ask the following questions: what was the extent of the social and political role of women in that era? Could the event of Karbala have had the same effect as it does today without the part played by women? What was the society's view of the role of women in that era? And what were the activities of women of that time?

From an analysis of the statements and actions of the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a), the role of women in the event of Karbala can be listed as follows.

1. Delivering a message

The sermons of Zaynab (a), Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥusayn (a), and their conversation with people upon their return, as well as the accounts of women about what transpired in Karbala, all highlight their role in communicating the message of Ashura.

2. Participation in the battle

Some women participated in the Battle of Karbala. They inflicted some harm to the enemy, and some were injured or even martyred. Examples of these ladies include: Umm Wahab, the wife of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr al-Kalbī, the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAfīf; a woman from the tribe of Bakr ibn Wāʾil; and Asmāʾ, the wife of al-Mukhtār, who was martyred for supporting him.

3. Raising morale

Many reports on Ashura speak of how mothers, sisters, and wives encouraged their men to fight, or saw them off to the battlefield. Among them was Dulhum, the wife of Zuhayr; the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAfīf; and also the mother of ʿAmr ibn Junādah.

4. Rebuking and criticising the aggression of their menfolk

Some of the wives of the enemy rebuked and criticized their men for being part of the army of darkness and oppression. They denounced them, expressed anger at their conduct, and did not treat them with respect. Some examples are: Marjānah, the mother of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād; al-Nawār, the wife of Khawlī; Hind, the wife of Yazīd; 'Ātikah, the daughter of Yazīd; Umm 'Abd Allāh, the wife of Mālik ibn Nusayr; Asmā', the wife of al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah [the governor of Medina]; and al-Nawār, the wife [or sister] of Ka'b, the killer of Burayr.

5. Sheltering and supporting the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Several women stand out, both before and after the event of Karbala, for their support for the army of truth, the army of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions. Some examples are: Ṭaw'ah, who gave refuge to Muslim; Māriyah, from the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays, whose house was a meeting place for the followers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Basra; and the woman who gave refuge to the two children from the household of the Imam (a).

6. Taking charge

The role of Lady Zaynab (a) in the event of Karbala, and especially in the afternoon and night of Ashura, is a shining example of the competent management of affairs in the most difficult circumstances. She took charge of the dispirited and broken-hearted women with dignity, patience, and forbearance, until she brought them safely back to Medina.

Perhaps the statement by Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) about his aunt, when he said, "By God's grace, you possess knowledge without being taught by anyone, and you possess understanding, without being instructed by anyone," is an allusion to his appreciation of her role in managing the women [on this arduous journey].[1]

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[1] أنت بحمد الله عالمة غير معلمة و فهمة غير مفهمة

7. Propagating the emotional and tragic dimension of the event of Karbala

The role of women through their establishment of gatherings of mourning after the event of Ashura, where the tragedy was recounted and elegies were recited, immortalized the memory of Karbala in the minds of the people in subsequent generations.

The public mourning of Umm al-Banin, al-Rabāb, Umm Luqmān bint 'Aqīl, the women of Banū Hāshim, the womenfolk of Yazīd and Mu'āwiyah, and the women of Kufa and Medina all served to propagate the tragedy of the event and expose the criminal acts of the Umayyads.

Another factor which merits consideration when analysing the role of women in the event of Ashura, and which is of great importance in our times, is to look at whether the role of women and men was limited by their gender. To understand this perspective, we can ask questions such as: did women participate in the battle against the enemies of Imam al-Husayn (a)? Did some women attempt to dissuade the Imam (a) from going to Iraq, as has been reported about some men who did so, like Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiyyah? What were the contrasting roles of men and women? Is there a difference in the way that men and women looked at the events of Karbala, such as martyrdom, captivity, the revolution against the oppressors, etc.?

Interestingly, we find that, in general, women supported the path of truth, and we do not find negative reports about their conduct in the sources. On the other hand, men played both positive and negative roles in the event.

This observation can be used to counter some negative views about women, which consider them the source of all evil and sedition.

Historical accounts about women

Since most of the accounts concerning women are mentioned in some detail later in this work, we will confine ourselves to a brief and general mention of them in this section. We will begin with the esteemed ladies from the household of God's Messenger (s), and then mention other women in [Arabic] alphabetical order:

1. Umm al-Banin

She was Fāṭimah al-Kilābiyyah, the mother of four heroic sons of the Commander of the Faithful (a): al-'Abbās and his three brothers, 'Abd Allāh, 'Uthmān, and Ja'far. Thus, she was called Umm al-Banin, the mother of sons. In *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, we read:

> Umm al-Banin was the mother of these four martyred brothers. She would go out to al-Baqī', and mourn for her brave sons, lamenting over the heartburning loss. People would gather around her to listen to her words. Marwān [ibn al-Ḥakam] would also come and listen to her lament and weep.[1]

2. Umm Salamah

Umm Salamah, the esteemed wife of the Prophet (s), who was deeply devoted to the Ahl al-Bayt (a), was aware of the movement of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his [impending] martyrdom. The Prophet (s) had entrusted some soil of Karbala to her and had informed her that when the soil was transformed to fresh blood, it would mean that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) has been martyred.

Umm Salamah spoke to the Imam (a) before his departure and became aware of his martyrdom on the day of Ashura when she saw the Prophet (s) in her dream and when she saw the soil, which she had preserved in a phial, transform into fresh blood.

She was amongst the first to establish the mourning for Sayyid al-Shuhadā'.[2]

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[1] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, p. 90.

كانت أم البنين أم هؤلاء الأربعة الإخوة القتلى، تخرج إلى البقيع، فتندب بنيها أشجى ندبة و أحرقها، فيجتمع الناس إليها يسمعون منها، فكان مروان يجيء فيمن يجيء لذلك، فلا يزال يسمع ندبتها و يبكي

[2] Narrations about these are discussed elsewhere in this work.

3. Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Imam ʿAlī (a)

The name of Umm Kulthūm is mentioned in many events of Karbala, both during and after it.[1] It is not possible to know for certain whether the Umm Kulthūm who witnessed the event of Karbala is Zaynab (a) herself, or is another daughter of Imam ʿAlī (a) and Fāṭimah (a), or the daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (a) from a wife other than Fāṭimah (a).

4. Al-Rabāb, the wife of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Al-Rabāb is the loyal wife of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) who was the mother of Sukaynah and the infant ʿAbd Allāh, the child who was martyred in the arms of the Imam (a).

Imam al-Ḥusayn's (a) love for her is illustrated by the poetry he composed about her and her daughter Sukaynah, where he says:

> I swear by your life! I love a house,
>
> In which reside Sukaynah and al-Rabāb,
>
> I love them both, and would give away all my wealth [for them],
>
> And let no one admonish me for that.

It is reported that al-Rabāb was a beautiful and intelligent woman. She was a woman of great merit and an accomplished poetess. She lived for only one year after the martyrdom of her husband Abā ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a), her children, and other close relatives. During this period, she never took shade under a roof. According to some reports, she remained next to the grave of the Imam (a).

An account says that she received many proposals of marriage and rejected them all, saying, "I would never take another father-in-law after God's Messenger (s)." She did not remarry and lived for one year after him (a). During that time, she did not sit in the shade of the house. Finally, she became ill, and passed away in sorrow.[2]

Her house was demolished by Yazīd's governor in Medina.

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[1] For example, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 111; *Kāmil Bahāʾī*, p. 302. She is also discussed later in this work.

[2] She is discussed later in this work.

She composed a heart-breaking elegy in memory of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), a part of which is reproduced below:

> The one who was a beacon that everyone relied on for illumination,
>
> Was slain in Karbala, and left unburied.
>
> O grandson of the Prophet, may God reward you with goodness,
>
> On our behalf. And may your scales of actions (*mawāzīn*) not be light.
>
> For me, you were like an unshakable mountain in which I found protection,
>
> And you looked after us with mercy and religious conviction.
>
> [Now] who is there for the orphans, and who is there for the destitute, and who
>
> Will give shelter to the impoverished and make them needless?
>
> I swear by God, I shall not desire to have another husband after you,
>
> Until I am covered between the sand and the earth.[1]

5. Ruqayyah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

We have mentioned the account of this young girl in this book.

6. The women of Banū 'Aqīl

The daughters of 'Aqīl, whose family had sacrificed martyrs of Banū 'Aqīl in both Kufa and Karbala, lamented with heartrending elegies when the caravan of survivors from the household of the Prophet (s) returned to Medina.

Al-Mufīd reports in his *al-Irshād*:

> When Umm Luqmān, the daughter of 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, heard the announcement of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a), she came out lamenting, accompanied by her sisters Umm Hāni', Asmā', Ramlah, and Zaynab, the daughters of 'Aqīl, may God be pleased with them. She wept over her relatives who were martyred on the plains of al-Ṭaff, saying:
>
> > What would you all say if the Prophet asked you,
> >
> > "What have you done, O last of the nations,
> >
> > To my offspring and my household after my departure?

---

[1] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 16, p. 149.

> Some of them were taken prisoners, and some of them were bathed in blood.
> This is not [fair] recompense for my guidance to you,
> That you repay me by doing evil to my blood kin!"[1]

7. The women of Banū Hāshim

The women of Banū Hashim wept over al-Ḥusayn (a) for many years, and played an important role in immortalising the remembrance of the martyrs and the condemnation of the criminals. The author of *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt* has included a report from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) that, "None of our women used dye or oil, or applied kohl, or arranged their hair, until the head of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was brought. Even after that our tears did not cease."[2]

Similarly, it has been mentioned in *al-Maḥāsin*, reporting from 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), "After al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was slain, the women of Banū Hashim used to wear coarse black clothes. They did not complain of heat or cold. When they gathered to mourn, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) would prepare food for them."[3]

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 124.

خرجت أم لقمان بنت عقيل بن أبي طالب حين سمعت نعي الحسين عليه السلام حاسرة و معها أخواتها، أم هانئ و أسماء و رملة و زينب، بنات عقيل بن أبي طالب رحمة الله عليهن تبكي قتلاها بالطف و هي تقول:

ماذا تقولون إن قال النبي لكم   ماذا فعلتم و أنتم آخر الأمم
بعترتي و بأهلي بعد مفتقدي   منهم أسارى و منهم ضرجوا بدم
ما كان هذا جزائي إذ نصحت لكم   أن تخلفوني بسوء في ذوي رحمي

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 167, no. 219.

ما اختضبت منا امرأة، ولا ادهنت، ولا اكتحلت، ولا رجلت، حتى أتانا رأس عبيد الله بن زياد، وما زلنا في عبرة بعده.

[3] *al-Maḥāsin*, vol. 2, p. 195, no. 1564.

لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام، لبسن نساء بني هاشم السواد والمسوح، وكن لا يشتكين من حر ولا برد، وكان علي بن الحسين عليهما السلام يعمل لهن الطعام للمأتم.

8. Zaynab al-Kubrā (a)

Zaynab (a) was a partner to her brother al-Ḥusayn (a) in his stand and revolution from its inception. Throughout his journey, she was his supporter, aide, and trusted confidante. Her conversation with the Imam (a) on the night of Ashura, her presence at the bodies of 'Alī al-Akbar (a) and the Doyen of Martyrs (a) on the day of Ashura, her sorrowful lament next to the blood-soaked body of her brother (a), and her heartrending address to the Prophet (a) on the eleventh day of the Muharram are all highlights of her life, which was full of greatness, forbearance, and dignity.

In the aftermath of the day of Ashura, she efficiently took charge of the survivors, and discharged her duty with courage, determination, and competence.

9. Sukaynah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

She was about nine years old in Karbala, and newly married. Her husband, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan (a), was martyred in Karbala. Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had great love for her, and had expressed his love for her in his poetry.

She was amongst the captives taken to Kufa and Damascus, before she returned to Medina, where she lived till she passed away.

She had an influential role during her captivity, an example of which is when she addressed Yazīd, saying, "O Yazīd! You dared to make the daughters of God's Messenger (s) prisoners?" On hearing this, the people in Yazīd's assembly were greatly distressed.

Sakina was well-mannered, beautiful, and chaste. She was knowledgeable about poetry and literature, and a narrator of hadith. The elders of Quraysh would consult her, and poets would frequently visit her.

10. Fāṭimah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥasan (a)

She was the wife of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), the mother of Imam al-Bāqir (a), and the grandmother of the subsequent Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). It has been narrated from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) about her, "She was a veracious women (*ṣiddīqah*), and no woman from the progeny of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) matched her status."[1]

She was amongst the captives who were transported on the difficult journey from Karbala.

11. Fāṭimah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

She is the elder daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the wife of al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā, the son of Imam al-Ḥasan (a). Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) said about her, "She most closely resembles my mother, Fāṭimah, the daughter of God's Messenger (s)."[2]

Her husband was wounded in Karbala and placed among the martyrs. However, after the battle was over, it was discovered that he was still alive. Some of his maternal uncles in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd prevented the soldiers from killing him.

Fāṭimah was taken to Kufa and Damascus with the rest of the captives. She has recounted some of the events related to the attack on the tents and the assembly of Yazīd.

A sermon in Kufa is attributed to her.[3]

12. Fāṭimah, the daughter of Imam 'Alī (a)

She was also called Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrā (the younger). She witnessed the events of Karbala with her martyred husband Abū Sa'īd ibn 'Aqīl. Thereafter, she was one of the captives amongst the womenfolk of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

She is one of the narrators of the events of Karbala.[4]

13. Asmā', the wife of al-Mukhtār

Ya'qūbī reports in his *Tārīkh*:

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[1] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 469, no. 1.

أنّها كانت صدّيقة لم تدرك في آل الحسن امرأة مثلها.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 25.

هي أكثرهما شبهاً بأمّي فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

[3] See ch. 5, part 6.

[4] See ch. 5, part 6.

> Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr captured Asmā' bint al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, the wife of al-Mukhtār. He asked her, "What do you say about al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd?" She replied [defiantly], "I say he was pious, pure, and given to fasting often." Muṣ'ab exclaimed, "O enemy of God! Are you one of those who praise him?" He ordered for her neck to be struck. She was the first woman to be beheaded for her steadfastness.[1]

14. Asmā', the wife of al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah

Ibn Sa'd reports in his *al-Ṭabaqāt*:

> The husband of Asmā' [al-Walīd], who was the governor of Medina, called Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to a meeting where he asked for his oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) for Yazīd. An argument ensued between him and the Imam (a). When the governor returned home, his wife admonished and reprimanded him because of his harsh words to the Imam (a).[2]

15. Umm 'Abd Allāh, the wife of Mālik ibn al-Nusayr

Mālik ibn Nusayr was among those who attacked the Imam (a). After he struck the Imam (a) on the head, he plundered his helmet [or protective head covering]. [Later] he carried it with him to his home and presented it as a gift to his wife. She was greatly distressed on receiving it.

16. Umm Wahab, the wife of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umayr al-Kalbī

She is the only woman who achieved martyrdom in Karbala. When her brave husband announced his intention to join the army of the

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 264.

أن مصعب بن زبير أخذ أسماء بنت النعمان بن بشير امرأة المختار، فقال لها: ما تقولين في المختار بن أبي عبيد؟ قالت: أقول: إنه كان تقياً، نقياً صواماً. قال: يا عدوة الله، أنت ممن يزكيه؟ فأمر بها فضرب عنقها، و كانت أول امرأة ضرب عنقها صبراً.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 442; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 424; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 206; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2607.

جاء في الطبقات لابن سعد: أن زوج أسماء الذي كان والياً على المدينة طلب في مجلس له من الإمام الحسين عليه السلام أن يبايع يزيد، فحدثت مشاجرة بينه وبين الإمام عليه السلام، و عندما رجع الوالي إلى داره، لامته زوجته و عاتبته لأنه كان قد أساء القول مع الإمام الحسين عليه السلام.

Imam (a), she encouraged him and asked him to take her with him. Al-Ṭabarī reports the account of this lady on the day of Ashura in the following words:

> His wife Umm Wahab took a tent pole and went towards her husband ['Abd Allāh], saying to him, "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! Fight for the righteous ones from the offspring of Muhammad (s)!" He came towards her, intending to send her back to the women, but she held on to his clothes and declared, "I shall not leave before I die along with you."
>
> Al-Ḥusayn (a) called out to her, "May you be rewarded with goodness due to [your love for] the Ahl al-Bayt. May God have mercy on you, return to the women and sit with them. Women do not have to fight." So she went back to them...
>
> Al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions were attacked from every side. At this time 'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī was killed.... His wife walked out towards her husband and sat at his head. She wiped the dust from him, saying, "Congratulations on reaching paradise."
>
> Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan instructed his slave, a man called Rustam, "Hit her head with a pole." He struck her head, splitting it open. She died where she sat.[1]

It is worth mentioning that al-Ṣadūq has reported an account about another Umm Wahab in his *al-Amālī* that bears some similarities as well as differences with the account of al-Ṭabarī. Some researchers believe that they are both about the same woman.[2] If that is the case, our opinion is that the report of al-Ṭabari is more sound. In any case, a portion of al-Ṣadūq's accounts is as follows:

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 430, and p. 438.

أخذت أم وهب امرأته عمودا ثم أقبلت نحو زوجها تقول له: فداك أبي و أمي قاتل دون الطيبين ذرية محمد صلى الله عليه وآله. فأقبل إليها يردها نحو النساء، فأخذت تجاذب ثوبه ثم قالت: إني لن أدعك دون أن أموت معك.

فناداها حسين عليه السلام فقال: جزيتم من أهل بيت خيرا، ارجعي رحمك الله إلى النساء فاجلسي معهن فإنه ليس على النساء قتال. فانصرفت إليهن... وحمل على حسين عليه السلام و أصحابه من كل جانب فقتل الكلبي... و خرجت امرأة الكلبي تمشي إلى زوجها حتى جلست عند رأسه تمسح عنه التراب و تقول: هنيئا لك الجنة. فقال شمر بن ذي الجوشن لغلام يسمى رستم: اضرب رأسها بالعمود، فضرب رأسها فشدخه فماتت مكانها.

[2] See *Qāmūs al-Rijāl*, vol. 10, p. 448, p. 450, and p. 456.

> Wahab ibn Wahab entered the battlefield... He used to be a Christian, but he and his mother had reverted to Islam at the hands of al-Ḥusayn (a) and followed him to Karbala.
>
> He mounted a horse, and, armed with a tent pole, attacked the enemy, killing seven or eight men before he was captured.
>
> He was brought before the accursed 'Umar *ibn* Sa'd, who ordered his head to be struck off and thrown towards the army of al-Ḥusayn (a). His mother took his sword, intending to go to fight. Al-Ḥusayn (a) restrained her saying, "O Umm Wahab! Sit down, for God has taken away the responsibility of jihad from women. You and your son shall be in the company of my grandfather, Muḥammad (s), in paradise."[1]

In his *Maqtal*, al-Khwārazmi mentions the account of Umm Wahab ibn Wahab, the Christian (al-Naṣrāni) being killed by a slave of Shimr. It is very similar to the account of al-Ṭabari about Umm Wahab, the wife of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umayr al-Kalbi.[2]

17. The daughter of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Afīf

When her venerable and courageous father, 'Abd Allāh *ibn* 'Afīf al-Azdi criticized Ibn Ziyad in the mosque of Kufa, later the officers of 'Ubayd Allāh raided his house. She was a loyal helper and supporter of her father. She informed him of the attack, then brought his sword and handed it to him. She guided him about the direction from which the enemy was coming and remained with him until he was martyred.

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, al-Amālī, p. 225, no. 239.

وبرز... وهب بن وهب، وكان نصرانيا أسلم على يدي الحسين عليه السلام هو وأمه فاتبعوه إلى كربلاء، فركب فرساً وتناول بيده عود الفسطاط، فقاتل وقتل من القوم سبعة أو ثمانية ثم استؤسر.

فأتي به عمر بن سعد لعنه الله فأمر بضرب عنقه، فضربت عنقه ورمي به إلى عسكر الحسين عليه السلام، وأخذت أمه سيفه وبرزت.

فقال لها الحسين عليه السلام: يا أم وهب اجلسي فقد وضع الله الجهاد عن النساء، إنك وابنك مع جدي محمد صلى الله عليه وآله في الجنة.

[2] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 12.

18. Dulhum, the wife of Zuhayr

Her husband Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn, who did not have a close relationship with the Ahl al-Bayt (a) before, was encouraged by Dulhum to meet Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). As a result, he went on to become one of the most prominent companions of the Imam (a), and one of the renowned martyrs in Karbala. According to some reports, when she bid farewell to her husband, she asked that he remember her when he stood before the grandfather of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

19. Riyā, the nursing mother of Yazīd

This woman recounted some of the crimes of Yazīd despite her old age. It is mentioned in *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*[1], quoting Ḥamzah bin Yazīd:

> Riyā said, "A man came before Yazīd, and said: 'Receive good news. God has made you prevail over al-Ḥusayn', and he brought his head and placed it on a tray..." I asked her, "Did he poke at his teeth with a cane?" She replied, "Yes, by God!"

20. The women of the household of Yazīd and Mu'āwiyah

These women did not support Yazīd's actions, and sympathized with the household of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). In this regard, al-Ṣadūq mentions in his *al-Amālī*:

> The womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a) were brought before Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. [On seeing them,] the womenfolk of Yazīd and the daughters of Mu'āwiyah and his family cried out in dismay, and began to wail and lament.[2]

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[1] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 319.

قالت ريّا: دخل رجل على يزيد فقال: أبشر، فقد أمكنك الله من الحسين وجيء برأسه. قال: فوضع في طست، فقلت لها: أقرع ثناياه بقضيب؟ قالت: إي والله.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 230, no. 242.

أُدخل نساء الحسين عليه السلام على يزيد بن معاوية، فصحن نساء آل يزيد و بنات معاوية و أهله، و ولولن و أقمن المأتم

21. The women of Kufa

The women of Kufa wept bitterly when they saw the captives from the household of the Prophet (s). They expressed their emotions with tears, grief, and acts of sorrow. According to a report in *Balāghat al-Nisā'*, quoting Ḥadhām (or Ḥadhīm) al-Asadī:

> I came to Kufa in 61/680, the year in which al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed. On that day I saw the women of the Kufa slap their faces [in sorrow] and rend their collars.[1]
>
> *Al-Malhūf* reports:
>
> The voices of the people rose as they wept, wailed, and lamented. The women exposed their hair, poured dust over their heads, scratched their faces, slapped their cheeks, and cried out in grief and sorrow. Never before had men and women wept as they did on that day.[2]

22. The women of Medina

When the freed captives of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) reached the entrance to Medina, the men and women of the city came out [to meet them]. They were full of sorrow and weeping bitterly as they offered their condolences to the household of the Prophet (s).

Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes Bashīr as saying, "I had never seen men and women mourn more than they did on that day. The Muslims had not seen a more bitter day since the passing of God's Messenger (s)."[3]

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[1] *Balāghat al-Nisā'*, p. 27.

قدمت الكوفة سنة إحدى و ستين، و هي السنة التي قتل فيها الحسين عليه السلام، فرأيت عليه السلام نساء أهل الكوفة يومئذ يلتدمن مشققات الجيوب.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 198.

فضج الناس بالبكاء و النحيب و النوح، و نشر النساء شعورهن و حثين التراب على رؤوسهن و خمشن وجوههن، و لطمن خدودهن، و دعون بالويل و الثبور، فلم ير باكية و باك أكثر من ذلك اليوم.

[3] *al-Malhūf*, p. 227.

فلم أر باكياً و لا باكية أكثر من ذلك اليوم، و لا يوماً أمرّ على المسلمين منه بعد وفاة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

23. Women who reported about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from the Prophet (s)

Based on his knowledge of hidden matters, the Prophet (s) had given information to some people about various aspects of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the event of Karbala. The women who heard these prophecies from the Prophet (s) and narrated them later were: Umm Salamah, Salmā the wife of Abū Rāfi', Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, Ṣafiyyah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and 'Ā'ishah bint Abū Bakr.

24. The women of Karbala

According to the account of Ibn Ṭāwūs, when the freed captives of the household of the Prophet (s) passed through Karbala on their return from Syria, they held mourning assemblies there for some days.

The women living around Karbala joined the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in those commemorations.[1]

25. The women of the clans of Hamdān, Kahlān, Rabī'ah, and al-Nukha'

Mas'ūdī reports in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*:

> After the death of Yazīd, the people of Kufa refused to accept the authority of the Banū Umayyah and the governorship of Ibn Ziyād. The wanted a leader who would have their interests at heart. A group suggested that 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ would improve their affairs, but when they were about to appoint him, some women of Hamdān, and others from the clans of Kahlān, Anṣār, Rabī'ah, and al-Nukha' came to the Grand Mosque, wailing, weeping and lamenting over al-Ḥusayn (a), saying, "Is 'Amr ibn Sa'd not satisfied with the killing of al-Ḥusayn that he now wants to rule over us as the governor of Kufa as well?" The people began to weep and turned away from 'Amr. The women of Hamdān played an important part in that decision.

Imam 'Alī (a) had always been disposed towards the people of Hamdān and spoke kindly about them. He is quoted as saying:

> If I had been a doorman at the doors of paradise,

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 225.

> I would say to Hamdān, "Enter in peace."[1]

26. A Kufan woman

The following has been reported about a woman whose name has not been recorded in history:

> When the captives were brought to Kufa, a Kufan woman called out from a balcony, "Which captives are you?" The woman replied, "We are the captives from the household of Muhammad (s)." [On hearing this] she came down and brought cloaks, dresses, and head scarves for them so that they could cover themselves.[2]

27. A woman from the tribe of Bakr ibn Wā'il

It has been mentioned about her that she came out to defend the household of the Prophet (s).

> Ḥumayd ibn Muslim reports:
>
> I saw a woman from the tribe of Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, who was with her husband in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. When she saw that the people had forced their way into the tents of the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a), and were rifling through them, she grabbed a sword and approached the tents, saying, "O men of Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, will the daughters of God's Messenger be plundered [while you do nothing]? There is no authority

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[1] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 99.

فضج أهل الكوفة بعد يومه - والتامت بنو أمية و إمارة ابن زياد، و أرادوا أن يتخذوا لهم أميراً إلى أن ينظروا في أمرهم، فقال جماعة: عمرو بن سعد بن أبي وقاص يصلح لها. فلما هموا بتأميره أقبل نساء من همدان و غيرهن من نساء كهلان و الأنصار و ربيعة و النخع، حتى دخلن المسجد الجامع صارخات باكيات معولات يندبن الحسين، و يقلن: أما رضي عمرو بن سعد بقتل الحسين حتى أراد أن يكون أميراً علينا على الكوفة؟ فبكى الناس، و أعرضوا عن عمرو، و كان المبرزات في ذلك نساء همدان، و قد كان علي عليه السلام مائلاً إلى همدان مؤثراً لهم، و هو القائل:

فلو كنت بواباً على باب جنة　　لقلت لهمدان ادخلوا بسلام

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 190.

فأشرفت امرأة من الكوفة، وقالت: من أي الأسارى أنتن؟ فقلن: نحن أسارى آل محمد صلى الله عليه و آله. فنزلت وجمعت ملاءً وأزراً ومقانع، وأعطتهن فتغطين

> except that of God! Rise to protect the blood of God's Messenger!" Her husband stopped her and took her back to his camp.[1]

28. A woman who gave refuge to two children of the household of the Prophet (s)

We do not know the name of this noble lady who gave refuge to two children from the household of the Prophet (s) and tried to save thei lives. Ibn Sa'd reports in his *al-Ṭabaqāt* that she was the wife of 'Abd Allāh ibn Quṭbah al-Ṭā'ī [a soldier in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd]; Al-Ṣadūq writes in his *al-Amālī* that she was an old woman. The popular sources consider the boys to be the sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, while al-Ṣadūq writes in his *al-Amālī* that they were the sons of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl.

29. Ṭaw'ah

She was a brave and noble woman who gave shelter to Muslim in the most difficult circumstances, in which all his companions, even hi followers, deserted him, leaving him alone in Kufa. She hosted him and was not afraid of the consequences.

30. 'Ātikah bint Yazīd

A report in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* states:

> Yazīd sent the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to the women of his family. The head was taken by his daughter, 'Ātikah, who later became the mother of the caliph, Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik. She washed the head, oiled it, and perfumed it.
>
> Yazīd asked her, "What is all this?"

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 180.

فروى حميد بن مسلم قال: رأيت امرأة من بني بكر بن وائل كانت مع زوجها في أصحاب عمر بن سعد
فلما رأت القوم قد اقتحموا على نساء الحسين عليه السلام في فسطاطهن وهم يسلبونهن أخذت سيفاً
وأقبلت نحو الفسطاط، وقالت: يا آل بكر بن وائل، أتسلب بنات رسول الله ﷺ؟ لا حكم إلا لله، يا لثارات
رسول الله! فأخذها زوجها فردها إلى رحله.

> She replied, "You sent to me the head of my cousin; it was in a dishevelled state, so I groomed it and perfumed it."[1]

31. Māriyah

She was a member of the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays, and was a Shī'a. Her home was a gathering place for the partisans of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) at a time when Basra was passing through turbulent days, during which hostility to the Ahl al-Bayt (a) prevailed. The fruit of these gatherings was the departure of three Basrans, Yazīd ibn Thubayt and his two sons 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh to join Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Mecca, and later achieve the blessing of martyrdom at his side.

32. Marjānah, the mother of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād

This woman severely rebuked her son for his killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

33. Al-Nawār bint Jābir, the wife or sister of Ka'b (the killer of Burayr)

Al-Ṭabarī reports:

> When Ka'b ibn Jābir returned home, his wife – or sister – al-Nawār bint Jābir, said to him, "You helped the enemies of the son of Fāṭimah, and you killed the chief of the reciters of the Qur'an [that is, Burayr ibn Khuḍayr]! You have done an awful thing. By God! I shall never speak to you again."[2]

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 416.

بعث يزيد برأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى نسائه، فأخذته عاتكة ابنته - وهي أمّ يزيد بن عبد الملك - فغسلته ودهنته وطيّبته.

فقال لها يزيد: ما هذا؟

قالت: بعثت إليّ برأس ابن عمي شعثاً فلممته وطيّبته.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 432.

فلما رجع كعب بن جابر، قالت له امرأته - أو أخته - النوار بنت جابر: أعنت على ابن فاطمة وقتلت سيّد القرّاء، لقد أتيت عظيماً من الأمر، والله لا أكلّمك من رأسي كلمة أبداً.

34. Al-Nawār al-Ḥaḍramiyyah, the wife of Khawlī

When Khawlī brought the head of Imam al-Husayn (a) into his house and placed it under a washbasin, his wife remonstrated him and left him speechless. Perhaps it was this devotion to the Ahl al-Bayt (a) that opened the eyes of her spirit, because she witnessed some supernatural events afterwards. Al-Ṭabarī quotes from a narrator:

> After al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, he ['Umar ibn Sa'd] despatched his [sacred] head to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād with Khawlī ibn Yazīd and Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī. When Khawlī brought the head to the government mansion, he found its gates locked, so he went to his house and placed the head under a washbasin in his house.

He had two wives: a woman from the Banū Asad, and a woman from the Ḥaḍramī tribe, by the name of al-Nawār bint Mālik ibn 'Aqrab. That night it was the turn of the Ḥaḍramī wife.

Hishām reports that his father related to him from al-Nawār bint Mālik the following:

> Khawlī came with the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) and placed it under a washbasin in the outer part of the house. Then he entered the room and came to his bed.
>
> I asked him, "What is the news?" He replied, "I have brought for you wealth into the house, the head of al-Ḥusayn!"
>
> I said, "Shame on you! People came with gold and silver, whilst you brought the head of son of God's Messenger (s)! By God, nothing will ever make me lay my head next to yours again."
>
> I rose from my bed and left the room. He called his Asadī wife to come to him. I sat outside watching [the washbasin]. By God, I began to see a pillar of light that stretched from the heavens to the washbasin, and I saw a white bird fluttering around it.
>
> The next morning, he took the head to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 455; also see pp. 373, 374.

وما هو إلا أن قتل الحسين عليه السلام، فسرح برأسه من يومه ذلك مع خولي بن يزيد و حميد بن مسلم الأزدي إلى عبيدالله بن زياد، فأقبل به خولي، فأراد القصر، فوجد باب القصر مغلقاً، فأتى منزله، فوضعه تحت إجانة في منزله، و له امرأتان، امرأة من بني أسد، و الأخرى من الحضرميين يقال لها: النوار ابنة مالك بن عقرب، و كانت تلك الليلة ليلة الحضرمية.

Afterwards, this woman was filled with hatred for Khawlī. When al-Mukhtār's men came to arrest Khawlī, al-Nawār she gestured towards his hiding place. Khawlī was apprehended and punished.

35. A martyr's wife and his mother

This devoted woman sent her young son to the battlefield after her husband was martyred in the defence of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). A part of the report of al-Khwārizmī about her is as follows:

> After him [that is, after Junādah al-Anṣārī], ʿAmr ibn Junādah went out to fight; he was a young man whose father had been martyred in battle. His mother was with him, and she said, "My dear son, go and fight for the son of God's Messenger (s), until you achieve martyrdom." He replied, "I will do so."
>
> Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "This is a youth whose father has already been slain; perhaps his mother does not wish for him to [also] go out to fight?" But the youth replied, "It was my mother who told me to go [to the battlefield], O son of God's Messenger!"

The report mentions that after he was martyred, his severed head was thrown towards her. She threw it back to the enemy, then grabbed a pole and attacked the enemy with it.

قال هشام: فحدثني أبي عن النوار بنت مالك، قالت: أقبل خولي برأس الحسين عليه السلام، فوضعه تحت إجانة في الدار، ثم دخل البيت، فأوى إلى فراشه، فقلت له: ما الخبر؟ ما عندك؟ قال: جئتك بغنى الدهر، هذا رأس الحسين معك في الدار.

قالت: فقلت: ويلك! جاء الناس بالذهب و الفضة، و جئت برأس ابن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله؟ لا والله، لا يجمع رأسي و رأسك بيت أبداً.

قالت: فقمت من فراشي، فخرجت إلى الدار، فدعا الأسدية، فأدخلها إليه، و جلست أنظر. قالت: فوالله ما زلت أنظر إلى نور يسطع مثل العمود من السماء إلى الإجانة، و رأيت طيراً بيضاً ترفرف حولها. قال: فلما أصبح غدا بالرأس إلى عبيدالله بن زياد.

[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 47.

خرج من بعده (أي بعد جنادة الأنصاري) عمرو بن جنادة، شاب قتل أبوه في المعركة، و كانت أمه عنده، فقالت: يا بني اخرج فقاتل بين يدي ابن رسول الله حتى تقتل. فقال: أفعل.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: هذا شاب قتل أبوه، و لعل أمه تكره خروجه. فقال الشاب: أمي أمرتني يا ابن رسول الله (أن أدخل المعركة...)

Al-Husayn (a) asked her to stop and called her back.

36. Hind, the wife of Yazid

She was the one of the women who reproached Yazid ibn Mu‘awiyah (may God curse him) for killing the Imam (a).

◆

CHAPTER THREE | THE DEPARTURE OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) FROM MEDINA UNTIL HIS ARRIVAL IN KARBALA

Part 1: Rejection by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) of Yazid's demand for allegiance

Part 2: From Medina to Mecca

Part 3: The activities of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Mecca

Part 4: The departure of the envoy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Mecca, until his martyrdom in Kufa

Part 5: The martyrdom of a group of companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Kufa, and the imprisonment of a group of others

Part 6: Those who advised Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) not to go towards Iraq

Part 7: From Mecca to Karbala

PART 1: REJECTION BY IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) OF YAZĪD'S DEMAND FOR ALLEGIANCE

1/1: The beginning of the rule of Yazīd

73. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Mu'āwiyah died on the eve of the middle of Rajab in the year 60/680, and the people gave their allegiance to Yazīd.[1]

74. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*: He [Yazīd] received the people's oaths of allegiance and became the caliph in the month of Rajab in the year 60/680. He was born in the year 26/646 and assumed power when he was 34 years old. He ratified the positions of his father's governors in the provinces and did not dismiss any of them, and this was a sign of his shrewdness.[2]

1/2: Demanding the oath of allegiance from Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

75. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Yazīd sent a letter with 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn Uways al-'Āmirī, of 'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy, to al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān, who was [his governor] in Medina, stating, "Call the people together, and take their

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 446; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 5, p. 368.

تُوُفّي معاوية ليلة النصف من رجب سنة ستّين وبايع الناس ليزيد.

[2] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 146.

بويع له (أي ليزيد) بالخلافة بعد أبيه في رجب سنة ستّين، وكان مولده سنة ستّ وعشرين، فكان يوم بويع ابن أربع وثلاثين سنة، فأقرّ نوّاب أبيه على الأقاليم، لم يعزل أحداً منهم، وهذا من ذكائه.

oaths of allegiance. Begin with the senior members of the Quraysh, and make sure to start first with al-Husayn ibn 'Alī."[1]

76. ***Tarīkh al-Ya'qūbī***: Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, whose mother was Maysūn bint Bahdal al-Kalbī, became the ruler in the month of Rajab of 60/680... while absent. Upon his return to Damascus, he wrote a letter to al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān, the governor of Medina, stating:

> When this letter of mine reaches you, summon al-Husayn ibn 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, and take the oath of allegiance from them in my name. If they refuse, strike their necks and despatch their heads to me. And also take the oaths of allegiance from the people. If any of them refuse, deal with them in the same manner as I have instructed you to deal with al-Husayn ibn 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. Peace.[2]

77. ***Tarīkh al-Tabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** When Yazīd assumed power, he had no immediate plan except to secure the oaths of allegiance of those who had not responded to his father Mu'āwiyah's call for allegiance to Yazīd. [Mu'āwiyah had made a public demand for the people's allegiance, and their acceptance of Yazīd as his heir.]

In order to resolve the issue, Yazīd wrote to al-Walīd:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Yazīd, the commander of the faithful, to al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah. Now, indeed, Mu'āwiyah was a servant from the servants of God. God had honoured him, given him authority, empowered him, and established him. He lived for a measure, and died when his time came, so, may God have mercy on him. He lived as a praiseworthy person and died a decent and God-fearing man. Peace.

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[1] *al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-tabaqat al-khāmisah min al-sahābah*, vol. 1, p. 441; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 414.

فكتب يزيد مع عبد الله بن عمرو بن أويس العامري - عامر بن لؤي - إلى الوليد بن عتبة بن أبي سفيان وهو على المدينة: أن ادع الناس فبايعهم، وابدأ بوجوه قريش، وليكن أول من تبدأ به الحسين بن علي

[2] *Tarīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 241.

ملك يزيد بن معاوية، وأمه ميسون بنت بحدل الكلبي، في مستهل رجب سنة ٦٠ هـ ... وكان غائباً، فلما قدم دمشق كتب إلى الوليد بن عتبة بن أبي سفيان، وهو عامل المدينة: إذا أتاك كتابي هذا، فأحضر الحسين بن علي وعبد الله بن الزبير، فخذهما بالبيعة لي، فإن امتنعا فاضرب أعناقهما، وابعث لي برؤوسهما، وخذ الناس بالبيعة، فمن امتنع فأنفذ فيه الحكم وفي الحسين بن علي وعبد الله بن الزبير، والسلام

> He also wrote another letter on a scrap as small as a mouse's ear:
>
> Now then... demand strongly from al-Ḥusayn, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar and 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr, their oaths of allegiance. Be harsh with them, giving them no choice, until they do so. Peace.[1]

1/3: The consultation of al-Walīd with Marwān about taking the oath of allegiance from Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

75. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: When the news of the death of Mu'āwiyah reached al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah, it shocked him, and he became very uneasy. He sent for Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam to come and meet him... When he read out the letter of Yazīd to him, Marwān said, "We are from God, and to Him we shall return. May God have mercy on him."

Then al-Walīd asked his advice about the issue at hand, saying, "What is your opinion on how to proceed?"

Marwān replied, "I think we should send for these people immediately and demand their oaths of allegiance and obedience. If they do so, accept their word, and let them be. But, if they refuse, then seize them, and strike their necks before they find out about the death of Mu'āwiyah. Indeed, if they learn about the death of Mu'āwiyah, each of them will move away, stir opposition and discord, and claim authority for himself."[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 338; *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 227.

لم يكن ليزيد همة حين ولي إلا بيعة النفر الذين أبوا على معاوية الإجابة إلى بيعة يزيد حين دعا الناس إلى بيعته وأنه ولي عهده بعده والفراغ من أمرهم، فكتب إلى الوليد:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، من يزيد أمير المؤمنين إلى الوليد بن عتبة، أما بعد، فإن معاوية كان عبداً من عباد الله، أكرمه الله واستخلفه وخوله ومكن له، فعاش بقدر ومات بأجل، فرحمه الله، فقد عاش محموداً ومات براً تقياً والسلام.

وكتب إليه في صحيفة كأنها أذن فأرة: أما بعد، فخذ حسيناً وعبد الله بن عمر وعبد الله بن الزبير بالبيعة أخذاً شديداً ليست فيه رخصة حتى يبايعوا، والسلام.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 338; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 529.

لما أتى الوليد بن عتبة نعي معاوية فظع به وكبر عليه، فبعث إلى مروان بن الحكم فدعاه إليه...
فلما قرأ عليه الكتاب كتاب يزيد استرجع وترحم عليه، واستشاره الوليد في الأمر وقال: كيف ترى أن نصنع؟

79. *al-Malhūf*: Al-Walīd summoned Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and asked for his advice in the matter of al-Ḥusayn (a). Marwān said, "He will not accept, and if I was in your place, I would strike his neck [instead]. Al-Walīd replied, "I wish I was someone not worth mentioning [never born]." Then he sent for al-Ḥusayn (a).[2]

1/4: Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) summoned by al-Walīd to give his oath of allegiance

80. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, about the summoning of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, by al-Walīd: Al-Walīd sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān, who was a callow youth at the time, to find them and summon them. He found them both sitting in the mosque. When he came to them, it was at an hour when al-Walīd did not meet with people, nor would they have gone to him at such a time. He said, "The governor summons you." They replied, "You go on, we are coming just now."

Then they turned to one another, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr asked al-Ḥusayn (a), "Why do you think he has called for us at this strange hour, during which he does not meet people?" Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "I think that their tyrant [Muʿāwiyah] has died, and he has summoned us to take our oaths of allegiance, before the news spreads among the people." He [ʿAbd Allāh] said, "I do not think any differently."[3]

قال: فإني أرى أن تبعث الساعة إلى هؤلاء النفر فتدعوهم إلى البيعة والدخول في الطاعة، فإن فعلوا قبلت منهم وكففت عنهم، وإن أبوا قدمتهم فضربت أعناقهم قبل أن يعلموا بموت معاوية، فإنهم إن علموا بموت معاوية وثب كل امرئ منهم في جانب وأظهر الخلاف والمنابذة ودعا إلى نفسه.

[1] Paraphrasing Q 7:61.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 97; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 23.

أحضر الوليد مروان بن الحكم واستشاره في أمر الحسين عليه السلام، فقال: إنّه لا يقبل، ولو كنت مكانك لضربت عنقه. فقال الوليد: ليتني لم أك شيئاً مذكوراً، ثمّ بعث إلى الحسين عليه السلام.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 339; *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 227.

أرسل عبد الله بن عمرو بن عثمان - وهو إذ ذاك غلام حدث - إليهما يدعوهما، فوجدهما في المسجد وهما جالسان، فأتاهما في ساعة لم يكن الوليد يجلس فيها للناس ولا يأتيانه في مثلها، فقال: أجيبا الأمير يدعوكما. فقالا له: انصرف، الآن نأتيه.

81. ***Muthir al-Ahzan*****:** Al-Walid sent for them. When his messenger arrived, al-Husayn (a) said to the people, "I think that their tyrant has perished. Last night, I saw in a dream that the pulpit of Mu'awiyah lay overturned, and his house was on fire." The messenger called them to go to al-Walid.[1]

1/5: The preparations of the Imam (a) before going to al-Walid

82. ***Tarikh al-Tabari*****, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** Ibn al-Zubayr asked al-Husayn (a), "What do you intend to do?" He replied, "I shall gather my young men immediately, and then I will go to him. When I reach the door, I will leave them outside and enter alone."

He said, "I fear for what he may do to you when you enter." He replied, "I would not go to him if I was not capable of rejecting his demand [the oath of allegiance]."

Al-Husayn (a) left and assembled his retainers (*mawali*) and [the youth of] his household, and then walked with them until he came to the door of al-Walid. He said to his companions, "I am going in. If I call out to you, or you hear his voice raised, then rush in to me altogether. Otherwise, do not leave until I come out to you."[2]

ثم أقبل أحدهما على الآخر، فقال عبد الله بن الزبير للحسين عليه السلام: فما تراه بعث إلينا في هذه الساعة التي لم يكن يجلس فيها؟

قال حسين عليه السلام: قد ظننت أرى طاغيتهم قد هلك، فبعث إلينا ليأخذنا بالبيعة قبل أن يفشو في الناس الخبر. فقال: وأنا ما أظن غيره.

[1] *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 25.

بعث الوليد إليهم، فلما حضر رسوله قال الحسين عليه السلام لجماعته: أظن أن طاغيتهم هلك، رأيت البارحة أن منبر معاوية منكوس وداره تشتعل بالنيران، ثم دعاهم إلى الوليد.

[2] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 339; *al-Imamah wa al-Siyasah*, vol. 1, p. 226.

قال ابن الزبير للحسين عليه السلام: ما تريد أن تصنع؟ قال عليه السلام: أجمع فتياني الساعة ثم أمشي إليه، فإذا بلغت الباب احتبستهم عليه ثم دخلت عليه. قال: فإني أخافه عليك إذا دخلت. قال: لا آتيه إلا وأنا على الامتناع قادر.

فقام فجمع إليه مواليه وأهل بيته، ثم أقبل يمشي حتى انتهى إلى باب الوليد، وقال لأصحابه: إني داخل، فإن دعوتكم أو سمعتم صوته قد علا فاقتحموا علي بأجمعكم، وإلا فلا تبرحوا حتى أخرج إليكم.

83. ***al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** Al-Ḥusayn (a) rose and went to the house of the governor, taking his retainers with him. He sought permission to enter, and it was granted. He entered alone and instructed his men to sit outside the door.

He told them, "If you hear anything suspicious, then enter."[1]

84. ***al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb:** Al-Walīd sent for them [al-Ḥusayn (a), Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr] while they were next to the grave of the Prophet (s).

'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Abd Allāh [ibn 'Umar] both said, "We are going home and locking our doors." Ibn al-Zubayr said, "By God, I will never give Yazīd my oath of allegiance."

Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) said, "I must go and see al-Walīd, and hear what he has to say." Then he instructed the members of his household who were with him, "When I go in to al-Walīd, and we begin to converse and dispute with one another, remain outside the door. If you hear shouts or raised voices, then rush into the house, but do not kill anyone, or engage in conflict."[2]

1/6: The meeting between the Imam (a) and al-Walīd about giving the oath of allegiance

85. ***al-Irshād*:** Al-Ḥusayn (a) went to al-Walīd and found Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam present there as well. Al-Walīd informed al-Ḥusayn (a) of the death of Muʿāwiyah, and the Imam (a) said, "We are from God, and to Him we shall return." Then he read out the letter of Yazīd and the instruction it contained about taking the oath of allegiance from al-Ḥusayn (a) on his behalf.

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 147.

فنهض الحسين عليه السلام فأخذ معه مواليه وجاء باب الأمير، فاستأذن فأذن له، فدخل وحده وأجلس مواليه على الباب، وقال: إن سمعتم أمراً يريبكم فادخلوا.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 88.

فوجّه الوليد إلى علمائهم [أي الحسين عليه السلام وابن الزبير وعبد الله بن عمر وعبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر] وكانوا عند التربة، فقال عبد الرحمن وعبد الله: ندخل دورنا ونغلق أبوابنا، وقال ابن الزبير: والله ما أبايع يزيد أبداً. وقال الحسين بن علي عليه السلام: أنا لا بدّ لي من الدخول على الوليد وأنظر ما يقول. ثم قال لمن حوله من أهل بيته: إذا دخلت على الوليد وخاطبته وخاطبني وناظرته وناظرني كونوا على الباب، فإذا سمعتم الصيحة قد علت والأصوات قد ارتفعت فاهجموا إلى الدار، ولا تقتلوا أحداً، ولا تثيروا إلى الفتنة.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "I do not think that you would be content to take my oath of allegiance to Yazīd in private; rather, you would prefer me to do so publicly so that the people know about it."

Al-Walīd said, "Yes, indeed." Then, the Imam (a) said, "So sleep over it, and see what you decide about it."

Al-Walīd said, "Depart then, in the Name of God, and come back to me when the people have assembled."

Marwān interjected, "By God, if al-Ḥusayn (a) leaves you at this moment without swearing allegiance, you will never have a similar opportunity again; not until many are killed in fighting between you and him. Restrain the man so that he cannot leave until he swears allegiance or you strike his neck!"

On hearing this, al-Ḥusayn (a) rose up, and said, "Will you kill me, O son of the blue-eyed woman?[1] You lie, by God, and you transgress."

Then he went out and walked away with his retainers until he reached his home.[2]

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[1] A reference to the fact that the mother of Marwān was a known prostitute. See Shushtarī, *Qāmūs al-Rijāl*, vol. 8, p. 486, where he discusses the origin of the term, quoting Sibṭ ibn Jawzī and Ibn Isḥāq. [Trans.]

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 33; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 189.

صار الحسين عليه السلام إلى الوليد فوجد عنده مروان بن الحكم، فنعى الوليد إليه معاوية فاسترجع الحسين عليه السلام، ثم قرأ كتاب يزيد وما أمره فيه من أخذ البيعة منه له.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: إني لا أراك تقنع ببيعتي ليزيد سراً حتى أبايعه جهراً فيعرف الناس ذلك. فقال الوليد له: أجل. فقال الحسين عليه السلام: فتصبح وترى رأيك في ذلك. فقال له الوليد: انصرف على اسم الله حتى تأتينا مع جماعة الناس.

فقال له مروان: والله لئن فارقك الحسين الساعة ولم يبايع لا قدرت منه على مثلها أبداً حتى تكثر القتلى بينكم وبينه، احبس الرجل فلا يخرج من عندك حتى يبايع أو تضرب عنقه.

فوثب عند ذلك الحسين عليه السلام وقال: أنت - يا ابن الزرقاء - تقتلني أو هو؟ كذبت والله وأثمت. وخرج يمشي ومعه مواليه حتى أتى منزله.

86. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: When al-Ḥusayn (a) came to al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah, who read the letter, he said, "I am not a man who would give his oath of allegiance to Yazīd." Marwān said [angrily], "Give your oath of allegiance to the commander of the faithful!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "Woe be on you! You have lied to the believers! Who has made him a commander (*amīr*) over them?"

Marwān sprang up and drew his own sword and said [to al-Walīd], "Order your swordsmen to smite his neck before he can escape – his blood will be on me!"

A commotion broke out, and nineteen men from the household of al-Ḥusayn (a) stormed in with their daggers drawn. Then al-Ḥusayn (a) left with them.[1]

87. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah and greeted him. He responded cordially, then made him sit close to him… Then he said, "I have called you so that you may give your oath of allegiance, because the people have accepted him [Yazīd]."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "Verily, a man like me does not give his oath of allegiance in private. I prefer for it to be given in public, in the presence of people. Tomorrow, when you ask the people for their oaths of allegiance, ask for mine at the same time, so that our affairs are conducted together."

Al-Walīd said, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh! You have spoken well and replied with an answer that is worthy of you, and one that I had expected from someone like you. You may depart, with the blessings of God. I will see you tomorrow with the people."

Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam interrupted, saying, "O governor, if he leaves you at this time, he will never give the oath of allegiance. Then, you will have no power over him, nor will you have another opportunity like this. Seize him here, and do not allow him to leave unless he gives the oath of allegiance, or else strike his neck!"

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib, vol. 4, p. 88.

لما دخل [الحسين عليه السلام] عليه [أي على الوليد بن عتبة] وقرأ الكتاب قال: ما كنت لأبايع ليزيد. فقال مروان: بايع لأمير المؤمنين. فقال الحسين عليه السلام: كذبت - ويلك - على المؤمنين، من أمّره عليهم؟ فقام مروان وجرّد سيفه وقال: مر سيّافك أن يضرب عنقه قبل أن يخرج من الدار ودمه في عنقي. وارتفعت الصيحة، فهجم تسعة عشر رجلا من أهل بيته وقد انتضوا خناجرهم، فخرج الحسين عليه السلام معهم.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) turned to him and said, "Woe be on you, O son of the blue-eyed woman! Do you order my neck to be struck? You are bluffing, by God! By God, if anyone thought of doing this to me, I would soak the ground with his blood before he did it. If you want to, why don't you strike my neck, if you have the courage?"

Then, al-Ḥusayn (a) turned al-Walīd ibn 'Utbah, and said, "O governor! We are the household of the Prophet (s), the font of God's message, the ones whom the angels frequent, and the stations of mercy. God began His affair with us, and He ended it with us.

"[On the other hand] Yazīd is a man who has transgressed God's bounds, a drinker of alcohol, a murderer of innocents, and an open debaucher; people like me do not give allegiance to people like him... However, we shall see tomorrow, and you shall also, and we shall wait, and you shall as well, to learn who is more deserving of the caliphate and the oath of allegiance."

The men behind the door heard al-Ḥusayn (a). They were getting ready to charge the door and enter with drawn swords, but al-Ḥusayn (a) went out quickly to them and ordered them to leave for their homes. Then, al-Ḥusayn (a) also went to his own home.[1]

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 13; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 183.

دخل الحسين عليه السلام على الوليد بن عتبة فسلم عليه، فرد عليه رداً حسناً، ثم أدناه وقربه....

قال: فبايع إذاً ليزيد فقد اجتمع عليه الناس.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: إنّ مثلي لا يعطي بيعته سرّاً، وإنّما أحبّ أن تكون البيعة علانية بحضرة الجماعة، ولكن إذا كان من الغد ودعوت الناس إلى البيعة دعوتنا معهم فيكون أمرنا واحداً.

فقال له الوليد: أبا عبد الله لقد قلت فأحسنت في القول، وأجبت جواب مثلك، وكذا ظني بك، فانصرف راشداً على بركة الله حتى تأتينا غداً مع الناس.

فقال مروان بن الحكم: أيها الأمير، إنه إذا فارقك في هذه الساعة لم يبايع فإنك لن تقدر منه ولا تقدر على مثلها، فاحبسه عندك ولا تدعه يخرج أو يبايع وإلا فاضرب عنقه.

قال: فالتفت إليه الحسين عليه السلام وقال: ويلي عليك يا ابن الزرقاء، أتأمر بضرب عنقي؟ كذبت والله ولؤمت، والله لو رام ذلك أحد من الناس لسقيت الأرض من دمه قبل ذلك، وإن شئت ذلك فرم ضرب عنقي إن كنت صادقاً.

1/7: The argument between Marwān and al-Walīd after the departure of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

88. ***Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Marwān said to al-Walīd, "You disobeyed me! By God, he will never give you an opportunity like this again."**

Al-Walīd replied, "Go berate someone else, O Marwān! You suggested a path to me that would have destroyed my religion. By God, I would forego all the wealth in this world and everything that the sun rises and sets over rather than kill al-Ḥusayn. Glory be to God! I should kill al-Ḥusayn, just because he said, 'I will not give my oath of allegiance'? By God, I am certain that, on the Day of Judgement, in the presence of God, the scales (*mīzān*) of any person who has to answer for the blood of al-Ḥusayn will be light."

Marwān said to him, "If this is your opinion, then you did the right thing." He said this while he did not approve of his action.[1]

1/8: The argument between Marwān and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in the street

89. ***al-Malhūf*:** In the morning, al-Ḥusayn (a) came out of his house to hear the news. Marwān met him and said, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh! Truly, I am your well-wisher; listen to my advice so that you may be guided."

قال: ثم أقبل الحسين عليه السلام على الوليد بن عتبة وقال: أيها الأمير إنا أهل بيت النبوة ومعدن الرسالة ومختلف الملائكة ومحل الرحمة، وبنا فتح الله وبنا ختم، ويزيد رجل فاسق شارب خمر، قاتل النفس المحترمة، معلن بالفسق، ومثلي لا يبايع لمثله، ولكن نصبح وتصبحون وننظر وتنظرون أينا أحق بالخلافة والبيعة.

قال: وسمع من بالباب الحسين عليه السلام فهمّوا بفتح الباب وإشهار السيوف، فخرج إليهم الحسين عليه السلام سريعاً فأمرهم بالانصراف إلى منازلهم، وأقبل الحسين عليه السلام إلى منزله.

[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 340; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 33.

قال مروان للوليد: عصيتني! لا والله لا يمكّنك من مثلها من نفسه أبداً.

قال الوليد: وبّخ غيرك يا مروان، إنك اخترت لي التي فيها هلاك ديني، والله ما أحب أن لي ما طلعت عليه الشمس وغربت عنه من مال الدنيا وملكها وأني قتلت حسيناً، سبحان الله! أقتل حسيناً أن قال: لا أبايع؟! والله إني لأظن امرأً يحاسب بدم حسين لخفيف الميزان عند الله يوم القيامة.

فقال له مروان: فإذا كان هذا رأيك فقد أصبت فيما صنعت. يقول هذا له وهو غير الحامد له على رأيه.

Al-Husayn (a) said, "And what is that? Speak, so that I may hear."

Marwān said, "Give your oath of allegiance to Yazīd, the commander of the faithful, for it would be better for you in both this world and the next."

Al-Husayn exclaimed, "'*We are from God, and to Him is our return.*'[1] If the nation is forced to accept the authority of a man like Yazīd, then we may as well bid farewell to Islam. Indeed, I heard my grandfather, the Messenger of God (s), say, 'The caliphate is unlawful for the family of Abū Sufyān.'"

The conversation between him and Marwān went on for some time, until Marwān walked off, furious.[2]

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[1] Q 2:156.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 98; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 24.

فأصبح الحسين عليه السلام فخرج من منزله يستمع الأخبار، فلقيه مروان فقال: يا أبا عبد الله، إني لك ناصح فأطعني ترشد.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: وما ذاك؟ قل حتى أسمع. فقال مروان: إني آمرك ببيعة يزيد أمير المؤمنين فإنه خير لك في دينك ودنياك.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، وعلى الإسلام السلام إذ قد بليت الأمة براع مثل يزيد، ولقد سمعت جدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: الخلافة محرمة على آل أبي سفيان.

وطال الحديث بينه وبين مروان حتى انصرف مروان وهو غضبان.

PART 2: FROM MEDINA TO MECCA

2/1: The dream of al-Ḥusayn (a) about the Prophet (s) when he was saying farewell at his grave

90. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq, from his father, from his grandfather, Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): As night fell, al-Ḥusayn (a) went to the mosque of the Prophet (s) to bid him farewell at his grave. When he reached the grave, he saw a light emanating from it, so he returned back.

On the next night, he went back again to bid farewell at the grave. He stood in prayer for a long time. While he was in prostration, he fell into a light sleep, and the Prophet (s) came to him in a dream. He took al-Ḥusayn (a) and hugged him to his chest, kissed him between his eyes, and said, "May my father be sacrificed for you! It is as if I see you drenched in your own blood, lying before a group from this nation. They will seek my intercession [on the Day of Judgement], but God will deny them any share of it. My dear son, you are coming towards your father, your mother, and your brother, and they wait for you eagerly. You have a station in paradise that cannot be attained except through martyrdom."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) woke from his sleep in tears. Then, he came back to his household, informed them about his dream, and bade them farewell.[1]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 216, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 312, no. 1.

لما أقبل الليل راح الحسين عليه السلام إلى مسجد النبي صلى الله عليه و آله ليودع القبر، فلما وصل
إلى القبر سطع له نور من القبر، فعاد إلى موضعه

فلما كانت الليلة الثانية راح ليودع القبر، فقام يصلي فأطال، فنعس وهو ساجد، فجاءه النبي صلى الله
عليه و آله وهو في منامه فأخذ الحسين عليه السلام وضمه إلى صدره، وجعل يقبل بين عينيه، ويقول:
بأبي أنت كأني أراك مرملا بدمك بين عصابة من هذه الأمة، يرجون شفاعتي، ما لهم عند الله من خلاق،

91. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: One day al-Ḥusayn (a) was in prayer, when sleep overcame him. He saw the Prophet (s) in a dream informing him about what would happen to him. Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "I do not desire to return to the world, so take me with you!" He replied, "You must go back, so that you taste martyrdom."[i]

2/2: Lamentation by the women of the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at the departure of the Imam (a)

92. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Jābir, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): When al-Ḥusayn (a) decided to leave Medina, the women of the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came and began to lament. He rose, walked amongst them, then said, "I adjure you by God to stop, lest by revealing this matter [our impending departure], you betray God and His Prophet (s)."

The women of the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to him, "For whom then should we cry and lament? For us this is a day just like the day when God's Messenger (s), 'Alī (a), Fāṭimah (a), and Ruqayyah, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm [the foster-daughters of the Prophet (s)] departed this world. We plead to God to sacrifice us in your place, O beloved of the best of men who have passed away."[ii]

وأمتي، إنك لقادم على أبيك وأمك وأخيك وهم مشتاقون إليك، وإن لك في الجنة درجات لا تنالها إلا بالشهادة. فانتبه الحسين عليه السلام من نومه باكيا، فأتى أهل بيته فأخبرهم بالرؤيا وودعهم.

[i] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 88.

كان الحسين عليه السلام يصلي يوما إذ وسن، فرأى النبي صلى الله عليه وآله في منامه يخبره بما يجري عليه، فقال الحسين عليه السلام: لا حاجة لي في الرجوع إلى الدنيا فخذني إليك، فيقول: لا بد من الرجوع حتى تذوق الشهادة.

[ii] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 195, no. 275; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 88, no. 26.

لما هم الحسين عليه السلام بالشخوص عن المدينة أقبلت نساء بني عبد المطلب فاجتمعن للنياحة، حتى مشى فيهن الحسين عليه السلام

فقال: أنشدكن الله أن تبدين هذا الأمر معصية لله ولرسوله.

فقالت له نساء بني عبد المطلب: فلمن نستبقي النياحة والبكاء فهو عندنا كيوم مات فيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وعلي وفاطمة ورقية وزينب وأم كلثوم، فننشدك الله جعلنا الله فداك من الموت يا حبيب الأبرار من أهل القبور.

2/3: The advice of 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib to the Imam (a)[1]

93. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Muḥammad ibn 'Umar: I heard my father 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib say to my cousins, the family of 'Aqīl:

> When my brother al-Ḥusayn (a) refused to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd in Medina, I went to see him, and found him alone. I said to him, "May I be sacrificed for you, O Abū 'Abd Allāh! Your brother, al-Ḥasan (a), related to me from his father (a)…", then tears overcame me, and I began to sob loudly.
>
> He embraced me and said, "Did he inform you that I shall be killed?"
>
> I said, "Don't speak any more about this, O son of God's Messenger (s)."
>
> He said, "I ask you by the sake of your father, did he inform you about my death?"
>
> I replied, "Yes! Why do you not [just] submit and give your oath of allegiance?"
>
> He replied, "My father told me that the Prophet (s) informed him about how he would be killed, and how I would be killed, and that my grave would be close to his. Now do you think that you know something that I do not? I shall never allow myself to be humiliated [even if it means my martyrdom]. Indeed, Fāṭimah (a) shall come to her father, complaining about what her offspring suffered at the hands of his nation.

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[1] 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, whose *kunyah* was Abū Ḥafṣ, was the youngest son of Imam 'Alī (a). His mother was Ṣahbā' al-Tha'labī (or Thaghlabī), and her *kunyah* was Umm Ḥabīb. 'Umar did not go to Kufa with his brother, al-Ḥusayn (a).

In the works, *al-Futūḥ* and the *Maqtal* of Khwārizmī, it is mentioned that he was present in Karbala, and achieved martyrdom; however, more reliable works suggest that in fact, he was not present in Karbala. His name has not been recorded in the list of martyrs compiled by scholars, whether Sunni or Shi'a. Furthermore, it has been reported that when the news of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) reached him, he put on colourful clothes and sat at the door of his house, saying, 'I am a far-sighted youth. If I had gone with them, I would have had to take part in the battle and would have been killed.' [This last report is very weak. – Trans.]

He died in Yanbu', when he was 75 or 77 years of age.

> Indeed, no one who has tormented her by hurting her children shall ever enter paradise."[1]

2/4: The will of the Imam (a) to his brother, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah

94. *al-Futūḥ*, about the will and testament of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), contained in his letter to his brother, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah: Al-Ḥusayn (a) told him, "As for you, my brother, there is no issue if you remain in Medina. Be my eyes over its people, and do not keep anything about their affairs hidden from me."

The narrator, Ibn A'tham, said: Then, al-Ḥusayn (a) asked for pen and paper... and he wrote:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. This is the testament of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, entrusted to his brother, Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, the son of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a).
>
> Verily, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī testifies that there is no God but Allah, the One, Who has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His bondsman and messenger, who came with the truth from Him. And [I testify that] paradise exists, and hell exists, and that the final hour shall come, there is no doubt about it, and that God shall bring forth the dead from their graves.
>
> I do not rise due to stubbornness or rebelliousness, nor to cause mischief or oppression; indeed, I rise to seek the salvation and reformation of the nation of my grandfather, Muḥammad (s). I wish to enjoin goodness, and forbid evil, and in this, I follow the tradition of my grandfather, Muḥammad (s), and the tradition of my father, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a)...

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 19.

سمعت أبي عمر بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام يحدث أخوالي آل عقيل قال: لما امتنع أخي الحسين عليه السلام عن البيعة ليزيد بالمدينة دخلت عليه فوجدته خاليا، فقلت له: جعلت فداك يا أبا عبد الله، حدثني أخوك أبو محمد الحسن عن أبيه عليهما السلام، ثم سبقتني الدمعة وعلا شهيقي، فضمني إليه وقال: حدثك أني مقتول؟ فقلت: حوشيت يا ابن رسول الله، فقال: سألتك بحق أبيك بقتلي خبرك؟ فقلت: نعم، فلولا تأولت وبايعت.

قال: حدثني أبي أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أخبره بقتله وقتلي، وأن تربتي تكون بقرب تربته، فتظن أنك علمت ما لم أعلمه؟ وإنه لا أعطي الدنية من نفسي أبدا، ولتلقين فاطمة أباها شاكية ما لقيت ذريتها من أمته، ولا يدخل الجنة أحد آذاها في ذريتها.

> So whoever responds to my call truthfully [should know that] God is the source of truth [and will reward it], and if anyone rejects my call, then I shall be patient until God judges and rules between me and the people with truth, and He is the best of judges.
>
> This is my testament to you, O brother. My success is only from God. On Him do I rely, and to Him do I return. Peace be upon you, and upon those who follow guidance. There is no power and ability except with God, the Great, the Almighty.

Then, he folded the letter and applied his seal to it. He handed it to his brother, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, and then bade him farewell.[1]

2/5: The departure of the Imam (a) from Medina and his stay in Mecca

95. ***al-Irshād*:** That night, al-Ḥusayn (a) remained in his house. It was the night before Saturday, three days before the end of Rajab, 60/680. Al-Walīd was occupied with getting Ibn al-Zubayr to pledge his oath of allegiance to Yazīd, and dealing with his refusal. Ibn al-Zubayr left Medina that night, heading for Mecca. In the morning, al-Walīd despatched his men after him. [They consisted of] 80 horsemen, made up of the freedmen (*mawālī*) of the Banu Umayyah. They searched for him but could not find him, so they returned.

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 21; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 89.

أمّا أنت يا أخي فلا عليك أن تقيم بالمدينة، فتكون لي عيناً عليهم، ولا تخفِ عليّ شيئاً من أمورهم.

قال: [illegible] ثمّ دعا الحسين عليه السلام بدواة وبياض... فكتب:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، هذا ما أوصى به الحسين بن عليّ بن أبي طالب لأخيه محمّد ابن الحنفيّة المعروف ولد عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام:

إنّ الحسين بن عليّ يشهد أن لا إله إلّا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأنّ محمّداً عبده ورسوله، جاء بالحقّ من عنده، وأنّ الجنّة حقّ، والنار حقّ، وأنّ الساعة آتية لا ريب فيها، وأنّ الله يبعث من في القبور، وأنّي لم أخرج أشراً ولا بطراً ولا مفسداً ولا ظالماً، وإنّما خرجت لطلب النجاح والصلاح في أمّة جدّي محمّد صلّى الله عليه وآله، أريد أن آمر بالمعروف وأنهى عن المنكر، وأسير بسيرة جدّي محمّد صلّى الله عليه وآله وسيرة أبي عليّ بن أبي طالب... فمن قبلني بقبول الحقّ فالله أولى بالحقّ، ومن ردّ عليّ هذا أصبر حتّى يقضي الله بيني وبين القوم بالحقّ، ويحكم بيني وبينهم بالحقّ، وهو خير الحاكمين. هذه وصيّتي إليك يا أخي، وما توفيقي إلّا بالله، عليه توكّلت وإليه أنيب، والسلام عليك وعلى من اتّبع الهدى، ولا حول ولا قوّة إلّا بالله العليّ العظيم.

قال: ثمّ طوى الكتاب الحسين عليه السلام وختمه بخاتمه، ودفعه إلى أخيه محمّد ابن الحنفيّة ثمّ ودّعه.

On Saturday evening, he sent some men to al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) to summon him to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah at the hand of al-Walīd. Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to them, "Wait until the morning: then you shall see [the outcome], and so shall we." They departed from him on that night, without forcing him [to come].

He left the same night – it was the night before Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab – and headed towards Mecca.[1]

96. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Al-Walīd sent for 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, but he refused to give his oath of allegiance and kept them waiting for a day and a night. Then, Ibn al-Zubayr, accompanied by his retainers and his brother Ja'far, rode for Mecca, taking a side route.[2] Al-Walīd sent his soldiers and horsemen after him, but they were unable to bring him back....

As for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), he was left alone because al-Walīd was busy with [the escape of] Ibn al-Zubayr. Every time he sent for him, he would say, "[Come back later, then] you shall see, and we shall see."

Then, he gathered his family and his sons and rode out on the night before Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab, 60/680, and one night after the departure of Ibn al-Zubayr. No one from his family remained behind except Muhammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.[1]

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 34; Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn, p. 189.

فأقام الحسين عليه السلام في منزله تلك الليلة وهي ليلة السبت لثلاث بقين من رجب سنة ستين، واشتغل الوليد بن عتبة بمراسلة ابن الزبير في البيعة ليزيد وامتناعه عليه، وخرج ابن الزبير من ليلته عن المدينة متوجها إلى مكة، فلما أصبح الوليد سرح في أثره الرجال، فبعث راكبا من موالي بني أمية في ثمانين راكبا، فطلبوه فلم يدركوه فرجعوا.

فلما كان آخر نهار يوم السبت بعث الرجال إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام ليحضر فيبايع الوليد ليزيد بن معاوية، فقال لهم الحسين عليه السلام: أصبحوا ثم ترون ونرى، فكفوا تلك الليلة عنه ولم يلحوا عليه.

فخرج عليه السلام من تحت ليلته، وهي ليلة الأحد ليومين بقيا من رجب، متوجها نحو مكة.

[2] See Map 3.

97. *al-Futūḥ*, **about the departure of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Medina:** As he was leaving, he was reciting the verse, "*So he left it, fearful and vigilant. He said, 'My Lord, deliver me from the unjust people.'*"[2]

His cousin, Muslim ibn 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, said to him, "O son of the daughter of the Prophet (s), I have a suggestion. What if we turn off from the road and select a course other than the main route, like 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr did? We are worried that the pursuers will detect us otherwise."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "No, by God, O cousin! We shall never leave this road until we either see the houses of Mecca, or God decrees for us an alternative that He prefers and is pleased with."[3]

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 147.

وبعث الوليد إلى عبد الله بن الزبير فامتنع عليه وماطله يوماً وليلة، ثم إن ابن الزبير ركب في مواليه واستصحب معه أخاه جعفراً وسار إلى مكة على طريق الفرع، وبعث الوليد خلف ابن الزبير الرجال والفرسان فلم يقدروا على رده...

وأما الحسين بن علي عليه السلام فإن الوليد لما تشاغل عنه بابن الزبير وجعل كلما بعث إليه يقول: حتى تنظر وننظر. ثم جمع أهله وبنيه وركب ليلة الأحد لليلتين بقيتا من رجب من هذه السنة (٦٠ هـ) بعد خروج ابن الزبير بليلة، ولم يتخلف عنه أحد من أهله سوى محمد ابن الحنفية.

[2] Q 28:21.

[3] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 22; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 189.

فخرج الحسين وهو يقرأ هذه الآية: ﴿فَخَرَجَ مِنْهَا خَائِفًا يَتَرَقَّبُ قَالَ رَبِّ نَجِّنِي مِنَ الْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾، فقال له ابن عمه مسلم بن عقيل بن أبي طالب: يا ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لو عدلنا عن الطريق وسلكنا غير الجادة كما فعل عبد الله بن الزبير كان عندي الرأي، فإنا نخاف أن يلحقنا الطلب.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: لا والله يا ابن عمي لا فارقت هذا الطريق أبداً أو أنظر إلى أبيات مكة أو يقضي الله في ذلك ما يحب ويرضى.

2/6: The companions of the Imam (a) from his family on the journey to Mecca

98. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: As for al-Ḥusayn (a), he left with his sons, his brothers, his brother's sons, and most of his family, apart from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.[1]

99. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq, from his father, from his grandfather, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) helped his sisters, his daughters, and his nephew, al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, to mount the litters. Then, he departed with 21 men from his companions and his household, including Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī, al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar, and 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar.[2][3]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 341; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 34.

أمّا الحسين عليه السلام فإنّه خرج ببنيه وإخوته وبني أخيه وجلّ أهل بيته إلّا محمّد بن الحنفيّة.

[2] 'Alī al-Akbar here refers to the elder son of al-Ḥusayn (a) who was martyred in Karbala, and 'Alī al-Aṣghar refers to Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a). See *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 307, section 1/6.

[3] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 217, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 312.

حمل الحسين عليه السلام أخواته على المحامل وبناته وابن أخيه القاسم بن الحسن بن علي، ثمّ سار في أحد وعشرين رجلاً من أصحابه وأهل بيته، منهم أبو بكر بن علي، ومحمّد بن علي، وعثمان بن علي، والعبّاس بن علي، وعبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل، وعلي بن الحسين الأكبر، وعلي بن الحسين الأصغر.

PART 3: THE ACTIVITIES OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) IN MECCA

3/1: The delight of the people of Mecca at the arrival of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

100. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) travelled until he approached Mecca. When he caught sight of its mountains from afar, he began to recite the following verse, "*And when he directed himself towards Madyan, he said, 'Perhaps my Lord will guide me on the right course.'*"[1]

Al-Ḥusayn (a) entered Mecca and its inhabitants were greatly delighted at his arrival and visited him day and night. This was difficult for 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr to watch because he had hoped that the people of Mecca would swear their allegiance to him. However, now that al-Ḥusayn (a) had arrived in Mecca, his hopes were dashed. He did not reveal to al-Ḥusayn (a) what he harboured in his heart, but he also began to visit him, pray behind him, sit in his gatherings, and listen to his words.[2]

101. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān: Al-Ḥusayn (a) arrived and stayed in Mecca. Its residents began to visit him regularly.

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[1] Q 28:22.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 23; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 190.

سار الحسين عليه السلام حتّى وافى مكّة، فلمّا نظر إلى جبالها من بعيد جعل يتلو هذه الآية: ﴿ولمّا توجّه تلقاء مدين قال عسى ربّي أن يهديني سواء السبيل﴾. ودخل الحسين إلى مكّة ففرح به أهلها فرحا شديدا. قال: وجعلوا يختلفون إليه بكرة وعشيّة، واشتدّ ذلك على عبد الله بن الزبير لأنّه قد كان طمع أن يبايعه أهل مكّة، فلمّا قدم الحسين عليه السلام شقّ ذلك عليه، غير أنّه لا يبدي ما في قلبه إلى الحسين عليه السلام، لكنّه يختلف إليه ويصلّي بصلاته ويقعد عنده ويسمع من حديثه.

as did those who had come to Mecca for the minor pilgrimage (*'umrah*), as well as others from distant townships.[1]

3/2: The letter of the Kufans to the Imam (a), urging him to rise against Yazid

102. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Bishr al-Hamdānī: The Shi'a began to gather at the house of Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad. We spoke of the demise of Mu'āwiyah and praised God for that. Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad said to us, "Mu'āwiyah has perished, while al-Ḥusayn (a) has refused to give those people his oath of allegiance and has departed for Mecca. Now, you are his Shi'a, and the Shi'a of his father; if you have the resolve to help him and to fight his enemies, then write to him, but if you are afraid that you will be weak and fail [when the time comes], then do not lead the man to risk his life."

They all said, "No! We will fight his enemies and lay down our lives for him."

He said, "Then write to him." They wrote the following:

In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

To al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, from Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad,[2] Al-Musayyib ibn

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 351; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 35.

ـ فأقبل الحسين عليه السلام حتى نزل مكة، فأقبل أهلها يختلفون إليه ويأتونه ومن كان بها من المعتمرين وأهل الآفاق.

[2] Abū al-Muṭarraf, Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad ibn Jawn al-Khuzā'ī, was one of the companions of the Prophet (s), and a senior and well-known Shi'a of Kufa. He abstained from fighting at the side of Imam 'Alī (a) in the Battle of Jamal, an act that drew the censure of the Imam (a), who criticized his conduct severely; however, in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he commanded the right wing of the Imam's (a) forces.

During his rule, Imam 'Alī (a), appointed Sulaymān as his governor in the region of Jibāl, and praised his steadfastness in religion. During the caliphate of Imam al-Ḥasan (a), he was one of his companions. When Mu'āwiyah broke the conditions of the treaty, Sulaymān advised Imam al-Ḥasan (a) to expel Mu'āwiyah's governor from Kufa; however, the Imam (a) did not agree with him.

After the death of Mu'āwiyah, he gathered the people of Kufa, and wrote a letter to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), inviting him to Kufa; however, he failed to give him

> Najabah,[1] Rifā'ah ibn Shaddād,[2] Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir,[3] and his Shī'a from among the believers and Muslims of Kufa. Peace be upon you. We mention to you the praise of God, aside from Whom there is no deity.
>
> Now then, all praise is for God who has destroyed your enemy, who was a stubborn tyrant, who had leaped over this nation, snatched its affairs, usurped its spoils of war, and become its ruler without the people's consent. Then, he killed the best of its members and promoted its worst. He divided the wealth of God amongst the powerful and wealthy. May he be deprived of God's mercy the same way the people of Thamūd were deprived of it.
>
> We have no Imam over us. Come to us, so that through you, God may unite us on the path of truth. Al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr sits in the government house; we do not join his Friday prayers, nor do we come out with him for the festivities of 'Īd.
>
> If we receive confirmation that you are coming to us, we will expel him and drive him back to Syria, God willing!
>
> May the peace and mercy of God be on you.

Then, we sent the letter with 'Abd Allāh ibn Sabī' al-Hamdānī and 'Abd Allāh ibn Wāl, instructing them to make haste. The two men left

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his oath of allegiance, and was not present with the Imam (a) at the Battle of al-Ṭaff.

After the death of Yazīd, he assembled the Shī'a of Kufa, and led an uprising against Ibn Ziyād, with the famous slogan, "Rise to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn!" It was an epic and emotive uprising. After an intense battle with 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, Sulaymān was defeated. He was martyred in 65/685 at the age of 93 years.

[1] Al-Musayyib ibn Najabah ibn Rabī'ah al-Fazārī had seen the Prophet (s) and had taken part in the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the conquest of Iraq. He fought in the battles of Imam 'Alī (a), and in the year 65/685, he was killed along with the Tawwābīn (Repentants). Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr sent his head with Adham ibn Muḥriz al-Bāhilī to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād.

[2] Abū 'Āṣim, Rifā'ah ibn Shaddād al-Bajalī al-Kūfī, was one of the eminent companions of Imam 'Alī (a), and was considered to be one of the leaders of the Tawwābīn movement that rose after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was present in the Battle of 'Ayn al-Wardah, and accompanied al-Mukhtār until he was killed in 66/686.

[3] See ch. 4, part 3 (Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir).

> quickly and reached al-Ḥusayn (a) in Mecca on the 10th of the month of Ramaḍān.
>
> We waited for two days, then we sent Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kadin al-Arḥabī, and 'Umārah ibn 'Ubayd al-Salūlī to him. They carried nearly 53 letters with them: each letter was signed by one man, or two, or four.
>
> We waited for a further two days, and then we sent Hānī' ibn Hānī' al-Sabī'ī and Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī with following letter:
>
>> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
>>
>> To al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, from his Shī'a from among the believers and Muslims.
>>
>> Now then, come without delay. Verily, the people are waiting for you, and they have no other person in mind except you. So hasten, hasten! Peace be on you.

[Further,], Shabath ibn Rib'ī, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar, Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Yazīd ibn Ruwaym, 'Azrah ibn Qays, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī, and Muḥammad ibn 'Umayr al-Tamīmī wrote to him the following:

> The gardens have become green, the fruits have ripened, and the banks have overflown.[1] So, if you wish to, then come to an army that is already assembled for you. Peace be on you.

All the messengers reached him, and after he read the letters, he questioned them about the mood of the people.[2]

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[1] Metaphors indicating that the whole town was in readiness. [Trans.]

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 352; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 35.

اجتمعت الشيعة في منزل سليمان بن صرد، فذكرنا هلاك معاوية فحمدنا الله عليه، فقال لنا سليمان بن صرد: إن معاوية قد هلك، وإن حسيناً قد تقبض على القوم ببيعته، وقد خرج إلى مكة، وأنتم شيعته وشيعة أبيه، فإن كنتم تعلمون أنكم ناصروه ومجاهدو عدوه فاكتبوا إليه، وإن خفتم الوهل والفشل فلا تغروا الرجل من نفسه. قالوا: لا، بل نقاتل عدوه، ونقتل أنفسنا دونه. قال: فاكتبوا إليه. فكتبوا إليه:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لحسين بن علي من سليمان بن صرد والمسيب بن نجبة ورفاعة بن شداد وحبيب بن مظاهر، وشيعته من المؤمنين والمسلمين من أهل الكوفة

سلام عليك، فإنا نحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو. أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي قصم عدوك الجبار العنيد الذي انتزى على هذه الأمة فابتزها أمرها وغصبها فيئها وتأمر عليها بغير رضى منها ثم قتل

103. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: When the people in Kufa learnt that Muʿāwiyah was dead and that al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) had left for Mecca, a group of Shīʿa gathered at the house of Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad. They decided to write to al-Ḥusayn (a), asking him to come to them so that they could hand over authority to him and remove al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr. They wrote that to him and despatched the letter with ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Subayʿ al-Hamdānī and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Waddāk al-Sulamī. The two messengers met al-Ḥusayn (a) in Mecca on the 10th of the month of Ramaḍān and handed the letter to him.

On the same day, Bishr ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUbayd al-Arḥabī arrived as well, and presented al-Ḥusayn (a) with 50 letters from the noblemen and tribal leaders of Kufa; every letter was signed by two, three, four, or more people.

خيارها واستبقى شرارها، وجعل مال الله دولة بين جبابرتها وأغنيائها، فبعداً له كما بعدت ثمود، إنه ليس علينا إمام، فأقبل لعل الله أن يجمعنا بك على الحق، والنعمان بن بشير في قصر الإمارة لسنا نجتمع معه في جمعة، ولا نخرج معه إلى عيد، ولو قد بلغنا أنك قد أقبلت إلينا أخرجناه حتى نلحقه بالشام إن شاء الله، والسلام ورحمة الله عليك.

قال: ثم سرحنا بالكتاب مع عبد الله بن سبع الهمداني وعبد الله بن وال، وأمرناهما بالنجاء، فخرج الرجلان مسرعين حتى قدما على الحسين لعشر مضين من شهر رمضان بمكة.

ثم لبثنا يومين، ثم سرحنا إليه قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي، وعبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن الكدن الأرحبي، وعمارة بن عبيد السلولي، فحملوا معهم نحواً من ثلاث وخمسين صحيفة من الرجل والاثنين والأربعة.

قال: ثم لبثنا يومين آخرين، ثم سرحنا إليه هانئ بن هانئ السبيعي وسعيد بن عبد الله الحنفي، وكتبنا معهما:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

للحسين بن علي من شيعته من المؤمنين والمسلمين، أما بعد، فحيهلا، فإن الناس ينتظرونك، ولا رأي لهم في غيرك، فالعجل العجل، والسلام عليك.

وكتب شبث بن ربعي وحجار بن أبجر ويزيد بن الحارث بن يزيد بن رويم وعزرة بن قيس وعمرو بن الحجاج الزبيدي ومحمد بن عمير التميمي:

أما بعد، فقد اخضر الجناب وأينعت الثمار وطمت الجمام، فإذا شئت فاقدم على جند لك مجند، والسلام عليك.

وتلاقت الرسل كلها عنده، فقرأ الكتب وسأل الرسل عن أمر الناس.

On the next morning, Hāni' ibn Hāni' al-Sabī'ī and Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khath'amī arrived, and they also brought around fifty letters with them.

That same night, Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Thaqafī came with a single letter signed by Shabath ibn Rib'ī, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar, Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith, 'Azrah ibn Qays, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj, and Muḥammad ibn 'Umayr ibn 'Uṭārid. These men were the tribal leaders of the people of Kufa. In the days that followed, messengers kept bringing more letters from Kufa. In the end, there were enough letters to fill two saddlebags.[1]

104. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) went to Mecca. He had only stayed there for a few days when the people of Iraq began writing letters to him. They sent messenger after messenger to him. The last letter he received from them was the one brought by Hāni' ibn Abī Hāni' and Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khath'amī. [It read:]

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
>
> To al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, from his Shī'a from among the believers and Muslims.

---

[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 229.

لما بلغ أهل الكوفة وفاة معاوية وخروج الحسين بن علي عليه السلام إلى مكة اجتمع جماعة من الشيعة في منزل سليمان بن صرد، واتفقوا على أن يكتبوا إلى الحسين عليه السلام يسألونه القدوم عليهم ليسلّموا الأمر إليه ويطردوا النعمان بن بشير، فكتبوا إليه بذلك، ثم وجّهوا بالكتاب مع عبيد الله بن سبيع الهمداني وعبد الله بن وداك السلمي، فوافوا الحسين عليه السلام بمكة لعشر خلون من شهر رمضان، فأوصلوا الكتاب إليه.

ثم لم يمس الحسين عليه السلام يومه ذلك حتى ورد عليه بشر بن مسهر الصيداوي وعبد الرحمن بن عبيد الأرحبي، ومعهما خمسون كتابًا من أشراف أهل الكوفة ورؤسائها، كل كتاب منها من الرجلين والثلاثة والأربعة بمثل ذلك.

فلما أصبح وافاه هانئ بن هانئ السبيعي وسعيد بن عبد الله الخثعمي، ومعهما أيضًا نحو من خمسين كتابًا.

فلما أمسى أيضًا ذلك اليوم ورد عليه سعيد بن عبد الله الثقفي ومعه كتاب واحد من شبث بن ربعي وحجار بن أبجر ويزيد بن الحارث وعزرة بن قيس وعمرو بن الحجاج ومحمد بن عمير بن عطارد، وكان هؤلاء الرؤساء من أهل الكوفة، فتتابعت عليه في أيام رسل أهل الكوفة ومن الكتب ما ملأ منه خرجين.

> Now then, come without delay. The people are waiting for you. They have no Imam except you. So hasten, hasten! Peace be on you.[1]

3/3: The Imam (a) sends a special envoy with his letter of reply to Kufa

105. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: [In response to their letters] Al-Ḥusayn (a) wrote a single letter to all of them and despatched it with Hānī' ibn Hānī' and Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh. He wrote:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
>
> From al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī to every recipient of this letter of mine, from amongst our friends and the Shī'a of Kufa. Peace be on all of you.
>
> I have received your letters, and I have noted what you have mentioned about your eagerness for me to come to you. I am sending to you my cousin and brother [in faith], a trusted member of my family, Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, so that he may apprise me of your situation and write to me of what he understands from your meetings. If your situation is indeed as you have described in your letters, and has been conveyed to me by your messengers, I will come to you without delay, God willing. Peace.

Muslim ibn 'Aqīl had accompanied him from Medina to Mecca. Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "O cousin, I want you to go to Kufa, and find out what the people there have resolved to do. If it is as described in their letters, then send me a message immediately, so that I may join you without delay; but if the situation is different, then return at once."[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 241.

خرج الحسين عليه السلام إلى مكة فأقام بها أياماً وكتب أهل العراق إليه ووجهوا بالرسل على إثر الرسل، فكان آخر كتاب ورد عليه منهم كتاب هانئ بن أبي هانئ وسعيد بن عبد الله الخثعمي:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

للحسين بن علي من شيعته المؤمنين والمسلمين، أما بعد فحيهلا، فإن الناس ينتظرونك، لا إمام لهم غيرك، فالعجل ثم العجل، والسلام.

[2] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 230

كتب الحسين عليه السلام إليهم جميعاً كتاباً واحداً ودفعه إلى هانئ بن هانئ وسعيد بن عبد الله، نسخته:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

106: *al-Malhūf*, after reporting about the letters that the Kufans sent to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to Hānī' ibn Hānī' al-Sabī'ī and Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī, "Tell me, who are the individuals who are in agreement about the particular letter you two brought to me?"

They said, "O son of God's Messenger (a)! Shabath ibn Rib'ī, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar, Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith, Yazīd ibn Ruwaym, 'Urwah ibn Qays, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj, and Muḥammad ibn 'Umayr ibn 'Uṭārid."

On hearing this, al-Ḥusayn (a) rose and recited two units of prayer between the *rukn* and the *maqām*[1] and asked God for goodness in this affair. Then he called for Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and briefed him about the situation. He entrusted him with his reply to their letters, in which he indicated his willingness to come to them. He wrote to them something like the following, "I am sending my cousin, Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, to you to inform me of your intentions."[2]

من الحسين بن علي إلى من بلغه كتابي هذا من أوليائه وشيعته بالكوفة، سلام عليكم. أما بعد، فقد أتتني كتبكم، وفهمت ما ذكرتم من محبتكم لقدومي عليكم، وإني باعث إليكم بأخي وابن عمي وثقتي من أهلي مسلم بن عقيل ليعلم لي كنه أمركم، ويكتب إلي بما يتبين له من اجتماعكم، فإن كان أمركم على ما أتتني به كتبكم وأخبرتني به رسلكم أسرعت القدوم عليكم إن شاء الله، والسلام.

وقد كان مسلم بن عقيل خرج معه من المدينة إلى مكة، فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: يا ابن عم قد رأيت أن تسير إلى الكوفة فتنظر ما اجتمع عليه رأي أهلها، فإن كانوا على ما أتتني به كتبهم فعجل علي بكتابك لأسرع القدوم عليك، وإن تكن الأخرى فعجل الانصراف.

[1] *Al-rukn* is the corner of the Ka'bah, and *al-maqām* is the adjacent structure housing the stone containing the footprints of Ibrāhīm (a). [Trans.]

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 106; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 28 (a similar report).

فقال الحسين عليه السلام لهانئ بن هانئ السبيعي وسعيد بن عبد الله الحنفي: خبراني من اجتمع على هذا الكتاب الذي ورد علي معكما؟ فقالا: يا ابن رسول الله، شبث بن ربعي، وحجار بن أبجر، ويزيد بن الحارث، ويزيد بن رويم، وعروة بن قيس، وعمرو بن الحجاج، ومحمد بن عمير بن عطارد.

قال: فعندها قام الحسين عليه السلام فصلى ركعتين بين الركن والمقام، وسأل الله الخيرة في ذلك، ثم دعا بمسلم بن عقيل وأطلعه على الحال، وكتب معه جواب كتبهم يعدهم بالوصول إليهم، ويقول لهم ما معناه: قد نفذت إليكم ابن عمي مسلم بن عقيل ليعرفني ما أنتم عليه من الرأي.

3/4: The Imam (a) seeks help from the people of Basra

1. The letter of the Imam (a) to leading men in Basra

107. *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) wrote a letter to his Shīʿa amongst the inhabitants of Basra and despatched it with Salmān, one of his retainers. The letter read:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
>
> From al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī to Mālik ibn Misma', al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd, Masʿūd ibn ʿAmr, and Qays ibn al-Haytham: Peace be on all of you.
>
> I invite you to revive the tradition of truth and put an end to innovation. If you respond positively, you will be guided on the path of righteousness. Peace.

When this letter reached them, they all kept it a secret, except al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd, who disclosed it because his daughter Hind was married to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. He went to him and informed him about the letter and revealed its contents. ʿUbayd Allāh gave an order to find the messenger. He was found, brought to him, and beheaded.[1]

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[1] *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 231.

قد كان الحسين بن علي عليه السلام كتب كتاباً إلى شيعته من أهل البصرة مع مولى له يسمى سلمان، نسخته:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

من الحسين بن علي إلى مالك بن مسمع والأحنف بن قيس والمنذر بن الجارود ومسعود بن عمرو وقيس بن الهيثم، سلام عليكم، أما بعد، فإني أدعوكم إلى إحياء معالم الحق وإماتة البدع، فإن تجيبوا تهتدوا سبل الرشاد، والسلام.

فلما أتاهم هذا الكتاب كتموه جميعاً إلا المنذر بن الجارود، فإنه أفشاه لتزويجه ابنته هنداً من عبيد الله بن زياد، فأقبل حتى دخل عليه فأخبره بالكتاب، وحكى له ما فيه، فأمر عبيد الله بن زياد بطلب الرسول، فطلبوه فأتوه به، فضربت عنقه.

2. The reply of Yazīd ibn Mas'ūd[1] to the letter of the Imam (a)

108. *al-Malhūf*: Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād – who was his governor in Basra – that he was extending his authority to include Kufa as well. He informed him about the threat of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and al-Ḥusayn (a) and instructed him to apprehend Muslim and kill him. Accordingly, 'Ubayd Allāh prepared to go to Kufa.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) had written a letter to a group of leading figures in Basra and sent it with Sulaymān, one of his retainers, who was also known as Abū Razīn. In the letter, he called for their assistance and compliance. Amongst the people whom he wrote to were Yazīd ibn Mas'ūd al-Nahshalī and al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd al-'Abdī.

[...] Thereafter, Yazīd ibn Mas'ūd wrote back to al-Ḥusayn (a):

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
>
> Your letter has reached me, and I have understood your message. You have invited me to prosper by obeying you and to earn felicity by assisting you. God shall never abandon the world without someone who calls to righteousness and guides to the path of salvation. You are the proof of God over His creation, and His trust on the earth. You have come from the blessed tree of Aḥmad; he is its root and you are its branch.
>
> So, proceed [with your plan] with the confidence of the highest-flying birds. I have secured for you the commitment of the Banū Tamīm and left them more eager to follow you than thirsty camels excited at the sight of water. I have secured for you the Banū Sa'd [as well], and washed, for you, the pollution from their hearts with pure water, until they gleam...

When he read the letter, al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "May God give you security on the day of fear, honour you, and grant you water on the day of great thirst."

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[1] Yazīd ibn Mas'ūd ibn Khālid al-Nahshalī was one of the noblemen of Basra. Not much information is available about him. Judging by this letter, and a record of his efforts to rally the chieftains of Banū Tamīm and Banū Sa'd to assist Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), it appears that he was a man of sound belief.

When his letter reached the hand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he prayed for him. He was on his way to join Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) when he received the news of the martyrdom of the Imam (a), leaving him very distraught.

[But] when he was preparing to leave to join al-Ḥusayn (a), he received the news that Imam (a) had been martyred. He had not even started the journey, and the news left him very distraught.

As for Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd, he brought the letter and the messenger to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād because he feared that the letter was a trap set [for him] by 'Ubayd Allāh, and his daughter Baḥriyyah was 'Ubayd Allāh's wife.

'Ubayd Allāh seized the messenger and had him hung. Then he ascended the pulpit and gave a sermon in which he threatened the people of Basra, warning them against any insurrection or rumour-mongering.

He spent that night in Basra, and in the morning, he appointed his brother, 'Uthmān ibn Ziyād, to take charge over them, before hurrying on to Kufa.[1]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 109; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 27.

كتب يزيد إلى عبيد الله بن زياد - وكان واليا على البصرة - بأنه قد ولاه الكوفة وضمها إليه، ويعرفه أمر مسلم بن عقيل وأمر الحسين عليه السلام، ويشدد عليه في تحصيل مسلم وقتله. فتأهب عبيد الله للمسير إلى الكوفة.

وكان الحسين عليه السلام قد كتب إلى جماعة من أشراف البصرة كتابا مع مولى له اسمه سليمان ويكنى أبا رزين يدعوهم فيه إلى نصرته ولزوم طاعته، منهم يزيد بن مسعود النهشلي والمنذر بن الجارود العبدي.

...ثم كتب [يزيد بن مسعود] إلى الحسين عليه السلام: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، أما بعد فقد وصل إلي كتابك، وفهمت ما ندبتني إليه ودعوتني له من الأخذ بحظي من طاعتك والفوز بنصيبي من نصرتك، وإن الله لم يخل الأرض من عامل عليها بخير ودليل على سبيل النجاة، وأنتم حجة الله على خلقه ووديعته في أرضه، تفرعتم من زيتونة أحمدية هو أصلها وأنتم فرعها. فأقدم سعدت بأسعد طائر، فقد ذللت لك أعناق بني تميم وتركتهم أشد تتابعا لك من الإبل الظماء يوم خمسها لورود الماء، وقد ذللت لك رقاب بني سعد وغسلت لك درن صدورها بماء سحابة مزن حين استهل برقها فلمع.

فلما قرأ الحسين عليه السلام الكتاب قال: آمنك الله يوم الخوف وأعزك وأرواك يوم العطش الأكبر.

فلما تجهز المشار إليه للخروج إلى الحسين عليه السلام بلغه قتله قبل أن يسير، فجزع من انقطاعه عنه.

وأما المنذر بن الجارود فإنه جاء بالكتاب والرسول إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، لأن المنذر خاف أن يكون الكتاب دسيسا من عبيد الله بن زياد، وكانت بحرية بنت المنذر زوجة لعبيد الله بن زياد، فأخذ عبيد الله بن زياد الرسول فصلبه، ثم صعد المنبر فخطب وتوعد أهل البصرة على الخلاف وإثارة الإرجاف، ثم بات تلك الليلة، فلما أصبح استناب عليهم أخاه عثمان بن زياد وأسرع هو إلى قصد الكوفة.

PART 4: THE DEPARTURE OF THE ENVOY OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) FROM MECCA UNTIL HIS MARTYRDOM IN KUFA

4/1: Reports about the events on the way to Kufa

109. *Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Then al-Ḥusayn (a) called forth Muslim ibn ʿAqīl and sent him to Kufa accompanied by Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī, ʿUmārah ibn ʿUbayd al-Salūlī, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Kadin al-Arḥabī. He enjoined him to be mindful of God, to keep the details [of his journey] secret, and to be discreet. He also told him that if he found the Kufans to be organized and sincerely committed, he was to let him know at once.

Muslim set out until he reached Medina, where he prayed at the mosque of the Prophet (s). Then he bid farewell to his closest relatives and hired two guides from the tribe of Qays. The guides joined his group but missed the road and got lost. Soon, the whole company became extremely thirsty.

The two guides informed them, "This road definitely leads to water." By then, all of them were at the point of death due to thirst. [At this time] they had reached al-Maḍīq, in the wadi of al-Khubayt.[1]

Muslim ibn ʿAqīl sent the following letter to al-Ḥusayn (a) with Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī:

> I left from Medina with two guides, but they lost their way. We have become very thirsty, and [meanwhile] they have died. We travelled on and found water, and barely managed to save our lives. This water is at a place called al-Maḍīq, in the wadi of al-Khubayt. I have taken this as a bad omen for my assignment, and if you agree, then relieve me from it, and send someone else [in my place]. Peace.

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[1] A location near Medina (see Map 3).

Al-Husayn (a) wrote the following in reply:

> I am concerned that perchance, it is cowardice that has caused you to send me a letter asking me to relieve you from the assignment that that I had given to you. So, carry on in the direction that I have sent you. Peace.

When Muslim read the letter, he remarked, "This [the letter] was not because I feared for my own life." Then, he continued as before, until he came to a well of the tribe of Ṭayy. He stayed with them for a while, and as he prepared to leave, he saw a man hunting. The hunter shot a deer as it sprang in front of him and killed it. At this, Muslim said, "Our enemies will be killed, God willing."

106. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*: When Muslim departed from Mecca, he passed by Medina, and hired two guides there.

They took him through abandoned routes in the desert, but one of the guides perished from excessive thirst. They had lost their way. The guide died at a place called al-Maḍīq, in the wadi of al-Khubayt.

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1 Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 354; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 39.

دعا [الحسين عليه السلام] مسلم بن عقيل، فسرّحه مع قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي، وعمارة بن عبيد السلولي، وعبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن الكدن الأرحبي، فأمره بتقوى الله وكتمان أمره واللطف، فإن رأى الناس مجتمعين مستوسقين عجّل إليه بذلك.

فأقبل مسلم حتى أتى المدينة، فصلّى في مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، وودّع من أحبّ من أهله، ثم استأجر دليلين من قيس، فأقبلا به يتنكّبان الطريق وجارا وأصابهم عطش شديد.

وقال الدليلان: هذا الطريق حتى تنتهي إلى الماء، وقد كادوا أن يموتوا عطشاً. فكتب مسلم بن عقيل مع قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي إلى الحسين عليه السلام - وذلك بالمضيق من بطن الخبيت.

أما بعد، فإني أقبلت من المدينة مع دليلين لي، فجارا عن الطريق وضلّا، واشتدّ علينا العطش، فلم يلبثا أن ماتا، وأقبلنا حتى انتهينا إلى الماء، فلم ننج إلا بحشاشة أنفسنا، وذلك الماء بمكان يدعى المضيق من بطن الخبيت، وقد تطيّرت من وجهي هذا، فإن رأيت أعفيتني منه وبعثت غيري، والسلام.

فكتب إليه الحسين عليه السلام:

أما بعد، فقد خشيت ألا يكون حملك على الكتاب إليّ في الاستعفاء من الوجه الذي وجّهتك له إلا الجبن، فامض لوجهك الذي وجّهتك له، والسلام عليك.

فقال مسلم لما قرأ الكتاب: هذا ما لست أتخوّفه على نفسي. فأقبل كما هو حتى مرّ بماء لطيّ، فنزل بهم، ثم ارتحل منه فإذا رجل يرمي الصيد، فنظر إليه قد رمى ظبياً حين أشرف له فصرعه، فقال مسلم: يقتل عدوّنا إن شاء الله.

Muslim ibn 'Aqil took this as an ill omen and remained at that place. Then the second guide died as well. Muslim wrote a letter to al-Husayn (a) seeking his advice on what to do next. He wrote back to him that he must continue his journey to Iraq and meet with the people of Kufa to find out their intentions, and to seek information about their plans.[1]

An assessment of the reports concerning the request by Muslim to be relieved from his role as the envoy of the Imam (a)

According to some reports, after Muslim ibn 'Aqil accepted the role of representing the Imam (a) in Kufa, he returned from Mecca to Medina. From there, he departed for Kufa, accompanied by two local guides. However, these two guides got them lost, and subsequently both perished due to severe thirst.

With great difficulty, Muslim and his companions managed to find water and save their lives. He took this incident as an ill omen, and therefore wrote to Imam al-Husayn (a), asking to be excused from carrying out his assignment. The Imam (a) in turn, accused him of being afraid to carry out his mission. He refused to relieve Muslim and ordered him to continue with his journey.

The fact is, these reports are not at all credible, for the following reasons.

1. None of these reports have any chains of transmission that can be relied on.
2. According to historical data, Muslim completed the journey from Mecca to Kufa in twenty days; he left Mecca on the 15th

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[1] *al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah*, vol. 8, p. 152.

فلما سار مسلم من مكة اجتاز بالمدينة فأخذ منها دليلين فسارا به على براري مهجورة المسالك، فكان أحد الدليلين منهما أول هالك، وذلك من شدة العطش، وقد أضلوا الطريق، فهلك الدليل الواحد بمكان يقال له المضيق من بطن خبيت، فتطير به مسلم بن عقيل، فتلبث مسلم على ما هنالك، ومات الدليل الآخر، فكتب إلى الحسين عليه السلام يستشيره في أمره، فكتب إليه يعزم عليه أن يدخل العراق وأن يجتمع بأهل الكوفة ليستعلم أمرهم ويستخبر خبرهم.

of the month of Ramaḍān and arrived in Kufa on the 5th of Shawwāl. Since the distance from Mecca to Kufa is around 1400 km, he had to travel, on average, 70 km every day. Of couse, this is apart from the few days that he stayed in Medina.

Now, how is it possible that in this duration, he was able to leave Medina, find and send a messenger to Mecca to ask the Imam (a) for instructions, and get back the reply? If we add to this his stay in Medina, as well as the time he took to rest, his journey would certainly have taken longer than a month.

3. It seems unlikely that the local guides, who would have been experienced in the hardships of desert travel, both perished of thirst, while Muslim and his companions managed to stay alive.
4. Taking incidents as ill omens is considered to be a reprehensible practice in Islam.[1] For this reason, it is unlikely that a person of the status of Muslim, whom Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had chosen as his envoy for such a perilous mission, would use an excuse like an ill omen to seek to be relieved from his assignment.
5. In the account of Ibn Kathīr, there is no mention of Muslim seeking to be relieved from his assignment; all that is mentioned is that he wrote to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) seeking his counsel about what to do next.
6. It is unlikely that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) would accuse a great man like Muslim of cowardice and dereliction in performing his duty.

Based on these reasons and this evidence, one can say that the accounts of Muslim seeking to be excused from representing Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and the incidents surrounding the allegation, suffer from serious flaws. These kinds of stories are clearly the fabrications of the partisans of the Banū Umayyah in an attempt to distort the history of Ashura. Fabricators have often mixed falsehoods within the facts of history in this manner.

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[1] See Mīzān al-Ḥikmah, vol. 6, p. 577 (the section on ill omens).

4/2: The arrival of Muslim in Kufa and the pledge of allegiance of the Kufans to him

111. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Muslim approached Kufa, and when he entered the city, he stayed at the house of al-Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbayd – today it is known as the house of Muslim ibn al-Musayyab. The Shīʿa began to visit him regularly. Whenever a sizeable number of them had assembled before him, he would read out to them the letter of al-Ḥusayn (a), and they would break down in tears.

ʿĀbis ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī arose. He praised God and glorified Him, then said, "Indeed, I cannot speak on behalf of the people, for I do not know what is in their hearts, and I will not deceive you about them. But by God, I will certainly relate to you what I am prepared to do. By God, I will respond whenever you call me. I will join you when you fight your enemies, and I will strike with my sword in your defence, until I meet God. I do not seek by this anything except what is with God."

Then, Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir al-Faqʿasī rose, and said, "May God have mercy on you! You have summarised what is in your heart in a few words." Then, he said, "By God, other than whom there is no deity, I am also resolved to follow the same course as him." Thereafter, al-Ḥanafī spoke in the same vein.

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn ʿAlī reported, "I said to Muḥammad ibn Bashīr, 'Did you have anything to say from yourself?' He replied, 'Although I wanted my friends to be honoured by God with victory, I did not want to be killed, so I did not want to lie.'"

The Shīʿa began to visit him so often that his residence became known, and its location was reported to al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr [the governor].[1]

112. *al-Irshād*: Muslim approached Kufa until he entered the city. He stayed at the house of al-Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbayd – today it is known as the house of Salam ibn al-Musayyab. The Shi'a began to visit him regularly. Every time a large number assembled before him, he would read out the letter of al-Husayn ibn 'Ali (a) to them, and they would weep. The people began to give their oaths of allegiance, until 18,000 of them had done so.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 355.

أقبل مسلم حتى دخل الكوفة، فنزل دار المختار بن أبي عبيد - وهي التي تدعى اليوم دار مسلم بن المسيّب - وأقبلت الشيعة تختلف إليه، فلما اجتمعت إليه جماعة منهم قرأ عليهم كتاب حسين عليه السلام، فأخذوا يبكون.

So, Muslim, may God's mercy be on him, wrote to al-Husayn (a), informing him of the allegiance of 18,000 men, and urging him to come to Kufa.

The Shi'a began to visit Muslim, may God be pleased with him, so often that his place of residence became known, and al-Nu'mān ibn Bashir found out about it. He was the governor of Kufa from the time of Mu'āwiyah, and his position had been ratified by Yazīd.[1]

119. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: Muslim advanced until he reached Kufa, where he stayed at the house of al-Mukhtār, or, some say, at someone else's house. The Shi'a began to visit him often, and whenever a large number of them were assembled before him, he would read out to

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فقام عابس بن أبي شبيب الشاكري، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال: أما بعد فإني لا أخبرك عن الناس، ولا أعلم ما في أنفسهم، وما أغرك منهم، والله لأحدثنك عما أنا موطن نفسي عليه، والله لأجيبنكم إذا دعوتم، ولأقاتلن معكم عدوكم، ولأضربن بسيفي دونكم حتى ألقى الله، لا أريد بذلك إلا ما عند الله.

فقام حبيب بن مظاهر الفقعسي فقال: رحمك الله، قد قضيت ما في نفسك بواجز من قولك، ثم قال: وأنا والله الذي لا إله إلا هو على مثل ما هذا عليه.

ثم قال الحنفي مثل ذلك، فقال الحجاج بن علي: فقلت لمحمد بن بشر: فهل كان منك أنت قول؟ فقال: إن كنت لأحب أن يعز الله أصحابي بالظفر، وما كنت لأحب أن أقتل، وكرهت أن أكذب.

واختلفت الشيعة إليه حتى علم مكانه، فبلغ ذلك النعمان بن بشير

[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 41; Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn, p. 191.

أقبل (مسلم بن عقيل) حتى دخل الكوفة فنزل في دار المختار بن أبي عبيد، وهي التي تدعى اليوم دار سلم بن المسيب، وأقبلت الشيعة تختلف إليه، فلما اجتمع إليه منهم جماعة قرأ عليهم كتاب الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وهم يبكون، وبايعه الناس حتى بايعه منهم ثمانية عشر ألفاً.

فكتب مسلم - رحمه الله - إلى الحسين عليه السلام يخبره ببيعة ثمانية عشر ألفاً ويأمره بالقدوم، وجعلت الشيعة تختلف إلى مسلم بن عقيل - رضي الله عنه - حتى علم مكانه، فبلغ النعمان بن بشير ذلك، وكان والياً على الكوفة من قبل معاوية، فأقره يزيد عليها.

them the letter of al-Husayn (a), and they would weep, and pledge to fight for him and assist him.[1]

154. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: When Muslim entered Kufa, the people gathered around him. They gave him their oaths of allegiance, and promised and pledged their assistance to him, assuring him of their support and loyalty.[2]

A word about the place of residence of Muslim in Kufa

As per the instructions of Imam al-Husayn (a) – which have been mentioned in some historical reports – Muslim was supposed to take the house of Hānī' as his residence and make it the nerve centre of his activity and revolution. However, most reports indicate that Muslim went to the house of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī. It has also been said that he stayed at the house of Muslim ibn 'Awsajah. Some reports even mention that he stayed at the house of Sharīk ibn al-A'war.

It would appear that the reason Muslim initially stayed somewhere other than the house directed by Imam al-Husayn (a) was to keep the location of the real centre of the revolution hidden from the authorities. The enemy were therefore unaware of the instructions of the Imam (a) that the decision-making was to be conducted from the house of Hānī'. For this reason, after Ibn Ziyād had retaken control of Kufa, he was not initially aware of the base of operations of Muslim. It was only when he managed to infiltrate his spy, a man by the name of Ma'qil, into the inner circle of Muslim, that he was able to learn the secret location.

As for the possibility that Muslim stayed at the house of Sharīk ibn al-A'war, which was mentioned earlier, it seems quite remote, because according to many reports, he had accompanied Ibn Ziyād from Basra to Kufa. Therefore, when Muslim arrived in Kufa, Sharīk was not yet present in the town. Furthermore, many sources report that when Sharīk fell ill, he took up residence at the house of Hānī', indicating that he did not have a house of his own in Kufa.

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[1] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 535.

سار مسلم حتى أتى الكوفة، ونزل في دار المختار، وقيل غيرها، وأقبلت الشيعة تختلف إليه، فكلما اجتمعت إليه جماعة منهم قرأ عليهم كتاب الحسين عليه السلام، فيبكون، ويعدونه من أنفسهم القتال والنصرة.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 243.

فلما قدم مسلم الكوفة اجتمعوا إليه فبايعوه وعاهدوه وعاقدوه، وأعطوه المواثيق على النصرة والمشايعة والوفاء.

A word about the number of men who pledged their oaths of allegiance at the hands of Muslim

Historical sources give different numbers for the men who gave their oaths of allegiance to Muslim: 12,000, 18,000, a little more than 20,000, 25,000, and over 30,000.

It is worth noting that most reports confirm that the number was 18,000. This number is repeated in more than ten of the original source works, such as *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, *al-Irshād*, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, *al-Thiqāt Ibn Ḥibbān*, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*.[1]

It appears that those reports that mention 12,000 men are to do with the early days of *bay'ah*, and the number increased over time.

As for the reports that mention other numbers, they are found in only a handful of sources, and are possibly based on estimates and conjectures.

It is noteworthy that in several sources, it is mentioned that when the people of Kufa wrote letters inviting Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to come to Kufa, they also wrote that there were 100,000 soldiers in Kufa ready to come to his side. Al-Mufīd describes the situation in the following words, "The people of Kufa wrote to the Imam (a), 'There are 100,000 swords for you here, so do not delay.'"[2]

Of course, we cannot deduce from this that after Muslim arrived in Kufa, 100,000 men gave him their *bay'ah*. In fact, the statement is probably an estimate of the number of soldiers that were present in Kufa, or an attempt to encourage the Imam (a) to elect to come to Kufa by informing him of the sizeable number of people who were potentially ready to support him.

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[1] See *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 4, p. 149.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 89.

4/3: The speech of al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr[1] and his threatening the people

115. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū al-Waddāk: Al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr came before us [the people] and ascended the pulpit. He praised and glorified God, then said, "O servants of God! Be mindful of God, and do not hurry towards strife and division, for in that [course] men will be destroyed, blood will be spilt, and property will be plundered."

He [al-Nu'mān] was a mild-mannered man, pious, and keen for the well-being of society. Then, he continued, "I shall not fight anyone who does not fight me and shall not provoke anyone who does not provoke me [first]. I do not seek to insult you or goad you.

"I shall not arrest anyone based on suspicion, or second-guessing their intentions, or rumour. However, [let me be clear that] if you display defiance, renege on your oaths of allegiance, and oppose your leader (*imām*), then by God, other than Whom there is no deity, I shall strike at you with my sword as long as it remains in my hand, even if I have no helper from amongst you. However, I hope that those among you who recognize the truth are more than those who have been deluded by falsehood."

Then, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Sa'īd al-Ḥaḍramī, who was allied to the Banū Umayyah, stood before him and said, "The matter before you will not be resolved except by violence. This attitude that you are adopting against your enemies is the act of the weak!"

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[1] According to the accounts of the people of Medina, al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr ibn Sa'd – who *kunyah* is Abū 'Abdillāh, and whose father was the first person to give the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr at Saqīfah – was the first child born amongst the *Anṣār* after the migration of the Prophet (s). However the Kufan reporters consider him to be older, and are of the opinion that he had heard many narrations of the Prophet (s).

Al-Nu'mān was a poet. He was also a partisan of 'Uthmān, and had thus distanced himself from the Commander of the Faithful, Imam 'Alī (a). In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he was the only person from the *Anṣār* who allied himself with Mu'āwiyah. Mu'āwiyah initially appointed him as the governor of Ḥimṣ (or Ḥums, Emessa), and later appointed as his governor in Kufa. When he assumed power, Yazīd kept him in that position. He was one of the commanders of Yazīd, but during the caliphate of Marwān ibn Ḥakam, he joined Ibn al-Zubayr. He tried to rally the people of Ḥimṣ to follow him, but they did not respond to his call. He fled from Ḥimṣ, but he was pursued and caught. In 64/683, or 65/685, he was executed, and his head was severed.

Al-Nu'mān retorted, "I would rather be weak yet obedient to God, than strong but in His disobedience!" Then he descended from the pulpit.[1]

226. ***al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah***, in his account of Muslim, and those who gave him the *bay'ah*: The news [of the activities of Muslim and his supporters] became widespread and reached the governor of Kufa, al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, when a person gave him all the details. Nu'mān remained aloof from the matter and did not deal with it directly. However, he ascended the pulpit and addressed the people, warning them against dissension and strife, and commanding them to maintain harmony and civil order.

He announced, "I shall not fight anyone who does not fight me, and shall not provoke anyone who does not provoke me [first]. I shall not arrest anyone based on suspicion, but, by God, other than Whom there is no deity, if you abandon your leader, and renege on your *bay'ah*, then I shall strike at you with my sword for as long as it remains in my hand."[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 355; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 41.

فخرج إلينا النعمان بن بشير فصعد المنبر فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: أما بعد، فاتقوا الله عباد الله،
ولا تسارعوا إلى الفتنة والفرقة، فإن فيهما يهلك الرجال، وتسفك الدماء، وتغتصب الأموال - وكان حليماً
ناسكاً يحب العافية - قال: إني لم أقاتل من لم يقاتلني، ولا أثب على من لا يثب علي، ولا أشاتمكم ولا
أتحرش بكم، ولا آخذ بالقرف ولا الظنة ولا التهمة، ولكنكم إن أبديتم صفحتكم لي، ونكثتم بيعتكم، وخالفتم
إمامكم، فوالله الذي لا إله غيره لأضربنكم بسيفي ما ثبت قائمه في يدي، ولو لم يكن لي منكم ناصر. أما
إني أرجو أن يكون من يعرف الحق منكم أكثر ممن يرديه الباطل.

قال: فقام إليه عبد الله بن مسلم بن سعيد الحضرمي حليف بني أمية، فقال: إنه لا يصلح ما ترى إلا
الغشم، إن هذا الذي أنت عليه فيما بينك وبين عدوك رأي المستضعفين.

فقال: أن أكون من المستضعفين في طاعة الله أحب إلي من أن أكون من الأعزين في معصية الله. ثم نزل.

[2] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 152.

اشتهر خبره حتى بلغ أمير الكوفة النعمان بن بشير خبره رجل بذلك، فجعل يضرب عن ذلك صفحاً
ولا يعبأ به، ولكنه خطب الناس ونهاهم عن الاختلاف والفتنة، وأمرهم بالائتلاف والسنة.

4/4: Receipt by Yazid of the news of the *bay'ah* of the people to Muslim, and the weak stance of al-Nu'mān ibn Bashir

117. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū al-Waddāk: 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim left [the assembly of al-Nu'mān] and wrote the following letter to Yazid ibn Mu'āwiyah:

> Muslim ibn 'Aqīl has arrived in Kufa, and the Shī'a have pledged their allegiance to him in the name of al-Ḥusayn. If you want to retain Kufa, then appoint a strong leader over it who can enforce your authority and act as you would act against your enemy. Al-Nu'mān ibn Bashir is a weak man, or is behaving like one.

He was the first to write to him. After him, 'Umārah ibn 'Uqbah wrote a similar message to him, as did 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.[1]

118. *al-Malhūf*: 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī, 'Umārah ibn al-Walīd, and 'Umar ibn Sa'd wrote letters to Yazid, informing him of the situation with Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. They advised him to dismiss al-Nu'mān ibn Bashir and replace him with another governor.[2]

وقال: إني لا أقاتل من لا يقاتلني، ولا أثب على من لا يثب علي، ولا آخذ بالقرف والظنة، ولكن والله الذي لا إله إلا هو، لئن فارقتم إمامكم ونكثتم بيعته، لأقاتلنكم ما دام في يدي من سيفي قائمة.

[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 356; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 42.

خرج عبد الله بن مسلم، وكتب إلى يزيد بن معاوية:

أما بعد، فإن مسلم بن عقيل قد قدم الكوفة، فبايعته الشيعة للحسين بن علي، فإن كان لك بالكوفة حاجة فابعث إليها رجلا قويا ينفذ أمرك، ويعمل مثل عملك في عدوك؛ فإن النعمان بن بشير رجل ضعيف، أو هو يتضعف.

فكان أول من كتب إليه، ثم كتب إليه عمارة بن عقبة بنحو من كتابه، ثم كتب إليه عمر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص بمثل ذلك.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 109.

كتب عبد الله بن مسلم الباهلي، وعمارة بن الوليد، وعمر بن سعد، إلى يزيد يخبرونه بأمر مسلم بن عقيل، ويشيرون عليه بصرف النعمان بن بشير وولاية غيره.

4/5: The seeking of advice by Yazīd in selecting a governor for Kufa

119. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting ʿAwānah ibn al-Ḥakam: When several letters reached Yazīd within a space of two days, he called for Sarjūn,[1] the freedman of Muʿāwiyah, and asked him, "What is your view? Al-Ḥusayn has directed himself towards Kufa, and Muslim ibn ʿAqīl is already there, receiving oaths of allegiance on behalf of al-Ḥusayn. I am informed that al-Nuʿmān is weak, and I have received other poor reports about him." Then, he read out the letters to him, and asked, "So, what is your opinion? Whom should I send to take charge of Kufa?"

Yazīd himself was ill-disposed towards ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. Sarjūn replied, "If Muʿāwiyah was here today, would you accept his view?" He said, "Yes." Sarjūn then produced a letter appointing ʿUbayd Allāh as the governor of Kufa and said, "This is the view of Muʿāwiyah. He left this world after he had instructed this letter to be written."

So Yazīd accepted the advice, and placed both cities [Basra and Kufa] under ʿUbayd Allāh, and instructed him to go and take control of Kufa.[2]

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[1] Sarjūn (Sergios, Sir John) ibn al-Manṣūr al-Rūmī was a Melkite Arab Christian, and his father, al-Manṣūr, was a Byzantine fiscal official. Sarjūn was a manumitted slave of Muʿāwiyah and served as his secretary, a role that he performed for Yazīd and later, for ʿAbd al-Malik as well. He was a practising Christian, and even maintained a chapel behind the Gate of Paradise (Bāb al-Farādīs, one of the seven gates of Damascus), which had been built for him after the conquest of Damascus. He apparently accepted Islam later, but the chapel remained. He was Yazīd's drinking companion, and it was he who advised Yazīd to appoint ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād over Kufa when the news of Muslim ibn ʿAqīl's activities in Kufa reached him. Sarjūn remained the secretary of the Banī Umayyah until the time of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān. ʿAbd al-Malik placed him in charge of the fiscal administration of the entire Muslim treasury, and after he died, the role of secretary was given to Arab Muslims.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 356; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 42.

فلما اجتمعت الكتب عند يزيد، ليس بين كتبهم إلا يومان، دعا يزيد بن معاوية سرجون مولى معاوية،
فقال: ما رأيك؟ فإن حسينا قد توجه نحو الكوفة، ومسلم بن عقيل بالكوفة يبايع للحسين، وقد بلغني
عن النعمان ضعف وقول سيئ، وأقرأه كتبهم، فما ترى من أستعمل على الكوفة؟ وكان يزيد عاتبا
على عبيد الله بن زياد.

120. *al-Futūḥ*: When Yazid began to receive many letters, he called for the freedman of his father, whose name was Sarjūn, and said to him, "O Sarjūn! What is your advice regarding the people of Kufa? Muslim ibn 'Aqīl has arrived there, and he has received oaths of allegiance on behalf of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī from the Shī'a."

Sarjūn said to him, "Will you accept my advice?" Yazid replied, "Speak, so that I may hear it." He said, "I advise you to write a letter appointing 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād [as the governor of Kufa]. He is already the governor of Basra, so add Kufa to his mandate. He is the right person to go to Kufa and sort out their affair."

Yazid replied, "By my life! This is the correct view."[1]

4/6: The appointment of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād as the governor of Kufa

121. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: Yazid accepted the advice of Sarjūn and placed both Basra and Kufa under the command of 'Ubayd Allāh, writing him a letter to inform him of his [new] appointment. He sent the letter to him through Muslim ibn 'Amr al-Bāhilī, the father of Qutaybah. He also sent instructions to locate Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and to

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فقال سرجون: أرأيت معاوية لو نُشر لك، أكنت آخذاً رأيه؟ قال: نعم. فأخرج عهد عبيد الله على الكوفة، فقال: هذا رأي معاوية، ومات وقد أمر بهذا الكتاب.

فأخذ برأيه، وضمّ المصرين إلى عبيد الله، وبعث إليه بعهده على الكوفة.

[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 38.

فلما كثرت الكتب على يزيد بن معاوية دعا بغلام أبيه، وكان اسمه سرجون، فقال: يا سرجون! ما الذي عندك في أهل الكوفة؟ فقد قدم مسلم بن عقيل، وقد بايعه الترابية للحسين بن علي.

فقال له سرجون: أتقبل مني ما أشير به عليك؟ فقال يزيد: قل حتى أسمع. فقال: أشير عليك أن تكتب إلى عبيد الله بن زياد فإنه أمير البصرة فتجعل له الكوفة زيادة في عمله حتى يكون هو الذي يقدم الكوفة فيكفيك أمرهم. فقال يزيد: هذا لعمري هو الرأي.

either kill him or banish him. When his letter reached 'Ubayd Allāh, he gave the order for preparations to be made for travel the next day.[1]

122. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: Yazīd wrote:

> From the servant of God, Yazīd, the commander of the faithful, to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. Peace be upon you. Sometimes the deserving becomes blameworthy, and other times, the blameworthy becomes deserving; you have merits and shortcomings [the past is the past]. But you are familiar with and have become ready to fulfil important roles, just as the poet said:
>
> > You have risen until you are higher than the clouds.
> > Now you deserve no less than a seat next to the sun.
>
> Of all possible times, your time, and of all possible locations, your location, has been beset with the problem of [dealing with] al-Ḥusayn; and out of all possible officials, it is you who has been chosen to face this challenge. You will either fulfil my directives and retain your freedom, or else you will be subjugated, to serve like other slaves.
>
> Now, my followers among the Kufans have informed me that Muslim ibn 'Aqīl is gathering supporters in Kufa, seeking to sow discord between the Muslims. A large number of the Shī'a of Abū Turāb ['Alī] have collected around him.
>
> So when you receive this letter of mine, make haste. Once you have read my instructions, go to Kufa and ease my worry about its issues. I have appointed you as its governor and annexed it to your current duties [at the time, 'Ubayd Allāh was the governor of Basra]. Make sure to search for Muslim ibn 'Aqīl high and low, and when you succeed in finding him, obtain his *bay'ah*, or kill him if he refuses to pledge it.
>
> Know that no excuse will be accepted from you if you fail me in what I have commanded you to do, so hurry, hurry, without delay! Peace.

Yazīd gave the letter to Muslim ibn 'Amr al-Bāhilī and instructed him to deliver it swiftly to 'Ubayd Allāh. When the letter reached him,

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[1] al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh, vol. 2, p. 535; al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, p. 231.

أخذ يزيد برأيه الذي رأى سرجون، وجمع الكوفة والبصرة لعبيد الله، وكتب إليه بعهده، وسيّره إليه مع مسلم بن عمرو الباهلي والد قتيبة، فأمره بطلب مسلم بن عقيل وبقتله أو نفيه. فلما وصل الكتاب إلى عبيد الله، أمر بالجهاز ليتجهّز من الغد.

'Ubayd Allāh read it, ordered preparations to be made, and readied himself to leave for Kufa.[1]

4/7: The arrival of Ibn Ziyād in Kufa[2]

123. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī:** He ['Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād] left Basra after nominating his brother 'Uthmān ibn Ziyād to take his place. He approached Kufa accompanied by Muslim ibn 'Amr al-Bāhilī, Sharīk ibn al-A'war al-Ḥārithī, and some of his retinue and family members. He entered Kufa wearing a black turban and with his face covered.

The people had been informed about the impending arrival of al-Ḥusayn (a), and were [eagerly] awaiting him. When 'Ubayd Allāh entered, they thought that he was al-Ḥusayn (a). He did not pass by a single group of people, except that they greeted him saying, "Welcome, O son of God's Messenger! Your arrival is a blessed event!" He was deeply disturbed upon seeing their eagerness for al-Ḥusayn (a).

When the crowd began to get overexcited, Muslim ibn 'Amr announced, "Stand aside! This is the governor, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 198.

وكتب [يزيد]: من عبد الله يزيد أمير المؤمنين إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، سلام عليك، أما بعد، فإن الممدوح مسبوب يوماً، وإن المسبوب ممدوح يوماً، ولك ما لك وعليك ما عليك، وقد انتميت ونميت إلى كل منصب، كما قال الأول:

رفعت فجاوزت السحاب وفوقه　　فما لك إلا مقعد الشمس مقعد

وقد ابتلي بالحسين زمانك من بين الأزمان، وابتلي به بلدك من بين البلدان، وابتليت به من بين العمال، وفي هذه تعتق أو تعود عبداً كما تعبد العبيد.

وقد أخبرني شيعتي من أهل الكوفة أن مسلم بن عقيل بالكوفة يجمع الجموع ويشق عصا المسلمين، وقد اجتمع إليه خلق كثير من شيعة أبي تراب، فإذا أتاك كتابي هذا فسر حين تقرأه حتى تقدم الكوفة فتكفيني أمرها، فقد ضممتها إليك، وجعلتها زيادة في عملك -وكان عبيد الله أمير البصرة- واطلب مسلم بن عقيل كطلب الخرز، فإذا ظفرت به فخذ بيعته أو اقتله إن لم يبايع، واعلم أنه لا عذر لك عندي وما أمرتك به، فالعجل العجل، والوحا الوحا، والسلام.

ثم دفع يزيد كتابه إلى مسلم بن عمرو الباهلي، وأمره أن يسرع السير إلى عبيد الله، فلما ورد الكتاب إلى عبيد الله وقرأه، أمر بالجهاز، وتهيأ للمسير إلى الكوفة.

[2] See Map 1.

Ziyād." As he came up behind him, he saw that only ten or so men now remained around him.

When he entered the governor's mansion, the people realized that he was indeed 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, and they became intensely despondent and dejected. 'Ubayd Allāh was furious at what he had heard from them, and remarked, "Will I ever see from these people what I just saw [for al-Ḥusayn]?"[1]

224. ***al-Malhūf:*** The next morning, Ibn Ziyād appointed his brother 'Uthmān ibn Ziyād over them [as his deputy in Basra], and himself hurried towards Kufa. When he was close, he halted and waited until the evening, and then entered the city at night. The inhabitants thought that he was al-Ḥusayn (a) and were delighted at his arrival. They thronged around him, but when they realized that he was Ibn Ziyād, they dispersed from him.

He entered the governor's mansion and remained there for the night. The next day, he came out and ascended the pulpit. He addressed the people, warning them against disobeying their ruler and assuring them of clemency if they were obedient.[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 358.

فخرج عبيد الله بن زياد من البصرة، واستخلف أخاه عثمان بن زياد، وأقبل إلى الكوفة ومعه مسلم بن عمرو الباهلي، وشريك بن الأعور الحارثي، وحشمه وأهل بيته، حتى دخل الكوفة وعليه عمامة سوداء وهو متلثم، والناس قد بلغهم إقبال حسين عليه السلام إليهم، فهم ينتظرون قدومه، فظنوا حين قدم عبيد الله أنه الحسين عليه السلام، فأخذ لا يمر على جماعة من الناس إلا سلموا عليه، وقالوا: مرحبا بك يا ابن رسول الله، قدمت خير مقدم، فرأى من تباشرهم بالحسين عليه السلام ما ساءه.

فقال مسلم بن عمرو لما أكثروا: تأخروا، هذا الأمير عبيد الله بن زياد، فأخذ حين أقبل على الظهر، وإنما معه بضعة عشر رجلا.

فلما دخل القصر، وعلم الناس أنه عبيد الله بن زياد، دخلهم من ذلك كآبة وحزن شديد، وغاظ عبيد الله ما سمع منهم، وقال: ألا أرى هؤلاء كما أرى.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 114.

فلما أصبح ابن زياد استخلف عليهم أخاه عثمان بن زياد، وأسرع هو إلى قصد الكوفة، فلما قاربها نزل حتى أمسى، ثم دخلها ليلا، فظن أهلها أنه الحسين عليه السلام، فتباشروا بقدومه ودنوا منه، فلما عرفوا أنه ابن زياد تفرقوا عنه.

4/8: The speech of Ibn Ziyād in the Mosque of Kufa and his warning the people against disobeying him

125. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: Ibn Ziyād was disturbed at the adulation of the people for al-Ḥusayn (a). He went to the Great Mosque. The people were summoned, and they gathered. He ascended the pulpit. He praised God, glorified Him, then said, "O people of Kufa, the commander of the faithful [Yazīd] has appointed me as the governor of your city, and he has allocated your allowances amongst you. He has directed me to relieve the oppressed amongst you, behave courteously with those of you who have listened [to our directives] and obeyed, and to punish those who have disobeyed or wavered. I shall follow his command to the letter. To those of you have been obedient, I shall be like a merciful father, but to those of you who oppose us, I shall be like deadly poison. So the fate of each of you is in your own hands."

Then he descended from the pulpit and returned to the mansion. [The deposed] al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr departed for his home in Damascus.[1]

126. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: In the morning, Ibn Ziyād stood to address the people. He admonished them, rebuked their chieftains, and threatened the rebels. He promised clemency to those who would be obedient and warned of dire punishment to those who disobeyed him or broke any of his rules.

Then he said, "O people of Kufa! Yazīd, the commander of the faithful, has appointed me as the governor of your city and has chosen me

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فقال لعمر الإمارة، وبات ليلته إلى الغداة، ثمّ خرج وصعد المنبر وخطب، وتوعّدهم على معصية السلطان، ووعدهم مع الطاعة بالإحسان.

[1] al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, p. 232.

غمّ ابن زياد من تباشيرهم بالحسين عليه السلام إلى ما ساءه، وأقبل حتى دخل المسجد الأعظم، ونودي في الناس فاجتمعوا، وصعد المنبر، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثمّ قال:

يا أهل الكوفة، إنّ أمير المؤمنين قد ولّاني مصركم، وقسم فيكم فيئكم، وأمرني بإنصاف مظلومكم، والإحسان إلى سامعكم ومطيعكم، والشدّة على عاصيكم ومريبكم، وأنا متبع في ذلك أمره، وأنا لمطيعكم كالوالد الشفيق، ولمخالفكم كالسمّ النقيع، فلا يبقينّ أحد منكم إلّا على نفسه.

ثمّ نزل، فأتى القصر فنزله، وارتحل النعمان بن بشير نحو وطنه بالشام.

to be the state official in charge of this land. He has instructed me to distribute your allowances amongst you, to secure justice for the oppressed amongst you from their oppressors, to take back the rights of the weak amongst you from those of you who are strong, to behave courteously with those of you who have listened [to our directives] and obeyed, and to severely punish those who have been recalcitrant. So send my message to this Hāshimite [he meant Muslim ibn ʿAqīl], that he should be afraid of my displeasure.' Then he descended.[1]

4/9: The political strategy used by Ibn Ziyād to gain control over Kufa

127. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū al-Waddāk: Ibn Ziyād spoke harshly to the tribal chiefs (ʿ*urafā*ʾ) and the people, and said:

> Write for me the names of the strangers and those among you whom the commander of the faithful is searching for, and the *ḥarūriyyah* (Khawārij) and the waverers, whose aim is to cause divisiveness and sedition. Whoever provides us with these names shall have security, and those who do not provide any names will have to guarantee to us that no member of his tribe (ʿ*irāfah*) will oppose us or rise up against us. Whoever does not do so, we will have nothing more to do with him. We shall consider it lawful for us to seize his property and spill his blood.
>
> [Furthermore] if any ʿ*arīf* finds out that one of the tribesmen in his ʿ*irāfah* stands against the commander of the faithful and does not hand him over to us, he shall be hanged at the door of his house, and the

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[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 30; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 340.

لمّا أصبح ابن زياد قام خاطباً وعليهم عاتباً ولرؤسائهم مؤنّباً ولأهل الشقاق مهدّداً، ووعدهم بالإحسان على لزوم طاعته، وبالإساءة على معصيته والخروج عن حوزته.

ثمّ قال: يا أهل الكوفة، إنّ أمير المؤمنين يزيد ولّاني بلدكم، واستعملني على مصركم، وأمرني بقسمة فيئكم بينكم، وإنصاف مظلومكم من ظالمكم، وأخذ الحقّ لضعيفكم من قويّكم، والإحسان إلى السامع المطيع، والشدّة على المريب، فأبلغوا هذا الرجل الهاشمي مقالتي ليتّقي غضبي، ونزل.

يعني بالهاشمي: مسلم بن عقيل.

> allowance of that *ʿirāfah* shall be cancelled, or he shall be exiled to the wilderness of al-Zarārah in Oman.[1]

128. ***al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah***: Ibn Ziyād entered the governor's mansio and spent the night there. In the morning, he assembled the peopl and spoke his mind at length, railing furiously at them. He arrested a group of Kufans and had them killed immediately. He then began a series of intrigues in order to locate Muslim ibn ʿAqīl, capture him, and kill him.[2]

129. ***al-Futūḥ***: Qays [ibn Mushir, al-Ṣaydāwī] entered Kufa, but [he was detected because] ʿUbayd Allāh had placed patrols and lookou posts along the entry points to Kufa, and nobody could pass by without being searched.[3]

4/10: Muslim's transfer to the house of Hāni' ibn ʿUrwah

130. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī***, quoting Abū al-Waddāk: Muslim ibn ʿAqīl heard of the arrival of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād in Kufa, and about the natur of his speech, and his harshness towards the tribal chiefs (*ʿurafāʾ*) and the people. He therefore left the house of al-Mukhtār, which had bee discovered, and went to the house of Hāni' ibn ʿUrwah al-Murādī.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 359; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 44.

أخذ ابن زياد العرفاء والناس أخذاً شديداً، فقال:

اكتبوا إليّ الغرباء، ومن فيكم من طلبة أمير المؤمنين، ومن فيكم من الحرورية وأهل الريب، الذين رأيهم الخلاف والشقاق، فمن كتبهم لنا فبريء، ومن لم يكتب لنا أحداً فيضمن لنا ما في عرافته ألا يخالفنا منهم مخالف، ولا يبغي علينا منهم باغ، فمن لم يفعل برئت منه الذمّة، وحلال لنا ماله وسفك دمه. وأيّما عريف وجد في عرافته من بغية أمير المؤمنين أحد لم يرفعه إلينا، صُلب على باب داره، وأُلقيت تلك العرافة من العطاء، وسُيّر إلى موضع بعمان الزارة.

[2] *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, p. 185.

دخل ابن زياد القصر وبات به، فلمّا أصبح جمع الناس فصال وجال، وقال فطال، وأرعد وأبرق، وأمسك جماعة من أهل الكوفة فقتلهم في الساعة، ثمّ إنّه أعمل الحيل عليه حتّى ظفر بمسلم بن عقيل، فأمسكه وقتله.

[3] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 82.

مضى قيس إلى الكوفة، وعبيد الله بن زياد قد وضع المراصد والمصابيح على الطرق، فليس أحد يقدر أن يجوز إلّا فُتّش.

He came through his [outer] door and asked for Hānī'. Hānī' came out of the house, but when he saw who it was, he was not very pleased.

Muslim said to him, "I have come to you so that you may grant me sanctuary and take me as your guest." Hānī' replied, "May God have mercy on you. You have put me in a very difficult situation. In fact, if you had not already entered my house, and placed your trust in me, I would have preferred to ask you to go away. However, your request for protection, and the fact that someone like me would never turn away someone like you out of ignorance, forestalls me. Come in!"

So he took him under his protection, and the Shī'a began to visit [Muslim] at the house of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah.[1]

131. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Muslim moved from the house of Sālim to the house of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah al-Madhḥijī at night, and came under his protection. The people kept coming to give him their *bay'ah*, until the number of men who had sworn allegiance reached some 25,000. Muslim [was encouraged by this and] wanted to initiate a revolution, but Hānī' cautioned him, "Do not make haste!"[2]

132. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): After the arrival of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, Muslim moved from the house where he was staying and went to live at the house of Hani' ibn 'Urwah al-Muradi.[1]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 362; Ansāb al-Ashrāf, vol. 2, p. 336.

سمع مسلم بن عقيل بمجيء عبيد الله ومقالته التي قالها، وما أخذ به العرفاء والناس، فخرج من دار
المختار - وقد علم به - حتى انتهى إلى دار هانئ بن عروة المرادي، فدخل بابه، وأرسل إليه أن اخرج،
فخرج إليه هانئ، فكره هانئ مكانه حين رآه.

فقال له مسلم: أتيتك لتجيرني وتضيفني، فقال: رحمك الله، لقد كلفتني شططاً، ولولا دخولك داري
وثقتك، لأحببت ولسألتك أن تخرج عني، غير أنه يأخذني من ذلك ذمام، وليس مردود مثلي على مثلك
عن جهل، ادخل.

فآواه، وأخذت الشيعة تختلف إليه في دار هانئ بن عروة.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 91; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 343.

انتقل مسلم من دار سالم إلى دار هانئ بن عروة المذحجي في الليل، ودخل في أمانه، وكان يبايعه الناس
حتى بايعه خمسة وعشرون ألف رجل، فعزم على الخروج فقال هانئ: لا تعجل.

4/11: The letter of Muslim to the Imam (a) about coming to Kuf

133. ***Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting Muhammad ibn Qays:** 27 days before he was martyred, Muslim ibn 'Aqil had written to al-Husayn (*a*): "The scout does not lie to his own people;[2] most of the people of Kufa are with you, so come once you have read my letter. Peace be upon you."[3]

134. Tarikh al-Tabari, quoting Ja'far ibn Hudhayfah al-Ta'i: After Muslim ibn 'Aqil had moved into the house of Hani' ibn 'Urwah, and 18,000 men had given him their oath of allegiance, he sent the following letter to al-Husayn (a) through 'Abis ibn Abi Shabib al-Shakiri: "The scout does not lie to his own people. 18,000 men of Kufa have pledged to me their allegiance, so hurry and come when my letter reaches you. The people are all with you, and they have no inclination or desire for the family of Mu'awiyah. Peace!"[4]

135. *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra (al-tabaqat al-khamisah min al-sahabah)*: Muslim wrote to al-Husayn (a): "I came to Kufa, and at the point of writing. 18,000 men have [already] given me their oath of allegiance, so come at once, for there is no reason to delay."[1]

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[1] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 348; *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, vol. 6, p. 424.

تحول مسلم حين قدم عبيد الله بن زياد من الدار التي كان فيها إلى منزل هانئ بن عروة المرادي.

[2] This is a proverb referring to a person who never lies when he speaks. *Ra'id* (scout) is a person who is sent out by his tribe to scout for water or pasture (*Lisan al-'Arab*, vol. 3, p. 187, s.v. *rwd*).

[3] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 395.

كان مسلم بن عقيل قد كان كتب إلى الحسين عليه السلام قبل أن يقتل لسبع وعشرين ليلة: أما بعد، فإن الرائد لا يكذب أهله، إن جمع أهل الكوفة معك، فأقبل حين تقرأ كتابي، والسلام عليك.

[4] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 375; *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 32.

كان مسلم بن عقيل - حيث تحول إلى دار هانئ بن عروة، وبايعه ثمانية عشر ألفا - قدم كتابا إلى حسين عليه السلام مع عابس بن أبي شبيب الشاكري:

أما بعد، فإن الرائد لا يكذب أهله، وقد بايعني من أهل الكوفة ثمانية عشر ألفا، فعجل الإقبال حين يأتيك كتابي، فإن الناس كلهم معك، ليس لهم في آل معاوية رأي ولا هوى، والسلام.

4/12: Some reports relating to plans to kill Ibn Ziyād

136. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Sharīk ibn al-A'war al-Ḥārithī accompanied 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād from Basra [to Kufa]. He was from the Shī'a of 'Alī (a). [Like Muslim] he also stayed at the house of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah. Sharīk fell ill, and 'Ubayd Allāh would come to visit him [solicitous about his health] at the house of Hānī'. He was quite unaware that Muslim was living there at the time.

They [the partisans of Muslim] prepared a group of thirty men with the plan to kill 'Ubayd Allāh when he entered the house [the next time]. 'Ubayd Allāh came to see Sharīk and approached him, enquiring about his health. Sharīk recited the following lines:

> Why do you wait to greet Salmā?
>
> Quench my thirst, even if it causes my death.[2]

'Ubayd Allāh asked, "What is he saying?"

They replied, "He is delirious."

In the house, the party [waiting to attack] started to become restless. 'Ubayd Allāh grew suspicious at their behaviour and left hurriedly. He summoned a bondsman of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, who was a member of the constabulary, and questioned him. The man told him what was going on. "Really?" remarked 'Ubayd Allāh, and then returned to the governor's mansion.[3]

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 458.

كتب [مسلم] إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام: إني قدمت الكوفة، فبايعني منهم إلى أن كتبت إليك ثمانية عشر ألفا، فعجّل القدوم؛ فإنّه ليس دونها مانع

[2] It was a signal to enter, and kill 'Ubayd Allāh, without further delay. [Trans.]

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 460.

كان قدم مع عبيد الله من البصرة شريك بن الأعور الحارثي، وكان شيعة لعلي عليه السلام، فنزل أيضا على هانئ بن عروة، فاشتكى شريك، فكان عبيد الله يعوده في منزل هانئ، ومسلم بن عقيل هناك لا يعلم به، فهيّؤوا لعبيد الله ثلاثين رجلا، يقتلونه إذا دخل عليهم

137. *Siyar al-A'lām al-Nubalā'*: Sharīk ibn al-A'war, who was a Shī'a, came [to Kufa] with 'Ubayd Allāh. He stayed at the house of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, where he fell ill. 'Ubayd Allāh used to visit him [to enquire about his health]. They readied a group of 30 men to assassinate 'Ubayd Allāh, but before the attack could materialize, 'Ubayd Allāh became suspicious and left hurriedly.[1]

An analysis of the reports that describe the plot to assassinate Ibn Ziyād

An issue that is worthy of reflection in the events of Kufa leading up to the martyrdom of Muslim is the collection of reports about the plot to assassinate Ibn Ziyād. On the basis of what has been mentioned in the historical sources, this plot was first suggested to Muslim by Sharīk ibn al-A'war, Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, or 'Umārah ibn 'Ubayd. Muslim accepted the proposal, and it was decided to assassinate Ibn Ziyād when he paid a visit to either Sharīk ibn al-A'war, or Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, both of whom had fallen ill. The plan was for Muslim, along with 30 armed men, to assassinate Ibn Ziyād.

On different occasions, Ibn Ziyād visited both Sharīk ibn al-A'war and Hānī' ibn 'Urwah to enquire about their health, and the ground was set to carry out the planned assassination. However, at the last moment, Muslim refused to go ahead with it.

A variety of reports give reasons why the plan to assassinate Ibn Ziyād did not materialize. Several reports mention that Ibn Ziyād

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وأقبل عبيد الله فدخل على شريك يسأل به. فجعل شريك يقول:

ما الانتظار بسلمى أن تحيوها   اسقوني ولو كانت فيها نفسي

فقال عبيد الله: ما يقول؟ قالوا: يهجر، وتحشحش القوم في البيت، فأنكر عبيد الله ما رأى، فوثب فخرج، ودعا مولى لهانئ بن عروة كان في الشرطة، فسأله، فأخبره الخبر،

فقال: أولى. ثم مضى حتى دخل القصر.

[1] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 299.

قدم مع عبيد الله شريك بن الأعور - شيعي - فنزل على هانئ بن عروة، فمرض، فكان عبيد الله يعوده، فهيؤوا لعبيد الله ثلاثين رجلاً ليغتالوه فلم يتم ذلك، وفهم عبيد الله فوثب وخرج.

somehow became aware of the plot to kill him, and so left the scene immediately. Some reports mention that a woman within the household of Hānī' stopped Muslim from attacking Ibn Ziyād. In a number of other reports, the response of Muslim himself, when he was asked why he did not follow the plan, has been mentioned: firstly, that Hānī' was not keen that this deed should happen in his own house, and secondly, that Muslim was reminded of the narration of the Prophet (s), who said, "Faith precludes one from killing a man who is off guard, and a believer does not commit this type of murder."[1]

Additionally, some reports mention that Muslim quoted the above-mentioned narration as the only reason why he did not go ahead with the killing. And some reports mention that Muslim attributed his inaction to the fact that Hānī' did not want the attack to happen in his own house.

Finally, one report mentions that Muslim explained his actions by quoting the narration above, as well as the fact that he did not wish to carry out the assassination in the house of Sharīk ibn al-A'war.

The first thing that comes to mind when surveying these inconsistent reports is that they may all have been fabricated, because: firstly, the presence of Ibn Ziyād at the home of the partisans of Muslim suggests that he was knowingly placing himself in danger. This is not consistent with the cunning nature of Ibn Ziyād, who would not risk such a dangerous action, especially given the volatile situation in Kufa. This is especially unlikely since he had already learned from his spy that Muslim was hiding at Hānī''s house.

Secondly, the vital part of any plan of assassination is the element of secrecy, and this could never had been achieved by preparing a group of thirty men. Moreover, this number is excessive for the assassination of just one man.

Thirdly, Muslim had the responsibility of leading the Kufan revolution resting on his shoulders, so, if the plan to kill Ibn Ziyād did in fact exist, then from a political and safety perspective, it would be more appropriate for someone else to be the assassin.

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[1] It is worth mentioning that in *al-Kāfī* (vol. 2, p. 398), the narration is mentioned slightly differently: "A Muslim will never kill another Muslim while he is off guard."

Based on the foregoing, it can be said that the whole notion of a plot to assassinate Ibn Ziyād was probably concocted by himself and his associates, in order to justify his own aggressive stance against Muslim and the chiefs of the tribes who supported him.

If this analysis is rejected, and we accept that there was a failed plot to assassinate Ibn Ziyād, then the second report that mentions that Ibn Ziyād became aware that he was in danger because of what he observed at the house of Hāniʾ, or the third report that mentions that Muslim was prevented from attacking by the intervention of a servant woman in the house of Hāniʾ, appears to be closer to the truth.

However, the reports that claim that Muslim stopped himself when he remembered the narration of the Prophet (s) about committing murder seem too unlikely to be true; in fact, it can be said that attributing such behaviour to Muslim is insulting. Is it plausible that the representative of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) would have forgotten the narration throughout the time that the assassination was being planned, and remembered it only when he was about to carry it out – and then changed his mind?

> **The other reasons given in the reports as to why Muslim did not go ahead with the assassination are so weak that there is no point in responding to them.**

4/13: Spending money and sending a spy to discover the location of Muslim

138. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū al-Waddāk: Ibn Ziyād summoned a bondsman of his by the name of Maʿqil and instructed him, "Take 3,000 dirhams, and then [begin the] search for Muslim ibn ʿAqīl. Seek out his followers for us also, and give them this money, and say to them, 'Use this to help in the war against your enemy.' Give them the impression that you are one of them. For certain, if you give them the money you

will gain their confidence and trust, and they will not hide any aspect of their affair from you. Visit their gatherings day and night."

Ma'qil did that. He [took the money and] went to Muslim ibn 'Awsajah al-Asadi, who was from the tribe of Banū Sa'd ibn Tha'labah. He found him in the state of prayer at the Grand Mosque. He heard some people saying, "This is the man who is receiving the *bay'ah* for al-Husayn (a)."

So, he came and sat, waiting for Muslim to finish his prayer. Then he said, "O servant of God, I am from al-Shām, a client of Dhū al-Kilā'. God has favoured me with the love of this household [the Prophet's (s) family], and love for those who love them.

"So, here is a sum of 3,000 dirhams, which I desire to give to a man from that house, who I have heard has come to Kufa and is accepting the *bay'ah* for the son of the daughter of God's Messenger (s). I have wanted to meet him [for some time], but I cannot find anyone who could take me to him or inform me where he is staying. Earlier, I was sitting in the mosque when I heard some Muslims say that you are man who has some knowledge about the people of this household, so I have come to you so that you may take this money, and introduce me to your master, so that I may give him my *bay'ah*. If you wish, you may receive my *bay'ah* for him yourself, before I meet him."

[Muslim ibn 'Awsajah] replied, "May God be praised that you met me, and it delights me [to inform you] that you shall have what you desire; may God help the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (s) through you. However, your awareness that I am involved in this affair, before it has developed, troubles me, because I fear this tyrant and his influence."

Before he left, Muslim accepted Ma'qil's *bay'ah* and asked for his solemn pledge that he was sincere in his words and that he would keep the matter secret. Ma'qil confirmed all this to Muslim's satisfaction, who then told him, "Visit my house regularly for a few days while I seek permission for you to meet your master." So, he began to visit regularly with other people, while Muslim obtained permission for him...

Thus, Ma'qil, the bondsman of Ibn Ziyād, whom the latter had given money and instructed to infiltrate the resistance group of Muslim and his companions, began to regularly visit Muslim ibn 'Awsajah's home so that he might be introduced to Muslim ibn 'Aqīl.

He [finally] introduced him to Muslim ibn 'Aqīl after the death of Sharīk ibn al-A'war. He informed him of all that had transpired so far, and then Ibn 'Aqīl received his bay'ah. He instructed Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī to take the money Ma'qil had brought. Abū Thumāmah was in charge of all the money that came in and the necessities of the individual members of the group. He procured weapons for them because he was an expert in this field. He was a knight amongst the Arabs and one of the leading Shī'a.

This man [Ma'qil] became a regular visitor among them. He would be the first to arrive and the last to leave. He listened to [all] their news and developments and learned their secrets. Thereafter, he would take all the information and report it privately to Ibn Ziyād.[1]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 362; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 45.

دعا ابن زياد مولى له يقال له معقل، فقال له: خذ ثلاثة آلاف درهم، ثم اطلب مسلم بن عقيل واطلب لنا أصحابه، ثم أعطهم هذه الثلاثة آلاف، فقل لهم: استعينوا بها على حرب عدوكم، وأعلمهم أنك منهم، فإنك لو قد أعطيتها إياهم اطمأنوا إليك ووثقوا بك، ولم يكتموك شيئاً من أخبارهم، ثم اغد عليهم ورح. ففعل ذلك، فجاء حتى أتى إلى مسلم بن عوسجة الأسدي - من بني سعد بن ثعلبة - في المسجد الأعظم وهو يصلي، وسمع الناس يقولون: إن هذا يبايع للحسين عليه السلام، فجاء فجلس حتى فرغ من صلاته، ثم قال: يا عبد الله، إني امرؤ من أهل الشام مولى لذي الكلاع، أنعم الله علي بحب أهل هذا البيت، وحب من أحبهم، فهذه ثلاثة آلاف درهم أردت بها لقاء رجل منهم بلغني أنه قدم الكوفة يبايع لابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، وكنت أريد لقاءه فلم أجد أحداً يدلني عليه ولا يعرف مكانه، فإني لجالس آنفاً في المسجد إذ سمعت نفراً من المسلمين يقولون: هذا رجل له علم بأهل هذا البيت، وإني أتيتك لتقبض هذا المال وتدخلني على صاحبك فأبايعه، وإن شئت أخذت بيعتي له قبل لقائه. فقال: أحمد الله على لقائك إياي، فقد سرني ذلك لتنال ما تحب، ولينصر الله بك أهل بيت نبيه، ولقد ساءني معرفتك إياي بهذا الأمر من قبل أن ينمى مخافة هذا الطاغية وسطوته.

فأخذ بيعته قبل أن يبرح، وأخذ عليه المواثيق المغلظة ليناصحن وليكتمن، فأعطاه من ذلك ما رضي به، ثم قال له: اختلف إلي أياماً في منزلي، فأنا طالب لك الإذن على صاحبك. فأخذ يختلف مع الناس فطلب له الإذن...

4/14: The capture of Hānī' and the events surrounding it

139. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): 'Ubayd Allāh asked the elders of Kufa, "Why is Hānī' ibn 'Urwah not among the people who have come to see me?"

Muḥammad ibn Ash'ath went to check on him with a group of his tribesmen and found him at the door of his house. They said, "The governor is asking about you and says you are overdue, so go to him!" They were insistent and would not leave until he rode with them to 'Ubayd Allāh, who was sitting with Shurayḥ al-Qāḍī at the time.

When 'Ubayd Allāh saw Hānī', he remarked to Shurayḥ, "At last his own two feet have brought him here!"

When he greeted him, 'Ubayd Allāh asked him, "O Hānī', where is Muslim?"

He replied, "I do not know." 'Ubayd Allāh then instructed his bondman [Ma'qil], who had brought the money, to come out.

When he saw him, Hānī' was dismayed, and he said [desperately], "May God make the governor prosper! By God, I did not invite him to my home, rather, he came [unannounced] and imposed himself on me."

"Bring him to me!" demanded 'Ubayd Allāh.

But Hānī' refused, saying, "By God! Even if he was under my feet, I would not lift them [to expose him]."

'Ubayd Allāh ordered, "Bring him closer." When they brought Hānī' close to him, he lashed out at his forehead and split the skin. Hānī' tried to grab the sword of one of the guards, but he was pushed away.

ثمّ إنّ معقلاً - مولى ابن زياد الذي دسّه بالمال إلى ابن عقيل وأصحابه - اختلف إلى مسلم بن عوسجة أيّاماً، ليدخله على ابن عقيل، فأقبل به حتى أدخله عليه بعد موت شريك بن الأعور، فأخبره خبره كلّه، فأخذ ابن عقيل بيعته، وأمر أبا ثمامة الصائدي فقبض ماله الذي جاء به.

وهو (أي أبو ثمامة) الذي كان يقبض أموالهم وما يعين به بعضهم بعضاً، يشتري لهم السلاح، وكان به بصيراً، وكان من فرسان العرب ووجوه الشيعة.

وأقبل ذلك الرجل يختلف إليهم، فهو أوّل داخل وآخر خارج، يسمع أخبارهم ويعلم أسرارهم، ثمّ ينطلق بها حتى يقرّها في أذن ابن زياد.

'Ubayd Allāh declared, "God has made it lawful to take your blood" and then ordered Hāni' to be imprisoned in a corner of the mansion.

Another report, not from Imam al-Bāqir (a), mentions that the person who brought Hāni' ibn 'Urwah to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī...

Imam al-Bāqir (a) continued: While this was going on, the news reached the tribe of Madhḥij. When 'Ubayd Allāh heard their clamor outside, he asked, "What is going on?"

They replied, "It is the Madhḥij."

He said to Shurayḥ, "Go to them and inform them that I have only detained him for questioning." He sent a servant after him to eavesdrop on what he would say.

Shurayḥ passed by Hāni''s cell, who told him, "Be mindful of God, O Shurayḥ! That man will murder me."

Shurayḥ went out to the gate of the mansion and said [addressing the Madhḥij], "Do not worry about him; the governor has only detained him to ask him some questions."

They said to one another, "He is right; there is no need to be concerned about your leader." Then they dispersed.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 348; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 424.

قال عبيد الله يوماً لأهل الكوفة: ما لي أرى هانئ بن عروة لم يأتني فيمن أتاني؟

قال: فخرج إليه محمد بن الأشعث في ناس من قومه وهو على باب داره، فقالوا: إن الأمير قد ذكرك، واستبطأك فانطلق إليه. فلم يزالوا به حتى ركب معهم وسار حتى دخل على عبيد الله، وعنده شريح القاضي.

فلما نظر إليه قال لشريح: «أتتك بحائن رجلاه»، فلما سلم عليه قال: يا هانئ، أين مسلم؟ قال: ما أدري. فأمر عبيد الله مولاه صاحب الدراهم فخرج إليه، فلما رآه قطع به، فقال: أصلح الله الأمير، والله ما دعوته إلى منزلي ولكنه جاء فطرح نفسه علي. قال: ائتني به. قال: والله لو كان تحت قدمي ما رفعتهما عنه. قال: أدنوه إلي. فأدني فضربه على حاجبه فشجه. قال: وأهوى هانئ إلى سيف شرطي ليسله، فدفع عن ذلك.

وقال: قد أحل الله دمك. فأمر به فحبس في جانب القصر.

وقال غير أبي جعفر: الذي جاء بهانئ بن عروة إلى عبيد الله بن زياد عمرو بن الحجاج الزبيدي...

240. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Ibn Ziyād sent Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī and Asmā' ibn Khārijah ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Fazārī to Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, and they convinced him to go to Ibn Ziyād. The latter rebuked him for giving sanctuary to Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and said to him, "The people are united and of one opinion, so why are you helping to spread dissent by protecting someone who has come here only to cause division and disharmony?"

Hānī' apologised for sheltering Muslim, saying, "May God make the governor prosper! He came my house without any pre-arrangement and asked me to take him in, so I felt obliged to allow him to stay as my guest."

'Ubayd Allāh demanded, "So bring him to me so that you can make up for your poor judgement." But Hānī' refused. 'Ubayd Allāh said [angrily], "By God, if you do not produce him, I will smite your neck."

He replied, "By God, if you strike my neck, your house will be surrounded by dazzling [drawn] swords." 'Ubayd Allāh signalled for him to be brought close to him and then struck Hānī''s face with a rod, or a crooked staff, that was next to him, breaking his nose and splitting his forehead. Then he ordered for Hānī' to be imprisoned in one of the rooms in the mansion.[1]

قال عليه السلام، فبينا هو كذلك إذ خرج الخبر إلى مذحج فإذا على باب القصر جلبة سمعها عبيد الله فقال: ما هذه؟ فقالوا: مذحج. فقال لشريح: اخرج إليهم فأعلمهم أني إنما حبسته لأسائله، وبعث عيناً عليه من مواليه يسمع ما يقول. فمرّ بهانئ بن عروة، فقال له هانئ: اتّق الله يا شريح فإنّه قاتلي. فخرج شريح حتى قام على باب القصر، فقال: لا بأس عليه، إنّما حبسه الأمير ليسائله. فقالوا: صدق، ليس على صاحبكم بأس. فتفرّقوا.

[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, pp. 337, 343; also, see *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 5, p. 384.

وبعث ابن زياد محمد بن الأشعث الكندي وأسماء بن خارجة بن حصن الفزاري إلى هانئ بن عروة فرفقا به حتى أتيا ابن زياد، فأنّبه على إيوائه مسلم بن عقيل، وقال له: إنّ أمر الناس لجميع، وكلمتهم لمتّفقة، أفتعين على تشتيت أمرهم، وتفريق كلمتهم وألفتهم، رجلاً قدم لذلك؟ فاعتذر إليه من إيوائه، وقال: أصلح الله الأمير، دخل داري من غير مواطأة مني له، وسألني أن أجيره، فأخذتني لذلك ذمامة.

قال: فأتني به لتلافى الذي فرط من سوء رأيك، فأبى. فقال: والله لئن لم تأتني به لأضربنّ عنقك.

فقال: والله لئن ضربت عنقي لتكثرنّ البارقة حول دارك. فأمر به فأُدني منه فضرب وجهه بقضيب أو بعصى كان معه، فكسر أنفه وشقّ حاجبه، ثم أمر به، فحبس في بعض بيوت الدار.

4/15: The speech of Ibn Ziyād after the imprisonment of Hāni'

141. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, **quoting Muḥammad ibn Bashīr al-Hamadānī:** After 'Ubayd Allāh struck Hāni' and imprisoned him, he became concerned that the people would rise against him, so he went out and ascended the pulpit. He was accompanied by some elders of Kufa, his guards, and his retinue. He began by praising God and glorifying Him, then he said, "O people! Hold fast to the obedience of God and the obedience of your leaders. Do not engage in disputes and divisiveness, lest you are destroyed, humiliated, killed, punished, and deprived. Your brother [well-wisher] is the one who is honest with you, and the one who warns becomes free of blame."

Then he began to descend, but before he had come down from the pulpit, the attendants of the mosque rushed in from the gate of the dates market, yelling excitedly, "Ibn 'Aqīl has come. Ibn 'Aqīl has come!"

'Ubayd Allāh quickly entered the mansion and locked its gates.[1]

4/16: The call of Muslim to his army and his mobilization towards the governor's mansion

142: *al-Irshād*, **quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥāzim:** By God, I was Ibn 'Aqīl's messenger at the mansion, sent to see what Hāni' would do. When he was imprisoned after being beaten, I mounted my horse and was the first of the household to inform Muslim ibn 'Aqīl about what had transpired. The women of the Banu Murād [Hāni''s tribe] had gathered, and they began to lament, "O sorrow! O great loss!"

I came before Muslim and related to him [the whole event]. He ordered me to raise a battle-cry among his supporters, who had gathered in surrounding houses.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 368; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 51.

لما ضرب عبيد الله هانئا وحبسه، خشي أن يثب الناس به، فخرج فصعد المنبر، ومعه أشراف الناس وشرطه وحشمه، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: أما بعد، أيها الناس فاعتصموا بطاعة الله وطاعة أئمتكم، ولا تختلفوا ولا تفرقوا، فتهلكوا وتذلوا وتقتلوا وتجفوا وتحرموا، إن أخاك من صدقك، وقد أعذر من أنذر. قال: ثم ذهب لينزل، فما نزل عن المنبر حتى دخلت النظارة المسجد من قبل التمارين يشتدون ويقولون: قد جاء ابن عقيل، قد جاء ابن عقيل. فدخل عبيد الله القصر مسرعا، وأغلق أبوابه.

They numbered 4,000 men. So, I shouted out, "O victorious, bring death (*yā manṣūr, amit*)!" [On hearing the famous battle-cry][1] the people of Kufa echoed the slogan and gathered before him.

At this point, Muslim appointed [new] chiefs of the quarters (*ru'asā' al-arbā'*) for the tribes of Kindah, Madhhij, Asad, Tamīm, and Hamadān. The tribesman rallied one another and gathered. In a short while, the mosque and markets filled with people, and this excitement continued unabated until the evening. The outlook for 'Ubayd Allāh was bleak; all he could do was to barricade the door of the mansion. At his side, he only had thirty guards, with a further twenty men, consisting of some dignitaries, as well as members of his family and his retinue."[2]

143: *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): When Muslim received the news [of Hānī's imprisonment], he sounded his battle-cry, and 4,000 Kufans gathered around him. He ordered his vanguard to advance and allocated men to his right and left flanks. He placed himself in the centre of the army and advanced towards 'Ubayd Allāh.[3]

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[1] A slogan used by soldiers at the time of the Prophet (s), and especially in the battles of Imam 'Alī (a), and his followers. It was used to give the good news of imminent victory. [Trans.]

[2] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 51; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 44, p. 348.

أنا والله رسول ابن عقيل إلى القصر، لأنظر ما فعل هانئ. فلمّا حبس وضرب، ركبت فرسي فكنت أوّل أهل الدار دخل على مسلم بن عقيل بالخبر، وإذا نسوة لمراد مجتمعات ينادين: يا عبرتاه! يا ثكلاه! فدخلت على مسلم بن عقيل فأخبرته، فأمرني أن أنادي في أصحابه - وقد ملأ بهم الدور حوله - وكانوا فيها أربعة آلاف رجل، فناديت: يا منصور أمت، فتنادى أهل الكوفة واجتمعوا عليه.

فعقد مسلم لرؤوس الأرباع على القبائل: كندة ومذحج وأسد وتميم وهمدان، وتداعى الناس واجتمعوا، فما لبثنا إلّا قليلاً حتّى امتلأ المسجد من الناس والسوق، وما زالوا يثوبون حتّى المساء، فضاق بعبيد الله أمره، وكان أكبر عمله أن يمسك باب القصر، وليس معه في القصر إلّا ثلاثون رجلاً من الشرط، وعشرون رجلاً من أشراف الناس، وأهل بيته وخاصّته.

[3] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 350; Tahdhīb al-Kamāl, vol. 6, p. 426.

فلمّا بلغ مسلماً الخبر [خبر هانئ]، نادى بشعاره، فاجتمع إليه أربعة آلاف من أهل الكوفة، فقدّم مقدّمته، وعبّى ميمنته وميسرته، وسار في القلب إلى عبيد الله.

4/17: The encirclement of the mansion of Ibn Ziyād by Muslim and his men

144. ***Murūj al-Dhahab*:** When Muslim learned of what Ibn Ziyād had done to Hāni', he instructed a caller to sound the battle cry "O victorious (*yā manṣūr*)!" This was their slogan. The people of Kufa raised the slogan as well, and 18,000 men gathered before him at once. They advanced towards Ibn Ziyād and encircled him, trapping him in his mansion.[1]

4/18: The Battle between Muslim and the forces of Ibn Ziyād, and the wounding of Muslim

145. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Hilāl ibn Yasāf:** I met Muslim and his men that night on the road near the mosque of the Anṣār. In every street that they crossed, on the right and the left, a group of thirty or forty or so men would abandon them.

When they reached the market, in the dark of the night, and entered the mosque, Ibn Ziyād was told, "By God, we do not see many and we do not hear the voices of many." He ordered the roof covering of the mosque to be removed and the straw on the beams to be set on fire [and light up the scene below]. When they looked, they could see [only] about fifty men.

Muslim came down and ascended the pulpit. He addressed the people, saying, "Let the people of every quarter (*arbā'*) sit with their quarter's tribesmen. Every group sat with their tribal chief. But then, they were set upon by a group who began to fight them. Muslim suffered a serious wound, several of his men were killed, and others ran away. Muslim himself managed to escape and took refuge in one of the houses of the tribe of Kindah.[2]

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[1] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 69.

لما بلغ مسلماً ما فعل ابن زياد بهانئ أمر منادياً فنادى: يا منصور، وكانت شعارهم، فتنادى أهل الكوفة بها فاجتمع إليه في وقت واحد ثمانية عشر ألف رجل، فسار إلى ابن زياد فتحصن منه، فحصروه في القصر.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 350; also see *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 50.

لقيتهم (أي مسلماً وأصحابه) تلك الليلة في الطريق عند مسجد الأنصار، فلم يكونوا يمرون في طريق يميناً ولا شمالاً إلا وذهبت منهم طائفة، الثلاثون والأربعون ونحو ذلك.

147. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting 'Īsā ibn Yazīd: Al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal had risen with Muslim. Al-Mukhtār carried a green standard. 'Abd Allāh carried a red standard, and he was dressed in red as well. Al-Mukhtār came with his standard and planted it at the door of 'Amr ibn Ḥurayth, saying, "I have only come out to thwart 'Amr."

On the night when Muslim advanced against the mansion of Ibn Ziyād, Ibn al-Ash'ath, al-Qa'qā' ibn Shawr, and Shabath ibn Rib'ī fought a fierce battle against him and his men. Shabath was saying, "Wait them out until nightfall, then they will disperse." Al-Qa'qā' told him, "You have blocked the path of exit of the people. Move aside, so that they can escape."[1]

4/19: The strategy of Ibn Ziyād for dispersing the people from around Muslim

148: *al-Kāmil fī al-Tarīkh*: The Kufan elders come to visit Ibn Ziyād. They entered from the gate that was opposite the Roman building, while the people were [openly] reviling Ibn Ziyād and his father. Ibn Ziyād summoned Kathīr ibn Shihāb al-Ḥārithī and ordered him to take men from amongst the Madhḥij tribe who were loyal to him and [go

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قال: فلما بلغ السوق - وهي ليلة مظلمة - ودخلوا المسجد، قيل لابن زياد: والله ما نرى كثير أحد ولا نسمع أصوات كثير أحد، فأمر بسقف المسجد فقلع، ثم أمر بحرادي فيها النيران، فجعلوا ينظرون فإذا قريب خمسين رجلاً.

قال: فنزل فصعد المنبر وقال للناس: تميزوا أرباعاً أرباعاً، فانطلق كل قوم إلى رأس ربعهم، فنهض إليهم قوم يقاتلونهم، فجرح مسلم جراحة ثقيلة، وقتل ناس من أصحابه وانهزموا.

فخرج مسلم فدخل داراً من دور كندة.

[1] Tarikh al-Tabari, vol. 5, p. 381.

إنّ المختار بن أبي عبيد وعبد الله بن الحارث بن نوفل كانا خرجا مع مسلم، خرج المختار براية خضراء، وخرج عبد الله براية حمراء، وعليه ثياب حمر، وجاء المختار برايته فركزها على باب عمرو بن حريث، وقال: إنّما خرجت لأمنع عمراً.

وإنّ ابن الأشعث والقعقاع بن شور وشبث بن ربعي قاتلوا مسلماً وأصحابه، عشية سار مسلم إلى قصر ابن زياد، قتالاً شديداً، وإنّ شبثاً جعل يقول: انتظروا بهم الليل يتفرقوا، فقال له القعقاع: إنك قد سددت على الناس وجه مصيرهم، فافرج لهم ينسربوا.

around Kufa and] persuade the people to desert Ibn ʿAqīl by intimidating them. He also instructed Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath to take men from the Kindah and Ḥaḍramawt tribes who were loyal to him and to raise the standard of immunity for those people who sided with them. He gave similar instructions to al-Qaʿqāʿ ibn Shawr al-Dhuhlī, Shabath ibn Ribʿī al-Tamīmī, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar al-ʿIjlī, and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan al-Ḍabābī, and he kept the elders with him so that he could gain their favour because he had so little support.

These people went out to convince the people to abandon Muslim. ʿUbayd Allāh directed those elders who were with him to address the people from [the top of] the government mansion; they were to promise kind treatment to those who were obedient and threaten those who were disobedient – and they did this.[1]

149. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād said to those Kufan elders who were with him, "Every one of you should go to one section of the roof of the mansion and admonish the people."

Amongst those who went [to address the people] were Kathīr ibn Shihāb, Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath, al-Qaʿqāʿ ibn Shawr, Shabath ibn Ribʿī, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar, and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. They called out to them, "O people of Kufa! Be mindful of God! Do not hasten to discord, do not destroy the unity within the community, and do not bring down on yourselves the Syrian army, for you have tasted their wrath and experienced their might [before this]."[2]

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[1] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 541.

أقبل أشراف الناس يأتون ابن زياد من قبل الباب الذي يلي دار الروميين، والناس يشتمون ابن زياد وأباه. فدعا ابن زياد كثير بن شهاب الحارثي، وأمره أن يخرج فيمن أطاعه من مذحج، فيسير ويخذّل الناس عن ابن عقيل ويخوّفهم، وأمر محمد بن الأشعث أن يخرج فيمن أطاعه من كندة وحضرموت، فيرفع راية أمان لمن جاءه من الناس، وقال مثل ذلك للقعقاع بن شور الذهلي، وشبث بن ربعي التميمي، وحجار بن أبجر العجلي، وشمر بن ذي الجوشن الضبابي، وترك وجوه الناس عنده استئناساً بهم لقلة من معه. وخرج أولئك النفر يخذّلون الناس، وأمر عبيد الله من عنده من الأشراف أن يشرفوا على الناس من القصر فيمنّوا أهل الطاعة ويخوّفوا أهل المعصية، ففعلوا.

[2] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 239.

قال عبيد الله بن زياد لمن كان عنده من أشراف أهل الكوفة: ليشرف كلّ رجل منكم في ناحية من القصر، فكلّموا القوم.

150. ***Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*:** The Kufan elders were with Ibn Ziyād. He told them, "Rise, and go and dissuade your kinsfolk from siding with Muslim; otherwise, I will smite your necks." So they climbed to the roof of the mansions and began to address them, and managed to divide the people who were with Muslim and convince them to desert him.[1]

4/20: The desertion of the followers of Ibn 'Aqīl

151. ***Ansāb al-Ashrāf*:** Ibn Ziyād sent Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, Kathīr ibn Shihāb al-Ḥārithī, and a number of elders to persuade the people to abandon Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a). They were instructed to threaten them with the wrath of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah and the Syrian army, the cutting off of their official allowances, and the punishment of the innocent due to the conduct of the guilty and the present for the sins of the absent.

[As a result of their admonitions] the companions of Ibn 'Aqīl began to desert him, and by nightfall, only around thirty men remained at his side. When he saw this, he [left the mosque of Kufa and] headed towards the homes of the tribe of Kindah, but the rest of the men also abandoned him. He wandered [lost] in the streets of Kufa, alone.[2]

152. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a):** 'Ubayd Allāh sent for the elders of Kufa and gathered them in

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فأشرف كثير بن شهاب، ومحمد بن الأشعث، والقعقاع بن شور، وشبث بن ربعي، وحجار بن أبجر، وشمر بن ذي الجوشن، فتكلموا: يا أهل الكوفة، اتقوا الله ولا تستعجلوا الفتنة، ولا تشقوا عصا هذه الأمة، ولا تورِدوا على أنفسكم خيول الشام؛ فقد ذقتموهم، وجربتم شوكتهم.

[1] Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ, p. 242.

كان عند ابن زياد وجوه أهل الكوفة، فقال لهم: قوموا ففرّقوا عشائركم عن مسلم، وإلّا ضربت أعناقكم. فصعدوا على القصر وجعلوا يكلّمونهم، فتفرّق من كان مع مسلم وخذلوا عنه.

[2] Ansāb al-Ashrāf, vol. 2, p. 338.

وبعث [ابن زياد] محمد بن الأشعث بن قيس وكثير بن شهاب الحارثي وعدّة من الوجوه يخذّلون الناس عن مسلم بن عقيل والحسين بن علي عليه السلام، ويخوّفونهم يزيد بن معاوية وخيل أهل الشام، ومنع الأعطية، وأخذ البريء بالسقيم، والشاهد بالغائب.

فتفرّق أصحاب ابن عقيل عنه حتى أمسى وما معه إلا نحو من ثلاثين رجلًا، فلما رأى ذلك خرج متوجّهًا نحو أبواب كندة، وتفرّق عنه الباقون حتى بقي وحده، يتلدّد في أزقّة الكوفة ليس معه أحد.

his presence at the mansion. When Muslim advanced towards him and reached the gate of the mansion, they surveyed their kinsmen [from the top of the mansion] and began to address them, urging them to leave. The companions of Muslim began to disperse, and by the evening, only 500 men remained. As darkness fell, these men departed as well.[1]

153. ***al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl:*** When the followers of Muslim heard the words of the elders of Kufa, their resolve weakened. Kufan men began to approach their sons, brothers, and cousins saying, "Disperse, there are plenty of others [who will support him]." Kufan women came to their sons, husbands, and brothers, and clung to them until they left the scene.

Muslim prayed the night prayer (*al-ʿishāʾ*) in the mosque, while no more than about thirty people remained with him.[2]

154. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī:** When the people heard the words of their elders, they began to slip away and disperse from around Muslim. Some of them were telling others, "Why should we rush into discord and bring down the Syrian army on us tomorrow? We need to sit in our homes and leave these people alone, until God sets aright the matter between them."

In the meanwhile, women kept coming looking for their brothers, fathers, husbands, or sons, and dragging them away. As the day wore on, the crowd grew more sparse, and by the time the sun set, Muslim ibn ʿAqīl was left with only ten companions. As night fell, Muslim entered the Grand Mosque to offer his night prayer (*maghrib*), and the last ten men deserted him as well.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 350; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 426.

بعث عبيد الله إلى وجوه أهل الكوفة فجمعهم عنده في القصر، فلما سار إليه مسلم فانتهى إلى باب القصر، أشرفوا على عشائرهم فجعلوا يكلمونهم ويردونهم، فجعل أصحاب مسلم يتسللون حتى أمسى في خمسمائة، فلما اختلط الظلام ذهب أولئك أيضا.

[2] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 239.

فلما سمع أصحاب مسلم مقالتهم (أي مقالة وجوه أهل الكوفة) فتروا بعض الفتور.

وكان الرجل من أهل الكوفة يأتي ابنه وأخاه وابن عمه فيقول: انصرف، فإن الناس يكفونك، وتجيء المرأة إلى ابنها وزوجها وأخيها فتتعلق به حتى يرجع. فصلى مسلم العشاء في المسجد وما معه إلا زهاء ثلاثين رجلا.

4/21: Muslim seeking sanctuary at the house of Ṭaw'ah[2]

155. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Mujālid ibn Sa'īd: When Muslim saw that night had fallen, and no more than those [thirty] men remained at his side, he left [the mosque] and headed towards the gates of the tribe of Kindah. When he reached their gates, he had only ten men with him, but when he entered their quarter, he found himself alone. He looked around, but found no one to guide him on the streets, or lead him to a safe house, or support him if he encountered an enemy.

He wandered along the streets of Kufa, not knowing where to go, until he came to the houses of the Banū Jabalah, of the tribe of Kindah. He went forth until he reached the door of a lady named Ṭaw'ah. She was the manumitted slave maiden of al-Ash'ath ibn Qays. He had freed her, and Usayd al-Ḥaḍramī had married her. She bore him a son, Bilāl. Bilāl had gone out with the people while his mother waited for him at home.

Ibn 'Aqīl greeted her and she returned his greeting. He said, "O bondswoman of God, please give me some water." She went in and brought him some water. He drank, and then sat down. She took the vessel back inside, then came out and said, "O servant of God, did you not [already] drink?"

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[1] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 207; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 50.

فلمّا سمع ذلك [أي مقالة الأشراف] الناس، جعلوا يتفرّقون ويتخاذلون عن مسلم بن عقيل، ويقول بعضهم لبعض: ما نصنع بتعجيل الفتنة وغداً تأتينا خيول أهل الشام؟ ينبغي أن نقعد في منازلنا، وندع هؤلاء القوم حتّى يصلح الله ذات بينهم.

قال: وكانت المرأة تأتي أخاها وابنها أو زوجها ثمّ تنبّه فتنصرف، ثمّ جعل القوم يتسلّلون والنهار يمضي، فما غابت الشمس حتّى بقي مسلم بن عقيل في عشرة من أصحابه، واختلط الظلام، فدخل مسلم المسجد الأعظم ليصلّي المغرب، فتفرّق عنه العشرة.

[2] Ṭaw'ah was the manumitted slave of al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, and after his death, Usayd al-Ḥaḍramī took her as his wife. It is also reported that Asad ibn Baṭīn married her, and she bore him a son, Bilāl.

Ṭaw'ah was a woman who loved the *Ahl al-Bayt* (a), and the account of how she helped to hide Muslim is famous.

He replied, "Yes."

She said, "Then go to your people!" He remained silent. Then she repeated something similar, but once again, he remained silent.

Then she said to him, "For the sake of God! Glory be to God! O servant of God, return to your people, may God give you well-being. It is not befitting for you to sit at my door, and I will not allow it."

He stood up and said, "O bondswoman of God, in this city I do not have a house or kinsmen. Would you like to do an act of goodness, for which I can perhaps repay you later?"

She asked, "O servant of God, what do you mean?"

He replied, "I am Muslim ibn 'Aqil. This community has lied to me and betrayed me."

She asked [in astonishment], "Are you Muslim?"

He replied, "Yes."

She told him, "Come in." She led him to a room in the house, other than her own room. She spread a rug for him and brought him some food, but he did not eat.

It was not long afterwards that her son returned. He saw her constantly going in and out of the room, so he asked, "By God, you have been going in and out of that room all evening; something is going on!"

She replied, "My dear son, do not be concerned about this."

He said to her, "By God, tell me about it."

She said, "Just carry on, and don't ask me about anything." But he was insistent, so [finally] she said, "My dear son, do not tell a soul what I am about to tell you." She made him swear, and after he had done so, she informed him [of what had transpired that night]. He retired for the night, not saying anything else.

Some say that he had just been dismissed by his comrades, while others write that he had been out drinking with his friends.[1]

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[1] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 371; *al-Irshad*, vol. 2, p. 54.

فلما رأى [مسلم] أنه قد أمسى وليس معه إلا أولئك النفر (الثلاثون نفراً)، خرج متوجهاً نحو أبواب كندة، وبلغ الأبواب ومعه منهم عشرة، ثم خرج من الباب وإذا ليس معه إنسان، والتفت فإذا هو لا يحس أحداً يدله على الطريق، ولا يدله على منزل، ولا يواسيه بنفسه إن عرض له عدو.

156. *al-Futūḥ*: Muslim ibn ʿAqil entered the Grand Mosque to offer his night prayers. Meanwhile, his supporters deserted him. When he saw this, he mounted his horse and rode out into the alleys of Kufa. He was weakened by the wounds he had sustained. Finally, he ended up at the doorway of a woman called Ṭawʿah....

There was a woman standing at the door of her house. Muslim greeted her, and she returned his greeting. Then she asked, "What do you want?"

He said, "Can you give me some water, for I am very thirsty?" She gave him water until his thirst was quenched. He slumped down at her doorway.

She said, "O servant of God, why are you sitting here. Did you not drink already?"

He replied, "Yes indeed, by God, but I have nowhere to stay in Kufa. I am a stranger, and I have been abandoned by those whom I had

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فمضى على وجهه يتلدّد في أزقّة الكوفة لا يدري أين يذهب، حتى خرج إلى دور بني جبلة من كندة، فمشى حتى انتهى إلى باب امرأة يقال لها: طوعة، أمّ ولد كانت للأشعث بن قيس الكندي، فتزوجها أسيد الحضرمي فولدت له بلالاً، وكان بلال قد خرج مع الناس وأمّه قائمة تنتظره، فسلّم عليها ابن عقيل فردّت عليه.

فقال لها: يا أمة الله اسقيني ماء، فأدخلت فسقته، فجلس، وأدخلت الإناء ثم خرجت فقالت: يا عبد الله، ألم تشرب؟ قال: بلى، قالت: فاذهب إلى أهلك، فسكت، ثم عادت فقالت مثل ذلك فسكت، ثم قالت له في الثالثة: سبحان الله يا عبد الله قم إلى أهلك عافاك الله، فإنه لا يصلح لك الجلوس على بابي ولا أحلّه لك، فقام فقال: يا أمة الله، ما لي في هذا المصر منزل ولا عشيرة، فهل لك إلى أجر ومعروف، ولعلّي مكافئك به بعد اليوم؟ فقالت: يا عبد الله وما ذاك؟ قال: أنا مسلم بن عقيل، كذبني هؤلاء القوم وغرّوني.

قالت: أنت مسلم؟ قال: نعم.

قالت: ادخل. فأدخلته بيتاً في دارها غير البيت الذي تكون فيه، وفرشت له، وعرضت عليه العشاء فلم يتعشّ، ولم يكن بأسرع من أن جاء ابنها فرآها تكثر الدخول في البيت والخروج منه، فقال: والله إنه ليريبني كثرة دخولك هذا البيت منذ الليلة وخروجك منه، إنّ لك لشأناً.

قالت: يا بنيّ الهُ عن هذا. قال لها: والله لتخبرنّي. قالت: أقبل على شأنك ولا تسألني عن شيء. فألحّ عليها، فقالت: يا بنيّ لا تحدّثنّ أحداً من الناس بما أخبرك به، وأخذت عليه الأيمان، فحلف لها، فأخبرته، فاضطجع وسكت، ويزعمون أنه قد كان شريداً من الناس، وقال بعضهم: كان يشرب مع أصحاب له.

trusted. Would you show me some kindness, for I belong to an honourable and noble family, and a person like me would always return a favour."

She said, "How so, and who are you?"

Muslim, may God have mercy on him, replied, "Leave that talk. Allow me into your home, perhaps God will reward you tomorrow with paradise."

She replied, "O servant of God, tell me your name, and do not conceal anything about your situation from me. I am reluctant to allow anyone into my house before I know his full story. These are difficult times, with the arrival of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād in Kufa."

Muslim said to her, "If you truly knew me, you would certainly allow me into your house. I am Muslim ibn 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib."

The woman [immediately] replied, "Stand up, and come in, may God have mercy on you."

She ushered him into her house and brought him a lantern and some food, but he did not eat anything.

It was not long before her son arrived. He noticed that his mother was constantly going back and forth from a room in the house, while she was weeping. He asked her, "O mother, your behaviour is making me suspicious. Why are you constantly going into that room and coming out in tears? What is the matter?"

She said, "My dear son, I am going to tell you something, but you must not reveal it to anyone."

He replied, "Say whatever is on your mind."

So she said, "My dear son, Muslim ibn 'Aqīl is in that room." Then she related to him what had transpired.

The son became silent, and he did not say anything else. Then he laid out his bed and went to sleep.[1]

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 50; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 207.

فقاتل مسلم بن عقيل السيد الأعظم [illegible]، وتفرق عنه العشيرة، فلما رأى ذلك استوى على فرسه ومضى في بعض أزقة الكوفة، وقد أثخن بالجراحات، حتى صار إلى دار امرأة يقال لها طوعة.

وكانت المرأة واقفة على باب دارها، فسلم عليها مسلم بن عقيل، فردت عليه السلام ثم قالت: ما حاجتك؟ فقال: اسقيني شربة من الماء، فقد بلغ مني العطش.

4/22: The search of Ibn Ziyād for Muslim and his followers

157. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: When Ibn Ziyād could not hear any more sounds from outside, he thought that the people had entered the mosque. He instructed his men, "Look carefully, do you see any one in the mosque?" The mansion was annexed to the mosque. They looked out but could not see anyone. They lit reed torches tied with rope and threw them into the courtyard of the mosque to light up the area, and then searched, but they could still not see anyone.

Ibn Ziyād said, "It seems that the people have left Muslim, abandoned him, and dispersed." He came out with those who were with him and sat in the mosque. The torches and candles [of the mosque] were lit.[1]

قال: فسقته حتى روي، فجلس على بابها.

فقالت: يا عبد الله، ما لك جالس؟ أما شربت؟ فقال: بلى والله، ولكن ما لي بالكوفة منزل، وإني غريب قد خذلني من كنت أثق به، فهل لك في معروف تصطنعيه إليّ؛ فإني رجل من أهل بيت شرف وكرم، ومثلي من يكافئ بالإحسان.

فقالت: وكيف ذلك ومن أنت؟ فقال: اسمعي رحمك الله، اكتمي هذا الكلام وأدخليني منزلك، عسى الله أن يكافئك غداً بالجنة.

فقالت: يا عبد الله، خبرني باسمك ولا تكتمني شيئاً من أمرك، فإني أكره أن يدخل منزلي من قبل معرفة خبره، وهذه الفتنة قائمة، وهذا عبيد الله بن زياد بالكوفة.

فقال لها مسلم بن عقيل: إنك لو عرفتني حق المعرفة لأدخلتني دارك، أنا مسلم بن عقيل بن أبي طالب. فقالت المرأة: قم فادخل رحمك الله. فأدخلته منزلها، وجاءته بالمصباح وبالطعام فأبى أن يأكل.

ولم يكن بأسرع من أن جاء ابنها، فلما رآها تكثر الدخول والخروج إلى بيت هنالك وهي باكية، فقال لها: يا أماه، إن أمرك يريبني لدخولك هذا البيت وخروجك منه باكية، ما قصتك؟

فقالت: يا بني، إني أخبرك بشيء لا تفشه لأحد. فقال لها: قولي ما أحببت. فقالت له: يا بني، إن مسلم بن عقيل في ذلك البيت، وقد كان من قصته كذا وكذا.

قال: فسكت الغلام ولم يقل شيئاً، ثم إنه أخذ مضجعه ونام.

[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 239.

إنّ ابن زياد لما فقد الأصوات، ظنّ أنّ القوم دخلوا المسجد، فقال: انظروا هل ترون في المسجد أحداً، وكان المسجد مع القصر، فنظروا فلم يروا أحداً، وجعلوا يشعلون أطناب القصب ثم يقذفون بها في رحبة المسجد ليضيء لهم، فتبصروا فلم يروا أحداً.

4/23: The speech of Ibn Ziyād and his orders to search from house to hhouse

158: *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Mujālid ibn Sa'īd:

When they saw no sign [of Muslim or his followers in the mosque], they informed Ibn Ziyād, who unlocked the door of the mansion that led to the mosque. Accompanied by his companions, he went out and ascended the pulpit. He instructed the people to sit around him until night had fallen.

Then, he ordered 'Amr ibn Nāfi' to announce, "Immunity will not be granted to any man from the guards and the tribal chiefs (*al-'urafā'*), or the supporters, or the fighters, who prays the night prayers anywhere other than in the Grand Mosque." In less than an hour, the mosque was filled with people. He instructed the muezzin to make the call to prayer (*adhān*) and start the prayer.

Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm advised him, "If you wish, you could lead the prayers, or someone else can lead the prayer while you go and pray at the mansion. I am not sure that you will be safe here from an assassination attempt by your enemies."

He replied, "Instruct my bodyguards to stand behind me, as they used to before, and you keep watch within them; for I am not going back inside." Then he led the prayers. Afterwards, he rose, praised God and glorified Him, and said:

> Indeed, Ibn 'Aqīl is an ignorant fool. He tried to cause discord and dissension, which you witnessed. I am not responsible before God [for what I will do] to any man in whose house he is found. Whoever produces him shall be rewarded for his blood. O servants of God, be mindful of Him! Keep to your pledges of obedience and allegiance, and do not allow him to influence you.
>
> O Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm, may your mother weep on you if there is an outcry from even a single street of Kufa, or if this man escapes from Kufa and you do not bring him back to me. I authorize you to search the houses of the Kufans. Send sentries to the entrances of every street. From

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قال ابن زياد: إنّ القوم قد خذلوا وأسلموا مسلماً وانصرفوا. فخرج فيمن كان عنده وجلس في المسجد، وبعث الشُّرط والقنابل.

> tomorrow morning, evacuate every house and search it thoroughly, until you [find and] bring me this man.

Al-Ḥuṣayn was the head of the constabulary, and from the tribe of Banū Tamīm. Then Ibn Ziyād descended from the pulpit and returned to the mansion, after appointing 'Amr ibn Ḥurayth as standard-bearer, and putting him in charge of the people.[1]

159. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*: At night, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād came down from the mansion, accompanied by the chiefs and elders, and prayed the night prayers (*al-'ishā'*) with them in the mosque. Then he addressed them and exhorted them to search for the whereabouts of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, saying, "Whoever finds his location and does not inform us of it shall be killed. And whoever produces him, for him will be the payment for his blood." He also summoned the guards and ordered them to do the same, warning them of the consequences of failure.[1]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 371; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 56.

لما أن رأوا أنه لا يرون شيئاً أعلموا ابن زياد، ففتح باب السدة التي في المسجد، ثم خرج فصعد المنبر وخرج أصحابه معه، فأمرهم فجلسوا حوله قبيل العتمة.

وأمر عمرو بن نافع فنادى: ألا برئت الذمة من رجل من الشرطة والعرفاء أو المناكب أو المقاتلة صلى العتمة إلا في المسجد. فلم يكن له إلا ساعة حتى امتلأ المسجد من الناس، ثم أمر مناديه فأقام الصلاة.

فقال الحصين بن تميم: إن شئت صليت بالناس، أو يصلي بهم غيرك ودخلت أنت فصليت في القصر، فإني لا آمن أن يغتالك بعض أعدائك.

فقال: مر حرسي فليقوموا ورائي كما كانوا يقفون، ودر فيهم فإني لست بداخل إذاً. فصلى بالناس.

ثم قام فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال: أما بعد، فإن ابن عقيل السفيه الجاهل قد أتى ما قد رأيتم من الخلاف والشقاق، فبرئت ذمة الله من رجل وجدناه في داره، ومن جاء به فله ديته. اتقوا الله عباد الله، والزموا طاعتكم وبيعتكم، ولا تجعلوا على أنفسكم سبيلاً.

يا حصين بن تميم، ثكلتك أمك إن صاح باب سكة من سكك الكوفة، أو خرج هذا الرجل ولم تأتني به، وقد سلطتك على دور أهل الكوفة، فابعث مراصدة على أفواه السكك، وأصبح غداً واستبر الدور وجس خلالها حتى تأتيني بهذا الرجل. وكان الحصين على شرطه، وهو من بني تميم. ثم نزل ابن زياد فدخل، وقد عقد لعمرو بن حريث راية وأمره على الناس.

4/24: Muslim betrayed by the son of Ṭaw'ah

160. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Majālid ibn Sa'īd: On the next morning, Ibn Ziyād convened his assembly and permitted the people to come to him. When Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath approached, he said, "Welcome to the one who is not insincere or distrusted." Then he made him sit next to him.

Earlier that morning, the son of the old woman who had given sanctuary to Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, whose name was Bilāl ibn Usayd, had gone to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath and informed him that Ibn 'Aqīl was at his mother's house.

'Abd al-Raḥmān went to his father, who was with Ibn Ziyād, and whispered something in his ear. Ibn Ziyād asked him, "What did he say to you?"

He replied, "He just informed me that Ibn 'Aqīl is in one of our houses."

> Ibn Ziyād prodded him in his side with his cane and demanded, "Get up, and bring him to me at once."[2]

161. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: When the people abandoned Ibn 'Aqīl, Ibn Ziyād opened the gate of the mansion, and came and sat in assembly. The people of Kufa began to come in to see him.

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 155.

أما عبيد الله بن زياد فإنه نزل من القصر بمن معه من الأمراء والأشراف بعد العشاء الآخرة فصلى
بهم العشاء في المسجد الجامع ثم خطبهم وطلب منهم مسلم بن عقيل وحث على طلبه ومن وجده
عنده ولم يعلم به فدمه هدر ومن جاء به فله ديته، وطلب الشرطة وحثهم على ذلك وتهددهم.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 373; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 57.

لما أصبح ابن زياد جلس مجلسه وأذن للناس فدخلوا عليه، وأقبل محمد بن الأشعث فقال: مرحبا
بمن لا يستغش ولا يتهم، ثم أقعده إلى جنبه، وأصبح ابن تلك العجوز وهو بلال بن أسيد الذي آوت
أمه ابن عقيل، فغدا إلى عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث فأخبره بمكان ابن عقيل عند أمه.
قال: فأقبل عبد الرحمن حتى أتى أباه وهو عند ابن زياد فساره، فقال له ابن زياد: ما قال لك؟ فقال: أخبرني
أن ابن عقيل في دار من دورنا. فنخس بالقضيب في جنبه ثم قال: قم فأتني به الساعة.

At that time, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath came to his father, who was sitting next to Ibn Ziyād. He reported the news of [the discovery] of Ibn 'Aqīl, and Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath informed Ibn Ziyād about it.[1]

4/25: A ferocious attack on the house of Ṭaw'ah in order to capture Muslim

162. *al-Futūḥ*: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād instructed his deputy, 'Amr ibn Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī, to send 300 of his best troops with Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath rode out until he reached the house in which Muslim ibn 'Aqīl had sought refuge.[2]

163. *al-Amālī*, of Ibn al-Shajarī, quoting Sa'īd ibn Khālid: Ibn Ziyād sent 100 horsemen with a man from the tribe of Banū Sulaym to the house, and they took Muslim by surprise.[3]

4/26: A fierce battle around the house of Ṭaw'ah

164. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād instructed his deputy, 'Amr ibn Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī, to send 300 of his best troops with Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath rode out until he reached the house in which Muslim ibn 'Aqīl had sought refuge. Muslim heard the sound of the hooves of horses and the raised voices of the men, and realised that they had come for him. He ran quickly to his horse, saddled it, and fitted its bridle. Then he wore his armour, donned his turban, and put on his sword. Meanwhile, the soldiers began to pelt the door with stones and blazing straw torches.

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 338; also see Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 167.

كان ابن زياد - حين تفرّق عن ابن عقيل الناس - فتح باب القصر، وخرج إلى المجلس فجلس فيه وحضره أهل الكوفة، فجاء عبد الرحمن بن محمّد بن الأشعث إلى أبيه - وهو عند ابن زياد - فأخبره خبر ابن عقيل، فأعلم محمّد بن الأشعث ابن زياد بذلك.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 53; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 208.

أمر عبيد الله بن زياد خليفته عمرو بن حريث المخزومي أن يبعث مع محمّد بن الأشعث ثلاثمائة رجل من صناديد أصحابه.

قال: فركب محمّد بن الأشعث حتّى وافى الدار التي فيها مسلم بن عقيل.

[3] Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 167.

فبعث ابن زياد رجلاً من بني سليم في مائة فارس إلى الدار، فأخذ غرّته.

Muslim smiled grimly and said, "O my soul, prepare to advance towards death, which cannot be escaped or deferred."

Then he told the woman, "May God have mercy on you, and reward you with goodness. You should know that I am being attacked because of your son. Now, open the door."

She opened the door, and Muslim emerged in front of the people like an enraged lion. He began to strike them with his sword, killing several of them. The news of this reached Ibn Ziyād, so he sent a message to Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath, saying, "Glory be to God, O Abā 'Abd al-Rahmān! We sent you to capture just one man, and bring him back to us, and yet he has managed to kill several of your men!"

Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath sent a message in reply, "O Amir, did you imagine that you sent me to a grocer from the grocers of Kufa, or a cobbler from the cobblers of al-Hira? Do you not realize, O Amir, that you have sent me to a dangerous lion, and a master warrior? He wields a deadly sword, with which he dispenses instant death!"

Ibn Ziyād sent back a message saying, "Offer him immunity. It appears that you will not capture him except by promising him immunity."[1]

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 208; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 52.

فأمر ابن زياد خليفته عمرو بن حريث المخزومي أن يبعث مع محمد بن الأشعث ثلاثمائة رجل من صناديد أصحابه، وركب محمد بن الأشعث حتى وافى الدار التي فيها مسلم بن عقيل، فسمع مسلم وقع حوافر الخيل وأصوات الرجال، فعلم أنه قد أتي، فبادر مسرعاً إلى فرسه، فأسرجه وألجمه وصبّ عليه درعه، واعتجر بعمامته وتقلّد سيفه، والقوم يرمون الدار بالحجارة، ويلهبون النار في أطراف القصب، فتبسّم مسلم ثم قال: يا نفسي! اخرجي إلى الموت الذي ليس منه محيص ولا محيد.

ثم قال للمرأة: رحمك الله وجزاك خيراً، اعلمي أني إنما أتيت من قبل ابنك، فافتحي الباب. ففتحت الباب، وخرج مسلم في وجوه القوم كالأسد المغضب، فجعل يضاربهم بسيفه حتى قتل جماعة، وبلغ ذلك ابن زياد، فأرسل إلى محمد بن الأشعث: سبحان الله أبا عبد الرحمن! بعثناك إلى رجل واحد لتأتينا به فثلم من أصحابك ثلمة عظيمة

165. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah:* The soldiers swarmed over Muslim, but he kept them at bay with his swordplay. He drove them away from the house three times. He received a wound that tore his upper and lower lip. Then they began to fling stones at him and hurl blazing straw torches towards him. Their agitation increased [because they were unable to contain him]. In reply, he advanced towards them with his sword and began to attack them.[1]

166. *al-'Iqd al-Farīd,* quoting Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Salām: The soldiers were sent towards Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. He emerged before them with his sword and continued to fight them until they inflicted heavy wounds on him and [finally] restrained him.[2]

4/27: The capture of Muslim after receiving numerous wounds

167. *al-Malhūf:* When Muslim had killed several of them, Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath shouted out to him, "O Muslim! You have immunity."

Muslim replied, "What kind of immunity can be expected from the treacherous and the corrupt?"

Then he advanced, fighting against them while he recited the following couplets from the battle poem (*rajaz*) of Ḥamrān ibn Mālik al-Khath'amī, who had said on the on the day of the battle between the Banū 'Āmir and the Banū Khath'am (*yawm al-qarn*):

I swear I shall not to be killed except as a free man.
Even though I see death as repellent,

فأرسل إليه محمد بن الأشعث: أيها الأمير، أتظن أنك بعثتني إلى بقال من بقاقيل الكوفة أو جرمقاني من جرامقة الحيرة؟ ألا تعلم أيها الأمير أنك بعثتني إلى أسد ضرغام وبطل همام في كفه سيف حسام يقطر منه الموت الزؤام.

فأرسل إليه ابن زياد: أن أعطه الأمان فإنك لن تقدر عليه إلا بالأمان المؤكد بالأيمان.

[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah,* vol. 8, p. 155.

دخلوا عليه فأبى أن يخرج فقام إليهم بالسيف فأخرجهم من الدار ثلاث مرات، وأصيبت شفته العليا والسفلى، ثم جعلوا يرمونه بالحجارة ويلهبون النار في أطناب القصب، فضاق بهم ذرعاً، فخرج إليهم بسيفه فقاتلهم.

[2] *al-'Iqd al-Farīd,* vol. 5, p. 165; *al-Mahāsin wa al-Masāwī,* p. 60.

أرسل إلى مسلم بن عقيل، فخرج إليهم بسيفه، فما زال يقاتلهم حتى أثخنوه بالجراح، فأسروه.

I hate to be deceived or cheated.
Or mix a cold [pleasant] drink with warm and bitter water.
Every man will face death one day,
[So] I shall strike you with no fear of harm.

They assured him, "You shall not be deceived, or cheated." However, Muslim paid no attention to their words. When he had been wounded heavily, they swarmed over him. A man struck him from behind, and he fell to the ground. At that time, they seized and restrained him.[1]

168. *al-Futūḥ*: Ibn Ziyād sent a message to Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, saying, "Offer him immunity, for you will not capture him except by immunity." So Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath said to Muslim, "Woe be on you, O Ibn 'Aqīl! Do not kill yourself; you are granted immunity."

But Muslim retorted, "I have no use for the immunity of the treacherous." Then he continued to fight them while reciting,

I swear I shall not to be killed except as a free man,
Even though I find death a bitter cupful to drink.
I hate to be deceived or cheated.
Every man will face death one day,
[So] I shall strike you with no fear of harm.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath called out to him, "Woe be on you, O Ibn 'Aqīl! You shall not be lied to or cheated. These people do not wish to fight against you, so do not kill yourself."

Muslim, may God have mercy on him, paid no attention to the words of Ibn Ash'ath, and continued to fight until he was severely wounded. He became weak, and they swarmed around him and started to hit him with arrows and stones.

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 120; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 357.

ولما قتل مسلم منهم جماعة، نادى إليه محمد بن الأشعث: يا مسلم لك الأمان. فقال له مسلم: وأي أمان للغدرة الفجرة؟ ثم أقبل يقاتلهم ويرتجز بأبيات حمران بن مالك الخثعمي يوم القرن، حيث يقول:

أقسمت لا أقتل إلا حرا　　وإن رأيت الموت شيئا نكرا
أكره أن أخدع أو أغرا　　أو أخلط البارد سخنا مرا
كل امرئ يوما يلاقي شرا　　أضربكم ولا أخاف ضرا

فقالوا له: إنك لا تخدع ولا تغر، فلم يلتفت إلى ذلك، وتكاثروا عليه بعد أن أثخن بالجراح، فطعنه رجل من خلفه، فخر إلى الأرض، فأخذ أسيرا.

Muslim said, "Shame on you! What is the matter with you that you hit me with stones the way disbelievers are hit, while I am from the Ahl al-Bayt of the righteous prophets? Shame on you! Do you not respect the right of the Prophet (s) and his offspring?"

They he attacked them again, despite his weakened state. He continued to break their ranks and scatter them. Then [exhausted], he withdrew and leaned his back against the door of a house. The soldiers turned to him, but Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath shouted to them, "Leave him be, I want to speak with him."

Then, Ibn Ash'ath appoached him until he stood in front of him, and said, "Woe be on you, O Ibn 'Aqīl, do not kill yourself. You have immunity, and I guarantee your safety."

Muslim replied to him, "Do you think, O Ibn Ash'ath, that I will raise my hands to surrender while I am still able to fight? No, by God, that will never happen!" Then, he attacked him, driving him back to his men. He then returned to where he had stood, saying, "My Lord, thirst has overcome me."

Nobody dared to bring him water or approach him. Ibn Ash'ath turned to his soldiers and snapped, "Woe be on you all! It is disgraceful and cowardly that you fear this single man. Advance together and attack him!"

They attacked him and he fought back. Then a Kufan by the name of Bukayr ibn Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī engaged him, and they exchanged blows. Bukayr struck Muslim on his upper lip, but Muslim riposted with a strike that killed Bukayr. Then, Muslim was hit with a spear thrust from behind and fell to the ground. His horse and his weapons were seized, and he was taken prisoner. A man from the tribe of Banū

Sulaymān by the name of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās came forward and took away his turban.[1]

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 53.

أرسل إليه (أي إلى محمد بن الأشعث) عبيد الله بن زياد أن أعطه الأمان، فإنك لن تقدر عليه إلا بالأمان. فنادى محمد بن الأشعث يقول: ويحك يا ابن عقيل! لا تقتل نفسك، لك الأمان. ومسلم بن عقيل يقول: لا حاجة لي في أمان الغدرة. ثم جعل يقاتلهم وهو يقول:

أقسمت لا أقتل إلا حرا　　　وإن رأيت الموت شيئا نكرا
أكره أن أخدع أو أغرا　　　كل امرئ يوما ملاق شرا
أضربكم ولا أخاف ضرا

قال: فناداه محمد بن الأشعث وقال: ويحك يا ابن عقيل! إنك لا تكذب ولا تغر، القوم ليسوا بقاتليك فلا تقتل نفسك.

قال: فلم يلتفت مسلم بن عقيل - رحمة الله - إلى كلام ابن الأشعث، وجعل يقاتل حتى أثخن بالجراح وضعف عن القتال، وتكاثروا عليه فجعلوا يرمونه بالنبل والحجارة، فقال مسلم: ويلكم! ما لكم ترمونني بالحجارة كما ترمى الكفار، وأنا من أهل بيت الأنبياء الأبرار؟ ويلكم! أما ترعون حق رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وذريته؟

قال: ثم حمل عليهم - على ضعفه - فكسرهم وفرقهم في الدروب، ثم رجع وأسند ظهره إلى باب دار من تلك الدور، ورجع القوم إليه فصاح بهم محمد بن الأشعث: ذروه حتى أكلمه بما يريد.

قال: ثم دنا منه ابن الأشعث حتى وقف قبالته وقال: ويلك يا ابن عقيل! لا تقتل نفسك، أنت آمن ودمك في عنقي. فقال له مسلم: أتظن يا ابن الأشعث أني أعطي بيدي وأنا أقدر على القتال؟ لا والله لا كان ذلك أبدا. ثم حمل عليه حتى ألحقه بأصحابه، ثم رجع إلى موضعه فوقف وقال: اللهم إن العطش قد بلغ مني.

قال: فلم يجترئ أحد أن يسقيه الماء ولا أن يدنو منه. فأقبل ابن الأشعث على أصحابه وقال: ويلكم! إن هذا لهو العار والفشل أن تجزعوا من رجل واحد هذا الجزع، احملوا عليه بأجمعكم حملة واحدة.

قال: فحملوا عليه وحمل عليهم، فقصده من أهل الكوفة رجل يقال له بكير بن حمران الأحمري فاختلفا بضربتين، فضربه بكير ضربة على شفته العليا، وضربه مسلم بن عقيل ضربة فسقط إلى الأرض قتيلا.

قال: فطعن من ورائه طعنة فسقط إلى الأرض، فأخذ أسيرا، ثم أخذ فرسه وسلاحه.

وتقدم رجل من بني سليم يقال له عبيد الله بن العباس فأخذ عمامته.

An analysis of the various reports about the capture of Muslim, after he was promised immunity

The reports about the capture of Muslim (a), after he was promised immunity, can be divided into three groups:

1. The report that most of the historical sources mention, which is: Muslim (a) rejected the offer of immunity outright, and in reply to Muḥammad ibn Ash'ath, who had brought the offer, said, "And what kind of immunity can be expected from the treacherous and the corrupt?" He then addressed the enemies who had gathered on the scene by quoting the verses of Ḥamrān ibn Mālik al-Khath'amī, "I swear I shall not to be killed except as a free man…" Then, he continued to fight until he was struck from behind with a spear thrust and fell to the ground, after which he was taken prisoner.[1]
2. The reports which mention that after Muslim (a) fought the enemy and received many wounds and fell to the ground, he accepted the offer of immunity.[2]
3. The reports that assert that Muslim (a) unconditionally accepted the offer of immunity.[3]

By studying the aforementioned reports, it can be concluded that the third report is undoubtedly false. It is clear that the offer of immunity to the leader of an uprising who is preparing the ground for a larger rebellion, and that too by a treacherous and corrupt person like Ibn Ziyād, was no more than a deceitful ploy. It is inconceivable that Muslim would not have seen through it right away or that he would have accepted the immunity offered by Ibn Ziyād without any hesitation and surrendered.

In the case of the second group of reports, it appears that the reporters have considered Muslim's surrender after being heavily wounded and unable to fight any longer as his "acceptance of immunity".

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[1] See al-Malhūf, p. 120; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 44, p. 357.

[2] See Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 352; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 59.

[3] See Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, p. 68; Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 350.

Therefore, it is the first report, which has been quoted in most of the sources, and whose details reflect the lofty ideals, unwavering resolve, bravery, and courage of the followers of Imam al-Husayn (a), which is close to the truth, and that is: Muslim never accepted the offer of immunity, but rather fought until the end and was only captured when he could no longer defend himself.

4/28: The tears of Muslim for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his family

169. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Qudāmah ibn Saʿīd ibn Zāʾidah ibn Qudāmah al-Thaqafī: A mule was brought, and Muslim was mounted on it. The soldiers surrounded him and wrested his sword away from him. At this point, it seemed that Muslim was in despair for his life, because his eyes filled with tears. Then he said, "This is the beginning of betrayal."

Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath said to him, "I hope that no harm will come to you."

Muslim replied, "So now it is only hope? What happened to your immunity? Indeed, we are from God, and we shall return to Him!" Then he began to weep.

ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās said to him, "Surely, the one who sought what you sought does not weep when he encounters what has befallen you!"

He replied, "By God, I do not weep for myself, nor do I grieve over my death, although I do not desire it for a moment; no, I weep for my family who are coming towards me, I weep for Husayn and the family of Husayn."[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 376; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 59.

وأُتي ببغلة فحُمل عليها، واجتمعوا حوله، وانتزعوا سيفاً من عنقه، فكأنّه عند ذلك أيس من نفسه فدمعت عيناه، ثمّ قال: هذا أوّل الغدر.

قال محمّد بن الأشعث: أرجو ألا يكون عليك بأس.

قال: ما هو إلا الرجاء، أين أمانكم؟ إنّا لله وإنّا إليه راجعون، وبكى. فقال له عمرو بن عبيد الله بن العبّاس: إنّ من يطلب مثل الذي تطلب، إذا نزل به مثل الذي نزل بك لم يبكِ.

قال: إنّي والله ما لنفسي أبكي، ولا لها من القتل أرثي، وإن كنت لم أحبّ لها طرفة عين تلفاً، ولكن أبكي لأهلي المقبلين إليّ، أبكي لحسين وآل حسين.

4/20: The message of Muslim to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) warning him not to come to Kufa

170. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Qudāmah ibn Saʿīd ibn Zāʾidah ibn Qudāmah al-Thaqafī: Then, Muslim approached Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath and said, "O servant of God! By God, I consider that soon, you will be unable to ensure my immunity, but can I expect some goodness from you [instead]? Can you despatch one of your own men to al-Ḥusayn (a) with a message from me? For I have no doubt that he has either set out [from Mecca] towards you already, or will be setting out tomorrow, with his family. That was the reason why you saw me sorrowful. Your messenger should say, 'Ibn ʿAqīl has sent me to you. He has been apprehended by the people and is a prisoner. He does not want you to come here only to be killed. Rather, he says that you should return with your family and not be lured by [the promises of] the Kufans, for they are the companions of your father, who wanted to be rid of their company, whether through death or assassination.

"'Indeed, the people of Kufa have deceived you, and have deceived me; and the one who has been deceived has few choices.'"

Ibn Ashʿath replied, "I swear by God that I shall do this [for you], and I shall inform Ibn Ziyād that I have given you my [personal] guarantee of immunity."

Abū Mikhnaf continues, narrating from Jaʿfar ibn Ḥudhayfah al-Ṭāʾī: ...Muḥammad ibn al-Ashʿath called for Iyās ibn al-ʿAthil al-Ṭāʾī, of the tribe of the Banū Mālik ibn ʿAmr ibn Thumāmah. He was a poet, and often visited Muḥammad. He told him, "Go meet al-Ḥusayn, and pass him this letter." He wrote in the letter whatever Muslim has asked him to. He also told him, "Here are your provisions, your equipment, and some gifts for your family."

Iyās asked, "Where can I get a horse from, because I have worn out my own horse?" Ibn al-Ashʿath replied, "Here is a mount, take it, and whatever is on it." So, he departed [from Kufa] and encountered al-Ḥusayn (a) at Zubālah,[1] four nights later. He informed him of the events and gave him the letter. Al-Ḥusayn (a) told him, "Whatever has been decreed by God will happen. We consign ourselves, and the corruption of our nation, to God."[1]

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[1] A well-known waystation between Mecca and Kufa.

171. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) reached the station of Zubālah, he encountered the messenger of Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath and 'Umar ibn Sa'd, bearing the message Muslim ibn 'Aqīl had requested to be written. It contained the details of the [new] situation and the betrayal of the people of Kufa after they had pledged their allegiance to him. Muslim ibn 'Aqīl had asked Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath for this [favour].

When he read the letter, al-Ḥusayn (a) was convinced about the truth of the news and was deeply grieved at the killing of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and Hānī' ibn 'Urwah. The messenger then informed him of the murder of Qays ibn Mushir, the envoy that he had sent to Kufa when he was at Baṭn al-Rummah.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) was accompanied by a group of people who had joined him at various stations along the way, but when they heard the news of Muslim, they deserted him. They had been thinking all along that the Imam (a) would enter Kufa to the welcome of his supporters and partisans. Thereafter, only his closest followers remained with him.[1]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 375; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 59.

وأقبل (السيف) على محمد بن الأشعث فقال: يا عبد الله، إني أراك والله ستعجز عن أماني، فهل عندك خير تستطيع أن تبعث من عندك رجلاً على لساني يبلغ حسيناً عليه السلام، فإني لا أراه إلا قد خرج إليكم اليوم مقبلاً أو هو خارج غداً هو وأهل بيته، وإنّ ما ترى من جزعي لذلك، فيقول: إنّ ابن عقيل بعثني إليك وهو في أيدي القوم أسير لا يرى أن تمشي حتى تقتل، وهو يقول: ارجع بأهل بيتك ولا يغرّك أهل الكوفة، فإنهم أصحاب أبيك الذي كان يتمنى فراقهم بالموت أو القتل، إنّ أهل الكوفة قد كذبوك وكذبوني، وليس لمكذَّب رأي.

فقال ابن الأشعث: والله لأفعلنّ، ولأعلمنّ ابن زياد أني قد أمنتك.

قال أبو مخنف: فحدثني جعفر بن حذيفة الطائي... قال: دعا محمد بن الأشعث إياس بن العثل الطائي من بني مالك بن عمرو بن ثمامة، وكان شاعراً، وكان لمحمد زوّاراً، فقال له: الق حسيناً فأبلغه هذا الكتاب، وكتب فيه الذي أمره ابن عقيل.

وقال له: هذا زادك وجهازك ومتعة لعيالك، فقال: من أين لي براحلة فإنّ راحلتي قد أنضيتها، قال: هذه راحلة فاركبها برحلها، ثم خرج فاستقبله بزبالة لأربع ليال، فأخبره الخبر، وبلّغه الرسالة، فقال له حسين عليه السلام: كلّ ما حُمّ نازل، وعند الله نحتسب أنفسنا وفساد أمّتنا.

A note

Even though the actions of Ibn al-Ash'ath and Ibn Sa'd appeared to be in accordance with the request of Muslim, and they did convey his message to Imam al-Husayn (a), nevertheless, it is obvious that their actual objective was to dissuade the Imam (a) from coming to Kufa. By doing so, they could prevent his influence from reaching the centre of the rebellion, which was Kufa. For this reason, when the Imam (a), contrary to Muslim's advice, continued his course to Kufa, they blocked his path, and killed him and his faithful companions in the land of Karbala.

4/30: The request for water by Muslim

172. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Qudāmah ibn Sa'd: When Muslim ibn 'Aqīl reached the door of the mansion, there was a jug of cold water placed at the door. He asked, "Allow me to have some of this water." In reply, Muslim ibn 'Amr said, "Do you see how cold it is? No, by God! You will never taste even a drop of it, until you drink from the boiling water (*al-ḥamīm*) in the fire of hell." Muslim said to him, "Shame on you!"...

Abū Mikhnaf then reports from Sa'īd ibn Mudrak ibn 'Umārah: 'Umārah ibn 'Uqbah sent his son, whose name was Qays, to Muslim with a cloth-covered jar and a drinking cup. He filled it with water and offered it to Muslim. However, whenever he tried to drink, the cup filled with blood [from his torn lip]. When the cup had been refilled for the third time, and he tried to drink, two of his front teeth fell into the vessel. Muslim said, "All praise is for God! If this had been a provision written for me, then I would have been able to drink it."[1]

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 247.

لما وصل إلى الإمام الحسين عليه السلام زبالة، وافاه بها رسول محمد بن الأشعث وعمر بن سعد بما كان سأله مسلم أن يكتب به إليه من أمره وخذلان أهل الكوفة إياه بعد أن بايعوه، وقد كان مسلم سأل محمد بن الأشعث ذلك.

فلما قرأ الكتاب استيقن بصحة الخبر، وأفظعه قتل مسلم بن عقيل وهانئ بن عروة، ثم أخبره الرسول بقتل قيس بن مسهر رسوله الذي وجهه من بطن الرمة.

وقد كان صحبه قوم من منازل الطريق، فلما سمعوا خبر مسلم، وقد كانوا ظنوا أنه يقدم على أنصار وعضد، تفرقوا عنه، ولم يبق معه إلا خاصته.

4/11: What transpired between Muslim and Ibn Ziyād in the government mansion

173. ***al-Ansāb al-Ashrāf*****:** Muslim was brought before Ibn Ziyād. Ibn al-Ash'ath had previously promised him immunity, but Ibn Ziyād did not honour the promise.[2]

174. ***al-Malhūf*****:** When Muslim was brought before 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, he did not greet him. The guard said to him, "Greet the *amīr*." Muslim replied, "Be silent, woe be on you! By God, he is not my *amīr*."

Ibn Ziyād said, "It does not matter. Whether you greet me or not, you are a dead man."

Muslim replied, "If you kill me, then [know that] worse men than *you* have killed better men than *me*. Furthermore, you will never abandon wanton bloodshed, cruel punishment, shameful conduct, and greedy domination; and there is no one more suited to this [tyranny] than you."

Ibn Ziyād said [furiously], "It is you who is disobedient and divisive; you rebelled against your *imām*, divided the Muslims, and sowed discord between them."

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 375; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 60.

أُدخل مسلم بن عقيل حين انتهى إلى باب القصر، فإذا قُلّة باردة موضوعة على الباب، فقال ابن عقيل: اسقوني من هذا الماء، فقال له مسلم بن عمرو: أتراها ما أبردها؟ لا والله، لا تذوق منها قطرة أبداً، حتى تذوق الحميم في نار جهنم. قال له ابن عقيل: ويحك......

قال أبو مخنف: وحدثني سعيد بن مدرك بن عمارة: أنّ عمارة بن عقبة بعث غلاماً له يدعى قيساً، فجاءه بقلّة عليها منديل ومعه قدح، فصبّ فيه ماء ثم سقاه، فأخذ كلّما شرب امتلأ القدح دماً، فلمّا ملأ القدح المرة الثالثة ذهب ليشرب فسقطت ثنيّتاه فيه، فقال: الحمد لله، لو كان لي من الرزق المقسوم شربته.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 339.

أُتي به إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، وقد آمنه ابن الأشعث، فلم يجز أمانه.

Muslim replied, "You lie, O Ibn Ziyād! The ones who divided the Muslims were Mu'āwiyah and his son, Yazīd. As for discord, that was sown by you and your father Ziyād ibn 'Ubayd, a lowly slave of the Banū 'Ilāj clan from the tribe of Thaqīf.[1] I pray that God grants me martyrdom at the hands of the worst of his creation."

Ibn Ziyād said, "You sought something [authority] that God prevented you from reaching, because He did not find you deserving, so He granted it to those who were its true custodians."

Muslim asked, "Who are its true custodians, O son of Marjānah?"

Ibn Ziyād replied, "Its custodian is Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah."

Muslim exclaimed, "All praise is for God! We are content to let God be the judge between us and you."

Ibn Ziyād said, "Do you imagine that you deserve authority?

Muslim retorted, "I don't just imagine, I know for certain."

Ibn Ziyād asked, "O Muslim, tell me why you came to this city when its people lived in harmony? Why did you cause them to become disunited in their affairs and divided in their opinions?"

Muslim replied, "I did not come for that, but you promoted what is evil, buried the good, ruled over the people without their pleasure, drove them in a direction other than which God had ordained, and ruled over them in the manner of Caesar and Khosrow. So we came to them to enjoin good and forbid evil, and to call them to the rule of the Book and the Sunnah; and we were qualified for that according to the directive of the Prophet (s)."

Ibn Ziyād, may God's curse be on him, responded by cursing him, and cursing 'Alī (a), al-Ḥasan (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a).

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[1] This attribution of Muslim is a sarcastic reference to the lineage of 'Ubayd Allāh. The father of 'Ubayd Allāh, was Ziyād ibn Sumayyah, or the very same Ziyād ibn Abīhi (Ziyād, son of his father), who was born from a woman of loose morals, whose name was Sumayyah. She could not say for certain who the father was. Mu'āwiyah declared him to be the son of Abū Sufyān, and thereby, his own brother. However, here, Muslim calls him the son of 'Ubayd, one of the slaves of the Banī 'Ilāj.

Muslim told him, "You and your father are more deserving to be cursed, so do whatever you like, O enemy of God."[1]

4/32: The last will of Muslim ibn 'Aqil

175. *Ansab al-Ashraf:* Muslim was brought before Ibn Ziyad. Ibn al-Ash'ath had previously promised him immunity, but Ibn Ziyad did not honour the promise. When Muslim stood before him, he glanced at the people sitting with him, and then said to 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, "Between you and I there is a kinship that you are aware of,

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[1] al-Malhuf, p. 56; Muthir al-Ahzan, p. [illegible]

لما أُدخل (مسلم بن عقيل) على عبيد الله بن زياد لم يسلّم عليه، فقال له الحرسي: سلّم على الأمير، فقال له: اسكت يا ويحك، والله ما هو لي بأمير. فقال ابن زياد: لا عليك، سلّمت أم لم تسلّم فإنّك مقتول. فقال له مسلم: إن قتلتني فقد قتل من هو شرّ منك من هو خير منّي، وبعد فإنّك لا تدع سوء القتلة وقبح المثلة وخبث السريرة ولؤم الغلبة، لا أحد أولى بها منك.

فقال له ابن زياد: يا عاقّ يا شاقّ، خرجت على إمامك وشققت عصا المسلمين وألقحت الفتنة بينهم.

فقال له مسلم: كذبت يا ابن زياد، إنّما شقّ عصا المسلمين معاوية وابنه يزيد، وأمّا الفتنة فإنّما ألقحها أنت وأبوك زياد بن عبيد عبد بني علاج من ثقيف، وأنا أرجو أن يرزقني الله الشهادة على يدي شرّ البريّة.

فقال ابن زياد: منّتك نفسك أمراً حال الله دونه ولم يرك له أهلاً، وجعله لأهله.

فقال مسلم: ومن أهله يا ابن مرجانة؟

فقال: أهله يزيد بن معاوية.

فقال مسلم: الحمد لله، رضينا بالله حكماً بيننا وبينكم.

فقال ابن زياد: أتظنّ أنّ لك في الأمر شيئاً؟

فقال مسلم: والله ما هو الظنّ ولكنّه اليقين.

فقال ابن زياد: أخبرني يا مسلم بم أتيت هذا البلد وأمرهم ملتئم فشتّتّ أمرهم بينهم وفرّقت كلمتهم؟

فقال له مسلم: ما لهذا أتيت، ولكنّكم أظهرتم المنكر، ودفنتم المعروف، وتأمّرتم على الناس بغير رضى منهم، وحملتموهم على غير ما أمركم به الله، وعملتم فيهم بأعمال كسرى وقيصر، فأتيناهم لنأمر فيهم بالمعروف، وننهى عن المنكر، وندعوهم إلى حكم الكتاب والسنّة، وكنّا أهل ذلك كما أمر رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله.

فجعل ابن زياد لعنه الله يشتمه ويشتم عليّاً والحسن والحسين عليهم السلام، فقال له مسلم: أنت وأبوك أحقّ بالشتم، فاقض ما أنت قاضٍ يا عدوّ الله.

so stand near me so that I can tell you my will." 'Umar ignored him, but Ibn Ziyād told him, "Go to your cousin."

So he went, and Muslim said to him, "I have incurred a debt of 700 dirhams since my arrival in Kufa. Pay it for me. Look for my corpse, take it from Ibn Ziyād, and bury me. Send someone to al-Ḥusayn to make him turn back."

'Umar ibn Sa'd relayed this conversation to Ibn Ziyād.

He said [to 'Umar], "As for your finances, they are yours to do with what you like. As for al-Ḥusayn, if he does not seek to harm us, we shall not seek him out. As for his body, we shall not accept your request for it because he fought against us and tried to destroy us."

Then he said, "[In any case] what will we do with his body once we have killed him?"[1]

176. *al-Amālī* of Ibn al-Shajarī, quoting Sa'īd ibn Khālid: Muslim ibn 'Aqīl said to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, "Allow me to make my will."

He said, "Make your will."

So Muslim called 'Umar ibn Sa'd, because of his relation to al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), and said to him, "Al-Ḥusayn (a) approaches [Kufa] with his armed men, his weapons, his children, and members of his household. Send a messenger to him to alert him and warn him to return, for I have seen the disloyalty of the people of Kufa first-hand."[2]

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 339.

أُتي بمسلم بن عقيل ابنَ زياد، وقد أتاه به ابن الأشعث، [illegible] فلما وقف مسلم بين يديه نظر إلى جلسائه، فقال لعمر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص: إنّ بيني وبينك قرابة أنت تعلمها، فقم معي حتى أوصي إليك، فامتنع، فقال ابن زياد: ألا تقوم إلى ابن عمك؟

فقام، فقال (مسلم): إنّ عليّ بالكوفة سبعمائة درهم منذ قدمتها، فاقضها عني، وانظر جثتي فاطلبها من ابن زياد فوارها، وابعث إلى الحسين من يردّه. فأخبر عمر بن سعد ابن زياد بما قال له.

فقال: أما مالك، فهو لك تصنع فيه ما شئت، وأما حسين، فإنّه إن لم يُردنا لم نُرده، وأما جثته، فإنّا لا نشفّعك فيها، لأنّه قد جهد أن يهلكنا. ثم قال: وما نصنع بجثته بعد قتله؟

[2] Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 167.

قال مسلم بن عقيل لعبيد الله بن زياد: ائذن لي في الوصية، فقال: أوصِ، فدعا عمر بن سعد للقرابة بينه وبين الحسين عليه السلام فقال له: إنّ الحسين عليه السلام قد أقبل في سلاحه ورجاله، [illegible] ولده وأهل بيته، فابعث إليه من يحذّره ويثنيه [illegible]، فقد رأيت من غدر أهل الكوفة ما قد رأيت.

4/33: The martyrdom of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl

Muslim ibn 'Aqīl was one of the most prominent figures in the revolution of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was sent by the Imam (a) to Kufa to prepare the ground for his stand. The teknonym (*kunyah*) of Muslim is Abū Dāwūd. He was a narrator of traditions. He bore a resemblance to the Prophet (s). He was known as the bravest son of 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib.

The mother of Muslim was a slave maiden by the name of Ḥulayyah. His father had bought her when she was brought, amongst other prisoners, from Syria. According to a report in Ṭabarī, Muslim was born in Kufa. This report, coupled with other reports that he was a companion of Imam 'Alī (a) and commanded one of his wings in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, shows that 'Aqīl was living in Kufa many years before Imam 'Alī (a) made it his capital. Perhaps one of the reasons why Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) chose him as his envoy to Kufa was his familiarity with the people of that city.

Muslim was the son-in-law of Imam 'Alī (a), and his wife's name has been mentioned in some sources as Ruqayyah. Other sources mention that it was Umm Kulthūm, which might be her *kunyah*. He had two sons by the names of 'Abd Allāh and 'Alī. 'Abd Allāh was martyred in Karbala. Other children from him have been reported as well. In any case, it is mentioned that his lineage has not survived.

Several of his brothers were present in Karbala, and all of them achieved martyrdom.[1]

177. *al-Irshād*: Ibn Ziyād said to Muslim, "May God kill me if I do not kill you in a manner that no one has been killed before in Islam."

Muslim replied, "You are the one who is most suited to do things that have never been done before in Islam. You will never abandon wanton bloodshed, cruel punishment, shameful conduct, and greedy domination."

Ibn Ziyād began to curse him, and curse al-Ḥusayn, 'Alī, and 'Aqīl – may God's peace be on all of them. Muslim did not reply to him. Then Ibn Ziyād ordered, "Take him to the roof of the mansion and strike off his head, then throw his body after it."

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[1] See ch. 7, part 4 (The martyrs from the children of 'Aqīl).

Muslim ibn 'Aqil, may God's mercy be on him said, "If there [really] were kinship between you and me, you would not kill me."

Ibn Ziyād asked, "Where is the man whom Ibn 'Aqīl struck on the head with his sword?" So Bakr ibn Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī was called. He told him, "Go up with him. You shall be the one to strike his neck."

He went to the roof with Muslim, who was magnifying God, seeking His forgiveness, sending salutations to His Prophet, and saying, "O God, judge between us and the people who lured us, belied us, and betrayed us."

They took him up to the roof section which overlooks the shoemakers' market today. There, they struck off his head, and threw his body down after it.[1]

178. *al-Malhūf* Ibn Ziyād ordered Bukayr ibn Ḥumrān to take Muslim to the roof of the mansion and kill him, so he went up with him. Muslim was glorifying God, the Almighty, seeking His forgiveness, and sending salutations to His Prophet (s).

He beheaded him, but when he came down, he was petrified. Ibn Ziyād asked him, "What is the matter with you?"

He replied, "O Amir, at the moment I killed him, I saw a man of dark complexion and fearsome features standing beside me; he was biting his fingers" – or he said "his lips" – "and I was overcome with terror, the like of which I have never experienced before."

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 62; I'lām al-Warā, p. 444.

فقال له ابن زياد: قتلني الله إن لم أقتلك قتلة لم يقتلها أحد في الإسلام من الناس.

فقال له مسلم: أما إنك أحق من أحدث في الإسلام ما لم يكن، وإنك لا تدع سوء القتلة، وقبح المثلة، وخبث السيرة، ولؤم الغلبة.

فأقبل ابن زياد يشتمه ويشتم الحسين وعليا وعقيلا عليهم الصلاة والسلام، وأخذ مسلم لا يكلمه، ثم قال ابن زياد: اصعدوا به فوق القصر فاضربوا عنقه، ثم أتبعوه جسده.

فقال مسلم بن عقيل - رحمة الله عليه -: لو كان بيني وبينك قرابة ما قتلتني.

فقال ابن زياد: أين هذا الذي ضرب ابن عقيل رأسه بالسيف؟ فدعي بكر بن حمران الأحمري فقال له: اصعد فلتكن أنت الذي تضرب عنقه.

فصعد به وهو يكبر ويستغفر الله، ويصلي على رسوله، ويقول: اللهم احكم بيننا وبين قوم غرونا وكذبونا وخذلونا.

وأشرفوا به على موضع الحذائين اليوم فضربت عنقه، وأتبع جسده رأسه.

Ibn Ziyād said, "Perhaps you imagined it."[1]

A word about the length of Muslim's stay in Kufa

On the basis of historical reports, Muslim left Mecca in the middle of the month of Ramaḍān and entered Kufa on the 5th of Shawwāl. On the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, coincident with the departure of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Mecca towards Kufa, he fought against the forces of Ibn Ziyād within the city, and he was martyred on 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

Therefore, the length of his stay in Kufa was two months and four days. However, some historical sources state that Muslim was martyred on the 3rd, and others mention the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in which case, it would be one or six days less.

4/34: The martyrdom of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah

Hānī' ibn 'Urwah al-Murādī, al-Madhḥijī, was a person who had lived through both the age of ignorance, as well as the era of Islam. For this reason, he was called *al-mukhaḍram*.[2] At the time of the passing of the Prophet (s), he was already over forty years old.

Hānī' was a very close companion of Imam 'Alī (a) and was at his side in the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn.

He was one of the nobles of Yemen, who later migrated to Kufa, and became the head of the tribe of Murād. As a result, he had command over a sizeable force of men. During the uprising in Kufa, Hānī' was one of the key aides to Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. He gave over his own house for Muslim to use as his headquarters, and as a place to organise the movement.

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 122; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 357.

أمر ابن زياد بكير بن حمران أن يصعد به (أي بمسلم) إلى أعلى القصر فيقتله، فصعد به وهو يسبّح الله تعالى ويستغفره، ويصلّي على النبيّ صلى الله عليه و آله، فضرب عنقه، ونزل وهو مذعور.

فقال له ابن زياد: ما شأنك؟ فقال: أيها الأمير، رأيت ساعة قتله رجلاً أسود سيّء الوجه حذائي عاضّاً على إصبعه - أو قال على شفتيه - ففزعت فزعاً لم أفزعه قطّ. فقال ابن زياد: لعلّك دهشت.

[2] A term for one whose life spans both the era of ignorance and the era of Islam.

Ibn Ziyād managed to capture him by deceitful means, and in the end, on the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 60/680, the day after Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) left Mecca for Kufa, he was martyred. At the time of his martyrdom he was over 90 years old.

179. Tarikh al-Ṭabari, quoting 'Awn ibn Abī Juḥayfah: Muḥammad ibn Al-Ash'ath went to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and spoke to him about Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, saying, "You know the prestige of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah in the city and the status of his family amongst his tribe. And now his people know that my companions and I brought him to you, so I beseech you in God's name to hand him over to me. I do not want the enmity of his tribe. They are the most powerful people in the city, and the most aggressive of the people of Yemen!"

Ibn Ziyād promised that he would do as he asked. But when the affair of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl developed in the way that it did, he changed his mind about Hānī' and refused to keep to his earlier promise.

After Muslim ibn 'Aqīl was killed, Ibn Ziyād ordered for Hānī' ibn 'Urwah to be taken to the market and beheaded. Hānī''s hands were bound, and he was brought to a place in the market where sheep were sold. He kept calling out, "O Madhḥij! Why is there no one from the Madhḥij for me today? O Madhḥij! How can I get the Madhḥij to help me?"

When he realised that no one would come to his aid, he freed his hands, and cried out, "Is there not a stick or knife or rock or bone with which a man may defend himself?"

They leapt on him and restrained him more firmly. Then he was told, "Stretch forth your neck." He replied, "I will not be generous with my neck, and I will not assist you in killing me."

A slave of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, a Turk by the name of Rashīd, struck him with a sword, but the blow had no impact. Hānī' said, "The return is to God. O my Lord, I turn to Your mercy, and to Your pleasure." Then Rashīd struck him again and killed him.

[Later] 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Murādī saw the killer in a place called Khāzir.[1] He was in the company of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. The people there said, "This is the killer of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah." Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn vowed, "May God kill me if I do not kill that man or be killed by him." Then he attacked him with a spear and thrust it into him, killing him.[2]

180. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Naṣr: Ibn Ziyād sent for Hānī', and he was brought to him. He asked him, "Have I not respected you? Have I not honoured you? Have I not done these things?"

He replied, "Yes."

Ibn Ziyād asked, "What is the reward for that?"

He replied, "The reward for it is that I give you protection."

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[1] See Map 5.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 378; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 63.

ثم قام ابن الأشعث إلى عبيد الله بن زياد فكلمه في هانئ بن عروة، وقال: إنك قد عرفت منزلة هانئ بن عروة في المصر، وبيته في العشيرة، وقد علم قومه أني وصاحبي سقناه إليك، فأنشدك الله لما وهبته لي، فإني أكره عداوة قومه، هم أعز أهل المصر، وعدد أهل اليمن.

قال: فوعده أن يفعل، فلما كان من أمر مسلم بن عقيل ما كان، بدا له فيه، وأبى أن يفي له بما قال.

قال: فأمر بهانئ بن عروة حين قتل مسلم بن عقيل، فقال: أخرجوه إلى السوق فاضربوا عنقه، قال: فأخرج بهانئ حتى انتهي به إلى مكان من السوق كان يباع فيه الغنم وهو مكتوف، فجعل يقول: وامذحجاه، ولا مذحج لي اليوم، وامذحجاه، وأين مني مذحج!

فلما رأى أن أحدا لا ينصره جذب يده فنزعها من الكتاف، ثم قال: أما من عصا أو سكين أو حجر أو عظم يجاحش به رجل عن نفسه!

قال: ووثبوا إليه فشدوه وثاقا، ثم قيل له: امدد عنقك، فقال: ما أنا بها مجد سخي، وما أنا بمعينكم على نفسي.

قال: فضربه مولى لعبيد الله بن زياد - تركي يقال له رشيد - بالسيف، فلم يصنع سيفه شيئا، فقال هانئ: إلى الله المعاد، اللهم إلى رحمتك ورضوانك، ثم ضربه أخرى فقتله.

قال: فبصر به عبد الرحمن بن الحصين المرادي بخازر، وهو مع عبيد الله بن زياد، فقال الناس: هذا قاتل هانئ بن عروة، فقال ابن الحصين: قتلني الله إن لم أقتله أو أقتل دونه، فحمل عليه بالرمح فطعنه فقتله.

He exclaimed, "[What?] You will give me protection?" He took a cane that was next to him and struck Hānī' with it; then he ordered his hands to be bound and his head to be struck off.[1]

181. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: Muslim fought against [the soldiers of] 'Ubayd Allāh, but they captured him, and then 'Ubayd Allāh had him executed. They dragged his corpse through the market. He also killed Hānī' ibn 'Urwah because he allowed Muslim to stay at his house and aided him.[2]

182. *al-Futūḥ*: Then, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ordered for Hānī' ibn 'Urwah to be brought and taken out to meet the same fate as Muslim ibn 'Aqīl... He knew that he was going to be killed and was calling out, "O Madhḥij! O clansmen!" Then he freed his hands from his bonds and cried, "Is there nothing available with which I can defend myself?"

They struck him and retied his hands. Then they demanded, "Stretch forth your neck."

He said, "By God, I am not the kind of person who would help you to kill me!"

A retainer of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād – his name was Rashīd – approached Hānī' and struck him with a sword, but the blow made no impact. Hānī' said, "To God is the final return. O my Lord, I turn to Your mercy, and to Your pleasure. O my Lord, make this day suffice as a penalty for my sins. I was sincerely loyal to the son of the daughter of your Prophet, Muḥammad (s)." Then Rashīd came forward and struck him another blow, killing him. Afterwards, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ordered the bodies of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, may

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 350; Also, see *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 343.

أرسل [ابن زياد] إلى هانئ فأتاه، فقال: ألم أوقّرك ألم أكرمك ألم أفعل بك؟ قال: بلى. قال: فما جزاء ذلك؟ قال: جزاؤك أن أمنعك. قال: تمنعني؟ قال: فأخذ قضيباً مكانه فضربه به وأمر فكُتِّف ثم ضرب عنقه.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 243.

فقاتل [مسلم] عبيد الله فأخذوه فقتله عبيد الله، وجُرّ برجله في السوق، وقتل هانئ بن عروة لأنّه أنزله منزله، وأعانه.

God have mercy on them both, to be hung by their feet, and decided to send their heads to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah.[1]

183. ***Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*** **– quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a):** Ibn Ziyād ordered the body of Hānī' to be dragged to a dumping ground in Kufa (*al-kunāsah*) and hung there.[2]

4/35: The despatch of the heads of Muslim and Hānī' to Yazīd by Ibn Ziyād

184. ***al-Futūḥ*****:** 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ordered the bodies of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, may God have mercy on them both, to be hung by their feet, and decided to send their heads to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah....

> Then Ibn Ziyād wrote the following letter to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah:
>
> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. To the servant of God, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, the commander of the faithful, from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. All praise is for God Who exacted for the commander of the faithful his right and sufficed him against the plot of his enemy. I inform the commander of the faithful, may God support him, that Muslim ibn 'Aqīl came to Kufa intending to cause mischief. He stayed at the house of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah al-Madhḥijī. I put them both under surveillance until I exposed them. After dialogue and fighting, God gave me control over them, so I brought them forth and killed them. I have despatched their heads to you with Hānī' ibn Abī Ḥayyah al-Wādi'ī and al-Zubayr

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 61; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Husayn*, vol. 1, p. 213.

أمر عبيد الله بن زياد بهانئ بن عروة أن يخرج فيلحق بمسلم بن عقيل... فقال: [illegible]
[illegible] بالمذحجيين والمسلمين، ثم أخرج بهانئ من [illegible] فقال: أما من أحد [illegible] فيدفع به عن نفسي؟! قال:
[illegible] فقالوا: أمدد عنقك، فقال: لا والله ما كنت الذي أعينكم على نفسي

فتقدم إليه غلام لعبيد الله بن زياد يقال له رشيد، فضربه بالسيف فلم يصنع شيئاً، فقال هانئ: إلى الله
المعاد، اللهم إلى رحمتك ورضوانك، اللهم اجعل هذا اليوم كفارة لذنوبي، فإني إنما تعصبت لابن بنت
نبيك محمد صلى الله عليه وآله.

فضربه ضربة أخرى فقتله. ثم أمر عبيد الله بن زياد بمسلم بن عقيل وهانئ بن عروة رحمهما
الله فصلبا جميعاً منكسين، وعزم أن يوجه برأسيهما إلى يزيد بن معاوية.

[2] *Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 350.

أمر ابن زياد بهانئ فسحب إلى الكناسة فصلب هنالك.

> Ibn al-Arwah al-Tamimi. They are both men who are obedient and loyal believers. The commander of the faithful may ask them whatever he likes, for they are men of intelligence, perception, and honesty.

When the letter, as well as the severed heads, were delivered, Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah read the letter and ordered the heads to be displayed on one of the city gates of Damascus.[1]

4/36: The letter of appreciation sent by Yazid to Ibn Ziyad and his exhortation to confront Imam al-Husayn (a)

185. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting Abū Janāb Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥayyah al-Kalbī: Yazid wrote to Ibn Ziyād:

> You are exactly as I wanted you to be. You have acted decisively and run the campaign of a courageous man who has self-control. You have freed me from worry and proven able. You have justified my feeling about you and my opinion of you. I called your two messengers and questioned them, and spoke to them in private. I found their views and qualities just as you described. So I recommend that you reward them well.
>
> I have received news that al-Husayn ibn 'Ali has set out for Iraq, so organize sentries and patrols [on the routes to Kufa], and be on the alert for any suspicious activity. If you have doubts about anyone, detain them; but do not kill anyone unless they fight against you first. Write to me

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 61; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 215.

أمر عبيد الله بن زياد بمسلم بن عقيل و هانئ بن عروة - رحمهما الله - فصلبا جميعاً منكّسين، وعزم أن يوجّه برأسيهما إلى يزيد بن معاوية...

ثمّ كتب ابن زياد إلى يزيد بن معاوية:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، لعبد الله يزيد بن معاوية أمير المؤمنين من عبيد الله بن زياد، الحمد لله الذي أخذ لأمير المؤمنين بحقّه، وكفاه مؤونة عدوّه، أخبر أمير المؤمنين - أيّده الله - أنّ مسلم بن عقيل [illegible] قدم إلى الكوفة ونزل في دار هانئ بن عروة المذحجي، وإنّي جعلت عليهما العيون حتّى استخرجتهما، فأمكنني الله منهما بعد حرب وشقاق، فقدّمتهما فضربت أعناقهما، وقد بعثت برأسيهما مع هانئ بن أبي حيّة الوادعي، والزبير بن الأروح التميمي، وهما من أهل الطاعة والسنّة والجماعة، فليسألهما أمير المؤمنين عمّا أحبّ، فإنّهما ذوا عقل وفهم وصدق.

فلمّا ورد الكتاب والرأسان جميعاً إلى يزيد بن معاوية قرأ الكتاب، وأمر بالرأسين فنصبا على باب من أبواب مدينة دمشق.

> about everything that happens. May the peace and mercy of God be on you.'[1]

286. *al-Malhūf*: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād wrote to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah about the fate of Muslim and Hānī'. Yazīd wrote him a reply commending him for his actions and his success. He informed him that he had received news that al-Husayn (a) had already set out towards him, and instructed him to make the people [who had invited him] answerable, and exact revenge and arrest anyone about whom he had a suspicion or doubt.[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 380; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 63.

...فكتب إليه (أي إلى ابن زياد) يزيد: أما بعد فإنك لم تعدُ أن كنت كما أحب، عملت عمل الحازم، وصلت صولة الشجاع الرابط الجأش، فقد أغنيت وكفيت، وصدقت ظني بك ورأيي فيك، وقد دعوت رسوليك فسألتهما وناجيتهما، فوجدتهما في رأيهما وفضلهما كما ذكرت، فاستوص بهما خيراً، وإنه قد بلغني أن الحسين بن علي قد توجه نحو العراق، فضع المناظر والمسالح، واحترس على الظن، وخذ على التهمة، غير أن لا تقتل إلا من قاتلك، واكتب إلي في كل ما يحدث من الخبر، والسلام عليك ورحمة الله.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 124.

كتب عبيد الله بن زياد بخبر مسلم وهانئ إلى يزيد بن معاوية، فأعاد عليه الجواب يشكره فيه على فعاله وسطوته، ويعرّفه أن قد بلغه توجه الحسين عليه السلام إلى جهته، ويأمره عند ذلك بالمؤاخذة والانتقام والحبس على الظنون والأوهام.

PART 5: THE MARTYRDOM OF A GROUP OF COMPANIONS OF THE IMAM (A) IN KUFA, AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF A GROUP OF OTHERS

5/1: The martyrdom of 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur

187. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) advanced towards the station of Zubālah, where he stocked up abundantly with water. Whenever he passed by a watering place, more people joined their caravan. Al-Ḥusayn (a) sent his foster brother, whose name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur, to join Muslim, before he knew that he had been killed. Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm intercepted him and sent him to Ibn Ziyād, who ordered him to be taken to the top of the government mansion. There, he should curse al-Ḥusayn (a) and declare him and his father (a) to be liars.

When he went to the top of the mansion, he said, "I am the messenger of al-Ḥusayn (a), the son of the daughter of the Prophet (s), to you. [I have come] to ask you to help him and support him against the son of Marjānah, the son of Sumayyah, the illegitimate one, son of the illegitimate one, may God curse him!"

Ibn Ziyād ordered for him to be flung down from the top of the mansion to the ground. The fall smashed his bones. He was still breathing when a man came and killed him. People said to the man, "Woe be unto you! Why did you do that?"

He replied, "I wanted to ease his suffering."

When the news of the murder of Ibn Yaqṭur reached al-Ḥusayn (a), he addressed his followers, "O people! Our Shi'a have betrayed us.

Muslim, Hānī', Qays ibn Mushir, and Ibn Yaqṭur have all been martyred. So, whoever from you who wishes to depart may leave."[1]

188. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur, the foster brother of al-Husayn (a), was killed in Kufa; he died when he was thrown down from the top of the government mansion.[2]

5/2: The martyrdom of Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī

189. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: When news reached Ibn Ziyād that al-Ḥusayn (a) had departed from Mecca, he despatched al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr al-Tamīmī – the head of the constabulary – to intercept him. Al-Tamīmī camped at al-Qādisiyyah and positioned his horsemen between al-Qādisiyyah[3] and Khaffān,[4] and between al-Qādisiyyah and al-Quṭquṭānah,[5] and up to the mountain of La'la'.[6]

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 379.

سار الحسين عليه السلام إلى زبالة وقد استكثر من الماء، وكان قد خرج يوم التروية سنة ستين. وبعث الحسين عليه السلام أخاه من الرضاعة - وهو عبد الله بن يقطر - إلى مسلم قبل أن يعلم أنه قتل، فأخذه الحصين بن نمير وبعث به إلى ابن زياد، فأمر أن يصعد به القصر ليلعن الحسين عليه السلام وينسبه وأباه إلى الكذب.

فلما علا القصر قال: إني رسول الحسين عليه السلام ابن بنت رسول الله (ﷺ)، لتنصروه وتؤازروه على ابن مرجانة وابن سمية الدعي وابن الدعي لعنه الله.

فأمر به فألقي من فوق القصر إلى الأرض، فتكسرت عظامه وبقي به رمق، فأتاه رجل فذبحه، فقيل له: ويحك ما صنعت؟! فقال: أردت أن أريحه.

فلما بلغ الحسين عليه السلام قتل ابن يقطر خطب فقال: أيها الناس، قد خذلتنا شيعتنا، وقتل مسلم وهانئ وقيس بن مسهر وابن يقطر، فمن أراد منكم الانصراف فلينصرف.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, vol. 1, p. 478.

وعبد الله بن يقطر، رضيع الحسين عليه السلام، قتل بالكوفة، رمي به من فوق القصر فمات.

[3] See Map 3.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

When al-Ḥusayn (a) reached al-Ḥājiz[1] he wrote a letter to the Kufans and despatched it with Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī. In the letter, he informed them of his impending arrival, instructing them to be steadfast in their resolve.

When Qays reached al-Qādisiyyah, he was apprehended by al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr, who sent him to Ibn Ziyād. Ibn Ziyād ordered him, "Go to the top of the mansion and insult that liar, son of a liar, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī."

Qays ascended to the roof. He praised God and glorified Him, then said, "Without doubt, this al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) is the best of God's creation; he is the son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God (s). I am his messenger to you. I left him at al-Ḥājiz, so, respond to his call!" Then he cursed Ibn Ziyād and his father, and sought God's forgiveness for 'Alī (a).

Ibn Ziyād ordered for him to be thrown down from the roof of the mansion. His bones were shattered as a result, and he died from his injuries.[2]

190. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*****, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Abī al-'Ayzār:** [Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) said to the four men who had come from Kufa,] "Tell me, do you have any news of the messenger I sent to you?"

They asked, "Who was he?"

He replied, "Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī."

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[1] Ibid.

[2] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 548; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 196.

لما بلغ ابن زياد مسير الحسين عليه السلام من مكة، بعث الحصين بن نمير التميمي - صاحب شرطه - فنزل القادسية، ونظم الخيل ما بين القادسية إلى خفان، وما بين القادسية إلى القطقطانة وإلى جبل لعلع.

فلما بلغ الحسين عليه السلام الحاجز، كتب إلى أهل الكوفة مع قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي يعلمهم قدومه، ويأمرهم بالجد في أمرهم، فلما انتهى قيس إلى القادسية، أخذه الحصين فبعث به إلى ابن زياد.

فقال له ابن زياد: اصعد القصر فسب الكذاب ابن الكذاب الحسين بن علي.

فصعد قيس، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال: إن هذا الحسين بن علي عليه السلام خير خلق الله ابن فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، أنا رسوله إليكم، وقد فارقته بالحاجز فأجيبوه، ثم لعن ابن زياد وأباه واستغفر لعلي عليه السلام.

فأمر به ابن زياد فرمي من أعلى القصر، فتقطع فمات.

They said, "Yes, he was apprehended by al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm and sent to Ibn Ziyād. He ordered him to curse you and your father, [but instead] Qays asked for God's blessings for you and your father, and cursed Ibn Ziyād and his father. He called the people to assist you and informed them of your arrival. Then Ibn Ziyād ordered him to be thrown down from the roof of the government mansion."

The eyes of al-Ḥusayn (a) welled up, and he could not hold back his tears. Then he recited, "*And amongst them [the believers] are those who have fulfilled their vow [by martyrdom], and amongst them are those who wait [for their turn]; and they have not changed [in their conviction] in the least.*"[1] Then he prayed, "O my Lord, grant us and them a station in paradise, and gather us and them in the abode of Your mercy and of Your desirable reward, which has been stored for us."[2]

5/3: The martyrdom of 'Abd al-A'lā ibn Yazīd

192. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Janāb al-Kalbī:** Kathīr ibn Shihāb ibn al-Ḥusayn met a man from the tribe of Kalb, whose name was 'Abd al-A'lā ibn Yazīd. He was dressed for battle alongside the tribe of Banū Fityān and was going to join Ibn 'Aqīl. He apprehended him and took him to Ibn Ziyād and told him about the episode. He ['Abd al-A'lā] said to Ibn Ziyād, "I was intending to come to you."

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[1] Q 33:23

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 405; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 552.

قال الإمام الحسين عليه السلام للرجال الأربع الذين أقبلوا من الكوفة: أخبروني، فهل لكم برسولي إليكم؟ قالوا: من هو؟ قال: قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي. فقالوا: نعم، أخذه الحصين بن تميم فبعث به إلى ابن زياد، فأمره ابن زياد أن يلعنك ويلعن أباك، فصلى عليك وعلى أبيك ولعن ابن زياد وأباه، ودعا إلى نصرتك، وأخبرهم بقدومك، فأمر به ابن زياد فألقي من طمار القصر.

فترقرقت عينا الحسين عليه السلام ولم يملك دمعه، ثم قال: ﴿مِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَضَى نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا﴾، اللهم اجعل لنا ولهم الجنة نزلاً، واجمع بيننا وبينهم في مستقر من رحمتك، ورغائب مذخور ثوابك.

Ibn Ziyād replied [sarcastically], "Yes, you made me that promise in your mind!" Then he ordered for him to be imprisoned.[1]

292. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Awn ibn Abī Juḥayfah: After he killed Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, Ibn Ziyād summoned 'Abd al-A'lā ibn Yazīd, who had been captured by Kathīr ibn Shihāb when he was with the tribe of Banū Fityān. When he was presented, Ibn Ziyād said to him, "Tell me you story."

He said, "May God make you prosper! I came out to see what the people were doing, and Kathīr ibn Shihāb arrested me."

Ibn Ziyād replied, "Make a solemn oath that you only went out for the reason that you allege." He refused to give his oath. So 'Ubayd Allāh commanded, "Take him to the al-Sabī' cemetery and strike off his neck there." He was taken there and beheaded.[2]

5/4: The martyrdom of 'Umārah ibn Ṣalḥab al-Azdī

293. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*:[3] 'Umārah ibn Ṣalḥab al-Azdī came out intending to support Muslim [ibn 'Aqīl], but he was apprehended by the followers of Ibn Ziyād and brought to him. Ibn Ziyād ordered him to be executed in [amongst his own clan of] al-Azd and sent his head along with the heads of Muslim and Hānī' to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 369.

إذ لقي كثير بن شهاب بن الحصين الحارثي رجلاً من كلب، يقال له عبد الأعلى بن يزيد، قد لبس سلاحه يريد ابن عقيل في بني فتيان، فأخذه حتى أدخله على ابن زياد، فأخبره خبره، فقال لابن زياد: إنما أردتك، قال: وكنت وعدتني ذلك من نفسك، فأمر به فحبس.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 379.

إن عبيد الله بن زياد لما قتل مسلم بن عقيل وهانئ بن عروة، دعا بعبد الأعلى الكلبي الذي كان أخذه كثير بن شهاب في بني فتيان، فأتي به، فقال له: أخبرني بأمرك.

فقال: أصلحك الله، خرجت لأنظر ما يصنع الناس، فأخذني كثير بن شهاب، فقال له: فعليك وعليك من الأيمان المغلظة إن كان أخرجك إلا ما زعمت، فأبى أن يحلف، فقال عبيد الله: انطلقوا بهذا إلى جبانة السبيع فاضربوا عنقه بها، قال: فانطلق به فضربت عنقه.

The messenger entrusted with these heads was Hānī' ibn Abī Ḥayyah al-Wādi'ī of [the tribe of] Hamdān.[1]

5/5: The arrest of al-Mukhtār[2]

194. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: Al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī set out with an armed group, seeking to go to the assistance of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), but 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād arrested him and hit him with his cane, severely injuring his eye.[3]

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 340.

خرج عمارة بن صلخب الأزدي ، وكان ممن أراد نصرة مسلم ، فأخذ فأتي به ابن زياد فحبسه ، ثم أمر به فضرب عنقه في قومه فقتله في الأزد ، وبعث برأسه مع رأس مسلم وهانئ إلى يزيد بن معاوية ، وكان رسوله بهذه الرؤوس هانئ بن أبي حية الوادعي من همدان .

[2] Al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, whose *kunyah* is Abū Isḥāq, was born in the year of the migration of the Prophet (s). However, he never met the Prophet (s), and has not reported any traditions from him. He was a man of merit and righteous acts. He rose to avenge the blood of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and many Kufan Shi'a gathered in support of him. He took control of Kufa, and pursued the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a), killing them all. It is said that he was appointed by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah to seek revenge.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ashtar joined him with his army and together, they killed Ibn Ziyād, and several others. For this reason, many Muslims hold al-Mukhtār in high regard. The sister of al-Mukhtār was the wife of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).

Advancing from Basra with an army of many Kufans and Basrans, Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr fought al-Mukhtār, and martyred him in the year 67/686.

The opinions of Sunni scholars about him, his beliefs, and his uprising, vary; however, all agree that before his uprising, he was a man of righteousness.

For further details about the personality and uprising of al-Mukhtār, see *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 9, p. 9.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 258.

كان المختار بن أبي عبيد الثقفي أقبل في جماعة عليهم السلاح يريدون نصر الحسين بن علي عليه السلام ، فأخذه عبيد الله بن زياد فحبسه ، وضربه بالقضيب حتى شتر عينه .

A glance at the record of Muslim's achievements in Kufa

The record of Muslim in Kufa can be critiqued and evaluated in two ways: at a basic level, it is possible to imagine that he did not have the political acumen and the necessary organizational skills to carry out the task that he had been given, and to adequately prepare the ground for the arrival of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Kufa. This is because he was unable to capitalize on the socio-political situation in Kufa, which was completely ready for the Ḥusaynī revolution. Before Ibn Ziyād arrived in Kufa, Muslim had a force of at least 18,000 men pledged to him. In fact, the situation in Kufa was so volatile that Ibn Ziyād had to enter the city secretly.

If Muslim had organized his loyal forces to rise up effectively before the arrival of Ibn Ziyād, the latter would not have had the opportunity to marshal his own forces to crush the revolution and face off against the partisans of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). If that had happened, the fate of the popular uprising would have been quite different, especially when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) would have arrived in Kufa. Perhaps then, the tragic episode of Karbala would not have taken place.

However, not only did Muslim not take advantage of the favourable conditions in Kufa, but without properly evaluating the commitment of the people, he also wrote to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), "When this letter of mine reaches you, hurry and come without delay. The people are all with you, and they have no inclination or desire for the family of Mu'āwiyah."[1]

Based on this information, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) advanced towards Kufa, and ultimately, the blood-soaked and tragic event of Karbala came to pass.

However, such an evaluation of the record of Muslim is very superficial and cynical; furthermore, it does not take into account the mission that he was charged with. In fact, by looking carefully at the details attached to his mission, we can conclude that Muslim carried out his responsibility in the best way that circumstances allowed, and all the events that subsequently transpired had their own particular causes.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 375.

For a more precise evaluation of the record of Muslim in Kufa, certain factors need to be considered and discussed.

1. The scope of Muslim's mission

To evaluate Muslim's achievements, the first factor that must be considered is the specific remit of his mission, the details of which are clearly outlined in the letter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to the Kufans. According to reports found in historical sources, the letter of the Imam (a) included the following, "I am sending to you my cousin and brother [in faith], a trusted member of my family, Muslim ibn 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib. I have instructed him to report to me about your situation and your views, and the views of the men of foresight and merit among you. He is on his way to you, if God wills. May peace be on you; there is no power except with God. If you are resolute on the path conveyed to me by your messengers and what I read in the letters, then rise with my cousin, give him your oaths of allegiance, and assist him. Do not betray him."[1]

This text reveals that the basic mission of Muslim was to personally evaluate the socio-political climate in Kufa, and in order to achieve this, the Imam (a) had directed his followers to give him their oath of allegiance and to assist him in matters relating to the organization of an uprising against the government of Yazīd.

Furthermore, the use of words like "my brother" and "trusted" indicates the loftiness of Muslim's personal qualities on the one hand, and the trust and confidence of the Imam (a) in his diplomatic, organizational, and political skills, on the other.

Now, we must examine the extent of the success of Muslim in fulfilling his mission.

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 30.

و قد بعثت إليكم أخي و ابن عمي و ثقتي من أهل بيتي مسلم بن عقيل بن أبي طالب و قد أمرته أن يكتب إلي بحالكم و رأيكم و رأي ذوي الحجا و الفضل منكم، و هو متوجه إلى ما قبلكم إن شاء الله تعالى و السلام، و لا قوة إلا بالله، فإن كنتم على ما قدمت به رسلكم و قرأت في كتبكم فقوموا مع ابن عمي و بايعوه و انصروه و لا تخذلوه.

2. The socio-political climate in Kufa

The choice of Kufa as the centre of the Ḥusaynī revolution against the government of Yazīd does not mean that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) believed that the people of Kufa – given their previous record with his father, Imam 'Alī (a), and his brother, Imam al-Ḥasan (a) – had all changed their nature and would be ready to support him and his objectives. Rather, after having studied the advantages and disadvantages that Kufa had to offer, the Imam (a) concluded that this city was the most suitable location to launch the revolution.

The socio-political climate in Kufa was influenced by the disgruntlement of the people with the government of Yazīd. The lobbying of the followers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the weakness of the governor of the time, al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, made even a number of opportunistic nobles, like Shabath ibn al-Rib'ī, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar al-'Ijlī, and 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj add their signatures to the letters written to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), urging him to come to Kufa. These men even wrote an invitation letter of their own.

Without doubt, the atmosphere of popular support for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was illusory. However, Muslim's mission required him to take advantage of this mood, secure the people's pledges of allegiance for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and prepare the ground for the stand against the government of Yazīd. He carried out this stage of his mission well, and within a short time, a substantial part of the Kufan population had overtly pledged their *bay'ah* to him.

Of course, Muslim knew that this movement would only be ultimately successful once its leader, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), arrived in Kufa himself. It was important that he came quickly, because a delay would allow the Umayyads to take steps to restore their authority, and the advantage afforded by the mood of the people would be lost. It is for this reason that he requested the Imam (a) in writing to hasten to Kufa. Conversely, Yazīd and his officers were keen to ensure that the Imam (a) did not come anywhere near Kufa.

From the foregoing, it is clear that Muslim did not fall short in carrying out his mission; rather, he carried it out well. However, circumstances conspired to make his efforts in vain. A detailed account of the causes and factors responsible for the failure of Muslim's efforts is presented in the discussion analysing the journey of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Kufa.[1]

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[1] See ch. 1, part 3 (An assessment of the journey of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Iraq and the uprising of Kufa).

PART 6: THOSE WHO ADVISED IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) NOT TO GO TOWARDS IRAQ

6/1: Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān[1]

195. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*): Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām came to al-Ḥusayn (a), and said, "O my cousin, our kinship moves me to counsel you, while I do not know what right I have to give you any advice!"

The Imam (a) replied, "O Abū Bakr, you are not a man who deceives or makes accusations, so speak."

He said, "You have observed how the people of Iraq behaved with your father and your brother, yet now you plan to go to them? They worship this world; any of them who has promised to help you would [just as easily] fight against you instead. The one who claims to love you more than he loves his own benefactors would also betray you! I urge you to think of your life."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "May God reward you with goodness, dear cousin. You have been thoughtful in your opinion, but whatever God decrees will come to pass."

Abū Bakr said to him, "We belong to God! We shall leave the accounting of [the martyrdom of] Abū 'Abd Allāh to Him."[2]

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[1] Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī was born at the time of the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. He is from the second generation of companions (*tābiʿīn*), and a prolific narrator of traditions. He is one of the famous seven jurists (*fuqahā'*) of Medina. Due to his constant prayer and worship, he was known as the monk of the Quraysh (*rāhib al-Quraysh*). Towards the end of his life he became blind. He died in 94/712 in Medina.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 447; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 418.

6/2: Abū Muḥammad al-Wāqidī and Zurārah ibn al-Jalaḥ[1]

196. ***Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, quoting Abū Muḥammad al-Wāqidī and Zurārah ibn al-Jalaḥ:** We met al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) three nights before he left for Iraq, and informed him about the lack of determination of the people of Kufa. We told him that the hearts of the people were with him, but their swords would be drawn against him.

He raised his hand towards the sky: the doors of the heavens opened, and a multitude of angels, whose number could only be counted by God, descended. Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "If it was not for the need for matters to progress in the natural course, and the dissipation of reward, I would fight against them with these angels. However, I have knowledge that in that direction lies my destiny, and that is the place where my companions will fight [at my side], and no one shall survive, except my son 'Alī."[2]

لقيه الحسين عليه السلام أبو بكر بن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث بن هشام فقال: يا ابن عم، إنّ الرحم
تظائرني، وما أدري كيف أنا عندك في النصيحة لك.

قال: يا أبا بكر، ما أنت ممن يستغش ولا يتهم، فقل.

فقال: قد رأيت ما صنع أهل العراق بأبيك وأخيك، وأنت تريد أن تسير إليهم، وهم عبيد الدنيا، فيقاتلك
من قد وعدك أن ينصرك، ويخذلك من أنت أحب إليه ممن ينصره، فأذكرك الله في نفسك.

فقال: جزاك الله يا ابن عم خيراً، فقد اجتهدت رأيك، ومهما يقض الله من أمر يكن. فقال أبو بكر: إنا
لله، عند الله نحتسب أبا عبد الله.

[1] Abū Muḥammad al-Wāqidī and Zurārah ibn al-Jalaḥ (or Khalaj, or Halaj, or Ṣāliḥ). The names of these two men does not appear in any books of traditions, apart for this one instance. Their names do not appear in any Sunnī or Shī'ī biographical (*rijāl*) works either. Perhaps there is some error in recording the names in the report.

[2] *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, p. 182, no. 98; *al-Malhūf*, p. 125.

لقينا الحسين بن علي عليه السلام قبل أن يخرج إلى العراق بثلاث ليالٍ، فأخبرناه بضعف الناس في
الكوفة، وأنّ قلوبهم معه وسيوفهم عليه، فأومأ بيده نحو السماء، ففتحت أبواب السماء، ونزل من الملائكة
عدد لا يحصيهم إلا الله، وقال: لولا تقارب الأشياء، وحبوط الأجر، لقاتلتهم بهؤلاء، ولكن أعلم علماً أنّ
من هناك مصعدي، وهناك مصارع أصحابي، لا ينجو منهم إلا ولدي علي.

6/3: Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī[1]

497. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) went against my advice to him about leaving Medina. I had said to him, "Be mindful of God and preserve yourself, and do not leave your house."[2]

6/4: Abū Wāqid al-Laythī[3]

498. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, quoting Abū Wāqid al-Laythī: I learned that al-Ḥusayn (a) was leaving. I met him at Malal.[4] I adjured him for the sake of God not to leave, and told him that he was setting out for a place where he should not be going, and where he would surely be killed. He replied, "I am not going back."[5]

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[1] Abū Saʿīd al-Anṣārī al-Khudrī – whose name is Saʿd ibn Mālik ibn Sinān, but is more famously known by his *kunyah* – was a companion of the Prophet (s) and a prominent member of the Anṣār of Medina. He participated in many of the battles of the Prophet (s), and after him, he was closely attached to the Commander of the Faithful (a). He was an eminent traditionist, and Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) mentioned him with respect and honour because he never deviated from the path of truth. He died in the year 74/693.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 445; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 417.

غلبني الحسين عليه السلام على الخروج، وقد قلت له: اتّق الله في نفسك، والزم بيتك.

[3] Abū Wāqid al-Laythī is the famous teknonym (*kunyah*) of al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAwf ibn Usayd. He was a companion of the Prophet (s) (according to some reports, he was born in the 2nd year after the *Hijrah*). He participated in some of the battles of the Prophet (s), and also fought on the side of Imam ʿAlī (a) in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Muʿāwiyah had made an oath that he would pour molten lead in his ears. It is said that he lived for one year in Mecca, and that is where he died. He was buried in the Muhājirīn cemetery in Fakh (outside Mecca). Some sources say that he died in Medina in the year 65/684 or 68/687.

[4] See Map 3.

[5] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 445; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 417.

بلغني خروج الحسين عليه السلام فأدركته بملل، فناشدته الله ألّا يخرج، فإنّه يخرج في غير وجه خروج، إنّما يقتل نفسه، فقال: لا أرجع.

6/5: Al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays[1]

199. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, quoting Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿAyyāsh: When al-Aḥnaf received the news that al-Ḥusayn (a) was preparing to make a stand, he wrote to him, "*So, be steadfast. Indeed, the promise of God is the truth, and do not let those who have no conviction* [*in faith*] *disparage you.*"[2] [3]

6/6: Umm Salamah[4]

200. *al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) decided to leave for Iraq, Umm Salamah said to him, "Do not go to Iraq, for I have heard

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[1] Abū Baḥr Ṣakhr ibn Qays ibn Muʿāwiyah al-Tamīmī al-Saʿdī, popularly known as al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, became a Muslim at the time of the Prophet (s), but never met him. He is famous for his tolerance and generosity. He was a commander in the army of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the conquest of Khurasan, and a commander in the army of ʿUthmān in the conquest of Marv. Together with 4,000 of his tribe (Banū Tamīm), he abstained from fighting on either side in the Battle of Jamal, refusing to stand against the Commander of the Faithful (a), but declining to join the troops of ʿĀʾishah. In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he was a commander in the army of Imam ʿAlī (a). He was liked by Muʿāwiyah, although he would often praise ʿAlī (a), and mention his merits. Before making his stand, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) wrote to him, but did not receive a reply.

He was a friend of Muṣʿab ibn al-Zubayr, and for this reason, he accompanied him on the journey to Kufa. He died in 67/686.

[2] Q 30:60.

[3] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 375; *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 298.

كتب الأحنف إلى الحسين عليه السلام، وبلغه أنه قد هم بالخروج: ﴿فَاصْبِرْ إِنَّ وَعْدَ اللَّهِ حَقٌّ وَلَا يَسْتَخِفَّنَّكَ الَّذِينَ لَا يُوقِنُونَ﴾.

[4] Hind bint Abī Umayyah ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmiyyah is famously known by her *kunyah*, Umm Salamah. Her father was renowned for his generosity. She emigrated from Mecca to Abyssinia with her husband, Abū Salamah, and afterwards, they returned to Medina. She was the first woman to enter Medina in a howdah. Her husband died as a result of injuries that he received in the Battle of Uḥud. In 4/625, the Prophet (s) took her as his wife. Umm Salamah has reported several traditions from the Prophet (s), most famously, the event of the cloak (*ḥadīth al-kisāʾ*), which occurred in her apartment. In that tradition, the Prophet said to her, "You are on the right path."

Umm Salamah was a beautiful, pleasant, and astute woman. She was well known for her love for the Ahl al-Bayt (a). She accepted their authority (*wilāyah*), and for this reason, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) entrusted her with some the Messenger of God (s) say, 'My son al-Husayn will be killed in the land of Iraq', and I have kept the phial of soil that he gave to me."

He replied, "I shall, by God, be killed there; but even if I did not go to Iraq, they would still kill me."[1]

6/7: Al-Ṭirimmāḥ ibn 'Adī[2]

101. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Jamīl ibn Marthad (of the Banū Ma'n): Al-Ṭirimmāḥ came to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and said, "By God, I look around and do not see anyone with you. Even if this group who surround you [the army of al-Ḥurr] decide to fight against you, they [alone] would be enough [to defeat you]. However, yesterday, before I left Kufa to come to you, I observed an army, much bigger, outside Kufa; and they were a number I had never seen before amassed in one place. I asked about them and was told, 'They have gathered to enlist [pledge allegiance], after which they will be despatched to face al-Ḥusayn.' I beseech you in the name of God: if possible, do not proceed even a handspan towards them.

"And if you intend to settle in a land where God would keep you safe until you formulate a plan and your options become clearer to you, then let me guide you to our mountain stronghold at a place called

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sealed documents and the arms and heirlooms of the Prophet (s), which were later collected by Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a).

She died during the reign of Yazīd in 61/680, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Baqī'.

[1] *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, vol. 1, p. 253; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 89, no. 27.

إنه عليه السلام لما أراد العراق قالت له أم سلمة: لا تخرج إلى العراق، فقد سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: يقتل ابني الحسين بأرض العراق، وعندي تربة دفعها إلي في القارورة.

فقال عليه السلام: إني والله مقتول كذلك، وإن لم أخرج إلى العراق يقتلوني أيضا.

[2] Ṭirimmāḥ ibn 'Adī ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khayrī al-Ṭā'ī was a poet, and one the companions of the Commander of the Faithful (a) whom he sent as his envoy to Mu'āwiyah. Ṭirimmāḥ, accompanied by a group of Kufans, set out to support Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and encountered the Imam (a) and his companions at a station called 'Udhayb. He showed them the route to Kufa. He sought the Imam's (a) permission to go and see to the expenses of his household and then return to join him. When he was on his way back, he received the news of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

Ajā.' It was a protection for us, by God, against the kings of Ghassān and Ḥumayr, and from al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhir, and from every type of enemy. By God, we have never tasted defeat; I [myself] will travel with you until I settle you in a [safe] village.

"Then we will summon men from [the clans of] Ajā, and the clan of Salmā from the tribe of Ṭayyi'. By God, within ten days you shall have soldiers and horsemen from the tribe of Ṭayyi' at your disposal. Then you may stay among us as long as you like, and if there is a need, I guarantee that 20,000 Ṭayyi' swords will fight at your side. By God, no one will touch you while the light of life gleams in their eyes."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "May Allah reward you and your clansmen with goodness. However, there is an agreement between us and these people [Kufans], a promise that we cannot deviate from. We do not yet know the final outcome of matters between us and them."[2]

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1 See Map 5.

2 *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 406; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 174.

أنه لما دنا من الحسين عليه السلام فقال له: والله إني لأنظر فما أرى معك أحداً، ولو لم يقاتلك إلا هؤلاء الذين أراهم ملازميك لكان كفى بهم، وقد رأيت قبل خروجي من الكوفة إليك بيوم ظهر الكوفة، وفيه من الناس ما لم ترَ عيناي في صعيد واحد جمعاً أكثر منه، فسألت عنهم فقيل: اجتمعوا ليعرضوا، ثم يسرحون إلى الحسين، فأنشدك الله إن قدرت على ألا تقدم عليهم شبراً إلا فعلت.

فإن أردت أن تنزل بلداً يمنعك الله به حتى ترى من رأيك ويستبين لك ما أنت صانع، فسر حتى أنزلك مناع جبلنا الذي يدعى أجأ، امتنعنا والله به من ملوك غسان وحمير، ومن النعمان بن المنذر، ومن الأسود والأحمر، والله إن دخل علينا ذل قط، فأسير معك حتى أنزلك القرية، ثم نبعث إلى الرجال ممن بأجأ وسلمى من طيئ، فوالله لا يأتي عليك عشرة أيام حتى يأتيك طيئ رجالاً وركباناً، ثم أقم فينا ما بدا لك، فإن هاجك هيج فأنا زعيم لك بعشرين ألف طائي يضربون بين يديك بأسيافهم، والله لا يوصل إليك أبداً ومنهم عين تطرف.

فقال له: جزاك الله وقومك خيراً، إنه قد كان بيننا وبين هؤلاء القوم قولٌ لسنا نقدر معه على الانصراف، ولا ندري علام تنصرف بنا وبهم الأمور في عاقبة.

6/8: 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far[1]

1012. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*:** 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib wrote a letter to al-Ḥusayn (a), warning him about the people of Kufa and beseeching him in the name of God not to go to them.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) wrote back, "I had a dream in which the Prophet (s) instructed me to do a task that I am setting out to do. I will not inform anyone about its details until I face it."[2]

6/9: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās[3]

1013. ***al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*,** quoting Ibn 'Abbās: Al-Ḥusayn (a) consulted me about leaving [Mecca]. I said, "If it was not unbefitting for me or you, I would grip you by the head [and prevent you from leaving]." His reply to my words was, "To be killed in another place is preferable to me than the violation of the sanctity of the sanctuary (*ḥaram*) of God and His Prophet (s) because of me."

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[1] 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, whose *kunyah* is Abū Ja'far, was a companion of the Prophet (s). His father, Ja'far, is famous as the "owner of two wings (*dhū al-janāḥayn*)", and was among the first migrants who left Mecca for Abyssinia. His mother was Asmā' bint 'Umays. He was born in Abyssinia and was 8 years old when he migrated back to Medina. When the eyes of the Prophet (s) fell on him, he smiled, and extended his hand to give the Prophet (s) his *bay'ah*. After the martyrdom of his father in the Battle of Mu'tah, the Prophet (s) took charge of his upbringing. He married Zaynab (a), the daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (a). He was present at the Battle of Ṣiffīn, but was not given the opportunity to fight. He was tall, had a pleasant personality, and his generosity was famous amongst the Arabs.

After the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful (a), he remained at the side of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and was their sincere follower. He always regretted his absence at Karbala. However, he was proud of the fact that his sons were martyred with Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He died aged 80 years in the year 80/699 (the year of the flood – *'ām al-juḥāf*).

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 447; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 418.

كتب عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب إليه كتابا يحذره أهل الكوفة، ويناشده الله أن يشخص إليهم فكتب إليه الحسين عليه السلام: إني رأيت رؤيا، ورأيت فيها رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، وأمرني بأمر أنا ماض له، ولست بمخبر بها أحدا حتى ألاقي عملي.

[3] Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was born in Mecca in the valley (*shi'b*) of Abū Ṭālib, three years before the *hijrah* of the Prophet (s) to Medina. In 8/629, the year of the conquest of Mecca, he migrated to Medina. He was an adviser to 'Umar, and the leader of the hajj caravan (*amīr al-ḥajj*)

These words were what made me less anxious about him.'[1]

6/10: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar[2]

204. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting al-Sha'bī: When al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was heading out towards Iraq, someone said to Ibn 'Umar, "Your brother, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), is leaving for Iraq." So he came to him and

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during the time of 'Uthmān. In the era of the Commander of the Faithful (a), he was his companion, ally, and confidante. He was appointed as a governor, and a military commander. He was sent by the Commander of the Faithful (a) to debate against the Khawārij.

At the time of the martyrdom of the Imam (a), he was the governor of Basra. He pledged his allegiance to Imam al-Ḥasan (a), and continued as his governor in Basra as well. He did not participate in the Battle of Karbala.

When Ibn al-Zubayr took control of al-Ḥijāz and Iraq, 'Abd Allāh did not give him his *bay'ah*. This angered Ibn al-Zubayr, and he threatened to burn him to death.

He was an eloquent scholar, and has a prominent status as an exegetist, traditionist, and jurist. He was a lifelong student of the Commander of the Faithful (a), and used to take pride in that fact. He died in exile in Ṭā'if in 68/687 at the age of 71 years.

[1] *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 119; *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 292.

استأذنني حسين عليه السلام في الخروج فقلت: لولا أن يزرى ذلك بي أو بك لشبكت بيدي في رأسك. قال: فكان الذي ردّ عليّ أن قال: لأن أقتل بمكان كذا وكذا، أحبّ إليّ من أن يستحلّ بي حرم الله ورسوله. قال: فذلك الذي سلا بنفسي عنه.

[2] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, whose *kunyah* was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, was born before the *hijrah* of the Prophet (s) to Medina. He became a Muslim with his father in Mecca, and later migrated to Medina. Due to his young age at the time, he did not take part in the battles of Badr and Uḥud. However, he participated in the Battle of Aḥzāb, and all subsequent battles. He has been quoted extensively in the Sunni books.

'Umar was opposed to including his name amongst the council (*shūrā*) that he nominated to choose the next caliph from amongst themselves, saying, "He is not fit for the caliphate; he cannot even divorce his own wife." However, pleaded with him in the name of God, saying, "The people of Iraq are a terrible community: they killed your father, attacked your brother, and have done so much more besides!"

When he despaired of trying to stop him, he embraced him and kissed his forehead, and said, "I leave your death in the care of God! I heard the Prophet (s) say, 'God did not want the world for you.'"[1]

6/11: 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib

225. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Muḥammad ibn 'Umar: I heard my father 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib say the following to my cousins, the family of 'Aqīl, "When my brother al-Ḥusayn (a) refused to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd in Medina, I went to see him and found him alone. I said to him, "May I be sacrificed for you, O Abū 'Abd Allāh! Your brother, al-Ḥasan (a), related to me from his father…", then tears overcame me, and I began to sob loudly.

He embraced me and said, "Did he inform you that I shall be killed?"

I replied, "Don't speak any more about this, O son of God's Messenger (s)."

He said, "I ask you by the sake of your father, did he inform you about my death?"

I replied, "Yes. Why don't you just extend [your hand] and give your oath of allegiance?"

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according to one report, he did nominate him to the council, on the condition that he would not accept any particular responsibility.

After the caliphate of 'Uthmān, he retired from politics. He gave his pledge of allegiance to Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd. He did not participate in any of the battles of the Commander of the Faithful (a), and neither did he side with the enemies of the Imam (a).

He died in the year 74/693 at the age of 84 years.

[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 202, no. 3540.

لمّا توجّه الحسين بن علي عليه السلام إلى العراق، قيل لابن عمر: إنّ الحسين عليه السلام قد توجّه إلى العراق، فلحقه فناشده الله تعالى: إنّ أهل العراق قوم مناكير، وقد قتلوا أباك، وضربوا أخاك، وفعلوا وفعلوا. فلمّا أيس منه عانقه وقبّل بين عينيه، وقال: أستودعك الله من قتيل، سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: إنّ الله عزّ وجلّ لم يرد لكم الدنيا.

He replied, "My father told me that the Prophet (s) informed him about how he would be killed, and how I would be killed, and that my grave would be close to his. Now, did you think that you knew something that I did not? I shall never allow myself to be humiliated [even if it means my martyrdom]. Indeed, Fāṭimah (a) shall meet her father (s), complaining about what her offspring suffered at the hands of his nation, and no one who has hurt her regarding her children shall ever enter paradise."[1]

6/12: Al-Farazdaq[2]

206. ***Ansāb al-Ashrāf*****, quoting al-Zubayr ibn al-Khirrīt:** I heard al-Farazdaq say, "I met al-Ḥusayn (a) at Dhāt 'Irq, as he was on his way to Kufa. He asked me, 'How do you think the Kufans will act? I have

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 19.

سمعت أبي عمر بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام يحدث أخوالي آل عقيل، قال: لما امتنع أخي الحسين
عليه السلام عن البيعة ليزيد بالمدينة دخلت عليه فوجدته خالياً فقلت له: جعلت فداك يا أبا عبد
الله حدثني أخوك أبو محمد الحسن عن أبيه عليهما السلام، ثم سبقتني الدمعة وعلا شهيقي، فضمني
إليه وقال: حدثك أني مقتول؟ فقلت: حوشيت يا ابن رسول الله، فقال: سألتك بحق أبيك بقتلي خبرك؟
فقلت: نعم، فلولا تأولت وبايعت

فقال: حدثني أبي أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله أخبره بقتله وقتلي، وأن تربتي تكون بقرب تربته،
فتظن أنك علمت ما لم أعلمه، وإنه لا أعطي الدنية من نفسي أبداً، ولتلقين فاطمة أباها شاكية ما
لقيت ذريتها من أمته، ولا يدخل الجنة أحد آذاها في ذريتها.

[2] Hammām ibn Ghālib ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah, whose *kunyah* was Abū Firās, was famously known as al-Farazdaq. He was born in 19/640 in Basra. He was a follower of the Commander of the Faithful (a), Imam al-Ḥasan (a), Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a). His ode (*qaṣīdah*) in the praise and introduction of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a), in the presence of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, is famous. Its opening verses are:

> This is the one whose footsteps are recognized by the land of Baṭḥā (Mecca),
>
> And the Ka'bah recognizes him, as does the sanctuary (*ḥaram*) and the lands beyond (*ḥil*)...

Hishām became very angry when he heard the verses, and ordered al-Farazdaq to be imprisoned. He was jailed in 'Usfān (between Mecca and Medina). Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) sent 12,000 dirhams to him as a gift for his *qaṣīdah*; however, al-Farazdaq did not accept the gift, stating that he had composed it with me a saddlebag of letters [of invitation] from them.' I replied, 'They will betray you, so do not go. You are going towards a people whose hearts are with you, but whose hands will act against you.' But he did not accept my advice!"[1]

6/13: Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah[2]

207. *al-Irshād*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) left under the cover of the night – it was the night before Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab – and headed towards Mecca. He was accompanied by his sons, his brothers, his brother's sons, and most of his family, apart from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. When Muḥammad learned about his decision to leave Medina, he was not sure where al-Ḥusayn (a) was heading.

He said to him, "My brother! You are the most beloved of people to me and the dearest. I am not one to give advice, for you are more entitled to do that. [However] withhold your oath of allegiance from Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah and stay away from the townships, as far as you can. Then, send your envoys to the people, and call them to join you. If they obey you and pledge their allegiance to you, you should praise God for that; but if they unite behind someone else, God will not reduce your religion or intellect, nor will you lose your dignity and status by that.

"I fear lest you enter one of these townships and the people begin to dispute between themselves, one party for you, and the other against. Then they will rise against each other, and you will be the target of the first spear. As a result, the blood of the best person of this entire community – of the most pristine lineage – will be utterly wasted, and his family utterly humiliated."

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only for God's reward in the next world. It was only at the insistence of the Imam (a) that he accepted the money.

He died in the year 110/728, after having visited Iraq, Syria, and the Arab peninsula.

[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 277; Ibn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 5, p. 10.

عن الفرزدق قال: لقيت الحسين عليه السلام بذات عرق وهو يريد الكوفة، فقال لي: ما ترى أهل الكوفة صانعين؟ إن معي حملاً من كتبهم. قلت: يخذلونك، فلا تذهب، فإنك تأتي قوماً قلوبهم معك، وأيديهم عليك. فلم يطعني.

[2] See *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 3, p. 427.

Al-Husayn (a) said to him, "Then where shall I go, my brother?"

He replied, "Stay in Mecca. If it provides you with sanctuary, then that is the solution. But, if you find no security there, then withdraw to the desert plains and the mountain heights. Travel from town to town, until you determine which way the people's opinions on this matter are headed. You will be in the best position to make a decision when you face matters directly."

Al-Husayn (a) said, "My brother, you have given good counsel, and shown your concern. I hope that your assessment is correct and brings about success."[1]

208. *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*: Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyyah set out after Imam al-Husayn (a), and when bidding him farewell, he said, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh, I fear deeply for the women of the household of the Prophet (s)."

He replied, "God wills them to be taken as captives."[2]

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 34; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 328.

فخرج من تحت ليلته - وهي ليلة الأحد ليومين بقيا من رجب - متوجهاً نحو مكة ومعه بنوه وإخوته وبنو أخيه وجلّ أهل بيته، إلا محمد بن الحنفية فإنه لما علم عزمه على الخروج عن المدينة لم يدر أين يتوجه، فقال له: يا أخي أنت أحب الناس إليّ وأعزهم عليّ، ولست أذخر النصيحة لأحد من الخلق إلا لك، وأنت أحق بها، تنحّ ببيعتك عن يزيد بن معاوية وعن الأمصار ما استطعت، ثم ابعث رسلك إلى الناس ثم ادعهم إلى نفسك، فإن تابعك الناس وبايعوا لك حمدت الله على ذلك، وإن أجمع الناس على غيرك لم ينقص الله بذلك دينك ولا عقلك، ولا تذهب به مروءتك ولا فضلك.

إني أخاف أن تدخل مصراً من هذه الأمصار، فيختلف الناس بينهم فمنهم طائفة معك وأخرى عليك، فيقتتلون فتكون لأول الأسنة، فإذا خير هذه الأمة كلها نفساً وأباً وأماً أضيعها دماً، وأذلها أهلاً.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: فأين أنزل يا أخي؟ قال: انزل مكة فإن اطمأنت بك الدار بها فسبيل ذلك، وإن نبت بك لحقت بالرمال وشعف الجبال، وخرجت من بلد إلى بلد، حتى تنظر ما يصير أمر الناس إليه، فإنك أصوب ما تكون رأياً حين تستقبل الأمر استقبالاً.

فقال: يا أخي قد نصحت وأشفقت، وأرجو أن يكون رأيك سديداً موفقاً.

[2] *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*, p. 176; *'Uyūn al-Mu'jizāt*, p. 69.

خرج محمد ابن الحنفية مشيّعاً (أي الإمام الحسين عليه السلام) فقال له عند الوداع: يا أبا عبد الله الله الله في حرم رسول الله! فقال له: إن الله شاء أن يراهنّ سبايا.

PART 7: FROM MECCA TO KARBALA

7/1 The efforts of Yazid to impede the progress of the Imam (a)

309. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah wrote to ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās when informing him that al-Ḥusayn (a) had set out for Mecca, "We presume that Easterners [non-Arabs, *ahl al-mashriq*] have come to him and made him aspire to the caliphate. You have knowledge and experience of such men; if he does this, then he has severed the ties of kinship, and you are the elder of your household and the one they look up to. So, prevent him from fomenting discord..."

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās wrote back to him, "I hope that the departure of al-Ḥusayn (a) is not for a reason that will displease you. I will not give up advising him about anything through which God brings about closeness, and through which He removes hatred."[1]

310. *al-Futūḥ*: A letter from Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah arrived from Damascus, addressed to the people of Medina, both Quraysh and others from Banū Hāshim. It contained the following couplets:

> O our people, let [the flames of] war not be rekindled now that they have been quelled,
> Cling on to the rope of peace, holding it all together.
> War seduced the people who came before you,

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 448; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 419.

كتب يزيد بن معاوية إلى عبد الله بن عباس يخبره بخروج الحسين عليه السلام إلى مكة:
ونحسبه جاءه رجال من أهل هذا المشرق فمنّوه الخلافة، وعندك منهم خبرة وتجربة، فإن كان فعل فقد
قطع واشج القرابة، وأنت كبير أهل بيتك والمنظور إليه، فاكففه عن السعي في الفرقة...
قال: فكتب إليه عبد الله بن عباس: إني لأرجو ألا يكون خروج الحسين عليه السلام لأمر تكرهه،
ولست أدع النصيحة له في ما يجمع الله به الألفة، وتطفأ به النائرة.

> For generations communities were destroyed by it.
> So be fair on your people, and let not your haughtiness cause them to perish,
> For often, the haughty slip on their feet and fall.

The people of Medina read these verses and then took the letter to al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a). When he read it, he realized that the letter was from Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, so he wrote this reply:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. "*And if they call you a liar, then say, 'For me are my deeds, and for you are your deeds. You are free from responsibility for what I do, and I am free from responsibility for what you do.'*"[1] Peace.[2]

7/2: The conspiracy of Yazid to kill the Imam (a) in Mecca

211. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd al-Qummī, through his own chain of narrators, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah came to al-Ḥusayn (a) on the night before the Imam (a) was planning to leave Mecca and said to him, "My brother, you know that the people of Kufa are those who betrayed your father and your brother. I am afraid lest you suffer the same fate. Stay here [in Mecca] for you are the most important and honourable person in the sanctuary (*ḥaram*)."

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[1] Q 10:41.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 68.

كتاب يزيد بن معاوية قد أقبل من الشام إلى أهل المدينة على البريد، من قريش وغيرهم من بني هاشم، وفيه هذه الأبيات...

يا قومنا لا تشبّوا الحرب إذ سكنت　　تمسّكوا بحبال الخير واعتصموا
قد غرّت الحرب من قد كان قبلكم　　من القرون وقد بادت بها الأمم
فأنصفوا قومكم لا تهلكوا بذخاً　　فربّ ذي بذخ زلّت به القدم

قال: فنظر أهل المدينة إلى هذه الأبيات، ثمّ وجّهوا بها وبالكتاب إلى الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام، فلمّا نظر فيه علم أنّه كتاب يزيد بن معاوية.

فكتب الحسين عليه السلام الجواب: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ﴿وَإِن كَذَّبُوكَ فَقُل لِّي عَمَلِي وَلَكُمْ عَمَلُكُمْ أَنتُم بَرِيئُونَ مِمَّا أَعْمَلُ وَأَنَا بَرِيءٌ مِّمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ﴾ والسلام.

He replied, "My brother, I am afraid lest Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah would try to assassinate me within the *haram*, and I would be the reason for the violation of the sanctity of this house."

Ibn al-Hanafiyyah said to him, "If you are afraid of that, then go to Yemen, or somewhere else, where you would be safer and no one could attack you."

He replied, "I shall think on what you have said."

In the morning, al-Husayn (a) made preparations to travel, and the news reached Ibn al-Hanafiyyah. He came to the Imam (a), held on to the reins of the camel on which he was sitting, and said, "O brother! Did you not promise me that you would think about what I asked?"

He replied, "Yes."

He asked, "Why then are you leaving so soon?"

The Imam (a) replied, "The Prophet (s) appeared to me [in my dream] after we parted, and told me, 'O Husayn, leave, for God desires to see you killed.'"

Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyyah exclaimed, "'*Verily we are from God, and to Him is our return.*'[1] But what is your reason for taking these women with you when you depart under such circumstances?"

He replied, "He informed me that God desires to see them taken as captives."

Then he bade him farewell and set out.[2]

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[1] Q 2:156.

[2] al-Malhuf, p. 127; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 44, p. 364.

وجاء محمد بن الحنفية إلى الحسين عليه السلام في الليلة التي أراد الحسين عليه السلام الخروج في صبيحتها عن مكة فقال له: يا أخي إن أهل الكوفة من قد عرفت غدرهم بأبيك وأخيك، وقد خفت أن يكون حالك كحال من مضى، فإن رأيت أن تقيم فإنك أعز من بالحرم وأمنعه.

فقال: يا أخي قد خفت أن يغتالني يزيد بن معاوية بالحرم فأكون الذي يستباح به حرمة هذا البيت.

فقال له ابن الحنفية: فإن خفت ذلك فصر إلى اليمن أو بعض نواحي البر فإنك أمنع الناس به ولا يقدر عليك أحد.

فقال: أنظر فيما قلت. فلما كان السحر ارتحل الحسين عليه السلام فبلغ ذلك ابن الحنفية فأتاه فأخذ بزمام ناقته وقد ركبها فقال: يا أخي ألم تعدني النظر فيما سألتك؟ قال: بلى.

212. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Mu'ammar ibn Muthannah from his book *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn (a)*: On the day of *al-tarwiyah*,[1] 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ arrived in Mecca with his large army. Yazīd had instructed him to fight al-Ḥusayn (a) if the latter attacked first, or to provoke him into battle if he could. For this reason, al-Ḥusayn (a) left on the day of *al-tarwiyah*.[2]

213. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, quoting al-Farazdaq: I met al-Ḥusayn (a) and told him, "May my father be sacrificed for you! If you would only wait until the people complete their hajj, I think those who have come on pilgrimage would throng beside you."

He replied, "We are not safe from them, O Abā Firās."[3]

7/3: The conversation of the Imam (a) with 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās

214. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān: When al-Ḥusayn (a) made the decision to depart for Kufa, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās came to him and said, "O cousin! The people are saying that you are going to Iraq. Explain to me what you are planning."

قال: فما حداك على الخروج عاجلا؟ فقال: أتاني رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله بعدما فارقتك، فقال: يا حسين اخرج، فإن الله قد شاء أن يراك قتيلا.

فقال محمد ابن الحنفية: إنا لله و إنا إليه راجعون، فما معنى حملك هؤلاء النساء معك وأنت تخرج على مثل هذا الحال؟

قال: فقال له: قد قال لي: إن الله قد شاء أن يراهن سبايا، وسلم عليه ومضى.

[1] The 8th day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is known as the day of *al-tarwiyah* (the day of carrying water), because on that day, the pilgrims collect water for the coming days.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 58.

فلما كان يوم التروية قدم عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص إلى مكة في جند كثيف، قد أمره يزيد أن يناجز الحسين عليه السلام القتال إن هو ناجزه، أو يقاتله إن قدر عليه، فخرج الحسين عليه السلام يوم التروية.

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 455, no. 438.

لقيت حسينا عليه السلام فقلت: بأبي أنت لو أقمت حتى يصدر الناس لرجوت أن يتقصف أهل الموسم معك. فقال: لم آمنهم يا أبا فراس.

He replied, "I have decided to depart in the next one or two days, Almighty God willing."

Ibn ʿAbbās said to him, "I beseech you in the name of God not to do this. Tell me, may God have mercy on you, do you go to a community who have killed their governor, regained control of their lands, and expelled their enemy? If they have done so, then go to them. But if they call you while their governor still rules over them and controls them, and his officials are still collecting taxes in the land, then they are calling you to war and fighting. I fear that they will invite you only to belie you, oppose you, and betray you [later]. They may [even] turn on you and become your bitterest enemies."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "I seek the best [result] from God, and I will see what happens..."

In the evening, or on the next day, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās came to al-Ḥusayn (a), and said, "O cousin, I ask you to be patient, while I myself am not patient. I fear for you on this path of death and annihilation. The people of Iraq are treacherous, do not go anywhere near them. Remain here [safely, in Mecca], for you are the doyen (*sayyid*) of the people of al-Ḥijāz. Then, if the people of Iraq truly want you as they claim, write to them to expel their enemy first, (and only) then go to them.

"However, if you are resolved to leave, then go to Yemen. It has fortresses and remote valleys, and is a vast land. Your father has followers there, and you would be far from the reach of people. From there you could write to the people and send messengers to all corners. I only hope that in this way you achieve your objectives in safety."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "O cousin, by God, I am aware that you are a sincere adviser, but I have made my decision, and am resolved to leave."

Ibn ʿAbbās told him, "If you are going, then do not take your women and children. By God, I fear that you will be killed just as ʿUthmān was killed, while his women and children looked on.... By God, other than whom there is no deity, if I knew that I could keep you here by grabbing hold of your hair, until a crowd gathered around us, I would do it."[1]

315. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) entered Mecca, and its inhabitants were greatly delighted at his arrival. They visited him day and night....

At the time, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb were in Mecca. They both came to see al-Ḥusayn (a). They had decided to leave for Medina. Ibn 'Umar said to him, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh, may God have mercy on you. Be mindful of God, to Whom is your return. You are aware of the hostility of this household [the Umayyads] towards you and their injustices against you. Now the people have accepted the authority of this man, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, and I fear that the people will turn to him for financial gain and kill you, and many people will perish thereby. Verily, I have heard the Prophet (s) say, 'Ḥusayn will be killed, and as for those who take part in his killing and betrayal or do not assist him, God will debase them until the Day of Judgement.'

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 384; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 375.

إنّ حسيناً عليه السلام لما أجمع المسير إلى الكوفة أتاه عبد الله بن عباس فقال: يا ابن عم، إنك قد أرجف الناس أنك سائر إلى العراق، فبيّن لي ما أنت صانع؟

قال: إني قد أجمعت المسير في أحد يوميّ هذين إن شاء الله تعالى.

فقال له ابن عباس: فإني أعيذك بالله من ذلك، أخبرني - رحمك الله - أتسير إلى قوم قد قتلوا أميرهم وضبطوا بلادهم، ونفوا عدوّهم؟ فإن كانوا قد فعلوا ذلك فسر إليهم، وإن كانوا إنّما دعوك إليهم وأميرهم عليهم قاهر لهم، وعمّاله تجبي بلادهم، فإنهم إنّما دعوك إلى الحرب والقتال، ولا آمن عليك أن يغرّوك ويكذّبوك ويخالفوك ويخذلوك، وأن يستنفروا إليك فيكونوا أشدّ الناس عليك.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: وإني أستخير الله وأنظر ما يكون...

قال: فلما كان من العشيّ - أو من الغد - أتى الحسينَ عليه السلام عبد الله بن العباس فقال: يا ابن عم، إني أتصبّر ولا أصبر، إني أتخوّف عليك في هذا الوجه الهلاك والاستئصال، إنّ أهل العراق قوم غُدُر فلا تقربنّهم، أقم بهذا البلد فإنك سيّد أهل الحجاز، فإن كان أهل العراق يريدونك كما زعموا، فاكتب إليهم فلينفوا عدوّهم، ثم اقدم عليهم. فإن أبيت إلا أن تخرج فسر إلى اليمن، فإنّ بها حصوناً وشعاباً، وهي أرض عريضة طويلة، ولأبيك بها شيعة، وأنت عن الناس في عزلة، فتكتب إلى الناس وترسل وتبثّ دعاتك، فإني أرجو أن يأتيك عند ذلك الذي تحبّ في عافية.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: يا ابن عم، إني والله لأعلم أنك ناصح مشفق، ولكني قد أزمعت وأجمعت على المسير. فقال له ابن عباس: فإن كنت سائراً فلا تسر بنسائك وصبيتك، فوالله إني لخائف أن تقتل كما قُتل عثمان ونساؤه وولده ينظرون إليه...

والله الذي لا إله إلا هو، لو أعلم أنك إذا أخذت بشعرك وناصيتك حتى يجتمع عليّ وعليك الناس أطعتني لفعلت ذلك.

"My advice is to compromise [with him] the way others have done, and be patient just as you were patient with Mu'āwiyah before, and perhaps God will judge between you and between those who are unjust."

Al-Ḥusayn replied, "O Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān! So I should pledge allegiance to Yazīd and compromise with him while the Prophet (s) has said what he has said about him and his father?"

Ibn 'Abbās said, "You have spoken the truth Abū 'Abd Allāh! The Prophet (s) had said in his lifetime, 'What have I done to Yazīd? May God never bless Yazīd! He shall kill al-Ḥusayn, my son, and the son of my daughter. By the One who controls my life, those who kill my son while he is amongst them, or fail to protect him, God will make them such that their hearts and their tongues will never be consistent with one another.'"

Then, Ibn 'Abbās wept. Al-Ḥusayn (a) wept with him and then said, "O Ibn 'Abbās! You know that I am the son of the daughter of the Prophet (s)?"

Ibn 'Abbās replied, "By God, yes. We know, and we acknowledge that there is no one in the world who is the son of the daughter of the Prophet (s) other than you, and that helping you is an obligation (*wājib*) on this nation, just as prayer and paying the religious tax are obligations; one will not be accepted without the other."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O Ibn 'Abbās, what then would you say about a people who forced the son of the daughter of the Prophet (s) to leave his house and home, to leave his birthplace and the sanctuary (*ḥaram*) of his Prophet (s), to leave the vicinity of his grave and his home, and to leave his mosque and the place of his migration? [Those] who left him fearful and anxious, unable to reside anywhere in peace, or find a place of safety? And all this was done so that they could kill him and spill his blood, while he had not associated any deity with God, nor accepted any authority except Him, and had not followed a path other than that walked by the Prophet (s), and his successors after him?"

Ibn 'Abbās replied, "I do not have a better description for them than, '*They have disbelieved in God and His Messenger, and do come not come to prayer except that they stand lazily*.'[1] '*They do it only to be seen by the people, and they do remember God, but a little. Wavering between them, neither [sincere] with one group or the other, and for whoever God allows to go astray, you will never find for him a way*.'[2] And for such people, a great punishment awaits.

"But as for you, O son of the daughter of the Prophet (s), you are the head of the honour of the Prophet (s), and the son of his eminent daughter; do not imagine that God is heedless of what the unjust are doing.

"I bear witness that whoever despises your company and aspires to fight against you and against the Prophet, Muhammad (s), is despicable."

Al-Husayn (a) said, "O God, bear witness!"

Ibn 'Abbās said, "May I be sacrificed for you, O son of the daughter of God's Messenger! It seems that you are calling me to you and want me to assist you! By God, other than Whom there is no deity, even if I strike with this sword alongside you, until it shatters in my hand, I would not have repaid you a fraction of your right. I stand before you, so give me your orders."

Ibn 'Umar said, "Do not make haste. Release us from this [commitment], O Ibn 'Abbās."

Then he approached al-Husayn (a) and said, "Do not be hasty in carrying out your decision. Return to Madina and work out a truce with them. Do not disappear from your home and the *haram* of your grandfather, the Prophet (s). Do not give these worthless people an excuse and a way against you. If you do not wish to pledge allegiance [to Yazīd], you are free to look at your options. Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah may not live for very long, and God will suffice you against his schemes."

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1 Q 9:54.

2 Q 4:142, 143.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "Away with such talk. This will never happen, not as long as the heavens and the earth exist! O ʿAbd Allāh, I ask you in the name of God, am I in the wrong in this affair? If it is your opinion that I am in the wrong, then show me how; [and if you are able to do so] then I will yield, listen, and follow."

Ibn ʿUmar said, "No, my God! God would never let the son of the daughter of His Messenger be in the wrong. When it comes to the management of the caliphate, there is no comparison between someone with your purity and distinction, inherited from the Prophet (s), and Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. However, I am afraid that your handsome and beautiful face will be disfigured by swords, and this nation will treat you in a manner that you do not like; so return with us to Medina. If you do not wish to give your *bayʿah*, then do not do so ever and stay in your home."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "No, [far from it] O Ibn ʿUmar! These people will never leave me alone. Whether they get their hands on me or not, they will not stop trying until they manage to either take my allegiance by force or take my life.

"Do you not know, O ʿAbd Allāh, that a despicable event of this world in the eyes of Almighty God, is the day that the severed head of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a) was presented to an adulteress of the Banū Isrāʾīl, while his head still uttered words that were a proof against them?"

"Do you not know, O Abā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, that the Banū Isrāʾīl would slaughter seventy prophets between dawn and sunrise, then sit in their markets, buying and selling goods, as if they had not done anything? God gave them some respite, but then he punished them as only the Mighty, the Powerful can! Be mindful of God, O Abā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and do not stay away from helping me...."

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) approached ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās and said, "O Ibn ʿAbbās, you are my father's cousin, and ever since I have known you, you have always advised to goodness. You were at the side of my father, giving him wise counsel. He would often consult you for advice, and you would guide him with sincerity. So now, return to Medina in the protection and security of God, and always keep me informed about you and your situation. [As for me] I will stay in this sacred *ḥaram* (Mecca) as long as I am confident of the people's affection and assistance. But if they betray me, I will look for the company of others. And I will seek refuge, just as Ibrāhīm (a) did, by saying, when he was cast into the fire, 'God is sufficient for me, and the best of guardians,' and thereby, the fire became cool and safe for him."

[On hearing these words] both Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn 'Umar wept bitterly, and al-Ḥusayn (a) also wept along with them for a time. Then he bade them farewell. Ibn 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās went to Medina, while al-Ḥusayn (a) remained in Mecca.[1]

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 23; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 190.

دخل الحسين عليه السلام إلى مكة، فرح به أهلها فرحا شديدا، قال: وجعلوا يختلفون إليه بكرة وعشية.

... قال: وبمكة يومئذ عبد الله بن عباس و عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب، فأقبلا جميعا حتى دخلا على الحسين عليه السلام وقد عزما على أن ينصرفا إلى المدينة، فقال له ابن عمر: أبا عبد الله رحمك الله، اتق الله الذي إليه معادك، فقد عرفت من عداوة أهل هذا البيت لكم وظلمهم إياكم، وقد ولي الناس هذا الرجل يزيد بن معاوية، ولست آمن أن يميل الناس إليه لمكان هذه الصفراء والبيضاء، فيقتلونك ويهلك فيك بشر كثير، فإني قد سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وهو يقول: «حسين مقتول، ولئن قتلوه وخذلوه ولن ينصروه ليخذلهم الله إلى يوم القيامة».

وأنا أشير عليك أن تدخل في صلح ما دخل فيه الناس، واصبر كما صبرت لمعاوية من قبل، فلعل الله أن يحكم بينك وبين القوم الظالمين.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: أبا عبد الرحمن! أنا أبايع يزيد وأدخل في صلحه وقد قال النبي صلى الله عليه و آله فيه وفي أبيه ما قال؟!

فقال ابن عباس: صدقت أبا عبد الله، قال النبي صلى الله عليه و آله في حياته: «ما لي وليزيد؟ لا بارك الله في يزيد، وإنه يقتل ولدي وولد ابنتي الحسين، والذي نفسي بيده لا يقتل ولدي بين ظهراني قوم فلا يمنعونه إلا خالف الله بين قلوبهم وألسنتهم».

ثم بكى ابن عباس، وبكى معه الحسين عليه السلام وقال: يا ابن عباس، تعلم أني ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله؟ فقال ابن عباس: اللهم نعم، نعلم ونعرف أن ما في الدنيا أحد هو ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله غيرك، وأن نصرك لفرض على هذه الأمة كفريضة الصلاة والزكاة التي لا يقبل أحدهما دون الأخرى.

قال الحسين عليه السلام: يا ابن عباس، فما تقول في قوم أخرجوا ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله من داره وقراره ومولده وحرم رسوله ومجاورة قبره ومولده ومسجده وموضع مهاجره، فتركوه خائفا مرعوبا

لا يستقر في قرار، ولا يأوي إلى موطن، يريدون في ذلك قتله وسفك دمه، وهو لم يشرك بالله شيئاً ولا اتخذ من دونه ولياً، ولم يتغير عما كان عليه رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله والخلفاء من بعده؟

فقال ابن عباس: ما أقول فيهم إلا ﴿أنهم كفروا بالله وبرسوله ولا يأتون الصلاة إلا وهم كسالى﴾ ﴿يراؤون الناس ولا يذكرون الله إلا قليلاً، مذبذبين بين ذلك لا إلى هؤلاء ولا إلى هؤلاء ومن يضلل الله فلن تجد له سبيلاً﴾ وعلى مثل هؤلاء تنزل البطشة الكبرى.

وأما أنت يا ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، فإنك رأس الفخار برسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وابن نظيرة البتول، فلا تظن يا ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله أن الله غافل عما يعمل الظالمون، وأنا أشهد أن من رغب عن مجاورتك، وطمع في محاربتك ومحاربة نبيك محمد صلى الله عليه و آله فما له من خلاق.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: اللهم اشهد. فقال ابن عباس: جعلت فداك يا ابن بنت رسول الله، كأنك تريدني إلى نفسك وتريد مني أن أنصرك، والله الذي لا إله إلا هو أن لو ضربت بين يديك بسيفي هذا حتى انخلع جميعاً من كفي، لما كنت ممن أوفى من حقك عشر العشر، وها أنا بين يديك مرني بأمرك.

فقال ابن عمر: مهلاً ذرنا من هذا يا ابن عباس. قال: ثم أقبل ابن عمر على الحسين عليه السلام فقال: أبا عبد الله مهلاً عما قد عزمت عليه، وارجع من هنا إلى المدينة، وادخل في صلح القوم ولا تغب عن وطنك وحرم جدك رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، ولا تجعل لهؤلاء الذين لا خلاق لهم على نفسك حجة وسبيلاً، وإن أحببت أن لا تبايع فأنت متروك حتى ترى برأيك، فإن يزيد بن معاوية عسى أن لا يعيش إلا قليلاً، فيكفيك الله أمره.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: أف لهذا الكلام أبداً ما دامت السماوات والأرض، أسألك بالله يا عبد الله أنا عندك على خطأ من أمري هذا؟ فإن كنت عندك على خطأ فردني فإني أخضع وأسمع وأطيع.

فقال ابن عمر: اللهم لا، ولم يكن الله تعالى يجعل ابن بنت رسوله على خطأ، وليس مثلك من طهارته وصفوته من الرسول صلى الله عليه و آله على مثل يزيد بن معاوية باسم الخلافة، ولكن أخشى أن يضرب وجهك هذا الحسن الجميل بالسيوف، وترى من هذه الأمة ما لا تحب، فارجع معنا إلى المدينة، وإن لم تحب أن تبايع فلا تبايع أبداً واقعد في منزلك.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: هيهات يا ابن عمر، إن القوم لا يتركوني، وإن أصابوني، وإن لم يصيبوني فلا يزالون حتى أبايع وأنا كاره أو يقتلوني، أما تعلم يا عبد الله أن من هوان هذه الدنيا على الله تعالى أنه أتي برأس يحيى بن زكريا عليه السلام إلى بغية من بغايا بني إسرائيل، والرأس ينطق بالحجة عليهم؟ أما تعلم أبا عبد الرحمن أن بني إسرائيل كانوا يقتلون ما بين طلوع الفجر إلى طلوع الشمس سبعين نبياً ثم يجلسون في أسواقهم يبيعون ويشترون كأنهم لم يصنعوا شيئاً، فلم يعجل الله عليهم، ثم أخذهم بعد ذلك أخذ عزيز مقتدر. اتق الله أبا عبد الرحمن ولا تدعن نصرتي.

ثم أقبل الحسين عليه السلام على عبد الله بن عباس فقال: يا ابن عباس، إنك ابن عم والدي، ولم تزل تأمر بالخير منذ عرفتك، وكنت مع والدي تشير عليه بما فيه الرشاد، وقد كان يستنصحك ويستشيرك فتشير

215. *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās: I met with al-Husayn (a) when he was leaving for Iraq. I said to him, "O son of God's Messenger, do not go."

He replied, "O Ibn 'Abbās, do you not know that my death is written there, and the slaughter of my companions shall happen there?"

I said to him, "How do you know this?"

He replied, "By a secret that has been disclosed to me, and knowledge that I have been granted."[1]

216. *al-Malhūf*: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr came to Imam al-Husayn (a) when he was departing from Mecca and advised him to stay.

He said to them, "The Prophet (s) instructed me in a matter, and I am carrying out his instructions."

Ibn 'Abbās departed while lamenting, "Woe for Husayn!"[2]

عليه بالصواب. فامضِ إلى المدينة في حفظ الله وكلاءته، ولا يخفى عليّ شيء من أخبارك. فإني مستوطن هذا الحرم، ومقيم فيه أبداً ما رأيت أهله يحبونني وينصرونني، فإذا هم خذلوني استبدلت بهم غيرهم، واستعصمت بالكلمة التي قالها إبراهيم الخليل عليه السلام يوم أُلقي في النار: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل، فكانت النار عليه برداً وسلاماً.

قال: فبكى ابن عباس وابن عمر في ذلك الوقت بكاءً شديداً، والحسين عليه السلام يبكي معهما ساعة ثم ودّعهما، وصار ابن عمر وابن عباس إلى المدينة، وأقام الحسين عليه السلام بمكة.

[1] *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, p. 181, no. 96; *Dhawb al-Nuḍār*, p. 30.

لقيت الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وهو يخرج إلى العراق، فقلت له: يا ابن رسول الله لا تخرج. قال: فقال لي: يا ابن عباس، أما علمت أنّ منيّتي من هناك، وأنّ مصارع أصحابي هناك؟ فقلت له: فأنّى لك ذلك؟ قال: بسرّ سُرّ لي وعلم أُعطيته.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 101; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 364.

وجاءه إلى الإمام الحسين عليه السلام عند الخروج من مكة: عبد الله بن العباس وعبد الله بن الزبير، فأشارا عليه بالإمساك.

فقال لهما: إنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله قد أمرني بأمر وأنا ماضٍ فيه.

قال: فخرج ابن عباس وهو يقول: واحسيناه.

7/4: The conversation of the Imam (a) with 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr

218. ***Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Jārūd, from Imam al-Bāqir (a):** Al-Ḥusayn (a) left Mecca one day before the day of *al-tarwiyah*. 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr came to see him off and said, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh, the season of hajj has arrived, but you are bidding it farewell and leaving for Iraq [instead]?"

The Imam (a) replied, "O Ibn al-Zubayr! Being buried at the banks of the Euphrates (*shāṭi' al-furāt*) is more beloved to me than being buried in the courtyard of the Ka'bah [but its sanctity violated thereby]."[1]

219. ***Ansāb al-Ashrāf*:** Ibn al-Zubayr proposed to al-Ḥusayn (a) that he should remain in Mecca, and that he and the people would pledge their allegiance to him. He made this suggestion to avert any suspicion from himself, and so that he would have an excuse later.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) responded, "It is preferable to me to be killed away from [the sacred *ḥaram* of] Mecca, even by a handspan, than to be killed within it. And if I were killed two handspans outside of it, that would be more preferable to me than to be killed within one handspan of it."[2]

7/5: The speech of the Imam (a) as he was departing from Mecca

220. ***Taysīr al-Maṭālib*, quoting Zayd ibn 'Alī, from his father Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a):** Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) addressed his companions. He praised God and glorified Him, then said:

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 151, no. 184; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 86, no. 18.

إنّ الحسين عليه السلام خرج من مكّة قبل التروية بيوم، فشيّعه عبد الله بن الزبير، فقال: يا أبا عبد الله، لقد حضر الحجّ وتدعه وتأتي العراق؟!

فقال: يا ابن الزبير، لأن أُدفن بشاطئ الفرات أحبّ إليّ من أن أُدفن بفناء الكعبة.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 375.

عرض ابن الزبير على الحسين عليه السلام أن يقيم بمكّة فيبايعه ويبايعه الناس، وإنّما أراد بذلك ألّا يتّهمه وأن يُعذر في القول.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: لأن أُقتل خارجاً من مكّة بشبر أحبّ إليّ من أن أُقتل فيها، ولأن أُقتل خارجاً منها بشبرين أحبّ إليّ من أن أُقتل خارجاً منها بشبر.

> O people! The collar of death for mankind is like a necklace around the throat of a young maiden [that is, it is assured]. And my own eagerness to meet my ancestors is no less than the eagerness of Ya'qūb (a) to meet Yūsuf (a) and his brother. There is a battlefield waiting for me; it is as if I can see the limbs of my body being torn apart by frenzied wild beasts, filling their engorged bellies.
>
> We, the Ahl al-Bayt (a), are pleased with God's pleasure; we remain steadfast in the face of His trials so that He may award us with the reward of those who are patient (*ṣābirūn*). The family and offspring of the Prophet (s) are not detached from him; they will never be separated from one another and shall be brought together in the blessed enclosure [paradise]. The Prophet's (s) eyes will shine when he gazes at them, and God's promise about them shall be revealed. Indeed, whoever is prepared to lay down his life for us should travel with us. God willing, I depart tomorrow.

Then he set out towards his enemy, and was [ultimately] martyred, may God bless him.[1]

7/6: The date on which the Imam (a) left Mecca

221. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, quoting Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Yamānī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) departed for Iraq on the day of *al-tarwiyah* (8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah). He had entered Mecca with the intention of performing the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*).[2]

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[1] *Taysīr al-Maṭālib*, p. 199; *al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 114.

إنّ الحسين بن علي عليه السلام خطب أصحابه، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال: أيها الناس، خطّ الموت على بني آدم كخطّ القلادة على جيد الفتاة، ما أولهني بالشوق إلى أسلافي اشتياق يعقوب عليه السلام إلى يوسف وأخيه، وإنّ لي لمصرعاً أنا لاقيه، كأني أنظر إلى أوصالي تقطّعها وحوش الفلوات غبراً وعفراً، قد ملأت مني أكراشها. رضى الله رضانا أهل البيت، نصبر على بلائه ليوفّينا أجور الصابرين، ولن تشذّ عن رسول الله حرمته وعترته، ولن تفارقه أعضاؤه، وهي مجموعة له في حظيرة القدس، تقرّ بهم عينه، وتنجز لهم عدته. ألا من كان فينا باذلاً مهجته فليرحل، فإنّي راحل غداً إن شاء الله.

ثم نهض إلى عدوّه، فاستشهد صلوات الله عليه.

[2] *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 5, p. 436, no. 1516; *al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 535, no. 3.

إنّ الحسين بن علي عليه السلام خرج يوم التروية إلى العراق، وقد كان دخل معتمراً.

222. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Ammār, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) departed for Iraq on the day of *al-tarwiyah* (8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah) while the people were going to Mina.[1]

Two points, one historical, and one juridical, about the departure of the Imam (a) from Mecca

It is worth mentioning two relevant points about the departure of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Mecca before the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah: one historical and the other juridical.

1. The historical point

The fact that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) left Mecca before the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is accepted by all historians, but there is a difference of opinion about the exact day of his departure. Several dates have been mentioned: the 3rd, the 7th, the 8th, and the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. However, the more popular and reliable account is that the Imam (a) departed from Mecca on the day of *al-tarwiyah*, the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. The sound report which Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Ammār narrated[2] from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) supports this view.

2. The juridical point

It is popularly believed that, on the day of *al-tarwiyah*, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) changed his intention to performing the *'umrah* instead of the hajj and left Mecca [early]. It seems that this belief stems from the compilers of *maqtal* and biographical works.[3] For example, Majlisī says about the reason why Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) left Medina for Mecca, and why he left Mecca before the hajj was complete:

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[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 535, no. 4; *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 5, p. 437, no. 1519.

قد اعتمر الحسين بن علي عليه السلام في ذي الحجة ثم راح يوم التروية إلى العراق والناس يروحون إلى منى

[2] See al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 535, no. 4; *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 5, p. 437, no. 1519.

[3] Al-Mufīd writes in *al-Irshād*: "When al-Ḥusayn (a) wanted to depart for Iraq, he performed the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Ka'bah, walked the circuit between Ṣafā and Marwah (*sa'y*), trimmed his hair (*taqṣīr*), and came out of his *iḥrām*. He thereby performed the *'umrah* because he could not perform the hajj." *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 67; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 38.

> From the aforementioned reports, it becomes clear that he had fled Medina for Mecca in fear of his life; similarly, he – may my life and the lives of my father, mother, and children be sacrificed for him – left Mecca when he was convinced that they intended to kill him in a surprise attack. He did not stay to complete his hajj. He came out of *iḥrām*, and departed from Mecca, fearful and vigilant. They, may God curse them, had closed all avenues to him, leaving him no place of sanctuary.
>
> I have read in reliable works that Yazīd despatched 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ with a sizeable force and appointed him as the head of the hajj delegations that year. He had given him instructions to secretly capture Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), or if he was unable to do that, to assassinate him. He also hid thirty devils of Banū Umayyah amongst the pilgrims who had come that year, instructing them to kill al-Ḥusayn (a) in whichever situation possible. When al-Ḥusayn (a) found out what they were planning, he came out of the *iḥrām* of hajj and preformed *'umrah al-mufradah* instead.[1]

However, his observation is not correct because, firstly, the report of Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Ammār and the report of Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umayr al-Yamānī, which are more reliable, clearly mention that that the *'umrah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was *'umrah al-mufradah*, and not *'umrah al-tamattu'*. Therefore, the Imam (a) was not in *iḥrām* at all when he decided to leave Mecca, and had no problem in this regard. The account of Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Ammār states that he asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), "What is the difference between the one who performs *'umrah al-tamattu'* and the one who performs *'umrah al-mufradah*?" He replied, "The one who performs the *'umrah al-tamattu'* has to follow it by completing the hajj, while the one who performs *'umrah al-mufradah* may do whatever he likes afterwards. Al-Ḥusayn (a) performed the *'umrah al-mufradah* in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and then left for Iraq on the day of *al-tarwiyah*; meanwhile, the people proceeded to Mina. There is no restriction in performing *'umrah al-mufradah* in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah for the one who does not intend the hajj."[1]

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[1] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 99.

مع أنه قد ظهر لك من الأخبار السابقة أنه عليه السلام خرج من المدينة خوفا من القتل إلى مكة، وكذا خرج من مكة بعد ما غلب على ظنه أنهم يريدون غيلته وقتله، حتى لم يتيسر له - فداه نفسي وأبي وأمي وولدي - أن يتم حجه فتحلل وخرج منها خائفا يترقب، وقد كانوا لعنهم الله ضيقوا عليه جميع الأقطار، ولم يتركوا له موضعا للفرار، ولقد رأيت في بعض الكتب المعتبرة أن يزيد أنفذ عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص في عسكر عظيم وولاه أمر الموسم وأمره على الحاج كلهم، وكان قد أوصاه بقبض الحسين عليه السلام سرا وإن لم يتمكن منه يقتله غيلة، ثم إنه دس مع الحاج في تلك السنة ثلاثين رجلا من شياطين بني أمية، وأمرهم بقتل الحسين عليه السلام على أي حال اتفق، فلما علم الحسين عليه السلام بذلك حل من إحرام الحج، وجعلها عمرة مفردة.

Secondly, according to the rules of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), changing the *iḥrām* of hajj to that of *'umrah* is not permissible. The one who has worn *iḥrām* of hajj and cannot, for any reason, subsequently finish the hajj, must perform the animal sacrifice (*qurbānī*) before he can come out of *iḥrām*.[2] However, his hajj is not changed to *'umrah*. The great jurist, Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, says in this regard, "There are reports in some *maqtal* texts that state that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) changed his *'umrah al-tamattu'* to *'umrah al-mufradah*, which seems to indicate that he had completed his *'umrah al-tamattu'* and then considered it to suffice for *'umrah al-mufradah*; however, according to sound [jurisprudential] traditions from the Ahl al-Bayt (a), these reports cannot be relied on."[3]

It is clear that if there was reliable evidence that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) did indeed change his hajj to *'umrah*, the jurists would not issue an edict (*fatwā*) against the legitimacy of the practice; however, as mentioned, not only is there no credible evidence that he did this, but there is also evidence to the contrary.[4]

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[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 535; Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām, p. 437, no. 1519.

إنّ المتمتّع مرتبطٌ بالحجّ و المعتمر إذا فرغ منها ذهب حيث شاء و قد اعتمر الحسين بن علي عليه السلام في ذي الحجّة ثمّ راح يوم التروية إلى العراق و الناس يروحون إلى منى و لا بأس بالعمرة في ذي الحجّة لمن لا يريد الحجّ

[2] See Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām, vol. 14, p. 349; Gulpaygānī, *Taqrīrāt al-Ḥajj*, vol. 1, p. 58.

[3] *Mustamsak al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, vol. 11, p. 192.

[4] Therefore, it is clear that the famous supplication of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in 'Arafah, *Du'ā al-'Arafah*, was not made in this year, i.e., on the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah

A study of the journey of the caravan of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Mecca to Karbala

On the basis of the most reliable reports, after remaining for four months and five days in Mecca, the caravan of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) left the holy city. The date of their departure was Tuesday, the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 60/679. They set out for Kufa. However, when they neared Kufa, they were diverted by the soldiers of Ibn Ziyād and forced to stop at Karbala.

It is worth mentioning that, at the start of his journey from Mecca, instead of heading north-east towards the station of al-Ṣifāḥ (the first station on the Mecca-Kufa route), the Imam (a) headed north-west to al-Tan'īm, which was on the way to Medina. Thus, he deviated about nine kilometres from the main route. It is possible that this was a ploy to forestall pursuit by agents of government, who had instructions to block his advance towards Kufa. Alternatively, he may have done this to make the pilgrims arriving from Medina aware of his situation.

The stations that the caravan crossed after leaving Mecca were, in order:[1] (1) al-Tan'īm, (2) al-Ṣifāḥ, (3) Bustān Ibn 'Āmir, (4) Dhāt 'Irq, (5) Ghamrah, (6) al-Muslaḥ, (7) al-Ufī'iyyah, (8) Ma'dan Banī Salīm, (9) al-'Amaq, (10) al-Silīliyyah, (11) al-Rabdhah, (12) Maghīthah al-Māwān, (13) al-Naqrah, (14) al-Ḥājir, (15) Sumīrā', (16) Tūz, (17) Fayd, (18) al-Ajfur, (19) al-Khuzaymiyyah, (20) Zarūd, (21) al-Tha'labiyyah, (22) al-Biṭān, (23) al-Shaqūq, (24) Zubālah, (25) al-Qā', (26) al-'Aqabah, (27) Wāqiṣah, (28) Sharāf, (29) Dhū Ḥasam, (30) al-Bayḍah, (31) 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt, (32) al-Raḥīmah, (33) Qaṣr Banī Maqātil, (34) al-Ṭaff, (35) Karbala.

Calculations show that the caravan of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) travelled a total of 1447 km, in a space of around 25 days. They entered Karbala on the 2nd of Muharram of 61/680.

7/7: The companions of the Imam (a)

223. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*): The people of Iraq sent messengers and letters to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

60/679.

[1] See Map 5.

inviting him to come to them. On Sunday, the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of 60/679, he left for Iraq, accompanied by his family members and sixty leading men of Kufa.[1]

224. *al-Malhūf*: Amongst the possible reasons why al-Ḥusayn (a) took his womenfolk and relatives with him was that if he left them behind in al-Ḥijāz, or at another place, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, may God curse him, could have sent his men to capture them and bring them to him. After that, he could have killed them or mistreated them, preventing al-Ḥusayn (a) from battle and martyrdom. Furthermore, if they fell into the hands of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, the Imam (a) would be denied peace of mind.[2]

225. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) gathered all his companions who had decided to accompany him to Iraq and gave each of them ten dinars and a camel to transport their baggage and provisions. Then he performed a *ṭawāf* of the Ka'bah, and the mountains of Ṣafā and Marwah, and prepared to depart. He placed his daughters and womenfolk in howdahs [litters] on their camels.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) set out from Mecca on Tuesday, the day of *tarwiyah*, on the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. He was accompanied by 82 men, comprising of his Shi'a and members of his household.[3]

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 450; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 421.

بعث أهل العراق إلى الحسين عليه السلام الرسل والكتب يدعونه إليهم، فخرج متوجهاً إلى العراق في أهل بيته وستين شيخاً من أهل الكوفة، وذلك يوم الإثنين في عشر ذي الحجة سنة ستين.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 142.

مما يمكن أن يكون سبباً لحمل الحسين عليه السلام لحرمه معه وعياله، أنه لو تركهن بالحجاز أو غيرها من البلاد، كان يزيد بن معاوية لعنه الله أرسل من أخذهن إليه، وصنع بهن من الاستئصال وسوء الأعمال ما يمنع الحسين عليه السلام من الجهاد والشهادة، ويمتنع عليه السلام - بأخذ يزيد بن معاوية لهن - عن مقام السعادة.

[3] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 69; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 220.

جمع الحسين عليه السلام أصحابه الذين قد عزموا على الخروج معه إلى العراق، فأعطى كل واحد منهم عشرة دنانير وجملاً يحمل عليه زاده ورحله، ثم إنه طاف بالبيت وبالصفا والمروة، وتهيأ للخروج، فحمل بناته وأخواته على المحامل. وخرج الحسين عليه السلام من مكة يوم الثلاثاء يوم التروية لثمان مضين من ذي الحجة، ومعه اثنان وثمانون رجلاً من شيعته وأهل بيته.

7/8: The failure of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd's men in preventing the departure of the Imam (a)

226. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: When al-Ḥusayn set out from Mecca, a member of the police force (whose chief was 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ), accompanied by a group of his men, blocked his path. He said, "The chief orders you to turn back. So turn back, or else I will force you to do so."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) refused to obey, and the men exchanged blows with their whips. The news of the skirmish reached 'Amr ibn Sa'īd, and, fearing that matters would escalate, he ordered his men to move out of the way.[1]

227. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tarīkh*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) set out on the day of *al-tarwiyah*, but a force sent by 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ – who, along with his brother Yaḥyā, was the governor of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah in al-Ḥijāz – blocked his path. He ignored them and moved on, and the two groups exchanged blows with their whips. Al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions refused to stop [and continued on their way].[2]

7/9 The letter of the Imam (a) to the Banū Hāshim, informing them about what was to come

228. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Zurārah, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) wrote from Mecca to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [al-Ḥanafiyyah], "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, and the rest of the members of the Banū Hāshim: Whoever joins me shall be martyred, and whoever does not join me shall not taste victory. Peace."[1]

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 244.

لمّا خرج الحسين عليه السلام من مكّة اعترضه صاحب شُرطة أميرها عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص في جماعة من الجند، فقال: إنّ الأمير يأمرك بالانصراف، فانصرف وإلّا منعناك. فامتنع عليه الحسين عليه السلام، وتدافع الفريقان واضطربوا بالسياط. وبلغ ذلك عمرو بن سعيد، فخاف أن يتفاقم الأمر، فأرسل إلى صاحب شُرطه يأمره بالانصراف.

[2] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tarīkh*, vol. 2, p. 547.

ثمّ خرج الحسين عليه السلام يوم التروية، فاعترضه رُسُل عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص، وهو أمير على الحجاز ليزيد بن معاوية مع أخيه يحيى يمنعونه، فأبى عليهم ومضى، وتضاربوا بالسياط، وامتنع الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه.

229. al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyyah: When al-Ḥusayn (a) halted at Bustān Banī 'Āmir,[2] he wrote to his brother, Muhammad [al-Ḥanafiyyah] and to his household, "If you join me, you will be martyred, and if you abandon me, you will not taste victory. Peace."[3]

7/10 The letter of Yazid to Ibn Ziyād, instructing him to kill Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

230. Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī: Al-Ḥusayn (a) left Mecca and travelled towards Iraq. Yazid wrote the to Ibn Ziyād, whom he had placed in charge of Iraq, "News has reached me that the people of Kufa have written to al-Ḥusayn, inviting him to come to them. He has already left Mecca and is heading towards them.

"Of all possible locations, your location, and of all possible times, your time, has been beset with the problem of [dealing with] him. So if you kill him [well and good], but if you do not, you will be relegated to your former [low] pedigree, and that of your father, 'Ubayd. Beware! Do not let him escape you!"[4]

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[1] Kāmil al-Ziyārāt, p. 157, no. 195; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 45, p. 87, no. 23.

كتب الحسين بن علي عليه السلام من مكة إلى محمد بن علي (ابن الحنفية): بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من الحسين بن علي إلى محمد بن علي ومن قبله من بني هاشم، أما بعد، فإن من لحق بي استشهد، ومن لم يلحق بي لم يدرك الفتح، والسلام.

[2] See Map 5.

[3] al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyyah, vol. 1, p. 115.

لما نزل الحسين عليه السلام ببستان بني عامر، كتب إلى محمد أخيه وأهل بيته: من الحسين بن علي إلى محمد بن علي وأهل بيته، أما بعد، فإنكم إن لحقتم بي استشهدتم، وإن تخلفتم عني لم تبلغوا الفتح، والسلام.

[4] Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 242.

أقبل الحسين عليه السلام من مكة يريد العراق، وكان يزيد قد ولى عبيد الله بن زياد العراق، وكتب إليه: قد بلغني أن أهل الكوفة قد كتبوا إلى الحسين في القدوم عليهم، وأنه قد خرج من مكة متوجها نحوهم، وقد بلي به بلدك من بين البلدان، وأيامك من بين الأيام، فإن قتلته، وإلا رجعت إلى نسبك وإلى أبيك عبيد، فاحذر أن يفوتك.

7/11: The recollection of the Imam (a) of the fate of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a) during the journey

231. ***al-Irshād*, quoting ʿAlī ibn Yazīd, from Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a):** We set out with al-Ḥusayn (a), and he did not stop at any station or depart from it without remembering Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a) and his martyrdom. Once he said, "A despicable event of this world in the eyes of Almighty God is the day that the severed head of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a) was presented to an adulteress of the Banū Isrāʾīl."[1]

7/12: The refusal of the Imam (a) to accept the offer of security by ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd

232. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb al-Wālibī, from Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a):** When we set out from Mecca, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib wrote to al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) the following letter, which he sent with his two sons, ʿAwn and Muḥammad, "I beseech you in the name of God to turn back when you receive my letter, for I am fearful that the path you have chosen leads to your death and the destruction of your household. If you perish today, the light of the earth will be extinguished, for you are the beacon of those who are guided and the hope of the believers. Do not hasten on your journey, for I will be there soon after you receive this letter. Peace."

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar went to speak to ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ and said to him, "Write a letter to al-Ḥusayn offering him security, and promise to treat him with goodness and conciliation. Write to him of your confidence in him, and insist that he returns; perhaps he will be convinced by that and return."

ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd replied, "You write whatever you deem necessary and then bring it to me to seal." So ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar wrote the letter and took it to 'Amr ibn Sa'īd, saying, "Seal the letter and despatch it with your brother, Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd. That will convince him of your sincerity and make him realize the seriousness of your offer." He did this. [At the time] 'Amr ibn Sa'īd was the governor of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah over Mecca.

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 132; *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 6, p. 779.

خرجنا مع الحسين عليه السلام، فما نزل منزلاً ولا ارتحل منه إلّا ذكر يحيى بن زكريا عليه السلام وقتله.
وقال يوماً: ومن هوان الدنيا على الله، أنّ رأس يحيى بن زكريا عليه السلام أُهدي إلى بغيّ من بغايا
بني إسرائيل.

Yaḥyā and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far caught up with al-Ḥusayn (a) and departed after Yaḥyā read the letter to him. They reported, "We read out the letter to him and tried hard to [get him to change his mind], but he excused himself saying, 'I had a dream in which I saw the Messenger of God (s). In the dream, I was charged with a task which I am presently carrying out, whether it ends against me, or for me.'"

They asked him, "What did you see in this dream?"

He replied, "I have not revealed it to anyone, and neither shall I divulge its contents to anyone, until I meet my Lord."

The letter of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd to al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) stated:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From 'Amr ibn Sa'īd to al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. I pray to God to make you turn away from the path that leads to your death and to show you the course that will guide you aright.
>
> I have learned that you are heading to Iraq. I beseech you in the name of God to desist from [causing] dissention, for I fear that in that path you will perish. I have sent to you 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far and Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd, so return to me with them. I give you my assurance of security and conciliation, generosity and good friendship. On this, God is my witness, my guarantor, my observer and my protector. Peace be on you.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) wrote back to him:

> The one who calls towards God, performs righteous actions, and professes to be a Muslim has not rebelled against God and His Prophet (s).
>
> You have called me to security, goodness, and conciliation; [you should know that] the best security is that of God, and He would never grant security on the Day of Judgement to the one who did not fear Him in

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[1] From the text of the letter, and judging by the reply of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), it does not appear that the letter was written by 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. In fact, it seems that it was written by 'Amr ibn Sa'īd himself, because some sentences of it are derogatory towards the Imam (a).

the world. We beseech God to grant us the fearfulness in this world that will earn us His security on the Day of Judgement.

If you [sincerely] intended conciliation and goodness to me by your letter, then may you be rewarded in this world and the hereafter. Peace.[1]

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[1] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 387; *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, vol. 4, p. 398.

لما خرجنا من مكة، كتب عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام مع ابنيه عون ومحمد: أما بعد، فإني أسألك بالله لما انصرفت حين تنظر في كتابي، فإني مشفق عليك من الوجه الذي توجه له أن يكون فيه هلاكك واستئصال أهل بيتك، إن هلكت اليوم طفئ نور الأرض، فإنك علم المهتدين، ورجاء المؤمنين، فلا تعجل بالسير فإني في أثر الكتاب، والسلام.

قال: وقام عبد الله بن جعفر إلى عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص فكلمه، وقال: اكتب إلى الحسين كتابا تجعل له فيه الأمان، وتمنيه فيه البر والصلة، وتوثق له في كتابك، وتسأله الرجوع لعله يطمئن إلى ذلك فيرجع، فقال عمرو بن سعيد: اكتب ما شئت وأتني به حتى أختمه.

فكتب عبد الله بن جعفر الكتاب، ثم أتى به عمرو بن سعيد فقال له: اختمه، وابعث به مع أخيك يحيى بن سعيد، فإنه أحرى أن تطمئن نفسه إليه، ويعلم أنه الجد منك، ففعل، وكان عمرو بن سعيد عامل يزيد بن معاوية على مكة.

قال: فلحقه يحيى وعبد الله بن جعفر، ثم انصرفا بعد أن أقرأه يحيى الكتاب، فقالا: أقرأناه الكتاب، وجهدنا به، وكان مما اعتذر به إلينا أن قال:

إني رأيت رؤيا فيها رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، وأمرت فيها بأمر أنا ماض له، علي كان أو لي.

فقالا له: فما تلك الرؤيا؟ قال: ما حدثت أحدا بها، وما أنا محدث بها حتى ألقى ربي.

قال: وكان كتاب عمرو بن سعيد إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، من عمرو بن سعيد إلى الحسين بن علي، أما بعد، فإني أسأل الله أن يصرفك عما يوبقك، وأن يهديك لما يرشدك، بلغني أنك قد توجهت إلى العراق، وإني أعيذك بالله من الشقاق، فإني أخاف عليك فيه الهلاك، وقد بعثت إليك عبد الله بن جعفر ويحيى بن سعيد، فأقبل إلي معهما، فإن لك عندي الأمان والصلة والبر وحسن الجوار لك، الله علي بذلك شهيد وكفيل، ومراع ووكيل، والسلام عليك.

قال: وكتب إليه الحسين عليه السلام: أما بعد، فإنه لم يشاقق الله ورسوله من دعا إلى الله عز وجل، وعمل صالحا وقال إنني من المسلمين، وقد دعوت إلى الأمان والبر والصلة، فخير الأمان أمان الله، ولن يؤمن الله يوم القيامة من لم يخفه في الدنيا، فنسأل الله مخافة في الدنيا توجب لنا أمانه يوم القيامة، فإن كنت نويت بالكتاب صلتي وبري، فجزيت خيرا في الدنيا والآخرة، والسلام.

7/13: Meeting al-Farazdaq at al-Ṣifāḥ

192. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaym and al-Madhri ibn al-Mushma'il: We continued until we came to [the waystation of] al-Ṣifāḥ,[1] where we met the poet al-Farazdaq ibn Ghālib. He approached al-Ḥusayn (a) and said to him, "May God grant your wishes and bring your aspirations to fruition."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "Inform us of the news of the people you just left."

Al-Farazdaq replied, "You have asked someone who knows. The hearts of the people are with you, but their swords are with the Banū Umayyah. The decree will descend from the heavens, and God will do whatever He chooses."

Al-Ḥusayn said, "You have spoken the truth; the matter belongs to God, and God will do whatever He chooses. Every moment our Lord decrees a [new] matter.[2] If His decree brings us something that we want, we thank Him for His bounties, and we cannot [even] thank Him without His help. And if the decree is other than what is hoped for, then that does not mean that the one whose intention is sincere, and whose heart is clothed in God-wariness, has transgressed."

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) moved his horse forward, saying, "May peace be on you," and they parted company.[3]

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[1] See Map 3.

[2] Paraphrasing Q 55:29. [Trans.]

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 386; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 547.

أقبلنا حتى انتهينا إلى الصفاح، فلقينا الفرزدق بن غالب الشاعر، فواقف حسينا عليه السلام فقال له: أعطاك الله سؤلك، وأملك فيما تحب.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: بيّن لنا نبأ الناس خلفك. فقال له الفرزدق: من الخبير سألت، قلوب الناس معك، وسيوفهم مع بني أمية، والقضاء ينزل من السماء، والله يفعل ما يشاء.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: صدقت، لله الأمر، والله يفعل ما يشاء، وكل يوم ربنا في شأن، إن نزل القضاء بما نحب فنحمد الله على نعمائه، وهو المستعان على أداء الشكر، وإن حال القضاء دون الرجاء، فلم يعتد من كان الحق نيته، والتقوى سريرته. ثم حرك الحسين عليه السلام راحلته فقال: السلام عليك، ثم افترقنا.

242. *Kashf al-Ghummah*, quoting al-Farazdaq: Al-Husayn (a) met me on my journey back from Kufa [to Mecca] and said to me, "What is the news of where you are coming from, O Abā Firās?"

I asked, "Truthfully?"

He replied, "Yes, I seek the truth."

So I said, "As for hearts, they are with you, but as for the swords, they are with the Banū Umayyah. Victory will come from God."

He said, "I do not see other than truth in your words. People are enslaved to wealth, and religion is but a vain word on their tongues; they are faithful to it as long as it serves their needs, but when they are faced with a trial, very few remain religious."[1]

7/14: Meeting Bishr ibn Ghālib at Dhāt 'Irq

243. *al-Futūḥ*: When al-Husayn (a) reached [the waystation of] Dhāt 'Irq,[2] a man from the Banū Asad called Bishr ibn Ghālib met him. Al-Husayn (a) asked him, "To which tribe do you belong?"

He replied, "I am from the Banū Asad."

He asked, "And from where are you coming, O brother of Banū Asad?"

He answered, "From Iraq."

He asked, "And how did you leave the people of Iraq?"

He replied, "O son of the daughter of the God's Messenger (s), I left them while their hearts were with you, but their swords were with the Banū Umayyah!"

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[1] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 244; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2615.

لقيني الحسين عليه السلام في منصرفي من الكوفة فقال ما وراءك يا أبا فراس؟ فقلت: أصدقك؟ فقال
عليه السلام: الصدق أريد.
قلت: أما القلوب فمعك، وأما السيوف فمع بني أمية، والنصر من عند الله.
قال: ما أراك إلا صدقت. الناس عبيد المال، والدين لغو على ألسنتهم، يحوطونه ما درّت به معايشهم
فإذا امتحنوا بالبلاء قلّ الديّانون.

[2] See Map 3.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "You speak the truth, O Arab brother. God, the Almighty, will do whatever He chooses, and will decree whatever He wills."[1]

7/15: The letter of the Imam (a) to the people of Kufa, and the martyrdom of the messenger of the Imam (a)

296. *Tarikh al-Ṭabari*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Qays: Al-Ḥusayn (a) continued on his journey until he reached the waystation of al-Ḥājir, from Baṭn al-Rummah. He then sent Qays ibn Mushir to the Kufans with the following letter, "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, to his brothers among the believers and the Muslims. Peace be on you. I praise before you God, other than Whom there is no deity. The letter of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl has reached me, informing me of your favourable intentions, and the decision of your leaders to assist us and to seek our rights. I pray to God to bless our endeavours and to grant you a great reward for this. I have set out towards you from Mecca on Tuesday, the 8th of Dhu al-Ḥijjah, the day of *tarwiyah*. When my messenger arrives before you, then hasten and strive in your preparations, for I will arrive among you in the next few days, God willing. Peace be on you, and the mercy and blessings of God."

Muslim ibn 'Aqīl had written to al-Ḥusayn (a) 27 days before he was killed, "Indeed, the scout does not lie to his own people. Most of the people of Kufa are with you, so come once you have read my letter. Peace be upon you."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) set out with his children and womenfolk, directly and without any detour.

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[1] al-Futuh, vol. 5, p. 69; Khwarizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 221.

سار الحسين عليه السلام حتى إذا بلغ ذات عرق، لقيه رجل من بني أسد يقال له: بشر بن غالب، فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: من الرجل؟ قال: رجل من بني أسد. قال: فمن أين أقبلت يا أخا بني أسد؟ قال: من العراق. فقال: كيف خلفت أهل العراق؟

قال: يابن بنت رسول الله، خلفت القلوب معك، والسيوف مع بني أمية.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: صدقت يا أخا العرب، إن الله تبارك وتعالى يفعل ما يشاء، ويحكم ما يريد.

[Meanwhile] Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī rode for Kufa, carrying the letter of al-Ḥusayn (a).

When he reached al-Qādisiyyah, he was arrested by al-Ḥusayn ibn Tamīm, who sent him to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. 'Ubayd Allāh told him, "Go to the top of the mansion and insult the liar, son of the liar."

He ascended to the roof then called out, "O people! Without doubt, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) is the best of God's creation. He is the son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of God's Messenger (s). I am his messenger to you. I left him at al-Ḥājir. So respond to his call!" Then he cursed Ibn Ziyād and his father, and sought God's forgiveness for 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a).

Ibn Ziyād ordered for him to be thrown down from the roof of the mansion. They threw him down. His body was broken, and he died [from his injuries].[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 394; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 378.

إنّ الحسين عليه السلام أقبل حتى إذا بلغ الحاجر من بطن الرمة، بعث قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي إلى أهل الكوفة، وكتب معه إليهم:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، من الحسين بن علي إلى إخوانه من المؤمنين والمسلمين، سلام عليكم، فإني أحمد إليكم الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، أما بعد، فإنّ كتاب مسلم بن عقيل جاءني، يخبرني فيه بحسن رأيكم، واجتماع ملئكم على نصرنا، والطلب بحقنا، فسألت الله أن يحسن لنا الصنع، وأن يثيبكم على ذلك أعظم الأجر، وقد شخصت إليكم من مكة يوم الثلاثاء، لثمان مضين من ذي الحجة يوم التروية، فإذا قدم عليكم رسولي فاكمشوا أمركم وجدّوا، فإني قادم عليكم في أيامي هذه إن شاء الله، والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

وكان مسلم بن عقيل قد كان كتب إلى الحسين عليه السلام قبل أن يقتل لسبع وعشرين ليلة: أما بعد، فإنّ الرائد لا يكذب أهله، إنّ جميع أهل الكوفة معك، فأقبل حين تقرأ كتابي، والسلام عليك.

قال: فأقبل الحسين عليه السلام بالصبيان والنساء معه لا يلوي على شيء، وأقبل قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي إلى الكوفة بكتاب الحسين عليه السلام، حتى إذا انتهى إلى القادسية أخذه الحصين بن تميم فبعث به إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، فقال له عبيد الله: اصعد إلى القصر فسبّ الكذاب ابن الكذاب، فصعد ثم قال: أيها الناس، إنّ هذا الحسين بن علي خير خلق الله، ابن فاطمة بنت رسول الله، وأنا رسوله إليكم، وقد فارقته بالحاجر، فأجيبوه، ثم لعن عبيد الله بن زياد وأباه، واستغفر لعلي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام.

قال: فأمر به عبيد الله بن زياد أن يرمى به من فوق القصر، فرمي به فتقطع فمات.

7.16: The events that transpired at the waystation of al-Khuzaymiyyah

197. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) continued on his journey until he reached the waystation of al-Khuzaymiyyah,[1] where he halted for one day and night. In the morning, his sister Zaynab bint ʿAlī came to him and said, "O brother! Should I tell you what I heard last night?" He asked, "What was it?" She answered, "I went out in the night to answer the call of nature, and I heard a voice say,

O eye, flow hard with tears,
For who will weep over the martyrs after me,
Over a people who are being driven by death,
To the place where its promise will be delivered?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to her, "O sister, what has been decreed will happen."[2]

7.17: The invitation of the Imam (a) to Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn at Zarūd to join him

198. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) continued on his journey until he reached the waystation of Zarūd.[3] He saw that a tent had been pitched there and asked about it. He was told, "The tent belongs to Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn. He had gone to perform the hajj and is returning to Kufa from Mecca." Al-Ḥusayn (a) sent a message to him, "Come to meet me; I wish to speak with you." However, Zuhayr refused to meet him.

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[1] See Map 3.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 70; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 325.

سار الحسين عليه السلام حتى نزل الخزيمية، وأقام بها يوماً وليلة، فلما أصبح أقبلت إليه أخته زينب بنت علي فقالت: يا أخي! ألا أخبرك بشيء سمعته البارحة؟ فقال الحسين عليه السلام: وما ذاك؟ فقالت: خرجت في بعض الليل لقضاء حاجة، فسمعت هاتفاً يهتف وهو يقول:

ألا يا عين فاحتفلي بجهد ومن يبكي على الشهداء بعدي
على قوم تسوقهم المنايا بمقدار إلى إنجاز وعد
فقال لها الحسين عليه السلام: يا أختاه، المقضي هو كائن.

[3] See Map 3.

Zuhayr's wife was with him, and she exclaimed, "Glory be to God! The son of God's Messenger (s) sends for you, and you do not respond?"

So he rose and walked to al-Ḥusayn (a). Before long, he returned with a radiant face. He ordered for his tent to be dismantled and reassembled next to the tent of al-Ḥusayn (a).

Then, he told his wife, "[I set you free and] I divorce you! Return to your home with your brother, for I have pledged myself to die at the side of al-Ḥusayn (a)."

Then he told his companions, "Whoever from amongst you desires martyrdom should stay, and whoever is averse to it, is free to go." None of them stayed with him; they all left with his wife and her brother, and went on to Kufa.[1]

7/18: An event that transpired when the Imam (a) halted at Tha'labiyyah

239. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Ḥakam ibn 'Utaybah: At the waystation of Tha'labiyyah,[2] a man who was on his way to Karbala came to meet Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). After he entered and made his greetings, the Imam (a) asked him, "Where are you from?"

He replied, "I am from Kufa."

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 246.

سار الحسين عليه السلام حتى انتهى إلى زرود، فنظر إلى فسطاط مضروب، فسأل عنه، فقيل له: هو لزهير بن القين، وكان حاجا أقبل من مكة يريد الكوفة. فأرسل إليه الحسين عليه السلام: أن القني أكلمك، فأبى أن يلقاه.

وكانت مع زهير زوجته، فقالت له: سبحان الله، يبعث إليك ابن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله فلا تجيبه!

فقام يمشي إلى الحسين عليه السلام، فلم يلبث أن انصرف وقد أشرق وجهه، فأمر بفسطاطه فقلع، وضرب إلى لزق فسطاط الحسين عليه السلام.

ثم قال لامرأته: أنت طالق، فتقدمي مع أخيك حتى تصلي إلى منزلك، فإني قد وطنت نفسي على الموت مع الحسين عليه السلام.

ثم قال لمن كان معه من أصحابه: من أحب منكم الشهادة فليقم، ومن كرهها فليتقدم. فلم يقم معه منهم أحد، وخرجوا مع المرأة وأخيها حتى لحقوا بالكوفة.

[2] See Map 3.

He told him, "By God, O brother from Kufa! If I had met you in Medina, I would have shown you the footprints of Jibra'il (a) in our house and the place where he would descend with revelation to my grandfather (s). O brother from Kufa, do the people who have derived knowledge from us [in the first place] know better, while we are [assumed to be] ignorant? This could never be!"

7/19: The news of the martyrdom of Muslim ibn 'Aqil

140. *al-Irshad*, quoting 'Abd Allah ibn Sulayman al-Asadi and Mundhir ibn Mushma'il al-Asadi: When we completed our hajj, we had no other desire except to join al-Husayn (a) on his journey to observe the outcome of his affair. We hurried our camels until we caught up with him at Zarud. As we approached him, we saw that a man from Kufa had veered off the road [to avoid contact] when he had seen al-Husayn (a). Al-Husayn (a) had stopped, appearing to be waiting for him, but the man left him behind and moved on. We went after him. We said to one another, "Come, let us go and question him, because he will have news from Kufa." We caught up with him and greeted him, and he replied to our greeting. Then we asked, "To which tribe do you belong?"

He said, "Asadi."

We said, "We are of the Asadi also, what is your name?"

He said, "I am Bakr son of so-and-so."

We gave him the details of our lineage and then asked him, "Tell us of the people you left behind [in Kufa]."

He replied, "Certainly. I left Kufa only after Muslim ibn 'Aqil and Hani' ibn 'Urwah had been killed. I saw them being dragged by their legs through the market."

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1 al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 398, no. 2; *Basa'ir al-Darajat*, p. 13.

لقي رجلٌ الحسين بن علي عليه السلام بالثعلبية وهو يريد كربلاء فدخل عليه فسلّم عليه فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: من أي البلدان أنت؟ قال: من أهل الكوفة.

قال: أما والله يا أخا أهل الكوفة لو لقيتك بالمدينة لأريتك أثر جبرئيل عليه السلام من دارنا ونزوله بالوحي على جدي، يا أخا أهل الكوفة، أفمستقى الناس العلم من عندنا، فعلموا وجهلنا هذا ما لا يكون

We rode forward until we joined al-Ḥusayn (a), and we travelled with him until he halted for the night at the waystation of Thaʿlabiyyah. We went to him once he had stopped and greeted him; he returned our greeting. Then we told him, "May God have mercy on you! We have some news; if you wish we can share it publicly, or if you prefer, we can speak privately."

He looked at us, and then at his companions, and said, "There is nothing secret from these men."

So, we said, "Did you see the traveller whom you passed by late yesterday?"

He replied, "Yes, I wanted to question him."

We said, "By God, we got the latest news from him, saving you the need to ask him. He is a man from our tribe. He has good judgement, is truthful, and is intelligent. He related to us that he only left Kufa after Muslim ibn ʿAqīl and Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah had been killed. He saw them being dragged through the market by their legs."

He exclaimed, "'We belong to God, and to Him we shall return.' May God have mercy on both of them!" He repeated these words several times.

We said to him, "We beseech you in the name of God, to think of [the danger to] your life and the lives of your household. Do not proceed any further from here, for you do not have any [credible] supporter or Shīʿa in Kufa; rather we fear that the people there will turn against you."

He looked at the sons of ʿAqīl and asked them, "What are your thoughts, now that Muslim has been killed?"

They replied, "By God, we will not retreat until we avenge our blood, or taste what he tasted [martyrdom]."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) approached us and said, "There is no goodness left in life after the death of such men."

We realized that he had decided to carry on, so we said to him, "May God cause you to prosper!"

He replied, "May God have mercy on both of you!"

His companions told him, "By God, you are not the same as Muslim ibn 'Aqīl; if you enter Kufa, the people may flock around you." He remained silent.

At daybreak, he instructed his youths and servants, "Stock up on water!" They drank their fill, took a plentiful supply of water, and then set out. He continued with his journey until he reached Zubālah.[1][2]

141. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Then Muslim approached Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath and said, "O servant of God! By God, I

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[1] A famous waystation on the road from Mecca to Kufa. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 129; also see Map 3.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 75; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 397.

لما قضينا حجنا لم تكن لنا همة إلا اللحاق بالحسين عليه السلام في الطريق لننظر ما يكون من أمره، فأقبلنا ترقل بنا ناقتانا مسرعين حتى لحقنا بزرود، فلما دنونا منه إذا نحن برجل من أهل الكوفة قد عدل عن الطريق حين رأى الحسين عليه السلام، فوقف الحسين عليه السلام كأنه يريده، ثم تركه ومضى، ومضينا نحوه.

فقال أحدنا لصاحبه: اذهب بنا إلى هذا لنسأله، فإنّ عنده خبر الكوفة، فمضينا حتى انتهينا إليه فقلنا: السلام عليك، فقال: وعليكم السلام، قلنا: من الرجل؟ قال: أسدي، قلنا له: ونحن أسديان، فمن أنت؟ قال: أنا بكر بن فلان، وانتسبنا له ثم قلنا له: أخبرنا عن الناس وراءك.

قال: نعم، لم أخرج من الكوفة حتى قتل مسلم بن عقيل، وهانئ بن عروة، ورأيتهما يجران بأرجلهما في السوق.

فأقبلنا حتى لحقنا الحسين صلوات الله عليه، فسايرناه حتى نزل الثعلبية ممسياً، فجئناه حين نزل، فسلمنا عليه فرد علينا السلام، فقلنا له: رحمك الله، إن عندنا خبراً، إن شئت حدثناك علانية، وإن شئت سراً، فنظر إلينا وإلى أصحابه ثم قال: ما دون هؤلاء ستر.

فقلنا له: رأيت الراكب الذي استقبلته عشي أمس؟ فقال: نعم، وقد أردت مسألته. فقلنا له: قد والله استبرأنا لك خبره، وكفيناك مسألته، وهو امرؤ منا ذو رأي وصدق وعقل، وإنه حدثنا أنه لم يخرج من الكوفة حتى قتل مسلم وهانئ، ورآهما يجران في السوق بأرجلهما.

فقال: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، رحمة الله عليهما، يردد ذلك مراراً، فقلنا له: ننشدك الله في نفسك وأهل بيتك، إلا انصرفت من مكانك هذا، فإنه ليس لك بالكوفة ناصر ولا شيعة، بل نتخوف أن يكونوا عليك.

فنظر إلى بني عقيل فقال: ما ترون فقد قتل مسلم؟ فقالوا: والله لا نرجع حتى نصيب ثأرنا أو نذوق ما ذاق.

فأقبل علينا الحسين عليه السلام وقال: لا خير في العيش بعد هؤلاء. فعلمنا أنه قد عزم رأيه على المسير، فقلنا له: خار الله لك، فقال: رحمكما الله.

consider that soon, you will be unable to ensure my immunity, but can I expect some goodness from you [instead]? Can you despatch one of your own men to al-Ḥusayn (a) with a message from me? For I have no doubt that he has either set out [from Mecca] toward you already, or will be setting out tomorrow with his family. That was the reason you saw me sorrowful.

"The messenger should say, 'Ibn 'Aqīl has sent me to you. He is being held prisoner by the people. He does not want you to come here only to be killed. And he says, "Return with your family, and do not be lured by [the promises of] the Kufans, for they are the companions of your father, who wished to be rid of their company, whether through [natural] death or assassination. Indeed, the people of Kufa have deceived you, and have deceived me; and the one who has been deceived is left with few choices."'"

Ibn Ash'ath replied, "I swear by God that I shall do this [for you], and I shall inform Ibn Ziyād that I have given you my [personal] guarantee of immunity."

Abū Mikhnaf continues, narrating from Ja'far ibn Ḥudhayfah al-Ṭā'ī: ...Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath called for Iyās ibn al-'Athil al-Ṭā'ī, of the tribe of the Banū Mālik ibn 'Amr ibn Thumāmah. He was a poet, and often visited Muḥammad. He told him, "Go meet al-Ḥusayn, and pass him this letter." He wrote in the letter whatever Muslim had asked him to. He also told him, "Here are your provisions, your equipment, and some gifts for your family."

Iyās said, "Where can I get a horse, because I have worn out my own horse?"

Ibn al-Ash'ath replied, "Here is a mount; take it and whatever is on it."

Then he set out [from Kufa] and encountered al-Ḥusayn (a) in Zubālah, four nights later. He informed him of the events and gave him the letter. Al-Ḥusayn (a) told him, "Whatever has been destined

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فقال له أصحابه: إنك والله ما أنت مثل مسلم بن عقيل ولو قدمت الكوفة لكان الناس إليك أسرع. فسكت ثم انتظر حتى إذا كان السحر قال لفتيانه وغلمانه: أكثروا من الماء. فاستقوا وأكثروا ثم ارتحلوا، فسار حتى انتهى إلى زبالة.

by God will happen; we consign ourselves, and the corruption of our nation, to the judgement of God."[1]

242 of *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: As al-Ḥusayn (a) set out from Zarūd, he met a man from the Banū Asad. He asked him about the news [from Kufa]. The man replied, "I left Kufa after Muslim ibn ʿAqīl and Hāniʾ ibn ʿUrwah had been killed. I saw youngsters dragging their corpses by their legs."

He said, "*We belong to God, and to Him we shall return!*[2] We entrust our lives to God."

The man said to him, "I beseech you in the name of God, O son of God's Messenger (s), to think of [the danger to] your life, and the lives of these members of your household whom we see with you. Turn back to your home, and abandon the journey to Kufa; for by God, you have no supporter there."

The sons of ʿAqīl, who were with him (a), said, "We have no desire to live after our brother, Muslim, and we will not turn back even if we are killed."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "There is no goodness left in life after the death of such men." He continued [on his journey]. When he reached

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 374; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 543.

ثم أقبل [مسلم] على محمد بن الأشعث فقال: يا عبد الله، إني أراك والله ستعجز عن أماني، فهل عندك
خير؟ تستطيع أن تبعث من عندك رجلاً على لساني يبلغ حسيناً، فإني لا أراه إلا قد خرج إليكم اليوم
مقبلاً، أو هو خارج غداً هو وأهل بيته، وإن ما ترى من جزعي لذلك، فيقول: إن ابن عقيل بعثني
إليك وهو في أيدي القوم أسير، لا يرى أن تمشي حتى تقتل، وهو يقول: ارجع بأهل بيتك، ولا يغرك
أهل الكوفة، فإنهم أصحاب أبيك الذي كان يتمنى فراقهم بالموت أو القتل، إن أهل الكوفة قد كذبوك
وكذبوني، وليس لمكذب رأي. فقال ابن الأشعث: والله لأفعلن، ولأعلمن ابن زياد أني قد آمنتك.

قال أبو مخنف: فحدثني جعفر بن حذيفة الطائي - وقد عرف سعيد بن شيبان الحديث - قال: دعا محمد
بن الأشعث إياس بن العثل الطائي من بني مالك بن عمرو بن ثمامة، وكان شاعراً، وكان لمحمد زواراً،
فقال له: الق حسيناً فأبلغه هذا الكتاب، وكتب فيه الذي أمره ابن عقيل، وقال له: هذا زادك وجهازك
ومتعة لعيالك، فقال: من أين لي براحلة، فإن راحلتي قد أنضيتها؟ قال: هذه راحلة فاركبها برحلها.
ثم خرج فاستقبله بزبالة لأربع ليال، فأخبره الخبر، وبلغه الرسالة.
فقال له حسين عليه السلام: كل ما حم نازل، وعند الله نحتسب أنفسنا وفساد أمتنا.

[2] Q 2:156.

Zubālah, he encountered the messenger of Muhammad ibn Ash'ath and 'Umar ibn Sa'd, whom Muslim had asked to send a letter detailing his predicament about how the Kufans had deserted him after having pledged their allegiance to him. Muslim had [specifically] asked Muhammad ibn Ash'ath to send the message.

When al-Ḥusayn (a) read the letter, he was convinced of its reliability and was deeply grieved by the deaths of Muslim ibn 'Aqil and Hānī' b. 'Urwah. The messenger also informed him that Qays ibn Mushir, the envoy whom the Imam (a) had despatched from Baṭn al-Rummah, had been killed as well.

Some people had joined the caravan of the Imam (a) along the journey because they thought that he was travelling towards a place where he had supporters and followers, but when they heard the news about Muslim, they deserted him. In the end, only his closest followers remained with him.[1]

243. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) learned that Muslim ibn 'Aqil had been killed when he met a man from Kufa. Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked him, "Where are you coming from?"

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 247; *Baghyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2621.

لما وصل الحسين عليه السلام من زرود الثعلبية لقيه رجل من بني أسد فسأله عن الخبر، فقال: لم أخرج من الكوفة حتى قتل مسلم بن عقيل وهاني بن عروة، ورأيت الصبيان يجرون بأرجلهما. فقال: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، عند الله نحتسب أنفسنا.

فقال له: أنشدك الله يا ابن رسول الله في نفسك، وأهل بيتك هؤلاء الذين نراهم معك، انصرف إلى موضعك ودع المسير إلى الكوفة، فوالله ما لك بها ناصر.

فقال بنو عقيل - وكانوا معه -: ما لنا في العيش بعد أخينا مسلم حاجة، ولسنا براجعين حتى نموت.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: فما خير في العيش بعد هؤلاء، وسار. فلما وافى زبالة وافاه بها رسول محمد بن الأشعث وعمر بن سعد بما كان سأله مسلم أن يكتب به إليه من أمره، وخذلان أهل الكوفة إياه بعد أن بايعوه، وقد كان مسلم سأل محمد بن الأشعث ذلك.

فلما قرأ الكتاب استيقن بصحة الخبر، وأفظعه قتل مسلم بن عقيل وهاني بن عروة، ثم أخبره الرسول بقتل قيس بن مسهر رسوله الذي وجهه من بطن الرمة.

وقد كان صحبه قوم من منازل الطريق، فلما سمعوا خبر مسلم، وقد كانوا ظنوا أنه يقدم على أنصار وعضد، تفرقوا عنه، ولم يبق معه إلا خاصته.

The man replied, "From Kufa; I did not leave before I saw Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and Hānī' ibn 'Urwah al-Madhḥijī, may God have mercy on both of them, killed, with their bodies hanging by their legs on a scaffold in the meat market. Their heads had been despatched to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah."

On hearing this, al-Ḥusayn (a) wept profusely, and he recited, "We belong to God, and to Him we shall return."[1]

7/20: The news of the martyrdom of 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur at the waystation of Zubālah

144. *al-Irshād*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) continued on his journey until he reached Zubālah, where he received the news of [the martyrdom] of 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur. He stood before his companions and read out the following statement to them, "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. We have received very grim news. Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, Hānī' ibn 'Urwah, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur have all been killed. Our Shī'a have deserted us. Whoever among you wishes to depart may do so freely and without blame."

The people began to disperse left and right, until only the men who had accompanied him from Medina and a small group of men who had joined later remained.

The Imam (a) took this step because he knew that most of the desert Arabs who had followed him had done so on the assumption that he was going to a city where he had an established base of followers. He did not want them to accompany him except with a clear understanding of what they were heading towards.[1]

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 64; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 225.

بلغ الحسين بن علي عليه السلام بأنّ مسلم بن عقيل قد قُتل، وذلك أنّه قدم عليه رجل من أهل الكوفة،
فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: من أين أقبلت؟
فقال: من الكوفة، وما خرجت منها حتى نظرت إلى مسلم بن عقيل وهانئ بن عروة المذحجي -رحمهما الله-
قتيلين مصلوبين منكّسين في سوق القصابين، وقد وجّه برأسيهما إلى يزيد بن معاوية.
قال: فاستعبر الحسين عليه السلام باكيًا، ثمّ قال: «إنّا لله وإنّا إليه راجعون».

345. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) received the news that Ibn Yaqṭur had been killed, he addressed [his companions], saying, "O people! Our Shi'a have deserted us, and Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, Hāni' ibn 'Urwah, Qays ibn Mushir, and [Ibn] Yaqṭur have [all] been killed. Whoever among you wishes to depart may go."

The people who had accompanied him began to disperse in groups, from left and right. Finally, only the men who had come with him from al-Ḥijāz remained with him.[2]

A mention of the martyrdom of the envoys of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

According to historical accounts, three envoys sent by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) were killed by Ibn Ziyād:

1. Abū Razīn Sulaymān. Sulaymān was a servant of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and for this reason he was called, "Sulaymān *mawlā* of al-Ḥusayn (a)". He was the first martyr in the movement of the Imam (a). He carried the letter that the Imam (a) wrote to the leaders of Basra, seeking their support. One of these leaders, a man by the name of Mundhir ibn al-Jarīd, reported the matter to Ibn Ziyād on the night before the latter was leaving for Kufa. Ibn Ziyād summoned Sulaymān and killed him.

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 75; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 197.

سار الحسين عليه السلام حتى انتهى إلى زبالة فأتاه خبر عبد الله بن يقطر، فأخرج إلى الناس كتابا فقرأه
عليهم: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، أما بعد، فإنه قد أتانا خبر فظيع، قتل مسلم بن عقيل، وهاني بن عروة،
وعبد الله بن يقطر، وقد خذلنا شيعتنا، فمن أحب منكم الانصراف فلينصرف في غير حرج، ليس عليه ذمام.
فتفرق الناس عنه وأخذوا يمينا وشمالا، حتى بقي في أصحابه الذين جاؤوا معه من المدينة، ونفر يسير ممن
انضموا إليه. وإنما فعل ذلك لأنه عليه السلام علم أن الأعراب الذين اتبعوه إنما اتبعوه وهم يظنون أنه
يأتي بلدا قد استقامت له طاعة أهله، فكره أن يسيروا معه إلا وهم يعلمون على ما يقدمون.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 379.

لما بلغ الحسين عليه السلام قتل ابن يقطر خطب فقال: أيها الناس قد خذلتنا شيعتنا، وقتل مسلم
وهانئ وقيس بن مسهر، و[ابن] يقطر، فمن أراد منكم الانصراف فلينصرف.
فتفرق الناس الذين صحبوه [illegible] فأخذوا يمينا وشمالا، حتى بقي في أصحابه الذين جاؤوا معه من
الحجاز.

2. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur. It is mentioned in some reports that Ibn Yaqṭur was carrying a letter from the Imam (a) to Muslim ibn ʿAqīl when he was apprehended and killed. Other reports mention that he was carrying a letter from Muslim to the Imam (a) when he was killed. Some reports mention that he was martyred in Karbala itself.

3. Qays ibn Mushir. Qays was an accomplished envoy, and he carried messages from Kufa to the Imam (a) several times and would bring the replies of the Imam (a) back to the Kufans.

7/22: The events that transpired after the arrival of the Imam (a) at the waystation of al-ʿAqabah

1. A dream the Imam (a) had

146. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Shihāb ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) reached Baṭn al-ʿAqabah, he said to his companions, "I do not doubt that I shall be killed."

They asked, "How are you so certain, O Abā ʿAbd Allāh?"

He replied, "[Because of] a dream I saw."

They asked, "What did you see?"

He said, "I saw dogs snapping at me; among them was a mottled dog who attacked me more viciously than the rest."[1]

2. The Imam (a) informs people of his impending martyrdom

147. *al-Irshād*, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān al-Asadī, and Mundhir ibn Mushmaʿil al-Asadī: At daybreak, al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed his companions to fetch water and abundantly stock up their water supply. Then they set off, and only halted after they reached Baṭn al-ʿAqabah. There he was met by an old man of the Banū ʿIqrimah,

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 157, no. 194; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 87, no. 24.

لمّا صعد الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام عقبة البطن، قال لأصحابه: ما أراني إلّا مقتولاً. قالوا: وما ذاك يا أبا عبد الله؟ قال: رؤيا رأيتها في المنام. قالوا: وما هي؟ قال: رأيت كلاباً تنهشني أشدّها عليّ كلب أبقع

by the name of ʿAmr ibn Lawdhān, who asked him, "Where are you headed?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "Kufa."

The old shaykh said, "I beseech you in the name of God to turn back. By God, you are only heading towards spears and sharpened swords. If these people who have sent for you had supported you by engaging in battle, and had paved the way for your arrival amongst them, then going to them would be justified; however, in the circumstances that you describe, I do not think that you should go."

He replied, "O servant of God, that which concerns you is not hidden for me. However, the decree of God cannot be overcome." Then he said, "By God, they will not leave me alone until they tear out my heart from my chest; and the day they do that, God will cause them to be subjugated under someone who will humiliate them in a way that they shall become the most debased community amongst all nations."[1]

7/22: The arrival of the Imam (a) and his companions at the oasis of Sharāf, and stocking up with water there

248. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*****, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaym al-Asadī and al-Madhrī ibn al-Mushmaʿil:** Al-Ḥusayn (a) continued until he reached

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 76; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 399.

فلمّا كان السحر أمر الحسين عليه السلام فتيانه فاستقوا ماء وأكثروا، ثمّ سار حتّى مرّ ببطن العقبة فنزل عليها، فلقيه شيخ من بني عكرمة يقال له عمرو بن لوذان، فسأله: أين تريد؟

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: الكوفة. فقال الشيخ: أنشدك الله لمّا انصرفت، فوالله ما تقدم إلّا على الأسنّة وحدّ السيوف، وإنّ هؤلاء الذين بعثوا إليك لو كانوا كفوك مؤونة القتال، ووطّؤوا لك الأشياء، فقدمت عليهم كان ذلك رأياً، فأمّا على هذه الحال التي تذكر، فإنّي لا أرى لك أن تفعل.

فقال له: يا عبد الله، ليس يخفى عليّ الرأي، ولكنّ الله تعالى لا يُغلب على أمره.

ثمّ قال عليه السلام: والله لا يدعونني حتّى يستخرجوا هذه العلقة من جوفي، فإذا فعلوا سلّط الله عليهم من يذلّهم حتّى يكونوا أذلّ فرق الأمم.

Sharāf. At daybreak, he ordered the youth to collect water and abundantly stock up their water supply. Then they left the place.[1]

7/23: The commission of al-Ḥurr to bring the Imam (a) to Kufa

249. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: 'Ubayd Allāh gathered his soldiers and awarded them gratuities. He did the same with the constabulary, and then sent [the chief of police] al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm al-Ṭuhawī to al-Qādisiyyah. He instructed him, "Wait there, and apprehend anyone whom you do not recognize."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) had sent Qays ibn Mushir with a message for Muslim ibn 'Aqīl before the news of his death had reached him. Ḥuṣayn arrested him and sent him to 'Ubayd Allāh, who said to him, "God has killed Muslim. So stand before the people and abuse the liar, the son of the liar."

Qays climbed onto the pulpit and announced, "O people! I last saw al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) at al-Ḥājir. I am his messenger to you, and he has asked for your support."

Ibn Ziyād gave the order for his death; he was thrown down from the roof of the government mansion and killed.

[Meanwhile] Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm despatched al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Yarbū'ī, from the tribe of Banū Riyāḥ, with a battalion of 1000 soldiers towards al-Ḥusayn (a). He instructed him, "Maintain a position alongside him. Do not let him turn back. Make sure to bring him to Kufa, and restrict his freedom of movement."

Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd did as instructed, and al-Ḥusayn (a) took the road to al-'Udhayb. He descended the valley that headed towards Najaf, where he halted at the junction of two streams. He camped there at Qaṣr Abī Muqātil.[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 400.

اقبل الحسين عليه السلام حتى نزل شراف، فلما كان في السحر أمر فتيانه فاستقوا من الماء فأكثروا، ثم ساروا منها

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 460; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 463.

7/24: Al-Ḥurr blocks the path of the Imam (a)

250. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Hishām, from Abū Mikhnaf, from Abū Janāb, from ʿAdī ibn Ḥarmalah, from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaym al-Asadī and al-Madhrī ibn al-Mushmaʿill al-Asadī: Al-Ḥusayn (a) continued his journey from Sharāf until midday, moving at a fast pace. Then a man shouted out, "God is greater (*Allāhu akbar*)!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) responded by saying, "God is greater, but why did you say this?"

He replied, "I saw palm trees."

The two Asadīs told him, "We have never seen palm trees in this place."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked them, "What do you think he saw?"

They replied, "We think he saw a formation of horsemen."

He replied, "By God, I see the same thing."

Then, al-Ḥusayn (a) asked, "Is there not a defence position we can head towards, which will protect our rear, so that we face these people from one direction only?"

They replied, "Indeed there is. Dhū Ḥusum is nearby, towards the left of our route. If you can get there before them, it will be ideal for what you seek."

Al-Ḥusayn turned leftwards towards it, and we all followed him. Very soon, we could clearly see the formation of horsemen. As we turned away from the road, they saw us and altered their course to

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ومع عبيد الله القادسية وأمر فيهم بالعطاء، وأمدّ الشرط، ووجه الحصين بن تميم الطهوي إلى القادسية وقال له: أقم بها، فمن أنكرته فخذه.

وكان الحسين عليه السلام قد وجه قيس بن مسهر الأسدي إلى مسلم بن عقيل قبل أن يبلغه قتله، فأخذه الحصين فوجه به إلى عبيد الله فقال له عبيد الله: قد قتل الله مسلماً، فقم في الناس فاشتم الكذاب ابن الكذاب، فصعد قيس المنبر فقال: أيها الناس، إن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام بالحاجر، وأنا رسوله إليكم وهو يستنصركم. فأمر به عبيد الله فطرح من فوق القصر فمات.

ووجه الحصين بن تميم الحر بن يزيد اليربوعي - من بني رياح - في ألف إلى الحسين عليه السلام وقال: سايره ولا تدعه يرجع حتى يدخل الكوفة، وجعجع به. ففعل ذلك الحر بن يزيد، فأخذ الحسين عليه السلام طريق العذيب حتى نزل الجوف مسقط النجف مما يلي المانين، فنزل قصر أبي مقاتل.

follow us. Their spears were [upright] like palm stalks, and their banners [flapped] like the wings of birds.

We raced for *Dhū Ḥusum* and reached there before them. Al-Ḥusayn halted and gave the order to put up the tents. At that time the company rode up. They were about a thousand horsemen, with al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Tamīmī al-Yarbūʿī [in command]. He and his cavalry stood facing al-Ḥusayn (a) in the heat of the midday sun. Al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions had put on their turbans and were wearing their swords.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed his young men, "Give these people water and quench their thirst, and water the horses, but sip by sip." The youths gave the horses a little water at a time, and a group went to give the horsemen water, until their thirst was quenched.

They filled water in bowls, pots, and cups, then brought them to the horses. When a horse had taken three, four, or five swallows, they would take the water to the next, until they had watered all the horses.

[Hishām added, that Laqīṭ told him that] ʿAlī ibn al-Ṭaʿʿān al-Muḥāribī reported: I was in the company of al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, and was among the last of his troops to arrive. When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw how thirsty my horse and I were, he said, "Make your mount sit." He used the word *rāwiyah* for "camel", but in my dialect the word meant "waterskin". [When he realized I did not understand] he said, "My nephew, make your camel (*jamal*) sit." I did so, then he said, "Drink." However, every time I tried to drink, the water dribbled from the waterskin to the ground. Then he advised me, "Fold [the neck of] the waterskin." He used the word *ikhnith* for "fold"; we were accustomed to saying *ʿtif* for that, and I was confused about what to do. So, he rose and folded the waterskin himself, then I drank and watered my horse.

Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd had come towards al-Ḥusayn (a) from al-Qādisiyyah. When ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād received intelligence about the approach of al-Ḥusayn (a), he had despatched al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm al-Tamīmī, who was the chief of the constabulary, to occupy al-Qādisiyyah. He instructed him to establish patrols to control [any movement between] al-Quṭquṭānah and Khaffān. He sent al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd from al-Qādisiyyah with a battalion of a thousand horsemen to confront al-Ḥusayn (a).

Al-Ḥurr positioned himself alongside al-Ḥusayn (a) until the time for the noon prayer approached. Al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq al-Juʿfī to give the call to prayer (*adhān*). He recited the *adhān*, and when it was time for the call to begin the prayer (*iqāmah*), al-Ḥusayn (a) came forth wearing a waistcloth, a cloak, and slippers. He praised God and glorified Him, and then addressed everyone, saying, "O people! I have a justification before God and before you all; I did not come towards you until I had received your letters and your messengers saying, 'Come to us, for we have no leader (*imām*); perhaps God will unite us in guidance under you.' Now if you are still of the same resolve, I am here. If you convince me of your sincerity in your pledges and promises, then I will come to your city. However, if you do not do that, and do not want me to come, I will leave you and return to where I came from!"

They remained silent at his words and said to the muezzin, "Give the call to begin the prayer." He did so. Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked al-Ḥurr, "Do you wish to pray [alone] with your companions?" He replied, "No; rather you lead the prayer and we will pray with you." Al-Ḥusayn (a) led them all in prayer. Then he entered [his tent], and his companions gathered around him. Al-Ḥurr withdrew to his former position and entered a tent that had been erected for him. Some of his men gathered around him, while the rest returned to their previous stations. They resumed their formation, with each man holding the reins of his horse, and sitting in its shade.

When the time for the afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayer set in, al-Ḥusayn (a) gave the order to prepare to depart. Then he came out and asked the muezzin to call for the afternoon prayer. When the call to prayer was announced, al-Ḥusayn came and led the men in prayer. When he finished, he turned to the people. Facing them, he praised God, and glorified Him. Then, he said, "O people! If you are wary of God, and know the rights of those who have rights, it will be more pleasing to God. We, the Ahl al-Bayt, are more deserving to govern over you than those who have laid claim to what is not theirs. They rule over you with force and oppression. If you are not happy with us and are oblivious of our rights, and your views have changed from that which you stated in the letters I received, and what your messengers relayed to me, then I will depart from your midst."

Al-Ḥurr said to him, "By God, we do not know of these letters that you speak of!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) called, "O 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān! Bring the two saddlebags that contain their letters to me." He brought two saddlebags bulging with papers and spread them out before them."

Al-Ḥurr said, "We are not from those who wrote these letters to you. Our instructions were not to leave you once we located you, until we take you to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "Death is closer to you than that!" Then he instructed his companions, "Arise, and mount up." They mounted up and waited until their women were also mounted. Then he ordered, "Let us depart." As they were beginning to leave, al-Ḥurr's soldiers blocked their path.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to al-Ḥurr, "May your mother mourn over you! What do you want?"

Al-Ḥurr replied, "By God, if any other Arab other than you had spoken these words to me, and was in the situation that you are presently in, I would not have hesitated in saying that his mother should also mourn his death, whoever he was; however, by God, I could never mention your mother except with the utmost reverence possible."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked [again], "Then, what do you want?"

Al-Ḥurr replied, "I want, by God, to take you to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "In that case, I will not follow you, by God!"

Al-Ḥurr said to him, "And I will not allow you to depart!"

They remonstrated in this manner three times, and when the exchange became heated, al-Ḥurr said, "I have not been instructed to fight you. My orders are [simply] not to leave your side, and to bring you to Kufa. If you are averse to this course, then choose a path that will neither take you to Kufa, nor back to Medina; that will be a holding solution between us until I write to Ibn Ziyād [for further instructions]. Meanwhile, you can write to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah if you wish, or to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, if you prefer. Perhaps, as a result, God will bring about a solution that will free me from any [further] involvement in your affair."[1]

Then he suggested, "[Why don't you] take this route leading leftwards towards al-'Udhayb' and al-Qādisiyyah." Al-'Udhayb was 38 miles away. Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions set off in that direction, and al-Ḥurr and his men followed them.[2]

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[1] See Map 4.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 401; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 381.

أو استقوا منها إلى من شراف فرسموا صدر يومهم حتى انتصف النهار. ثم إن رجلا قال: الله أكبر، فقال الحسين عليه السلام: الله أكبر، ما كبرت؟

قال: رأيت النخل، فقال له الأسديان: إن هذا المكان ما رأينا به نخلة قط، قالا: فقال لنا الحسين عليه السلام: فما تريانه رأى؟ قلنا: نراه رأى هوادي الخيل، فقال: وأنا والله أرى ذلك.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: أما لنا ملجأ نلجأ إليه نجعله في ظهورنا، ونستقبل القوم من وجه واحد؟ فقلنا له: بلى، هذا ذو حسم إلى جنبك، تميل إليه عن يسارك، فإن سبقت القوم إليه فهو كما تريد.

قالا: فأخذ إليه ذات اليسار، قالا: وملنا معه، فما كان بأسرع من أن طلعت علينا هوادي الخيل، فتبيناها، وعدلنا فلما رأونا وقد عدلنا عن الطريق عدلوا إلينا كأن أسنتهم اليعاسيب، وكأن راياتهم أجنحة الطير.

قال: فاستبقنا إلى ذي حسم، فسبقناهم إليه، فنزل الحسين عليه السلام، فأمر بأبنيته فضربت، وجاء القوم وهم ألف فارس، مع الحر بن يزيد التميمي اليربوعي، حتى وقف هو وخيله مقابل الحسين عليه السلام في حر الظهيرة، والحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه معتمون متقلدو أسيافهم.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام لفتيانه: اسقوا القوم وارووهم من الماء، ورشفوا الخيل ترشيفا، فقام فتيانه فرشفوا الخيل ترشيفا، فقام فتية وسقوا القوم من الماء حتى أرووهم، وأقبلوا يملؤون القصاع والأتوار والطساس من الماء، ثم يدنونها من الفرس، فإذا عب فيه ثلاثا أو أربعا أو خمسا عزلت عنه، وسقوا آخر، حتى سقوا الخيل كلها.

قال هشام: حدثني لقيط، عن علي بن الطعان المحاربي: كنت مع الحر بن يزيد، فجئت في آخر من جاء من أصحابه، فلما رأى الحسين عليه السلام ما بي وبفرسي من العطش قال: أنخ الراوية - والراوية عندي السقاء - ثم قال: يا بن أخي أنخ الجمل، فأنخته، فقال: اشرب، فجعلت كلما شربت سال الماء من السقاء.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: اخنث السقاء - أي اعطفه - قال: فجعلت لا أدري كيف أفعل! قال: فقام الحسين عليه السلام فخنثه، فشربت وسقيت فرسي.

قال: وكان مجيء الحر بن يزيد ومسيره إلى الحسين عليه السلام من القادسية، وذلك أن عبيد الله بن زياد لما بلغه إقبال الحسين عليه السلام بعث الحصين بن تميم التميمي - وكان على شرطه - فأمره أن ينزل

القادسية، وأن يضع المسالح فينظم ما بين القطقطانة إلى خفان، وقدّم الحر بن يزيد بين يديه في هذه الألف من القادسية، فيستقبل حسينا عليه السلام.

قال: فلم يزل موافقا حسينا عليه السلام حتى حضرت الصلاة، صلاة الظهر، فأمر الحسين عليه السلام الحجاج بن مسروق الجعفي أن يؤذن، فأذّن، فلما حضرت الإقامة خرج الحسين عليه السلام في إزار ورداء ونعلين، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال:

أيها الناس، إنها معذرة إلى الله عز وجل وإليكم، إني لم آتكم حتى أتتني كتبكم، وقدمت علي رسلكم، أن اقدم علينا، فإنه ليس لنا إمام، لعل الله يجمعنا بك على الهدى، فإن كنتم على ذلك فقد جئتكم، فإن تعطوني ما أطمئن إليه من عهودكم ومواثيقكم أقدم مصركم، وإن لم تفعلوا وكنتم لمقدمي كارهين انصرفت عنكم إلى المكان الذي أقبلت منه إليكم.

قال: فسكتوا عنه وقالوا للمؤذن: أقم، فأقام الصلاة، فقال الحسين عليه السلام للحر: أتريد أن تصلي بأصحابك؟ قال: لا، بل تصلي أنت ونصلي بصلاتك. قال: فصلى بهم الحسين عليه السلام، ثم إنه دخل واجتمع إليه أصحابه، وانصرف الحر إلى مكانه الذي كان به، فدخل خيمة قد ضربت له، فاجتمع إليه جماعة من أصحابه، وعاد أصحابه إلى صفهم الذي كانوا فيه فأعادوه، ثم أخذ كل رجل منهم بعنان دابته وجلس في ظلها، فلما كان وقت العصر أمر الحسين عليه السلام أن يتهيؤوا للرحيل، ثم إنه خرج فأمر مناديه فنادى بالعصر، وأقام، فاستقدم الحسين عليه السلام فصلى بالقوم ثم سلّم، وانصرف إلى القوم بوجهه، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال:

أما بعد، أيها الناس، فإنكم إن تتقوا وتعرفوا الحق لأهله يكن أرضى لله، ونحن أهل البيت أولى بولاية هذا الأمر عليكم من هؤلاء المدعين ما ليس لهم، والسائرين فيكم بالجور والعدوان، وإن أنتم كرهتمونا وجهلتم حقنا، وكان رأيكم غير ما أتتني كتبكم، وقدمت به علي رسلكم، انصرفت عنكم.

فقال له الحر بن يزيد: إنا والله ما ندري ما هذه الكتب التي تذكر!

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: يا عقبة بن سمعان، أخرج الخرجين اللذين فيهما كتبهم إلي، فأخرج خرجين مملوءين صحفا، فنشرها بين أيديهم.

فقال الحر: فإنا لسنا من هؤلاء الذين كتبوا إليك، وقد أمرنا إذا نحن لقيناك ألا نفارقك حتى نقدمك على عبيد الله بن زياد.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: الموت أدنى إليك من ذلك، ثم قال لأصحابه: قوموا فاركبوا، فركبوا وانتظروا حتى ركبت نساؤهم، فقال لأصحابه: انصرفوا بنا، فلما ذهبوا لينصرفوا حال القوم بينهم وبين الانصراف.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام للحر: ثكلتك أمك! ما تريد؟ قال: أما والله لو غيرك من العرب يقولها لي وهو على مثل الحال التي أنت عليها ما تركت ذكر أمه بالثكل أن أقوله كائنا من كان، ولكن والله ما لي إلى ذكر أمك من سبيل إلا بأحسن ما يقدر عليه.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: فما تريد؟ قال الحر: أريد والله أن أنطلق بك إلى عبيد الله بن زياد.

7/25: The address of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) at Dhū Ḥusum

251. *Tarikh al-Ṭabari*, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Abī al-'Ayzār: Al-Ḥusayn (a) made an address at Dhū Ḥusum.[1] He praised God and glorified Him, then said, "Matters have reached the stage that you can see. The world has changed and has become a facade. Its goodness has receded and continues to do so; no more than a trace of it remains, like the residue at the bottom of a vessel or a trivial pasture with sparse grass. Do you not see that truth is not practised, and falsehood is not prevented! [In these circumstances] the believer would truly yearn to meet God. Indeed, I only see [as worthy] death through martyrdom, and life with the oppressors as worthless."

[At this time] Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bajalī rose and asked his comrades, "Do you wish to speak, or shall I?"

They replied, "No, you speak." So he praised God and glorified Him, and then said, "We have heard your words, O son of God's Messenger, may God [continue to] guide you. By God, even if this world were an eternal abode for us, and we were able to live in it forever, but we would have to abandon it if we helped you or sympathized with you, we would still prefer to rise with you rather than stay in it."

قال له الحسين عليه السلام: إذن والله لا أتبعك، فقال له الحر: إذن والله لا أدعك، فترادا القول ثلاث مرات، ولما كثر الكلام بينهما قال له الحر: إني لم أؤمر بقتالك، وإنما أمرت ألا أفارقك حتى أقدمك الكوفة، فإذا أبيت فخذ طريقا لا تدخلك الكوفة ولا تردك إلى المدينة، تكون بيني وبينك نصفا حتى أكتب إلى ابن زياد، وتكتب أنت إلى يزيد بن معاوية إن أردت أن تكتب إليه، أو إلى عبيد الله بن زياد إن شئت، فلعل الله إلى ذاك أن يأتي بأمر يرزقني فيه العافية من أن أبتلى بشيء من أمرك.

قال: فخذ هاهنا، فتياسر عن طريق العذيب والقادسية، وبينه وبين العذيب ثمانية وثلاثون ميلا. ثم إن الحسين عليه السلام سار في أصحابه والحر يسايره.

[1] It is a place between Sharaf and al-Baydah; see Map 3.

There is some disagreement about the place where this speech was delivered. In *Tarikh al-Ṭabari*, Dhū Ḥusum is mentioned, *al-Malhūf* reports that it was at 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt, *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl* (p. 245) reports that it was on the way to Karbala, and *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* (vol. 3, p. 114, no. 2842) reports that it was in Karbala itself, after the arrival of 'Umar ibn Sa'd, and just before the beginning of battle. We have selected the report found in *Tarikh al-Ṭabari*.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) prayed for him and said good things about him.[1]

392. *al-Malhuf*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) stood to address his companions. He praised God, and glorified Him, and spoke of his grandfather and called for God's blessings on him. Then he said, "Indeed, you have all seen what has been done with us; the world has become a facade and has changed, its goodness has continually receded, breaking into small scattered pieces. Now, no more than a trace of it remains, like the residue at the bottom of a vessel, or a trivial pasture with sparse grass. Do you not see that truth is not practised, and falsehood is not prevented? [In these circumstances] the believer would truly yearn to meet God: indeed, I do not see death except a blessing, and [carrying on with] life with the oppressors as worthless."

[At this time] Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bajalī rose and said, "We have heard your words, O son of God's Messenger, may God guide us through you. Even if this world were an eternal abode for us, and we were able to live in it forever, we would still prefer to rise with you rather than stay in it."

Then, Hilāl ibn Nāfi' al-Bajalī stood up and said, "By God, we are not reluctant to meet our Lord. We are resolved in our intentions and our force. We will be friends of your friends and enemies of your enemies."

Burayr ibn Ḥuḍayr also rose and said, "By God, O son of God's Messenger, God has favoured us by giving us a chance to fight alongside you and to be cut to pieces protecting you, and thereby earn the intercession of your grandfather on the Day of Judgement."[1]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 403; Muthīr al-Aḥzān, p. 44.

فقام الحسين عليه السلام بذي حسم، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: إنه قد نزل من الأمر ما قد ترون، وإن الدنيا قد تغيرت وتنكرت، وأدبر معروفها واستمرت جداً، فلم يبق منها إلا صبابة كصبابة الإناء، وخسيس عيش كالمرعى الوبيل. ألا ترون أن الحق لا يعمل به، وأن الباطل لا يتناهى عنه، ليرغب المؤمن في لقاء الله محقاً، فإني لا أرى الموت إلا سعادة، ولا الحياة مع الظالمين إلا برماً.

قال: فقام زهير بن القين البجلي فقال لأصحابه: تكلمون أم أتكلم؟ قالوا: لا، بل تكلم. فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: قد سمعنا - هداك الله يا ابن رسول الله - مقالتك، والله لو كانت الدنيا لنا باقية وكنا فيها مخلدين إلا أن فراقها في نصرك ومواساتك، لآثرنا الخروج معك على الإقامة فيها. قال: فدعا له الحسين عليه السلام ثم قال له خيراً.

7/26: The address of the Imam (a) to his own companions and the men of al-Ḥurr

Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Abī al-'Ayzār: At al-Bayḍah,[2] al-Ḥusayn (a) addressed his own companions and the men of al-Ḥurr. He praised God and glorified Him, then he said, "O people! Verily, God's Messenger (s) said, 'Whoever sees a tyrannical ruler make permissible what God has forbidden, break the covenant of God, oppose the practice (*sunnah*) of the Messenger of God (s), and behave with the servants of God with sinfulness and oppression, but does not stand up to him by actions or words, then God will consign them both to the same place [on the Day of Judgement].'

"These (rulers) have committed themselves to the obedience of Satan and abandoned the obedience of the all-Merciful. They have openly displayed [their] corruption, dispensed with the divine penal code, embezzled the property given to the Muslims (*fay'*), have made lawful that which God has forbidden, and have made forbidden that which He has allowed.

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 138; al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyyah, vol. 1, p. 113.

فقام الحسين عليه السلام خطيباً في أصحابه، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، وذكر جدّه فصلّى عليه، ثمّ قال: إنّه
قد نزل بنا من الأمر ما قد ترون، وإنّ الدنيا قد تغيّرت وتنكّرت، وأدبر معروفها واستمرّت حذّاء، ولم يبق
منها إلّا صبابة كصبابة الإناء، وخسيس عيش كالمرعى الوبيل، ألا ترون إلى الحقّ لا يُعمل به، وإلى الباطل
لا يُتناهى عنه، ليرغب المؤمن في لقاء ربّه محقّاً، فإنّي لا أرى الموت إلّا سعادة، والحياة مع الظالمين إلّا برماً.
فقام زهير بن القين فقال: قد سمعنا، هداك الله يا ابن رسول الله، مقالتك، ولو كانت الدنيا لنا
باقية، وكنّا فيها مخلّدين، لآثرنا النهوض معك على الإقامة فيها.

قال: ووثب هلال بن نافع البجلي فقال: والله ما كرهنا لقاء ربّنا، وإنّا على نيّاتنا وبصائرنا، نوالي من
والاك، ونعادي من عاداك.

قال: وقام برير بن خضير فقال: والله يا ابن رسول الله لقد منّ الله بك علينا أن نقاتل بين يديك، فتقطّع
فيك أعضاؤنا، ثمّ يكون جدّك شفيعنا يوم القيامة.

[2] Al-Bayḍah was a watering station between Wāqiṣah and 'Udhayb. It was controlled by the tribe of Banū Yarbū'. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 1, p. 532; also see Map 3.

"I am the most qualified to change [all that]. Your letters were received by me, and your messengers came to me with your pledges of allegiance and [assurances] that you would not betray me [to the authorities] or abandon me. Now, if you honour your pledges, you will prosper, because I am al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, and the son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of God's Messenger (s). My life is with your lives, and my family is with your families, and I am the ideal leader for you.

"However, if you choose not to follow through with your pledges, and renege on your oaths of allegiance, then by my life, this is not something unheard of from you. You had done this to my father, my brother, and my cousin, Muslim. Foolish is the one who would be deceived by you [after all this]; so then, you would have missed your real blessing, and lost your God-given opportunity. Whoever reneges on his oath [ultimately] harms his own interests. God will soon make me needless of you. Peace, and the mercy and blessing of God, be on you."[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 403; al-*Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 552.

إنّ الحسين عليه السلام خطب أصحابه وأصحاب الحرّ بالبيضة، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثمّ قال:

أيها الناس، إنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله قال: من رأى سلطاناً جائراً مستحلاً لحرم الله ناكثاً لعهد الله، مخالفاً لسنّة رسول الله، يعمل في عباد الله بالإثم والعدوان، فلم يغيّر عليه بفعل ولا قول، كان حقاً على الله أن يدخله مدخله.

ألا وإنّ هؤلاء قد لزموا طاعة الشيطان، وتركوا طاعة الرحمن، وأظهروا الفساد، وعطّلوا الحدود، واستأثروا بالفيء، وأحلّوا حرام الله، وحرّموا حلاله، وأنا أحقّ من غيّر.

قد أتتني كتبكم، وقدمت عليّ رسلكم ببيعتكم، أنكم لا تسلموني ولا تخذلوني، فإن تممتم على بيعتكم تصيبوا رشدكم، فأنا الحسين بن علي، وابن فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، نفسي مع أنفسكم، وأهلي مع أهليكم، فلكم فيّ أسوة، وإن لم تفعلوا ونقضتم عهدكم، وخلعتم بيعتي من أعناقكم، فلعمري ما هي لكم بنكر، لقد فعلتموها بأبي وأخي وابن عمي مسلم، والمغرور من اغترّ بكم، فحظكم أخطأتم، ونصيبكم ضيّعتم، ومن نكث فإنما ينكث على نفسه، وسيغني الله عنكم، والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

7/27: The Imam (a) seeks support at the waystation of Banū Muqātil

1. Seeking the support of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr

254. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Jamīl ibn Marthad: Al-Ḥusayn (a) advanced until he reached the waystation of the Banū Muqātil. He halted and saw that a tent had been pitched there.

Abū Mikhnaf continued: Al-Mujālid ibn Saʿīd narrated to me, quoting ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī, that al-Ḥusayn (a) asked, "Who does this tent belong to?"

He was told, "It belongs to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Juʿfī."

He said, "Ask him to come to see me."

A messenger was sent, who said to him, "Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) is here, and he calls for you."

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr exclaimed, "'We are from God, and to Him is our return!' By God, I only left Kufa because I was apprehensive about the arrival of al-Ḥusayn (a) while I was there. By God, I do not want to see him, or let him see me."

The messenger returned to him and reported the conversation. Al-Ḥusayn (a) put on his sandals, then rose and went to see him. He greeted him and sat down. He then invited him to join him in his stand. Ibn al-Ḥurr replied to the proposal with his earlier statement.

The Imam (a) said, "If you do not wish to support us, then fear God, lest you be among those who take part in fighting against us. For by God, whoever hears our call for support and refuses to support us shall perish."

He replied, "This will never happen, God willing."

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) rose from him and went to his own tent.[1]

255. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) advanced until he

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 407; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 384.

حدّثني جميل بن مرثد، قال: سار الحسين عليه السلام حتّى انتهى إلى قصر بني مقاتل، فنزل به، فإذا هو بفسطاط مضروب.

reached al-Quṭquṭānah;[1] there, he saw that a tent had been erected, and he asked, "Who does this tent belong to?"

He was told, "It belongs to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Juʿfī."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) sent for him and said to him, "O friend, you are guilty of sinfulness and error, and God will certainly hold you to account for what you have done, unless you turn to Him, the most Blessed and Exalted, in repentance at this very moment, and pledge your support for me. [Then] you will earn the intercession of my grandfather before God, the Blessed and Exalted."

He replied, "O son of the Messenger of God, by God, if I help you, I will be the first to be killed in front of you. However, here is my horse, take it, for by God, I have never ridden it in pursuit of something except that I have reached it, and I have never been pursued while I was riding it except that I outran my pursuers. I urge you to take it."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) turned his face away from him and then said, "We have no need of you, or your horse; *I would not take those who mislead as helpers*.[2] Now, leave this place, standing neither with us, nor against us. [Beware] anyone who hears the call of one of us, the Ahl

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قال أبو مخنف: حدثني الصقعب بن زهير، عن عامر الشعبي: أن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام قال: لمن هذا الفسطاط؟ فقيل: لعبيد الله بن الحر الجعفي. قال: ادعوه لي. وبعث إليه. فلما أتاه الرسول قال: هذا الحسين بن علي عليه السلام يدعوك.

فقال عبيد الله بن الحر: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون! والله ما خرجت من الكوفة إلا كراهة أن يدخلها الحسين عليه السلام وأنا بها، والله ما أريد أن أراه ولا يراني. فأتاه الرسول فأخبره. فأخذ الحسين عليه السلام نعليه فانتعل، ثم قام فجاءه حتى دخل عليه، فسلم وجلس، ثم دعاه إلى الخروج معه، فأعاد إليه ابن الحر تلك المقالة.

فقال: فإن لا تنصرنا فاتق الله أن تكون ممن يقاتلنا، فوالله لا يسمع واعيتنا أحد ثم لا ينصرنا إلا هلك.

قال: أما هذا فلا يكون أبدا إن شاء الله.

ثم قام الحسين عليه السلام من عنده حتى دخل رحله.

[1] The more popular report states that the meeting of Imam al-Ḥusayn with ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Juʿfī was at Qaṣr Banī Muqātil.

[2] Q 18:51.

al-Bayt, but does not respond to us shall be flung headfirst into the hellfire by God."[1]

2. Seeking the support of 'Amr ibn Qays al-Mashraqi[2]

256. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, quoting 'Amr ibn Qays al-Mashraqi: I met al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) while he was at Qaṣr Banū Muqātil. I was accompanied by a cousin of mine. We greeted him, and my cousin said to him, "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, this [blackness] that I see in your beard, is it natural, or have you dyed it?"

He replied, "It is dye; we of the Banū Hāshim age early."

Then he approached us and said, "Have you two come to support me?"

I replied, "I am an old man, heavily in debt, and with many dependants. At this moment, I am in possession of goods that belong to others, and I don't know what lies ahead. I am reluctant to let the trusts (*amānah*) that I have been charged with perish." My cousin also said something similar.

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 219, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 315, no. 1.

سار الحسين عليه السلام حتى نزل القطقطانية فنظر إلى فسطاط مضروب، فقال: لمن هذا الفسطاط؟ فقيل: لعبيد الله بن الحر الجعفي، فأرسل إليه الحسين عليه السلام فقال: أيها الرجل، إنك مذنبٌ خاطئٌ، وإن الله عز وجل آخذك بما أنت صانع إن لم تتب إلى الله تبارك وتعالى في ساعتك هذه فتنصرني، ويكون جدي شفيعك بين يدي الله تبارك وتعالى.

فقال: يا ابن رسول الله، والله لو نصرتك لكنت أول مقتول بين يديك، ولكن هذا فرسي خذه إليك، فوالله ما ركبته قط وأنا أروم شيئا إلا بلغته، ولا أرادني أحد إلا نجوت عليه، فدونك فخذه.

فأعرض عنه الحسين عليه السلام بوجهه، ثم قال: لا حاجة لنا فيك ولا في فرسك، وما كنت متخذ المضلين عضدا، ولكن فر، فلا لنا ولا علينا، فإنه من سمع واعيتنا أهل البيت ثم لم يجبنا كبه الله على وجهه في نار جهنم.

[2] Not much information is available about 'Amr ibn Qays al-Mashraqi. Some (*Rijāl al-Barqī*, p. 8; *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, pp. 95, 102) consider him to be a companion of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had requested him to help him, but he excused himself, saying that he had some goods that he intended to deliver somewhere.

'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (*Khulāṣat al-Aqwāl*, p. 241) and Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (*Rijāl Ibn Dāwūd*, p. 264) have criticized him for his conduct.

He told us, "Then depart, so that you would not be able to hear my call for help or witness the plight of my caravan; for if someone hears our call and witnesses our plight, yet does not respond to us and come to our aid, then it befits God, the Mighty, to cast him headlong into the fires of hell."[1]

7/28: A vision about martyrdom

257. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting ʿUqbah ibn Samʿān: When the night drew to a close, al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed his people to stock up on water and then ordered us to set out, which we did. When we had travelled some distance away from the fort of the Banū Muqātil, al-Ḥusayn (a) dozed off for a while, then awoke saying, "*We belong to God, and to Him is our return,*[2] and all Praise belongs to the Lord of the worlds." He repeated these words two or three times.

His son, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), rode to his side and asked, "*We belong to God, and to Him is our return, and all Praise belongs to the Lord of the worlds.* O father, may I be sacrificed for you! Why did you recite these verses?"

He replied, "My dear son! I dozed off for a moment, and I saw in my dream a knight approaching me on a horse. He said, 'The people travel while death stalks them.' I realized that we were being informed of our impending death."

He said, "O father, may God preserve you from evil. Are we not on the path of truth?"

He replied, "Yes indeed, by the One to whom all servants will return."

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[1] *Thawāb al-Aʿmāl*, p. 309, no. 1; *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 1, p. 330, no. 181.

دخلت على الحسين عليه السلام أنا وابن عم لي، وهو في قصر بني مقاتل، فسلّمنا عليه فقال له ابن عمي: يا أبا عبد الله هذا الذي أرى خضاب أو شعرك؟ فقال: خضاب، والشيب إلينا بني هاشم يعجل. ثم أقبل علينا فقال: جئتما لنصرتي؟ فقلت: إني رجل كبير السن كثير الدين كثير العيال وفي يدي بضائع للناس ولا أدري ما يكون، وأكره أن أضيع أمانتي، وقال له ابن عمي مثل ذلك.

قال لنا: فانطلقا فلا تسمعا لي واعية، ولا تريا لي سوادًا، فإنه من سمع واعيتنا أو رأى سوادنا فلم يجبنا ولم يغثنا كان حقًا على الله عز وجل أن يكبه على منخريه في النار.

[2] Q 2:156.

He said, "Then, O father, we do not care. We shall die on the truth."

He replied, "May God reward you with the best reward a son can receive from his father."[1]

258. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) advanced until he reached al-'Udhayb, where he had a brief nap before noon (*qāy-lūlah*). He awoke from his sleep in tears, and his son asked him, "What causes you to weep, O father?"

He replied, "My dear son, this is a time [of sleep] during which dreams are not false. I saw a vision, in which someone said to me, 'You speed on your journey, while death steers you towards paradise.'"[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 407; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 82.

فلما كان في آخر الليل أمر الحسين عليه السلام بالاستقاء من الماء، ثم أمرنا بالرحيل ففعلنا.

قال: فلما ارتحلنا من قصر بني مقاتل وسرنا ساعة خفق الحسين عليه السلام برأسه خفقة، ثم انتبه وهو يقول: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، والحمد لله رب العالمين. قال: ففعل ذلك مرتين أو ثلاثا.

قال: فأقبل إليه ابنه علي بن الحسين عليه السلام على فرس له فقال: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، والحمد لله رب العالمين، يا أبت، جعلت فداك، مم حمدت الله واسترجعت؟

قال: يا بني إني خفقت برأسي خفقة فعن لي فارس على فرس، فقال: القوم يسيرون والمنايا تسري إليهم، فعلمت أنها أنفسنا نعيت إلينا.

قال له: يا أبت لا أراك الله سوءا، ألسنا على الحق؟ قال: بلى والذي إليه مرجع العباد. قال: يا أبت، إذن لا نبالي، نموت محقين.

فقال له: جزاك الله من ولد خير ما جزى ولدا عن والده.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 218, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 313.

سار الحسين (عليه السلام) حتى نزل العذيب، فقال فيها قائلة الظهيرة، ثم انتبه من نومه باكيا، فقال له ابنه: ما يبكيك يا أبه؟

فقال: يا بني، إنها ساعة لا تكذب الرؤيا فيها، وإنه عرض لي في منامي عارض فقال: تسرعون السير، والمنايا تسير بكم إلى الجنة.

7/29: The letter of Ibn Ziyād to al-Ḥurr, instructing him to force the Imam (a) to stop

857. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān: In the morning, al-Ḥusayn (a) halted and performed the morning prayer. Then he quickly mounted his horse and began to steer his company leftwards in an attempt to distance themselves from the men [of al-Ḥurr]. Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd pursued them and blocked their path, and the Imam (a) turned him away. Then, al-Ḥurr tried to forcefully steer them back towards Kufa, but they resisted him, and moved to higher land.

The two groups continued to move together until they reached Naynawā, the place where al-Ḥusayn (a) brought his caravan to a stop.

At that time, they spotted a rider on a thoroughbred horse; he was armed and had a bow slung over his shoulder. He was coming towards them from the direction of Kufa, and everyone stopped, looking towards him. When he reached them, he greeted al-Ḥurr and his men but ignored al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions. He handed al-Ḥurr a letter from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, which contained the following message:

> When my letter reaches you, and my messenger comes to you, block the movement of al-Ḥusayn, and force him to stop once you are at a plain that has no defence and no water supply. I have instructed my messenger to remain with you and not to leave until he can report to me that you have complied with my instructions. Peace.

When he read the letter, al-Ḥurr announced to them, "This is a letter from the governor, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. He has instructed me to stop you immediately at the place where the letter arrived. This is his messenger, whom he has ordered not to leave until I carry out his decree and instruction."

Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn al-Muhājir (Abū al-Sha'thā' al-Kindī al-Bahdalī, a companion of the Imam) looked at the messenger of 'Ubayd Allāh and recognized him. He asked him, "Are you not Mālik ibn al-Nusayr al-Baddiyy?"

He replied, "Yes." He was [also] from the tribe of Banū Kindah.

Yazīd ibn Ziyād said to him, "May you mother weep over you! What is this you have come with?"

He replied, "What have I come with? I have obeyed my *imām* and been loyal to my *bayʿah*."

Abū al-Shaʿthāʾ told him, "You have disobeyed your Lord and obeyed your *imām* at the cost of the destruction of your soul. You have earned disgrace and hell-fire, for God, the Almighty, has said, '*We made them imāms that invite towards hell-fire, and on the Day of Judgement, they shall not be helped*'[1] – and this refers to your *imām*!"

Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd gave out instructions to his men to camp at that very spot, which had no water and no habitation. They asked, "Let us camp instead at that village [meaning Naynawā] or the other village [meaning al-Ghāḍiriyyah] or at another village [referring to Shufayyah]."

However, he refused saying, "No, by God, I cannot do that. This man has been sent to watch over my actions."

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn suggested to the Imam (a), "O son of God's Messenger, fighting these men here will be easier than fighting those who will come against us after them. By my life, we will not be able to withstand the numbers that will come after these that are before you."

Al-Husayn (a) replied, "I am not one to begin hostilities."

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn told him, "Then lead us to camp at that village. It will afford us protection, and it is on the banks of the Euphrates. If they attempt to prevent us, then we can fight them, for fighting against them will be easier than fighting against those who come after them."

Al-Husayn (a) asked him, "And what village do you mean?"

He replied, "Al-ʿAqr."[2]

Al-Husayn (a) said, "Our God, I seek refuge in You from al-ʿAqr." Then he made camp. It was Thursday, the 2nd of Muharram, in the year 61/680.

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[1] Q 28:41.

[2] There are several places with the name *al-ʿAqr*. One of them is in Bābil, near Karbala, on the road to Kufa. (*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 4, p. 136); also see Map 4.

On the next day, ʿUmar ibn Saʿd ibn Abī al-Waqqāṣ arrived from Kūfa with 4000 men.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 408; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 82.

فلما أصبح (الحسين) عليه السلام نزل فصلى الغداة ثم عجل الركوب، فأخذ يتياسر بأصحابه يريد أن يفرقهم، فيأتيه الحر بن يزيد فيردهم فيرده، فجعل إذا ردهم إلى الكوفة ردا شديدا امتنعوا عليه فارتفعوا، فلم يزالوا يتسايرون (الحسين) عليه السلام كذلك حتى انتهوا إلى نينوى المكان الذي نزل به الحسين عليه السلام.

قال: فإذا راكب على نجيب له وعليه السلاح، متنكب قوسا، مقبل من الكوفة، فوقفوا جميعا ينتظرونه.

فلما انتهى إليهم سلم على الحر بن يزيد وأصحابه ولم يسلم على الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه، فدفع إلى الحر كتابا من عبيد الله بن زياد فإذا فيه: أما بعد، فجعجع بالحسين حين يبلغك كتابي، ويقدم عليك رسولي، فلا تنزله إلا بالعراء في غير حصن وعلى غير ماء، وقد أمرت رسولي أن يلزمك ولا يفارقك حتى يأتيني بإنفاذك أمري، والسلام.

قال: فلما قرأ الكتاب قال لهم الحر: هذا كتاب الأمير عبيد الله بن زياد، يأمرني فيه أن أجعجع بكم في المكان الذي يأتيني فيه كتابه، وهذا رسوله، وقد أمره ألا يفارقني حتى أنفذ رأيه وأمره.

فنظر إلى رسول عبيد الله يزيد بن زياد بن المهاصر - أبو الشعثاء الكندي ثم البهدلي - فعن له فقال: أمالك بن النسير البدي؟ قال: نعم - وكان أحد كندة - فقال له يزيد بن زياد: ثكلتك أمك، ماذا جئت فيه؟ قال: وما جئت فيه؟ أطعت إمامي ووفيت ببيعتي، فقال له أبو الشعثاء: عصيت ربك وأطعت إمامك في هلاك نفسك، كسبت العار والنار، قال الله عز وجل: ﴿وجعلناهم أئمة يدعون إلى النار ويوم القيامة لا ينصرون﴾ فهو إمامك.

قال: وأخذ الحر بن يزيد القوم بالنزول في ذلك المكان على غير ماء ولا في قرية، فقالوا: دعنا ننزل في هذه القرية، يعنون نينوى، أو هذه القرية، يعنون الغاضرية، أو هذه الأخرى، يعنون شفية، فقال: لا والله ما أستطيع ذلك، هذا رجل قد بعث إلي عينا.

فقال له زهير بن القين: يابن رسول الله، إن قتال هؤلاء أهون من قتال من يأتينا من بعدهم، فلعمري ليأتينا من بعد من ترى ما لا قبل لنا به.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: ما كنت لأبدأهم بالقتال. فقال له زهير بن القين: سر بنا إلى هذه القرية حتى ننزلها فإنها حصينة، وهي على شاطئ الفرات، فإن منعونا قاتلناهم، فقتالهم أهون علينا من قتال من يجيء من بعدهم.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: وأية قرية هي؟ قال: هي العقر. فقال الحسين عليه السلام: اللهم إني أعوذ بك من العقر. ثم نزل، وذلك يوم الخميس، وهو اليوم الثاني من المحرم سنة إحدى وستين، فلما كان من الغد قدم عليهم عمر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص من الكوفة في أربعة آلاف.

280. *al-Malhūf*:[1] Al-Ḥusayn (a) advanced until he reached a couple of stations before Kufa. There he encountered al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, leading a cavalry of a thousand horsemen. Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked him, "Are you for us or against us?"

He replied, "Actually, against you, O Abā 'Abd Allāh."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) exclaimed, "There is no power and ability except with God, the Great, the Almighty!"

Thereafter, some words were exchanged between them. Finally, al-Ḥusayn (a) told him, "If you are [now] opposed to what you wrote in your letters to me, and what your messengers brought to me, then I shall return to whence I came."

Al-Ḥurr and his companions refused to allow this. Al-Ḥurr said, "No, O son of God's Messenger, rather, choose a path that will neither take you to Kufa, nor back to Medina, so that I can have an excuse before Ibn Ziyād that you took a different path from me." So, al-Ḥusayn (a) turned his direction leftwards and headed towards 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt.

Al-Ḥurr received 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād's letter censuring him for his conduct in the matter of al-Ḥusayn (a) and commanding him to stop his advance. Al-Ḥurr and his men stood in front of the Imam (a) preventing him from carrying on. Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "Did you not tell us to take a different route?"

Al-Ḥurr replied, "Yes, but now the letter of the governor, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, has arrived, ordering me to force you to stop your advance. And he has placed a spy over me to force me to comply."

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 131.

وسار الحسين عليه السلام حتى صار على مرحلتين من الكوفة، فإذا بالحر بن يزيد في ألف فارس، فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: ألنا أم علينا؟ فقال: بل عليك يا أبا عبد الله. فقال: لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم. ثم تراد القول بينهما، حتى قال له الحسين عليه السلام: فإذا كنتم على خلاف ما أتتني به كتبكم وقدمت به علي رسلكم، فإني أرجع إلى الموضع الذي أتيت منه، فمنعه الحر وأصحابه من ذلك، وقال: لا، بل خذ يا ابن رسول الله طريقا لا يوصلك إلى الكوفة ولا يوصلك إلى المدينة، لأعتذر إلى ابن زياد بأنك خالفتني الطريق. فتياسر الحسين عليه السلام حتى وصل إلى عذيب الهجانات. قال: فورد كتاب عبيد الله بن زياد إلى الحر يلومه في أمر الحسين عليه السلام، ويأمره بالتضييق عليه. فعرض له الحر وأصحابه، ومنعوه من المسير. فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: ألم تأمرنا بالعدول عن الطريق؟ فقال الحر: بلى، ولكن كتاب الأمير عبيد الله بن زياد قد وصل يأمرني فيه بالتضييق عليك، وقد جعل علي عينا يطالبني بذلك.

CHAPTER FOUR | FROM THE TIME OF THE ARRIVAL OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) IN KARBALA UNTIL HIS MARTYRDOM

Part 1: Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) surrounded by the enemy

Part 2: A study of the battlefield

Part 3: The martyrdom of the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 4: The martyrdom of the sons of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 5: The martyrdom of the sons of the Commander of the Faithful (a)

Part 6: The martyrdom of the sons of Imam al-Ḥasan (a)

Part 7: The martyrdom of the sons of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar

Part 8: The martyrdom of the sons of ʿAqīl

Part 9: The martyrdom of the Chief of Martyrs (a)

PART 1: IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) SURROUNDED BY THE ENEMY

1/1: The arrival of the Imam (a) in Karbala

261. *al-Irshād*: Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) arrived in Karbala on Thursday, the 2nd of Muḥarram (61/680).[1]

262. *al-Manāqib* by Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions were diverted towards Karbala on Thursday, the 2nd of Muharram 61/680. The Imam (a) stopped there and said, "This is the place of sorrow (*karb*) and affliction (*balā'*). This is where our mounts will be stabled, this is where we will make our camps, this is where our men will be killed, and this is where our blood will be spilt."[2]

263. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* – quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): As al-Ḥusayn (a) advanced, the vanguard of the cavalry of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād detected him. When al-Ḥusayn (a) realized this, he turned towards Karbala and chose a position with foliage and grass at the rear so that he would only need to fight from one direction. There, he stopped and pitched his tents. His companions comprised 45 horsemen and 100 foot-soldiers.[3]

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 84; al-Malhūf, p. 139.

نزل الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء وذلك يوم الخميس، وهو اليوم الثاني من المحرم، سنة إحدى وستين.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, al-Manāqib, vol. 4, p. 97; Maṭālib al-Su'ūl, p. 75.

فعدلوا بالحسين عليه السلام وعسكره إلى كربلاء يوم الخميس الثاني من المحرم سنة إحدى وستين، ثم نزل وقال: هذا موضع الكرب والبلاء، هنا مناخ ركابنا، ومحط رحالنا، ومقتل رجالنا، ومسفك دمائنا.

[3] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 389; Tahdhīb al-Kamāl, vol. 6, p. 427.

فسار الحسين عليه السلام، فلقيته أوائل خيل عبيد الله، فلما رأى ذلك عدل إلى كربلاء، فأسند ظهره إلى قصباء وخلا كيلا يقاتل إلا من وجه واحد، فنزل وضرب أبنيته، وكان أصحابه خمسة وأربعين فارسا ومائة راجل.

Reports about the dates of the day of the arrival of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Karbala and the day of Ashura

On the basis of definitive reports in historical and hadith sources, we can conclude that the event of Ashura occurred on the 10th of Muḥarram, 61 AH. Comparing across calendars, this date corresponds to the 20th (or 21st) of Mehr in the year 59 of the [Iranian] solar calendar, and the 9th (or 10th) of October 680 of the Gregorian calendar.

There are differing reports as to what day of the week the Imam (a) entered Karbala and on which day Ashura occurred. However, most sources say that the Imam (a) and his companions arrived in Karbala on Thursday, the 2nd of Muḥarram 61/680, and they were martyred on Friday the 10th of Muḥarram 61/680.

Monday, Thursday, and Saturday have also been mentioned in different reports about the day of Ashura.

1/2: The land of sorrow and affliction

264. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*, quoting al-Muṭṭalib ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanṭab: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was besieged, he asked, "What is the name of this place?" They said, "Karbala." He replied, "God's Messenger (s) spoke the truth; this is indeed a land of *karb* (sorrow) and *balā'* (affliction)."[1]

265. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*, quoting Umm Salamah: One day God's Messenger (s) was sitting in my apartment, and he instructed me, "Do not let anyone enter." I kept watch, but in the meantime, al-Ḥusayn (a) entered. Then I heard the sound of God's Messenger (s) weeping. I went to check and saw that al-Ḥusayn (a) was sitting in his lap, and the Prophet (s) had placed his hand on his own forehead and was weeping. I exclaimed, "By God! I didn't know when he entered!"

He said, "Jibra'il (a) was with us in the room, and he asked me, 'Do you love him?' I replied, 'I love him more than anyone in this world.'"

He said, "Your nation shall kill him in a land called Karbala."

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[1] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*, vol. 3, p. 106, no. 2812; *al-'Iqd al-Farid*, vol. 3, p. 365.

لما أحيط بالحسين بن علي عليه السلام قال: ما اسم هذه الأرض؟ قيل: كربلاء. فقال: صدق النبي صلى الله عليه وآله إنها أرض كرب وبلاء.

Jibra'īl (a) had produced some soil from that land [and given it to him], and the Prophet (s) showed it to her.

[Years afterwards] when al-Ḥusayn (a) was surrounded before being killed, he asked, "What is the name of this place?" They said, "Karbala." He replied, "God and His Messenger spoke the truth; this is indeed a land of *karb* (sorrow) and *balā'* (affliction)."[1]

266. *al-Futūḥ*: When the Imam (a) was at 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt,[2] an order arrived from 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād to restrict the advance of al-Ḥusayn (a).

Al-Ḥusayn (a) came out accompanied by his children, his brothers, and his household – may God have mercy on all of them. He looked at them for a while, then began to weep. He said, "O my Lord, we are the offspring of your Prophet, Muḥammad (s). We have been driven out and expelled from the sanctuary of our grandfather, and the Banū Umayyah have transgressed against us, so recover our right [from them], and grant us victory over the disbelievers."

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) assembled his family members and set out from that place, until he halted at Karbala on Wednesday, or Thursday. This was the 2nd of Muḥarram in the year 61/680.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) turned to his companions and asked, "Is this Karbala?" They replied, "Yes."

Then he instructed them, "Dismount here. This is the place of sorrow (*karb*) and affliction (*balā'*). This is where our mounts will be stabled, and this is where we will make our camp, and this is where our blood will be spilt.'

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[1] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 108, no. 2819; *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 13, p. 656, no. 37668.

كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله جالساً ذات يوم في بيتي، فقال: لا يدخل علي أحد. فانتظرت، فدخل الحسين عليه السلام، فسمعت نشيج رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يبكي، فاطلعت فإذا حسين عليه السلام في حجره والنبي صلى الله عليه و آله يمسح جبينه وهو يبكي، فقلت: والله ما علمت حين دخل. فقال: إن جبريل عليه السلام كان معنا في البيت، فقال: أتحبه؟ قلت: أما من الدنيا فنعم.

قال: إن أمتك ستقتل هذا بأرض يقال لها كربلاء، فتناول جبريل عليه السلام من تربتها، فأراها النبي صلى الله عليه و آله، فلما أحيط بحسين عليه السلام حين قتل قال: ما اسم هذه الأرض؟ قالوا: كربلاء، قال: صدق الله ورسوله، أرض كرب وبلاء.

[2] 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt was located near al-Qādisiyyah in Iraq; see Map 3.

The caravan prepared to make camp. They stored their provisions next to the banks of the Euphrates. A tent was erected for al-Ḥusayn (a) and for his wives and children, and his family members pitched their own tents around his.[1]

1/3: The letter of the Imam (a) to the Banū Hāshim

287. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Muyassir ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, from Imam al-Bāqir (a):

> Al-Ḥusayn (a) wrote to [his brother] Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [al-Ḥanafiyyah] from Karbalā: "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, and the rest of the Banū Hāshim. It is as if the world never existed, and the hereafter has always been there. Peace."[2]

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 85; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 336.

خرج الحسين عليه السلام وولده وإخوته وأهل بيته - رحمة الله عليهم - بين يديه، فنظر إليهم ساعة وبكى، وقال: اللهم إنا عترة نبيك محمد صلى الله عليه وآله، وقد أخرجنا وطردنا عن حرم جدنا، وتعدت بنو أمية علينا، اللهم فخذ لنا بحقنا، وانصرنا على القوم الظالمين.

قال: ثم صاح الحسين عليه السلام في عسكره، ورحل من موضعه ذلك حتى نزل كربلاء في يوم الأربعاء أو يوم الخميس، وذلك في الثاني من المحرم سنة إحدى وستين، ثم أقبل إلى أصحابه فقال لهم: أتعلمون كربلاء؟ فقالوا: نعم.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام لأصحابه: انزلوا، هذا موضع كرب وبلاء، هاهنا مناخ ركابنا ومحط رحالنا ومسفك دمائنا.

قال: فنزل القوم، وحطوا الأثقال ناحية من الفرات، وضربت خيمة الحسين عليه السلام لأهله وبنيه، وضربت عشيرته خيامهم من حول خيمته.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 158, no. 196; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 87, no. 23.

كتب الحسين بن علي عليه السلام إلى محمد بن علي (أي ابن الحنفية) من كربلاء: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من الحسين بن علي إلى محمد بن علي ومن قبله من بني هاشم، أما بعد، فكأن الدنيا لم تكن وكأن الآخرة لم تزل، والسلام.

1/4: How 'Umar ibn Sa'd came to command the forces against the Imam (a)

1. The statement of Imam 'Alī (a) about Ibn Sa'd choosing hellfire

268. ***Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, from one of his associates:** 'Alī (a) told 'Umar ibn Sa'd, "What will be your state when you reach a crossroads where you face a choice between heaven and hell, and you choose hell?"[1]

2. Choosing hell

269. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a):** 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād had appointed 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī al-Waqqāṣ to [the governorship of] al-Rayy. He granted him his full authority, but told him, "[First] relieve me of the problem of this man." He meant al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a). 'Umar said, "Excuse me from this task," but Ibn Ziyād refused to do so.

'Umar said, "Let me think over it tonight." Ibn Ziyād agreed to the delay, and 'Umar [spent the night] considering his options. By the next morning he was favourably inclined to the task that he had been assigned, and set out towards al-Ḥusayn (a).[2]

270. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān:** The reason why 'Umar ibn Sa'd came out against al-Ḥusayn (a) was: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād had sent him at the head of a Kufan army of 4,000 men to Dastabi.[3] The Daylamis [Turks] had attacked it and taken the area over. Ibn Ziyād wrote a letter appointing Ibn Sa'd as the governor of [the nearby province of] al-Rayy, and commanded him to ride out

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[1] *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 21, p. 359; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 683.

قال عليّ عليه السلام لعمر بن سعد: كيف أنت إذا قمت مقاما تخيّر فيه بين الجنّة والنار، فتختار النار؟!

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 389; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 427.

كان عمر بن سعد بن أبي وقّاص قد ولّاه عبيد الله بن زياد الريّ وكتب إليه عهده فقال: اكفني هذا الرجل يعني الحسين عليه السلام. قال: اعفني، فأبى أن يعفيه، قال: فأنظرني الليلة، فأخّره، فنظر في أمره فلمّا أصبح غدا عليه راضيا بما أمر به، فتوجّه إليه عمر بن سعد.

[3] Dastabi or Dasht-i Abi; in the present-day this area is situated in the plains south of Qazvin.

[and face the Daylamīs]. He went out and camped with his men at Ḥammām A'yan.

When the affair of al-Ḥusayn (a) developed as it did, and he journeyed towards Kufa, Ibn Ziyād summoned 'Umar ibn Sa'd and told him, "March against al-Ḥusayn, and when we are free from the matter between us and him, you may resume your previous mission."

'Umar ibn Sa'd said to him, "If you can excuse me from this task, then do so, may God have mercy on you."

'Ubayd Allāh replied, "Yes, on the condition that you return back to us our letter of appointment [to the governorship of al-Rayy]."

When he told him this, 'Umar ibn Sa'd said, "Allow me a day to consider." He went away and consulted his trusted advisers. Every one of them advised him against it.

Ḥamzah ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, who was his sister's son, came to see him, saying, "I beseech you in God's name, O uncle, not to go out against al-Ḥusayn; [if you do so] you will be sinful before your Lord and break family ties! For, by God, even if you have to give up everything you possess of this world, your property, and every ounce of authority in the land, it would be better for you than to meet God with the blood of al-Ḥusayn on your hands."

'Umar ibn Sa'd replied, "I shall do as you say, God willing."

Hishām reports: 'Awānah ibn al-Ḥakam narrated to me from 'Ammār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Yasār al-Juhanī, from his father: I met 'Umar ibn Sa'd after he had been ordered to advance against al-Ḥusayn (a), and he said to me, "The governor has commanded me to go out against al-Ḥusayn, but I have refused him." I told him, "God inspired you to do the right thing, may God [continue to] guide you. Excuse yourself; do not be party to this, and do not go out against him." Then I left him, but someone came to me [later] and informed me, "This 'Umar ibn Sa'd is recruiting people to march against al-Ḥusayn."

I went to him and saw him sitting. When he saw me, he turned his face away. I realized then that he had made the decision to move against al-Ḥusayn (a), so I left him.

'Umar ibn Sa'd had approached Ibn Ziyād and said, "May God make you prosper! You appointed me to the rule [of governor] and wrote me a letter of authority, and all the people heard it. Now, if you thought I was suited to that appointment, then enforce it. Send this army against al-Ḥusayn under another commander from amongst the Kufan nobles, one who is no less efficient or qualified than me to fight him." Then he suggested some names.

Ibn Ziyād told him, "Do not presume to instruct me about the nobles of Kufa. I have not sought your advice about who I wish to send! If you are going with our army, then go, and if not, then hand over to us our letter of appointment."

When he saw that he was not willing to compromise, 'Umar said, "I will go."

He left at the head of 4,000 men, and reached al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day after the Imam (a) reached Naynawā.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 409; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 45, p. 49.

كان سبب خروج ابن سعد إلى الحسين عليه السلام أنّ عبيد الله بن زياد بعثه على أربعة آلاف من أهل الكوفة يسير بهم إلى دستبى، وكانت الديلم قد خرجوا إليها وغلبوا عليها، فكتب إليه ابن زياد عهده على الري، وأمره بالخروج. فخرج معسكراً بالناس بحمام أعين.

فلما كان من أمر الحسين عليه السلام ما كان، وأقبل إلى الكوفة، دعا ابن زياد عمر بن سعد، فقال: سر إلى الحسين، فإذا فرغنا مما بيننا وبينه سرت إلى عملك.

فقال له عمر بن سعد: إن رأيت - رحمك الله - أن تعفيني فافعل، فقال له عبيد الله: نعم، على أن تردّ لنا عهدنا. قال: فلما قال له ذلك، قال عمر بن سعد: أمهلني اليوم حتى أنظر. قال: فانصرف عمر يستشير نصحاءه، فلم يكن يستشير أحداً إلا نهاه.

قال: وجاء حمزة بن المغيرة بن شعبة، وهو ابن أخته، فقال: أنشدك الله - يا خال - أن تسير إلى الحسين، فتأثم بربك وتقطع رحمك، فوالله لأن تخرج من دنياك ومالك وسلطان الأرض كلها - لو كان لك - خير لك من أن تلقى الله بدم الحسين!

فقال له عمر بن سعد: فإني أفعل إن شاء الله.

قال هشام: حدثني عوانة بن الحكم، عن عمار بن عبد الله بن يسار الجهني، عن أبيه، قال: دخلت على عمر بن سعد وقد أمر بالمسير إلى الحسين عليه السلام، فقال لي: إنّ الأمير أمرني بالمسير إلى الحسين، فأبيت ذلك عليه، فقلت له: أصاب الله بك، أرشدك الله، أحل فلا تفعل ولا تسر إليه.

قال: فخرجت من عنده، فأتاني آت، وقال: هذا عمر بن سعد يندب الناس إلى الحسين، قال: فأتيته فإذا هو جالس، فلما رآني أعرض بوجهه، فعرفت أنه قد عزم على المسير إليه، فخرجت من عنده

431. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) sent Burayr to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd. Burayr told him, "O ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, will you allow the household of the Prophet (s) to die of thirst, while you block the path between them and the Euphrates so that they cannot drink from it? And you claim that you are cognisant of God and His Messenger?"

ʿUmar ibn Saʿd looked down to the ground for a while, then raised his head and said, "Indeed, by God, I know this for certain, O Burayr, that anyone who fights them and usurps their right will inevitably go to hell. However, woe be on you, O Burayr! Are you trying to say that I should abandon the governorship of al-Rayy, and let someone else take it? I can never see myself accepting that."

[...] Burayr ibn Khuḍayr returned to al-Ḥusayn (a) and said, "O son of the daughter of God's Messenger, ʿUmar ibn Saʿd is prepared to kill you in order to secure the governorship of al-Rayy!"[1]

قال: فأقبل عمر بن سعد إلى ابن زياد، فقال: أصلحك الله إنك وليتني هذا العمل وكتبت لي العهد، وسمع به الناس، فإن رأيت أن تنفذ لي ذلك فافعل، وابعث إلى الحسين في هذا الجيش من أشراف الكوفة من لست بأغنى ولا أجزأ عنك في الحرب منه. فسمى له أناسا.

فقال له ابن زياد: لا تعلمني بأشراف أهل الكوفة، ولست أستأمرك فيمن أريد أن أبعث، إن سرت بجندنا، وإلا فابعث إلينا بعهدنا.

فلما رآه قد لج قال: فإني سائر.

قال: فأقبل في أربعة آلاف حتى نزل بالحسين عليه السلام من الغد من يوم نزل الحسين عليه السلام نينوى.

[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 96; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 248.

أرسل إليه (أي إلى عمر بن سعد) الحسين عليه السلام بريرا، فقال برير: يا عمر بن سعد، أتترك أهل بيت النبوة يموتون عطشا، وحلت بينهم وبين الفرات أن يشربوه، وتزعم أنك تعرف الله ورسوله؟!

قال: فأطرق عمر بن سعد ساعة إلى الأرض، ثم رفع رأسه وقال: إني والله أعلمه يا برير علما يقينا أن كل من قاتلهم وغصبهم على حقوقهم في النار لا محالة، ولكن ويحك يا برير، أتشير علي أن أترك ولاية الري فتصير لغيري؟ ما أجد نفسي تجيبني إلى ذلك أبدا.

... قال: فرجع برير بن خضير إلى الحسين عليه السلام فقال: يابن بنت رسول الله، إن عمر بن سعد قد رضي أن يقتلك بولاية الري.

1/5: The efforts of Ibn Ziyad to mobilize the Kufan army towards Karbala

272. ***al-Futūḥ*:** ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād gathered the people in the mosque of Kufa, then he came out [of his mansion] and ascended the pulpit. He praised God and glorified Him, then said, "O people! You have tasted the rule of the descendants of Sufyān (Āl Sufyān) and found it to your liking. And you know that Yazīd is a man of good character, of praiseworthy conduct, benevolent towards the people, protector of boundaries, and one who bestows grants whenever deserved; his father was the same as well. Furthermore, the commander of the faithful has increased his favours on you. Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah has written to me instructing me to distribute 4000 dinars and 200,000 dirhams amongst you, and to prepare you to march against his enemy, al-Husayn ibn ʿAlī. So listen to him and obey. Peace."

Then he came down from the pulpit and brought forth the allowances for the people of Sham and gave them to the people. Then he urged them to go to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd and join him in battle against al-Ḥusayn (a).

The first to go to join ʿUmar ibn Saʿd was Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan al-Ḍibābī, may God curse him, who went at the head of 4,000 horsemen, increasing the size of the army of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd to 9,000 men; he was followed by Zayd ibn Rakkāb al-Kalbī with 2,000 men, al-Ḥusayn ibn Numayr al-Sakūnī with 4,000 men, al-Muṣab al-Mārī with 3,000 men, and Naṣr ibn Ḥarbah with 2,000 men, making a total number of 20,000 soldiers in his army. Then, Ibn Ziyād sent a man to Shabath ibn Ribʿī al-Riyāḥī, asking him to join ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, but the latter asked to be excused, saying that he was unwell.

Ibn Ziyād said to him, "Do you pretend to be ill? If you are truly loyal to us, then go out to battle with our enemy." So, he went with 1,000 horsemen to join ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, after Ibn Ziyād flattered him and coerced him with money and gifts. He was followed by Ḥajjār ibn Abjar with 1,000 horsemen. The army of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd thus reached 22,000 men, comprising of both horsemen and foot-soldiers.

At this time, Ibn Ziyād wrote to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd the following: "I have left you with no excuse against fighting al-Ḥusayn, by providing you with a large cavalry and infantry. Make sure that you do not make any move unless you consult with me constantly, [keeping me informed] through the morning and evening messengers. Peace."

Thereafter, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād would continually send messages to 'Umar ibn Sa'd, urging him to expedite the battle against al-Ḥusayn (a).

The entire army was in place and under the command of 'Umar ibn Sa'd by the 6th day of Muḥarram.[1]

273 *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: Ibn Ziyād instructed al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar, Shabath ibn Rib'ī, and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan to join 'Umar ibn Sa'd and assist him in his mission. Shimr set out as directed. However, Shabath asked to be excused, saying that he was unwell. Ibn Ziyād said to him, "Do you pretend to be ill? If you are

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 89; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 242.

جمع عبيد الله بن زياد الناس في مسجد الكوفة، ثم خرج فصعد المنبر، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال: أيها الناس، إنكم قد بلوتم آل سفيان فوجدتموهم على ما تحبون، وهذا يزيد قد عرفتموه أنه حسن السيرة محمود الطريقة، محسن إلى الرعية، متعاهد الثغور، يعطي العطاء في حقه، حتى أنه كان أبوه كذلك، وقد زاد أمير المؤمنين في إكرامكم، وكتب إلي يزيد بن معاوية بأربعة آلاف دينار ومائتي ألف درهم أفرقها عليكم، وأمرني أن أخرجكم إلى حرب عدوه الحسين بن علي، فاسمعوا له وأطيعوا، والسلام.

قال: ثم نزل عن المنبر، ووضع لأهل الشام العطاء فأعطاهم، ونادى فيهم بالخروج إلى عمر بن سعد ليكونوا أعوانا له على قتال الحسين عليه السلام.

قال: فأول من خرج إلى عمر بن سعد الشمر بن ذي الجوشن السلولي - لعنه الله - في أربعة آلاف فارس، فصار عمر بن سعد في تسعة آلاف، ثم أتبعه يزيد بن ركاب الكلبي في ألفين، والحصين بن نمير السكوني في أربعة آلاف، والمضاير المازني في ثلاثة آلاف، ونصر بن حربة في ألفين، فتكامل عنده عشرون ألفا. ثم بعث ابن زياد إلى شبث بن ربعي الرياحي رجلا، وسأله أن يوجه إلى عمر بن سعد، فاعتل بمرض، فقال له ابن زياد: أتتمارض؟ إن كنت في طاعتنا فاخرج إلى قتال عدونا، فخرج إلى عمر بن سعد في ألف فارس بعد أن أكرمه ابن زياد وأعطاه وحباه، وأتبعه بحجار بن أبجر في ألف فارس، فصار عمر بن سعد في اثنين وعشرين ألفا ما بين فارس وراجل.

ثم كتب ابن زياد إلى عمر بن سعد: إني لم أجعل لك علة في قتال الحسين من كثرة الخيل والرجال، فانظر أن لا تبدأ أمرا حتى تشاورني غدوا وعشيا مع كل غاد ورائح، والسلام.

قال: وكان عبيد الله بن زياد في كل وقت يبعث إلى عمر بن سعد ويستعجله في قتال الحسين عليه السلام.

قال: والتأمت العساكر إلى عمر بن سعد لست مضين من المحرم.

truly loyal to us, then go out to battle with our enemy." When Shabath heard that, he set out. Ibn Ziyād also urged al-Ḥārith ibn Yazīd al-Ruwaym to do the same.

As Ibn Ziyād began to despatch these commanders with large contingents of men to fight al-Ḥusayn (a), [they found] that few remained by the time they reached Karbala. People were reluctant to wage war against al-Ḥusayn (a), so they deserted or stayed back. So, Ibn Ziyād appointed Suwayd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Minqarī to command a cavalry force around Kufa. His instructions were to search the town and bring to him anybody who had stayed behind. He was scouring the streets of Kufa when he came across a man from al-Shām who had come to Kufa to collect some money that he had inherited. He arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyād, who had him killed [as an example]. When people saw this, they began to leave [for Karbala].[1]

1/6: The arrival of 'Umar ibn Sa'd in Karbala

274. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Ammār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Yasār al-Juhanī: 'Umar ibn Sa'd left at the head of 4,000 men and reached al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day after al-Ḥusayn (a) reached Naynawā.

He called for 'Azrah ibn Qays al-Aḥmasī to go to al-Ḥusayn (a), saying, "Go and ask him what has brought him here. And what does he want?" 'Azrah was one of those who had written to al-Ḥusayn (a), and so he was embarrassed to go to him.

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 254; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2628.

ووجه الحصين بن نمير وحجار بن أبجر وشبث بن ربعي وشمر بن ذي الجوشن، ليعاونوا عمر بن سعد على
أمره. فأما شمر فنفذ لما وجهه له، وأما شبث فاعتل بمرض، فقال له ابن زياد: أتتمارض؟ إن كنت في
طاعتنا فاخرج إلى قتال عدونا. فلما سمع شبث ذلك خرج. ووجه أيضا الحارث بن يزيد بن رويم.
قالوا: وكان ابن زياد إذا وجه الرجل إلى قتال الحسين عليه السلام في الجمع الكثير، يصلون إلى كربلاء
ولم يبق منهم إلا القليل، كانوا يكرهون قتال الحسين عليه السلام، فيرتدعون ويتخلفون. فبعث ابن زياد
سويد بن عبد الرحمن المنقري في خيل إلى الكوفة، وأمره أن يطوف بها، فمن وجده قد تخلف أتاه به.
فبينا هو يطوف في أحياء الكوفة إذ وجد رجلا من أهل الشام قد كان قدم الكوفة في طلب ميراث له،
فأرسل به إلى ابن زياد، فأمر به فضربت عنقه. فلما رأى الناس ذلك خرجوا.

Then he turned to the other leaders who has written to al-Ḥusayn (a), but they all refused and were unwilling to go either.

Then, Kathīr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Sha'bī rose – he was a bold knight who was not afraid of anything – and said, "I will go to him. By God, if you desire it, I will [even] kill him."

'Umar ibn Sa'd said, "I do not want him killed, but go to him and ask him about his reason for coming here."

So Kathīr went to him. When Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī saw him, he said to al-Ḥusayn (a), "May God make you prosper, O Abā 'Abd Allāh! The one who comes towards you now is the vilest of creatures, a bloodthirsty and violent man." He stood in front of Kathīr and demanded, "Take off your sword."

He replied, "No, by God, that would be dishonourable. I am [only] a messenger. If you are prepared to hear me, I will pass on the message I have been given, and if you refuse, I will depart."

Abū Thumāmah told him, "In that case, I will hold on to the hilt of your sword, then you can deliver what you want."

He replied, "No by God! Do not touch my sword!"

So, he said to him, "Give me your message and I will pass it on, but I am not going to let you get any closer to him, for you are a scoundrel."

They began to insult one another. Then Kathīr returned to 'Umar ibn Sa'd and told him what had happened.

'Umar called Qurrah ibn Qays al-Ḥanẓalī and told him, "Woe unto you, O Qurrah! Go to al-Ḥusayn and ask him what has brought him here and what he wants."

Qurrah came to him. When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw him approaching, he asked [his companions], "Do you recognize him?"

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir replied, "Yes. The man is from the tribe of Ḥanẓalah, of the Banū Tamīm. He is the son of our sister. I used to know him as a man of good judgment and could never imagine that he would be present on this battlefield."

He came forward, greeted al-Ḥusayn (a), and gave him the message that 'Umar had sent.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said in reply, "The people of your town wrote to me, asking me to come. However, if you do not want me [here], then I will leave you."

Then, Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir told him, "Shame on you, O Qurrah ibn Qays! How can you [now] return to that company of transgressors! Support this man [instead]. Through his forefathers, God honoured you, and us along with you."

Qurrah replied, "I will return to my commander with your reply to his message, and then consider my options."

He returned back to 'Umar ibn Sa'd and told him what had happened. 'Umar replied, "I really hope that God will release me from having to wage war with him and fight against him."[1]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 410; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 84.

أقبل عمر بن سعد في أربعة آلاف حتى نزل بالحسين عليه السلام من الغد من يوم نزل الحسين عليه السلام نينوى.

قال: فبعث عمر بن سعد إلى الحسين عليه السلام عزرة بن قيس الأحمسي فقال: ائته فسله ما الذي جاء به وماذا يريد؟ وكان عزرة ممن كتب إلى الحسين عليه السلام، فاستحيا منه أن يأتيه.

قال: فعرض ذلك على الرؤساء الذين كاتبوه فكلهم أبى وكرهه.

قال: وقام إليه كثير بن عبد الله الشعبي - وكان فارساً شجاعاً ليس يرد وجهه شيء - فقال: أنا أذهب إليه، والله لئن شئت لأفتكن به، فقال له عمر بن سعد: ما أريد أن يفتك به، ولكن ائته فسله ما الذي جاء به.

قال: فأقبل إليه، فلما رآه أبو ثمامة الصائدي قال للحسين عليه السلام: أصلحك الله أبا عبد الله، قد جاءك شر أهل الأرض وأجرؤه على دم وأفتكه، فقام إليه فقال: ضع سيفك. قال: لا والله ولا كرامة، إنما أنا رسول، فإن سمعتم مني أبلغتكم ما أرسلت به إليكم، وإن أبيتم انصرفت عنكم. فقال له: فإني آخذ بقائم سيفك ثم تكلم بحاجتك. قال: لا والله لا تمسه. فقال له: أخبرني ما جئت به وأنا أبلغه عنك، ولا أدعك تدنو منه، فإنك فاجر. قال: فاستبا.

ثم انصرف إلى عمر بن سعد فأخبره الخبر. قال: فدعا عمر قرة بن قيس الحنظلي فقال له: ويحك يا قرة، الق حسيناً فسله ما جاء به وماذا يريد.

قال: فأتاه قرة بن قيس، فلما رآه الحسين عليه السلام مقبلاً قال: أتعرفون هذا؟ فقال حبيب بن مظاهر: نعم، هذا رجل من حنظلة تميمي، وهو ابن أختنا، ولقد كنت أعرفه بحسن الرأي، وما كنت أراه يشهد هذا المشهد. قال: فجاء حتى سلم على الحسين عليه السلام، وأبلغه رسالة عمر بن سعد إليه له.

175. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: When 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād learned that al-Ḥusayn (a) was close to Kufa, he despatched al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, who prevented the Imam (a) from changing his route. Then he sent 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī al-Waqqāṣ at the head of an army. 'Umar encountered al-Ḥusayn (a) at a place called Karbala, on the banks of the Euphrates. Al-Ḥusayn (a) had sixty-two or seventy-two men with him, comprising his family members and his followers. 'Umar had 4,000 soldiers. He prevented him from getting water by placing a blockade between his camp and the Euphrates. Al-Ḥusayn (a) remonstrated with them in the name of God, the Almighty, but they gave him only two choices: war or surrender. In the latter case, they would arrest him and take him before 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād for his judgement on the affair, and thereafter he would be subject to the sentence issued by Yazīd.'[1]

176. *al-Malhūf*: The narrator summarises: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād called his followers to go out for battle against al-Ḥusayn (a), and they responded. He threatened the people, and they obeyed him. He made 'Umar ibn Sa'd give up his hereafter in return for worldly gain. He coerced him to command the army against al-Ḥusayn (a), and he went along, taking 4,000 horsemen to fight the Imam (a).

Ibn Ziyād then sent [additional] battalions to join him, until, by the evening of the 6th day of Muharram, 'Umar had an army 20,000 strong.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: كتب إليّ أهل مصركم هذا أن أقدم، فأما إذ كرهوني فأنا أنصرف عنهم.
قال: ثم قال له حبيب بن مظاهر: ويحك يا قرة بن قيس أنّى ترجع إلى القوم الظالمين؟ انصر هذا الرجل
الذي بآبائه أيّدك الله بالكرامة وإيانا معك. فقال له قرة: أرجع إلى صاحبي بجواب رسالته وأرى رأيي.
قال: فانصرف إلى عمر بن سعد فأخبره الخبر، فقال له عمر بن سعد: إني لأرجو أن يعافيني الله من
حربه وقتاله.

[1] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 243.

وكان عبيد الله بن زياد لما بلغه قربه (أي الحسين عليه السلام) من الكوفة، بعث الحر بن يزيد فمنعه من
أن يعدل، ثم بعث إليه بعمر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص في جيش، فلقي الحسين عليه السلام بموضع على
الفرات يقال له كربلاء، وكان الحسين عليه السلام في اثنين وستين أو اثنين وسبعين رجلاً من أهل بيته
وأصحابه، وعمر بن سعد في أربعة آلاف، فمنعوه الماء، وحالوا بينه وبين الفرات، فناشدهم الله عزّ وجلّ،
فأبوا إلا قتاله أو يستسلم، فيمضوا به إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، فيرى رأيه فيه، وينفذ فيه حكم يزيد.

He blocked access to the river, until al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions experienced severe thirst.[1]

1/7: The letter of Ibn Ziyād to the Imam (a), and his refusal to respond

277. *al-Futūḥ*: Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd, accompanied by one thousand horsemen, encountered al-Ḥusayn (a) and then wrote to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād about the arrival of the Imam (a) in Karbala. Ibn Ziyād wrote the following message to al-Ḥusayn (a): "O Ḥusayn! The news of your arrival in Karbala has reached me, and the commander of the faithful, Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, has written to me that I should not rest or eat until I have sent you to meet God – the Knowing and the Gracious – or you submit to my authority and the authority of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. Peace!"

When the letter arrived, al-Ḥusayn (a) read it and then cast it aside, saying, "People who give preference to their own desires over the pleasure of the Creator will never succeed."

The messenger asked, "O Abā ʿAbd Allāh! What is your reply to the letter?"

The Imam (a) said, "I have no reply for him, because God's punishment has already been assured for him."

The messenger took this message back to Ibn Ziyād, who became furious upon hearing it.[2]

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 139; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, pp. 254, 255.

قال الراوي: وندب عبيد الله بن زياد أصحابه إلى قتال الحسين عليه السلام فاتّبعوه، واستخفّ قومه فأطاعوه، واشترى من عمر بن سعد آخرته بدنياه ودعاه إلى ولاية الحرب فلبّاه، وخرج لقتال الحسين عليه السلام في أربعة آلاف فارس، وأتبعه ابن زياد بالعساكر، حتى تكاملت عنده إلى ست ليال خلون من المحرم عشرون ألفاً، فضيّق على الحسين عليه السلام حتى نال منه العطش ومن أصحابه.

[2] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 84; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 239.

أقبل الحرّ بن يزيد حتى نزل حذاء الحسين عليه السلام في ألف فارس، ثم كتب إلى عبيد الله بن زياد يخبره أن الحسين نزل بأرض كربلاء. قال: فكتب عبيد الله بن زياد إلى الحسين عليه السلام: أما بعد يا حسين، فقد بلغني نزولك بكربلاء، وقد كتب إليّ أمير المؤمنين يزيد بن معاوية أن لا أتوسّد الوثير ولا أشبع من الخمير أو ألحقك باللطيف الخبير، أو ترجع إلى حكمي وحكم يزيد بن معاوية، والسلام.

18: The meeting of the Imam (a) and Ibn Sa'd between the camps of the two armies.

578. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: Al-Ḥusayn (a) sent a message to 'Umar Ibn Sa'd, "I wish to talk to you. Let us meet tonight between my camp and yours." 'Umar Ibn Sa'd came out to meet him with twenty horsemen, and al-Ḥusayn (a) came likewise. When they met, al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed his companions to move away, and kept only his brother al-'Abbās (a) and his son 'Alī al-Akbar, with him. Ibn Sa'd also instructed his companions to move aside, keeping with him his son Ḥafṣ and a slave by the name of Lāḥiq.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to Ibn Sa'd, "Shame on you! Do you not fear God, to Whom is your return? Do you seek to fight me while you know whose son I am? Leave these people and join me; that will be better for you with God."

'Umar said to him, "I am afraid that my house will be destroyed."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "I will rebuild it for you."

'Umar said, "I am afraid that by property will be seized."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "I will give you better than it from my own properties in al-Ḥijāz."

'Umar said, "I have family, I am afraid for them."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "I will guarantee their safety."

'Umar remained silent and did not reply. Then al-Ḥusayn (a) stood up to leave, saying to him, "What happened to you? May God kill you in your bed quickly and soon. May He not forgive you on the Day you are resurrected and brought forth! For I swear by God, I pray that you do not get to eat much from the wheat of Iraq."

فلما ورد الكتاب قرأه الحسين عليه السلام، ثم رمى به، ثم قال: لا أفلح قوم آثروا مرضاة المخلوق على مرضاة الخالق. فقال له الرسول: أبا عبد الله، جواب الكتاب؟

قال: ما له عندي جواب، لأنه قد حقت عليه كلمة العذاب.

فقال الرسول لابن زياد ذلك، فغضب من ذلك أشد الغضب.

'Umar retorted, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh! There is always barley to replace wheat!" Then he returned to his army.[1]

279. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*: In some sources it is mentioned that al-Husayn (a) said to 'Umar ibn Sa'd, "Allow me to return to Medina, or let me go to Yazīd and place my hand in his." This is patently false, because 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān reports, "I accompanied al-Husayn (a) from Medina to Iraq and was with him until his martyrdom, but I swear by God, I never heard such a thing from him."[2]

280. *al-Manāqib* by Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a) said to 'Umar ibn Sa'd, "That which consoles me is that after me, you will not taste the wheat of Iraq, except a little."

'Umar replied sarcastically, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh! There is always barley instead!"

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 245; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 92.

أرسل الحسين عليه السلام إلى ابن سعد: إني أريد أن أكلمك فالقني الليلة بين عسكري وعسكرك. فخرج إليه عمر بن سعد في عشرين فارساً والحسين عليه السلام في مثل ذلك، ولما التقيا أمر الحسين عليه السلام أصحابه فتنحوا عنه، وبقي معه أخوه العباس عليه السلام وابنه علي الأكبر، وأمر ابن سعد أصحابه فتنحوا عنه، وبقي معه ابنه حفص، وغلام له يقال له لاحق.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام لابن سعد: ويحك أما تتقي الله الذي إليه معادك، أتقاتلني وأنا ابن من علمت، يا هذا ذر هؤلاء القوم وكن معي، فإنه أقرب لك من الله.

فقال له عمر: أخاف أن تهدم داري، فقال الحسين عليه السلام: أنا أبنيها لك.

فقال عمر: أخاف أن تؤخذ ضيعتي، فقال: أنا أخلف عليك خيراً منها من مالي بالحجاز.

فقال: لي عيال أخاف عليهم، فقال: أنا أضمن سلامتهم.

قال: ثم سكت فلم يجبه عن ذلك، فانصرف عنه الحسين عليه السلام وهو يقول: ما لك، ذبحك الله على فراشك سريعاً عاجلاً، ولا غفر لك يوم حشرك ونشرك، فوالله إني لأرجو أن لا تأكل من بر العراق إلا يسيراً.

فقال له عمر: يا أبا عبد الله، في الشعير عوض عن البر، ثم رجع عمر إلى معسكره.

[2] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 218.

قد وقع في بعض النسخ أن الحسين عليه السلام قال لعمر بن سعد: دعوني أرجع إلى المدينة أو إلى يزيد فأضع يدي في يده، ولا يصح ذلك عنه، فإن عقبة بن سمعان قال: صحبت الحسين عليه السلام من المدينة إلى العراق ولم أزل معه إلى أن قتل، والله ما سمعته قال ذلك.

Just as al-Ḥusayn (a) had predicted, 'Umar never did get the governorship of al-Rayy, and he was killed by al-Mukhtār.[1]

1/8: The letter of Ibn Sa'd to Ibn Ziyād, and his reply

181: ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥassān ibn Fā'id ibn Bukayr al-'Absī:** I bear witness that I was present when the letter of 'Umar ibn Sa'd reached 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. In it was written:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. When I reached the location of al-Ḥusayn (a), I sent my messenger to him and enquired about his mission, his intentions, and his demands. He replied, "The people of this land sent me letters, and their messengers came before me, asking me to come, so I have done so. However, if they are not pleased at my arrival, and desire something other than what they had told their messengers, then I will go away."

When this letter was read to Ibn Ziyād, he said:

> Now that our talons have seized him,
> He desires to escape, but the time for escape has passed![2]

Then he wrote to 'Umar:

> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Your letter has reached me, and I have understood its contents. Give al-Ḥusayn the option to pay allegiance to Yazīd, along with all his companions. If he does so, then we shall consider our options. Peace be to you.

When the letter reached 'Umar ibn Sa'd, he said, "I had guessed that Ibn Ziyād would not accept compromise."[3]

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 55; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 300.

إنّ الحسين بن علي عليه السلام قال لعمر بن سعد: إنّ مما يقرّ عيني أنك لا تأكل من برّ العراق بعدي إلا قليلا. فقال مستهزئا: يا أبا عبد الله في الشعير خلف. فكان كما قال، لم يصل إلى الري، وقتله المختار.

[2] Paraphrasing Q 38:3. [Trans.]

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 411; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 88.

أشهد أنّ كتاب عمر بن سعد جاء إلى عبيد الله بن زياد وأنا عنده فإذا فيه: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، أما بعد، فإني حيث نزلت بالحسين بعثت إليه رسولي، فسألته عما أقدمه، وماذا يطلب ويسأل، فقال: كتب إليّ أهل هذه البلاد وأتتني رسلهم، فسألوني القدوم ففعلت، فأما إذ كرهوني فبدا لهم غير ما أتتني به رسلهم فأنا منصرف عنهم. فلما قرئ الكتاب على ابن زياد قال:

الآن إذ علقت مخالبنا به ... يرجو النجاة ولات حين مناص

282. *al-Manāqib* by Ibn Shahr Āshūb: ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d arrived to face al-Ḥusayn (a) at the head of 4,000 men. The following day, he sent Qurrah ibn Qays to ask the Imam (a) why he had come [out from Mecca]. When his message arrived, al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "The people of your town wrote to me, asking me to come. However, if you do not want me [here], then I will leave you."

When ‘Umar heard his reply, he wrote to Ibn Ziyād. When Ibn Ziyād saw his letter, he said:

Now that our talons have seized him
He desires to escape, but the time for escape has passed!

Then he wrote back to ‘Umar, "Give al-Ḥusayn the option to pay allegiance to Yazīd, along with all his companions. If he does so, then we will consider our options. And if he refuses, bring him to me."

1/10: Attempts by Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir to assist the Imam (a) on the 6th of Muḥarram

283. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir said to al-Ḥusayn (a), "There are nomads belonging to the Banū Asad tribe living here between the two rivers. They are only one station away from us. Do you permit me to approach them and invite them [to join us]? Perhaps through them, God will strengthen your position or protect you from harm."

قال: وكتب إلى عمر بن سعد: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، أما بعد، فقد بلغني كتابك وفهمت ما ذكرت، فاعرض على الحسين أن يبايع ليزيد بن معاوية هو وجميع أصحابه، فإذا فعل ذلك رأينا رأينا، والسلام.
قال: فلما أتى عمر بن سعد الكتاب، قال: قد حسبت ألا يقبل ابن زياد العافية.

1 Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 117; also, see *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 336.

أقبل عمر بن سعد في أربعة آلاف حتى نزل بالحسين عليه السلام وبعث من غده قرة بن قيس الحنظلي يسأله ما الذي جاء به فلما بلّغ رسالته قال الحسين عليه السلام: كتب إليّ أهل مصركم أن أقدم فأما إذا كرهتموني فأنا أنصرف عنكم.

فلما سمع عمر جوابه كتب إلى ابن زياد بذلك فلما رأى ابن زياد كتابه قال:

الآن إذ علقت مخالبنا به يرجو النجاة ولات حين مناص

وكتب إلى عمر: اعرض على الحسين أن يبايع يزيد وجميع أصحابه فإذا فعل ذلك رأينا رأينا وإلا فأتني به.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) gave him permission. He went to them and said, "I invite you to dignity and honour in the hereafter, and to partake of its great reward. I call you to assist the son of the daughter of your Prophet (s). He stands oppressed; the Kufans, who invited him to help them, have abandoned him after he responded to their call. They now plot to kill him." [Upon hearing this] seventy men decided to go with him.

A man by the name of Jabalah ibn ‘Amr, who was present in that gathering, went to ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d and informed him of what had transpired. ‘Umar despatched some horsemen under the command of Azraq ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ṣaydāwī to block the path between the Banū Asad and al-Ḥusayn (a).

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir returned to al-Ḥusayn (a) and informed him of the outcome. Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "Great praise is due to God!"[1]

1/11: Preventing the Imam (a) and his companions from water on the 7th day of Muḥarram

184. *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī: A letter from ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād arrived for ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d, saying, "Block al-Ḥusayn and his companions from the water. They should not taste a drop of it, just as was done to the pious, virtuous, and oppressed commander of the faithful, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān."

‘Umar ibn Sa‘d despatched ‘Amr ibn Ḥajjāj with 500 horsemen to guard the banks of the Euphrates and block the access of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions to its water, with instructions not to allow a

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 388.

قال حبيب بن مظهر للحسين عليه السلام: إن هاهنا حيا من بني أسد أعرابا ينزلون النهرين وليس بيننا وبينهم إلا روحة، أفتأذن لي في إتيانهم ودعائهم لعل الله أن يجر بهم إليك نفعا أو يدفع عنك مكروها. فأذن له في ذلك فأتاهم فقال لهم:

إني أدعوكم إلى شرف الآخرة وفضلها وجسيم ثوابها، أنا أدعوكم إلى نصر ابن بنت نبيكم فقد أصبح مظلوما دعاه أهل الكوفة لينصروه فلما أتاهم خذلوه وعدوا عليه ليقتلوه. فخرج معه منهم سبعون.

وأتى عمر بن سعد رجل ممن هناك يقال له: جبلة بن عمرو، فأخبره خبرهم، فوجه أزرق بن الحارث الصيداوي في خيل، فحالوا بينهم وبين الحسين، ورجع ابن مظهر إلى الحسين فأخبره الخبر، فقال: الحمد لله كثيرا

drop of it to them. This occurred three days before the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a).

'Abd Allāh ibn Abū al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī al-Bajalī[1] approached al-Ḥusayn (a) and said, "O Ḥusayn! Do you see the flowing water? It might as well be in the skies! By God! You will not taste a drop of it until you die thirsty."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O God! Make him die thirsty, and never forgive him."

Ḥumayd ibn Muslim said, "By God! Afterwards, I visited al-Bajalī when he was ill. I swear by God besides Whom there is no deity! I saw him drink water until his stomach was full, then he would vomit. He would drink again until his stomach was full, but he could not quench his thirst. This was his state until he died."[2]

385. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl:* A message from of Ibn Ziyād reached 'Umar ibn Sa'd, instructing him to "block al-Ḥusayn and his companions from the water, and not allow them to taste a drop of it, just as was done to the pious one, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān."

Upon receipt of these instructions, 'Umar ibn Sa'd commanded 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj to go with 500 horsemen and take position at the banks of the Euphrates to block the access of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions to its water. This occurred three days before the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a). Thus, the camp of al-Ḥusayn (a) were left to remain in thirst.[1]

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[1] In some sources his name has been mentioned as 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥaṣīn (*Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 389; *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 247), in others he is called, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥuṣayn (*al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 86; *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 452), and in yet others, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī (*Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 201).

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 412; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 389.

جاء من عبيد الله بن زياد كتاب إلى عمر بن سعد: أما بعد، فحل بين الحسين وأصحابه وبين الماء، ولا يذوقوا منه قطرة، كما صنع بالتقي الزكي المظلوم أمير المؤمنين عثمان بن عفان.

قال: فبعث عمر بن سعد عمرو بن الحجاج على خمسمائة فارس، فنزلوا على الشريعة، وحالوا بين الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه وبين الماء أن يسقوا منه قطرة، وذلك قبل قتل الحسين عليه السلام بثلاث.

قال: ونازله عبد الله بن أبي حصين الأزدي - وعداده في بجيلة - فقال: يا حسين، ألا تنظر إلى الماء كأنه كبد السماء، والله لا تذوق منه قطرة حتى تموت عطشا!

فقال حسين عليه السلام: اللهم اقتله عطشا، ولا تغفر له أبدا.

قال حميد بن مسلم: والله لعدته بعد ذلك في مرضه، فوالله الذي لا إله إلا هو لقد رأيته يشرب حتى بغر، ثم يقيء، ثم يعود فيشرب حتى يبغر فما يروى، فما زال ذلك دأبه حتى لفظ عصبه، يعني نفسه.

786. *al-Futūḥ*, in the description of the state of the Imam (a) when he was prevented access to water: The thirst of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions intensified to the extent that they were about to die from thirst.[2]

1/12: The role of al-ʿAbbās (a) in getting water to the army of the Imam (a)

787. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: When the thirst of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his followers became severe, he instructed his brother, al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī (a) – whose mother was from the Banū ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah tribe – to go with thirty horsemen and twenty foot-soldiers, each carrying a waterskin, to the river; [their instructions were] to bring back water by fighting their way through the blockade of the enemy.

Al-ʿAbbās (a) set off towards the river, while Nāfiʿ ibn Hilāl rode ahead. As they approached the Euphrates, ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥajjāj blocked their way. Al-ʿAbbās (a) and his companions engaged them in battle and drove them away from the river. The foot-soldiers of al-Ḥusayn (a) entered the river and filled their waterskins. Al-ʿAbbās (a) maintained a steady position amongst his men protecting them from the enemy until they brought back water to the army of al-Husayn (a).[1]

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 255; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2617.

وورد كتاب ابن زياد على عمر بن سعد أن امنع الحسين وأصحابه الماء فلا يذوقوا منه حسوة، كما فعلوا بالتقي عثمان بن عفان.

فلما ورد على عمر بن سعد ذلك أمر عمرو بن الحجاج أن يسير في خمسمائة راكب فينيخ على الشريعة ويحولوا بين الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه وبين الماء، وذلك قبل مقتله بثلاثة أيام، فمكث أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام عطاشى.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 92.

فاشتد العطش من الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه وكادوا أن يموتوا عطشا.

288. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī: When the thirst of al-Husayn (a) and his followers became severe, he called his brother, al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) and sent him [to the river] with thirty horsemen and twenty foot-soldiers. Between them, they carried twenty waterskins. They went to the river at night. At their head rode Nāfi' ibn Hilāl al-Jamalī, carrying the standard.

'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī called out, "Who are you?" Then he came closer and asked, "What have you come for?"[2]

Nāfi' replied, "We have come to drink from this water which you have prevented us from."

He said, "Drink as much as you like!"

Nāfi' replied, "Never, by God! I will not drink one drop of it while al-Husayn (a) is thirsty, as are his companions who are before you." At that time, the rest of the companions arrived.

'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj said, "There is no way that all these men can quench their thirst. We have been stationed at this place to stop them from the water."

When his companions reached him, Nāfi' told the foot-soldiers to go and fill their waterskins, and they rushed forward and did so.

'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj and his men went towards them, but al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) and Nāfi' ibn Hilāl attacked them and kept them away [from the water-bearers]. Then they withdrew to their mounts and said to their men, "Go!". They stayed behind [to protect them]. 'Amr

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 255; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2625

ولما اشتد بالحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه العطش أمر أخاه العباس بن علي عليه السلام، وكانت أمه
من بني عامر بن صعصعة، أن يمضي في ثلاثين فارساً وعشرين راجلاً، مع كل رجل قربة، حتى يأتوا الماء،
فيحاربوا من حال بينهم وبينه. فمضى العباس عليه السلام نحو الماء، وأمامهم نافع بن هلال، حتى دنوا
من الشريعة، فمنعهم عمرو بن الحجاج. فجالدهم العباس عليه السلام على الشريعة بمن معه حتى أزالوهم
عنها، واقتحم رجالة الحسين عليه السلام الماء، فملؤوا قربهم، ووقف العباس عليه السلام في أصحابه
يذبون عنهم، حتى أوصلوا الماء إلى عسكر الحسين عليه السلام.

[2] This phrase seems weak here. The correct version that is found in other sources is: "'Who are you?' He replied, 'Nāfi' ibn Hilāl.' He said..."

Ibn al-Ḥajjāj and his men turned to them and drove them back a little. Then, a man from the tribe of Ṣudā', who was a companion of 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, was stabbed by a spear by Nāfi' Ibn Hilāl. At the time he thought it was nothing, but later the wound became infected, and the man died from the injury.

The companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) brought back the waterskins and took them to him.[1]

289: ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī – in describing the blocking of the Imam's (a) access to water:** Ibn Sa'd summoned a man by the name of 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī. He placed him in command of a large number of horsemen and instructed him to station himself on the branch of the river that was closest to the camp of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). The horsemen positioned themselves on the route to the river.

When the thirst of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his followers became severe, he called his brother, al-'Abbās (a), and despatched him [to the river] with thirty horsemen and twenty foot-soldiers. He sent them with twenty waterskins. They approached the Euphrates in the thick of the night.

'Amr Ibn al-Ḥajjāj called out, "Who goes there?"

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 412; Ansāb al-Ashrāf, vol. 3, p. 389.

فلمّا اشتدّ على الحسين وأصحابه العطش، دعا العبّاس بن عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام أخاه، فبعثه في ثلاثين فارساً وعشرين راجلاً، وبعث معهم بعشرين قربة. فجاؤوا حتّى دنوا من الماء ليلاً، واستقدم أمامهم باللواء نافع بن هلال الجملي.

فقال عمرو بن الحجّاج الزبيدي: من الرجل؟ فجيء فقال: ما جاء بك؟ قال: جئنا نشرب من هذا الماء الذي حلأتمونا عنه. قال: فاشرب هنيئاً. قال: لا والله، لا أشرب منه قطرة وحسين عليه السلام عطشان ومن ترى من أصحابه. فطلعوا عليه، فقال: لا سبيل إلى سقي هؤلاء، إنّما وضعنا بهذا المكان لنمنعهم الماء. فلمّا دنا منه أصحابه قال لرجاله: املؤوا قربكم. فشدّ الرجّالة فملؤوا قربهم، وثار إليهم عمرو بن الحجّاج وأصحابه، فحمل عليهم العبّاس بن عليّ عليه السلام ونافع بن هلال، فكفّوهم، ثمّ انصرفوا إلى رحالهم فقالوا: امضوا، ووقفوا دونهم، فعطف عليهم عمرو بن الحجّاج وأصحابه، واطّردوا قليلاً. ثمّ إنّ رجلاً من صداء طعن من أصحاب عمرو بن الحجّاج، طعنه نافع بن هلال، فظنّ أنّها ليست بشيء، ثمّ إنّها انتقضت بعد ذلك، فمات منها، وجاء أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام بالقرب، فأدخلوها عليه.

Hilāl ibn Nāfiʿ al-Jamalī replied, "I am a cousin of yours from the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a). I have come to drink from this water which you have prevented us from."

ʿAmr said to him, "Drink as much as you like!"

Nāfiʿ replied, "Shame on you! How can you tell me to drink the water, while al-Ḥusayn (a) and those with him are dying from thirst?"

ʿAmr said, "You are right, I know this. However, we have our orders and have no choice but to carry them out."

Hilāl called his companions forward, and they entered the Euphrates, while ʿAmr shouted to his men to stop them. A fierce fight broke out at the river between the two sides. A group of the Imam's (a) men were fighting, while another group hurried to fill the waterskins. A number of ʿAmr's men were killed, but none of the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) were killed. Then they returned to their camp with water, and al-Ḥusayn (a) and those with him drank from it. From that day, al-ʿAbbās (a) received the title *saqqāʾ*, the water-bearer.[1]

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 244; al-*Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 91.

وكان الذي شجعه وحثه فقال له عمرو بن الحجاج الزبيدي فضم إليه خمسمائة فارس، وأمره أن ينزل على الشريعة التي هي حذاء معسكر الحسين عليه السلام، فأقبل الخيل على شريعة الماء.

فلما اشتد العطش بالحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه دعا أخاه العباس عليه السلام وضم إليه ثلاثين فارساً وعشرين راجلاً، وبعث معهم بعشرين قربة، فأقبلوا في جوف الليل حتى دنوا من الفرات، فقال عمرو بن الحجاج: من هذا؟ فقال له هلال بن نافع البجلي: أنا ابن عم لك من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام، جئت حتى أشرب من هذا الماء الذي منعتمونا عنه. فقال له عمرو: اشرب هنيئاً مريئاً.

فقال نافع: ويحك كيف تأمرني أن أشرب من الماء والحسين عليه السلام ومن معه يموتون عطشاً؟ فقال: صدقت قد عرفت هذا، ولكن أمرنا بأمر ولا بد لنا أن ننتهي إلى ما أمرنا به.

فصاح هلال بأصحابه فدخلوا الفرات، وصاح عمرو بأصحابه ليمنعوا، فاقتتل القوم على الماء قتالاً شديداً، فكان قوم يقتتلون وقوم يملؤون القرب حتى ملؤوها، وقتل من أصحاب عمرو بن الحجاج جماعة، ولم يقتل من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام أحد. ثم رجع القوم إلى معسكرهم بالماء، فشرب الحسين عليه السلام ومن كان معه، ولقب العباس عليه السلام يومئذ السقاء.

1/23: The Letter of Ibn Ziyād to Ibn Saʿd, urging haste in engaging the Imam (a) in battle

290. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): News reached ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād that ʿUmar ibn Saʿd was sitting in discussion with al-Ḥusayn (a) in the evenings, and was reluctant to fight him. So, he despatched Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan with 4000 horsemen to Ibn Saʿd and wrote to him, "When this letter reaches you, do not give al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī any further respite. Seize his neck and deny him access to the water, just as ʿUthmān was denied water on the day he was killed (*yawm al-dār*)."[1]

291. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf from Sulaymān ibn Abī Rāshid from Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād summoned Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan and said to him, "Take this letter to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd and let him offer al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions the chance to submit to my authority. If they agree, then let him send them to me in submission; but if they refuse, then he should fight them. If he [ʿUmar] does this, then listen to him and obey him. But if he refuses, then you should fight them and take over as commander of the armies; attack al-Ḥusayn (a), strike off his neck, and send his head to me."

Abū Mikhnaf also reports from Abū Janāb al-Kalbī that ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād wrote to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd:

> Furthermore, I did not send you to al-Ḥusayn to be restrained [in your dealings] with him or to give him respite, nor did I send you to offer him peace and security or to try to make a case for him before me... Now know! If al-Ḥusayn and his companions agree to submit to my authority and surrender, then send them to me in submission. But if they refuse, then fight them until you kill them and mutilate their bodies, for that is what they deserve!

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 220, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 315, no. 1.

بلغ عبيد الله بن زياد أنّ عمر بن سعد يسامر الحسين عليه السلام ويحدّثه، ويكره قتاله، فوجّه إليه شمر بن ذي الجوشن في أربعة آلاف فارس، وكتب إلى عمر بن سعد: إذا أتاك كتابي هذا فلا تمهلنّ الحسين بن علي، وخذ بكظمه، وحل بين الماء وبينه كما حيل بين عثمان وبين الماء يوم الدار.

> And when al-Ḥusayn is killed, run horses over his chest and back, for he is a rejected rebel, a man of evil, who has divided the people! I would normally never harm anyone after death, but I have sworn that should I succeed in killing him, I will do this to him!
> If you follow our orders regarding him, we will give you the reward of one who listens and obeys. If you refuse, then leave our service and our army, and hand over the command of the soldiers to Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. We have authorised him to act on our behalf. *Peace*.[1]

1/14: The day al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions were besieged

292. ***al-Kāfī*, quoting 'Abd al-Malik from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when he asked the Imam (a) about the fast of the 9th and 10th days of Muḥarram:** The Imam (a) replied, "The 9th (*tāsū'ā*) is the day when al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions – may God be pleased with them – were besieged in Karbala by the soldiers of al-Shām, who surrounded him and stationed themselves near him. Ibn Marjānah and 'Umar ibn Sa'd rejoiced at the strength and numbers in their army. On this day, they considered al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions – may God be pleased with them – to be helpless, and were convinced that no one could come to the aid of al-Ḥusayn (a) and that the people of Iraq had abandoned him. May my father be a ransom for the stranger that was reckoned as helpless!"

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 414; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 390.

إن عبيد الله بن زياد دعا شمر بن ذي الجوشن فقال له: اخرج بهذا الكتاب إلى عمر بن سعد، فليعرض على الحسين وأصحابه النزول على حكمي، فإن فعلوا فليبعث بهم إلي سلماً، وإن هم أبوا فليقاتلهم، فإن فعل فاسمع له وأطع، وإن هو أبى أن يقاتلهم، فأنت أمير الناس، وثب عليه فاضرب عنقه، وابعث إلي برأسه.

قال أبو مخنف: حدثني أبو جناب الكلبي قال: ثم كتب عبيد الله بن زياد إلى عمر بن سعد: أما بعد، فإني لم أبعثك إلى حسين لتكف عنه ولا لتطاوله، ولا لتمنيه السلامة والبقاء، ولا لتقعد له عندي شافعاً... انظر فإن نزل حسين وأصحابه على الحكم واستسلموا فابعث بهم إلي سلماً، وإن أبوا فازحف إليهم حتى تقتلهم وتمثل بهم، فإنهم لذلك مستحقون، فإن قتل حسين فأوطئ الخيل صدره وظهره، فإنه عاق مشاق قاطع ظلوم، وليس دهري في هذا أن يضر بعد الموت شيئاً، ولكن علي قول لو قد قتلته فعلت هذا به، إن أنت مضيت لأمرنا فيه جزيناك جزاء السامع المطيع، وإن أبيت فاعتزل عملنا وجندنا، وخل بين شمر بن ذي الجوشن وبين العسكر، فإنا قد أمرناه بأمرنا، والسلام.

Then he said, "As for the day of Ashura, it is the day of the suffering of al-Ḥusayn (a), at the end of which he lay martyred amongst his companions, and they too, lay dead and unburied all around him. Should one fast on a day like this? Never, by the God of the Sacred House!"[1]

1/15: The plot of Shimr to cause division between the Imam (a) and his brother, al-ʿAbbās (a)

193. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sharīk al-ʿĀmirī: When Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan was in possession of the letter [of Ibn Ziyād to Ibn Saʿd], he and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī al-Muḥil rose to leave. The paternal aunt of Ibn Abī al-Muḥil was Umm al-Banīn, the wife of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), who had borne him al-ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh, Jaʿfar, and ʿUthmān.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abū al-Muḥil said: "May God make the governor proper! The sons of our sister are with al-Ḥusayn. If you are in agreement, write a letter of immunity for them."

[Ibn Ziyād] said, "Yes, by all means." He instructed his scribe to write the letter of immunity, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī al-Muḥil despatched it with his bondsman, a man called Kuzmān. When he reached them [in Karbala], he called out to them and said, "Here is a guarantee of immunity which has been sent by your maternal uncle."

The young men [the sons of Umm al-Banīn] replied, "Pass on our greetings to our uncle, and tell him that we do not need his guarantee of immunity. Indeed, God's guarantee of immunity is better than that of the son of Sumayyah!"

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[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 147, no. 7; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 45, p. 95, no. 40.

سألت أبا عبد الله عليه السلام عن صوم تاسوعا وعاشورا من شهر المحرم؟

فقال: تاسوعا يوم حوصر فيه الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه رضي الله عنهم بكربلاء واجتمع عليه خيل
أهل الشام وأناخوا عليه وفرح ابن مرجانة وعمر بن سعد بتوافر الخيل وكثرتها واستضعفوا فيه الحسين
عليه السلام وأصحابه رضي الله عنهم وأيقنوا أن لا يأتي الحسين عليه السلام ناصر ولا يمده أهل العراق،
بأبي المستضعف الغريب.

ثم قال: وأما يوم عاشوراء فيوم أصيب فيه الحسين عليه السلام صريعا بين أصحابه، وأصحابه صرعى حوله
عراة، أفصوم يكون في ذلك اليوم؟! كلا ورب البيت الحرام

Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan brought the letter of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd. After he received it and read it, ʿUmar said to him, "Woe be on you, what is the matter with you? May God keep you distant from your home! May He make hateful what you have brought to me! By God! I think that it was you who convinced him not to consider what I had written to him. You have ruined matters for us after we had hoped to reach an amicable solution. Ḥusayn will never surrender, by God! His father's blood runs in his veins."

Shimr said, "Tell me what you plan to do. Will you carry out the orders of your governor and kill his enemy? If not, hand over the command of the soldiers and the army to me."

ʿUmar replied, "No! There will be no glory in this for you! I will do what is necessary, not you. You take charge of the foot-soldiers."

ʿUmar prepared for battle with al-Ḥusayn (a) on the eve of Thursday, the 9th of Muḥarram.

Shimr came forward until he was facing the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a). He called out, "Where are the sons of our sister?" Al-ʿAbbās, Jaʿfar, and ʿUthmān, the sons of ʿAlī (a), came out to him and said, "What is your business, what do you want?"

He said, "O sons of my sister, you have been granted immunity."

The young men replied, "May God curse you and curse your immunity! Even though you are our uncle – how could you grant us immunity while there is no immunity for the son of God's Messenger (s)?"

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1 *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 415; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 89.

لما قبض شمر بن ذي الجوشن الكتاب قام هو وعبد الله بن أبي المحل، وكانت عمته أم البنين ابنة حزام عند علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، فولدت له العباس وعبد الله وجعفراً وعثمان، فقال عبد الله بن أبي المحل بن حزام بن خالد بن ربيعة بن الوحيد بن كعب بن عامر بن كلاب: أصلح الله الأمير، إن بني أختنا مع الحسين، فإن رأيت أن تكتب لهم أماناً فعلت، قال: نعم ونعمة عين.

فأمر كاتبه فكتب لهم أماناً، فبعث به عبد الله بن أبي المحل مع مولى له يقال له: كزمان، فلما قدم عليهم دعاهم فقال: هذا أمان بعث به خالكم، فقال له الفتية: أقرئ خالنا السلام وقل له: أن لا حاجة لنا في أمانكم، أمان الله خير من أمان ابن سمية.

قال: فأقبل شمر بن ذي الجوشن بكتاب عبيد الله بن زياد إلى عمر بن سعد، فلما قدم به عليه فقرأه قال له عمر: ما لك ويلك، لا قرب الله دارك، وقبح الله ما قدمت به علي، والله إني لأظنك أنت ثنيته أن

194. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Shimr came forward and said, "Where are the sons of my sister?" [He meant al-ʿAbbās (a), ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUthmān, and Jaʿfar, the sons of ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a) and Umm al-Banīn, the daughter of Ḥizām ibn Rabīʿah al-Kilābī, the poet.]

They came forward towards him. Shimr said, "You [all] have immunity."

They said, "May God curse you, and curse your immunity. How dare you offer us immunity while there is no immunity for the son of the daughter of God's Messenger (s)!"[1]

195. *al-Malhūf*: Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan – may God curse him – came forward and called out: "Where are my nephews, ʿAbd Allāh, Jaʿfar, al-ʿAbbās, and ʿUthmān?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said [to his brothers], "Reply to him, even though he is a reprobate (*fāsiq*). He is one of your maternal uncles."

They asked Shimr, "What do you want?"

He replied, "O sons of my sister, you all have a guarantee of immunity. Do not get killed along with your brother, al-Ḥusayn. Give your allegiance instead to the commander of the faithful, Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah!"

Al-ʿAbbās (a) retorted, "May your hands perish! A curse be on your offer of immunity! O enemy of God! Do you ask us to leave our brother

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يقبل ما كتبت به إليه. أفسدت علينا أمراً كنا رجونا أن يصلح، لا يستسلم - والله - حسين، إنّ نفساً
أبيّة لبين جنبيه.

فقال له شمر: أخبرني ما أنت صانع؟ أتمضي لأمر أميرك وتقاتل عدوّه، وإلا فخلّ بيني وبين الجند
والعسكر.

قال: لا، ولا كرامة لك، وأنا أتولّى ذلك. قال: فدونك، وكن أنت على الرجال. قال: فنهض إليه عشية
الخميس لتسع مضين من المحرم. قال: وجاء شمر حتى وقف على أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام فقال:
أين بنو أختنا؟ فخرج إليه العباس وجعفر وعثمان بنو علي عليه السلام فقالوا له: ما لك وما تريد؟ قال:
أنتم يا بني أختي آمنون. قال له الفتية: لعنك الله ولعن أمانك، لئن كنت خالنا أتؤمننا وابن رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وآله لا أمان له!

[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 390; *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 337.

وأقبل شمر فقال: أين بنو أختنا؟ يعني العباس وعبد الله وجعفراً وعثمان بني علي بن أبي طالب عليه
السلام، وأمهم أم البنين بنت حزام بن ربيعة الكلابي الشاعر. فخرجوا إليه فقال: لكم الأمان. فقالوا:
لعنك الله ولعن أمانك، أتؤمننا وابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لا أمان له!

and master, al-Ḥusayn (a), the son of Fāṭimah (a), and enter into the service of the accursed, son of the accursed?"

[On hearing this] Shimr returned to his army in fury.[1]

1/16: Seeking respite for one night, to pray, supplicate, and ask for God's forgiveness

396. *Tarikh al-Ṭabari*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Ḥārith ibn Ḥaṣīrah from 'Abd Allāh ibn Sharīk - about the events of the afternoon of 9th of Muharram: 'Umar ibn Sa'd announced, "O horsemen of God! Mount up, may you be blessed!"

After the afternoon ('aṣr) prayer, he rode amongst his men and approached the camp of al-Ḥusayn (a). The Imam (a) was sitting in front of his tent with his sword at his side, when he nodded off briefly, with his head on his knees. His sister Zaynab (a) heard the commotion [of the enemy advance], and came to her brother and said, "O brother, do you not hear the clamour that has got closer?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) raised his head and said, "I just saw God's Messenger (s) in a dream. He said to me, 'You are coming toward us.'"

His sister struck her face and cried, "Woe unto me!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "Woe is not for you, dear sister. Be calm, may the Merciful have mercy on you."

Al-'Abbās (a) informed him, "O brother! The people have advanced towards you."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) stood up and said, "Ride out and meet them, O 'Abbās, O my brother, may my soul be ransomed for you! Ask them what the matter is, what has changed their mind, and whether they have received any [fresh] instructions."

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 148; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 55.

أقبل شمر بن ذي الجوشن - لعنه الله - فنادى: أين بنو أختي عبد الله وجعفر والعباس وعثمان؟ فقال الحسين عليه السلام: أجيبوه وإن كان فاسقاً فإنه بعض أخوالكم، فقالوا له: ما شأنك؟

فقال: يا بني أختي أنتم آمنون، فلا تقتلوا أنفسكم مع أخيكم الحسين، والزموا طاعة أمير المؤمنين يزيد بن معاوية.

فناداه العباس بن علي عليه السلام: تبت يداك، ولعن ما جئت به من أمانك يا عدو الله أتأمرنا أن نترك أخانا وسيدنا الحسين بن فاطمة وندخل في طاعة اللعناء أولاد اللعناء؟

فرجع الشمر إلى عسكره مغضباً.

Al-ʿAbbās (a) rode out to meet them with twenty horsemen, amongst whom were Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn and Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir. Al-ʿAbbās asked the enemy, "What has changed your mind? What do you want?"

They replied, "The order of the governor has come. We are to offer you the choice of submitting to his authority, or else we should fight you."

Al-ʿAbbās (a) said, "Do not be in a hurry to act until I go back to Abū ʿAbd Allāh, and inform him of what you have said."

They halted and said, "Go then and inform him, and bring back his reply."

Al-ʿAbbās (a) turned away and rode back swiftly to al-Ḥusayn (a) to bring him the news, while his companions stayed back to admonish the soldiers. Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir said to Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn, "Speak to these people, or if you prefer, I shall talk to them."

Zuhayr said to him, "You were there at the beginning, so you speak to them."

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir then addressed them, "By God! Who will be more wretched in God's eyes in the hereafter than those who will stand before Him after having murdered the children, progeny, and family of His Messenger (s), and the devout worshippers in this land, who strive in prayer at dawn and remember God abundantly?"

ʿAzrah ibn Qays replied, "You praised your soul as much as you could!"

Zuhayr said to him, "O ʿAzrah! It is God Who has purified and guided that soul. Be wary of God, O ʿAzrah, for I am a sincere adviser to you. I beseech you before God, O ʿAzrah, not to participate in the killing of pure souls in order to help those who have gone astray."

He replied, "O Zuhayr! According to our information, you were not a partisan (Shīʿa) of this household. You used to be a partisan of ʿUthmān (ʿUthmānī)."

He replied, "Does my present stand not make clear that I am with them? But by God! I did not ever write to him, or ever send him a messenger, or ever promise him my help. However, our journey brought us together. When I met him, I was reminded of God's Messenger (s) and of al-Ḥusayn's (a) status in his eyes. I became aware of what his enemy and your people planned for him, so I realized that I had to help him, join his side, and put my life before his. [I did this] to restore the right of God and the right of His Prophet (s), which you have forsaken."

[At this time] al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) galloped back to them and said, "O people! Abū 'Abd Allāh (a) asks you to go back [to your camps] tonight so that he may consider this matter..."

When al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) had taken the news of the proposal of 'Umar ibn Sa'd to al-Ḥusayn (a), he had said, "Return to them. If you can, convince them to delay [the confrontation] until tomorrow morning. Keep them away tonight, so that we may spend the night in prayer to our Lord, to supplicate to Him and seek His forgiveness. For He knows that I have always loved praying to Him, reciting His book, supplicating to Him frequently, and seeking His forgiveness!"

Abū Mikhnaf quotes from Ḥārith ibn Ḥaṣīrah from 'Abd Allāh ibn Sharīk al-'Āmirī that 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) told him, "A messenger from 'Umar ibn Sa'd came to us. He stood in a manner that his voice could be heard and announced, 'We give you a respite until tomorrow. If you surrender, we will take you to our governor, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, but if you refuse, we shall not leave you alone.'"[1]

297. ***al-Malhūf*** When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw the eagerness of the enemy to start battle, and that admonishment and dialogue had not had much effect on them, he said to his brother al-'Abbās (a), "If you can,

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 416; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 391.

إنّ عمر بن سعد نادى: يا خيل الله اركبي وأبشري، فركب في الناس، ثمّ زحف نحوهم بعد صلاة العصر،
والحسين عليه السلام جالس أمام بيته محتبيا بسيفه، إذ خفق برأسه على ركبتيه، وسمعت أخته زينب
عليها السلام الصيحة، فدنت من أخيها، فقالت: يا أخي أما تسمع الأصوات قد اقتربت؟

قال: فرفع الحسين عليه السلام رأسه، فقال: إنّي رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله في المنام فقال
لي: إنّك تروح إلينا. قال: فلطمت أخته وجهها، وقالت: يا ويلتا! فقال: ليس لك الويل يا أخيّة، اسكتي
رحمك الرحمن.

وقال العبّاس بن عليّ عليه السلام: يا أخي أتاك القوم. قال: فنهض، ثمّ قال: يا عبّاس، اركب بنفسي
أنت يا أخي حتّى تلقاهم، فتقول لهم: ما لكم؟ وما بدا لكم؟ وتسألهم عمّا جاء بهم

dissuade them away from us for today, so that we may spend this night in prayer to our Lord, for He knows that I love prayer to Him, and reciting from His book."

Al-'Abbās (a) asked them for this [respite], but 'Umar ibn Sa'd was reluctant. 'Amr ibn al-Hajjāj al-Zubaydi said to him, "By God! Even if

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فأتاهم العباس عليه السلام فاستقبلهم في نحو من عشرين فارساً، فيهم زهير بن القين، وحبيب بن مظاهر، فقال لهم العباس عليه السلام: ما بدا لكم وما تريدون؟ قالوا: جاء أمر الأمير بأن نعرض عليكم أن تنزلوا على حكمه أو ننازلكم.

قال: فلا تعجلوا حتى أرجع إلى أبي عبد الله فأعرض عليه ما ذكرتم. قال: فوقفوا، ثم قالوا: القه فأعلمه ذلك، ثم القنا بما يقول.

قال: فانصرف العباس عليه السلام راجعاً يركض إلى الحسين عليه السلام يخبره بالخبر، ووقف أصحابه يخاطبون القوم، فقال حبيب بن مظاهر لزهير بن القين: كلّم القوم إن شئت، وإن شئت كلمتهم.

فقال له زهير: أنت بدأت بهذا، فكن أنت تكلمهم. فقال لهم حبيب بن مظاهر: أما والله لبئس القوم عند الله غداً قوم يقدمون عليه قد قتلوا ذرية نبيه عليه السلام وعترته وأهل بيته صلى الله عليه و آله، وعبّاد أهل هذا المصر المتهجدين بالأسحار، والذاكرين الله كثيراً.

فقال له عزرة بن قيس: إنك لتزكي نفسك ما استطعت.

فقال له زهير: يا عزرة إن الله قد زكاها وهداها، فاتق الله يا عزرة، فإني لك من الناصحين، أنشدك الله يا عزرة أن تكون ممن يعين الضلال على قتل النفوس الزكية.

قال: يا زهير ما كنت عندنا من شيعة أهل هذا البيت، إنما كنت عثمانياً.

قال: أفلست تستدل بموقفي هذا أني منهم؟ أما والله ما كتبت إليه كتاباً قط، ولا أرسلت إليه رسولاً قط، ولا وعدته نصرتي قط، ولكن الطريق جمع بيني وبينه، فلما رأيته ذكرت به رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله ومكانه منه، وعرفت ما يقدم عليه من عدوه وحزبكم، فرأيت أن أنصره، وأن أكون في حزبه، وأن أجعل نفسي دون نفسه، حفظاً لما ضيعتم من حق الله وحق رسوله صلى الله عليه و آله.

قال: وأقبل العباس بن علي عليه السلام يركض حتى انتهى إليهم، فقال: يا هؤلاء، إن أبا عبد الله يسألكم أن تنصرفوا هذه العشية حتى ينظر في هذا الأمر... وكان العباس بن علي عليه السلام حين أتى حسيناً عليه السلام بما عرض عليه عمر بن سعد قال: ارجع إليهم فإن استطعت أن تؤخرهم إلى غدوة وتدفعهم عند العشية، لعلنا نصلي لربنا الليلة وندعوه ونستغفره، فهو يعلم أني قد كنت أحب الصلاة له وتلاوة كتابه، وكثرة الدعاء والاستغفار.

قال أبو مخنف: حدثني الحارث بن حصيرة عن عبد الله بن شريك العامري عن علي بن الحسين عليه السلام قال: أتانا رسول من قبل عمر بن سعد فقام مثل حيث يسمع الصوت، فقال: إنا قد أجّلناكم إلى غد، فإن استسلمتم سرحنا بكم إلى أميرنا عبيد الله بن زياد، وإن أبيتم فلسنا تاركيكم.

these were Turks or Daylamis and had asked for this, we would have agreed. But these are the family of the Prophet (s); how can we deny them?"[1] Thus the request was accepted.

Al-Husayn (a) dozed off while sitting. When he awoke, he said, "O sister! I just saw my grandfather Muhammad (s), my father 'Ali (a), my mother Fāṭimah (a), and my brother al-Hasan (a) in a dream; they were calling to me, 'O Husayn! Soon [according to some reports, tomorrow] you are coming to us.'"[1]

Zaynab (a) struck her face and cried out. Al-Husayn (a) said to her, "Be calm, lest the enemy gloat over our sorrow."[1]

398. *Muthir al-Ahzan*: On the 9th of Muharram, 'Umar ibn Sa'd called them [al-Husayn (a) and his companions] to battle. Al-Husayn (a) sent al-'Abbas (a) to him asking for respite for that night. 'Umar asked Shimr for his opinion. Shimr said, "If I was the commander, I would not give them any respite."

'Amr ibn al-Hajjāj ibn Salamah ibn 'Abd Yaghūth al-Zubaydi said, "Glory be to God! By God, even if he was a Turk or Daylami, and requested this of you, you would have no right to refuse! Give them respite."

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 150; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 391.

فلما رأى الحسين عليه السلام حرص القوم على تعجيل القتال وقلة انتفاعهم بالوعظ والمقال، قال لأخيه العباس عليه السلام: إن استطعت أن تصرفهم عنا في هذا اليوم فافعل، لعلنا نصلي لربنا في هذه الليلة، فإنه يعلم أني أحب الصلاة له وتلاوة كتابه.

قال الراوي: فسألهم العباس عليه السلام ذلك، فتوقف عمر بن سعد، فقال له عمرو بن الحجاج الزبيدي: والله لو أنهم من الترك والديلم وسألوا مثل ذلك لأجبناهم، فكيف وهم آل محمد؟ فأجابوهم إلى ذلك.

قال الراوي: وجلس الحسين عليه السلام فرقد، ثم استيقظ وقال: يا أختاه إني رأيت الساعة جدي محمداً صلى الله عليه وآله وأبي علياً وأمي فاطمة وأخي الحسن عليهم السلام وهم يقولون: يا حسين إنك رائح إلينا عن قريب، وفي بعض الروايات: غداً.

قال الراوي: فلطمت زينب عليها السلام وجهها وصاحت، فقال لها الحسين عليه السلام: مهلاً لا تشمتي القوم بنا.

That night, the murmur of prayers and the recitation of the Qur'an rose from the camp of al-Husayn (a) like the buzzing of bees. Some of the men of 'Umar ibn Sa'd joined them.[1]

117: The conversation of the Imam (a) with his family and companions, giving them all permission to depart

595. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Ḥārith ibn Ḥaṣirah from 'Abd Allāh ibn Sharīk al-'Āmirī, from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): After 'Umar ibn Sa'd had gone away, al-Husayn (a) gathered his companions around him. This was close to dusk.

I came near him so that I could hear his words, even though I was ill. I heard my father say to his companions, "I glorify God – most Blessed and Exalted – with the most felicitous glorification, and I praise Him in prosperity and adversity. O God! I praise You for honouring us with prophethood, teaching us the Qur'an, making us understand the religion, giving us ears and eyes and hearts, and not making us from among the idolaters.

"Indeed, I do not know of more fitting and more virtuous companions than my companions, nor of a family more righteous and concerned about kinship than my family; may God, on my behalf, give you all the best of rewards!

"Now, I believe that tomorrow is the day of reckoning between us and these enemies. I have given thought to you [your fates]. You should all depart. You are absolved from any obligation to me. This night has afforded you cover; ride away [in its darkness]."[2]

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[1] *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 52.

فلما كان التاسع من المحرم أقبل عمر بن سعد إلى المحاربة، فأرسل الحسين عليه السلام العباس عليه السلام فالتمس منهم تأخير تلك الليلة، فقال عمر لشمر: ما تقول؟ وقال: أما أنا لو كنت الأمير لم أنظره. فقال عمرو بن الحجاج بن سلمة بن عبد يغوث الزبيدي: سبحان الله، والله لو كان من الترك والديلم وسألوك عن هذا ما كان لك أن تمنعهم، فأجابوهم.

فكان لهم في تلك الليلة دوي كدوي النحل من الصلاة والتلاوة، فعبر إليهم جماعة من أصحاب عمر بن سعد.

[2] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 418; *al-Irshad*, vol. 2, p. 91.

جمع الحسين عليه السلام أصحابه بعدما رجع عمر بن سعد، وذلك عند قرب المساء، قال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: فدنوت منه لأسمع وأنا مريض، فسمعت أبي وهو يقول لأصحابه:

1/38: The response of the family and companions of the Imam (a)

900. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mishraqī: Mālik ibn al-Naḍr al-Arḥabī and I came to al-Ḥusayn (a)... When night fell, he said, "The [darkness of] night has covered you. Use it as a means to leave. Each of you take the hand of a member of my family, and disperse into the desert and to your villages until God gives you salvation. These men are only after me, and if they capture me, they will not seek anyone else."

His brothers, sons, nephews, and the two sons of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar said to him, "Why would we do this? So that we may remain after you? May God never show us such a day!"

Al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī (a) was the first of them to declare this, and afterwards, the rest said something similar.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O sons of ʿAqīl! Your family has sacrificed enough with the martyrdom of Muslim. Leave, for I give you permission."

They replied, "And what would people say? They would say that we abandoned our chief and master, and our cousins, the sons of the best of uncles; that we did not shoot arrows with them, that we did not hurl spears with them, that we did not strike with our swords with them; and that we did not know what they did! By God! We will not do that! We will sacrifice our lives, our property and our families for you. We will fight at you side until we share your fate. May God not allow us to live after you..."

Abū Mikhnaf added: "Then Muslim ibn ʿAwsajah al-Asadī rose and said, 'How could we abandon you? What excuse would we present before God about our duty to you? No, by God! I will not leave you before I have broken my spear in their chests. I will keep striking them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. When I have

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أثني على الله تبارك وتعالى أحسن الثناء، وأحمده على السراء والضراء، اللهم إني أحمدك على أن أكرمتنا بالنبوة، وعلمتنا القرآن، وفقهتنا في الدين، وجعلت لنا أسماعاً وأبصاراً وأفئدة، ولم تجعلنا من المشركين.

أما بعد، فإني لا أعلم أصحاباً أولى ولا خيراً من أصحابي، ولا أهل بيت أبرّ ولا أوصل من أهل بيتي، فجزاكم الله عني جميعاً خيراً، ألا وإني أظن يومنا من هؤلاء الأعداء غداً، ألا وإني قد رأيت لكم، فانطلقوا جميعاً في حلّ، ليس عليكم مني ذمام، هذا الليل قد غشيكم فاتخذوه جملاً.

no weapon left to fight them with, I will throw stones at them in your defence, until I die alongside you."

Then Sa'id ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hanafi said, "By God! We will never abandon you until God sees that, through you, we honoured the memory of the Messenger (s) of God. By God! If I knew that I would be killed, then brought back to life, then burnt alive, then my ashes scattered in the wind – and that this would happen to me seventy times, even then I would not leave you until I give my life to protect you! So why then should I not do the same when I know that I will be killed but once, and this would lead to eternal and abiding honour?"

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn said, "By God! I would gladly be killed then brought back to life, and then killed in this manner a thousand times, so that through these repeated lives of mine, God should protect your life and the lives of these young men from your household."

One by one, most of his companions rose to speak in a similar fashion. They said, "By God! We will not leave you; may our lives be sacrificed for you! We will protect you with our chests and our heads and our hands; and when we are killed, we will have been loyal to our oath and fulfilled our duty."[1]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 419; al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 89.

[illegible] وحدثني [illegible] بن [illegible] الأرحبي عن الحسين عليه السلام... فلما كان الليل قال: هذا الليل قد غشيكم فاتخذوه جملا، ثم ليأخذ كل رجل منكم بيد رجل من أهل بيتي، تفرقوا في سوادكم ومدائنكم حتى يفرج الله، فإن القوم إنما يطلبوني، ولو قد أصابوني لهوا عن طلب غيري.

فقال له إخوته وأبناؤه وبنو أخيه وابنا عبد الله بن جعفر: لم نفعل؟ لنبقى بعدك؟ لا أرانا الله ذلك أبدا. بدأهم بهذا القول العباس بن علي عليه السلام، ثم إنهم تكلموا بهذا ونحوه.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: يا بني عقيل: حسبكم من القتل بمسلم، اذهبوا قد أذنت لكم. قالوا: فما يقول الناس؟ يقولون: إنا تركنا شيخنا وسيدنا وبني عمومتنا خير الأعمام، ولم نرم معهم بسهم، ولم نطعن معهم برمح، ولم نضرب معهم بسيف، ولا ندري ما صنعوا؟ لا والله لا نفعل، ولكن تفديك أنفسنا وأموالنا وأهلونا، ونقاتل معك حتى نرد موردك، فقبح الله العيش بعدك...

قال: فقام إليه مسلم بن عوسجة الأسدي فقال: أنحن نخلي عنك ولما نعذر إلى الله في أداء حقك؟ أما والله حتى أكسر في صدورهم رمحي، وأضربهم بسيفي ما ثبت قائمه في يدي، ولا أفارقك، ولو لم يكن معي سلاح أقاتلهم به لقذفتهم بالحجارة دونك حتى أموت معك.

311. ***al-Amālī*** **of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a), from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a):** When the letter [of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād] reached 'Umar ibn Sa'd, he instructed his herald to announce, "We have given respite for this day and night to al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions."

This announcement weighed heavily on al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions. Al-Ḥusayn (a) stood up amongst them to address them, saying, "O God! I do not know of a household better or more virtuous or more pious than my household, nor companions who are better than my companions.

"You all see what my situation has come to. I absolve you of your allegiance to me. I have no right over you, and you are under no further obligation to me. The [darkness of] night has covered you. Use it as a means to leave and disperse in the desert. These people are only after me, and once they have me, they will lose interest in seeking out anyone else."

'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl ibn Abū Ṭālib stood up and said, "O son of God's Messenger (s), what will the people say to us if we betray our chief, our elder, and our leader, the son of the foremost of our uncles, and the son of our Prophet (s), the foremost of prophets? [What will they say to us] if we do not strike with our swords alongside them, and do not fight with our spears? No, by God! We desire to share in your fate, and give our lives before your life, and our blood before your blood. Only when we have done this, will we have fulfilled our responsibility and accomplished our duty."

قال: وقال سعيد بن عبد الله الحنفي: والله، لا نخليك حتى يعلم الله أنا قد حفظنا غيبة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فيك. والله لو علمت أني أقتل ثم أحيا، ثم أحرق حيا، ثم أذرى، يفعل ذلك بي سبعين مرة ما فارقتك حتى ألقى حمامي دونك، فكيف لا أفعل ذلك وإنما هي قتلة واحدة ثم هي الكرامة التي لا انقضاء لها أبدا.

قال: وقال زهير بن القين: والله لوددت أني قتلت ثم نشرت ثم قتلت حتى أقتل كذا ألف قتلة وأن الله يدفع بذلك القتل عن نفسك وعن أنفس هؤلاء الفتية من أهل بيتك.

قال: وتكلم جماعة أصحابه بكلام يشبه بعضه بعضا في وجه واحد، فقالوا: والله لا نفارقك، ولكن أنفسنا لك الفداء، نقيك بنحورنا وجباهنا وأيدينا، فإذا نحن قتلنا كنا وفينا وقضينا ما علينا.

A man by the name of Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bajalī stood up and said, "O son of God's Messenger (s), I would wish to be killed, then revived, then killed, then revived, then killed, then revived, then killed again, for you and for those with you – a hundred times, so that God would protect you, the household [Ahl al-Bayt], through me."

He responded to him, and all his companions, "May you be rewarded with goodness."[1]

302. *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān al-Kalbī: Al-Husayn (a) stood up amongst his companions and addressed them saying, "O God! You know that I do not know of better companions than my own companions, nor of a better household than my own household. May God reward you with goodness. You have indeed supported and assisted me.

"These people do not want anyone but me, and if they kill me, they will not seek out anyone else. Night has fallen, so under the cover of its darkness, scatter in the desert and save yourselves."

His brother, al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) and his son 'Alī al-Akbar and the sons of 'Aqīl rose to their feet and said to him, "God forbid! By this sacred month! What will we say to the people when we return to them?

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, al-Amālī, p. 220, no. 239; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 44, p. 315, no. 1.

لما وصل الكتاب (من عبيد الله بن زياد) إلى عمر بن سعد أمر مناديه فنادى: إنا قد أجلنا حسينا وأصحابه يومهم وليلتهم، فشق ذلك على الحسين عليه السلام وعلى أصحابه، فقام الحسين عليه السلام في أصحابه خطيبا، فقال: اللهم إني لا أعرف أهل بيت أبر ولا أزكى ولا أطهر من أهل بيتي ولا أصحابا هم خير من أصحابي، وقد نزل بي ما قد ترون، وأنتم في حل من بيعتي ليست لي في أعناقكم بيعة ولا لي عليكم ذمة، وهذا الليل قد غشيكم فاتخذوه جملا، وتفرقوا في سواده فإن القوم إنما يطلبونني، ولو ظفروا بي لذهلوا عن طلب غيري.

فقام إليه عبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل بن أبي طالب، فقال: يا ابن رسول الله ماذا يقول لنا الناس إن نحن خذلنا شيخنا وكبيرنا وسيدنا، وابن سيد الأعمام وابن نبينا سيد الأنبياء، لم نضرب معه بسيف ولم نقاتل معه برمح؟ لا والله أو نرد موردك، ونجعل أنفسنا دون نفسك، ودماءنا دون دمك، فإذا نحن فعلنا ذلك فقد قضينا ما علينا، وخرجنا مما لزمنا.

وقام إليه رجل يقال له زهير بن القين البجلي، فقال: يا ابن رسول الله وددت أني قتلت ثم نشرت ثم قتلت ثم نشرت، ثم قتلت ثم نشرت فيك وفي الذين معك مائة قتلة، وإن الله دفع بي عنكم أهل البيت. فقال له ولأصحابه: جزيتم خيرا.

That we deserted our leader, the son of our leader and our pillar, and left him exposed to arrows and as a target for spears, to be slaughtered by brutes, all so that we could live longer? God forbid! Indeed, we [only] live for your life, and we shall die with you."

Al-Husayn (a) wept upon hearing this and they wept with him. He prayed for their good reward. Then he sat down, may God's peace be on him.[1]

303. *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra (al-tabaqat al-khamisah min al-sahabah)*, quoting Aswad ibn al-Qays al-'Abdi: Muhammad ibn Bashir al-Hadrami was told, "Your son has been taken prisoner at the border of al-Rayy."

He replied, "I place him and myself in God's hands. I did not want him to be imprisoned, nor do I want to live after him."

Al-Husayn (a) heard his words and said to him, "May God have mercy on you. I free you from your oath of allegiance, so go and try to get your son freed."

He said, "May wild beasts devour me alive, if I ever leave your side!"

The Imam (a) said, "In that case, give these costly garments to your [other] son so that he may use them to free his brother." Then he gave him five garments valued at 1000 dinars.[2]

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[1] *Maqatil al-Talibiyyin*, p. 112.

ثم قام الحسين عليه السلام في أصحابه خطيباً فقال: اللهم إنك تعلم أني لا أعلم أصحاباً خيراً من أصحابي، ولا أهل بيت خيراً من أهل بيتي، فجزاكم الله خيراً، فقد آزرتم وعاونتم، والقوم لا يريدون غيري، ولو قتلوني لم يبتغوا غيري أحداً، فإذا جنكم الليل فتفرقوا في سواده وانجوا بأنفسكم.

فقام إليه العباس بن علي أخوه وعلي ابنه وبنو عقيل عليهم السلام فقالوا له: معاذ الله والشهر الحرام، فماذا نقول للناس إذا رجعنا إليهم، إنا تركنا سيدنا وابن سيدنا وعمادنا، وتركناه غرضاً للنبل، ودريئة للرماح، وجزراً للسباع، وفررنا عنه رغبة في الحياة؟ معاذ الله، بل نحيا بحياتك ونموت معك. فبكى وبكوا عليه، وجزاهم خيراً، ثم نزل صلوات الله عليه.

[2] *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra / al-tabaqat al-khamisah min al-sahabah*, vol. 1, p. 468, no. 443; *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, vol. 6, p. 407.

قيل لمحمد بن بشير الحضرمي: قد أسر ابنك بثغر الري.

قال: عند الله أحتسبه ونفسي، ما كنت أحب أن يؤسر، ولا أن أبقى بعده.

1/19: Showing the companions of the Imam (a) their stations in Paradise

394. *ʿIlal al-Sharāʾiʿ*, quoting Muḥammad ibn al-ʿUmārah: I asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), "Tell me about the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) when they faced death."

The Imam (a) replied, "The veils were lifted from before their eyes, so that they could see their stations in paradise. Each one of them advanced towards martyrdom, to meet the heavenly maidens and to reach their stations in paradise."[1]

395. *al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, from Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): On the night before the day my father was martyred, I was with him when he addressed his companions saying, "Night has fallen, so use its cover to leave. These people are after me, and if they kill me, they will have no interest in you. You are released [from your oath of allegiance] and free to choose what you want to do."

His companions said, "No, by God! That will never happen!"

He said, "Tomorrow you will also be killed; none of you will survive."

They said, "All praise is due to God, who has honoured us with martyrdom at your side."

Then the Imam (a) made a prayer and said to them, "Raise you heads and observe."

They saw their places and homes in paradise, while the Imam (a) called out to individuals, pointing out their houses, palaces, and levels in paradise.

فسمع قوله الحسين عليه السلام فقال له: رحمك الله أنت في حلّ من بيعتي، فاعمل في فكاك ابنك.

فقال: أكلتني السباع حيا إن فارقتك.

قال: فأعط ابنك هذه الأثواب والبرود يستعين بها في فكاك أخيه.

فأعطاه خمسة أثواب قيمتها ألف دينار.

[1] ʿIlal al-Sharāʾiʿ, p. 229, no. 1; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 44, p. 297, no. 1.

قلت له: أخبرني عن أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام وإقدامهم على الموت.

فقال: إنهم كشف لهم الغطاء حتى رأوا منازلهم من الجنة، فكان الرجل منهم يقدم على القتل ليبادر إلى حوراء يعانقها وإلى مكانه من الجنة.

Thereafter, every one of them went out to face the spears and swords, focused on reaching his station in paradise.[1]

1/20: A night of prayer and seeking forgiveness

306. ***Ansāb al-Ashrāf:*** When night fell over the camp of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, they spent all their time in prayer to God, glorifying Him, seeking His forgiveness, supplicating to Him, and seeking His help.[2]

307. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī:** Night fell, and al-Ḥusayn (a) spent the night [of Ashura] bowing and prostrating, tearfully seeking God's forgiveness, beseeching Him and whispering to Him. His companions also spent their time in worship, causing a continuous murmur like the buzzing of bees.[3]

308. ***al-Malhūf:*** Al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions spent that night in bowing and prostration, standing and sitting in prayer. Their prayers could be heard in a low murmur, like the buzzing of bees.

On that night, thirty-two men from the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd came over and joined them.

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[1] *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, vol. 2, p. 847, no. 62; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 298, no. 3.

قال علي بن الحسين: كنت مع أبي الليلة التي قتل في صبيحتها، فقال لأصحابه: هذا الليل فاتخذوه جملاً، فإن القوم إنما يريدونني، ولو قتلوني لم يلتفتوا إليكم، وأنتم في حل وسعة. فقالوا: لا والله، لا يكون هذا أبداً. قال: إنكم تقتلون غداً كذلك، لا يفلت منكم رجل. قالوا: الحمد لله الذي شرفنا بالقتل معك.

ثم دعا وقال لهم: ارفعوا رؤوسكم وانظروا. فجعلوا ينظرون إلى مواضعهم ومنازلهم من الجنة، وهو يقول لهم: هذا منزلك يا فلان، وهذا قصرك يا فلان، وهذه درجتك يا فلان.

فكان الرجل يستقبل الرماح والسيوف بصدره ووجهه ليصل إلى منزله من الجنة.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 393; *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 337.

لما جن الليل على الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه قاموا الليل كله يصلون ويسبحون ويستغفرون ويدعون ويتضرعون.

[3] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 251; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 101.

جن الليل، فبات الحسين عليه السلام تلك الليلة [ليلة عاشوراء] راكعاً ساجداً باكياً مستغفراً متضرعاً، وبات أصحابه ولهم دوي كدوي النحل.

Indeed, frequent prayer and exemplary qualities were innate features of al-Ḥusayn (a).[1]

309. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, quoting al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ka'b, and Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk, from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions spent the entire night in prayer, seeking God's forgiveness, supplicating to Him and tearfully beseeching Him.

The enemy had posted horsemen outside, under the command of 'Azrah ibn al-Qays al-Aḥmasī. These sentries, who were patrolling behind the camp, heard al-Ḥusayn (a) recite,[2] "*And let not the disbelievers imagine that the respite We give them is better for their souls; We only grant them respite so that they add to their sins, and they shall have a disgraceful punishment.*

"*God will not leave the believers in their present state until He separates the evil-doers from the good; nor will God make you acquainted with the unseen. God chooses of His messengers whom He pleases; therefore, believe in God and His messengers. If you believe and are God-wary, then you shall have a great reward.*"[3]

1/21: A conversation Between Burayr and Shimr

310. *al-Futūḥ*: In the middle of the night, Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan – may God curse him – approached the camp of al-Ḥusayn (a) with a group of men. Al-Ḥusayn (a) was reciting the following verse in a raised voice, "*And let not the disbelievers imagine that the respite We*

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 57; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 394.

قال الراوي: وبات الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه تلك الليلة ولهم دوي كدوي النحل ما بين راكع وساجد وقائم وقاعد، فعبر عليهم في تلك الليلة من عسكر عمر بن سعد اثنان وثلاثون رجلاً، وكذا كانت سجية الحسين عليه السلام في كثرة صلاته وكمال صفاته.

[2] Q 3:178–179.

[3] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 177.

بات الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه طول ليلهم يصلون ويستغفرون ويدعون ويتضرعون، وخيول حرس عدوهم تجول من ورائهم، عليها عزرة بن قيس الأحمسي، والحسين عليه السلام يقرأ: ولا يحسبن الذين كفروا أنما نملي لهم خير لأنفسهم إنما نملي لهم ليزدادوا إثما ولهم عذاب مهين. ما كان الله ليذر المؤمنين على ما أنتم عليه حتى يميز الخبيث من الطيب... وما كان الله ليطلعكم على الغيب ولكن الله يجتبي من رسله من يشاء فآمنوا بالله ورسله وإن تؤمنوا وتتقوا فلكم أجر عظيم.

give them is better for their souls: We only grant them respite so that they add to their sins...", to the end of the verse.

An accursed companion of Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan shouted out, "By the God of *Ka'bah*, we are the good, and it is you who are the evil-doers. It is we who are separate from you!"

Burayr interrupted his prayer and shouted, "O depraved one! O immoral one! O enemy of God! Can someone like you be of the good? You are nothing but an animal and a fool, destined for the fire of hell and a painful chastisement on the Day of Judgement."

Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan – may God curse him – shouted back, "O speaker! God, most blessed and exalted, will soon kill you and your leader."

Burayr retorted, "O enemy of God! Do you seek to scare me with death? By God! Death is more desirable to me than living with [the likes of] you. By God! The one who spills the blood of the offspring and household of the Prophet (s) shall never receive his intercession."

One of the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) came to Burayr ibn Khuḍayr and said to him, "May your Lord have mercy on you, O Burayr! Abū 'Abd Allāh (a) has sent a message for you: 'Return to your position, and do not speak to them; I swear on my life, if the believer from the people of the Pharaoh (*mu'min Āl Fir'awn*) had been successful when he advised his community, then perhaps you too could have advised and admonished with success.'"[1]

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 99; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 244.

قال: فسمع الشمر بن ذي الجوشن - لعنه الله - في بعض الليل ومعه جماعة من أصحابه حتى تقارب من عسكر الحسين عليه السلام، والحسين عليه السلام قد رفع صوته وهو يتلو هذه الآية: ولا يحسبن الذين كفروا أنما نملي لهم، إلى آخرها.

قال: فصاح لعين من أصحاب شمر بن ذي الجوشن: نحن ورب الكعبة الطيبون، وأنتم الخبيثون، وقد ميّزنا منكم.

قال: فقطع برير الصلاة، ثم نادى: يا فاسق، يا فاجر، يا عدو الله أمثلك يكون من الطيبين؟ ما أنت إلا بهيمة ولا تعقل، فأبشر بالنار يوم القيامة والعذاب الأليم. قال: فصاح به شمر بن ذي الجوشن - لعنه الله - وقال: أيها المتكلم، إن الله تبارك وتعالى قاتلك وقاتل صاحبك عن قريب.

1/22: The state of Zaynab (a) on the night of Ashura

31. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Ḥārith ibn al-Ka'b, and Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk, from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): On the evening of the day before my father was martyred, I was sitting and my aunt Zaynab (a) was tending to me, when my father withdrew from his companions and retired to his own tent. Huwayy, the freedman of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, was with him, preparing and aligning his sword. My father was reciting these couplets:

> O time! Away with you as a friend!
> How many dawns and sunsets you have had,
> At which your companions or seekers lay dead.
> Time will not be content with a substitute,
> The decision rests with the Majestic One,
> And every living being will have to travel the path.

He repeated this two or three times, and I understood it and realized his meaning. My tears choked me, but I forced them back and fought for calm; I knew that we were facing a great trial.

My aunt also heard what I had heard, but she is a woman, and women are tender-hearted and fearful. She could not contain her anguish. She leapt to her feet and went to his side, unveiled, with her robe trailing on the ground, and cried, "O woe! I wish death would release me from life! Today [it is as if] my mother Fāṭimah, my father 'Alī, and my brother al-Ḥasan have died! O successor of those who have gone and refuge of those who remain!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) looked at her and said, "O sister! May Shayṭān never take away your forbearance."

She replied, "May my father and mother be your ransom, O Abā 'Abd Allāh! You are preparing for death! May I be sacrificed for you!"

فقال [illegible]: يا [illegible] الله بالموت تخوّفني، والله، إنّ الموت أحبّ إلينا من الحياة معك، والله لا يقال [illegible] [illegible] صلّى الله عليه وآله [illegible] بعده ذرّيّته وأهل بيته.

قال: وأقبل رجل من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام إلى برير بن خضير، فقال له: يرحمك الله يا برير إنّ أبا عبد الله يقول لك: ارجع إلى موضعك ولا تخاطب القوم، فلعمري لئن كان مؤمن آل فرعون نصح لقومه وأبلغ في الدعاء، فلقد نصحت وأبلغت في النصح

Al-Husayn (a) kept his sorrow in check, but tears filled his eyes. He said, "If the sandgrouse are left free at night, they will sleep."[1]

She cried, "Woe to me! They will take your life by force, and that breaks my heart and grieves me even more!" She struck her face in lament, tore at her dress, and collapsed unconscious.

Al-Husayn (a) rose up and sprinkled some water on her face. Then he said to her, "O sister, be mindful of God, and take comfort in God's assurance. Know that the inhabitants of the earth shall die, and the inhabitants of the heavens will not remain forever either. *Everything shall perish except the countenance of God,*[2] Who created the earth with His power, and Who shall resurrect the creation, so that they return [for accounting]. He is One, Unique.

"My father was better than me, my mother was better than me, my brother was better than me; and for me and them, and for every Muslim, the Prophet of God (s) is an exemplar."

He consoled her with these words and more, and then he said, "O sister! I adjure you – and ask you to respect my oath – that after I am killed, you will not tear at your clothes for me, nor scratch your face for me, nor lament out aloud in grief and distress over me."

Then he escorted her back to sit beside me and went out to his companions. He directed them to bring their tents closer to one another and link the tent ropes together. He instructed the men to remain between the tents and leave open only the direction from which the enemy would approach.[3]

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[1] A proverb about how certain instinctive behaviour can never be reformed, even if against one's interest. He meant that the enemy would not cease their attempts to kill him, even if that incurred God's wrath. [Trans.]

[2] Qur'an 28:88.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 420; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 93.

إني جالس في تلك العشية التي قتل أبي صبيحتها، وعمتي زينب عندي تمرضني، إذ اعتزل أبي بأصحابه في خباء له، وعنده حوي مولى أبي ذر الغفاري، وهو يعالج سيفه ويصلحه، وأبي يقول:

يا دهر أف لك من خليل كم لك بالإشراق والأصيل
من صاحب أو طالب قتيل والدهر لا يقنع بالبديل
وإنما الأمر إلى الجليل وكل حي سالك السبيل

in al-*Malhūf*[1] [On arrival at Karbala] al-Ḥurr alighted along with his men [next to the army of al-Ḥusayn (a)]. The Imam (a) sat working on his sword, whilst reciting these couplets:

O Time! Away with you as a friend!
How many dawns and sunsets you have had,
At which your seekers and companions lay dead.
Time will not be content with a substitute.
The decision rests with the Majestic One,
And every living being is on a path.
How close is the promised time to journey
Towards the Gardens, and to the place of eternal rest!

The narrator said: Zaynab, the daughter of Fāṭimah (a), heard these words, and cried, "O brother! These are the words of one who is certain he is [soon] to die!"

The Imam (a) replied, "Yes, O sister!"

قال: فأعادها مرتين أو ثلاثاً حتى فهمتها، فعرفت ما أراد، فخنقتني عبرتي، فرددت دمعي ولزمت السكوت، فعلمت أن البلاء قد نزل، فأما عمتي فإنها سمعت ما سمعت، وهي امرأة، وفي النساء الرقة والجزع، فلم تملك نفسها أن وثبت تجر ثوبها، وإنها لحاسرة حتى انتهت إليه، فقالت: واثكلاه، ليت الموت أعدمني الحياة، اليوم ماتت فاطمة أمي وعلي أبي وحسن أخي، يا خليفة الماضي وثمال الباقي.

قال: فنظر إليها الحسين عليه السلام فقال: يا أخية، لا يذهبن حلمك الشيطان.

قالت: بأبي أنت وأمي يا أبا عبد الله، استقتلت نفسي فداك. فرد غصته، وترقرقت عيناه، وقال: لو ترك القطا ليلاً لنام. قالت: يا ويلتي، أفتغصب نفسك اغتصاباً، فذلك أقرح لقلبي، وأشد على نفسي، ولطمت وجهها، وأهوت إلى جيبها وشقته، وخرت مغشياً عليها.

فقام إليها الحسين عليه السلام فصب على وجهها الماء، وقال لها: يا أختاه، اتقي الله وتعزي بعزاء الله، واعلمي أن أهل الأرض يموتون، وأن أهل السماء لا يبقون، وأن كل شيء هالك إلا وجه الله الذي خلق الأرض بقدرته، ويبعث الخلق فيعودون، وهو فرد وحده، أبي خير مني، وأمي خير مني، وأخي خير مني، ولي ولهم ولكل مسلم برسول الله أسوة.

قال: فعزاها بهذا ونحوه، وقال لها: يا أخية، إني أقسم عليك فأبري قسمي، لا تشقي علي جيباً، ولا تخمشي علي وجهاً، ولا تدعي علي بالويل والثبور إذا أنا هلكت.

قال: ثم جاء بها حتى أجلسها عندي، وخرج إلى أصحابه، فأمرهم أن يقربوا بعض بيوتهم من بعض، وأن يدخلوا الأطناب بعضها في بعض، وأن يكونوا هم بين البيوت إلا الوجه الذي يأتيهم منه عدوهم.

Zaynab (a) said, "O woe! Al-Ḥusayn (a) informs me of his own death!"

The ladies began to weep, strike their cheeks, and tear at their collars. Umm Kulthūm cried out, "O Muḥammad! O 'Alī! O mother! O Fāṭimah! O Ḥasan! O Ḥusayn! Woe upon us, for our desolation after you, O Abā 'Abd Allāh!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) calmed her down and said to her, "O sister, take comfort in God's assurance. Indeed, even the inhabitants of the heavens shall die, and the inhabitants of the earth will not remain forever either; every living creature shall [one day] perish."

Then he called out, "O sister, O Umm Kulthūm! And you, O Zaynab! And you, O Ruqayyah! And you, O Fāṭimah! And you, O Rabāb! After I am killed, take care not to tear at your clothes or scratch your faces or utter bitter words."

In another report, it is narrated: When Zaynab (a) heard the couplets, she was alone, with only ladies and children present. She went to him, unveiled, with her robe trailing on the ground, and cried, "O woe! I wish death would release me from life! Today [it is as if] my mother Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', my father 'Alī al-Murtaḍā, and my brother al-Ḥasan al-Zakī have died! O successor of those who have gone, and the refuge of those who remain!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) looked at her and said, "O sister! Hold on to your forbearance."

She replied, "May my father and mother be your ransom! Are you preparing for death? May I be sacrificed for you!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) choked back his sorrow, but tears filled his eyes. He said, "If the sandgrouse are left free at night, they will sleep."

She cried, "Woe to me! They will take your life by force, and that breaks my heart and grieves me even more!" She tore at her collar and collapsed in a faint.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) rose and sprinkled some water on her face until she regained consciousness. Then he attempted to console her and reminded her of [how she had overcome] the difficult times at the death of her father and grandfather.[1]

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[1] al-Malhuf, p. 139; al-Futuh, vol. 5, p. 84.

إلى أن قال: وأصحابه ناحية، وبقي الحسين عليه السلام يصلح سيفه ويقول:

يا دهر أفٍّ لك من خليل   كم لك بالإشراق والأصيل
من طالب وصاحب قتيل   والدهر لا يقنع بالبديل
وإنما الأمر إلى الجليل   وكل حي سالك سبيل
ما أقرب الوعد إلى الرحيل   إلى جنان وإلى مقيل

قال الراوي: فسمعت زينب ابنة فاطمة عليها السلام ذلك فقالت: يا أخي هذا كلام من أيقن بالقتل.

فقال: نعم يا أختاه. فقالت زينب عليها السلام: واثكلاه، ينعى إليّ الحسين عليه السلام نفسه.

قال: وبكى النسوة ولطمن الخدود وشققن الجيوب، وجعلت أم كلثوم تنادي: وامحمداه، واعلياه، واأماه، واأخاه، واحسيناه، واضيعتاه بعدك يا أبا عبد الله.

قال: فعزاها الحسين عليه السلام وقال لها: يا أختاه تعزي بعزاء الله فإن سكان السماوات يموتون وأهل الأرض لا يبقون، وجميع البرية يهلكون.

ثم قال: يا أختاه يا أم كلثوم وأنت يا زينب وأنت يا رقية وأنت يا فاطمة وأنت يا رباب، انظرن إذا أنا قتلت فلا تشققن عليّ جيباً، ولا تخمشن عليّ وجهاً، ولا تقلن عليّ هجراً.

وروي من طريق آخر: أن زينب عليها السلام لما سمعت الأبيات - وكانت في موضع منعزل عنه مع النساء والبنات - خرجت حاسرة تجر ثوبها حتى وقفت عليه، وقالت: واثكلاه، ليت الموت أعدمني الحياة، اليوم ماتت أمي فاطمة الزهراء، وأبي علي المرتضى، وأخي الحسن الزكي، يا خليفة الماضين وثمال الباقين.

فنظر الحسين عليه السلام إليها وقال: يا أختاه لا يذهبن حلمك الشيطان. فقالت: بأبي أنت وأمي استقتلت؟ نفسي لك الفداء.

فرد غصته وترقرقت عيناه بالدموع، ثم قال: هيهات هيهات، لو ترك القطا ليلاً لنام.

فقالت: يا ويلتاه، أفتغتصب نفسك اغتصاباً، فذلك أقرح لقلبي وأشد على نفسي، ثم أهوت إلى جيبها فشقته، وخرت مغشية عليها.

فقام عليه السلام فصب على وجهها الماء حتى أفاقت، ثم عزاها عليه السلام بجهده، وذكرها المصيبة بموت أبيه وجده صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين.

1/23: The dream of the Imam (a) on the morning of Ashura

313. *al-Futūḥ*: Just before dawn, drowsiness overcame al-Ḥusayn (a), and he slept for a while. When he awoke, he said, "Do you know what I just saw in my dream?"

They asked, "What did you see, O son of the daughter of God's Messenger (s)?"

He replied, "I saw dogs attacking me ferociously, and among them was a mottled dog, who attacked me more viciously than the rest. I think that the one who will be responsible for killing me is a man from among them who has white patches on his skin.

"After that, I saw my grandfather (s) with a group of his companions. He said to me, 'My dear son! You are the martyr of my family (*shahīd Āl Muḥammad*)! The inhabitants of the heavens, and those of the high assembly, are waiting for you eagerly.

"'You shall break fast with me tonight. So, hurry and do not delay! Here is the angel, holding a green vessel, who has descended from the heavens to accept your blood.'

"This is what I saw, and the matter has been decreed. Indeed, the journey from this world has drawn nigh, there can be no doubt about it."[1]

1/24: Preparing for battle

314. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a), from Imam

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 99; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 251.

فلما كان وقت السحر، خفق الحسين عليه السلام برأسه خفقة ثم استيقظ، فقال: أتعلمون ما رأيت في منامي الساعة؟ قالوا: وما الذي رأيت يا ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله

فقال: رأيت كأن كلاباً قد شدت علي لتنهشني وفيها كلب أبقع رأيته أشدها علي، وأظن أن الذي يتولى قتلي رجل أبرص من بين هؤلاء القوم.

ثم إني رأيت بعد ذلك جدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله ومعه جماعة من أصحابه وهو يقول لي: يا بني، أنت شهيد آل محمد، وقد استبشرت بك أهل السماوات وأهل الصفيح الأعلى، فليكن إفطارك عندي الليلة، عجل ولا تؤخر، فهذا ملك قد نزل من السماء ليأخذ دمك في قارورة خضراء. وهذا ما رأيت، وقد أزف الأمر، واقترب الرحيل من هذه الدنيا، لا شك في ذلك.

Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) ordered a shallow trench to be dug around his camp and directed his men to fill it with dry wood. Thereafter, he sent his son 'Alī al-Akbar with thirty horsemen and twenty foot-soldiers to bring back water, in the face of great danger....

Then, he addressed his companions, saying, "Rise up and drink some water, for it will be your last provision; and make ablution (wuḍū') and take the ritual bath (ghusl); and wash your garments, for they shall be your shrouds."

Afterwards, he performed the morning (fajr) prayers with them and readied them for battle. He also ordered the dry wood in the trench [to be prepared] to be set on fire, so that the fight with the enemy would be from one direction only.[1]

395. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, **quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Ḥārith ibn al-Ka'b, and Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk, from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a):** Al-Ḥusayn (a) came out to his companions. He directed them to bring their tents close to one another, and to link the tent ropes together. He instructed the men to remain between the tents, and leave open only the direction from which the enemy would approach....

Abū Mikhnaf reports from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āṣim from al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Mishriqī: On the morning of Ashura, they stood with the tents behind them. Al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed them to set the dry wood and brush behind the tents on fire, concerned about an attack from the rear.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) had ordered dry wood and brush to be gathered at a hollow situated behind the camp. At some time during the night, they had dug out the area into a trench and thrown dry wood and brush into it. They said, "When they come to fight us, we will set it alight, so that they cannot approach us from behind." They did that, and it gave them some advantage...

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 220, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 316, no. 1.

إنّ الحسين عليه السلام أمر بحفر حفيرة حول عسكره شبه الخندق، وأمر فحشيت حطباً، وأرسل عليّاً ابنه عليه السلام في ثلاثين فارساً وعشرين راجلاً ليستقوا الماء، وهم على وجل شديد...

ثمّ قال لأصحابه: قوموا فاشربوا من الماء يكن آخر زادكم، وتوضّؤوا واغتسلوا، واغسلوا ثيابكم لتكون أكفانكم. ثمّ صلّى بهم الفجر، وعبّأهم تعبئة الحرب، وأمر بحفيرته التي حول عسكره فأضرمت بالنار، ليقاتل القوم من وجه واحد.

Abū Mikhnaf continues, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āṣim, from al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Mishraqī: When they began to approach us, and saw the blazing wood and brush – which we had ignited so that they could not attack us from behind – a heavily armoured horseman from amongst them galloped forward. He did not address us and rode past our tents.

Then, he turned to look at the tents, but could not see past the blazing fire. He rode back and shouted at the top of his voice, "O Ḥusayn! Do you hasten to seek the fire in this world even before the Day of Resurrection?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked, "Who is that? It seems to be Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan."

They replied, "May God bless you; it is indeed he."

He said, "O son of a goat-herdess! You are more deserving to be burnt therein!"

Muslim ibn 'Awsajah said to him, "May I be your ransom, O son of God's Messenger (s), allow me to shoot him with an arrow. He is within range, and my arrow will not miss. He is a transgressor, and one of the greatest oppressors."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "Do not shoot him. I do not want to be the one to start the fight against them."[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 422–3; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 200ff.

خرج الحسين عليه السلام إلى أصحابه فأمرهم أن يقرب بعضهم بيوتهم من بعض وأن يدخلوا الأطناب بعضها في بعض، وأن يكونوا هم بين البيوت إلا الوجه الذي يأتيهم منه عدوهم...

قال أبو مخنف: عن عبد الله بن عاصم عن الضحاك بن عبد الله المشرقي قال: ... في غداة عاشوراء، وجعلوا البيوت في ظهورهم، وأمر بحطب وقصب كان من وراء البيوت يحرق بالنار مخافة أن يأتوهم من ورائهم.

قال: وكان الحسين عليه السلام أتى بقصب وحطب إلى مكان من ورائهم منخفض كأنه ساقية، فحفروه في ساعة من الليل، فجعلوه كالخندق، ثم ألقوا فيه ذلك الحطب والقصب، وقالوا: إذا غدوا علينا فقاتلونا ألقينا فيه النار كي لا نؤتى من ورائنا، وقاتلنا القوم من وجه واحد. ففعلوا وكان لهم نافعا.

قال أبو مخنف: فحدثني عبد الله بن عاصم قال: حدثني الضحاك المشرقي قال: لما أقبلوا نحونا فنظروا إلى النار تضطرم في الحطب والقصب الذي كنا ألهبنا فيه النار من ورائنا لئلا يأتونا من خلفنا إذ

The location of the tents of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and their arrangement in the battlefield

When he first arrived at Karbala, Imam al-Husayn (a) looked for a location for his camp with two features if battle broke out: (1) that the enemy would only be able to attack from one direction, and (2) the position would afford the women and children the greatest safety. To this end, the Imam (a) ordered the tents to be placed such that they backed onto reeds, so that the enemy could not circle around them and attack the camp from behind.[1]

In addition, behind the tents, or beyond the reeds in front of which the tents were placed, there was lower land that resembled a dry riverbed. According to al-Ṭabarī, at some point on the night of Ashura, the Imam (a) ordered that area to be dug up into a trench which was then filled with dry wood and brush. The plan was to set it alight as a further obstacle for the enemy, if they did decide to attack the camp from behind.[2]

As another defence against an enemy attack from the rear, and on the instructions of the Imam (a) on the night of Ashura, his companions brought their tents close to one another and secured them from three sides with ropes, leaving only one entrance in the front to face the enemy.[3]

أقبل إلينا منهم رجل يركض على فرس كامل الأداة، فلم يكلمنا حتى مر على أبياتنا فنظر إلى أبياتنا، فإذا هو لا يرى إلا حطبا تلتهب النار فيه، فرجع راجعا، فنادى بأعلى صوته: يا حسين، استعجلت النار في الدنيا قبل يوم القيامة.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: من هذا؟ كأنه شمر بن ذي الجوشن. فقالوا: نعم أصلحك الله، هو هو.

فقال: يا ابن راعية المعزى، أنت أولى بها صليا.

فقال له مسلم بن عوسجة: يا ابن رسول الله، جعلت فداك، ألا أرميه بسهم؟ فإنه قد أمكنني، وليس يسقط مني سهم، فالفاسق من أعظم الجبارين.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: لا ترمه، فإني أكره أن أبدأهم.

[1] See Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 389.

[2] See al-Ṣadūq, al-Amālī, p. 220, no. 239.

[3] See Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, pp. 421–2.

Without these prudent tactics of the Imam (a), not only would the soldiers of Ibn Sa'd have been able to attack the companions of the Imam (a) from the rear of the camp, but they would also have been able to surround them right at the start of the battle, and kill or capture the Imam (a) and his companions with little effort.

However, on the morning of Ashura, when the enemy mobilised to start the battle, they were surprised to find themselves confronted with a barrier of fire and smoke spreading from around the tents of the Imam (a) and his companions.

Due to this strategy and battle formation, the soldiers of the Imam (a) – who according to popular reports only numbered seventy-two[1] – were, for several hours, able to withstand, and keep killing in large numbers, an enemy who have been reported to be up to 35,000 men.

The stiff resistance of the followers of Imam al-Husayn (a) and their greater success in single combat caused 'Umar ibn Sa'd to order a group of his men to attack and ransack the tents in an attempt to surround them.[2]

This plan was not successful; the companions of the Imam (a) hid in groups of three or four within the folds of the tents and attacked the enemy whilst they were busy pillaging the tents.

Seeing that this move had not brought any result, Ibn Sa'd attempted to stop further loss of his men by giving fresh orders to abandon looting the tents and instead set them on fire. Torches were brought, and the tents were set ablaze.

The companions of the Imam (a) wanted to put out the fire, but the Imam (a) instructed them not to, saying, "Leave them and let them burn the tents. If they set them on fire, they will not be able to come through the blaze to attack you."[3]

In this way, the enemy burned down some of the tents of the companions of the Imam (a) but were hampered from further action just as the Imam (a) had predicted, and they could still not overcome the defensive ring of his men.

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[1] Elsewhere in this work the size of the two forces has been discussed.

[2] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 16.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 437.

دعوهم فليحرقوها، فإنّهم لو قد حرقوها لم يستطيعوا أن يجوزوا إليكم منها.

Thus, the Imam (a) and his brave and loyal soldiers continued to resist the Kufan army, which came at them like an endless tide, to their last man and their last breath.

According to the reports that have been mentioned, we can conclude the following:

1. The setting of the tents of the followers was in a crescent-shaped formation, with the tents of the ladies situated in the middle of them. The two limbs of the crescent extended to the battlefield, and probably comprised the tents of the companions. Since their occupants were on the battlefield, these tents were mostly empty, and served as a barrier and defensive shield, and which in the end were burned at the order of 'Umar ibn Sa'd.
2. The tents of the companions of the Imam (a) were not very far from the battlefield.
3. The family members of the Imam (a) saw the sacrifices of their dear ones, and the cruelty and mercilessness of the enemy, from up close. One can hardly imagine the agony of the women and children as they watched their loved ones cut to pieces in front of their eyes!

1/25: Accepting martyrdom with open arms

396. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting the slave of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Anṣārī: "I was with my master as the enemy were assembling and preparing to march on al-Ḥusayn (a). Al-Ḥusayn (a) ordered a tent to be erected, and he then instructed for musk to be dissolved in a large bowl or vessel." He continued, "Then al-Ḥusayn (a) entered the tent and applied the perfume to himself."

He continued, "My master, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Rabbih, and Burayr ibn Khuḍayr al-Hamadānī, were both shoulder-to-shoulder at the door of the tent competing to be the first to use the perfume after al-Ḥusayn (a). Burayr was joking with 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said to him, 'For God's sake, let me be! This is hardly the time for frivolity.' Burayr replied, 'By God! My people know that I have never cared for frivolity, not as a young man, and not in old age. But, by God! I am happy for what we shall soon experience, for by God, if all that lies between us and the damsels of paradise is that these men come at us with their swords, then I want them to come at us with their swords.'" [The slave] continued, "When al-Ḥusayn (a) had finished, we entered the tent and applied the perfume on ourselves."[1,2]

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[1] The book *al-Imām al-Ḥusayn wa Aṣḥābihi* (Imam al-Ḥusayn and his Companions) says that a few contemporary historians have objected to the reports about the application of perfume and depilatory ointment by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and some of his companions, while there was no water available in the camp on the 9th and 10th nights. They state that the use of such perfume and depilatories would not be possible without water. Some have replied to this objection, the gist of which is that it would have been possible to use the base particles of the ointment in such a way that unwanted hair would be removed without burning the skin, and without the need to use water.

The matter is further simplified by considering the fact that although there was no drinkable water in the camp on the night of Ashura, apparently there was some water available for other purposes, although it was unsuitable for drinking. In fact, there is a possibility that some drinkable water was also available, as evidenced by the report that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had sent his son 'Ali al-Akbar to fetch water.

Another point to consider is that the reports that mention this episode only talk of the use of the musk by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and a few companions, and not all of them. Therefore, not much water would have been required.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 423; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 59.

كنت مع مولاي، فلما حضر الناس وأقبلوا إلى الحسين عليه السلام، أمر الحسين عليه السلام بفسطاط
فضرب، ثم أمر بمسك فميث في جفنة عظيمة أو صحفة، قال: ثم دخل الحسين عليه السلام ذلك
الفسطاط، فتطلى بالنورة.

قال: ومولاي عبد الرحمن بن عبد ربه وبرير بن حضير الهمداني على باب الفسطاط تحتك مناكبهما،
فازدحما أيهما يطلي على أثره، فجعل برير يهازل عبد الرحمن، فقال له عبد الرحمن: دعنا، فوالله ما هذه
بساعة باطل.

فقال له برير: والله لقد علم قومي أني ما أحببت الباطل شابا ولا كهلا، ولكن والله إني لمستبشر بما
نحن لاقون، والله إن بيننا وبين الحور العين إلا أن يميل هؤلاء علينا بأسيافهم، ولوددت أنهم قد مالوا
علينا بأسيافهم.

قال: فلما فرغ الحسين عليه السلام دخلنا فاطلينا.

317. ***al-Rijāl al-Kashshī***: Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir al-Asadī made a joking comment, whereupon Yazīd ibn Khuḍayr al-Hamadānī, who was called the Doyen of Qur'an reciters, said to him, "O my brother! This is not a time for jokes and laughter!"

Ḥabīb replied, "What can be a better time for happiness than this? By God! Nothing remains except that these wretches attack us with their swords, and thereafter, we shall embrace the damsels of paradise!"[1]

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[1] *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 1, p. 293, no. 133; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 93, no. 33.

لقد مازح حبيب بن مظاهر الأسدي فقال له يزيد بن حضير الهمداني، وكان يقال له سيد القراء: يا أخي ليس هذه بساعة ضحك، قال: فأي موضع أحق من هذا بالسرور؟ والله ما هو إلا أن تميل علينا هذه الطغام بسيوفهم، فنعانق الحور العين.

PART 2: A STUDY OF THE BATTLEFIELD

2/1: The army of the righteous against the army of the deviants

318. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a), and his grandfather Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to his companions, "Arise and drink some water, for it shall be your last refreshment. Make ablution (*wuḍū'*); take the ritual bath (*ghusl*). Purify your clothes, for they shall be your shrouds."

Then he prayed the dawn prayer with them and thereafter, prepared them for battle.[1]

319. *al-Irshād*: After the dawn prayer, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) organized his companions (for battle). He had with him 32 horsemen and 40 foot-soldiers. He placed Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn in charge of the right wing and Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir in charge of the left. He gave his standard to his brother al-'Abbās (a)...

The same morning – it was Friday, or Saturday, according to some reports – 'Umar ibn Sa'd began mobilising his own forces. He approached al-Ḥusayn (a) with his men. 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj commanded his right wing and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan the left. 'Urwah ibn Qays was in charge of the cavalry, and Shabath ibn Rib'ī was in charge of the foot-soldiers. He gave his standard to his slave, Dhuwayd.[2]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 222, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 316.

قال الحسين عليه السلام لأصحابه: قوموا فاشربوا من الماء يكن آخر زادكم، وتوضؤوا واغتسلوا، واغسلوا ثيابكم لتكون أكفانكم. ثم صلى بهم الفجر، وعبأهم تعبئة الحرب.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 95; *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 256.

أصبح الحسين بن علي عليه السلام فعبأ أصحابه بعد صلاة الغداة، وكان معه اثنان وثلاثون فارسا وأربعون راجلا، فجعل زهير بن القين في ميمنة أصحابه، وحبيب بن مظاهر في ميسرة أصحابه، وأعطى رايته العباس أخاه عليه السلام...

About the number of combatants in the two armies

It is not possible to state the exact number of soldiers in the two armies. However, there are several numbers reported in this regard, which we will mention below.

I. The number of soldiers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Most reliable sources have reported that seventy-two individuals were martyred with the Imam (a). Al-Mufīd writes, "In the morning, after the dawn prayer, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) mobilized his companions [for battle]. They were 32 horsemen and 40 foot-soldiers."

However, by studying the names and details of the martyrs of Karbala, one can surmise that the total number in the army of the Imam (a) exceeded this amount. Some sources mention 82 companions of the Imam (a), and others, 145. Yet others have quoted 180, or 600, or other numbers.

It is worth noting that in the list of the martyrs of Karbala, in addition to the Imam (a), 154 names have been mentioned, around 72 of whom were from the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), the companions of the Prophet (s), and the companions of Imam 'Alī (a). Therefore, it is possible that the popular number (72) is referring to this group of people. Alternatively, it could be an indication of the number of companions initially at the side of the Imam (a), before others gradually joined him, because reports speak of 20 to 30 individuals who joined the Imam (a) later. It is also possible that some names have been repeated because of differences in spelling. In any case, the companions of the Imam (a) were more than 72. Additionally, a number of martyrs like 'Alī al-Aṣghar, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan, and Umm Wahab are not included in the list of soldiers. Furthermore, some of the soldiers at the side of the Imam (a), like al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā and al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Mishraqī, survived the battle.

وأصبح عمر بن سعد في ذلك اليوم وهو يوم الجمعة - وقيل: يوم السبت - فعبأ أصحابه وخرج فيمن معه من الناس نحو الحسين عليه السلام، وكان على ميمنته عمرو بن الحجاج وعلى ميسرته شمر بن ذي الجوشن، وعلى الخيل عزرة بن قيس، وعلى الرجالة شبث بن ربعي، وأعطى الراية دريداً مولاه.

2. The number of soldiers of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd

Various figures have been mentioned about the number of soldiers under the command of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd in relatively reliable sources: 4,000, 4,500, 20,000, 22,000, 28,000, 30,000, 31,000, and 35,000 have all been mentioned.

Taking into account the fact that not all the battalions were despatched from Kufa to Karbala at the same time, it may be surmised that some reporters only mentioned the size of the initial army sent out from Kufa, while others included the size of the additional forces that joined them later, thus explaining the disparity in numbers.

On the other hand, given the fact that a significant number of soldiers deserted the army on the way to Karbala, it becomes very difficult to state, or even estimate, the actual size of the army of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd.

It is worth mentioning that the number 30,000 has been mentioned in reports from both Imam al-Ḥasan (a) and Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a). Although these reports are not from the most reliable works, it does appear plausible because, at the behest of Ibn Ziyād, most of the inhabitants of Kufa made their way to Karbala. Furthermore, this number is less than half the soldiers available in Kufa, who have been estimated to be 100,000 men.

Another factor that supports the figure of 30,000 is that the soldiers of al-Mukhtār were reported to be 60,000. It appears that these were the soldiers who had abstained from joining ʿUmar ibn Saʿd in Karbala.

2/2: The supplication of the Imam (a) on the morning of Ashura'

320. *al-Irshād*, quoting Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): As the cavalry [of the enemy] began to approach al-Ḥusayn (a), he raised his hands and

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[1] "Every day is Ashura and every land is Karbala" (كل يوم عاشوراء وكل أرض كربلاء) is a famous slogan. Sometimes, the phrase "and every month is Muharram" (وكل شهر محرم) is also added to it. The slogan is often attributed to the Imams (a), although there is no mention of it in their traditions.

However, the source of the slogan could be the poetry of Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī (7th century). In an elegy to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, he says:

> Because of my sorrow [at their tragedy], every day and every land
> is Karbala and Ashura.

said, ‘O God! You are my trustee in the face of every anguish, and my hope in the face of every calamity. You are my trustee and support in every matter that befalls me. How many afflictions – that would weaken the heart, reduce the options, cause a friend to desert, and the enemy to rejoice – have I delegated to You, and complained about to You, in my desire for You and no other than You. And You have [always] comforted me and delivered me [from the affliction]. For you are the guardian of all bounties, the possessor of all goodness, and the object of all longing.’[1]

2/3: The speech of Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn to the army of Kufa

391. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Kathīr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaʿbī: When we advanced towards al-Ḥusayn (a), Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn came out to us. He was riding a horse which had a piteous tail, and he was fully armed. He said, “O people of Kufa! I present to you a warning of God’s punishment, a warning! It is the duty of a Muslim to advise his Muslim brother. Even at this point, we are still brothers, on one religion and one creed, as long as swords are not yet drawn between us. You are deserving of our admonition, but once swords are raised, this amnesty will be at an end; you will be one community, and we shall be another. Indeed, God has tested us and you through the progeny of His Prophet, Muḥammad (s), so that He may see what we do and what you do. We urge you to come to their aid and abandon the tyrant, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. You will never attain anything in the entire reign of those two [Yazīd and Ibn Ziyād] except evil. They will gouge out your eyes, cut off your hands and feet, torture you, and hang you out on the branches of date palms. They will kill the best of you and the Qur’an memorizers (*qurrāʾ*) amongst you, just as they did Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī and his companions, and Hānī’ ibn ʿUrwah, and others like him.”

كل هم وكل أمر كريه   ليوم كربلاء وما تلاه

[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 96; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 423

لما صبحت الخيل الحسين عليه السلام رفع يديه وقال: اللهم أنت ثقتي في كل كرب ورجائي في كل شدة، وأنت لي في كل أمر نزل بي ثقة وعدة، كم من هم يضعف فيه الفؤاد، ويقل فيه الحيلة، ويخذل فيه الصديق، ويشمت فيه العدو، أنزلته بك وشكوته إليك رغبة مني إليك عمن سواك، ففرجته وكشفته، وأنت ولي كل نعمة وصاحب كل حسنة ومنتهى كل رغبة.

They [the Kufans] reviled him and praised ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and prayed for him, saying, "By God! We shall not rest until we either kill your leader and those with him, or despatch him and his companions in submission to the governor, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād."

He [Zuhayr] said to them, "O servants of God! The son of Fāṭimah, may God be pleased with her, is more deserving of devotion and assistance than the son of Sumayyah. If you will not aid him, then I seek refuge in God lest you kill him! Do not stand between this man and his cousin, Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. I swear by my life, Yazīd will be satisfied with your obedience [even] without the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a)."

Then Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan shot an arrow at him, saying, "Be quiet! May God silence you! You have taxed us with your long speech."

Zuhayr retorted, "O son of one who defecated on his own heels! I am not addressing you, for you are no more than an animal. By God! I doubt whether you live by even two verses of God's Book. I give you the tidings of humiliation and painful retribution on the Day of Judgement."

Shimr told him, "God will certainly kill you and your leader soon."

Zuhayr answered, "Are you trying to frighten me with death? By God! Dying at the side of al-Ḥusayn (a) is preferable to me than living eternally with you [in hell]."[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 426; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 562.

فلما زحفوا قبل الحسين، خرج إليهم زهير بن القين على فرس له ذنوب، شاك في السلاح، فقال: يا أهل الكوفة، نذار لكم من عذاب الله نذار! إن حقاً على المسلم نصيحة أخيه المسلم، ونحن حتى الآن إخوة، وعلى دين واحد وملة واحدة، ما لم يقع بيننا وبينكم السيف، وأنتم للنصيحة منا أهل، فإذا وقع السيف انقطعت العصمة، وكنا أمة وأنتم أمة، إن الله قد ابتلانا وإياكم بذرية نبيه محمد صلى الله عليه و آله لينظر ما نحن وأنتم عاملون، إنا ندعوكم إلى نصرهم وخذلان الطاغية عبيد الله بن زياد، فإنكم لا تدركون منهما إلا بسوء عمر سلطانهما كله، ليسملان أعينكم، ويقطعان أيديكم وأرجلكم، ويمثلان بكم، ويرفعانكم على جذوع النخل، ويقتلان أماثلكم وقراءكم، أمثال حجر بن عدي وأصحابه، وهانئ بن عروة وأشباهه.

قال: فسبوه، وأثنوا على عبيد الله بن زياد، ودعوا له، وقالوا: والله لا نبرح حتى نقتل صاحبك ومن معه، أو نبعث به وبأصحابه إلى الأمير عبيد الله سلماً.

2/4: The speech of Burayr ibn Khuḍayr to the army of Kufa

322. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, who reported from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), who reported from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a), and his grandfather Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), when recalling the events of the day of Ashura: The thirst of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions grew intense. One of his followers (Shī'a), by the name of Burayr ibn Khuḍayr al-Hamadānī,[1] came to him and asked, "O son of God's Messenger (s), do you allow me to go to the enemy and address them?" He gave him permission, so Burayr approached them and said:

> O people! God, the Almighty, commissioned Muḥammad (s) in truth as a bearer of glad tidings, as a warner, as a caller towards God with His permission, and an illuminating light. Yet, this is the water of the Euphrates to which even the pigs and the dogs of the desert go, while you deny his son access to it!
>
> They said, "O Burayr! You have spoken long enough, so stop now. By God, al-Ḥusayn shall suffer thirst the way those before him did."
>
> Al-Ḥusayn (a) called out, "Leave them, O Burayr."[2]

فقال لهم: عباد الله، إن ولد فاطمة رضوان الله عليها أحق بالود والنصر من ابن سمية، فإن لم تنصروهم فأعيذكم بالله أن تقتلوهم، فخلوا بين الرجل وبين ابن عمه يزيد بن معاوية، فلعمري إن يزيد ليرضى من طاعتكم بدون قتل الحسين عليه السلام.

قال: فرماه شمر بن ذي الجوشن بسهم وقال: اسكت أسكت الله نأمتك، أبرمتنا بكثرة كلامك.

فقال له زهير: يا ابن البوال على عقبيه، ما إياك أخاطب، إنما أنت بهيمة، والله ما أظنك تحكم من كتاب الله آيتين، فأبشر بالخزي يوم القيامة والعذاب الأليم.

فقال له شمر: إن الله قاتلك وصاحبك عن ساعة.

قال: أفبالموت تخوفني؟ فوالله، للموت معه أحب إلي من الخلد معكم.

[1] Ibrahim ibn 'Abd Allāh, one of the narrators of this report, says that Burayr was the maternal uncle of Abū Isḥāq al-Hamadānī, the extremely pious Kufan companion of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a).

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 222, no. 239; *Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 204.

بلغ العطش من الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه، فدخل عليه رجل من شيعته يقال له: برير بن خضير الهمداني - قال إبراهيم بن عبد الله راوي الحديث: هو خال أبي إسحاق الهمداني - فقال: يا ابن رسول الله أتأذن لي فأخرج إليهم فأكلمهم

2/5: Remonstrance of the Imam (a) to the army of Kufa

323. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a) and his grandfather Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), when recalling the events of the day of Ashura: Al-Husayn (a) stood up leaning on his sword and called out [to the enemy] in his loudest voice: "I ask you by God! Do you recognise me?"

They replied, "You are of the family of God's Messenger (s), and his grandson."

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you accept that my grandfather is God's Messenger (s)?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that my mother is Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad (s)?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that my father is 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that my grandmother is Khadījah bint Khuwaylid, the first woman from this nation to become a Muslim?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that the Doyen of Martyrs, Ḥamzah, is my father's paternal uncle?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that Ja'far, who flies on two wings in paradise, is my paternal uncle?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

فأذن له، فخرج إليهم، فقال: يا معشر الناس إنّ الله عزّ وجلّ بعث محمّداً بالحقّ بشيراً ونذيراً وداعياً إلى الله بإذنه وسراجاً منيراً، وهذا ماء الفرات تقع فيه خنازير السواد وكلابها، وقد حيل بينه وبين ابنه.

فقالوا: يا برير قد أكثرت الكلام فاكفف، فوالله ليعطش الحسين كما عطش من كان قبله.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: أقعد يا برير.

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that this is the sword of God's Messenger (s) that I hold?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that this is the turban of God's Messenger (s) that I wear?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He asked, "I ask you by God! Do you know that 'Ali was the first of the Muslims to accept Islam, the most knowledgeable amongst them, the greatest of them in forbearance, and the authority for every Muslim man and woman?"

They replied, "Yes, by God!"

He exclaimed, "Why then, do you consider it lawful to shed my blood? While [you know that] my father is the guardian at the pond of the hereafter, wherefrom people will be driven away just as excessively thirsty camels are prevented from water, and that the banner of praise (*liwa' al-ḥamd*) will be in my grandfather's hands on the Day of Judgement?"

They replied, "We know all this, but we will not spare you, until you taste death while thirsty."

Al-Husayn (a) – who on that day was 57 years old – grasped his beard in his hand and said, "The Jews earned God's wrath when they claimed that 'Uzayr was the son of God, the Christians earned God's wrath when they claimed that the Messiah was the son of God, the Magians earned God's wrath when they chose to worship fire instead of God, and a community earned God's wrath when they killed their prophet; and God's wrath shall descend on this group who desire to kill the son of their Prophet (s)."

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1 al-Ṣadūq, al-Amālī, p. 222, no. 239; al-Malhūf, pp. 145-58.

وأتى الحسين عليه السلام متوكئا على سيفه فنادى بأعلى صوته فقال: أنشدكم الله، هل تعرفوني؟
قالوا: نعم، أنت ابن رسول الله وسبطه.
قال: أنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أن جدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله؟ قالوا: اللهم نعم.
قال: أنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أن أمي فاطمة بنت محمد صلى الله عليه و آله؟ قالوا: اللهم نعم.
قال: أنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أن أبي علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام؟ قالوا: اللهم نعم.

324. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting al-Daḥḥāk al-Mishraqi: Al-Husayn (a) had a horse called Lāḥiq, on whom his son 'Ali (a) would ride. When the enemy began to approach al-Husayn (a), he came to his horse and mounted it. Then he called out [to the enemy] in his loudest voice, so that everyone could hear him, "O people! Hear my words, and do not make haste against me until I counsel you about your duty towards me and explain the reason why I have come to you. If you accept my explanation, believe my words, and give me justice, then you will be more blessed as a result, and you will have no need to be concerned about me. But if you reject my explanation, and I do not receive justice from you, '*Then devise your plan and that of your associates; thereafter, let not your plan remain dubious for you. Then carry out your sentence upon me and do not give me respite.*'[1] '*Indeed, my Guardian is God, Who sent down the Book, and He is the Guardian of the righteous.*'"[2]

قال: أنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أنّ جدّتي خديجة بنت خويلد أوّل نساء هذه الأمّة إسلاماً؟ قالوا: اللهمّ نعم.

قال: أنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أنّ سيّد الشهداء حمزة عمّ أبي؟ قالوا: اللهمّ نعم.

قال: فأنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أنّ جعفراً الطيّار في الجنّة عمّي؟ قالوا: اللهمّ نعم.

قال: فأنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أنّ هذا سيف رسول الله وأنا متقلّده؟ قالوا: اللهمّ نعم.

قال: فأنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أنّ هذه عمامة رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله أنا لابسها؟ قالوا: اللهمّ نعم.

قال: فأنشدكم الله هل تعلمون أنّ عليّاً كان أوّلهم إسلاماً وأعلمهم علماً وأعظمهم حلماً، وأنّه وليّ كلّ مؤمن ومؤمنة؟ قالوا: اللهمّ نعم.

قال: فبم تستحلّون دمي وأبي الذائد عن الحوض غداً يذود عنه رجالاً كما يذاد البعير الصادي عن الماء، ولواء الحمد في يدي جدّي يوم القيامة؟

قالوا: قد علمنا ذلك كلّه، ونحن غير تاركيك حتّى تذوق الموت عطشاً.

فأخذ الحسين عليه السلام بطرف لحيته، وهو يومئذ ابن سبع وخمسين سنة، ثمّ قال: اشتدّ غضب الله على اليهود حين قالوا: عزير ابن الله، واشتدّ غضب الله على النصارى حين قالوا: المسيح ابن الله، واشتدّ غضب الله على المجوس حين عبدوا النار من دون الله، واشتدّ غضب الله على قوم قتلوا نبيّهم، واشتدّ غضب الله على هذه العصابة الذين يريدون قتل ابن نبيّهم.

[1] Q 10:71.

[2] Q 7:196.

When his sisters heard his words, they cried out and wept. His daughters also wept, and their sobbing grew louder. Al-Ḥusayn (a) sent his brother, al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī, and his son, 'Alī [al-Akbar] – peace be on them both – to them, saying, "Quieten them, for by my life, they will have much to mourn about [in the future]."

...When the ladies became silent, he began to praise and glorify God, and mentioned Him as He deserves. He called for God's blessings on Muhammad (s), and on His angels, and on His prophets. In this regard, only God knows what he mentioned. By God! I have never heard a more eloquent speaker than him, not before then or after.

Then he said, "Now, examine my lineage and [reflect upon] who I am, and then examine yourselves critically. Ask yourselves whether it is permissible for you to kill me and violate my sanctity!

"Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet (s) and the son of his vicegerent and cousin, who was the first to believe in God and what His Messenger had brought from his Lord?

"Is Ḥamzah, the Doyen of the Martyrs, not the uncle of my father? Is Ja'far, the martyr who flies on two wings, not my uncle? Have you not heard the oft-repeated narration of the God's Messenger (s) about myself and my brother that 'these two are the leaders of the youths of paradise'?

"So if you believe my words [then show it] – it is the truth because, by God, I have never told a lie, since I understood that God despises those who lie and causes them to fail.

"And if you do not believe me, then there are people amongst you who will enlighten you, if you asked them about it. Ask Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, or Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, or Sahl ibn Sa'd al-Sā'idī, or Zayd ibn Arqam, or Anas ibn Mālik; they will inform you that they have heard these words from God's Messenger about myself and my brother. Is this not sufficient to prevent you from shedding my blood?"

Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan said [sarcastically], "He worships God on an edge [i.e. by his tongue only],' if he even knows what he is saying!"

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir said to Shimr, "By God! I think that you worship God on seventy edges, and I testify that you are truthful when

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1 A reference to Q 22:11. [Trans.]

you admit that you do not understand what he is saying, because God has sealed your heart."

Then, al-Husayn (a) continued, "If you are in doubt about my words, then do any of you doubt that I am the son of the daughter of your Prophet? For by God! There is no son of the daughter of a Prophet other than me, in the east or the west, amongst you or others. I am the only surviving son of the daughter of your Prophet.

"Tell me, do you seek from me retribution for any of your slain whom I have killed, or for any property of yours that I have stolen, or for an injury that I have caused?"

They did not reply. Then he called out, "O Shabath ibn Rib'ī, and O Ḥajjār ibn Abjar, and O Qays ibn al-Ash'ath, and O Yazid ibn al-Ḥārith! Did you not write to me, 'The fruit has ripened, the valleys have become green, and the waters have overflowed. You will find an army ready and prepared, so come'?"

They said, "We did not do this."

He replied, "Glory be to God! Yes, you did, by God!"

Then he said, "O people! Since you dislike my presence, permit me to leave you, and take sanctuary elsewhere."

Qays ibn al-Ash'ath said to him, "Will you not accept the authority of your cousins? For they will not treat you except in the manner that you would like, and no evil will come to you from them."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "You are your brother's brother.[1] Do you want the Banū Hāshim to seek more from you than the blood of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl? No, by God! I will not give them my hand like one who has been humiliated, nor will I flee like a slave.

"O servants of God! I seek refuge in my Lord and your Lord from your stoning me to death. I seek refuge in my Lord and your Lord from every arrogant person who belies the Day of Reckoning."

Then, he made his horse kneel [and dismounted], and instructed 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān to tether it.

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[1] A reference by the Imam (a) to Muḥammad ibn Ash'ath, the brother of Qays, who played a role in the killing of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl in Kufa.

Then the enemy began their advance towards him.’[1]

325. ***Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*****, quoting Hishām ibn Muḥammad:** When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw their determination to kill him, he opened a copy of the Qur’an, placed it on his head, and called out, “The Book of God and my grandfather Muhammad, the Messenger (s) of God, is [a judge] between me and you. O people! Why have you made the spilling of my blood lawful? Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet? Have the words of my grandfather concerning myself and my brother not reached you that 'these two are the leaders of the youths of paradise'?

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 424; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 97.

كان مع الحسين عليه السلام فرس له يدعى لاحقاً حمل عليه ابنه علي بن الحسين عليه السلام. قال: فلما دنا منه القوم عاد براحلته فركبها، ثم نادى بأعلى صوته دعاءً يسمع جل الناس:

أيها الناس، اسمعوا قولي، ولا تعجلوني حتى أعظكم بما لحق لكم علي، وحتى أعتذر إليكم من مقدمي عليكم، فإن قبلتم عذري، وصدقتم قولي، وأعطيتموني النصف، كنتم بذلك أسعد، ولم يكن لكم علي سبيل، وإن لم تقبلوا مني العذر، ولم تعطوا النصف من أنفسكم، فأجمعوا أمركم وشركاءكم ثم لا يكن أمركم عليكم غمة ثم اقضوا إلي ولا تنظرون، إن وليي الله الذي نزل الكتاب وهو يتولى الصالحين.

قال: فلما سمع أخواته كلامه هذا صحن وبكين، وبكى بناته، فارتفعت أصواتهن، فأرسل إليهن أخاه العباس بن علي وعلياً ابنه عليهما السلام، وقال لهما: أسكتاهن، فلعمري ليكثرن بكاؤهن...

فلما سكتن حمد الله وأثنى عليه، وذكر الله بما هو أهله، وصلى على محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وعلى ملائكته وأنبيائه، فذكر من ذلك ما الله أعلم وما لا يحصى ذكره.

قال: فوالله، ما سمعت متكلماً قط قبله ولا بعده أبلغ في منطق منه.

ثم قال: أما بعد، فانسبوني فانظروا من أنا، ثم ارجعوا إلى أنفسكم وعاتبوها، فانظروا هل يحل لكم قتلي وانتهاك حرمتي؟

ألست ابن بنت نبيكم صلى الله عليه وآله وابن وصيه وابن عمه وأول المؤمنين بالله والمصدق لرسوله بما جاء به من عند ربه؟ أوليس حمزة سيد الشهداء عم أبي؟ أوليس جعفر الشهيد الطيار ذو الجناحين عمي؟ أولم يبلغكم قول مستفيض فيكم: إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله قال لي ولأخي: هذان سيدا شباب أهل الجنة؟

فإن صدقتموني بما أقول، وهو الحق، فوالله ما تعمدت كذباً منذ علمت أن الله يمقت عليه أهله، ويضر به من اختلقه، وإن كذبتموني فإن فيكم من إن سألتموه عن ذلك أخبركم، سلوا جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري أو أبا سعيد الخدري، أو سهل بن سعد الساعدي، أو زيد بن أرقم، أو أنس بن مالك، يخبروكم أنهم سمعوا هذه المقالة من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لي ولأخي، أفما في هذا حاجز لكم عن سفك دمي؟

فقال له شمر بن ذي الجوشن: هو يعبد الله على حرف إن كان يدري ما يقول.

فقال له حبيب بن مظاهر: والله إني لأراك تعبد الله على سبعين حرفاً، وأنا أشهد أنك صادق ما تدري ما يقول، قد طبع الله على قلبك.

ثم قال لهم الحسين عليه السلام: فإن كنتم في شك من هذا القول، أفتشكون أثراً ما أني ابن بنت نبيكم؟ فوالله، ما بين المشرق والمغرب ابن بنت نبي غيري منكم ولا من غيركم، أنا ابن بنت نبيكم خاصة.

"If you do not believe me, then ask Jābir, Zayd ibn Arqam, and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. Is Ja'far al-Ṭayyār not my uncle?"

Shimr shouted at him, "Soon you will enter the abyss of hell!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) declared, "God is Great! My grandfather, the Messenger (s) of God, informed me, 'It is as if I see a dog lapping the blood of my offspring', and I am in no doubt that he was talking of you."

Shimr replied, "I have worshipped God only on an edge, if I am to understand what you are saying!"[1]

926. *al-Malhūf*: The men of 'Umar ibn Sa'd mounted their horses. Al-Ḥusayn (a) despatched Burayr ibn Ḥuḍayr to them. He admonished

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الحسين، أفتطلبوني بقتيل منكم قتلته، أو مال لكم استهلكته، أو بقصاص من جراحة؟ قال: فأخذوا لا يكلمونه. قال: فنادى: يا شبث بن ربعي، ويا حجار بن أبجر، ويا قيس بن الأشعث، ويا يزيد بن الحارث، ألم تكتبوا إليّ: أن قد أينعت الثمار، واخضر الجناب، وطمّت الجمام، وإنما تقدم على جند لك مجند، فأقبل؟

فقالوا له: لم نفعل. فقال: سبحان الله! بلى والله لقد فعلتم.

ثم قال: أيها الناس، إذ كرهتموني فدعوني أنصرف عنكم إلى مأمني من الأرض.

قال: فقال له قيس بن الأشعث: أولا تنزل على حكم بني عمك؟ فإنهم لن يروك إلا ما تحب، ولن يصل إليك منهم مكروه.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: أنت أخو أخيك، أتريد أن يطلبك بنو هاشم بأكثر من دم مسلم بن عقيل؟ لا والله، لا أعطيهم بيدي إعطاء الذليل، ولا أقر إقرار العبيد.

عباد الله، إني عذت بربي وربكم أن ترجمون، أعوذ بربي وربكم من كل متكبر لا يؤمن بيوم الحساب.

قال: ثم إنه أناخ راحلته، وأمر عقبة بن سمعان فعقلها، وأقبلوا يزحفون نحوه.

[1] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 252.

قال هشام بن محمد: لما رأى الحسين عليه السلام حرصهم على قتله أخذ المصحف ونشره وجعله على رأسه ونادى: بيني وبينكم كتاب الله وجدي محمد رسول الله، يا قوم بم تستحلون دمي؟ ألست ابن بنت نبيكم؟ ألم يبلغكم قول جدي فيّ وفي أخي: هذان سيدا شباب أهل الجنة؟ إن لم تصدقوني فاسألوا جابرا وزيد بن أرقم وأبا سعيد الخدري، أليس جعفر الطيار عمي؟

فناداه شمر: الساعة ترد الهاوية

them, but they did not pay heed. He reminded them [of their duty], but it was of no use.

Al-Husayn (a) mounted his camel – it is also mentioned, his horse - and called for silence, and they quietened down.

He praised and glorified God, and mentioned Him as He deserves, and called for blessings on Muhammad (s), the angels, and the Prophets and Messengers of God, speaking with great eloquence.

Then he said, "O people! May you receive nothing but destruction and sorrow! When you appealed to us in great distress, we hurried to you in response, but you raised against us your swords that were meant to be for us and ignited the fire that we had stoked for our mutual enemy against us instead. You became allies of your enemies against your friends without receiving any harm from us, nor hope for any from them.

"Woe be unto you! You have deserted us even while swords are yet still sheathed, and hearts are calm. No final decisions [for battle] have been taken, yet you swarm towards it like locusts and lead each other to it like moths drawn to a flame.

"Away with you, O slaves of the nation, and the worst of its parties! You have cast aside the Book [Qur'an] and distorted its verses. You are a band of sinners, the breath of Satan, and the extinguishers of the Sunnah.

"Do you seek to assist men like these and abandon us? By God! Treachery is well established in you; its roots run deep, and its branches are interwoven within you. You are the most bitter tree for the observer, whose fruit is most palatable to the usurper.

"The illegitimate one, son of the illegitimate one[1] has forced me between two choices: the sword or humiliation. And far from us is

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فقال الحسين عليه السلام: الله أكبر أخبرني حبيبي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فقال: رأيت كأن كلبا ولغ في دماء أهل بيتي وما أخالك إلا إياه.

فقال شمر: لا أعبد الله على حرف إن كنت أدري ما تقول.

[1] Referring to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād; it was not known who Ziyād's father had been. Contrary to the directives of Islam, Mu'āwiyah had declared Ziyād as his brother and the son of Abū Sufyān.

humiliation! God holds us away from that, as does His Messenger (s) and the believers.

"Those nurtured by chaste mothers, born of noble-minded fathers, and possessors of lofty souls would never choose submission to the depraved over death with honour.

"You should know that I am committed [to battle] with this family of mine, even though I have few men, and my helpers have forsaken me..."

Then he said, "By God! You will not survive after this except for the time that it takes a mounted horse to make one turn around a millstone and crush grain. This is a promise that my father taught me, quoting my grandfather. '*Then resolve upon your plan and [gather] your associates, then let not your plan remain dubious to you, then carry it out against me and give me no respite.*'[1] '*I have relied on God, my Lord and your Lord. There is no creature except that He holds it by its forelock. My Lord is on a straight path.*'[2]

"O God! Deny them the rainfall from the sky, send them years of drought like the time of Yusuf (a), and make a youth of Thaqīf[3] rule over them, who will make them drink a cup of bitter misery.

"Verily, they have lied to us and abandoned us, but You are our Lord. On You do we rely, to You do we turn, and to You is our eventual return."[4]

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1 Q 10:71.

2 Q 11:56.

3 Perhaps, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. [Trans.]

4 *al-Malhūf*, p. 155; al-Iḥtijāj, vol. 2, p. 97, no. 167.

وركب أصحاب عمر بن سعد، فبعث الحسين عليه السلام برير بن خضير، فوعظهم فلم يسمعوا، وذكّرهم
فلم ينتفعوا.

فركب الحسين عليه السلام ناقته - وقيل فرسه - فاستنصتهم فأنصتوا، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، وذكره بما هو
أهله، وصلى على محمد صلى الله عليه و آله وعلى الملائكة والأنبياء والرسل، وأبلغ في المقال، ثم قال:

تبّاً لكم أيتها الجماعة وترحاً حين استصرختمونا والهين، فأصرخناكم موجفين، سللتم علينا سيفاً لنا في
أيمانكم، وحششتم علينا ناراً اقتدحناها على عدونا وعدوكم، فأصبحتم ألباً لأعدائكم على أوليائكم بغير
عدل أفشوه فيكم، ولا أمل أصبح لكم فيهم

2/6: Conversation of the Imam (a) with 'Umar ibn Sa'd

327. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan: Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked, "Where is 'Umar ibn Sa'd? Call him."

A message was sent to 'Umar, who came reluctantly, not keen to meet the Imam (a). Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "O 'Umar, you seek to kill me and then expect the illegitimate son of the illegitimate one to give you the governorship of the provinces of al-Rayy and Jurjān? By God! You will not get to enjoy that, ever. This is an assured promise. So, do whatever you like, because after me you will never experience any joy in this world, or the next.

"And I foresee your head impaled on a wooden spike in Kufa. Children will make it a target for themselves and pelt it with stones."

'Umar ibn Sa'd became angry at his words. He turned his head away from him and called out to his men, "What are you waiting for? Prepare to attack, for they will be nothing more than a single morsel."[1]

فهلّا لكم الويلات تركتمونا والسيف مشيم والجأش طامن والرأي لما يستحصف، ولكن أسرعتم إليها كطيرة الدبا، وتداعيتم إليها كتهافت الفراش، فسحقاً لكم يا عبيد الأمّة، وشذاذ الأحزاب، ونبذة الكتاب، ومحرّفي الكلم، وعصبة الآثام، ونفثة الشيطان، ومطفئي السنن، أهؤلاء تعضدون وعنّا تتخاذلون؟ أجل والله غدر فيكم قديم، وشجت عليه أصولكم، وتأزّرت عليه فروعكم، فكنتم أخبث ثمر شجاً للناظر وأكلة للغاصب.

ألا وإنّ الدعيّ ابن الدعيّ قد ركز بين اثنتين بين السلّة والذلّة، وهيهات منّا الذلّة، يأبى الله ذلك لنا ورسوله والمؤمنون، وحجور طابت، وحجور طهرت، وأنوف حميّة، ونفوس أبيّة، من أن نؤثر طاعة اللئام على مصارع الكرام.

ألا وإنّي زاحف بهذه الأسرة مع قلّة العدد وخذلان الناصر.

... ثمّ قال: أما والله لا تلبثون بعدها إلّا كريثما يركب الفرس حتّى تدور بكم دور الرحى، وتقلق بكم قلق المحور، عهد عهده إليّ أبي عن جدّي، فأجمعوا أمركم وشركاءكم ثمّ لا يكن أمركم عليكم غمّة ثمّ اقضوا إليّ ولا تنظرون، إنّي توكّلت على الله ربّي وربّكم ما من دابّة إلّا هو آخذ بناصيتها إنّ ربّي على صراط مستقيم. اللهمّ احبس عنهم قطر السماء، وابعث عليهم سنين كسني يوسف، وسلّط عليهم غلام ثقيف يسومهم كأساً مصبّرة، فإنّهم كذّبونا وخذلونا، وأنت ربّنا عليك توكّلنا، وإليك أنبنا، وإليك المصير.

[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 8; *al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 119.

قال الحسين عليه السلام: أين عمر بن سعد؟ ادعوا لي عمر، فدعي له، وكان كارهاً لا يحبّ أن يأتيه، فقال: يا عمر، أنت تقتلني وتزعم أن يولّيك الدعيّ بن الدعيّ بلاد الريّ وجرجان، والله لا تتهنّأ بذلك

2/7: The beginning of the battle, and the encouragement by the Imam (a) to his men to persevere, and fight in God's way

328. *al-Irshad*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd called out, "O Dhuwayd! Bring forth the standard!" He brought it forward. Then he ['Umar] notched an arrow on his bow and shot it towards the army of al-Husayn (a) saying, "Be witnesses that I was the first to shoot!" Then others began to shoot, and the battle began.[1]

329. *al-Malhuf*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd came forward and shot an arrow towards the army of al-Husayn (a), saying, "Be witnesses in front of the governor (amir) that I was the first to shoot." Thereafter, arrows flew towards them like drops of rain.

Al-Husayn (a) said to his companions, "Rise up – may God have mercy on you – to face death which is certain [for all]. The arrows of these people are their messengers to you."

Battle raged between the two sides throughout the day, wave after wave, until many companions of al-Husayn (a) were killed.[2]

330. *Ta'rikh al-Ya'qubi*: In the morning, al-Husayn (a) approached the people. He spoke to them, mentioning to them the importance of his rights over them, and reminding them of God, the Almighty, and His Messenger (s). He asked them to stand aside and allow him to return.

لنا. فيه نصرة. فاصنع ما أنت صانع؛ فإنك لا تقرع بعصي بابنا ولا أجرؤ. وإني [illegible] على [illegible]
قد أصبت بالقوة [illegible] الشيطان، والخطيئة غرضاً لهم.

فلمّا عمر بن سعد سهم من الكنانة، ثم [illegible] وجه فرسه، ونادى أصحابه: ما تنتظرون به؟ احملوا بأجمعكم، إنما هي أكلة واحدة.

[1] al-Irshad, vol. 2, p. 101; Tarikh al-Tabari, vol. 5, p. 429.

ونادى عمر بن سعد: يا ذويد، أدن رايتك. فأدناها، ثم وضع سهمه في كبد قوسه، ثم رمى وقال: اشهدوا لي أني أوّل من رمى، ثم ارتمى الناس وتبارزوا.

[2] al-Malhuf, p. 158; al-Futuh, vol. 5, p. 100.

فتقدّم عمر بن سعد ورمى نحو عسكر الحسين عليه السلام بسهم وقال: اشهدوا لي عند الأمير أني أوّل من رمى، وأقبلت السهام من القوم كأنها القطر.

فقال عليه السلام لأصحابه: قوموا رحمكم الله إلى الموت الذي لا بدّ منه، فإنّ هذه السهام رسل القوم إليكم.

فاقتتلوا ساعة من النهار حملة وحملة، حتى قتل من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام جماعة.

However, they would agree to nothing except battle or taking him as a prisoner to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād.

He spoke to group after group, and person after person, but they said, "We do not know about that which you are saying."

Then, he came back to his companions and said, "These people do not want anyone other than me, and you have fulfilled your duty. Leave now, you are free to go."

They replied, "Never, by God, O son of God's Messenger! We will lay down our lives before yours!"

He prayed for them to receive a good reward.[1]

331. *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*: When the soldiers of Ibn Ziyād had taken position in preparation for battle, al-Ḥusayn (a) prayed the morning prayer with his companions. [It is reported that this was the 10th day of Muharram, 61/680.] Then he stood to address them. He praised and glorified God, then said to his companions, "Indeed, God, the Almighty, has allowed your death and mine to occur today, so your duty is to persevere and fight in His way."[2]

The martyrs of the first battle

It is well documented that in the first battle between the soldiers of Kufa and the followers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), a number of his companions – whose numbers have been mentioned as up to fifty – were martyred.

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 244.

لما كان من الغد خرج الحسين عليه السلام فكلم القوم وعظم عليهم حقه وذكرهم الله عز وجل ورسوله، وسألهم أن يخلوا بينه وبين الرجوع فأبوا إلا قتاله أو أخذه حتى يأتوا به عبيد الله بن زياد، فجعل يكلم القوم بعد القوم والرجل بعد الرجل، فيقولون: ما ندري ما تقول.

فأقبل على أصحابه فقال: إن القوم ليسوا يقصدون غيري، وقد قضيتم ما عليكم فانصرفوا فأنتم في حل.

فقالوا: لا والله يا ابن رسول الله، حتى تكون أنفسنا قبل نفسك. فجزاهم الخير.

[2] Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah, p. 178.

فلما صفّ الحرب (أي ابن زياد الحرب الحسين عليه السلام) صلى الحسين عليه السلام بأصحابه الغداة، وروي أنه كان ذلك من يوم العاشر من المحرم سنة إحدى وستين، ثم قام خطيباً، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه وقال لأصحابه: إن الله عز وجل قد أذن في قتلكم اليوم وقتلي، وعليكم بالصبر والجهاد.

In his *al-Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb mentions that around forty men were martyred in the first battle, and he has named twenty-eight of them.[1]

It appears that the first source to mention that fifty men were martyred from the companions of Imam al-Husayn (a), as a result of an attack by the Kufan army, is *al-Futūḥ* of Ibn A'tham. After mentioning the first attack [with arrow fire] on the followers of the Imam (a), he writes, "The two sides fought for part of the day in one continuous confrontation, until more than fifty companions of al-Husayn (a) were killed."[2]

If we study the report of Ibn A'tham, it seems that he means that around fifty of the companions of the Imam (a) were killed in battle during part of the day of Ashura, and not that this number was killed in the first attack. However, Khwārizmī,[3] without making the distinction that is present in Ibn A'tham's report, mentions the event differently. After describing the first attack, he continues, "Under the sustained shower of arrows from the enemy, the companions of al-Husayn (a) dwindled in number. Those who remained of them are the ones whose individual mention is found in the reports about the battle, while more than fifty of them were killed [in the initial hail of arrows]."[4]

In other reports of this type, as we have mentioned earlier, Ibn Shahr Āshūb has listed the names of twenty-eight individuals who were martyred in the first attack. However, this does not seem right for several reasons.

Firstly, in the early sources, there is no mention of the martyrs killed in the first attack in this manner. Ibn A'tham's report does not prove this either. In fact, as we have indicated, it indicates that the opposite is true.

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[1] See Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 101.

فاقتتلوا ساعة من النهار حملة واحدة، حتى قتل من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام نيّف وخمسون رجلاً.

[3] It is worth noting that a large portion of the *Maqtal al-Husayn* (a) of Khwārizmī has been taken from *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* of Ibn A'tham.

[4] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Husayn*, vol. 2, p. 8.

فلمّا رموهم هذه الرمية قلّ أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام فبقي في هؤلاء القوم الذين يذكرون في المبارزة وقد قتل منهم ما ينيف على الخمسين رجلاً.

Secondly, in reliable sources, such as al-Mufīd's *al-Irshād* or the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī, only accounts of arrow-fire by a small group of the enemy are reported when discussing the first attack, with no mention of anyone martyred in this attack. In fact, further into their account, they describe the victories of the companions of the Imam (a) in individual combat, which led to the enemy declining to fight in single combat and resolving to attack the army of the Imam (a) en masse.

Thirdly, and importantly, according to these same reports, the companions of the Imam (a) numbered seventy-two. Now, if fifty men were martyred by the arrows in the first attack, the remainder would not be enough to make up a military formation. How then, could such a depleted force hold off the enemy until the afternoon ('aṣr) of the day of Ashura? And if the enemy could kill fifty of the companions of the Imam (a) in one stroke, and in a single hail of arrows, they would certainly have continued firing arrows and finished the battle in a short space of time. There would have been no need for single combat or a mass attack.

For these reasons, the accounts about the martyrs in the first attack, especially in the *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb, cannot be accepted.

An explanation about the meaning of God's permission for the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Some accounts report that on the morning of Ashura, when encouraging his companions to be steadfast and fight the enemy, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) told them, "Indeed, God, the Almighty, has allowed your death and mine to occur today."[1]

When we encounter this type of report, a question that may arise is: what does the "permission of God" denote when it comes to the killing of the Imam (a) and his companions?

The answer is that the permission of God is of two types: legislative and existential.

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[1] *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*, p. 176; also see *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 152, no. 185.

إنّ الله عزّوجلّ قد أذن في قتلكم اليوم وقتلي

1. Legislative permission (*idhn al-tashrīʿī*):

This refers to the system of divine legislation, where God makes certain acts lawful and others unlawful.

Without doubt, the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions was an unlawful act in God's law. Therefore, the meaning of "permission" in the report is definitely not legislative in nature.

2. Existential permission (*idhn al-takwīnī*):

This refers to the fact that the existence of every phenomenon in the world requires the permission of the creator of the world. In the system of creation, every effect has a particular cause, and only when that cause occurs is its corresponding effect realized. However, the potency of the system of cause and effect itself depends on God's permission. For example, without God's permission, a fire will not burn someone, as in the case of the fire of Namrūd, which did not burn Ibrāhīm (a). Similarly, without God's permission, a knife will not cut, just as the knife of Ibrāhīm (a) did not cut the throat of Ismāʿīl (a). This is the meaning of God's "unity of actions" or *tawḥīd al-afʿāl*.[1]

On this basis, a necessary condition for human free will is the possible co-existence of both God's existential and legislative will; otherwise, it would not be possible to defy legislative commands, meaning that man would not have the free will to choose between the paths of felicity and damnation.

Therefore, Imam al-Ḥusayn's (a) words about the permission of God for the killing of his companions and himself are an allusion to the verse, "*No calamity befalls, except by the permission of God...*"[2] and thus, he was referring to God's existential permission for the blood-soaked event of Karbala.

With his words, the Imam (a) wanted to inform his companions that God's wisdom dictated that all of them, in carrying out their duty, would be martyred on that day. Therefore, in the face of this calamity, he advised them to be steadfast, submit to God's will, and be content with His decision.

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[1] *Tawḥīd al-afʿāl* means that all beings, and even actions, exist only by the will of God, and by His permission. [Trans.]

[2] Q 64:11.

2/8: Vying to be first to go to the battlefield

332: *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, **quoting Muḥammad ibn al-Qays:** When the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) saw the number of the enemy and realized that there was no way to keep them away from al-Ḥusayn (a) or themselves that day, they vied with one another to be the first to lay down their lives for him.[1]

333: *al-Malhūf*: The companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) began to compete with one another to give their lives for him. They were as described by a poet:

> A group when called forth to defend against great adversity,
> In the face of horses crowded together and trampling underfoot,
> Wore their hearts over their armour, as if they were
> Competing with one another to depart this world.[2]

2/9: The military prowess of the companions of the Imam (a)

334: *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, **quoting Abū Janāb:** On that day [Ashura], the two sides fought in single combat, with most of the victories going to the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a). [This was] because they were more skilled, they were seeking martyrdom, and they had no support to call on except their swords.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 442; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 404.

لما رأى أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام أنهم قد كثروا، وأنهم لا يقدرون على أن يمنعوا حسيناً عليه السلام ولا أنفسهم، تنافسوا في أن يقتلوا بين يديه

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 66; *'Umdat al-Ṭālib*, p. 357.

فجعل أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام يسارعون إلى القتل بين يديه، وكانوا كما قيل فيهم:

قوم إذا نودوا لدفع ملمة والخيل بين مدعس ومكردس

لبسوا القلوب على الدروع كأنهم يتهافتون إلى ذهاب الأنفس

On witnessing this, some of 'Umar ibn Sa'd's commanders advised to stop their soldiers from accepting individual challenges.[1]

335. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Yaḥyā ibn Hāni' ibn 'Urwah:** When a large number of 'Umar ibn Sa'd's men began to be killed in single combat, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj shouted out, "O fools! Do you realise whom you are fighting against? These knights are men who seek martyrdom. No one should go and fight against them in single combat. They are only a few in number and will not last long. By God! Even if you [just] pelted them with rocks, you would kill them."

'Umar ibn Sa'd said, "That is true; your conclusion is correct." Then he sent a despatch to his officers instructing them that none of the men should fight in single combat with any of the Imam's (a) men.[2]

336. ***Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd:** A man who was with 'Umar ibn Sa'd on the day of al-Taff [Ashura] was told: "Shame on you! Did you kill the offspring of God's Messenger (s)?"

He replied, "We were barely clinging on by our teeth! If you had been seen what we saw, you would also have done what we did. They attacked us with swords in their hands, fighting like enraged lions. They dispersed our riders left and right and flung themselves towards death. They asked for no quarter and showed no interest in booty. They were determined to either overpower us or die in the attempt.

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 185.

وكانت المبارزة ممتدة بين الفريقين، والنصر في ذلك لأصحاب الحسين عليه السلام لقوة بأسهم وأنهم مستميتون لا عاصم لهم إلا سيوفهم، فأشار بعض الأمراء على عمر بن سعد بعدم المبارزة.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 435; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 400.

صاح عمرو بن الحجاج بالناس لما استمر القتل بعسكر عمر بن سعد: يا حمقى، أتدرون من تقاتلونه؟ فرسان المصر، قوما مستميتين، لا يبرزن لهم منكم أحد، فإنهم قليل وقلما يبقون، والله لو لم ترموهم إلا بالحجارة لقتلتموهم.

فقال عمر بن سعد: صدقت، الرأي ما رأيت. وأرسل إلى الناس يعزم عليهم ألا يبارز رجل منكم رجلا منهم.

If we had stayed our hand, they would have penetrated into the heart of our forces. What else could we have done, you motherless one?"[1]

2/10: Fierce fighting at midday

337. *al-Ansab al-Ashraf*: al-Husayn (a) mounted his horse [and came out] carrying the Qur'an in front of him. [This had no effect on them] and they continued their advance towards him. 'Umar ibn Sa'd despatched al-Husayn ibn Tamim with some armoured soldiers and 500 archers, and they showered arrows at al-Husayn (a) and his companions, maiming and killing their horses, and forcing all of them to fight on foot.

In the middle of the day, the battle intensified between the two sides, without respite. The Imam's (a) men had brought their tents close together and set the area behind the tents on fire, and so the enemy could only approach them from one direction.

'Umar ibn Sa'd gave the order to destroy the camp and tents, and they started to tear down the dwellings with their lances and swords. Shimr attacked from the left flank and thrust his lance into the tent of al-Husayn (a) and shouted, "Bring me fire so that I may burn this tent around his family members!" The ladies began to scream and wail, and ran out of the tent.

Al-Husayn (a) said, "How dare you? Do you seek to burn my tent around my family?"[2]

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[1] Ibn Abi al-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 3, p. 263.

قيل لرجل شهد يوم الطف مع عمر بن سعد: ويحك أقتلتم ذرية رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فقال: عضضت بالجندل، إنك لو شهدت ما شهدنا لفعلت ما فعلنا، ثارت علينا عصابة أيديها في مقابض سيوفها كالأسود الضارية، تحطم الفرسان يمينا وشمالا، وتلقي أنفسها على الموت، لا تقبل الأمان ولا ترغب في المال، ولا يحول حائل بينها وبين الورود على حياض المنية أو الاستيلاء على الملك، فلو كففنا عنها رويدا لأتت على نفوس العسكر بحذافيرها، فما كنا فاعلين لا أم لك!

[2] *al-Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol. 3, p. 401.

وركب الحسين عليه السلام دابة له، ووضع المصحف في حجره بين يديه، فما زادهم ذلك إلا إقداما عليه، وبعث عمر بن سعد الحصين بن تميم، فبعث معه المجففة وخمسمائة من الرماة، فرشقوا الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه بالنبل حتى عقروا الخيول فصاروا رجالة كلهم، واقتتلوا نصف النهار أشد قتال

338. *al-Irshād*: The enemy advanced towards al-Ḥusayn (a). Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, may God curse him, attacked the left flank. The Imam's (a) men resisted him and forced him back.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions were attacked from every side, but they fought back fiercely. Then their cavalry entered the battle, and although they were only thirty-two horsemen, wherever they attacked the Kufan cavalry, they forced them back.

When 'Urwah ibn Qays, who was in charge of the Kufan cavalry, saw what was happening, he sent a message to 'Umar ibn Sa'd, "Are you seeing what is happening to my cavalry at the hands of this small number of men? Send out the foot-soldiers and archers against them."

So, he sent out archers against them. The horse of al-Ḥurr ibn Yazid was wounded. He dismounted and called out:

> If you have hamstrung me [my horse], know that I am the son of a free man.
>
> I am braver than a fully-maned lion!

He attacked them with his sword, but they crowded around him. [In the end] Ayyūb ibn Musarriḥ and one other Kufan horseman killed him.

The companions of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) fought the enemy fiercely until noontime. When al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr – who was in charge of the archers – saw the perseverance of the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a), he brought forward his archers – who were 500 in number – and ordered them to shower the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) with arrows. The archers attacked continuously until they had disabled their horses, wounded some of them, and forced them to fight on foot. Then a fierce battle ensued between the two sides for some time.

وأرجلة وقاتلوا لا يقدرون على إتيانهم إلا من وجه واحد لاجتماع أبنيتهم وتقاربها، ولمكان النار التي أوقدوها خلفهم

وأمر عمر بتخريق أبنيتهم وتقويضها، فأخذوا يخربونها بأيديهم وسيوفهم، وحمل الشمر في الميسرة على ظهر فسطاط الحسين عليه السلام برمحه، ونادى: عليّ بالنار حتى أحرق هذا البيت على أهله، فصاحت النساء وولولن وخرجن من الفسطاط.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: ويحك أتدعو بالنار لتحرق بيتي على أهلي؟

Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan advanced towards them with his men, but Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn, may God have mercy on him, attacked him with ten other companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) and forced them away from the tents. Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan fought back against them, killing some men. The rest returned to their positions.

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn began to address al-Ḥusayn (a) and said:

Today we will meet your grandfather, our Prophet (s),
And al-Ḥasan (a), and 'Alī al-Murtaḍā (a),
And the brave young man who possesses two-wings [Ja'far].

Because they were so few, the number of men killed was evident amongst the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a); it was not as evident amongst the companions of 'Umar ibn Sa'd because of their large number.

The fighting and attacks began to intensify, and the number of dead and wounded rose amongst the companions of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a) until midday arrived. [At that time] al-Ḥusayn (a) recited the prayer of fear (*ṣalāt al-khawf*) with his companions.[1]

339. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārazmī: Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan attacked and the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) resisted him. Fighting fiercely, they had [only] thirty-two horsemen, but whenever they engaged the Kufans, they overcame them.

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 104; *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 463.

ورجع القوم إلى الحسين عليه السلام. فحمل شمر بن ذي الجوشن لعنة الله على أهل الميسرة فثبتوا له فطاعنوه، وحمل على الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه من كل جانب، وقاتلهم أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام قتالاً شديداً، فأخذت خيلهم تحمل، وإنما هي اثنان وثلاثون فارساً، فلا تحمل على جانب من خيل الكوفة إلّا كشفته.

فلما رأى ذلك عروة بن قيس - وهو على خيل أهل الكوفة - بعث إلى عمر بن سعد: أما ترى ما تلقى خيلي منذ اليوم من هذه العدّة اليسيرة؟ ابعث إليهم الرجال والرماة. فبعث عليهم بالرماة، فعقر بالحرّ بن يزيد فرسه، فنزل عنه، وجعل يقول:

إن تعقروا بي فأنا ابن الحرّ　　　أشجع من ذي لبد هزبر

ويضربهم بسيفه، وتكاثروا عليه، فاشترك في قتله أيوب بن مشرح ورجل آخر من فرسان أهل الكوفة. وقاتل أصحاب الحسين بن علي عليه السلام القوم أشدّ قتال حتى انتصف النهار. فلما رأى الحصين بن نمير - وكان على الرماة - صبر أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام تقدّم إلى أصحابه - وكانوا خمسمائة نابل - أن يرشقوا أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام بالنبل، فرشقوهم، فلم يلبثوا أن عقروا خيولهم، وجرحوا الرجال وأرجلوهم، واشتدّ القتال بينهم ساعة.

'Umar ibn Sa'd deployed al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr with 500 archers. They came close to al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, showered them with arrows, and quickly wounded most of their horses. They continued fighting until midday, when the battle became intense.

The men of 'Umar ibn Sa'd could only approach them from one direction, because the tents were clustered and bound together [forming an obstacle].

Then, 'Umar ibn Sa'd sent in foot-soldiers with instructions to pull down the tents from the left and right, and to encircle the camp. The companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) concealed themselves within the tents in groups of three or four; as soon as any soldier tried to bring down a tent and loot it, they would shoot him with arrows at close range. As a result, they struck down and killed [several of] them.

Thereafter, 'Umar ibn Sa'd ordered the tents to be set alight. Al-Ḥusayn (a) advised his companions, "Let them set fire to them, because if they do so, they will not be able to pass through them to get to you." So, they burned them down and were unable to come closer, just as the Imam (a) had predicted.

It has also been reported that Shabath ibn Rib'ī said to him [Ibn Sa'd], "May your mother mourn over you! Are you terrorizing the women?" Ibn Sa'd turned away from him, embarrassed. In the end, the enemy could only approach them except from one direction.

The companions of Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn began to attack. They killed Abū 'Udhrah al-Ḍibābī, one of the men of Shimr.

وحمل شمر بن ذي الجوشن في أصحابه، فحمل عليهم زهير بن القين رحمة الله في عشرة رجال من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام فكشفهم عن البيوت، وعطف عليهم شمر بن ذي الجوشن فقتل من القوم وردّ الباقين إلى مواضعهم، وأنشأ زهير بن القين يقول مخاطباً للحسين عليه السلام:

اليوم نلقى جدّك النبيّ   وحسناً والمرتضى عليّا   وذا الجناحين الفتى الكميّ

وكان القتل يبين في أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام لقلّة عددهم ولا يتبيّن في أصحاب عمر بن سعد لكثرتهم، واشتدّ القتال والتحم، وكثر القتل والجراح في أصحاب أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام إلى أن زالت الشمس، فصلّى الحسين عليه السلام بأصحابه صلاة الخوف.

The companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) continued to be killed one after another, and their depleted numbers became evident for them, because they were few. [On the other hand] tens of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd's men were killed, but it was not as noticeable because of their large numbers.[1]

2/11: Congregational noon prayers led by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day of Ashura

340. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: The companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) continued to be killed. When one or two of them were killed, it was evident; but the opposite side were numerous, and the number of their dead had no impact on them.

When he saw this, Abū Thumāmah, ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāʾidī, said to al-Ḥusayn (a), "O Abā ʿAbd Allāh, may my soul be ransomed for you! I see that they have come close to [killing] you. No, by God, they will never kill you until I am killed first instead, if God wills. I would love to meet my Lord after I have prayed the noon prayers, whose time has approached."

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[1] Khwarizmi, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 16.

حمل الحر بن يزيد الرياحي فقتلوه، وقاتل أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام قتالاً شديداً، وإنهم اثنان وثلاثون فارساً، فلا يحملون على جانب من أهل الكوفة إلا كشفوه.

فبعث عمر بن سعد بالحصين بن تميم في خمسمائة من الرماة، فأقبلوا حتى دنوا من الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه، فرشقوهم بالنبل، فلم يلبثوا أن عقروا خيولهم، وقاتلوهم حتى انتصف النهار، واشتد القتال، ولم يقدر أصحاب ابن سعد أن يأتوهم إلا من جانب واحد، لاجتماع أبنيتهم، وتقارب بعضها من بعض، فأرسل عمر بن سعد الرجال ليقوضوا الأبنية من عن أيمانهم وشمائلهم ليحيطوا بهم، وأخذ الثلاثة والأربعة من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام يتخللون البيوت، فيشدون على الرجل وهو يقوض وينتهب، فيقتلونه ويرمونه من قريب، فيصرعونه ويقتلونه.

فأمر عمر بن سعد أن يحرقوها بالنار، فقال الحسين عليه السلام لأصحابه: دعوهم فليحرقوها، فإنهم لو فعلوا لم يجوزوا إليكم منها، فأحرقوها، وكان ذلك كذلك.

وقيل: قال له شبث بن ربعي: أفزعت النساء ثكلتك أمك! فاستحيا من ذلك، وانصرف عنه، وقاتلوا لا يقاتلونهم إلا من وجه واحد.

وشدّ أصحاب زهير بن القين، فقتلوا أبا عذرة الضبابي من أصحاب شمر.

قال: ولا يزال يُقتل من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام الواحد والاثنان، فيتبيّن ذلك فيهم لقلّتهم، ويُقتل من أصحاب عمر العشرة والعشرون، فلا يتبيّن ذلك فيهم لكثرتهم.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) raised his head and said, "You have mentioned prayers, may God raise you in the company of those who prayed, and remembered Him [often]! Yes indeed, the time for prayers has just entered." Then he said, "Ask them to stop [their attack] so that we may observe the prayer."

Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm said to them, "Those [prayers] would not be accepted!"

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir replied to him, "Not accepted? You think that the prayers of the family of God's Messenger (s) will not be accepted while yours will be, you donkey?"

[...] Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī killed a cousin of his who was in the ranks of the enemy.

Then, they prayed the noon prayer. Al-Ḥusayn (a) led them in the prayer of fear (*ṣalāt al-khawf*). Afterwards, they resumed fighting in the afternoon, and the battle raged fiercely.[1]

341. *al-Malhūf*: The time for the noon prayer arrived, and al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn and Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī to stand in front of him with half of his followers; then he led the rest of his companions in the prayer of fear.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 439–41; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 567.

فلا يزال الرجل من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام قد قتل، فإذا قتل منهم الرجل والرجلان تبيّن فيهم،
وأولئك كثير لا يتبيّن فيهم ما يقتل منهم.

قال: فلما رأى ذلك أبو ثمامة عمرو بن عبد الله الصائدي قال للحسين عليه السلام: يا أبا عبد الله، نفسي
لك الفداء، إني أرى هؤلاء قد اقتربوا منك، ولا والله لا تقتل حتى أقتل دونك إن شاء الله، وأحبّ أن
ألقى ربي وقد صلّيت هذه الصلاة التي دنا وقتها.

قال: فرفع الحسين عليه السلام رأسه، ثم قال: ذكرت الصلاة، جعلك الله من المصلّين الذاكرين، نعم،
هذا أول وقتها، ثم قال: سلوهم أن يكفّوا عنا حتى نصلّي.

فقال لهم الحصين بن تميم: إنها لا تقبل، فقال له حبيب بن مظاهر: لا تقبل! زعمت الصلاة من آل
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لا تقبل وتقبل منك يا حمار؟!...

وقتل أبو ثمامة الصائدي ابن عم له كان عدوًا له، ثم صلّوا الظهر، صلّى بهم الحسين عليه السلام صلاة
الخوف، ثم اقتتلوا بعد الظهر، فاشتد قتالهم.

Arrows were being fired at al-Ḥusayn (a), so Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥanafī stood right in front of him protecting him with his body. He did not move an inch until he finally fell [due to the arrows] to the ground. He was saying, "O God! Curse them as you cursed ʿĀd and Thamūd. O God! Send my greetings to Your Prophet, and inform him of the pain of my wounds, for I sought only to earn Your pleasure by supporting the offspring of Your Prophet."

Then he died, may God be pleased with him. Thirteen arrows were found embedded in him, in addition to cuts from swords and stab wounds from spears.[1]

342. *al-Irshād*: The fighting and attacks began to intensify, and the number of dead and wounded amongst the companions of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a) rose, until midday arrived.[2] [At that time]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 165; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 17.

حضرت صلاة الظهر، فأمر الحسين عليه السلام زهير بن القين وسعيد بن عبد الله الحنفي أن يتقدما أمامه بنصف من تخلف معه، ثم صلى بهم صلاة الخوف، فوصل إلى الحسين عليه السلام سهم فتقدم سعيد بن عبد الله الحنفي ووقف يقيه بنفسه ما زال ولا تخطى حتى سقط إلى الأرض وهو يقول اللهم العنهم لعن عاد وثمود، اللهم أبلغ نبيك عني السلام، وأبلغه ما لقيت من ألم الجراح، فإني أردت ثوابك في نصر ذرية نبيك، ثم قضى نحبه رضوان الله عليه، فوجد به ثلاثة عشر سهماً سوى ما به من ضرب السيوف وطعن الرماح.

[2] In *Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn* (vol. 1, p. 222), it says that at midday on the day of Ashura, the Imam (a) performed the noon (*ẓuhr*) prayer in whatever way it was possible; however, he could not perform the afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayer.

He performed his ʿaṣr prayer in a manner that no one else before him has performed, and no one after him will ever perform. The ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) of the prayer was made with the blood dripping from his forehead; its bowing (*rukūʿ*) was when he bent down on his saddle to remove the arrow jutting from his back; and his prostration (*sujūd*) was at the moment when he fell to the ground – although he could not place his forehead on the earth, because he had been struck on it with a rock. So, he placed the right side of his face on the ground. His witnessing (*tashahhud*) was when he sat back on his knees and removed an arrow from his neck.

al-Ḥusayn (a) recited the prayer of fear (*ṣalāt al-khawf*) with his companions.[1]

How the prayer of fear (*ṣalāt al-khawf*) is performed

In most narrations, it is reported that on the day of Ashura, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) performed the noon (*ẓuhr*) prayers in congregation, in the form of *ṣalāt al-khawf*.

It should be mentioned that the prayer of fear, whether prayed alone or in congregation, is a shortened (*qaṣr*) prayer, just like the prayer of a traveller. If it is performed in congregation, it is popularly accepted that it is done in this manner: the soldiers are divided into two groups; the first group performs one unit (*rakaʿah*) of the prayer behind the Imam. After the first unit of the prayer is over, the Imam pauses sitting, while the soldiers perform the second unit by themselves and resume their positions on the battlefield. The second group then congregate in their place and perform their first unit of prayer while the Imam completes his second.

[Depending on the circumstances] other methods for performing the prayer of fear have also been described, the details of which can be found in the books of exegesis (*tafsīr*) and jurisprudence (*fiqh*).[2]

2/12: The address of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to his companions

343. ***Maʿānī al-Akhbār***, quoting Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): As the situation [the battle] became critical for al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), his followers looked at him and saw that his demeanour was not like theirs. As the situation become more severe, their colour would change, their shoulders would tremble, and their hearts would beat faster. Al-Ḥusayn (a) and a handful of his close companions, though, did not react in the same manner; their faces became more radiant, their limbs more relaxed, and their hearts more tranquil. The

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 105; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 405.

إشتدّ القتال والتحم، وكثر القتل والجرح في أصحاب أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام إلى أن زالت الشمس، فصلّى الحسين عليه السلام بأصحابه صلاة الخوف.

[2] See Q 4:102 for a brief mention of *ṣalāt al-khawf*. [Trans.]

followers said to one other, "Look at him, he is not at all concerned about death!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to them, "Be steadfast, sons of noble men, for death is no more than a bridge that shall transport you from desolation and adversity to expansive gardens and eternal bliss. Would any of you dislike being taken from a prison into a palace? And what awaits your enemies is a transfer from a palace to a prison, and to punishment.

"My father narrated to me from God's Messenger (s), 'This world is a prison for the believer and a paradise for the disbeliever, and death is a bridge leading one group into their paradises and the other to their hells. I have not lied, nor have I been lied to.'"[1]

344. *Tarikh Dimashq*, quoting Bishr ibn Ṭānihah, from a man of the tribe of Hamdān: On the morning of the day he was martyred, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) addressed us. He began by praising God and glorifying Him, then said:

> O servants of God! Be mindful of God and beware of the world (*al-dunyā*), for if the world would persist for anyone, and if anyone could remain in it forever, then the prophets would be the most deserving for it to be so; they were the most content of God's servants and most pleased with His decree.
>
> However, God, the Almighty, created this world as a place of trial, and created its inhabitants to perish. Its freshness fades, its bounties wane, and its pleasures are short-lived. It is a place to gather necessities, and

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[1] *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār*, p. 288, no. 3; *al-I'tiqādāt*, p. 52.

لما اشتد الأمر بالحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب عليهما السلام نظر إليه من كان معه فإذا هو بخلافهم
لأنهم كلما اشتد الأمر تغيرت ألوانهم وارتعدت فرائصهم ووجبت قلوبهم وكان الحسين عليه السلام
وبعض من معه من خصائصه تشرق ألوانهم وتهدأ جوارحهم وتسكن نفوسهم، فقال بعضهم لبعض:
انظروا، لا يبالي بالموت!

فقال لهم الحسين عليه السلام: صبرا بني الكرام، فما الموت إلا قنطرة تعبر بكم عن البؤس والضراء
إلى الجنان الواسعة والنعيم الدائمة، فأيكم يكره أن ينتقل من سجن إلى قصر؟ وما هو لأعدائكم إلا كمن
ينتقل من قصر إلى سجن وعذاب.

إن أبي حدثني عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: إن الدنيا سجن المؤمن وجنة الكافر، والموت جسر
هؤلاء إلى جنانهم وجسر هؤلاء إلى جحيمهم، ما كذبت ولا كذبت.

> its abodes are transient. So take provisions [for the journey to come], and, *Indeed, the best provision is God-mindfulness (taqwā)*;[1] be mindful of God, that you might be successful.[2]

343. *al-Amālī* of Ibn al-Shajarī: al-Ḥusayn ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī narrated from his forefathers that: Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) made a speech on the Day of Affliction [Ashura]. He began by praising God and glorifying Him, and then said:

> All praise belongs to God, Who made the hereafter for the God-wary (*muttaqīn*), and the hellfire and [its] punishment for the disbelievers. By God! We did not take this path to seek this world so that we would be doubters about the pleasure [paradise] of our Lord. So persevere, for God is with those who have *taqwā*, and the abode of the hereafter is better for you.
>
> They replied, "We will sacrifice our lives for you!"
>
> Al-Ḥusayn ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī said, "By God! They were resolved to precede him in battle so that they could be martyred before him, and so that he would witness their actions and pray for their forgiveness."[3]

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[1] Q 2:197.

[2] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 218; *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, p. 429.

خطبنا الحسين بن علي عليه السلام غداة اليوم الذي استشهد فيه، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال:
عباد الله، اتقوا الله وكونوا من الدنيا على حذر، فإن الدنيا لو بقيت لأحد وبقي عليها أحد كانت الأنبياء
أحق بالبقاء، وأولى بالرضى، وأرضى بالقضاء، غير أن الله تعالى خلق الدنيا للبلاء، وخلق أهلها للفناء،
فجديدها بال، ونعيمها مضمحل، وسرورها مكفهر، والمنزل بلغة، والدار قلعة، فتزودوا فإن خير الزاد
التقوى، واتقوا الله لعلكم تفلحون.

[3] Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 162.

إن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام خطب يوم أصيب، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه وقال:
الحمد لله الذي جعل الآخرة للمتقين، والنار والعقاب على الكافرين، والله ما طلبنا في وجهنا
هذا الدنيا، فنكون الشاكين في رضوان ربنا، فاصبروا فإن الله مع الذين اتقوا، ودار الآخرة خير لكم.
قالوا: بأنفسنا نفديك.
فقال الحسين بن زيد بن علي: فكانوا والله يبادرونه إلى القتال حتى قتلوا بين يديه فيشهدهم
ويستغفر لهم.

2/13: Farewell

346. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Every one of the companions came to bid farewell to al-Ḥusayn (a) as they departed [for the battlefield]. They would say, "Peace be on you, O son of God's Messenger", and he would reply, "And on you be peace. We are following behind you." Then he would recite, "*Amongst them is the one who has fulfilled his covenant* [*to the death*], *and among them is the one who waits* [*his turn*] ..."[1][2]

347. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, quoting Muhammad ibn al-Qays: The companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) came to him singly and in twos, seeking his permission to fight in his defence. He would pray for them saying, "May God reward you with best of the rewards reserved for the people of *taqwā*!"

They would send greetings of peace on al-Ḥusayn (a) and go out to fight on the battlefield until they met with martyrdom.[3]

2/14: The last supplication of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day of Ashura

348. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Sufyān al-Bazūfarī: The last supplication that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) made on the day that he was outnumbered was:

> O God! [You are] most high in status, all-great in power, severe in retribution, needless of the creation, abounding in grandeur, capable over whatever You desire, quick to mercy, true to your promise, facilitator of bounties, [the] best of testers, close when you are called, encompassing of your creation, accepter of the repentance of those who turn back to

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[1] Q 33:23

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 100; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 15

كان كل من أراد الخروج ودّع الحسين عليه السلام وقال: السلام عليك يا ابن رسول الله فيجيبه: وعليك السلام ونحن خلفك، ويقرأ: «فمنهم من قضى نحبه ومنهم من ينتظر».

[3] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 185.

أتاه أصحابه مثنى وفرادى يقاتلون بين يديه وهو يدعو لهم ويقول: جزاكم الله أحسن جزاء المتقين، فجعلوا يسلّمون على الحسين عليه السلام ويقاتلون حتى قتلوا.

You, capable over what You intend, successful in what You seek, grateful when You are thanked, mindful when You are remembered.

In great need I beseech You, in poverty I cleave to You, in fear I flee to You, in distress I weep to You, in weakness I seek Your help, and to suffice me I rely on You.

Judge between us and our people, for they have deceived us, cheated us, betrayed us, and killed us, while we are the family of Your Prophet, and the offspring of Your beloved Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (s), the one You selected for the message and entrusted with Your revelation. So, grant us relief and salvation in our predicament, by Your mercy, O most Merciful.[1]

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[1] *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 827; *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 399.

آخر دعاء دعا به الإمام الحسين عليه السلام يوم كربلاء: اللّهم أنت متعالي المكان، عظيم الجبروت، شديد المحال، غني عن الخلائق، عريض الكبرياء، قادر على ما تشاء، قريب الرحمة، صادق الوعد، سابغ النعمة، حسن البلاء، قريب إذا دعيت، محيط بما خلقت، قابل التوبة لمن تاب إليك، قادر على ما أردت، ومدرك ما طلبت، وشكور إذا شكرت، وذكور إذا ذكرت، أدعوك محتاجاً، وأرغب إليك فقيراً، وأفزع إليك خائفاً، وأبكي إليك مكروباً، وأستعين بك ضعيفاً، وأتوكل عليك كافياً، احكم بيننا وبين قومنا، فإنهم غرونا وخدعونا وخذلونا، وغدروا بنا وقتلونا، ونحن عترة نبيك، وولد حبيبك محمد بن عبد الله صلى الله عليه وآله الذي اصطفيته بالرسالة، وائتمنته على وحيك، فاجعل لنا من أمرنا فرجاً ومخرجاً، برحمتك يا أرحم الراحمين.

PART 3: THE MARTYRDOM OF THE COMPANIONS OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

3/1: Details about the companions of the Imam (a)

In this part, we will discuss the martyrdom of some of the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), where significant details about their lives or their martyrdom have been mentioned in the reports. However, before that, it is worth noting some universal qualities of these noble personalities.

1. The best of companions

According to reports found in a number of reliable historical sources, during his memorable sermon on the eve of the 9th of Muharram (*Tāsū'ā*), Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) praised his companions by saying, "I could not ask for companions more loyal or better than my companions."[1]

These words indicate that the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) were completely devoted to the leadership (*imāmah*) of this great personality. And we read in the salutation of the month of Rajab (*Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*), "Peace be on you, O Godly men. You are God's chosen servants, and God selected you for Abū 'Abd Allāh, may peace be on him."[2]

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[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 52.

فإني لا أعلم أصحابا أوفى ولا خيرا من أصحابي

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 340; *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir*, p. 291.

السلام عليكم أيها الربانيون، أنتم خيرة الله، اختاركم الله لأبي عبد الله عليه السلام

2. Achieving the peak of conviction (*yaqīn*)

The speeches of several companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in professing their love and loyalty to him reveal that they had reached the peak of conviction, which is a high level of human perfection.

An example is the speech of Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥanafī: "By God! If I knew that I would be killed, then brought back to life, then burnt alive, then my ashes scattered in the wind – and that this would happen to me seventy times – even then I would not leave you until I give my life to protect you! So why then should I not do the same when I know that I will be killed but once, and that this will lead to eternal and abiding honour?"[1]

Another example is the speech of Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn: "By God! I would gladly be killed then brought back to life, and then killed in this manner a thousand times, so that through these repeated lives of mine, God should protect your life and the lives of these young men from your household."[2]

3. Allowed to perceive hidden realities

According to several reports, the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) saw their places in paradise and, consequently, went forth eagerly to embrace martyrdom. Muḥammad ibn al-ʿUmārah narrates, "I asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), 'Tell me about the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a): how did they face death?' The Imam (a) said, 'The veils were lifted from before their eyes so that they could see their stations in paradise.'"[3]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 419; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 91.

والله لو علمت أني أقتل ثم أحيا ثم أحرق حياً ثم أذرّى، يفعل ذلك بي سبعين مرة ما فارقتك حتى ألقى حمامي دونك، فكيف لا أفعل ذلك وإنما هي قتلة واحدة، ثم هي الكرامة التي لا انقضاء لها أبداً.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 419; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 92.

والله لوددت أني قتلت ثم نشرت ثم قتلت حتى أقتل كذا ألف قتلة، وأن الله يدفع بذلك القتل عن نفسك وعن أنفس هؤلاء الفتية من أهل بيتك.

[3] *ʿIlal al-Sharāʾiʿ*, p. 229, no. 1; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 297, no. 1.

أخبرني عن أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام وإقدامهم على الموت. فقال: إنهم كشف لهم الغطاء حتى رأوا منازلهم من الجنة.

In another narration it has been reported from Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) that on the eve of Ashura, after Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had given permission for his companions to leave him, and they had declined, the Imam (a) said to them, "Tomorrow you will be killed; none of you will survive."[1]

They said, "All praise is due to God who has honoured us with martyrdom at your side."

Then the Imam (a) made a prayer and said to them, "Raise you heads and observe."

They saw their places and homes in paradise, while the Imam (a) called out to individuals and pointed out their [respective] houses, palaces, and levels in paradise.

Thereafter, every one of them went out to brave the spears and swords, focused on reaching his station in paradise.[2]

4. Resembling the martyrs who fought at the side of the prophets (a)

It has been reported from Imam al-Bāqir (a) that when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was laying the bodies of his martyred companions next to each other, he said, "Our martyrs are like those who were martyred with prophets." By these words, he meant that the martyrs of Karbala had the same merits as those who were martyred in the battles fought by God's prophets.[3]

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[1] *al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*, vol. 2, p. 847, no. 62; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 298, no. 3.

إنّكم تقتلون غداً كذلك، لا يفلت منكم رجل.

[2] Ibid.

ثمّ دعا، وقال لهم: ارفعوا رؤوسكم وانظروا. فجعلوا ينظرون إلى مواضعهم ومنازلهم من الجنّة، وهو يقول لهم: هذا منزلك يا فلان، وهذا قصرك يا فلان، وهذه درجتك يا فلان.

فكان الرجل يستقبل الرماح والسيوف بصدره ووجهه ليصل إلى منزله من الجنّة.

[3] al-Nuʿmānī, *al-Ghaybah*, p. 211, no. 19; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 80, no. 5.

قتلانا قتلى النبيين.

5. The doyens of the martyrs

Just as Imam al-Husayn (a) has earned the title "Doyen of the Martyrs (*sayyid al-shuhadā'*)", his companions too, are counted amongst the chiefs of the martyrs. This is apparent from a narration from God's Messenger (s), where he mentioned the future of Imam al-Husayn (a) and alluded to the events of Karbala: "He will be helped by a group of Muslims; they shall be of the chiefs of the martyrs of my nation on the Day of Judgement."[1]

6. Entry into paradise before the sweat on their horses had dried

In his *al-Amālī*, al-Ṣadūq quotes Ka'b al-Aḥbār as saying, "In our Book [the Torah], it has been mentioned, 'A man from the offspring of Muhammad, the Messenger (s) of God, shall be killed. The sweat of the mounts of his companions will not have dried before they will enter paradise and embrace the heavenly damsels.'"[2]

Similarly, in some Sunni sources, it has been reported from 'Ammār al-Duhnī that "'Alī (a) passed by Ka'b, who said, 'One of the sons of this man shall be killed with a group [of his companions]; the sweat from their mounts will not have dried before they are presented before Muhammad (s).' Al-Ḥasan (a) passed by, and they asked [Ka'b], 'Is this him, O Abū Isḥāq?' He said, 'No.' Then al-Ḥusayn (a) passed by, and they asked, 'Him?' He replied, 'Yes.'"[3]

We will now present brief details of the lives of a number of the most prominent companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 177, no. 178; *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, p. 159.

تنصره عصابةٌ من المسلمين، أولئك من سادة شهداء أمّتي يوم القيامة.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 203, no. 220; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 224, no. 4.

إنّ رجلاً من ولد محمّد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يُقتل، ولا يجفّ عرقُ دوابّ أصحابه حتى يدخلوا الجنّة فيعانقوا الحور العين.

[3] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 117, no. 2852; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 422.

مرّ عليّ عليه السلام على كعب فقال: يُقتل من ولد هذا الرجل رجلٌ في عصابة لا يجفّ عرقُ خيولهم حتى يردوا على محمّد صلى الله عليه و آله، فمرّ حسنٌ عليه السلام فقالوا: هذا يا أبا إسحاق؟ قال: لا، فمرّ حسينٌ عليه السلام فقالوا: هذا؟ قال: نعم.

3/2: Abū Thumāmah, 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣā'idī

Abū Thumāmah is the *kunyah* of one of the eminent followers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). According to some reports, he was a companion of Imam 'Alī (a) and took part in his battles alongside him. Thereafter, he was also a companion of Imam al-Ḥasan (a).

He was a resident of Kufa. After the death of Mu'āwiyah, he was one of those who wrote letters to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) urging him to rise. When Muslim ibn 'Aqīl arrived in Kufa as an envoy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), Abū Thumāmah was one of his trusted followers. He was active in procuring arms and wealth [for the movement]. Muslim placed him in charge of the soldiers from the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān, and it was his men who laid siege to Ibn Ziyād in the government mansion.

When the people of Kufa deserted Muslim, Abū Thumāmah left Kufa and joined Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Karbala, becoming part of a group of men who were dedicated to the Imam (a) and prepared to lay down their lives for him.

One of the outstanding and brilliant acts of this great man – which has been etched in the history of Ashura – is his reminder that it was midday and the time for the noon prayer. The prayer was performed during the heat of battle on the day of Ashura.

On hearing the words of Abū Thumāmah, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) raised his head and said, "You have mentioned prayer; may God raise you in the company of those who prayed and remembered Him [often]! Yes indeed, the time for prayers has just entered." Then he said, "Ask them to stop [their attack] so that we may observe the prayer."[1]

After a number of companions of Abū 'Abd Allāh (a) had been martyred, Abū Thumāmah came to the battlefield and attacked the enemy lines. In the end, he was martyred in combat against Qays ibn 'Abd Allāh and joined the roll of the martyrs of Karbala.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 439-41; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 567.

ذكرتَ الصلاةَ، جعلك الله من المصلّين الذاكرين، نعم هذا أوّل وقتها، ثُمّ قال: سلوهم أن يكفّوا عنّا حتّى نُصلّي.

He has been mentioned in both *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, where we read, "Peace be upon Abū Thumāmah, 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣā'idī."[1]

3/3: Anas ibn al-Ḥārith

Anas ibn al-Ḥārith was one of the companions of God's Messenger (s) and of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

He has reported that God's Messenger (s) said, "This son of mine" – meaning al-Ḥusayn (a) – "will be killed in a land called Karbala, so whoever is present at the time must assist him."[2]

He is possibly the same person who, after hearing the aforementioned advice, settled in the area many years before the event of Karbala, so that he might earn the merit of martyrdom alongside the Chief of the Martyrs (a).[3]

About Anas, we read in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, "Peace be upon Anas ibn Kāhil al-Asadī."[4]

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[1] In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* he is named as Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī; see *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 341.

السلام على أبي ثمامة عمر بن عبد الله الصائدي.

[2] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, p. 271; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 224.

إنّ ابني هذا - يعني الحسين عليه السلام - يُقتل بأرض يقال لها كربلاء، فمن شهد ذلك منكم فلينصره.

[3] In *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1, p. 455, no. 424, it is reported from 'Uryān ibn al-Haytham: "My father would go to the desert and camp in an area where later, the Battle of al-Ḥusayn (a) took place. Whenever we would come to that area, we would see a man of the Asadī tribe who lived there. My father said to him, 'I see that you have settled here?' He replied, 'I have received news that al-Ḥusayn (a) will be killed in this land. I have come here so that I can be at his side, and be killed along with him.' When al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, my father said, 'Let us go and see if that man from the Asadī tribe is amongst those killed or not.' We came by wagon and searched for him, and found that he was one of those killed."

[4] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, pp. 78 and 341.

السلام على أنس بن كاهل الأسدي.

3/4: Burayr ibn Khuḍayr

Burayr was one of the foremost scholars of the Qur'an at his time. He lived in Kufa and was considered the best Qur'an reciter of his era (*aqraʾ ahl zamānihi*). Amongst his other distinctions was his great insight into the path he had chosen, his piety, eloquence, and determined defence of the sacred authority of al-Husayn (a). His cheerful manner on the morning of Ashura, even as the enemy continually tightened their grip over them, showed the lofty and perceptive nature of his soul.

Burayr is the person who, due to his conviction of life after death, displayed a special calmness on the morning of Ashura, even though Imam al-Husayn (a) and his followers were surrounded by the enemy, and martyrdom was not far off. At one point, he spoke to his friend 'Abd al-Raḥmān in a jovial manner. When his friend objected, "O Burayr! Do you laugh? This is not the time for laughter or frivolity." Burayr replied, "By God! My people know that I have never loved frivolity, neither as a young man and nor in old age. I behave this way because I am happy about what we shall soon experience. By God, all that remains is for us to confront these men with our swords and fight them for a while, and thereafter we shall be in the embrace of the damsels of paradise."[1]

On the day of Ashura, after fighting bravely, he achieved martyrdom at the hands of Ka'b ibn Jābir. He has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*.[2]

329. *al-Malhūf*: Burayr ibn Khuḍayr, who was a devout worshipper of God, entered the battlefield. Yazīd ibn Ma'qil approached him and they cursed one another, calling on God to aid the one who was on the truth and to kill the one who was on falsehood. They fought one

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 154.

لقد علم قومي أنّي ما أحببت الباطل كهلاً ولا شابّاً، ولكنّ والله إنّي لمستبشر بما نصير إليه، فوالله ما هو إلّا أن نلقى هؤلاء القوم بأسيافنا نعالجهم بها ساعة، ثمّ نعانق الحور العين.

[2] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, pp. 78, and 342.

another, and Burayr killed him. He then continued to fight until he achieved martyrdom, may God be pleased with him.[1]

359. *Tarikh al-Tabari* **quoting Abu Mikhnaf, from Yusuf ibn Yazid from 'Afif ibn Zuhayr ibn Abi al-Akhnas, who was present at the moment of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a):** Yazid ibn Ma'qil was from the tribe of Banū 'Amirah ibn Rabī'ah, who were allied to the Banū Salimah from 'Abd al-Qays. He came forward and called out, "O Burayr ibn Khuḍayr! What do you think of how God has treated you?"

Burayr replied, "He has, by God, treated me well and treated you badly."

He [Yazid] said, "You lie! In the past you did not use to lie. Do you recall when I used to accompany you amongst the Banu Lawdhān and you would say, 'Indeed, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān was profligate, and Mu'āwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān was himself deviant and caused others to go astray, and that the Imam of guidance and truth was 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib?'"

Burayr replied, "I testify that this is my opinion, and those are my words."

Yazid ibn Ma'qil said to him, "And I testify that you are of the deviant."

Burayr ibn Khuḍayr retorted, "Why do we not enter into a mutual imprecation (*mubāhilah*)? Let us both call on God to curse the liar and kill the one who is on falsehood. Thereafter, come out to fight me."

They both came forward and raised their hands to God, asking Him to curse the liar, and allow the one on truth to kill the one on falsehood. Then they engaged each other in combat and exchanged blows. Yazid ibn Ma'qil struck Burayr ibn Khuḍayr with a light blow that did not hurt him at all, but Burayr countered with a blow that cut through his opponent's helmet and pierced his brain. He toppled as if he had fallen from a height, while Ibn Khuḍayr's sword was lodged in his head. I can still see him working it out from his head.

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. [illegible] Ibn *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 61.

فخرج برير بن خضير وكان زاهداً عابداً، فخرج إليه يزيد بن معقل، واتفقا على المباهلة إلى الله في أن يقتل المحق منهما المبطل، فتلاقيا فقتله برير، ولم يزل يقاتل حتى قتل رضوان الله عليه.

At that time Radi ibn Munqidh al-‘Abadi attacked Burayr, and they fought for a while, until Burayr [brought him down] and straddled his chest. Radi called out, "Where are those who would fight and defend?" Ka‘b ibn Jābir ibn ‘Amr al-Azdī came out to attack him. I admonished him, "This is Burayr ibn Khuḍayr, the reciter of the Qur’an who would recite the Qur’an to us in the mosque." But he attacked him and pierced his back with a spear. When Burayr felt the spear touch his back he turned on him and bit him on the face, tearing off the tip of his nose. Ka‘b ibn Jābir struck him to the ground, and the spearhead was driven deeper into his back. Then he attacked him with his sword until he killed him.

‘Afīf continued: "I can still see al-‘Abadī, who was on the ground, stand up and shake the dust from his cloak, saying, 'O my Brother al-Azdī! You have done me a favour that I shall never forget!'"

I [Yūsuf ibn Yazīd] asked him [‘Afīf], "Did you truly witness this?"

He replied, "Yes indeed, my eyes saw it, and my ears heard it."

When Ka‘b ibn Jābir returned home, his wife – or sister – al-Nawār ibn Jābir said to him, "You helped the enemies of the son of Fāṭimah, and you killed the chief of the reciters of the Qur’an! You have done an awful thing. By God! I shall never speak to you again."[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 431; also see *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 189

فخرج يزيد بن معقل من بني عميرة بن ربيعة وهو حليف لبني سليمة من عبد القيس، فقال: يا برير بن
خضير، كيف ترى الله صنع بك؟

قال: صنع الله - والله - بي خيراً، وصنع الله بك شراً.

قال: كذبت، وقبل اليوم ما كنت كذاباً، هل تذكر وأنا أماشيك في بني لوذان وأنت تقول: إن عثمان
بن عفان كان على نفسه مسرفاً، وإن معاوية بن أبي سفيان ضال مضل، وإن إمام الهدى والحق علي
بن أبي طالب؟

فقال له برير: أشهد أن هذا رأيي وقولي. فقال له يزيد بن معقل: فإني أشهد أنك من الضالين.

فقال له برير بن خضير: هل لك فلأباهلك، ولندع الله أن يلعن الكاذب وأن يقتل المبطل، ثم اخرج
فلأبارزك. قال: فخرجا فرفعا أيديهما إلى الله يدعوانه أن يلعن الكاذب، وأن يقتل المحق المبطل، ثم برز
كل واحد منهما لصاحبه، فاختلفا ضربتين، فضرب يزيد بن معقل برير بن خضير ضربة خفيفة لم تضره
شيئاً، وضربه برير بن خضير ضربة قدت المغفر، وبلغت الدماغ، فخر كأنما هوى من حالق، وإن سيف
ابن خضير لثبت في رأسه، فكأني أنظر إليه ينضنضه من رأسه.

3/5: Bashir ibn 'Amr al-Ḥaḍrami

Bashir ibn 'Amr al-Ḥaḍrami was a steadfast and loyal companion of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). In Karbala, he received the unwelcome news that his son had been taken as a captive at the borderlands. At a time when he could have excused himself from battle to see to the release of his son, he resolutely stayed at the side of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

When the Imam (a) said to him, "You are free from your oath of allegiance, so go and try to get your son released," he replied, "May beasts devour me alive if I ever leave your side!"[1]

In another report, it is mentioned that the Imam (a) also offered to give him the ransom to get his son freed, but he refused, saying, "God forbid that I should leave you and then enquire about your fate from travellers! This will never happen, by God, and I will not abandon you!"[2]

According to al-Ṭabari,[3] Bashir and Suwayd were the last two companions of the Imam (a) to be martyred in Karbala.

He attacked the enemy and was martyred while he was reciting the following couplets:

Today, O soul, I shall meet the all-Merciful,
And today, with complete honour, you shall be rewarded,
Do not be distressed, for everything perishes in time.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, vol. 4, p. 407; *Tarikh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 182.

[2] *Maqatil al-Ṭalibiyyin*, p. 118.

[3] *Tarikh al-Ṭabari*, vol. 5, p. 444.

> And steadfastness shall earn you the greatest recompense, from the Judge of the Day of Reckoning.

He has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah* in the following words:

> Peace be on Bashir ibn 'Amr al-Ḥaḍrami. May God reward you for your words to al-Husayn (a) when he allowed you to depart: "May beasts devour me alive if I ever leave your side, and then enquire about your fate from travellers. And I should abandon you while you have so few companions? This will never happen."[1]

He has also been mentioned in the *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

3/6, 7: Two youths of Banū Jābir

Sayf ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sarī' and Mālik ibn 'Abd ibn Sarī' were half-brothers, born to the same mother. They were also paternal cousins. They were amongst the companions of Imam al-Husayn (a). When matters became severe on the day of Ashura, they approached the Imam (a) with tears in their eyes. When the Imam (a) asked them why they were weeping, they replied that they were heartbroken at seeing the state of the Imam (a) and their inability to defend him from the enemy. The Imam (a) prayed for them.

The names of these two martyrs are mentioned in both *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah* and *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.[2] In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*, we read, "Peace be on Shabib ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sarī'. Peace be on Mālik ibn 'Abd ibn Sarī'."[3]

391. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Muḥammad ibn al-Qays:** Two young men of Jābir, Sayf ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sarī' and Mālik ibn 'Abd ibn Sarī', who were paternal cousins as well as half-brothers born to the same mother, came to al-Husayn (a) with tears in their eyes.

He said, "O my nephews, what makes you weep? By God! I hope that soon you will be full of joy."

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

[2] In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* they are named as Sayf ibn al-Ḥārith and Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥā'irī; see *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 341.

[3] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

They replied, "May we be your ransom! We do not weep for ourselves, by God, but we weep for you, seeing you surrounded while we are powerless to protect you."

He said, "May God reward you the best reward of the God-wary, O my nephews, for your sorrow, and for your consolation to me with your lives..." Later, the two Jābiri youths went forth while addressing al-Husayn (a) [in farewell] saying, "Peace be on you, O son of God's Messenger," and he replied, "And on you be God's peace and mercy."

Then they fought until they were killed.[1]

3/8, 9: Junadah ibn al-Ḥārith and his son 'Amr

Junādah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī, or al-Anṣārī, has been mentioned by various names: Jābir ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī, Jabbār ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī, Jayyād ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī al-Murādī, Ḥayyān ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī al-Azdī, Ḥayyān ibn al-Ḥārith, Hamān ibn al-Ḥārith, and Ḥabbāb ibn al-Ḥārith.

On the day of *Ashura*, he attacked the ranks of the enemy soldiers while reciting these verses, and fought until he achieved martyrdom:

I am Junādah, the son of al-Ḥārith,
I am neither helpless, nor am I an oath-breaker!
I will fight on until my son
Stands over my lifeless body in the sand.

After him, his son 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith also went to the battlefield to fight.

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[1] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, 442; *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, vol. 2, p. 568.

جاء الفتيان الجابريان: سيف بن الحارث بن سريع ومالك بن عبد بن سريع وهما ابنا عم وأخوان لأم، فأتيا حسيناً عليه السلام فدنوا منه وهما يبكيان.

فقال: أي ابني أخي ما يبكيكما؟ فوالله إني لأرجو أن تكونا عن ساعة قريري عين.

قالا: جعلنا الله فداك لا والله ما على أنفسنا نبكي ولكنا نبكي عليك نراك قد أحيط بك ولا نقدر على أن نمنعك.

فقال: جزاكما الله يا ابني أخي بوجدكما من ذلك ومواساتكما إياي بأنفسكما أحسن جزاء المتقين... ثم استقدم الفتيان الجابريان يلتفتان إلى حسين عليه السلام ويقولان: السلام عليك يا ابن رسول الله، فقال: وعليكما السلام ورحمة الله، فقاتلا حتى قتلا.

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*, we read, "Peace be on Ḥayyān ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī al-Azdī."[1]

He has also been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

3/10: Jawn, a Freedman of Abū Dharr

He was an African slave and a companion of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). On the day of Ashura, he wanted to go to the battlefield, but the Imam (a) tried to dissuade him from doing so. However, Jawn insisted that he should be allowed to go to the battlefield, saying to the Imam (a), "By God, my odour may be offensive, my lineage lowly, and my colour black. But allow me to reach paradise so that my body becomes fragrant, my lineage noble, and my face radiant. No, by God! I will not abandon you until my base blood is mixed with yours."[2]

This loyal servant of the family of the Prophet (s) went out to fight till he achieved martyrdom. In some later reports it is mentioned that the Imam (a) stood over his body and prayed for him in the following words, "O God! Make his face radiant, his body fragrant, resurrect him in the company of the righteous, and place him in the company of Muḥammad (s) and his progeny (a)."

It has also been reported from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) that when people came after ten days to bury the martyrs, a fragrance of musk was noticeable from his body.

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on Jawn ibn Ḥawiyy, bondman of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī."[3] He has also been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

3/11: Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir

Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir al-Asadī, who has also been named in historical and biographical sources as Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir al-Faq'asī, was a close companion of Imam 'Alī (a), Imam al-Ḥasan, and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). According to Ibn al-Ḥajr,[1] he witnessed the era of the Prophet (s) as well.

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[1] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 73.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 163; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 63.

والله إنّ ريحي لنتن، وإنّ حسبي للئيم، ولوني لأسود، فتنفّس عليّ بالجنّة، فيطيب ريحي، ويشرف حسبي، ويبيضّ وجهي، لا والله لا أفارقكم حتّى يختلط هذا الدم الأسود مع دمائكم.

[3] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 73.

During the caliphate of Imam 'Alī (a), he was a member of his special military unit called the *shurṭat al-khamīs* (the elite force).

The conversation of Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir with Maytham al-Tammār and Rushayd al-Hajarī about matters that would transpire in the future indicates that they were conversant with the secrets of Imam 'Alī (a). It appears that they had been initiated into the secret knowledge of the times of deaths and details of future events (*'ilm al-manāyā wa al-balāyā*).

He was part of the first group to invite Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to come to Kufa. He was also instrumental in securing the oath of allegiance for the Imam (a) from the people of Kufa.

On the day of Ashura, Ḥabīb efficiently and confidently commanded the left flank of the army of the Imam (a). He fought bravely until he achieved martyrdom. His death affected Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) greatly, and he said at his death, "I assign the judgement for my martyrdom, and that of my helpers, to God."

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir al-Asadī."[2] He has also been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

It is worth mentioning that in his book, *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, Fāḍil al-Darbandī has presented detailed accounts of the meeting of Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir with Muslim ibn 'Awsajah in a perfume shop in the market of Kufa, where the latter had come to buy hair dye; and also about the letter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Ḥabīb calling him for support, the conversation between Ḥabīb and his wife about going to Karbala, the instructions issued by Ḥabīb to his servant to keep his horse ready for him at the outskirts of Kufa, the details of how Ḥabīb reached Karbala, and the greetings sent to him by Lady Zaynab (a) on his arrival. Like many other matters found in this book, there is no mention of these events in the reliable sources. It is unfortunate that many reciters and composers of elegies rely on these stories.

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[1] *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 143.

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

3/12: Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq al-Ju'fī was another loyal companion of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) who was blessed with martyrdom on the day of Ashura.

He is the person whom the Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) instructed to give the call for noon prayer when the caravan of the Imam (a) met with al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd. In the sources, he is described as the muezzin of al-Ḥusayn (a).

On the day of Ashura, he fought his way through the enemy ranks and was martyred.

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq al-Ju'fī." He has also been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

3/13: Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī

Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī was one of the leaders of the tribe of Banū Tamīm. Not much else is known about his background. However, his story is unique amongst the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and very instructive.

Al-Ḥurr was the first person to block the path of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions. The fact that he was selected as the commander of the battalion that was seeking to stop Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) [from reaching Kufa] indicates the complete trust that the Umayyad regime placed in him.

The offense that al-Ḥurr had committed was not insignificant; however, when he later found himself at the crossroads of paradise and hellfire, he was not misled by the deceitful allure of worldly gain, beyond which lay the prospect of hell. Instead, with the rest of the martyrs of Karbala, he chose the path to paradise.

Once he had chosen the path of felicity, al-Ḥurr saddled his horse and rode towards the camp of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) with his hands

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[1] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 73

clasped on his head. As he rode, he was saying, "O God! I have turned back to You, so turn to me. I have unsettled the hearts of Your close servants and the children of the daughter of Your Prophet."[1]

After addressing the army of Kufa and admonishing them, al-Ḥurr attacked the ranks of the enemy and fought until he achieved martyrdom. The companions of the Imam (a) managed to remove him from the battlefield while he was only just alive. He was brought to the Imam (a) who spoke some thought-provoking words. After wiping the dust from the face of al-Ḥurr, the Imam told him, "You are Ḥurr [free], just as your mother named you – free in this world and free in the hereafter."[2]

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī."[3] He has also been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

352. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Adī ibn Ḥarmalah: When 'Umar ibn Sa'd prepared to march, al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd said to him, "May God protect you! Do you plan to fight this man [al-Ḥusayn (a)]?"

He replied "Yes, by God! The kind of battle which will result, in the minimum, in the toppling of heads and cutting of limbs!"

Al-Ḥurr said, "Are you not prepared to accept any one of the three proposals he has put to you?"

'Umar ibn Sa'd answered, "By God! If it were up to me, I would have accepted, but your governor has rejected it."

Al-Ḥurr moved away and stood apart from the people. He was accompanied by a man from his tribe called Qurrah ibn Qays. He asked him, "Qurrah, have you watered your horse today?" He replied, "No." He asked, "Do you not want to water it?"

Qurrah said [later], "By God, I guessed that al-Ḥurr wanted to leave so that he would not witness the battle, and did not want me to see him

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1 *al-Malhūf*, p. 160.

اللهم إليك أنبت فتب علي، فقد أرعبت قلوب أوليائك وأولاد بنت نبيك.

2 *al-Malhūf*, p. 159.

أنت حر كما سمتك أمك، حر في الدنيا وحر في الآخرة.

3 *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 79.

do that, fearing that I would judge him. So I said, 'I have not watered it yet, but I am just about to go to do so.' Then, I left him."

He also said, "By God! If only he had informed of what he was intending to do, I would have gone out with him to al-Ḥusayn (a)."

Al-Ḥurr began to edge gradually towards al-Ḥusayn (a). One of his tribesmen, by the name of al-Muhājir ibn al-Aws said to him, "What are you doing, Ibn Yazīd? Do you intend to attack?" He did not reply, but his body was trembling.

Al-Muhājir said to him, "Ibn Yazīd! By God, you are behaving strangely. By God, I have never seen you behave in this manner before! If I was asked, 'Who is the bravest man in Kūfa?', I would not have thought of anyone but you! Then what is this I see from you?"

Al-Ḥurr replied, "By God, I am myself choosing between paradise and hellfire, and by God, I will never choose anything over paradise, even if I am cut into pieces and burned!" Then he urged his horse forward and joined al-Ḥusayn (a).

He said to him, "May God allow me to be sacrificed for you, O son of God's Messenger! I am the one who prevented you from turning back, troubled you on your way, and forced you to stop at this place. By God, other than Whom there is no deity! I did not imagine that the people would ever reject what you proposed to them, nor did I think that they would adopt this position regarding you. I had told myself, 'It does not matter if I obey these people in some of their orders, so that they do not feel that I have turned away from their authority. They will surely accept from al-Ḥusayn the proposals that he presents to them.' By God! If I had known that they would not accept them from you, I would not have joined them against you!

"I have come to you repentant before God for what I have done, offering you my life as compensation, so that I may die in your defence. Can you accept this as my repentance?"

He replied, "Yes, God will accept your repentance and forgive you. What is your name?"

He replied, "I am al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd."

He said, "You are Ḥurr [free] just as your mother named you. If God wills, you shall be free in this world and free in the hereafter. Dismount."

He replied, "I am more useful to you on horseback than on foot. I shall fight them for a time, and only come off my horse when my life comes to an end."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "Do whatever seems right to you, may God have mercy on you."

Al-Ḥurr came out to face his [former] comrades and called out, "O people! Will you not accept from al-Ḥusayn (a) [even] one of these proposals that he has presented before you, so that God may save you from waging war against him and fighting him?"

They answered, "This is the commander, ʿUmar ibn Saʿd; talk with him."

Al-Ḥurr repeated to him the same thing that he had said to him previously, and what he had said to his comrades as well.

ʿUmar replied, "I was also keen for that, and if I had found a way to do so, I would have done it."

Then al-Ḥurr said, "O people of Kufa! May your mothers sit to mourn for you and weep over you! You invited him, and when he came to you, you surrendered him. You professed that you would lay down your lives for him, but [instead] you have gathered against him in order to kill him. You threaten his life and have seized him by the throat. You have surrounded him from every side and have prevented him from leaving with his family to safety in God's vast earth. He is now a prisoner in your hands, neither able to benefit himself nor avert harm. You have restrained him, his women, his children, and his friends from the flowing waters of the Euphrates; water that the Jews, Magians, and Christians can drink from, and in which the pigs and dogs of the desert frolic. They are almost overcome with thirst. How badly you have treated Muḥammad (s) through his offspring! May God not allow you water on the day of great thirst, if you do not show remorse and cease what you are determined to do on this day and at this hour."

Some of their foot-soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him, and he came and stood in front of al-Ḥusayn (a).[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 427; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 99.

إنّ الحرّ بن يزيد لمّا زحف عمر بن سعد، قال له: أصلحك الله، مقاتلٌ أنت هذا الرجل؟ قال: إي والله قتالاً أيسره أن تسقط الرؤوس وتطيح الأيدي.

قال: أفما لكم في واحدة من الخصال التي عرض عليكم رضى؟

قال عمر بن سعد: أما والله لو كان الأمر إليّ لفعلت، ولكنّ أميرك قد أبى ذلك.

قال: فأقبل حتى وقف من الناس موقفاً، ومعه رجلٌ من قومه يقال له: قرّة بن قيس.

فقال: يا قرّة، هل سقيت فرسك اليوم؟ قال: لا. قال: إنّما تريد أن تسقيه؟ قال: فظننت والله أنّه يريد أن يتنحّى فلا يشهد القتال، وكره أن أراه حين يصنع ذلك، فيخاف أن أرفعه عليه، فقلت له: لم أسقه، وأنا منطلقٌ فساقيه.

قال: فاعتزلت ذلك المكان الذي كان فيه.

قال: فوالله لو أنّه أطلعني على الذي يريد لخرجت معه إلى الحسين عليه السلام.

قال: فأخذ يدنو من حسين قليلاً قليلاً.

فقال له رجلٌ من قومه يقال له المهاجر بن أوس: ما تريد يابن يزيد؟ أتريد أن تحمل؟ فسكت وأخذه مثل العرواء.

فقال له: يابن يزيد، والله إنّ أمرك لمريب، والله ما رأيت منك في موقفٍ قطّ مثل شيءٍ أراه الآن، ولو قيل لي: من أشجع أهل الكوفة رجلاً ما عدوتك، فما هذا الذي أرى منك؟

قال: إنّي والله أخيّر نفسي بين الجنّة والنار، ووالله لا أختار على الجنّة شيئاً ولو قطّعت وحرّقت، ثمّ ضرب فرسه فلحق بالحسين عليه السلام.

فقال له: جعلني الله فداك يابن رسول الله، أنا صاحبك الذي حبستك عن الرجوع، وسايرتك في الطريق، وجعجعت بك في هذا المكان، والله الذي لا إله إلّا هو ما ظننت أنّ القوم يردّون عليك ما عرضت عليهم أبداً، ولا يبلغون منك هذه المنزلة، فقلت في نفسي: لا أبالي أن أطيع القوم في بعض أمرهم، ولا يرون أنّي خرجت من طاعتهم، وأمّا هم فسيقبلون من حسين هذه الخصال التي يعرض عليهم، ووالله لو ظننت أنّهم لا يقبلونها منك ما ركبتها منك، وإنّي قد جئتك تائباً ممّا كان منّي إلى ربّي، ومواسياً لك بنفسي حتّى أموت بين يديك، أفترى ذلك لي توبة؟

قال: نعم، يتوب الله عليك، ويغفر لك، ما اسمك؟ قال: أنا الحرّ بن يزيد.

قال: أنت الحرّ كما سمّتك أمّك، أنت الحرّ إن شاء الله في الدنيا والآخرة، انزل.

قال: أنا لك فارساً خيرٌ منّي راجلاً، أقاتلهم على فرسي ساعة، وإلى النزول ما يصير آخر أمري. قال الحسين عليه السلام: فاصنع يرحمك الله ما بدا لك.

353. ***al-Amālī*** **of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a):** Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd urged his horse forward and left the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd – may God's curse be on him – for the army of al-Ḥusayn (a). He clasped his hands on his head whilst he was saying, "O God! I turn to you repentant so forgive me. I have created fear in the hearts of Your close servants and the family of Your Prophet. O son of God's Messenger! Is there any repentance for me?"

He replied, "Yes, God has pardoned you."

He asked, "Do you permit me to fight for you?"

He gave him permission, and al-Ḥurr advanced forward, reciting the following couplet:

I will strike your necks with a sword,
On behalf of the best resident of the land of *Khayf* [desert around Mecca].

He killed eighteen of the enemy before he was killed. Al-Ḥusayn (a) arrived at his side while blood was still flowing from his body and said, "Well done O Ḥurr! You are free, just as you were named, in this world and in the hereafter." Then al-Ḥusayn (a) recited:

The best of free men is Ḥurr of the Banī Riyāḥ,
The best of free men who endured the rise and fall of spears.

فاستقدم أمام أصحابه ثم قال: أيها القوم، ألا تقبلون من حسين خصلة من هذه الخصال التي عرض عليكم فيعافيكم الله من حربه وقتاله؟ قالوا: هذا الأمير عمر بن سعد فكلمه. فكلمه بمثل ما كلمه به قبل وبمثل ما قال به لأصحابه.

قال عمر: قد حرصت لو وجدت إلى ذلك سبيلا فعلت.

فقال: يا أهل الكوفة، لأمكم الهبل والعبر إذ دعوتموه حتى إذا أتاكم أسلمتموه، وزعمتم أنكم قاتلو أنفسكم دونه، ثم عدوتم عليه لتقتلوه، أمسكتم بنفسه، وأخذتم بكظمه، وأحطتم به من كل جانب، فمنعتموه التوجه في بلاد الله العريضة حتى يأمن ويأمن أهل بيته، وأصبح في أيديكم كالأسير لا يملك لنفسه نفعا ولا يدفع ضرا، وحلأتموه ونساءه وأصيبيته وأصحابه عن ماء الفرات الجاري الذي يشربه اليهودي والمجوسي والنصراني، وتمرغ فيه خنازير السواد وكلابه، وهاهم أولاء قد صرعهم العطش، بئسما خلفتم محمدا في ذريته، لا سقاكم الله يوم الظمأ إن لم تتوبوا وتنزعوا عما أنتم عليه من يومكم هذا في ساعتكم هذه.

فحملت عليه رجالة لهم ترميه بالنبل، فأقبل حتى وقف أمام الحسين عليه السلام.

The best of free men who, when Ḥusayn called,
Gave his life, in the early hours of the morning.[1]

354. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: al-Ḥurr advanced [to the battlefield] reciting:

I am al-Ḥurr and give shelter to a guest
[But today] I shall strike at your necks with the sword.
On behalf of the best resident of the land of Khayf
I will strike you without fear of doing anything wrong.

He managed to kill over forty soldiers of the enemy.[2]

355. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: Narrating from him [al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī]: He said to al-Ḥusayn (a): "When 'Ubayd Allāh despatched me towards you and I was leaving the [government] mansion, I heard a voice from behind me saying, 'O Ḥurr! Receive glad tidings for a noble deed.' I turned around but did not see anyone. I said to myself, 'By God! What are these glad tidings, when I am going to apprehend al-Ḥusayn (a)?' I had not thought that I would become your follower."

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 223, no. 239; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 205.

خرج الحر بن يزيد [illegible] من عسكر عمر بن سعد لعنه الله إلى عسكر الحسين عليه السلام واضعاً يده على رأسه وهو يقول: اللهم إليك أنبت فتب علي فقد أرعبت قلوب أوليائك وأولاد نبيك، يا ابن رسول الله هل لي من توبة؟

قال: نعم تاب الله عليك. قال: يا ابن رسول الله أتأذن لي فأقاتل عنك؟ فأذن له، فبرز وهو يقول:

أضرب في أعناقكم بالسيف عن خير من حل بلاد الخيف

فقتل منهم ثمانية عشر رجلاً ثم قتل، فأتاه الحسين عليه السلام ودمه يتشخب، فقال: بخ بخ يا حر، أنت حر كما سميت في الدنيا والآخرة، ثم أنشأ الحسين عليه السلام يقول:

لنعم الحر حر بني رياح ونعم الحر مختلف الرماح
ونعم الحر إذ نادى حسيناً فجاد بنفسه عند الصباح

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 100; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, pp. 14-15.

برز الحر وهو يرتجز:

إني أنا الحر ومأوى الضيف أضرب في أعناقكم بالسيف
عن خير من حل بلاد الخيف أضربكم ولا أرى من حيف

فقتل نيفاً وأربعين رجلاً.

The Imam (a) replied, "You have found great reward and goodness."[1]

3/14: Ḥanẓalah ibn Asʿad al-Shibāmī

Ḥanẓalah ibn Asʿad al-Shibāmī, or al-Shāmī, is another great participant in the epic of Ashura.[2] He placed himself in front of the Imam (a), shielding him from the swords, arrows, and spears of the enemy. Repeating the words of the believer from the family of the Pharaoh (*muʾmin Āl Firʿawn*), he admonished them by loudly reciting these verses of the Qurʾan: "*O my people! Truly I fear for you [a fate] like that which befell the allied parties [of old] – the fate of the people of Nūḥ, and ʿĀd, and Thamūd, and those who came after them. And God does not wish injustice for His servants.*"[3]

After seeking permission from the Imam (a), he bade him farewell with the following words: "Peace be on you, O Abā ʿAbd Allāh. May God bless you and your family, and place us in your company in paradise."[4]

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "May it be so (*āmīn*)."

Thereafter, Ḥanẓalah entered the battlefield and achieved martyrdom.

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[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 59; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 15.

ورويت بإسنادي أنه لما أتى الحر بن يزيد الرياحي قال للحسين عليه السلام: لما وجهني عبيد الله إليك، خرجت من القصر فنوديت من خلفي: أبشر يا حر بخير، فالتفت فلم أر أحداً. فقلت: والله ما هذه بشارة وأنا أسير إلى الحسين عليه السلام، وما أحدث نفسي باتباعه.

قال عليه السلام: لقد أصبت أجراً وخيراً.

[2] He is the martyr that a group of the exaggerators (*ghulāt*) claimed was transformed into the likeness of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and martyred on the day of Ashura, while Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was not martyred, but raised to the heavens like Prophet ʿĪsā (a). A tradition reports that Imam al-Riḍā (a) strongly refuted this claim, calling those who reported it to be liars. *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 203, no. 5.

[3] Q 40:31.

[4] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 443.

السلام عليك يا أبا عبد الله، صلى الله عليك وعلى أهل بيتك، وعرف بيننا وبينك في جنته.

In both *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah* and *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* we read, "Peace be on Ḥanẓalah ibn As'ad al-Shibāmī."[1]

3/15: Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn

Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn ibn al-Ḥārith al-Bajalī was one of the most outstanding companions of Imam al-Husayn (a). On the day of Ashura, he commanded the right flank of the army of the Imam (a) and had a significant impact in repelling the Kufan army.

Balādhurī considered him to be a partisan of 'Uthmān [ibn 'Affān].[2] The enemy also addressed him on the night of Ashura as an 'Uthmānī.[3]

[On the way to Karbala], he received a message from Imam al-Husayn (a), seeking a meeting, when they were both camped at a station called Zarūd. With some encouragement from his wife, he accepted the invitation to meet the Imam (a). Not long afterwards, he returned to his tent, his radiant face indicating his inner transformation. He ordered his tents to be moved next to those of Imam al-Husayn (a).

After his return from his meeting with the Imam (a), Zuhayr related his experience to his companions, in an attempt to convince them to join him. However, none of his companions came forward.

After that defining moment, Zuhayr became a staunch follower of Imam al-Husayn (a). On the night of Ashura, when the Imam (a) addressed his companions saying, "Now, I believe that this is the last day the enemies will allow us. You should all depart into the desert. You are absolved from any obligation to me. This night has afforded you cover; ride away [in its darkness],"[4] Zuhayr stood up and spoke loyally in support of the Imam (a) with these beautiful and heartfelt words: "By God! I would gladly be killed, then brought back to life, and then killed in this manner a thousand times, so that through these repeated lives of mine, God should protect your life and the lives of these young men from your household."[1]

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[1] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, pp. 73, 301.

[2] Ansāb al-Ashrāf, vol. 3, p. 378.

[3] Ibid., p. 433, no. 296.

[4] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 91.

ألا وإني لأظن أنه آخر يوم لنا من هؤلاء. ألا وإني قد أذنت لكم فانطلقوا جميعاً في حل ليس عليكم مني ذمام. هذا الليل قد غشيكم فاتخذوه جملاً.

At midday on the day of Ashura, Zuhayr stood next to Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh along with half the surviving companions of the Imam (a), and placed himself as a defensive shield for the Imam (a). They stood in front of the Imam (a) whilst he led the noon prayers behind them.

After a heroic and unyielding stand, Zuhayr was finally martyred at the hands of Kathīr ibn 'Abd Allāh and Muhājir ibn Aws. When he fell to the ground, the Imam addressed this brave warrior in the following words: "May God not distance you from His mercy, O Zuhayr! May He curse your killers, just as he cursed those whom He transformed into apes and pigs!"[2]

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bajalī, who said to al-Ḥusayn (a) when he had permitted him to leave [Karbala]: 'That can never happen, by God! Should I leave the son of God's Messenger in the clutches of the enemy and save myself? May God never show me such a day!'"[3]

He has also been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

It is worth mentioning that reports in the book *Majālis al-Mawā'iẓ* – that Zuhayr and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) played together as children, and that Zuhayr would kiss the dust from the footprints of the Imam (a), and in this manner earned the blessings of the Prophet (s)[4] – are not found in the reliable sources. An examination of the biography of Zuhayr also proves the falsehood of these reports. This event has been reported in greater detail in the book, *al-Muntakhab* of al-Turayhi, but the name of the child has not been mentioned.[1] Furthermore, the name that is commonly mentioned for that child is Habib ibn Muzahir. In any case, neither the event nor the name of the child is found in any reliable report.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 418; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 91.

وَاللهِ لَوَدِدْتُ أَنِّي قُتِلْتُ ثُمَّ نُشِرْتُ، ثُمَّ قُتِلْتُ حَتَّى أُقْتَلَ كَذَا أَلْفَ قَتْلَةٍ، وَأَنَّ اللهَ يَدْفَعُ بِذَلِكَ الْقَتْلَ عَنْ نَفْسِكَ وَعَنْ أَنْفُسِ هَؤُلَاءِ الْفِتْيَةِ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِكَ.

[2] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 20.

لَا يُبْعِدَنَّكَ اللهُ يَا زُهَيْرُ، وَلَعَنَ اللهُ قَاتِلَكَ، لَعْنَ الَّذِينَ مَسَخَهُمْ قِرَدَةً وَخَنَازِيرَ.

[3] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 75.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى زُهَيْرِ بْنِ الْقَيْنِ الْبَجَلِيِّ، الْقَائِلِ لِلْحُسَيْنِ وَقَدْ أَذِنَ لَهُ فِي الِانْصِرَافِ: لَا وَاللهِ لَا يَكُونُ ذَلِكَ أَبَداً، أَأَتْرُكُ ابْنَ رَسُولِ اللهِ أَسِيراً فِي يَدِ الْأَعْدَاءِ وَأَنْجُو؟ لَا أَرَانِيَ اللهُ ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمَ.

[4] *Majālis al-Mawā'iẓ*, p. 316.

358. *Muthir al-Ahzan*: Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn came forward and fought in front of al-Husayn (a), while he was reciting:

> I am Zuhayr; I am the son of al-Qayn;
> With my sword, I shall drive them away from al-Husayn.

The time for noon prayer arrived, and al-Husayn (a) instructed Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn and Sa'id ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hanafi to stand in front of him with half of the men that remained. Then, the Imam (a) led the rest of the men in the prayer of fear... Zuhayr fought the enemy fiercely until he achieved martyrdom.[2]

3/16: Sa'id ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hanafi

Sa'id ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hanafi was a loyal companion of Imam al-Husayn (a) and a well-known participant in the event of Karbala.

After the arrival of Muslim in Kufa, he came to the house of al-Mukhtar and made his commitment to the movement of Imam al-Husayn (a) and his loyalty to him clear through his words. He encouraged people to give their allegiance through Muslim and to obey him.

On the night of Ashura, when Imam al-Husayn (a) gave his companions permission to depart and leave the besieged land of Karbala, he resolutely expressed his devotion to the Imam (a) by saying, "By God! If I knew that I would be killed, then brought back to life, then burnt alive, then my ashes scattered in the wind – and that this would happen to me seventy times – even then I would not leave you until I gave my life in your defence!"[1]

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[1] al-Turayhi, *al-Muntakhab*, p. 198.

[2] *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 65; *al-Malhuf*, p. 165.

فتقدم زهير بن القين فقاتل بين يدي الحسين عليه السلام وهو يقول:

انا زهير وانا ابن القين   اذودهم بالسيف عن حسين

قال: وحضرت صلاة الظهر، فأمر عليه السلام زهير بن القين وسعيد بن عبد الله الحنفي أن يتقدما أمامه بنصف من تخلف معه، وصلى بهم صلاة الخوف... وقاتل زهير قتالا شديدا حتى قتل.

According to many reports, at noon on the day of Ashura, Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh was one of the companions who stood as a shield in front of Imam al-Husayn (a), thereby allowing the Imam (a) to offer prayers.[2]

According to Khwārizmī, when Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī fell on the battlefield, he was saying, "O God! Curse them as you cursed 'Ād and Thamūd. O God! Send my greetings to Your Prophet, and inform him of the pain of my wounds, for I sought only to earn Your pleasure by supporting the offspring of Your Prophet."[3]

In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī, who said to al-Husayn (a) when he had permitted him to leave [Karbala], 'By God! We will never abandon you until God sees that through you, we honoured the memory of the Messenger (s) of God. By God! If I knew that I would be killed, then brought back to life, then burnt alive, then my ashes scattered in the wind – and that this would happen to me seventy times – even then I would not leave you until I gave my life to protect you! So why then should I not do the same, when I know that I will be killed but once, after which lies eternal and abiding honour?'

"So, you faced death, and protected your Imam, and were honoured by God in the eternal abode. May God raise us with you amongst the martyrs and grant us your company in the highest realms of Paradise."[4]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 418; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 91.

والله لو علمت أني أقتل، ثم أحيا، ثم أحرق حيا، ثم أذر، يفعل ذلك بي سبعين مرة ما فارقتك حتى ألقى حمامي دونك.

[2] Narration given previously.

[3] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Husayn*, vol. 2, p. 17.

اللهم العنهم لعن عاد وثمود، اللهم أبلغ نبيك عني السلام، وأبلغه ما لقيت من ألم الجراح، فإني أردت ثوابك في نصر ذرية نبيك.

[4] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73, 344.

السلام على سعيد بن عبد الله الحنفي، القائل للحسين وقد أذن له في الانصراف: لا والله لا نخليك حتى يعلم الله أنا قد حفظنا غيبة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فيك، والله لو أعلم أني أقتل ثم أحيا ثم أحرق

357. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Muḥammad ibn al-Qays: At midday [on the day of Ashura], al-Ḥusayn (a) led them in the noon prayers in the form of the prayer of fear. Afterwards, they resumed battle. As the fighting became intense, it reached al-Ḥusayn (a).

[Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh] al-Ḥanafī came forwards and stood in front of him. He became a target for the enemy, who shot at him from right and left, as he stood in front of al-Ḥusayn (a). They continued to shoot at him until he fell to the ground.[1]

358. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: When the battle reached him (a), a man from the Banū Ḥanīfah came to stand in front him. He protected him with his body until he fell dead in front of al-Ḥusayn (a). As he fell, he was saying, "O God! You are never unable to do whatever You desire, so inform Muḥammad (s) about my assistance and defence of al-Ḥusayn (a), and grant me his company in the eternal abode."[2]

3/17: Suwayd ibn 'Amr

Suwayd ibn 'Amr ibn Abī al-Muṭā' al-Khath'amī was the last of the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to be martyred.

359. *al-Malhūf*: Suwayd ibn 'Amr ibn Abī al-Muṭā' went forward. He was a venerable man [of Kufa] and had a habit of praying often. He fought in the battle like a fierce lion and remained steadfast in the face

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ثمّ أُحرق ويُفعل بي ذلك سبعين مرّة ما فارقتك حتّى ألقى حمامي دونك، وكيف لا أفعل ذلك وإنّما هي موتة أو قتلة واحدة، ثمّ هي بعدها الكرامة التي لا انقضاء لها أبداً.

فقد لقيت حمامك، وواسيت إمامك، ولقيت من الله الكرامة في دار المقامة، حشرنا الله معكم في المستشهدين، ورزقنا مرافقتكم في أعلى علّيّين.

1 *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 441; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 403.

صلّوا الظهر (أي في يوم عاشوراء)، صلّى بهم الحسين عليه السلام صلاة الخوف، ثمّ اقتتلوا بعد الظهر، فاشتدّ قتالهم ووصل إلى الحسين عليه السلام، فاستقدم الحنفي أمامه، فاستهدف لهم يرمونه بالنبل يميناً وشمالاً قائماً بين يديه، فما زال يرمى حتّى سقط.

2 *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 66.

لمّا وصل القتال إليه عليه السلام، تقدّم أمامه رجلٌ من بني حنيفة وقاه بنفسه حتّى سقط بين يدي الحسين عليه السلام، فقال الحنفي: اللّهمّ لا يعجزك شيء تريده، فأبلغ محمّداً صلّى الله عليه وآله نصرتي ودفعي عن الحسين عليه السلام، وارزقني مرافقته في دار الخلود.

of severe adversity, until he fell amongst the dead. He lay unmoving due to the severity of his wounds and remained motionless, until he heard the enemy shouting, "Al-Husayn has been killed!" On hearing this, he stood with great difficulty, brought out a dagger, and attacked the enemy with it until he was martyred, may God be pleased with him.[1]

3/18: A youth whose father had been martyred

It is not possible to be certain about the name and details of this young man. Some of the later historians write that his name was 'Amr ibn Junādah ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī. Shaykh al-Qummī, may God be pleased with him, mentions the possibility that he was the son of Muslim ibn 'Awsajah.[2]

In any case, historians have mentioned that in the event of Karbala, there was a young man whose father had been martyred and whose mother encouraged him to go to the aid of the son of the Prophet (s). He went out to the battlefield and was also martyred. The enemy soldiers threw his severed head in the direction of the camp of the Imam (a). The brave and faithful mother gathered her beloved son's head and blessed him. She threw the head back towards the enemy and then took up a tentpole and rushed out to attack them. Imam al-Husayn (a) spoke words of blessing for her but instructed her to turn back from the battlefield.

3/19: Abū 'Umar Shabīb ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nahshalī

Shabīb ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nahshalī was a companion of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was from the tribe of Banū Nufayl ibn Dāram. He has been mentioned in *Ziyārah Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārah Nāḥiyah*

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[1] *al-Luhūf*, p. 165; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 67.

فتقدم سويد بن عمرو بن أبي المطاع، وكان شريفاً كثير الصلاة، فقاتل قتال الأسد الباسل، وبالغ في الصبر على الخطب النازل، حتى سقط بين القتلى وقد أثخن بالجراح، ولم يزل كذلك وليس به حراك حتى سمعهم يقولون: قُتل الحسين، فتحامل وأخرج من خفه سكيناً وجعل يقاتلهم بها حتى قُتل رضوان الله عليه.

[2] *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, p. 286.

al-Muqaddasah in the following words: "Peace be upon Shabib ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nahshali."[1]

360. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, quoting Mahrān, a client of Banū Kāhil: I was with al-Husayn (a) at Karbala, and I saw a man fighting ferociously, dispersing every group he encountered. Then he returned to al-Ḥusayn (a) whilst reciting:

> Give me the good news that "you have been guided to the right path and you shall meet Aḥmad
> And shall be elevated to the highest realms of Paradise!"
>
> I asked, "Who is this man?"
>
> They said, "Abū 'Umar al-Nahshali [or al-Khath'amī]."

Later, 'Āmir ibn Nahshal, one of the Banū al-Lāt, from the tribe of Tha'labah, attacked and killed him and severed his head. This Abū 'Umar strived in worship and was abundant in prayers.[2]

3/20: Shawdhab, a client of the tribe of Shākir

According to some reports, Shawdhab, who has also been mentioned as Suwayd, was a traditionist and a nobleman from amongst the Shi'a. About him it is reported, "Shawdhab would sit in gatherings, and the Shi'a would come to hear traditions (*aḥadith*) from him. He was one of the early recognized Shi'a."

In *Ziyārat Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on Shawdhab, the client of Shākir,"[3] while in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on Suwayd, the client of Shākir."[4]

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73 and p. 341.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 57; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 31.

شهدت كربلاء مع الحسين عليه السلام فرأيت رجلاً يقاتل قتالاً شديداً لا يحمل على قوم إلا كشفهم
ثم يرجع إلى الحسين عليه السلام ويرتجز ويقول:

أبشر هديت الرشد تلقى أحمدا   في جنة الفردوس تعلو صعدا

فقلت: من هذا؟ فقالوا: أبو عمر النهشلي، وقيل: الخثعمي، فاعترضه عامر بن نهشل أحد بني اللات
من ثعلبة فقتله واحتز رأسه، وكان أبو عمر هذا متهجداً كثير الصلاة.

[3] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

[4] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 341.

361. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Muḥammad ibn al-Qays: ʿĀbis ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī came forward, accompanied by Shawdhab, [who was also bonded to the tribe] of Shākir. He said, "O Shawdhab, what do you plan to do?"

He answered, "What do I plan to do? I plan to fight alongside you, in the defence of the son of the daughter of God's Messenger (s), until I am killed.

ʿĀbis said, "That is what I thought you will do. But, no! First go and present yourself before Abū ʿAbd Allāh, so that he may dedicate to God your sacrifice[1] in the same manner that he dedicated the sacrifice of his other companions, and so that I may dedicate to God your sacrifice as well. For indeed, if at this moment, I had with me anyone dearer than you, it would have gladdened me if he came before me so that I could dedicate his sacrifice to God. On this day, we should do everything we can to seek God's reward, for after today, no actions will be possible, and only the Day of Accounting [awaits]."

Shawdhab approached al-Ḥusayn (a) and greeted him with peace. Then he entered the battlefield and fought until he was martyred.[2]

3/21: ʿĀbis ibn Abī Shabīb

ʿĀbis ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī was a brave and loyal companion of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

He was the first person to stand up and voice his support when Muslim ibn ʿAqīl read out the letter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to a group of Shīʿa gathered at the house of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī in Kufa.

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[1] And thereby, receive God's reward for sacrificing someone dear in His way. [Trans.]

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 443; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 22.

جاء عابس بن أبي شبيب الشاكري ومعه شوذب مولى شاكر، فقال: يا شوذب، ما في نفسك أن تصنع؟ قال: ما أصنع؟ أقاتل معك دون ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله حتى أقتل. قال: ذلك الظن بك، أما لا فتقدم بين يدي أبي عبد الله حتى يحتسبك كما احتسب غيرك من أصحابه، وحتى أحتسبك أنا، فإنه لو كان معي الساعة أحد أنا أولى به مني بك لسرني أن يتقدم بين يدي حتى أحتسبه، فإن هذا يوم ينبغي لنا أن نطلب الأجر فيه بكل ما قدرنا عليه، فإنه لا عمل بعد اليوم وإنما هو الحساب.

قال: فتقدم فسلم على الحسين عليه السلام، ثم مضى فقاتل حتى قتل.

'Ābis was the one who took Muslim's report to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Mecca. He was a dedicated companion to the Imam (a) during every part of his mission afterwards. His last words as he bid farewell to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day of Ashura indicate the level of his faith, commitment, and love for the family of the Prophet (s). He addressed the Imam (a), saying, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh! By God! I cannot defend you from death and tyranny with anything more valuable to me than my own life. So [farewell, and] may peace be on you!"[1]

[When he entered the battlefield] the enemy soldiers had difficulty in containing him [in single combat]. 'Umar ibn Sa'd ordered soldiers to isolate him and pelt him with stones from every side. When 'Ābis realized what they were doing, he tore off his helmet and removed his armour, and without protection, he allowed the enemies' stones to rain on him.

In describing his valour, the narrator says, "[After his martyrdom] I saw his head in the hands of a group of people, several of whom were claiming, 'It was I who killed him!' They carried the head to 'Umar ibn Sa'd, who told them, 'Stop arguing, such a warrior could never have been killed by just one man.'"[2]

In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on 'Ābis ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī."[3]

362. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: When the surviving companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) realized that they would be unable to defend and save al-Ḥusayn (a), they raced to enter the battlefield. They went out to fight in front of him, until they gave their lives.

'Ābis ibn Abī Shabīb came to him and said, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh, by God, I cannot protect you from death and tyranny with anything dearer to me than my own life, so [farewell and] peace be on you!"

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 404.

يا أبا عبد الله، والله ما أقدر على أن أدفع عنك القتل والضيم بشيء أعزّ عليّ من نفسي، فعليك السلام

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 444.

رأيت رأسه في أيدي رجال ذوي عدّة، هذا يقول: أنا قتلته، وهذا يقول: أنا قتلته، فأتوا عمر بن سعد فقال: لا تختصموا، هذا لم يقتله سنانٌ واحدٌ.

[3] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, pp. 73, 342.

He attacked with his sword, and the enemy was forced to retreat by his bravery. Then, they confronted him from every side and killed him.[1]

369. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: 'Ābis ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī, who was a client (mawlā) of the Banū Shākir, approached al-Ḥusayn (a), who asked him, "O Abū Shawdhab, what do you intend?" He replied, "I shall fight at your side." Then he came close to al-Ḥusayn (a) and said, "If I could defend you with anything dearer to me than my own life, I would do so." When he advanced [to the battlefield], no combatant was prepared to come and face him [alone].

Ziyād ibn al-Rabī' ibn Abī Tamīm al-Ḥārithī warned, "This is the warrior, Ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī. Let no one go forth to challenge him. Pelt him with rocks instead." They threw rocks at him, until he was killed.[2]

3/22: 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Anṣārī

He was a companion of the Prophet (s), Imam 'Alī (a), and Imam al-Ḥasan (a). It is said about him that he was trained by the Commander of the Faithful (a), who taught him the Qur'an.

One of the merits of this noble companion is that when Imam 'Alī (a) gathered a group of the companions of the Prophet (s) in Kufa, and asked them to stand up and bear witness if they had personally heard the words of the Prophet (s) at Ghadir Khumm, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was one of those who stood, amongst others, to testify.

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 404.

قالوا: فلما رأى ذلك أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام أنهم لا يقدرون على أن يمنعوا ولا يمنعوا حسيناً عليه
السلام تنافسوا في أن يقتلوا، فجعلوا يقاتلون بين يديه حتى يقتلوا.

وجاء عابس بن أبي شبيب فقال: يا أبا عبد الله، والله ما أقدر على أن أدفع عنك القتل والضيم بشيء
أعزّ عليّ من نفسي فعليك السلام.

وقاتل بسيفه فتحاماه الناس لشجاعته، ثم عطفوا عليه من كل جانب فقتل.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 66.

جاء عابس بن أبي شبيب الشاكري مولى بني شاكر، فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: يا أبا شوذب ما في
نفسك؟ قال: أقاتل معك. فدنا من الحسين عليه السلام وقال: لو قدرت أن أدفع عنك بشيء هو أعز
من نفسي لفعلت. ثم تقدم فلم يتقدم عليه أحد.

فقال زياد بن الربيع بن أبي تميم الحارثي: هذا ابن أبي شبيب الشاكري الفارس، لا يخرجن إليه أحد، ارموه
بالحجارة. فرموه حتى قتل.

It is also mentioned about him that even as the prospect of martyrdom loomed over them, he engaged in light-hearted banter with other companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

3/23: ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr al-Kalbī

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr al-Kalbī has also been referred to as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tamīm al-Kalbī. He was a companion of Imam ʿAlī (a) and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

He lived in Kufa. When he heard that people were preparing to fight against Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he decided to go to Karbala to assist the Imam (a). When he mentioned his decision to his wife, she encouraged him to go and asked him to take her along as well. They travelled to Karbala by night.

ʿAbd Allāh was a courageous warrior and was assigned by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to face two champions sent forth by the enemy. He was the first soldier to enter the battlefield, and killed both his opponents. When a group of the enemy attacked together, he killed a further two men before he became the second companion of the Imam (a) to be martyred on that day.

When ʿAbd Allāh was martyred, his wife went to his body. As she sat there weeping, Rustam, a slave of Shimr, killed her.

In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr al-Kalbī."[1]

381. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Yasār, the slave of Ziyād, and Sālim, the slave of Ibn Ziyād, entered the battlefield and challenged the companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to single combat. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr al-Kalbī said, "O Abā ʿAbd Allāh – may God's mercy be on you – allow me to go out and engage these two." [ʿAbd Allāh's entrance into the battlefield is described thus:] Then a tall man, with broad shoulders and

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, pp. 73, 341.

السلام على عبد الله بن عمير الكلبي.

heavily muscled forearms strode forward. He attacked the two men, and killed them....

His wife came to him saying, "May my mother and father be sacrificed for you! Fight on, and protect al-Ḥusayn, the progeny of Muḥammad (s)." 'Abd Allāh took her back to the tents of the women....

Shimr attacked the left flank, but they resisted him and fought back. He called his men forward, and they began to attack al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions from all fronts. At this time, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umayr al-Kalbī was killed. His wife came to his body, weeping. Shimr instructed his slave, a man called Rustam, to attack her. The man struck her with a pole, splitting her head. She died at the side of her husband.[1]

3/24, 25: 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghifārī

These two brothers were companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). When the battle became fierce and the enemy was attacking on all fronts, they came to the Imam (a) saying, "O Abā 'Abd Allāh! May peace be on you! The enemy has encircled you. We desire to be martyred before you, so that we may protect and defend you."

The Imam (a) told them, "Well said! Come close to me."

The two men came to the Imam (a), [said their farewell,] and began to fight the enemy.

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, pp. 398-401.

فخرج يسار مولى زياد وسالم مولى ابن زياد فدعوا إلى المبارزة، فقال عبد الله بن عمير الكلبي: أبا عبد الله رحمك الله ائذن لي أخرج إليهما. فخرج رجل آدم طوال شديد الساعدين بعيد ما بين المنكبين فشدّ عليهما فقتلهما...

فأقبلت إليه امرأته فقالت: قاتل بأبي أنت وأمي عن الحسين ذرية محمد صلى الله عليه و آله فأقبل يردها نحو النساء...

وحمل شمر في الميسرة فثبتوا له وطاعنوه ونادى أصحابه فحملوا على الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه من كل جانب وقتل عبد الله بن عمير الكلبي، فجلست امرأته تبكي عند رأسه، فأمر شمر غلاما له يقال له رستم فضرب رأسها بعمود حتى شدخه فماتت مكانها.

In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the two sons of 'Urwah ibn Ḥarāq al-Ghifārī."[1]

3/26, 27: 'Amr ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī and his companion

'Amr ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī and his bondsman, whose name was Sa'd or Sa'īd, were two further martyrs of the event of Karbala.

According to al-Ṭabarī, at the very beginning of the battle on the day of Ashura, 'Amr attacked the enemy frontline alongside his bondsman Sa'd. They were accompanied by Jābir ibn al-Ḥārith and Mujammi' ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ā'idhī. The enemy soldiers encircled them, isolating them from the main body of the forces of the Imam (a). They were rescued by al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a), who rode in and dispersed the enemy. The men were wounded, and the enemy attacked them again, ultimately killing them all at one place.[2]

However, according to the report of Ibn Ṭāwūs, 'Amr ibn Khālid came to the Imam (a) on the day of Ashura and said, "May I be sacrificed for you! I wanted to join my colleagues. I do not want to remain behind so that I see you laying slain, in front of your family, alone and isolated."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "Go forth, for we shall soon join you."

So he went out and fought until he was killed, may God be pleased with him.[3]

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on 'Umar ['Amr] ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī and Sa'īd, his bondsman."[4]

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, pp. 73, 341.

السّلام على عبد الله وعبد الرّحمن ابنَي عُروة بن حرّاق الغفاريّين.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 446.

[3] *al-Malhūf*, p. 163.

ثمّ برز عمرو بن خالد الصّيداويّ فقال للحسين عليه السلام: يا أبا عبد الله، جعلت فداك قد هممت أن ألحق بأصحابي وكرهت أن أتخلّف فأراك وحيدا فريدا بين أهلك قتيلا. فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: تقدّم فإنّا لاحقون بك عن ساعة. فتقدّم فقاتل حتّى قُتل رضوان الله عليه.

[4] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السّلام على عمر بن خالد الصّيداويّ، السّلام على سعيد مولاه.

In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*, his name is mentioned as 'Amr ibn Khalaf.[1]

3/28: 'Amr ibn Qaraẓah al-Anṣārī

His name is 'Amr ibn Qaraẓah ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī. His father, Qaraẓah ibn Ka'b, was an eminent companion of the Prophet (*s*) and fought in the Battle of Uḥud. He was present in the Muslim ranks in all the later battles.

It is worth mentioning that it was Qaraẓah ibn Ka'b who conquered al-Rayy during the rule of the second caliph. He was a constant companion to Imam 'Alī (a) during his caliphate.

Interestingly, his son 'Amr was in the army of Imam al-Ḥusayn (*a*), whilst his other son, by the name of 'Alī, was in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd!

It was 'Amr ibn Qaraẓah that the Imam (a) sent to Ibn Sa'd with a message calling for a meeting at a place between the two army encampments.

During the battle, 'Amr fought against the enemy with determination. In his final conversation with the Imam (a), when he had been severely wounded, he asked, "Was I loyal [to my pledge]?"

The Imam (a) replied, "Yes indeed, for you shall stand in paradise before I do. Pass on my greetings to God's Messenger, and inform him that I shall follow you soon." 'Amr continued to fight until he was martyred.[2]

As for the other son of Qaraẓah, 'Alī ibn Qaraẓah, who was in the opposing army, when he saw that his brother had been killed, he shouted out, "O Ḥusayn! O liar, son of a liar! You misled my brother and deceived him, until you sent him to his death."

The Imam (a) replied, "God did not misguide your brother; rather, He guided him, and misguided you."

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 341.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 162; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 22.

وفي آخر لقائه بالإمام عليه السلام قال له وهو مثخن بالجراح: يابن رسول الله، أوفيت؟ فأجابه الإمام:
نعم أنت أمامي في الجنة فاقرأ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله عني السلام وأعلمه أني في الأثر. فقاتل
عمرو بن قرظة حتى استشهد.

Without any shame, ʿAlī ibn Qaraẓah retorted, "May God kill me if I do not kill you or die in the attempt." Saying this, he attacked the Imam (a). Nāfiʿ ibn Hilāl headed him off and struck him with a spear, killing him.[1]

In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on ʿAmr ibn Qaraẓah al-Anṣārī."[2]

765. *al-Luhūf*: ʿAmr ibn Qaraẓah al-Anṣārī came forward. He asked Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) for permission to go to the battlefield, and the Imam (a) allowed him to go. He fought with the eagerness of one who sought the best reward, in service to the Lord of the heavens. He killed many soldiers of Ibn Ziyād, using a mixture of defensive and offensive tactics. No arrow would come towards al-Ḥusayn (a), except that ʿAmr would block it with his arm; no sword strike was directed at the Imam (a), except that ʿAmr would place himself before it. No harm reached al-Ḥusayn (a) until ʿAmr was severely wounded. He turned to al-Ḥusayn (a) and asked, "Was I loyal [to my pledge], O son of God's Messenger?"

The Imam (a) replied, "Yes indeed, for you shall stand before me in paradise. Pass on my greetings to God's Messenger, and inform him that I shall follow you soon." ʿAmr continued to fight until he was martyred, may God be pleased with him.[3]

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 434.

أما الآن الأمر [illegible] علي بن قرظة [illegible] في الصفقة الخاسرة [illegible] قتل صريع، يا حسين، يا الكذاب ابن الكذاب، أضللت أخي وغررته حتى قتلته. فقال الإمام: إن الله لم يضل أخاك، ولكنه هدى أخاك وأضلك. فقال علي بن قرظة [illegible]: قتلني الله إن لم أقتلك أو أموت دونك. [illegible] وهجم على الإمام عليه السلام فقطع عليه نافع بن هلال الطريق وضربه بالرمح وصرعه قتيلاً.

[2] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 79, and p. 344.

السلام على عمرو بن قرظة الأنصاري.

[3] al-Luhūf, p. 160; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 45, p. 22.

خرج عمرو بن قرظة الأنصاري فاستأذن الحسين عليه السلام فأذن له، فقاتل قتال المشتاقين إلى الجزاء، وبالغ في خدمة سلطان السماء، حتى قتل جمعاً كثيراً من حزب ابن زياد، وجمع بين سداد وجهاد، وكان لا يأتي إلى الحسين عليه السلام سهم إلا اتقاه بيده، ولا سيف إلا تلقاه بمهجته، فلم يكن يصل إلى الحسين عليه السلام سوء حتى أثخن بالجراح، فالتفت إلى الحسين عليه السلام وقال: يا ابن رسول الله أوفيت

3/29: Muslim ibn 'Awsajah

Muslim ibn 'Awsajah al-Asadī, whose *kunyah* is Abū Ḥajl (or Ḥajal), was a brave and pious individual and one of the most eminent companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) during the event of Karbala.

He played an important part in the mission of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl in Kufa, but when the uprising collapsed, he joined Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Karbala, serving the Imam (a) with devotion.

His loyal speech on the night of Ashura, after the Imam (a) had suggested to his companions that they depart from him, indicates the strength of his faith and his deep love and attachment to the Ahl al-Bayt (a).

Muslim ibn 'Awsajah was the first martyr of Karbala. In the last moments of his life, his only testament to his close friend, Ḥabīb, was, "I ask you to always be with this man," pointing with his hand at al-Ḥusayn (a), "and to fight at his side until death."[1]

His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*; and in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows:

> Peace be on Muslim ibn 'Awsajah al-Asadī, who said to al-Ḥusayn when he had allowed him to depart: "Should we abandon you? What excuse will we present to God about falling short in fulfilling your right on us? No, by God! I will never leave you, until I pierce their chests with this spear of mine and smite them with my sword while it remains in my hand. And when I have no other weapon left to fight them with, I shall throw stones at them. I will never leave you until I am killed with you."
>
> And you were the first to offer your life and the first martyr amongst the martyrs of God to die. By the Lord of the *Ka'bah*, you triumphed in life. May God show you His gratitude [reward you] for your actions and fidelity to your Imam, who, when he came to your side as you lay mortally wounded, said, "May God have mercy on you, O Muslim ibn 'Awsajah!", and then recited, "*Among them is the one who has fulfilled his*

قال: [illegible] في [illegible] فقرأ رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله [illegible]
فقاتل حتى قتل رضوان الله عليه.

[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 160; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 63.

أوصيك بهذا - وأشار بيده إلى الحسين عليه السلام - فقاتل دونه.

> *vow [to the death], and among them is the one who waits [his turn], and they have not altered [in their commitment] at all.*[1]
>
> May God's curse be on the two men who jointly killed you: 'Abd Allāh al-Ḍibābī and 'Abd Allāh ibn Khushkārah al-Bajalī."[2]

368. *al-Malhūf*: Muslim ibn 'Awsajah entered the battlefield and fought with determination and fortitude in the face of great odds. Finally, he fell to the ground, close to death. Al-Ḥusayn (a) arrived at his side accompanied by Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "May God have mercy on you, O Muslim." Then he recited, "*Among them is the one who has fulfilled his vow [to the death], and among them is the one who waits [his turn], and they have not altered [in their commitment] at all.*"[3]

Ḥabīb came close to him and said, "By God, your passing is hard for me to see, O Muslim. Well done for attaining paradise."

Muslim responded in a weak voice, "May God give you good tidings also."

Then Ḥabīb said to him, "If I weren't going to follow your path in a short time myself, I would have asked you to inform me all your last wishes."

Muslim replied, "My last request from you is about this man" – and he pointed with his hand at al-Ḥusayn (a) – "and to fight in his defence, until death overcomes you."

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[1] Q 33:23.

[2] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على مسلم بن عوسجة الأسدي، القائل للحسين وقد أذن له في الانصراف: أنحن نخلي عنك وبم نعتذر عند الله من أداء حقك؟ لا والله حتى أكسر في صدورهم رمحي هذا، وأضربهم بسيفي ما ثبت قائمه في يدي، ولا أفارقك ولو لم يكن معي سلاح أقاتلهم به لقذفتهم بالحجارة، ولم أفارقك حتى أموت معك، وكنت أول من شرى نفسه، وأول شهيد من شهداء الله قضى نحبه، ففزت ورب الكعبة، شكر الله استقدامك ومواساتك إمامك، إذ مشى إليك وأنت صريع، فقال: يرحمك الله يا مسلم بن عوسجة، وقرأ: ﴿فمنهم من قضى نحبه ومنهم من ينتظر وما بدلوا تبديلا﴾، لعن الله المشتركين في قتلك: عبد الله الضبابي، وعبد الله بن خشكارة البجلي.

[3] Q 33:23.

Habib said to him, "I swear it to you." Then, Muslim died, may God be pleased with him.[1]

3/30: Nāfi' ibn Hilāl

Nāfi' ibn Hilāl was a follower of Imam 'Alī (a), and one of the most devoted companions of Imam al-Husayn (a) during the events of Karbala.

It is worth noting that that there was another individual in Karbala by the name of Hilāl ibn Nāfi'. He was in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd and a reporter about the events of Karbala. Occasionally, the two men are confused with one another in the reports.

When Imam al-Husayn (a) delivered his famous sermon to his companions on the night of Ashura, he finished by saying, "Indeed, I do not see death except as a blessing, and do not see life with the oppressors except as an affliction." At that time, after Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn had spoken, Nāfi' had stood up and declared, "By God, we are not reluctant to meet our Lord. We are resolved in our intentions and our dedication. We will be friends of those who bear you friendship, and enemies of those who display enmity to you."[2]

Nāfi' ibn Hilāl was an expert archer, and on the day of Ashura, he shot and killed twelve of the enemy with his arrows. In addition, he wounded many of them. When he exhausted his supply of arrows, he attacked the enemy with his sword.

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 161; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 184.

فخرج مسلم بن عوسجة، فبالغ في قتال الأعداء وصبر على أهوال البلاء، حتى سقط إلى الأرض وبه رمق، فمشى إليه الحسين عليه السلام ومعه حبيب بن مظاهر.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: رحمك الله يا مسلم «فمنهم من قضى نحبه ومنهم من ينتظر وما بدلوا تبديلا» ودنا منه حبيب فقال: عز والله علي مصرعك - يا مسلم - أبشر بالجنة.

فقال له بصوت ضعيف: بشرك الله بخير. ثم قال له حبيب: لولا أنني أعلم أني في الأثر لأحببت أن توصي إلي بكل ما أهمك.

فقال له مسلم: فإني أوصيك بهذا - وأشار بيده إلى الحسين عليه السلام - فقاتل دونه حتى تموت.

فقال له حبيب: لأنعمنك عينا. ثم مات رضوان الله عليه.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 158.

He fought so hard that in the end, both his arms were broken, and he was captured by the enemy. When they brought him before ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, blood was flowing onto his beard. Despite this, he boldly addressed him, saying, "By God, I killed twelve of your men and wounded more. I do not regret doing this at all. If I still had the use of my arms and wrists, you would not have been able to take me prisoner."

ʿUmar ibn Saʿd told Shimr to kill him. In the last moments of his life, Nāfiʿ turned to Shimr and said, "By God, if you were truly a Muslim, you would be worried to meet God with our blood on your hands! All praise is for God, Who has decreed our death at the hands of the most wretched of His creatures!"[1]

3/31: Wahab ibn Wahab

There is not much information available about this martyr. It is worth mentioning that one of the famous and courageous companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr al-Kalbī, who had come to Karbala with his wife, Umm Wahab. Both husband and wife were martyred. Some accounts of Wahab are quite similar to the accounts of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr al-Kalbī,[2] and for this reason, some scholars have concluded that Wahab ibn Wahab was not a separate individual, and was in fact, the same ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr; and that his name had been distorted and given rise to a new person who did not exist.

In any case, in the extant records, in the midst of the similarities in the accounts of the two men, there are some considerable differences also. Some researchers therefore believe that they were two different individuals, although their evidence is not conclusive. One of the main arguments for concluding that these were two different individuals is the report mentioned in some sources that Wahab was a Christian, which is irreconcilable with the fact that ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmayr was a well-known companion of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

367. ***al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his**

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 441; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 568.

[2] For example, the report in *al-Malhūf*, p. 161, where the accounts of the two men are completely merged.

grandfather Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): Wahab ibn Wahab entered the battlefield.... He used to be a Christian, but he and his mother had accepted Islam at the hands of al-Ḥusayn (a) and followed him to Karbala.

He mounted a horse, and armed with a tent pole, he attacked the enemy, killing seven, or eight men before he was captured.

He was brought before the accursed ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, who ordered his head to be struck off and thrown towards the army of al-Ḥusayn (a). His mother took his sword, intending to go to fight. Al-Ḥusayn (a) restrained her, saying, "O Umm Wahab! Sit down, for God has taken away the responsibility of jihad from women. You and your son shall be in the company of my grandfather, Muhammad (s), in paradise."[1]

3/32: Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn al-Muhāṣir

Abū al-Shaʿthāʾ Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn al-Muhāṣir al-Kindī was a soldier and skilled archer. On the day of Ashura he killed many enemy soldiers with his arrows. The Imam (a) prayed for him, saying, "O God! Make his aim true, and let his reward be paradise."[2]

It is worth mentioning that al-Ṭabarī reports that he was in the army of ʿUmar ibn Saʿd, but after the latter rejected the proposals suggested by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he, just like al-Ḥurr, joined the forces of the Imam (a). However, this contradicts the account, also reported by al-Ṭabarī, of his conversation with the messenger of Ibn Ziyād.[3]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 225, no. 239; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 187.

وبرز... وهب بن وهب، وكان نصرانيا أسلم على يدي الحسين عليه السلام هو وأمه، فاتبعوه إلى كربلاء، فركب فرسا وتناول بيده عمود الفسطاط، فقاتل وقتل من القوم سبعة أو ثمانية، ثم استؤسر،

فأتي به عمر بن سعد لعنه الله فأمر بضرب عنقه، فضربت عنقه، ورمي به إلى عسكر الحسين عليه السلام، وأخذت أمه سيفه وبرزت.

فقال لها الحسين عليه السلام: يا أم وهب اجلسي فقد وضع الله الجهاد عن النساء، إنك وابنك مع جدي محمد صلى الله عليه وآله في الجنة.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 445.

اللهم سدد رميته، واجعل ثوابه الجنة.

[3] ʿAllāmah Muhammad Taqī Shūshtarī refutes al-Ṭabarī's account (vol. 5, p. 408), where the latter reports, "Yazīd ibn al-Muhāṣir was amongst those who came

Therefore, the more reliable account is that reported by al-Mufīd, who considers him to be amongst those companions who travelled with the Imam (a) from the start.

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, it is mentioned, "Peace be on Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn al-Muhāṣir al-Kindī."[1]

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out with 'Umar ibn Sa'd to fight against al-Ḥusayn (a).' In his discussion about how this assertion contradicts the conversation of Yazīd with the messenger of Ibn Ziyād, he writes: "It is possible that the phrase attributed to al-Ṭabarī, 'with 'Umar ibn Sa'd', was a distortion [copying error] of 'with al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd', because the morphology of the two phrases is similar when the diacritic dots are not written; and if it were not for the fact that Ibn Kathīr in his al-*Kāmil* (vol. 2, p. 569) has also reported from al-Ṭabarī that 'he was amongst those who came out with 'Umar ibn Sa'd', we would have concluded that this phrase was a marginal note added by later copyists, which had become merged with the main text in transmission, a common occurrence in the past. In any case, the couplet [attributed to Ibn al-Muhāṣir] – 'I am the one who abandoned and left Ibn Sa'd' – does not necessarily contradict what we have said.

"'Allāmah Majlisī also made an error in *Biḥār* (vol. 45, p. 30) when he concluded that these were actually two different individuals. He first quotes Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib (*Tasliyat al-Majālis*, vol. 2, p. 300): 'At that time, Yazīd ibn Ziyād al-Sha'thā' shot eight arrows towards the enemy, five of which hit their targets. And every time he shot an arrow, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) called out, "O God! Make his aim true, and let his reward be paradise." The enemy then attacked him in numbers, and he was martyred.' Secondly, he quotes Ibn Namā (*Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 61): 'After Abū 'Amr al-Nahshalī was martyred, Yazīd ibn al-Muhājir entered the battlefield and killed five soldiers of 'Umar with his arrows. Then he joined al-Ḥusayn (a) and recited: "I am Yazīd, and my father is al-Muhājir/I am like a lion hidden in the tall grass."'

"The reason for Majlisī's error is that this Yazīd has been mentioned with his father's name in the first report, and with his grandfather's name in the second. According to the report that we have referred to from al-Ṭabarī, it is clear that 'Abū al-Sha'thā'' was distorted to 'al-Sha'thā'', and 'eight (*bi-thamāniyah*)' was distorted to 'a hundred arrows (*bi-mi'ah*)', and the word 'al-Muhājir' in the second line of the couplet was a misspelling of al-Muhāṣir. Ibn Shahr Āshūb in his *al-Manāqib* (vol. 4, p. 113) mentions his name as Yazīd ibn al-Muhāṣir al-Ju'fī, whereas there is no doubt that he was Kindī, not Ju'fī." *Qāmūs al-Rijāl*, vol. 11, p. 101.

[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 73.

السلام على يزيد بن زياد بن المهاصر الكندي

3/33 - 35: Yazīd ibn Nubayṭ and his two sons

Biographers write that Yazīd ibn Nubayṭ had ten sons, all of whom he invited to accompany him to support Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). However, only two of them, 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh, agreed to join him. He left Basra with his two sons and came to Mecca, from where they travelled with Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and were ultimately martyred in his defence.

It has been reported that his two sons were martyred in the first wave of the enemy attack.

A mention of the other companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) who achieved martyrdom

We have already mentioned some general biographical details about a number of the martyrs of Karbala about whom there is information in the sources. We will now list the names of the other companions of the Imam (a) who have been mentioned in the roll of martyrs in the historical sources:

1. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Asadī
2. Abū Hayyāj
3. Al-Adham ibn Umayyah
4. Anis ibn Ma'qil al-Aṣbaḥī
5. The nephew of Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Asīd al-Ghifārī
6. Jābir ibn al-Ḥajjāj
7. Jabalah ibn 'Alī al-Shaybānī
8. Jundab ibn Ḥujayr
9. Juwayn ibn Mālik
10. Al-Ḥārith ibn Imru' al-Qays
11. Al-Ḥārith ibn Nabhān, a freedman of Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib
12. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Zayd (or Yazīd)
13. Al-Ḥulās ibn 'Amr
14. Al-Nu'mān ibn 'Amr

15. Rāfi', a client of the Banū Shindah
16. Al-Ḥumayth ibn 'Amr
17. Zāhir, a client of 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq
18. Zuhayr ibn Bishr al-Khath'amī
19. Zuhayr ibn Sulaym al-Azdī
20. Zayd ibn Ma'qil
21. Sālim, a bondsman of ibn Madaniyyah al-Kalbī
22. Sa'd ibn al-Ḥārith
23. Al-Ḥutūf ibn al-Ḥārith
24. Sa'd ibn Ḥanẓalah al-Tamīmī
25. Sa'īd ibn Kardam
26. Sulaymān ibn Rabī'ah
27. Sulaymān, a bondsman of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
28. Sawwār ibn Abī Ḥimyar
29. Sayf ibn Mālik al-'Abdī
30. Al-Ḍubāb ibn 'Āmir
31. Ḍirghāmah ibn Mālik
32. 'Āmir ibn Muslim
33. Sālim (or Muslim), a bondsman of 'Āmir ibn Muslim
34. 'Ibād ibn Abī Muhājir
35. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kadan al-Arḥabī
36. 'Uqbah ibn al-Ṣalt
37. 'Ammār ibn Abī Salāmah al-Dālānī
38. 'Ammār ibn Ḥassān
39. 'Imrān ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī
40. 'Umar ibn al-Uḥdūth al-Ḥaḍramī
41. 'Amr ibn Khālid al-Azdī
42. Khālid ibn 'Amr ibn Khālid al-Azdī
43. 'Amr ibn Ḍubay'ah al-Tamīmī
44. 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Jundu'ī
45. 'Umayr (or 'Amr) ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Madhḥijī

46. Wāḍiḥ, a Turkish bondsman
47. Qārib ibn 'Abd Allāh, a bondsman of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
48. Qāsiṭ ibn Zuhayr ibn al-Ḥārith
49. Kardūs ibn Zuhayr ibn al-Ḥārith
50. Qāsim ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī
51. Qa'nab ibn 'Amr al-Namirī
52. Kinānah ibn 'Atīq al-Thaghlabī
53. Mujammi' ibn Ziyād
54. Mujammi' ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ā'idhī
55. Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥajjāj
56. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥajjāj
57. Muslim ibn Kathīr al-Azdī
58. Munjiḥ, a bondsman of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
59. Nu'īm ibn 'Ajlān al-Anṣārī
60. Al-Ḥalbāf ibn Muhannad al-Rāsibī
61. Hammām ibn Salamah al-Qāniṣī
62. Yaḥyā ibn Sulaym al-Māzinī[1]

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[1] See *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 6, p. 405.

PART 4: THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SONS OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

4/1: ʿAlī al-Akbar (a)

ʿAli al-Akbar (a) was the eldest son of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He closely resembled the Prophet (s) in his features, manner, and speech, to the extent that whoever wanted to recall the memory of the Prophet (s) would look at him. According to a report, when he was leaving for the field of battle, his father declared, "O God, be witness over these people, for a youth has advanced towards them who most closely resembles Your Messenger, Muḥammad (s), in his features, manner, and speech. Whenever we desired to look again at the face of Your Messenger, we would look at his face."[1]

In the events of Ashura, the role of ʿAlī al-Akbar (a) amongst those who were with the Imam (a) is well documented, for example: (1) his declaration to follow and defend the path of truth to the death, when, *en route* to Karbala, his esteemed father informed him that they would all be martyred, (2) his reciting of the *adhān* so that the men could congregate for prayer under the leadership of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) when the army of al-Ḥurr encountered them, (3) his taking charge of bringing water to the camp on the eve of Ashura, and (4) his asking for permission to go to the battlefield before any of his relatives. These are some of the actions of this noble son of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) that have been recorded in history.

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 30.

اللّهم اشهد على هؤلاء القوم فقد برز إليهم غلام أشبه الناس خلقا وخلقا ومنطقا برسولك محمد صلى الله عليه و آله كنّا إذا اشتقنا إلى وجه رسولك نظرنا إلى وجهه.

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed in the following words, "Peace be on you, O first martyr[1] from the offspring of the best descendant of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl. May God bless you and your father, who said about you, 'May God kill the people who killed you, O my dear son. How audaciously they have defied the Merciful Lord and violated the sacred trust of the Messenger. After you, the world is nothing but ashes!'"[2]

He has also been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

It should be mentioned that many of the later *maqtal* texts contain details about the martyrdom of 'Alī al-Akbar (a) that are not found in reliable sources; in fact, it is certain that many of them are contrary to the truth. For example, the account in *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn* that when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) saw his young son 'Alī al-Akbar (a) going to the battlefield, he was reduced to a state near death (*iḥtiḍār*)![3] Or, a report that the aunts and sisters of 'Alī al-Akbar (a) tried to prevent him from going to the battlefield! Or, the report that even before the Imam (a) reached the side of 'Alī al-Akbar (a), Zaynab (a) had already thrown herself over his slain body, because she knew that if he saw the lifeless body of his son, the sorrow would kill him![4] Reports of this nature are found in books like *Asrār al-Shahādah* (vol. 2, p. 515), *'Unwān al-Kalām* (p. 282), and *Nūr al-'Ayn* (p. 44), the details of which are not necessary to discuss here.

Hereunder, we present a sample of reliable accounts.

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[1] Al-Ṭabarī reports in his *Tārīkh* (vol. 5, p. 446), "The first to be killed from the family of Abū Ṭālib on the day of Ashura was 'Alī al-Akbar, the son of al-Ḥusayn (a)."

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السّلام عليك يا أوّل قتيل من نسل خير سليل من سلالة إبراهيم الخليل، صلّى الله عليك وعلى أبيك، إذ قال فيك: قتل الله قوماً قتلوك، يا بنيّ ما أجرأهم على الرحمن وعلى انتهاك حرمة الرسول، على الدّنيا بعدك العفا.

[3] *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 254. The author reports this from Shaykh Ja'far Shustarī; however, no such report could be found in any of the latter's works.

[4] It should be mentioned that reports about the arrival of Zaynab (a) at the body of 'Alī al-Akbar (a) before the Imam (a) are found in some reliable works; our objection is with the reason that writers have given for this occurrence. For example, the author of *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn* (vol. 1, p. 254) says, "Zaynab (a) came out so that the Imam (a) would not die...."

368. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah):*** [On the battlefield] A man from al-Shām called out to 'Alī al-Akbar ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) (his mother was Āminah, his maternal grandfather was Abī Murrah ibn 'Amr ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, and his maternal grandmother was a daughter of Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb), and said, "You are kin, and a blood relative of the commander of the faithful [Yazīd]. If you desire, we shall give you immunity and allow you to go wherever you like!"

He replied, "By God, the kinship of God's Messenger is more significant to me than the kinship of Abū Sufyān." Then he attacked him while he was reciting:

I am 'Alī, the son of Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī,
By the House of God, I swear we have a greater claim to the Prophet,
Than Shimr or 'Umar [ibn Sa'd], or the son of the illegitimate one [Ibn Ziyād].

Then he was attacked by a man from the Banū 'Abd al-Qays by the name of Murrah ibn Munqidh ibn al-Nu'mān, who struck him with a spear... [They brought his body and] placed him on the ground next to his father.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "They have killed you, my dear son. The world after you has turned to ashes." He cradled his son to him until he passed away. Then al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O God, they invited us to support our cause, but they deserted us [instead] and killed us. O God, hold back from them the rain of the skies and deny them the bounties of the earth. Even if you allow them these favours for a time, cause discord among them, scatter them in divided paths, and let not their rulers ever look on them favourably."[1]

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 470; *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 57.

دعا رجلٌ من أهل الشام عليَّ بن الحسين الأكبر - وأمّه آمنة بنت أبي مرة بن عروة بن مسعود الثقفي وأمّها بنت أبي سفيان بن حرب - فقال: إنّ لك بأمير المؤمنين قرابة ورحماً، فإن شئت آمنّاك وامضِ حيث أحببت.

فقال: أما والله لقرابة رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله كانت أولى أن ترعى من قرابة أبي سفيان. ثمّ كرّ عليه وهو يقول:

369. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Zuhayr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zuhayr al-Khath'amī: The last companion of al-Husayn (a) to remain at his side [on the day of Ashura] was Suwayd ibn 'Amr ibn Abī al-Muṭā' al-Khath'amī, and the first man to be killed from the family of Abū Ṭālib on that day was 'Alī al-Akbar ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a). His mother was Laylā bint Abī Murrah ibn 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī. He attacked the enemy while reciting:

> I am 'Alī, the son of Husayn, the son of 'Alī.
>
> By the House of God, I swear we have a greater claim to the Prophet [than you].
>
> By God, the son of the illegitimate one [Ibn Ziyād] shall not dominate over us.

He did this several times, and then Murrah ibn Munqidh ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī al-Laythī saw him, and said, "If he passes by me doing what he is doing, then I shall make his father weep over his death; otherwise, let all the crimes of the Arabs be borne by me."

'Alī al-Akbar kept attacking the enemy with his sword. Murrah ibn Munqidh charged against him and struck him with his spear, causing him to fall to the ground. The enemy swarmed over him, striking him repeatedly with their swords.

Abū Mikhnaf reported from Sulaymān ibn Abī Rāshid, from Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī: I heard with my own ears al-Ḥusayn (a) saying, "May God kill the people who killed you, O my dear son. How audaciously they have defied the Merciful Lord and violated the sacred trust of the Messenger. After you, the world is nothing but ashes!"

Then I remember seeing a woman rushing out, coming forth like the rising sun. She was calling out, "O my brother! O my nephew!" I asked someone about her, and was told, "This is Zaynab bint Fāṭimah,

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أنا علي بن حسين بن علي نحن وبيت الله أولى بالنبي من شمر وعمر وابن الدعي

قال: وأقبل عليه رجل من عبد القيس، يقال له: مرة بن منقذ بن النعمان فطعنه، فحمل فوضع قريباً من أبيه.

فقال له: قتلوك يا بني، على الدنيا بعدك العفاء، وحملت أمه إليه حتى مات. فجعل الحسين عليه السلام يقول: اللهم دعونا لينصرونا فعدوا علينا فقتلونا، اللهم احبس عنهم قطر السماء، وامنعهم بركات الأرض، فإن متعتهم إلى حين ففرقهم فرقاً، واجعلهم طرائق قدداً، ولا ترض الولاة عنهم أبداً.

the daughter of God's Messenger (s)." She came forward and threw herself on his lifeless body. Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to her, took her hand, and returned her to the tents.

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) returned to the body of his son accompanied by some youths. He said to them, "Carry your brother." They carried him away from the battlefield, and placed him in the tent in front of which the battle was taking place.[1]

370. ***al-Irshād*****:** His companions continued to come forward and go to fight, one by one, until no one remained with al-Ḥusayn (a) except the men of his household.

Then, his son, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) came forward. His mother was Laylā bint Abī Murrah ibn 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī. He was the most handsome of men, and on that day, he was still a teenager.

He attacked the enemy while reciting:

I am 'Alī, the son of Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 446; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 569.

فكان آخر من بقي مع الحسين عليه السلام من أصحابه سويد بن عمرو بن أبي المطاع الخثعمي، قال: وكان أول قتيل من بني أبي طالب يومئذ علي الأكبر بن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، وأمه ليلى ابنة أبي مرة بن عروة بن مسعود الثقفي، وذلك أنه أخذ يشد على الناس وهو يقول:

أنا علي بن حسين بن علي نحن ورب البيت أولى بالنبي   تالله لا يحكم فينا ابن الدعي

قال: ففعل ذلك مرارا، فبصر به مرة بن منقذ بن النعمان العبدي ثم الليثي فقال: علي آثام العرب إن مر بي يفعل مثل ما كان يفعل إن لم أثكله أباه، فمر يشد على الناس بسيفه، فاعترضه مرة بن منقذ فطعنه فصرع، واحتوله الناس فقطعوه بأسيافهم.

قال أبو مخنف: حدثني سليمان بن أبي راشد، عن حميد بن مسلم الأزدي، قال: سماع أذني يومئذ من الحسين عليه السلام يقول: قتل الله قوما قتلوك يا بني، ما أجرأهم على الرحمن وعلى انتهاك حرمة الرسول، على الدنيا بعدك العفاء.

قال: وكأني أنظر إلى امرأة خرجت مسرعة كأنها الشمس الطالعة تنادي: يا أخياه ويا ابن أخياه، قال: فسألت عليها فقيل: هذه زينب ابنة فاطمة ابنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، فجاءت حتى أكبت عليه، فجاءها الحسين عليه السلام فأخذ بيدها فردها إلى الفسطاط.

وأقبل الحسين عليه السلام إلى ابنه وأقبل فتيانه إليه فقال: احملوا أخاكم، فحملوه من مصرعه حتى وضعوه بين يدي الفسطاط الذي كانوا يقاتلون أمامه.

> By the House of God, I swear we have a greater claim to the Prophet [than you].
> By God, the son of the illegitimate one [Ibn Ziyād] shall not dominate over us.
> I shall strike with my sword in defence of my father
> The strike of a knight who is a Hāshimī, a Qurayshī.

He attacked in this manner several times, and the Kufans were afraid to [engage and] kill him. Then Murrah ibn Munqidh al-'Abdī saw him and said, "If he passes by me doing what he is doing, then I shall make his father weep over his death; otherwise, let all the crimes of the Arabs be borne by me."

'Alī al-Akbar carried on attacking the enemy with his sword, as he had been doing, when Murrah ibn Munqidh charged against him and struck him with his spear, causing him to fall to the ground. The enemy swarmed over him, cutting him to pieces with their swords.

Al-Husayn (a) came to his body, and said, "May God kill the people who killed you, my dear son. How audaciously they have defied the Merciful Lord and violated the sacred trust of the Messenger."

Then his eyes filled with tears, and he said, "After you, the world is nothing but ashes!"

Zaynab (a), the sister of al-Husayn (a), rushed out crying, "O my brother! O my nephew!" She threw herself on the lifeless body of 'Alī al-Akbar.

Al-Husayn (a) raised her head and took her back to the tents.

Then he said to the youths of his family, "Carry your brother." They carried him back and placed him in the tent in front of which the battle was taking place.[1]

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 106; *Muthīr al-Ahzān*, p. 68.

ولم يزل يتقدم رجلٌ رجلٌ من أصحابه فيقتل، حتى لم يبق مع الحسين عليه السلام إلا أهل بيته خاصة. فتقدم ابنه علي بن الحسين عليه السلام - وأمه ليلى بنت أبي مرة بن عروة بن مسعود الثقفي - وكان من أصبح الناس وجهاً، وله يومئذ بضع عشرة سنة، فشد على الناس وهو يقول:

أنا علي بن الحسين بن علي نحن وبيت الله أولى بالنبي تالله لا يحكم فينا ابن الدعي
أضرب بالسيف أحامي عن أبي ضرب غلام هاشمي قرشي

371- *al-Malhūf*: When no one remained with al-Ḥusayn (a) except the men of his household, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) came forward. He was the most handsome of men in his features and the best of them in his manners. He asked for his father's permission to go to fight, and al-Ḥusayn (a) gave him his permission. Then he looked at him sorrowfully, lowered his gaze, and wept.

Then he said, "O God, be witness, for a youth has advanced towards them who most closely resembles Your Messenger, Muḥammad (s), in his features, manner, and speech. Whenever we desired to look again at the face of Your Messenger, we would look at his face."

Then he called out loudly, "O Ibn Sa'd! May God cut off your progeny just as you are cutting off mine."

Then he ['Alī al-Akbar] advanced to face the enemy and fought them ferociously, killing several of them. Then he returned to his father, and said, "O father! Thirst is killing me, and the weight of the iron [his armour and sword] is draining me! Is there a possibility of a sip of water?"

[On hearing this] al-Ḥusayn (a) wept and said, "O my dear son! Where can I bring water from? Go fight for a little longer, for soon you will meet your grandfather Muḥammad (s), who will give you a drink from his brimful cup, after which you will never be thirsty again."

He returned to the battlefield and fought the enemy fiercely once more, until Munqidh ibn Murrah al-'Abdī threw a lance at him and brought him to the ground. He called out, "O father! Accept my greetings. My grandfather is at my side; he sends his greeting to you and

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ففعل ذلك مراراً وأهل الكوفة يتقون قتله، فبصر به مرة بن منقذ العبدي فقال: عليّ آثام العرب إن مرّ بي يفعل مثل ذلك إن لم أثكله أباه، فمرّ يشدّ على الناس كما مرّ في الأول، فاعترضه مرة بن منقذ فطعنه فصرع، واحتواه القوم فقطعوه بأسيافهم.

فجاء الحسين عليه السلام حتى وقف عليه، فقال: قتل الله قوماً قتلوك يا بني، ما أجرأهم على الرحمن وعلى انتهاك حرمة الرسول، وانهملت عيناه بالدموع، ثم قال: على الدنيا بعدك العفاء.

وخرجت زينب أخت الحسين مسرعة تنادي: يا أُخيّاه وابن أُخيّاه، وجاءت حتى أكبّت عليه، فأخذ الحسين عليه السلام برأسها فردّها إلى الفسطاط، وأمر فتيانه فقال: احملوا أخاكم، فحملوه حتى وضعوه بين يدي الفسطاط الذي كانوا يقاتلون أمامه.

says to tell you, 'Come to us soon.'" Then he drew a deep breath and passed away.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to his body, placed his cheek on his cheek, and cried, "May God kill the people who killed you! How audaciously they have defied God and violated the sacred trust of His Messenger! After you, the world is nothing but ashes!"

The narrator says: Zaynab bint 'Alī (a) came out crying, "O my darling! O son of my brother!" She came and threw herself on him. Then al-Ḥusayn (a) came forward and took her, and led her back to the women.

Then the men of his household went forth, one by one, until the enemy killed many of them. On seeing this, al-Ḥusayn (a) called out, "Patience, my cousins, patience, O members of my household. Have patience, for by God, after this day, you will never have to face humiliation."[1]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 166.

فلمّا لم يبق معه إلّا أهل بيته، خرج عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام، وكان من أصبح الناس وجهاً وأحسنهم خلقاً، فاستأذن أباه في القتال، فأذن له، ثمّ نظر إليه نظرة آيس منه، وأرخى عليه السلام عينه وبكى.

ثمّ قال: اللّهمّ اشهد، فقد برز إليهم غلام أشبه الناس خَلقاً وخُلقاً ومنطقاً برسولك صلّى الله عليه و آله، وكنّا إذا اشتقنا إلى نبيّك نظرنا إليه. فصاح وقال: يا ابن سعد، قطع الله رحمك كما قطعت رحمي.

فتقدّم نحو القوم فقاتل قتالاً شديداً، وقتل جمعاً كثيراً، ثمّ رجع إلى أبيه وقال: يا أبه، العطش قد قتلني، وثقل الحديد قد أجهدني، فهل إلى شربة ماء من سبيل؟

فبكى الحسين عليه السلام وقال: واغوثاه، يا بنيّ من أين آتي بالماء، قاتل قليلاً، فما أسرع ما تلقى جدّك محمّداً صلّى الله عليه و آله، فيسقيك بكأسه الأوفى شربة لا تظمأ بعدها.

فرجع إلى موقف النزال، وقاتل أعظم القتال، فرماه منقذ بن مرّة العبدي بسهم فصرعه، فنادى: يا أبتاه عليك منّي السلام، هذا جدّي يقرئك السلام ويقول لك: عجّل القدوم علينا، ثمّ شهق شهقة فمات.

فجاء الحسين عليه السلام حتّى وقف عليه، ووضع خدّه على خدّه وقال: قتل الله قوماً قتلوك، ما أجرأهم على الله وعلى انتهاك حرمة رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله، على الدنيا بعدك العفاء.

قال الراوي: وخرجت زينب بنت عليّ عليه السلام تنادي: يا حبيباه، يا ابن أخاه، وجاءت فأكبّت عليه، فجاء الحسين عليه السلام فأخذها وردّها إلى النساء.

ثمّ جعل أهل بيته يخرج منهم الرجل بعد الرجل، حتّى قتل القوم منهم جماعة، فصاح الحسين عليه السلام في تلك الحال: صبراً يا بني عمومتي، صبراً يا أهل بيتي، صبراً فوالله لا رأيتم هواناً بعد هذا اليوم أبداً.

372. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī:** 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) came forward. His mother was Laylā bint Abī Murrah ibn 'Urwah ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī. On that day, he was eighteen years of age. When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw him, he raised his head towards the heavens and said, "O God, be witness over these people, for a youth has advanced towards them who most closely resembles Your Messenger, Muhammad (s), in his features, manner, and speech. Whenever we desired to look again at the face of Your Messenger, we would look at his face. O God, deny them the bounties of the earth and thereby disperse their ranks, scatter them in the land, isolate them in divergent paths, and let not their rulers ever be pleased with them. They invited us, [promising] to support us, then they turned against us, fought us, and killed us."

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) called out to 'Umar ibn Sa'd, "What is the matter with you? May God cut of your progeny, never bless any of your affairs, and cause you to be dominated by one who would slaughter you in your bed, just as you have cut off my progeny and ignored my close relationship to God's Messenger!" Then he raised his voice and recited the verses, "Indeed, God chose Ādam and Nūḥ, and the family of Ibrāhīm, and the family of 'Imrān over the worlds; descendants some of them from others. And God is all-hearing, all-Knowing."[1]

[...] He continued to fight the enemy, killing a large number of Kufans and causing chaos in their ranks. It has been reported that despite his severe thirst, he killed 120 men before he returned to his father, covered in wounds. He said, "O father! Thirst is killing me, and the weight of this armour is draining my strength. Is there a possibility of a sip of water that may revive my strength to fight the enemy?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) wept [on hearing this] and said, "My dear son! It weighs heavily on Muhammad, and 'Alī, and your father that you make this request to them, but they cannot oblige you; and that you seek their help, but they are unable to help you. My dear son! Bring forth your tongue." He tried to moisten his son's tongue with his own, and he gave him his ring, saying, "Take this ring in your mouth [to generate some moisture], and return to fight your enemy. I am hopeful that before night falls, your grandfather will slake your thirst by giving you a drink from his brimful cup, after which you will never be thirsty again." Then, 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) returned to the battlefield and began to fight the enemy, whilst reciting the following prosody (*rajaz*):

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[1] Q 3:33-34.

The reality of war has been made manifest,
And other truths shall become evident after it.
By God, the Lord of the Throne, we shall neither leave alone,
Your numbers, nor sheath our swords.

He continued to fight until he had killed a full 200. Then Munqidh ibn Murrah al-'Abdi struck him a blow on his head with such force that it brought him down to the ground.

The enemy began to strike him with their swords. He grabbed his horse [to remount] and was barely hanging on to its neck. The horse carried him into the ranks of his enemies, and they cut him to pieces with their swords. As he was drawing his last breaths, he shouted with all his strength, "O father! My grandfather, God's Messenger, has quenched my thirst with his overflowing cup, after which I shall never be thirsty again. He says to tell you, 'Make haste! I have kept a cupful for you also.'"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) called out loudly, "May God kill the people who killed you! My dear son, how audaciously they have defied God, and violated the sacred trust of His Messenger! After you, the world is nothing but ashes!"

Ḥumayd ibn Muslim said, "I can still see a woman rushing out, coming forth like the rising sun. She was calling out in anguish and grief, 'O my darling! O my nephew! O fruit of my heart! O light of my eyes!' I asked someone about her, and was told, 'She is Zaynab bint 'Ali.'"

She came forward and threw herself on his lifeless body. Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to her, took her hand, and returned her to the tents. Then he returned to the body of his son accompanied by some youths. He said to them, "Carry your brother." They carried him away from the battlefield and placed him in the tent in front of which the battle was taking place.[1]

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 30; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 114.

فتقدم علي بن الحسين - وأمه ليلى بنت أبي مرة بن عروة بن مسعود الثقفي - وهو يومئذ ابن ثماني عشرة سنة، فلما رآه الحسين عليه السلام رفع شيبته نحو السماء وقال: اللهم اشهد على هؤلاء القوم فقد برز إليهم غلام أشبه الناس خلقاً وخُلقاً ومنطقاً برسولك محمد صلى الله عليه وآله، كنا إذا اشتقنا إلى وجه رسولك نظرنا إلى وجهه، اللهم امنعهم بركات الأرض، وإن متعتهم ففرقهم تفريقاً، ومزقهم تمزيقاً، واجعلهم طرائق قدداً، ولا ترض الولاة عنهم أبداً، فإنهم دعونا لينصرونا ثم عدوا علينا يقاتلوننا ويقتلوننا. ثم صاح الحسين عليه السلام بعمر بن سعد: ما لك؟ قطع الله رحمك ولا بارك الله لك في أمرك، وسلط عليك من يذبحك على فراشك، كما قطعت رحمي ولم تحفظ قرابتي من رسول الله. ثم رفع عليه السلام صوته وقرأ: «إن الله اصطفى آدم ونوحاً وآل إبراهيم وآل عمران على العالمين * ذرية بعضها من بعض والله سميع عليم» ... ثم لم يزل يقاتل حتى ضج أهل الكوفة لكثرة من قتل منهم، حتى أنه روي أنه على عطشه قتل مائة وعشرين رجلاً، ثم رجع إلى أبيه وقد أصابته جراحات كثيرة، فقال: يا أبه العطش قد قتلني، وثقل الحديد قد أجهدني، فهل إلى شربة من ماء سبيل أتقوى بها على الأعداء؟

فبكى الحسين عليه السلام وقال: يا بني عز على محمد وعلى علي وعلى أبيك أن تدعوهم فلا يجيبوك، وتستغيث بهم فلا يغيثوك، يا بني هات لسانك. فأخذ بلسانه فمصه، ودفع إليه خاتمه وقال له: خذ هذا الخاتم في فيك، وارجع إلى قتال عدوك، فإني أرجو أن لا تمسي حتى يسقيك جدك بكأسه الأوفى شربة لا تظمأ بعدها أبداً. فرجع علي بن الحسين عليه السلام إلى القتال، وحمل وهو يقول:

الحرب قد بانت لها حقائق وظهرت من بعدها مصادق
والله رب العرش لا نفارق جموعكم أو تغمد البوارق

وجعل يقاتل حتى قتل تمام المائتين، ثم ضربه منقذ بن مرة العبدي على مفرق رأسه ضربة صرعته فيها، وضربه الناس بأسيافهم، فاعتنق الفرس، فحمله الفرس إلى عسكر عدوه، فقطعوه بأسيافهم إرباً إرباً، فلما بلغت روحه التراقي نادى بأعلى صوته: يا أبتاه هذا جدي رسول الله قد سقاني بكأسه الأوفى شربة لا أظمأ بعدها أبداً، وهو يقول لك: العجل العجل فإن لك كأساً مذخورة.

فصاح الحسين عليه السلام: قتل الله قوماً قتلوك، يا بني ما أجرأهم على الله وعلى انتهاك حرمة رسول الله، على الدنيا بعدك العفا.

قال حميد بن مسلم: فكأني أنظر إلى امرأة خرجت مسرعة كأنها الشمس الطالعة تنادي بالويل والثبور تصيح: يا حبيباه، ويا ثمرة فؤاداه ويا نور عيناه، فسألت عنها فقيل: هي زينب بنت علي.

4/2: An infant child

According to some reports, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had six sons, two of whom were called 'Abd Allāh and 'Alī al-Aṣghar. It is possible, just as Ibn Ṭalḥah has mentioned,[1] that both these sons of the Imam (a) were martyred on the day of Ashura. One was a nursing baby, and the other a few years old. Therefore, perhaps it can be surmised that the reports that speak of a nursing baby (*al-raḍī'*) or that speak of a child of the Imam (a) who was born on the day of Ashura and died in the arms of his father when an arrow struck his neck are talking about the martyrdom of one of these children. However, it should be noted that the account that is normally heard – that the infant was six months old[2] – does not have a reliable chain.

As for the reports that talk of the martyrdom of a son of the Imam (a) who was three years old or mention similar accounts, they are to do with another son of the Imam (a). In any case, it must be said that the similarity of many reports about the age of the infant, the name of his mother, and the name of his killer, as well as the lack of confirmation in most sources about the martyrdom of two infant children of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day of Ashura, make this hypothesis no more than a possibility.

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, we recite, "Peace be on 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, the nursing baby, who was knocked to the ground by an arrow, who lay quivering in blood, whose blood was thrown to

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ثمّ صاحت حول [illegible] عليه، فلما [illegible] الحسين عليه السلام [illegible] [illegible] إلى الفسطاط،
ثمّ أقبل [illegible] إلى ابنه، فقال: احملوا أمامي، [illegible] من [illegible] [illegible] عند الفسطاط الذي
يقاتلون أمامه.

[1] *Maṭālib al-Sa'ūl*, p. 73.

[2] The source of this account is possibly the widely published but weak *maqtal* text attributed to Abū Mikhnaf (printed by Maktabat Sharīf al-Raḍī, p. 129), in which it is mentioned that, "'Alī al-Aṣghar was six months old." It is worth noting that this assertion is not found in any reliable source; in fact, it is absent even in the manuscript of the said book, which is present in our library at Dār al-Ḥadīth in Qum.

However, a report that he was five months old is found in the *maqtal* ode of al-Khaṭī al-Marizī (d. 391/1000), and a report that he was one year old is found in vol. 2, p. 712 of *Tārīkh al-Bal'amī* (a 4th/10th century work).

the skies, and who was slaughtered by an arrow in the arms of his father. May God curse, the archer who slew him, Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil al-Asadī, and his companions."[1] In another version of *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*, the following is mentioned: "Peace be on 'Alī, the elder. Peace be upon 'Alī, the nursing baby, the younger."[2]

It should be mentioned that several contemporary works contain accounts of the tragedy of 'Alī al-Aṣghar that are not found in reliable sources. An example is the following account, found in *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, about his mother's milk drying up:

> Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) carried 'Alī al-Aṣghar in his arms, and called out, "O people! [Even] if in your eyes I am guilty, surely this baby has committed no crime. Grant him a sip of water, because his mother's milk has dried up due to her extreme thirst."[3]

Or the following report, mentioned in the work, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn (a)*:

> A dispute arose amongst the soldiers of 'Umar ibn Sa'd about giving water to 'Alī al-Aṣghar. Ibn Sa'd instructed Ḥarmalah, "Cut short this argument!"[4]

Or, the report that appears in the work, *Sūgnāmih-yi Āl-i Muḥammad (s)*:

> Ḥarmalah said to al-Mukhtār [when he was captured], "Now that you are about to kill me, let me tell you about my actions so that you heart may burn [with anguish]. O Amir! [On the day of Ashura] I carried with me three three-pronged arrows, which I had dipped in poison. With one of them, I slit the throat of 'Alī al-Aṣghar as he lay in his in the arms of

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[1] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 73; *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 496, no. 8.

السلام على عبد الله بن الحسين الطفل الرضيع المرمي الصريع المتشحط دما المصعد دمه في السماء المذبوح بالسهم في حجر أبيه، لعن الله راميه حرملة بن كاهل الأسدي وذويه.

[2] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 496, no. 9; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 317.

السلام على علي الكبير، السلام على الرضيع الصغير

[3] *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 342. It should be noted that this report also appears in *Tārīkh al-Bal'amī*, but without the last phrase, and is reliable.

[4] *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn (a)*, p. 181.

> al-Ḥusayn. I shot the second at the heart of al-Ḥusayn... and the third at the throat of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan."[1]

> Or, the report mentioned in *Muḥriq al-Qulūb*:

> After the arrow struck him, ʿAlī al-Aṣghar looked at his father's face and smiled before he passed away.[2]

> Or the report mentioned in *ʿUnwān al-Kalām*:

> On the 11th night, after she drank water, al-Rabāb had milk again. She went looking for her baby, crying, "O light of my eyes, O ʿAlī al-Aṣghar! Where are you? I am able to nurse you now!"[3]

Or, the report that the after the battle was over, the soldiers of Ibn Saʿd brought out the body of ʿAlī al-Aṣghar from his grave, severed his head, and placed it on a lance.[4]

Some of the accounts that are found in reliable sources are presented below.

373. *al-Malhūf*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw that the young men and beloved members of his family had all been martyred, he prepared himself to face the enemy to the death. [First] he called out, "Is there anyone who will come to defend the family of God's Messenger (s)? Is there any believer who fears God with regards to our rights? Is there any rescuer who would come to our aid for the sake of God? Is there any helper who desires God's reward for supporting us?"

[On hearing his call] the sound of wailing rose from the women. The Imam (a) came to the doorway of the tent and said to Zaynab (a), "Bring me my young son, so that I may bid him farewell." The child was brought, and he lifted him so as to kiss him. At that time, Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil shot an arrow at him. The arrow lodged in the throat of the baby, killing him.

The Imam (a) said to Zaynab (a), "Take him." Then, he gathered the baby's blood in his palms until they were full, and threw the blood towards the heavens, saying, "Whatever happens to me is easier to bear because it is witnessed by God."

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[1] *Sūgnāmah-yi Āl-i Muḥammad (s)*, p. 535, quoting *Minhāj al-Dumūʿ*, p. 411.

[2] *Muḥriq al-Qulūb*, p. 126.

[3] *ʿUnwān al-Kalām*, pp. 123 and 168.

[4] *ʿUnwān al-Kalām*, pp. 265 and 326.

Al-Bāqir (a) said, "Not a single drop of that blood fell back to the ground."[1]

374. *al-Irshād*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) was sitting in front of the tent. His son, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, who was a child, was brought to him. He sat him on his lap. Then, a man from the Banū Asad shot an arrow at the child and slaughtered him. Al-Ḥusayn (a) took the infant's blood in his palm, and when it was full, he poured it on the ground and said, "Lord, if you have kept away from us help from the heavens, let something good come out of this situation, and avenge us against these oppressive people." Then he carried the child and placed him next to the rest of the martyrs from his family.[2]

375. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, quoting Hishām ibn Muḥammad: When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw that the enemy were resolved on killing him, he took a copy of the Qur'an and opened it, and placed it on his head. Then he called out, "The Book of God, and my grandfather, Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (s) stand [as a judge] between me and you. O people! Why do you consider my blood lawful (to shed)?"...

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 168; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 45, p. 46.

لما رأى الحسين عليه السلام مصارع فتيانه وأحبته، عزم على لقاء القوم بمهجته، ونادى: هل من ذاب يذب عن حرم رسول الله؟ هل من موحد يخاف الله فينا؟ هل من مغيث يرجو الله بإغاثتنا؟ هل من معين يرجو ما عند الله في إعانتنا؟

فارتفعت أصوات النساء بالعويل، فتقدم إلى باب الخيمة وقال لزينب: ناوليني ولدي الصغير حتى أودعه، فأخذه وأومأ إليه ليقبله، فرماه حرملة بن الكاهل الأسدي بسهم فوقع في نحره فذبحه.

فقال لزينب:

خذيه. ثم تلقى الدم بكفيه، فلما امتلأتا رمى بالدم نحو السماء، ثم قال: هون علي ما نزل بي أنه بعين الله.

قال الباقر عليه السلام: فلم يسقط من ذلك الدم قطرة إلى الأرض.

[2] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 108; I'lām al-Warā, vol. 1, p. 466.

جلس الحسين عليه السلام أمام الفسطاط، فأتي بابنه عبد الله بن الحسين وهو طفل فأجلسه في حجره، فرماه رجل من بني أسد بسهم فذبحه، فتلقى الحسين عليه السلام دمه، فلما ملأ كفه صبه في الأرض، ثم قال:

رب إن تكن حبست عنا النصر من السماء، فاجعل ذلك لما هو خير، وانتقم لنا من هؤلاء القوم الظالمين. ثم حمله حتى وضعه مع قتلى أهله.

Then al-Ḥusayn (a) turned towards one of his children, an infant who was crying due to thirst. He took him in his arms and said, "O people! If you bear no mercy towards me, then [at least] have mercy on this child." [In reply] a man from among them shot an arrow at the child and slaughtered him. Al-Ḥusayn (a) began to weep and said, "O God! Judge between us and those who invited us, pledging to support us, but then killed us."

A voice from the sky was heard saying, "Do not be concerned about him, O Ḥusayn, for he will receive milk in paradise."[1]

376. *al-Majdī*, in the mention of the children of al-Ḥusayn (a): As for 'Abd Allāh, his father brought him out. The people felt sympathy for the baby, for he was thirsty. Then, a man shot an arrow at him and slaughtered him as he lay in the arms of his father; may God avenge him.[2]

377. *Sirr al-Silsilat al-'Alawiyyah*, in the mention of the children of al-Ḥusayn (a): As for 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, he was killed in the hands of his father. He was a nursing baby. When he was struck by an arrow shot by a man of the Banū Asad, he convulsed, and passed away.[3]

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[1] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣ*, p. 252.

لما رآهم الحسين عليه السلام مصرّين على قتله أخذ المصحف ونشره وجعله على رأسه ونادى: بيني وبينكم كتاب الله وجدي محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، يا قوم بم تستحلون دمي؟...

فالتفت الحسين عليه السلام فإذا بطفل له يبكي عطشاً فأخذه على يده وقال: يا قوم إن لم ترحموني فارحموا هذا الطفل، فرماه رجل منهم بسهم فذبحه، فجعل الحسين عليه السلام يبكي ويقول: اللهم احكم بيننا وبين قوم دعونا لينصرونا فقتلونا

فنودي من الهواء: دعه يا حسين فإنّ له مرضعاً في الجنة

[2] *al-Majdī*, p. 91.

وعبد الله أخرجه أبوه، رقّ له القوم برقّة عطشانًا، فرماه رجل بسهم فذبحه وهو على يد أبيه، أخذ الله بثأره.

[3] *Sirr al-Silsilat al-'Alawiyyah*, p. 30; *al-Shajarat al-Mubārakah*, p. 73.

وعبد الله بن الحسين بن علي، قُتل في حجر أبيه عليه السلام وهو صبيّ رضيع، أصابه سهم من رجل من بني أسد، فاضطرب ومات.

378. *al-Iḥtijāj*: It has been reported that when all the companions and family members of al-Ḥusayn (a) had been martyred, he was left alone with no one at his side except his son, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), and another son, 'Abd Allāh, who was a nursing baby. Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to the entrance of the tent, and said, "Give me that infant so that I may bid him farewell!" They brought the baby to him. He began to kiss the baby while he said, "O my dear child, woe be unto these people on the day when their accuser will be Muḥammad (s)."

It is said that at that moment, an arrow hit the base of the throat of the child, killing him. Al-Ḥusayn (a) came down from his horse, dug a grave for the blood-stained baby with the hilt of his sword, and buried him.[1]

379. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: The companions advanced [to the battlefield] one by one, until he was left alone, and no man or child from his family remained at his side. He was sitting on his horse when he was handed his baby son who had just been born. Al-Ḥusayn (a) recited the *adhān* in the baby's ear. He was rubbing honey on its palate when an arrow came and lodged in the baby's throat, killing him.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) drew out the arrow from its throat and rubbed the blood on its body, saying, "By God, you are more honourable in God's eyes than the she-camel [of Ṣāliḥ], just as Muḥammad is more honourable in God's eyes than Ṣāliḥ!" Then he placed him next to [the bodies of] his [other] children and nephews.[2]

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[1] *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, p. 101; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 46.

قيل: إنه لما قتل أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام وأقرباؤه وبقي وحيدا فريدا ليس معه إلا ابنه علي زين العابدين عليه السلام، وابن آخر في الرضاع اسمه عبد الله، فتقدم الحسين عليه السلام إلى باب الخيمة فقال: ادفعوا إلي ذلك الطفل حتى أودعه، فناولوه الصبي، فجعل يقبله وهو يقول: يا بني ويل لهؤلاء القوم إذا كان خصمهم محمد صلى الله عليه وآله.

فبينا هو يقبله إذ أتاه سهم حتى وقع في لبة الصبي فقتله، فنزل الحسين عليه السلام عن فرسه، وحفر للصبي بجفن سيفه، ورمّله بدمه ودفنه.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 245.

فتقدموا رجلا رجلا، حتى بقي وحده ما معه أحد من أهله ولا ولده ولا أقاربه، فإنه لواقف على فرسه إذ أتي بمولود قد ولد له في تلك الساعة، فأذن في أذنه، وجعل يحنكه إذ أتاه سهم فوقع في حلق الصبي

PART 5: THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SONS OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL (A)

5/1: Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī

Abū Bakr is the *kunyah* of one of the sons of Imam 'Alī (a) from his wife Laylā bint Mas'ūd al-Dārimī. According to many reports in the sources, he was martyred in Karbala.

Al-Mufīd mentions that his name was Muḥammad al-Aṣghar, and he was martyred in Karbala along with his brother 'Ubayd Allāh.[1] However, some historians believe that Muḥammad al-Aṣghar and Abū Bakr were two different sons of the Commander of the Faithful (a).

In the *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārazmī and *al-Majdī*, the name of Abū Bakr has been mentioned as 'Abd Allāh. His name does not appear in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, but in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*, we recite, "Peace be on Abū Bakr, the son of the Commander of the Faithful (a)."[2]

380. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārazmī: Then, the brothers of al-Ḥusayn (a) went forth, determined to fight and die in his defence. The first to go forward was Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī. His name was 'Abd Allāh, and his mother was Laylā bint Mas'ūd ibn Khālid ibn Dārim al-Tamīmī. He advanced to fight and was finally attacked by Zaḥr ibn

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[illegible]

[1] See no. 381.

[2] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 341; *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir*, p. 291.

Qays al-Nakhaʿī, who killed him. Others say that ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī shot him with an arrow and killed him.[1]

38. *al-Irshād*, in the mention of the sons of the Commander of the Faithful (a): Muḥammad al-Aṣghar, whose *kunyah* was Abū Bakr, and ʿUbayd Allāh were both martyred with their brother al-Ḥusayn (a) on the plains of Karbala. Their mother was Laylā, the daughter of Masʿūd al-Dārimī.[2]

5/2: Jaʿfar ibn ʿAlī

Jaʿfar ibn ʿAlī was the youngest brother of al-ʿAbbās (a) and was martyred in Karbala. Most sources mention that at the time of his martyrdom, he was nineteen years of age.[3] Others say he was seventeen, but based on the fact that Imam ʿAlī (a) was martyred in the year 40/660, he must have been at least twenty years old and, if conceived just before the Imam's (a) martyrdom, then the age nineteen may be acceptable.

Some have reported that he was killed by Hānī ibn Thubayt, while others say that Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī[4] killed him. He has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on Jaʿfar, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, who displayed measured patience, who was a traveller far from his home, who submitted to the call to war, who was one of the first to go to battle, and who was outnumbered by the aggressors. May God curse his killer, Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī."[1]

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 28; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 112.

ثم تقدم إخوة الحسين عليه السلام عازمين على أن يقتلوا من دونه.

فأول من تقدم منهم أبو بكر بن علي - واسمه عبد الله، وأمه ليلى بنت مسعود بن خالد بن ربعي بن
سلم بن جندل بن نهشل بن دارم التميمية

فحمل عليه زحر بن قيس النخعي فقتله، وقيل: بل رماه عبد الله بن عقبة الغنوي فقتله.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 354; *al-ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib*, p. 361.

محمد الأصغر، المكنى بأبي بكر، وعبيد الله، الشهيدان مع أخيهما الحسين عليه السلام بالطف، أمهما
ليلى بنت مسعود الدارمية.

[3] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 398; *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 88.

[4] In *Lubāb al-Ansāb* (vol. 1, p. 398), his killer is identified as Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan.

382. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Then Ja'far, the brother of al-Ḥusayn (a), entered the battlefield while he was reciting... Khawlī al-Aṣbaḥī shot an arrow at him, which hit him in his temple, or eye [and killed him].[2]

383. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārazmī: After 'Uthmān, his brother, Ja'far ibn 'Alī – whose mother was Umm al-Banīn also – went forth, while reciting:

Indeed, I am Ja'far, the possessor of noble traits.
The son of 'Alī, the good and the generous.
I defend al-Ḥusayn with a quick spear
And a burnished sword.
Then he fought until he was martyred.[3]

5/3: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī

Imam 'Alī (a) had four sons from his wife Umm al-Banīn. Their names were al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh, 'Uthmān, and Ja'far. All of them achieved martyrdom in Karbala.

The *kunyah* of 'Abd Allāh was Abū Muḥammad al-Akbar; he was also known as 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣghar. It is reported that he was 25 years of age when he was martyred.

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على جعفر بن أمير المؤمنين، الصابر بنفسه محتسباً، والنائي عن الأوطان مغترباً، المستسلم للقتال، المستقدم للنزال، المكثور بالرجال، لعن الله قاتله هانئ بن ثبيت الحضرمي.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 107; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 38.

ثم برز أخوه جعفر منشداً... رماه خولي الأصبحي فأصاب شقيقته أو عينه.

[3] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 29; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 113.

ثم خرج من بعده [أي بعد عثمان] أخوه جعفر بن علي - وأمه أم البنين أيضاً - فحمل وهو يقول:

إني أنا جعفر ذو المعالي　　نجل علي الخير ذو النوال
أحمي حسيناً بالقنا العسال　　وبالحسام الواضح الصقال

ثم قاتل حتى قتل.

Al-ʿAbbās (a) wanted to witness, while he was alive, the battle of his brothers in the defence of his elder brother, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and thereby earn the reward of forbearance. For this reason, he said to his brother ʿAbd Allāh, "Go forth before me so that I may watch you fight [and give witness to your sacrifice], for you have no children."[1]

So ʿAbd Allāh went to the battlefield and attacked the enemy ranks until he was martyred. He has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, who faced a stiff trial, who called to the authority (*wilāyah*) of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) on the plains of Karbala, and who was struck in the front and back. May God curse his killer, Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī."[2]

384. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*****, in the mention of the martyrs:** Also, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib, who was killed by Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī.[3]

385. ***Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*****, quoting ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, from ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan and ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās:** At the time of his martyrdom, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib was 25 years old. He did not have any children.

Abū Mikhnaf reports from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀṣim from al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mishraqī that al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī said to his brother on his mother's side, ʿAbd Allāh, "Go forth before me so that I may witness your fight, for you have no children." So he went before him. He was attacked and [ultimately] killed by Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī.[1]

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[1] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 88.

تقدم بين يدي حتى أراك وأحتسبك فإنه لا ولد لك.

[2] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 496, no. 9.

السلام على عبد الله بن أمير المؤمنين، مبلي البلاء، والمنادي بالولاء في عرصة كربلاء، المضروب مقبلاً ومدبراً، لعن الله قاتله هانئ بن ثبيت الحضرمي.

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, vol. 1, p. 475; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 407.

عبد الله بن علي بن أبي طالب، قتله هانئ بن ثبيت الحضرمي.

5/4: 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī

Due to his close friendship with 'Uthmān ibn Maẓ'ūn, the great companion of the Prophet (s), Imam 'Alī (a) named one of his sons from Umm al-Banīn, 'Uthmān. It has been reported from him that he said about this choice of name, "I named him after my brother, 'Uthmān ibn Maẓ'ūn."[2]

'Uthmān's *kunyah* was Abū 'Amr, and it is reported that at the time of his martyrdom, he was 21 years old.

He entered the battlefield and attacked the enemy ranks. He fought until he was brought down to the ground by an arrow shot by Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī.[3] Then a man from the Banū Abān beheaded him.

He has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on 'Uthmān, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, who was named after 'Uthmān ibn Maẓ'ūn. May God curse the man who shot him with an arrow, Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī al-Iyādī al-Dārimī."[4]

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[1] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 88; *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 194.

حدثني عبيد الله بن الحسن وعبد الله بن العباس، قالا: قُتل عبد الله بن علي بن أبي طالب وهو ابن خمس وعشرين سنة، ولا عقب له.

عن أبي مخنف، عن عبد الله بن عاصم، عن الضحاك المشرقي قال: قال العباس بن علي لأخيه من أبيه وأمه عبد الله بن علي: تقدّم بين يديّ حتى أراك وأحتسبك، فإنه لا ولد لك. فتقدّم بين يديه، وشدّ عليه هانئ بن ثبيت الحضرمي فقتله.

[2] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 89; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 37.

إنما سمّيته باسم أخي عثمان بن مظعون.

[3] In *Lubāb al-Ansāb* (vol. 1, p. 398), it is mentioned that he was killed by a slave of 'Umar ibn Sa'd.

[4] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 78.

السلام على عثمان بن أمير المؤمنين، سميّ عثمان بن مظعون، لعن الله راميه بالسهم خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي الإيادي الدارمي.

386. al-*Irshād*: Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī aimed an arrow at 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī – who was standing in the place of his brothers – and shot him down to the ground. A man from Banū Dārim then attacked and beheaded him.[1]

5/5: Al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a)

Al-'Abbās (a) is the symbol of love and self-sacrifice, the exemplar of chivalry, sincerity, and dignity, and the embodiment of courage, valour, and nobility. Amongst the heroes of Karbala, and the martyrs in history, he occupies an elevated and honoured rank. In the words of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), "The status of al-'Abbās before God, the Almighty, is one that will be envied by all martyrs on the Day of Judgement."[2]

Born of a great mother from the tribe of Banū Kilāb who boasted the bravest warriors of the time, al-'Abbās (a) was nurtured by two unmatched brothers – al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a).

The *kunyahs* of this great man are Abū al-Faḍl and Abū Qirbah (the bearer of the waterskin). His titles include *saqqā'* (the water-bearer) and *qamar Banī Hāshim* (the moon of the Hāshimites). The latter title was given to him because al-'Abbās was of tall stature, broad-chested, and had strongly muscled arms and a handsome countenance.

From the very beginning of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), al-'Abbās was a constant companion and supporter of his brother. In the battle in Karbala, he was the standard-bearer of the army. At a time when a severe restriction was placed on the Imam (a) and his companions, he was charged with ensuring the supply of water to the soldiers and to the children.

On the night of Ashura, when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) suggested to his companions that they should depart from Karbala and leave him alone, he was the first to declare his loyalty and readiness to sacrifice, with words which resounded with love, faith, and selflessness.

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[1] al-*Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 109; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*), vol. 1, p. 476.

ورمى خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي عثمان بن علي، وقد قام مقام إخوته، فرماه بسهم فصرعه، وشدّ عليه رجل من بني دارم فاحتزّ رأسه.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 537, no. 731; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 298.

إنّ للعبّاس عند الله تبارك وتعالى منزلة يغبطه بها جميع الشهداء يوم القيامة.

In the words of the Imams (a), al-'Abbās (a) was worthy of praise for his selflessness, foresight, steadfastness in faith, outstanding role in battle, penetrating insight, and his coveted status on the Day of Judgement.

On the day of his martyrdom, al-'Abbās (a) was 34 years old. Therefore, the year of his birth was 26/646. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, who gave his life in defence of his brother, who took the provision for the hereafter from this world, who was loyal and protective over him, who tried hard to bring water to him, and whose two arms were severed. May God curse the two who killed him, Yazīd ibn al-Ruqād al-Ḥaytī, and Ḥakīm ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Ṭā'ī."[1]

It should be mentioned that several contemporary works contain accounts about Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās (a) that are not found in reliable sources. As examples, we will cite some of these baseless reports.

1. It is mentioned in *Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn*: On the 21st night of the month of Ramaḍān, when 'Alī (a) was at the threshold of death, he hugged al-'Abbās (a) to his chest and said, "My dear son! My eyes shall be proud because of you on the Day of Judgement. My dear son! On the day of Ashura, when you enter the river, beware lest you drink water while your brother al-Ḥusayn is thirsty."[2]

2. In the work *Sha'sha'at al-Ḥusaynī*, it is mentioned: The Commander of the Faithful (a) was alone in a room, and he called in his children al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm – peace

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[1] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على أبي الفضل العباس بن أمير المؤمنين، المواسي أخاه بنفسه، الآخذ لغده من أمسه، الفادي له، الواقي الساعي إليه بمائه، المقطوعة يداه، لعن الله قاتليه يزيد بن الرقاد الحيتي وحكيم بن الطفيل الطائي.

[2] Ma'ālī al-Sibṭayn, vol. 1, p. 277.

لما كانت ليلة إحدى وعشرين من شهر رمضان و أشرف علي عليه السلام على الموت، أخذ العباس وضمه إلى صدره الشريف وقال: ولدي! وستقر عيني بك يوم القيامة. ولدي! إذا كان يوم عاشوراء ودخلت المشرعة إياك أن تشرب الماء وأخوك الحسين عطشان.

he on them all. He began to pass his blessed hands on their heads and faces, while he wept profoundly. They began to weep as well, to an extent that the rest of his children entered the room without permission. At that time, the Commander of the Faithful (a) took the hand of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) and assigned the care of his children to him. Then he glanced at al-ʿAbbās (a) and saw that he was weeping more intensely than the rest, so he called him close, lamented loudly, and wept for a long time. Then he said, "O my darling son! I assign you to al-Ḥusayn. He is the trust of God, the trust of His Prophet, the trust of Fāṭimah, and my trust to you. Be a friend and a shield for him, and sacrifice your life for him." Then he sighed and fell back unconscious, due to his excessive sorrow and lamentation.[1]

3. Also, in the book, *Asrār al-Shahādāt*, it is mentioned: It is said that before his martyrdom, Zuhayr came to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar ibn ʿAqīl and said to him, "My brother! Give me the standard."

ʿAbd Allāh asked him, "Have I fallen short in my duty while carrying it?"

He replied, "No, but I have a need for it." So he gave it to him, and Zuhayr took it, brought it without warning to al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī (a), and said, "O son of the Commander of the Faithful (a)! I wish to relate to you an event that I remember clearly."

He replied, "Proceed, because this is the time for it. Go ahead, for you will only recount something for us that is true."

So he told him, "You should know, O Abū Faḍl, that when your father, the Commander of the Faithful (a), wanted to marry your mother, Umm al-Banin, he sent for his brother 'Aqil, who was conversant with the genealogy of the Arabs.

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[1] *Shaʿshaʿat al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 60.

اعتنق أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام ولديه الحسنين وزينب وأمّ كلثوم ومسح بيده المباركة على رؤوسهم ووجوههم وكان يبكي بشدة وكانوا يبكون هم أيضا بحيث دخل سائر أولاده عليه السلام البيت دون إجازة منهم بعد أن كانوا خارجه. فأخذ أمير المؤمنين بيد الإمام الحسن عليه السلام وأوكل أولاده إليه. ثم نظر إلى العباس فرأى أنه يبكي أشدّ من الآخرين، فدعاه إليه وصاح صياحا عاليا وبكى بكاء طويلا. ثم قال: يا ولدي ومهجتي! عليك بالحسين، فإنه أمانة الله وأمانة رسوله وأمانة فاطمة وأمانتي عندك. كن عضدا وترسا له وأفد نفسك له. ثم صاح وغشي عليه من كثرة البكاء والصراخ.

"He said to him, 'O brother! I want you to find me [for marriage] a woman from a household which is known for its lineage and courage, so that I may have through her a son who will be courageous, and who will support this son of mine in the plains of Karbala,' and he pointed towards al-Husayn (a). "Your father had retained you for a day like this, so do not fall short in your defence of your brother and other brothers."

Al-'Abbas stretched back on his horse, brought it to a stop, and said, "O Zuhayr! Are you trying to spur me to courage on a day like this? By God, I will show you things that you have never seen before."[1]

It should be noted with regret that no such instruction of the Commander of the Faithful (a) to al-'Abbas (a) or mention about him has been recorded in the reliable sources.

2. In *Tadhkirat al-Shuhada'* the following account is mentioned: Some have reported that in the last moments of his life, al-'Abbas (a) said to the Imam (a), "I wish to see your face for one last time, but Harmalah has shot an arrow into my eyes."[2]

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[1] *Asrar al-Shahadat*, vol. 2, p. 333.

أنه قيل: إن زهيرا قال لعبد الله بن جعفر بن عقيل قبل أن يقتل. فقال له: يا أخي، ناولني الراية. فقال له عبد الله: أو فيّ قصور عن حملها؟ قال: لا، ولكن لي بها حاجة. قال: فدفعها إليه، وأخذها زهير وأتى بها تجاه العباس بن علي عليه السلام وقال: يابن أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، أريد أن أحدثك بحديث وعيته. فقال: حدّث، فقد حلا وقت الحديث، حدّث ولا حرج عليك، فإنك تروي لنا متواتر الإسناد. فقال له: اعلم يا أبا الفضل أن أباك أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام لما أراد أن يتزوج بأمك أم البنين بعث إلى أخيه عقيل، وكان عارفا بأنساب العرب، فقال عليه السلام: يا أخي، أريد منك أن تخطب لي امرأة من ذوي البيوت والحسب والنسب والشجاعة لكي أصيب منها ولدا يكون شجاعا وعضدا ينصر ولدي هذا -وأشار إلى الحسين عليه السلام- ليواسيه في طف كربلاء، وقد ادخرك أبوك لمثل هذا اليوم، فلا تقصر عن حلائل أخيك وعن إخوتك. قال: فارتعد العباس وتمطى في ركابه حتى قطعه، فقال: يا زهير، تشجعني في مثل هذا اليوم؟ والله لأرينك شيئا ما رأيته قط.

[2] *Tadhkirat al-Shuhada'*, p. 278.

ذكر البعض أن العباس قال وهو على تلك الحال: أريد أن أنظر إلى وجهك مرة أخرى، ولكن حرملة ضرب عيني بالسهم.

5. Many other reports about him have been recorded in works such as: *Maʿālī al-Sibṭayn* (vol. 1, pp. 270-271, and p. 275), *Shaʿāʾir al-Ḥusaynī* (vol. 2, p. 184), *Asrār al-Shahādāt* (vol. 2, pp. 402 and 412), *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh* (section on the history of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), pp. 441 and 438), *ʿUnwān al-Kalām* (pp. 182, 194, and 280), *Tadhkirat al-Shuhadāʾ* (pp. 270 and 443), *Sūgnāmih-yi Āl-i Muḥammad* (a) (p. 300), and *al-Muntakhab* of al-Ṭurayḥī (p. 305).

These reports are not found in any of the reliable *maqtal* sources and texts.

Now, we will present some accounts that are recorded in reliable works.

387. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Thābit ibn Abī Ṣafiyyah: When Imam ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) saw ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, tears came to his eyes... Then he said, "May God have mercy on al-ʿAbbās! Indeed, he displayed selflessness, underwent tribulations, and sacrificed himself for his brother, until [even] his arms were severed. In return, God, the Almighty, gave him two wings with which he flies with the angels in paradise, just as he gave wings to Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib. Indeed, the status of al-ʿAbbās before God, the Almighty, is one that will be envied by all martyrs on the Day of Judgement."[1]

388. *Sirr al-Silsilat al-ʿAlawiyyah*, quoting Mufaḍḍal ibn ʿUmar: Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) said, "Our uncle al-ʿAbbās was a man of penetrating insight and unwavering faith. He went to battle with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a), withstood a worthy trial, and achieved martyrdom. He inherited his brothers on his mother's side, and was in turn inherited

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Mullā Ḥabīb Allāh Sharīf al-Kāshānī refutes this account by saying, "It is a very weak report, and is not mentioned in the well-known works."

[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 547, no. 731; *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 68, no. 101.

نظر سيّد العابدين عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام إلى عبيد الله بن العبّاس بن عليّ بن أبي طالب فاستعبر ثمّ قال...

ثمّ قال عليه السلام: رحم الله العبّاس، فلقد آثر وأبلى وفدى أخاه بنفسه حتّى قطعت يداه، فأبدله الله عزّ وجلّ بهما جناحين يطير بهما مع الملائكة في الجنّة كما جعل لجعفر بن أبي طالب، وإنّ للعبّاس عند الله تبارك وتعالى منزلة يغبطه بها جميع الشهداء يوم القيامة.

by his son, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās." At the time of his martyrdom, al-'Abbās (a) was 34 years old.[1]

389. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, in the mention of the children of the Commander of the Faithful (a): Al-'Abbās al-Akbar... was the water carrier. In Karbala, he carried a waterskin filled with water for al-Ḥusayn (a). The *kunyah*, Abū Qirbah (the bearer of the waterskin) was given to him.[2]

390. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Mishraqī, when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) allowed his companions to depart: His brothers, his sons, his nephews, and the two sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far [all] protested, "Why would we do that? So that we may remain alive after you? May God never show us such a day."

The first among them to say this was al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a).[3]

391. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: When al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) saw this [the battle reaching a climax], he said to his brothers, 'Abd Allāh, Ja'far, and 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī (a) – the mother of all of them was Umm al-Banīn al-'Āmiriyyah, from the tribe of Āl al-Waḥīd – "Go forward, may I be ransomed for you! Go and defend your leader, until you die in his service." They all went out before al-Ḥusayn (a), ready to sacrifice their heads and necks to protect him.

Hānī' ibn Thuwayb [or Thubayt] al-Ḥaḍramī attacked 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī and killed him. Then he attacked his brother, Ja'far ibn 'Alī, and killed him also.

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1 *Sirr al-Silsilah al-'Alawiyyah*, p. 89.

قال الصادق عليه السلام: كان عمّنا العبّاس نافذ البصيرة، صلب الإيمان، جاهد مع أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام، وأبلى بلاءً حسناً، ومضى شهيداً، وورث إخوته من أمّه، وورثهم ابنه عبيد الله بن العبّاس. قُتل الشهيد وقد بلغ سنّه أربعاً وثلاثين سنة.

2 *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 413; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, p. 479.

والعبّاس الأكبر وهو السقّاء، كان حمل قربة ماء للحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء، ويكنّى أبا قربة.

3 *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 419; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 91.

فقال له إخوته وأبناؤه وبنو أخيه وابنا عبد الله بن جعفر: لم نفعل؟ لنبقى بعدك! لا أرانا الله ذلك أبداً. بدأهم بهذا القول العبّاس بن عليّ عليه السلام.

[Khawlī ibn] Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī shot an arrow at 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī and killed him. Then he went to his body and beheaded him. He brought the severed head to 'Umar ibn Sa'd and demanded, "Reward me."

'Umar replied, "Take it to your governor [meaning 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād] and ask him to reward you."

Al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) remained alone. He fought before al-Ḥusayn (a), protecting him. He followed al-Ḥusayn (a) wherever he went, until he was killed, may God have mercy on him.[1]

391. *al-Irshād*: The enemy attacked al-Ḥusayn (a) and overwhelmed his army. His thirst became severe, so he rode over the river barrier, seeking to reach the Euphrates. His brother, al-'Abbās, was riding with him. The horsemen of Ibn Sa'd, amongst whom was a man of the Banu Dārim, blocked his way. He urged his fellows, "Woe unto you! Stand firm and block him from getting to the Euphrates; do not allow him access to the water."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O God, let him always remain thirsty." This enraged the Dārimī, and he shot an arrow at the Imam (a) which struck him under his throat. Al-Ḥusayn (a) pulled out the arrow and placed his hand under his throat, and his palms filled with blood. He threw the blood upwards, then said, "O God, I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of Your Prophet." Then he withdrew to his former position, his thirst becoming more intense.

The enemy surrounded al-'Abbās, separating him from al-Ḥusayn (a). He fought against them alone, until he was martyred.

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 257; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 448.

ولما رأى ذلك العباس بن علي عليه السلام قال لإخوته عبد الله وجعفر وعثمان بني علي عليه وعليهم السلام، وأمهم جميعا أم البنين العامرية من آل الوحيد: تقدموا بنفسي أنتم، فحاموا عن سيدكم حتى تموتوا دونه. فتقدموا جميعا، فصاروا أمام الحسين عليه السلام، يقونه بوجوههم ونحورهم.

فحمل هانئ بن ثويب الحضرمي على عبد الله بن علي فقتله، ثم حمل على أخيه جعفر بن علي فقتله أيضا.

ورمى يزيد الأصبحي عثمان بن علي بسهم فقتله، ثم خرج إليه فاحتز رأسه، فأتى به عمر بن سعد، فقال له: أثبني، فقال عمر: عليك بأميرك - يعني عبيد الله بن زياد - فسله أن يثيبك.

وبقي العباس بن علي عليه السلام قائما أمام الحسين عليه السلام يقاتل دونه، ويميل معه حيث مال، حتى قتل رحمة الله عليه.

may God be pleased with him. The two men who were responsible fo killing him, after he was heavily wounded and could no longer move, were Zayd ibn Warqā' al-Ḥanafī and Ḥakīm ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Sinbisiyy.[1]

393. ***al-Malhūf:*** The thirst of al-Ḥusayn (a) became intense. He crossed the river barrier, seeking to reach the Euphrates. His brother, al-'Abbās, was with him. The horsemen of Ibn Sa'd blocked their path. A man from Banū Dārim shot an arrow at al-Ḥusayn (a), hitting his blessed throat. He drew out the arrow and placed his hand below the wound. When his palms filled with blood, he threw it upwards, then said, "O God, I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of Your Prophet."

Then they separated al-'Abbās (a) from him and surrounded him from every direction and place until they killed him, may God bless his soul. At this, al-Ḥusayn (a) wept profusely.[2]

394. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī:** After [the martyrdom of] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī entered the battlefield. His mother was also Umm al-Banīn, and he was the water-bearer (saqqā'). He attacked the enemy...

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 109; I'lām al-Warā, vol. 1, p. 466.

وحملت الجماعة على الحسين عليه السلام فغلبوه على عسكره، واشتد به العطش، فركب المسناة يريد
الفرات وبين يديه العباس أخوه، فاعترضته خيل ابن سعد، وفيهم رجل من بني دارم، فقال لهم: ويلكم
حولوا بينه وبين الفرات، ولا تمكنوه من الماء.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: اللهم أظمه، فغضب الدارمي ورماه بسهم فأثبته في حنكه، فانتزع الحسين
عليه السلام السهم، وبسط يده تحت حنكه فامتلأت راحتاه بالدم، فرمى به، ثم قال: اللهم إني أشكو
إليك ما يفعل بابن بنت نبيك، ثم رجع إلى مكانه وقد اشتد به العطش.

وأحاط القوم بالعباس عليه السلام فاقتطعوه عنه، فجعل يقاتلهم وحده حتى قتل رضوان الله عليه، وكان
المتولي لقتله زيد بن ورقاء الحنفي وحكيم بن الطفيل السنبسي بعد أن أثخن بالجراح فلم يستطع حراكا.

[2] al-Malhūf, p. 170.

واشتد العطش بالحسين عليه السلام، فركب المسناة يريد الفرات، والعباس أخوه بين يديه، فاعترضتهما
خيل ابن سعد، فرمى رجل من بني دارم الحسين عليه السلام بسهم فأثبته في حنكه الشريف، فانتزع
صلوات الله عليه السهم وبسط يده تحت حنكه حتى امتلأت راحتاه من الدم، ثم رمى به وقال: اللهم
إني أشكو إليك ما يفعل بابن بنت نبيك.

ثم اقتطعوا العباس عليه السلام عنه، وأحاطوا به من كل جانب ومكان، حتى قتلوه قدس الله روحه،
فبكى الحسين عليه السلام بكاء شديدا.

He continued to fight, killing a large number of the enemy before he was [finally] martyred.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) lamented, "Now my back is broken and my options reduced."[1]

395. *al-Manāqib wa al-Mathālib* of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī: When they prevented al-Ḥusayn (a) from getting to the water, al-'Abbās (a) attacked the enemy ranks. He cut through them and reached the waters of the Euphrates. He brought water to al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, and became known as *al-saqqā'*.

He was martyred between the Euphrates and the place that al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, and that was where he was buried. On that day, the enemy severed his arms and his legs.[2]

396. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Al-'Abbās (a) was the water-bearer, the moon of the Hāshimites, and the standard-bearer of al-Ḥusayn (a). He was the eldest brother from his mother's side. He had gone to bring water when he was attacked. He fought back while reciting the *rajaz*:

I am not panicked by death, when death beckons
And leaves me lifeless under a blanket of swords.
My life is ransomed for the [one who is the] pure soul of Muṣṭafā.
Verily, I am al-'Abbās, the bearer of water;
I fear no evil on the Day of Gathering.

---

[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 29; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 114.

ثمّ خرج من بعده (أبي محمد عبد الله بن علي) العبّاس بن عليّ عليه السلام، وأمّه أمّ البنين أيضاً وهو السقّاء، فحمل...

ثمّ لم يزل يقاتل حتّى قتل جماعة من القوم، ثمّ قتل.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: الآن انكسر ظهري، وقلّت حيلتي.

[2] *al-Manāqib wa al-Mathālib*, p. 309; *Kitāb al-Mu'aqqabīn*, p. 111.

كان العبّاس بن عليّ عليه السلام لمّا منع الحسين عليه السلام الماء، حمل فحمل على الناس فكشفهم حتّى بلغ الفرات وأتى بالماء، فسقى الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه، فسمّي «السقّاء» يومئذ، وقُتل بين الفرات ومصرع الحسين عليه السلام، ثَمَّ قبره، وقطعوا يومئذ يديه ورجليه.

Then he scattered the enemy. Zayd ibn Warqā' al-Juhani hid in ambush behind a date palm, and he was joined by Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl al-Sinbisiyy. He struck al-'Abbās's (a) right arm [and severed it], so he took the sword in his left, continuing to attack them whilst reciting the following *rajaz*:

By God, even if you cut off my right arm,
I will always defend my religion.
And the truthful and rightful Imam,
The son of the Prophet, [who was] the pure, the trusted.

Then he fought on, until he began to tire. He was ambushed by Ḥakīm ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Ṭā'ī from behind a date palm. He struck him on his left arm [severing it]. Al-'Abbās (a) said:

O my soul, do not fear the unbelievers,
May you receive the glad tidings of the mercy of the all-Powerful,
With the Prophet, the leader of the selected,
They have severed, in their wickedness, my left hand,
So consign them, O Lord, to the heat of the fire [of hell].

The accursed one killed him with a blow from an iron mace. When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw him lying lifeless at the banks of the Euphrates, he wept and said:

O wretched people, with this act you have transgressed [all bounds]
And opposed the guidance of the Prophet Muḥammad.
Did not the best of Messengers advise you about us?
Are we not from the progeny of the favoured Prophet?
Is not al-Zahrā' my mother and not yours?
Is not Aḥmad the best of creation?
May you be cursed and humiliated because of your crime.
Soon you will feel the heat of the stoked fire.[1]

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 108; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 40.

كان عباس السقاء قمر بني هاشم صاحب لواء الحسين عليه السلام وهو أكبر الإخوان، مضى يطلب الماء، فحملوا عليه وحمل هو عليهم وجعل يقول:

لا أرهب الموت إذا الموت زقا حتى أواري في المصاليت لقا نفسي لنفس المصطفى الطهر
وقا

397. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*: The man who was responsible for killing al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī (a) on that day was Yazīd ibn Ziyād al-Ḥanafī. The weapons and armour of al-ʿAbbās (a) were taken by Ḥakīm ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Ṭāʾī. It has been reported that he joined Yazīd ibn Ziyād in the killing of al-ʿAbbās (a).

This was after the martyrdom of his brothers, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUthmān, and Jaʿfar, who accompanied him when he went to bring back water. He continued alone, carrying the [empty] waterskin. He fought against the men of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, who were blocking his path to the water. He killed several of them and broke through their ranks, until his path to the water was clear. He came to the river, filled the waterskin, and began to carry it back. [He intended] to return to al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions and quench their thirst.

Then they surrounded him, and the many wounds he received from their arrows weakened him greatly. Finally, they managed to kill him between the Euphrates and the tents, while he was carrying back water. He was buried where he fell, may God have mercy on him. The enemy severed his arms and legs, furious at the wounds he had

---

إني أنا العباس أغدو بالسقا   ولا أخاف الشر يوم الملتقى،

فرّقهم، فكمن له زيد بن ورقاء الجهني من وراء نخلة، وعاونه حكيم بن طفيل السنبسي، فضربه على يمينه فأخذ السيف بشماله، وحمل عليهم وهو يرتجز:

والله إن قطعتم يميني   إني أحامي أبداً عن ديني
وعن إمام صادق اليقين   نجل النبي الطاهر الأمين

فقاتل حتى ضعف، فكمن له الحكيم بن الطفيل الطائي من وراء نخلة، فضربه على شماله، فقال:

يا نفس لا تخشي من الكفار   وأبشري برحمة الجبار   مع النبي السيد المختار
قد قطعوا ببغيهم يساري   فأصلهم يا رب حر النار.

فقتله الملعون بعمود من حديد، فلما رآه الحسين عليه السلام مصروعاً على شط الفرات، بكى وأنشأ يقول:

تعديتم يا شر قوم ببغيكم   وخالفتم قول النبي محمد   أما كان خير الرسل وصاكم بنا
أما نحن من نسل النبي المسدد   أما كانت الزهراء أمي دونكم   أما كان من خير البرية أحمد
لعنتم وأخزيتم بما قد جنيتم   فسوف تلاقوا حر نار توقد.

inflicted and the number he had killed. It was for this reason that he was given the title of water-bearer (*al-saqqā'*).[1]

398. *'Umdat al-Ṭālib*, in the mention of the descendants of al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a): His *kunyah* was Abū al-Faḍl, and his title was *al-saqqā'*, because he was bringing water back to his brother al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day of al-Ṭaff, but he was killed before he could get back to the camp. His grave is near the river, at the place where he was martyred.

He was the standard-bearer of his brother al-Ḥusayn (a) on that day.

Abū Naṣr al-Bukhārī reports from al-Mufaḍḍal ibn 'Umar from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Our uncle, al-'Abbās, was a man of penetrating insight and unwavering faith. He went to battle at the side of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a), withstood a worthy trial, and achieved martyrdom.

The people responsible for the blood of al-'Abbās were from the Banū Ḥanīfah. He was martyred when he was 34 years old.

His mother, and the mother of his brothers, 'Uthmān, Ja'far, and 'Abd Allāh, was Umm al-Banīn, Fāṭimah bint Ḥizām ibn Khālid, and her mother Laylā was the daughter of al-Suhayl ibn Mālik, the son of the famous warrior, Ibn Abī Barrah.

It has been reported that the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī (a), said to his brother 'Aqīl, who was well versed in the history and genealogy of the Arabs, "Seek for me a woman who is descended from the warriors among the Arabs, so that I may marry her, and have a son who would be a courageous knight." He said, "Marry Umm al-Banīn al-Kilābiyyah, for there are no braver warriors amongst the Arabs than her forefathers." So he married her.

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[1] Sharḥ al-Akhbār, vol. 3, p. 191.

قال: الذي ولي قتل العباس بن علي عليه السلام زيد بن رقاد الجنبي وأخذ سلبه حكيم بن الطفيل الطائي، وقيل: إنه شرك في قتله زيد.

وكان [illegible] عبيد الله [illegible] الماء [illegible] بالقربة ليحمل على
أصحاب عبيد الله بن زياد الذين دون الماء، فقاتل منهم، وضرب فيهم حتى كشفوهم عن الماء، [illegible]
[illegible] القربة وأصحابه، وأتى بها الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه فسقاهم حتى تكاثروا عليه، [illegible]
[illegible] بين الفرات والشرايع [illegible] الماء [illegible] رحمة الله [illegible]
[illegible] عليه [illegible] حتى قتله.

On the day of al-Ṭaff [Ashura], Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan al-Kilābī called out to al-'Abbās and his brothers, "Where are the sons of my sister?" They did not reply to him.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to his brothers, "Reply to him, even though he is a reprobate. He is from your maternal uncles."[1]

They asked him, "What do you want?"

He said, "Come and join my side, for you all have a guarantee of immunity. Do not get yourselves killed along with your brother."

They cursed him, saying to him, "You are obnoxious, and what you have brought is obnoxious! [Do you imagine that] we would leave our leader, and our brother, and join you under your immunity?"

Al-'Abbās and his three brothers were martyred on that day.[2]

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[1] In Arab culture, any man who was a member of the tribe of one's mother was referred to as "maternal uncle (*khāl*)".

[2] *'Umdat al-Ṭālib*, p. 356.

في ذكر لقب العبّاس بن أمير المؤمنين عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، ويكنّى أبا الفضل، ويلقّب السقّاء لأنّه استقى الماء لأخيه الحسين عليه السلام يوم الطفّ، وقُتل دون أن يبلغه إيّاه، وقبره قريب من الشريعة حيث استُشهد.

وكان صاحب راية الحسين عليه السلام أخيه في ذلك اليوم.

روى الشيخ أبو نصر البخاري عن المفضّل بن عمر أنّه قال: قال الصادق جعفر بن محمّد عليه السلام: كان عمّنا العبّاس بن عليّ نافذ البصيرة، صلب الإيمان، جاهد مع أبي عبد الله وأبلى بلاءً حسناً ومضى شهيداً.

وأمّ العبّاس عليه السلام في بني حنيفة، وقُتل وله أربع وثلاثون سنة.

وأمّه وأمّ إخوته عثمان وجعفر وعبد الله أمّ البنين فاطمة بنت حزام بن خالد، وأمّها ليلى بنت السهيل بن مالك، وهو ابن أبي براء، وأمّها عمرة بنت الطفيل بن عامر.

ولقد روي أنّ أمير المؤمنين عليّاً عليه السلام قال لأخيه عقيل - وكان نسّابة عالماً بأنساب العرب وأخبارهم -: انظر لي امرأة قد ولدتها الفحولة من العرب، لأتزوّجها فتلد لي غلاماً فارساً. فقال له: تزوّج أمّ البنين الكلابية، فإنّه ليس في العرب أشجع من آبائها، فتزوّجها.

ولمّا كان يوم الطفّ قال شمر بن ذي الجوشن الكلابي للعبّاس عليه السلام وإخوته: أين بنو أختي؟ فلم يجيبوه، فقال الحسين عليه السلام لإخوته: أجيبوه وإن كان فاسقاً، فإنّه بعض أخوالكم. فقالوا له: ما تريد

309. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) who said: When you wish to visit the grave of al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī (a), which is next to the river Euphrates facing the tomb of al-Ḥusayn (a), then stand at the gate of al-Saqīfah... enter, face the grave, and say:

> Peace be on you, O righteous servant, obedient to God, to His Messenger, to the Commander of the Faithful, to al-Ḥasan and to al-Ḥusayn, peace be on them.
>
> Peace be on your body and soul, and [may you attain] God's mercy, blessings, forgiveness, and pleasure.
>
> I testify, and ask God to witness, that you walked the same course that was taken by the men of Badr, and those who fought in God's way, and those who were sincere to Him in their battle against His enemies, and those who strived to support His close servants, and those who defended His beloved friends.
>
> So may God reward you with the best, abundant, and well-deserved reward that He has ever granted to anyone who was loyal to his pledge, responded to His call, and obeyed His appointed guides.
>
> I bear witness that you excelled in your sincerity and strived to the utmost. So may God register you amongst the true martyrs, place your soul amongst the souls of the fortunate, and allocate to you the best and most spacious home in paradise.
>
> May he raise your mention in the assemblies of the exalted, and resurrect you in the company of the Prophets, the veracious, the martyrs, and the righteous – the best companions one can have.
>
> I bear witness that you did not shy away or evade [your duty], and left this world fully aware of your duty, following the practice of the righteous, and the Prophets.
>
> May God assemble us and you together, with His Prophets and His close servants, in the ranks of those who behaved impeccably, for He is the most Merciful.[1]

قال: [illegible] ولا تقاتلوا القوم [illegible]
[illegible] وقُتل هو وإخوته الثلاثة في ذلك اليوم.

[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 440, no. 671; *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 725.

قال الصادق عليه السلام: إذا أردت زيارة قبر العباس بن علي عليه السلام - وهو على شطّ الفرات بحذاء الحائر - فقف على باب السقيفة... ثمّ ادخل وانكبّ على القبر وقل:

3/6: Muḥammad ibn 'Alī

Most sources mention Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as one of the martyrs of Karbala, and some have said that his title was al-Aṣghar (the younger).

According to some reports, his mother's name is Asmā' bint 'Umays al-Khath'amī.

It is reported that he was 22 years old at the time of his martyrdom. He was killed by a man from the tribe of Ābān ibn Dārim.

However, according to a report mentioned by Ibn Shahr Āshūb, he was ill in Karbala and was [therefore] not killed.[1]

In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on Muḥammad, the son of the Commander of the Faithful (a), martyred by al-Iyādī al-Dārimī, may God curse him, and double his painful chastisement. May God bless you, O Muḥammad, and your patient household."[2]

He has not been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.

السلام عليك أيها العبد الصالح، المطيع لله ولرسوله ولأمير المؤمنين والحسن والحسين عليهم السلام
والسلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته، ومغفرته ورضوانه، وعلى روحك وبدنك.

أشهد وأشهد الله أنك مضيت على ما مضى عليه البدريون والمجاهدون في سبيل الله، المناصحون له في
جهاد أعدائه، المبالغون في نصرة أوليائه، الذابون عن أحبائه، فجزاك الله أفضل الجزاء، وأكثر الجزاء،
وأوفر الجزاء، وأوفى جزاء أحد ممن وفى ببيعته، واستجاب له دعوته، وأطاع ولاة أمره.

وأشهد أنك قد بالغت في النصيحة، وأعطيت غاية المجهود، فبعثك الله في الشهداء، وجعل روحك مع
أرواح السعداء، وأعطاك من جنانه أفسحها منزلا، وأفضلها غرفا، ورفع ذكرك في عليين، وحشرك مع
النبيين والصديقين، والشهداء والصالحين، وحسن أولئك رفيقا.

أشهد أنك لم تهن ولم تنكل، وأنك مضيت على بصيرة من أمرك، مقتديا بالصالحين، ومتبعا للنبيين، فجمع
الله بيننا وبينك، وبين رسوله وأوليائه في منازل المخبتين، فإنه أرحم الراحمين.

[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113.

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على محمد بن أمير المؤمنين قتيل الإيادي الدارمي لعنه الله وضاعف عليه العذاب الأليم وصلى
الله عليك يا محمد وعلى أهل بيتك الصابرين.

A note

It is worth mentioning that Ibn A'tham in his *al-Futuḥ* and some other sources quoting him have mentioned that 'Umar ibn 'Ali – another son of Imam 'Ali (a) – was one of the martyrs of Karbala. Several battle prosodies (*rajaz*) have also been attributed to him.[1] Other sources indicate that he had not accompanied Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and died in 75/694, or 77/696.

In fact, one report mentions that he had advised the Imam (a) not to go towards Kufa, and he himself later recounted this meeting with the Imam (a).

Many sources also mention accounts of 'Umar ibn 'Ali at the time of 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Marwan, suggesting that he was alive after the event of Karbala. Therefore, it is unlikely that he was one of the martyrs of Karbala.[2]

◆

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[1] *al-Futuḥ*, vol. 5, p. 112; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 107.

[2] See *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 52.

PART 6: THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SONS OF IMAM AL-ḤASAN (A)

6/1: Al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan (a)

Al-Qāsim was the son of Imam al-Ḥasan (a). His mother was a slave maiden by the name of Narjis. His face was glowing like a radiant moon.

According to Khwārizmī, at the time of his martyrdom, he had not yet reached the age of maturity; however, the author of *Lubāb al-Ansāb* reports that he was 16 years old.[1]

The reports about his efforts to receive permission to go to the battlefield from Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) indicate the level of his cognition, awareness, courage, and faith.

Perhaps because of his young age, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was initially reluctant to allow him to go to fight; however, al-Qāsim persistently pleaded with him to such an extent that the Imam (a) finally allowed him to go.

After he killed several soldiers of Ibn Sa'd, he achieved martyrdom. His name is mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows:

> Peace be on al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, who was struck [a mortal blow] on his head and whose armour was looted. When he called out to al-Ḥusayn (a) for help, his uncle flew to his side like an eagle, but found him convulsed, his legs writhing on the sand. Then al-Ḥusayn (a) cried, "Away with the people who killed you! They will stand accused by your grandfather and your father on the Day of Judgement." Then he said, "By God, it is grievous for your uncle that you called him, but he was unable to respond [in time]; or that he responded to you, but you [already] lay on the ground, killed, and he was not of use to you.

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[1] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 404.

> By God, this day is one where those who have gathered to kill him are many, and those who would aid him are few."
> May God raise me with the two of you on the Day that you are gathered together, and grant me a place me in your vicinity. May God curse your killer, 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn 'Urwah ibn Nufail al-Azdī, consign him to hellfire, and punish him with a painful chastisement."[1]

Two points

1. In the book, *al-Hidāyat al-Kubrā*, the author, Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībī,[2] mentions a report from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) about a conversation [between uncle and nephew] on the night of *Ashura*: "O uncle! Will I be killed?" He caressed him, then asked, "O nephew! How do you see death?" He replied, "O uncle! Sweeter than honey!" Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "Yes, by God, it is indeed sweeter…"[3]

A similar account is also found in the work *Madīnat al-Ma'ājiz* (vol. 4, p. 215), which we have not included because the source of the report is unreliable.

There are stories about the marriage of al-Qāsim and many accounts of his tragedy mentioned in *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'* (pp. 320-329), *al-Muntakhab al-Ṭurayḥī* (p. 365), and other works which are false or implausible.[4]

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على القاسم بن الحسن بن علي، المضروب على هامته، المسلوب لامته، حين نادى الحسين عمه،
فجلى عليه عمه كالصقر، وهو يفحص برجليه التراب، والحسين يقول: بعداً لقوم قتلوك، ومن خصمهم
يوم القيامة جدك وأبوك. ثم قال: عز والله على عمك أن تدعوه فلا يجيبك، أو أن يجيبك وأنت قتيل
جديل فلا ينفعك، هذا والله يوم كثر واتره وقل ناصره، جعلني الله معكما يوم جمعكما، وبوأني مبوأكما،
ولعن الله قاتلك عمر بن سعد بن عروة بن نفيل الأزدي، وأصلاه جحيما، وأعد له عذابا أليما.

[2] Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībī was famous for his exaggeration (*ghuluww*) of the status of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (a). Al-Najāshī writes about him, "His views were unsound (*fāsid*)" (al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, vol. 1, p. 187). Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī also writes about him, "He was an exaggerator, with unsound views. He has presented distasteful opinions, and is not followed" (Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī, *al-Rijāl*, p. 54).

[3] *al-Hidāyat al-Kubrā*, p. 204.

[4] See the introductory section of this work.

2. Was al-Qāsim trampled under the hooves of the enemies' horses? About the manner of the martyrdom of al-Qāsim, it has been reported, "After al-Qāsim was struck and fell [from his horse], he called out to his uncle [for help]. Al-Ḥusayn (a) rushed to his side and struck the attacker of al-Qāsim, severing his arm. Enemy soldiers charged in to help their comrade."

According to the early and well-known *maqtal* texts, in this charge, the killer of al-Qāsim was trampled under the horses of his own comrades. However, in later works, the opposite is mentioned; they report that it was al-Qāsim who was crushed under the hooves of the horses.

It appears that this error stemmed from *Biḥār al-Anwār*, and then later found its way into works such as *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*, *Makhzan al-Bukā'*, *Muhīj al-Aḥzān*, and *Asrār al-Shahādāt*.

The report in *Biḥār al-Anwār* states:

> The Kufan soldiers charged in to save 'Amr [the killer of al-Qāsim] from al-Ḥusayn (a). They directed their horses towards him, and [in the process] the hooves of their horses trampled over him, until the youth was killed. When the dust of their charge settled, they saw al-Ḥusayn (a) standing at the head of the youth, who lay writhing in agony.[1]

In his footnote, the esteemed commentator of *Biḥār al-Anwār* comments on the phrase "until the youth was killed", saying, "The word youth (*ghulām*) has been added here, apparently inadvertently, because the wording differs from the original report found in *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, *al-Irshād*, and *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb, and conflicts with the rest of the account in *Biḥār al-Anwār* itself, because the narration continues to say that the same youth "lay writhing in agony", meaning that he was at the brink of death, but not yet martyred. Furthermore, the words of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), who told him, "By God, it is grievous for your uncle..." emphasise the fact that he was yet alive.

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[1] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 35.

حملت خيل أهل الكوفة ليستنقذوا عمرا من الحسين، فاستقبلته بصدورها، وجرحته بحوافرها، ووطئته حتى مات الغلام، فانجلت الغبرة فإذا بالحسين قائم على رأس الغلام وهو يفحص برجله.

Therefore, we can conclude that the man who was killed by being trampled under the hooves of the horses was in fact 'Amr ibn al-Azdī, may God never have mercy on him.

However, the phrase used by the author [Majlisī], may God have mercy on him, suggests that the [trampled] youth was al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan. The account mentioned in *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* is as follows: "He struck at 'Amr with his sword, and the latter put out his hand to defend himself, and it was cut off at the elbow. The soldiers of 'Umar ibn Sa'd rushed in to protect him from al-Ḥusayn (a). They directed their horses towards him, but he was crushed under their hooves before he could move away, may God curse him!

When the dust of their charge settled, they saw al-Ḥusayn (a) standing at the head of the youth, who lay writhing in agony. Al-Ḥusayn (a) was saying..."[1]

It appears that the phrase, *la'nat Allāh* in the text of al-Majlisī, which is usually abbreviated by the letters *lām* and *'ayn*, was later emended to *ghulām*, perhaps because the morphologies of the two words are similar.

The accounts of the martyrdom of al-Qāsim that have been mentioned in the reliable sources are presented hereunder.

400. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim:** A youth came out towards us, with a sword in his hand. His face resembled the crescent of the moon. He wore a shirt, a waistcloth around his trousers, and sandals. I remember that the strap on the left sandal was broken. At that time 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn Nufayl al-Azdī told me, "By God, I will attack him!"

I asked, "Glory be to God! Why would you want to do that? The people that you can see surrounding them will suffice for the killing."

But he said [again], "By God, I am going to attack him!" He attacked him and continued until he struck his head with his sword. The youth fell down with his face on the ground and shouted out, "O uncle!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) swooped forward like an eagle and attacked like an enraged lion, striking at 'Amr with his sword. 'Amr attempted to protect himself with his forearm, but the blow severed his arm at the elbow.

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[1] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 35.

He cried out in pain and moved away from the Imam (a). Meanwhile, the Kufan horsemen rushed in to save 'Amr from al-Ḥusayn (a), but the horses knocked into 'Amr with their bodies and trampled him under their hooves as they carried their riders over him. [In the process] he was crushed and killed.

When the dust settled, [I saw that] al-Ḥusayn (a) was standing at the head of the youth, while the youth was moving his legs on the ground [in agony]. Al-Ḥusayn (a) was saying, "Away with the people who killed you! Their accuser on the Day of Resurrection shall be your grandfather!"

Then he said, "By God, it is grievous for your uncle that you called him, and he was unable to respond [in time], or that he responded to you, but he was not of use to you! By God, those who have gathered to kill his family are many, and those who would aid him are few!"

Then he carried him back. I can still see the legs of the youth trailing on the ground, while al-Ḥusayn (a) clasped his chest to his own. I asked myself, "What will he do with him?" He brought him and placed him next to his son, 'Alī [al-Akbar] ibn al-Ḥusayn and the other members of his household who had [also] been martyred.

I asked about the youth and was informed, "He is al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib."[1]

411. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: After 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, according to some reports, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib, and according to others, al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan, came out to fight. He was a young boy who had not yet reached the age of maturity. When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw him, he hugged him close, and the two began to weep so much they [nearly] swooned. Then the youth asked to be allowed to go to fight, but his uncle al-Ḥusayn (a) did not grant him permission. But the youth kept kissing the hands and feet of al-Ḥusayn (a), begging to be allowed to go, until he agreed. Then he went out to the battlefield.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 447; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 471.

خرج إلينا غلام كأن وجهه شقة قمر، في يده السيف، عليه قميص وإزار ونعلان قد انقطع شسع أحدهما، ما أنسى أنها اليسرى. فقال لي عمرو بن سعد بن نفيل الأزدي: والله لأشدن عليه، فقلت له: سبحان الله وما تريد إلى ذلك؟ يكفيك قتل هؤلاء الذين تراهم قد احتولوهم. قال: فقال: والله لأشدن عليه، فشد عليه، فما ولى حتى ضرب رأسه بالسيف، فوقع الغلام لوجهه، فقال: يا عماه!

قال: فجلى الحسين عليه السلام كما يجلي الصقر، ثم شد شدة ليث أغضب، فضرب عمرا بالسيف فاتقاه بالساعد، فأطنها من لدن المرفق، فصاح، ثم تنحى عنه، وحملت خيل لأهل الكوفة ليستنقذوا عمرا من الحسين عليه السلام، فاستقبلت عمرا بصدورها، فحركت حوافرها وجالت الخيل بفرسانها عليه فوطئته حتى مات.

[...] He attacked the enemy. His face glowed like a splinter of the moon. Despite his young age, he fought and killed thirty-five men.

Ḥumayd ibn Muslim reports: I was in the army of Ibn Sa'd. I observed a youth who was dressed in a shirt, waistcloth, and sandals. One of the straps was broken, and I have not forgotten that it was the left one.

Then, 'Amr ibn Sa'd al-Azdi said, "By God, I will attack him!"

I asked, "Glory be to God! What will you gain by that? By God, even if he attacked me, I would stay my hand from him. The people that you see surrounding him will suffice."

But he said, "By God, I will do it!" He attacked him and continued until he struck his head with his sword.

The youth fell with his face on the ground, and shouted out, "O uncle!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) rushed towards him like an eagle. He entered the enemy ranks and fought through them like an enraged lion. He struck at 'Amr with his sword. 'Amr attempted to protect himself with his forearm, but the blow severed his arm at the elbow. He cried out in pain and distanced himself from the Imam (a). Meanwhile, the Kufan

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وانجلت الغبرة، فإذا أنا بالحسين عليه السلام قائم على رأس الغلام، والغلام يفحص برجليه، والحسين عليه السلام يقول: بعداً لقوم قتلوك، ومن خصمهم يوم القيامة فيك جدك وأبوك. ثم قال: عز والله على عمك أن تدعوه فلا يجيبك، أو يجيبك ثم لا ينفعك صوتك، والله كثر واتره وقل ناصره.

ثم احتمله، فكأني أنظر إلى رجلي الغلام يخطان في الأرض، وقد وضع حسين صدره على صدره، قال: فقلت في نفسي: ما يصنع به؟ فجاء به حتى ألقاه مع ابنه علي بن الحسين وقتلى قد قتلت حوله من أهل بيته، فسألت عن الغلام فقيل: هو القاسم بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب.

horsemen rushed in to save him, but the horses knocked into 'Amr with their chests and trampled him under their hooves, killing him.

When the dust settled, al-Ḥusayn (a) was standing at the head of the youth, who was moving his legs on the ground [in agony]. Al-Ḥusayn (a) was saying, "By God, it is grievous for your uncle that you called him, and he was unable to respond [in time], or that he responded to you, but he could not help you, or he tried to help you, but could not save you. Away with the people who killed you! Woe be unto your killer!"

Then he carried him back. I can still see the legs of the youth trailing on the ground, while al-Ḥusayn (a) held his chest next to his own. I asked myself, "What will he do with him?"

He brought him and placed him next to the other members of his household who had [also] been martyred. Then he raised his head to the sky and said, "O God, include them all [to account], do not spare any one of them, and do not ever forgive them! Patience, O sons of my uncle! Patience, O members of my household! You will never experience any distress after today."[1]

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[1] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 27; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 34.

خرج من بعده أبي بعد عون بن عبد الله بن جعفر؛ عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب وفي بعض الروايات: وفي بعض الروايات القاسم بن الحسن وهو غلام صغير لم يبلغ الحلم. فلما نظر إليه الحسين عليه السلام اعتنقه، وجعلا يبكيان حتى غشي عليهما. ثم استأذن الغلام للحرب فأبى عمه الحسين عليه السلام أن يأذن له، فلم يزل الغلام يقبل يديه ورجليه ويسأله الإذن حتى أذن له. فخرج...

...وحمل وكأن وجهه فلقة قمر، وقاتل قتالا - على صغر سنه - خمسة وثلاثين رجلا.

قال حميد بن مسلم: كنت في عسكر ابن سعد، فكنت أنظر إلى الغلام وعليه قميص وإزار ونعلان قد انقطع شسع إحداهما، ما أنسى أنه كان شسع اليسرى. فقال عمرو بن سعد الأزدي: والله لأشدن عليه. فقلت: سبحان الله وما تريد بذلك؟ والله لو ضربني ما بسطت له يدي، يكفيك هؤلاء الذين تراهم قد احتوشوه. قال: والله لأفعلن. وشد عليه، فما ولى حتى ضرب رأسه بالسيف، فوقع الغلام لوجهه وصاح: يا عماه! فانقض عليه الحسين عليه السلام كالصقر، وتخلل الصفوف، وشد شدة الليث الحرب، فضرب عمرا بالسيف فاتقاه بيده فأطنها من المرفق فصاح، ثم تنحى عنه. فحملت خيل أهل الكوفة ليستنقذوه فاستقبلته بصدورها ووطئته بحوافرها فمات.

6/2: Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan (a)

Another son of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) who was martyred in Karbala was called Abū Bakr.[1] He is reported to have been 35 years old at the time.

Most sources mention him along with ʿAbd Allāh and al-Qāsim. Therefore, three sons of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) were martyred in Karbala. Some sources mention that *Abū Bakr* was the *kunyah* of ʿAbd Allāh. If this is the case, then Imam al-Ḥasan (a) must have had two sons called ʿAbd Allāh: ʿAbd Allāh al-Akbar [the elder], the husband of Sukaynah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a),[2] who was martyred in Karbala; and ʿAbd Allāh al-Aṣghar [the younger], who was a young child and was martyred as he sat in the lap of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) towards the end of the day of Ashura.

His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, the righteous, the defender, who was mortally struck by an arrow. May God curse his killer, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī."[3]

وانجلت الغبرة فرأوا الحسين عليه السلام قائماً على رأس الغلام وهو يفحص برجليه والحسين يقول: عز والله على عمك أن تدعوه فلا يجيبك أو يجيبك فلا يعينك أو يعينك فلا يغني عنك بعداً لقوم قتلوك، الويل لقاتلك.

ثم احتمله فكأني أنظر إلى رجلي الغلام تخطان الأرض وقد وضع صدره إلى صدره فقلت في نفسي ما يصنع به فجاء به حتى ألقاه مع القتلى من أهل بيته ثم رفع طرفه إلى السماء وقال: اللهم أحصهم عدداً ولا تغادر منهم أحداً ولا تغفر لهم أبداً صبراً يا بني عمومتي صبراً يا أهل بيتي لا رأيتم هواناً بعد هذا اليوم أبداً.

[1] In his *al-Irshād*, al-Mufīd occasionally refers to him as ʿAmr. It is possible that his name was ʿAmr, and his *kunyah* was Abū Bakr. *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, pp. 20, 26 and 125.

[2] *al-Muḥabbar* (p. 438) says that Sukaynah, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), was married to ʿAbd Allāh, the son of al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a). He was her first husband, and was martyred after their marriage.

[3] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على أبي بكر بن الحسن بن علي الزكي الولي، المرمي بالسهم الردي، لعن الله قاتله عبد الله بن عقبة الغنوي.

402. ***al-Irshād:*** 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī shot an arrow at Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib and killed him.[1]

403. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** Al-Mukhtār sought out 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī and found that he had escaped to al-Jazīrah [a town in the north of Iraq]. He demolished his house. This was the [same] al-Ghanawī who had killed a young man from the household of al-Ḥusayn (a)....[2]

6/3: 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan

The third son of Imam al-Ḥasan (a) who was martyred in Karbala was called 'Abd Allāh. He was probably the youngest martyr after 'Alī al-Aṣghar.[3] When the Kufan soldiers surrounded Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) during the last moments of his life, this young child came out looking for his uncle. Zaynab (a) tried unsuccessfully to stop him. He rushed to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and was martyred while he stood next to him.

It should be mentioned that some sources have erroneously reported the account of the martyrdom of al-Qāsim as that of 'Abd Allāh.

His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, the righteous. May God curse his killer, Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil al-Asadī, who shot him with an arrow."[4]

404. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan advanced towards al-Ḥusayn (a) with foot-soldiers. Al-Ḥusayn (a) began to attack them, forcing them to withdraw. Then they surrounded

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 109; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 406.

رمى عبد الله بن عقبة الغنوي أبا بكر بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب فقتله.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 65; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 682.

طلب المختار عبد الله بن عقبة الغنوي فوجده قد هرب، ولحق بالجزيرة، فهدم داره، وكان ذلك الغنوي قد قتل منهم غلاما...

[3] His age has not been reported in reliable works. Some later writers have mentioned that he was 11 years old. *Anṣār al-Ḥusayn*, p. 132; al-Muqarram, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, p. 286.

[4] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 75.

السلام على عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي الزكي، لعن الله قاتله ورامية حرملة بن كاهل الأسدي

him completely. At that time, a young child of al-Ḥusayn's (a) household came towards him. His sister, Zaynab bint 'Alī (a), held him, trying to restrain him. Al-Ḥusayn (a) called to her, "Hold on to him," but the boy refused, ran to al-Ḥusayn (a), and stood next to him.

At that time, Baḥr ibn Ka'b ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, who was from the tribe of Banū Taym Allāh ibn Tha'labah ibn 'Ukābah, charged at al-Ḥusayn (a) with his sword. The boy said to him, "O son of an odious woman! Do you seek to kill my uncle?" So he struck the boy with his sword. The child tried to protect himself with his arm, but the blow almost severed it, leaving his arm hanging by the skin. He cried out, "O mother!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) hugged him to his chest and said, "O my nephew, bear with patience what has happened to you, and try to see the good in it, for God will now unite you with your noble forefathers: with God's Messenger (s), 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib, Ḥamzah, Ja'far, and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, may God's blessings be on all of them."[1]

425. *al-Malhūf*: 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, came out from [the tents of] the ladies. He was a young boy, not yet at the age of maturity. He ran forward until he stood next to al-Ḥusayn (a). Zaynab bint 'Alī (a) tried to restrain him, but he resisted her strongly, saying, "By God, I will not leave my uncle." Baḥr ibn Ka'b – or Ḥarmalah ibn al-Kāhil, according to one report – charged towards al-Ḥusayn (a) with his sword. The boy said to him, "Woe unto you, O son of an odious

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 450; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 571.

إنّ شمر بن ذي الجوشن أقبل في الرجالة نحو الحسين عليه السلام، فأخذ الحسين عليه السلام يشدّ عليهم فينكشفون عنه، ثمّ إنّهم أحاطوا به إحاطة، وأقبل إلى الحسين عليه السلام غلام من أهله، فأخذته أخته زينب ابنة عليّ لتحبسه، فقال لها الحسين عليه السلام: احبسيه، فأبى الغلام وجاء يشتدّ إلى الحسين عليه السلام فقام إلى جنبه.

قال: وقد أهوى بحر بن كعب بن عبيد الله - من بني تيم الله بن ثعلبة بن عكابة - إلى الحسين عليه السلام بالسيف، فقال الغلام: يا ابن الخبيثة أتقتل عمّي؟ فضربه بالسيف، فاتّقاه الغلام بيده فأطنّها إلى الجلدة، فإذا يده معلّقة، فنادى الغلام: يا أمّتاه.

فأخذه الحسين عليه السلام فضمّه إلى صدره، وقال: يا ابن أخي اصبر على ما نزل بك، واحتسب في ذلك الخير، فإنّ الله يلحقك بآبائك الصالحين: برسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله، وبعليّ بن أبي طالب، وحمزة وجعفر، والحسن بن عليّ صلّى الله عليهم أجمعين.

woman! Do you seek to kill my uncle?" So he struck the boy with his sword. The child tried to protect himself with his arm, but the blow left his arm hanging by the skin. He cried out, "O uncle!"

Al-Husayn (a) hugged him, saying, "O my nephew, bear with patience what has happened to you, and try to see the good in it, for God will now unite you with your noble forefathers."

Then, the accursed Harmalah ibn al-Kāhil shot him with an arrow, killing him as he sat in the lap of his uncle, al-Husayn (a).[1][2]

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 173; Muthīr al-Ahzān, p. 73.

خرج عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي - وهو غلام لم يراهق - من عند النساء، فشدّ حتى وقف إلى جنب الحسين عليه السلام، فلحقته زينب ابنة علي لتحبسه، فأبى وامتنع امتناعا شديدا، وقال: والله لا أفارق عمي. فأهوى أبجر بن كعب - وقيل: حرملة بن الكاهل - إلى الحسين عليه السلام بالسيف، فقال له الغلام: ويلك يا ابن الخبيثة، أتقتل عمي؟ فضربه بالسيف، فاتقاه الغلام بيده، فأطنها إلى الجلد، فإذا هي معلقة. فنادى الغلام: يا عماه. فأخذه الحسين عليه السلام فضمه إليه، وقال: يا ابن أخي اصبر على ما نزل بك واحتسب في ذلك الخير، فإن الله يلحقك بآبائك الصالحين. قال: فرماه حرملة بن الكاهل - لعنه الله - بسهم فذبحه وهو في حجر عمه الحسين عليه السلام.

[2] In Muthīr al-Ahzān, the following additional detail is mentioned: al-Husayn (a) said, "O God! If you allow them to live them after this, disperse their ranks, isolate them, scatter them in the land, and never be pleased with them!"

PART 7: THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SONS OF 'ABDULLĀH IBN JA'FAR[1]

7/1: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far

Muḥammad was one of the sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al-Ṭayyār who was martyred in Karbala. According to the reliable sources, the name of his mother is al-Khawṣā', the daughter of Khaṣafah ibn Thaqīf ibn Rabī'ah. Therefore, the reports found in some works that his mother was Zaynab (a)[2] are apparently incorrect.

His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, who was martyred in the place of his father, who followed the example of his brother, and protected him with his life. May God curse his killer, 'Āmir ibn Nahshal al-Tamimi."[1]

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[1] Abū 'Abdillāh, Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf, was the brother of Imam 'Alī (a), and ten years older than him. He accepted Islam after him, and several verses of the Qur'an have been revealed about him. It has been reported, "He closely resembled the God's Messenger (s) in his features, manner, and conduct. He was a member of the first group of migrants to Abyssinia, and [many years later] returned to the Prophet (s) at the time of the victory of Khaybar. Later, he participated in the Battle of Mu'tah in 8/629, where he achieved martyrdom."

It has been narrated from the Prophet (s) that "he has two glowing wings on which he flies in paradise." For this reason, he is famously known as Dhū al-Janāḥayn (the possessor of the two wings) and Ṭayyār (the one who flies). Many narrations about his merits have been reported in the books of traditions of both the Shī'a and Sunnis.

[2] Such as *Kāmil Bahā'ī* (vol. 2, p. 303) and *A'yān al-Shī'ah* (vol. 1, p. 608), which mention that the mother of Muḥammad was Zaynab al-Kubrā (a).

406. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Hishām: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib, whose mother is al-al-Khawṣā', the daughter of Khaṣafah ibn Thaqīf ibn Rabī'ah... was martyred. His killer was 'Āmir ibn Nahshal al-Taymī.[2]

7/2: 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far

'Awn was the other son of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al-Ṭayyār, who was also martyred in Karbala. It should be mentioned that 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far had two sons with the name 'Awn. For this reason, one is called 'Awn al-Akbar, and the other 'Awn al-Aṣghar. The mother of one of them was Zaynab (a), and the mother of the other is reported as Jumānah bint al-Musayyab.

There is a difference of opinion amongst historians about which of the two was martyred in Karbala, and who his mother was. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī reports that the martyr was 'Awn al-Akbar, the son of Zaynab (a), and mentions that 'Awn al-Aṣghar was martyred during the event of al-Ḥarrah [in Medina].[3] However, most sources mention that the 'Awn who was martyred in Karbala was the son of Jumānah.[4]

His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al-Ṭayyār (the one who flies in paradise), who was unified with faith, who was the companion of great peers, who advised for the sake of the merciful Lord, and who was a reciter of the chapters and verses of the Qur'ān. May God curse his killer, 'Abd Allāh ibn Quṭbah al-Nabhānī."[1]

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على محمد بن عبد الله بن جعفر، الشاهد مكان أبيه، والتالي لأخيه، وواقيه ببدنه، لعن الله قاتله عامر بن نهشل التميمي.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 469; *Tārīkh Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ*, p. 179.

قُتل محمد بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب وأمّه الخوصاء ابنة خصفة بن ثقيف بن ربيعة بن عائذ بن الحارث بن تيم الله بن ثعلبة من بكر بن وائل، قتله عامر بن نهشل التيمي.

[3] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 95.

[4] Such as *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 468; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 581; and *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 83.

407. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*****,** quoting Hishām: 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib, whose mother is Jumānah bint al-Musayyab ibn Najabah ibn Rabī'ah... was martyred. His killer was 'Abd Allāh ibn Quṭbah al-Ṭā'ī al-Nabhānī.[2]

408. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*****,** quoting Abū Kanūd 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Ubayd: When 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib received the news of the martyrdom of his two sons, one of his bondsmen entered his presence as people were paying their condolences. I think that the bondsman was none other than Abū al-Lislās. He said, "This is what has happened to us due to al-Ḥusayn (a)."

[On hearing this] 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far struck him with his sandal. Then he exclaimed, "O son of an odious woman! You [dare to] say this of al-Ḥusayn? By God, if I had been with him, I would have desired to remain with him until I was killed alongside him. By God, what makes my heart content about my two sons, and makes their loss easier for me to bear, is the fact that they were sacrificed at the side of my brother and cousin, while they supported him and remained steadfast with him."

Then, he turned to those sitting around him, and said, "All praise is for God at the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a). If my own hands could not support him, [at least] my two sons supported him."[3]

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[1] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73; *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 492.

السلام على عون بن عبد الله بن جعفر الطيّار في الجنان، حليف الإيمان، ومنازل الأقران، الناصح للرحمن، التالي للمثاني والقرآن، لعن الله قاتله عبد الله بن قطبة النبهاني.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 468; Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 171.

قُتل عون بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب، وأمّه جمانة ابنة المسيّب بن نجبة بن ربيعة بن رياح من بني فزارة، قتله عبد الله بن قطبة الطائي ثم النبهاني.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 466; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 124.

لما بلغ عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب مقتل ابنيه مع الحسين عليه السلام، دخل عليه بعض مواليه والناس يعزّونه، قال: ولا أظنّ مولاه ذلك إلا أبا اللسلاس، فقال: هذا ما لقينا ودخل علينا من الحسين، قال: فحذفه عبد الله بن جعفر بنعله.

PART 8: THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SONS OF 'AQĪL

The offspring of 'Aqīl ibn Abū Ṭālib played a significant role in the stand of Imam al-Husayn (a). Apart from Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, Muslim's son, 'Abd Allāh, and his brothers, Ja'far, 'Abd Allāh, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and the son of another one of his brothers, Muhammad ibn Abī Sa'īd, all achieved martyrdom in the defence of this cause. For this reason, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) always displayed a special affection to the sons of 'Aqīl. It has been reported that he was asked, "Why do you display greater affection for the sons of your uncle 'Aqīl than the sons of Ja'far?"

The Imam (a) replied, "Verily, I recall the day when they stood [in support] with my father, al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a), and I feel great affection for them."[1]

8/1: 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl

'Abd Allāh was the son of Muslim, and his mother was Ruqayyah, the daughter of Imam 'Alī (a). It is reported that at the time of his martyrdom, he was 26 years old.[2] Some have said that he was the first martyr

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[illegible] الحسين [illegible]

[illegible]

ثم أقبل على [illegible] فقال: الحمد لله على مصرع الحسين، إلا أني [illegible]

[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 214, no. 307; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 46, p. 111.

ما بالك تميل إلى بني عمك هؤلاء دون آل جعفر، فقال: إني أذكر يومهم مع أبي عبد الله الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، فأرقّ لهم.

[2] In *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl* (vol. 2, p. 217), it is reported that he was 14 years old, but it is doubtful that a 14-year old boy would be among the first soldiers to go to fight.

from the household of the Prophet (s), but according to several sources, he was martyred after 'Ali al-Akbar.[1]

His name has been mentioned in both *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on the martyr, son of a martyr, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. May God curse his killer, 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah (it has also been reported, Asad ibn Mālik)."[2]

409. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī:** When the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) had all been martyred, no one remained at his side except the men of his own household. They comprised of the children of 'Ali (a), Ja'far, 'Aqīl, al-Ḥasan (a), and his own sons. The men assembled and bid farewell to each other, then readied themselves for battle.

The first to go out from his household[3] was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl...

He attacked and fought the enemy, killing several of them before he was martyred.[4]

410. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī:** 'Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Ṣudā'ī shot an arrow at 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. He put up his hand to protect himself [and the arrow transfixed his hand to his forehead]. He could not move his hand. Then another arrow was shot at him, which split his heart.[1]

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[1] For example, the accounts in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (vol. 3, p. 407) and *al-Irshād* (vol. 2, p. 107).

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السّلام على القتيل ابن القتيل، عبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل، ولعن الله قاتله عامر بن صعصعة، وقيل: أسد بن مالك.

[3] According to popular opinion, the first martyr from the *Ahl al-Bayt* (a) was 'Ali al-Akbar (a). It can be surmised that 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim was possibly the first to be martyred after him.

[4] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 26; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 110.

لمّا قُتل أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام ولم يبق إلّا أهل بيته، وهم ولد عليّ، وولد جعفر، وولد عقيل، وولد الحسن، وولده، اجتمعوا وودّع بعضهم بعضاً وعزموا على الحرب.

فأوّل من خرج من أهل بيته عبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل، خرج... ثمّ حمل فقاتل وقتل جماعة ثمّ قُتل.

411. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** Al-Mukhtār also sent 'Abd Allāh al-Shākirī to [capture] a man from the [Yemeni] tribe of Jinnah, by the name of Zayd ibn Ruqād, who used to boast, "I shot one of their young men with an arrow. He had put up his arm to [protect] his forehead from the arrows; one of them transfixed his hand to his forehead, and he could not remove his hand from his forehead."

Abū Mikhnaf reports that Abū 'Abd al-A'lā al-Zubaydī told him that that young man was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. When his hand was fixed to his forehead, he said, "O God, they have belittled us and humiliated us. O God, kill them, just as they have killed us, and humiliate them, just as they have humiliated us."

Then he [Zayd] shot another arrow at the young man and killed him. He used to say, "I came to him when he was dead and pulled out from his chest the arrow with which I had killed him. Then I retrieved the arrow from his forehead by working it loose, but the arrowhead remained embedded in his forehead, and I could not pull it free."[2]

8/2: Ja'far ibn 'Aqīl

Ja'far was another son of 'Aqīl ibn Abū Ṭālib, and the *kunyah* of his mother was Umm Thaghar, or, according to some reports, Umm al-Baṣīn. Like his brother Muslim, he too was a son-in-law of Imam ʿAlī (a). According to *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, he was 23 years old at the time of his martyrdom.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 447; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 570.

إنّ عمرو بن صبيح الصدائي رمى عبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل بسهم فوضع كفّه على جبهته، فأخذ لا يستطيع
أن يحرّك كفّيه، ثمّ انتحى له بسهم آخر ففلق قلبه.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 64; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 407.

بعث المختار أيضاً عبد الله الشاكري إلى رجل من جنب يقال له زيد بن رقاد، كان يقول: لقد رميت
فتى منهم بسهم وإنّه لواضع كفّه على جبهته يتّقي النبل، فأثبتّ كفّه في جبهته فما استطاع أن يزيل
كفّه عن جبهته.

قال أبو مخنف: فحدّثني أبو عبد الأعلى الزبيدي أنّ ذلك الفتى عبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل، وإنّه قال
حيث أثبت كفّه في جبهته: اللهمّ إنّهم استقلّونا واستذلّونا، اللهمّ فاقتلهم كما قتلونا، وأذلّهم كما استذلّونا.
ثمّ إنّه رمى الغلام بسهم آخر فقتله، فكان يقول: جئته ميّتاً فنزعت سهمي الذي قتلته به من جوفه، فلم
أزل أنضنض السهم من جبهته حتّى نزعته، وبقي النصل في جبهته مثبتاً ما قدرت على نزعه.

His name has been mentioned in both *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on Jaʿfar ibn ʿAqīl. May God curse the one who shot and killed him, Bishr ibn Khawṭ al-Hamdānī."[2]

412. *al-Futūḥ*: After ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim, Jaʿfar ibn ʿAqīl ibn Abū Ṭālib went to the battlefield... He attacked and fought the enemy until he was martyred, may God have mercy on him.[3]

8/3: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAqīl

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAqīl was also a son-in-law of Imam ʿAlī (a). The name of his wife was Khadījah. He was so tall that, according to *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, he used to be called the "lance (*rumḥ*) of the household of ʿAqīl".[4] At the time of his martyrdom, he was thirty-five years old.

His name has been mentioned in both *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAqīl. May God curse the one who shot and killed him, ʿUmar ibn Khālid ibn Asad al-Juhanī."[5]

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[1] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 411.

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على جعفر بن عقيل، لعن الله قاتله ورامیه بشر بن خوط الهمداني.

[3] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 111; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 28.

فخرج من بعده (أي بعد عبد الله بن مسلم) جعفر بن عقيل بن أبي طالب... ثم حمل فقاتل حتى قتل رحمة الله.

[4] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 260.

[5] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على عبد الرحمن بن عقيل، لعن الله قاتله ورامیه عمر بن خالد بن أسد الجهني.

413. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Then, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Aqīl came forward... He killed seventeen horsemen. He was martyred by 'Uthmān ibn Khālid al-Juhanī.[1]

8/4: 'Abd Allāh al-Akbar ibn 'Aqīl

Another son of 'Aqīl who was martyred in Karbala was called 'Abd Allāh. His was age 33 at the time of his martyrdom.

His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* but not in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*.[2]

8/5: Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn 'Aqīl

Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd, referred to as Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Aqīl in some reports, was another member of the household of 'Aqīl who was martyred in Karbala.

The author of *Lubāb al-Ansāb* mentions that he was 25 years old at the time.[3]

His name has been mentioned in both *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah* and *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*. In *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*, he has been addressed as follows: "Peace be on Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn 'Aqīl, and may God curse his killer, Laqīṭ ibn Nāshir al-Juhanī."[4]

414. *al-Irshād*: The names of the seventeen individuals from the household of al-Ḥusayn (a) who were martyred on the plains of Karbala are... and Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn 'Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, may God's mercy be on all of them.[5]

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 105; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 111.

ثمّ برز عبد الرحمن بن عقيل... فقتل سبعة عشر فارساً، قتله عثمان بن خالد الجهني.

[2] In *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*, his name has been mentioned through a report found in *al-Mazār* (p. 149) of Shahīd al-Awwal.

[3] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 402.

[4] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73.

السلام على محمّد بن أبي سعيد بن عقيل، ولعن الله قاتله لقيط بن ناشر الجهني.

[5] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 125; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, vol. 2, p. 309.

أسماء من قُتل مع الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام من أهل بيته بطفّ كربلاء، وهم سبعة عشر نفساً... ومحمّد بن أبي سعيد بن عقيل بن أبي طالب رحمة الله عليهم أجمعين.

415. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: It has been reported that Muhammad ibn [Abi] Sa'id al-Ahwal ibn 'Aqil went out to fight. He was killed by Laqit ibn Yāsir al-Juhani, who shot an arrow into his side.[1]

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 106.

رُوِيَ أَنَّهُ قَاتَلَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ [أَبِي] سَعِيدٍ الْأَحْوَلِ بْنِ عَقِيلٍ، فَقَتَلَهُ لَقِيطُ بْنُ يَاسِرٍ الْجُهَنِيُّ رَمَاهُ بِنَبْلٍ فِي جَنْبِهِ.

PART 9: THE MARTYRDOM OF THE CHIEF OF MARTYRS (A)

9/1: The Imam (a) asks for clothes that no one would want to steal from his body

426. *al-Malhuf*:[1] Imam al-Husayn (a) said, "Bring me a garment which would not be desired by anyone. I shall wear it under my clothes, so that they [the enemy] do not plunder my body." A pair of shorts was brought. He [rejected it and] said, "That is a garment of the disgraced." [Instead] he took an old garment and made holes in it, before putting it on under his clothes. But when he was killed, they plundered even this from him (a).

... Then the Imam (a) called for a pair of Yemeni cotton (*hibarah*) trousers, which he ripped before he put them on. He tore them so that the enemy would not touch them, but after he was killed, they were taken by Bahr ibn Ka'b, may God curse him – and he left al-Husayn (a) in this manner.

Afterwards, the hands of Bahr would become like withered sticks in the summer and become full of purulent and bloody sores in the winter, until God, the Almighty, caused him to perish.

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[1] *al-Malhuf*, p. 174.

قال الحسين عليه السلام: ابغوني ثوباً لا يرغب فيه أجعله تحت ثيابي لئلا أجرّد منه. فأتي بتبّان، فقال: لا، ذاك لباس من ضربت عليه الذلّة. فأخذ ثوباً خلقاً فخرقه وجعله تحت ثيابه، فلما قتل جرّدوه منه عليه السلام.

ثمّ استدعى عليه السلام بسراويل من حبرة ففزرها ولبسها، وإنّما فزرها لئلا يسلبها، فلما قتل سلبها بحر بن كعب لعنة الله وترك الحسين عليه السلام مجرّداً.

فكانت يدا بحر بعد ذلك تيبسان في الصيف كأنّهما عودان يابسان، وتترطّبان في الشتاء فتنضحان دماً وقيحاً إلى أن أهلكه الله تعالى.

417. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Then, the Imam (a) said, "Bring me a garment that would not be desired by anyone, which I can wear under my clothes, so that it may not be taken; for indeed I will be killed, and my body plundered." They brought him a pair of shorts, but he refused to wear them and said, "This is a garment of the non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimmah*)."[1] Then, they brought something longer, not as long as trousers, and not as small as shorts, and he put that on.[2]

9/2: The farewell of the Imam (a) to the ladies

417. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Then al-Husayn (a) bade farewell to the ladies. Sukaynah was sobbing loudly, and he hugged her to his chest and said:

> You should know, O Sukaynah, that after me,
> Your tears will be prolonged, when death claims me.
> Do not burn my heart with your tears of anguish,
> While my soul still resides in my body.
> But after I am killed, you will have more right,
> To weep over me, O best of women.[3]

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[1] *Ahl al-dhimmah* refers to the disbelievers who live under the protection of a Muslim government. However, when looking at other sources, it is clear that this has been emended from the original, which was *ahl al-dhillah* (the disgraced).

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 109.

ثُمَّ قالَ الإِمامُ الحُسَينُ عليه السلام: ايتوني بِثَوبٍ لا يَرغَبُ فيهِ أحَدٌ أجعَلُهُ تَحتَ ثِيابي لا اُجَرَّدُ، فَإِنّي مَقتولٌ مَسلوبٌ. فَأَتَوهُ بِتُبّانٍ فَأَبى أن يَلبَسَهُ وقالَ: هذا لِباسُ أهلِ الذِّمَّةِ. ثُمَّ أتَوهُ بِشَيءٍ أوسَعَ مِنهُ دونَ السَّراويلِ وفَوقَ التُّبّانِ، فَلَبِسَهُ.

[3] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 109.

ثُمَّ وَدَّعَ الحُسَينُ عليه السلام النِّساءَ، وكانَت سُكَينَةُ تَصيحُ فَضَمَّها إلى صَدرِهِ وقالَ:

سَيَطولُ بَعدي يا سُكَينَةُ فَاعلَمي   مِنكِ البُكاءُ إذَا الحِمامُ دَهاني
لا تُحرِقي قَلبي بِدَمعِكِ حَسرَةً   ما دامَ مِنِّي الرّوحُ في جُثماني
وإذا قُتِلتُ فَأَنتِ أولى بِالَّذي   تَأتينَهُ يا خِيَرَةَ النِّسوانِ

9/3: The last testaments of the Imam (a)

429. ***Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*****:** Then he called for 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), who was ill at the time. He made his last bequests to him, including revealing to him the Greatest Name of God (*al-ism al-a'ẓam*) and the heritage of the prophets. He informed him that he had deposited certain works of knowledge, manuscripts, divine scriptures, and armaments with Umm Salamah, may God be pleased with her, and had instructed her to turn all these over to him.[1]

430. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): When death approached [my father] 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), he hugged me to his chest, and said, "O son! I leave to you what was bequeathed to me by my father (a) in his last moments, and the knowledge that his own father (a) had passed on to him."

Then he said, "O son, beware lest you behave unjustly with someone who has no supporter against you except God!"[2]

431. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): When death approached [my father] 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), he hugged me to his chest, and said, "O son! I leave to you that which was bequeathed to me by father (a) in his last moments, and the knowledge that his own father (a) had passed on to him." Then he said, "O son, always be steadfast on the truth, no matter how bitter it is."[3]

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[1] *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*, p. 177.

ثمّ أحضر عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام وكان عليلاً، فأوصى إليه بالاسم الأعظم ومواريث الأنبياء عليهم السلام، وعرّفه أنّه قد دفع العلوم والصحف والمصاحف والسلاح إلى أمّ سلمة رضي الله عنها، وأمرها أن تدفع جميع ذلك إليه.

[2] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 331; *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 16.

لمّا حضر عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام الوفاة ضمّني إلى صدره، ثمّ قال،

يا بنيّ أوصيك بما أوصاني به أبي عليه السلام حين حضرته الوفاة وبما ذكر أنّ أباه عليه السلام أوصاه به قال، يا بنيّ إيّاك وظلم من لا يجد عليك ناصراً إلّا الله.

[3] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 91; *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, p. 58.

لمّا حضرت أبي عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام الوفاة ضمّني إلى صدره وقال،

يا بنيّ أوصيك بما أوصاني به أبي عليه السلام حين حضرته الوفاة وبما ذكر أنّ أباه عليه السلام أوصاه به، يا بنيّ اصبر على الحقّ وإن كان مرّاً.

9/4: The last call of the Imam (a) for support, as a completion of proof (*itmām al-ḥujjah*)

422. *al-Malhūf*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw that his young men and beloved friends had all been martyred, he prepared himself to face the enemy. [First] he called out, "Is there anyone who will come to defend the family of God's Messenger (s)? Is there any believer who fears God with regards to our rights? Is there any rescuer who will come to our aid for the sake of God? Is there any helper who desires God's reward for supporting us!"

[On hearing his call] the sound of wailing rose from the women.[1]

423. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw that just a few members of his family and companions remained alive, he rose and called out, "Is there anyone who will defend the family of God's Messenger (s)? Is there any believer? Is there any rescuer? Is there any helper?" [At these words] the people began to weep loudly.[2]

424. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: Then al-Ḥusayn (a) looked to his right and left, but saw none of his men [alive]. At that time, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) came forth. He was Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, younger than his brother ʿAlī, who had [already] been martyred. The household of Muhammad (s) later continued through his progeny.

He was very ill at the time and could not hold a sword. Umm Kulthūm called out from behind him, "My son, come back!"

He replied, "Dear aunt, let me fight in defence of the son of God's Messenger."

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 168; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 32.

لما رأى الحسين عليه السلام مصارع فتيانه وأحبته، عزم على لقاء القوم بمهجته ونادى: هل من ذابّ يذبّ
عن حرم رسول الله؟ هل من موحّد يخاف الله فينا؟ هل من مغيث يرجو الله بإغاثتنا؟ هل من معين
يرجو ما عند الله في إعانتنا؟ فارتفعت أصوات النساء بالعويل.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 70.

فلما رأى الحسين عليه السلام أنه لم يبق من عشيرته وأصحابه إلا القليل، فقام ونادى: هل من ذابّ عن
حرم رسول الله؟ هل من موحّد؟ هل من مغيث؟ هل من معين؟ فضجّ الناس بالبكاء.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O Umm Kulthūm. Take him and return him [to the tent], lest no successor from the household of Muḥammad (s) remain alive on this earth."[1]

9/5: The individual battle of the Imam (a) against the enemy

425. *al-Irshād*: When no more than three family members remained at the side of al-Ḥusayn (a), he went out to fight against the enemy, driving them away from him. The three men supported him until they were martyred, leaving the Imam (a) alone. Wounds covered his head and body, but he continued to attack the enemy by himself, scattering them right and left.

Ḥumayd ibn Muslim remarks, "By God, I had never seen such resolve! His children, family, and companions had already been killed, yet he fought with great courage and was not dispirited in the least. Whenever the foot-soldiers attacked him, he fought them back with his sword, scattering them to the right and left, like a wolf attacking goats."[2]

426. *al-Malhūf*: The narrator says: Then al-Ḥusayn (a) challenged the enemy to single combat. He killed every opponent that came against him, until he had killed many of them. He was reciting:

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[1] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 32; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 46.

ثم التفت الحسين عليه السلام عن يمينه وشماله فلم ير أحداً من الرجال، فخرج علي بن الحسين عليه السلام وهو زين العابدين عليه السلام، وهو أصغر من أخيه علي القتيل، وكان مريضاً، وهو الذي نسل آل محمد عليهم السلام، فكان لا يقدر على حمل سيفه، وأم كلثوم تنادي خلفه: يا بني ارجع، فقال: يا عمتاه، ذريني أقاتل بين يدي ابن رسول الله، فقال الحسين عليه السلام: يا أم كلثوم، خذيه وارديه لئلا تبقى الأرض خالية من نسل آل محمد صلى الله عليه و آله.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 111; *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 468.

لما لم يبق مع الحسين عليه السلام أحد إلا ثلاثة رهط من أهله، أقبل على القوم يدفعهم عن نفسه والثلاثة يحمونه، حتى قتل الثلاثة وبقي وحده، وقد أثخن بالجراح في رأسه وبدنه، فجعل يضاربهم بسيفه وهم يتفرقون عنه يميناً وشمالاً.

فقال حميد بن مسلم: فوالله ما رأيت مكثوراً قط، قد قتل ولده، وأهل بيته وأصحابه، أربط جأشاً ولا أمضى جناناً منه عليه السلام، إن كانت الرجالة لتشد عليه فيشد عليها بسيفه، فتنكشف عن يمينه وشماله انكشاف المعزى إذا شد فيها الذئب.

Death is better than shame,
But shame is better than entering the hellfire.

A reporter has said: By God, I had never seen such resolve! His children, family, and companions had already been killed, yet he fought with great courage and was not dispirited in the least. The soldiers kept attacking him, but he fought them back with his sword, scattering them to the right and left, like a wolf attacking goats. He continued charging their ranks, and although they numbered 30,000, they dispersed before him as if they were scattering locusts.

Then he returned to his position, while reciting, "There is no power and ability except with God, the Great, the Almighty!"[1]

427. *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra (al-tabaqat al-khamisah min al-sahabah)*: After his companions and family members had been martyred, al-Husayn (a) withstood the enemy alone for a portion of the day. Whenever someone approached him, he would force him to retreat, until the foot-soldiers surrounded him. We had never seen such determination; he fought with great courage. He attacked them like a valiant knight; wherever he charged, he scattered them like a lion attacking goats.[2]

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[1] *al-Malhuf*, p. 170; *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 71.

قال الراوي: ثمّ إنّ الحسين عليه السلام دعا الناس إلى البراز، فلم يزل يقتل كلّ من برز إليه، حتى قتل مقتلة عظيمة، وهو في ذلك يقول:

القتل أولى من ركوب العار والعار أولى من دخول النار

قال بعض الرواة: والله ما رأيت مكثورا قطّ، قد قتل ولده وأهل بيته وأصحابه، أربط جأشا منه، وإنّ الرجال كانت لتشدّ عليه فيشدّ عليها بسيفه، فتنكشف عنه انكشاف المعزى إذا شدّ فيها الذئب، ولقد كان يحمل فيهم وقد تكمّلوا ثلاثين ألفا فيهزمون بين يديه كأنّهم الجراد المنتشر، ثمّ يرجع إلى مركزه وهو يقول: لا حول ولا قوّة إلّا بالله العليّ العظيم.

[2] *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra / al-tabaqat al-khamisah min al-sahabah*, vol. 1, p. 473; *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, vol. 3, p. 302.

لمّا قتل أصحابه وأهل بيته بقي الحسين عليه السلام عامّة النهار لا يقدم عليه أحد إلّا انصرف، حتى أحاطت به الرجّالة. فما رأيت مكثورا قطّ أربط جأشا منه، إن كان ليقاتلهم قتال الفارس الشجاع، وإن كان ليشدّ عليهم فينكشفون عنه انكشاف المعزى شدّ فيها الأسد.

428. *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl*: Then al-Ḥusayn (a) called the enemy to single combat. He continued to fight and kill every opponent who came against him, until he had killed many of them, including several of their notable warriors.... He was like a raging lion; whenever he attacked anyone, his sword felled them to the ground.[1]

429. *al-Futūḥ*: Then al-Ḥusayn (a) called the enemy to single combat. He continued to kill every opponent who came against him, until he had killed a great number of them, including several of their notable warriors.

Then Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, may God curse him, advanced with a huge force. Al-Ḥusayn (a) attacked them all and they fought back... then he charged into them like an enraged lion. Whomever he struck with his sword was felled to the ground.

Arrows were shot at him from every direction, some striking his chest and throat. He was saying, "O evil nation! After his passing, how wretchedly you have behaved with the nation and family of Muhammad. After me, you will never be afraid to kill another servant from the servants of God; rather, it will seem a trivial matter to you once you have killed me. By God, I hope that God will honour me by humiliating you, and avenge me in a manner that you will not be able to predict."

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Numayr al-Sakūnī shouted to him, "O son of Fāṭimah! And how would He avenge you against us?"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "He will cause you to fight amongst yourselves and spill each other's blood; and then He will subject you to a terrible chastisement."[2]

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[1] *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl*, p. 73; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 232.

ثمّ دعا الحسين عليه السلام الناس إلى البراز، فلم يزل يقاتل ويقتل كلّ من برز إليه منهم من عيون الرجال، حتّى قتل منهم مقتلة كبيرة... هذا وهو كالليث المغضب، لا يحمل على أحد منهم إلّا نفحه بسيفه فألحقه بالحضيض.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 117; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 34.

ثمّ إنّ الحسين عليه السلام دعا إلى البراز، فلم يزل يقتل كلّ من خرج إليه من عيون الرجال، حتّى قتل منهم مقتلة عظيمة.

430. ***al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb:** Then al-Husayn (a) attacked the right wing [of the enemy] and recited:

> Death is better than shame,
> But shame is better than entering the hellfire.

Then he attacked the left wing [of the enemy], reciting:

> I am al-Husayn ibn 'Alī,
> The defender of the family of my father.
> I have sworn never to surrender
> As I travel on the path of the Prophet (s).

He carried on fighting until he had killed 1,950 men and wounded a number of others.[1]

'Umar ibn Sa'd told his men, "Woe unto you! Do you know who you are fighting against? This is the son of the bald, pot-bellied one.[2] This is the son of the killer of the Arabs. Attack him from every direction!"

قال: وتقدّم الشمر بن ذي الجوشن لعنه الله في قبيلة عظيمة، فقاتلهم الحسين عليه السلام بأجمعهم وقاتلوه... وحمل عليهم الحسين عليه السلام وقد اشتدّ به العطش، فجعل لا يحمل أحداً إلّا نفحه بسيفه نفحة ألحقه بالأرض، والسهام تأخذه من كلّ ناحية، وهو يتلقّاها بنحره وصدره، وهو يقول: يا أمّة السوء فبئس ما أخلفتم محمّداً في عترته، أما إنّكم لن تقتلوا بعدي عبداً من عباد الله الصالحين فتهابوا قتله، بل يهون عليكم عند قتلكم إيّاي، وايم الله إنّي لأرجو أن يكرمني الله بهوانكم، ثمّ ينتقم لي منكم من حيث لا تشعرون.

قال: فصاح به الحصين بن نمير السكوني فقال: يابن فاطمة وبماذا ينتقم لك منّا؟

فقال: يلقي بأسكم بينكم، ويسفك دماءكم، ثمّ يصبّ عليكم العذاب صبّاً.

[1] If it takes one minute to kill an individual, it would take over 32 hours to kill that many men. Taking into account the limitation of time, the huge enemy force, and the fact that the events in Karbala followed a natural and not supernatural course, it is difficult to accept the soundness of such reports, which talk of extraordinary numbers killed by the Imam (a) or members of his household.

[2] In its literal sense, *al-anzaʿ al-baṭīn* has this meaning, and has been used by Ibn Sa'd in a derogatory sense. However, this title has been given to the Imam (a) by the Prophet (s) with a different meaning: receding (*anzaʿ*) from polytheism, and filled (*baṭīn*) with knowledge. [Trans.]

Then they launched an attack on him with 180 lancers and 4,000 archers.[1]

5/6: The Imam (a) seeking water

431. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: The thirst of al-Ḥusayn (a) became severe, and he sought to drink some water. As he brought the bowl to his mouth, al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr shot an arrow at him, which hit him in the mouth, preventing him from drinking the water. He dropped the bowl from his hand.

When he saw that the enemy had retreated some distance away from him, he rode over the river barrier towards the Euphrates. The enemy blocked his path to the water, so he withdrew to his previous position.[2]

432. *Akhbār al-Duwal wa Āthār al-Uwal*: His thirst became severe, but they were blocking his way. He managed to get some water, but when he was about to drink it, al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamim shot an arrow which hit him in the throat, and the water became mixed with blood...'[1]

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 110; also, see *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*, p. 178.

ثم حمل عليه السلام على الميمنة وقال:

الموت خير من ركوب العار   والعار أولى من دخول النار

ثم حمل على الميسرة وقال:

أنا الحسين بن علي   أحمي عيالات أبي
آليت أن لا أنثني   أمضي على دين النبي

ولم يزل يقاتل حتى قتل ألفا وتسعمائة وخمسين سوى المجروحين.

فقال عمر بن سعد لقومه: الويل لكم! أتدرون من تبارزون؟ هذا ابن الأنزع البطين، هذا ابن قتال العرب، فاحملوا عليه من كل جانب.

فحملوا بالطعن مئة وثمانين، وأربعة آلاف بالسهام.

[2] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 258; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2619.

فعطش الحسين عليه السلام فدعا بقدح من ماء، فلما وضعه في فيه رماه الحصين بن نمير بسهم فدخل فمه، وحال بينه وبين شرب الماء، فوضع القدح من يده.

ولما رأى القوم قد انحسروا عنه قام يتمشى على المسناة نحو الفرات، فحالوا بينه وبين الماء، فانصرف إلى موضعه الذي كان فيه.

433. *Muthir al-Aḥzan*: Then they focused their attention on al-Ḥusayn (a), and their attacks left him covered in arrows and wounds. He sought water but could not access any. He had seventy-two wounds on his body.[2]

434. *al-Futūḥ*: Then the enemy turned their attention to him; he continuously attacked them, and they attacked him. During this time, he tried to get some water to drink, but every time he fought his way towards the Euphrates, they redoubled their attack, determined to prevent him from the river.[3]

9/7: The shower of arrows

435. *al-Irshād*: When Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan saw the courage of al-Ḥusayn (a), he summoned the horsemen to stand behind the foot-soldiers, and ordered the archers to shoot at him. They showered so many arrows at him that his body began to resemble a porcupine. The Imam (a) retreated, and they took position in front of him.[4]

436. *al-Futūḥ*: Arrows began to fly at al-Ḥusayn (a) from every direction, hitting his chest and throat. He was saying, "O evil nation!

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[1] *Akhbār al-Duwal wa Āthār al-Uwal*, vol. 1, p. 322.

اشتدّ العطش به (أي بالحسين عليه السلام) الشريف، فجيء له بشربة ماء، فلمّا أهوى ليشرب رماه حصين
بن تميم بسهم في حلقه، فصار الماء دماً...

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 73.

ثمّ قصدوه (أي الحسين عليه السلام) بالحرب، وجعلوه شلواً من كثرة الطعن والضرب، وهو يسأل شربة
من ماء فلا يجد، وقد أصابته اثنتان وسبعون جراحة.

[3] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 117.

فحمل عليه القوم بالحرب، فلم يزل يحمل عليهم ويحملون عليه وهو في ذلك يطلب الماء ليشرب منه
شربة، فكلّما حمل بفرسه على الفرات، حملوا عليه حتى أحالوه عن الماء.

[4] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 111; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 208.

فلمّا رأى ذلك (أي شجاعة الحسين عليه السلام) شمر بن ذي الجوشن استدعى الفرسان فصاروا في ظهور
الرجّالة، وأمر الرماة أن يرموه، فرشقوه بالسهام حتّى صار كالقنفذ، فأحجم عنهم فوقفوا بإزائه.

How wretchedly you have behaved with the nation and family of Muḥammad."[1]

437. *al-Manāqib* **of Ibn Shahr Āshūb:** Arrows jutted out from the armour of al-Ḥusayn (a) like the spines of a porcupine. It has also been reported that all the arrows had hit him on his front.[2]

9/8: An arrow that lodged in the forehead of the Imam (a)

438. *al-Futūḥ:* Every time al-Ḥusayn (a) attempted to fight his way to the Euphrates, they attacked him and prevented him from access to the water. Then one of the enemy, by the name of Abū al-Ḥutūf al-Ju'fī, shot an arrow that lodged in his forehead. Al-Ḥusayn (a) removed the arrow and threw it away; blood began to drench his face and beard.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O God, You are witness to my plight at the hands of these disobedient and oppressive servants of Yours. O God, call each of them to account, let them perish in desolation, leave none of them alive [for long] on the face of the earth, and never forgive them."[3]

439. *Tārīkh Dimashq,* **quoting Muslim ibn Ribāḥ, a freedman of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a):** On the day he was martyred, I was with al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a). When an arrow struck his face, he turned to me and said, "O Muslim, place your hands under the flow of blood." I did so, and when my hands were full [of blood], he said, "Pour it into my hand."

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 118; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 34.

والسهام تأخذه [أي الحسين عليه السلام] من كلّ ناحية، وهو يتّقيها بصدره ونحره وهو يقول: يا أمّة السوء، لبئسما أخلفتم محمّداً في أمّته وعترته.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 111; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 52.

كانت السهام في درعه كالشوك في جلد القنفذ. ورُوي أنّها كانت كلّها في مقدّمه.

[3] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 117; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 34.

فلمّا حمل الحسين عليه السلام بنفسه على الفرات حملوا عليه حتّى أحالوه عن الماء، ثمّ رمى رجل منهم بسهم يكنّى أبا الحتوف الجعفي، فوقع السهم في جبهته، فنزع الحسين عليه السلام السهم فرمى به، فسال الدماء على وجهه ولحيته.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: اللهمّ إنّك ترى ما أنا فيه من عبادك هؤلاء العصاة العتاة، اللهمّ فأحصهم عدداً، واقتلهم بدداً، ولا تذر على وجه الأرض منهم أحداً، ولا تغفر لهم أبداً.

I did so, and he threw the blood to the skies and said, "O God, avenge the blood of the son of the daughter of Your Prophet."

Muslim said, "Not a drop [of that blood] fell back to the earth."[1]

9/9: An arrow that struck the chest of the Imam (a)

440. ***Maqtal al-Husayn* of Khwārizmī:** Then al-Husayn (a), fatigued from battle, stopped to rest. Suddenly a rock came and struck him on his forehead, causing blood to flow. As he wiped the blood from his forehead with his shirt, he was shot with a sharp poisoned arrow that had three prongs. It lodged in his heart.[2]

Al-Husayn (a) began to recite, "In the Name of God, and by God, and upon the religion of Muhammad." Then he raised his head to the heavens and cried, "O God! You know that they are killing a man, other than whom there is no other son of a Prophet on the face of the earth." Then he grasped the arrow and pushed it out through his back. A shower of blood poured out of the wound; he placed his hand on the wound, and when it became full of blood, he threw it to the skies and not a single drop came back down.... Then, he placed his hand on the wound for a second time, and this time when it filled with blood, he wiped it over his head and beard, saying, "By God, I will remain in this state until I meet my grandfather Muhammad, while my hair is dyed with my blood, and I will say, 'O Messenger of God, so-and-so killed me.'"[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 223; *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, p. 431.

كنت مع الحسين بن علي عليه السلام يوم قُتل، فرمي في وجهه بنشابة، فقال لي: يا مسلم أدن يديك من الدم، فأدنيتهما، فلما امتلأتا قال: اسكبه في يدي، فسكبته في يده، فنفح بهما إلى السماء وقال: اللهم اطلب بدم ابن بنت نبيك. قال مسلم: فما وقع منه إلى الأرض قطرة.

[2] This part of the report means to say that the arrow struck the area near the heart, but not the heart itself. For instance, in the account reported by Ibn Shahr Āshūb in his *al-Manāqib* (vol. 4, p. 111), it is mentioned that the arrow struck his chest.

Obviously, if the arrow had struck his heart, his later actions, which are mentioned in many reliable reports, would not have occurred.

441. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) halted, weakened as a result of [wounds inflicted during] the battle. Then he was struck by a rock which split open his forehead, and was struck in the heart by a poisoned, three-pronged arrow.

He began to recite, "In the Name of God, and upon the religion of the Messenger of God (s)." Then he raised his head to the heavens and cried out, "O God! You know that they are killing the son of the daughter of their Prophet." Then he pushed the arrow out through his back and collapsed on the earth, weakened by the great loss of blood [from the wound].[2]

9/10: An arrow that struck the throat of the Imam (a)

442. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) looked to his right and left, but did not see anyone [who could support him]. Then

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 34; *al-Malhūf*, p. 172.

فوقف الحسين (عليه السلام) يستريح وقد ضعف عن القتال، فبينما هو واقف إذ أتاه حجر فوقع على جبهته فسالت الدماء من جبهته، فأخذ الثوب ليمسح عن جبهته، فأتاه سهم محدد مسموم له ثلاث شعب فوقع في قلبه.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: بسم الله وبالله، وعلى ملة رسول الله. ورفع رأسه إلى السماء وقال: إلهي إنك تعلم أنهم يقتلون رجلا ليس على وجه الأرض ابن نبي غيره. ثم أخذ السهم وأخرجه من وراء ظهره، فانبعث الدم كالميزاب، فوضع يده على الجرح فلما امتلأت دما رمى بها إلى السماء فما رجع من ذلك قطرة... ثم وضع يده على الجرح ثانية فلما امتلأت لطخ بها رأسه ولحيته، وقال: هكذا والله أكون حتى ألقى جدي محمدا وأنا مخضوب بدمي، وأقول: يا رسول الله قتلني فلان وفلان.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 73.

فوقف الحسين عليه السلام؛ وقد ضعف عن القتال، أتاه حجر على جبهته فشجها، ثم أتاه سهم ذو ثلاث شعب مسموم، فوقع على قلبه.

فقال: بسم الله وعلى ملة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، ثم رفع رأسه إلى السماء وقال: إلهي إنك تعلم أنهم يقتلون ابن بنت نبيهم، ثم ضعف من كثرة انبعاث الدم بعد إخراج السهم من وراء ظهره، وهو ملقى في الأرض.

he raised his head to the heavens and cried out, "O God! You see what they are doing to the son of Your Prophet."

The men of the tribe of Banū Kilāb blocked his path to the river. An arrow was shot at him, and it lodged in his throat. He fell from his horse. He removed the arrow and threw it aside. He began to gather his blood in his hand, and when it was full, he wiped it on his head and beard, while saying, "I shall meet God, the Almighty [in this manner], having been treated unjustly, and with my face covered in my own blood."[1]

443. *al-Durr al-Naẓīm:* Al-Ḥusayn (a) received a wound on his throat [from an arrow that struck him]. He placed his hand under the wound, and when it was filled [with blood], he said, "O God, indeed, You are a witness." Then he placed his hand at the wound once more, and when it was filled, he said, "O God, this is nothing for Your sake."[2]

444. *al-Irshād:* Al-Ḥusayn (a) rode over the river barrier, intending to get to the Euphrates.

His brother, al-ʿAbbās, rode with him. The horsemen of Ibn Saʿd, amongst whom was a man of the Banū Dārim, blocked his way. He said to his fellows, "Woe unto you! Stand before him and the Euphrates, and do not allow him access to the water."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O God, let him be ever thirsty." This enraged the Dārimī, and he shot an arrow at the Imam (a), which struck him under his throat.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) pulled out the arrow and placed his hand under his throat. His palms filled with blood. He threw the blood upwards and said, "O God, I complain to You about what is being done to the son of the daughter of Your Prophet." Then, he withdrew to his former position; his thirst became more intense.[1]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 226, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 321.

نظر الحسين عليه السلام يمينا وشمالا ولا يرى أحدا، فرفع رأسه إلى السماء، فقال: اللهم إنك ترى ما يصنع بولد نبيك.

وحالت بنو كلاب بينه وبين الماء، ورمي بسهم فوقع في نحره، وخر عن فرسه، فأخذ السهم فرمى به، وجعل يتلقى الدم بكفه، فلما امتلأت لطخ بها رأسه ولحيته، وهو يقول: ألقى الله عز وجل وأنا مظلوم متلطخ بدمي.

[2] *al-Durr al-Naẓīm*, p. 551.

لما أصاب الحسين عليه السلام جرح في حلقه وهو يضع يده تحته فلما امتلأت قال: اللهم إنك ترى أو لشهيد، فلما امتلأت قال: اللهم إن هذا فيك قليل.

445. *al-Futūḥ*: Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakha'ī shot an arrow towards al-Ḥusayn (a) which struck him on the throat. Then Ṣāliḥ ibn Wahab al-Yazanī thrust a spear into his side, causing al-Ḥusayn (a) to fall from his horse onto the ground. Then he sat up straight and pulled the arrow from his throat. He cupped his hands at the wound, and as they became filled with blood, he would keep wiping them over his head and beard, saying, "I will remain this way, until I meet my Lord, bloody and usurped of my right."[2]

9/11: An arrow that struck the mouth of the Imam (a)

446. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) grew thirsty and sought means to quench his thirst. They had no water with them, but then a man brought him some water to drink. At that time, al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm shot an arrow at him, which struck him in the mouth. Al-Ḥusayn (a) collected the blood in his hand, while he praised God.[3]

447. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, quoting Hishām ibn Muḥammad: Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm shot an arrow at him, which struck the mouth of al-Husayn (a). Blood began to pour from his lips. The Imam (a) wept, saying, "O God, I complain to you about what has been done to me, and to my brothers, my sons, and my family." Thereafter, his thirst became severe.[1]

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 109; *al-Malhūf*, p. 170.

ركب الحسين عليه السلام المسناة يريد الفرات وبين يديه العباس أخوه فاعترضته خيل ابن سعد وفيهم رجل من بني دارم، فقال لهم: ويلكم حولوا بينه وبين الفرات ولا تمكنوه من الماء.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: اللهم أظمئه، فغضب الدارمي ورماه بسهم فأثبته في حنكه، فانتزع الحسين عليه السلام السهم وبسط يده تحت حنكه فامتلأت راحتاه بالدم فرمى به ثم قال: اللهم إني أشكو إليك ما يفعل بابن بنت نبيك، ثم رجع إلى مكانه وقد اشتد به العطش.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 118.

ورماه (أي الإمام الحسين عليه السلام) سنان بن أنس النخعي بسهم فوقع السهم في نحره، وطعنه صالح بن وهب اليزني طعنة في خاصرته، فسقط الحسين عليه السلام عن فرسه إلى الأرض، واستوى قاعداً ونزع السهم من نحره، وقرن كفيه، فكلما امتلأتا من دمه خضب به رأسه ولحيته، وهو يقول: هكذا حتى ألقى ربي بدمي مغصوباً حقي.

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 472; *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 302.

448. *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā*, quoting a man from the Banu Kalb: Al-Husayn (a) called out, "Give us some water!" [Instead] a man shot an arrow at him that split the side of his mouth. The Imam (a) said, "May God never quench your thirst."

Later, the man became so thirsty that he immersed himself in the Euphrates. He kept drinking [unable to quench his thirst] until he died.[2]

449. *Mathīr al-Aḥzān*: Zurʿah ibn Abān ibn Dārim called out, "Block the path between him and the river." Then he shot an arrow that lodged in the throat of the Imam (a). The Imam (a) said, "O God, let him die thirsty, and never forgive him."

He was brought something to drink, but the blood mixed with it, and he could not drink. He collected the blood in his hands and threw it to the skies while he was saying those words.[3]

فعطش الحسين عليه السلام فاستسقى وليس معهم ماء فجاءه رجل بماء فتناوله ليشرب، فرماه حصين بن تميم بسهم فوقع في فيه، فجعل يتلقى الدم بيده ويحمد الله.

[1] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 252.

رماه (أي الحسين عليه السلام) حصين بن تميم بسهم فوقع في شفتيه، فجعل الدم يسيل من شفتيه وهو يبكي ويقول: اللهم إني أشكو إليك ما يفعل بي وبإخوتي وولدي وأهلي. ثم اشتد به العطش.

[2] *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā*, p. 146; *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 114.

صاح الحسين بن علي عليه السلام: اسقونا ماء، فرمى رجل بسهم فشق شدقه، فقال: لا أرواك الله، فعطش الرجل إلى أن رمى نفسه في الفرات فشرب حتى مات.

[3] *Mathīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 71.

قال زرعة بن أبان بن دارم: حولوا بينه وبين الماء، ورماه بسهم فأثبته في حلقه.

فقال عليه السلام: اللهم اقتله عطشاً ولا تغفر له أبداً، وكان قد أتي بشربة فحال الدم بينه وبين الشرب، فجعل يتلقى الدم ويقول - هكذا - إلى السماء.

9/12: The conversation of Zaynab (a) with 'Umar ibn Sa'd

450. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ammār: The sister of the Imam (a), Zaynab bint Fāṭimah, came out [of the tents]... She was saying, "May the skies fall down to the earth!" 'Umar ibn Sa'd had come close to al-Ḥusayn (a), so she said to him, "O 'Umar ibn Sa'd! Will Abū 'Abd Allāh be killed while you look on?"

The narrator says, "I can still see the tears of 'Umar soaking his cheeks and beard. Then he turned his face away from her."[1]

451. *al-Irshād*: His sister Zaynab (a) came to the doorway of the tent and called out to 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, "Shame on you, O 'Umar! Will Abū 'Abd Allāh be killed while you look on?" 'Umar did not say anything in reply, so she shouted, "Woe be to you all! Is there not a Muslim amongst you?" None of them answered her.[2]

9/13: The lament of Zaynab (a) at the martyrdom of her brother

452. *al-Malhūf*: Zaynab (a) came out of the doorway of the tents, crying out, "O my brother! O my leader! O my family! I wish the skies would fall down to the earth, and the mountains would crumble and scatter forth in the desert!"[3]

9/14 The attack on the tents

453. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Then Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan advanced with around ten Kufan soldiers towards the tents where al-Husayn's (a) women and provisions were housed. They came in front of the Imam (a) and blocked his path to his tents.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 452; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 35.

خرجت زينب ابنة فاطمة أخته [إلى أخيه الحسين عليه السلام]... وهي تقول: ليت السماء تطابقت على الأرض، وقد دنا عمر بن سعد من حسين عليه السلام، فقالت: يا عمر بن سعد، أيقتل أبو عبد الله وأنت تنظر إليه؟ قال: فكأني أنظر إلى دموع عمر وهي تسيل على خدّيه ولحيته، قال: وصرف بوجهه عنها.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 112; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 409.

خرجت أخته زينب إلى باب الفسطاط، فنادت عمر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص: ويحك يا عمر! أيقتل أبو عبد الله وأنت تنظر إليه؟! فلم يجبها عمر بشيء، فنادت: ويحكم أما فيكم مسلم؟! فلم يجبها أحد بشيء.

[3] *al-Malhūf*, p. 175; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 54.

خرجت زينب من باب الفسطاط وهي تنادي: وا أخاه، وا سيداه، وا أهل بيتاه، ليت السماء أطبقت على الأرض، وليت الجبال تدكدكت على السهل.

Al-Husayn (a) told them, "Woe unto you! If you have no religion, and you do not fear the Day of Return, then [at least] be free men in your worldly affairs, possessing a semblance of honour. Stop the rabble and ignorant among you from going towards my provisions and the women."

Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan replied, "That is for you to do, O son of Fatimah!"[1]

454. ***al-Fusul al-Muhimmah:*** Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan, may God curse him, approached with a group of their champions and seasoned warriors, and they stood between the Imam (a) and his camp, blocking him from returning back to the tents of the ladies.

They surrounded him from all sides, and a group of them rushed towards the tents of the women and children, intending to plunder them.

Al-Husayn (a) shouted to them, "Shame on you, O followers of Satan! Stop your madmen from going towards the women and children, for they have not fought against you."

Then Shimr, may God curse him, told his men, "Desist, and go after the man himself!"[2]

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[1] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 450; *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol. 3, p. 407.

أقبل شمر بن ذي الجوشن في نفر نحو من عشرة من رجالة أهل الكوفة قبل منزل الحسين عليه السلام الذي فيه ثقله وعياله، فمشى نحوه، فحالوا بينه وبين رحله.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: ويلكم إن لم يكن لكم دين وكنتم لا تخافون يوم المعاد، فكونوا في أمر دنياكم أحرارا ذوي أحساب، امنعوا رحلي وأهلي من طغامكم وجهالكم. فقال ابن ذي الجوشن: ذلك لك يا ابن فاطمة!

[2] *al-Fusul al-Muhimmah*, p. 192.

ساق الشمر بن ذي الجوشن - لعنه الله - بينه وبين الحرم والتجمع إليهم في جماعة من أبطالهم وشجعانهم واحتاطوا به. ثم عادت طائفة منهم تبادروا إلى الحرم والأطفال يريدون سلبهم.

فصاح الحسين عليه السلام: ويحكم يا شيعة الشيطان، كفوا سفهاءكم عن التعرض للنساء والأطفال، فإنهم لم يقاتلوا.

فقال الشمر لعنه الله: كفوا عنهم واقصدوا الرجل بنفسه.

9/15: The state of the Imam (a) in the last moments of his life

455. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather, Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): Then al-Ḥusayn (a) fell to the ground: he was lying on his left side. The enemies of God, Sinān ibn Anas al-Iyādī, and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan al-ʿĀmirī, may God curse them, approached him, accompanied by soldiers from al-Shām. They stood at the head of al-Ḥusayn (a).

Some of them asked the others, "What are you waiting for? Relieve [kill] the man!" Sinān ibn Anas al-Iyādī, may God curse him, came down, grabbed hold of the beard of al-Ḥusayn (a), and began to slice the throat of the Imam (a) with his sword, while saying, "By God, I will cut off your head, even though I know full well that you are the son of God's Messenger, and a man with the best of fathers and mothers!"[1]

456. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: A man from the tribe of Kindah, by the name of Mālik ibn al-Nusayr of the Banū Baddāʾ, approached al-Ḥusayn (a) and struck him on the head with his sword. The Imam (a) was wearing a cloak with a hood (*al-burnus*), and the sword cut through it, wounding his head. Blood filled the hood.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "May you never be able to eat or drink with this hand, and may God resurrect you in the company of the oppressors!" Then he discarded the [blood-soaked] cloak, placed a cap on his head, and replaced his turban. By this time, he had become tired and weakened.

The man of Kindah came and took away the cloak, which was made of silken material. Later, he brought it to his wife, Umm ʿAbd Allāh, the daughter of al-Ḥurr and the sister of Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥurr al-Baddiyy. He started to wash the blood off the cloak. His wife said to him, "Have you brought into my house what you stole from the son of the daughter of God's Messenger (s)? Get it away from me!" His friends used to say that he remained a pauper until he died because of his evil deed.[1]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 226, no. 239; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 321.

ثمّ خرّ الحسين عليه السلام على خدّه الأيسر صريعاً، وأقبل عدوّ الله سنان بن أنس الإيادي وشمر
بن ذي الجوشن العامري لعنهما الله في رجال من أهل الشام حتى وقفوا على رأس الحسين عليه السلام
فقال بعضهم لبعض: ما تنتظرون؟ أريحوا الرجل. فنزل سنان بن أنس الإيادي لعنه الله وأخذ بلحية
الحسين عليه السلام، وجعل يضرب بالسيف في حلقه وهو يقول: والله إنّي لأحتزّ رأسك، وأنا أعلم أنّك
ابن رسول الله وخير الناس أباً وأمّاً

457. *al-Irshād*: Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan called out to the horsemen and foot-soldiers, "Woe unto you all, why are you hesitating with this man? May your mothers weep over you!"

Then he was attacked from every direction. Zurʿah ibn Sharīk struck his left hand and severed it. Another man struck him on the shoulder, causing him to fall from his horse to the ground. Sinān ibn Anas then thrust his spear into him, pinning him to the ground. Then Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, may God curse him, came rushing in and got off his horse, intending to sever his head. However, he began to tremble. Shimr said to him, "May God crush your arm, why are your shaking!"

Then Shimr dismounted and beheaded him, and gave the [sacred] head to Khawlī ibn Yazīd, saying, "Carry it to the commander, ʿUmar ibn Saʿd."[2]

458. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: Al-Ḥusayn (a) remained in the battlefield for a long part of the day. If the people had desired to kill him, they could have done so, but each of them was avoiding the task, preferring that someone else should do the deed.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 448; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 408.

ثمّ إنّ رجلا من كندة يقال له مالك بن النسير من بني بداء، أتاه (إلى الحسين عليه السلام) فضربه على رأسه بالسيف وعليه برنس له، فقطع البرنس وأصاب السيف رأسه فأدمى رأسه، فامتلأ البرنس دما، فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: لا أكلت بها ولا شربت، وحشرك الله مع الظالمين. قال: فألقى ذلك البرنس، ثمّ دعا بقلنسوة فلبسها واعتمّ، وقد أعيا وبلد، وجاء الكندي حتّى أخذ البرنس - وكان من خزّ - فلمّا قدم به بعد ذلك على امرأته أمّ عبد الله ابنة الحرّ، أخت حسين بن الحرّ البدّي، أقبل يغسل البرنس من الدم، فقالت له امرأته: أسلب ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله تدخل بيتي؟! أخرجه عنّي. فذكر أصحابه أنّه لم يزل فقيرا بشرّ حتّى مات.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 112; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 208.

ونادى شمر بن ذي الجوشن الفرسان والرجّالة فقال: ويحكم ما تنتظرون بالرجل، ثكلتكم أمّهاتكم. فحُمل عليه من كلّ جانب، فضربه زرعة بن شريك على كفّه اليسرى فقطعها، وضربه آخر منهم على عاتقه فكبا منها لوجهه، وطعنه سنان بن أنس بالرمح فصرعه، وبدر إليه خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي لعنه الله فنزل ليحتزّ رأسه فأرعد، فقال له شمر: فتّ الله في عضدك، ما لك ترعد؟!

ونزل شمر إليه فذبحه، ثمّ دفع رأسه إلى خولي بن يزيد، فقال: احمله إلى الأمير عمر بن سعد.

Shimr shouted to them, "Woe unto you all, why are you hesitating with this man? May your mothers weep over you. Kill him!" Then the Imam (a) was attacked from every direction. His left hand was struck by a blow from Zur'ah ibn Sharik al-Tamimi. Then he was struck on the shoulder. They withdrew from him, while he kept falling and trying to rise.

While he was in that state, Sinān ibn Anas ibn 'Amr al-Nakha'ī thrust his spear into him and felled him. Then he instructed Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, "Cut his head off!" Khawlī wanted to do it, but he became weak and trembled. Sinān ibn Anas said to him, "May God crush your arms and cut off your hands."

Sinān himself dismounted, killed al-Ḥusayn (a), and beheaded him. Then he handed the [sacred] head to Khawlī ibn Yazīd. Before this, his head had received injuries from many swords.[1]

459. *al-Malhūf*: After al-Ḥusayn (a) had been severely wounded several times, and the arrows on his body had begun to resemble the quills on a porcupine, Ṣāliḥ ibn Wahab, may God curse him, stabbed a spear into his side, causing al-Ḥusayn (a) to fall from his horse to the ground. He landed on his right side, then stood up.

The narrator says: Zaynab (a) came out from the door of the tents, crying, "O my brother! O my leader! O my family! I wish the skies would fall down to the earth, and the mountains would crumble into the desert!"

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 453; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 409.

لقد مكث الحسين (عليه السلام) طويلاً من النهار، ولو شاء الناس أن يقتلوه لفعلوا، ولكنهم كان يتقي بعضهم ببعض، ويحب هؤلاء أن يكفيهم هؤلاء.

قال: فنادى شمر في الناس: ويحكم ماذا تنظرون بالرجل؟ اقتلوه ثكلتكم أمهاتكم! قال: فحمل عليه من كل جانب، فضربت كفه اليسرى ضربة ضربها زرعة بن شريك التميمي، وضرب على عاتقه، ثم انصرفوا وهو ينوء ويكبو.

قال: وحمل عليه في تلك الحال سنان بن أنس بن عمرو النخعي، فطعنه بالرمح فوقع، ثم قال لخولي بن يزيد الأصبحي: احتز رأسه، فأراد أن يفعل فضعف فأرعد، فقال له سنان بن أنس: فت الله عضديك وأبان يديك، فنزل إليه فذبحه واحتز رأسه، ثم دفع إلى خولي بن يزيد، وقد ضرب قبل ذلك بالسيوف.

Shimr shouted to his fellows, "Why are you hesitating with this man?" Then, they attacked the Imam (a) from every direction. His left hand was struck by a blow from Zur'ah ibn Sharik al-Tamimi. Al-Husayn (a) struck back at Zur'ah and felled him. Someone else struck him with a blow to his sacred neck, causing him to fall to the ground.

He was exhausted, and kept falling and trying to rise. Then Sinān ibn Anas, may God curse him, stabbed him through his collarbone, then removed the spear and stabbed him again in the ribcage. Sinān also shot an arrow which lodged in the base of his throat. The Imam (a) fell to the ground, and then sat up and removed the arrow from his throat. He placed his palms at his neck, and every time they were filled with blood, he would wipe his hands over his head and beard, saying, "I shall meet God in this manner, with my hair dyed with my own blood, and usurped of my right."

Then 'Umar ibn Sa'd said to a man on his right, "Woe unto you! Get down and go to al-Ḥusayn, and finish him!" Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī ran to him to sever his head, but [at the last moment] began to tremble. Sinān ibn Anas al-Iyādī, may God curse him, came down and struck the sacred throat of the Imam (a) with his sword, while saying, "By God, I will cut off your head, even though I know full well that you are the son of God's Messenger, and a man with the best of fathers and mothers!" Then he severed the sacred head of al-Ḥusayn (a).

About this, a poet says,

So which tragedy can equal that of al-Ḥusayn
On the day when he was martyred at the hands of Sinān.

[...] At that time, a violent, intensely black, dust storm rose in the air. It was accompanied by a wind of red dust, through which nothing could be seen. The people thought that the punishment of God had descended on them. It stayed like this for a time before the storm finally moved away from them.

Hilāl ibn Nāfi' reports: I was standing amongst the men of 'Umar ibn Sa'd, when someone shouted, "Good news, O Amīr! Shimr has killed al-Husayn!" I went out through the ranks of the armies and stood at his head. He was almost dead. By God, I have never seen a mortally wounded person, covered in his own blood, looking more dignified and more radiant.

The glow of his features and the beauty of his appearance made me forget any thought of killing him. In that state, he asked for some water, and I heard a man say, "By God, you shall never taste water until you are taken to hell and are made to drink from its boiling water!"

Al-Husayn (a) replied to him, "No, rather, I shall be taken to my grandfather, God's Messenger (s), and I shall reside with him in his abode, *in a seat of honour near the all-Capable Sovereign*,[1] I shall drink from water *that never becomes polluted*,[2] and I shall complain to him about what you perpetrated and did against me."

They were all enraged at his words, and it was as if God had not placed an ounce of mercy in any of their hearts. They severed his head while he was still speaking to them! I was stunned at their mercilessness and said, "By God, I shall never take part in any of your affairs again."[3]

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[1] Q 54:55.

[2] Q 47:15.

[3] *al-Malhuf*, p. 174; *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 75.

لما أثخن الحسين عليه السلام بالجراح وبقي كالقنفذ، طعنه صالح بن وهب المزني لعنه الله على خاصرته
طعنة، فسقط الحسين عليه السلام عن فرسه إلى الأرض على خده الأيمن، ثم قام عليه السلام.

قال الراوي: وخرجت زينب عليها السلام من باب الفسطاط وهي تنادي: وا أخاه، وا سيداه، وا أهل
بيتاه، ليت السماء أطبقت على الأرض، وليت الجبال تدكدكت على السهل.

قال: وصاح الشمر بأصحابه: ما تنتظرون بالرجل؟ قال: فحملوا عليه من كل جانب، فضربه زرعة بن
شريك على كتفه اليسرى، فضرب الحسين عليه السلام زرعة فصرعه، وضربه آخر على عاتقه المقدس
بالسيف ضربة كبا عليه السلام بها على وجهه.

وكان قد أعيا وجعل ينوء ويكبو، فطعنه سنان بن أنس النخعي لعنه الله في ترقوته، ثم انتزع الرمح فطعنه
في بواني صدره، ثم رماه سنان أيضاً بسهم فوقع السهم في نحره، فسقط عليه السلام وجلس قاعداً، فنزع
السهم من نحره، وقرن كفيه جميعاً، فكلما امتلأتا من دمائه خضب بهما رأسه ولحيته، وهو يقول: هكذا
ألقى الله مخضباً بدمي مغصوباً علي حقي.

فقال عمر بن سعد لرجل عن يمينه: انزل ويحك إلى الحسين فأرحه، فبدر إليه خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي
ليحتز رأسه فأرعد، فنزل إليه سنان بن أنس النخعي لعنه الله فضربه بالسيف في حلقه الشريف، وهو

460. ***Muthīr al-Aḥzān*****:** When al-Ḥusayn (a) was overcome with the severity of his wounds, and [had fallen to the ground and] could no longer move, Shimr ordered them to shoot at him with arrows. 'Umar ibn Sa'd shouted to them, "Why are you hesitating with this man?" Then he ordered Sinān ibn Anas to sever his head. Sinān dismounted and went to al-Ḥusayn (a) while saying, "I approach you knowing full well that you are the leader of the nation and have the best mother and father among the people." Then, he severed his [sacred] head and sent it to 'Umar ibn Sa'd, who took it and hung it from the bridle of his horse.[1]

461. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*** **of Khwārizmī, quoting 'Amr ibn al-Ḥasan, from his father:** 'Umar ibn Sa'd lost his temper and commanded a

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يقول: والله إني لأحتز رأسك وأعلم أنك ابن رسول الله وخير الناس أبا وأما، ثم احتز رأسه الشريف عليه السلام. وفي ذلك يقول الشاعر:

فأي رزية عدلت حسينا غداة تبيره كفا سنان

... قال الراوي: وارتفعت في السماء في ذلك الوقت غبرة شديدة سوداء مظلمة فيها ريح حمراء لا يرى فيها عين ولا أثر، حتى ظن القوم أن العذاب قد جاءهم، فلبثوا كذلك ساعة ثم انجلت عنهم.

وروى هلال بن نافع قال: إني لواقف مع أصحاب عمر بن سعد إذ صرخ صارخ: أبشر أيها الأمير فهذا شمر قد قتل الحسين.

قال: فخرجت بين الصفين فوقفت عليه وإنه ليجود بنفسه، فوالله ما رأيت قتيلا قط مضمخا بدمه أحسن منه ولا أنور وجها، ولقد شغلني نور وجهه وجمال هيبته عن الفكرة في قتله، فاستسقى في تلك الحال ماء، فسمعت رجلا يقول له: والله لا تذوق الماء حتى ترد الحامية فتشرب من حميمها.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: لا، بل أنا أرد على جدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، وأسكن معه في داره، في مقعد صدق عند مليك مقتدر، وأشرب من ماء غير آسن، وأشكو إليه ما ارتكبتم مني وفعلتم بي.

قال: فغضبوا بأجمعهم حتى كأن الله لم يجعل في قلب أحد منهم من الرحمة شيئا، فاحتزوا رأسه وإنه ليكلمهم، فتعجبت من قلة رحمتهم وقلت: والله لا أجامعكم على أمر أبدا.

[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 74.

لما أثخن الحسين عليه السلام بالجراح، ولم يبق فيه حراك، أمر شمر أن يرموه بالسهام، وصاح عمر بن سعد: ما تنتظرون بالرجل؟ وأمر سنان بن أنس أن يحتز رأسه، فنزل يمشي إليه وهو يقول: أمشي إليك وأعلم أنك سيد القوم، وأكرم خير الناس أبا وأما، فاحتز رأسه، وبعث به إلى عمر بن سعد، فأخذه فعلقه في لبب فرسه.

man standing on his right, "Woe unto you! Go down to al-Ḥusayn, and finish him!" So he went down to him and severed his head. It is said that the man was Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, but others report that it was Shimr.

It is also reported that Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan and Sinān ibn Anas came towards al-Ḥusayn (a) when he was breathing his last and moving his tongue in thirst. Shimr kicked him with his foot, and said, "O son of Abū Turāb, do you not claim that your father stands at the cistern (*ḥawḍ*) of the Prophet, and gives water to whomever he wants? So be patient until you take some water from his hand!" Then he said to Sinān ibn Anas, "Sever his head from behind."

He replied, "By God, I will not do that! For then, his grandfather Muḥammad, will be my accuser [on the Day of Judgement]."

Shimr became angry at him, so he sat astride the chest of al-Ḥusayn (a) [himself], grasped the beard of al-Ḥusayn (a), and prepared to kill him. At this moment, al-Ḥusayn (a) smiled and said to him, "Do you intend to kill me? Do you [really] not know who I am?"

He replied, "I know you well. Your mother is Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ, your father is ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā, your grandfather is Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā, and your defender is God, most Mighty and High – but I do not care, and I will kill you regardless." Then he moved his dagger a total of twelve times [on his neck], severing his [blessed] head.[1]

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[1] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 36; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 56.

فغضب عمر بن سعد فقال لرجل كان عن يمينه: انزل ويحك إلى الحسين فأرحه. فنزل إليه. قيل هو خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي، فاحتز رأسه. وقيل: بل هو شمر.

ويروى أنه جاء إليه شمر بن ذي الجوشن وسنان بن أنس، والحسين عليه السلام بآخر رمق يلوك لسانه من العطش، فرفسه شمر برجله وقال: يا بن أبي تراب، ألست تزعم أن أباك على حوض النبي يسقي من أحبه؟ فاصبر حتى تأخذ الماء من يده. ثم قال لسنان بن أنس: احتز رأسه من قفاه. فقال: والله لا أفعل ذلك فيكون جده محمد خصمي.

فغضب شمر منه، وجلس على صدر الحسين عليه السلام، وقبض على لحيته، وهمّ بقتله، فضحك الحسين عليه السلام وقال له: أتقتلني؟ أو لا تعلم من أنا؟ فقال: أعرفك حق المعرفة: أمك فاطمة الزهراء، وأبوك علي المرتضى، وجدك محمد المصطفى، وخصمك الله العلي الأعلى، وأقتلك ولا أبالي. وضربه بسيفه اثنتي عشرة ضربة، ثم حز رأسه.

462. *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*: When Shimr was sitting astride your chest, running his blade on your neck, holding your beard in his fist, slaughtering you with his sword… your senses dulled, your breaths reduced, and your head was raised atop a lance.[1]

9/16: The number of wounds inflicted on the Imam (a)

463: *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Burayd ibn Muʿāwiyah al-ʿIjlī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): When al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) was martyred, there were over 320 wounds on his body, inflicted from spear thrusts, sword cuts, and arrowheads. It is reported that all his injuries were on the front of his body because he never turned his back on the battlefield.[2] [3]

464. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): After his martyrdom, 33 stab wounds and 34 sword cuts were found on the body of al-Ḥusayn (a).[4]

465. *Dalāʾil al-Aʾimmah*, quoting Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): 33 stab wounds and 44 sword cuts were found on the body of al-Ḥusayn (a). And on his dark silken cloak, there were more than 110 tears, made by spears, swords, and arrows.[5]

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[1] *Al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 505; *Miṣbāḥ al-Zāʾir*, p. 233.

الشمر جالس على صدرك، مولغ سيفه على نحرك، قابض على شيبتك بيده، ذابح لك بمهنده، قد سكنت حواسك، وخفيت أنفاسك، ورفع على القنا رأسك.

[2] In Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib* (vol. 4, p. 110), the following detail is added: "The arrows that had lodged in his armour resembled the quills of a porcupine."

[3] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 228, no. 240; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 205.

أصيب الحسين بن علي عليه السلام ووجد به ثلاثمئة وبضعة وعشرون طعنة رمح أو ضربة بسيف أو رمية بسهم، فروي أنها كانت كلها في مقدمه لأنه عليه السلام كان لا يولي.

[4] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 453; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 409.

وُجِدَ بالحسين عليه السلام حين قُتِل ثلاثٌ وثلاثون طعنة وأربع وثلاثون ضربة

[5] *Dalāʾil al-Aʾimmah*, p. 178; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 476.

466. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Jābir, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): When al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was martyred, he was wearing a dark silken cloak. On it, they found 63 marks, made by sword strikes, spear thrusts, and arrowheads.[1]

9/17: The killer of the Imam (a), as mentioned in the reports

9/17 - 1: Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan

467. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥasan: We were with al-Ḥusayn (a) next to the two rivers of Karbala, when he looked at Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, and said, "Indeed, God and His Prophet have spoken the truth. God's Messenger had said, 'It is as if I see a spotted dog lapping the blood of [a member of] my household.'" And Shimr had mottled skin.[2]

468. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: Then another man came forward, and asked, "Where is al-Ḥusayn?"

The Imam (a) replied, "I am here."

The man said, "I give you tidings of hell!"

He said, "And I give myself tidings of [meeting] a Merciful Lord, Who intercedes and Who is obeyed! Who are you?"

He replied, "I am Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "God is Great! God's Messenger (s) had said, 'It is as if I see a spotted dog lapping the blood of [a member of] my household.'"

قال أبو عبد الله جعفر بن محمد (الصادق) عليه السلام: وجد بالحسين عليه السلام ثلاث وثلاثون طعنة وأربع وأربعون ضربة، ووجد في جبة خز دكناء كانت عليه مائة وبضع عشرة خرقة ما بين طعنة وضربة ورمية.

[1] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 6, p. 452; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 94.

أصيب الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وعليه جبة خز دكناء، فوجدوا فيها ثلاثة وستين، من بين ضربة بالسيف، وطعنة بالرمح، أو رمية بالسهم.

[2] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 23, p. 190; vol. 55, p. 165; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 38.

كنا مع الحسين عليه السلام بنهري كربلاء، فنظر إلى شمر بن ذي الجوشن فقال: صدق الله ورسوله، قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: كأني أنظر إلى كلب أبقع يلغ في دماء أهل بيتي. وكان شمر أبرص.

Then al-Husayn (a) said, "I saw a vision of dogs snapping at me, among them was a spotted dog, who attacked me more viciously than the rest. And that is you!" Shimr had mottled skin.

It has been reported from al-Tirmidhī that al-Ṣādiq (a) was asked, "How long can a dream take to come true?" [In reply] he referred to this dream of God's Messenger (s), which was actualized after [nearly] sixty years.[1]

469. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* **of Khwārazmī:** Shimr became angry [at the man who was hesitant to kill the Imam (a)], so he sat astride the chest of al-Ḥusayn (a) [himself], grasped the beard of al-Ḥusayn (a), and prepared to kill him.... Then he moved his dagger a total of twelve times [on his neck], before severing his [blessed] head clear.[2]

9/17 - 2: Sinān ibn Anas

470. *Usd al-Ghābah*: Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was killed by Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakha'ī. It has been reported that he was killed by Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan and that the death blow was delivered by Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī. It has also been said that he was killed by 'Umar ibn Sa'd, but that is not plausible. The correct account is that he was killed by Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakha'ī.

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[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 64; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 401.

ثم جاء الشمر فقال: أين الحسين؟ فقال: ها أنا ذا. قال: أبشر بالنار.

قال: أنظر بيت رحمي وتقطع قطائع من أنسه؟ قال: أنا الشمر بن ذي الجوشن.

فقال الحسين عليه السلام: الله أكبر! صدق رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، رأيت كأن كلبا أبقع يلغ في دماء أهل بيتي.

وقال الحسين عليه السلام: رأيت كأن كلابا تنهشني، وكأن فيها كلبا أبقع كان أشدها علي، وهو أنت. وكان أبرص.

ونقل عن الترمذي: قيل للصادق عليه السلام: كم تتأخر الرؤيا؟ فذكر منام رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، فكان التأويل بعد ستين سنة.

[2] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 36; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 56.

فغضب الشمر لعنه الله وجلس على صدر الحسين عليه السلام، وقبض على لحيته وهم بقتله... وضربه بسيفه اثني عشرة ضربة، ثم حز رأسه.

As for the reports that state that he was killed by Shimr or 'Umar ibn Sa'd, that is because it was Shimr who instigated the people to kill him and joined the advance towards him, and as for 'Umar, the killing was attributed to him because he was the commander of the army.[1]

471. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred. His mother was Fāṭimah, the daughter of God's Messenger (s). He was killed by Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakha'ī al-Aṣbaḥī, and his head was brought [to Kufa] by Khawlī ibn Yazīd.[2]

472. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was in that state, Sinān ibn Anas ibn 'Amr al-Nakha'ī thrust his spear into him and felled him. Then he instructed Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, "Cut his head off!" Khawlī wanted to do so, but became weak and trembled.

Sinān ibn Anas said to him, "May God crush your arms, and cut off your hands." Then he himself dismounted, killed al-Ḥusayn (a), and beheaded him. Then he handed the [sacred] head to Khawlī ibn Yazīd. Before this, his blessed head had already received injuries from many swords.[3]

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[1] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. [illegible]; *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā*, p. [illegible].

قتله (أي الحسين عليه السلام) سنان بن أنس النخعي، وقيل: قتله شمر بن ذي الجوشن، وأجهز عليه خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي، وقيل: قتله عمر بن سعد، وليس بشيء، والصحيح أنه قتله سنان بن أنس النخعي.

وإنما قيل من قال: قتله شمر وعمر بن سعد؛ لأن شمرا هو الذي حرض الناس على قتله وحمل بهم إليه، ولأن عمر أمير الجيش فنسب القتل إليه.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 468; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. [illegible].

قتل الحسين عليه السلام - وأمه فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله قتله سنان بن أنس النخعي ثم الأصبحي، وجاء برأسه خولي بن يزيد.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. [illegible]; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. [illegible].

حمل عليه (أي على الحسين عليه السلام) في تلك الحال سنان بن أنس بن عمرو النخعي، فطعنه بالرمح فوقع، ثم قال لخولي بن يزيد الأصبحي: احتز رأسه، فأراد أن يفعل فضعف فأرعد.

فقال له سنان بن أنس: فت الله عضديك، وأبان يديك، فنزل إليه فذبحه واحتز رأسه، ثم دفع إلى خولي بن يزيد، وقد ضرب قبل ذلك بالسيوف.

9/17 - 3: Killed jointly by Sinān and Khawlī

473. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) had received many wounds. Despite having been weakened by his injuries, he continued to stand against them. So they withdrew from him for some time. Then they began to shower him with arrows, and Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakha'ī attacked and hit him with a spear. The death blow was struck by Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī from the tribe of Ḥimyar. He severed the blessed head of al-Ḥusayn (a) and brought it to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād.[1]

474. *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*: Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakha'ī stabbed the Imam (a) through his collarbone, then removed the spear and stabbed him again in the ribcage, causing him (a) to fall to the ground. Then Khawlī al-Aṣbaḥī severed his head, may God never be pleased with either of them.[2]

9/18: The return of the riderless horse

475. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): The horse of al-Ḥusayn (a) came forward and smeared its mane and forehead with the blood of al-Ḥusayn (a); then it trotted back to the camp. The daughters of the Prophet (s) heard its neighing and came out. They saw the riderless horse and realized that al-Ḥusayn (a) had been martyred.

Umm Kulthūm, the daughter[3] of al-Ḥusayn (a), came out [of the tents] with her hand on her head, wailing and crying, "O Muḥammad!

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[1] *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 155.

خرج الحسين عليه السلام بجراحات كثيرة، وثبت لهم وقد أوهنته الجراح، فأحجموا عنه مليا، ثم تعاوروه رميا بالنبل، وحمل عليه سنان بن أنس النخعي فطعنه فأثبته، واحتز خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي من حمير رأسه وأتى به عبيد الله بن زياد.

[2] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 299, and p. 300; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 475.

طعنه (أي الحسين عليه السلام) سنان بن أنس النخعي في ترقوته، ثم طعنه في صدره، فخر، واحتز رأسه خولي الأصبحي لا رضي الله عنهما.

[3] Umm Kulthūm was the sister, not daughter, of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

Al-Ḥusayn lies [slain] in the wilderness, his turban and cloak plundered.[1]

476. al-Mazār al-Kabīr, in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*: And your horse trotted off in a distracted fashion towards your camp, neighing and crying. And when the women saw your horse agitated and your saddle twisted around, they came forth from the tents, with dishevelled hair, slapping their cheeks, with their faces exposed, wailing and lamenting, humiliated after having lived with honour. They rushed towards the place where you had been mortally wounded, and found Shimr sitting astride your chest, running his blade on your neck, holding your beard in his fist, slaughtering you with his sword. Then, your senses dulled, your breaths reduced, and then your head was raised atop a lance.[2]

About the number of martyrs of Karbala

The exact number of martyrs of Karbala is not known for certain. Therefore, in order to arrive at the approximate number, we will list hereunder the names of those martyrs whose names have been mentioned in the accounts found in reliable sources.

The martyrs of Karbala can be divided into four groups.

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 226, no. 239; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 209.

أقبل فرس الحسين عليه السلام حتى لطخ عرفه وناصيته بدم الحسين عليه السلام، وجعل يركض ويصهل، فسمع بنات النبي صلى الله عليه وآله صهيله، فخرجن فإذا الفرس بلا راكب، فعرفن أن حسيناً عليه السلام قد قتل.

وخرجت أم كلثوم بنت الحسين عليه السلام واضعة يدها على رأسها تندب وتقول: وا محمداه هذا الحسين بالعراء، قد سلب العمامة والرداء.

[2] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 504, no. 9.

وأسرع فرسك شارداً، وإلى خيامك قاصداً، محمحماً باكياً، فلما رأين النساء جوادك مخزياً، ونظرن سرجك عليه ملوياً، برزن من الخدور، ناشرات الشعور، على الخدود لاطمات، الوجوه سافرات، وبالعويل داعيات، وبعد العز مذللات، وإلى مصرعك مبادرات، والشمر جالس على صدرك، مولغ سيفه على نحرك، قابض على شيبتك بيده، ذابح لك بمهنده، قد سكنت حواسك، وخفيت أنفاسك، ورفع على القنا رأسك.

Group 1: The martyrs who were companions of God's Messenger (s)

1. Anas ibn al-Ḥārith
2. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Anṣārī[1]

Group 2: The martyrs who were companions of Imam 'Alī (a)

3. Abū Thumāmah 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣā'idī
4. Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir al-Asadī
5. Zāhir, the bondsman of 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq
6. 'Ammār ibn Abī Salāmah al-Dālānī
7. Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khuzā'ī, the bondsman of Imam 'Alī (a)
8. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umayr al-Kalbī
9. Kardūs ibn Zuhayr
10. Nāfi' ibn Hilāl al-Jamalī

Group 3: The martyrs from the Household of the Prophet (s)

11. 'Alī al-Akbar
12. 'Abd Allāh ('Alī al-Aṣghar)
13. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī
14. 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī
15. Ja'far ibn 'Alī
16. Al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī
17. Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī
18. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī
19. Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan
20. 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan
21. Al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan
22. Ja'far ibn 'Aqīl

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[1] It is possible that there were other companions of the Prophet (s) in the army of the Imam (a). For example, it has been narrated that Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir, Muslim ibn 'Awsajah, Hāni' ibn 'Urwah, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur were companions of the Prophet (s) (*Abṣār al-'Ayn*, p. 221); however, based on the sources that are currently in hand, only these two men can be said to be companions with certainty.

23. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Aqīl
24. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Aqīl
25. Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn 'Aqīl
26. 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl
27. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far
28. 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far

In some isolated reports, the names of other individuals from the family of the *Prophet* (s) have also been mentioned amongst the martyrs, for example:

29. Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī[1]
30. Al-'Abbās al-Aṣghar ibn 'Alī[2]
31. Ja'far ibn 'Alī[3]
32. 'Abd Allāh al-Akbar ibn 'Alī[4]
33. 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣghar ibn 'Alī[5]
34. 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Alī[6]
35. 'Umar ibn 'Alī[7]
36. 'Atīq ibn 'Alī[8]
37. Qāsim ibn 'Alī[9]
38. Bishr ibn al-Ḥasan[10]

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[1] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 400; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 112.

[2] *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, p. 479; *Tārīkh Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ*, p. 179.

[3] Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, vol. 2, p. 310.

[4] Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, vol. 2, p. 310.

[5] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 112. In his list, the name of 'Abd Allāh, the son of Umm al-Banīn, has not been mentioned, so it is possible that this is the same person.

[6] *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 355, and vol. 2, p. 125; *Majmū'ah Nafīsah*, p. 108.

[7] See the section entitled "The advice of 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib to the Imam (a)".

[8] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 300; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 5, p. 12.

[9] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 107.

[10] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 112.

39. 'Umar ibn al-Ḥasan[1]
40. Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥusayn
41. Abū Bakr ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥusayn[2]
42. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn[3]
43. Ja'far ibn al-Ḥusayn[4]
44. Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥusayn[5]
45. Zayd ibn al-Ḥusayn[6]
46. Qāsim ibn al-Ḥusayn[7]
47. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn[8]
48. 'Umar ibn al-Ḥusayn[9]
49. Muḥammad ibn 'Aqīl[10]
50. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Aqīl[11]
51. Ḥamzah ibn 'Aqīl[12]
52. 'Alī ibn 'Aqīl[13]
53. 'Awn ibn 'Aqīl[14]
54. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Aqīl[15]

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 112; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 48.

[2] *Tārīkh Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ*, p. 179.

[3] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113.

[4] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 478; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113.

[5] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113.

[6] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113.

[7] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 108.

[8] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113; *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 227.

[9] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 113.

[10] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, pp. 328 and 414.

[11] *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 45.

[12] *al-Mujdī*, p. 308.

[13] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 98; *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 401.

[14] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 422; *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 255.

[15] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 98.

55. Abū Saʿīd ibn ʿAqīl[1]
56. Ibrāhīm ibn Muslim ibn ʿAqīl[2]
57. Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn ʿAqīl[3]
58. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim ibn ʿAqīl[4]
59. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn ʿAqīl[5]
60. Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn ʿAqīl[6]
61. ʿAlī ibn Muslim ibn ʿAqīl[7]
62. Ibrāhīm ibn Jaʿfar[8]
63. Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar[9]
64. ʿAwn al-Aṣghar ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar[10]
65. Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar[11]
66. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar[12]
67. ʿAwn ibn Jaʿfar ibn Jaʿfar[13]
68. Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar[14]
69. Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbās[15]
70. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Hāshimī[16]

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[1] *al-Majdī*, p. 308.
[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 143, no. 145.
[3] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 97.
[4] *Tārīkh Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ*, p. 179; *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 320.
[5] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 76; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 68.
[6] *Miṣbāḥ al-Zāʾir*, p. 280; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 271.
[7] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 335.
[8] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 49.
[9] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 325.
[10] *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 83; *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, p. 68.
[11] *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 83; *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, p. 68.
[12] *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 98; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 48.
[13] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 199.
[14] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 199.
[15] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 106.
[16] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 105.

Group 4: The martyrs who were companions of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

71. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Asadī
72. The nephew of Ḥudhayfah ibn Asīd al-Ghifārī
73. Abū al-Hayyāj
74. Adham ibn Umayyah al-'Abdī
75. Anīs ibn Ma'qil al-Aṣbaḥī
76. Burayr ibn Khuḍayr
77. Bashīr ibn 'Amr al-Ḥaḍramī
78. Jābir ibn al-Ḥajjāj
79. Jabalah ibn 'Alī al-Shaybānī
80. Junādah ibn al-Ḥārith
81. Jundab ibn Ḥajīr
82. A youth whose father had been martyred
83. Jawn, a freedman of Abū Dharr
84. Juwayn ibn Mālik
85. Al-Ḥārith ibn Imru' al-Qays
86. Al-Ḥārith ibn Nabhān, a bondsman of Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib
87. Al-Ḥatūf ibn al-Ḥārith
88. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Zayd
89. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq
90. Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī
91. Ḥullās ibn 'Amr
92. Nu'mān ibn 'Amr
93. Ḥanẓalah ibn As'ad al-Shibāmī
94. Rāfi', a client of the Banū Shindah
95. Al-Rumayth ibn 'Amr
96. Zuhayr ibn Bishr al-Khath'amī
97. Zuhayr ibn Sulaym al-Azdī
98. Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bajalī
99. Zayd ibn Ma'qil

100. Sālim, a bondsman of Ibn Madaniyyah
101. Sa'd ibn Ḥanẓalah al-Tamīmī
102. Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī
103. Sa'īd ibn Kardam
104. Sulaymān, a bondsman of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
105. Sulaymān ibn Rabī'ah
106. Sawwār ibn Abī Ḥimyar
107. Suwayd ibn 'Amr ibn Abī Muṭā'
108. Sayf ibn al-Ḥārith al-Jābirī
109. Sayf ibn Mālik al-'Abdī
110. Shabīb ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nahshalī
111. Shawdhab, a client of the Banū Shākir
112. Al-Ḍubāb ibn 'Āmir
113. Ḍarghāmah ibn Mālik
114. 'Ābis ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī
115. 'Āmir ibn Muslim
116. Sālim, the bondsman of 'Āmir ibn Muslim
117. 'Ibād ibn Abī al-Muhājir
118. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Arḥabī
119. 'Abd Allāh ibn Qays al-Ghifārī
120. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Qays al-Ghifārī
121. 'Uqbah ibn al-Ṣalt
122. 'Ammār ibn Ḥassān al-Ṭā'ī
123. 'Imrān ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī
124. 'Umar ibn al-Uḥdūth al-Ḥaḍramī
125. 'Umar (or 'Amr) ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī
126. Sa'd, the bondsman of 'Umar ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī
127. 'Amr ibn Khālid al-Azdī
128. Khālid ibn 'Amr ibn Khālid al-Azdī
129. 'Umar (or 'Amr) ibn Ḍubay'ah al-Tamīmī
130. 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Junda'ī

131. 'Amr ibn Qarazah al-Anṣārī
132. 'Umayr (or 'Amr) ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Madhḥijī
133. Wāḍiḥ, a Turkish bondsman
134. Qārib ibn 'Abd Allāh, a bondsman of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
135. Al-Qāsim ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī
136. Qa'nab ibn 'Amr al-Namirī
137. Kinānah ibn 'Atīq al-Thaghlabī
138. Mālik ibn 'Abd ibn Sarī' al-Jābirī
139. Mujammi' ibn Ziyād
140. Mujammi' ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ā'idhī
141. The son of Mujammi' ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ā'idhī
142. Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥajjāj
143. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥajjāj
144. Muslim ibn 'Awsajah al-Asadī
145. Muslim (or Aslam) ibn Kathīr al-Azdī
146. Munjiḥ, a bondsman of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)
147. Na'īm ibn 'Ajlān al-Anṣārī
148. Al-Hafhaf ibn Muhannad al-Rāsibī
149. Hammām ibn Salamah al-Qānīṣī
150. Wahab ibn Wahab
151. Yaḥyā ibn Salīm al-Māzinī
152. Abū Sha'tha', Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn Muhāṣir
153. Yazīd ibn Nabīṭ al-'Abdī
154. 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd ibn Nabīṭ al-'Abdī
155. 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Yazīd ibn Nabīṭ al-'Abdī

In addition to the names mentioned above, other martyrs have also been reported in the sources. We have refrained from mentioning them because of the unreliability of the sources of those reports.

CHAPTER FIVE | AFTER THE MARTYRDOM

Part 1: The height of heartlessness

Part 2: The signs that appeared after the Imam (a) was martyred

Part 3: The burial of the martyrs

Part 4: The fate of the heads of the martyrs

Part 5: Miracles observed from the head of the Chief of Martyrs (a)

Part 6: From Karbala to Kufa

Part 7: From Kufa to Damascus

Part 8: From Damascus to Medina

PART 1: THE HEIGHT OF HEARTLESSNESS

1/1: Plundering the body of the Imam (a)

477. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The enemy stole the clothes that the Imam (a) was wearing [at the time of his martyrdom]. Baḥr ibn Ka'b took his trousers. Qays ibn al-Ash'ath took his robe, which was made of a silken material – afterwards, he was called "Qays of the robe". A man from the tribe of Banū Awd, who used to be called al-Aswad, took his sandals. A man from the tribe of Banū Nahshal ibn Dārim took his sword, and later, it came into the possession of the family of Ḥabīb ibn Budayl.[1]

478. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, they began to plunder his possessions. One of his swords was taken by al-Qalānis al-Nahshalī, and another by Jumay' ibn al-Khalq al-Awdī. His trousers were taken by the accursed Baḥr ibn Ka'b al-Tamīmī, leaving the Imam (a) in this manner. His robe was taken by Qays ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī, who later became known as "Qays of the robe". His sandals were taken by al-Aswad ibn Khālid al-Awdī, his turban was taken by Jābir ibn Yazīd, and his hooded cloak, which was made of silk, was taken by Mālik ibn Bashīr al-Kindī.[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 453; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 572.

سلب الحسين عليه السلام ما كان عليه، فأخذ سراويله بحر بن كعب، وأخذ قيس بن الأشعث قطيفته
وكانت من خز، وكان يسمى بعد قيس قطيفة، وأخذ نعليه رجل من بني أود يقال له: الأسود، وأخذ
سيفه رجل من بني نهشل بن دارم، فوقع بعد ذلك إلى أهل حبيب بن بديل.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 473; *al-Radd 'alā al-Muta'aṣṣib al-'Anīd*, p. 41.

لما قتل الحسين عليه السلام انتهب ثقله، فأخذ سيفه القلانس النهشلي، وأخذ سيفا آخر جميع بن الخلق
الأودي، وأخذ سراويله بحر - الملعون - بن كعب التميمي فتركه مجردا، وأخذ قطيفته قيس بن الأشعث

479. ***al-Irshād*****:** Then, they began to plunder [the possessions of] al-Ḥusayn (a). Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī took his shirt, Abjar ibn Ka'b took his trousers, and Akhnas ibn Marthad took his turban. A man from the tribe of Banū Dārim took his sword. They also plundered his saddlebags, his camel, and his provisions, before they proceeded to loot his womenfolk.[1]

480. ***al-Malhūf*****:** Then they began to plunder [the clothes] of al-Ḥusayn (a).

Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī, may God curse him, took his shirt, and wore it; [in later years] he contracted leprosy, and lost his hair...

Baḥr ibn Ka'b al-Tamīmī, may God curse him, took his trousers; it is reported that later, his legs became paralyzed.

Akhnas ibn Marthad ibn 'Alqamah al-Ḥaḍramī, may God curse him – or, according to another report, Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Awdī, may God curse him – took his turban and wound it around his own head. In later years, he became insane.

Al-Aswad ibn Khālid took his sandals.

Bajdal ibn Sulaym al-Kalbī, may God curse him, cut off the finger of the Imam (a) in order to steal his ring. He was captured [later] by al-Mukhtār, who cut off his hands and feet, leaving him to bleed to death.

The robe of the Imam (a), which was made of silk, was taken by Qays ibn al-Ash'ath, may God curse him.

His cuirass was taken by 'Umar ibn Sa'd [himself], may God curse him. When 'Umar ibn Sa'd was killed, al-Mukhtār awarded it to his killer, Abū 'Amrah.

الأشعث الكندي، فكان يقال له: قيس القطيفة، وأخذ نعليه الأسود بن خالد الأودي، وأخذ عمامته جابر
بن يزيد، وأخذ برنسه - وكان من خز - مالك بن النسر الكندي.

[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 112; Thīm al-Wird, vol. 1, p. 489.

ثمّ أقبلوا على سلب الحسين عليه السلام، فأخذ قميصه إسحاق بن حيوة الحضرمي، وأخذ سراويله أبجر
بن كعب، وأخذ عمامته أخنس بن مرثد، وأخذ سيفه رجل من بني دارم، وانتهبوا رحله وإبله وأثقاله،
وسلبوا نساءه.

His sword was taken by Jumayʿ ibn al-Khalq al-Awdī or, according to some reports, by a man from Banū Tamīm called al-Aswad ibn Ḥanẓalah, may God curse him.

According to a report by [Muḥammad] Ibn Saʿd, his sword was taken by either al-Falāfis al-Nahshalī, or Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā. Later, it came into the possession of the daughter of Ḥabīb ibn Budayl. This stolen sword was other than the [famous] Dhū al-Fiqār, which had been safely stored [in Medina], along with the other bequests pertaining to prophethood and Imamate. Other reporters have also mentioned similar accounts in their works.[1]

481. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: Then al-Aswad ibn Ḥanẓalah came forward and took his sword away. Jaʿwanah al-Ḥaḍramī took his shirt and wore it; in later years he was afflicted with leprosy and lost his hair...

Baḥir ibn ʿAmr al-Jarmī took his trousers, and later, his legs became paralyzed.

Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Azdī took his turban and wound it around his own head. In later years he became a leper.

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, 177; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 57.

ثم أقبلوا على سلب الحسين عليه السلام فأخذ قميصه إسحاق بن حوية الحضرمي لعنه الله، فلبسه فصار أبرص وامتعط شعره... وأخذ سراويله بحر بن كعب التيمي لعنه الله، وروي أنه صار زمناً مقعداً من رجليه.

وأخذ عمامته أخنس بن مرثد بن علقمة الحضرمي لعنه الله، وقيل: جابر بن يزيد الأودي لعنه الله، فاعتم بها فصار معتوهاً، وأخذ نعليه الأسود بن خالد.

وأخذ خاتمه بجدل بن سليم الكلبي لعنه الله، فقطع إصبعه عليه السلام مع الخاتم، وهذا أخذه المختار فقطع يديه ورجليه، وتركه يتشحط في دمه حتى هلك.

وأخذ قطيفة له عليه السلام - كانت من خز - قيس بن الأشعث لعنه الله.

وأخذ درعه البتراء عمر بن سعد لعنه الله، فلما قتل عمر بن سعد وهبها المختار لأبي عمرة قاتله.

وأخذ سيفه جميع بن الخلق الأودي، وقيل: رجل من بني تميم يقال له: الأسود بن حنظلة لعنه الله.

وفي رواية ابن سعد: أنه أخذ سيفه الفلافس النهشلي، وزاد محمد بن زكريا: أنه وقع بعد ذلك إلى بنت حبيب بن بديل، وهذا السيف المنهوب ليس بذي الفقار، فإن ذلك كان مذخوراً ومصوناً مع أمثاله من ذخائر النبوة والإمامة، وقد نقل الرواة تصديق ما قلناه وصورة ما حكيناه.

Mālik ibn Nasr al-Kindī took his armour and later, he went insane....

Qays ibn al-Ash'ath took the silken robe of al-Ḥusayn (a). He used to sit on it and became known as "Qays of the robe".

A man from the tribe of al-Azd, who was called al-Aswad, took his sandals....

'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Ammār reported, "I saw that al-Ḥusayn (a) was wearing a lustrous pair of trousers when he was martyred, and Abjar ibn Ka'b came and removed them, leaving him in that state. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān recalled, "[Afterwards] the hands of Abjar would become full of bloody sores in the winter and become like dried sticks in the summer."[1]

1/2: Running horses over the sacred body of the Imam (a)

482. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: Then 'Umar ibn Sa'd called out to his men, "Who will volunteer to trample the body of al-Ḥusayn with his horse?"

Ten men volunteered, amongst them was Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī, who had stolen the shirt of al-Ḥusayn (a) and was later afflicted with leprosy. Another was Akhnas ibn Marthad ibn 'Alqamah al-Ḥaḍramī. They came forward and ran their horses on the body of al-Ḥusayn (a), until they shattered his back and chest.

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, pp. 37-38; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 119.

ثم تقدم الأسود بن حنظلة، فأخذ سيفه، وأخذ ... الحضرمي قميصه، فلبسه فصار أبرص وسقط شعره... وأخذ سراويله بحير بن عمرو الجرمي، فصار زمناً مقعداً من رجليه، وأخذ عمامته جابر بن يزيد الأزدي فاعتم بها، فصار مجذوماً، وأخذ مالك بن نسر الكندي درعه، فصار معتوهاً... وأخذ قيس بن الأشعث قطيفة للحسين عليه السلام كان يجلس عليها، فسمي لذلك قيس القطيفة، وأخذ نعليه رجل من الأزد، يقال له: الأسود...

وقال عبيد الله بن عمار: رأيت على الحسين عليه السلام سراويل تلمع ساعة قتل، فجاء أبجر بن كعب فسلبه وتركه مجرداً، قال محمد بن عبد الرحمن: إن يدي أبجر بن كعب كانتا ينضحان الدم في الشتاء وييبسان في الصيف كأنهما عود...

[Ḥumayd adds]: News reached me that afterwards, as he stood in another battle, Aḥbash ibn Marthad was struck by a random arrow which cleaved his heart and killed him.[1]

483. *al-Irshād*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: 'Umar ibn Sa'd called out to his men, "Who will volunteer to trample the body of al-Ḥusayn with his horse?"

Ten men volunteered, amongst them was Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah, and Akhnas ibn Marthad. They ran their horses on the body of al-Ḥusayn (a), until they shattered his back.[2]

484. *al-Malhūf*: Then, 'Umar ibn Sa'd called out to his men, "Who will volunteer to trample the body of al-Ḥusayn with his horse?"

Ten of his men volunteered. They were: Isḥāq ibn Ḥawbah, who had stolen the shirt of al-Ḥusayn (a). [The others were]: Akhnas ibn Marthad, Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl al-Sabī'ī, 'Umar ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Ṣaydāwī, Rajā' ibn Munqidh al-'Abdī, Sālim ibn Khaythamah al-Ju'fī, Ṣāliḥ ibn Wahb al-Ju'fī, Wāḥiẓ ibn Ghānim, Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī, and Usayd ibn Mālik, may God curse them all. They trampled the body of al-Ḥusayn (a) under the hooves of their horses, until they crushed his back and chest.

The narrator adds: These ten men presented themselves to Ibn Ziyād, may God curse him. Usayd ibn Mālik, who was one of the ten, boasted:

We [were the ones who] crushed the chest after the back,
Under a torrent of churning hooves.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 454; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 411.

ثُمَّ إنّ عمر بن سعد نادى في أصحابه: من ينتدب للحسين ويوطئه فرسه؟
فانتدب عشرة، منهم: إسحاق بن حيوة الحضرمي، وهو الذي سلب قميص الحسين عليه السلام، فبرص
بعد، وأحبش بن مرثد بن علقمة بن سلامة الحضرمي، فأتوا فداسوا الحسين عليه السلام بخيولهم حتى
رضّوا ظهره وصدره، فبلغني أنّ أحبش بن مرثد بعد ذلك بزمان أتاه سهم غرب وهو واقف في قتال،
ففلق قلبه فمات.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 113; *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 470.

ونادى [عمر بن سعد] في أصحابه: من ينتدب للحسين فيوطئه فرسه؟ فانتدب عشرة، منهم: إسحاق بن
حيوة، وأخنس بن مرثد، فداسوا الحسين عليه السلام بخيولهم حتى رضّوا ظهره.

Ibn Ziyād, may God curse him, asked him, "Who are you all?"

They replied, "We are the ones who trampled the back of al-Ḥusayn under our horses, until his ribs were smashed to pieces." 'Ubayd Allāh ordered for a small reward to be given to them.

Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid said, "We investigated [the past of] these ten men, and found every one of them to be illegitimately born. Later, they were captured by al-Mukhtār, who shackled their hands and feet with iron chains, and then ran horses over their backs until they perished."[1]

489. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: 'Umar ibn Sa'd summoned ten men, and they were: Isḥāq ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī, Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī, Adlam ibn Nā'im, Asad ibn Mālik, al-Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl al-Ṭā'ī, al-Akhnas ibn Marthad, 'Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Madhḥijī, Rajā' ibn Munqidh al-'Abdī, Ṣāliḥ ibn Wahb al-Yazanī, and Sālim ibn Khaythamah al-Ju'fī. They trampled the body of al-Ḥusayn (a) under their horses.[2]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 182; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 78.

ثم نادى عمر بن سعد في أصحابه: من ينتدب للحسين عليه السلام فيوطئ الخيل ظهره؟ فانتدب منهم عشرة وهم: إسحاق بن حوية الذي سلب الحسين عليه السلام قميصه، وأخنس بن مرثد، وحكيم بن طفيل السنبسي، وعمرو بن صبيح الصيداوي، ورجاء بن منقذ العبدي، وسالم بن خيثمة الجعفي، وصالح بن وهب الجعفي، وواحظ بن غانم، وهانئ بن ثبيت الحضرمي، وأسيد بن مالك لعنهم الله، فداسوا الحسين عليه السلام بحوافر خيلهم حتى رضوا ظهره وصدره.

قال الراوي: وجاء هؤلاء العشرة حتى وقفوا على ابن زياد لعنه الله، فقال أسيد بن مالك أحد العشرة:

نحن رضضنا الصدر بعد الظهر بكل يعبوب شديد الأسر

فقال ابن زياد لعنه الله: من أنتم؟ قالوا: نحن الذين وطئنا بخيولنا ظهر الحسين حتى طحنا حناجر صدره.

قال: فأمر لهم بجائزة يسيرة.

قال أبو عمر الزاهد: فنظرنا إلى هؤلاء العشرة، فوجدناهم جميعاً أولاد زنا، وهؤلاء أخذهم المختار، فشد أيديهم وأرجلهم بسكك الحديد، وأوطأ الخيل ظهورهم حتى هلكوا.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 111.

انتدب (عمر بن سعد) عشرة، وهم: إسحاق بن يحيى الحضرمي، وهانئ بن ثبيت الحضرمي، وأدلم بن ناعم، وأسد بن مالك، والحكيم بن طفيل الطائي، والأخنس بن مرثد، وعمرو بن صبيح المذحجي، ورجاء بن منقذ العبدي، وصالح بن وهب اليزني، وسالم بن خيثمة الجعفي، فوطئوا جسمه.

486. *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*:... Until they unseated you from your horse, and you fell to the ground, grievously wounded. The horses trampled you under their hooves, and the tyrants raised their blades against you.[1]

1/3: Looting the tents and plundering the possessions of the daughters of the Prophet (s)

487. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The enemy began to loot the personal possessions, garments, and camels of the Imam (a). Then, they directed themselves to [plunder] the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a), and their goods and provisions. There was no woman spared until they had successfully snatched the robe from her back, forcibly deprived her of it, and carried it away.[2]

488. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: The people began to divide his valuables and other possessions between themselves. They plundered whatever was in the camp, even the clean garments of the women.[3]

489. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Fāṭimah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): The thugs entered our tents. I was a young girl and was wearing gold anklets. A man began to rip off the anklets from my feet, while he was weeping.

I asked him, "What makes you weep, O enemy of God?"

He replied, "Why should I not weep, when I am stealing from the daughter of God's Messenger?"

I said, "Then do not steal from me!"

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[1] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 504.

حتى نكسوك عن جوادك، فهويت إلى الأرض جريحاً، تطؤك الخيول بحوافرها، وتعلوك الطغاة ببواترها

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 453; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 573.

مال الناس على الورس والحلل والإبل وانتهبوها

قال: ومال الناس على نساء الحسين عليه السلام وثقله ومتاعه، فإن كانت المرأة لتنازع ثوبها عن ظهرها حتى تغلب عليه فيذهب به منها

[3] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 188.

فاقتسم الناس ما كان من أمواله وحواصله وما في خبائه حتى ما على النساء من الثياب الطاهرة.

He replied, "I am afraid that someone else may come and take them instead!"

She said, "They plundered everything they found in the camp; they were even snatching the cloaks from our backs."[1]

490. *al-Malhūf*: The people raced one another to plunder the camp of the family of the Messenger (s) and the light of the eyes of Zahrā' al-Batūl (a); they even ripped the cloaks from the backs of the women. The daughters of God's Messenger (s) and the womenfolk ran out of the tents crying and wailing, lamenting the loss of their protectors and loved ones.

Ḥumayd ibn Muslim reports: "I saw a woman from the tribe of Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, who was with her husband in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. When she saw that the people had forced their way into the tents of the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a) and were rifling through them, she grabbed a sword and approached the tents, saying, 'O men of Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, will the daughters of God's Messenger be plundered [while you do nothing]? There is no authority except that of God! Rise to protect the blood of God's Messenger!' Her husband stopped her and took her back to his camp."[2]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 228, no. 242; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 82.

دخلت الغانمة علينا الفسطاط، وأنا جارية صغيرة، وفي رجلي خلخالان من ذهب، فجعل رجلٌ يفضّ الخلخالين من رجلي، وهو يبكي.

فقلت: ما يبكيك يا عدو الله؟ فقال: كيف لا أبكي وأنا أسلب ابنة رسول الله؟

فقلت: لا تسلبني.

قال: أخاف أن يجيء غيري فيأخذه.

قالت: وانتهبوا ما في الأبنية حتى كانوا ينزعون الملاحف عن ظهورنا.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 180; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 58.

وتسابق القوم على نهب بيوت آل الرسول وقرّة عين الزهراء البتول، حتى جعلوا ينزعون ملحفة المرأة عن ظهرها، وخرج بنات رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وحريمه يتساعدن على البكاء، ويندبن لفراق الحماة والأحبّاء.

فروى حميد بن مسلم قال: رأيت امرأة من بني بكر بن وائل كانت مع زوجها في أصحاب عمر بن سعد، فلما رأت القوم قد اقتحموا على نساء الحسين عليه السلام في فسطاطهن وهم يسلبونهن، أخذت سيفاً

491. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: I was standing near ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, al-Aṣghar (a). He was bed-ridden and ill. Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan arrived with his men, who asked, "Should we not kill this one?"

I said, "Glory be to God! Are we killing boys [now]? This one is only a young lad!"

I continued to say this, dissuading everyone who came for him, until ʿUmar ibn Saʿd arrived. He said, "Beware, let no one enter the tents of these women, and let no one harm this sick lad. Whoever has taken any of their possessions should return it to them."

By God, no one returned anything.

ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "May you be rewarded with goodness, for by God, God protected me from harm through your words."[1]

492. *al-Irshād*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: By God, I saw them attacking some of his womenfolk, his daughters, and his family. They were ripping their clothes from their backs, forcibly depriving them of their robes, and carrying them away.[2]

وأقبلت نحو الفسطاط، وقالت: يا آل بكر بن وائل، أتسلب بنات رسول الله؟! لا حكم إلا لله، يا لثارات
رسول الله! فأخذها زوجها فردها إلى رحله.

[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 452; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 38.

انتهيت إلى علي بن الحسين بن علي الأصغر عليهم السلام، وهو منبسط على فراش له، وهو مريض، وإذا شمر بن ذي الجوشن في رجالة معه يقولون: ألا نقتل هذا؟

قال: فقلت: سبحان الله! أنقتل الصبيان! إنما هذا صبي.

قال: فما زال ذلك دأبي أدفع عنه كل من جاء، حتى جاء عمر بن سعد فقال: ألا لا يدخلن بيت هؤلاء النسوة أحد، ولا يعرضن لهذا الغلام المريض، ومن أخذ من متاعهم شيئا فليرده عليهم. قال: فو الله ما رد أحد شيئا.

قال: فقال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: جزيت من رجل خيرا، فو الله لقد دفع الله عني بمقالتك شرا.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 112; *Iʿlām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 469.

فو الله لقد كنت أرى المرأة من نسائه وبناته وأهله تنازع ثوبها عن ظهرها حتى تغلب عليه فيذهب به منها.

1/4: Setting fire to the tents

493. *al-Malhūf*: A young girl came out from the direction of the camp of al-Ḥusayn (a). A man said to her, "O maidservant of God, your master has been killed."

The young girl said, "I ran back towards the ladies, crying, while they stood before me, weeping..."

The narrator says, "Then, they drove the women out of the tents and set the tents on fire. The women ran out, uncovered, plundered, barefoot, and in tears, resembling abject prisoners."[1]

494. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: The daughters of the Chief of the Prophets (s) and the light of the eyes of Zahrā' (a) came out [into the open], heartbroken, crying and wailing, lamenting the loss of their menfolk, young and old. The tents had been set on fire, and they ran out to escape [the flames].[2]

1/5: The celebration of Yazīd and the Umayyads

495. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a), about the despatch of the captives of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) to Damascus at the order of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād: The captives were sent to Yazīd, may God curse him. Before allowing the captives to be brought before him, he assembled the courtiers of Damascus, who congratulated him warmly on the victory.[3]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 180; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 58.

وجاءت جاريةٌ من ناحية خيم الحسين عليه السلام، فقال لها رجلٌ: يا أمة الله، إنّ سيّدك قُتل.

قالت الجارية: فأسرعت إلى سيّداتي وأنا أصيح، فقمن في وجهي وصحن...

قال الراوي: ثمّ أخرجوا النساء من الخيمة، وأشعلوا فيها النار، فخرجن حواسر مسلّبات حافيات باكيات، يمشين سبايا في أسر الذلّة.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 77.

خرج بنات سيّد الأنبياء وقرّة عين الزهراء، حاسرات، مسلّبات بالنياحة والعويل، يندبن على الشباب والكهول، وأضرمت النار في الفسطاط، فخرجن هاربات.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 459; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 429.

فلمّا قدموا عليه (أي على يزيد لعنة الله عليه) جمع من كان بحضرته من أهل الشام، ثمّ أدخلوهم، فهنّؤوه بالفتح.

496. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*: Yazīd summoned Ibn Ziyād and richly rewarded him with money and lavish gifts. He allowed him to sit next to him and promoted him in rank. He introduced him to his womenfolk and made him his drinking companion. One night, Yazīd got drunk and commanded the singer to sing for him, while he improvised the following lines:

Pour me a drink that would intoxicate my very heart;
Then go and pour the same for Ibn Ziyād.
He knows my secrets and enjoys my trust,
And has brought me my spoils and victories,
The killer of the rebel, that is, al-Ḥusayn,
The annihilator of the enemies and the envious.[1]

497. *Murūj al-Dhahab*: One day, Yazīd was sitting in a drinking assembly. Ibn Ziyād sat on his right. This was after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a). He approached the wine-bearer and said:

Pour me a drink that would intoxicate my every limb,
Then go and pour the same for Ibn Ziyād.
He knows my secrets and enjoys my trust,
And has brought me my spoils and victories.

Then he ordered the singers to sing these lines.[2]

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[1] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 290.

ثمّ إنّ يزيد استدعى ابن زياد إليه، وأعطاه أموالاً كثيرة، وتحفاً عظيمة، وقرّب مجلسه، ورفع منزلته، وأدخله على نسائه، وجعله نديمه، وسكر ليلة وقال للمغنّي: غنِّ، ثمّ قال يزيد بديهاً:

اسقني شربةً تروّي فؤادي　　ثمّ مِل فاسقِ مثلها ابن زياد
صاحب السرّ والأمانة عندي　　ولتسديد مغنمي وجهادي
قاتل الخارجيّ أعني حسيناً　　ومبيد الأعداء والحسّاد.

[2] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 77.

جلس (يزيد) ذات يوم على شرابه، وعن يمينه ابن زياد، وذلك بعد قتل الحسين عليه السلام، فأقبل على ساقيه، فقال:

اسقني شربةً تروّي مشاشي　　ثمّ مِل فاسقِ مثلها ابن زياد
صاحب السرّ والأمانة عندي　　ولتسديد مغنمي وجهادي.
ثمّ أمر المغنّين فغنّوا به.

498. *al-Futūḥ*: After al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, both the districts of Kufa and Basra (*al-ʿIrāqayn*) came together under the complete control of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, although he had been the governor over them [separately] in the past.

Yazīd sent him one million dirhams as a reward. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād summoned ʿAmr ibn Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī and nominated him to take charge over Kufa in his place. Then he went to Basra and bought the house of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUthmān al-Thaqafī and the house of Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (which later came back into the possession of Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī). He had both houses demolished and rebuilt anew. He spent a lot of money in their construction and named them the Red Mansion and the White Mansion. He would spend the winter in the Red Mansion and the summer in the White Mansion.

Then his influence increased, his reputation grew, and he became famous. He would bestow large gifts of money and surrounded himself with servants who would wait on him hand and foot. The poets composed poems praising him.[1]

499. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting ʿAwānah ibn al-Ḥakam: After ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād had killed al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) and his severed head was brought to him, he summoned ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī al-Ḥārith al-Sulamī and told him, "Hasten to Medina and inform ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ of the good news of the killing of al-Ḥusayn." During those days, ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ was the governor of Medina.

ʿAbd al-Malik tried to excuse himself from this task, but ʿUbayd Allāh refused to listen – and he was not a man to oppose – and said, "Go quickly to Medina, and let not the news precede your arrival." He gave him some dinars and said, "Do not bring me any excuses: if your horse fails, purchase another."

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[1] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 135; also, see *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 37, p. 458.

فلما قتل الحسين عليه السلام استوسق العراقان جميعا لعبيد الله بن زياد، وكانت الكوفة والبصرة إلى زياد من قبله.

قال: وأوصله يزيد بألف ألف درهم جائزة، فدعا عبيد الله بن زياد بعمرو بن حريث المخزومي فاستخلفه على الكوفة، ثم سار إلى البصرة فاشترى دار عبد الله بن عثمان الثقفي ودار سليمان بن علي الهاشمي التي صارت لسليمان بن علي بعد ذلك، فهدمهما جميعا ثم بناهما وأنفق عليهما مالا جزيلا، وسماهما الحمراء والبيضاء، فكان يشتو في الحمراء ويصيف في البيضاء. قال: ثم علا أمره وارتفع قدره وانتشر ذكره، وبذل الأموال واصطنع الرجال، ومدحته الشعراء.

'Abd al-Malik reports: I came to Medina, and encountered a man from the Banū Quraysh. He asked me, "What is the news?" I replied, "The news will come from the governor." He exclaimed, "We are from God, and to Him is our return! Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) has been killed!"

I came to 'Amr ibn Sa'īd, and he asked, "What is the news from where you have come?" I replied, "That which will delight the governor: Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) has been killed!"

He instructed me to make an announcement about his death, and I did so. [To this day] I have never heard – by God – wailing of the kind that I heard from the houses of the women of the Banū Hāshim when they lamented for al-Ḥusayn (a).

'Amr ibn Sa'īd recited while laughing:

The women of Banū Ziyād lamented a great lament,
Like the lamentation of our women on the day of al-Arnab.

Al-Arnab was a reference to the battle in which the Banū Zubayd exacted revenge against the Banu Ziyād, of the tribe of Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, from the clan of 'Abd al-Madān. This couplet was composed at the time by 'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib.

Then 'Amr ibn Sa'īd said, "This lamentation is requital for [our] lamentation for 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān." Then he went on the pulpit and informed the people about the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a).[1]

500. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Sālim, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): Four mosques were renovated in celebration at the news of the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a):

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 465; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 123.

لما قتل عبيد الله بن زياد الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وبعث برأسه إليه، دعا عبد الملك بن أبي الحارث السلمي فقال: انطلق حتى تقدم المدينة على عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص فبشره بقتل الحسين، وكان عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص أمير المدينة يومئذ.

قال: فذهبت لأعتل له، فزجرني - وكان عبيد الله لا يصطلى بناره - فقال: انطلق حتى تأتي المدينة ولا يسبقك الخبر، وأعطاه دنانير وقال: لا تعتل، وإن قامت بك راحلتك فاشتر راحلة.

قال عبد الملك: فقدمت المدينة فلقيني رجل من قريش فقال: ما الخبر؟ فقلت: الخبر عند الأمير، فقال: إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام.

Masjid al-Ash'ath, Masjid Jarīr, Masjid Simāk, and Masjid Shabath ibn Rib'ī.[1]

◆

فدخلت على عمرو بن سعيد، فقال: ما وراءك؟ فقلت: ما سرّ الأمير، قتل الحسين بن علي، فقال: ناد بقتله، فناديت بقتله، فلم أسمع والله واعية قط مثل واعية نساء بني هاشم في دورهن على الحسين عليه السلام، فقال عمرو بن سعيد وضحك:

عجت نساء بني زياد عجة كعجيج نسوتنا غداة الأرنب

والأرنب: وقعة كانت لبني زبيد على بني زياد من بني الحارث بن كعب من رهط عبد المدان، وهذا البيت لعمرو بن معديكرب.

ثم قال عمرو: هذه واعية بواعية عثمان بن عفان. ثم صعد المنبر فأعلم الناس قتله.

[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 3, p. 490; Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām, vol. 3, p. 250.

جددت أربعة مساجد بالكوفة فرحا لقتل الحسين عليه السلام: مسجد الأشعث، ومسجد جرير، ومسجد سماك، ومسجد شبث بن ربعي.

PART 2: THE SIGNS THAT APPEARED AFTER THE IMAM (A) WAS MARTYRED

2/1: The dream of Umm Salamah

501. ***Sunan al-Tirmidhi*****, quoting Salamah:** I came before Umm Salamah and found her weeping. I asked her, "What makes you weep?"

She said, "I saw God's Messenger (s) in a dream. His hair and beard were covered in dust. I asked him, 'What is the matter, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'I have just witnessed the killing of al-Husayn.'"[1]

502. ***Maqtal al-Husayn*** **of Khwārizmī, quoting Salmā al-Madaniyyah:** God's Messenger (s) gave Umm Salamah a phial that contained soil from al-Ṭaff, telling her, "When this soil becomes transformed to [the colour] of fresh blood, that is when al-Husayn (a) will have been killed."

Salmā adds: [One night] the sound of lamentation rose from the room of Umm Salamah. I was the first to come to her and asked, "Why are you distressed, O mother of the believers?"

She replied, "I saw God's Messenger (s) in my dream. His hair was covered in dust. I asked him, 'What is the matter?' and he replied, 'The people converged on my son, and killed him. I have just seen him lying dead.' I began to shake, woke up and rushed to the phial of soil. I found it transformed to blood."

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[1] *Sunan al-Tirmidhi*, vol. 5, p. 657, no. 3771; *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 4, p. 20, no. 6764.

دخلت على أم سلمة وهي تبكي، فقلت: ما يبكيك؟ قالت: رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله -تعني
في المنام- وعلى رأسه ولحيته التراب،
فقلت: ما لك يا رسول الله؟ قال: شهدت قتل الحسين آنفا.

Salmā said: I saw the phial placed in front of her.[1]

2/2: The soil that turned to blood

503. *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, when listing the miracles associated with Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): When Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) decided to head for Iraq, Umm Salamah said to him, "Do not go to Iraq, for I have heard God's Messenger (s) say, 'My son al-Ḥusayn will be killed in the land of Iraq,' and I have kept the phial of soil that he gave to me."

He replied, "By God, I shall [indeed] be killed in that manner, but even if I did not go to Iraq, they would still kill me. If you wish, I will show you my last resting place, and where my companions will be killed." Then he passed his hand over her face, and God allowed her eyes to see everything that he had talked of. Then he took out some soil, placed it in another phial, and gave it to her. He told her, "When the soil in both phials flows with blood, then know that I have been killed."

Umm Salamah reported, "When the day of Ashura came, I looked at the two phials in the afternoon, and saw that the soil within them had overflowed with blood." Then she cried out in sorrow.[2]

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[1] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 96; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 232.

إنّ سلمى المدنيّة قالت: دفع رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله إلى أمّ سلمة قارورة فيها رملٌ من الطفّ، وقال لها: إذا تحوّل هذا دماً عبيطاً فعند ذلك يقتل الحسين.

قالت سلمى: فارتفعت واعيةٌ من حجرة أمّ سلمة، فكنت أوّل من أتاها، فقلت لها: ما دهاك يا أمّ المؤمنين؟ قالت: رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله في المنام والتراب على رأسه، فقلت: ما لك؟ قال: وثب الناس على ابني فقتلوه، وقد شهدته قتيلاً الساعة.

فاقشعرّ جلدي، وانتهيت إلى القارورة فوجدتها تفور دماً. قالت سلمى: ورأيتها موضوعةً بين يديها.

[2] *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, vol. 1, p. 253; *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, vol. 2, p. 179.

إنّه عليه السلام لمّا أراد العراق قالت له أمّ سلمة: لا تخرج إلى العراق، فقد سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يقول: يقتل ابني الحسين بأرض العراق، وعندي تربةٌ دفعها إليّ في قارورة.

فقال عليه السلام: إنّي والله مقتولٌ كذلك، وإن لم أخرج إلى العراق يقتلوني أيضاً، وإن أحببت أن أريك مضجعي ومصرع أصحابي. ثمّ مسح بيده على وجهها، ففسح الله في بصرها حتّى أراها ذلك كلّه، وأخذ تربةً فأعطاها من تلك التربة أيضاً في قارورة أخرى، وقال عليه السلام: فإذا فاضتا دماً فاعلمي أنّي قد قتلت.

فقالت أمّ سلمة: فلمّا كان يوم عاشوراء نظرت إلى القارورتين بعد الظهر، فإذا هما قد فاضتا دماً، فصاحت.

504. *al-Irshād*, quoting Umm Salamah: One night, God's Messenger (ṣ) left us, and was gone for a long time. When he returned, he was dishevelled and covered in dust. He had something closed in his fist. I said, "O Messenger of God! What has happened; why do I see you dishevelled and dusty?"

He replied, "I was just taken to a place in Iraq called Karbala. There, I was shown the massacre of my son, al-Ḥusayn, a group from my offspring, and my household. I scooped up some of their blood, and here it is in my hand." He opened his hand to show me, and said, "Take it and look after it." I took it; it looked like red soil. I poured it into a phial, sealed it, and kept it safe.

When al-Ḥusayn (a) left Mecca for Iraq, I would take out that phial every day and night. I would smell [the soil], look at it, and then I would weep at his plight. On the tenth day of Muḥarram, the day on which he was martyred, I took it out in the early part of the morning, and it appeared as normal. When I returned to it at the end of the day, it had changed to fresh blood. I screamed and wept in my chamber. Then, I controlled my anguish, fearing that I would be heard by their enemies in Medina, who would be quick to gloat [at the news]. I kept that moment to myself and did not disclose it until the day when the messenger announced the news [of his martyrdom] and confirmed what I had seen.[1]

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 130; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 213.

خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله من عندنا ذات ليلة، فغاب عنا طويلاً، ثم جاءنا وهو أشعث أغبر، ويده مضمومة، فقلت: يا رسول الله ما لي أراك شعثاً مغبراً؟

فقال: أسري بي في هذا الوقت إلى موضع من العراق يقال له كربلاء، فأريت فيه مصرع الحسين ابني وجماعة من ولدي وأهل بيتي، فلم أزل ألقط دماءهم فها هي في يدي، وبسطها إلي فقال: خذيها واحتفظي بها. فأخذتها فإذا هي شبه تراب أحمر، فوضعته في قارورة، وشددت رأسها واحتفظت به.

فلما خرج الحسين عليه السلام من مكة متوجهاً نحو العراق، كنت أخرج تلك القارورة في كل يوم وليلة، فأشمها وأنظر إليها، ثم أبكي لمصابه. فلما كان في اليوم العاشر من المحرم - وهو اليوم الذي قتل فيه عليه السلام - أخرجتها في أول النهار وهي بحالها، ثم عدت إليها آخر النهار، فإذا هي دم عبيط. فصحت في بيتي وبكيت، وكظمت غيظي مخافة أن يسمع أعداؤهم بالمدينة، فيسرعوا بالشماتة. فلم أزل حافظة للوقت حتى جاء الناعي ينعاه، فحقق ما رأيت.

505. ***Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, quoting ʿĀ'ishah:** Al-Ḥusayn (a) came to the Prophet (s) when he was still a toddling infant. The Prophet (s) said, "O ʿĀ'ishah, shall I astonish you? An angel just came to me, who had never appeared to me previously, and said, 'This son of yours will be killed, and if you wish, I will show you the soil of the land where he will be killed.'" Then he brought forth some red soil. Umm Salamah took it and preserved it in a phial. When she took it out on the day that al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, it had turned to blood.[1]

2/3: The dream of Ibn ʿAbbās

506. ***Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās:** During a midday nap, I saw the Prophet (s) in a dream. He was standing, dishevelled and covered in dust. In his hand was a phial containing blood. I said, "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you, O Messenger of God! What is this?"

He replied, "This is the blood of al-Ḥusayn, and his companions. I have been collecting it all day." We checked the date later and realized that al-Ḥusayn (a) had been martyred on that [very] day.[2]

507. ***Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting ʿAlī ibn Zayd ibn Judʿān:** Ibn ʿAbbās woke from his sleep and recited the verse, "*Verily we are from God, and to Him we shall return*". Then he exclaimed, "Al-Ḥusayn has been killed, by God!"

His companions said to him, "Surely not, O Ibn ʿAbbās, surely not!"

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[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 17; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 247.

دخل الحسين عليه السلام على النبي صلى الله عليه و آله وهو غلام يدرج فقال: أي عائشة ألا أعجبك لقد دخل علي آنفا ملك ما دخل علي قط، فقال: إن ابنك هذا مقتول وإن شئت أريتك من تربته التي يقتل بها، فتناول ترابا أحمر، فأخذته أم سلمة فخزنته في قارورة، فأخرجته يوم قتل وهو دم.

[2] Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 608, no. 2553; *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 4, p. 439, no. 8201.

رأيت النبي صلى الله عليه و آله فيما يرى النائم بنصف النهار، وهو قائم أشعث أغبر، بيده قارورة فيها دم، فقلت: بأبي أنت وأمي يا رسول الله ما هذا؟

قال: هذا دم الحسين وأصحابه، لم أزل ألتقطه منذ اليوم، فأحصينا ذلك اليوم فوجدوه قتل في ذلك اليوم.

He said, "I saw God's Messenger (s) carrying a flask full of blood. He told me, 'Do you not know what my nation has done after me? They have killed by son, al-Ḥusayn. This is his blood and the blood of his companions: I will raise it [my complaint] with God, the Almighty.'"

The day and time when he narrated his dream was noted down. Only 24 days later, news reached them in Medina that al-Ḥusayn (a) had been martyred, on that same day, at that same time.[1]

2/4: A solar eclipse

528. ***al-Sunan al-Kubrā*****, quoting Abū Qabīl:** When al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was martyred, the sun was eclipsed in a manner such that stars became visible in the middle of the day; we feared that this was *that* eclipse [that heralded the Day of Judgement].[2]

529. ***Tārīkh Dimashq*****, quoting Khalīfah:** When al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, the skies darkened, and the stars became visible in the day. I even saw the belt of Orion (*al-jawzā'*) in the mid-afternoon, and a red cloud of dust descended.[3]

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[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 237; *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*, p. 428.

استيقظ ابن عباس من نومه فاسترجع وقال: قتل الحسين والله.

فقال له أصحابه: كلا يا ابن عباس، كلا. قال: رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله ومعه زجاجة من دم، فقال: ألا تعلم ما صنعت أمتي من بعدي؟ قتلوا ابني الحسين، وهذا دمه ودم أصحابه أرفعها إلى الله عز وجل. قال: فكتب ذلك اليوم الذي قال فيه وتلك الساعة، قال: فما لبثوا إلا أربعة وعشرين يوما حتى جاءهم الخبر بالمدينة أنه قتل ذلك اليوم وتلك الساعة.

[2] *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 488, no. 6353; *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 114, no. 2838.

لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام انكسفت الشمس كسفة بدت الكواكب نصف النهار، حتى ظننا أنها هي.

[3] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 226; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 432.

لما قتل الحسين عليه السلام اسودت السماء، وظهرت الكواكب نهاراً، حتى رأيت الجوزاء عند العصر، وسقط التراب الأحمر.

2/5: The rising of black dust

510. *al-Malhūf*, describing the phenomena seen at the time of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): At that time, a violent, intensely black storm cloud rose in the air. It was accompanied by a wind of red dust, and nothing could be seen through it. The people thought that divine punishment had descended on them. It stayed like this for a time before the storm finally moved away from them.[1]

2/6: The skies becoming red

511. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Dāwūd ibn Farqad, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): After al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, the skies had a reddish haze for one year. The same had happened at the martyrdom of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a). Its reddening was an expression of its sorrow.[2]

512. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Hilāl: I heard Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) say, "The skies wept for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a), and have never wept for anyone other than them."

I asked, "In what manner did it weep?"

He replied, "For forty days, the sun rose with an [unusual] tinge of redness and set with a tinge of redness."

I asked, "And that signified their weeping?"

He answered, "Yes."[3]

513. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, quoting 'Alī ibn Mushir: My grandmother, Umm Ḥakīm, related to me, "Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was martyred

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 177; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, 129.

وارتفعت في السماء في ذلك الوقت غبرة شديدة سوداء مظلمة فيها ريح حمراء لا يرى فيها عين ولا أثر حتى ظن القوم أن العذاب قد جاءهم، فلبثوا كذلك ساعة ثم انجلت عنهم.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 182, no. 249; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 210.

احمرت السماء حين قتل الحسين عليه السلام سنة، و [قد] احمرت حين قتل يحيى بن زكريا عليه السلام، وحمرتها بكاؤها.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 185, no. 260; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 211.

سمعته يقول: إن السماء بكت على الحسين بن علي ويحيى بن زكريا عليهما السلام، ولم تبك على أحد غيرهما. قلت: وما بكاؤها؟

قال: مكثوا أربعين يوما تطلع الشمس بحمرة، وتغرب بحمرة. قلت: فذاك بكاؤها؟ قال: نعم.

when I was a small girl. For many days afterwards, the skies resembled blood.[1]

514. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting Ḥuṣayn: After al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, for two or three months, the walls looked like they were tinged with blood, from the moment the sun rose to the time it cleared the horizon.[2]

515. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Fāṭimah, the daughter of 'Alī (a): The people witnessed the sun casting a red hue on the walls, resembling saffron-coloured sheets. This continued until 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) went back with the women and returned the severed head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to Karbala.[3]

516. *al-Irshād*, quoting Sa'd al-Iskāf, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): The killer of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a) was illegitimately born, and the killer of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was [also] illegitimately born; and the sky did not turn red except for these two [holy personalities].[4]

2/7: The skies weeping blood

517. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā (a)*, quoting al-Rayyān ibn Shabīb, from Imam al-Riḍā (a): My father reported from his father, from his own

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[1] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 113, no. 2839; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 8, p. 633, no. 262.

حدثتني جدتي أم حكيم قالت: قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وأنا يومئذ جويرية، فمكثت السماء أياما مثل العلقة.

[2] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 393; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, pp. 413 and 424.

لما قتل الحسين عليه السلام لبثوا شهرين أو ثلاثة كأنما لطخت الحوائط بالدماء، ساعة تطلع الشمس حتى ترتفع.

[3] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 231, no. 243; *Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 212.

وأصبح الناس يرون الشمس على الحيطان حمراء كأنها الملاحف المعصفرة، إلى أن خرج علي بن الحسين عليه السلام بالنسوة، ورد رأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى كربلاء.

[4] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 132; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 222.

كان قاتل يحيى بن زكريا ولد زنا، وقاتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام ولد زنا، ولم تحمر السماء إلا لهما.

father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), "When my grandfather, al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, blood and red dust rained down from the skies."[1]

518. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*), quoting Naḍrah al-Azdī: When al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī was martyred, blood rained from the skies; our tents and everything we owned[2] became covered in blood.[3]

519. *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, quoting Abū Sa'īd: [Immediately after his martyrdom] whenever a stone in the land was lifted, fresh blood was found underneath it. The skies rained blood, whose stains remained for a time on clothes. After some time [all] this stopped happening.[4]

2/8: The weeping of the heavens and the earth

520. *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, quoting Fuḍail al-Hamdānī, from his father: A man who was an enemy of God and an enemy of His Messenger (s) passed by the Commander of the Faithful (a), and the Imam (a) recited the verse, "*And neither the heavens nor the earth wept over them, nor were they given respite.*"[5] Then al-Ḥusayn (a) passed by, and he said, "But as for this man, the heavens and the earth shall weep over him."

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[1] *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 1, p. 300, no. 58; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 192, no. 201.

حدثني أبي عن أبيه عن جده (الباقر) عليهم السلام أنه لما قتل جدي الحسين عليه السلام أمطرت
السماء دما وترابا أحمر.

[2] The book *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā* (p. 148) mentions "our wells and our air" instead of "our tents and everything we owned".

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* / *al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 505; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 433.

لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام مطرت السماء دما، فأصبحت جبابنا وكل شيء لنا ملئ دما.

[4] *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, p. 194; *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 274.

ما رفع حجر من الدنيا إلا وتحته دم عبيط، ولقد مطرت السماء دما بقي أثره في الثياب مدة حتى تقطعت.

[5] Q 44:29.

He [also] said, "The heavens and the earth only wept over Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a) and al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a)."[1]

521. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Jābir, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): The heavens did not weep over anyone after Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a) except for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), for whom it wept for forty days.[2]

522. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Bashīr ibn Ḥadhlam: When Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) neared Medina on his return from Karbala, accompanied by the women and children, he gave a sermon in which he said, "O people, who amongst your men will rejoice after his killing? Which eye amongst you will withhold its tears, too stingy to shed them? For indeed, the seven weighty heavens wept at his killing, the seas wept with their billowing waves; the sky with its pillars, the earth with its vast borders, the trees with their branches, and the fish in the depths of the seas [all wept]. The closest angels to the Lord and every inhabitant of the heavens wept for him!"[3]

523. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), in the salutation (*ziyārah*) of Imam al-Ḥusayn: O my Master, I have wept for you. O chosen one of God, son of His chosen one. It is befitting that I should weep over you when the heavens, the lands, the mountains, and the seas all wept over you. What would be my excuse if I did not shed tears over you, when the beloved (s) of my Lord wept over you, the Imams (a) wept over you, and everyone

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[1] *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, vol. 2, p. 291; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 201.

مرّ عليه رجلٌ عدوٌّ لله ولرسوله، فقال: ﴿فَمَا بَكَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّمَاءُ وَالْأَرْضُ وَمَا كَانُوا مُنظَرِينَ﴾، ثمّ مرّ
عليه الحسين بن علي عليه السلام فقال: لكنّ هذا ليبكينّ عليه السماء والأرض.
وقال: وما بكت السماء والأرض إلّا على يحيى بن زكريا والحسين بن علي عليهما السلام.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 183, no. 251; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 211.

ما بكت السماء على أحد بعد يحيى بن زكريا عليه السلام إلّا على الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، فإنّها
بكت عليه أربعين يوماً.

[3] *al-Malhūf*, p. 229; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 113.

أيّها الناس، فأيّ رجالات منكم يسرّون بعد قتله، أم أيّة عين منكم تحبس دمعها وتضنّ عن انهمالها؟
فلقد بكت السبع الشداد لقتله، وبكت البحار بأمواجها، والسماوات بأركانها، والأرض بأرجائها، والأشجار
بأغصانها، والحيتان في لجج البحار، والملائكة المقرّبون، وأهل السماوات أجمعون.

between the furthest lote-tree (*sidrat al-muntahā*)[1] and the earth wept in distress over you?[2]

524. *al-Kāfī*, quoting al-Ḥusayn ibn Thuwayr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, the seven heavens, the seven earths, and everything within them and between them all wept over him, as did the creatures of our Lord that inhabit paradise and hell, the creatures that are visible, and those that are invisible.[3]

2/9: Fresh blood under the rocks

525. *al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*: It is reported from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): [The Umayyad caliph] ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān – or according to another report, his son, Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik – wrote to his agent in Medina, "Send Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī [al-Bāqir] to me [in Damascus]." So my father left for Damascus, and took me along with him....

We travelled until we came before ʿAbd al-Malik.... He said, "I have a question that the scholars have been unable to answer. Tell me, if this nation were to kill their leader (Imam), who they were [divinely] obligated to obey, what warning would God show them on that day?"

My father replied, "If that were to happen, whenever they lifted a stone, they would find fresh blood under it."

[On hearing this] ʿAbd al-Malik kissed my father's forehead and said, "You have spoken the truth. Indeed, on the day that your father ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) was killed, there was [in those days] a large rock outside the door of my father Marwān's house. He ordered for it to be lifted, and we found fresh blood bubbling under it. Also, I had a large cistern in my garden, which had black slabs of stone on either side. I ordered for them to be lifted away and replaced with white slabs [as it happened] on the day al-Ḥusayn (a) had been killed, and I saw fresh blood bubbling under those black slabs.... Now, will you stay here with us, so that I may grant you every comfort, or do you wish to return?"

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[1] *Sidrat al-Muntahā* is a lote (*sidr*) tree that is located at the furthest boundary of paradise, and at the closest (spiritual) location to the throne (*ʿarsh*) of God.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 409, no. 639; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 182.

يا حسين أبكيك يا صفوة الله وابن صفوته وحق لي أن أبكيك وقد بكتك السماوات والأرضون والجبال والبحار، فما عذري إن لم أبكك وقد بكاك حبيب ربي وبكتك الأئمة عليهم السلام وبكاك من دون سدرة المنتهى إلى الثرى جزعا عليك.

[3] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 575; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 167, no. 218.

إن أبا عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام لما قضى بكت عليه السماوات السبع والأرضون السبع وما فيهن وما بينهن ومن يتقلب في الجنة والنار من خلق ربنا وما يرى وما لا يرى.

My father replied, "I would like to return to the grave of my grandfather (s)."

He permitted him to depart.[1]

526. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, quoting Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī: 'Abd al-Malik summoned Ibn Ra's al-Jālūt[2] and asked him, "Was there any sign observed after the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a)?"

Ibn Ra's al-Jālūt replied, "On that day, whenever a rock was lifted, fresh blood was found under it."[3]

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[1] *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, vol. 1, p. 291; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 46, p. 312.

روي عن الصادق عليه السلام أنّ عبد الملك بن مروان كتب إلى عامله بالمدينة - وفي رواية: هشام بن عبد الملك - أن وجّه إليّ محمّد بن علي.

فخرج أبي وأخرجني معه...

فمضينا حتى أتينا عبد الملك... وقال: عرضت لي مسألة لم يعرفها العلماء فأخبرني، إذا قتلت هذه الأمّة إمامها المفروض طاعته فأيّ علامة تظهر في ذلك اليوم؟

قال أبي: إذا كان الغداة لم يرفعوا حجراً إلّا وجدوا تحته دماً عبيطاً.

فقبّل عبد الملك رأس أبي وقال: صدقت، إنّ في اليوم الذي قتل فيه أبوك علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام كان على باب أبي مروان حجر عظيم فأمر أن يرفعوه فرأينا تحته دماً عبيطاً يغلي، وكان لي أيضاً حوض كبير في بستاني وكان حافتاه حجارة سوداء، فأمرت أن ترفع ويوضع مكانها حجارة بيض، وكان في ذلك اليوم قتل الحسين عليه السلام فرأيت دماً عبيطاً يغلي تحتها. أتقيم عندنا ولك من الكرامات ما تشاء أم ترجع؟

قال أبي: بل أرجع إلى قبر جدّي. فأذن له بالانصراف.

[2] The Ra's al-Jālūt, or the Exilarch (Hebrew, *Rosh Galut*, or "Head of those in Exile"), was a title of the leader of the Jewish community in Islamic lands. The caliph summoned his son.

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 498; Ibn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 5, p. 18.

أرسل عبد الملك إلى ابن رأس الجالوت، فقال: هل كان في قتل الحسين عليه السلام علامة؟

527. ***al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*****, quoting al-Zuhrī:** When al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, whenever a rock at the Bayt al-Maqdas [in Jerusalem] was lifted, fresh blood was found under it.[1]

528. ***al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*****, quoting Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]:** On the day that al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) was martyred, whenever a rock was lifted in al-Shām, blood was found under it.[2,3]

2/10: The cry of an angel

529. ***al-Kāfī*****, quoting Razīn, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a):** When al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) was struck with a sword, causing his head to be lowered, and the enemy began to sever his head, a caller from the depths of the throne (*ʿarsh*) called out, "O nation of people who became disorderly and deviant after the passing of their Prophet! May God never allow you to enjoy the Festivals (*ʿĪd*) of Aḍḥā, or Fiṭr."

Then Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣādiq (a) said, "By God, they never experienced [any happiness], nor will they ever do so, until the blood of al-Ḥusayn (a) is avenged."[4]

2/11 The scream of Jibraʾīl (a)

530. ***Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*****, quoting al-Ḥalabī:** Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) told me, "[...] When al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, someone ran screaming through

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قال ابن رأس الجالوت، ما قُلِبَ يومئذٍ حجرٌ إلّا وُجِدَ تحته دمٌ عبيطٌ.

[1] al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr, vol. 3, p. 113, no. 2834; *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 314.

لما قُتِلَ الحسينُ بنُ عليٍّ عليه السلام، لم يُرفَع حجرٌ ببيت المقدس إلّا وُجِدَ تحته دمٌ عبيطٌ.

[2] *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 113, no. 2835; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 425.

ما رُفِعَ بالشام حجرٌ يومَ قُتِلَ الحسينُ بنُ عليٍّ عليه السلام إلّا عن دمٍ.

[3] Some sources mention "fresh blood". See *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-Muḥriqah*, p. 192; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 82; and al-Kūfī, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 2, p. 266, no. 751.

[4] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 170, no. 3; *Man lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 2, p. 175, no. 2059.

لمّا ضُرِبَ الحسينُ بنُ عليٍّ عليه السلام بالسيفِ فسقطَ رأسُه، ثمّ ابتُدِرَ ليُقطَعَ رأسُه، نادى منادٍ من بُطنانِ العرشِ: ألا أيّتها الأمّةُ المتحيّرةُ الضالّةُ بعدَ نبيّها، لا وفّقكم اللهُ لأضحى ولا فطرٍ.

قال: ثمّ قال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: فلا جرمَ واللهِ ما وُفِّقوا ولا يُوَفَّقونَ حتّى يَثأرَ ثائرُ الحسينِ عليه السلام.

the ranks of the army [of Ibn Ziyād]. They admonished him. He said to them, 'Why should I not scream, when God's Messenger (s) is standing looking down at the ground one moment, and looking at your ranks the next? I fear that if he prays against the inhabitants of the earth, I too would perish amongst them!'

"Some said to one another, 'This man is mad.'

"[But] Those who were remorseful said, 'By God, we have brought this down on ourselves. In following Ibn Sumayyah [Ibn Ziyād], we have killed the chief of the youths of paradise.' They came out against 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, and what happened to them happened."

Al-Ḥalabī said to him (a), "May I be ransomed for you! Who was this person who shouted?"

He said, "We do not know him to be other than Jibra'īl (a). Had he been permitted to do so, he would have issued a scream at them that would have removed their souls from their bodies and sent them into hellfire. However, they were '*given respite so that they may increase in sin, and for them awaits a painful punishment.*'"[1] [2]

2/12 The withering of the tree of Umm Ma'bad

551. ***Rabī' al-Abrār*, quoting Hind, the daughter of Jawn:** God's Messenger (s) rested at the camp of my maternal aunt, Umm Ma'bad.

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[1] Paraphrasing Q 3:178.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 559, no. 843; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 172.

قال لي أبو عبد الله (الصادق) عليه السلام: إن الحسين عليه السلام لما قتل أتاهم آت وهم في العسكر فصرخ فزجر.

فقال لهم: وكيف لا أصرخ ورسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله قائم ينظر إلى الأرض مرة وإلى حربكم مرة، وأنا أخاف أن يدعو الله على أهل الأرض فأهلك فيهم.

فقال بعضهم لبعض: هذا إنسان مجنون.

فقال التوابون: تالله ما صنعنا بأنفسنا، قتلنا لابن سمية سيد شباب أهل الجنة، فخرجوا على عبيد الله بن زياد، فكان من أمرهم ما كان.

قال: قلت له: جعلت فداك، من هذا الصارخ؟ قال: ما نراه إلا جبرئيل عليه السلام، أما إنه لو أذن له فيهم لصاح بهم صيحة يخطف به أرواحهم من أبدانهم إلى النار، ولكن أمهل لهم ليزدادوا إثما ولهم عذاب أليم.

When he awoke from his sleep, he asked for some water. He washed his hands, gargled some water in his mouth, and then discharged the water over a small thorny tree (*al-'awsaj*)[1] near the camp.

Over time, the tree grew to a big size, and would give large red-coloured fruit, with a fragrance like ambergris and the taste of honey. The fruit would satiate the hungry, slake the thirst of the thirsty, and cure the ailments of the sick. When cattle and camels ate from its foliage, they would produce more milk.

We used to call it 'the blessed' (*al-mubārakah*). Desert dwellers would often visit to partake of its thirst-quenching fruit and take provisions from it.[2]

Until that fateful day, when we awoke to see that all its fruit had fallen to the ground, and its leaves had shrivelled. We were filled with dread at this. Not long after, news arrived about the passing of God's Messenger (s).

Thirty years later, the tree became covered with thorns from its bottom to the top, its fruit fell, and its greenness disappeared. At that time we learnt of the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī (a). The tree never bore fruit after that, but we used to derive benefit from its leaves.

One day we woke up to see that fresh blood had flowed from its trunk and its leaves had withered. We waited in dread [for information]. Then we received news of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a). Soon afterwards, the tree dried up entirely and was lost.[3]

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[1] *Al-'awsaj* is a thorny tree which has round, red fruits, similar to agate ('aqīq) stones. *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. 2, p. 322, s.v. 'wsj.

[2] The report in *Kashf al-Ghummah* mentions that they would come seeking its medical properties and provisions.

[3] *Rabī' al-Abrār*, vol. 1, p. 289; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 1, p. 19.

نزل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله خيمتنا، قالت أم معبد: فقام من رقدته، فدعا بماء فغسل يديه ثم
تمضمض ومجّ في عوسجة إلى جانب الخيمة، فأصبحنا وهي أعظم دوحة، وجاءت بثمر أعظم ما يكون
في لون الورس، ورائحة العنبر، وطعم الشهد، ما أكل منها جائع إلا شبع، ولا ظمآن إلا روي، ولا سقيم
إلا برئ، ولا أكل من ورقها بعير ولا شاة إلا در لبنها، فكنا نسميها المباركة، وينتابنا من البوادي من
يستشفي بها، ويتزود منها.

532. *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*: On one of his journeys, the Prophet (s) stopped at the camp of Umm Ma'bad. He asked to be her guest, but she said, "At this moment, I have nothing to offer you."

The Prophet (s) glanced at an emaciated sheep which stood at the edge of the camp. It had fallen back from the flock due to its weakness. He asked, "Do you permit me to milk it?"

She said, "Yes, but there is no goodness left in her."

He passed his hand over its back, and it became fatter than the other sheep. Then he passed his hand over its udders, and they swelled tremendously, becoming full of milk.

Then he said, "O Umm Ma'bad, bring a large vessel." They all drank the milk until they were satiated.

When Umm Ma'bad saw this, she said, "O man of goodness, I have a son who is seven years old; however, he is like a lump of flesh, neither able to speak, nor able to stand." She brought him to the Prophet (s).

He took a date that had remained in a dish and chewed on it. Then he placed it in the mouth of the child. The boy immediately stood up and began to walk and speak. The Prophet (s) buried the seed of the date in the ground, and within no time, a date tree formed, laden with fresh fruit. It would remain this way in the summer and the winter months. He pointed around him, and everywhere, greenery sprang up. Then the Prophet (s) departed.

When he (s) passed away, the date tree stopped giving fruit, but it remained green. After Imam 'Ali (a) was killed, it was no longer

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حتى أصبحنا ذات يوم وقد تساقط ثمرها وصفر ورقها، فما راعنا إلا نعي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

ثم إنها بعد ثلاثين سنة أصبحت ذات شوك من أسفلها إلى أعلاها، وتساقط ثمرها، وذهبت نضرتها، فما شعرنا إلا بمقتل أمير المؤمنين علي عليه السلام، فما أثمرت بعد ذلك، وكنا ننتفع بورقها.

ثم أصبحنا وإذا بها قد نبع من ساقها دم عبيط، وقد ذبل ورقها، فبينا نحن فزعين إذ أتانا خبر مقتل الحسين عليه السلام، ويبست الشجرة على أثر ذلك وذهبت.

green, but remained standing. But when al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, blood flowed from the tree, and it dried up.[1]

2/13: Signs that appeared in the goods that were plundered

533. *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn Qutaybah, quoting Sinān ibn al-Ḥakīm, from his father: The enemy plundered the camp of al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day that he was martyred. They stole plants for making dye and rouge (*wars*), and every woman who used these products afterwards was afflicted with a skin disease.[2]

534. *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, quoting Yazīd ibn Hārūn: My mother narrated to me from her grandmother: I saw the time when al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was killed. When he was killed, some people went and stole his camel. When it was night, I saw flames of fire emanate from it; the fire consumed everything that had been plundered from the army of al-Ḥusayn (a).[3]

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[1] *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, vol. 1, p. 146; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 19, p. 75.

إنَّ النبيّ صلى الله عليه و آله سار حتى نزل خيمة أمّ معبد، فطلبوا منها قرى، فقالت: ما يحضرني شيء. فنظر رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله إلى شاة في ناحية الخيمة قد تخلّفت من الغنم لهزالها، فقال: أتأذنين في حلبها؟ قالت: نعم، ولا خير فيها. فمسح يده على ظهرها، فصارت أسمن ما يكون من الغنم، ثمّ مسح يده على ضرعها، فأرخت ضرعا عجيبا، ودرّت لبنا كثيرا.

فقال: يا أمّ معبد، هاتي العسّ، فشربوا جميعا حتى رووا.

فلمّا رأت أمّ معبد ذلك قالت: يا حسن الوجه، إنّ لي ولدا له سبع سنين، وهو كقطعة لحم لا يتكلّم ولا يقوم، فأتته به، فأخذ تمرة قد بقيت في الوعاء، ومضغها وجعلها في فيه، فنهض في الحال، ومشى وتكلّم، وجعل نواها في الأرض، فصارت في الحال نخلة، وقد تهدّل الرطب منها، وكان كذلك شتاء وصيفا، وانتشر من الجوانب، فصار ما حولها مراعي. ورحل رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله.

فلمّا توفّي صلى الله عليه و آله لم ترطب تلك النخلة، وكانت خضراء، فلمّا قتل عليّ عليه السلام لم تخضرّ، وكانت باقية، فلمّا قتل الحسين عليه السلام سال منها الدم ويبست.

[2] Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vol. 1, p. 222; *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 365.

انتهب الناس ورسا في عسكر الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام يوم قتل، فما تطيّبت منه امرأة إلّا برصت.

[3] *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, pp. 2626 and 2627.

أخبرتني أمّي عن جدّتها، قالت: أدركت قتل الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام، فلمّا قتل خرج الناس إلى إبل كانت معه، فانتهبوها، فلمّا كان الليل رأيت فيها النيران تلتهب، فاحترق كلّ ما أخذ من عسكره.

535. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, quoting Jamīl ibn Murrah: On the day that al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, they captured a camel from his army, slaughtered it, and distributed its meat. The meat turned as bitter as colocynth (*al-ʿalqam*), and they could not eat any of it.[1]

536. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: When the sacred head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was presented to Yazīd, it emitted a fragrance that surpassed all fragrances. When the camel that was used to transport the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was slaughtered, its meat was more bitter than aloe.[2]

An explanation of the extraordinary events that occurred after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

There are certain points that are worthy of consideration when examining the reports about the extraordinary events that occurred after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), such as blood raining from the skies, *etc.*

1. The occurrence of such events is not outside the realm of possibility. Consequently, such accounts can be accepted if they are found in reliable sources.

2. The extraordinary events that occurred from the time Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was born, and which have been reported in the reliable sources of both the Shīʿa and the Sunnis – some of which we have already mentioned – are so numerous that every fair-minded researcher, by examining these reports, can achieve certainty about the general occurrence of these events.

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[1] *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 433; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah*, vol. 6, p. 472.

أصابوا إبلاً في عسكر الحسين عليه السلام يوم قُتل، فنحروها وقسموها، قال: فصارت مثل العلقم فما استطاعوا أن يسيغوا منها شيئاً.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 61; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 305.

لما أُدخل الرأس على يزيد كان للرأس طيب قد فاح على كل طيب، ولما نُحر الجمل الذي حُمل عليه رأس الحسين عليه السلام كان لحمه أمرّ من الصبر.

3. To this day, there exists a plane tree in the village of Zar'ābād[1] in Qazwīn, which is hundreds of years old. According to numerous eye-witness accounts, a substance resembling blood flows from some of its branches every year on the tenth of Muḥarram. Thousands of people travel to the village every year to witness the phenomenon.

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[1] Zar'ābād is a village in the Alamūt district of Qazwīn. The grave of 'Alī al-Asghar, the son of Imam al-Kāẓim (a), is located in the village. Next to the grave is a large plane tree, which is locally called the "Tree of Blood". The people of that locality believe that every year, on the day of Ashura, the branches of the tree break off, and in their place, blood flows out. The tree has been famous since olden times.

The existence of the tree of blood in Zar'ābād has been mentioned by several scholars in their works, among them, Sayyid Mūsā Zar'ābādī Qazwīnī (d.1353/1934), who was a scholar of the rational and narrational sciences, and an author of useful works in jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, exegesis, theology, and other fields.

Amongst the works of the late Sayyid Mūsā Zar'ābādī is a treatise entitled *Karāmāt* (Miracles). In the description of the sixth miracle, he writes, "The flow of blood from the tree on the day of Ashura had not stopped as of 1322/1904 [the year the book was compiled]." He mentions that his father and grandfather had observed the miracle in their own times as well. In 1316/1898, he went with a group of scholars to observe the event in Zar'ābād more closely, and they found that the blood flowed from the tree from around midday. They soaked a piece of cotton in some of the blood, and found it to be very fragrant.

Further details can be found in the work, *Īḍāḥ al-Ḥujjah fī Sharḥ al-'Urwah*, vol. 2, p. 208.

PART 3: THE BURIAL OF THE MARTYRS

3/1: The presence of the Prophet (s) at the burials

537. ***al-Amālī*** **of al-Mufīd, quoting Ghāyath ibn Ibrāhīm, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a):** One day Umm Salamah woke up in tears. They asked her, "What made you weep?" She replied, "My son al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed yesterday. I had not seen God's Messenger (s) in my dreams from the day he (s) passed away until last night, when I saw him ashen-faced and sorrowful. I asked him, 'Why do I see you in this manner, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'All night I have been continually digging graves for al-Ḥusayn and his companions, may God's peace be on them all.'"[1]

538. ***al-Amālī*** **of al-Ṭūsī, quoting Umm Salamah:** In the night, I saw God's Messenger (s) in my dream. He was covered in dust and dishevelled in appearance. I mentioned this and asked him about the cause. He replied, "Do you not know that I have just returned from burying al-Ḥusayn and his companions?"[2]

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[1] al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, p. 319, no. 6; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 90, no. 140.

أصبحت يوماً أم سلمة تبكي، فقيل لها: مِمَّ بكاؤكِ؟

فقالت: لقد قتل ابني الحسين عليه السلام الليلة، وذلك أنني ما رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله منذ قبض إلا الليلة، فرأيته شاحباً كئيباً،

قالت: فقلت: ما لي أراك يا رسول الله شاحباً كئيباً؟

قال: ما زلت الليلة أحفر قبوراً للحسين وأصحابه عليه وعليهم السلام.

[2] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 315, no. 640; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 231.

لما كانت الليلة رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله في منامي أغبر أشعث، فذكرت له ذلك وسألته عن شأنه، فقال لي: ألم تعلمي أني فرغت من دفن الحسين وأصحابه.

3/2: Those who buried the Imam (a) and his companions

539. *al-Rijāl* of al-Kashshī, quoting Ismā'īl ibn Sahl, from one of the Shī'a: I was with Imam al-Riḍā (a), when 'Alī ibn Abī Ḥamzah, Ibn al-Sarrāj, and Ibn al-Mukārī entered…

'Alī [ibn Abī Ḥamzah] said to him, "We have received narrations from your forefathers that the final rites [burial] of an Imam are only carried out by another Imam like him."

Abū al-Ḥasan [Imam al-Riḍā (a)] asked him, "Tell me, was al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) an Imam or not an Imam?"

He replied, "He was an Imam."

He asked, "Who was responsible for his final affairs?"

He replied, "'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a)."

He asked, "And where was 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a)?"

He replied, "He was imprisoned in Kufa, in the hands of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād." Then he added, "He left, while they were unaware. He performed the final affairs of his father [in Karbala], and then he departed."

Abū al-Ḥasan [Imam al-Riḍā (a)] said to him, "The One who made it possible for 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) to come to Karbala and tend to the affairs of his father made it possible for the current Imam [Imam al-Riḍā (a)] to go to Baghdad and tend to the affairs of his father and then return; and he was neither in prison nor a captive."[1]

540. *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, quoting al-Qāsim ibn Yaḥyā, from one of the Shī'a, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When God's Messenger (s) passed away, Jibra'īl descended, accompanied by a group of angels and the

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[1] al-Rijāl al-Kashshī, vol. 2, p. 763, no. 883; Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah, p. 220.

كنت عند الرضا عليه السلام، فدخل عليه علي بن أبي حمزة وابن السراج وابن المكاري…

قال له علي بن أبي حمزة: إنا روينا عن آبائك أن الإمام لا يلي أمره إلا إمام مثله.

فقال له أبو الحسن عليه السلام: فأخبرني عن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام كان إماما أو كان غير إمام؟ قال: كان إماما.

قال: فمن ولي أمره؟ قال: علي بن الحسين عليه السلام.

قال: وأين كان علي بن الحسين عليه السلام؟ قال: كان محبوسا بالكوفة في يد عبيد الله بن زياد. قال: خرج وهم لا يعلمون حتى ولي أمر أبيه ثم انصرف.

Spirit (*al-Rūḥ*), who used to descend [to him] on the Night of Decree (*laylat al-qadr*).

At that time, the vision (*baṣīrah*) of the Commander of the Faithful (a) was expanded for him, and he saw the ranks of the angels extended from the far reaches of the skies down to the earth. They were giving the Prophet (s) his final bath (*ghusl*) alongside him, praying over the Prophet (s) alongside him, and digging a grave for him. By God, no one other than them dug his grave. When he was lowered into his grave, they accompanied those who went down into the grave and placed him within it.

The Prophet (s) spoke to them, and the ears of the Commander of the Faithful were opened so that he could hear the conversation. He heard him instructing them about him, and he wept.

He heard them say, "[Do not be concerned.] We will not spare any effort. He will be our companion after you, except that he will not see us with his eyes after today."

And when the Commander of the Faithful (a) passed away, al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a) witnessed the same thing that ʿAlī (a) had seen. They also saw the Prophet (s) assisting the angels in the same tasks that they had performed for the Prophet (s) himself.

And when al-Ḥasan (a) passed away, al-Ḥusayn (a) witnessed the same thing for him and saw the Prophet (s) and ʿAlī (a) assisting the angels [in his shrouding and burial].

And when al-Ḥusayn (a) passed away, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) witnessed the same thing for him and saw the Prophet (s), ʿAlī (a), and al-Ḥasan (a) assisting the angels.

And when ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) passed away, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (a) witnessed the same thing for him and saw the Prophet (s), ʿAlī (a), al-Ḥasan (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a) assisting the angels.

And when Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (a) passed away, Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (a) witnessed the same thing for him and saw the

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فقال: قال أبو الحسن عليه السلام: [illegible] لكان علي بن الحسين عليه السلام أن يلي أمر أبيه، فيلي أمر أبيه فهو يكون صاحب هذا الأمر لا يلي بعده فيلي أمر أبيه ثم ينصرف، وليس في حبس، ولا في إسار

Prophet (s), 'Ali (a), al-Hasan (a), al-Ḥusayn (a), and 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) assisting the angels.

And when Ja'far ibn Muḥammad (a) shall away, Mūsā ibn Ja'far (a) shall witness the same thing for him, and this is the way it shall carry on until the last one of us.'[1]

541. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: The inhabitants of al-Ghāḍiriyyah from the tribe of Banū Asad buried al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, one day after they were martyred.[2]

542. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn of Khwārizmī*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd stayed in Karbala until the day after the battle. He gathered his slain men, prayed the funeral prayer over them, and buried them. He left al-Ḥusayn (a), his family members, and his companions [unburied].

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[1] *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, p. 225, no. 17; *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, vol. 2, p. 776, no. 100.

لما قبض رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله هبط جبرئيل ومعه الملائكة والروح الذين كانوا يهبطون في ليلة القدر.

قال: ففتح لأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام بصره فرآهم في منتهى السماوات إلى الأرض يغسلون النبي صلى الله عليه و آله معه، ويصلون معه عليه، ويحفرون له، والله ما حفر له غيرهم، حتى إذا وضع في قبره نزلوا مع من نزل، فوضعوه، فتكلم وفتح لأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام سمعه، فسمعه يوصيهم به فبكى، وسمعهم يقولون: لا نألوه جهداً، وإنما هو صاحبنا بعدك إلا أنه ليس يعايننا ببصره بعد مرتنا هذه.

حتى إذا مات أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام رأى الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام مثل ذلك الذي رأى، ورأيا النبي صلى الله عليه و آله أيضاً يعين الملائكة مثل الذي صنعوا بالنبي.

حتى إذا مات الحسن عليه السلام رأى منه الحسين عليه السلام مثل ذلك، ورأى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله وعلياً عليه السلام يعينان الملائكة.

حتى إذا مات الحسين عليه السلام رأى علي بن الحسين عليه السلام منه مثل ذلك، ورأى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله وعلياً والحسن عليهما السلام يعينون الملائكة.

حتى إذا مات علي بن الحسين عليه السلام رأى محمد بن علي عليه السلام مثل ذلك، ورأى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله وعلياً عليه السلام والحسن والحسين عليهما السلام يعينون الملائكة.

حتى إذا مات محمد بن علي رأى جعفر مثل ذلك، ورأى النبي صلى الله عليه و آله وعلياً عليه السلام والحسن والحسين وعلي بن الحسين عليهم السلام يعينون الملائكة. حتى إذا مات جعفر رأى موسى عليه السلام منه مثل ذلك، هكذا يجري إلى آخرنا.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 455.

دفن الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه أهل الغاضرية من بني أسد بعدما قتلوا بيوم.

When he and his followers departed for Kufa after having left the martyrs in this state, the people of al-Ghāḍiriyyah from the tribe of Banū Asad came forth, shrouded the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a), prayed the funeral prayer over them, and buried them. There were seventy-two men.[1]

3/3: The location of the graves of the martyrs

543. *al-Irshād*, after mentioning those who were martyred along with Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): The following seventeen individuals, may God be pleased with all of them, were from the Banu Hāshim: the brothers of al-Ḥusayn (a), the sons of his brother, and the sons of his uncles, Ja'far and 'Aqīl. All of them were buried at the feet of al-Ḥusayn (a), near the place at which he was martyred. A large, single grave was dug for them, and they were all placed within it, and the ground was levelled over them.

The only exception was al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, who was buried at the place of his martyrdom, by the embankment on the road to al-Ghāḍiriyyah. His grave is visible, but there is no trace of the mass grave of the aforementioned brothers and family members of al-Ḥusayn (a). The visitor (*zā'ir*) should direct his salutations to them from the vicinity of the grave of al-Ḥusayn (a) by pointing to the ground beyond the feet of al-Ḥusayn (a). 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) ['Alī al-Akbar] is amongst them. It is said that he is buried closest to al-Ḥusayn (a).

As for the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a), may God have mercy on them all, they are buried around him. We are unable to find detailed and accurate information about their bodies [graves], except that there is no doubt that they lie within a few metres of the tomb of al-Ḥusayn (a) (*al-ḥāʾir al-Ḥusaynī*). May God be pleased with them, please them, and place them in the blessed gardens [in paradise].[1]

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 39; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 62.

وأقام عمر بن سعد يومه ذلك إلى الغد، فجمع قتلاه فصلّى عليهم ودفنهم، وترك الحسين عليه السلام وأهل بيته وأصحابه. فلمّا ارتحلوا (أي عمر بن سعد وأصحابه) إلى الكوفة وتركوهم على تلك الحالة، عمد أهل الغاضرية من بني أسد، فكفّنوا أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام، وصلّوا عليهم ودفنوهم، وكانوا اثنين وسبعين رجلاً.

544. *al-Irshād*: After Ibn Saʿd departed, a party of the Banū Asad, who were camped at al-Ghāḍiriyyah, came to al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, may God have mercy on them. They prayed the funeral prayer over their bodies and buried al-Ḥusayn (a) at the place where his grave lies today. They buried his son ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar (a)[2] at his feet. Then, they prepared a large grave at the foot of his grave for the martyrs from amongst his family members and companions, who lay on the ground all around him. They gathered their bodies and buried them all together. They buried al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī (a) at the place where he was martyred, on the road to al-Ghāḍiriyyah, where his grave is still found.[3]

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 126; *Majmūʿah Nafīsah*, p. 107.

فهؤلاء سبعة عشر نفساً من بني هاشم رضوان الله عليهم أجمعين، إخوة الحسين عليه وعليهم السلام، وبنو أخيه، وبنو عمّيه جعفر وعقيل، وهم كلّهم مدفونون ممّا يلي رجلي الحسين عليه السلام في مشهده، حفر لهم حفيرة وألقوا فيها جميعاً، وسوّي عليهم التراب، إلّا العبّاس بن عليّ رضوان الله عليه فإنّه دفن في موضع مقتله على المسنّاة بطريق الغاضريّة، وقبره ظاهر، وليس لقبور إخوته وأهله الذين سمّيناهم أثر، وإنّما يزورهم الزائر من عند قبر الحسين عليه السلام ويومئ إلى الأرض التي نحو رجليه بالسلام، وعليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام في جملتهم، ويقال: إنّه أقربهم دفناً إلى الحسين عليه السلام.

فأمّا أصحاب الحسين رحمة الله عليهم الذين قتلوا معه، فإنّهم دفنوا حوله، ولسنا نحصّل لهم أجداثاً على التحقيق والتفصيل، إلّا أنّا لا نشكّ أنّ الحائر محيط بهم، رضي الله عنهم وأرضاهم، وأسكنهم جنّات النعيم.

[2] Meaning ʿAlī al-Akbar (a).

[3] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 126; *Iʿlām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 470.

لمّا رحل ابن سعد خرج قوم من بني أسد كانوا نزولاً بالغاضريّة إلى الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه رحمة الله عليهم، فصلّوا عليهم، ودفنوا الحسين عليه السلام حيث قبره الآن، ودفنوا ابنه عليّ بن الحسين الأصغر عليه السلام عند رجليه، وحفروا للشهداء من أهل بيته وأصحابه الذين صرعوا حوله ممّا يلي رجلي الحسين عليه السلام، وجمعوهم فدفنوهم جميعاً معاً، ودفنوا العبّاس بن عليّ عليهما السلام في موضعه الذي قتل فيه على طريق الغاضريّة حيث قبره الآن.

3/4: The body of the Imam (a) remained unaltered by the passing of time

545. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting Ibrāhīm al-Dīzaj: Mutawakkil sent me to Karbala to demolish the tomb of al-Ḥusayn (a). He gave me a letter for Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār al-Qāḍī, which said, "Be advised that I have sent Ibrāhīm al-Dīzaj to Karbala to excavate the grave of al-Ḥusayn. Once you have read my letter, then observe matters until you can ascertain whether he has, or has not, done so."

Al-Dīzaj continued: Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār informed me about the contents of the letter, so I did what he directed me to do, then I came to him [to report].

He asked me, "What did you do?"

I replied, "I did what you ordered me to do, but I did not see anything, nor did I find anything."

He asked me, "Did you not dig to the bottom [of the grave]?"

I said, "I did so, but I did not see anything."

So he wrote back to the ruler, "Ibrāhīm al-Dīzaj excavated the gravesite but did not find anything, so I have ordered him to flood the area with water and plough over it with oxen."

Abū 'Alī al-'Ammārī reports that when he asked Ibrāhīm al-Dīzaj about what really happened, he told him, "I went with only my handpicked servants. I did the digging. I uncovered a new mat, on which lay the body of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a). The fragrance of musk emanated from him. I left the mat in its place, and the body of al-Ḥusayn (a) [untouched] upon it. I ordered for soil to be poured back over him, and sprinkled water on the grave. Then I ordered for oxen to be brought to plough over the area, but the oxen balked at the task, retreating as soon as they came to the location of the grave. I swore my servants to secrecy in the name of God, and with the firmest oath, and threatened to kill them if they breathed a word about this to anyone."[1]

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[1] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 328, no. 655; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 394.

بعثني المتوكّل إلى كربلاء لتغيير قبر الحسين عليه السلام، وكتب معي إلى جعفر بن محمّد بن عمّار القاضي: أعلمك أنّي قد بعثت إبراهيم الديزج إلى كربلاء، لنبش قبر الحسين عليه السلام، فإذا قرأت كتابي فقف على الأمر حتّى تعرف فعل أو لم يفعل.

A word about the shrouding and burial of the martyrs

According to Shi'i jurists, the martyr does not need the funeral bath (*ghusl*), or a shroud (*kafan*). In fact, they should be buried in the clothes they died in, unless they are unclothed, in which case, a number of jurists have ruled that it is obligatory to shroud the body.[1]

Reports about the burial of the Imam (a)

According to the reports that we have mentioned, the enemy stole the clothes of the Imam (a) and trampled his body under their horses. For this reason, the shrouding of the body of the Imam (a) would have its own special meaning.

The author of *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* mentions in the following report that Abū Khālid sought permission from Ibn Ziyād to shroud and bury the bodies of the martyrs:

> Dhakwān [Abū Khālid] said to Ibn Ziyād, "Allow me to bury these heads. Ibn Ziyād gave him permission, and Dhakwān shrouded the heads and buried them in a graveyard. Then he went [to Karbala] and shrouded and buried their bodies as well.[2]

قال الديزج: أنفذني جعفر بن محمد بن عمار ما كتب به إليه، فنفذت ما أمرني به جعفر بن محمد بن عمار، ثم أتيته فقال لي: ما صنعت؟ فقلت: قد فعلت ما أمرت به فلم أر شيئاً ولم أجد شيئاً. فقال لي: أفلا عمقته؟ قلت: قد فعلت وما رأيت. فكتب إلى السلطان: إنّ إبراهيم الديزج قد نبش فلم يجد شيئاً، وأمرته فمخره بالماء وكربه بالبقر.

قال أبو علي العماري: فحدثني إبراهيم الديزج، وسألته عن صورة الأمر، فقال لي: أتيت في خاصة غلماني فقط، وإني نبشت فوجدت بارية جديدة وعليها بدن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، ووجدت منه رائحة المسك، فتركت البارية على حالها وبدن الحسين عليه السلام على البارية، وأمرت بطرح التراب عليه، وأطلقت عليه الماء، وأمرت بالبقر لتمخره وتحرثه، فلم تطأه البقر، وكانت إذا جاءت إلى الموضع رجعت عنه، فحلفت لغلماني بالله وبالأيمان المغلظة لئن ذكر أحد هذا لأقتلنّه.

[1] Refer to *Jawāhir al-Kalām*, vol. 4, p. 91.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 484.

However, this report is not acceptable, because, aside from contradicting the popular narrative in this regard,[1] it is quite unlikely that Ibn Ziyād would give him permission.

The report that the body of the Imam (a) was shrouded by the slave of Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn, also mentioned in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*,[2] is also implausible.

The burial of the martyrs

The burial of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions has been reported in two ways:

1. That he was buried in a miraculous fashion by Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a), in the presence of the Prophet (s), Imam ʿAlī (a), Imam al-Ḥasan (a), and a group of angels.

These reports concur with the narrations that state that the final rites and burial of an Imam of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) can only be performed by the next Imam (a).[3]

2. That the people of al-Ghāḍiriyyah, from the tribe of Banū Asad, buried the sacred bodies of the martyrs.

It is possible to combine both these reports by surmising that because the arrival of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) was a miraculous event, the Banū Asad were unaware of his presence, or that of the Prophet (s) and the angels. Or they may have seen Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) but not recognized him.

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[1] The accepted and well-known account is that the bodies were buried by the Banū Asad. For further details, see *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 455 and *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 411.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 485.

[3] For example: *al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 206, no. 250; al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-Ghaybah*, p. 57, no. 52; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 53, p. 94, no. 105.

[illegible]

The day of the burial of the martyrs

The early sources mention that the martyrs were buried one day after their martyrdom. However, if the 11th of Muharram is meant, just as Muhaddith al-Qummi reports, it is unlikely to be correct.

Firstly, because 'Umar ibn Sa'd remained in Karbala for the whole day of the 11th, or at least until midday, occupied in burying the casualties from his own soldiers.

Secondly, the people of al-Ghāḍiriyyah, from the tribe of Banū Asad, were stationed some distance away from the battleground. It is unlikely that in such a short time, they would have the courage, or opportunity, to reach Karbala.

The only recourse is to conclude that "one day after" in the reports signifies the 12th of Muharram.

The details of the manner in which the Imam (a) and his companions were buried and the accounts that are popularly recounted are not found in the early, reliable, historical or narrational sources. The solitary report in this regard is found in the work, *al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, which contains the following detailed account:

> When the Banū Asad came forth to bury the Imam (a) and his companions, they met a Bedouin Arab who guided them in the process of the burial of the martyrs. When he reached the body of Imam al-Husayn (a), he wept bitterly and did not allow them to assist in burying the body, saying, "There is someone with me who will assist me."
>
> Then he placed his hands under the sacred back of Imam al-Husayn (a) and said, "In the Name of God, and by God, and in the path of God, and upon the religion of the Messenger of God. This is what God, the Almighty, and His Messenger had promised us. God and His Messenger spoke the truth. Whatever God wills shall happen. There is no power or ability except with God, the Great, the Almighty."
>
> Then he lowered the body into the grave by himself, and none of them assisted him. Then he placed his cheek on the sacred neck of Imam al-Husayn (a) and said, as he was weeping, "Beatitude to the land that

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[1] al-Dam'at al-Sākibah, vol. 5, p. 13.

بسم الله و بالله و في سبيل الله و على ملة رسول الله، هذا ما وعدنا الله تعالى ورسوله و صدق الله و رسوله، ما شاء الله، لا حول و لا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم

> contains your sacred body. This world has become dark after you, while the next world has become illuminated by your radiance. The sorrow will be perpetual, and the nights sleepless, until God selects me to join you in the abode in which you now reside. So, receive my greeting of peace, O son of God's Messenger, and may God's mercy and blessings be on you."[1]
>
> He placed bricks on the grave and levelled the earth over it. Then, with his finger, he wrote on the grave: "This is the grave of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the one who was killed thirsty, and far from his home." Thereafter, following his instructions, they went to bury al-'Abbās (a).
>
> At the end, the Banū Asad asked the Arab, "O brother Arab! For the sake of that body that you buried on your own, without the assistance of any one of us, [tell us] who are you?"
>
> He wept bitterly. Then he said, "I am your Imam, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn."
>
> They asked [in astonishment], "Are you truly 'Alī (ibn al-Ḥusayn)?"
>
> He replied, "Yes." Then he disappeared from their sight.[2]

However, it should be noted that, as we have mentioned in detail in the discussion about the relative reliability of works on the history of Ashura in the foreword of the *Dānishnāmih-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (Encyclopaedia of Imam al-Ḥusayn) – from which this book has been summarised – the book, *al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, and all other sources which have mentioned this report, are not amongst the reliable works.

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[1] *al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, vol. 5, p. 13.

طوبى لأرض تضمّنت جسدك الشريف، أما الدنيا فبعدك مظلمة، و الآخرة فبنورك مشرقة، أما الحزن فسرمد و الليل فمسهّد حتّى يختار الله لي دارك التي أنت بها مقيم، فعليك منّي السلام يا ابن رسول الله و رحمة الله و بركاته.

[2] *al-Dam'at al-Sākibah*, vol. 5, pp. 11-14.

PART 4: THE FATE OF THE SEVERED HEADS OF THE MARTYRS

4/1. The sacred head of the Imam (a) in the house of Khawli

546. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf:* On the same day [Ashura], 'Umar ibn Sa'd despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to Ibn Ziyād. He sent it with Khawli ibn Yazid al-Aṣbaḥi of the tribe of Ḥumayr and Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdi. They arrived at night and found the door of the government mansion shut. So Khawli took the head to his own house and placed it under a washbasin. There was a woman in his house by the name of al-Nawār, the daughter of Mālik ibn al-Ḥaḍrami. She asked him, "What is the news?"

He replied, "I have come to you with the most precious thing in these times; here is the head of al-Ḥusayn before you in the house!"

She exclaimed, "Shame on you! People come with silver and gold, and you brought the head of the son of the daughter of God's Messenger! By God, nothing will ever make me lay my head next to yours again."[1]

547. *Muthir al-Aḥzān:* When the bearers of the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) neared Kufa, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was [still] in al-Nukhaylah (al-'Abbāsiyyah), and he returned late at night.

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf,* vol. 3, p. 411.

بعث عمر برأس الحسين عليه السلام من يومه مع خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي من حمير، وحميد بن مسلم الأزدي إلى ابن زياد، فأقبلا به ليلاً، فوجدا باب القصر مغلقاً، فأتى خولي به منزله، فوضعه تحت إجانة في منزله، وكان في منزله امرأة يقال لها النوار بنت مالك الحضرمي، فقالت له: ما الخبر؟ قال: جئتك بغنى الدهر، هذا رأس الحسين معك في الدار!

فقالت: ويلك، جاء الناس بالفضة والذهب، وجئت برأس ابن بنت رسول الله، والله لا يجمع رأسي ورأسك بيت أبداً.

Al-Nawār bint Mālik, the wife of Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, reports: Khawlī came with the head of al-Ḥusayn (a). He entered the house and placed the head under a washbasin, and then came to his bed.

I asked him, "What is the news?"

He replied, "I have brought for you wealth into the house, the head of al-Ḥusayn!"

I said, "Shame on you! People came with gold and silver, and you brought the head of al-Ḥusayn, the son of God's Messenger (s)? By God, nothing will ever make me lay my head next to yours again."

I jumped out of the bed and went and sat next to the washbasin. By God, I began to see a pillar of light that stretched from the heavens to the washbasin, and I saw a white bird fluttering around it.[1]

4/2: The severed heads of the martyrs brought by different tribes from amongst the killers

348. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: After al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) was martyred, the severed heads of the martyrs from his household, his followers, and his helpers were brought to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād.

The Banū Kindah brought thirteen heads; their leader was Qays ibn al-Ashʿath. The Banū Hawāzin brought twenty heads; their leader was Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. The Banū Tamīm brought seventeen heads, the Banū Asad brought six heads, the Banū Madhḥij brought seven heads, and the rest of the army carried another seven heads, making a total of seventy heads.'[1]

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[1] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 85; also see *Jawāhir al-Maṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 290.

لما انتهوا [illegible] رأس الحسين عليه السلام الكوفة كان عبيد الله بن زياد بالنخيلة - وهي العشية - [illegible] ليلة.

ورويت: أنّ النوار بنت مالك زوجة خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي قالت: أقبل خولي برأس الحسين عليه السلام فأدخل البيت، فوضعه تحت إجّانة، وأوى إلى فراشه.

فقلت: ما الخبر؟ قال: جئتك بغنى الدهر، رأس الحسين!

فقلت: ويلك! جاء الناس بالذهب والفضّة، وجئت برأس الحسين بن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله، والله لا جمع رأسي ورأسك فراش أبداً، ووثبت من فراشي، وقعدت عند الإجّانة، فوالله ما زلت أنظر إلى نور مثل العمود يسطع من السماء إلى الإجّانة، ورأيت طيوراً بيضاً ترفرف حولها.

549. ***al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl:*** 'Umar ibn Sa'd remained in Karbala for two days after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a), then he gave the call to his men to depart. The severed heads of the martyrs were carried on spears; there were seventy-two heads in total.

The men of Banu Hawāzin brought twenty-two heads. The Banū Tamīm brought seventeen heads; they were led by al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr. The Banū Kindah brought thirteen heads; they were led by Qays ibn al-Ash'ath. The Banū Asad brought six heads; they were led by Hilāl al-A'war. The Banū Azd brought five heads; they were led by 'Ayhamah ibn Zuhayr. The Banū Thaqīf brought twelve heads; they were led by al-Walīd ibn 'Amr.[2]

4/3: Carrying the heads on spears

550. ***al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl:*** The severed heads of the martyrs were carried on spears; there were seventy-two heads in total.[3]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 467; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 411.

لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام جيء برؤوس من قتل معه من أهل بيته وشيعته وأنصاره إلى عبيد الله بن زياد.

فجاءت كندة بثلاثة عشر رأسا، وصاحبهم قيس بن الأشعث، وجاءت هوازن بعشرين رأسا، وصاحبهم شمر بن ذي الجوشن، وجاءت تميم بسبعة عشر رأسا، وجاءت بنو أسد بستة أرؤس، وجاءت مذحج بسبعة أرؤس، وجاء سائر الجيش بسبعة أرؤس، فذلك سبعون رأسا.

[2] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 259; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2630.

أقام عمر بن سعد بكربلاء بعد مقتل الحسين عليه السلام يومين، ثم أذّن في الناس بالرحيل، وحملت الرؤوس على أطراف الرماح، وكانت اثنين وسبعين رأسا.

جاءت هوازن منها باثنين وعشرين رأسا، وجاءت تميم بسبعة عشر رأسا مع الحصين بن نمير، وجاءت كندة بثلاثة عشر رأسا مع قيس بن الأشعث، وجاءت بنو أسد بستة أرؤس مع هلال الأعور، وجاءت الأزد بخمسة أرؤس مع عيهمة بن زهير، وجاءت ثقيف باثني عشر رأسا مع الوليد بن عمرو.

[3] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 259.

حملت الرؤوس على أطراف الرماح، وكانت اثنين وسبعين رأسا.

551. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh: The first head to be raised on a wooden stake was the head of al-Ḥusayn (a), may God be pleased with him, and may God bless his soul.[1]

552. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*: Ibn Ziyād displayed all the heads [of the martyrs] on wooden spikes in Kufa. There were more than seventy heads in all. Aside from the head of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl in Kufa, this was the first time severed heads had been displayed in the history of Islam.[2]

4/4: Despatching the heads of the martyrs to Ibn Ziyād

553. *al-Irshād*: On the same day, the day of Ashura, 'Umar ibn Sa'd despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) with Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī and Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. Then he ordered for the heads of the rest of the Imam's (a) [martyred] companions and family members to be severed. There were seventy-two heads in all. He despatched these heads with Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, Qays ibn al-Ash'ath, and 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj, and they carried them off and presented them to Ibn Ziyād.[3]

554. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, from his grandfather, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Sinān [ibn Anas], may God curse him, brought the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, may God curse him. He presented it to him, saying:

> Fill my saddlebags with silver and gold.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 394; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 485.

أول رأس رُفع على خشبة رأس الحسين رضي الله عنه وصلّى الله على روحه.

[2] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 259.

إنّ ابن زياد نصب الرؤوس كلها بالكوفة على الخشب، وكانت زيادة على سبعين رأسًا، وهي أوّل رؤوس نُصبت في الإسلام بعد رأس مسلم بن عقيل بالكوفة.

[3] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 113; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 84.

سرّح عمر بن سعد من يومه ذلك - وهو يوم عاشوراء - برأس الحسين عليه السلام مع خوليّ بن يزيد الأصبحيّ وحميد بن مسلم الأزديّ إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، وأمر برؤوس الباقين من أصحابه وأهل بيته فقطعت، وكانت اثنين وسبعين رأسًا، وسرّح بها مع شمر بن ذي الجوشن وقيس بن الأشعث وعمرو بن الحجّاج، فأقبلوا حتّى قدموا بها على ابن زياد.

For I have killed the guarded king.
I killed the man who had the best mother and father,
And the best of them when lineages are examined.

'Ubayd Allāh said to him, "Shame on you! If you know that he had the best father and mother among men, why did you kill him then?" He ordered for his neck to be struck off, and God hastened his soul to hell thereby.[1]

555. *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd, may God forsake him, sent the head to Ibn Ziyād with Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakha'ī, the killer of al-Ḥusayn (a).[2]

4/3: The head of the Imam (a) in the assembly of Ibn Ziyād

556. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah: The head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought to Ibn Ziyād, and placed in front of him. He began to prod the [sacred] head with his cane, while saying, "Abū 'Abd Allāh's hair had turned grey."[3]

557. *al-Amālī* of Ibn al-Shajarī, quoting Anas: No eye has witnessed a more instructive scene than the one on the day when the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought on a tray and placed in front of the son of Ziyād, may God curse both of them. He began to prod it [the sacred head] with his cane, while saying, "He was so elegant, he was so handsome!"[1]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 227, no. 239; *Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 209.

أقبل سنان بن أنس لعنه الله حتى أدخل رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام على عبيد الله بن زياد لعنه الله وهو يقول:

املأ ركابي فضة وذهبا إني قتلت الملك المحجبا
قتلت خير الناس أما وأبا وخيرهم إذ ينسبون نسبا

فقال له عبيد الله بن زياد: ويحك فإن علمت أنه خير الناس أبا وأما، لم قتلته إذن؟ فأمر به فضربت عنقه، وعجل الله بروحه إلى النار.

[2] *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, p. 190.

أرسل عمر بن سعد ـ لعنه الله ـ بالرأس إلى ابن زياد مع سنان بن أنس النخعي قاتل الحسين عليه السلام

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 393; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 424.

جيء برأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى ابن زياد، فوضع بين يديه، فجعل ينكت بقضيبه ويقول: إن أبا عبد الله قد كان شمط.

558. ***al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq**, quoting the doorman of Ibn Ziyād: When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought, he ordered for it to be placed before him on a golden tray. Then he began to strike his [blessed] teeth with a cane that he had in his hand. He was saying, "You aged so early, O Abā ʿAbd Allāh."

A man in the assembly said [in outrage], "Stop! I have seen God's Messenger (s) kiss the place that you are hitting with your cane."

Ibn Ziyād said in reply, "This day is [repayment] for the day of Badr."[2]

4/6: Parading the heads of the martyrs around Kufa

559. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī***, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: In Kufa, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād had the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) mounted [on a wooden stake or a spear] and paraded around Kufa.[3]

560. ***al-Irshād***: The next morning, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be paraded in all the alleys and tribal districts of Kufa.[4]

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[1] Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 164; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 236.

إنّ عمرًا دخل يوم أُتي برأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام في طست، فوضع بين يدي عبيد الله بن زياد لعنه الله، فجعل ينكته بقضيبه، ويقول: إن كان لحسنًا، إن كان لجميلًا.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 229, no. 242; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 211.

لمّا أُتي برأس الحسين عليه السلام أمر فوضع بين يديه في طست من ذهب، وجعل يضرب بقضيب في يده على ثناياه، ويقول: لقد أسرع الشيب إليك يا أبا عبد الله.

فقال رجل من القوم: مه، فإنّي رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يلثم حيث تضع قضيبك. فقال: يوم بيوم بدر.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 459; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 425.

إنّ عبيد الله بن زياد نصب رأس الحسين عليه السلام بالكوفة، فجعل يدار به في الكوفة.

[4] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 117; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 279.

لمّا أصبح عبيد الله بن زياد بعث برأس الحسين عليه السلام فدير به في سكك الكوفة كلّها وقبائلها.

4/7: Sending the heads of the martyrs to Yazīd

561. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*****, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād summoned Zaḥr ibn Qays, and sent him with the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) and the heads of his companions to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah.[1]

562. ***al-Futūḥ*****:** Ibn Ziyād summoned Zaḥr ibn Qays al-Ju'fī, and placed him in charge of the head of al-Ḥusayn (a), the heads of his brothers, the head of 'Alī (al-Akbar) ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), and the heads of his family members and his companions, may God be pleased with them all.

He also summoned [Imam] 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), and sent him, his sisters, his aunts, and all their women to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah.[2]

563. ***al-Irshād*****:** After they had paraded the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) among the people of Kufa, it was returned to the door of the government mansion. Ibn Ziyād handed it to Zaḥr ibn Qays, along with the heads of the Imam's (a) companions, and sent him to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, may the curse of God and the imprecators in the heavens and the earth be on them. He also sent with him Abū Burdah ibn 'Awf al-Azdī, Ṭāriq ibn Abī Ẓabyān, along with a group of Kufans, to carry them to Yazīd in Damascus.[3]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 459; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 415.

دعا ابن زياد زحر بن قيس، فسرّح معه برأس الحسين عليه السلام ورؤوس أصحابه إلى يزيد بن معاوية.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 126; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 55.

دعا ابن زياد زحر بن قيس الجعفي، فسلّم إليه رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام ورؤوس إخوته ورأس علي بن الحسين عليه السلام ورؤوس أهل بيته وشيعته رضي الله عنهم أجمعين، ودعا علي بن الحسين عليه السلام أيضاً فحمله وحمل أخواته وعماته وجميع نسائهم إلى يزيد بن معاوية.

[3] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 118; *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 473.

لما فرغ القوم من التطواف به أي برأس الحسين عليه السلام بالكوفة، ردّوه إلى باب القصر، فدفعه ابن زياد إلى زحر بن قيس، ودفع إليه رؤوس أصحابه، وسرّحه إلى يزيد بن معاوية عليهم لعائن الله ولعنة اللاعنين في السماوات والأرضين، وأنفذ معه أبا بردة بن عوف الأزدي، وطارق بن أبي ظبيان في جماعة من أهل الكوفة، حتى وردوا بها على يزيد بدمشق.

564. ***al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah***: The head of every slain martyr was severed and brought to Ibn Ziyād. Later, Ibn Ziyād despatched the heads to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah in Damascus.[1]

4/8: The head of the Imam (a) in the assembly of Yazid

565. ***al-Malhūf***, **from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a)**: When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought to Yazīd, may God curse him, he was in a gathering drinking alcohol. He placed the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) before him, and continued to drink alcohol in his presence.[2]

566. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)***, **quoting Yazīd ibn Abī Ziyād**: When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought to Yazīd, he began to poke at the teeth of the Imam (a) with a stick that he had at hand, while saying, "I did not realize that Abā 'Abd Allāh had become this old."

The narrator added: [The white roots of] his beard and hair had begun to show through the black dye.[3]

567. ***'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā (a)***, **quoting 'Abd al-Salām ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Harawī**: I heard Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (a) say: After [the advent of] Islam, the first person in al-Shām who had beer (*al-fuqqā'*) brought for him was Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, may God curse him. [Once] it was brought in when he was sitting to eat. They placed the table of food over the head of al-Ḥusayn (a). Yazīd began to drink, and served [the alcohol to] his companions also. He, may God curse him, was saying, "Drink up, for this is a blessed drink! Not least because we are the first to drink it, while the [severed] head of our enemy sits before us, and our table has been set up over him. It is enough that we eat with contented souls and tranquil hearts."[1]

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 190.

ما قتل قتيل إلّا احتزّ رأسه وحمل إلى ابن زياد، ثمّ بعث بها ابن زياد إلى يزيد بن معاوية إلى الشام

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 220; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 72.

لمّا أُتي برأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى يزيد لعنه الله كان يتّخذ مجالس الشرب، ويأتي برأس الحسين عليه السلام ويضعه بين يديه ويشرب عليه.

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 488; *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 320.

لمّا أُتي يزيد بن معاوية برأس الحسين بن عليّ عليه السلام، جعل ينكت بمخصرة معه سنّه، ويقول: ما كنت أظنّ أبا عبد الله يبلغ هذا السنّ.

قال: وإذا لحيته ورأسه قد نصل من الخضاب الأسود.

568. *Kitāb Man lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh*, quoting Faḍl ibn Shādhān: I heard al-Riḍā (a) say: When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was taken to al-Shām, Yazīd, may God curse him, ordered for it to be brought to him. He put the head on the ground and placed a table of food over it. Then he and his friends began to eat and drink beer. When they finished, he ordered for the head to be placed in a tray under his bed. They lay out a game of *shaṭranj*[2] over the bed, and Yazīd, may God curse him, began to play. He talked about al-Ḥusayn (a), his father (a), and his grandfather (a), making mocking remarks about them. Whenever he won a bet against his opponent, he would drink some more beer, taking three swallows each time, and pour the remainder on the ground next to the tray.[3]

569. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: The womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a) were brought before Yazīd, while he sat with the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) before him. Fāṭimah and Sukaynah, the two daughters of al-Ḥusayn (a), stretched out their necks so that they could see the head, while Yazīd kept hiding it from their sight.

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[1] *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 25, no. 51; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 176, no. 24.

سمعت أبا الحسن علي بن موسى الرضا عليه السلام يقول: أول من اتخذ له الفقاع في الإسلام بالشام
يزيد بن معاوية لعنه الله، فأحضر وهو على المائدة وقد نصبها على رأس الحسين عليه السلام، فجعل
يشربه ويسقي أصحابه ويقول لعنه الله: اشربوا فهذا شراب مبارك، ولو لم يكن من بركته إلا أنا أول ما
تناولناه ورأس عدونا بين أيدينا ومائدتنا منصوبة عليه ونحن نأكله ونفوسنا ساكنة وقلوبنا مطمئنة.

[2] A medieval variant of chess. [Trans.]

[3] *Kitāb Man lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 419, no. 5915; *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 22, no. 50.

سمعت الرضا عليه السلام يقول: لما حمل رأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى الشام أمر يزيد - لعنه الله - فوضع
ونصبت عليه مائدة، فأقبل هو وأصحابه يأكلون ويشربون الفقاع، فلما فرغوا أمر بالرأس فوضع في طست
تحت سريره، وبسط عليه رقعة الشطرنج وجلس يزيد - لعنه الله - يلعب بالشطرنج، ويذكر الحسين بن
علي وأباه وجده صلى الله عليه وآله ويستهزئ بذكرهم، فمتى قمر صاحبه تناول الفقاع فشربه ثلاث
مرات، ثم صب فضلته على ما يلي الطست من الأرض.

When they [finally] had a glimpse of the head, they shrieked [in sorrow]; the womenfolk of Yazid shrieked also, and the daughters of Mu'āwiyah began to lament out aloud.[1]

4/9: Yazid sends the head of the Imam (a) to his own womenfolk

570. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Yazid sent the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to the women of his family. The head was taken by his daughter 'Ātikah, who later became the mother of the caliph, Yazid ibn 'Abd al-Malik. She washed the head, oiled it, and perfumed it. Yazid asked her, "What is all this?" She replied, "You sent me the head of my cousin; it was in a dishevelled state, so I groomed it and perfumed it."[2]

571. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, quoting Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Yazid gave an order that the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a) should join the women of his family. Then he ordered for the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be taken to them. The head was raised on the tip of a spear. When the [captive] women saw this, they began to lament. Yazid, the accursed, came to his own women and demanded, "What is the matter with you? Why do you not weep along with the daughters of your uncle?" He ordered them to lament with them. Meanwhile, he manifested insolence against God, the Almighty, and ridiculed His close servants (a). As his women began to lament and weep with the sorrowful womenfolk of the Imam (a), he expressed delight and hilarity, reciting:

The afflicted weep at the agonizing sorrow,
Of the slain, and for the one who slayed [as well].
I had never seen such an assembly of mourning,

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[1] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 577

أدخل نساء الحسين عليه السلام عليه [أي على يزيد] والرأس بين يديه، فجعلت فاطمة وسكينة ابنتا الحسين عليه السلام تتطاولان لتنظرا إلى الرأس، وجعل يزيد يتطاول ليستر عنهما الرأس.
فلما رأين الرأس صحن، فصاح نساء يزيد، وولول بنات معاوية.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. [illegible]; *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. [illegible].

بعث يزيد برأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى نسائه، فأخذته عاتكة ابنته وهي أم يزيد بن عبد الملك، فغسلته ودهنته وطيبته.
فقال لها يزيد: ما هذا؟ قالت: بعثت إلي برأس ابن عمي شعثاً فلممته وطيبته.

In which participate the women of the victor and the vanquished.[1]

4/10: Displaying the head of the Imam (a) in Damascus

572. ***Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*****, quoting Abū Ḥamzah ibn Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī:** One of our family members related to me that he saw the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) hanging in Damascus for three days.[2]

573. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*** **of Khwārazmī, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** Yazīd ordered the sacred head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be hung at the door of his palace.[3]

574. ***Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*****:** After he was slain, the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was hung in Damascus at the same location as the head of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā had been hung before.[4]

4/11: Parading the head of the Imam in the townships

575. ***al-Malhūf*****, quoting Bashīr ibn Ḥadhlam, from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a):** God, Most High, for Whom is all praise, tried us with a severe calamity and an irreparable loss in the way of Islam. Abū 'Abd

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[1] *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 158, no. 1089.

ثم أمر يزيد بالنسوة فأدخلن إلى نسائه، ثم أمر برأس الحسين عليه السلام، فرفع على باب الدار، فلما رأين ذلك نساؤه أعولن، فدخل يزيد على نسائه، فقال: ما لكنّ لا تبكين مع بنات [illegible] وأمرهنّ أن يعولن معهنّ [illegible] على الله عزّ وجلّ، وأسعدوا أولياء الله عليهم السلام...

ودخل [illegible] العرب [illegible] والنسوة يبكين [illegible] وسائر [illegible] يعولن معهنّ، وهو يقول:

[illegible]   [illegible] على من قتل
[illegible]   [illegible]

[2] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 319; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 69, p. 160.

حدثني بعض أهلنا أنه رأى رأس الحسين عليه السلام مصلوباً بدمشق ثلاثة أيام.

[3] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 75; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 142.

إنّ يزيد أمر أن يصلب الرأس الشريف على باب داره.

[4] *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. 4, p. 97

وعلّق رأس الحسين عليه السلام في دمشق بعد قتله في المكان الذي علّق عليه رأس يحيى بن زكريا عليه السلام.

Allāh (a) and his household were killed, his womenfolk and children were made captives, and his severed head was mounted on the tips of spears and paraded in the townships. This is a calamity unlike any other.[1]

576. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*: Yazid, the accursed, ordered the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be paraded in the townships of al-Shām and elsewhere as well.[2]

4/12: Varying reports about the place of burial of the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

4/12 - 1: al-Najaf, next to the grave of the Commander of the Faithful (a)

577. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Yazid ibn 'Umar ibn Ṭalḥah: When he was in al-Ḥirah,[3] Abū 'Abd Allāh, al-Ṣādiq (a) said to me, "Do you not want what I had promised you?" I replied, "Yes!" He was referring to the visitation to the grave of the Commander of the Faithful (a). So he and [his son] Ismā'īl rode out, and I rode with them, until we crossed al-Thawiyyah, a place between al-Ḥirah and al-Najaf. At a place which was full of white crystals (*durr al-Najaf*), he dismounted and performed his prayer, and Ismā'īl and I dismounted and prayed as well.

He said to Ismā'īl, "Stand and greet your grandfather, al-Ḥusayn (a)."

I asked, "May I be your ransom, is al-Ḥusayn (a) not in Karbala?"

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 229; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 113.

إنّ الله تعالى - وله الحمد - ابتلانا بمصائب جليلة، وثلمة في الإسلام عظيمة، قُتل أبو عبد الله عليه السلام وعترته، وسُبي نساؤه وصبيته، وداروا برأسه في البلدان من فوق عامل السنان، وهذه الرزيّة التي لا مثلها رزيّة.

[2] *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 159.

أمر يزيد اللعين برأس الحسين عليه السلام، فطيف به في مدائن الشام وغيرها.

[3] Al-Ḥīrah was a town 3 miles from Kufa, near a place called al-Najaf, and now is itself renamed al-Najaf (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 328; also see Map 4.)

He replied, "Yes, but when his head was taken to al-Shām, one of our friends stole it and buried it next to the Commander of the Faithful (a)."[1]

578. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭalḥah al-Nahdī: I came to see Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣādiq (a). He mentioned a few things, and we had a conversation. Later, we travelled together until we reached al-Gharī [al-Najaf]. He stopped at a certain place and performed his prayer.

Then he said to [his son] Ismā'īl, "Stand and pray next to the head of your father, al-Ḥusayn (a)."

I asked, "Was his head not taken to al-Shām?"

He replied, "Yes it was, but so-and-so, one of our friends, stole it, brought it here, and buried it."[2]

579. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Abān ibn Taghlib: I was with Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), and when he passed beyond Kufa, he dismounted and prayed two units of prayer. Then he proceeded a little, and prayed another two units. Then he travelled a little further, dismounted, and prayed two more units. Then he said, "This is the location of the grave of the Commander of the Faithful (a)."

I said, "May I be ransomed for you, what about the other two places at which you prayed?"

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[1] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 571, no. 1; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 83, no. 80.

قال لي أبو عبد الله [الصادق] عليه السلام وهو بالحيرة: أما تريد ما وعدتك قلت: بلى - يعني الذهاب إلى قبر أمير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه - قال: فركب وركب إسماعيل وركبت معهما حتى إذا جاز الثوية وكان بين الحيرة والنجف عند ذكوات بيض نزل ونزل إسماعيل ونزلت معهما فصلى وصلى إسماعيل وصليت.

فقال لإسماعيل: قم فسلم على جدك الحسين عليه السلام فقلت: جعلت فداك أليس الحسين بكربلاء؟ فقال: نعم ولكن لما حمل رأسه إلى الشام سرقه مولى لنا فدفنه بجنب أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام.

[2] *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 35, no. 72; *Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 430.

دخلت على أبي عبد الله [الصادق] عليه السلام فذكر شيئاً فذاكرته. قال: فخرجنا معه - يعني أبا عبد الله عليه السلام - حتى انتهينا إلى الغري قال: فأتى موضعاً فصلى.

ثم قال لإسماعيل: قم فصلّ عند رأس أبيك الحسين عليه السلام قلت: أليس قد ذهب برأسه إلى الشام؟ قال: بلى، ولكن فلان مولانا سرقه فجاء به فدفنه هاهنا.

He replied, "The first was the place of the head of al-Ḥusayn (a),[1] and the second was the place of the house of al-Qā'im (a) (the first, the last Imam)."[2]

4/12 - 2: Karbala

580. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Fāṭimah, the daughter of Imam 'Alī (a): Yazīd, may God curse him, ordered the women of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be detained, along with 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), in a prison that did not protect them from heat or cold, and caused the skin to peel off their faces...

In Bayt al-Maqdas, whenever a stone was lifted, fresh blood was found under it. The people witnessed the sun casting a red hue on the walls, resembling saffron-coloured sheets. This continued until 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) returned with the women and took the severed head of al-Ḥusayn (a) back to Karbala.[3]

581. *al-Malhūf*: As for the head of al-Ḥusayn (a), it is reported that it was returned and was buried in Karbala with his sacred body, may God bless him. And the actions of the Shī'a [in visiting Karbala] are due to this understanding.[4]

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[1] The location of Masjid al-Ḥannānah, according to a report. [Trans.]

[2] al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 571, no. 2; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 85, no. 86.

كنت مع أبي عبد الله [الصادق] عليه السلام، فمرّ بظهر الكوفة، فنزل فصلّى ركعتين، ثمّ تقدّم قليلًا،
فصلّى ركعتين، ثمّ سار قليلًا، فنزل فصلّى ركعتين، ثمّ قال: هذا موضع قبر أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام.
قلت: جعلت فداك، والموضعين اللذين صلّيت فيهما؟

قال: موضع رأس الحسين عليه السلام وموضع منزل القائم عليه السلام.

[3] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 231, no. 243; *Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 212.

إنّ يزيد لعنه الله أمر بنساء الحسين عليه السلام، فحُبسن مع عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام في محبس
لا يكنّهم من حرّ ولا قرّ، حتّى تقشّرت وجوههم... ولم يُرفع ببيت المقدس حجر عن وجه الأرض إلّا وُجد
تحته دم عبيط، وأبصر الناس الشمس على الحيطان حمراء كأنّها الملاحف المعصفرة، إلى أن خرج عليّ
بن الحسين عليهما السلام بالنسوة وردّ رأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى كربلاء.

[4] *al-Malhūf*, p. 225; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 107.

أمّا رأس الحسين عليه السلام فروي أنّه أُعيد فدُفن بكربلاء مع جسده الشريف صلوات الله عليه،
وكان عمل الطائفة على هذا المعنى المشار إليه.

4/12 - 3: Damascus

582. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, quoting Kalbī: Yazīd despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to Medina. It was mounted on a wooden spike. Later it was returned to Damascus and buried in one of its gardens; or according to another report, in the government palace; or in another report, in the graveyard.[1]

583. *al-Radd ʿalā al-Mutaʿaṣṣib al-ʿanīd*, quoting Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Ṣāliḥ: They found the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) in the treasury of Yazīd and buried it in Damascus near the Gate of Farādīs.[2,3]

584. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: [The caliph] Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān saw the Prophet (s) in a dream, behaving with him with goodness and kindness. So, he called al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, related his dream, and asked him about its interpretation.

Al-Ḥasan said, "Perhaps you have done some goodness to his family."

Sulaymān said, "I found the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) in the treasure vault of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. I wrapped it in five layers of silk, prayed the funeral prayer over it with a group of my companions, and then buried it."

Al-Ḥasan said, "The Prophet (s) was pleased with you because of that."

The caliph was grateful to al-Ḥasan and gave him some gifts.[4]

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 419.

بعث يزيد برأسه (أي رأس الحسين عليه السلام) إلى المدينة، فنصب على خشبة، ثم رد إلى دمشق فدفن في حائط بها، ويقال: في دار الإمارة، ويقال: في المقبرة.

[2] Farādīs is a locality of Damascus. *Bāb al-Farādīs*, the Gate of Paradise, was one of the original gates of Damascus. *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 4, p. 443.

[3] *al-Radd ʿalā al-Mutaʿaṣṣib al-ʿAnīd*, p. 92; *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 344.

إنهم وجدوا رأس الحسين عليه السلام في خزانة يزيد، فكفنوه، ودفنوه بدمشق عند باب الفراديس.

[4] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 75; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 85.

إن سليمان بن عبد الملك بن مروان رأى النبي صلى الله عليه وآله في المنام كأنه يبره ويلطفه، فدعا الحسن البصري، وقص عليه وسأله عن تأويله، فقال الحسن: لعلك اصطنعت إلى أهله معروفا

4/12 - 4: Medina

585. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah):*** Yazīd sent the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, who was his agent in Medina at the time.

'Amr said, "I wish he had not sent it to me." ...Then he ordered for the head to be shrouded and buried in al-Baqī', next to the grave of al-Ḥusayn's mother.[1]

586. ***Muthīr al-Aḥzān:*** When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) reached Medina, the sound of lamenting was heard from every direction. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam said:

Dawsar struck them such a decisive blow
That it established the rulership and made it stable.

Then he began to poke at the face of the Imam (a) with a stick, while he recited:

How excellent it is that your hands have become cold [in death],
And that your blood has stained your cheeks red.
As if he is asleep in crimson clothes.
I have been greatly comforted [upon seeing you thus] O Ḥusayn.[2]

فقال سليمان: إني وجدت رأس الحسين عليه السلام في خزانة يزيد بن معاوية، فكسوته خمسة من الديباج، وصلّيت عليه في جماعة من أصحابي، وقبرته.

فقال الحسن: إنّ الذي رضي عنك بسبب ذلك. فأحسن إلى الحسن البصري، وأمر له بجوائز.

[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 499; *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 344.

بعث يزيد برأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص، و هو عامل له يومئذ على المدينة، فقال عمرو: وددت أنّه لم يبعث به إليّ ...

ثمّ أمر عمرو بن سعيد برأس الحسين عليه السلام، فكفّن ودفن بالبقيع عند قبر أمّه.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 99; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 124.

لمّا وصل رأس الحسين عليه السلام المدينة، سمعت الواعية من كلّ جانب، فقال مروان بن الحكم:

ضربت دوسر فيهم ضربة أثبتت أوتاد ملك فاستقر

ثمّ أخذ يضرب وجهه بقضيب، ويقول:

يا حبّذا بردك في اليدين   ولونك الأحمر في الخدّين
كأنّه بات بمجسدين   شفيت منك النفس يا حسين

4/12 - 5: Egypt

597. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*: In Cairo, there is a shrine that contains the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a). When the Europeans conquered 'Asqalān (Ascalon),[1] the head was taken from there to Cairo. It was placed at the rear of the royal palace and is [frequently] visited.[2]

598. *Lawā'ij al-Ashjān*: More than one writer has mentioned that the 'Alid caliph in Egypt sent for what was presumed to be the head of al-Ḥusayn (a), to be brought from 'Asqalān to him in Egypt (Cairo). 'Asqalān was a city, now in ruins, that lay between Egypt and Syria. He had the sacred head buried at the location which has now become famous, and is a venerated and frequently-visited shrine. Next to it is a great mosque which I saw in 1321/1903. Large groups of Egyptian men and women come to visit the shrine, supplicating and lamenting there. There is no doubt that the 'Alids took that head from 'Asqalān and buried it in Egypt. However, there is doubt as to whether it is the head of al-Ḥusayn (a).[3]

599. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*: The Fāṭimids, who ruled Egypt from before 400/1011 to after 660/1265, claimed that the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) had been brought to Egypt and buried there, and that the well-known shrine called Tāj al-Ḥusayn (the Crown of al-Ḥusayn) had been built over it after the year 500/1111.

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[1] 'Asqalān is a town in al-Shām. It is part of modern-day Palestine, and is located between Gaza and Bayt al-Jibrayn. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 4, p. 122; also see Map 5.

[2] *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 5, p. 142.

بالقاهرة مشهد به رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، نُقل إليها من عسقلان لما أخذ الفرنج عسقلان وهو خلف دار المملكة يُزار.

[3] *Lawā'ij al-Ashjān*, p. 191.

حكى غير واحد من المؤرخين أن الخليفة العلوي بمصر أرسل إلى عسقلان - وهي مدينة كانت بين مصر والشام والآن هي خراب - فاستخرج رأساً زعم أنه رأس الحسين عليه السلام، وجيء به إلى مصر، فدفن فيها في المكان المعروف الآن، وهو مشهد معظم يُزار، وإلى جانبه مسجد عظيم رأيته في سنة إحدى وعشرين بعد الثلاثمائة والألف، والمصريون يتوافدون إلى زيارته أفواجاً رجالاً ونساءً، ويدعون ويتضرعون عنده. وأخذ العلويين لذلك الرأس من عسقلان ودفنه بمصر كأنه لا ريب فيه، لكن الشأن في كونه رأس الحسين عليه السلام.

More than one leading scholar has written that there is no basis to this account, and that the Fāṭimids' intention was to merely bolster their claim of being of a noble lineage, connected to 'Alī (a). In this regard, they were guilty of lying and deception.

This has been confirmed by al-Qāḍī al-Bāqillānī and other scholars who lived at the time of their rule [around 400/1010].

I say: As always, most people readily accept such fabrications, and so they began to visit the head, and it was placed in the aforementioned mosque. The rulers declared, "This is the head of al-Ḥusayn (a)." The news spread amongst the people, and they believed it to be true, and God knows best.[1]

A discussion about the place of burial of the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and the heads of the other martyrs

Therefore, the reports that talk of the possible places where the sacred head of the Imam (a) may have been buried can be divided into five groups.

1. The reports that suggest that the head of the Imam (a) is buried next to the grave of his father, the Commander of the Faithful (a). Many reliable books of traditions (*riwāyah*) contain reports that

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 204.

وادعت الطائفة المسمون بالفاطميين - الذين ملكوا الديار المصرية قبل سنة أربعمائة إلى ما بعد سنة ستين وستمائة - أن رأس الحسين عليه السلام وصل إلى الديار المصرية، ودفنوه بها، وبنوا عليه المشهد المشهور به بمصر، الذي يقال له تاج الحسين بعد سنة خمسمائة.

وقد نص غير واحد من أئمة أهل العلم على أنه لا أصل لذلك، وإنما أرادوا أن يروجوا بذلك بطلان ما ادعوه من النسب الشريف، وهم في ذلك كذبة خونة، وقد نص على ذلك القاضي الباقلاني وغير واحد من أئمة العلماء في دولتهم في حدود سنة أربعمائة، كما سنبين ذلك كله إذا انتهينا إليه في مواضعه إن شاء الله تعالى.

قلت: والناس أكثرهم يروج عليهم مثل هذا، فإنهم جاؤوا برأس فوضعوه في مكان هذا المسجد المذكور، وقالوا: هذا رأس الحسين عليه السلام، فراج ذلك عليهم واعتقدوا ذلك، والله أعلم.

belong to this first group, such as *al-Kāfī, Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, and *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*.

Although some of these reports can be interpreted to mean that the sacred head of the Imam (a) may have been placed there for a while (on their way from Kufa to Damascus, or Damascus to Medina), nonetheless, collectively, the reports indicate that the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is buried next to that of his esteemed father, and this cannot be refuted. For this reason, after mentioning these reports, 'Allāmah Majlisī writes, "These reports inform us that the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and the bodies of Ādam (a) Nūḥ (a), Hūd (a), and Ṣāliḥ (a), are all buried near Imam 'Alī (a). It is therefore fitting that after the salutation to Imam 'Alī (a), they should all be greeted also."[1]

2. The second group is of reports that say that the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was returned to Karbala and united with his body. It is worth noting that no traditions from the Ahl al-Bayt (a) mentioning this view could be found. However, reports mentioned by al-Ṣadūq in his *al-Amālī*, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah*, al-Mustawfī al-Harawī in his Persian translation of *al-Futūḥ*, and Zakariyyā Qazwīnī in his *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* suggest this possibility. Furthermore, Ibn Ṭāwūs says, "About the head of al-Ḥusayn (a), it has been reported that it was returned [to Karbala] and buried with his sacred body, and the actions of the Shī'a are according to this belief."

It should be mentioned that what Ibn Ṭāwūs ascribes to the Shī'a has also been reported by Qurṭubī[2] and Manāwī.[3] Majlisī writes, "The popular view among Shī'ī scholars is that the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is buried with his body, and that it was Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) who brought the sacred head back to Karbala. However, there are many other reports that state that the sacred head is buried next to the grave of the Commander of the Faithful (a).[1] Furthermore, Sayyid Murtaḍā, in response to the question, "Do the reports that state the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was taken to al-Shām have any truth to them?", writes the following:

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[1] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 251.

[2] The Shī'a say: Forty days after his martyrdom, his head was returned to Karbala, and that day is famous amongst them, and the visitation of that day is called *Ziyārat al-Arba'īn*. Qurṭubī, *al-Tadhkirah*, vol. 2, p. 249.

[3] The Shī'a say: After his martyrdom, the head was returned to the body and buried in Karbala forty days after his martyrdom. Manāwī, *Fayḍ al-Qadīr*, vol. 1, p. 205.

> Every narrator and reporter of the event of al-Ṭaff has reported this, and is in agreement about it. It has also been reported that after being taken to al-Shām, the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was taken back and buried next to his holy body in Karbala.
>
> And if someone argues by saying that God would not allow the severed head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to be taken in this humiliating and heartless manner to al-Shām, then we would reply that taking the severed head to al-Shām was no more evil than killing the Imam (a) in the first place, and this happened with the permission of God; indeed He permitted the Commander of the Faithful (a) to be killed in the same way as well.[2]

3. The third group is that of the reports that indicate that the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is buried in Damascus.[3]

4. The fourth group is that of the reports that indicate that the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is buried in Medina, in the graveyard of al-Baqī'.[4]

5. The fifth group is that of the reports that mention that the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is buried in Cairo in Egypt.[5]

A study of the aforementioned reports[6] indicates that the first possibility, that the sacred head of the Imam (a) is buried next to the Commander of the Faithful (a), is the option that has been preferably accepted, from the view of the traditions attributed to the Ahl al-Bayt (a). However, among historians and Shī'ī scholars, and according the general belief of the Shī'a, the opinion that the head is buried in Karbala is more popular. For this reason, it is difficult to categorically state which one of the two possibilities is correct.

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[1] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 145.

[2] *Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 3, p. 130; see also *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 477.

[3] See the previous discussion of Damascus.

[4] See the previous discussion of Medina.

[5] See the previous discussion of Egypt.

[6] For an in-depth historical review of all these reports (as well as other related reports), see "Nigāhī naw bih Jaryān-i 'Āshūrā" ("A New Look at the Event of Ashura"), p. 255; Muṣṭafā Ṣādiqī, "Ra's al-Ḥusayn va Maqarrhā-yi Ān" ("The Head of al-Ḥusayn and its Locations"), in *Tārīkh dar Āyīnah Pizhūhish*, no. 16; Muḥsin Ranjbar, *Dafn Sar-i Muṭahhar-i Imām Ḥusayn* (a) *va Dīgar Shahīdān* (The Location of the Holy Head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and Other Martyrs); Khusrawshāhī, *Ma'a Āl al-Bayt fī Miṣr* (With the *Āl al-Bayt* in Egypt).

The burial of the heads of the other martyrs of Karbala

The well-known reports mention that along with the holy head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), the heads of all the other martyrs were also sent from Kufa to al-Shām. However, most of the reports that describe the events associated with the movement of the household of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) from Karbala to Kufa, and then to Damascus, and their being brought before Yazīd, mention only the holy head of the Imam (a). Of course, the heads of the rest of the martyrs are mentioned in some of the accounts.

The reliable sources are silent about the location of the burial of the heads of the martyrs; our research has only revealed one report (in the translation of Ibn al-A'tham's *al-Futūḥ*), that the heads were returned to Karbala and buried with their bodies on the 20th of Safar by Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a).[1]

Syed Muhsin al-Amin writes in this regard:

> In 1321/1903, I discovered a gravesite in the famous graveyard of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr in Damascus. On its headstone, there was the following inscription: "This is the location of the burial of the heads of al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī, 'Alī al-Akbar ibn al-Ḥusayn, and Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir." After several years, this gravesite was broken and reconstructed. The headstone was taken away, and a shrine (*ḍarīḥ*) was constructed, with the names of many martyrs inscribed on it. However, according to the headstone, this grave contains [only] these three holy heads. And there is a strong possibility that the assertion that the three holy heads are buried at this site is reliable; because after the heads of the martyrs were carried to Damascus, and paraded in the townships, and the aim of Yazīd [to demonstrate his victory, intimidate the people, and gratify his heart]

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[1] The [Persian] translation of *al-Futūḥ*, p. 916; also see *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 8, p. 52.

> was satisfied, the heads would have to be buried in one of the graveyards of the city. From amongst all the heads, the site of the burial [in *Bāb al-Saghīr*] of these three has been preserved. And only God knows the truth of the matter.[1]

Therefore, although there is presently a popular shrine in *Bāb al-Saghīr*, claiming to be over the burial site of the heads of martyrs of Karbala, there is uncertainty about their actual number, and there is no narrational or historical evidence to prove this assertion either.

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[1] *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 1, p. 627.

PART 5: MIRACLES OBSERVED FROM THE HEAD OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

5/1: Recitation of the Qur'an from atop the tip of the spear

590. *al-Irshād*: In the morning, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād sent out the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be paraded in all the alleys and tribal districts of Kufa. It has been reported that Zayd ibn Arqam said:

> They passed by me, carrying the head of al-Ḥusayn (a); it was mounted on a spear. I was [sitting] in a room, and when the head was passing me, I heard it reciting, "*Do you think the Companions of the Cave and the Inscription* (Aṣḥāb al-Kahf wa al-Raqīm) *were a wonder among Our signs?*"[1] By God, my hair stood on end, and I shouted out, "By God, your head, O son of God's Messenger, is more wondrous, more wondrous!"[2]

591. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting Minhāl ibn ʿAmr: By God, I saw the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) when it was being carried. I was in Damascus, and before the head, there was a man reciting Sūrat al-Kahf. When he reached the words of God, "*Do you think the Companions of the Cave and the Inscription* (Aṣḥāb al-Kahf wa al-Raqīm) *were a wonder among Our signs?*", God caused the head to speak in a piercing voice.

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[1] Q 18:9.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 117; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 279.

ولما أصبح عبيد الله بن زياد بعث برأس الحسين عليه السلام، فدير به في سكك الكوفة كلها وقبائلها، فروي عن زيد بن أرقم أنه قال: مُرَّ به (أي برأس الحسين عليه السلام) عليّ وهو على رمح وأنا في غرفة، فلما حاذاني سمعته يقرأ: «أم حسبت أن أصحاب الكهف والرقيم كانوا من آياتنا عجبا» فقفّ - والله - شعري وناديت: رأسك - والله - يابن رسول الله، أعجب وأعجب.

It said, "More amazing than the people of the cave is my murder and the parading of my head."[1]

592. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting *Salamah ibn Kuhayl*: I saw the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) on a spear while it was reciting, "*And God will suffice you against them, for He is all-Hearing, all-Knowing.*"[2] [3]

5/2: A rabbi accepts Islam

593. *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, **quoting Sulaymān ibn Mahrān al-A'mash, from another man:** A leader of the Jews came before Yazīd, and asked, "Whose is this head?"

He replied, "It is the head of a rebel."

He asked, "Who is he?"

He replied, "Al-Ḥusayn."

He asked, "Whose son is he?"

He replied, "The son of 'Alī."

He asked, "Who is his mother?"

He replied, "Fāṭimah."

He asked, "And who is Fāṭimah?"

He replied, "The daughter of Muḥammad."

He asked, "Your Prophet?"

He replied, "Yes."

He exclaimed, "May God deprive you of any goodness! Yesterday he was your Prophet, and today you kill the son of his daughter? Shame on you! Between me and my ancestor, Prophet Dāwūd, there are more than seventy generations, but whenever the Jews see me, they bow in respect to me."

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[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 60, p. 370; *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ*, vol. 2, p. 577.

وفي: رأيت رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام حين حمل، وأنا بدمشق وبين يديه رجل يقرأ سورة الكهف، حتى بلغ قوله تعالى: «أم حسبت أن أصحاب الكهف والرقيم كانوا من آياتنا عجبا»، فأنطق الله الرأس بلسان ذرب، فقال: أعجب من أصحاب الكهف قتلي وحملي.

[2] Q 2:137.

[3] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 22, p. 117.

رأيت رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام على القناة وهو يقول: «فسيكفيكهم الله وهو السميع العليم».

Then he approached the tray, kissed the head, and announced, "I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and that your grandfather Muhammad is God's Messenger."

Then he departed. [Enraged by this] Yazid ordered his death.[1]

5/3: An event reported by one of the bearers of the head of the Imam (a)

594. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*, quoting Abu Qabil: After al-Husayn (a) was killed, they severed his head [and carried it away]. They sat at the first station [on their way], drinking wine while they kept guard over the head. In front of them, an iron pen emerged from a wall and began to write with letters of blood:

Does the nation who has killed al-Husayn
Hope for the intercession of his grandfather on the *Day of Accounting*?

They ran away [in fear], leaving the head behind. Later, they returned.[2]

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[1] *al-Khara'ij wa al-Jara'ih*, vol. 2, p. 581; *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 45, p. 187.

دخل عليه (أي على يزيد) رأس اليهود، فقال: ما هذا الرأس؟ فقال: رأس خارجي. قال: ومن هو؟ قال: الحسين. قال: ابن من؟ قال: ابن علي. قال: ومن أمه؟ قال: فاطمة. قال: ومن فاطمة؟ قال: بنت محمد. قال: نبيكم؟ قال: نعم.

قال: لا جزاكم الله خيرا، بالأمس كان نبيكم واليوم قتلتم ابن بنته، ويحك إن بيني وبين داود النبي نيفا وسبعين أبا، فإذا رأتني اليهود كفرت لي. ثم مال إلى الطشت، وقبل الرأس، وقال: أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله، وأن جدك محمدا رسول الله. وخرج، فأمر يزيد بقتله.

[2] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*, vol. 3, p. 123; *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, vol. 6, p. 443.

لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام احتزوا رأسه، وقعدوا في أول مرحلة يشربون النبيذ يتحيون بالرأس، فخرج عليهم قلم من حديد من حائط، فكتب بسطر دم:

أترجو أمة قتلت حسينا شفاعة جده يوم الحساب

فهربوا وتركوا الرأس، ثم رجعوا.

PART 6: FROM KARBALA TO KUFA

6/1: Despatching the family of the Prophet (s) to Kufa

595. *al-Irshād*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd remained [in Karbala] that day, and the next day, until noon. Then, he gave the order to his men to depart. They headed towards Kufa, taking with them the daughters and sisters of al-Ḥusayn (a) and the other women and children who were with them. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was also among the captives; he was ill with dysentery and close to death.[1]

596. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: After the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (a), 'Umar ibn Sa'd remained [in Karbala] for two days. Then he departed for Kufa, taking with him the daughters and sisters of al-Ḥusayn (a), the children [and womenfolk of the caravan], and 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), who was ill.[2]

597. *al-Malhūf*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd, may God curse him, despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād on that day, which was the day of Ashura. [He sent the sacred head] with Khawlī ibn al-Aṣbaḥī and Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī, and then ordered the heads of the rest of [the martyrs from amongst] his companions and family members to be severed. He sent these heads with Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, may God curse him, Qays ibn al-Ash'ath, and 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj. They left with the heads and brought them to Kufa.

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 114; *Ibn al-Wardī*, vol. 1, p. 476.

أقام ابن سعد بقية يومه واليوم الثاني إلى زوال الشمس، ثم نادى في الناس بالرحيل، و توجه إلى الكوفة ومعه بنات الحسين عليه السلام وأخواته ومن كان معه من النساء والصبيان، وعلي بن الحسين عليه السلام فيهم وهو مريض بالذرب وقد أشفى.

[2] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 574.

أقام ابن سعد بعد قتله (أي الحسين عليه السلام) يومين، ثم ارتحل إلى الكوفة، وحمل معه بنات الحسين عليه السلام وأخواته ومن كان معه من الصبيان، وعلي بن الحسين عليه السلام مريض.

Ibn Sa'd remained [in Karbala] for the rest of the day, and until noon the next day. Then he departed with those who remained from the family of al-Ḥusayn (a). He had the women-folk sit on the back of camels which only had saddlecloths, with no cushions or drapes. Their faces remained exposed as they were taken through the enemy, while they were the household of the best of the Prophets. They were transported in a wretched and sorry state, as Turkish and Roman captives used to be transported.[1]

6/2: The farewell of the household of the Prophet (s) to the martyrs

598. ***Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Qurrah ibn Qays al-Tamīmī:** I was watching those women when they were taken past [the slain bodies of] al-Ḥusayn (a), his family members and his sons. They wailed and scratched at their faces....

Whatever else I might forget, I will never forget the lament of Zaynab, the daughter of Fāṭimah, when she passed by her brother, al-Ḥusayn (a), whose body lay on the ground: "O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad! May the angels in the sky send blessings on you. Here lies al-Ḥusayn in the wilderness, covered in blood, with his limbs severed. O Muḥammad! And your daughters are captives, your children lie slain, and the desert breeze blows [dust] over them."

By God, she made everyone, friend and foe, weep at her words.[2]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 189; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 107.

إنّ عمر بن سعد لعنه الله بعث برأس الحسين عليه الصلاة والسلام في ذلك اليوم وهو يوم عاشوراء مع خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي وحميد بن مسلم الأزدي إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، وأمر برؤوس الباقين من أصحابه وأهل بيته فقطعت، وسرّح بها مع شمر بن ذي الجوشن -لعنه الله- وقيس بن الأشعث وعمرو بن الحجاج فأقبلوا بها حتى قدموا الكوفة.

وأقام ابن سعد بقية يومه واليوم الثاني إلى زوال الشمس، ثم رحل بمن تخلف من عيال الحسين عليه السلام، وحمل نساءه على أحلاس أقتاب الجمال بغير وطاء ولا غطاء، مكشفات الوجوه بين الأعداء، وهنّ ودائع خير الأنبياء، وساقوهنّ كما يساق سبي الترك والروم في أسر المصائب والهموم.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 456; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 411.

نظرت إلى تلك النسوة لما مررن بحسين عليه السلام وأهله وولده صحن ولطمن وجوههن...

599. *al-Malhuf*, when recounting the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his family members: The women were driven out of the tents when the tents were set on fire. The women ran out, uncovered, looted [of their outer robes], barefoot, and in tears, resembling abject prisoners. They were saying, "For the sake of God, take us to where al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed." When the women saw the slain martyrs, they screamed and slapped their faces.

The narrator says: By God, I will never forget how Zaynab bint 'Ali (a) lamented over al-Ḥusayn (a), and how she called out in a grief-stricken and broken-hearted voice, "O Muḥammad! May the angels in the sky send blessings on you. Here lies al-Ḥusayn in the wilderness, soaked in blood, with his limbs severed. Woe on us, for your daughters are captives. Our complaint is to God, and to Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā, and to 'Ali al-Murtaḍā, and to Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', and to Ḥamzah, the Doyen of Martyrs.

"O Muḥammad! Here lies al-Ḥusayn in the wilderness, with the desert breeze blowing [dust] over him, killed by the offspring of adulteresses. O my sorrow! O my grief, at you, O Abā 'Abd Allāh! Today [it is as if] my grandfather, the Messenger of God (a) has died. O companions of Muḥammad! These are the offspring of al-Muṣṭafā who are being dragged like captives!"

In another account, "O Muḥammad! Your daughters are captives, your family members are slain, and the wind blows dust over them. And here is al-Ḥusayn (a), his head severed from his neck, and his turban and cloak plundered.

"May my father be ransomed for the one whose army was decimated on Monday. May my father be ransomed for the one whose tent was collapsed and raided. May my father be ransomed for the one who is neither absent, so that one can hope for his return, and nor is he injured, so that he could be healed. May my father be ransomed for the

---

قال: فإن نسيت من الأشياء لا أنسى قول زينب ابنة فاطمة حين مرت بأخيها الحسين عليه السلام صريعا وهي تقول: يا محمداه، يا محمداه، صلى عليك ملائكة السماء، هذا الحسين بالعراء، مرمل بالدماء، مقطع الأعضاء، يا محمداه، وبناتك سبايا، وذريتك مقتلة تسفي عليها الصبا.

قال: فأبكت والله كل عدو وصديق.

one for whom I would give my life. May my father be ransomed for the one who endured sorrows until he was killed. May my father be ransomed for the one who was thirsty until his death. May my father be ransomed for the one whose white hair was dyed with his own blood. May my father be ransomed for the one whose grandfather was the Messenger of the Lord of the Heavens. May my father be ransomed for the one who was the grandson of the Prophet of guidance..."

The narrator says, "By God, she made everyone, friend and foe, weep at her words.

"Then, Sukaynah took the body of [her father] al-Husayn (a) in her arms, but a group of desert Arabs gathered and separated her from the body."[1]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 180; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 58.

أخرجوا النساء من الخيمة وأشعلوا فيها النار، فخرجن حواسر مسلبات حافيات باكيات، يمشين سبايا في أسر الذلة، وقلن: بحق الله إلا ما مررتم بنا على مصرع الحسين، فلما نظرن النسوة إلى القتلى صحن وضربن وجوههن.

قال الراوي: فوالله لا أنسى زينب ابنة علي وهي تندب الحسين عليه السلام، وتنادي بصوت حزين وقلب كئيب: يا محمداه صلى عليك مليك السماء، هذا حسين بالعراء، مرمل بالدماء، مقطع الأعضاء، واثكلاه، وبناتك سبايا، إلى الله المشتكى، وإلى محمد المصطفى، وإلى علي المرتضى، وإلى فاطمة الزهراء، وإلى حمزة سيد الشهداء.

يا محمداه، وهذا حسين بالعراء، تسفي عليه ريح الصبا، قتيل أولاد البغايا، يا حزناه، يا كرباه عليك يا أبا عبد الله، اليوم مات جدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، يا أصحاب محمد، هؤلاء ذرية المصطفى يساقون سوق السبايا.

وفي بعض الروايات: يا محمداه، بناتك سبايا، وذريتك مقتلة، تسفي عليهم ريح الصبا، وهذا حسين محزوز الرأس من القفا، مسلوب العمامة والرداء.

بأبي من أضحى عسكره في يوم الاثنين نهبا، بأبي من فسطاطه مقطع العرى، بأبي من لا غائب فيرتجى، ولا جريح فيداوى، بأبي من نفسي له الفداء، بأبي المهموم حتى قضى، بأبي العطشان حتى مضى، بأبي من تقطر شيبته بالدماء، بأبي من جده رسول إله السماء، بأبي من هو سبط نبي الهدى...

قال الراوي: فأبكت والله كل عدو وصديق.

ثم إن سكينة اعتنقت جسد الحسين عليه السلام، فاجتمع عدة من الأعراب حتى جروها عنه.

6/3: The manner of the arrival of the household of the Prophet (s) in Kufa

600. *al-Amālī* of al-Mufīd, quoting Ḥadhlam ibn Sutīr: I came to Kufa in Muharram of 61/680, when 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and the women [of his family] were brought from Karbala, surrounded by soldiers. The people had all come out to see them. When they were brought on camels without saddles, the women of Kufa began to weep and lament.

I heard 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) saying in a low voice – his illness and the yoke around his neck had drained him, and his hands had been chained to his neck – "Yes, these women lament, but who then killed us?"[1]

601. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: When the caravan of prisoners reached Kufa, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was at al-Nukhaylah (al-'Abbāsiyyah), and he returned at night... The people gathered to watch [the parade of] the captives from the household of the Prophet (s) and the fruit of the heart of Fāṭimah (a).

A Kufan woman called out from above, "Which captives are you?"

The women replied, "We are the captives from the household of Muhammad (s)." [On hearing this] she came down and brought cloaks, dresses, and head scarves for them, so that they could cover themselves.[2]

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[1] al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, p. 321, no. 8; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 91, no. 142.

قدمت الكوفة في المحرم سنة إحدى وستين، عند منصرف علي بن الحسين عليه السلام بالنسوة من كربلاء ومعهم الأجناد يحيطون بهم، وقد خرج الناس للنظر إليهم، فلما أقبل بهم على الجمال بغير وطاء، جعل نساء أهل الكوفة يبكين ويلتدمن.

فسمعت علي بن الحسين عليه السلام وهو يقول بصوت ضئيل - وقد نهكته العلة وفي عنقه الجامعة ويده مغلولة إلى عنقه -: ألا إنّ هؤلاء النسوة يبكين فمن قتلنا؟

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 85.

لما قربوا (أي سبايا الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه) الكوفة كان عبيد الله بن زياد بالنخيلة وهي العباسية، ودخل ليلاً... واجتمع الناس للنظر إلى سبي آل الرسول وقرة عين البتول، فأشرفت امرأة من الكوفة

وقالت: من أي الأسارى أنتنّ؟ فقلن: نحن أسارى آل محمد صلى الله عليه و آله، فنزلت وجمعت ملاءً وأزراً ومقانع، وأعطتهن فتغطين.

6/4: The speech of Zaynab (a) in the midst of the Kufans

602. ***al-Amālī* of al-Mufīd, quoting Ḥadhlam ibn Satīr:** I saw Zaynab bint ʿAlī (a) and I had never seen a modest lady more eloquent than her. It was as if she spoke with the tongue of the Commander of the Faithful (a). She gestured to the people to be quiet, and when breaths settled and voices grew silent, she said:

> All praise belongs to God. May He bless my father, the Messenger of God. O people of Kufa! O people of hypocrisy and desertion! May [your] tears never dry, and may [your] lamentation never subside. Your example is no other than "*...like she who unravelled her spun thread after it had become strong, by making your oaths [no more than] a means of deceiving one another...*"[1]
>
> Indeed, are there any amongst you other than vain pretenders, with grovelling hearts, strengthless when present, helpless against the enemy, breakers of oaths, and heedless of obligations? What an evil you have sent forth for yourselves, for which you have earned God's wrath, and for which you will languish in eternal chastisement!
>
> Do you weep? Yes, by God, you should weep a great deal, and laugh little, for you have earned dishonour and disgrace, and you will never be able to wash off its stain, ever. You abandoned and then killed the offspring of the last of the Prophets (s), the chief of the youths of the people of paradise, the refuge of the righteous amongst you, the sanctuary for your future, the signpost to your salvation, and the pathway to your success.
>
> What an evil load you bear! So may you be wretched and decline. Your efforts were futile, your hands remain empty, you have lost your opportunity, you have found an abode immersed in the anger of God, and have earned humiliation and destitution.
>
> Shame on you! Do you realise which part of Muhammad you severed? And which blood of his you spilt? And which precious gem of his you took away? "*Indeed you have done an atrocious thing, whereat the heavens are about to be torn apart, and the earth split asunder, and the mountains collapse in pieces.*"[2]
>
> You rushed to this like depraved criminals, obscuring the land and the skies [with your armies].

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[1] Q 16:92.

[2] Q 19:89-90.

> Are you surprised that the skies rained blood? "*But the chastisement of the Hereafter will be more disgracing.*"[1] May you not find ease in God's respite, for He is not compelled to hastiness, neither is He worried at losing the opportunity for vengeance. Never! "*For your Lord is lying in wait.*"[2]

Then she was silent, and I saw the people stunned, with their hands in their mouths. I saw an old man who had wept so much that his beard was soaked.[3]

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[1] Q 41:16.

[2] Q 89:14.

[3] al-Mufīd, al-Amālī, p. 321, no. 8; al-Ṭūsī, al-Amālī, p. 92, no. 142.

ورأيت زينب بنت علي عليه السلام ولم أر خفرة قط أنطق منها، كأنها تفرغ عن لسان أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام.

قال: وقد أومأت إلى الناس أن اسكتوا، فارتدت الأنفاس، وسكنت الأجراس، فقالت: الحمد لله والصلاة على أبي رسول الله، أما بعد يا أهل الكوفة، ويا أهل الختل والخذل، فلا رقأت العبرة ولا هدأت الرنة، إنما مثلكم كمثل التي نقضت غزلها من بعد قوة أنكاثا تتخذون أيمانكم دخلا بينكم.

ألا وهل فيكم إلا الصلف النطف، والصدر الشنف، خوارون في اللقاء، عاجزون عن الأعداء، ناكثون للبيعة، مضيعون للذمة، فبئس ما قدمت لكم أنفسكم أن سخط الله عليكم وفي العذاب أنتم خالدون.

أتبكون؟ إي والله فابكوا كثيرا واضحكوا قليلا، فقد فزتم بعارها وشنارها، ولن تغسلوا دنسها عنكم أبدا، فسليل خاتم الرسالة، وسيد شباب أهل الجنة، ومنار محجتكم، ومدرة حجتكم، ومفزع نازلتكم تقتلون، وساء ما تزرون.

ألا تعسا ونكسا، لقد خاب السعي، وتبت الأيدي، وخسرت الصفقة، وبؤتم بغضب من الله، وضربت عليكم الذلة والمسكنة.

ويلكم أتدرون أي كبد لمحمد فريتم؟ وأي دم له سفكتم؟ وأي كريمة له أصبتم؟ لقد جئتم شيئا إدا تكاد السموات يتفطرن منه وتنشق الأرض وتخر الجبال هدا، ولقد أتيتم بها خرقاء شوهاء، طلاع الأرض والسماء.

أفعجبتم أن قطرت السماء دما ولعذاب الآخرة أخزى، فلا يستخفنكم المهل فإنه لا تحفزه البدار، ولا يخاف عليه فوت الثأر، كلا إن ربك لبالمرصاد.

قال: ثم سكتت، فرأيت الناس حيارى قد ردوا أيديهم في أفواههم، ورأيت شيخا قد بكى حتى اخضلت لحيته.

6/5: The speech of Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrā (a) in the midst of the Kufans

803. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Zayd ibn Mūsā: My father narrated to me from my grandfather, al-Ṣādiq (a), that when Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrā came from Karbala [to Kūfa], she gave a sermon in which she said:

> All praise belongs to God, in the measure of the grains of sand and pebbles, and the weight of that which exists between the Throne and the earth. I praise Him, I have faith in Him, and I rely on Him. I testify that there is no deity but God, the One, without any associate, and that Muḥammad (s) is his Bondsman and Messenger. And [I bear witness that] his offspring were slaughtered at the banks of the Euphrates, without having given any cause for vengeance or blame....
>
> O people of Kūfa! O people of deception, betrayal, and conceit! Verily, we are a household whom God tested through you, and tested you through us. He made our test exemplary, and He made His knowledge known to us, and His comprehension available to us. We are the bearers of His knowledge, the vessels of His comprehension and His wisdom, and His proof on earth on His lands and for His servants. God has honoured us with His grace, and clearly distinguished us through His Prophet, Muḥammad (s), over most of His creation.
>
> Yet you belied us, turned away from us, considered our killing lawful, and our possessions free for plunder!...
>
> May you perish, and wait to receive the curse and punishment of God. It has already begun to descend towards you, and chastisement from the heavens shall continually beset you. You will suffer afflictions, and you shall taste terror at the hands of one another. And afterwards, you will abide in painful punishment on the Day of Resurrection, because of your oppression of us, "*The curse of God on the wrong-doers.*"[1]
>
> Shame on you! Do you even know which of your hands tormented us? Or which one of you stood up against us? Or on which feet you marched towards us to wage war against us? By God, your hearts have hardened, your livers [consciences] have become desensitized, your minds are closed, and there is a seal over your hearing and sight. Satan has enticed you and given you false hope [of respite].[2] He has placed a veil over your sight, so that you will never be guided aright.

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[1] Q 7:44.

[2] Paraphrasing Q 47:25.

> May you perish, O Kufans! What claim do any of you have against God's Messenger (s)? Whose blood from among you did he spill [so that vengeance should be sought]? On what grounds did you bear malice towards his brother, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), who was my grandfather, and towards his sons and the choicest of the offspring of the Prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon them? And then, your poets gloated about this, saying:
>
> We killed 'Alī, and the sons of 'Alī,
> With Indian swords, and spears,
> And we treated their women like Turkish prisoners,
> And how harshly we crushed them.
>
> May your mouth be filled, O poet, with dirt and pebbles. Do you brag about killing a people whom God cleansed, and from whom He kept removed every foulness, and whom He purified thoroughly?[1]
>
> So swallow your words, and sit back, the way your fathers sat back [passively]. Indeed, every person shall only have what they earned, and what they sent forth.
>
> Shame on you! Were you jealous of the merits that God granted to us?
> It is not our fault that our seas are constantly turbulent [and in motion],
> While your sea is stagnant [lifeless], with no bubbling froth.

[Then she recited the verses:]

> *"This is the bounty of God, which He bestows on whom He pleases, and God is the Possessor of abounding bounty."*[2] *"And he to whom God has not granted light, for him there is no light."*[3]

The sound of the people's weeping rose, and they begged, "Enough, O daughter of the righteous! You have burned our hearts, stung our throats, and scorched our breasts."

So she became silent.[4]

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[1] Paraphrasing Q 33:33.

[2] Q 57:21.

[3] Q 24:40.

[4] *al-Malhūf*, p. 192; *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, p. 104, no. 169.

[illegible] عليه السلام. خطبت فاطمة الصغرى بعد أن وردت من كربلاء.
فقالت: الحمد لله عدد الرمل والحصى، وزنة العرش إلى الثرى، أحمده وأؤمن به وأتوكل عليه، وأشهد

أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأنّ محمداً صلى الله عليه و آله عبده ورسوله، وأنّ ذريته ذُبحوا بشطّ الفرات بغير ذحل ولا ترات...

أما بعد، يا أهل الكوفة، يا أهل المكر والغدر والخيلاء، فإنا أهل بيت ابتلانا الله بكم وابتلاكم بنا، فجعل بلاءنا حسناً، وجعل علمه عندنا وفهمه لدينا، فنحن عيبة علمه، ووعاء فهمه وحكمته، وحجته على أهل الأرض في بلاده لعباده، أكرمنا الله بكرامته، وفضّلنا بنبيه محمد صلى الله عليه و آله على كثير ممن خلق تفضيلاً بيّناً.

فكذّبتمونا وكفّرتمونا، ورأيتم قتالنا حلالاً وأموالنا نهباً...

تباً لكم، فانتظروا اللعنة والعذاب، فكأن قد حلّ بكم، وتواترت من السماء نقمات، فيسحتكم بعذاب ويذيق بعضكم بأس بعض، ثم تخلّدون في العذاب الأليم يوم القيامة بما ظلمتمونا، ألا لعنة الله على الظالمين.

ويلكم، أتدرون أية يد طاعنتنا منكم، وأية نفس نزعت إلى قتالنا؟! أم بأية رجل مشيتم إلينا تبغون محاربتنا؟!

قست والله قلوبكم، وغلظت أكبادكم، وطُبع على أفئدتكم، وخُتم على أسماعكم وأبصاركم، وسوّل لكم الشيطان وأملى لكم، وجعل على بصركم غشاوة فأنتم لا تهتدون.

تباً لكم يا أهل الكوفة، أيّ ترات لرسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله قبلكم، وذحول له لديكم، بما غدرتم بأخيه علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام جدّي، وبنيه وعترة النبي الأخيار صلوات الله وسلامه عليهم، وافتخر بذلك مفتخركم فقال:

نحن قتلنا علياً وبني علي بسيوف هندية ورماح
وسبينا نساءهم سبي ترك ونطحناهم فأيّ نطاح

بفيك أيها القائل الكثكث والأثلب، افتخرت بقتل قوم زكّاهم الله وأذهب عنهم الرجس وطهّرهم تطهيراً، فاكظم وأقع كما أقعى أبوك، فإنما لكل امرئ ما اكتسب وما قدّمت يداه.

أحسدتمونا - ويلاً لكم - على ما فضّلنا الله

فما ذنبنا إن جاش دهراً بحورنا وبحرك ساج لا يواري الدعامصا

ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم، ومن لم يجعل الله له نوراً فما له من نور.

قال: وارتفعت الأصوات بالبكاء، وقالوا: حسبك يا ابنة الطيبين، فقد أحرقت قلوبنا، وأنضجت نحورنا، وأضرمت أجوافنا، فسكتت.

6/6: The speech of Umm Kulthūm (a) in the midst of the Kufans[1]

604. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Zayd ibn Mūsā: My father narrated to me from my grandfather, al-Ṣādiq (a), that on that day, Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of ʿAlī (a), gave a sermon from behind her screen in a raised and tearful voice, and said:

> O people of Kufa, woe be unto you! Why did you betray al-Ḥusayn, then kill him? Why did you plunder his possessions, take them for yourselves, make his womenfolk prisoners, and subject them to affliction? May you perish and be ruined!
>
> Shame on you! Do you know what great calamity has settled over you? And what burden you have placed on your shoulders? And whose blood you have spilt? And what sacred trust you have violated? And what possessions you have looted?
>
> You killed the best of men after the Prophet (s), and every ounce of mercy has been removed from your hearts, but nevertheless, "*The party of God are the ones that shall be victorious.*"[2] And, "*Verily, the party of Satan are the ones that will be the losers.*"[3]

...(The narrator says:) The people's voices rose as they wept, wailed, and lamented. The women exposed their hair, poured dust over their heads, scratched their faces, slapped their cheeks, and cried out in grief and sorrow.[4] The men wept bitterly and plucked out the hairs in their beard. Never before had men and women been seen weeping as much as they did on that day.[5]

---

[1] There is some confusion, and a difference of opinion, about whether Umm Kulthūm who was in Karbala is actually Zaynab al-Kubrā (a), or the second daughter of ʿAlī (a) and Fāṭimah (a), or, indeed, a daughter of ʿAlī (a) whose mother was not Fāṭimah (a).

[2] Q 5:56.

[3] Q 58:19.

[4] In private, amongst other women. [Trans.]

[5] *al-Malhūf*, p. 198; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 88.

حدثني أبي عن جدي (الصادق) عليهما السلام، خطبت أم كلثوم ابنة علي عليه السلام في ذلك اليوم من وراء كلّتها رافعة صوتها بالبكاء، فقالت:

يا أهل الكوفة سوءاً لكم ما لكم خذلتم حسيناً وقتلتموه، وانتهبتم أمواله وورثتموه، وسبيتم نساءه ونكبتموه، فتبّاً لكم وسحقاً

6/7: The speech of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) in the midst of the Kufans

Ibn. *al-Malhūf*: Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) gestured to the people to be silent. When they were silent, he stood up, praised God and glorified Him. Then he mentioned the Prophet (s) as he deserved, and then he said:

> O people! Those who know me, know me, but for those who do not know me, I will introduce myself. I am ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. I am the son of the man who was slaughtered at the banks of the Euphrates, without having given any cause for vengeance or blame. I am the son of the one whose sanctity was violated, whose bounties were taken, whose possessions were plundered, and whose family was imprisoned. I am the son of the one who was killed while he was steadfast, and that is sufficient for me to be proud about.
>
> O people! I ask you in the name of God, do you know that you wrote to my father and then betrayed him: and you gave him your sworn oath, your covenant, and pledged your allegiance, and then fought against him and abandoned him? May you perish for what you sent forth for yourselves and for the evil decision you made.
>
> How will you be able to look at God's Messenger (s) when he tells you, "You killed my progeny, and you violated my sanctity, therefore, you are not from my nation!"

(The narrator says:) Voices were raised from every side, and the people said to one another, "You have been ruined, while you do not realize!"

Then he continued, "May God have mercy on the person who accepts my warning and keeps in mind my advice about God, His Messenger, and his progeny, for we have in God's Messenger (s) an excellent exemplar."

ويلكم أتدرون أي دواه دهتكم، وأي وزر على ظهوركم حملتم، وأي دماء سفكتموها، وأي كريمة أصبتموها، وأي صبية سلبتموها، وأي أموال انتهبتموها، قتلتم خير رجالات بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وآله، ونزعت الرحمة من قلوبكم، ألا إن حزب الله هم الفائزون، وحزب الشيطان هم الخاسرون.

- قال الراوي: فضج الناس بالبكاء والنحيب والنوح، ونشر النساء شعورهن، وحثين التراب على رؤوسهن، وخمشن وجوههن، ولطمن خدودهن، ودعون بالويل والثبور، وبكى الرجال ونتفوا لحاهم، فلم يُرَ باكية وباكٍ أكثر من ذلك اليوم.

They all replied, "O son of God's Messenger, we will all listen and obey. We will safeguard your trust, neither being neglectful of your right, nor turning away from you. So command us, may God have mercy on you, for we will fight in your battles and be at peace with those with who you make peace. We will take Yazid to account and disassociate from those who oppressed you and us."

Then he said:

> You will never do this, never! O people of treachery and cunning! Your base desires have control over you. Do you mean to do to me what you did to my father in the past? Never, by the Lord of the convent! Indeed, that wound has not yet healed. My father, may God bless him, was killed just yesterday, and his family alongside him. The memory of the loss of God's Messenger, and the loss of my father and his sons, remains etched in my mind, its bitterness fills my mouth and throat, and its bile courses through the depths of my breast. [No.] My only request from you is that you neither stand with us, nor against us.

Then he recited the following couplets:

> It is not a surprise if al-Ḥusayn is killed, while his father,
> Who was better than Ḥusayn, and more noble [was also killed].
> Do not exult, O people of Kufa, about
> What befell al-Ḥusayn, because that was a greater crime.
> The martyr killed at the banks of the river, may my soul be sacrificed for him;
> The reward for the one who attacked him is the fire of hell.

Then he said, "We are satisfied that for every head we took a head [of yours]; that day was not for us, yet not against us."

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1 *al-Malhūf*, p. 199; *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, p. 117, no. 171.

فأومأ زين العابدين عليه السلام إلى الناس أن اسكتوا فسكتوا، فقام قائماً، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه وذكر النبي بما هو أهله فصلى عليه، ثم قال:

أيها الناس، من عرفني فقد عرفني، ومن لم يعرفني فأنا أعرفه بنفسي، أنا علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب، أنا ابن المذبوح بشط الفرات من غير ذحل ولا تراث، أنا ابن من انتهك حريمه وسلب نعيمه وانتهب ماله وسبي عياله، أنا ابن من قتل صبراً وكفى بذلك فخراً.

6/8: The protest of Zayd ibn Arqam against Ibn Ziyad

608. *al-Irshad*: When the blessed head of al-Ḥusayn (a) reached [Kufa], and after Ibn Sa'd, may God curse him, arrived the next day with the daughters and family members of al-Ḥusayn (a), Ibn Ziyād sat in an assembly with the people in the governor's mansion. He had issued a general invitation to gather, and ordered for the head to be brought and placed before him. He looked towards it with a smile, and took a cane in his hand, and began to poke at the teeth of the Imam (a).

The aged companion of the Prophet (s), Zayd ibn Arqam, was at his side. When he saw him poking at the teeth of the Imam (a) with the cane, he appealed to him, "Lift your cane away from those two lips, for by God, other than Whom there is no deity, I have seen the lips of God's Messenger (s) kiss those lips more times than could be counted." Then he began to weep.

أيها الناس، ناشدتكم الله، هل تعلمون أنكم كتبتم إلى أبي وخدعتموه وأعطيتموه من أنفسكم العهد والميثاق والبيعة وقاتلتموه وخذلتموه؟ فتباً لما قدمتم لأنفسكم وسوأة لرأيكم، بأية عين تنظرون إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله إذ يقول لكم: قتلتم عترتي وانتهكتم حرمتي فلستم من أمتي؟

قال الراوي: فارتفعت أصوات الناس من كل ناحية ويقول بعضهم لبعض: هلكتم وما تعلمون.

فقال عليه السلام: رحم الله امرأً قبل نصيحتي وحفظ وصيتي في الله وفي رسوله وأهل بيته، فإن لنا في رسول الله أسوة حسنة.

فقالوا بأجمعهم: نحن كلنا يا ابن رسول الله سامعون مطيعون حافظون لذمامك غير زاهدين فيك ولا راغبين عنك فمرنا بأمرك يرحمك الله، فإنا حرب لحربك وسلم لسلمك، لنأخذن يزيد ونبرأ ممن ظلمك وظلمنا.

فقال عليه السلام: هيهات هيهات أيتها الغدرة المكرة، حيل بينكم وبين شهوات أنفسكم، أتريدون أن تأتوا إليّ كما أتيتم إلى أبي من قبل؟ كلا وربّ الراقصات، فإن الجرح لما يندمل، قتل أبي صلوات الله عليه بالأمس وأهل بيته معه، ولم ينسني ثكل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وثكل أبي وبني أبي، ووجده بين لهاتي، ومرارته بين حناجري وحلقي، وغصصه تجري في فراش صدري، ومسألتي أن لا تكونوا لنا ولا علينا. ثم قال:

لا غرو إن قتل الحسين وشيخه … قد كان خيراً من حسين وأكرما
فلا تفرحوا يا أهل كوفان بالذي … أصاب حسيناً كان ذلك أعظما
قتيل بشط النهر روحي فداؤه … جزاء الذي أرداه نار جهنما

ثم قال عليه السلام: رضينا منكم رأساً برأس، فلا يوم لنا ولا علينا.

Ibn Ziyād said to him, "May God always make your eyes weep. Do you weep at God's victory? By God, if you were not an old man who has become senile and lost his mind, I would have struck off your head." Zayd ibn Arqam stood up, left the gathering, and went to his home.[1]

607. ***al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting Ḥakam ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, from his father, from his grandfather:** I was present when the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought to Ibn Ziyād. He began to poke at the front teeth of the Imam (a) with a cane, while saying, "He had such beautiful teeth."

Zayd ibn Arqam said to him, "Lift your cane away, for I have often seen God's Messenger (s) kiss that place."

He replied, "You are a senile old man." So Zayd stood up and gathered his cloak [and left]....

Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad said, "I have never seen a more shameful scene than the one where the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) had been placed before him, while he poked at it."[2]

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 114; I'lām al-Warā, vol. 1, p. 472.

لما وصل رأس الحسين عليه السلام ووصل ابن سعد - لعنه الله - من غد يوم وصوله ومعه بنات الحسين عليه السلام وأهله، جلس ابن زياد للناس في قصر الإمارة وأذن للناس إذناً عاماً، وأمر بإحضار الرأس فوضع بين يديه، فجعل ينظر إليه ويتبسم وفي يده قضيب يضرب به ثناياه، وكان إلى جانبه زيد بن أرقم صاحب رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وهو شيخ كبير، فلما رآه يضرب بالقضيب ثناياه قال له: ارفع قضيبك عن هاتين الشفتين، فوالله الذي لا إله غيره لقد رأيت شفتي رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله عليهما ما لا أحصيه كثرة تقبلهما، ثم انتحب باكياً.

فقال له ابن زياد: أبكى الله عينيك، أتبكي لفتح الله؟ والله لولا أنك شيخ قد خرفت وذهب عقلك لضربت عنقك. فنهض زيد بن أرقم من بين يديه وصار إلى منزله.

[2] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 252, no. 449; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 22, p. 365.

أنه حضر عبيد الله بن زياد حين أتي برأس الحسين عليه السلام، فجعل ينكت بقضيب ثناياه ويقول: إن كان لحسن الثغر.

فقال له زيد بن أرقم: ارفع قضيبك، فطالما رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يلثم موضعه.

قال: إنك شيخ قد خرفت. فقام زيد وجر ثيابه...

قال القاسم بن محمد: ما رأيت منظراً قط أفظع من إلقاء رأس الحسين عليه السلام بين يديه وهو ينكته.

6/9: The protest of Anas ibn Mālik Against Ibn Ziyād

608. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah),*** **quoting Anas ibn Mālik:** I saw 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād being presented with the head of al-Ḥusayn (a). He began to poke at the teeth of the Imam (a) with a cane that he had with him, saying, "He had such beautiful teeth."

I said [to myself], "By God, I will humiliate you." Then I said, "I have seen God's Messenger (s) kiss that place on his mouth which you are striking with your cane."[1]

6/10: The confrontation of Ibn Ziyād with Zaynab (a)

609. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah):*** The captives were brought before 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. He asked, "Who is this woman?"

They replied, "She is Zaynab, the daughter of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."

He asked, "What did you think of what God did to your household?"

She replied, "Death was ordained for them, so they hastened to the places of their martyrdom; and soon, God will gather us, and you, and them."

He said, "Praise be to God Who killed you and exposed your lies."

She replied, "[Rather] praise be to God Who honoured us with Muhammad, and purified us a thorough purification."[2]

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 481; *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 125.

شهدت عبيد الله بن زياد حيث أتي برأس الحسين عليه السلام قال: فجعل ينكت بقضيب معه على أسنانه ويقول: إن كان لحسن الثغر.

قال: فقلت: والله لأسوءنك، فقلت: أما إني قد رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقبّل موضع قضيبك من فيه.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 483.

ثم جيء بالأسرى إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، فقال عبيد الله: من هذه؟

قالوا: زينب بنت علي بن أبي طالب، فقال: كيف رأيت الله صنع بأهل بيتك؟

قالت: كتب عليهم القتل فبرزوا إلى مضاجعهم، وسيجمع الله بيننا وبينك وبينهم.

قال: الحمد لله الذي قتلكم وأكذب حديثكم

611. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought, with his children, sisters, and womenfolk before ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, Zaynab, the daughter of Fāṭimah, had worn her shabbiest clothes. She remained unnoticed between her maids, who stood around her. When she entered she sat down.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād asked, "Who is this woman who is sitting?" She did not reply. He repeated his question three times, but yet she said nothing. One of the maids then replied, "This is Zaynab, the daughter of Fāṭimah (a)."

ʿUbayd Allāh then said to her, "Praise be to God Who disgraced you, and killed you, and exposed the falsehood of your claims!"

She replied, "Praise be to God Who honoured us with Muḥammad (ṣ) and purified us with a thorough purification. Unlike what you say, God only disgraces the open sinner (*fāsiq*) and exposes the lies of the degenerate (*fājir*)."

He asked, "What did you think of God's treatment of your household?"

She replied, "Death was written for them, so they hastened to the places of their martyrdom. Soon, God will gather you and them, and you will each present your arguments to Him, and explain your actions before Him."

Ibn Ziyād became furious and burned with anger [wanting to harm her], when ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥurayth said to him, "May God make the governor prosper! She is [only] a woman; should a woman be taken to task over something she says? She should not be taken to task over her words, or blamed for a meaningless outburst."

Then Ibn Ziyād said to her, "God has soothed my heart through [the killing of] your tyrant and the disobedient rebels of your household."

On hearing this she wept, then replied, "By my life, you have killed all our adults, decimated our family, cut off our branches, and pulled out our root. If this soothes you, then let it be so."

قالت: الحمد لله الذي أكرمنا بمحمد وطهرنا تطهيرا

'Ubayd Allāh told her, "You speak bravely. By my life, your father was a brave poet also."[1]

She replied, "What does a woman have to do with bravery [or poetry]? I have other things to occupy me than that, and I merely spoke what was in my heart."[2]

6/11: The confrontation of Ibn Ziyād with Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a)

In *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, quoting one of the descendants of Abū Ṭālib: Ibn Ziyād had announced a reward for the head of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a).

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[1] In many other texts that mention this event, the word used is saj'ah (poet) and not shajā'ah (bravery), which seems to be more correct in this context. Saj' is a poetical form of expression without the normal metre of poems. Therefore, what Ibn Ziyād said was, "You speak with eloquence." See *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr*, p. 267, under the root s-j-'.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 457; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 115.

لما أدخل رأس حسين عليه السلام وصبيانه وأخواته ونساؤه على عبيد الله بن زياد، لبست زينب ابنة فاطمة عليها السلام أرذل ثيابها وتنكرت، وحفت بها إماؤها، فلما دخلت جلست، فقال عبيد الله بن زياد: من هذه الجالسة؟ فلم تكلمه، فقال ذلك ثلاثا كل ذلك لا تكلمه، فقال بعض إمائها: هذه زينب ابنة فاطمة عليها السلام.

قال: فقال لها عبيد الله: الحمد لله الذي فضحكم وقتلكم وأكذب أحدوثتكم!

فقالت: الحمد لله الذي أكرمنا بمحمد صلى الله عليه وآله وطهرنا تطهيرا، لا كما تقول أنت، إنما يفتضح الفاسق، ويكذب الفاجر.

قال: فكيف رأيت صنع الله بأهل بيتك؟

قالت: كتب عليهم القتل، فبرزوا إلى مضاجعهم، وسيجمع الله بينك وبينهم فتحاجون إليه وتختصمون عنده.

قال: فغضب ابن زياد واستشاط، قال: فقال له عمرو بن حريث: أصلح الله الأمير، إنما هي امرأة، وهل تؤاخذ المرأة بشيء من منطقها، إنها لا تؤاخذ بقول، ولا تلام على خطل.

فقال لها ابن زياد: قد أشفى الله نفسي من طاغيتك، والعصاة المردة من أهل بيتك.

قال: فبكت، ثم قالت: لعمري لقد قتلت كهلي، وأبرت أهلي، وقطعت فرعي، واجتثثت أصلي، فإن يشفك هذا فقد اشتفيت.

فقال لها عبيد الله: هذه شجاعة، لعمري لقد كان أبوك شاعرا شجاعا.

قالت: ما للمرأة والشجاعة، إن لي عن الشجاعة لشغلا، ولكني نفثت ما أقول.

When the Imam (a) was brought to him in chains, Ibn Ziyād asked him, "Did God not kill 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn?"

The Imam (a) replied, "I had a brother called 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, and he was killed by the people."

Ibn Ziyād said [again], "Rather, he was killed by God."

Zaynab bint 'Alī (a) called out, "O Ibn Ziyād! You have shed enough of our blood. If you seek to kill him, then kill me as well!"

So he left him [alive].[1]

611. *al-Malhūf*: Ibn Ziyād, may God curse him, turned to 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), and asked, "Who is this?"

He was told, "It is 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a)."

He said, "Did God not kill 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn?"

'Alī (a) said to him, "I had a brother called 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, and he was killed by the people."

Ibn Ziyād said [again], "Rather, he was killed by God."

'Alī (a) said, "*God takes the souls at the time of their death.*"[2]

Ibn Ziyād shouted, "You dare to reply me [in this manner]? Take him away and strike his neck."

His aunt Zaynab (a) heard him and said, "O Ibn Ziyād, you have not left anyone of us [alive], so if you are determined to kill him, then kill me along with him."

'Alī (a) said to his aunt, "Do not say anything else, until I speak to him." Then he turned to Ibn Ziyād and said, "Do you threaten me with death, O Ibn Ziyād? Do you not know that death is ordinary to us, and our honour lies in martyrdom?"[1]

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 412.

إنّ ابن زياد جعل في عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام غلًّا فأُتي به مربوطًا فقال له: ألم يقتل الله عليّ بن الحسين؟

قال: كان لي أخ يقال له عليّ بن الحسين، وإنّما قتله الناس. قال: بل قتله الله.

فصاحت زينب بنت عليّ عليها السلام: يا ابن زياد، حسبك من دمائنا، إن قتلته فاقتلني معه. فتركه.

[2] Q 39:42.

6/12: The protest of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Afīf Against Ibn Ziyād, and his martyrdom[2]

619: *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: When 'Ubayd Allāh entered the mansion, and the people had gathered, a call to prayer was given [for assembling], and the people assembled in the Grand Mosque. Ibn Ziyād ascended the pulpit and said, "Praise be to God, Who made clear the truth and its people, and granted victory to the commander of the faithful, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah and his partisans, and killed the lying son of the liar, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, and his followers."

Ibn Ziyād had not finished his speech, when 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Afīf al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī, of the tribe of Banū Wālibah, sprang up [in protest]. He was a Shī'a of 'Alī (a). He had lost his left eye in the Battle of Jamal, fighting on the side of 'Alī (a). In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he was struck a blow on the head and another on his eyebrow, and thus lost his other eye. He would hardly leave the Grand Mosque, remaining there in prayer until nightfall, when he would depart.

When he heard the speech of 'Ubayd Allāh, he said, "O son of Marjānah! The lying sons of liars are none other than you and your father, and the one who appointed you and his father. O son of

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 202; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 123.

فالتفت ابن زياد لعنة الله إلى علي بن الحسين عليه السلام، فقال: من هذا؟ فقيل: علي بن الحسين، فقال: أليس قد قتل الله علي بن الحسين؟ فقال له علي: قد كان لي أخ يسمى علي بن الحسين قتله الناس. فقال: بل الله قتله. فقال علي عليه السلام: «الله يتوفى الأنفس حين موتها». فقال ابن زياد: وبك جرأة على جوابي؟ اذهبوا به فاضربوا عنقه.

فسمعت به عمته زينب عليها السلام، فقالت: يا ابن زياد، إنك لم تبق منا أحداً، فإن كنت عزمت على قتله فاقتلني معه.

فقال علي لعمته: اسكتي يا عمة حتى أكلمه. ثم أقبل إليه فقال: أبالقتل تهددني يا ابن زياد؟ أما علمت أن القتل لنا عادة وكرامتنا الشهادة؟

[2] This event occurred in the Grand Mosque, after the encounter of Ibn Ziyād with the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in the government mansion.

Marjānah! Do you kill the sons of prophets and then speak like one of the righteous?"

Ibn Ziyād demanded, "Bring him to me!"

The guards leaped on him, and grabbed him fast, but he shouted out the rallying cry of the Azdis, "*Yā Mabrūr* (O recipients of God's grace)!"

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mikhnaf al-Azdi, was sitting there. He said, "Woe unto your comrades! You have ruined yourself, and you have ruined your people!" On that day there were 700 Azdi fighters in Kūfa. Some of the Azdi youth hurried to him, hauled him away, and took him to his family. Ibn Ziyād sent someone for him and killed him. He then ordered for his body to be crucified in the marshlands, and this was done.[1]

614. *al-Irshād*: Ibn Ziyād entered the mosque, ascended the pulpit, and said, "Praise be to God, Who made clear the truth and its people, and granted victory to the commander of the faithful, Yazīd and his party, and killed the lying son of the liar and his followers."

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Afīf al-Azdi stood up before him – he was a Shī'a of the Commander of the Faithful (a) – and exclaimed, "O enemy of God!

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 458; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 525.

لما دخل عبيد الله القصر ودخل الناس، نودي: الصلاة جامعة، فاجتمع الناس في المسجد الأعظم، فصعد المنبر ابن زياد فقال: الحمد لله الذي أظهر الحق وأهله، ونصر أمير المؤمنين يزيد بن معاوية وحزبه، وقتل الكذاب ابن الكذاب الحسين بن علي وشيعته.

لم يفرغ ابن زياد من مقالته حتى وثب إليه عبد الله بن عفيف الأزدي ثم الغامدي ثم أحد بني والبة، وكان من شيعة علي عليه السلام، وكانت عينه اليسرى ذهبت يوم الجمل مع علي عليه السلام فلما كان يوم صفين ضرب على رأسه ضربة وأخرى على حاجبه فذهبت عينه الأخرى، فكان لا يكاد يفارق المسجد الأعظم يصلي فيه إلى الليل ثم ينصرف.

قال: فلما سمع مقالة ابن زياد قال: يا ابن مرجانة إن الكذاب ابن الكذاب أنت وأبوك، والذي ولاك وأبوه، يا ابن مرجانة أتقتلون أبناء النبيين وتتكلمون بكلام الصديقين؟!

فقال ابن زياد: علي به. قال: فوثبت عليه الجلاوزة فأخذوه.

قال: فنادى بشعار الأزد: يا مبرور. قال: وعبد الرحمن بن مخنف الأزدي جالس، فقال: ويح غيرك! أهلكت نفسك وأهلكت قومك. قال: وحاضر الكوفة يومئذ من الأزد سبعمائة مقاتل. قال: فوثب إليه فتية من الأزد فانتزعوه فأتوا به أهله. فأرسل إليه من أتاه به فقتله، وأمر بصلبه في السبخة فصلب هنالك.

The [real] liars are you and your father, and the one who appointed you and his father. O son of Marjānah! You kill the family of Prophets and then assume from the pulpit the status of the righteous?"

Ibn Ziyād demanded, "Bring him to me!" The guards apprehended him, but he shouted out the rallying cry of the Azdis, and 700 [of their] men gathered around him and rescued him from the guards.

That night, Ibn Ziyād sent someone to him who would lure him out of his house. He struck off his neck and had his body crucified in the marshlands, may God have mercy on him.[1]

6/13: The family of the Prophet (s) in the dungeon of Ibn Ziyād

615. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ordered the survivors from the household of al-Ḥusayn (a), who had been brought to him, to be imprisoned in [the dungeons of] the mansion where he was residing.[2]

616. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah: The women, daughters, and family of al-Ḥusayn (a) were brought. The only worthy thing that 'Ubayd Allāh did was to order for them to be placed in an isolated house and to provide them with provisions, some money, and clothes.[3]

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 117; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 279.

دخل ابن زياد المسجد فصعد المنبر فقال: الحمد لله الذي أظهر الحق وأهله، ونصر أمير المؤمنين يزيد وحزبه، وقتل الكذّاب ابن الكذّاب وشيعته.

فقام إليه عبد الله بن عفيف الأزدي - وكان من شيعة أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام - فقال: يا عدوّ الله إنّ الكذّاب أنت وأبوك، والذي ولّاك وأبوه، يا ابن مرجانة، تقتل أولاد النبيين وتقوم على المنبر مقام الصدّيقين!

فقال ابن زياد: عليّ به، فأخذته الجلاوزة، فنادى بشعار الأزد، فاجتمع منهم سبعمائة رجل فانتزعوه من الجلاوزة، فلما كان الليل أرسل إليه ابن زياد من أخرجه من بيته، فضرب عنقه وصلبه في السبخة رحمة الله.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 484.

أمر عبيد الله بن زياد بحبس من قدم به عليه من بقية أهل الحسين عليه السلام معه في القصر.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 393; also, see *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 193.

وجيء بنساء (أي بنساء الإمام الحسين عليه السلام) وبناته وأهله، وكان أحسن شيء صنعه أن أمر لهنّ بمنزل في مكان معتزل، وأجرى عليهنّ رزقًا، وأمر لهنّ بنفقة وكسوة.

6/14: The martyrdom of two youths from the household of the Prophet (s)

617. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah: From among them [the survivors], two sons – or grandsons – of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far [escaped, and] went to a man from the tribe of Ṭayyi'. They sought his protection, but he slew them, brought their heads, and placed them before Ibn Ziyād. [For this] he was inclined to have the man killed, but ordered his house to be demolished [instead].[1]

618. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Two sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far sought the protection of a man from the tribe of Ṭayyi', but he smote their necks and brought their heads to Ibn Ziyād [seeking reward]. Ibn Ziyād almost ordered for his head to be severed, but had his house demolished instead.[2]

619. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Two sons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far sought refuge with the wife of 'Abd Allāh ibn Quṭbah al-Ṭā'ī al-Nabhānī. The two were young boys, not yet mature. [Meanwhile] 'Umar ibn Sa'd had ordered a caller to announce, "Whoever brings any head shall receive one-thousand dirhams."

When Ibn Quṭbah came home, his wife told him, "Two young men have sought refuge with us. Will you treat them with kindness, and send them to their family in Medina?" He replied, "Yes, show me where they are."

However, when he saw them, he slaughtered them and brought their heads to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. 'Ubayd Allāh did not give him anything and told him, "I wish you would have brought them to me alive, so that I could have granted them as a favour to Abū Ja'far" – meaning 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far."

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 393; *Baghyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2633.

فانطلق غلامان منهم لعبد الله بن جعفر - أو ابن ابن جعفر - فأتيا رجلاً من طيئ فلجآ إليه فضرب أعناقهما وجاء برؤوسهما حتى وضعهما بين يدي ابن زياد، قال: فهمّ بضرب عنقه وأمر بداره فهدمت.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 424.

فلجأ ابنان لعبد الله بن جعفر إلى رجل من طيئ فضرب أعناقهما وأتى ابن زياد برؤوسهما، فهمّ بضرب عنقه وأمر بداره فهدمت.

When this news reached 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, he said, "If only he would have brought the boys to me, I would have given him two-thousand thousand."[1]

A note

Most historical sources consider the aforementioned children to be the sons or grandsons, of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. Only in the *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq (p. 143, no.145) is there a weak report that they were the sons of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl.

It is worth noting that the accounts of both al-Ṣadūq and Khwārizmī,[2] in addition to being weak in their chain of transmission, are more similar to fabricated stories. For this reason, the details themselves are also of little credibility.

A word about the captives and survivors of the event of Karbala

There are varying reports about the number of captives brought back from Karbala. The number of male captives has been reported as four, five, ten, or twelve individuals. The number of female captives has been reported as four, six, or even twenty individuals. For this reason, just like the total number of martyrs of Karbala, it is not possible to say definitively how many were taken as prisoners. However, we will mention the names of a number of captives who have been mentioned in different reports.

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 478.

وقد كان ابنا عبد الله بن جعفر لجأا إلى امرأة عبد الله بن قطبة الطائي ثم النبهاني، وكانا غلامين لم يبلغا،
وقد كان عمر بن سعد أمر مناديا فنادى: من جاء برأس فله ألف درهم.

فجاء ابن قطبة إلى منزله فقالت له امرأته: إن غلامين لجأا إلينا فهل لك أن تشرف بهما فتبعث بهما إلى
أهلهما بالمدينة؟ قال: نعم أرينهما.

فلما رآهما ذبحهما وجاء برؤوسهما إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، فلم يعطه شيئا، فقال عبيد الله: وددت أنه كان
جاءني بهما حيين فمننت بهما على أبي جعفر -يعني عبد الله بن جعفر-.

وبلغ ذلك عبد الله بن جعفر فقال: وددت أنه كان جاءني بهما فأعطيته ألفي ألف.

[2] In his *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn (a)*, vol. 2, p. 49, Khwārizmī mentions a similar account to that found in *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, with the difference that the children are said to be the sons of Ja'far al-Ṭayyār, which is the popularly held account.

The male captives from Banū Hāshim

1. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn – Imam Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (a)
2. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn – Imam al-Bāqir (a)
3. Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan, known as al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā. He was the son of Imam al-Ḥasan (a), and his wife was Fāṭimah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).
4. ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥasan
5. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn
6. Al-Qāsim ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far
7. Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far
8. Muḥammad ibn ‘Aqīl.

The female captives from Banū Hāshim

1. Zaynab al-Kubrā (a), the daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (a)
2. Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Commander of the Faithful (a). She is also called Zaynab al-Ṣughrā. Her father was Imam ‘Alī (a), but apparently her mother was not Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’ (a), because Umm Kulthūm (a), the daughter of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’ (a), according to well-known reports, died during the lifetime of Imam al-Ḥasan (a).
3. Fāṭimah, the daughter of Imam ‘Alī (a), also known as Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrā. Her husband was Abū Sa‘īd ibn ‘Aqīl, who was martyred in Karbala. She is one of the narrators of the events of Karbala.

It is possible that she is the same lady who has been referred to as Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥusayn (a). It is also possible that her *kunyah* was Umm Kulthūm, and she was the same Umm Kulthūm mentioned as present in Karbala. It has been reported that she died in 117/735, the same year as Sukaynah bint al-Ḥusayn (a).

4. Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥasan (a)
5. Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥusayn (a)
6. Sukaynah bint al-Ḥusayn (a)
7. Al-Rabāb, the wife of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

Survivors who were not from Banū Hāshim

1. Muraqqaʿ ibn Thumāmah al-Asadī. According to a report, he was wounded in Karbala and passed away later in Kufa.
2. Sawwār ibn ʿUmayr al-Jābirī. He was wounded in the event of Karbala. He was taken prisoner. Six months later, he succumbed to the injuries he had received and achieved martyrdom. His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*.
3. ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Jundaʿī. He was one of the wounded in the event of Karbala and achieved martyrdom one year later. He has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*.
4. ʿUqbah ibn Samʿān. He was the slave of al-Rabāb, the wife of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). Al-Ṭūsī counts him amongst the companions of the Imam (a). He accompanied the Imam (a) during his entire journey and is one of the well-known reporters of the event of Karbala. Afterwards, he was taken prisoner and questioned, but he was released when he informed them that he was a slave. His name has been mentioned in *Ziyārat al-Rajabiyyah*.
5. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mishraqī. He is one of the witnesses of the event of Karbala. He had agreed to accompany the Imam (a) as long as he was of use. When the battle reached the point where it was clear that martyrdom was the only outcome, he reminded the Imam (a) of their agreement, and the Imam (a) allowed him to leave if he could evade the

enemy who had besieged them. He chose running away over martyrdom at the side of the Imam (a).

6. Muslim ibn Rabāḥ. He was the bondsman and secretary of Imam 'Alī (a). According to some reports, on the day of Ashura, he was right next to the Imam (a); however, possibly because he was a slave, he remained unharmed.
7. The slave of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Anṣārī. He was the narrator of the event of the application of perfume (*tanwīr*) by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and some of his companions. He also reported how the companions of the Imam (a) were joking with one another on the night before Ashura. In the final moments of the events on the day of Ashura, he distanced himself from the battlefield.

◆

PART 7: FROM KUFA TO DAMASCUS

7/1: The despatch of the family of the Prophet (s) to Damascus

680. ***al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*****:** Ibn Ziyād prepared 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and all the womenfolk with him for travel. He sent them to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah under the command of Zaḥar ibn Qays, Miḥqan ibn Tha'labah, and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan.[1]

681. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*****,** quoting al-Ghāz ibn Rabī'ah al-Jurashī: 'Ubayd Allāh ordered for the women and children of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be made ready for travel. He also ordered for 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) to be fitted with an iron collar. Then, he despatched them with Muḥaffiz ibn Tha'labah al-'Ā'idhī – of the clan of 'Ā'idhah, of the Quraysh – and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. They left with them and brought them to Yazīd. Throughout the journey, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) did not speak a word to either of them until they arrived [in al-Shām].[2]

682. ***al-Irshād*****:** After despatching the head of al-Ḥusayn (a), 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ordered for the womenfolk and the children to be made ready for travel. He also ordered for an iron collar to be fitted around the neck of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a). Then they were taken on the same road as the [sacred] head by Mujfir ibn Tha'labah al-'Ā'idhī and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. They caught up with the group who were carrying the head. 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) did not speak a single word to any of them along the way until they reached [al-Shām].[1]

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 260; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2634.

ثمّ إنّ ابن زياد جهّز عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام ومن كان معه من الحرم، ووجّه بهم إلى يزيد بن معاوية مع زحر بن قيس ومحقن بن ثعلبة وشمر بن ذي الجوشن.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 460; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 57, p. 98.

ثمّ إنّ عبيد الله أمر بنساء الحسين وصبيانه فجُهّزن، وأمر بعليّ بن الحسين فغُلّ بغلّ إلى عنقه، ثمّ سرّح بهم مع محفّز بن ثعلبة العائذي - عائذة قريش - ومع شمر بن ذي الجوشن، فانطلقا بهم حتّى قدموا على يزيد، فلم يكن عليّ بن الحسين يكلّم أحداً منهما في الطريق كلمة حتّى بلغوا.

693. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: The [women of the] family and the children of al-Ḥusayn (a) were taken out towards al-Shām, while his [sacred] head was placed on top of a spear.[2]

According to the reports mentioned in *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (vol. 5, p. 459), *Tārīkh Dimashq* (vol. 18, p. 445), and *al-Irshād* of al-Mufīd (vol. 2, p. 119), after the event of Karbala, the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and the heads of the rest of the martyrs were sent to Damascus, and the captives were sent later. However, according to several other reports, the heads of the martyrs were sent to Damascus along with the captives at the same time.[3]

Some reports mention that the heads of the martyrs were sent along with the captives, but the blessed head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was despatched to Damascus earlier.[4]

A discussion about the route of the caravan of the captives of Karbala from Kufa to Damascus, and from Damascus to Medina

After the caravan of the captives was brought to Kufa from Karbala, they remained there for a short time before being despatched to Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads. The exact route that they travelled on has not been clearly mentioned in the historical and biographical sources. For this reason, it is possible that they may have taken any of the routes used to travel between the two cities in those days.

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 119; *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 473.

ثمّ إنّ عبيد الله بن زياد بعد إنفاذه برأس الحسين عليه السلام أمر بنسائه وصبيانه فجُهّزوا، وأمر بعليّ بن
الحسين عليه السلام فغُلّ بغلٍّ إلى عنقه، ثمّ سرّح بهم في أثر الرؤوس مع محفر بن ثعلبة العائذي وشمر بن
ذي الجوشن، فانطلقوا بهم حتّى لحقوا بالقوم الذين معهم الرؤوس، ولم يكن عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام
يكلّم أحداً من القوم في الطريق كلمة حتّى بلغوا.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 245.

أُخرج عيال الحسين عليه السلام وولده إلى الشام، ونُصب رأسه على رمح.

[3] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 89; *al-Malhūf*, p. 208; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 231, no. 242.

[4] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 127; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 53.

Some historians have tried to prove the exact route by citing some known facts, but there is not enough convincing evidence to be certain.[1]

Here, we will first list the routes that were used at that time, and then study the evidence presented for each of them.

It is necessary to mention beforehand that there were only three main routes between Kufa and Damascus. Of course, each of these through routes naturally had some optional divergent courses, of varying length, along the way.[2]

The route travelled by the caravan of the captives of Karbala, from Kufa to Damascus

Route 1: Through the desert

The latitude of Kufa is around 32°N, and that of Damascus is around 33°N. That means that the natural course between the two cities is roughly horizontal. A popular route, which ran through the desert, developed along this path. This was the shortest route between the two cities, and was around 923 km[3] long. The main problem with this short route was that it involved travel through large tracts of open desert between Iraq and Syria, known as the Syrian Steppe (*bādiyat al-Shām*). This route could only be travelled by people who had the experience and provisions (especially water) to cross the large distances between the remote way stations in the desert. Travellers would generally use it when they had to get between the two cities quickly. There were no towns along the way, just small isolated settlements.

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[1] Shaykh ʿAbbās al-Qummī, in his *Nafas al-Mahmūm* (p. 388), says, "The sequence of stations where they stopped and rested, or passed by, during each journey is not known. Reliable sources have not mentioned anything about them either. In fact, most sources are silent about the details of the journey of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (a) to Damascus."

[2] See Map 5.

[3] The two cities are 867 km apart.

Route 2: Along the banks of the Euphrates

The Euphrates (Furāt) is one of the two great rivers of Iraq. It originates in Turkey and, after flowing across Syria and Iraq, it empties into the Persian Gulf. The Kufans would travel along its banks when they wanted to go to Northern Iraq and Syria, so that they had a ready supply of water, and could replenish their provisions at the many townships that lay next to the river.

In fact, large armies or big caravans, who needed large quantities of supplies and water, had no choice but to use this route between the two cities.[1]

This route began from Kufa and ran for a considerable distance north-west, before heading south. It passed through many Syrian townships, before ending in Damascus. The route had multiple branches, covering a total of anything between 1130 to 1333 km, and was a suitable alternative to the shorter but arduous, desert route. These routes fanned out in a roughly triangular fashion, the shortest of which was the desert route.

Route 3: Along the banks of the Tigris

The Tigris (Dijlah) is the other great river that runs through Iraq. Like the Euphrates, it also originates in Turkey; however, it does not cross into Syria. In previous times, the route next to it was used to travel to the north of Iraq. This was not the main route between Kufa and Damascus, and travel along it required a gradual westward deviation, and after a fairly long distance, the route next to the Euphrates could be joined to reach Damascus.

The route can be considered to be approximately along three sides of a rectangle, the last side of which is the direct desert route. The other three sides comprise of: the journey northwards from Kufa, the deviation to the west, and the journey southwards towards Damascus, which retraces some of the previous travel northwards. For this reason, this route is longer than the previous two, and is about 1545 km in total. This route was known as the "Sulṭānī route".

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[1] The army of the Commander of the Faithful (a) travelled along the same route on its way to the Battle of Ṣiffīn.

Some points to consider

We do not have clear evidence, or reliable and early reports, to prove which of these three routes the caravan of captives of Karbala were transported along. There are no traditions from the Ahl al-Bayt (a) in this regard either. What we can find are some isolated and scanty details that are scattered in the accounts in some books.

Additionally, there are various implausible accounts found in unreliable works (such as the fabricated *maqtal* text attributed to Abū Mikhnaf), which have been quoted in later books.[1] Hereunder, we will examine some of the details previously mentioned.

1. In *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, which is an early geographical text, some details about the town of Ḥalab in Syria have been mentioned:

> To the west of the town, in the foothills of the Jawshan mountain, there is the grave of Muḥsin ibn Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). It is claimed that he was miscarried by his mother when the captives were taken from Iraq to Syria. Other reports state that he was an infant who was part of the caravan who died in Ḥalab, and was buried there.[2]

If this report is correct, then it means that the caravan did not go via the direct desert route, because Halab is not situated on that route. However, on its own, this report cannot tell us which of the other two routes was taken, because both of those routes converge to include Halab in the final section.

On the other hand, the author of *Mu'jam al-Buldān* has used the words, "It is claimed that..." which makes this report less reliable, especially because we cannot find any mention in the events of Karbala that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had a child by the name of Muḥsin, or that he had a wife who was pregnant at that time. Neither is there any mention of them in extant books. The fact that the grave is well-known locally cannot be considered to be anything more than a generally-held belief.

2. On the basis of reports that the route taken by the captives was the same as that used to transport the blessed head of Imam

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[1] For example, see, *Ṭarīq al-Kirām min al-Kūfah ilā al-Shām* (The Route of the Nobles from Kufa to al-Shām).

[2] *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 186, and p. 284. This account is mention in more detail in *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 1, pp. 411–414.

al-Ḥusayn (a), some historians have concluded that the Sulṭānī route was used. They rely on the report by Ibn Shahr Āshūb, who quotes al-Naṭanzī in his *al-Manāqib*[1] about the encounter of a Christian monk and the blessed head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in a house in the town of Qinnasrīn near Ḥalab.

The problem with this view is that it presumes that the route taken by the captives was the same as that used to transport the blessed head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). This is not absolutely certain. It is also quite possible that the blessed head was paraded in the townships, while the captives were taken by the shorter route. In some reports, it has even been said that the blessed head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was paraded in the towns of al-Shām even after the arrival of the captives in Damascus. For example, in *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, it is mentioned, "The accursed Yazīd ordered for the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be paraded in the towns of al-Shām (Syria), and other townships [as well]."[2] According to this report, it is possible that the blessed head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was even displayed in the towns of Mosul and Naṣībayn, both of which are situated on the Sulṭānī route as well.

Therefore, it is possible that such reported events occurred when the sacred head was [independently] paraded after the captives had already reached Damascus, or were still on their way. The same possibility can also be considered for the reports about the various locations which have all come to be known as "Ra's al-Ḥusayn (a)". Amongst the merits of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) are the miracles that have been observed in the locations where his blessed head was displayed, from Karbala to 'Asqalān, and towns in between, such as Mosul, Naṣībayn, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, and others.[3]

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 60.

[2] *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 159.

[3] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 82. About the various places in the area mentioned, and other places called Ra's al-Ḥusayn, and the historical accounts about them, see "Nigāhī naw beh *Jaryān-i 'Āshūrā*" ("A New Look at the Event of Ashura"), p. 355; Muṣṭafā Ṣādiqī, "Ra's al-Ḥusayn va Maqāmhā-yi Ān" ("The Head of al-Ḥusayn and Its Locations"), in *Tārīkh dar Āyīneh Pazhūhesh*, no. 28; Muḥsin Ranjbar, *Jāyi Sar-i Muṭahhar-i Imām Ḥusayn (a) va Dīgar Shahīdān* (The Location of the Holy Head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and Other Martyrs); Khurramshāhī, *Bā Ahl al-Bayt fī Miṣr* (With the Ahl al-Bayt in Egypt).

About these towns – notwithstanding the fact that Ibn Shahr Āshūb has not specified that the captives or the blessed head passed through them – it should be kept in mind that these lands were under the rule of Shī'a dynasties (such as the Ḥamdānids and the Fāṭimids) or the partisans of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) for many years. Therefore, it is possible that different places gradually became famous as "Ra's al-Ḥusayn (a)" for various reasons (facts, devotion, dreams, etc.). An example of this was the aforementioned establishment of Ra's al-Ḥusayn (a) in Cairo under the Fāṭimids.

Furthermore, the episode of the monk and the sacred head has also been mentioned for some other locations. Due to the unlikeliness that this event happened more than once, the report above of Ibn Shahr Āshūb appears self-contradictory, because one of the places it is said to have occurred is in a convent located at the beginning of the route, which is nowhere near Qinnasrin, which is situated at the end of the route.

It is worth mentioning that even if we assume that the report mentioned by Ibn Shahr Āshūb is correct, it does not conclusively prove that the caravan of captives travelled by the Sulṭānī route, because a part of that route is coincident with the route that runs next to the Euphrates, and the locality of Qinnasrin is situated on both routes. In any case, if correct, this report negates the possibility that they travelled through the [direct] desert route.

3. In our view, contrary to the opinion that has become popular in recent times, the possibility that the caravan of the captives was taken through the Sulṭānī route is the least likely. This is because it is the longest route, and would have been used when travelling for excursions. It is not one that would be chosen to take a small caravan of captives for imprisonment. Furthermore, there is no reliable evidence that they travelled on this route at all; the only source that mentions it is the unreliable *maqtal* attributed to Abū Mikhnaf.[1]

On the other hand, accepting the longer Sulṭānī route as the one used by the caravan makes it impossible for the freed prisoners, on their return from Damascus, to have reached Karbala and visited the grave of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the first Arbaʿīn after his martyrdom (as reported in the *maqtal* attributed to Abū Mikhnaf).[1]

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[1] *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn (a)* attributed to Abū Mikhnaf, p. 180.

It could be surmised that in order to display the power of the ruler, it was necessary to parade the captives through the townships, and the Sulṭānī route was chosen for this reason. However, this could have been possible even if the route next to the Euphrates was used, because there were several towns on that route as well. Moreover, the parading of the heads of the martyrs would have resulted in the same show of power; it was not necessary to also parade the small group of captives (made up of a few women and children), because while this act may not have shown the weakness of the rulers, it certainly would not have displayed their power either. Furthermore, it would have been an especially risky move because of the presence of courageous and eloquent speakers amongst them, like Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a), Zaynab al-Kubrā (a), and other captives, the effect of whose sermons had already been witnessed in Kufa. For this reason, government officials would have been keen to avoid the towns and would have opted to transport the captives through less-frequented roads.

4. Based on all of the above, the only factor that would make the Sulṭānī or Euphrates routes preferable to the direct desert route is the availability of a constant water supply from the river; however, given the small size of the caravan, this would not have been a very important consideration. Furthermore, there is no mention in the sources of the details of the journey, or of the caravan passing through any of the important towns along the way. This suggests that they used the desert route, or, at least, the less-travelled roads.

5. Some evidence for concluding that the desert route was the probable course chosen includes:

1) The route that was next to the Euphrates, and the Sulṭānī route, both had many townships dotted along the way. If the captives had been taken on these routes, there would definitely have been some reports in reliable sources about their encounters with the people of those towns. For example, there are many such

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[1] Especially since this *maqtal* presents a lengthy and detailed account of the movement of the caravan of the captives.

reports about their presence in Karbala, Kufa, and Damascus, while not a single report is found about other towns. Therefore, it appears that the route travelled by the captives was one on which they would encounter hardly anyone, and this could only be through the direct desert route.

2) There were widespread protests against the Umayyad regime right from the moment of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), even by some of their own supporters and relatives of the men who had committed the atrocities in Karbala. Furthermore, the reaction that the tragedy of Karbala caused in Kufa would have alerted the government to the danger of taking the captives and the heads of the martyrs through the large towns between Kufa and Damascus. The work *al-Kāmil* of al-Bahā'ī makes the same point: "The accursed men who brought the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) from Kufa were afraid of attracting hostility from the Arab tribes. For this reason, they avoided the route from Iraq and used the less-travelled road."[1]

3) Matters of state are always carried out swiftly. For this reason, they would have chosen the shortest and fastest possible route to get to the capital.

Conclusion

In the absence of clear and reliable evidence, we cannot give a definite answer to this question; however, by considering the points that we have made above, it seems that the caravan was most probably transported via the direct desert route.

The journey of the caravan of the captives of Karbala from Damascus to Medina

In those days[2] the route from Damascus to Medina would have been around 1229 km, with 32 waystations along the route. On their return to Medina, the caravan of the freed prisoners would have definitely travelled on this route; and if they also made a detour to pass through Karbala, their journey would have been considerably longer than this.

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[1] *Kāmil Bahā'ī* (Persian), vol. 2, p. 291.

[2] See *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 8, p. 234.

The harrowing journey of the family and companions of the Imam (a) began from Medina and ended with their return to Medina. The minimum distance that they covered in their travels (assuming that they went from Kufa to Damascus by the shortest desert route and that they did not return to Karbala on their way back) was around 4200 km.

7/2: The difficulties on the journey to Syria

624. *al-Iqbāl*, quoting *Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ*, through his chain of narrators, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), who said: I asked my father, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) how he was taken to Yazīd, and he said, "I was taken on a lame and saddleless camel. The head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was raised on a standard, and our women were behind me on bare-backed mules. The guards were behind us and to our sides, carrying spears. If any of us wept, they would hit our heads with the spears. In this manner, we arrived at Damascus, where a herald announced, 'O people of Shām! Observe the prisoners from an accursed household!'"[1]

625. *al-Malhūf*: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād wrote to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, informing him that al-Ḥusayn (a) had been killed, and also informing him about his household.... When Yazīd received Ibn Ziyād's letter and became aware of the events that had transpired, he wrote back, instructing him to despatch the heads of al-Ḥusayn (a) and the rest of the martyrs to him. He also ordered him to send his possessions, his women, and the rest of his family members.

Ibn Ziyād summoned Miḥfar (Muḥaffir) ibn Tha'labah al-'Ā'idhī, and placed the heads, the women, and the rest of the captives in his charge. Miḥfar took them to Syria in an uncaring manner, as if they were captives of unbelievers. People everywhere gazed at their faces."[1]

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[1] al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 89; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 154.

سألت أبي علي بن الحسين عليه السلام عن حمل يزيد له، فقال: حملني على بعير يظلع بغير وطاء، ورأس الحسين عليه السلام على علم، ونسوتنا خلفي على بغال أكف، والفارطة خلفنا وحولنا بالرماح، إذا دمعت من أحدنا عين قرع رأسه بالرمح، حتى إذا دخلنا دمشق صاح صائح: يا أهل الشام هؤلاء سبايا أهل البيت الملعون!

606. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: "Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād called for 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), and had an iron collar fitted to his neck. He ordered the womenfolk and the children to be made ready for travel. Then he despatched them with Muḥaffiz ibn Tha'labah from the tribe of 'Ā'idhah of the Quraysh, and Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. Some people have mentioned that he sent the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) with Muḥaffiz also.

When they arrived at the door of Yazīd, Muḥaffiz announced in a loud voice, "O commander of the faithful! This is Muḥaffiz ibn Tha'labah. I have brought to you the abased criminals."[2]

607. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, quoting 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām al-Naḥwī al-Baṣrī: Ibn Ziyād despatched the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) along with the captives to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. He had the captives bound with ropes; among them were the womenfolk and the sons and daughters of the family of God's Messenger (s). They were tied atop saddleless camels, with their heads and faces exposed.

Whenever they halted at a station, the [blessed] head would be removed from its assigned container and placed on top of a spear. A guard would watch over it all night until it was time to travel again, when it would be placed back in the container and carried away.[1]

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[1] al-Mufīd, p. 227; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 121-124.

أنفذ عبيد الله بن زياد إلى يزيد بن معاوية يخبره بقتل الحسين عليه السلام وخبر أهل بيته. — وأما يزيد بن معاوية فإنه لما وصل إليه كتاب ابن زياد ووقف عليه أعاد الجواب إليه يأمره فيه بحمل رأس الحسين عليه السلام ورؤوس من قتل معه وبحمل أثقاله ونسائه وعياله.

فاستدعى ابن زياد بمحفر بن ثعلبة العائذي، فسلم إليه الرؤوس والأسارى والنساء، فسار بهم محفر إلى الشام كما يسار بسبايا الكفار، يتصفح وجوههن أهل الأقطار.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 416; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 460.

أمر عبيد الله بن زياد بعلي بن الحسين عليه السلام فغل بغل إلى عنقه، وجهز نساءه وصبيانه، ثم سرح بهم مع محفز بن ثعلبة من عائذة قريش، وشمر بن ذي الجوشن. ويقال: بعث مع محفز برأس الحسين أيضاً.

فلما وقفوا بباب يزيد رفع محفز صوته فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، هذا محفز بن ثعلبة أتاك باللئام الفجرة.

628. *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, in the text of *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*: Your head was raised aloft on a spear, and your family were taken captive like slaves. They were bound in iron [chains] and mounted atop saddleless mounts. The heat of the midday sun burned their faces. They were driven across deserts and wastelands, with their hands shackled to their necks, and paraded in marketplaces…'[2]

629. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās wrote to Yazīd, "The most shocking thing – and as long as you live, life will show you shocking things – was that you had the daughters of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the young children from his offspring brought to you in al-Shām like common prisoners to show the people that you had overcome us and that you had complete power over us.

"By my life, even if you remain safe from my hand day and night, I hope that I can wound you through my tongue, my criticism, and my dissociation. May your delight be short-lived, and may God not give you much respite after you have killed the offspring of His Messenger (s). May He take you to task painfully, and make you leave this world a condemned sinner. So wait, O misbegotten one, for by God, your actions have made you contemptible before God. Peace on those who obey God."[3]

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[1] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 263.

أنفذ ابن زياد رأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى يزيد بن معاوية مع الأسارى موثّقين في الحبال، منهم نساء وصبيان وصبيّات من بنات رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله على أقتاب الجمال موثّقين، مكشّفات الوجوه والرؤوس، وكلّما نزلوا منزلاً أخرجوا الرأس من صندوق أعدّوه له، فوضعوه على رمح وحرسوه طول الليل إلى وقت الرحيل، ثمّ يعيدوه إلى الصندوق ويرحلوا.

[2] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 503; *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir*, p. 233.

رُفع على القنا رأسك، وسُبي أهلك كالعبيد، وصُفّدوا في الحديد فوق أقتاب المطيّات، تلفح وجوههم حرّ الهاجرات، يُساقون في البراري والفلوات، أيديهم مغلولة إلى الأعناق، يُطاف بهم في الأسواق.

[3] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 248-250; *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 10, p. 243, no. 10590.

كتب إليه [أي إلى يزيد] عبد الله بن عبّاس: ... ألا ومن أعجب الأعاجيب - وما عشت أراك الدهر العجيب - حملك بنات عبد المطّلب وغلمة صغاراً من ولده إليك بالشام كالسبي المجلوب، تُري الناس أنّك قد قهرتنا، وأنّك تأمّر علينا، ولعمري لئن كنت تصبح وتمسي آمناً لجرح يدي، إنّي لأرجو أن يعظم

7/3: The arrival of the family of the Prophet (s) in Damascus

839. *Bustān al-Wāʿiẓīn*: During his last moments, al-Ḥusayn (a) asked for some water. However, it was denied to him, and he was killed thirsty. He met his Lord, Who quenched his thirst from the fonts of paradise. He was slaughtered mercilessly, and his womenfolk were made captives and were transported bareheaded on the backs of saddleless camels.

Then they were brought to Damascus, while the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was carried amidst them on a spear. Whenever one of them saw him and wept, a guard would hit her with his whip. The locals were waiting for them in the bazaar of Damascus and spat at their faces as they passed.

Finally, they reached the door of Yazīd's palace. He ordered the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be hung on the door around which the womenfolk of the Imam (a) had been assembled. He placed a guard over it and instructed him, "Whenever any one of the women weeps loudly, strike her."

So they waited nine hours in the daytime, while the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was hanging before them. Umm Kulthūm raised her head to gaze at the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) and began to weep, saying, "O grandfather" – addressing God's Messenger (s) – "here is the head of your beloved Ḥusayn, hanging!" She broke down in tears, and one of the guards raised his hand and slapped her on the side of her face. Immediately, his hand became paralysed.[1]

جراحات بقلبي ونفسي وزرايتي، فلا يستوي بذلك الحقل، ولا يمهلك الله بعد قتلك عترة رسول الله ﷺ قليلاً، حتى يأخذك أخذاً أليماً، ويخرجك الله من الدنيا ذميماً أثيماً، فعش لا أبا لك فقد والله أرداك بعد الله ما اقترفت، والسلام على من أطاع الله.

[1] *Bustān al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 263, no. 419.

إنّ الحسين عليه السلام استسقى ماءً حين قُتل فمُنع منه وقُتل وهو عطشان ولقي الله حتى سقاه من شراب الجنة، وذُبح ذبحاً، وسُبيت حرمه وحُملن مكشّفات الرؤوس على الأقتاب بغير وطاء، حتى دخلن دمشق ورأس الحسين يُحمل على رمح، إذا بكت إحداهنّ ضربها مشرف بسوطه، ووقف أهل الشأم لهنّ في سوق دمشق يبصقون في وجوههنّ، حتى وقفن بباب يزيد. فأمر برأس الحسين عليه السلام فنُصب على الباب وجمع حرمه حوله، ووكّل بهنّ الحرس، وقال: إذا بكت منهنّ واحدة فاضربوها

691. *Qurb al-Isnād*, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maymūn, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a): When the family of al-Ḥusayn (a) were taken to Yazīd, they were brought with their faces exposed in the middle of the day. Some coarse-mouthed Syrians asked, "We have not seen captives more elegant than these. Who are you?"

Sukaynah bint al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "We are captives of the family of Muḥammad."[1]

692. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārazmī, quoting Zayd, from his father, Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): Sahl ibn Saʿd[2] said: I set out for Bayt al-Maqdas (Jerusalem) and passed through al-Shām (Syria). I came to a town which was full of watercourses and trees. The people had hung cloths, drapes, and silk all round. There was an air of celebration and jubilation, and the women had come out as well, beating drums and tambourines.

فقلن: ورأس الحسين عليه السلام [illegible] مصلوبٌ تسع ساعاتٍ من النهار، ورأت أمّ [illegible] [illegible] فرأت رأس الحسين عليه السلام فبكت، وقالت: يا جدّاه، أين رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، هذا رأس حبيبك الحسين مصلوب، وبكت، فرفع يده بعض الحرس ولطمها لطمةً عصر وجهها، وشُلّت يده مكانه.

[1] *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 26, no. 88; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 230, no. 242.

لمّا قُدم على يزيد بذراري الحسين، أُدخل بهنّ نهاراً مكشوفاتٍ وجوههنّ، فقال أهل الشّام الجفاة: ما رأينا سبياً أحسن من هؤلاء، فمن أنتم؟

فقالت سكينة بنت الحسين: نحن سبايا آل محمّد.

[2] Abū al-ʿAbbās Sahl ibn Saʿd al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (Abū Yaḥyā) was a companion of the Prophet (s) and Imam ʿAlī (a). His name was originally Ḥazn, but the Prophet (s) changed it. He is one of the seventeen men who testified before Imam ʿAlī (a) about witnessing the event of Ghadīr. In his sermon on the day of Ashura, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) also asked for his confirmation that he had heard the Prophet (s) say, 'Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are the two chiefs of the youths of paradise.'

Sahl lived until the time of al-Ḥajjāj, but was arrested by him in 74/693. He was one of the men whom al-Ḥajjāj had fitted with a seal around the neck to humiliate them, and to warn people not to speak with them. He died in the year 88/707, at well over 90 years of age.

It is said that he was the last companion of the Prophet (s) to die in Medina.

I said to myself, "Perhaps the Syrians have a festival that we do not know about." I saw a group sitting in conversation, so I asked them, "O people, do you have a festival in al-Shām that we do not know of?"

They replied, "O Shaykh, it appears that you are a stranger."

I said, "I am Sahl ibn Sa'd. I have seen God's Messenger (s) and heard his traditions [first-hand]."

They said, "O Sahl! Do you not wonder why the skies do not rain blood and the earth does not swallow its inhabitants?"

I asked, "Why would that be?"

They said, "The head of al-Ḥusayn (a), the son of God's Messenger (s), is being taken from Iraq to Syria as a trophy. You will see it soon."

I exclaimed, "How shocking! The head of al-Ḥusayn (a) is being paraded as a trophy, and the people are celebrating? Which door will it be brought in from?"

They gestured towards a gate called Bāb al-Sā'āt (The Gate of Clocks). I went close to the gate. As I stood there, I saw several standards being carried through, one after another. I saw a horseman ride in, carrying a spear with its tip removed. On it had been fixed the head of a man whose face most closely resembled that of God's Messenger (s). He was followed by saddleless camels, on which some women were mounted.

I went close to one of them and asked her, "Dear lady, who are you?"

She replied, "[I am] Sukaynah, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn."

I asked her, "Is there anything I can do for you? For I am Sahl ibn Sa'd. I am one of those who have seen your grandfather (s) and heard his words."

She replied, "O Sahl! Tell the person who carries the head to go forward with it, away from us. Perhaps then, the people will look at the head and not at us, for we are the womenfolk of the Prophet (s)."

So I went to the person carrying the head and said to him, "Would you do me a favour in return for 400 dinars?"

He asked, "What do you wish?"

I replied, "Move forward with the head, away from the women."

He did so, and I paid him what I had promised.[1]

699. *al-Malhuf*: The head of al-Husayn (a), and his womenfolk and the male captives, were transported to Damascus. When they got close to the city, Umm Kulthum came to Shimr – who was part of the company – and said, "May I ask you for a favour?"

He replied, "And what is it?"

She said, "When you take us into the city, take us through a gate that has only a few bystanders. Instruct your men to go forward with these heads, away from our mounts, because the stares of the people, while we are in this state, causes us shame."

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[1] Khwarizmi, *Maqtal al-Husayn*, vol. 2, p. 60; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 127.

إنّ سهل بن سعد قال: خرجت إلى بيت المقدس حتّى توسّطت الشام، فإذا أنا بمدينة مطّردة الأنهار كثيرة الأشجار، قد علّقوا الستور والحجب والديباج، وهم فرحون مستبشرون، وعندهم نساء يلعبن بالدفوف والطبول، فقلت في نفسي: لعلّ لأهل الشام عيداً لا نعرفه نحن، فرأيت قوماً يتحدّثون، فقلت: يا هؤلاء، ألكم بالشام عيدٌ لا نعرفه نحن؟

قالوا: يا شيخ نراك غريباً.

فقلت: أنا سهل بن سعد، قد رأيت رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله وحملت حديثه.

فقالوا: يا سهل، ما أعجبك السماء لا تمطر دماً والأرض لا تنخسف بأهلها! قلت: ولم ذاك؟ فقالوا: هذا رأس الحسين عليه السلام عترة رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله يهدى من أرض العراق إلى الشام وسيأتي الآن.

قلت: وا عجباه! يهدى رأس الحسين عليه السلام والناس يفرحون؟! فمن أيّ باب يدخل؟ فأشاروا إلى باب يقال له: باب الساعات، فسرت نحو الباب، فبينما أنا هنالك إذ جاءت الرايات يتلو بعضها بعضاً، وإذا أنا بفارس بيده رمح منزوع السنان، وعليه رأس من أشبه الناس وجهاً برسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله، وإذا بنسوة من ورائه على جمال بغير وطاء.

فدنوت من إحداهنّ فقلت لها: يا جارية من أنت؟

فقالت: سكينة بنت الحسين.

فقلت لها: ألك حاجة إليّ؟ فأنا سهل بن سعد ممّن رأى جدّك وسمع حديثه.

قالت: يا سهل، قل لصاحب الرأس أن يتقدّم بالرأس أمامنا حتّى يشتغل الناس بالنظر إليه فلا ينظرون إلينا، فنحن حرم رسول الله.

قال: فدنوت من صاحب الرأس وقلت له: هل لك أن تقضي حاجتي وتأخذ منّي أربعمائة دينار؟ قال: وما هي؟ قلت: تقدّم بالرأس أمام الحرم. ففعل ذلك ودفعت له ما وعدته.

In response to her request, out of spite and defiance, he ordered instead for those carrying the heads on their spears to ride in the midst of the women. He brought them through the spectators in this fashion, until they reached the gate of Damascus. There, they were made to wait at the threshold of the Grand Mosque like common prisoners.[1]

634. *al-Futūḥ*: The womenfolk of the household of the Prophet (s) were brought into Damascus through the gate known as Bāb Tūmā (the Gate of Thomas), then were made to wait at the [outer] door of the Grand Mosque like common prisoners.[2]

7/4: The conversation of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) with an elderly Syrian

635. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting the doorkeeper of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, when recounting the arrival of the captives: They were kept standing at the door where captives would be kept waiting. Among them was ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), who was a young man in those days. An elderly Syrian man approached them and said to them, "All praise is to God, Who killed [those from] you and your household, and cut off the horn of sedition." Then he continued to insult them.

When he was finished, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) asked him, "Have you read the Book of God, the Almighty?"

He replied, "Yes."

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 210; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 97.

سار القوم برأس الحسين عليه السلام ونسائه والأسرى من رجاله، فلما قربوا من دمشق دنت أم كلثوم
من الشمر، وكان من جملتهم، فقالت: لي إليك حاجة. فقال: وما حاجتك؟

قالت: إذا دخلت بنا البلد فاحملنا في درب قليل النظارة، وتقدم إليهم أن يخرجوا هذه الرؤوس من بين
المحامل وينحونا عنها، فقد خزينا من كثرة النظر إلينا ونحن في هذه الحال.

فأمر في جواب سؤالها أن تجعل الرؤوس على الرماح في أوساط المحامل، بغياً منه وكفراً، وسلك
بهم بين النظارة على تلك الصفة حتى أتى بهم إلى باب دمشق، فوقفوا على درج باب المسجد الجامع
حيث يقام السبي.

[2] *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 129; Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 61.

وأتي بحرم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله حتى أدخلوا مدينة دمشق من باب يقال له: باب توما، ثم أتي
بهم حتى وقفوا على درج باب المسجد حيث يقام السبي.

He asked, "Have you recited the verse, '*Say, I do not ask any reward for this, except love for my near kin*'?"[1]

He replied, "Indeed, I have."

He said, "We are they."

Then he asked, "Have you recited the verse, '*And give the near kin his right...*'?"[2]

He replied, "Indeed, I have."

He said, "We are they."

Then he asked, "Have you recited the verse, '*...God only wishes to remove all foulness from you, O Ahl al-Bayt, and purify you thoroughly*'?"[3]

He replied, "Indeed, I have."

He said, "We are they."

[On hearing this] the Syrian man raised his hand to the skies and cried out thrice, "O God, I turn to you in repentance!"

Then, he said, "O God, I take refuge in You and disassociate myself from the enemies of the family of Muḥammad, and from those who killed the household of Muḥammad. I had read the Qur'an, but I had not realized this until today."[4]

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[1] Q 42:23.

[2] Q 17:26.

[3] Q 33:33.

[4] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 230, no. 242; *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn*, p. 210.

أُقيموا على درج المسجد حيث يقام السبايا وفيهم علي بن الحسين عليه السلام، وهو يومئذ فتى شابٌّ، فأتاهم شيخٌ من أشياخ أهل الشام فقال لهم: الحمد لله الذي قتلكم وأهلككم وقطع قرن الفتنة، فلم يألُ عن شتمهم.

فلما انقضى كلامه قال له علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: أما قرأت كتاب الله عز وجل؟ قال: نعم.

قال: أما قرأت هذه الآية: ﴿قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَىٰ﴾؟ قال: بلى.

قال: فنحن أولئك. ثم قال: أما قرأت: ﴿وَآتِ ذَا الْقُرْبَىٰ حَقَّهُ﴾؟ قال: بلى.

قال: فنحن هم. فقال: فهل قرأت هذه الآية: ﴿إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا﴾؟ قال: بلى.

قال: فنحن هم.

7/5: Congratulating Yazid on his victory

836. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting 'Ammar al-Duhni from Imam al-Baqir (a), when narrating how the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were despatched to Syria by 'Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad: He prepared them for travel and sent them to Yazid. When they arrived, he assembled the noblemen of Syria who used to attend his court. Then he ordered the prisoners to enter, and his courtiers congratulated him on his victory.[1]

837. *Tarikh al-Tabari*, quoting al-Ghaz ibn Rabi'ah al-Jurashi: By God, we were with Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah in Damascus when Zahr ibn Qays arrived and presented himself. Yazid said to him, "Woe unto you, what have you left behind, and what [news] have you brought?"

He replied, "Receive good news, O commander of the faithful, of God's victory and support. Al-Husayn ibn 'Ali stood against us with eighteen members of his household, and sixty of his Shi'a. We went to him and asked him to surrender, and to either submit to the authority of the governor, 'Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad, or to prepare for battle. They chose to fight rather than surrender, so we attacked them as the sun rose, and surrounded them from all sides. Then, as our swords began to find their mark on their scalps, they began to retreat; who could blame them? They sought shelter from us in the hills and the trenches, like pigeons seeking to escape a falcon. By God, O commander of the faithful, it took us no longer than it takes to slaughter some animals, or have a short midday nap, before we reached the last of them.

"There they lie; their bodies bare, their clothes bloody, and their faces in the sand. The sun blazes over them and the wind swirls dust over their bodies. Their only visitors in that desolate and barren place are scavengers and desert vultures."

[On hearing this] Yazid's eyes filled with tears, and he said, "I would have been satisfied with your obedience, [even] without the killing of al-Husayn. May God curse Ibn Sumayyah [Ibn Ziyad]! By God, if I

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 390; *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, vol. 6, p. 429.

فجهزهم وحملهم إلى يزيد، فلما قدموا عليه جمع من كان بحضرته من أهل الشام، ثم أدخلوهم، فهنؤوه بالفتح.

had been present with him, I would have spared al-Ḥusayn, may God have mercy on him." He did not reward the messenger with anything.'[1]

638. ***Muthīr al-Aḥzān*****,** quoting 'Udhrā ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Amr al-Jurashī: I was with Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah when Zahr ibn Qays al-Madhḥijī entered. Yazīd said to him, "Woe unto you, what is the news from where you have come?"

He replied, "Receive the good news of God's victory and support.... There they lie; their bodies bare, their faces in the sand, and their clothes soaked in blood. The sun blazes over them, and the wind swirls (dust) over their bodies. Their visitors in that desolate place are scavengers and desert vultures. There is no mat below them and no shroud over them."[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 459; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 118.

والله إني لعند يزيد بن معاوية بدمشق إذ أقبل زحر بن قيس حتى دخل على يزيد بن معاوية، فقال له يزيد: ويلك ما وراءك وما عندك؟

فقال: أبشر يا أمير المؤمنين بفتح الله ونصره، ورد علينا الحسين بن علي في ثمانية عشر من أهل بيته وستين من شيعته، فسرنا إليهم فسألناهم أن يستسلموا وينزلوا على حكم الأمير عبيد الله بن زياد أو القتال، فاختاروا القتال على الاستسلام، فغدونا عليهم مع شروق الشمس فأحطنا بهم من كل ناحية، حتى إذا أخذت السيوف مآخذها من هام القوم يهربون إلى غير وزر، ويلوذون منا بالآكام والحفر لواذاً كما لاذ الحمائم من صقر، فوالله يا أمير المؤمنين ما كان إلا جزر جزور أو نومة قائل، حتى أتينا على آخرهم، فهاتيك أجسادهم مجردة، وثيابهم مرملة، وخدودهم معفرة، تصهرهم الشمس، وتسفي عليهم الريح، زوارهم العقبان والرخم بقيّ سبسب.

قال: فدمعت عين يزيد، وقال: قد كنت أرضى من طاعتكم بدون قتل الحسين، لعن الله ابن سمية، أما والله لو أني صاحبه لعفوت عنه، فرحم الله الحسين، ولم يصله بشيء.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 98; *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 261.

أنا عند يزيد بن معاوية إذ أقبل زحر بن قيس المذحجي على يزيد، فقال: ويلك ما وراءك

قال: أبشر بفتح الله ونصره... فهاتيك أجسادهم مجردة، ووجوههم معفرة، وثيابهم بالدماء مرملة، تصهرهم الشمس وتسفي عليهم الريح، زوارهم العقبان والرخم، بقاع قفر سبسب لا مكفنين ولا موسدين.

539. *al-Miṣbāḥ* of al-Kaf'ami: On the first day of Ṣafar, the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought into Damascus, and that become a day of rejoicing amongst the Banū Umayyah.[1]

7/6: The family of the Prophet (s) in the assembly of Yazid

540. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn narrated: We were brought into the presence of Yazīd in chains. We were twelve men. When we stood before him, I said, "I adjure you in the name of God, O Yazīd! What do you think God's Messenger would say if he saw us in this state?"...

Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "O Yazīd! The daughters of God's Messenger [have been brought] as prisoners?"

The onlookers began to weep, as did the people of his own house, until the sound [of weeping] became loud.

I was bound in chains. I asked, "May I be permitted to speak?"

He said, "Speak, but do not say anything absurd."

I said, "I stand at a place where it does not suit someone like me to speak absurdities. What do you think God's Messenger would say if he saw me in chains?"

He said to those around him, "Unchain him."

Then Yazīd placed the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) before him, while the womenfolk [sat] behind him, so that they would not be able to look at the head.

The reporter adds: But 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) could see the head, and after that, he never ate sheep's head again.[2]

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[1] al-Kaf'ami, al-Miṣbāḥ, p. 676.

وفي أوّله (أي أوّل صفر) أُدخل رأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى دمشق، وهو عيد عند بني أمية.

[2] Muthīr al-Aḥzān, p. 98; Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 45, p. 132.

أُدخلنا على يزيد ونحن اثنا عشر رجلاً مغلّلون، فلمّا وقفنا بين يديه قلت: أنشدك الله يا يزيد، ما ظنّك برسول الله لو رآنا على هذه الحالة؟... وقالت فاطمة بنت الحسين: يا يزيد بنات رسول الله سبايا!

فبكى الناس وبكى أهل داره حتى علت الأصوات.

قال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: وأنا مغلول فقلت: أتأذن لي في الكلام؟

فقال: قل ولا تقل هجرًا

641. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, quoting Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bāqir (a): After al-Ḥusayn (a) had been martyred, we twelve children [and young men] were presented before Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, may God curse him. Each of us had our hands chained to our necks. [My father] ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was amongst us.[1]

642. *al-Malhūf*: The possessions of al-Ḥusayn (a), his women, and the surviving members of his family were presented before Yazīd. The captives were tied together in ropes. When they stood before Yazīd in this manner, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said to him, "I adjure you in the name of God, O Yazīd, what do you think God's Messenger (s) would say if he saw us in this state?"

So he ordered for the ropes to be cut.[2]

643. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting the doorkeeper of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād: The womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a) were brought before Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. [On seeing them] the womenfolk of Yazīd and the daughters of Muʿāwiyah and his family cried out in dismay, and began to wail and lament. The head of al-Ḥusayn (a) had been placed before him.

[Later] Sukaynah said, "By God, I have not seen a more hard-hearted man than Yazīd, nor have I seen a disbeliever or an idolater meaner or crueller than him."

He began to recite as he looked at the head:

قلت: الله رقّت قومًا لا يرجى لمثلي أن يقول فيهم، ما ظنّك برسول الله لو رآني في غلّ؟

فقال لمن حوله: حلّوه. ثمّ وضع رأس الحسين عليه السلام بين يديه والنساء من خلفه لئلّا ينظرن إليه فرآه عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام، فلم يأكل بعد ذلك الرؤوس.

[1] *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 267.

أُدخلنا على يزيد بن معاوية لعنه الله بعدما قُتل الحسين عليه السلام ونحن اثنا عشر غلامًا، ليس منّا أحدٌ إلّا مجموعة يداه إلى عنقه، وفينا عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 213; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 131.

أُدخل ثقل الحسين عليه السلام ونساؤه ومن تخلّف من أهله على يزيد، وهم مقرّنون في الحبال، فلمّا وقفوا بين يديه وهم على تلك الحال، قال له عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام:

أنشدك الله يا يزيد، ما ظنّك برسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله لو رآنا على هذه الصفة؟

فأمر يزيد بالحبال فقُطعت.

If only my elders of Badr could witness [today]
The distress of al-Khazraj from the strikes of [our] weapons.

Then he ordered the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to be hung on the door of the mosque of Damascus.[1]

844. al-*Irshād*, quoting an old and honest man from among the elders of the Banū Hāshim, and also from other people: When 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and his womenfolk came before Yazīd, and they brought the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) and placed it before him on a tray, Yazīd began to strike at the Imam's teeth with a cane that he had in his hand, while he recited:

[Banū] Hāshim played with power, because neither
Any news came, nor did any revelation ever descend.
If only my elders of Badr could witness [today]
The distress of al-Khazraj from the strikes of [our] weapons.
They would have praised God and clamoured in delight,
And would have said, "O Yazīd, may your hand never be paralyzed."
We took our vengeance of Badr from them,
And we re-enacted Badr, so we are now even.
I would not be of Khindif[2] if I had not taken revenge
From the progeny of Aḥmad for what they had done.[3]

---

[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 230, no. 242; *Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 211.

أُدخل نساء الحسين عليه السلام على يزيد بن معاوية، فصحن نساء آل يزيد وبنات معاوية وأهله، وولولن وأقمن المأتم، ووضع رأس الحسين عليه السلام بين يديه.

فقالت سكينة: والله ما رأيت أقسى قلبا من يزيد، ولا رأيت كافرا ولا مشركا شرا منه ولا أجفى منه، وأقبل يقول وينظر إلى الرأس:

ليت أشياخي ببدر شهدوا جزع الخزرج من وقع الأسل

ثم أمر برأس الحسين عليه السلام فنُصب على باب مسجد دمشق.

[2] Khindif was a subdivision of the tribe of Banū Muḍar and was the title of one his ancestors.

[3] al-*Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 120, no. 175; al-*Malhūf*, p. 214.

إنّه لمّا أُدخل عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام وحرمه على يزيد، وجيء برأس الحسين عليه السلام ووضع بين يديه في طست، فجعل يضرب ثناياه بمخصرة كانت في يده وهو يقول:

لعبت هاشم بالملك فلا   خبر جاء ولا وحي نزل

A note

The reports that we have mentioned do not do justice to the extent of the callousness and brutality that Yazīd displayed towards the captives of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and to the sacred heads of the martyrs. For this reason, the soundness of some reports that mention contrition and kindness on his part are questionable. Such reports are probably fabrications sponsored by the Banū Umayyah or politically-motivated posturing by Yazīd himself.

645. ***al-Malhūf*****.** When Zaynab (a) saw the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), she tore at her collar [in anguish]. Then, she called out in a grief-stricken and heart-broken voice, "O my darling Ḥusayn! O beloved of God's Messenger! O son of Mecca and Minā! O son of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', the foremost of the women of paradise, and the daughter of al-Muṣṭafā!"

The narrator says: By God, she made all those present in the assembly weep [at her words], whilst Yazīd remained silent.[1]

7/7: The protest of Abū Barzah against Yazīd

646. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*****, quoting al-Qāsim ibn Bukhayt:** Yazīd summoned the people, and they assembled. The head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was before him. Yazīd had a cane in his hand with which he was prodding at the mouth of al-Ḥusayn (a). Then he said, "The relationship of this man and us is just like that described by [the poet] al-Ḥuṣayn ibn al-Ḥumām al-Murrī:

The heads of those dear to us were cleaved.

ليت أشياخي ببدر شهدوا جزع الخزرج من وقع الأسل

لأهلّوا واستهلّوا فرحا ولقالوا يا يزيد لا تشل

قد جزيناه ببدر مثلا وأقمنا مثل بدر فاعتدل

لست من خندف إن لم أنتقم من بني أحمد ما كان فعل.

[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 215; *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, p. 123.

وأمّا زينب فإنها لما رأته [رأس الحسين عليه السلام] أهوت إلى جيبها فشقّته ثم نادت بصوت حزين يقرع القلوب: يا حسيناه، يا حبيب رسول الله، يا ابن مكة ومنى، يا ابن فاطمة الزهراء سيدة النساء، يا ابن بنت المصطفى.

قال الراوي: فأبكت والله كلّ من كان حاضراً في المجلس، ويزيد ساكت.

But they had been most disobedient and most oppressive towards us.

Abū Barzah al-Aslamī, a companion of God's Messenger (s), protested, "[How dare] you poke at the mouth of al-Ḥusayn with your cane? Your cane strikes the mouth which I have seen God's Messenger (s) inhale from many times. Indeed, when you come forth on the Day of Judgement, O Yazīd, [only the likes of] Ibn Ziyād will intercede for you, but when this man comes forth, Muḥammad (s) shall intercede for him."

Then he stood up and walked away.[1]

847. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: Al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī, and al-Kūfī have all reported: When the heads were placed before Yazīd, he began to strike the teeth of al-Ḥusayn (a) with his cane, saying, "A day for [revenge of] Badr..."

Abū Barzah said, "Raise your cane, O depraved one, for by God, I have seen the lips of God's Messenger kiss the place where your cane lies!"

Yazīd pulled away the cane, besides himself with fury at the man.[2]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 465; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 416.

أذن يزيد للناس فدخلوا والرأس بين يديه ومع يزيد قضيب فهو ينكت به في ثغره، ثم قال: إن هذا وإيانا كما قال الحصين بن الحمام المري:

يفلّقن هاما من رجال أعزّة   إلينا وهم كانوا أعقّ وأظلما

قال: فقال رجل من أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقال له أبو برزة الأسلمي: أتنكت بقضيبك في ثغر الحسين؟ أما لقد أخذ قضيبك من ثغره مأخذا، لربما رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يرشفه، أما إنك يا يزيد تجيء يوم القيامة وابن زياد شفيعك، ويجيء هذا يوم القيامة ومحمد صلى الله عليه وآله شفيعه، ثم قام فولّى.

[2] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 114; also see *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 260.

قال الطبري والبلاذري والكوفي: لما وضعت الرؤوس بين يدي يزيد جعل يضرب بقضيبه على ثنيته ثم قال: يوم بيوم بدر...

قال أبو برزة: ارفع قضيبك يا فاسق فوالله رأيت شفتي رسول الله مكان قضيبك يقبّله، فرفع وهو يتغيّظ غيظاً على الرجل.

7/8: An exchange of words between Zaynab (a) and Yazid

648. *al-Irshād*, quoting Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥusayn (a): When we were sitting before Yazid, [there was an instance when] he felt sorry for us. A ruddy faced Syrian stood up and said, "O commander of the faithful, grant me this maiden." He meant me, for I was a young and pretty girl. I began to tremble because I knew that they could do this. I clung to the cloak of my aunt Zaynab, and she was adamant that this would never happen.

My aunt said to the Syrian, "You lie, by God, and are delusional. By God, this is not for you to decide, or him."

Yazid became furious and said, "It is you who lie! I am the one who decides, and if I want to, I will allow it."

She replied, "Never, by God! God has not given you that authority, except if you choose to go beyond the bounds of our religion and adopt another faith."

Yazid flew into a rage, shouting, "You [dare to] talk to me in this way? It is your father and brother who have left the religion."

Zaynab (a) replied, "If you, your grandfather, and your father are Muslims [at all], it is because you were guided by the religion of God, and the religion of my father, and the religion of my brother."

He said, "You lie, O enemy of God."

She said, "You are a ruler who insults unjustly, and subdues [opposition] by force [not reason]."

[On hearing this] it seemed that he was ashamed, and so he became silent. The Syrian asked again, "Grant me this maiden."

Yazid snapped at him, "Go away, may God kill you, so that you are no more."[1]

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 121; Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 461.

لمّا جلسنا بين يدي يزيد رقّ لنا، فقام إليه رجلٌ من أهل الشام أحمر، فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، هب لي هذه الجارية - يعنيني - وكنت جارية وضيئة، فأرعدت وظننت أنّ ذلك جائز لهم، فأخذت بثياب عمّتي زينب، وكانت تعلم أنّ ذلك لا يكون.

فقالت عمّتي للشامي: كذبت والله ولؤمت، والله ما ذلك لك ولا له.

فغضب يزيد وقال: كذبت، إنّ ذلك لي، ولو شئت أن أفعل لفعلت.

649. *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, quoting 'Ammar ibn Mu'awiyah al-Duhni, from Imam al-Baqir (a): When the captives were brought before Yazid, he summoned the Syrians who used to attend his court. They arrived and congratulated him on the victory. One of them, who was ruddy and blue-eyed, stood up and looked at the pretty women amongst the captives, and said, "O commander of the faithful, grant me that one."

Zaynab (a) said, "Never, by God! You have no right, and neither does he [Yazid], unless he decides to leave the religion of God."

The blue-eyed man repeated his request, but Yazid said to him, "Desist!"[1]

7/8: A heated exchange between Imam Zayn al-'Abidin (a) and Yazid

650. *Tafsir al-Qummi*, from Imam al-Sadiq (a): The head of al-Husayn ibn 'Ali (a) was brought before Yazid, may God curse him. Then 'Ali ibn al-Husayn (a), who was bound in chains, and the daughters of the Commander of the Faithful (a) were also brought in.

At that time, Yazid said, "O 'Ali ibn al-Husayn! All praise is for God Who killed your father."

قالت: كلا والله ما جعل الله لك ذلك إلا أن تخرج من ملتنا وتدين بغير ديننا.

فاستطار يزيد غضبا وقال: إياي تستقبلين بهذا؟ إنما خرج من الدين أبوك وأخوك.

فقالت زينب: بدين الله ودين أبي ودين أخي اهتديت أنت وجدك وأبوك إن كنت مسلما.

قال: كذبت يا عدوة الله.

فقالت له: أنت أمير تشتم ظالما وتقهر بسلطانك.

فكأنه استحيا وسكت. فعاد الشامي فقال: هب لي هذه الجارية.

فقال له يزيد: اعزب، وهب الله لك حتفا قاضيا.

[1] *Tahdhib al-Kamal*, vol. 6, p. 429; *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'*, vol. 3, p. 309.

لما قدموا عليه (أي على يزيد) جمع من كان بحضرته من أهل الشام، ثم أدخلوا عليه فهنؤوه بالفتح، فقام رجل منهم أحمر أزرق، ونظر إلى وصيفة من بناتهم فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين هب لي هذه.

فقالت زينب: لا والله ولا كرامة لك ولا له إلا أن يخرج من دين الله.

فأعادها الأزرق، فقال له يزيد: كف.

'Ali ibn al-Husayn (a) replied, "May God curse the one who killed my father."

Yazid became furious and ordered for his neck to be struck off.

'Ali ibn al-Husayn (a) said, "If you kill me, then who will escort the daughters of God's Messenger (s) to their homes, for they do not have a close relative (*mahram*) other than me?"

He replied, "You shall return them to their homes."

Then he called for a file and cut open the chains from around the neck of the Imam (a) himself. Then he asked him (a), "Do you know why I did this?"

He replied, "Yes. You wanted me to be obliged to no one else but you."

Yazid said, "By God, that is exactly what I intended."

Then Yazid said, "O 'Ali ibn al-Husayn (a), '*Whatever misfortune afflicts you, it is on account of what your hands have earned....*'[1]"

'Ali ibn al-Husayn (a) replied, "No, that verse has not been revealed about us. What has been revealed about us is, '*No misfortune afflicts the earth, or yourselves, except that it is [already] recorded in a Book before We bring it into being; indeed, that is easy for God. [This is] in order that you do not despair over matters that pass you by, nor exult over favours that have been granted to you....*'[2] We are the ones who do not despair over matters that pass us by, and do not exult over favours that we have been granted."[3]

---

[1] Q 42:30.

[2] Q 57:22-23.

[3] *Tafsir al-Qummi*, vol. 2, p. 352; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 168, no. 13 and 14.

لما أدخل رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام على يزيد لعنه الله، وأدخل عليه علي بن الحسين عليه السلام وبنات أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، وكان علي بن الحسين عليه السلام مقيداً مغلولاً، فقال يزيد: يا علي بن الحسين، الحمد لله الذي قتل أباك.

فقال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: لعن الله من قتل أبي. قال: فغضب يزيد وأمر بضرب عنقه عليه السلام.

فقال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: فإذا قتلتني فبنات رسول الله عليه السلام من يردهم إلى منازلهم وليس لهم محرم غيري؟

690. *al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb: It is reported that Yazīd said to Zaynab (a), "Speak to me."

She replied, "He is the spokesman", meaning Imam al-Sajjād (a).

The Imam (a) said:

Do not expect to humiliate us so that we might honour you,
Or that we would not harm you while you continue to harm us.
God knows that we have no love for you,
And we do not blame you if you bear no love for us.

Yazīd said, "You speak the truth, young man. However, your father and grandfather wanted to be rulers. All praise is for God, Who killed the two of them, and caused their blood to be spilt."

The Imam (a) replied, "Prophethood and rulership already belonged to my forefathers and ancestors, before you were even born."

691. *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*: After al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and the womenfolk were brought to the accursed Yazīd. His son, Abū Ja'far (a), was [only] two years and a few months old, and he was brought in as well.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

فقال يزيد: هذا والله ما أردت قتله.

ثم قال يزيد: يا علي بن الحسين ﴿ما أصابكم من مصيبة فبما كسبت أيديكم﴾.

فقال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: كلا ما هذه فينا نزلت، إنما نزلت فينا: ﴿ما أصاب من مصيبة في الأرض ولا في أنفسكم إلا في كتاب من قبل أن نبرأها إن ذلك على الله يسير. لكيلا تأسوا على ما فاتكم ولا تفرحوا بما آتاكم﴾. فنحن الذين لا نأسى على ما فاتنا ولا نفرح بما آتانا.

1 Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 173; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 175.

وروي أن يزيد قال لزينب: تكلمي، فقالت: هو المتكلم. فأنشد السجاد:

لا تطمعوا أن تهينونا فنكرمكم　　وأن نكف الأذى عنكم وتؤذونا
والله يعلم أنا لا نحبكم　　ولا نلومكم أن لا تحبونا

فقال: صدقت يا غلام، ولكن أراد أبوك وجدك أن يكونا أميرين، والحمد لله الذي قتلهما وسفك دماءهما.

فقال عليه السلام: لم تزل النبوة والإمرة لآبائي وأجدادي من قبل أن تولد.

When he saw them, Yazid asked, "How do you see things, O 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn?"

The Imam (a) replied, "I see [transpire] what God, the Almighty, had decreed before He created the heavens and the earth."

Then Yazid consulted with those sitting with him about the matter, and they advised him to kill the Imam (a), saying, "Nothing [useful] can be expected from the puppy of a rabid dog."

Then the Imam (a) began to speak. He praised God, glorified Him, and then said to Yazid, may God curse him, "These people sitting with you advised you contrary to what the counsellors of Fir'awn advised him when he consulted them about Mūsā and Hārūn. They advised him to give him and his brother respite, while these men advise you to kill us. And there is a reason for this."

Yazid asked, "And what is the reason?"

The Imam (a) replied, "Those advisers were born within wedlock, while these men are born out of wedlock; no one kills prophets and their offspring except those of illegitimate birth."

[On hearing this] Yazid fell into deep thought. Then he ordered for the captives to be taken away, as has been narrated and reported.[1]

---

[1] *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*, p. 186.

لما استشهد الحسين عليه السلام، حمل علي بن الحسين عليه السلام مع الحرم وأدخل على يزيد، وكان ابنه أبو جعفر عليه السلام ابن سنتين وشهور، فأدخل معه. فلما رآه يزيد قال له: كيف رأيت يا علي بن الحسين؟

قال: رأيت ما قضاه الله عز وجل قبل أن يخلق السماوات والأرض.

فشاور يزيد جلساءه في أمره، فأشاروا بقتله، وقالوا له: لا تتخذ من كلب سوء جرواً.

فابتدأ أبو محمد عليه السلام الكلام، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال ليزيد لعنه الله: لقد أشار عليك هؤلاء بخلاف ما أشار جلساء فرعون عليه حيث شاورهم في موسى وهارون، فإنهم قالوا له: أرجه وأخاه، وقد أشار هؤلاء عليك بقتلنا، ولهذا سبب.

فقال يزيد: وما السبب؟

فقال: إن أولئك كانوا الرشدة، وهؤلاء لغير رشدة، ولا يقتل الأنبياء وأولادهم إلا أولاد الأدعياء.

فأمسك يزيد مطرقاً، ثم أمر بإخراجهم على ما قد روي.

7/30: The sermon of Zaynab (a) in the court of Yazid

653. *al-Malhuf*: Zaynab bint ʿAlī (a) rose and said:

> All praise is due to God, Lord of the worlds. May the blessings of God be on Muhammad and his progeny. God spoke the truth when He said, "*Then evil was the final end of those who perpetrated evil, because they denied the signs of God and used to mock them.*"[1]
>
> Did you imagine, O Yazid, when you straitened the pathways of the earth and the horizons of the sky before us, so that we were herded about like common prisoners, that we were thereby humiliated before God, and you were honoured before Him? And that this was your great virtue before Him?
>
> So you turned up your nose [at us] and looked about with self-satisfaction and delight. You felt that the world was in your hands, that things were going your way, and that our kingdom and authority were [now] exclusively under your mandate.
>
> Slow down and take some time [to think]; have you forgotten the words of God, the Almighty, "*And let not those who disbelieve imagine that our respite to them is better for them. We [only] give them respite so that they may grow in sinfulness; and for them awaits a humiliating punishment*"?[2]
>
> Is it justice – O son of a manumitted slave (*ibn al-ṭulaqāʾ*)[3] – that you cover your maids and your women, while you openly parade the daughters of God's Messenger (s) as captives? You snatched their cloaks, exposed their faces, and allowed the enemy to drive them from one town to the next. The inhabitants of the waystations and townships came forth to stare at them, and their faces were studied by people close and distant, by the degenerate and the noble. They had no guardian from among their menfolk, and no defender from among their protectors!
>
> How can any concern be expected from the [son of the] one whose mouth spat out the [chewed] liver of the righteous, and whose flesh was nourished with the blood of martyrs?
>
> And how can the one who looks at us with hatred, enmity, jealousy, and malice expect to [one day] seek shade in the shadow of the Ahl al-Bayt (a)?

---

[1] Q 30:10.

[2] Q 3:178.

[3] A reference to the Prophet's (s) pardon of the idolaters, including Abū Sufyān, after the conquest of Mecca. [Trans.]

Then you say without any sense of the gravity and great sin of your words,

They would have praised God and clamoured in delight,

And would have said, "O Yazīd, may your hand never be paralysed."

[You speak these words] while you lean forward to poke at the teeth of Abū 'Abd Allāh (a), who is the chief of the youth of paradise.

And why would you not say that, when you have reopened [old] wounds and revived ancestral feuds by spilling the blood of the offspring of Muḥammad (s), and the shining star on the earth from the progeny of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?

Then you call to your forefathers, imagining that you are actually addressing them! Soon, you will join them [in hell] and then you will wish that you had become paralysed and struck dumb, so that you had not said what you said and not done what you did.

O God, take back our right [from the usurpers], avenge us against those who oppressed us, and unleash Your wrath on the one who spilled our blood and killed our protectors.

For I swear by God, you have only torn off your own skin and cleaved your own flesh. You will surely be brought to God's Messenger (s) carrying the grievous burden of spilling the blood of his offspring and violating the sanctity of his children and kin.

There, God will bring them all together, gather their distressed ones, and restore their rights. "*Do not count those who have been killed in the way of God as dead; rather, they are alive with their Lord, receiving provision.*"[1]

So God will be sufficient for you as a Judge, and Muḥammad (s) as an accuser, and Jibra'īl as his supporter.

Those who paved the way for you and placed you on the neck of the Muslims will soon come to know how dreadful the recompense of the oppressors is, and which of you is in the worse place, and weaker in support.

These circumstances have forced me to address you, otherwise, I consider your status as low, and your guilt as great. But the eyes weep and the hearts burn.

How astonishing is the massacre of the party of noblemen of God at the hands of the freedmen in the party of Satan! These are the hands that drip with our blood, and the mouths that salivate at [the thought of devouring] our flesh, while out there lie the pure and purified corpses being ravaged by wolves and hyenas.

---

[1] Q 3:169.

If you have seized us as spoils of war, then you will find us a great burden on the Day when you shall encounter nothing except what your hands have sent forth. "*And your Lord is not unjust (in the least) to His slaves.*"[1] So our complaint is to God, and upon Him is our reliance.

So hatch your plots, strive your utmost, and bring all your resources to bear, but by God, you will never erase our remembrance [from the hearts of people] or extinguish our message, or reach our status, or wash off the disgrace [of your actions].

Will your judgement not be confuted, your days at an end, and your supporters dispersed, on the Day when the herald will call out, "*Behold! The curse of God is upon the oppressors*"?[2]

So all praise is for God, Who granted felicity and forgiveness to our ancestors, and [the honour of] martyrdom and mercy to our present generation. We ask God to complete their reward and grant them even more, and give them good successors for us, for He is all-Merciful, all-Affectionate. "*Sufficient for us is God, and a most Excellent Protector.*"[3][4]

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[1] Q 41:46.

[2] Q 11:18.

[3] Q 3:173.

[4] *al-Malhuf*, p. 105; *Balaghat al-Nisa'*, p. 35.

فقامت زينب بنت علي عليهما السلام وقالت: الحمد لله رب العالمين، وصلى الله على محمد وآله أجمعين،
صدق الله كذلك يقول: ﴿ثم كان عاقبة الذين أساؤوا السوأى أن كذبوا بآيات الله وكانوا بها يستهزئون﴾.
أظننت يا يزيد، حيث أخذت علينا أقطار الأرض وآفاق السماء، فأصبحنا نساق كما تساق الإماء، أن بنا
على الله هوانا وبك عليه كرامة، وأن ذلك لعظم خطرك عنده، فشمخت بأنفك، ونظرت في عطفك جذلان
مسرورا، حين رأيت الدنيا لك مستوسقة، والأمور متسقة، وحين صفا لك ملكنا وسلطاننا.

فمهلا مهلا، أنسيت قول الله تعالى: ﴿ولا يحسبن الذين كفروا أنما نملي لهم خير لأنفسهم إنما نملي
لهم ليزدادوا إثما ولهم عذاب مهين﴾.

أمن العدل يا ابن الطلقاء تخديرك حرائرك وإماءك، وسوقك بنات رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله سبايا،
قد هتكت ستورهن، وأبديت وجوههن، تحدو بهن الأعداء من بلد إلى بلد، ويستشرفهن أهل المناهل
والمناقل، ويتصفح وجوههن القريب والبعيد، والدني والشريف، ليس معهن من رجالهن ولي، ولا من
حماتهن حمي.

وكيف ترتجى مراقبة من لفظ فوه أكباد الأزكياء، ونبت لحمه بدماء الشهداء

7/11: The protest of a Jewish rabbi against Yazid

654. *al-Futūḥ*: A Jewish rabbi who was present turned to him [Yazid] and asked, "Who is this young man, O commander of the faithful?"

He replied, "The man whose head is before me was his father."

He asked, "Whose head is before you, O commander of the faithful?"

He replied, "Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib."

وكيف يستبطأ في بغضنا أهل البيت من نظر إلينا بالشنف والشنآن والإحن والأضغان،

ثم تقول غير متأثّم ولا مستعظم:

لأهلّوا واستهلّوا فرحاً ثمّ قالوا يا يزيد لا تشل

منتحياً على ثنايا أبي عبد الله عليه السلام سيّد شباب أهل الجنّة تنكتها بمخصرتك، وكيف لا تقول ذلك وقد نكأت القرحة واستأصلت الشأفة بإراقتك دماء ذرّيّة محمّد صلى الله عليه و آله ونجوم الأرض من آل عبد المطّلب، وتهتف بأشياخك، زعمت أنّك تناديهم، فلتردنّ وشيكاً موردهم، ولتودّنّ أنّك شللت وبكمت، ولم تكن قلت ما قلت، وفعلت ما فعلت.

اللّهمّ خذ بحقّنا، وانتقم من ظالمنا، واحلل غضبك بمن سفك دماءنا وقتل حماتنا.

فوالله ما فريت إلّا جلدك، ولا حززت إلّا لحمك، ولتردنّ على رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله بما تحمّلت من سفك دماء ذرّيّته، وانتهكت من حرمته في عترته و لحمته، وحيث يجمع الله شملهم، ويلمّ شعثهم، ويأخذ بحقّهم «ولا تحسبنّ الّذين قتلوا في سبيل الله أمواتاً بل أحياء عند ربّهم يرزقون».

وحسبك بالله حاكماً، وبمحمّد صلى الله عليه و آله خصيماً، وبجبرئيل ظهيراً، وسيعلم من سوّل لك ومكّنك من رقاب المسلمين بئس للظالمين بدلاً، وأيّكم شرّ مكاناً وأضعف جنداً.

ولئن جرّت عليّ الدواهي مخاطبتك، إنّي لأستصغر قدرك، وأستعظم تقريعك، وأستكثر توبيخك، لكنّ العيون عبرى والصدور حرّى.

ألا فالعجب كلّ العجب لقتل حزب الله النجباء بحزب الشيطان الطلقاء، فهذه الأيدي تنطف من دمائنا، والأفواه تتحلّب من لحومنا، وتلك الجثث الطواهر الزواكي تنتابها العواسل وتعفوها أمّهات الفراعل.

ولئن اتّخذتنا مغنماً لتجدنّنا وشيكاً مغرماً، حين لا تجد إلّا ما قدّمت يداك، وما ربّك بظلّام للعبيد، وإلى الله المشتكى وعليه المعوّل.

فكد كيدك، واسع سعيك، وناصب جهدك، فوالله لا تمحو ذكرنا، ولا تميت وحينا، ولا تدرك أمدنا، ولا ترحض عنك عارها، وهل رأيك إلّا فند، وأيّامك إلّا عدد، وجمعك إلّا بدد، يوم ينادي المنادي: ألا لعنة الله على الظالمين.

فالحمد لله الّذي ختم لأوّلنا بالسعادة والمغفرة، ولآخرنا بالشهادة والرحمة، ونسأل الله أن يكمل لهم الثواب، ويوجب لهم المزيد، ويحسن علينا الخلافة، إنّه رحيم ودود، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل.

He asked, "And who is his mother?"

He replied, "Fāṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad."

The rabbi exclaimed, "Glory be to God! This is the son of the daughter of your Prophet, whom you have killed so soon [after him]! How evil is the manner in which you have treated him with regards to his offspring. By God, if Mūsā ibn 'Imrān had left behind his own grandson amongst us, we would have worshipped him instead of God! While you, whose Prophet has departed only yesterday, have pounced on his son and killed him! What an evil nation you are!"

Yazīd ordered for a noose to be placed around his neck. The rabbi stood up saying, "You can strike me if you wish, or kill me, or imprison me; I have found in the Torah that whoever kills the progeny of a prophet shall remain subjugated as long as he lives, and when he dies, God shall cast him into the fire of hell."[1]

7/12: The protest of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) before a preacher of Yazīd

695. *al-Malhūf*: Yazīd, may God curse him, summoned a speaker and instructed him to ascend the pulpit and curse al-Ḥusayn (a) and his forefathers. The man went on the pulpit and began to insult the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a). Then he praised Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd.

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[1] al-Futūḥ, vol. 5, p. 132; al-Ḥadā'iq al-Wardiyyah, vol. 1, p. 123.

فالتفت حبر من أحبار اليهود وكان حاضراً (أي عند يزيد) فقال: من هذا الغلام يا أمير المؤمنين؟ فقال: هذا صاحب الرأس هو أبوه. قال: ومن هو صاحب الرأس يا أمير المؤمنين؟ قال: الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب. قال: فمن أمه؟ قال: فاطمة بنت محمد.

فقال الحبر: يا سبحان الله! هذا ابن بنت نبيكم قتلتموه في هذه السرعة! بئس ما خلفتموه في ذريته، والله لو خلف فينا موسى بن عمران سبطاً من صلبه لكنا نعبده من دون الله، وأنتم إنما فارقكم نبيكم بالأمس فوثبتم على ابن نبيكم فقتلتموه، سوءة لكم من أمة!

قال: فأمر يزيد بكز في حلقه، فقام الحبر وهو يقول: إن شئتم فاضربوني أو فاقتلوني أو قرروني، فإني أجد في التوراة أنه من قتل ذرية نبي لا يزال مغلوباً أبداً ما بقي، فإذا مات يصليه الله نار جهنم.

At this point, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) called out to him, "Shame on you, O speaker! You have bought the pleasure of the created by angering the Creator, so take your seat in the fire of hell."[1]

7/13: The sermon of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) in the mosque of Damascus

656. ***Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī:** It has been reported that Yazīd summoned a speaker and instructed him to ascend the pulpit and remind the people of the [alleged] faults of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his father 'Alī (a). The speaker went on the pulpit, praised God and glorified Him, then said many derogatory things about 'Alī (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a). At the same time, he praised Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd excessively.

At this point, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) called out to him, "Shame on you, O speaker! You have bought the pleasure of the created by angering the Creator? In that case, take your seat in the fire of hell."

Then he said, "O Yazīd, allow me to ascend these planks of wood and say a few words that would please God and be a means of blessing and reward for these listeners." Yazīd refused.

The people insisted, "O commander of the faithful, let him go up, so that we may hear something from him."

Yazīd told them, "If he ascends the pulpit, he will not come down until he has vilified me and the family of Abū Sufyān."

They said, "How is he capable of that?"

Yazīd replied, "He is from a household who have imbibed knowledge from childhood."

But they kept insisting, until he allowed him to go on the pulpit.

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 219; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 101.

دعا يزيد لعنه الله بالخطيب وأمره أن يصعد المنبر فيذمّ الحسين وأباه صلوات الله عليهما، فصعد وبالغ في ذمّ أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب والحسين الشهيد، والمدح لمعاوية ويزيد.

فصاح به علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: ويلك أيها الخاطب، اشتريت مرضاة المخلوق بسخط الخالق؟ فتبوّأ مقعدك من النار.

So he ascended the pulpit, praised God, and glorified Him; then he gave a sermon that reduced everyone to tears and petrified their hearts. In the course of his sermon, he said:

> O people, we have been granted six [merits] and have been distinguished with seven. We were granted knowledge, forbearance, tolerance, eloquence, bravery, and affection in the hearts of the believers. And we were distinguished by the fact that the best of prophets, Muhammad (s) is from us, as is the veracious one (*al-Ṣiddīq*), as is the one who flies (*al-Ṭayyār*), as is the Lion of God and of His Messenger, as is the foremost of the women of paradise, Fāṭimah, the chaste, and as are the two grandsons of this nation, the chiefs of the youth of paradise.
>
> So whoever recognises me knows me, but for whoever does not recognise me, I shall inform him of my inherited merits and lineage (*ḥasab wa nasab*).
>
> I am the son of Mecca and Minā;
>
> I am the son of Zamzam and Ṣafā;
>
> I am the son of the man who carried alms [to the needy] wrapped in his cloak;
>
> I am the son of the best man who ever wore a robe and cloak;
>
> I am the son of the best man who ever walked with sandals or barefoot.
>
> I am the son of the best man who ever circumambulated the Ka'bah (*ṭawāf*), and performed the circuits between Ṣafā and Marwah (*sa'ī*).
>
> I am the son of the best man who ever performed the hajj and pronounced the *talbiyah* (*labbayk*).
>
> I am the son of the man who was transported on al-Burāq[1] in the skies;
>
> I am the son of the man who was taken [by night] from the Sacred Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*) to the Farthest Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*), glory be to the One who took him;
>
> I am the son of the man whom Jibra'īl brought to the farthest lote-tree (*sidrat al-muntahā*);
>
> I am the son of the man who approached and came closer, until he was but two bows' length away, or even nearer, from his Lord;
>
> I am the son of the man who prayed with the angels of the heavens;

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[1] The mount that the Prophet (s) was transported on during the night of the *mi'rāj*. Due to its dazzling and radiant colouring, and its tremendous speed, it was likened to a flash of lightning (*barq*) and called al-Burāq. *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 1, p. 120.

I am the son of the man to whom God revealed [what He revealed];

I am the son of Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā; I am the son of ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā;

I am the son of the one who struck the faces of the idolaters [with his sword] until they professed that there was no God but Allah;

I am the son of the man who fought alongside God's Messenger with two swords, who struck with two spears, performed two migrations, pledged his allegiance twice, prayed towards two *qiblahs*, fought at both Badr and Ḥunayn, and did not disbelieve in God even for a blink of an eye;

I am the son of the righteous believer,[1] the successor of the Prophets, the crusher of the renegades, the leader of the Muslims, the resplendence of the warriors, the adornment of the worshippers, the crown of the weepers, the most restrained of the forbearing, and the most distinguished member of the *Āl Yā Sīn*, the family of the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds;

I am the son of the man whose supporter was Jibraʾīl and whose helper was Mīkāʾīl.

I am the son of the man who was the advocate for the sanctity of the Muslims; the killer of the oath-breakers (*nākithīn*), deviants (*qāsiṭīn*), and apostates (*māriqīn*); and the one who fought the enemies of the righteous (*nāṣibīn*) and the most distinguished of all the Quraysh.

I am the son of the man who was the first to respond to God's call amongst the believers, the first among the foremost [in Islam], the breaker of the arrogant, the destroyer of the polytheists, an arrow from the arrows of God directed at the hypocrites, the tongue of the wisdom of the worshippers, the supporter of God's religion, the guardian of God's affair and of God's wisdom, and the receptacle of God's knowledge.

[He was] forgiving, generous, compassionate, pure, a native of Baṭḥāʾ (*Abṭaḥī*), content, pleasing [to God], daring, chivalrous, most steadfast, given to fasting, disciplined, a strong support, courageous, and honoured [by all].

He broke the backbone [of idolatry], scattered the confederates [at Khandaq], was the calmest of them [in crisis], the swiftest in riding out, the most eloquent in speech, the most resolute in determination, and the most persistent [against the enemy].

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[1] A reference to ʿAlī (a) in Q 66:4. [Trans.]

> He was [like] a bold lion and a torrential downpour. He destroyed them in war; when spears were raised and the enemy rode into range, he would disperse them to the winds and reduce them to dust.
>
> He was the lion of al-Ḥijāz, the displayer of wonders, the champion of Iraq, the Imam by appointment and right. He was a native of Mecca and Medina, of al-Baṭḥā' and Tihāmah, of Khīf and 'Aqabah.[1]
>
> He was in Badr and Uḥud; he was among the people of the tree[2] and of those who migrated. He was chief amongst the Arabs and lionhearted in battle. He was the heir of the two Mash'ars[3] and the father of the two grandsons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.
>
> He was the displayer of wonders, the splitter of enemy divisions, the penetrating meteor, and the subsequent light of guidance. He was the conquering lion of God, sought by every seeker, and victorious over every victor.
>
> That was my grandfather, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a).
>
> I am the son of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'. I am the son of the foremost of the women. I am the son of the pure, the chaste. I am the son of the heart of the Messenger.

He continued to introduce himself in this manner, until there was a loud clamour as the people wept and lamented.

Fearing unrest and sedition (*fitnah*), Yazīd ordered the muezzin to give the call to prayer (*adhān*), thereby forcing him to discontinue his sermon. The Imam (a) became silent.

When the muezzin called out, '*Allāhu Akbar*', 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "You have called great (magnified) the One Who is Great, and Incomparable. He cannot be perceived by the senses, and there is nothing greater than God."

When the muezzin said, "I bear witness that there is no god but God", 'Alī (a) said, "My hair and my skin bear witness to that, as does my flesh, my blood, my nerves, and my bones."

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[1] 'Aqabah is a reference to the valley of Minā, and is a reference to the first pledge to Islam which was made there by a delegation from Medina.

[2] A reference to the tree under which the Prophet (s) took the pledge of allegiance of the Muslims during the events of the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah.

[3] A reference to Muzdalifah and 'Arafāt.

When the muezzin said, "I bear witness that Muhammad is God's messenger", 'Alī (a) turned to Yazīd from the top of the pulpit, and asked him, "O Yazīd! Is this Muhammad my grandfather, or yours? If you say that he is your grandfather, then you are a liar. And if you admit that he is my grandfather, then why did you kill his progeny?"

The muezzin finished the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*, and then Yazīd went forward to pray the midday (*ẓuhr*) prayer.[1]

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[1] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 69; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 137.

روي أنّ يزيد أمر بمنبر وخطيب، ليخبر الناس بمساوئ الحسين وأبيه عليّ عليهما السلام، فصعد الخطيب المنبر، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، وأكثر الوقيعة في عليّ والحسين، وأطنب في تقريظ معاوية ويزيد.

فصاح به عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام: ويلك أيّها الخاطب، اشتريت رضا المخلوق بسخط الخالق؟ فتبوّأ مقعدك من النار.

ثمّ قال: يا يزيد ائذن لي حتى أصعد هذه الأعواد، فأتكلّم بكلمات فيهنّ لله رضا، ولهؤلاء الجالسين أجر وثواب. فأبى يزيد.

فقال الناس: يا أمير المؤمنين، ائذن له ليصعد، فلعلّنا نسمع منه شيئاً. فقال لهم: إن صعد المنبر هذا لم ينزل إلّا بفضيحتي وبفضيحة آل أبي سفيان. فقالوا: وما قدر ما يحسن هذا؟ فقال: إنّه من أهل بيت قد زُقّوا العلم زقّاً. ولم يزالوا به حتى أذن له بالصعود.

فصعد المنبر، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثمّ خطب خطبة أبكى منها العيون، وأوجل منها القلوب، فقال فيها:

أيّها الناس، أُعطينا ستّاً، وفُضّلنا بسبع: أُعطينا العلم، والحلم، والسماحة، والفصاحة، والشجاعة، والمحبّة في قلوب المؤمنين. وفُضّلنا بأنّ منّا النبيّ المختار محمداً صلّى الله عليه وآله، ومنّا الصدّيق، ومنّا الطيّار، ومنّا أسد الله وأسد الرسول، ومنّا سيّدة نساء العالمين فاطمة البتول، ومنّا سبطا هذه الأمّة، وسيّدا شباب أهل الجنّة. فمن عرفني فقد عرفني، ومن لم يعرفني أنبأته بحسبي ونسبي. أنا ابن مكّة ومنى، أنا ابن زمزم والصفا، أنا ابن من حمل الزكاة بأطراف الرداء، أنا ابن خير من ائتزر وارتدى، أنا ابن خير من انتعل واحتفى، أنا ابن خير من طاف وسعى، أنا ابن خير من حجّ ولبّى، أنا ابن من حُمل على البراق في الهواء، أنا ابن من أُسري به من المسجد الحرام إلى المسجد الأقصى، فسبحان من أسرى، أنا ابن من بلغ به جبرائيل إلى سدرة المنتهى، أنا ابن من دنا فتدلّى فكان من ربّه قاب قوسين أو أدنى، أنا ابن من صلّى بملائكة السماء، أنا ابن من أوحى إليه الجليل ما أوحى، أنا ابن محمد المصطفى، أنا ابن عليّ المرتضى، أنا ابن من ضرب خراطيم الخلق حتى قالوا: لا إله إلّا الله.

أنا ابن من ضرب بين يدي رسول الله بسيفين، وطعن برمحين، وهاجر الهجرتين، وبايع البيعتين، وقاتل ببدر وحنين، ولم يكفر بالله طرفة عين. أنا ابن صالح المؤمنين، ووارث النبيين، وقامع

7/14: A suggestion to kill Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a)

657. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*: It has been reported that Yazīd consulted some people about the issue [of the captives]. Some of them, may God disfigure them... said, "Kill ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, so that no one from the progeny of al-Ḥusayn survives!"

Yazīd remained silent. Then al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr suggested, "O commander of the faithful, deal with them in the manner that God's Messenger (s) used to deal with people whom he saw in this state."

الملحدين، ويعسوب المسلمين، ونور المجاهدين، وزين العابدين، وتاج البكائين، وأصبر الصابرين، وأفضل القائمين من آل ياسين، ورسول رب العالمين.

أنا ابن المؤيد بجبرئيل، المنصور بميكائيل. أنا ابن المحامي عن حرم المسلمين، وقاتل المارقين والناكثين والقاسطين، والمجاهد أعداءه الناصبين، وأفخر من مشى من قريش أجمعين، وأول من أجاب واستجاب لله من المؤمنين، وأقدم السابقين، وقاصم المعتدين، ومبير المشركين، وسهم من مرامي الله على المنافقين، ولسان حكمة العابدين، ناصر دين الله، وولي أمر الله، وبستان حكمة الله، وعيبة علم الله، سمح سخي بهلول زكي أبطحي رضي مرضي، مقدام همام، صابر صوام، مهذب قوام، شجاع قمقام، قاطع الأصلاب، ومفرق الأحزاب، أربطهم جنانا، وأطلقهم عنانا، وأجرأهم لسانا، وأمضاهم عزيمة، وأشدهم شكيمة، أسد باسل، وغيث هاطل، يطحنهم في الحروب إذا ازدلفت الأسنة، وقربت الأعنة، طحن الرحى، ويذروهم ذرو الريح الهشيم، ليث الحجاز، وصاحب الإعجاز، وكبش العراق، الإمام بالنص والاستحقاق، مكي مدني، أبطحي تهامي، خيفي عقبي، بدري أحدي، شجري مهاجري، من العرب سيدها، ومن الوغى ليثها، وارث المشعرين، وأبو السبطين الحسن والحسين، مظهر العجائب، ومفرق الكتائب، والشهاب الثاقب، والنور العاقب، أسد الله الغالب، مطلوب كل طالب، غالب كل غالب، ذاك جدي علي بن أبي طالب.

أنا ابن فاطمة الزهراء، أنا ابن سيدة النساء، أنا ابن الطهر البتول، أنا ابن بضعة الرسول.

قال: ولم يزل يقول: أنا أنا، حتى ضج الناس بالبكاء والنحيب، وخشي يزيد أن تكون فتنة، فأمر المؤذن أن يؤذن، فقطع عليه الكلام وسكت.

فلما قال المؤذن: الله أكبر، قال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: كبرت كبيرا لا يقاس، ولا يدرك بالحواس، لا شيء أكبر من الله.

فلما قال: أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله، قال علي عليه السلام: شهد بها شعري وبشري ولحمي ودمي ومخي وعظمي.

فلما قال: أشهد أن محمدا رسول الله، التفت علي عليه السلام من أعلى المنبر إلى يزيد وقال: يا يزيد، محمد هذا جدي أم جدك؟ فإن زعمت أنه جدك فقد كذبت، وإن قلت إنه جدي فلم قتلت عترته؟

قال: وفرغ المؤذن من الأذان والإقامة، فتقدم يزيد وصلى صلاة الظهر.

So Yazid took pity on them. He sent them to the public baths and provided them with some garments, gifts, and provisions, and had them lodged in one of his houses.[1]

7/15: The family of the Prophet (s) in the prison of Yazid

658. ***al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*****, quoting ʿImrān ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a):** When ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions were brought to Yazid ibn Muʿāwiyah, may God curse them both, he had them housed in a dilapidated house with unstable walls. One of the captives said, "We have been placed in this house so that it falls down over us."

The Coptic guards who had been placed to watch over them remarked in the Coptic language, "Look at these people who are afraid that the house will fall down over them. That would be better for them than if they were to emerge tomorrow, only to have their necks struck off, one by one."

ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said to the Coptic guards in their own language, "By God's permission neither of those things will happen." And it was as he said.[2]

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 196; *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 5, p. 368.

رُوِيَ أنَّ يزيد استشار الناس في أمرهم، فقال رجالٌ ممن قبحهم الله... اقتل علي بن الحسين حتى لا يبقى من ذرية الحسين أحدٌ.

فسكت يزيد، فقال النعمان بن بشير: يا أمير المؤمنين، اصنع معهم كما كان يصنع معهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله لو رآهم على هذه الحال.

فرقّ عليهم يزيد، وبعث بهم إلى الحمام، وأجرى عليهم الكساوي والعطايا والأطعمة، وأنزلهم في داره.

[2] *al-Kharāʾij wa al-Jarāʾiḥ*, vol. 2, p. 753; *Dalāʾil al-Imāmah*, p. 204, no. 115.

لما أُتِيَ بعلي بن الحسين عليه السلام ومن معه إلى يزيد بن معاوية - عليهما لعائن الله - جعلوهم في بيت خراب واهي الحيطان.

فقال بعضهم: إنّما جُعِلنا في هذا البيت ليقع علينا.

فقال الموكلون بهم من الحرس بالرطانة: انظروا إلى هؤلاء يخافون أن يقع عليهم هذا البيت، وهو أصلح لهم من أن يخرجوا غداً فتضرب أعناقهم واحداً بعد واحدٍ صبراً.

فقال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام بالرطانة: لا يكونان جميعاً بإذن الله. قال: وكان كذلك.

659. *Muthir al-Aḥzān*: During their [entire] stay in Damascus, the women mourned and lamented for al-Ḥusayn (a). They constantly wept in distress. The plight of the captives worsened, as their grief at the loss of their loved ones became intense.

They were placed in rooms that afforded no protection from heat or cold. Their skin blistered, and their bodies began to suppurate. These were women who had always been veiled and shaded. Their patience wore thin, giving way to constant anguish and sorrow.[1]

7/16: The meeting of Minhāl with Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) and his enquiry about his state

660. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, quoting Minhāl ibn ʿAmr: I met ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and asked him, "May God make you prosper, how are you faring?"

He replied, "I did not think that an elder from Egypt like you would be unaware of our situation! However, if you do not know or realize, then let me inform you: we find ourselves in the same position that the Banū Isrāʾīl found themselves under the people of Firʿawn; they would slaughter their sons and keep their women alive. And we find our chief and leader [Imam ʿAlī (a)] vilified and maligned by preachers from their pulpits, in order to curry favour with our enemies.

"And we find that Quraysh began to consider themselves superior to the rest of the Arabs because Muḥammad (s) was from among them; otherwise, there was no other merit in them. And the Arabs accepted this way of thinking and considered themselves to be above the non-Arabs (al-ʿajam) because Muḥammad (s) was from among them; otherwise, they too had no other merit in them. And the non-Arabs accepted this reasoning. However, if the Arabs were justified in their claim that they were superior to the non-Arabs, and the Quraysh were right to claim superiority over the rest of the Arabs because Muḥammad (s) was from them, then we, the Ahl al-Bayt, have superiority over the Quraysh, because Muḥammad (s) is from us.

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[1] Muthīr al-Aḥzān, p. 102.

كانت النساء مدة مقامهن بدمشق ينحن عليه (أي على الحسين عليه السلام) بشجو وأنة، ويندبن بعويل ورنة، ومصاب الأسرى عظم المحنة، والأسى لعظم الثكل دال عليه.

وسكنّ في مساكن لا تقيهن من حرّ ولا برد، حتى تقشرت الجلود، وسال الصديد بعد كنّ الخدور وظل الستور، والصبر ظاعن، والجزع مقيم، والحزن لهن نديم.

"Thus, they have assumed superiority through what is lawfully our right, while not respecting our own rights.

"And this is how we fare, if you did not yet know."

I realised that he wished for those in the house to also hear him.[1]

7/17: The dream of Sukaynah (a)

661. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Sukaynah (a): On the fourth day of our captivity, I had a dream… I saw a lady seated on a howdah. She had placed her hand on her head. I asked who she was, and was told, "She is Fāṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad, your grandmother."

I thought, "By God, I must go to her and tell her of what has been done to us." I rushed towards her, until I caught up with her and stood before her. In tears, I said to her, "O mother! By God, they violated our rights. O mother! By God, they destroyed our group. O mother! By God, they desecrated our womenfolk. O mother! By God, they killed our father, al-Ḥusayn."

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 219.

دخلت على علي بن حسين عليه السلام فقلت: كيف أصبحت، أصلحك الله؟

فقال: ما كنت أرى شيخا من أهل المصر مثلك لا يدري كيف أصبحنا، فأما إذ لم تدر أو تعلم فسأخبرك، أصبحنا في قومنا بمنزلة بني إسرائيل في آل فرعون إذ كانوا يذبحون أبناءهم ويستحيون نساءهم، وأصبح شيخنا وسيدنا يتقرب إلى عدونا بشتمه أو سبه على المنابر.

وأصبحت قريش تعد أن لها الفضل على العرب لأن محمدا صلى الله عليه و آله منها لا يعد لها فضل إلا به، وأصبحت العرب مقرة لهم بذلك، وأصبحت العرب تعد أن لها الفضل على العجم لأن محمدا صلى الله عليه و آله منها لا يعد لها فضل إلا به، وأصبحت العجم مقرة لهم بذلك، فلئن كانت العرب صدقت أن لها الفضل على العجم وصدقت قريش أن لها الفضل على العرب لأن محمدا صلى الله عليه و آله منها، إن لنا أهل البيت الفضل على قريش لأن محمدا صلى الله عليه و آله منا، فأصبحوا يأخذون بحقنا ولا يعرفون لنا حقا، فهكذا أصبحنا إذ لم تعلم كيف أصبحنا.

قال: فظننت أنه أراد أن يسمع من في البيت.

She said to me, "Hold your words, dear Sukaynah, for they have cut my heart to pieces and ignited my liver [with anguish]. Here is the shirt of your father, al-Ḥusayn, which I will not part with until I meet God."

◆

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1 *al-Malhūf*, p. 220; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 104.

لما كان في اليوم الرابع من مقامنا رأيت في المنام... ورأيت امرأة راكبة في هودج ويدها موضوعة على رأسها، فسألت عنها، فقيل لي: فاطمة بنت محمد أم أبيك.

فقلت: والله لأنطلقن إليها ولأخبرنها ما صنع بنا. فسعيت مبادرة نحوها حتى لحقت بها، ووقفت بين يديها أبكي وأقول:

يا أمتاه جحدوا والله حقنا، يا أمتاه بددوا والله شملنا، يا أمتاه استباحوا والله حريمنا، يا أمتاه قتلوا والله الحسين أبانا.

فقالت لي: كفي صوتك يا سكينة، فقد قطعت نياط قلبي، وأقرحت كبدي، هذا قميص أبيك الحسين لا يفارقني حتى ألقى الله به.

A study about the attribution of Ruqayyah to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

There are several factors about the claim that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had a daughter by the name of Ruqayyah, about the circumstances of her death, and about the shrine that has been constructed in her name, that we deem necessary to discuss in turn.

1. Attribution of a daughter by the name of Ruqayyah to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Early and reliable sources which have listed the children of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) make no mention of any daughter by the name of Ruqayyah. Most only mention two daughters, Fāṭimah and Sukaynah, but some sources have included a third, by the name of *Zaynab*[1]. Even Majlisī in his *Biḥār al-Anwār*, and the great contemporary traditionist, Shaykh ʿAbbās al-Qummī, in his works, have not mentioned any daughter of the Imam (a) by the name of Ruqayyah.

Ibn Ṭalḥah (d. 654/1256) in his *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl*[2] has mentioned that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had ten children: six sons and four daughters. He only gives the names of three daughters: Fāṭimah, Sukaynah, and Zaynab. The author of *Kashf al-Ghummah*[3] mentions the same report, quoting *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl*.

As far as our research shows, the only scholar who has mentioned and named four daughters of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is the famous genealogist of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Funduq al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1170). In his work, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, he lists the daughters of the Imam (a) in this order:

1. Fāṭimah, whose mother was Umm Isḥāq bint Ṭalḥah

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 135; *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl*, p. 73.

[2] *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl*, p. 73.

[3] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 250.

2. Sukaynah, whose mother was al-Rabāb bint Imru' al-Qays al-Kindī
3. Zaynab, who died in infancy, and whose mother was Shahr Banū bint Yazdigird
4. Umm Kulthūm, who died in infancy, and whose mother was Shahr Banū bint Yazdigird.[1]

As we see, although he mentions four daughters of Imam al-Husayn (a) and names them, he does not mention the name Ruqayyah. However, when he later talks about the children of the Imam (a), he writes, "From the children of Imam al-Husayn (a), no one survived except Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), Fāṭimah, Sukaynah, and Ruqayyah."[2]

Another report that mentions the name Ruqayyah is found in some manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Malhūf*, where it is mentioned that at the time of bidding farewell to his family, Imam al-Husayn (a) said, "O sister, O Umm Kulthūm! And you, O Zaynab! And you, O Ruqayyah! And you, O Fāṭimah! And you O Rabāb! After I am killed, take care not to tear at your clothes or scratch your faces or utter bitter words."[3]

The following can be said about this report.

Firstly, this report is not found in many of the manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Malhūf*.

Secondly, it has not been made clear in the report that Ruqayyah was the daughter of the Imam (a).

Thirdly, it is possible that the lady who has been addressed by this name is Ruqayyah, the daughter of Imam 'Alī (a) and the wife of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. This is because the sons of Muslim were present with the Imam, and it is highly probable that his wife was also a part of the caravan of Karbala.

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[1] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 350.

[2] *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, vol. 1, p. 355.

[3] *al-Malhūf*, p. 142.

يا أختاه يا أم كلثوم وأنت يا زينب وأنت يا رقية وأنت يا فاطمة وأنت يا رباب انظرن إذا أنا قتلت فلا
تشققن علي جيباً ولا تخمشن علي وجهاً ولا تقلن علي هجراً

2. The death of a daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in some ruins in Damascus

2/1. The Report in *Kāmil Bahāʾī*

As far as our research shows, the first book that mentions the event of the martyrdom of a young child in the ruins of Damascus where the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were imprisoned is *Kāmil Bahāʾī*, a work written in Persian by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. circa 555/1085). His account is the following:

> In *al-Hāwiyah*,[1] it has been mentioned that the when the women of the household of the Prophet (s) were taken captive, they concealed the fate of the menfolk, who had been martyred in Karbala, from their young children. They would tell each child that their father had gone on a journey and would see them again.
>
> Then they were confined in a house belonging to Yazīd. One night, one of the children, who was four years old, woke up saying, "Where is my father Ḥusayn? Just this moment I saw him in my dream, and he was very distressed!" The women and children all broke down crying, and the sound of their laments grew loud.
>
> Yazīd was resting, and the sound woke him from his sleep. He asked what was happening and was informed of what had transpired.
>
> The accursed Yazīd instructed them to take the severed head of her father to the child, and place it before her. His accursed servants brought the head and placed it next to the four-year old child. She asked, "What is this?"
>
> They, God curse them, replied, "The head of your father." The child was shocked and cried out [in sorrow]. She was overcome with grief, and passed away just a few days later.[2]

This account is different from the popular narrative about the death of Ruqayyah; the name of the girl has not been given, her age is mentioned as four, not three, years old; the place of her death is given as the house of Yazīd, not the prison ruins; and, finally, it mentions that her death occurred a few days after she saw the blessed head of her father, and not immediately after.

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[1] Apparently, he is referring to *Kitāb al-Hāwiyah*, written by al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, a Sunni scholar. See *Fawāʾid al-Raḍawiyyah*, p. 111.

[2] *Kāmil Bahāʾī*, vol. 2, p. 179.

2/2. The Report in *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*

After ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, Mullā Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī Sabzawārī (d. 910/1505) wrote his *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, in which he presented the account of al-Ṭabarī with further details. However, he does not mention the name of the child either. He also mentions that she was four years old, writes that the event happened in the palace of Yazīd, and adds:

> When she raised the cloth, she saw a head placed on the tray. She lifted the head and looked at it intently, recognizing the head of her father. She heaved a great sigh and rubbed her cheek on the cheek of her father. Then she placed her lips on his, and her sweet soul passed away.[1]

It should be noted that on the basis of this report, the child passed away on the same night that she saw the blessed head of her father. In actual fact, this is the only real difference from the report of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, and this was the view that was recorded in later books.

2/3. The report in *al-Muntakhab* of al-Ṭurayḥī

After Mullā Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṭurayḥī (d. 1085/1674) mentioned the event with some additional details in his *al-Muntakhab*. A portion of the text is as follows:

> It has been reported that when the people of God, the family of His Messenger (s), were brought to Yazīd in Damascus, he allocated a house to them, in which they spent their time in mourning. Our master, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) had a daughter who was three years old... The blessed head of the Imam (a), which was covered with a silk cloth, was brought and placed before her. The covering was removed, and the daughter of the Imam (a) asked, "Whose head is this?"
>
> They replied, "It is the head of your father."
>
> She lifted it from the tray and hugged it close, saying, "Dearest father! Who dyed you with your blood? Dearest father! Who severed your throat? Dearest father! Who made me an orphan at such a young age? Dearest father! Who will we look up to after you? Dearest father! Who

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[1] *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 385.

> will look after this orphan till she grows up? Dearest father! Who will protect the forlorn women? Dearest father! Who will look after the widows who have been imprisoned? Dearest father! Who will caress those whose eyes are filled with tears? Dearest father! Who will give refuge to strangers in a distant land? Dearest father! Who will caress our dishevelled heads? Dearest father! After you, who is there to support us in our helpless state? Dearest father! After you, who is there for us in this foreign land? Dearest father! I wish I had been sacrificed instead of you. Dearest father! I wish I had become blind before this. Dearest father! I wish I had been buried in the ground, so that I would not have seen your blood-soaked beard."
>
> Then she placed her mouth on the blessed mouth of the Imam (a) and wept bitterly, until she lost consciousness. When they shook her, they saw that her soul had left this world.[1]

It should be noted that this is the first known source that mentions that the child was three years old. It is also the first text that mentions her conversation with the Imam (a) in such detail. However, it does not mention her name.

2/4. The report in *Anwār al-Majālis*

At the end of the 13th/19th century, a man by the name of Muhammad Husayn Ārjistānī, in his work, *Anwār al-Majālis*,[2] presented the event in a different manner. The text from his work is as follows:

> In those nights, the household of God's Messenger (s) had no candles, lamps, food, or water. They sat heart-broken, without any mats or robes, occupied in mourning the loss of the martyrs of Karbala. One night, Lady Zubaydah, the three-year old daughter of the Doyen of Martyrs (a), wept intensely over her separation from her father...[3]

Research shows that this is the first report that mentions the name of the young child. She is called Zubaydah, and the event is reported to have occurred in one of the ruins of Damascus.

In the preceding page of his book, the author refers to the ruins, saying, "I was reminded of the strangers held in the ruined house in

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[1] al-Turayhi, *al-Muntakhab*, p. 136.

[2] He began writing this work in 1280/1863.

[3] *Anwār al-Majālis*, p. 181.

Damascus. Were the family members of the best of creation not out of place in those ruins? Were Sukaynah and Ruqayyah not the young daughters of al-Ḥusayn (a)? Even though they had witnessed continuous tragedies like the loss of their father and their brothers, why did no one say any kind words to them?"

Therefore, according to our findings, *Anwār al-Majālis* is the first book to mention a daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) by the name of Ruqayyah in the ruins of Damascus. However, he does not mention her fate, and when recounting the events of her death, he calls her Zubaydah.

This work probably laid the foundation for later reports about the name of the young child who died in the ruins of a prison in Damascus.

2/5. The report in *Sha'sha'at al-Ḥusaynī*

Writing in the early part of the 14th/20th century, Shaykh Muḥammad Jawād Yazdī mentions the following in his work, *Sha'sha'at al-Ḥusaynī*:

> It has been narrated that a young daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) died in the prison in Damascus after seeing the head of her noble father; however, there is disagreement about whether her name was Zubaydah, Ruqayyah, Zaynab, or Sukaynah.[1]

In the following pages, he quotes a narration from *Riyāḍ al-Aḥzān*, a book written by his contemporary, that the name of the child was Fāṭimah.[2]

This report lists several names, including Ruqayyah, for the child who passed away in Damascus.

2/6. The report in *al-Īqād*

A few years later, a man by the name Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīmī (d. 1334/1915) in his work *al-Īqād* clearly mentions for the first time that the name of the child was Ruqayyah, and that she was three years old. The text from his work is as follows:

> Al-Ḥusayn (a) had a young daughter whom he loved dearly, and who in turn was very attached to him. It is said that her name was Ruqayyah,

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[1] *Sha'sha'at al-Ḥusaynī*, vol. 2, p. 171.

[2] *Sha'sha'at al-Ḥusaynī*, vol. 2, p. 173.

> that she was three years old, and was amongst the other captives in Damascus....'[1]

This was a brief survey of the various reports that have been received about the death of a daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Damascus.

3. The shrine attributed to Ruqayyah

3/1. The Report in *Tasliyat al-Majālis*

The earliest evidence we possess about the well-known shrine attributed to Ruqayyah comes from the 10th/16th century, from the work, *Tasliyat al-Majālis*, written by Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥā'irī al-Karakī (fl. 955/1548). In his book, he writes:

> In the city of Damascus in Syria, I saw some ruins to the east of the Grand Mosque of the city. In the past, it was also a mosque, and I saw a stone plaque within it, etched with the names of the Prophet (s), his family, and the twelve Imams (a). Underneath the names was written, "This is the grave of Lady Malakah, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn, the son of the Commander of the Faithful (a)."[2]

3/2. The report in *Nūr al-Abṣār*

In the 13th/19th century, Shiblanjī (d. 1298/1879) wrote the following in his work, *Nūr al-Abṣār*:[3]

> Some Syrians informed me that there is a shrine of Lady Ruqayyah, the daughter of Imam 'Alī, may God exalt his face, in Damascus, Syria. [They told me that] there was a time when the walls of her grave became damaged. The Syrians decided to exhume her body in order to repair the grave. However, because of the noble lineage of the lady, no one dared to enter the grave. Finally, a man from the household of the Prophet (s), whose name was Sayyid ibn Murtaḍā, entered the grave. He placed a cloth over her body and wrapped her in it, and then brought her out of the grave. Everyone present saw that it was the body of a young female child.

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[1] *al-Īqāẓ*, p. 179.

[2] *Tasliyat al-Majālis*, vol. 2, p. 93.

[3] The work was completed in 1290/1873.

> I mentioned this matter to a scholar. He confirmed the story, citing some of his own teachers as sources.[1]

In this report, the name of the person in the tomb is given as Ruqayyah bint ʿAlī (a), and it is the first time that the grave being damaged has been mentioned.

3/3. The report in *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*

In the first half of the 14th/20th century, Shaykh Muḥammad Hāshim Khurāsānī (d. 1352/1933), in his Persian work, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*,[2] when writing about the shrine associated with Ruqayyah bint al-Ḥusayn (a), mentions more details about the damage to the grave. The text of his account is as follows:

> …And the great scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Shāmī, one of the scholars who had studied in *Najaf al-Ashraf*, informed this nondescript person that his maternal grandfather, Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī, who was a descendent of Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā, was a very pious and respected man. He lived to over 90 years of age. He had three daughters and no sons.
>
> One night, his eldest daughter saw Ruqayyah bint al-Ḥusayn (a) in a dream, telling her, "Tell your father to inform the governor that water has entered my grave niche (*laḥad*), and my body is in discomfort. Tell him to come and repair my grave."
>
> The daughter related the dream to her father. The Sayyid was worried about the reaction of the Sunnis and did not put much store in the dream. On the next night, his second daughter saw the same dream. She also mentioned it to her father and again, he did not do anything about it. On the third night, the youngest daughter saw the same dream and mentioned it to her father, but he still did not act on it. On the fourth night, the Sayyid himself saw Lady Ruqayyah in a dream. She said to him sharply, "Why have you not informed the governor?" The dream woke him up.
>
> Next morning, he went to the governor of Damascus and related his dream to him. The governor asked scholars and righteous believers, from both the Sunni and Shīʿa, to take the ritual bath (*ghusl*), put on clean clothes, and then proceed to the shrine. He also said that only those

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[1] *Nūr al-Abṣār*, p. 195.

[2] The work was completed in 1350/1931.

> who could open the lock to the door of the shrine should enter, dig up the grave, exhume the sacred body, and repair the tomb.
>
> As instructed, several pious people, from both the Sunni and Shi'a community, approached the shrine with great respect. However, no one could open the lock except the Sayyid. After they entered the shrine, none of their shovels had any effect, except that of Sayyid Ibrāhīm. Therefore, he asked them all to leave, and unearthed the grave. He found the body of a child, perfectly preserved in her shroud. However, a lot of water had entered the grave. The Sayyid brought out the sacred body of the child and held her in his lap. For three days, he held her in this manner, weeping constantly, until repairs to the foundations of the grave were complete. Whenever it was time for prayers, the Sayyid would place her body on a clean slab. When he finished, he would hold her again. When the repairs were completed, the Sayyid buried the child again. As a result of the miracle of this child, in those three days, the Sayyid did not need food or drink, or to renew his ablution.
>
> As he was burying the body, he prayed to God for a son. His prayer was accepted, and despite his advanced age, he was blessed with a son, who he named Muṣṭafā.
>
> Later, the governor wrote about the affair to the sultan, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. The sultan awarded the custodianship of the [three] shrines of Zaynab (a), Ruqayyah, and Umm Kulthūm (a) and Sukaynah[1] to Sayyid Ibrāhīm. Today Sayyid 'Abbās, son of Sayyid Muṣṭafā, son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, is the custodian of the shrines.[2]

It seems that this event occurred around 1280/1863. The report states that senior scholars from both the Sunni and Shi'a communities were witness to the incident. However, it is worth noting that although such an occurrence should have caused a sensation, no one apart from the officials of the shrine seem to have reported it. In fact, even a great scholar like Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, who lived and worked in the area, has not mentioned it in his works. He has only said the following about the shrine:

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[1] The shrine attributed to Umm Kulthūm bint 'Alī (a) and Sukaynah bint al-Ḥusayn (a) is housed in a single complex in the graveyard called Bāb al-Ṣaghīr in Damascus. [Trans.]

[2] *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, p. 388.

There is a grave attributed to Ruqayyah bint al-Husayn (a) [in Damascus]. Her shrine is a place of visitation, and is located near the Umayyad Mosque. About its authenticity, God knows better. Mīrzā 'Alī Asghar Khān (Atābak, Amīn al-Sulṭān), the prime minister of Iran, reconstructed the shrine in 1323/1905. The date of the reconstruction, and the following couplet is carved above the door:

'Alī has achieved high honour,

The prime minister of Iran who rebuilt [this].

I added, in numeric code, "The shrine of Ruqayyah from the progeny of Muhammad."[1]

It appears that it is not possible to arrive at a definite opinion about the subject of this research on the basis of narrations and historical evidence. However, the miracles that have occurred, and continue to occur, at this blessed shrine, confirm its spiritual loftiness. In any case, it is absolutely necessary to respect this shrine, which has been attributed to a member of the Ahl al-Bayt (a).

Since precise details about the death of Ruqayyah have not been reported in any reliable source, mention of her tragedy can only be made by referring to the sources already mentioned, with the responsibility of the soundness or weakness of the report placed on the shoulders of the narrator.

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[1] *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 7, p. 34.

PART 8: FROM DAMASCUS TO MEDINA

8/1: The disenchantment of the people with Yazid

761. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, quoting Ibn Abī al-Dunyā: Yazīd began to poke at the teeth of al-Ḥusayn (a) with a cane, while reciting the following couplet of Ḥuṣayn ibn Ḥumām al-Murrī:

We remained steadfast, and steadfastness is in our nature,
While our swords took their toll on heads and hands.
We [had to] split the heads of people dear to us,
But they had been most disobedient and most oppressive towards us.

Mujāhid said, "By God, there was not one person present who did not curse Yazīd, criticize him, and turn away from him."[1]

8/2: The (apparent) remorse of Yazid

762. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb al-Jarmī: After 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād killed al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and his kinsmen, he sent their heads to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. Initially, Yazīd was delighted at their killing, and as a result, 'Ubayd Allāh rose in his estimation. Soon, however, he regretted the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a). He began to say, "What would I have lost by bearing his insult, inviting him to stay with me in my house, and letting him do what he pleased? Even if this would be seen as a weakness and lack in my authority, [at least] it would preserve the respect of the Prophet (s) and uphold the right and kinship of al-Ḥusayn (a)!

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[1] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 261.

إنّه لما نكث يزيد بالقضيب ثنايا (أي الحسين عليه السلام) أنشد بالحصين بن الحمام المري:

صبرنا وكان الصبر منا سجية بأسيافنا تفرين هاما ومعصما
نفلق هاما من رجال أعزة علينا وهم كانوا أعق وأظلما

قال مجاهد: فوالله لم يبق في الناس أحد إلا من سبّه وعابه وتركه.

"May God curse Ibn Marjānah, for it was he who drove him away and forced his hand… and killed him. By killing him, he made me a target of hatred amongst the Muslims and kindled in their hearts enmity towards me. Both the righteous and the degenerate despise me because of the gravity, in their eyes, of my killing of al-Ḥusayn. What do I have to do with Ibn Marjānah? May God's curse and wrath befall him."[1]

In *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*): Yazīd declared, "I swear by God, if there had been any kinship between Ibn Ziyād and al-Ḥusayn, he would have not moved against him; however, Sumayyah[2] caused the estrangement between the two of them."

He also said, "I would have been satisfied with the obedience of the people of Iraq, without the killing of al-Ḥusayn. May God have mercy on Abū ʿAbd Allāh. Ibn Ziyād acted too hastily against him, for by God, if I had been at his side, and could not protect him from death except by sacrificing some of my power, I would have done it to protect him. I would have preferred for them to bring him to me safe [and alive]."[3]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 506; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 65, p. 94.

لما قتل عبيد الله بن زياد الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وبني أبيه بعث برؤوسهم إلى يزيد بن معاوية فسر بقتلهم أولا وحسنت بذلك منزلة عبيد الله عنده ثم لم يلبث إلا قليلا حتى ندم على قتل الحسين عليه السلام فكان يقول: وما كان علي لو احتملت الأذى وأنزلته معي في داري وحكمته فيما يريد وإن كان علي في ذلك وكف ووهن في سلطاني حفظا لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ورعاية لحقه وقرابته

لعن الله ابن مرجانة فإنه أخرجه واضطره... وقتله، فبغضني بقتله إلى المسلمين، وزرع لي في قلوبهم العداوة فأبغضني البر والفاجر بما استعظم الناس من قتلي حسينا، ما لي ولابن مرجانة لعنه الله وغضب عليه.

[2] Sumayyah, a woman of loose morals, was the mother of Ziyād, who was born out of an adulterous relationship. What Yazīd was implying was that as a consequence of his father's low birth, Ibn Ziyād could not claim kinship to the Quraysh.

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 488; *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 305.

قال يزيد: أشهد بالله لو أن بين ابن زياد وبين حسين قرابة ما أقدم عليه ولكن فرقت بينه وبينه سمية.

8/3: Allowing mourning (*'azādārī*) for the martyrs

665. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*: Yazīd gave instructions for the women prisoners to be brought in to his own womenfolk, and instructed the women of the family of Abū Sufyān to observe the *'azādārī* for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) for three days. There was not one woman amongst them who was not seen crying, mourning, and lamenting over al-Ḥusayn (a) for [those] three days.

Umm Kulthūm bint 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kurayz [also] wept over al-Ḥusayn (a). At the time, she was the wife of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. He remarked, "It is fitting that she weeps aloud for the leader of the tribe of Quraysh, and its chief."[1]

666. *al-Malhūf*: A Hāshimite woman, who was in the house of Yazīd, began to lament over al-Ḥusayn (a). She was calling out, "O Ḥusayn! O Beloved! O Leader! O Chief of the Ahl al-Bayt! O son of Muḥammad! O succour of widows and orphans! O he who was slain by the sons of immoral women!"

The narrator said, "She made everyone who heard her weep."[2]

667. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: The women of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) were brought out and taken to the house of Yazīd. There was no woman

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وقال: لما قتلت أيس من [illegible] أهل العراق [illegible] قتل الحسين رحمه الله [illegible]. فقال [illegible]،
أما والله لو كنت صاحبه [illegible] إلا [illegible] فأحببت أن [illegible]
ولوددت أني أتيته به سالماً.

[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 486; *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 303.

أمر يزيد بالنساء فأدخلن على نسائه، وأمر نساء آل أبي سفيان فأقمن المأتم على الحسين عليه السلام ثلاثة أيام، فما بقيت منهن امرأة إلا تلقتنا تبكي وتنتحب، ونُحن على حسين ثلاثاً.

وبكت أم كلثوم بنت عبد الله بن عامر بن كريز على حسين عليه السلام وهي يومئذ عند يزيد بن معاوية، فقال يزيد: حق لها أن تعول على كبير قريش وسيدها.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 213; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 132.

فندبت امرأة من بني هاشم - كانت في دار يزيد - الحسين عليه السلام وتنادي: يا حسيناه، يا حبيباه، يا سيداه، يا سيد أهل بيتاه، يا ابن محمداه، يا ربيع الأرامل واليتامى، يا قتيل أولاد الأدعياء.

قال الراوي: فأبكت كل من سمعها.

from his household who did not come to [sit with] them. Then they mourned for al-Ḥusayn (a) together.[1]

668. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, quoting al-Walīd ibn Muslim, from his father: When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought before Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, and the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a) were taken to the green palace,[2] the daughters and womenfolk of Muʿāwiyah started to lament. Then, Yazīd began to recite:

> What a fitting lament among lamentations;
> How quickly those who lament will get used to death.
> When God decrees a matter, it always happens.
> We would have been happy with their obedience without this [killing].[3]

8/4: The requests of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) from Yazīd

669. *al-Malhūf*: Yazīd said to ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), "Remind me of the three wishes of yours that I had promised to fulfil."

He replied, "First, show me the face of my leader and master, al-Ḥusayn (a), so that I may gain comfort, gaze at him, and bid farewell to him.

"Second, return our possessions that were taken from us.

"Third, if you are resolved to kill me, then make arrangements for someone to escort these women back to the sanctuary of our grandfather (s)."

He replied, "As for the face of your father, you will never see it. As for killing you, I have pardoned you. As for the women, no one will

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[1] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 577; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 231, no. 242.

أمر من ينشد أهل الحيرة وأدخل دور يزيد، فلم تبق امرأة من آل يزيد إلا أتتهن وأقمن المأتم

[2] The *qaṣr al-khaḍrāʾ* (Green Palace) was the royal residence commissioned by Muʿāwiyah and built by Coptic craftsmen at great expense. [Trans.]

[3] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 419.

لما أتي برأس الحسين عليه السلام فوضع بين يدي يزيد بن معاوية وأدخل أهله الخضراء، تصايحت بنات معاوية ونساؤه، فجعل يزيد يقول:

يا صيحة تحمد من صوائح ما أهون الموت على النوائح

إذا قضى الله أمراً كان مفعولاً، قد كنا نرضى من طاعة هؤلاء بدون هذا

return them to Medina other than you. As for what was taken from you, I will replace them with items that are many times more valuable."

He said, "We have no need of your wealth, you are welcome to it. We only seek what was taken from us, because amongst it was the weaving spindle belonging to Fāṭimah bint Muhammad (s), and her head veil, necklace, and robe."

Yazīd ordered for these items to be returned and also added two hundred dinars. Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) took the money and distributed it amongst the poor and needy.

Then Yazīd gave orders for the prisoners and the daughters of al-Batūl (a) to be transported back to their home, the city of the Messenger (s).[1]

8/5: Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) given the choice to return to Medina

670. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*: Yazīd ordered 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) to be released and offered him the choice of staying with him or leaving.

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 224; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 106.

قال الراوي: وقال يزيد لعلي بن الحسين عليه السلام: أذكر حاجاتك الثلاث اللاتي وعدتك بقضائهن.

فقال له: الأولى أن تريني وجه سيدي ومولاي وأبي الحسين عليه السلام فأتزود منه وأنظر إليه وأودعه.

والثانية أن ترد علينا ما أخذ منا.

والثالثة إن كنت عزمت على قتلي أن توجه مع هؤلاء النسوة من يردهن إلى حرم جدهن صلى الله عليه وآله.

فقال: أما وجه أبيك فلن تراه أبداً، وأما قتلك فقد عفوت عنك، وأما النساء فما يؤديهن إلى المدينة غيرك، وأما ما أخذ منكم فأنا أعوضكم عنه أضعاف قيمته.

فقال عليه السلام: أما مالك فلا نريده وهو موفر عليك، وإنما طلبت ما أخذ منا لأن فيه مغزل فاطمة بنت محمد صلى الله عليه وآله ومقنعتها وقلادتها وقميصها.

فأمر برد ذلك وزاد عليه مائتي دينار، فأخذها زين العابدين عليه السلام وفرقها على الفقراء والمساكين.

ثم أمر برد الأسارى وسبايا البتول إلى أوطانهم بمدينة الرسول.

The Imam (a) chose to leave for Medina, and Yazīd permitted him to depart.[1]

8/6: The preparation of the family of the Prophet (s) to leave for Medina

671. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Fāṭimah bint ʿAlī (a): Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah instructed al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr, "Provide them with whatever they will need, and send a trustworthy and suitable Syrian guide with them. Assign horsemen and servants to him, and let him escort them to Medina."[2]

672. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: Yazīd ordered the caravan to be prepared in the best manner. He said to ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), "Go with your womenfolk, and take them back to their homeland."

He sent a guide and thirty horsemen with them. They were to ride ahead of them and camp separately, until they arrived in Medina.[3]

673. *al-Irshād*: Yazīd ordered the womenfolk to be kept in a separate house, with their brother, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a). A house next to that of Yazīd was allocated to them, and they stayed there for a few days, before Yazīd summoned al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr and instructed him, "Make preparations to take these women to Medina."

Before he despatched them, he called ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and spoke to him privately, saying, "May God curse Ibn Marjānah! By God, if I was at the side of your father, he would not ask me for anything except that I would have given it to him. And I would have done everything in my power to keep him from being killed. However, God had decreed what you witnessed. Write to me from Medina, and let me know of anything you need."

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[1] *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, p. 159, no. 1085.

أمر يزيد بإطلاق علي بن الحسين عليه السلام وخيّره بين المقام عنده أو الانصراف، فاختار الانصراف
إلى المدينة فسرّحه.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 462; *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 344.

قال يزيد بن معاوية: يا نعمان بن بشير، جهّزهم بما يصلحهم، وابعث معهم رجلاً من أهل الشام أميناً صالحاً،
وابعث معه خيلاً وأعواناً فيسير بهم إلى المدينة.

[3] *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 261; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2632.

أمر يزيد بتجهيزهم بأحسن جهاز، وقال لعلي بن الحسين عليه السلام: انطلق مع نسائك حتى تبلغهن وطنهن.
ووجّه معه رجلاً في ثلاثين فارساً يسير أمامهم وينزل حجرة عنهم حتى انتهى بهم إلى المدينة.

Finally, he gifted clothes to him and his family, and then handed them over to the company of al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr. He also sent with them his envoy. The man instructed al-Nu'mān to make the company travel in the [coolness of] night-time. They were to travel ahead of him, but not to leave his sight. When they would stop to camp, al-Nu'mān and his men were to stay around them to guard them, but not so close that the freed prisoners would be embarrassed if they needed to make ablutions or answer the call of nature.

The envoy travelled with them and the company of al-Nu'mān. Throughout the journey, he camped with them, and just as he had been instructed by Yazīd, he made sure that they were treated courteously, until they entered Medina.[1]

674. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī: It has been reported that Yazīd invited the Imam (a) and the womenfolk of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) to reside in Damascus, but they refused, saying, "Return us to Medina, because that is the city of our grandfather's (s) migration."

So Yazīd instructed al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, "Provide them with whatever they will need, and send a trustworthy and suitable Syrian guide with them. Assign horsemen and servants to them."

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[1] al-Irshād, vol. 2, p. 122; Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn, p. 211.

ثم أمر بالنسوة أن ينزلن في دار على حدة معهن أخوهن علي بن الحسين عليه السلام، فأفرد لهم دار تتصل بدار يزيد، فأقاموا أياماً ثم ندب يزيد النعمان بن بشير وقال له: تجهز لتخرج بهؤلاء النسوان إلى المدينة.

ولما أراد أن يجهزهم دعا علي بن الحسين عليه السلام فاستخلاه، ثم قال له: لعن الله ابن مرجانة، أما والله لو أني صاحب أبيك ما سألني خصلة أبداً إلا أعطيته إياها، ولدفعت الحتف عنه بكل ما استطعت، ولكن الله قضى ما رأيت، كاتبني من المدينة وأنه إلي كل حاجة تكون لك.

وتقدم بكسوته وكسوة أهله، وأنفذ معهم في جملة النعمان بن بشير رسولاً تقدم إليه أن يسير بهم في الليل ويكونوا أمامه حيث لا يفوتون طرفه، فإذا نزلوا تنحى عنهم وتفرق هو وأصحابه حولهم كهيئة الحرس لهم، وينزل منهم حيث إذا أراد إنسان من جماعتهم وضوءاً وقضاء حاجة لم يحتشم.

فسار معهم في جملة النعمان، ولم يزل ينازلهم في الطريق ويرفق بهم كما وصاه يزيد ويرعونهم حتى دخلوا المدينة.

Yazīd presented them with clothes and gifts, and allocated provisions and stipends to them.

Then he called ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and said to him, "May God curse Ibn Marjānah! By God, if I were at the side of your father, I would have granted any favour he asked me. And I would have done everything in my power to keep him from being killed, even if that meant that some of my own children would be killed in the process. However, God had decreed what you witnessed. Write to me from Medina, and let me know of anything you need."

Then he instructed his messenger to take care of them. The man set out with them, riding ahead of them, but remaining within view. When they stopped to camp, he and the company would camp separately [from the freed captives] and stand guard. He would stop if they needed to make ablutions or answer the call of nature. He behaved courteously with them, until he led them into Medina.[1]

8/7: The stop at Karbala

§15. *al-Malhūf*. When the womenfolk and family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) were returning from Syria and reached Iraq, they asked their guide to take them through Karbala. When they came to the battlefield, they met Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, may God have mercy on him, a group of people of the Banū Hāshim, and men of the family of the Prophet (s), who had [all] come to visit the grave of al-Ḥusayn (a). They all arrived in Karbala at the same time. The met each other in tears, sorrow, and grief. They recounted the event with heart-rending lamentation, and some ladies from the [nearby] villages joined them. They remained there for several days.[1]

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[1] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 74; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 145.

وروي أنّ يزيد عرض عليهم (أي على نساء أهل البيت) المقام بدمشق فأبوا ذلك، وقالوا: ردّنا إلى المدينة فإنّه مهاجر جدّنا.

فقال للنعمان بن بشير: جهّز هؤلاء بما يصلحهم وابعث معهم رجلاً من أهل الشام أميناً صالحاً وابعث معهم خيلاً وأعواناً.

ثمّ كساهم وحباهم وفرض لهم الأرزاق والأنزال. ثمّ دعا بعليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام فقال له: لعن الله ابن مرجانة أما والله لو أنّي صاحب أبيك ما سألني خصلة إلّا أعطيته إيّاها ولدفعت عنه الحتف بكلّ ما قدرت عليه ولو بهلاك بعض ولدي، ولكن قضى الله ما رأيت. كاتبني بكلّ حاجة تكون لك. ثمّ أوصى بهم الرسول. فخرج بهم الرسول يسايرهم فيكون أمامهم حيث لا يفوتون طرفه فإذا نزلوا تنحّى عنهم وتفرّق هو وأصحابه كهيئة الحرس، ثمّ ينزل بهم حيث أراد إنسانهم الوضوء، ويعرض عليهم حوائجهم، ويلطف بهم حتّى دخلوا المدينة.

676. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*: When the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) came to Karbala, they met Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, may God have mercy on him, and a group of people of the Banū Hāshim who had come for the visitation of the Imam (a). The two groups arrived at the same time, and their meeting was one of sorrow, grief, and lamentation over the bitter tragedy that had broken the hearts of their family.[2]

8/8: The first visitor (*zāʾir*) to come to the grave of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

677. *Miṣbāḥ al-Zāʾir*, quoting ʿAṭā: On the 20th of Ṣafar, I was in the company of Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh. When we reached al-Ghāḍiriyyah, he made ablutions (*ghusl*) in the river and put on a clean shirt. Then he asked me, "Do you have some perfume with you, O ʿAṭā?" I replied, "I have some *suʿd*."[3] So he applied some of it in his hair and on the rest of his body.

Then, he walked barefoot until he stood at the head of the grave of al-Ḥusayn (a). He recited the *takbīr* thrice, then fell on the grave in a swoon. When he regained consciousness, I heard him say, "Peace be on you, O household of God."[1]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 225; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 146.

ولما رجع نساء الحسين عليه السلام وعياله من الشام وبلغوا إلى العراق، قالوا للدليل: مرّ بنا على طريق كربلاء، فوصلوا إلى موضع المصرع، فوجدوا جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري رحمه الله وجماعة من بني هاشم ورجالاً من آل الرسول صلى الله عليه وآله قد وردوا لزيارة قبر الحسين عليه السلام، فوافوا في وقت واحد وتلاقوا بالبكاء والحزن واللطم، وأقاموا المآتم المقرحة للأكباد، واجتمعت إليهم نساء ذلك السواد، وأقاموا على ذلك أياما.

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 107.

ولما مرّ عيال الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء وجدوا جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري رحمة الله عليه وجماعة من بني هاشم قدموا لزيارته في وقت واحد، فتلاقوا بالحزن والاكتئاب والنوح على هذا المصاب المقرح لأكباد الأحباب.

[3] Distilled from Cyperus, an aromatic plant. [Trans.]

678. *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, quoting 'Aṭiyyah al-'Awfī:[2] I set out with Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī for the visitation of the grave of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a). When we reached Karbala, Jābir went to the bank of the Euphrates and made his ablution (*ghusl*), then put on fresh clothes and a robe. Then he opened a pouch that contained some *sa'd* and perfumed his body with it. Then he walked slowly, constantly mentioning the name of God, until he came to the grave.

He said to me, "[Guide me, and] make me touch it." I did so, and he fell on the grave in a swoon. I sprinkled some water on him, and when he regained consciousness, he cried out thrice, "O Ḥusayn!" Then he said, "Why does a beloved not respond to his beloved?"

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[1] *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir*, p. 286; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 329.

كنت مع جابر بن عبد الله يوم العشرين من صفر، فلما وصلنا الغاضرية اغتسل في شريعتها ولبس قميصاً كان معه طاهراً.

ثم قال لي: أمعك شيء من الطيب يا عطاء؟ قلت: معي سعد، فجعل منه على رأسه وسائر جسده

ثم مشى حافياً حتى وقف عند رأس الحسين عليه السلام وكبر ثلاثاً ثم خر مغشياً عليه، فلما أفاق سمعته يقول:

السلام عليكم يا آل الله.

[2] He is Abū al-Ḥasan, 'Aṭiyyah ibn Sa'd ibn Junādah al-'Awfī al-Qaysī al-Kūfī. The Commander of the Faithful (a) chose his name, saying, "He is 'Aṭiyyah (a gift) from God." He is a famous *tābi'ī* – of the generation after the companions of the Prophet (s) – and al-Ṭūsī counts him amongst the companions of Imam 'Alī (a) and Imam al-Bāqir (a). Al-Barqī mentions him as a companion of Imam al-Bāqir (a) and Imam al-Ṣādiq (a).

He is a trusted narrator and has reported many traditions. Along with Ibn al-Ash'ath, he made a stand against al-Ḥajjāj. When he refused to vilify Imam 'Alī (a), al-Ḥajjāj ordered him to be struck with 400 lashes, and the hair of his head and beard to be plucked out. Later, he sought refuge in Persia and lived in Khurāsān for the remainder of al-Ḥajjāj's rule. He only returned to Kufa when 'Umar ibn Hubayrah became the governor of Iraq.

According to popular reports, he passed away in Kufa in 111/729, or according to a more reliable report, given that he has narrated from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) as well, in 127/744.

Then he said, "But how will you reply, when your jugular veins have been severed from your throat, and your head has been separated from your body?

"I bear witness that you are the son of the last of the Prophets (s), the son of the foremost of the believers, the son of the manifestation of piety and guidance, and the fifth member of the people of the cloak (*aṣḥāb al-kisā'*). You are the son of the chief of the nobles, and the son of Fāṭimah, the foremost among all women.

"How can you not be so, when you were fed at the hand of the Chief of Messengers (s), raised in the laps of pious individuals, nourished at the breast of faith, and weaned on Islam?

"You were pure in life, and you are pure in death. However, the hearts of believers are distressed at your separation, although they do not doubt that you have attained goodness. So, may the peace and happiness of God be on you!

"And I bear witness that you passed on the same path on which your brother Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā passed before you."

Then, he moved his eyes around the gravesite and said, "Peace be on you all, O souls who remained at the side of al-Ḥusayn and abided with him. I bear witness that you established the prayer, paid the religious alms, enjoined the good, forbade the evil, fought against the apostates, and worshipped God, until you met your deaths.

"I swear by the One who sent Muḥammad as a Prophet with the truth, we were together with you in everything that you went through."

I asked him, "O Jābir! How can we have been with them, when we did not cross the valleys and mountains with them, nor did we take up arms? These people have had their heads severed from their bodies, their children have become orphans, and their wives have been left widows!"

He replied, "O 'Aṭiyyah! I have heard my beloved, the Messenger of God (s), say, 'One who loves a people shall be raised with them, and one who loves the actions of a people shall be counted as a participant in those acts.'

"I swear by the One who sent Muhammad as a Prophet with the truth, my intention and the intention of my companions is no different from the path taken by al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions.

"Now lead me to the houses of the Kufans."[1]

679. *Masārr al-Shī'ah*: The 20th of Ṣafar is the day of the return of the family of our leader and master, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a), from Damascus to Medina, the city of God's Messenger (s).

It is the day on which Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥizām al-Anṣārī, the companion of God's Messenger (s), may God be pleased with him, came from Medina to Karbala for the visitation of the grave of Abū 'Abd Allāh (a).

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[1] *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, p. 125; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 167.

خرجت مع جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري زائرين قبر الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام فلما وردنا كربلاء دنا جابر من شاطئ الفرات فاغتسل، ثم ائتزر بإزار وارتدى بآخر، ثم فتح صرة فيها سعد فنثرها على بدنه، ثم لم يخط خطوة إلا ذكر الله تعالى،

حتى إذا دنا من القبر قال: ألمسنيه، فألمسته، فخر على القبر مغشيا عليه، فرششت عليه شيئا من الماء فلما أفاق قال: يا حسين، ثلاثا، ثم قال: حبيب لا يجيب حبيبه، ثم قال: وأنى لك بالجواب وقد شحطت أوداجك على أثباجك، وفرق بين بدنك ورأسك، فأشهد أنك ابن خاتم النبيين، وابن سيد المؤمنين، وابن حليف التقوى، وسليل الهدى، وخامس أصحاب الكساء، وابن سيد النقباء، وابن فاطمة سيدة النساء، وما لك لا تكون هكذا وقد غذتك كف سيد المرسلين، وربيت في حجر المتقين، ورضعت من ثدي الإيمان، وفطمت بالإسلام، فطبت حيا وطبت ميتا، غير أن قلوب المؤمنين غير طيبة لفراقك، ولا شاكة في الخيرة لك، فعليك سلام الله ورضوانه، وأشهد أنك مضيت على ما مضى عليه أخوك يحيى بن زكريا.

ثم جال ببصره حول القبر وقال: السلام عليكم أيتها الأرواح التي حلت بفناء الحسين وأناخت برحله، وأشهد أنكم أقمتم الصلاة، وآتيتم الزكاة، وأمرتم بالمعروف، ونهيتم عن المنكر، وجاهدتم الملحدين، وعبدتم الله حتى أتاكم اليقين، والذي بعث محمدا بالحق لقد شاركناكم فيما دخلتم فيه.

قال عطية: فقلت له: يا جابر كيف ولم نهبط واديا ولم نعل جبلا ولم نضرب بسيف، والقوم قد فرق بين رؤوسهم وأبدانهم، وأوتمت أولادهم، وأرملت أزواجهم؟

فقال لي: يا عطية سمعت حبيبي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: من أحب قوما حشر معهم، ومن أحب عمل قوم أشرك في عملهم، والذي بعث محمدا بالحق نبيا إن نيتي ونية أصحابي على ما مضى عليه الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه، خذوني نحو أبيات كوفان.

> He was the first person to visit the grave.[1]

A word about the return of the family of the Prophet (s) to Karbala, and their encounter with Jābir on the day of Arbaʿīn

There are several points of discussion and investigation about the return of the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Karbala, and their meeting with Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī on the 40th day after Ashura.

Firstly, did the family of the Imam (a) actually pass through Karbala on their return from Syria at all? And if they did pass through Karbala, did they arrive there on the fortieth day after the martyrdom (*arbaʿīn*)? And if it was on the Arbaʿīn, was it in the same year (61/680) or on the Arbaʿīn of the following year?

Secondly, could Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh have reached Karbala on the Arbaʿīn of the same year?

Thirdly, did the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) meet Jābir in Karbala or not?

I. The return of the family of the Prophet (s) to Karbala

About the actual return of the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to Karbala and the time of their arrival (the first Arbaʿīn, the second Arbaʿīn, or some other time), assuming that they did return, there are several views. We will mention them below.

I.I. That they did not return to Karbala at all

Some scholars, such as Shahid Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, believe that the Ahl al-Bayt (a) never returned to Karbala.[2]

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[1] *Masārr al-Shīʿa*, p. 46; *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 787.

في اليوم العشرين منه (أي من شهر صفر) كان رجوع حرم سيدنا ومولانا أبي عبد الله عليه السلام من الشام إلى مدينة الرسول صلى الله عليه وآله، وهو اليوم الذي ورد فيه جابر بن عبد الله بن حرام الأنصاري، صاحب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ورضي الله تعالى عنه - من المدينة إلى كربلاء لزيارة قبر أبي عبد الله عليه السلام، فكان أول من زاره من الناس.

[2] See *Ḥamāsa-ye Ḥusaynī*, vol. 1, p. 30.

This view is apparently based on what Muhaddith Nūrī has mentioned about the matter in his *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*. He writes:

> For every researcher of the books of *maqtal*, it is clear that after the false show of remorse by the depraved Yazīd, his expedient justifications, and his offer to the household of God to either choose to stay in Damascus or leave for their home in Medina, they opted to leave.
>
> When they left, they were heading to Medina, and there was no mention of passing through Iraq or Karbala, and no plan to go there. Furthermore, as mentioned by those who doubt that they went to Karbala, the routes to Iraq and al-Hijāz separate from Syria itself, with no common road between the two, with Medina located in the south and Karbala to the east.
>
> Therefore, anyone who wishes to go from Syria to Iraq must head out in that direction right from the start, and if the Ahl al-Bayt (a) left with that intention – as the report in *al-Luhūf* seems to suggest – it would not have been possible without the knowledge and permission of the tyrant. Neither would it be possible to keep the intention secret.
>
> It is apparent that they would have had no other purpose in travelling to Iraq except the visitation of the sacred grave, and it is unlikely that if they mentioned this to the accursed Yazīd and sought his permission that that despot would allow them to go there, and double the cost of the journey. This was the mean-spirited and shameless man who had offered [only] 200 dinars to the Imam (a), as a compensation for what they had lost!
>
> In any case, such an occurrence is unlikely, and makes the report of the unknown historian quoted in *al-Luhūf* doubtful, and since all subsequent events are connected to this alleged premise, all of them become discredited. Therefore, when the elegists mention this event as if it were a fact, based on this solitary report, it is the height of ignorance and audacity. And I wish that they would have contented themselves with just these few lines from *al-Luhūf*, or the *Maqtal* of Abū Mikhnaf, and had not planted this story like the roots of a tree in the lifeless soil of a desolate heart. Then this tree would not have sprouted all these branches and leaves, allowing reciters to pluck a variety of fruit, all full of falsehoods. Perhaps then, they would not have attributed to that great servant of God, Imam al-Sajjād (a), all these lies about his imaginary meeting with Jābir…[1]

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[1] *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, pp. 180–182.

Muḥaddith Qummī echoes the words of his teacher, Muḥaddith Nūrī, saying:

> You should know that the credible historians and writers are all in agreement [about this]; in fact, the great Sayyid, ʿAlī ibn Ṭāwūs, has himself reported that after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), the accursed ʿUmar ibn Saʿd first sent the heads of the martyrs to the accursed Ibn Ziyād, and then on the next day, he took the Ahl al-Bayt (a) to Kufa. After the shameless Ibn Ziyād had interrogated and taunted them, he imprisoned them and wrote a letter to Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah asking for instructions about what to do with the prisoners and the heads. The accursed Yazīd wrote back instructing him to send them to him in Syria. Accordingly, the accursed Ibn Ziyād readied them for the journey and sent them to Syria. From descriptions found in the reliable sources of the various events that occurred during their journey, it appears that they were transported along the Sulṭānī route. They were taken through densely populated villages and townships, spanning nearly forty waystations.
>
> Even if we do not take into account all their stops, and assume that they were transported on the west bank of the Euphrates, the journey would still have taken them twenty days, because the distance between Kufa and Damascus is said to be 175 farsakhs (1050 km) in a straight line. Thereafter, they stayed for nearly one month in Damascus.
>
> Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions in his *al-Iqbāl*, "It has been reported that the Ahl al-Bayt (a) remained in Damascus for one month, in accommodation that offered them no protection from the heat or the cold." Therefore, from the foregoing, it is highly doubtful that after all these travails, the Ahl al-Bayt (a) could have left Damascus and reached Karbala by the 20th of Ṣafar, the day of Arbaʿīn, and the day that Jābir entered Karbala.
>
> The venerable Sayyid himself concurs in *al-Iqbāl* that this is unlikely. Additionally, no expert traditionists or credible historians, whether writing about *maqtal* or otherwise, have reported this event, despite it being of importance. In fact, their writings indicate that they believed otherwise. For example, in al-Mufīd's account about the journey of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) back to Medina and the similar accounts of Ibn Athīr, al-Ṭabarī, al-Qirmānī, and others, there is no mention of a return to Iraq.

In fact, al-Mufīd,[1] al-Ṭūsī,[2] and al-Kaf'amī[3] write, "On the 20th of Safar, the family of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a) returned from Damascus to Medina, and on the same day, Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh arrived in Karbala for the visitation of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was the first person to come for the *ziyārah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)."

And our teacher, 'Allāmah Nūrī, may he dwell in peace, in his *Lu'lu' wa Marjān*, has written extensively in refutation of this view as well, excusing himself from reporting the narration from Ibn Ṭāwūs.

Some have mentioned the possibility that the Ahl al-Bayt (a) came to Karbala on their way from Kufa to Damascus, but this is unlikely for many reasons.

It has also been said that they came to Karbala on their return from Damascus, but they arrived there on a day other than the day of Arba'īn. Both Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ibn al-Namā, who have mentioned their entry into Karbala, have not specified that it was on the day of *Arba'īn*.[4] This possibility is also weak, because some, such as the author of *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*,[5] *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*,[6] and others,[7] have specified that it was on the day of *Arba'īn*; the account of Ibn Ṭāwūs also mentions that they reached at the same day and time as Jābir ("they arrived at the same time"), and it is established that Jābir arrived in Karbala on the day of Arba'īn.

In addition to what has been mentioned, the details of Jābir's arrival in Karbala can be found in *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir* of Ibn Ṭāwūs and *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*,[8] both reliable works. However, neither mention the arrival of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) at the same time, although such an occurrence would have not escaped mention.[9]

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[1] *Masār al-Shī'a*, p. 46.

[2] *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 787; also see *al-'Idad al-Qawiyyah*, p. 219, no. 11.

[3] al-Kaf'amī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, p. 510.

[4] See *al-Malhūf*, p. 225; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 107.

[5] *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'*, p. 391.

[6] *Tārīkh Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 2, p. 60.

[7] *Tawḍīḥ al-Maqāṣid*, p. 6; also see *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 334.

[8] See *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir* p. 286; *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, p. 74.

[9] *Muntahā al-Āmāl*, p. 524.

1.2. That they did not return to Karbala on the first Arba'in

Ibn Ṭāwūs considers it impossible for the household of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to have returned to Karbala on the first Arba'in. However, he does not deny that they did return to Karbala. His account is as follows:

> I saw a report in *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* [of al-Ṭūsī] that the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), including our master, Imam al-Sajjād (a), entered Medina on the 20th of Ṣafar.[1] In other books, it has been mentioned that they reached Karbala on the 20th of Ṣafar, on their way back from Damascus. However, both these possibilities are remote, because the accursed 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād wrote a letter to Yazīd and reported the events of Karbala to him, asking for permission to send the household of the Prophet (s) to him. While he waited for Yazīd's reply, he did not take any further action, and this interval would have been twenty days, or more.
>
> It has also been reported that when the caravan of prisoners was brought to Damascus, they were kept there for one month, in a place which offered no protection from the heat or the cold. In either case, it would have been more than forty days after the martyrdom before the Ahl al-Bayt (a) could reach either Iraq or Medina. Therefore, while it is possible that they came to Iraq after their release from Damascus, it is not possible that they reached Karbala on the 20th of Ṣafar.[2]

We find no contradiction between this account of Ibn Ṭāwūs and his report in his *al-Malhūf*, where he states that the household of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) passed through Karbala on their way back from Damascus.

What he considers implausible is the arrival of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) at Karbala on the first Arba'in, that is, in the year 61/680. He does not deny the possibility that they came there. Therefore, the assertion that Ibn Ṭāwūs's report in *al-Iqbāl* is contrary to what he has mentioned in *al-Malhūf* is not correct, and indicates a lack of diligence in examining his works.

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[1] *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 787.

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 101.

1.3. That they returned to Karbala on the second Arbaʿīn

Some writers, realizing that it was not possible for the household of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to reach Karbala on the first Arbaʿīn, have concluded that both they and Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī arrived in Karbala on the second Arbaʿīn, that is, in the year 62/681.

Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamid al-Dawlah has mentioned this view in his work, *Qamqām Zakhkhār*.[1] However, he has not presented any evidence to prove his assertion.

1.4. That they returned to Karbala on a day other than Arbaʿīn

Amongst the early sources, only *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah* of Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) and the Persian translation of *al-Futūḥ* by al-Mustawfī al-Harawī mention that the household of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) reached Karbala on the first Arbaʿīn.[2] However, as we have seen, this view is difficult to accept, especially since after them, no writer has mentioned this possibility until the last couple of few centuries.

However, the return of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) at a time other than Arbaʿīn has been mentioned in some sources, such as *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq,[3] *al-Malhūf*,[4] and *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*.[5] Perhaps the only flaw that can be found in this view is that the route from Damascus to Medina is different.[6] And as Muḥaddith Nūrī observed, it was unlikely that Yazīd would permit for the journey to be lengthened, allowing the family of the Imam (a) to visit Karbala again. Thus, although it seems unlikely, their return to Karbala cannot be completely ruled out.

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[1] *Qamqām Zakhkhār*, p. 586.

[2] See *al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah*, p. 422; the [Persian] translation of *al-Futūḥ*, p. 918.

[3] See al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 231, no. 243. The text of this work only mentions the arrival of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn in Karbala, and is silent about the rest of the family of the Imam (a).

[4] *al-Malhūf*, p. 225.

[5] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 107.

[6] As mentioned, Muḥaddith Nūrī states, "The routes to Iraq and al-Ḥijāz separate from Syria itself, with no common road between the two." This view is endorsed by Shahīd Muṭahharī.

However, a study of the maps used by ancient travellers reveals that when travelling on the desert route, the road from Damascus to Iraq is the same as the road from Damascus to Medina for some 147 km.

2. The presence of Jābir in Karbala on the first Arbaʿīn

Several reports indicate that Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī was present in Karbala on the first Arbaʿīn in the year 61/680.

Some have objected to these reports, saying that factors such as the difficult circumstances, the time taken to receive the news of events that had transpired in Karbala, and the time of travel from Medina to Karbala would all take more than forty days. Therefore, Jābir could not have been present in the first Arbaʿīn.

In reply to this objection, the following can be said.

Firstly, how can one be certain that Jābir was in Medina when the event of Karbala took place? Perhaps by that time, he had already left Medina for Kufa.

Secondly, it can be assumed that the news of the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions could have reached Medina within ten days of the event. In the next thirty days, Jābir could have made the journey from Medina to Karbala, to arrive by Arbaʿīn.

3. The meeting of the family of the Prophet (s) with Jābir in Karbala

After considering what has been mentioned in detail, it is quite possible that the Ahl al-Bayt (a) returned to Karbala at a time other than the Arbaʿīn (as suggested by Ibn Ṭāwūs). Similarly, it is possible that they met with Jābir after the Arbaʿīn had passed, because Jābir may have stayed in Karbala for some time after his arrival; or he may have stayed in Kufa, or its vicinity, for a while, and then returned for the visitation of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

The only questions that remain unanswered in this regard are that if this meeting did indeed take place, why is there no mention of it in the Shīʿī sources until the 7th/13th century, and why are there no reports from the Imams (a) of the Ahl al-Bayt about it in the early, dependable sources? Of course, in later sources, there are many accounts about the event, but these are not as reliable.

In any case, considering it implausible that the family of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) returned to Karbala once more, or rejecting the possibility outright, in the way Muḥaddith Nūrī, Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī, and Shahīd Muṭahharī have done, does not seem correct either.

8/9: The return of the family of the Prophet (s) to Medina

680. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Bashīr ibn Ḥadhlam:[1] When we neared Medina, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) called a halt. He unloaded his baggage, set up his tents, and asked his womenfolk to make camp. Then he said, "O Bashīr! May God have mercy on your father. He was a poet; are you also able to compose something?"

I replied, "Yes indeed, O son of God's Messenger. I too am a poet."

He said, "Then enter Medina and announce the news [of the martyrdom] of Abū 'Abd Allāh (a)."

I mounted my horse and rode on until I entered Medina. When I reached the mosque of the Prophet (s), I began to weep loudly. I composed the following lines and recited them:

O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you in it [anymore],
[For] al-Ḥusayn has been killed, so shed endless tears [in sorrow].
His body lies in Karbala, covered in blood and dust,
While his head is on a lance, being paraded about.

Then I announced, "'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) has come back, with his aunts and sisters. They have stopped in your vicinity and are camped outside your city. I am his messenger to you, charged with informing you of his location."

Women, usually reserved and veiled, emerged bareheaded from every house in Medina, without exception; they were scratching their faces and slapping their cheeks while they wailed and lamented. I had never seen more men and women mourn than that day. The Muslims had not seen a day more bitter than that, since the passing of God's Messenger (s).

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[1] There is a difference of opinion about his name; he has been referred to as Bishr and Bashīr. Similarly, his father's name has been mentioned variously as Ḥadhlam, Jadhlam, and Khadhlam.

Then, I heard a maid lament over al-Ḥusayn (a) in the following words:

> An announcer has informed us [of the death] of our master and shocked us,
> And the news of the announcer has filled us with sickness and horror.
> O eyes! Shed tears unceasingly and spill over.
> Let both of you shed [more] tears, even after you have wept
> Over the one whose killing caused the throne of the Almighty to tremble,
> And reduced the splendour of the religion.
> Over the son of God's Prophet, and of his successor,
> Even though he lies a vast distance away from us.

Then she said, "O caller! You have renewed our sorrow by [mentioning] Abū 'Abd Allāh (a) and opened up wounds that had scarcely healed. May God have mercy on you, who are you?"

I replied, "I am Bashīr ibn Ḥadhlam. I have been sent on by my master, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a). He is camped at so-and-so place, with the family and womenfolk of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a)."

The people left me standing and rushed away. I spurred my horse until I reached them. I found that they had thronged the road and pathways. I dismounted and made my way through the crowds until I reached the entrance to the camp. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was inside the tent. He came out carrying a cloth with which he was wiping away his tears. Behind him was a servant bringing a chair. The chair was placed on the ground and he sat on it, [still] unable to hold back his tears. The air was filled with the loud weeping of the men, and the wailing of the children and the women. From every side, people came forward to offer their condolences, and the atmosphere was one of great lamentation.

The Imam (a) motioned for silence, and the people quietened down. Then he said:

> All praise belongs to the Lord of the worlds, the Beneficent, the Merciful, Master of the Day of Judgement, the Creator of all creation. He is distant, in the highest reaches of the heavens, yet close, so that He can hear whispered conversations.

> We praise and thank Him for all our momentous experiences, the tragedies that life has dealt us, the painful events, the bitter incidents, the grave calamities, and the great afflictions that were terrible, ruinous, disastrous, and catastrophic.
>
> O people! Verily God, for Whom is all praise, has tested us with great tragedies, and a great blow to Islam. Abū 'Abd Allāh (a) and his family were killed, his womenfolk and children taken captives, and his head paraded in the townships atop a spear. This is a calamity that has no parallel.
>
> O people! Who amongst your men can rejoice after his martyrdom, and which eye can restrain its tears and stop them from overflowing? The seven unshakeable heavens wept at his killing: the seas with their billowing waves, the sky with its [hidden] pillars, the earth to its farthest ends, the trees with their [flailing] branches, the great fish in the depths of the oceans, the senior angels, and the inhabitants of the heavens all wept for him.
>
> O people! Which heart is not broken by his killing, which breast does not burn as a result, and which ear heard this crack that fractured Islam and was not deafened by it?
>
> O people! We were banished from our home, made fugitives, driven far from the towns, as if we were Turk or Afghan [slaves],[1] while we had not committed any crime, nor plotted any sedition, nor caused harm to Islam. Indeed, we have never heard of our forefathers behaving in this manner. "*This is nothing but an innovation.*"[2]
>
> By God, [even] if the Prophet (s) had advised them to wage war against us, instead of advising them to respect us, they could have not done worse than what they did to us. So, "*Verily we are from God, and we shall return to Him*"[3] from a calamity that could not have been greater, more painful, more terrible, more catastrophic, more bitter, and more weighty.
>
> We will seek redress before God for what we underwent and what was done to us, for He is the Mighty, the Avenger.

The narrator said, "Ṣawḥān ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ṣawḥān – who was a cripple – came forward and apologized to the Imam (a) for having been unable to help Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) because of his crippled legs. The Imam (a) accepted his excuse, was gracious to him, thanked him and prayed for God to be merciful to his father [Sawbān].[1]

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[1] The Turks and Afghans had not yet come under the fold of Islam.

[2] Q 38:7.

[3] The famous ending of Q 2:156, which mentions the quality of the patient (*ṣābirūn*).

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 226; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 112.

فلما قربنا منها من المدينة نزل علي بن الحسين عليه السلام فحطّ رحله وضرب فسطاطه وأنزل نساءه، وقال: يا بشير رحم الله أباك لقد كان شاعراً، فهل تقدر على شيء منه؟

قلت: بلى يا ابن رسول الله، إني لشاعر.

قال: فادخل المدينة وانعَ أبا عبد الله عليه السلام. قال بشير: فركبت فرسي وركضت حتى دخلت المدينة، فلما بلغت مسجد النبي صلى الله عليه وآله رفعت صوتي بالبكاء وأنشأت أقول:

يا أهل يثرب لا مقام لكم بها   قُتل الحسين فأدمعي مدرار
الجسم منه بكربلاء مضرج   والرأس منه على القناة يدار

قال: ثم قلت: هذا علي بن الحسين مع عماته وأخواته قد حلّوا بساحتكم ونزلوا بفنائكم وأنا رسوله إليكم أعرّفكم مكانه.

قال: فما بقيت في المدينة مخدّرة ولا محجّبة إلا برزن من خدورهن مكشوفة شعورهن مخمّشة وجوههن ضاربات خدودهن يدعون بالويل والثبور، فلم أرَ باكياً ولا باكية أكثر من ذلك اليوم، ولا يوماً أمرّ على المسلمين منه بعد وفاة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

وسمعت جارية تنوح على الحسين عليه السلام وتقول:

نعى سيدي ناعٍ نعاه فأوجعا   وأمرضني ناعٍ نعاه فأفجعا
فعينيّ جودا بالدموع وأسكبا   وجودا بدمع بعد دمعكما معا
على من دهى عرش الجليل فزعزعا   فأصبح هذا المجد والدين أجدعا
على ابن نبي الله وابن وصيه   وإن كان عنا شاحط الدار أشسعا

ثم قالت: أيها الناعي، جددت حزننا بأبي عبد الله عليه السلام، وخدشت منا قروحاً لما تندمل، فمن أنت رحمك الله؟

فقلت: أنا بشير بن حذلم، وجّهني مولاي علي بن الحسين عليه السلام وهو نازل موضع كذا وكذا مع عيال أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام ونسائه.

قال: فتركوني مكاني وبادروا، فضربت فرسي حتى رجعت إليهم فوجدت الناس قد أخذوا الطرق والمواضع، فنزلت عن فرسي وتخطّيت رقاب الناس حتى قربت من باب الفسطاط، وكان علي بن الحسين عليه السلام داخلاً، فخرج ومعه خرقة يمسح بها دموعه، وخلفه خادم معه كرسي فوضعه له وجلس عليه، وهو لا يتمالك من العبرة، فارتفعت أصوات الناس بالبكاء وحنين الجواري والنساء، والناس من كل ناحية يعزّونه، فضجّت تلك البقعة ضجّة شديدة، فأومأ بيده أن اسكتوا، فسكنت فورتهم.

8/10: Who was victorious?

686. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayābah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When 'Alī ibn al-Husayn (a) returned to Medina after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), Ibrāhīm ibn 'Ubayd Allāh came to welcome him back and asked, "O 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, who was victorious?" The Imam (a) was sitting on a camel with a hood covering his head.

He replied, "If you desire to know who was victorious, then when the time for prayers arrives, recite the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*."[1]

فقال عليه السلام: الحمد لله رب العالمين، الرحمن الرحيم، مالك يوم الدين، بارئ الخلائق أجمعين، الذي بعد فارتفع في السماوات العلى، وقرب فشهد النجوى، نحمده على عظائم الأمور، وفجائع الدهور، وألم الفجائع، ومضاضة اللواذع، وجليل الرزء، وعظيم المصائب الفاظعة الكاظة الفادحة الجائحة.

أيها القوم، إن الله وله الحمد ابتلانا بمصائب جليلة، وثلمة في الإسلام عظيمة، قتل أبو عبد الله عليه السلام وعترته، وسبي نساؤه وصبيته، وداروا برأسه في البلدان من فوق عامل السنان، وهذه الرزية التي لا مثلها رزية.

أيها الناس، فأي رجالات منكم يسرون بعد قتله، أم أية عين منكم تحبس دمعها وتضن عن انهمالها، فلقد بكت السبع الشداد لقتله، وبكت البحار بأمواجها، والسماوات بأركانها، والأرض بأرجائها، والأشجار بأغصانها، والحيتان في لجج البحار، والملائكة المقربون، وأهل السماوات أجمعون.

أيها الناس، أي قلب لا ينصدع لقتله، أم أي فؤاد لا يحن إليه، أم أي سمع يسمع هذه الثلمة التي ثلمت في الإسلام ولا يصم؟

أيها الناس، أصبحنا مطرودين مشردين مذودين شاسعين عن الأمصار كأنا أولاد ترك أو كابل، من غير جرم اجترمناه، ولا مكروه ارتكبناه، ولا ثلمة في الإسلام ثلمناها، ما سمعنا بهذا في آبائنا الأولين، إن هذا إلا اختلاق.

والله لو أن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله تقدم إليهم في قتالنا كما تقدم إليهم في الوصاية بنا، لما ازدادوا على ما فعلوا بنا، فإنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، من مصيبة ما أعظمها وأوجعها وأفجعها وأكظها وأفظها وأمرها وأفدحها، فعند الله نحتسب فيما أصابنا وما بلغ بنا، إنه عزيز ذو انتقام.

قال الراوي: فقام صوحان بن صعصعة بن صوحان -وكان زمناً- فاعتذر إليه صلوات الله عليه بما عنده من زمانة رجليه، فأجابه بقبول معذرته، وحسن الظن به، وشكر له وترحم على أبيه.

[1] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 677, no. 1432; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 177.

لما قدم علي بن الحسين وقد قتل الحسين بن علي صلوات الله عليهم، استقبله إبراهيم بن طلحة بن عبيد الله وقال: يا علي بن الحسين، من غلب؟ وهو مغط رأسه وهو في المحمل.

قال: فقال له علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: إذا أردت أن تعلم من غلب ودخل وقت الصلاة فأذن ثم أقم.

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CHAPTER SIX | THE REACTION TO THE MARTYRDOM OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) AND THE FATE OF THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN KILLING HIM

Part 1: Reaction to the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in the words of some notables

Part 2: Reaction to the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) amongst his killers

Part 3: Reaction to the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) amongst the family of his killers

Part 4: Reaction to the event of Karbala in Iraq and al-Hijaz

Part 5: The fate of those who played a role in the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions

PART 1: REACTION TO THE MARTYRDOM OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) IN THE WORDS OF SOME NOTABLES

1/1: Umm Salamah

682. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, quoting Shahr ibn Ḥawshab: We were with Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (s), when we heard the sound of a woman weeping bitterly. She ran to Umm Salamah and said, "Al-Ḥusayn (a) has been killed!"

Umm Salamah cried, "They have done it! May God fill their homes [or graves] with fire!" Then she became unconscious, and thereafter, we rose to leave.[1]

683. *Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, quoting Shahr ibn Ḥawshab: When the news of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) came, I heard Umm Salamah curse the people of Iraq, saying, "They killed him! May God, the Almighty, kill them. They betrayed and humiliated him! May God curse them."[2]

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[1] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, vol. 1, p. 496; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 439.

كنا عند أم سلمة زوج النبي صلى الله عليه و آله قال: فسمعنا صارخة فأقبلت حتى انتهت إلى أم سلمة فقالت: قتل الحسين عليه السلام!

قالت: قد فعلوها ملأ الله بيوتهم - أو قبورهم - عليهم نارا، ووقعت مغشيا عليها وقمنا.

[2] *Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 108; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, vol. 1, p. 501.

سمعت أم سلمة حين جاء نعي الحسين بن علي عليه السلام لعنت أهل العراق، وقالت: قتلوه قتلهم الله عز وجل، غروه وذلوه لعنهم الله

1/2: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās[1]

881. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*), quoting Ibn Abī Mulaykah: Ibn 'Abbās was sitting in the Sacred Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*) waiting for news about al-Ḥusayn (a). Someone came and whispered something in his ear, and he exclaimed, "*Verily we are from God, and to Him is our return.*"

We asked, "What has happened, O Abū al-'Abbās?"

He replied, "A great calamity, which we entrust to God to account for. My bondsman informed me that he heard from Ibn al-Zubayr that al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) has been killed."

It was not long before Ibn al-Zubayr himself came to him. He offered his condolences and then left. Ibn 'Abbās rose and went to his home. The people began to visit him to offer their condolences.[2]

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[1] Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was born in Mecca in the valley (*shi'b*) of Abū Ṭālib, three years before the migration of the Prophet (s) to Medina. In 8/629, the year of the Conquest of Mecca, he migrated to Medina. He was an advisor to 'Umar and the leader of the hajj caravan (*amīr al-ḥajj*) during the time of 'Uthmān. In the era of Imam 'Alī (a), he was his companion, ally, and confidante. He was appointed as his governor and a military commander. He was sent by the Commander of the Faithful (a) to debate against the Khawārij before the Battle of Nahrawān.

At the time of the martyrdom of the Imam (a), he was the governor of Basra. He pledged his allegiance to Imam al-Ḥasan (a) and continued as his governor in Basra as well. He did not participate in the Battle of Karbala.

When Ibn al-Zubayr took control of al-Ḥijāz and Iraq, 'Abd Allāh did not give him his *bay'ah*. This angered Ibn al-Zubayr, and he wanted to burn him to death.

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās was an eloquent scholar, and has a prominent status as an exegete, traditionist, and jurist. He was a lifelong student of the Commander of the Faithful (a), and used to take pride in that fact. He died in exile in Ṭā'if in 68/687 at the age of 71 years.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 493; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 440.

بينما ابن عباس جالس في المسجد الحرام وهو يتوقّع خبر الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، إلى أن أتاه آت فسارّه بشيء فأظهر الاسترجاع

فقلنا: ما حدث يا أبا العباس؟ قال: مصيبة عظيمة نحتسبها، أخبرني مولاي أنّه سمع ابن الزبير يقول: قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام

1/3: Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah[1]

685. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: When al-Mukhtār went to Kufa, the Shī'a gathered around him. He told them, "Muḥammad [al-Ḥanafiyyah] ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib has sent me as governor over you. He has charged me to kill those who considered it lawful to martyr al-Ḥusayn (a), and to seek revenge for the blood of his oppressed household. And by God! I will be the one who kills Ibn Marjānah and exacts revenge from those who oppressed the household of God's Messenger (s)."

A group of the Shī'a accepted his words, while another group said, "We will go to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [first] and confirm this with him." They went to him and asked him about it, and he said, "How beloved to us is the one who would avenge our blood, take back our right,

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[illegible] عليه الناس بالكوفة.

[1] Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was the son of Imam 'Alī (a). His teknonym was Abū al-Qāsim, and having the name Muḥammad and the *kunyah* Abū al-Qāsim was amongst his special distinctions. The Prophet (s) had told Imam 'Alī (a), "A son will soon be born to you, to whom I have bestowed my own name and *kunyah*. This distinction will not be for anyone else in my nation after him."

He was born during the caliphate of Abū Bakr. His mother was part of a group of prisoners, and was awarded to the Imam (a).

Muḥammad was a learned scholar, a narrator of traditions, and a greatly respected member of the family of the Commander of the Faithful (a). He was a brave warrior and the Imam's (a) standard-bearer in the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn.

He was not present at the event of Karbala. Ibn A'tham writes in his *al-Futūḥ* that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) told him, "O brother! I want you to remain in Medina and watch over the affairs here on my behalf; do not hold back any news from me."

When Ibn al-Zubayr took control of Medina, Muḥammad did not give him his allegiance. Ibn al-Zubayr wanted to have him burnt to death, but the soldiers of al-Mukhtār saved him and Ibn 'Abbās, from his clutches. Al-Mukhtār had very warm and close ties with Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, and worked with him in exacting revenge from the killers of Karbala.

He died in 81/700 in Medina.

and kill our enemies." They returned to al-Mukhtār, gave him their allegiance and pledges of support, and formed an organized group.[1]

1/4: Anas ibn Mālik[2]

886. *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, quoting Anas: When the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was brought to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, he began to poke at the head with a cane that he was holding, saying, "Al-Ḥusayn had such beautiful teeth."

I said, "By God, I will vilify you. I have seen God's Messenger (s) kiss that place on his mouth which you are striking with your cane!"[3]

887. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, quoting Anas: The head of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was brought to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, placed on a tray. He began to poke at the head [with a cane] and said something about his handsome features.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 258.

لما صار المختار إلى الكوفة اجتمعت إليه الشيعة فقال لهم: إنّ المهدي بن علي بن أبي طالب بعثني إليكم أمينا ووزيرا وأمرني بقتل الملحدين والطلب بدماء أهل بيته المظلومين، وإني والله لقاتل ابن مرجانة والمنتقم لآل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ممن ظلمهم. فصدقه طائفة من الشيعة، وقالت طائفة: نخرج إلى المهدي بن علي فنسأله. فخرجوا إليه فسألوه فقال: ما أحب إلينا من طلب بثأرنا وأخذ لنا بحقنا وقتل عدونا. فانصرفوا إلى المختار فبايعوه وعاقدوه واجتمعت جماعة.

[2] Abū Ḥamzah Anas ibn Mālik ibn Naḍr al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī was a companion of the Prophet (s). His mother presented him as a gift to the Prophet (s), to be his servant. He remained in his (s) service for ten years, and was twenty years old when the Prophet (s) passed away. He has narrated hadith from the Prophet (s) and from some of his companions. He remained in Medina after the passing of the Prophet (s).

'Umar advised Abū Bakr to send him as a tax collector to Bahrain, saying, "He is clever and literate."

After Abū Bakr, Anas took part in the expansionist wars (*al-futūḥāt*). During 'Umar's rule, he moved to Basra, where he lived until his death, around 91/709 to 93/711.

[3] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 125, no. 2878; Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 4, p. 108, no. 3968.

لما أتي برأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، جعل ينكت بقضيب في يده ويقول: إن كان لحسن الثغر.

فقلت: والله لأسوءنك، لقد رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقبل موضع قضيبك من فيه.

Anas said, "He was the closest in resemblance to God's Messenger (s), and his hair was dyed with *al-wasimah*."[1,2]

1/5: Zayd ibn Arqam[3]

688. ***al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*:** Ibn Abī al-Dunyā reports: Zayd ibn Arqam was present before 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and said to him, "Lift your cane away, for by God, I always used to see God's Messenger (s) kiss those lips." Then Zayd began to weep.

Ibn Ziyād said, "May God make your eyes weep. If you were not an old man who has become senile, I would have struck off your head."

Zayd ibn Arqam got up [to leave], saying, "O people! After today, you are [no more than] slaves. You have killed the son of Fāṭimah (a) and made Ibn Marjānah your leader! By God, he will kill the righteous amongst you and enslave the worst among you, so away with those who are happy with humiliation and disgrace."

Then he said, "O Ibn Ziyād! Let me narrate to you something that will anger you even more. I saw God's Messenger (s) sitting with al-Ḥasan (a) on his right lap and al-Ḥusayn (a) on his left. Then he placed his hand over their heads and said, 'O God, I entrust these two

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[1] Al-Wasimah is a plant whose leaves are used to dye the hair of the head and face: *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 185, s.v. w-s-m.

[2] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, p. 1370, no. 3538; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, p. 520, no. 13750.

أُتي عبيد الله بن زياد برأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، فجعل في طست، فجعل ينكت، وقال في حسنه شيئاً،
فقال أنس: كان أشبههم برسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، وكان مخضوباً بالوسمة

[3] Zayd ibn Arqam ibn Qays al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, about whose *kunyah* there is a difference of opinion, was a companion of the Prophet (s), Imam 'Alī (a), Imam al-Ḥasan (a), and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). After the passing of the Prophet (s), he became blind, before he regained his sight once more. He participated in seventeen battles. Zayd was a partisan of Imam 'Alī (a) and participated in all his battles. He has narrated hadith from the Prophet (s) and Imam 'Alī (a). He lived in Kufa, and built himself a house in the quarter of the Kindah. He died during the time of al-Mukhtār in 66/685 or 68/687.

and the best of the believers'[1] to you.' Tell me, what respect do you display towards this trust (*amānah*) of the Prophet (s), O Ibn Ziyād?"[2]

1/8: Abū Barzah al-Aslamī[3]

685. *al-Malhūf*: Yazīd asked for a bamboo cane and began to poke with it at the teeth of al-Ḥusayn (a).

Abū Barzah al-Aslamī turned to him and said, "Shame on you, O Yazīd! Do you poke your cane at the teeth of al-Ḥusayn (a), the son of Fāṭimah (a)? I bear witness that I saw the Prophet (s) inhale from his mouth and from the mouth of his brother al-Ḥasan (a) while saying, 'You two are the chiefs of the youths of paradise. May God kill the one who kills you both, and may God curse him, and prepare hellfire for him; an evil destination.'"

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[1] A reference to 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a). [Trans.]

[2] *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, p. 198; *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 237.

روى ابن أبي خيثمة أنه لما جيء برأسه إلى ابن زياد، كان عنده زيد بن أرقم فقال له: ارفع قضيبك فوالله لقد رأيت
رسول الله صلى الله عليه و اله يقبل ما بين هاتين الشفتين، ثم جعل زيد يبكي.

فقال ابن زياد: أبكى الله عينيك، لولا أنك شيخ قد خرفت لضربت عنقك.

فنهض وهو يقول: أيها الناس، أنتم العبيد بعد اليوم، قتلتم ابن فاطمة عليها السلام، وأمرتم ابن مرجانة، والله
ليقتلن خياركم، وليستعبدن شراركم، فبعداً لمن رضي بالذلة والعار.

ثم قال: يا ابن زياد، لأحدثنك بما هو أغيظ عليك من هذا، رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و اله أقعد حسناً
على فخذه اليمنى، وحسيناً على اليسرى، ثم وضع يده على يافوخيهما، ثم قال: اللهم إني أستودعك إياهما وصالح
المؤمنين. فكيف كانت وديعة النبي صلى الله عليه و اله عندك يا ابن زياد؟

[3] There is a difference of opinion about the actual name of Abū Barzah al-Aslamī. The most reliable opinion is that his name was Naḍlah ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khuzā'ī al-Madanī. He was a companion of the Prophet (s) and has narrated ḥadīth from him. He was one of the first people to accept Islam, and participated in the battles of Khaybar and Ḥunayn at the side of the Prophet (s). After the passing of the Prophet (s), he settled in Basra. Later, he participated in the Persian wars, before returning to Basra once again. In the Battle of Nahrawān, he accompanied Imam 'Alī (a). It has been reported that he also took part in the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn. He went to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah in Damascus and was present when the blessed head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought to Yazīd. Abū Barzah died in the year 64/683.

The narrator says, "Yazīd became furious, and ordered him to be thrown out. Abū Barzah was dragged away."[1]

1/7: Al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib[2]

690. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd: Imam 'Alī (a) said to al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib, "O Barā', can al-Ḥusayn be killed while you are alive, yet you do not go to assist him?"

Barā' replied, "That can never happen, O Commander of the Faithful."

When al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, Barā' remembered that conversation and used to say, "My greatest regret is that I did not go to his side and give my life for him."[3]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 224; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 100.

دعا يزيد بقضيب خيزران، فجعل ينكت به ثنايا الحسين عليه السلام.

فأقبل عليه أبو برزة الأسلمي وقال: ويحك يا يزيد أتنكت بقضيبك ثغر الحسين عليه السلام ابن فاطمة عليها السلام؟ أشهد لقد رأيت النبي صلى الله عليه وآله يرشف ثناياه وثنايا أخيه الحسن عليهما السلام، ويقول: أنتما سيدا شباب أهل الجنة، فقتل الله قاتلكما ولعنه، وأعد له جهنم وساءت مصيرا. قال الراوي: فغضب يزيد وأمر بإخراجه فأخرج سحبا.

[2] Al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Adī al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (Abū 'Ammārah or Abū 'Amr) was a companion of the Prophet (s) and from amongst the followers of Imam 'Alī (a). He participated in the battles of the Prophet (s). He lived in Kufa, and joined Imam 'Alī (a) in the battles of Jamal, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān. In the siege of Shustar, he accompanied Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. In 24/644, during the caliphate of 'Uthmān, he was appointed as the governor of al-Rayy. He used to conceal his allegiance to Imam 'Alī (a). He was alive until the time of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr. He died some years after retiring from politics, in 71/690 or 72/691.

[3] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 10, p. 15; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 262.

يا براء، أيقتل الحسين وأنت حي فلا تنصره؟ فقال البراء: لا كان ذلك يا أمير المؤمنين.

فلما قتل الحسين عليه السلام كان البراء يذكر ذلك، ويقول: أعظم بها حسرة إذ لم أشهده وأقتل دونه.

1/8: 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr[1]

831. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Abd al-Malik ibn Nawfal, from his father: My father informed me: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, Ibn al-Zubayr stood up in front of the Meccans and expressed great regret at his killing. He blamed the people of Iraq in general, and the Kufans in particular, for his death.

After praising God and glorifying Him, and seeking His blessings for Muhammad (s) and his progeny, he said:

> Indeed, except for a few of them, the people of Iraq are treacherous and corrupt. And the Kufans are the worst among them. They invited al-Ḥusayn (a), promising to help him, and make him their leader, but when he came to them, they turned against him. They told him, "Either surrender so that we can take you to Ibn Ziyād ibn Sumayyah peacefully and allow him to decide your fate, or prepare for war!"
>
> He realised, by God, that he and his companions were few against many, and – although God does not reveal the unseen to anyone – he knew that they would be killed. However, he chose to die with honour, rather than to live in humiliation. May God have mercy on al-Ḥusayn (a) and punish his killers.

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[1] 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr ibn 'Awwām al-Qurayshī al-Asadī, whose kunyah was Abū Bakr and whose mother was Asmā' bint Abī Bakr, was a companion of the Prophet (s). He was born in 1/622 and was the first child born to those who had migrated from Mecca to Medina (*muhājirūn*). After 'Uthmān was killed, he spared no effort to get his father al-Zubayr elected as the caliph, but was unsuccessful. He was the link between his maternal aunt 'Ā'ishah, his father, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah, and was at his father's side at the Battle of Jamal. Imam 'Alī (a) said about them, "Al-Zubayr was always from us, until his son 'Abd Allāh grew up." After their defeat at Jamal, he was pardoned at the intervention of 'Ā'ishah. Mu'āwiyah did not give him any respect, and after the death of Mu'āwiyah, 'Abd Allāh did not pay allegiance to Yazīd. To save his life, he chose to stay in Mecca, until a conflict broke out between him and the soldiers of Yazīd. In the year 64/683, he mounted an insurrection, seeking to seize the caliphate. He gained control over al-Ḥijāz, Yemen, Iraq, and Persia. He asked 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah to pledge their allegiance to him, but they did not acquiesce to his demand; [in anger] he wanted to have them burnt to death. He was killed in 73/692 during the rule of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, after al-Ḥajjāj laid siege to Mecca and the Sacred Mosque. His body was crucified. Several reports have been narrated from the Imams (a) of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) mentioning their disapproval of him.

> By my life, in their opposition to him and their disobedience, there was no greater lesson and a warning for them; but what was decreed came to pass. When God desires a matter, He is not forestalled.
>
> After al-Husayn (a), can we ever trust these people, believe their words, or accept their pledges? No, we do not believe them worthy of that.
>
> By God indeed, they have killed a man who would stand long into the night in prayer and often fast in the day. He had a greater right [to rule] than they and was more entitled to it, due to his piety and merits.
>
> By God indeed, he had not exchanged the Qur'an for music, or weeping in awe of God for singing, or fasting for forbidden drink, or gatherings of remembrance of God for rushing to hunt game [he was referring to Yazid]. "*They will soon meet destruction.*"[1][2]

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[1] Q 19:59.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 474; al-*Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 585.

حدثني أبي قال: لما قتل الحسين عليه السلام قام ابن الزبير في أهل مكة، وعظم مقتله، وعاب على أهل
الكوفة خاصة، ولام أهل العراق عامة، فقال بعد أن حمد الله وأثنى عليه، وصلى على النبي صلى الله عليه
وآله.

إن أهل العراق غدر فجر إلا قليلا، وإن أهل الكوفة شرار أهل العراق، وإنهم دعوا حسيناً عليه السلام
لينصروه ويولوه عليهم، فلما قدم عليهم ثاروا عليه، فقالوا له: إما أن تضع يدك في أيدينا، فنبعث بك إلى ابن
زياد بن سمية سلماً، فيمضي فيك حكمه، وإما أن تحارب، فرأى والله أنه هو وأصحابه قليل في كثير. وإن كان
الله عز وجل لم يطلع على الغيب أحداً - أنه مقتول، ولكنه اختار الميتة الكريمة على الحياة الذميمة، فرحم
الله حسيناً عليه السلام، وأخزى قاتل حسين عليه السلام

لعمري لقد كان من خلافهم إياه وعصيانهم ما كان في مثله واعظ وناه عنهم، ولكنه ما حم نازل، وإذا أراد الله
أمراً لن يدفع. أفبعد الحسين عليه السلام نطمئن إلى هؤلاء القوم، ونصدق قولهم، ونقبل لهم عهداً؟ لا، ولا
نراهم لذلك أهلاً.

أما والله لقد قتلوه طويلاً بالليل قيامه، كثيراً في النهار صيامه، أحق بما هم فيه منهم، وأولى به في الدين والفضل.

أما والله ما كان يبدل بالقرآن الغناء، ولا بالبكاء من خشية الله الحداء، ولا بالصيام شرب الحرام، ولا بالمجالس
في حلق الذكر الركض في تطلاب الصيد - يعرض بيزيد - فسوف يلقون غياً.

1/9: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar[1]

692. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, quoting Ibn Abī al-Nu'm: I was in the presence of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, when a man asked him about [the impurity of] the blood of a mosquito. He asked the man, "Where are you from?"

The man replied, "I am from Iraq."

'Abd Allāh said, "Look at this man. He asks me about the blood of a mosquito, when they have killed the son of the Prophet (s)! And I heard the Prophet (s) say [about them], 'These two (a) are my sweet basils from this world.'"[2]

693. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Nu'm: An Iraqi man asked Ibn 'Umar whether the blood of a mosquito would make one's clothes impure (*najis*). Ibn 'Umar remarked, "Look at this man. He asks me about the blood of a mosquito, when they have killed the son of the God's Messenger (s)! And I heard the Prophet (s) say, 'Indeed al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a) are my sweet basils from this world.'"[1]

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[1] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, whose *kunyah* was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, was born before the migration (*hijrah*). Along with his father, he became a Muslim in Mecca, before they both migrated to Medina. He was not present in the great battles of Badr and Uḥud due to his young age. However, he participated in the Battle of Aḥzāb and the rest of the battles of the Prophet (s).

There are many traditions reported from him in Sunni books. 'Umar was against him being part of the council he selected for the caliphate after him, saying that he was unsuitable for the role, being unable to even divorce his wife. However, according to another report, he did make him part of the council, as long as he did not assume responsibility for any final decisions.

After the caliphate of 'Uthmān, he retired from politics. He pledged his allegiance to Mu'āwiyah, and later to Yazīd. He did not participate in the battles at the time of the Commander of the Faithful (a) but did not support his enemies either. He died in 74/693 when he was 84 years old.

[2] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 5, p. 2234, no. 5648; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 207, no. 228.

كنت شاهداً لابن عمر، وسأله رجل عن دم البعوض، فقال: ممن أنت؟ فقال: من أهل العراق، قال: انظروا إلى هذا يسألني عن دم البعوض، وقد قتلوا ابن النبي صلى الله عليه و آله، وسمعت النبي صلى الله عليه و آله يقول: هما ريحانتاي من الدنيا.

1/10: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ[2]

694. *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, quoting Ibn al-Khaythami: "Ubayd ibn Sa'īd said, "I entered the Sacred Mosque with 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr. After the soldiers of al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr left, the Ka'bah was in flames, and its walls had been badly damaged. 'Abd Allāh stood and wept, until tears were rolling down his cheeks.

Then, he said, "O people! By God, if Abū Hurayrah had informed you that you would kill the son of your Prophet (s) and burn down the house of your Lord, you would have said, 'There is no liar bigger than Abū Hurayrah.' But that is what you did.

"So, wait for the punishment of God. He will disunite your ranks, and make you taste oppression at the hands of one another."[3]

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[1] *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 657, no. 3770; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 6, p. 402.

إنّ رجلاً من أهل العراق سأل ابن عمر عن دم البعوض يصيب الثوب، فقال ابن عمر: انظروا إلى هذا يسأل
عن دم البعوض وقد قتلوا ابن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله

وسمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يقول: إنّ الحسن والحسين هما ريحانتاي من الدنيا.

[2] Abū Muḥammad, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ al-Qurayshī al-Sahmī, was a companion of the Prophet (s). He accepted Islam eleven years before his father. He fought in the Battle of Ṣiffīn along with his father (in the army of Mu'āwiyah) but was later remorseful about it. Mu'āwiyah appointed him for a short while as his governor to Basra, and forced him to reply to the letter of al-Ḥusayn (a) (protesting at the killing of Ḥujr ibn 'Adī) in a disparaging manner. He refused to give allegiance to Yazīd, and retired to a monastic life in 'Asqalān. At the end of his life, he became blind. There is disagreement about the location and year of his death.

[3] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 94.

فقال: أيها الناس، والله لو أن أبا هريرة أخبركم أنكم قاتلو ابن نبيكم، ومحرقو بيت ربكم، لقلتم: ما أحد أكذب
من أبي هريرة، فقد فعلتم، فانتظروا نقمة الله، فليلبسنكم شيعاً، وليذيق بعضكم بأس بعض.

1/11: Wāthilah ibn Asqa'[1]

895. *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, quoting Shaddād ibn 'Abd Allāh: I heard about Wāthilah ibn Asqa', that when the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought, a Syrian cursed al-Ḥusayn (a).

This angered Wāthilah, and he said, "By God, I will always love 'Alī (a) and his two sons (a), after I heard God's Messenger (s) in the house of Umm Salamah, when he placed a Khaybarī cloak over Fāṭimah, her two sons, and her husband, peace be upon them all, and say, '*Verily God only wishes to remove all foulness from you, O Ahl al-Bayt, and purify you thoroughly.*'"[2][3]

1/12: Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr[4]

896. *al-Uṣūl al-Sittat 'Ashar*, reporting from a group of Shī'a narrators: Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr mustered an army to fight against 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. When he reached Karbala, he entered the shrine (*al-ḥā'ir*), stood at the head of the grave of Abū 'Abd Allāh (a), and said, "O Abū 'Abd Allāh (a), by God indeed, even if your life was taken, they could not take away your religion." Then he departed, saying:

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[1] Abū Asqa', Wāthilah ibn Asqa' ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-Kinānī al-Laythī, was one of the "companions of the platform (*aṣḥāb al-ṣuffah*)". He became a Muslim in the ninth year after the migration. He participated in the Battle of Tabūk. It was said that from the moment he accepted Islam, he served the Prophet (s) devotedly.

He migrated to Syria and his house was in Balāṭ (three *farsakhs* from Damascus). He participated in the Battles of Damascus and Ḥimṣ, and later visited Bayt al-Maqdis. He died in 83/702, or 85/704, and was the last of the companions of the Prophet (s) to die in Damascus.

[2] Q 33:33.

[3] *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 314.

سمعت واثلة بن الأسقع وقد جيء برأس الحسين عليه السلام فلعنه رجل من أهل الشام فغضب واثلة وقام وقال: والله لا أزال أحب عليا وابنيه عليهم السلام بعد أن سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله في منزل أم سلمة، وألقى على فاطمة وابنيها وزوجها عليهم السلام كساءً خيبرياً، ثم قال: «إنما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس أهل البيت و يطهركم تطهيرا».

[4] Abū 'Abdillāh, Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr ibn 'Awwām ibn Khuwaylid al-Qurayshī al-Asadī was born in 26/646 or 33/653, during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. He was appointed governor of Iraq by his brother, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. Initially, he was based in Basra, but later he fought and killed al-Mukhtār, and sent his head to his brother 'Abd Allāh. Later, his brother suspended him from his post of governor for a period of one year, before reinstating him again in 68/687 and adding Kufa to his governance as well.

> The foremost of those who were at al-Ṭaff from the house of Hāshim
> Were exemplars and set an example for every noble-minded person.[1]

1/13: Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī[2]

667. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, quoting Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, he [al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī] wept to the extent that his sides shook. Then he said, "What a shameful nation; the son of its adulterers kills the son of its Prophet."[3]

He was killed in Iraq between 70/689 and 71/691, during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. His head was mounted on a spear and sent to 'Abd al-Malik. [It is reported that] his wife was Sukaynah, the daughter of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

[1] *al-Uṣūl al-Sittah 'Ashar*, p. 119; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 200.

إنّ مصعب بن الزبير توجّه إلى عبد الملك بن مروان لعنه الله فلمّا بلغ الحير دخل فوقف على قبر أبي عبد الله عليه السلام

ثمّ قال له: يا أبا عبد الله عليه السلام أما والله لئن كنت غُصِبت نفسك ما غُصِبت دينك، ثمّ انصرف وهو يقول:

إنّ الأُلى بالطفّ من آل هاشم تأسّوا فسنّوا للكرام التأسّيا

[2] Abū Sa'īd, Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī, was born in Medina, two years before the end of the caliphate of 'Umar, and is the most widely referenced of the Tābi'ūn in jurisprudence and hadith. He has narrated many traditions and was recognized to be the leading scholar amongst the Basrans.

It is reported from Faḍl ibn Shādān that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was eager to become a ruler and would present himself to every faction in the manner that would be pleasing to them. His work inspired the doctrine of a theological school called the Qadariyyah (who believed in unrestricted free will). In the Sunni catalogues of narrators, he has been mentioned and praised for his knowledge, especially in jurisprudence. However, Shī'a scholars are divided in their opinion about him. He died in 110/728 in Basra.

[3] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 425; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 75.

لمّا قُتل الحسين بكى حتّى اختلج جنباه ثمّ قال: وا ذلّ أمّة قتل ابن دعيّها ابن نبيّها.

1/14: Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī[1]

698. *Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, quoting Ibrāhīm: If I was among the killers of al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a), and then I was forgiven and brought into paradise, I would [still] be ashamed to pass by the Prophet (s) and see his face.[2]

1/15: Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī[3]

699. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, quoting ʿAbd al-Qāhir ibn al-Sarī, from his father, from his grandfather: Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī was of the tribe of Quḍāʿah. He lived through the era of the Prophet (s), but never met him. He was a resident of Kufa, but when al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, he relocated to Basra, saying, "I will not live in a land in which the son of the daughter of God's Messenger (s) was killed."[4]

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[1] Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī al-Kūfī was a senior figure among the *tābiʿīn*; he was an acknowledged jurist and the legal expert among the Kufans. He lived in hiding, fearful of al-Ḥajjāj. He died when he was 49 or, according to some, just over 50 years of age.

[2] *Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 112, no. 2829; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, p. 154.

لو كنت فيمن قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، ثم غفر لي، ثم أدخلت الجنة، استحييت أن أمر على النبي
صلى الله عليه و آله، فينظر في وجهي

[3] Abū ʿUthmān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mull ibn ʿAmr al-Nahdī, was from the (Afro-Arab) tribe of Quḍāʿah. He lived through both the age of ignorance (*al-jāhiliyyah*) as well as the era of the Prophet (s), but never met him (s). Although he became a Muslim at the time of the Prophet (s), he first visited Medina during the caliphate of ʿUmar. He participated in a number of battles thereafter.

He has reported *aḥādīth* from many companions of the Prophet (s). He was close to Salmān al-Fārsī for twelve years. He was respected as a community elder and was constantly seen in worship. He recited the Qurʾan beautifully. It is said that he completed the hajj and ʿumrah sixty times. He died in Basra in 81/700, or 95/713, or 100/718.

[4] *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 17, p. 427; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 35, p. 475.

كان أبو عثمان النهدي من قضاعة، وأدرك النبي صلى الله عليه و آله ولم يره، وكان من ساكني الكوفة، فلما قتل
الحسين عليه السلام تحوّل إلى البصرة، وقال: لا أسكن بلدا قتل فيه ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله.

1/16: Bishr ibn Ghālib[1]

700. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*****,** quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sharīk: I saw Bishr ibn Ghālib rolling in the dust at the grave of al-Ḥusayn (a), deeply remorseful that he had not gone to his aid.[2]

1/17: Al-Rabīʿ ibn Khuthaym[3]

701. ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*****,** quoting Sufyān, from an (unspecified) old man: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, al-Rabīʿ ibn Khuthaym said, "They have killed men, who, whenever he saw them when they were children, God's Messenger (s) would sit on his lap and kiss their mouths."[4]

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[1] Bishr ibn Ghālib al-Asadī al-Kūfī, whose *kunyah* was Abū Ṣādiq, was a companion of Imam ʿAlī (a), Imam al-Ḥasan (a), Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a). It appears that he and his brother Bashīr have reported the supplication for the Day of ʿArafah from Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was imprisoned at the time of al-Mukhtār but was released after the latter was killed.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, vol. 1, p. 511.

رأيت بشر بن غالب يتمرغ على قبر الحسين عليه السلام ندامة على ما فاته من نصره

[3] Abū Yazīd al-Rabīʿ ibn Khuthaym ibn ʿĀʾidh al-Thawrī al-Kūfī was a student of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd and one of the "eight ascetics" of Kufa. In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he was on the side of Imam ʿAlī (a), but with 400 other reciters of the Qurʾān, he entertained doubt about fighting alongside the Imam (a) and came to him saying, "Despatch us to one of the borders so that we may fight [non-Muslims] there." The Imam (a) sent them to the borders of Qazvin and al-Rayy; by this action, Rabīʿ gradually became distant from the Imam (a). He died in 64/683.

[4] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā (al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah)*, vol. 1, p. 497; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 3, p. 170.

لما أصيب الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، قال الربيع بن خثيم: لقد قتلوا صبية لو أدركهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله لأجلسهم في حجره، ولوضع فمه على أفواههم

PART 2: REACTION TO THE KILLING OF AL-ḤUSAYN (A) AMONG HIS KILLERS

2/1: Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah

702. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb al-Jaramī: When 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād killed al-Ḥusayn (a) and his brothers, he sent their heads to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. At first, Yazīd was pleased at their deaths, and 'Ubayd Allāh rose in his estimation as a result. But before long, Yazīd began to regret the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a) and would say, "What would I have lost if I had tolerated the burden, let him stay with me in my house, and allowed him to do what he wanted? Even if this could be have been [perceived as] a weakness and deficiency in my authority, it would [at least] have preserved the sanctity of the Prophet (s) and upheld the rights and kinship of al-Ḥusayn (a).

"May God curse Ibn Marjānah, for it was he who drove him out and reduced his options. He had asked him to remove the blockade so he could return, but he did not allow that, demanding only that al-Ḥusayn (a) place his hand on mine (give *bay'ah*). He asked to be permitted to go to one of the borders of the Muslim lands, until such time as God, the Almighty, decreed his death, but Ibn Ziyād did not allow that either.

"He refused [any compromise] and instead fought and killed him. By killing him, he made me a target of hatred amongst the Muslims, and kindled enmity towards me in their hearts. [Now] both the righteous and the degenerate despise me because of the gravity of my slaying of al-Ḥusayn in their eyes. What do I have to do with Ibn Marjānah? May God's curse and wrath befall him!"[1]

2/2: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād

703. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: Yazīd instructed 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād to go to [attack] Medina and then to lay siege to Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. 'Ubayd Allāh said, "By God, I will not do a second [grievous] deed for that tyrant: kill the grandson of God's Messenger, as well as lay waste to the Ka'bah."

Then he sent a messenger to Yazīd, excusing himself from the assignment.[2]

2/3: 'Umar ibn Sa'd

704. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: 'Umar ibn Sa'd was my friend. On his return from the battle against al-Ḥusayn (a), I visited him and asked him how he was. He said, "Do not ask me how I am. No traveller has returned back to his home with as much dishonour as that with which I return to mine. I have severed the ties of near kinship and perpetrated a grievous crime.'[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 506; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 10, p. 98.

لما قتل عبيد الله بن زياد الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وبني أبيه، بعث برؤوسهم إلى يزيد بن معاوية، فسر بقتلهم أولاً، وحسنت بذلك منزلة عبيد الله عنده، ثم لم يلبث إلا قليلاً حتى ندم على قتل الحسين عليه السلام، فكان يقول: وما كان علي لو احتملت الأذى وأنزلته معي في داري، وحكمته فيما يريد، وإن كان علي في ذلك وكف ووهن في سلطاني، حفظاً لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ورعاية لحقه وقرابته.

لعن الله ابن مرجانة، فإنه أخرجه واضطره، وقد كان سأله أن يخلي سبيله ويرجع فلم يفعل، أو يضع يده في يدي، أو يلحق بثغر من ثغور المسلمين حتى يتوفاه الله عز وجل، فلم يفعل، فأبى ذلك ورده عليه وقتله، فبغضني بقتله إلى المسلمين، وزرع لي في قلوبهم العداوة، فبغضني البر والفاجر بما استعظم الناس من قتلي حسيناً، ما لي ولابن مرجانة لعنه الله وغضب عليه.

[2] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 594.

بعث يزيد إلى عبيد الله بن زياد يأمره بالمسير إلى المدينة ومحاصرة ابن الزبير بمكة.

فقال: والله لا جمعتهما للفاسق، قتل ابن رسول الله وغزو الكعبة. ثم أرسل إليه يعتذر.

705. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd used to say, "No one has returned back to his family with as much dishonour as that with which I return to mine. I obeyed the tyrant and oppressor, Ibn Ziyād, disobeyed the just, the Judge, and severed the ties of noble kinship."[2]

2/4: Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan

706. *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, quoting Abū Bakr ibn 'Ayyāsh, from Abū Isḥāq: Shimr used to perform his prayers with us, then make the following supplication: "O God, verily You know that I am a noble person, so forgive me."

I asked, "How will God forgive you, when you took part in killing the son of God's Messenger (s)?"

He replied, "Woe be unto you! What else could we have done? Our leaders ordered us to perform a task, and we did not disobey them; and if we had done so, we would be worse than these water-bearing donkeys."

I said, "That is a vile excuse. Obedience is only [of worth] in acts of decency."[3]

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 260; *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 2630.

كان عمر بن سعد لي صديقاً، فأتيته عند منصرفه من قتال الحسين عليه السلام، فسألته عن حاله فقال: لا تسأل عن حالي، فإنّه ما رجع غائب إلى منزله بشرّ ممّا رجعت به، قطعت القرابة القريبة، وارتكبت الأمر العظيم.

[2] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 424.

كان عمر بن سعد يقول: ما رجع أحدٌ إلى أهله بشرّ ممّا رجعت به، أطعت الفاجر الظالم ابن زياد، وعصيت الحاكم العدل، وقطعت القرابة الشريفة.

[3] *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, vol. 2, p. 280, no. 3742.

كان شمر يصلّي معنا ثمّ يقول: اللّهمّ إنّك تعلم أنّي شريف، فاغفر لي.

قلت: كيف يغفر الله لك وقد أعنت على قتل ابن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله؟

قال: ويحك فكيف نصنع؟ إنّ أمراءنا هؤلاء أمرونا بأمر فلم نخالفهم، ولو خالفناهم كنّا شرّاً من هذه الحمر السقاة.

قلت: إنّ هذا لعذر قبيح، فإنّما الطاعة في المعروف.

2/5: Shabath ibn Ribʿī[1]

797. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Zubaydī: It was clear to the people that Shabath ibn Ribʿī was reluctant to go to war against al-Ḥusayn (a). Abū Zuhayr al-ʿAbsī reports: I heard him saying, in the days when Muṣʿab was the governor, "May God never give the people of this town [Kufa] any goodness, nor ever guide them to prosperity. Does it not make you wonder that for five years, we fought for ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a) and his son (a) after him against the clan of Abū Sufyān, only to [then] turn against his [younger] son?

"We fought against al-Ḥusayn (a), while he was the best man alive, and sided with the clan of Muʿāwiyah, and Ibn Sumayyah, the adulteress. How much more misguided could we have become?"[2]

798. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Zubaydī, when Muslim ibn ʿAwsajah was killed on the day of Ashura: Shabath said to some of those around him, "May your mothers sit to mourn you! You are killing yourselves with your own hands and are humiliating yourselves for others. Do you rejoice at the killing of a man like Muslim ibn ʿAwsajah! I swear by the One to Whom I have submitted, of all the Muslims, I have seen his many noble acts! I saw him kill six of the idolaters in the battle against the people of Azerbaijan, even before the main cavalry of the Muslims arrived. Do you rejoice after someone like him is killed among you?"[1]

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[1] Abū ʿAbd al-Quddūs Shabath ibn Ribʿī al-Tamīmī al-Yarbūʿī, al-Kūfī, was a man with a very chequered history. He was the muezzin of Sajāḥ bint al-Ḥārith [the false prophetess] for a time, before returning to the fold of Islam. He became a follower of Imam ʿAlī (a), serving as one of his officers in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. After the chaotic end to that battle, he briefly joined the Khawārij, becoming one of the commanders of their forces. Soon, he left them also, switching sides to fight against them, on the side of Imam ʿAlī (a), in the Battle of Nahrawān. He was one of those who wrote to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), urging him to come to Kufa; but later, opposed his stand, and went out to fight against him. He then joined al-Mukhtār when he rose to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn (a), but ultimately betrayed him and participated in his killing. He died in 70/689, or 80/700, in Kufa.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 436; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 588.

ما زالوا يرون من شبث بن ربعي الكراهة لقتاله أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام، قال: وقال أبو زهير العبسي: فأنا سمعته في إمارة مصعب يقول: لا يعطي الله أهل هذا المصر خيرا أبدا، ولا يسددهم لرشد، ألا تعجبون أنا قاتلنا مع علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ومع ابنه من بعده آل أبي سفيان خمس سنين، ثم عدونا على ابنه وهو خير أهل الأرض، نقاتله مع آل معاوية وابن سمية الزانية، ضلال يا لك من ضلال.

2.6: Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam[2]

709. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting al-Qāsim ibn al-Bukhayt: When the Kūfan delegation brought the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to the Grand Mosque of Damascus, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam asked them, "What happened?"

They replied, "Eighteen of their men [from Banū Hāshim] stood against us, and by God, we routed them to the last man. Here are their heads, and their womenfolk." Marwān rose quickly and left.

Then his brother Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam came to them and asked, "What happened?"

They repeated their words to him, and he said, "You have veiled yourselves from the company of Muḥammad (s) on the Day of

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 436; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 401.

قال شبثٌ لمن حوله من أصحابه: ثكلتكم أمّهاتكم! إنّما تقتلون أنفسكم بأيديكم، وتذلّلون أنفسكم لغيركم، أ

تفرحون أن يُقتل مثلُ مسلم بن عوسجة! أما والذي أسلمتُ له، لربّ موقفٍ له قد رأيته في المسلمين كريمٍ! لقد

رأيته يوم سلق آذربيجان قتل ستّة من المشركين قبل تتامّ خيول المسلمين، أفيُقتل منكم مثلُه وتفرحون؟!

[2] Abū 'Abd al-Malik, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ al-Qurayshī, al-Umawī, the cousin of 'Uthmān, was born in Mecca or Ṭā'if. He never saw the Prophet (s) because he had exiled his father to Ṭā'if, and Marwān moved there with him. The Prophet (s) has cursed him, calling him, "A lizard, son of a lizard (*wazagh ibn al-wazagh*)," and said about his father, "Woe unto my nation from the offspring of this man."

When 'Uthmān gained control of the caliphate, he allowed Marwān and his father to return to Medina and accorded them great respect. When 'Uthmān's residence was besieged (before he was killed), Marwān was injured trying to defend him. Later, he went to Mecca and joined the rebels in the Battle of Jamal. Imam 'Alī (a) gave him a pardon, but he went on to join Mu'āwiyah and fought for him in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. In the year 42/662, he became the governor of Medina. He is the one who stopped Imam al-Ḥasan (a) from being buried next to the grave of his grandfather, the Messenger of God (s). After the death of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, Marwān became the caliph for a period of nine months, before dying in the year 65/685.

Judgement. I will never be part of your actions." Then he [too] rose and left.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 469; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 65, p. 84.

لما قدم وفد أهل الكوفة برأس الحسين عليه السلام دخلوا مسجد دمشق فقال لهم مروان بن الحكم: كيف صنعتم؟ قالوا: ورد علينا منهم ثمانية عشر رجلا، فأتينا - والله - على آخرهم، وهذه الرؤوس والسبايا، فوثب مروان فانصرف.

وأتاهم أخوه يحيى بن الحكم فقال: ما صنعتم؟ فأعادوا عليه الكلام، فقال: حجبتم عن محمد صلى الله عليه و آله يوم القيامة، لن أجامعكم على أمر أبدا، ثم قام فانصرف.

PART 3: REACTION TO THE KILLING OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) AMONG THE FAMILY OF HIS KILLERS

3/1: The wife of Yazīd[1]

710. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*): Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayz wept over al-Ḥusayn (a). At the time, she was the wife of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. He remarked, "It is fitting that she weeps aloud for the leader of the tribe of Quraysh and its chief."[2]

3/2: The daughter of Yazīd[3]

711. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Yazīd sent the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) to the women of his family. The head was taken by his daughter, ʿĀtikah,

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[1] Umm Kulthūm, Hind bint ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayz ibn Rabīʿ, was the wife of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah. Yazīd ordered the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) to be hung outside the door of his house. Hind, who was in a state of great sorrow (because of this), came out of the house and tore at her garments in grief.

[2] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 483; *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 314.

بكت أم كلثوم بنت عبد الله بن عامر بن كريز على الحسين عليه السلام وهي يومئذ عند يزيد بن معاوية

فقال يزيد: حق لها أن تعول على كبير قريش وسيدها.

[3] ʿĀtikah bint Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān was the wife of (the future caliph) ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and the mother of his sons, Yazīd and Marwān. She was able to appear without her *ḥijāb* in front of twelve caliphs, each of whom was her close or blood relative (*maḥram*). She had her own palace outside the al-Jābiyah Door of Damascus, which was well-known by her name. It was in this palace that her husband, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, died.

who was the mother of the [later] caliph, Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik. She washed the head, oiled it, and perfumed it.

Yazīd asked her, "What is all this?"

She replied, "You sent to me the head of my cousin; it was in a dishevelled state, so I groomed and perfumed it."[1]

3/3: Muʿāwiyah ibn Yazīd[2]

712. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*: Muʿāwiyah ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, whose mother was Umm Hāshim bint Abū Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah, ruled for forty days, or four months, according to some reports. His beliefs were sound. He addressed the people, saying:

> Praise and Glory is due to God. O people! We have been tried by you, and you [in turn] have been tried by us. We are not unaware of your hatred for us and your vilification of us.
>
> My grandfather Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān usurped the authority from one who was closer to God's Messenger (s) than him, the most entitled to it according to Islam, the first man to become a Muslim, the foremost

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ʿĀtikah had the head of Muṣʿab (ibn al-Zubayr), which had been hung at a place in Damascus, taken down. She washed it, applied camphor to it, and had it buried. She was alive until her grandson Walīd ibn Yazīd was killed, and witnessed his rule.

[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 5, p. 418. See also *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 286.

فبعث يزيد برأس الحسين عليه السلام إلى نسائه، فأخذته عاتكة ابنته - وهي أم يزيد بن عبد الملك - فغسلته ودهنته وطيّبته.

فقال لها يزيد: ما هذا؟

قالت: بعثت إليّ برأس ابن عمي شعثاً فلممته وطيّبته.

[2] Abū Laylā, Muʿāwiyah ibn Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān al-Qurayshī al-Umawī, who was given the title, "The one who returned to God (*al-rājiʿ ilā Allāh*)", was born in 44/664. During the rule of his father Yazīd, along with his father, he also received the oath of allegiance of all the Muslims, except ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and the people of Mecca.

He was the caliph for forty days, or in other reports, for three, four, or five months. Then, he ascended the pulpit and abdicated his power, disassociating himself from his father and grandfather, and denouncing their behaviour. Some reports say that he was poisoned, while others mention that he was a victim of the plague. He died in Damascus and was buried there.

amongst the believers, the cousin of the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds (s), and the father of the progeny of the last of the Messengers.

Mu'āwiyah took from you what you know, and you received from him what you cannot deny, until death caught up with him, and he went to face the requital for his actions.

Then my father [Yazid] took charge of affairs, while he was ill suited to the noble office. He did as he pleased, saw good in his wrong-doings, and made grand plans. In the end, his aspirations conspired against him, his life was curtailed, his power waned, and his life came to an [early] end. He went to his grave, answerable for his sins, and a prisoner of his crimes.

Then he wept, and continued:

Our greatest pain is our sure knowledge of his evil fate and the ignominy of his return, for he had killed the offspring of the Messenger, violated his sanctity, and set the Ka'bah on fire.

[He concluded by saying:]

I am no longer in charge of your affairs and will not bear responsibility for the consequences of your actions. The rulership is your affair [now]. By God, if this world is a treasure, we have taken our share of it; and if it is evil, then what the clan of Abū Sufyān has taken from it is quite enough for them.[1]

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[1] Tarīkh al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 254.

ملك معاوية بن يزيد بن معاوية، وأمه أم هاشم بنت أبي هاشم بن عتبة بن ربيعة، أربعين يوماً، وقيل: بل أربعة أشهر، وكان له مذهب جميل، فخطب الناس فقال:

أما بعد حمد الله والثناء عليه، أيها الناس، فإنا بلينا بكم وابتليتم بنا، فما نجهل كراهتكم لنا وطعنكم علينا. ألا وإن جدي معاوية بن أبي سفيان نازع الأمر من كان أولى به منه في القرابة برسول الله، وأحق في الإسلام، سابق المسلمين، وأول المؤمنين، وابن عم رسول رب العالمين، وأبا بقية خاتم المرسلين، فركب منكم ما تعلمون، وركبتم منه ما لا تنكرون، حتى أتته منيته وصار رهناً بعمله.

ثم قلد أبي وكان غير خليق للخير، فركب هواه، واستحسن خطأه، وعظم رجاؤه، فأخلفه الأمل، وقصر عنه الأجل، فقلت منعته، وانقطعت مدته، وصار في حفرته رهناً بذنبه، وأسيراً بجرمه.

ثم بكى، وقال: إن أعظم الأمور علينا علمنا بسوء مصرعه، وقبح منقلبه، وقد قتل عترة الرسول، وأباح الحرمة، وحرق الكعبة، وما أنا المتقلد أموركم، ولا المتحمل تبعاتكم، فشأنكم أمركم، فوالله لئن كانت الدنيا مغنماً لقد نلنا منها حظاً، وإن تكن شراً فحسب آل أبي سفيان ما أصابوا منها.

3/4: The womenfolk of the family of Abū Sufyān

713. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, from Fāṭimah bint 'Alī (a): Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah instructed al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, "Provide them [the freed captives] with whatever they will need, and send a trustworthy and suitable Syrian guide with them. Assign horsemen and servants to him, and let him escort them to Medina."

Meanwhile, Yazīd ordered that the womenfolk be kept in a separate house, provided with all their needs, and that their brother 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) should stay with them.

The women were brought out and taken to the house, which belonged to Yazīd. There was no woman from the household of Mu'āwiyah who did not come to meet them, crying and lamenting for al-Ḥusayn (a). They remained there in mourning for three days.[1]

3/5: The mother of Ibn Ziyād

714. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (*al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*), quoting Mughīrah: Marjānah[2] said to her son 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, "O reprobate! You killed the son of God's Messenger! You shall never see paradise."[3]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 462; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 69, p. 177.

قال يزيد بن معاوية: يا نعمان بن بشير، جهّزهم [أي عيال الحسين عليه السلام] بما يصلحهم، وابعث معهم رجلاً من أهل الشام أميناً صالحاً، وابعث معه خيلاً وأعواناً فيسير بهم إلى المدينة.

ثم أمر بالنسوة أن ينزلن في دار على حدة، معهن ما يصلحهن، وأخوهن معهن علي بن الحسين عليه السلام في الدار التي هنّ فيها.

قال: فخرجن حتى دخلن دار يزيد، فلم تبق من آل معاوية امرأة إلا استقبلتهن تبكي وتنوح على الحسين عليه السلام، فأقاموا عليه المناحة ثلاثاً.

[2] Marjānah was the mother of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and the wife of Ziyād, the son of his father. It is reported that she was a Persian princess who was captured and enslaved.

[3] *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā / al-ṭabaqat al-khāmisah min al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, p. 500; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 504.

قالت مرجانة لابنها عبيد الله بن زياد: يا خبيث، قتلت ابن رسول الله، لا ترى الجنة أبداً.

3/6: The wife of Khawlī

715. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, his head and those of his slain companions were sent to Ibn Ziyād with Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī and Ḥumayd ibn Muslim al-Azdī. Khawlī found the door of the government mansion shut. So he went to his own home, placed the head under a washbasin in the house, and then came to his bed.

He said to his wife al-Nawār, "I have come to you with the most precious thing in these times; the head of al-Ḥusayn is with you in the house!"

She exclaimed, "Shame on you! People came with gold and silver, whilst you brought the head of the son of God's Messenger (s)! By God, nothing will ever make me lay my head next to yours again." She left the bed and went into the house.

She reported, "By God, I began to see a pillar of light that stretched from the heavens to the washbasin, and I saw a white bird fluttering around it."[1]

3/7: A woman from the Banū Bakr

716. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: I saw a woman from the tribe of Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, who was with her husband in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. When she saw that the people had forced their way into the tents of the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn (a) and were rifling through them, she grabbed a sword and approached the tents, saying, "O men of the Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, will the daughters of God's Messenger be plundered [while you do nothing]? There is no authority except that

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[1] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 572; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 85.

لما قتل الحسين عليه السلام أرسل رأسه ورؤوس أصحابه إلى ابن زياد مع خولي بن يزيد وحميد بن مسلم الأزدي، فوجد خولي القصر مغلقاً فأتى منزله، فوضع الرأس تحت إجانة في منزله، ودخل فراشه، وقال لامرأته النوار: جئتك بغنى الدهر، هذا رأس الحسين معك في الدار.

فقالت: ويلك! جاء الناس بالذهب والفضة وجئت برأس ابن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، والله لا يجمع رأسي ورأسك بيت أبداً. وقامت من الفراش، فخرجت إلى الدار.

قالت: فما زلت أنظر إلى نور يسطع مثل العمود من السماء إلى الإجانة، ورأيت طيراً أبيض يرفرف حولها.

of God! Rise to protect the blood kin of God's Messenger!" Her husband stopped her and took her back to his camp.[1]

3/8: The wife of Mālik ibn al-Nusayr

717. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn of Khwārizmī*: A man from the tribe of Kindah [Mālik ibn Nusayr] came and took the burnoose of al-Ḥusayn (a); it was made of silk. When he brought it later to his wife, Umm 'Abd Allāh, to wash the blood off it, she said to him, "Did you plunder the burnoose of the son of the daughter of God's Messenger and bring it into my house? Get away from me! May God fill your grave with fire!"

His friends recalled that [later] his hands withered, and he always remained destitute and in poor health, until his death.[2]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 180; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 77.

رأيت امرأة من بني بكر بن وائل، كانت مع زوجها في أصحاب عمر بن سعد، فلما رأت القوم قد اقتحموا على نساء الحسين عليه السلام في فسطاطهن وهم يسلبونهن أخذت سيفا وأقبلت نحو الفسطاط، وقالت: يا آل بكر بن وائل، أتسلب بنات رسول الله؟! لا حكم إلا لله، يا لثارات رسول الله! فأخذها زوجها فردها إلى رحله.

[2] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 36; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 58.

جاء الكندي فأخذ البرنس، وكان من خز، فلما قدم به بعد ذلك على امرأته أم عبد الله ليغسله من الدم قالت له امرأته: أتسلب ابن بنت رسول الله برنسه وتدخل بيتي؟! اخرج عني حشا الله قبرك نارا!

وذكر أصحابه أنه يبست يداه ولم يزل فقيرا بأسوأ حال إلى أن مات.

PART 4: REACTION TO THE EVENTS OF KARBALA IN IRAQ AND AL-ḤIJĀZ

4/1: The reaction in Kufa to the killing of the Imam (a)

718. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Awf ibn Aḥmar al-Azdī: After al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was martyred and Ibn Ziyād returned to Kufa from his barracks in al-Nukhaylah, the Shī'a gathered, blaming themselves and showing great remorse. They realized that they had committed a grave error in inviting al-Ḥusayn (a) to Kufa and promising him their support, and then not responding to his call. He had been killed in their vicinity, yet they had not gone to assist him. They felt that the only way that they could wash off the shame and sin for their role in the slaying of al-Ḥusayn (a) was to kill those who had killed him or to die in the attempt.[1]

719. *al-Malhūf*, after the sermon of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): The voices of people rose from every side, telling one another, "You are destroyed, while you do not [yet] realize."[2]

4/2: The reaction in al-Ḥijāz to the killing of the Imam (a)

720. *al-Amālī* of al-Mufīd, quoting Abū al-Hayyāj 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āmir: When the news of the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) reached

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 552; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 644.

لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام ورجع ابن زياد من معسكره بالنخيلة فدخل الكوفة، تلاقت الشيعة بالتلاوم والتندم، ورأت أنها قد أخطأت خطأ كبيرا بدعائهم الحسين عليه السلام إلى النصرة وتركهم إجابته ومقتله إلى جانبهم لم ينصروه، ورأوا أنه لا يغسل عارهم والإثم عنهم في مقتله إلا بقتل من قتله أو القتل فيه.

[2] *al-Malhūf*, p. 199.

وارتفعت أصوات الناس من كل ناحية ويقول بعضهم لبعض: هلكتم وما تعلمون.

Medina..., we had never seen men and women weep more profusely than they did on that day.[1]

711. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*: Al-Wāqidī reported, "When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) and the captives reached Medina, there was no person in the city who did not come out lamenting and in tears."[2]

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[1] al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, p. 319; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 89.

لما أتي نعي الحسين عليه السلام إلى المدينة ... ما رأينا باكيا ولا باكية أكثر مما رأينا ذلك اليوم.

[2] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 267.

قال الواقدي: لما وصل الرأس (أي رأس الحسين عليه السلام) إلى المدينة والسبايا، لم يبق بالمدينة أحد، وخرجوا يضجون بالبكاء.

PART 5: THE FATE OF THOSE WHO PLAYED A ROLE IN THE KILLING OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A) AND HIS COMPANIONS

5/1: Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah

Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān, whose mother was Maysūn bint Bajdal al-Kalbī, was born in 25/645 or 26/646, and perished in 64/683.

He was the main instigator of the blood-soaked tragedy of Karbala. He survived for only three years afterwards, dying an ignominious death at the age of 38 years. With his death, the despotic rule of the clan of Abū Sufyān also came to an end.

There are various reports about the cause of his sudden death. However, all historians are in agreement that his excessive drinking played a role in his demise. Some have written that he was dancing in a state of intoxication when he fell to the ground and smashed his head; others say that he was bitten by a rabid monkey with whom he was playing; yet others have written that his long and frequent drinking sessions and subsequent hangovers [ruined his health and] led to his early death.

It has also been reported that after he died, his face became dark and pitch-like, and he went to the next world with his outward features resembling his inner character.

It is worth mentioning that when they first assumed power, the ʿAbbāsids had the graves of Yazīd, Muʿāwiyah, and ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān dug up, and their exhumed bones burnt to ashes.

722. *Akhbār al-Duwal wa Āthār al-Uwal*: Yazīd died in Rabīʿ al-Awwal of 64/683 near Ḥawrān.[1] He was carried to Damascus, and his funeral prayer was led by his brother Khālid, or according to another report, his son Muʿāwiyah. He was buried in the graveyard known as Bāb al-Ṣaghīr. Presently, there is a garbage site over the location of his grave.[2]

723. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghanawī: By God, the accursed Yazīd died young. After killing al-Ḥusayn (a), he did not get to experience the gratification that he had sought.

His death came unexpectedly. He fell asleep in a drunken stupor and was found dead the next morning. His features were transformed, as if they had been smeared with pitch. He was taken from this world, disgraced.[3]

5/2: ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād

Abū Ḥafṣ, ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, was born in 33/653 or 39/660. His father was Ziyād, the son of his father, and the story of how his [shameful] pedigree was altered and then attributed to Abū Sufyān by Muʿāwiyah is well-known.[4]

The mother of ʿUbayd Allāh was a Zoroastrian by the name of Marjānah, reportedly the daughter of a Persian king. She separated from Ziyād and married an unbeliever called Shīrwiyyah, and ʿUbayd Allāh was brought up in his house.

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[1] Ḥawrān is a large district in the suburbs to the south of Damascus. It has a lot of villages and farms.

[2] *Akhbār al-Duwal wa Āthār al-Uwal*, vol. 2, p. 14.

مات يزيد في شهر ربيع الأوّل سنة أربع وستّين بذات الجنب بحوران، وحُمل إلى دمشق وصلّى عليه أخوه خالد. وقيل: ابنه معاوية، ودُفن بمقبرة باب الصغير، والآن عليه مزبلة.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 132, no. 149; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 236.

والله لقد عوجل الملعون يزيد، ولم يتمتّع بعد قتله (أبي الحسين عليه السلام) بما طلب، ولقد أُخذ مفاجأة بات سكران، وأصبح ميّتاً متغيّراً كأنّه مطليّ بقار، أُخذ على أسف.

[4] We have mentioned the details of the circumstances of his birth in the household of ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī and the claim of Abū Sufyān about him in *Dānishnāmah-yi Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, vol. 13, p. 203.

In his youth, 'Ubayd Allāh learned about politics and power. He used his political acumen, or, in other words, his cunning and ruthlessness – traits which he had inherited from his father – to promote the unlawful agendas of the Banū Umayyah.

During the rule of Mu'āwiyah, Ibn Ziyād was appointed governor of Basra, and after Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd ratified his position. Later, in order to counter the threat posed by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and at the urging of his Christian adviser Sarjūn, he placed Ibn Ziyād in charge of Kufa as well.

All the atrocities committed during the event of Karbala were the consequence of the constant instructions from Ibn Ziyād. Therefore, after Yazīd, he bore the greatest responsibility for the tragedy. Even after the event of Karbala, he ruthlessly suppressed the grievances of the Iraqis.

After the death of Yazīd, although Ibn Ziyād had reportedly managed to imprison 4,500 Shī'a in appalling conditions in his dungeons, he could not put down the rebellion of the Basrans and had to run for his life in humiliation.

Sometime later, on the 10th of Muḥarram 67/688, exactly six years to the day after he had martyred Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he was captured and executed in Khāzir (*five farsakhs* away from Mosul in the north of Iraq) by the forces of Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar, following a fierce battle which was won by Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar. In addition to Ibn Ziyād, many other officers who had committed atrocities, as well as soldiers from the Syrian army, were killed.

Ibrāhīm had the body of Ibn Ziyād burned and sent his head to al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, who in turn sent the head to al-Ḥijāz in order to bring consolation to Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) and the household of the Prophet (s).

714. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, quoting Ibn al-Jarīr, in the description of events following the killing of Ibn Ziyād: Ibn al-Ashtar sent the head of Ibn Ziyād [and the others] to al-Mukhtār, who sat in the governor's mansion with the heads arrayed before him. He placed them where the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions had been placed. Then

al-Mukhtār had the head of Ibn Ziyād hung at the same spot where the [blessed] head of al-Ḥusayn (a) had been displayed.

The next day, he threw the head, along with the rest of the heads [of the killers], into the courtyard.[1][2]

725. ***al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*****, quoting 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr:** I came to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād when the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was placed before him on a tray. By God, it was not long afterwards that I came to al-Mukhtār, and the head of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was placed before him on a tray.[3]

726. ***Sunan al-Tirmidhī*****, quoting 'Umārah ibn 'Umayr:** When the heads of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and his companions were brought, they were stacked in a pile in the courtyard of the Grand Mosque [of Kufa]. When I came, the soldiers were saying, "It has come, it has come." Suddenly, a snake glided amongst the heads and entered the nostril of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. It stayed in his skull for some time and then emerged, and went away until it disappeared from sight. Then, they began to say again, "It has come, it has come." The snake repeated its action two or three times.[4]

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[1] *Al-raḥbah* means courtyard, and seems more correct; however, here it is rendered as al-Ruḥbah, which was the name of a Kufan suburb. [Trans.]

[2] *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 286; see also *al-Muḥabbir*, p. 491.

بعث ابن الأشتر رأس ابن زياد إلى المختار، فألقي في القصر، وألقيت الرؤوس بين يديه فألقاها في المكان الذي وضع فيه رأس الحسين عليه السلام وأصحابه، ونصب المختار رأس ابن زياد في المكان الذي نصب فيه رأس الحسين عليه السلام، ثم ألقاه في اليوم الثاني في الرحبة مع الرؤوس.

[3] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 125, no. 2877; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 196.

دخلت على عبيد الله بن زياد وإذا رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام قدامه على ترس، فو الله ما لبثت إلا قليلاً حتى دخلت على المختار، فإذا رأس عبيد الله بن زياد على ترس.

[4] *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 660, no. 3780; *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 125, no. 2832.

لما جيء برأس عبيد الله بن زياد وأصحابه نضدت في المسجد في الرحبة، فانتهيت إليهم وهم يقولون: قد جاءت، قد جاءت، فإذا حية قد جاءت تخلل الرؤوس حتى دخلت في منخري عبيد الله بن زياد، فمكثت هنيهة، ثم خرجت، فذهبت حتى تغيبت، ثم قالوا: قد جاءت، قد جاءت، ففعلت ذلك مرتين أو ثلاثا.

797. *Rijāl* of al-Kashshī, quoting 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn [Zayn al-'Ābidīn] (a): When the heads of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and 'Umar ibn Sa'd were brought before 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), he fell into prostration, saying, "All praise is due to God, Who avenged our blood from our enemies. May God reward al-Mukhtār with goodness."[1]

798. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, after 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād perished at the hands of al-Mukhtār in the year 67/688: Al-Mukhtār despatched the head of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād to 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) in Medina. He entrusted the task to a man from his own tribe, instructing him, "Wait at the door of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a). When you see his doors open, and people going in, that will be the time when he serves food, so enter at the same time."

The messenger came to the door of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), and when the doors opened and people went in to receive food, he called out in his loudest voice, "O household of prophethood, and the repository of God's message, and the place of descent of the angels, and the house of revelation! I am the messenger of al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd. I bring with me the head of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād."

There was no woman from the household of Banu Hāshim who did not cry out in joy. The messenger entered and presented the head. When he saw it, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "May God distance him [from His mercy] and cast him into hellfire."

Some have reported, "After his father was slain, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was never seen laughing, except on that day. He had a camel which was carrying fruit from Syria. When the head of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was brought to him, he instructed for that fruit to be distributed amongst the residents of Medina. He also asked the women of the household of the Prophet (s) to arrange their hair and rouge their cheeks. None of the women had adorned themselves or applied *rouge* to their cheeks, since the martyrdom of al-Husayn (a)."[1]

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[1] al-Kashshī, *Rijāl*, vol. 1, p. 341, no. 203; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl*, p. 277.

إنّ عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام لما أُتي برأس عبيد الله بن زياد ورأس عمر بن سعد، قال: فخرّ ساجداً وقال: الحمد لله الذي أدرك لي ثأري من أعدائي، وجزى الله المختار خيراً.

5/3: 'Umar ibn Sa'd

Abū Hafṣ, 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, was the commander of the troops of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād who fought against Imam al-Husayn (a).

There is disagreement about the year of his birth. He was born into a relatively high-ranking family of the Quraysh. From his early days he was power-hungry and considered his father to be the person most suited to become caliph.

Ibn Sa'd was the third most culpable person in the tragedy of Karbala; he was responsible for the battle strategy on the day. In his greed for the governorship of al-Rayy, he succumbed to the false promises of Ibn Ziyād and committed a great crime, whose shame would stain him and his family forever.

Just as foretold by Imam al-Husayn (a), 'Umar ibn Sa'd never achieved his ambition of becoming the governor of al-Rayy. He remained helpless in Kufa, until he tasted worldly chastisement at the hands of al-Mukhtār.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 259.

ووجه [المختار] برأس عبيد الله بن زياد إلى علي بن الحسين عليه السلام إلى المدينة مع رجل من قومه وقال له: قف بباب علي بن الحسين عليه السلام فإذا رأيت أبوابه قد فتحت ودخل الناس فذلك الوقت الذي يوضع فيه طعامه فادخل إليه.

فجاء الرسول إلى باب علي بن الحسين عليه السلام، فلما فتحت أبوابه ودخل الناس للطعام، نادى بأعلى صوته: يا أهل بيت النبوة، ومعدن الرسالة، ومهبط الملائكة، ومنزل الوحي، أنا رسول المختار بن أبي عبيد معي رأس عبيد الله بن زياد. فلم تبق في شيء من دور بني هاشم امرأة إلا صرخت، ودخل الرسول فأخرج الرأس، فلما رآه علي بن الحسين عليه السلام قال: أبعده الله إلى النار.

وروى بعضهم أن علي بن الحسين عليه السلام لم ير ضاحكاً يوماً قط منذ قتل أبوه إلا في ذلك اليوم، وأنه كان له إبل تحمل الفاكهة من الشام، فلما أتي برأس عبيد الله بن زياد أمر بتلك الفاكهة، ففرقت في أهل المدينة، وامتشطت نساء آل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله واختضبن، وما امتشطت امرأة ولا اختضبت منذ قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام.

During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, 'Umar ibn Sa'd was high on the list of wanted men. Through the intercession of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'dah ibn Hubayrah, he wrote to al-Mukhtār requesting immunity.[1] However, al-Mukhtār gave a diplomatic and equivocal response; and, at the first opportunity that presented a pretext, he sent one of his lieutenants, Abū 'Amrah, to go and arrest Ibn Sa'd. In attempting to capture him, Abū 'Amrah got into a swordfight with 'Umar ibn Sa'd and killed him. He wrapped his head in a cloth and brought it to al-Mukhtār.

Al-Mukhtār showed the head of 'Umar ibn Sa'd to his son, Ḥafṣ, and asked him, "Do you recognize the head?"

Ḥafṣ answered in the affirmative, and recited, "*Verily we are from God, and to Him we shall return*", and cried, "Life after him holds no worth!"

Al-Mukhtār replied, "You speak the truth. After him, you will not live either." Then he ordered his death, and, when his head was placed next to that of his father, al-Mukhtār remarked, "One is in return for al-Ḥusayn (a), and the other is in return for 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), even though there can be no comparison!" Then he sent the two heads to Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah in Medina.

It should be mentioned that there is disagreement about the year in which this event took place; however, it appears that, as reported by al-Ṭabarī, 'Umar ibn Sa'd was killed at the beginning of the movement of al-Mukhtār, i.e. in 66/685.[2]

729. *al-Irshād*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Sharīk al-'Āmirī: Every time 'Umar ibn Sa'd came through the door of the mosque, I would hear the companions of Imam 'Alī (a) remark, "This is the man who will kill al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a)." And this was a long time before he was slain.[3]

730. *al-Irshād*, quoting Sālim ibn Abī Ḥafṣah: 'Umar ibn Sa'd said to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), "O Abā 'Abd Allāh, there are some foolish people around us who imagine that I shall kill you."

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[1] Ibn Sa'd was the brother-in-law of al-Mukhtār. [Trans.]

[2] See *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 62.

[3] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 131; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 224.

كنت أسمع أصحاب علي عليه السلام إذا دخل عمر بن سعد من باب المسجد، يقولون: هذا قاتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وذلك قبل قتله بزمان.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) replied, "They are not foolish; rather, they are men of insight. But I take comfort in knowing that you will not eat from the wheat of Iraq after me, except a little."[1]

731. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, 'Umar ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, and his brother, Qays ibn al-Ash'ath, came to Kufa when they received news that the people had risen against al-Mukhtār and were refusing to obey him.

During the rule of al-Mukhtār, they had been constantly on the run, because they were amongst the ringleaders in the war against al-Ḥusayn (a). Now, they joined the Kufans and assumed charge of their affairs. The two groups prepared to wage war; the Kufans all gathered in the cemetery of al-Ḥashāshīn. Al-Mukhtār marched towards them, and battle commenced....

News reached al-Mukhtār that Shabath ibn Rib'ī, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj, and Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, along with 'Umar ibn Sa'd [were attempting to escape and] had taken the road to Basra, accompanied by a group of Kufan nobles. He sent one of his trusted men, Abū al-Qalūṣ al-Shibāmī, with a company of horsemen in pursuit. Al-Shibāmī caught up with them at the borders of al-Madhār. They attacked him, and the two groups fought for a while, before the pursuing group prevailed. 'Umar ibn Sa'd was captured by Abū al-Qalūṣ, who took him back to al-Mukhtār. The rest escaped.

Al-Mukhtār said to Ibn Sa'd, "All praise is for God, Who allowed me to apprehend you. By God, I will appease the hearts of the household of Muḥammad (s) by the spilling of your blood. O Kaysān, strike his neck!"

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 132; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 45, p. 48.

قال عمر بن سعد للحسين عليه السلام: يا أبا عبد الله، إنّ قِبَلنا ناساً سفهاء يزعمون أنّي أقتلك.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: إنّهم ليسوا بسفهاء، ولكنّهم حلماء، أما إنّه يقرّ عيني ألّا تأكل من برّ العراق بعدي إلّا قليلاً.

He beheaded Ibn Sa'd, took his head, and sent it to Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyyah in Madina.[1]

al-Da'awāt: When al-Mukhtār despatched the head of 'Umar ibn Sa'd – may God curse him – to Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a), he instructed the messenger, "Do not reveal what you are carrying to anyone, until they sit to eat."

The messenger arrived when the table had been set. [When he saw the head of 'Umar ibn Sa'd] Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) fell down in prostration and wept for a long time. Then he sat up and said, "All praise is due to God, Who avenged our blood before my death."[2]

5/4: Shimr ibn Dhi al-Jawshan

Abū Sābighah, Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan[3] ibn Kilāb ibn Rabī'... ibn al-Manṣir was responsible for some of the most reprehensible atrocities committed in Karbala. He was ugly, both in face[1] as well as by nature.

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[1] *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 300; see also *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 45, p. 58.

إنَّ شمر بن ذي الجوشن، وعمر بن سعد، ومحمد بن الأشعث، وأسماء بن خارجة، [illegible] أشراف الكوفة [illegible] [illegible] الناس على المختار [illegible] من المختار [illegible] في قتال الحسين عليه السلام، [illegible] مع أهل الكوفة [illegible] أمر الناس [illegible] أهل الكوفة [illegible] المختار [illegible] فقتلوا...

وبلغ المختار، أن [illegible] ومحمد بن الأشعث مع عمر بن سعد [illegible] [illegible] أهل الكوفة [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] عمر بن سعد [illegible] [illegible] المختار.

فقال: الحمد لله الذي [illegible] [illegible] الكوفة.

[2] *al-Da'awāt*, p. 184, no. 493; see also Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-'Ilal*, vol. 1, p. 133, no. 11.

لما بعث المختار برأس عمر بن سعد لعنه الله إليه، وقال: لا تعلم أحداً ما معك حتى يضع الغداء.

ثم دخل وقد وضعت المائدة، فخر زين العابدين عليه السلام ساجداً، وبكى وأطال البكاء، ثم جلس فقال: الحمد لله الذي أدرك لي بثأري قبل وفاتي.

[3] There is disagreement about the name of Dhi al-Jawshan; some believe his name was Sharaḥbīl, others, 'Uthmān ibn Nawfal, and yet others, Aws ibn A'war.

In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, Shimr fought on the side of Imam 'Alī (a) against the Umayyads, and was even wounded. However, afterwards, he chose the evil path and became one of their partisans. His testimony against Ḥujr ibn 'Adī resulted in the martyrdom of that noble personality at Marj Adhrā'.[2]

He had an influential role in dispersing the Kufans from around Muslim. In the events of Karbala, his intransigence was the reason why Ibn Ziyād rejected the advice of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He himself carried the threatening message of 'Ubayd Allāh to Ibn Sa'd, instructing him to attack Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions from all sides, or else relinquish command to Shimr. When 'Umar ibn Sa'd agreed to lead the battle against Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), Shimr commanded the left wing of his army.

When Shimr saw that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was finally isolated and alone but still continuously killing his men in single combat, he gave the order to the archers, foot-soldiers, and horsemen to attack him together.

Even when the Imam (a) had fallen to the ground and Khawlī hesitated to sever his head, according to some reports, it was Shimr who came down from his horse and severed the blessed head of the Imam (a) from his body. Then he sent the head with Khawlī to 'Umar ibn Sa'd.

Shimr also ordered his slave to kill the wife of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umayr al-Kalbī.

When the camp was attacked, he had planned to kill Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a).

He had a key role in transporting the captive women and the blessed heads of the martyrs from Iraq to the court in Damascus.

The brutality of Shimr was so great that Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) cursed him by name.

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[1] See also *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 8, p. 524.

[2] "The pasture of Adhrā'", an area 19 km from Damascus, where Ḥujr ibn 'Adī and his companions were killed and are buried. [Trans.]

During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, Shimr was forced into hiding. However, he was finally captured in the scorching desert between Kūfa and Baṣra. After a brief skirmish, he was wounded, and, according to reports, killed in that place. Another report mentions that he was taken prisoner and sent to al-Mukhtār, who beheaded him and had his body thrown into boiling oil.

731- *al-Malhūf*: Shimr Ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, may God curse him, attacked the tent of al-Ḥusayn (a); he thrust his spear into it, then said, "Bring me fire so that I can burn it and whoever is within it."

Al-Ḥusayn (a) told him, "O Ibn Dhī al-Jawshan! Do you call for fire to burn my family? May God burn you in hellfire."[1]

732- *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, quoting Abū Isḥāq: Shimr used to perform his prayers with us, then make the following supplication: "O God, verily You know that I am a noble person, so forgive me."

I asked, "How will God forgive you, when you took part in killing the son of God's Messenger (s)?"

He replied, "Woe unto you! What else could we have done? Our leaders ordered us to perform a task, and we did not disobey them; and if we had done so, we would be worse than these water-bearing donkeys."

I said, "That is a vile excuse. Obedience is only [of worth] in acts of decency."[2]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 173; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 54.

إنّ شمر بن ذي الجوشن لعنه الله حمل على فسطاط الحسين عليه السلام فطعنه بالرمح، ثمّ قال: عليّ بالنار أحرقه على من فيه.

فقال له الحسين عليه السلام: يا ابن ذي الجوشن، أنت الداعي بالنار لتحرق على أهلي، أحرقك الله بالنار.

[2] *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, vol. 2, p. 280; *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 3, p. 152.

كان شمر يصلّي معنا ثمّ يقول: اللهمّ إنّك تعلم أنّي شريف فاغفر لي.

قلت: كيف يغفر الله لك وقد أعنت على قتل ابن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله؟!

قال: ويحك! فكيف نصنع؟ إنّ أمراءنا هؤلاء أمرونا بأمر فلم نخالفهم، ولو خالفناهم كنّا شرًّا من هذه الحمر السقاة.

قلت: إنّ هذا لعذر قبيح، فإنّما الطاعة في المعروف.

735. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting al-Madā'inī, from his narrators: Al-Mukhtār was searching for Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan. He escaped into the desert, so al-Mukhtār sent Abū 'Amrah to seek him. He pursued Shimr with a company of men. [When they found him] Shimr fought fiercely against them, but was severely wounded. Abū 'Amrah captured him and sent him to al-Mukhtār, who beheaded him. Then he ordered oil to be brought to boiled in a trough; Shimr's body was thrown into it and destroyed.

One of the clients (*mawlā*) of the household of Ḥārithah ibn Muḍarrab stamped on his face and head.[1]

5/5: Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr ibn Nā'il al-Kindī al-Sakūnī, was from the city of Ḥimṣ in Syria, and was its governor for a time. In the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he commanded the army of Ḥimṣ on the side of Mu'āwiyah.

He was an open supporter of the Banū Umayyah, and in Kufa, he was the head of the constabulary and a deputy of Ibn Ziyād.

He was assigned by Ibn Ziyād to patrol the areas of al-Qādisiyyah, Khaffān, and al-Quṭquṭānah [to intercept any suspicious travellers to Kufa].

He was responsible for the capture of Qays ibn Mushir and 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaqṭur, two envoys of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

Ibn Numayr was present in Karbala, and on the day of Ashura, he commanded the archers in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. His archers showered arrows at the men of the Imam (a) [in the first charge] and killed their horses, preparing the ground for the final assault by a group of foot-soldiers of Ibn Sa'd against the soldiers of the Imam (a).

Ibn Numayr fought in some encounters himself, and played a role in the martyrdom of Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir. He was the one who shot an arrow at the blessed mouth of the Imam (a), [causing him to bleed and] preventing him from drinking water.

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[1] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 244, no. 424; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 338.

طلب المختار شمر بن ذي الجوشن، فهرب إلى البادية، فسعى به إلى أبي عمرة، فخرج إليه مع نفر من أصحابه فقاتلهم قتالاً شديداً، فأثخنته الجراحة، فأخذه أبو عمرة أسيراً وبعث به إلى المختار، فضرب عنقه، وأغلى له دهناً في إجّانة وقذفه فيها فتفسّخ، ووطئ مولى لآل حارثة بن مضرّب وجهه ورأسه.

When the battle was over, Ibn Numayr and his men carried seventeen heads back to Kufa.

After the event of Karbala, he participated in the event of al-Ḥarrah,[1] serving as the representative in Medina of the bloodthirsty commander of the Syrian forces, Muslim ibn 'Uqbah. When Muslim died on the way to Mecca, Ibn Numayr took over command and led the army to Mecca. In the ensuing battle with 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, he set the *Ka'bah* on fire. Then he returned to Iraq and took part in the battles to suppress the uprising of the Tawwābīn, who were led by Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī.

Finally, after the uprising of al-Mukhtār, he was killed in battle against one of al-Mukhtār's generals, Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar. Ibrāhīm had his body burnt and sent his head to al-Mukhtār in Kufa, and then to Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. His head was displayed in Mecca and Medina as a lesson to others.

It should be noted that some of the atrocities mentioned earlier have been attributed in a number of sources to al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm ibn Usāmah ibn al-Zuhayr ibn Durayd al-Tamīmī. This can not the same person as the al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr whom we are discussing, and it is likely that his name has been distorted or edited, or that the accounts have been conflated. That which is certain is that al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr was a high-ranking commander in the army of the Banū Umayyah. He was active in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, the events of Karbala and al-Ḥarrah, the attack on Mecca, and the battle against the Tawwābūn and al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī.

5/6: 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj

'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ka'b al-Madhḥijī al-Zubaydī was one of the leading figures of Kufa. He was married to the sister of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah.

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[1] The attack on Medina, by the Syrian army of Yazīd, in 63/683, when many shameful crimes were committed by the Umayyad soldiers. [Trans.]

He was one of those who wrote to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), inviting him to come to Kufa. However, a short time later, he reneged on his pledge and joined Ibn Ziyād. Ibn Ziyād even made him the commander of the right wing of the army of ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d in Karbala.

In Karbala, he directed his horsemen to block the access of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions to the river. He and his men fought against al-‘Abbās (a), and on the day of Ashura, he urged his men to attack Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He devised strategies with ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d to overcome the brave and combative followers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), including stoning them and then attacking pockets of them en masse. He warned his men against accepting challenges to single combat.

He led his soldiers in charges against the left wing of the army of the Imam (a), which was under the command of Muslim ibn ‘Awsajah, resulting in the martyrdom of Muslim.

Afterwards, during the uprising of al-Mukhtār, ‘Amr went into hiding. According to a report, just as he had been cursed by Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he died of severe thirst in the desert. According to another report, he disappeared somewhere on the route between Basra and Kufa, and was never heard from again.

736. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*: The men of ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d blocked the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) from the water; one contingent was led by ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) imprecated a curse on them that they should experience severe thirst. As a result, this man [‘Amr] died of extreme thirst.[1]

737. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*: ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj, one of the leaders of the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a), escaped, heading towards Basra. However, fearing the derision of the Basrans, he changed direction and went to Sarāf. The people there said to him, "Leave our town, for we do not want any reprisal from al-Mukhtār." He departed, but later they were regretful, saying, "We should not have done that."

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 175.

وجعل أصحاب عمر بن سعد يمنعون أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام من الماء، وعلى سرية منهم عمرو بن الحجاج،
فدعا عليهم بالعطش، فمات هذا الرجل من شدة العطش.

A group of them rode out after him, intending to ask him to return. When he saw them from afar, he mistook them for the soldiers of al-Mukhtār, so he went [deep] into the desert towards a place called al-Bayaydah. It was situated in an area of oppressive heat, between the lands of the Banū Kalb and the Banu Ṭayyi'. He went to sleep there at midday, and he and his companions perished from extreme thirst.[1]

5/7: Aḥbash ibn Marthad

Aḥbash ibn Marthad ibn 'Alqamah ibn Salāmah al-Ḥaḍramī, called Akhnas in some sources, was one of the horsemen in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. When Ibn Sa'd called for men to trample the sacred body of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he was one of the ten men to volunteer. According to a report, Aḥbash was amongst those who plundered the body of the Imam (a), stealing his turban.

After the event of Karbala, he was standing in a battlefield when an arrow from an unknown archer hit him. It split his heart, killing him.

5/8: Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī

Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī was a horseman who volunteered, at the invitation of 'Umar ibn Sa'd, to trample the sacred body of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was also the one who stole the shirt of the Imam (a). After he wore it, he was afflicted with leprosy and lost his hair.

Al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī captured him and ordered for him to be trampled to death.

738. ***Tarikh al-Tabari***, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: 'Umar ibn Sa'd called out to his men, "Who will volunteer to go out to al-Ḥusayn and trample his body with his horse?"

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[1] *al-Akhbar al-Tiwal*, p. 303.

وهرب عمرو بن الحجاج، وكان من رؤساء قتلة الحسين عليه السلام، يريد البصرة، فخاف الشماتة فعدل
إلى سراف، فقال له أهل الماء: ارحل عنا فإنا لا نأمن المختار. فارتحل عنهم، فتلاوموا وقالوا: قد أسأنا.
فركبت جماعة منهم في طلبه ليردوه، فلما رآهم من بعيد ظن أنهم من أصحاب المختار، فسلك الرمل في مكان
يدعى البييضة، وذلك في حمارة القيظ، وهي فيما بين بلاد كلب وبلاد طيئ، فقال فيه، فقتله ومن معه العطش.

Ten men volunteered; amongst them was Isḥāq ibn Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī, who had stolen the shirt of al-Ḥusayn (a) and was later afflicted with leprosy.[1]

5/9: Bajdal ibn Sulaym

Bajdal ibn Sulaym was from the Banū Kalb. He is the man who cut off the blessed finger of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in order to steal his ring. For this reason, when he was captured by al-Mukhtār, his hands and feet were cut off before he was left to perish from his wounds.

No other information about his life is available.

5/10: Baḥr ibn Ka'b

On the day of Ashura, Baḥr ibn Ka'b was the one who severed the arm of 'Abd Allāh, the young son of Imam al-Ḥasan (a), while he was in the arms of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was also one of those who plundered the clothes of the Imam (a).

739. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: Sulaymān ibn Abī Rāshid narrated to me from Ḥumayd ibn Muslim:

> When only three or four of his companions remained, al-Ḥusayn (a) asked for a pair of strongly woven trousers. They brought him a pair that had a strong and lustrous Yamānī lining. He tore the lining and ripped the trousers, so that they would not be plundered.
>
> One of his companions said to him, "Perhaps you should wear a pair of shorts under them."
>
> He replied, "Such a garment is demeaning, and it is not appropriate that I should wear it."
>
> When he was martyred, Baḥr ibn Ka'b came and plundered them, leaving him (a) in this manner.

Abū Mikhnaf added that 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb said to him, quoting Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "The hands of Baḥr ibn Ka'b would develop weeping sores in the winter and resemble withered sticks in the summer."[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 454; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 411.

إنّ عمر بن سعد نادى في أصحابه: من ينتدب للحسين ويوطئه فرسه؟

فانتدب عشرة منهم، إسحاق بن حيوة الحضرمي وهو الذي سلب قميص الحسين عليه السلام فبرص بعد.

5/11: Bishr ibn Sawṭ

Abū Asmā', Bishr ibn Sawṭ al-Hamdānī al-Qābiḍī, was from the Banū Hamdān, and one of the participants in the killing of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Aqīl. In some supplications and *ziyārat* texts, he is also mentioned as the killer of Ja'far, another of the sons of 'Aqīl, whom he killed with arrows. However, in the historical sources, the killer of Ja'far ibn 'Aqīl is mentioned as 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Urwah, or someone with a similar name.

In any case, during the uprising of al-Mukhtār, Bishr was captured by 'Abd Allāh ibn Kāmil and summarily beheaded.

5/12: Tamīm ibn al-Ḥuṣayn

Tamīm ibn al-Ḥuṣayn was from the Banū Fazār and part of the cavalry of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He was foremost amongst those who went forward to fight in single combat, taunting the thirsty men of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in a sarcastic tone about the gleaming water of the Euphrates [that was blocked to them]. For this reason, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) cursed him and described him as an inmate of hellfire, and prayed that he would be killed thirsty. As a result of the prayer of the Imam (a), it was not long before Tamīm was overcome with such an extreme thirst that he [swooned and] fell from his horse, and was trampled and killed under the hooves of the horses behind him.

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[1] Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 451; Ansāb al-Ashrāf, vol. 3, p. 408.

حدثني سليمان بن أبي راشد عن حميد بن مسلم، قال: لما بقي الحسين عليه السلام في ثلاثة رهط أو أربعة دعا بسراويل محققة يلمع فيها البصر يمني محقق، ففزره ونكثه لكيلا يسلبه.

فقال له بعض أصحابه: لو لبست تحته تبانا قال: ذلك ثوب مذلة ولا ينبغي لي أن ألبسه.

قال: فلما قتل أقبل بحر بن كعب فسلبه إياه فتركه مجردا.

قال أبو مخنف: فحدثني عمرو بن شعيب عن محمد بن عبد الرحمن، أن يدي بحر بن كعب كانتا في الشتاء تنضحان الماء، وفي الصيف تيبسان كأنهما عود.

5/13: Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil

Ḥarmalah was from the tribe of Banū Asad. He was one of the archers in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. On the day of Ashura, he shot an arrow that killed the suckling infant of Imam al-Husayn (a) in his father's arms. He is also known as the killer of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan (a). He also played a role in the martyrdom of al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) and carried his sacred head to Kufa.

Harmalah saw the consequences of his atrocities in this world; ultimately, he too, was captured during the uprising of al-Mukhtār. At the orders of al-Mukhtār, his hands and feet were cut off, before he was thrown into a blazing fire.

740. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting Minhāl ibn 'Amr: On my return from Mecca, I went to see Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a). He asked me, "O Minhāl! What is Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil al-Asadī doing?"

I replied, "He was alive in Kufa when I left."

[On hearing this] he stretched out his hands upwards, and prayed. "O God, let him taste the heat of iron! O God, let him taste the heat of iron! O God, let him taste the heat of fire!"

Then I came to Kufa, at the time when al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd had taken power. He was a friend of mine. I remained in my home for a few days, until the coming and going of people came to an end. Then I rode to see him and met him outside his house.

He said, "O Minhāl! Why have you not yet come to see us since we assumed power? You have not yet congratulated us or offered to join us!"

I informed him that I had been in Mecca, and had only been able to come to him then. We walked together and talked, until we came to al-Kinās.[1] He stopped there and stood, as if waiting for something. He had been informed about the location of Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhilah, and had sent someone to find him.

Soon, a group of people appeared, some running and others stamping the ground with their feet. They came before us and said, "O Amir, good news! Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhilah has been captured." It was not long before he was brought.

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[1] The district of the Banū Asad.

When al-Mukhtār's eyes fell on him, he said to him, "All praise is due to God, Who has delivered you into my hands." Then he called, "Executioner! Executioner!" An executioner was brought. He instructed him, "Cut off his hands." His hands were cut. Then he said, "Cut off his feet." They, too, were cut off. Then he said, "Bring fire, bring fire!" Torches and firewood were prepared. Ḥarmalah was thrown into the blaze, and the flames engulfed him.

I exclaimed, "Glory be to God!"

He asked me, "O Minhāl! Glorification is good, but why did you do so?"

I said, "O Amīr! On my return from Mecca during this last journey, I went to see 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) [in Medina]. He asked me, 'O Minhāl, what is Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil al-Asadī doing?' I replied, 'He was alive in Kufa when I left.' He stretched out his hands upwards and prayed, 'O God, let him taste the heat of iron! O God, let him taste the heat of iron! O God, let him taste the heat of fire!'"

Mukhtār asked me, "Did you [truly] hear 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) say this?"

I replied, "I swear by God, I heard him say it."

Al-Mukhtār dismounted and recited two units of prayer. His prostrations were lengthy. Then he rose and mounted his horse. By now, Ḥarmalah had burned to death. I rode away with him, and we stopped opposite my house. I said, "O Amīr! If you are able, you would honour and please me by stopping at my house and joining me for a meal."

Al-Mukhtār replied, "O Minhāl! You informed me that 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) prayed for four things, and God brought his prayers to fruition at my hands; then you ask me to eat? [No.] This is a day to fast in gratitude to God, the Almighty, for what He made possible for me to do."

Ḥarmalah was one of the people who paraded the [sacred] head of al-Ḥusayn (a).[1]

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[1] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 238, no. 423; *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 324.

[illegible] الحسين عليه السلام [illegible] فقال لي: يا منهال، ما صنع حرملة بن كاهل
الأسدي؟ فقلت: تركته حيا بالكوفة

5/14: Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl

Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl was one of those who shot arrows at Imam al-Husayn (a), although he [later] claimed that his arrows only struck the shirt mail of the Imam (a) and did not injure him. However, after the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn (a), he was one of the ten men who volunteered to run their horses over the sacred body of the Imam (a).

It has also been reported that he participated in the killing of al-'Abbās (a) and plundered his clothes after he had been martyred. This report conforms to the text of the salutation of al-'Abbās (a), in which Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl is mentioned as one of the men who killed

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قال: فرفع يديه جميعاً فقال: اللهم أذقه حرّ الحديد، اللهم أذقه حرّ الحديد، اللهم أذقه حرّ النار.

قال المنهال: فقدمت الكوفة وقد ظهر المختار بن أبي عبيدة، وكان لي صديقاً، قال: فكنت في منزلي أياماً حتى انقطع الناس عني، وركبت إليه، فلقيته خارجاً من داره.

فقال: يا منهال، لم تأتنا في ولايتنا هذه ولم تهنئنا بها ولم تشركنا فيها؟

فأعلمته أني كنت بمكة، وأني قد جئتك الآن، وسايرته ونحن نتحدث، حتى أتى الكناس، فوقف وقوفاً كأنه ينتظر شيئاً، وقد كان أخبر بمكان حرملة بن كاهل، فوجّه في طلبه، فلم نلبث أن جاء قوم يركضون وقوم يشتدون، حتى قالوا: أيها الأمير البشارة، قد أخذ حرملة بن كاهل، فما لبثنا أن جيء به، فلما نظر إليه المختار، قال لحرملة: الحمد لله الذي مكنني منك.

ثم قال: الجزار الجزار، فأتي بجزار، فقال له: اقطع يديه، فقطعتا، ثم قال له: اقطع رجليه، فقطعتا، ثم قال: النار النار، فأتي بنار وقصب، فألقي عليه واشتعلت فيه النار.

فقلت: سبحان الله! فقال لي: يا منهال، إن التسبيح لحسن، ففيم سبّحت؟

فقلت: أيها الأمير، دخلت في سفرتي هذه منصرفي من مكة على علي بن الحسين عليه السلام، فقال لي: يا منهال، ما فعل حرملة بن كاهل الأسدي؟ فقلت: تركته حياً بالكوفة، فرفع يديه جميعاً فقال: اللهم أذقه حرّ الحديد، اللهم أذقه حرّ الحديد، اللهم أذقه حرّ النار.

فقال لي المختار: أسمعت علي بن الحسين عليه السلام يقول هذا؟ فقلت: والله لقد سمعته يقول.

قال: فنزل عن دابته وصلى ركعتين فأطال السجود، ثم قام فركب وقد احترق حرملة، وركبت معه وسرنا، فحاذيت داري فقلت: أيها الأمير، إن رأيت أن تشرفني وتكرمني وتنزل عندي وتحرم بطعامي.

فقال: يا منهال، تعلمني أن علي بن الحسين عليه السلام دعا بأربع دعوات، فأجابه الله على يدي، ثم تأمرني أن آكل؟ هذا يوم صوم شكراً لله عزّ وجلّ على ما فعلته بتوفيقه.

حرملة هو الذي حمل رأس الحسين عليه السلام.

him. It also conforms to the Arab tradition that the armour of the slain belongs to the killer.

For this reason, when he was captured during the uprising of al-Mukhtār, people swarmed over him and stripped him of his clothing, before jointly killing him by firing arrows into his body.

741. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Mūsā ibn 'Āmir, about the events of the year 66/685: Then al-Mukhtār sent 'Abd Allāh ibn Kāmil to find Ḥakīm ibn Ṭufayl al-Ṭā'ī al-Sinbisiyy. He was the one who had plundered the armour of al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a) and had shot an arrow at al-Ḥusayn (a), although he used to say, "My arrow caught in his shirt mail and did not injure him."

'Abd Allāh ibn Kāmil pursued and captured him. His family went to 'Adī ibn Ḥātim for assistance. 'Adī met the captors on their way and spoke to 'Abd Allāh ibn Kāmil about Ḥakīm, but he replied, "I have no say in his affair. This is a matter for the amir, al-Mukhtār." 'Adī said, "Then I shall come to him." 'Abd Allāh replied, "[By all means] come, may you succeed."

'Adī came to al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār had previously accepted 'Adī's intercession for a group of his clansmen who had been taken as captives on the day of Jabbānat al-Sabī'.[1] But that group had said nothing about al-Ḥusayn (a) or his household.

[Meanwhile] the Shī'a said to Ibn Kāmil, "We are afraid that the amir might accept the intercession of 'Adī ibn Ḥātim for this wretch, whose crimes are well known to you. Let us kill him."

He replied, "Do whatever you want to him."

When they reached the village of the 'Anaziyyīn, they positioned him with his hands bound and prepared to shoot him. First they told him, "You plundered the clothing of the son of 'Alī (a). By God, we will plunder your clothes while you live and observe." They stripped him of his clothes.

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[1] Jabbānat is the name given to a desert, and the Kufans also give this name to cemeteries. There were several of these in Kufa, and this prefix would be sometimes attached to the names of certain tribal cemeteries. One of them was the Jabbānat al-Sabī', and al-Mukhtār's role in that event is famous. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 99.

Then, they said to him, "You shot at al-Ḥusayn (a) and made him a target of your arrows. Then you claimed, 'My arrow caught in his shirt mail and did not injure him.' Now we shall also shoot at you with arrows, by God, like you shot at him; whatever pierces you shall be your reward."

They shot one volley at him. Many of the arrows struck him, and he fell down dead.[1]

5/15: Khawlī ibn Yazīd

Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī al-Iyādī al-Dārimī was one of the soldiers and archers of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. In the texts of the salutations to the martyrs and in the sources of history, it is mentioned that he shot arrows at 'Uthmān, the son of Imam 'Alī (a) and the brother of al-'Abbās (a). As a result of these arrows and a strike by a man of the Banū Abān, 'Uthmān was martyred.

He has also been reported as the killer of Ja'far ibn 'Alī (a), although most historical sources mention that Ja'far was martyred by Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī.

Khawlī also had a hand in the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and the severing of his blessed head. He, along with Ḥumayd ibn

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 62; see also *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 407.

أَنَّ المختار بعث عبد الله بن كامل إلى حكيم بن طفيل الطائي السنبسي، وقد كان أصاب سلب العباس بن علي عليه السلام ورمى حسينا عليه السلام بسهم، فكان يقول: تعلق سهمي بسرباله وما ضره، فأتاه عبد الله بن كامل، فأخذه ثم أقبل به، وذهب أهله فاستغاثوا بعدي بن حاتم، فلحقهم في الطريق، فكلم عبد الله بن كامل فيه، فقال: ما إليّ من أمره شيء؟ إنما ذلك إلى الأمير المختار. قال: فإني آتيه. قال: فأته راشدا. فمضى عدي نحو المختار، وكان المختار قد شفّعه في نفر من قومه أصابهم يوم جبانة السبيع لم يكونوا نطقوا بشيء من أمر الحسين ولا أهل بيته عليهم السلام، فقالت الشيعة لابن كامل: إنا نخاف أن يشفّع الأمير عدي بن حاتم في هذا الخبيث، وله من الذنب ما قد علمت، فدعنا نقتله. قال: شأنكم به.

فلما انتهوا به إلى دار العنزيين وهو مكتوف نصبوه غرضا، ثم قالوا له: سلبت ابن علي عليه السلام ثيابه، والله لنسلبن ثيابك وأنت حي تنظر، فنزعوا ثيابه.

ثم قالوا له: رميت حسينا عليه السلام واتخذته غرضا لنبلك، وقلت: تعلق سهمي بسرباله ولم يضره، وأيم الله لنرمينك كما رميته بنبال ما تعلق بك منها أجزأك. قال: فرموه رشقا واحدا، فوقعت به منهم نبال ملأته، فخر ميتا.

Muslim al-Azdī, carried the blessed head of the Imam (a) to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād in Kufa. He reached Kufa at night and kept the head of the Imam (a) in his house. When his wife became aware of the situation, she became his enemy. For this reason, during the uprising of al-Mukhtār, when his soldiers entered the house of Khawlī, she secretly pointed out his location to them.

The soldiers captured Khawlī and were taking him to al-Mukhtār, when al-Mukhtār turned them back and ordered them to kill Khawlī in his own house.

After Khawlī was killed, al-Mukhtār had his body burned. He waited until it had been reduced to ashes before he left.

722. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Mūsā ibn 'Āmir: Al-Mukhtār despatched Mu'ādh ibn Hānī' ibn 'Adī ibn al-Kindī, the son of the brother of Ḥujr, and he also sent [with him] Abū 'Amrah, the captain of his guard. They went to the house of Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī and surrounded it. He was the one who had brought the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) [to Kufa]. He was hiding in the privy.

Mu'ādh ordered Abū 'Amrah to search the house for him. Khawlī's wife came out to them, and they asked her, "Where is your husband?"

She replied, "I do not know where he is." But she pointed her hand at the outhouse. They entered it and found him, hiding under a date-basket, and hauled him out.

Al-Mukhtār was walking in Kufa, on his way to meet his companions, when Abū 'Amrah sent a messenger to him. Al-Mukhtār met the messenger outside the house of Abū Bilāl. Ibn Kāmil was with him. He gave him the news, and al-Mukhtār went to them. He took Khawlī from them and returned him to his house, and killed him in front of his family. Then he called for fire and had Khawlī's body burnt, and only departed when the body had turned to ashes.

The wife of Khawlī was from the tribe of Ḥaḍramaut. Her name was al-'Uyūf bint Mālik ibn Nahār ibn 'Aqrab. She had harboured hatred for Khawlī since the day he brought back the head of al-Ḥusayn (a).'[1]

5/16: Rushayd, the slave of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād

Rushayd was the slave of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, and the man who killed Hānī' ibn 'Urwah. During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, he accompanied Ibn Ziyād in his battle against the army of Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar, and fought at the banks of the river Khāzir. In this battle, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Murādī, one of the soldiers of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar, saw him. When he heard the people say, "There goes the killer of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah," he attacked Rushayd with his spear, killing him.

743. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Awn ibn Abī Juḥayfah: A slave of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, a Turk by the name of Rushayd, struck Hānī' ibn 'Urwah with a sword, but the blow had no effect. Hānī' said, "To God is the return. O my Lord, I turn to Your mercy, and to Your pleasure." Then Rushayd struck him again and killed him.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Murādī saw Rushayd in a place called Khāzir.[2] He was in the company of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād. The people said, "This is the killer of Hānī' ibn 'Urwah." Ibn al-Husayn vowed, "May God kill me if I do not kill him or be killed in the attempt." Then he attacked him with a spear and thrust it into him, killing him.[1]

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 59; *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 6, p. 244.

بعث [المختار] معاذ بن هانئ بن عدي الكندي ابن أخي حجر، وبعث أبا عمرة صاحب حرسه، فساروا حتى أحاطوا بدار خولي بن يزيد الأصبحي، وهو صاحب رأس الحسين عليه السلام الذي جاء به، فاختبأ في مخرجه، فأمر معاذ أبا عمرة أن يطلبه في الدار، فخرجت امرأته إليهم فقالوا لها: أين زوجك؟ فقالت: لا أدري أين هو، وأشارت بيدها إلى المخرج، فدخلوا فوجدوه قد وضع على رأسه قوصرة، فأخرجوه.

وكان المختار يسير بالكوفة، ثم إنه أقبل في أثر أصحابه وقد بعث أبو عمرة إليه رسولاً، فاستقبل المختار الرسول عند دار بلال، ومعه ابن كامل، فأخبره الخبر، فأقبل المختار نحوهم، فاستقبل به فردّه حتى قتله إلى جانب أهله، ثم دعا بنار فحرّقه، ثم لم يبرح حتى عاد رماداً، ثم انصرف عنه.

وكانت امرأته من حضرموت يقال لها العيوف بنت مالك بن نهار بن عقرب، وكانت نصبت له العداوة حين جاء برأس الحسين عليه السلام.

[2] Khāzir is a river between Arbil and Mosul. During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar fought at the banks of this river. Ibn Ziyād was killed that day. The year was 66/685. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 337; also, see Map 5.

5/17: Zur'ah

Zur'ah was from the tribe of Banū Abān ibn Dārim and was the man who killed Muhammad ibn 'Alī (a). It is also likely that he is the same Zur'ah who played a part in the martyrdom of 'Uthmān, another son of Imam 'Alī (a).

Zur'ah was one of those who encouraged his comrades to block Imam al-Husayn's (a) access to the water. According to a report, the Imam (a) asked for water on the day of Ashura; however, before he could drink, Zur'ah hit the throat of the Imam (a) with an arrow, rendering him unable to drink the water. Imam al-Husayn (a) cursed him saying, "O God! Let him die of thirst." Towards the end of his life, he was afflicted by extreme thirst and a burning in his stomach; despite having water and ice at his disposal, he would continually scream loudly about the burning in his insides.

744. *Mujtabā al-Da'wah*, quoting Muhammad al-Kūfī: There was a man from the Banū Abān ibn Dārim, by the name of Zur'ah, who had taken part in the killing of al-Husayn (a). He shot an arrow at al-Husayn (a), which lodged in his throat [causing him to bleed]. He began to collect the blood in his hands and throw it to the skies. This happened after al-Husayn (a) had asked for water to drink, but when he was struck with the arrow it prevented him from drinking. He cursed Zur'ah, saying, "O God, let him experience thirst; O God, let him experience thirst."

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 379; *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 62.

فضربه (أي ضرب هانئ بن عروة) مولى لعبيد الله بن زياد - تركي يقال له رشيد - بالسيف، فلم يصنع سيفه شيئا، فقال هانئ: إلى الله المعاد، اللهم إلى رحمتك ورضوانك، ثم ضربه أخرى فقتله.

قال: فبصر به عبد الرحمن بن الحصين المرادي بخازر، وهو مع عبيد الله بن زياد، فقال الناس: هذا قاتل هانئ بن عروة

فقال ابن الحصين: قتلني الله إن لم أقتله أو أقتل دونه، فحمل عليه بالرمح فطعنه فقتله.

The narrator says, "Those who were around Zurʿah when he died related to me that he used to scream because of the burning heat in his stomach and the freezing cold in his back. Despite having fans and ice before him, and a hot brazier at his back, he would cry, 'Give me something to drink, thirst is killing me!' A large jug, enough to satiate five people, would be brought for him, filled with barley gruel (*al-sawīq*), or water and milk. He would drink all of it and then repeat, 'Give me something to drink, thirst is killing me!'

Finally, his stomach ruptured like the rupturing of the belly of a camel.[1]

5/18: Zayd ibn Ruqād

745. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf:** Al-Mukhtār also sent ʿAbd Allāh al-Shākirī to Zayd ibn Ruqād, a man from the Banū Junmah. Zayd used to boast, "I shot one of their young men with an arrow. He had put up his arm to [protect] his forehead from the arrows. My arrow transfixed his hand to his forehead, and he could not remove his hand off his forehead."

Abū Mikhnaf reported that Abū ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Zubaydī told him that that young man was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn ʿAqīl. When his hand was fixed to his forehead, he said, "O God, they have belittled us and humiliated us. O God, kill them, just as they have killed us, and humiliate them, just as they have humiliated us."

Then he [Zayd] shot another arrow at the young man and killed him. He used to say, "I came to him when he was dead and pulled out from his chest the arrow with which I had killed him. Then I retrieved the arrow from his forehead by working it loose, but the arrowhead remained embedded in his forehead, and I could not pull it free."

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[1] Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Mujābī al-Daʿwah*, p. 92, no. 58; *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 229.

كان رجلٌ من بني أبان بن دارم يقال له: زرعة، شهد قتل الحسين عليه السلام، فرمى الحسين عليه السلام
بسهم فأصاب حنكه، فجعل يتلقّى الدم، ثم يقول هكذا إلى السماء فيرمي به، وذلك أنّ الحسين عليه السلام
دعا بماء ليشرب، فلما رماه حال بينه وبين الماء، فقال: اللهم ظمّه، اللهم ظمّه.

قال: فحدّثني من شهده وهو يموت، وهو يصيح من الحرّ في بطنه والبرد في ظهره، وبين يديه المراوح والثلج
وخلفه الكانون، وهو يقول: اسقوني أهلكني العطش، فيؤتى بعسّ عظيم فيه السويق أو الماء واللبن، لو
شربه خمسة لكفاهم، قال: فيشربه، ثم يعود فيقول: اسقوني أهلكني العطش، قال: فانقدّ بطنه كانقداد البعير.

Ibn Kāmil came to Zayd's house and surrounded it. His men rushed towards him. Zayd was a brave man, and he came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Kāmil ordered, "Do not strike him with the sword, or thrust spears at him; rather, shoot him with arrows and pelt him with stones."

They did that, and he fell down. Then Ibn Kāmil said, "If he still breathes, get him out."

They brought him out while he was barely alive. Ibn Kāmil called for fire, and they set him ablaze while he was still alive.[1]

5/III: Sinān ibn Anas

Sinān ibn Anas ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī played a leading role in the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). In the final moments, he joined others, such as Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan, to martyr the Imam (a). Many years before, Imam 'Alī (a) had foretold this event when he reprimanded the father of Sinān.

According to a report, in the presence of al-Ḥajjāj [ibn Yūsuf], Sinān confessed to killing Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). Sometime after returning to his home, Sinān became insane and died a miserable death.

In another report, it is mentioned that al-Mukhtār captured Sinān and, after torturing him severely, had him killed.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 64; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 407.

بعث المختار عبد الله بن كامل الشاكري إلى رجل من جنب يقال له زيد بن رقاد، كان يقول: لقد رميت فتى منهم بسهم وإنه لواضع كفه على جبهته يتقي النبل فأثبت كفه في جبهته فما استطاع أن يزيل كفه عن جبهته.

قال أبو مخنف: فحدثني أبو عبد الأعلى الزبيدي أن ذلك الفتى عبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل، وإنه قال حيث أثبت كفه في جبهته: اللهم إنهم استقلونا واستذلونا، اللهم فاقتلهم كما قتلونا، وأذلهم كما استذلونا. ثم إنه رمى الغلام بسهم آخر فقتله، فكان يقول: جئته ميتا فنزعت سهمي الذي قتلته به من جوفه، فلم أزل أنضنض السهم من جبهته حتى نزعته، وبقي النصل في جبهته مثبتا ما قدرت على نزعه.

قال: فلما أتى ابن كامل داره أحاط بها واقتحم الرجال عليه، فخرج مصلتا بسيفه، وكان شجاعا، فقال ابن كامل: لا تطعنوه برمح ولا تضربوه بسيف، ولكن ارموه بالنبل وارضخوه بالحجارة، ففعلوا ذلك به فسقط. فقال ابن كامل: إن كان به رمق فأخرجوه، فأخرجوه وبه رمق، فدعا بنار فحرقه بها وهو حي لم تخرج روحه.

746. ***al-Malhūf***: It is reported that al-Mukhtār captured Sinān. He cut off his fingers, one by one. Then he cut of his hands and feet. Finally, he prepared a vat of boiling oil, and Sinān was thrown into it, [and he died] thrashing around in agony.[1]

5/20: 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Khushkārah al-Bajalī

'Abd al-Raḥmān [or 'Abd Allāh] ibn Abī Khushkārah al-Bajalī, from the Banū Būzān, was the one who killed Muslim ibn 'Awsajah, the great companion of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was accompanied in this crime by Muslim ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḍibābī.

'Abd al-Raḥmān was captured during the uprising of al-Mukhtār, who ordered for him to be beheaded in the marketplace, in front of the public.

747. *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*: The end of the year 66/685: The nobles left [Kufa] for Basra. Al-Mukhtār was seeking the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a)... Then he captured Ziyād ibn Mālik al-Ḍubaʿī, 'Imrān ibn Khālid al-'Athri, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Khushkārah al-Bajalī, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Qays al-Khawlānī. They were the ones who had stolen the plant dyes (wurus)[2] that al-Ḥusayn (a) was carrying with him.

Al-Mukhtār killed them all.[3]

5/21: 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Ḥuṣayn

'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī al-Bajalī was a horseman under the command of 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj. He was one of the company of soldiers who blocked the access of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions to the water. He shamelessly addressed the Imam, "O Ḥusayn!.. By God, you will not taste a drop of water, until you die of thirst." Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) prayed against him, saying, "O God! Let him die thirsty", and this is exactly what happened.

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 176; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 75.

ويروى أنّ سناناً هذا أخذه المختار، فقطع أنامله أنملة أنملة، ثمّ قطع يديه ورجليه، وأغلى له قدراً فيها زيت، ورمى فيها وهو يضطرب.

[2] Wurus are yellow seeds, resembling sesame seeds, that are used for dyeing clothes and hair. They also have medicinal uses and have a pleasant smell. [Trans.]

[3] *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 3, p. 23.

آخر سنة ست وستين، وخروج أشراف الناس إلى البصرة، وتتبّع المختار قتلة الحسين عليه السلام... ثمّ أحضر زياد بن مالك الضبعي، وعمران بن خالد العثري، وعبد الرحمن بن أبي خشكارة البجلي، وعبد الله بن قيس الخولاني، وكانوا نهبوا من الورس الّذي كان مع الحسين عليه السلام، فقتلهم.

He was inflicted with a sickness that left him constantly thirsty. No matter how much water he drank, he could not quench his thirst. He died in this manner.

It is worth noting that in some sources, his name appears as 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, al-Ḥiṣn, or 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī. It is possible that he is the same person as Tamīm ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, whom we have already mentioned.

5/22: 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥawzah

Not much is known about him, and even his name and lineage are somewhat unclear. The narrational and historical sources mention him by different names. However, since all these names are connected to a single historical incident, one can assume that the reports are referring to the same person. The account is as follows.

> When 'Abd Allāh tried attacking the camp of Imam Al-Ḥusayn (a), he was met with a wall of fire. When he realized that he could not attack from that side, he came and stood in front of the Imam (a) and shouted out disrespectfully, "Receive the news of the fire of hell!" The Imam (a) asked about his name, and when he found out that it was Ibn Ḥawzah, he said, "O God! Drive him (*ḥuzhu*) towards hellfire." At that moment, he fell to the ground, while his legs were still in the stirrups of his horse. The horse ran on, dragging its rider behind it: his skull was crushed, and he perished.

748. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū Mikhnaf, from al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ja'far: A man from the Banū Tamīm, 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥawzah, came and stood in front of al-Ḥusayn (a), and shouted out, "O Ḥusayn! O Ḥusayn!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) asked him, "What do you want?"

He replied, "I give you the tidings of hell!"

He said, "Never! I am going towards a Merciful Lord, Who intercedes and Who is obeyed."

Then the Imam (a) asked, "Who is this man?"

His companions informed him, "This is Ibn Ḥawzah."

The Imam (a) prayed, "My Lord, drive him towards hellfire."

The narrator says: [Suddenly] his horse stepped into a ditch, and he fell into it; his head was on the ground while his leg was still hanging from the stirrup. The horse bolted, dragging Ibn Ḥawzah's head over rocks and tree roots, until he perished.

Abū Mikhnaf added: Suwayd ibn Ḥayyah told me that when 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥawzah fell off his horse, his left leg was trapped in the stirrup, while his right leg was flung upwards. His horse bolted, and his head struck every rock and tree root [in its path], until he was dead.[1]

749. ***al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, quoting Ibn Wā'il, or Wā'il ibn 'Alqamah, who was present at the scene:** A man stood up and asked, "Is al-Ḥusayn among you?"

They said, "Yes."

He said, "I give you the tidings of hell!"

He replied, "[Rather] I give myself tidings of [meeting] a Merciful Lord, Who intercedes and Who is obeyed."

Then he asked, "Who are you?"

The man replied, "I am Ibn Juwayzah [or Ḥuwayzah]."

The Imam (a) prayed, "O God! Drive him towards hellfire!"

Ibn Ḥuwayzah's mount bolted, [and he fell off] while his leg was trapped in the stirrup.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 430; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 193.

أقبل رجل من بني تميم يقال له عبد الله بن حوزة، حتى وقف أمام الحسين عليه السلام فقال: يا حسين يا حسين! فقال حسين عليه السلام: ما تشاء؟ قال: أبشر بالنار! قال: كلا، إني أقدم على رب رحيم وشفيع مطاع، من هذا؟ قال له أصحابه: هذا ابن حوزة.

قال: رب حزه إلى النار. قال: فاضطرب به فرسه في جدول، فوقع فيه وتعلقت رجله بالركاب، ووقع رأسه في الأرض، ونفر الفرس فأخذه يمر به فيضرب برأسه كل حجر وكل شجرة حتى مات.

قال أبو مخنف: وأما سويد بن حية فزعم لي أن عبد الله بن حوزة حين وقع فرسه بقيت رجله اليسرى في الركاب، وارتفعت اليمنى فطارت، وعدا به فرسه يضرب رأسه كل حجر وأصل شجرة حتى مات.

Ibn Wā'il added, "By God, not much remained of him besides his leg."[1]

5/23: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Azrah al-Khath'amī

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Azrah al-Khath'amī was one of the archers in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He committed many atrocities. He is the killer of Ja'far ibn 'Aqīl. According to a report, he also shot arrows at 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Aqīl and killed him.

During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, he escaped and sought the protection of Muṣ'ab. Al-Mukhtār had his house demolished.

756. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū 'Abd al-A'lā al-Zubaydī: Al-Mukhtār was seeking the whereabouts of a man from Banū Khath'am, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Urwah al-Khath'amī, who used to say, "I shot twelve arrows towards the army of Imam al-Ḥusayn (*a*), all of which went to waste [missed their target]."

He ran from al-Mukhtār and joined Muṣ'ab [ibn al-Zubayr]. Al-Mukhtār demolished his house.[2]

5/24: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uqbah

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī was an archer in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He shot an arrow which killed Abū Bakr, the son of Imam al-Ḥasan (*a*).

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[1] *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 3, p. 116, no. 2849; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 8, p. 633, no. 261.

عن رجل قال: فقال: فيكم حسين؟ قالوا: نعم. فقال: أبشر بالنار.

فقال: أبشر برب رحيم وشفيع مطاع. قال: من أنت؟

قال: أنا ابن جويزة - أو حويزة.

قال: فقال: اللهم حزه إلى النار، فنفرت به الدابة، فتعلقت رجله في الركاب. قال: فوالله ما بقي عليها منه إلا رجله.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 65; also see *Dhawb al-Nuḍār*, p. 122.

وطلب المختار رجلاً من خثعم يقال له: عبد الله بن عروة الخثعمي كان يقول: رميت فيهم باثني عشر سهماً ضيعة، ففاته، ولحق بمصعب فهدم داره.

During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uqbah escaped from Kufa and travelled to Jazīrah in the north of Iraq. As a result, al-Mukhtār was only able to demolish his house.

5/25: 'Uthmān ibn Khālid ibn Usayr

'Uthmān ibn Khālid ibn Usayr al-Duhmānī al-Juhanī was an archer in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He and Bishr ibn Sawṭ attacked 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Aqīl with a shower of arrows. They killed him and plundered his clothes.

During his uprising, al-Mukhtār ordered the capture of these two men. They were found and killed. He refused to let them be buried before having their bodies burned.

5/26: 'Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ

'Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Ṣaydāwī [or al-Ṣā'idī] was an archer in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He shot an arrow at 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl that transfixed his raised hand to his brow. Then he shot another arrow at the boy's heart and killed him.

After the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), 'Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ responded to the call of 'Umar ibn Sa'd, and was one of the ten men who volunteered to trample their horses over the sacred body of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

When al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī captured him, he ordered his soldiers to surround him and stab him to death with their spears, and this is how he perished.

5/27: Qays ibn al-Ash'ath

Qays ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī succeeded his father as the chief of the tribe of Kindah in Kufa. Just like his father, he was a hypocrite and deceiver. At the beginning of the stand of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), he was amongst those who wrote letters pledging their support to the Imam (a). However, the moment Ibn Ziyād entered Kufa, he switched sides and joined him. He was placed in charge of the Banū Kindah, and some clans of the Banū Rabī' as well.

He participated in the looting of the tents after the battle, and also plundered the robe of the Imam (a); afterwards, he became popularly known as "Qays of the robe". He was one of the men who carried the blessed heads of the martyrs of Karbala to Ibn Ziyād.

During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, he was given refuge by one of the latter's chief commanders, 'Abd Allāh ibn Kāmil. However, al-Mukhtār secretly instructed Abū 'Amrah to go and kill him.

5/28. Mālik ibn al-Nusayr

Mālik ibn al-Nusayr al-Baddiyy al-Kindī was one of the aggressors who directly attacked Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He struck the blessed head of the Imam (a) with his sword. The Imam (a) cursed him, and as result, he was afflicted with abject poverty. According to some historical reports, later, his hands became paralyzed, and his mind weak.

He was captured during the uprising of al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār ordered his hands and feet to be cut off, and then left him to die.

751. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Mālik ibn A'yan al-Juhanī: Al-Mukhtār said to al-Baddiyy [Mālik ibn al-Nusayr], "Are you the one who stole the burnoose?"

'Abd Allāh ibn Kāmil confirmed, "Yes, he is the one."

So al-Mukhtār ordered, "Cut off his hands and feet, then leave him to thrash about until he dies." His limbs were cut, and then he was released. Blood continued to gush from his injuries until he perished.[1]

5/29. Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays

Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī, the blood brother of Qays ibn al-Ash'ath, played a key role in the prelude to the tragedy of Karbala, and prepared the ground for the events of Ashura. He was one of those who wrote to Yazīd, urging him to take serious steps to counter the revolution of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He was the commander of the forces that captured Muslim ibn 'Aqīl.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 58; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 244, no. 424.

قال المختار للبدّي (مالك بن النسير): أنت صاحب برنسه؟ فقال له عبد الله بن كامل: نعم، هو هو.

فقال المختار: اقطعوا يدي هذا ورجليه، ودعوه فليضطرب حتى يموت. ففعل ذلك به وترك، فلم يزل ينزف الدم حتى مات.

On the day of Ashura, he refused to recognize the status of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his close relationship to the Prophet (s). For this reason, the Imam (a) cursed him, praying that he should die an ignominious death.

According to some reports, as a result of the prayer of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), a poisonous scorpion stung him that very day, and he died a terrible death.

However, the more famous reports state that he was killed at the time of al-Mukhtār. He escaped from Kufa and joined Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr in Basra. In the battle between al-Mukhtār and Muṣ'ab, he was killed at the hands of al-Mukhtār.

752. *al-Kāfī*, quoting 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn, from someone whom he named, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Al-Ash'ath ibn Qays was complicit in the [spilling of the] blood of the Commander of the Faithful (a); his daughter, Ja'dah, poisoned al-Ḥasan (a); and his son Muḥammad took part in the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a).[1]

753. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father (a), from his grandfather, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): Another man from the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd came forward. His name was Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī. He called out, "O Ḥusayn, son of Fāṭimah! What special status do you have with God's Messenger that is not enjoyed by others?"

In reply, al-Ḥusayn (a) recited the verse, "*Indeed, God chose Ādam, and Nūḥ, and the Family of Ibrāhīm, and the Family of 'Imrān over [all] the nations, offspring, one from the other; and God is all-Hearing, all-Knowing.*"[2]

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[1] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 167, no. 187; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 144, no. 8.

إنّ الأشعث بن قيس شرك في دم أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، وابنته جعدة سمّت الحسن عليه السلام، ومحمّد ابنه شرك في دم الحسين عليه السلام.

[2] Q 3:33-34.

Then he said, "Indeed Muḥammad is from the family of Ibrāhīm, and those who guide aright from his offspring (*al-'Itrat al-Hādiyah*) are from the family of Muḥammad."

Then he asked, "Who is this man?"

He was told, "He is Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī." Al-Ḥusayn (a) raised his head to the sky, and prayed, "O God, afflict Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath with humiliation on this very day."

Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath had an overwhelming desire to relieve himself, so he left the battlefield. [In the privy] God set a scorpion on him which stung him, causing him to die while unclothed.[1]

754- *al-Ṭabaqāt* of Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ: Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, whose mother was Umm Farwah bint Abī Quḥāfah, was killed in 67/686 at the side of Muṣ'ab at the time of al-Mukhtār.[2]

5/30: Murrah ibn Munqidh ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī

Murrah ibn Munqidh ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī fought in the army of Imam 'Alī (a) in the Battle of Jamal. Over time, however, he joined the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). In the event of Karbala, he was part of the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He played a key role in the martyrdom of 'Alī al-Akbar (a), the noble and valiant son of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

When Murrah observed the valour and skilful swordplay of 'Alī al-Akbar in battle, he hid in wait for him, and then attacked him from behind with his spear. The other soldiers then surrounded 'Alī al-Akbar (a), striking him repeatedly with their swords and martyring him.

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 222, no. 239; *Rawḍat al-Wā'iẓīn*, p. 189.

ثم قال رجل آخر من عسكر عمر بن سعد، يقال له محمد بن الأشعث بن قيس الكندي، فقال: يا حسين بن فاطمة، أية حرمة لك من رسول الله ليست لغيرك؟ فتلا الحسين عليه السلام هذه الآية: ﴿إن الله اصطفى آدم ونوحا وآل إبراهيم وآل عمران على العالمين. ذرية بعضها من بعض﴾ الآية.

ثم قال: والله إن محمدا لمن آل إبراهيم، وإن العترة الهادية لمن آل محمد. من الرجل؟ فقيل: محمد بن الأشعث بن قيس الكندي.

فرفع الحسين عليه السلام رأسه إلى السماء، فقال: اللهم أر محمد بن الأشعث ذلا في هذا اليوم لا تعزه بعد هذا اليوم أبدا.

فعرض له عارض، فخرج من العسكر يتبرز، فسلط الله عليه عقربا فلدغته، فمات بادي العورة.

[2] Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, p. 228; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 24, p. 496.

محمد بن الأشعث بن قيس، أمه أم فروة بنت أبي قحافة، قتل سنة سبع وستين مع مصعب أيام المختار.

During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, Murrah ibn Munqidh was surrounded in his house. However, he emerged on horseback, and armed with a spear, he managed to fight his way clear and make his way to Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr. During the fight, his left hand was injured and became useless.

755. ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Abū al-Jārūd:** Al-Mukhtār also sent 'Abd Allāh ibn Kāmil to [capture] the killer of 'Alī [al-Akbar] ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), who was a man from the Banū 'Abd al-Qays, by the name of Murrah ibn Munqidh ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī. He was a courageous man. Ibn Kāmil came and surrounded his house with his men. Murrah emerged armed with a spear, riding a spirited horse. He stabbed at 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Nājiyah al-Shibāmī, felling him to the ground, but not injuring him.

Ibn Kāmil attacked him with the sword, striking his left arm. The sword lodged in Murrah's arm, before his horse carried him clear. He managed to get away and join Muṣ'ab [ibn al-Zubayr]. His arm was useless after that.[1]

5/31: Hānī' ibn Thubayt

Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī was a soldier in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. He is named as the killer of a number of the martyrs of Karbala, including 'Abd Allāh and Ja'far, two sons of the Commander of the Faithful (a).

Hānī' ibn Thubayt was one of the ten men who, at the invitation of 'Umar ibn Sa'd, volunteered to trample the blessed body of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) under the hooves of their horses.

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[1] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 6, p. 64; also see *Dhawb al-Nuḍār*, p. 119

وبعث المختار إلى قاتل علي بن الحسين عليه السلام، عبد الله بن كامل، وهو رجل من عبد القيس يقال
له مرة بن منقذ بن النعمان العبدي، وكان شجاعا، فأتاه ابن كامل فأحاط بداره، فخرج إليهم وبيده الرمح
وهو على فرس جواد، فطعن عبيد الله بن ناجية الشبامي فصرعه ولم يضره.

قال: ويضربه ابن كامل بالسيف فيتقيه بيده اليسرى، فأسرع فيها السيف، وتمطرت به الفرس، فأفلت ولحق
بمصعب، وشلت يده بعد ذلك.

He was also one of those who plundered the clothes and some weapons of Imam al-Husayn (a). He has been cursed by name in *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*.

During the uprising of al-Mukhtār, Hānī' was captured. Al-Mukhtār instructed his soldiers to trample him to death under the hooves of their horses.

756. *al-Malhūf*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd called out to his men, "Who will volunteer to trample the body of al-Ḥusayn with his horse?"

Ten of his men volunteered. They were... Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī and Usayd ibn Mālik, may God curse them all. They trampled the body of al-Husayn (a) under the hooves of their horses, until they crushed his back and chest...[1]

5/32: A disfigured and blind man

757. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting Abū Naṣr al-Jarmī: I saw a disfigured, blind man and asked him how he had lost his sight.

He said, "I was part of the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. When I fell asleep at night, I saw God's Messenger (s) in my dream. He had a blood-filled basin before him; there was a quill in the blood. Each of the men of 'Umar ibn Sa'd was being brought to him in turn, and he was making a mark on their forehead with the blood-stained quill.

"When I was brought to him, I said, 'O Messenger of God! I swear by God, I did not strike with a sword, or stab with a spear, or shoot an arrow.'

"He replied, 'But did you not make the number of our enemy greater?'"

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[1] al-Malhūf, p. 182; Muthīr al-Aḥzān, p. 58.

نادى عمر بن سعد في أصحابه: من ينتدب للحسين عليه السلام فيوطئه الخيل ظهره؟ فانتدب منهم عشرة
وهم... وهاني بن ثبيت الحضرمي، وأسيد بن مالك لعنهم الله، فداسوا الحسين عليه السلام بحوافر خيلهم
حتى رضّوا ظهره وصدره...

"Then he dipped his first and middle finger in the blood and placed them on my eyes. When I awoke, my vision had gone."[1]

5/33: A man of the Banu Dārim

758. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, quoting al-Qāsim ibn Asbagh ibn Nubātah: A man of the tribe of Banū Dārim, who had been present when al-Husayn (a) was martyred, came before us. He used to be a handsome man, with an extremely fair complexion, but now his features had become very dark. I said to him, "I hardly recognized you, your colour has changed so much!"

He said, in explanation, "I killed one of the companions of al-Husayn (a). He had fair skin, and there was a mark of prostration on his forehead. I brought back his head [to Kufa]."

Al-Qāsim continued: [Previously] I had seen him cheerfully riding his horse; he had attached the head [of the martyr] to its chest, and it was hitting the animal's sides. I had said to my father, "He should raise the head a little higher. Do you not see what the horse is doing to the head with its legs?"

My father told me, "O son, what will be done to that man will be far worse."

The man from Banu Dārim then related to me, "I have not slept a single night since killing him, when he has not come to me in my dream. He grabs my shoulder and pushes me, saying, 'Move!' Then, he drives me towards hell, and throws me in it. Then I wake up."

One of his maidservants heard the account and said, "He does not allow us to sleep a wink at night, due to his incessant screams."

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[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 259; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, p. 405, no. 458.

رأيت رجلاً أعمى فسألته عن سبب ذهاب بصره فقال: كنت ممن حضر عسكر عمر بن سعد، فلما جاء الليل رقدت، فرأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله في المنام وبين يديه طست فيها دم وريشة في الدم وهو يؤتى بأصحاب عمر بن سعد، فيأخذ الريشة فيخط بها بين أعينهم، فأتي بي فقلت: يا رسول الله، والله ما ضربت بسيف، ولا طعنت برمح، ولا رميت بسهم،

قال: أفلم تكثّر عدونا؟ فأدخل إصبعه في الدم - السبابة والوسطى - وأهوى بهما إلى عيني فأصبحت وقد ذهب بصري.

I accompanied some of the young men of the district, and we went to his wife and questioned her about him. She said, "He has destroyed himself; what he told you was the truth."[1]

5/34: A man of the Banu Ṭayyi'

759. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah: Two youths among them [the caravan of captives of Karbala], who were the sons or grandsons of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, escaped. They came to a man from the Banū Ṭayyi' and asked for his protection. [Instead] he slew them, brought their heads and placed them before Ibn Ziyād. However, Ibn Ziyād almost ordered for the man to be killed, but had his house torn down [instead].[2]

5/35: A man who smelled of pitch (*al-qaṭirān*)

760. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, quoting al-Faḍl ibn al-Zubayr: I was sitting next to a man, when another man came and sat down. He smelled strongly of pitch (*al-qaṭirān*).[3] The man asked him, "O person, do you sell pitch?"

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[1] *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 259, no. 8; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 308.

قدم علينا رجلٌ من بني دارم ممّن شهد قتل الحسين عليه السلام مسودّ الوجه، وكان رجلاً جميلاً شديد البياض، فقلت له: ما كدت أعرفك لتغيّر لونك.

قال: قتلت رجلاً من أصحاب الحسين أبيض بين عينيه أثر السجود، وجئت برأسه.

فقال القاسم: لقد رأيته على فرس له مرحاً، وقد علّق الرأس بلبانه، وهو يصيب ركبتيه. قال: فقلت لأبي: لو أنّه رفع الرأس قليلاً، أما ترى ما يصنع به الفرس بيديه؟ فقال لي: يا بنيّ ما يصنع به أشدّ، لقد حدّثني فقال: ما نمت ليلة منذ قتلته إلّا أتاني في منامي حتّى يأخذ بكتفي فيقودني ويقول: انطلق، فينطلق بي إلى جهنّم فيدفعني فيها حتّى أصبح.

قال: فسمعت بذلك جارة له فقالت: ما يدعنا ننام شيئاً من الليل من صياحه.

قال: فانطلقت في شباب من الحيّ، فأتينا امرأته فسألناها فقالت: قد أبدى على نفسه قد صدقكم.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 393; *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 424.

انطلق غلامان منهم لعبد الله بن جعفر، أو ابني ابن جعفر، فأتيا رجلاً من طيّء فلجآ إليه، فضرب أعناقهما وجاء برؤوسهما حتّى وضعهما بين يدي ابن زياد، قال: فهمّ بضرب عنقه وأمر بداره فهدّمت.

[3] Qaṭirān is a (pungent) oil-based substance. Its vegetable version is derived from the sap of a tree called 'ar'ar. It used to be applied on bald patches of

He replied, "I have never sold it."

He asked, "Then what is this smell?"

The man replied, "I was among those present in the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. I used to sell iron spikes to them. When I went to sleep at night, I saw God's Messenger (s) in my dream. 'Ali (a) was with him. 'Ali (a) was quenching the thirst of the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) who had already been martyred. I asked him for some water, but he refused. I said, 'O Messenger of God, tell him to give me some water.'

"He asked, 'Are you not one of those who helped our enemy?'

"I replied, 'O Messenger of God! I swear by God, I did not strike with a sword, or stab with a spear, or shoot an arrow. All I was doing was selling iron spikes to them.'

"He said, 'O 'Ali, give him water.'

"He gave me a cup filled with *qaṭirān*, and I drank from it. For many days after that, I used to pass *qaṭirān* in my urine. That has ceased, but the smell still remains on my body."[1]

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camels to thicken their body hair, make them resistant to parasitic infections, and restore their health. *Majma' al-Baḥrayn*, vol. 3, p. 1495, s.v. قطر.

[1] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 258; also see Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 59.

كنّا جلوسا عند لحمي، فأقبل رجلٌ فجلس إليه، رائحته رائحة القطران، فقال له: يا هذا، أتبيع القطران؟
قال: ما بعته قطّ. قال: فما هذه الرائحة؟

قال: كنت ممن شهد عسكر عمر بن سعد، وكنت أبيعهم أوتاد الحديد، فلما جنّ عليّ الليل رقدت، فرأيت في نومي رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم ومعه علي، وعلي يسقي القتلى من أصحاب الحسين، فقلت له: اسقني فأبى، فقلت: يا رسول الله مُره يسقيني.

فقال: ألست ممن عاون علينا؟ فقلت: يا رسول الله والله ما ضربت بسيف ولا طعنت برمح ولا رميت بسهم ولكني كنت أبيعهم أوتاد الحديد. فقال: يا علي اسقه. فناولني قعبا مملوءا قطرانا، فشربت منه قطرانا، ولم أزل أبول القطران أياما، ثم انقطع ذلك البول عني، وبقيت الرائحة في جسمي.

A word about the fate of the killers of the Imam (a) and those who abandoned him in the face of the enemy

An important matter about the event of Karbala, and well worth pondering about, is the fate of those who waged war against Imam al-Husayn (a) or those who abandoned him in the face of his enemies and withheld their support. It is a lesson and a warning, especially for the oppressors and tyrants in history. They were not only doomed in the hereafter due to their crimes but underwent a part of their chastisement in this world also.

The curse of the Prophet (s)

Years before the event of Karbala, God's Messenger (s) was shown the terrible events that would transpire. According to a narration, he cursed those who would wage war against Imam al-Husayn (a) or withhold their support from him with the following words:

> O God, abandon those who abandon him, kill those who kill him, slaughter those who slaughter him and let them never have the satisfaction that they seek.[1]

The fate of the ringleaders of the event of Karbala

The imprecation of God's messenger (s) came to fruition. Everyone who played some role in the blood-soaked tragedy of Karbala [both those who fought directly against Imam al-Husayn (a) and those who played an indirect role by withholding their support from him] was punished.

The decline of the rule of the clan of Abū Sufyān

The first repercussion of Ashura was seen only three years later, when the rule of the clan of Abū Sufyān came to an end. The influence of the tragedy in the declining fortune of this family was so clear that 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, although he had succeeded them as the

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 131, no. 149.

اللهم اخذل من خذله و اقتل من قتله واذبح من ذبحه و لا تمتعه بما طلب.

Umayyad caliph, was obliged to officially acknowledge the danger. He wrote to al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf [his governor in Iraq]: "Keep me far away from a path that would lead me to spill the blood of the progeny of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, because it is not prudent to engage them in war. I have seen how the sons of Ḥarb[1] lost their kingdom when they killed al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī."[2]

Reduction in lifespan and affliction with serious diseases

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Badr al-Khaṭmī reports that God's Messenger (s) said:

> Whoever wants to have a long life and to enjoy the blessings that God, the Almighty, has allocated to him should behave well with my family after me, and whoever does not behave well with them shall have his lifespan shortened and shall come forth on the Day of Judgement with a darkened and dim face.[3]

Then ʿAbd Allāh comments, "Matters transpired just as God's Messenger (s) had stated. Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah did not behave well with the family of the Prophet (s), and his life was shortened. He lived for only a few years after he killed Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). The same happened to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād as well. May God curse them both."

Yazīd perished when he was 38 years old, while Ibn Ziyād was killed when he was 28 or 32 years old. Furthermore, according to reliable reports, the culprits of Karbala were afflicted with a variety of severe ailments, such as insanity, leukoderma, and leprosy.

Ibn Kathīr confirms that most of the reports that mention the evil end of the perpetrators of Karbala, are reliable: "Most of the reports that mention the variety of sickness that afflicted the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a) are credible; very few who played a role in his martyrdom remained untouched by pain and affliction in this world. Most did not die without suffering from some ailment, and most of them went insane."[1]

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[1] Ḥarb was the father of Abū Sufyān, the grandfather of Muʿāwiyah, and the great-grandfather of Yazīd. [Trans.]

[2] *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 5, p. 382; *al-Maḥāsin wa al-Masāwī*, p. 55; *Jawāhir al-Maṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 278.

[3] Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 85; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 23, p. 118.

من أحب أن يؤخر في أجله و أن يمتع بما خوله الله تعالى فليخلفني في أهلي خلافة حسنة و من لم يخلف فيهم بتك عمره و ورد علي يوم القيامة مسودا وجهه.

Vengeance during the uprising of al-Mukhtār

Many who had a role in the atrocities committed in Karbala were captured and killed during the uprising of al-Mukhtār. Al-Ya'qūbī writes in this regard: "Al-Mukhtār pursued the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a) and killed a large number of them. Very few managed to escape him."[2]

Suffering the rule of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī

After the tragedy of Karbala, [as we have mentioned] those who played a direct role suffered their punishment in this world, before the chastisement of the hereafter. However, those who did not go to assist Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and who therefore had an indirect role in the tragedy also suffered tribulations in this world. Some of them showed remorse, created the uprising of the Tawwābūn (Repentants), and were killed, while a number of others had to suffer the tyrannical rule of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. This was the rule which Imam 'Alī (a) had foretold in his warning to those who had refused to support him. In a sermon recorded in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Imam 'Alī addressed them as follows: "Beware! By God, a swaggering and deviant youth of the Banū Thaqīf (al-Ḥajjāj) shall be placed over you. He will devour your food stores and melt the fat in your bodies.[3] So go ahead,[4] O Abā Wadhaḥah!"[5][6]

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[1] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 201.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 259.

[3] Meaning, "He will squander your wealth, and rule over you with harshness." [Trans.]

[4] Meaning, "They deserve you." [Trans.]

[5] *Wadhaḥah* is a dung beetle. By mentioning the name Abā Wadhaḥah, the Imam (a) meant al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, who became well known by this teknonym (*kunyah*) later. It is a reference to an incident when al-Ḥajjāj was sitting, watching a dung beetle roll a bit of dung towards him with great effort. He had remarked, "This is a beetle from the beetles of Shayṭān."

[6] *Nahj al-Balāghah*, sermon 116.

أما والله ليسلطن عليكم غلام ثقيف الذيال الميال، يأكل خضرتكم، و يذيب شحمتكم، إيه أبا وذحة.

Indeed, people who withheld their support from Imam ʿAlī (a), Imam al-Ḥasan (a), and Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) deserved to have a harsh tyrant like al-Ḥajjāj rule over them.

It was in the year 75/694, fourteen years after the event of Karbala, that this prophecy of the Imam (a) was realized. During his despotic rule, al-Ḥajjāj sent 120,000 people[1] to their deaths. He imprisoned 80,000 of them, 30,000 of whom were women.

The most severe punishment in the Hereafter

There are numerous traditions about the severity of the punishment that awaits the killers of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions. Here, we will present only two, as examples.

Al-Ṣadūq reports that the Prophet (s) said, "In hellfire, there is a place that no one deserves to go to, except the killers of al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a) and Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (a)."[2]

Ibn ʿAsākir, quoting Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, reports that the Prophet (s) cursed the killer of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). When he asked him about the killer, he (s) replied, "[He will be] a man from my nation who bears hatred towards my offspring. My intercession will not reach him. I can see him being tossed about between the layers of hellfire. A bubbling sound will be coming from his chest."[3]

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[1] *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 4, p. 499, no. 2220; *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 1, p. 520.

[2] *Thawāb al-Aʿmāl*, p. 257, no. 2; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 301, no. 9.

إنّ في النار منزلة لم يكن يستحقها أحد من الناس إلا بقتل الحسين بن علي صلوات الله عليهما و يحيى بن زكريا عليه السلام

[3] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 14, p. 224, no. 3544; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 3, p. 290.

رَجُلٌ من أمتي يبغض عترتي، لا تناله شفاعتي، كأنّي بنفسه بين أطباق النيران يرسب تارة ويطفو أخرى و إنّ جوفه ليقول: غق غق.

CHAPTER SEVEN | MOURNING CEREMONIES AND WEEPING FOR IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

Part 1: Mourning

Part 2: Reciting about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

Part 3: The importance of the day of Ashura and its etiquette

Part 4: Weeping and making others weep over the Chief of Martyrs (a) and his companions

Part 5: Two salutations attributed to Imam al-Mahdi (atf)

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PART 1: MOURNING

1/1: The encouragement to mourn for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

761. *Faḍl Ziyārat al-Ḥusayn* (a), quoting Abū Ḥamzah from Imam al-Bāqir (a), after he recited the verse, "*We will certainly help Our messengers, and those who believe, [both] in the life of this world, and on the Day when the witnesses shall stand*"[1]: Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) is one of these [witnesses], and by God, your mourning for him, your recounting of what happened to him, and your visitation of his grave will grant you success in this world. [As for the hereafter] receive the glad tidings that you will be with him (a) in the vicinity of God's Messenger (s).[2]

762. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥammād al-Baṣrī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): [Imam al-Ṣādiq said:] "You have [or he said 'you have in your vicinity'] a blessing, the like of which no one else has been given. However, I do not believe that you have understood it fully; you have not been mindful of it or tried to establish it [as a practice]. It has a special group [of advocates] who have been identified and given this blessing without any effort or striving on their behalf, [simply] bestowed by God on them. It is a felicity, mercy, intimacy, and elevation that He has gifted to them."

I asked, "May I be ransomed for you, what is this blessing that you have described but not named?"

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[1] Q 40:51.

[2] *Faḍl Ziyārat al-Ḥusayn* (a), p. 48, no. 25.

﴿إِنَّا لَنَنصُرُ رُسُلَنَا وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَوْمَ يَقُومُ الْأَشْهَادُ﴾ قال: الحسين بن علي عليه السلام منهم، والله إن بكاءكم عليه، وحديثكم بما جرى عليه، وزيارتكم قبره نصراً لكم في الدنيا، فأبشروا فإنكم معه في جوار رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله.

He replied, "The visitation (*ziyārah*) of my grandfather, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), because he is a stranger in a remote land. Whoever visits him weeps for him, and the one who does not visit him mourns over him. The [heart of the] one who does not see him burns for him, and the one who sees the grave of his son ['Alī al-Akbar] at his feet feels intense compassion for him...."

Then he said, "I have heard that in the middle of the month of Sha'bān, people from around Kūfa, and others, come to visit him. The women grieve over him, the readers recite [the Qur'an], the narrators recount [his tragedy], the mourners lament, and the poets recite elegies."

I said to him, "Yes, may I be ransomed for you, I have indeed witnessed some of what you describe."

He said, "All praise is for God, Who appointed among the people those who come to visit us, praise us, and compose elegies over our tragedies. And [all praise is for God] Who made our enemies the object of vilification of our friends, and others, who disparage and condemn them for their actions."[1]

789. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Mu'āwiyah ibn Wahb: I asked for permission to see Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), and was told, "Come in." I went in and found him on a prayer mat in his house. I sat until he finished his prayers. I heard him supplicate his Lord with the following words:

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 537, no. 829; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 74, no. 21.

فقال لي: إنّ منكم - أو قال: في قربكم - لفضيلة ما أوتي أحد مثلها، وما أحسبكم تعرفونها كنه معرفتها، ولا تحافظون عليها ولا على القيام بها، وإنّ لها لأهلاً خاصّة قد سمّوا لها، وأعطوها بلا حول منهم ولا قوّة إلّا ما كان من صنع الله لهم وسعادة حباهم الله بها ورحمة ورأفة وتقدّم.

قلت: جعلت فداك، وما هذا الذي وصفت ولم تسمّه؟

قال: زيارة جدّي الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام، فإنّه غريب بأرض غربة، يبكيه من زاره، ويحزن له من لم يزره، ويحترق له من لم يشهده، ويرحمه من نظر إلى قبر ابنه عند رجله...

ثمّ قال: بلغني أنّ قوماً يأتونه من نواحي الكوفة وناساً من غيرهم، ونساء يندبنه، وذلك في النصف من شعبان، فمن بين قارئ يقرأ، وقاصّ يقصّ، ونادب يندب، وقائل يقول المراثي. فقلت له: نعم جعلت فداك، قد شهدت بعض ما تصف.

فقال: الحمد لله الذي جعل في الناس من يفد إلينا ويمدحنا ويرثي لنا، وجعل عدوّنا من يطعن عليهم من قرابتنا وغيرهم، يهدّدونهم ويقبّحون ما يصنعون.

> O He Who honoured us with nobility, distinguished us with successorship, promised us intercession, granted us knowledge of the past and the future, and made the hearts of the people incline towards us: forgive me, my brothers, and the visitors (*zuwwār*) of the grave of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a), who spent their wealth, and put their bodies through hardship in their love for us. [They do this] in their desire for what You have stored for them due to their attachment to us, for the happiness their act will bring to Your Prophet (s), and in response to our command, and for the anger it causes to our enemy. Through all this, they [only] seek Your pleasure.
>
> So, be pleased with them on our behalf, protect them night and day, and safeguard their families and children whom they have left behind in the best manner. Be their companion, protect them from the evil of every arrogant tyrant and every ill-meaning one of Your creatures, weak or strong, and the evil of devils (*shayāṭīn*), whether from mankind or jinn. Grant them the best of what they expect from you because of their remoteness from their homes, and because they have given us preference over their own children, family, and relatives.
>
> O God, our enemies consider their visitation to us as wrongdoing, yet this does not prevent them from coming to us, defying those who oppose us. So, have mercy on those faces that have been scorched by the sun, have mercy on those cheeks that have turned towards the grave of Abū 'Abd Allāh (a), have mercy on those eyes that have shed tears in compassion for us, have mercy on those hearts that have grieved and burned [in sorrow] over us, and have mercy on the laments that were raised for us.
>
> O God, I entrust those souls and bodies to your care, until we encounter them at the Pond, on the Day of thirst.
>
> He made this entire supplication while he was in prostration.[1]

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[1] al-*Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 582; *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 101, no. 44.

استأذنت على أبي عبد الله عليه السلام فقيل لي: ادخل، فدخلت فوجدته في مصلاه في بيته، فجلست حتى قضى صلاته، فسمعته وهو يناجي ربه ويقول:

يا من خصنا بالكرامة، وخصنا بالوصية، ووعدنا الشفاعة، وأعطانا علم ما مضى وما بقي، وجعل أفئدة من الناس تهوي إلينا، اغفر لي ولإخواني ولزوار قبر أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام الذين أنفقوا أموالهم وأشخصوا أبدانهم رغبة في برنا، ورجاء لما عندك في صلتنا، وسروراً أدخلوه على نبيك صلواتك عليه وآله، وإجابة منهم

764. *Thawab al-A'mal*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Sinān, from some Shi'i narrators, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The Messenger of God (s) stated: "On the Day of Judgement, a canopy of light will be erected for Fāṭimah (a); then, al-Ḥusayn (a) will come forward holding his [severed] head in his hand. When she will see him, she will give a loud scream. There will not be single senior angel, or a Prophet sent by God, or a believing servant, who will not weep for her…"

Then, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) said, "May God have mercy on our followers (Shi'a). By God, our Shi'a are the true believers, and by God, they have certainly participated with us in our tragedy due to their continued grief and anguish."[1]

1/2: Mourning in the first ten days of Muḥarram

765. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Maḥmūd, from Imam al-Riḍā (a): During the age of ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*), Muḥarram was a month in which war was forbidden; yet in this month, shedding our blood was considered lawful, our sanctity was violated, our children and women were made captives, our camp was set ablaze, our

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] *Thawab al-A'mal*, p. 257, no. 3; *al-Malhūf*, p. 182.

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: إذا كان يوم القيامة نُصبت لفاطمة عليها السلام قبة من نور، ويُقبل الحسين عليه السلام ورأسه على يده، فإذا رأته شهقت شهقة لا يبقى في الجمع ملك مقرّب ولا نبيّ مرسل ولا عبد مؤمن إلا بكى لها...

ثم قال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: رحم الله شيعتنا، شيعتنا - والله - هم المؤمنون، فقد - والله - شركونا في المصيبة بطول الحزن والحسرة.

property was plundered, and the respect due to us because of [our ties to] God's Messenger (s) was ignored.

The day of al-Ḥusayn (a) made our eyelids raw, flooded our eyes with tears, and aggrieved our dearest ones. In the land of *karb* and *balā'*, we received sorrow and affliction [that will last] until the final Day.

So, let those who would weep, weep over someone like al-Ḥusayn (a), for weeping reduces great sins.

Then he said, "Once the month of Muḥarram arrived, my father, may God's blessings be on him, would not be seen laughing. He would be continually overcome with tears, until ten days passed. The 10th of Muḥarram would be a day of lamentation, sorrow, and weeping. He would say, 'This is the day on which al-Ḥusayn (a) was slain.'"[1]

7686. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (a), quoting al-Rayyān ibn Shabīb: I visited Imam al-Riḍā (a) on the first day of Muḥarram. He asked me, "O Ibn Shabīb, are you fasting today?"

I replied, "No."

Then he said:

> Today is the day when Zakariyyā (a) supplicated to his Lord, the Almighty, saying, '*My Lord, grant me from Yourself a good offspring. Indeed, you are the Hearer of prayer*.'[2] God answered his prayer, and instructed the angels, who called out to Zakariyyā (a), "*While he was praying in the sanctuary, 'God gives you the glad tidings of Yaḥyā*.'"[3]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, al-Amālī, p. 190, no. 199; al-Iqbāl, vol. 3, p. 28.

إنّ المحرّم شهرٌ كان أهل الجاهلية يحرّمون فيه القتال، فاستُحلّت فيه دماؤنا، وهُتكت فيه حرمتنا، وسُبي فيه ذرارينا ونساؤنا، وأُضرمت النيران في مضاربنا، وانتُهب ما فيها من ثقلنا، ولم تُرعَ لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله حرمةٌ في أمرنا.

إنّ يوم الحسين عليه السلام أقرح جفوننا، وأسبل دموعنا، وأذلّ عزيزنا، بأرض كرب وبلاء، أورثتنا الكرب والبلاء، إلى يوم الانقضاء، فعلى مثل الحسين عليه السلام فليبكِ الباكون، فإنّ البكاء يحطّ الذنوب العظام. ثمّ قال عليه السلام: كان أبي صلوات الله عليه إذا دخل شهر المحرّم لا يُرى ضاحكاً، وكانت الكآبة تغلب عليه حتّى يمضي منه عشرة أيام، فإذا كان يوم العاشر كان ذلك اليوم يوم مصيبته وحزنه وبكائه، ويقول: هو اليوم الذي قُتل فيه الحسين صلوات الله عليه.

[2] Q 3:38

[3] Q 3:39

So whoever fasts on this day and supplicates to God the Almighty thereafter, He will accept his prayer, just as he did that of Zakariyyā (a).

Then he said, "O Ibn Shabīb! During the age of ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*), Muḥarram was a month in which oppression and fighting was forbidden, because it was considered to be a sacred time. However, this nation did not recognise its sanctity, or that of its Prophet (s). In this [very] month, they killed his offspring, made his women captives, and plundered his property. God will never forgive them for that.

O Ibn Shabīb! If you were to weep over anything, then weep over al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a), because he was slaughtered the way sheep are slaughtered. Eighteen members of his household, who had no equal in the land, were killed along with him.

Indeed, the seven heavens and the earth wept at his slaying.

Four thousand angels descended to the earth, ready to assist him, but they did not receive permission to so. They shall remain around his grave, dishevelled and dust-covered, until the rise of the Mahdī (al-Qāʾim) (atf). They shall be among his helpers, and their slogan shall be, "Rise to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn (*yā li-thārāt al-Ḥusayn*)!"

O Ibn Shabīb! My father told me, narrating from his father, from his grandfather, al-Bāqir (a), that when my grandfather al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, blood and red ash rained from the sky.

O Ibn Shabīb! If you weep over al-Ḥusayn (a) so that tears roll down your cheeks, God will forgive every sin you have committed, minor or major, a few, or many.

O Ibn Shabīb! If it would please you to meet God, the Almighty, with no burden of sin, then visit [the grave of] al-Ḥusayn (a).

O Ibn Shabīb! If it would please you to live in the chambers built in Paradise in the neighbourhood of the Prophet (s), then curse the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a).

O Ibn Shabīb! If it would please you to have the reward of those who were martyred with al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī (a), then say whenever you remember him, "How I wish had been with them, so that I [too] could have achieved great success."

O Ibn Shabīb! If it would please you to be with us in the lofty ranks of paradise, then grieve over our grief, and be happy at our happiness. Accept our authority (*wilāyah*), for even if a person loved [just] a stone, God the Almighty would resurrect him alongside it on the Day of Judgement.[1]

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[1] *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 1, p. 299; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 192, no. 202.

دخلت على الرضا عليه السلام في أول يوم من المحرم.

فقال: يا ابن شبيب، أصائم أنت؟ فقلت: لا، فقال: إن هذا اليوم هو اليوم الذي دعا فيه زكريا عليه السلام ربه عز وجل فقال: «رب هب لي من لدنك ذرية طيبة إنك سميع الدعاء» فاستجاب الله له و أمر الملائكة فنادت زكريا وهو قائم يصلي في المحراب أن الله يبشرك بيحيى، فمن صام هذا اليوم ثم دعا الله عز وجل استجاب الله له كما استجاب الله لزكريا.

ثم قال: يا ابن شبيب إن المحرم هو الشهر الذي كان أهل الجاهلية يحرمون فيه الظلم والقتال لحرمته، فما عرفت هذه الأمة حرمة شهرها ولا حرمة نبيها، لقد قتلوا في هذا الشهر ذريته، وسبوا نساءه، وانتهبوا ثقله، فلا غفر الله لهم ذلك أبدا.

يا ابن شبيب إن كنت باكيا لشيء فابك للحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام فإنه ذبح كما يذبح الكبش، وقتل معه من أهل بيته ثمانية عشر رجلا ما لهم في الأرض شبيهون، ولقد بكت السماوات السبع والأرضون لقتله، ولقد نزل إلى الأرض من الملائكة أربعة آلاف لنصره، فلم يؤذن لهم، فهم عند قبره شعث غبر إلى أن يقوم القائم عليه السلام فيكونون من أنصاره، و شعارهم: يا لثارات الحسين عليه السلام.

يا ابن شبيب لقد حدثني أبي عن أبيه عن جده عليهم السلام أنه لما قتل جدي الحسين صلوات الله عليه أمطرت السماء دما و ترابا أحمر.

يا ابن شبيب إن بكيت على الحسين عليه السلام حتى تصير دموعك على خديك غفر الله لك كل ذنب أذنبته صغيرا كان أو كبيرا، قليلا كان أو كثيرا.

يا ابن شبيب إن سرك أن تلقى الله عز وجل ولا ذنب عليك فزر الحسين عليه السلام.

يا ابن شبيب إن سرك أن تسكن الغرف المبنية في الجنة مع النبي صلى الله عليه و آله فالعن قتلة الحسين عليه السلام.

يا ابن شبيب إن سرك أن يكون لك من الثواب مثل ما لمن استشهد مع الحسين بن علي عليه السلام فقل متى ما ذكرته: يا ليتني كنت معهم فأفوز فوزا عظيما.

يا ابن شبيب إن سرك أن تكون معنا في الدرجات العلى من الجنان فاحزن لحزننا، وافرح لفرحنا، وعليك بولايتنا، فلو أن رجلا تولى حجرا لحشره الله عز وجل معه يوم القيامة.

1/3 The first people to openly mourn for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

1/3 - 1: Mourning in Karbala

1. The elegy of Zaynab (a) over the body of her brother

787. *al-Malhuf*:[1] The women were driven out of the tents, and the tents were set on fire. The women ran out, uncovered, plundered [of their outer robes], barefoot, and in tears, resembling abject prisoners. They were saying, "For the sake of God, take us to where al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed." When the women saw the bodies of the martyrs, they screamed, and slapped their faces.

The narrator says, "By God, I will never forget how Zaynab bint 'Alī (a) lamented over al-Ḥusayn (a), and how she called out in a grief-stricken and broken-hearted voice:

> O Muḥammad! May the angels in the sky send blessings on you. Here lies Ḥusayn in the wilderness, covered in blood, with his limbs severed. Woe unto us, for your daughters are captives. Our complaint is to God, and to Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā, and to 'Alī al-Murtaḍā, and to Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', and to Ḥamzah, the Doyen of Martyrs.
>
> O Muḥammad! Here lies Ḥusayn in the wilderness, with the desert breeze blowing [dust] over him, killed by the offspring of an adulteress. O my sorrow! O my grief, at you, O Abā 'Abd Allāh! Today [it is as if] my grandfather, the Messenger of God (s) has died.
>
> O companions of Muḥammad! These are the offspring of al-Muṣṭafā whom you are dragging behind you as captives."

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[1] *al-Malhuf*, p. 180; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 58.

أخرجوا النساء من الخيمة وأشعلوا فيها النار، فخرجن حواسر مسلبات حافيات باكيات يمشين سبايا في أسر الذلة، وقلن: بحق الله إلا ما مررتم بنا على مصرع الحسين. فلما نظرت النسوة إلى القتلى صحن وضربن وجوههن.

قال الراوي: فوالله لا أنسى زينب ابنة علي تندب الحسين عليه السلام وتنادي بصوت حزين وقلب كئيب: وا محمداه! صلى عليك مليك السماء، هذا حسين بالعراء، مرمل بالدماء، مقطع الأعضاء، وا ثكلاه! وبناتك سبايا، إلى الله المشتكى، وإلى محمد المصطفى، وإلى علي المرتضى، وإلى فاطمة الزهراء، وإلى حمزة سيد الشهداء.

2. The elegy of Umm Kulthūm

768. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Manṣūr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from his grandfather Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a):

> The horse of al-Ḥusayn (a) came forward and smeared its mane and forehead with the blood of al-Ḥusayn (a); then it trotted back to the camp. The daughters of the Prophet (s) heard its neighing and came out. They saw the horse riderless and realized that al-Ḥusayn (a) had been martyred.

Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn (a),[1] came out [of the tents] with her hands on her head, wailing and crying, "O Muhammad! Al-Ḥusayn lies in the wilderness, his turban and cloak plundered."[2]

3. The elegy of the daughters of the Prophet (s) when they went past the martyrs

769. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārizmī, quoting Ḥumayd ibn Muslim: ʿUmar ibn Saʿd ordered his men to depart for Kufa. He took with him the daughters, sisters, and children of al-Ḥusayn (a), including ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a).

When they passed the bodies of al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions, the women wailed, lamented, and scratched at their faces. Zaynab (a) cried out, "O Muhammad! May the angels in the sky send blessings

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وا محمّداه، وهذا حسين بالعراء، تسفي عليه ريح الصبا، قتيل أولاد البغايا، وا حزناه، وا كرباه، عليك يا أبا عبد الله، اليوم مات جدّي رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، يا أصحاب محمّد، هؤلاء ذرّيّة المصطفى يساقون سوق السبايا.

[1] This is what the text mentions; however, the fact is that Umm Kulthūm was the sister (not the daughter) of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 226, no. 239; Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 37.

أقبل فرس الحسين عليه السلام حتى لطّخ عرفه وناصيته بدم الحسين عليه السلام، وجعل يركض ويصهل، فسمع بنات النبي صلى الله عليه و آله صهيله، فخرجن فإذا الفرس بلا راكب، فعرفن أنّ حسيناً عليه السلام قد قتل.

وخرجت أمّ كلثوم بنت الحسين عليه السلام واضعة يدها على رأسها تندب وتقول: وا محمّداه، هذا الحسين بالعراء، قد سلب العمامة والرداء.

on you. Here lies Ḥusayn in the wilderness, soaked in blood, covered with dust, with his limbs severed.

"O Muḥammad! Your daughters are prisoners of war, your children lie slain, the desert breeze blowing [dust] over them. Here is your son, his head severed from his neck. He is not [just] gone so that he may return, nor is he injured so that he may be healed."

She kept on speaking in this manner, until by God, she made every friend and foe weep. We even saw the tears of the horses dripping to their hooves.[1]

4. The elegy of al-Rabāb

770. *Tārīkh Dimashq*: Al-Rabāb, the daughter of Imru' al-Qays... al-Kalbiyyah, is the woman who stayed at the side of the grave of [her husband] al-Ḥusayn (a) for one year. She recited:

After one year shall I bid you [two] farewell,
For, whoever stays a full year, their excuse [for departing] is valid.

... After al-Ḥusayn (a) left this world, al-Rabāb received many marriage proposals. She [turned them all down and] said, "I would never take another father-in-law after God's Messenger (s)." She did not remarry and lived for one year after him (a). During that time, she did not sit in the shade of a house. Finally, she became ill, and passed away in sorrow.[2]

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[1] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 39.

ثمّ أخرج ابن سعد بالناس في الرحيل إلى الكوفة، وحمل بنات الحسين عليه السلام وأخواته وعلي بن الحسين عليه السلام وذراريهم، فلما مروا بجثة الحسين وجثث أصحابه عليهم السلام صاحت النساء ولطمن وجوههن، وصاحت زينب [عليها السلام]:

يا محمداه صلى عليك مليك السماء، هذا حسين بالعراء، مرمل بالدماء، مقطع الأعضاء، يا محمداه بناتك في العسكر سبايا، وذريتك مقتلة تسفي عليهم الصبا، هذا ابنك محزوز الرأس من القفا، لا هو غائب فيرجى، ولا جريح فيداوى.

وما زالت تقول هذا القول حتى أبكت والله كل صديق وعدو، حتى رأينا دموع الخيل تنحدر على حوافرها

[2] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 69, p. 120; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, p. 229.

رباب بنت امرئ القيس... الكلبية، وهي التي أقامت على قبر الحسين عليه السلام حولاً، ثم قالت:

إلى الحول ثم اسم السلام عليكما
ومن يبك حولاً كاملاً فقد اعتذر

771. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*: Imam al-Husayn (a) was accompanied by his wife al-Rabāb, the daughter of Imru' al-Qays. She was the mother of his daughter, Sukaynah. She was taken to Damascus with the other captives of his family. Thereafter, she returned to Medina, where several nobles of the Quraysh sent her proposals of marriage.

She replied, "I would never take another father-in-law after God's Messenger (s)." She remained alive for one year after him (a). During that time, she did not sit in the shade of a house. Finally, she became ill, and passed away in sorrow.

It has been reported that she stayed at the graveside of al-Husayn (a) for one year, before she returned to Medina, where she died grieving for him.[1]

1/3 - 2: Mourning in Kufa

772. *al-Amālī* of al-Mufīd, quoting Ḥadhlam ibn Sutayr: I came to Kufa in Muḥarram of 61/680, when 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) and the women [of his family] were brought from Karbala, surrounded by soldiers. The people had come out to see them. When they [saw that

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... ولما قتل الحسين عليه السلام خطبت الرباب وألح عليها فقالت: ما كنت لأتخذ حمواً بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله فلم تزوج، وعاشت بعده سنة لم يظلها سقف بيت حتى بليت وماتت كمداً.

[1] *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 579; *Jawāhir al-Maṭālib*, vol. 2, p. 293.

كان مع الحسين عليه السلام امرأته الرباب بنت امرئ القيس، وهي أم ابنته سكينة، وحملت إلى الشام فيمن حمل من أهله، ثم عادت إلى المدينة، فخطبها الأشراف من قريش،

فقالت: ما كنت لأتخذ حمواً بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله، وبقيت بعده سنة لم يظلها سقف بيت حتى بليت وماتت كمداً.

وقيل: إنها أقامت على قبره سنة، وعادت إلى المدينة فماتت أسفاً عليه.

they] were brought on camels without saddles, the women of Kufa began to weep and lament.[1,2]

773. *al-Malhūf*, after the speech of Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAlī (a): The voices of the people rose as they wept, wailed, and lamented. The women exposed their hair, poured dust over their heads, scratched their faces, slapped their cheeks, and cried out in grief and sorrow. The men wept bitterly and plucked out the hairs in their beard. Never before had men and women wept as they did on that day.[3]

1/3 - 3: Mourning in Damascus

774. *al-Malhūf*, **in the assembly of Yazid, when the sacred head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was before him:** A Hāshimite woman, who was in the house of Yazid, began to lament over al-Ḥusayn (a). She called out, "O Ḥusayn! O Beloved! O Leader! O Chief of the Ahl al-Bayt! O son of Muḥammad! O succour of widows and orphans! O He who was slain by the sons of immoral women!"

The narrator said, "Everyone who heard her wept."[4]

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[1] In *al-Iḥtijāj* (vol. 2, p. 109, no. 170), quoting Hadhlam ibn Sharik al-Asadi, instead of "the women of Kufa began to weep and lament", the report states "the women of Kufa began to weep, and rent their collars [in grief], and the menfolk wept along with them also."

In Balāghat al-Nisāʾ, also quoting Hadhlam ibn Sharik al-Asadi, the report states, "On that day, the women of Kufa slapped themselves and ripped their collars."

[2] al-Mufid, *al-Amālī*, p. 321, no. 8; *Balāghat al-Nisāʾ*, p. 39.

قدمت الكوفة في المحرم سنة إحدى وستين، عند منصرف علي بن الحسين عليه السلام بالنسوة من كربلاء، ومعهم الأجناد محيطون بهم، وقد خرج الناس للنظر إليهم، فلما أقبل بهم على الجمال بغير وطاء، جعل نساء أهل الكوفة يبكين ويلتدمن.

[3] *al-Malhūf*, p. 198; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 112.

فضجّ الناس بالبكاء والنحيب والنوح، ونشر النساء شعورهن، وحثين التراب على رؤوسهن، وخمشن وجوههن، ولطمن خدودهن، ودعون بالويل والثبور، وبكى الرجال ونتفوا لحاهم، فلم يُرَ باكية وباكٍ أكثر من ذلك اليوم.

[4] *al-Malhūf*, p. 219; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 132.

فجعلت امرأة من بني هاشم كانت في دار يزيد تندب الحسين عليه السلام وتنادي: يا حبيباه يا سيداه! يا سيد أهل بيتاه! يا ابن محمداه! يا ربيع الأرامل واليتامى! يا قتيل أولاد الأدعياء! قال الراوي: فأبكت كلّ من سمعها.

775. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*: Some of the womenfolk of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah began to wail and lament when the women of al-Ḥusayn (a) were made to enter their assembly, and they began to strike themselves (*ma'tam*) in sorrow.[1]

1/3 - 4: Mourning in Medina

i) The first cries that rose in Medina

776. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*: The first lamentation that was heard for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in Medina was the lament of Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (s). He had given her a phial containing some soil, and said to her, "Jibra'īl has informed me that [men from] my nation shall kill al-Ḥusayn."

[She said:] He gave me this soil and said to me, "When it turns into fresh blood, then know that al-Ḥusayn has been killed." She kept the phial with her.

When that time approached, she began to glance at the phial every so often. When she saw that it had turned to blood, she screamed, "O Ḥusayn! O son of God's Messenger!"

Women began to lament from every corner. Medina was engulfed in the sound of wailing, the like of which had never been heard before.[2]

ii) When the news arrived

777. *al-Malhūf*: 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād wrote to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah informing him of the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a) and giving him the news of his household. He also wrote a similar letter to ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, the governor of Medina.

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[1] *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 417; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 462.

وضج نساء من نساء يزيد بن معاوية يولولن حين أدخل نساء الحسين عليه السلام عليهن وأقمن على الحسين عليه السلام مأتما.

[2] *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 245.

كان أول صارخة صرخت في المدينة أم سلمة زوج رسول الله، كان دفع إليها قارورة فيها تربة، وقال لها: إن جبريل أعلمني أن أمتي تقتل الحسين. [قالت:] وأعطاني هذه التربة وقال لي: إذا صارت دما عبيطا فاعلمي أن الحسين قد قتل، وكانت عندها.

فلما حضر ذلك الوقت جعلت تنظر إلى القارورة في كل ساعة، فلما رأتها قد صارت دما صاحت: وا حسيناه! وابن رسول الله! وتصارخت النساء من كل ناحية، حتى ارتفعت المدينة بالرجة التي ما سمع بمثلها قط.

When the news reached him, ʿAmr ascended the pulpit and addressed the people, informing them about it.

The lamentation of the Banū Hāshim was intense, and, thereafter, they established the practice of mourning and *maʾtam*.[1]

778. *al-Amālī* of al-Mufīd, quoting Abū Hayyāj ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĀmir: When the news of the killing of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was announced in Medina, Asmāʾ bint ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib came out, with her group of women to the grave of God's Messenger (s). She clung to it, sobbing bitterly. Then, she turned to the migrants (*muhājirūn*) and the helpers (*anṣār*) and said:

What would you reply if the Prophet asks you
On the Day of Accounting, where only the truth shall be heard.
You abandoned my progeny, or remained absent,
While the truth is all before the Guardian of the Affair (*walī al-amr*).
You surrendered them to the hands of the oppressors, so there shall not be
An intercessor for you today before God.
On the morning of al-Ṭaff as death stalked them.
And there was no one to assist or defend them.
We have never seen so many men or women weep the way they wept that day.[2]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 205.

كتب عبيد الله بن زياد إلى يزيد بن معاوية يخبره بقتل الحسين عليه السلام وخبر أهل بيته، وكتب أيضاً إلى عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص أمير المدينة بمثل ذلك، فأما عمرو فحين وصله الخبر صعد المنبر وخطب الناس وأعلمهم ذلك، فعظمت واعية بني هاشم وأقاموا سنن المصائب والمآتم.

[2] al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, p. 319, no. 5; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 89, no. 139.

لما أتى نعي الحسين عليه السلام إلى المدينة خرجت أسماء بنت عقيل بن أبي طالب في جماعة من نسائها حتى انتهت إلى قبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، فلاذت به وشهقت عنده، ثم التفتت إلى المهاجرين والأنصار وهي تقول:

ماذا تقولون إن قال النبي لكم   يوم الحساب وصدق القول مسموع
خذلتم عترتي أو كنتم غيبا   والحق عند ولي الأمر مجموع

iii) When the family of the Prophet (s) returned

779. *al-Malhūf*, quoting Bashīr ibn Ḥadhlam: When we neared Medina, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) called a halt. He unloaded his baggage, set up his tents, and asked his womenfolk to make camp. Then he said, "O Bashīr! May God have mercy on your father. He was a poet; are you also able to compose something?"

I replied, "Yes indeed, O son of God's Messenger, I too am a poet."

He said, "Then enter Medina and announce the news of [the martyrdom] of Abū 'Abd Allāh (a)."

I mounted my horse and rode on until I entered Medina. When I reached the mosque of the Prophet (s), I began to weep loudly. I composed the following lines and recited them:

O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you in it [anymore],
[For] al-Ḥusayn has been killed, so shed endless tears [in sorrow].
His body lies in Karbala, covered in blood and dust,
While his head is on a lance, being paraded about.

Then I announced, "Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) has returned with his aunts and sisters; they have stopped in your vicinity and are camped outside your city. I am his messenger to you, charged with informing you of his location."

Women, usually reserved and veiled, emerged bareheaded from every house in Medina without exception; they were scratching their faces and slapping their cheeks, while they wailed and lamented. I had never seen men and women mourn more than they did on that day. The Muslims had not seen a day more bitter than that, since the passing of God's Messenger (s).

Then, I heard a maid lament over al-Ḥusayn (a)... Then she said, "O caller! You have renewed our sorrow by [mentioning] Abū 'Abd Allāh (a), and opened up [old] wounds that had scarcely healed. May God have mercy on you, who are you?"

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

I replied, "I am Bashīr ibn Ḥadhlam. I have been sent on by my master, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a). He is camped at so-and-so place, with the family and womenfolk of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a)."

The people left me standing and rushed away. I spurred my horse on until I reached them. I found that they had thronged the road and pathways. I dismounted and made my way through the crowds until I reached the entrance to the camp.

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was inside the tent. He came out carrying a cloth with which he was wiping away his tears. Behind him was a servant bringing a chair. The chair was placed on the ground and he sat on it [still] unable to hold back his tears. The air was filled with the loud weeping of the men and the wailing of the children and the women. From every side, people came forward to offer their condolences, and the atmosphere was one of overwhelming sorrow.[1]

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 226; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 147.

قال بشير بن حذلم: فلما قربنا منها نزل علي بن الحسين عليه السلام فحط رحله، وضرب فسطاطه، وأنزل نساءه، وقال: يا بشير رحم الله أباك، لقد كان شاعراً، فهل تقدر على شيء منه؟

قلت: بلى يا ابن رسول الله إني لشاعر.

قال: فادخل المدينة وانع أبا عبد الله عليه السلام.

قال بشير: فركبت فرسي وركضت حتى دخلت المدينة، فلما بلغت مسجد النبي صلى الله عليه وآله رفعت صوتي بالبكاء، وأنشأت أقول:

يا أهل يثرب لا مقام لكم بها قتل الحسين فأدمعي مدرار
الجسم منه بكربلاء مضرج والرأس منه على القناة يدار

قال: ثم قلت: هذا علي بن الحسين عليه السلام مع عماته وأخواته قد حلوا بساحتكم، ونزلوا بفنائكم، وأنا رسوله إليكم أعرفكم مكانه.

قال: فما بقيت في المدينة مخدرة ولا محجبة إلا برزن من خدورهن مكشوفة شعورهن، مخمشة وجوههن، ضاربات خدودهن، يدعون بالويل والثبور، فلم أر باكياً ولا باكية أكثر من ذلك اليوم، ولا يوماً أمر على المسلمين منه بعد وفاة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، وسمعت جارية تنوح على الحسين عليه السلام...

ثم قالت: أيها الناعي جددت حزننا بأبي عبد الله عليه السلام، وخدشت منا قروحاً لما تندمل، فمن أنت رحمك الله؟

فقلت: أنا بشير بن حذلم، وجهني مولاي علي بن الحسين عليه السلام، وهو نازل موضع كذا وكذا مع عيال أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام ونسائه.

iv) The elegy of Umm al-Banin

780. ***al-Amālī* of Ibn al-Shajarī, quoting Al-Ḥasan ibn Khaḍir, from his father, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a):** Al-Husayn (a) was mourned for five years. Umm Ja'far al-Kilābiyyah [Umm al-Banin] used to recite elegies (*marthiyah*) for al-Husayn (a), and weep over him, until she lost her sight. Marwān, who was the governor of Medina, would come secretly in the night and stand at her door to listen to her lamentation and elegies.[1]

v) Recitation of elegies for Imam al-Husayn (a) for three years

781. ***Da'ā'im al-Islām*, quoting Imam al-Ṣādiq (a):** Elegies were recited for al-Husayn (a), day and night for one whole year. And for three years, from the time that he was martyred, they were recited in the day. Al-Miswar ibn Makhramah, Abū Hurayrah, and other senior companions of God's Messenger (s) would come to listen to the recitals, secretly and anonymously, and weep.[2][3]

قال: فأخذوا مكاني وبادروا، فضربت فرسي حتى رجعت إليهم، فوجدت الناس قد أخذوا الطرق والمواضع، فنزلت عن فرسي وتخطيت رقاب الناس حتى قربت من باب الفسطاط، وكان علي بن الحسين عليه السلام داخلاً فخرج ومعه خرقة يمسح بها دموعه، وخلفه خادم معه كرسي فوضعه له وجلس عليه وهو لا يتمالك من العبرة، فارتفعت أصوات الناس بالبكاء وحنين الجواري والنساء، والناس من كل ناحية يعزونه، فضجت تلك البقعة ضجة شديدة.

[1] Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 175.

نيح على الحسين عليه السلام خمس حجج، وكانت أم جعفر الكلابية تندب الحسين عليه السلام وتبكيه وقد كف بصرها، فكان مروان وهو والي المدينة يجيء متنكراً بالليل حتى يقف فيسمع بكاءها وندبها.

[2] This last sentence is not part of the Imam's (a) words. [Trans.]

[3] *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 227; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 82, p. 101.

نيح على الحسين بن علي عليه السلام سنة كاملة كل يوم وليلة، وثلاث سنين من اليوم الذي أصيب فيه، وكان المسور بن مخرمة وأبو هريرة وتلك المشيخة من أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يأتون مستترين ومتقنعين فيستمعون ويبكون.

vi) The continual mourning of the family of the Prophet (s) until Ibn Ziyād was killed

782. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Zurārah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): None of our women used dye or oil, or applied kohl, or arranged their hair, until the head of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was brought. Even after that our tears did not cease.[1]

783. *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, quoting Jārūd ibn Mundhir, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): No Hashemite woman amongst us combed her hair or applied dye, until the time when al-Mukhtār sent us the heads of those who killed al-Ḥusayn (a).[2]

1/4: The first to wear black in mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

1/4 - 1: Umm Salamah

784. *al-Amālī* of Ibn al-Shajarī, quoting 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣam, from his mother: When Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, a canopy was erected for Umm Salamah, may God be pleased with her, in the mosque of the Prophet (s). I saw here there wearing a black headcover.[3]

1/4 - 2: The women of Banū Hāshim

785. *al-Maḥāsin*, quoting 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a): After al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) was killed, the women of Banū Hāshim used to wear coarse black clothes. They did not complain of heat or cold.

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 167, no. 219; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 207.
ما اختضبت منّا امرأةٌ ولا ادّهنت ولا اكتحلت ولا رجّلت حتّى أتانا رأس عبيد الله بن زياد، وما زلنا في عبرة بعده.

[2] al-Kashshī, *Rijāl*, vol. 1, p. 341; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl*, p. 277.
ما امتشطت فينا هاشميّةٌ ولا اختضبت حتّى بعث إلينا المختار برؤوس الّذين قتلوا الحسين عليه السلام.

[3] Ibn al-Shajarī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 1, p. 184.
ضُربت لأمّ سلمة رضي الله عنها قبّة في مسجد رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وآله حين قُتل الحسين عليه السلام، فرأيت عليها خمارًا أسود.

When they gathered to mourn, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) would prepare food for them.'[1]

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[1] al-Maḥāsin, vol. 2, p. 195, no. 1564; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 188, no. 33.

لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام، لبسن نساء بني هاشم السواد والمسوح، وكنّ لا يشتكين من حرّ ولا برد، وكان علي بن الحسين عليهما السلام يعمل لهنّ الطعام للمأتم.

PART 2: RECOUNTING THE TRAGEDY OF IMAM AL-ḤUSAYN (A)

2/1: Encouraging the recounting of the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a)

786. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Misma' ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Kardīn al-Baṣrī: Imam al-Ṣādiq said to me, "O Misma'... Do you not recount what was done to al-Ḥusayn (a)?"

I replied, "Yes."

He asked, "Are you distressed by it?"

I said, "Yes, by God. I weep over him, and my family sees the effect it has on me. I am not inclined to eat [thereafter], and my face shows my sorrow."

He said, "May God have mercy on your tears; you will indeed be included amongst our mourners [on the Day of Reckoning]."[1]

2/2: Asking God to bless Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) when remembering his tragedy

787. *al-Kāfī*, quoting al-Ḥusayn ibn Thuwayr: I said to Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), "May I be ransomed for you! I remember al-Ḥusayn (a) often. How should I greet him?" The Imam (a) replied, "Say three times, 'May God's

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 203, no. 291; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 289.

قال لي أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: يا مسمع ... أفما تذكر ما صنع به؟ قلت: نعم، قال: فتجزع؟ قلت: إي والله

وأستعبر لذلك حتى يرى أهلي أثر ذلك علي فأمتنع من الطعام حتى يستبين ذلك في وجهي.

قال: رحم الله دمعتك، أما إنك من الذين يعدون من أهل الجزع لنا

blessings be on you, O Abā 'Abd Allāh', for this greeting will reach him from near and from afar."[1,2]

2/3: Remembering the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) when drinking water

788. *al-Kāfī*, quoting Dāwūd al-Riqqī: I was once with Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when he asked for water. As he drank it, he began to weep, and his eyes were filled with tears.

Then, he said to me, "O Dāwūd! May God curse the killers of al-Ḥusayn (a). No one drinks water, remembers al-Ḥusayn (a) and his household, and curses those who killed him, except that God, the Almighty, adds 100,000 acts of goodness for him, removes 100,000 acts of sin [from his record], raises him 100,000 levels, and considers him like one who had freed 100,000 slaves. On the Day of Judgement, God shall resurrect him with a tranquil heart.[3]

789. *al-Miṣbāḥ* of al-Kaf'amī: Sukaynah bint al-Ḥusayn (a) related: When [my father] al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, I hugged his body. I became unconscious, and I heard him say:

> O my Shī'a, when you drink reviving water, remember me.
> Or, if you hear of a stranger who is martyred, weep for me.

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[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 579; *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 103.

قلت: جعلت فداك! إني كثيراً ما أذكر الحسين عليه السلام فأيّ شيء أقول؟ قال: قل: صلّى الله عليك يا أبا
عبد الله، تعيد ذلك ثلاثاً، فإنّ السلام يصل إليه من قريب ومن بعيد.

[2] The advice of the Imam (a) was not specific to a particular occasion or place and includes every instance when Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) is brought to mind, especially when reciting about the tragedy (*muṣībah*) of the Imam (a). For this reason, it is appropriate to begin every such recital with the expression, "May God's blessings be on you, O Abā 'Abdillāh."

[3] al-Kāfī, vol. 6, p. 6; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 212, no. 304.

كنت عند أبي عبد الله عليه السلام إذ استسقى الماء، فلمّا شربه رأيته قد استعبر واغرورقت عيناه بدموعه،
ثمّ قال لي: يا داود، لعن الله قاتل الحسين عليه السلام، وما من عبد شرب الماء فذكر الحسين عليه السلام
وأهل بيته ولعن قاتله إلّا كتب الله عزّ وجلّ له مائة ألف حسنة، وحطّ عنه مائة ألف سيّئة، ورفع له مائة
ألف درجة، وكأنّما أعتق مائة ألف نسمة، وحشره الله عزّ وجلّ يوم القيامة ثلج الفؤاد.

She awoke in great distress, her eyes were red-rimmed, and she was slapping her cheeks. At that time someone called out:

The earth and the heavens wept over him
Copious tears and blood.
They weep for those slain in Karbala,
Amidst the rabble of illegitimate offspring.
Water was forbidden to him while he was next to it.
O eye! Weep for the one who was not allowed a sip of water![1]

2/4: Recounting the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in the presence of Imam al-Bāqir (a)

790. *Kifāyat al-Athar*, quoting Kumayt: I came to my master, Imam al-Bāqir (a), and said, "O son of God's Messenger, I have composed some verses about your household; would you permit me to recite them?"

He replied, "These are the days of the brightly-lit nights."[2]
I said, "It is especially about you."
He said, "Go on." So I began to recite:
Life has made me laugh and made me cry,
For life presents setbacks and changing fortunes,
For the nine in al-Ṭaff who were betrayed,
And all were covered in their death shrouds.

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[1] al-Kaf'amī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, p. 967.

قالت سكينة بنت الحسين: لما قتل الحسين عليه السلام اعتنقته، فأغمي علي فسمعته يقول:

شيعتي ما إن شربتم ري عذب فاذكروني أو سمعتم بغريب أو شهيد فاندبوني

فقامت مرعوبة قد قرحت مآقيها وهي تلطم على خديها وإذا بهاتف يقول:

بكت الأرض والسماء عليه بدموع غزيرة ودماء
يبكيان المقتول في كربلاء بين غوغاء أمة أدعياء
منع الماء وهو عنه قريب عين ابكي الممنوع شرب الماء

[2] *Ayyām al-Bīḍ*, the middle days of the lunar month, when the nights are brightly lit by the full moon. Here the Imam (a) initially states that in normal circumstances, it is an inappropriate time for poetry [Trans.]

The Imam (a) wept, and Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) wept also. I heard a young girl crying behind a curtain.

When I reached the following verses, the Imam (a) wept again:

And six [others] who have no equal,
The offspring of 'Aqīl, the best of young men,
And 'Alī, the good, their master:
Remembering them rekindles my sorrow.

Then, the Imam (a) said, "God will build a house in paradise for the one who remembers us, or is reminded of us, and then sheds a tear, even if it is an amount as minute as the wing of a small fly. And He will make that tear a barrier between them and hellfire.'[1]

2/5: Recounting the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) in the presence of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a)

791. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Hārūn al-Makfūf: I came to Imam al-Ṣādiq (a). He requested me to recite some poetry for him. I did so, but he said, "No, recite the way that you [elegy reciters] recite, the way you recite at his grave. So I recited:

Pass by the grave of al-Ḥusayn (a)
And say to his pure remains…

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[1] *Kifāyat al-Athar*, p. 248; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 36, p. 390, no. 2.

دخلت على سيدي أبي جعفر محمد بن علي الباقر عليه السلام فقلت: يا ابن رسول الله إني قد قلت فيكم أبياتاً فإن أذنت لي في إنشادها

فقال عليه السلام: إنها أيام البيض. قلت: فهو فيكم خاصة. قال عليه السلام: هات. فأنشأت أقول:

أضحكني الدهر وأبكاني والدهر ذو صرف وألوان
لتسعة بالطف قد غودروا صاروا جميعاً رهن أكفان

فبكى عليه السلام وبكى أبو عبد الله عليه السلام وسمعت جارية تبكي من وراء الخباء، فلما بلغت إلى قولي:

وستة لا يتجارى بهم بنو عقيل خير فتيان
ثم علي الخير مولاهم ذكرهم هيج أحزاني

فبكى ثم قال عليه السلام: ما من رجل ذكرنا أو ذكرنا عنده فخرج من عينيه ماء ولو قدر مثل جناح البعوضة إلا بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة، وجعل ذلك حجاباً بينه وبين النار.

The Imam (a) wept, so I stopped. But he said, "Continue." So I continued, and [when I finished] he said, "Recite some more, some more." So I recited:

O Maryam, arise, and mourn for your master,
And be blessed by your tears for al-Ḥusayn (a).

He continued to weep, and the women began to lament. When they quietened, he said to me, "O Abā Hārūn! Whoever recites a *marthiyah* for al-Ḥusayn (a) and makes ten people weep is assured of paradise." Then he reduced the number of people [from ten], one by one, until he reached [just] one. Then he said, "Whoever recites a *marthiyah* for al-Ḥusayn (a) and makes one person weep is assured of paradise." Finally, he said, "Whoever remembers him (a) and sheds tears alone, he [too] is assured of paradise."[1]

792. *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, quoting Zayd al-Shaḥḥām: I was with a group of Kufans in the presence of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when Ja'far ibn 'Affān entered. The Imam (a) invited him to come close, and seated him besides him.

Then he said, "O Ja'far!"

He replied, "At your service! May God make me your ransom."

The Imam said, "I have heard that you recite poetry about al-Ḥusayn (a), and you do so well."

He replied, "Yes, may God make me your ransom."

The Imam said, "Recite."

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 208, no. 300; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 287.

دخلت على أبي عبد الله عليه السلام فقال لي: أنشدني، فأنشدته، فقال: لا، كما تنشدون، وكما ترثيه عند قبره، فأنشدته:

أمرر على جدث الحسين فقل لأعظمه الزكية

قال: فلما بكى أمسكت أنا، فقال: مر، فمررت، قال: ثم قال: زدني زدني، قال: فأنشدته:

يا مريم قومي فاندبي مولاك وعلى الحسين فأسعدي ببكاك

قال: فبكى وتهايج النساء، قال: فلما أن سكتن قال لي: يا أبا هارون من أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام فأبكى عشرة فله الجنة، ثم جعل ينقص واحدا واحدا حتى بلغ الواحد، فقال: من أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام فأبكى واحدا فله الجنة، ثم قال: من ذكره فبكى فله الجنة.

He recited [an elegy] for him (a), and those who had gathered. Tears flowed from the eyes of the Imam (a), soaking his beard.[1]

759. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, quoting 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl al-Tamīmī, from his father: I was with Imam Ja'far ibn Muhammad al-Ṣādiq (a), when his servant asked for permission to admit the Sayyid.[2] The Imam (a) instructed him to allow the man to enter, and seated his womenfolk behind a curtain. The Sayyid entered, made his greetings, and sat down.

He requested him to recite, so he recited:
Pass by the tomb of al-Ḥusayn,
And say to his purified remains,
"O remains! You continue to be
Watered with flowing tears."
And whenever you come to his grave,
Lengthen the stay of your caravan.
Let the pure ones weep,
For the pure one and the purest of the pure,
Like the weeping of the mother who experiences
The death of her only child.

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[1] *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 2, p. 574, no. 508; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 286, no. 16.

كنا عند أبي عبد الله عليه السلام ونحن جماعة من الكوفيين، فدخل جعفر بن عفان على أبي عبد الله عليه السلام فقربه وأدناه.

ثم قال: يا جعفر، قال: لبيك جعلني الله فداك، قال: بلغني أنك تقول الشعر في الحسين عليه السلام وتجيد. فقال له: نعم جعلني الله فداك.

قال: قل، فأنشده عليه السلام ومن حوله، حتى صارت له الدموع على وجهه ولحيته.

[2] Abū Hāshim Ismā'īl ibn Muhammad Yazīd ibn Rabī' al-Ḥimyarī, famous as Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, although he is not from the Banū Hāshim (sādāt). He was born in 105/723 in Oman and lived in Basra. He died in 173/789 and was buried in the outskirts of Baghdad. He died at the time of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. He has composed the famous ode (qaṣīdah) called "Ayniyyah". As mentioned in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, he was one of the three preeminent poets of Arabia. See *Dānishnāmah-yi Imām Ḥusayn*, vol. 10, p. 283, s.v. Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī.

I saw the tears of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad (a) roll down his cheeks, and the sound of lamenting and weeping rose in the house. The Imam (a) instructed the poet to stop, so he ceased his recital.[1]

2/6: The intense grief of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) at the mention of the tragedy of His grandfather

791. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū 'Umārah al-Munshid: If on any day, al-Ḥusayn (a) was remembered in front of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), he would not be seen smiling that whole day, until nightfall. The Imam (a) used to say, "The tear of every believer is [reserved for] al-Ḥusayn (a)."[2]

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[1] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 7, p. 260.

أُنشِدَ عند أبي عبد الله جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام في [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]، فأمره بإنشاده [illegible] [illegible]
ستر، وقال [illegible] [illegible]، فأنشده قوله:

أمرر على جدث الحسـ   ـن فقل لأعظمه الزكية
أأعظماً لا زلت من   وطفاء ساكبة روية
وإذا مررت بقبره   فأطل به وقف المطية
وابك المطهر للمطهـ   ـر والمطهرة النقية
كبكاء معولة أتت   يوماً لواحدها المنية

قال: فرأيت دموع جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام تتحدّر على خدّيه وارتفع الصراخ والبكاء من داره حتى أمره بالإمساك فأمسك.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 214, no. 309; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 280.

ما ذُكِرَ الحسين عليه السلام عند أبي عبد الله عليه السلام في يومٍ قطّ فرُئِيَ أبو عبد الله عليه السلام متبسّماً في ذلك اليوم إلى الليل، وكان عليه السلام يقول: الحسين عليه السلام عبرة كلّ مؤمن.

PART 3: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DAY OF ASHURA AND ITS ETIQUETTE

3/1: The greatness of the tragedy of Ashura

795. *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī: I asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), "O son of God's Messenger (s), how did the day of Ashura become a day of lamentation, sorrow, grief and weeping that exceeded the commemoration of the day God's Messenger (s) was taken, or the day Fāṭimah (a) passed away, or the day the Commander of the Faithful (a) was killed, or the day al-Ḥasan (a) was poisoned to death?

He replied, "The Day of al-Ḥusayn (a) is a bigger tragedy than the rest of those days... The people of the cloak (*aṣḥāb al-kisā'*), who were God's most noble creations, were five individuals. When the Prophet (s) passed away, the Commander of the Faithful (a), Fāṭimah (a), al-Ḥasan (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a) still remained, and the people took solace and comfort in their presence.

"And when Fāṭimah (a) passed away, the people took solace and comfort in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful (a), al-Ḥasan (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a).

"When the Commander of the Faithful (a) passed away also, the people still had al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a) for solace and comfort.

"When al-Ḥasan (a) passed away, the people had al-Ḥusayn (a) for solace and comfort.

"But when al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, no one else was left from the *ahl al-kisā'* to give the people solace and comfort. His departure was like the departure of all of them, just as his presence was like the presence of all of them.

"That is why his day became the day of the biggest tragedy"[1] [2]

796. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, quoting 'Alqamah ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a), as mentioned in *Ziyārat Āshūrā*: Greetings on you, O Abā 'Abd Allāh... Indeed, the trial was great; and your tragedy was tremendous and great on us, and on all the Muslims; and your tragedy was tremendous and great in the heavens for the inhabitants of the heavens.[3]

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[1] *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, p. 225, no. 1; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 269.

قلت لأبي عبد الله جعفر بن محمد الصادق عليهما السلام: يا ابن رسول الله كيف صار يوم عاشوراء يوم مصيبة وغم وجزع وبكاء دون اليوم الذي قبض فيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، واليوم الذي ماتت فيه فاطمة عليها السلام، واليوم الذي قتل فيه أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، واليوم الذي قتل فيه الحسن عليه السلام بالسم؟ فقال: إن يوم الحسين عليه السلام أعظم مصيبة من جميع سائر الأيام، وذلك أن أصحاب الكساء الذين كانوا أكرم الخلق على الله تعالى كانوا خمسة، فلما مضى عنهم النبي صلى الله عليه وآله بقي أمير المؤمنين وفاطمة والحسن والحسين عليهم السلام، فكان فيهم للناس عزاء وسلوة، فلما مضت فاطمة عليها السلام كان في أمير المؤمنين والحسن والحسين عليهم السلام للناس عزاء وسلوة، فلما مضى منهم أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام كان للناس في الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام عزاء وسلوة، فلما مضى الحسن عليه السلام كان للناس في الحسين عليه السلام عزاء وسلوة، فلما قتل الحسين عليه السلام لم يكن بقي من أهل الكساء أحد للناس فيه بعده عزاء وسلوة، فكان ذهابه كذهاب جميعهم كما كان بقاؤه كبقاء جميعهم، فلذلك صار يومه أعظم مصيبة.

[2] The narrator of the above report continues that he asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) why the people could not take the same solace and comfort in the presence of Imam 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), as they did with his forefathers. The Imam (a) replied, "Certainly 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was the foremost of worshippers, and the Imam and proof over the creation after his forefathers; however, he had not met God's Prophet (s) and not heard directly from him. His knowledge was inherited from his father, grandfather, and the Prophet (s). [However] the people had seen the Commander of the Faithful (a), Fāṭimah (a), al-Ḥasan (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a) with God's Messenger (s) in changing circumstances, and whenever they saw any one of them they would recall his conduct with them and his words about them...." [Trans.]

[3] *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 773; *Miṣbāḥ al-Zā'ir*, p. 269.

السلام عليك يا أبا عبد الله... لقد عظمت الرزية وجلت وعظمت المصيبة بك علينا وعلى جميع أهل الإسلام، وجلت وعظمت مصيبتك في السماوات على جميع أهل السماوات.

3/2: The etiquette of the day of Ashura

3/2 - 1: To stay away from the usual daily activities

797. ***Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*****, quoting Mālik al-Juhanī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a), about the day of Ashura:** If you can abstain from going out to seek your needs on that day, then do so, for it is an inauspicious day (*yawm al-naḥs*), on which needs are not fulfilled. And [even] if they are fulfilled, there is no blessing (*barakah*) in them, and they will not reach fruition.

And do not buy items to store in your house, for whoever stores something in his house on that day will find no blessing in what he has stored for himself or his household.[1]

798. ***ʿIlal al-Sharāʾiʿ*****, quoting al-Ḥasan ibn al-Faḍḍāl, from Imam al-Riḍā (a):** Whoever leaves the pursuit of his needs on the day of Ashura, God will grant him his needs in this world and in the hereafter. Whoever spends the day of Ashura in grief, sorrow and lamentation, God shall make the Day of Judgement a day of happiness and joy for him, and gladden his eyes with the sight of us in paradise.[2]

3/2 - 2: Keeping away from merriment

799. ***Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*****, quoting ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sinān, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when he was asked about fasting on the day of Ashura:** Fast on it, but do not make the intention from the night before,[3] and break the fast with simple fare. Do not fast for the complete day, but break the fast an hour after the afternoon (*'aṣr*) prayer with some water, for this was around the time on that day when the attack against the family of God's Messenger (s) came to an end, and the slaughter was halted. Thirty of their companions lay killed on the ground. Their deaths were grievous to God's Messenger (s), and if he had been alive in the world on that day, he – may God bless him – would have wept over them.[1]

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 326, no. 556; *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 773.

فإن استطعت أن لا تنتشر يومك في حاجة فافعل، فإنّه يوم نحس، لا تقضى فيه حاجة، وإن قضيت لم يبارك له فيها ولم ير رشداً، ولا تدّخرنّ لمنزلك شيئاً، فإنّه من ادّخر لمنزله شيئاً في ذلك اليوم لم يبارك له فيما يدّخره ولا يبارك له في أهله.

[2] *ʿIlal al-Sharāʾiʿ*, p. 227, no. 2; *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 1, p. 298, no. 57.

من ترك السعي في حوائجه يوم عاشوراء قضى الله له حوائج الدنيا والآخرة، ومن كان يوم عاشوراء يوم مصيبته وحزنه وبكائه جعل الله عزّ وجلّ يوم القيامة يوم فرحه وسروره، وقرّت بنا في الجنان عينه.

[3] ʿAllāmah Majlisī writes, "The phrase 'without the intention from the night before (*tabyīt*)' means it is not a formal intention to fast on that day, so it can be broken. And the instruction to break the fast is not for relief and happiness, but rather to show opposition to those who consider it a blessing to fast on the day of Ashura." *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 307.

800. *Masār al-Shī'ah*: The 10th day of Muharram is the day on which our master, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a), was martyred in the year 61/680. It is the day on which the *grief* of the household of Muḥammad (s) and their followers (Shī'a) is renewed again.

It has been reported from the two Imams, al-Bāqir (a), and al-Ṣādiq (a), that on this day, one should keep away from celebration, observe mourning, and remain without food and water until the afternoon. Then one should break their fast with food of the kind that people who have suffered a tragedy would eat, like yoghurt or similar, and avoid delicious food and drink.[2]

3/2 - 3: Great sorrow and mourning

801. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Maḥmūd, from Imam al-Riḍā: Whenever the month of Muharram arrived, my father (a) would not be seen laughing. He would be immersed in grief until ten days passed. The 10th day of Muharram itself, would be a day of lamentation, sorrow and mourning. He would say, "This is the day al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred."[1]

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[1] *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 782; *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 473.

صمه من غير تبييت وأفطره من غير تشميت ولا تجعله يوم صوم كملا، وليكن إفطارك بعد صلاة العصر بساعة على شربة من ماء فإنه في مثل ذلك الوقت من ذلك اليوم تجلت الهيجاء عن آل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وانكشفت الملحمة عنهم وفي الأرض منهم ثلاثون صريعا في مواليهم يعز على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله مصرعهم ولو كان في الدنيا يومئذ حيا لكان صلوات الله عليه وآله هو المعزى بهم.

[2] *Masār al-Shī'ah*, p. 43.

في اليوم العاشر منه (أي من شهر المحرم) مقتل سيدنا أبي عبد الله الحسين عليه السلام سنة إحدى وستين من الهجرة وهو يوم يتجدد فيه أحزان آل محمد عليهم السلام وشيعتهم.

وجاءت الرواية عن الصادقين عليهم السلام باجتناب الملاذ، وإقامة سنن المصائب، والإمساك عن الطعام والشراب إلى أن تزول الشمس، والتغذي بعد ذلك بما يتغذى به أصحاب المصائب كالألبان وما أشبهها دون اللذة من الطعام والشراب.

802. *al-Kāfī*, quoting 'Abd al-Malik, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): As for the day of Ashura, it is the day on which al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred… It is not a day for anything other than sorrow and mourning that has overcome the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth and all the believers.[2]

3/2 - 4: Giving condolences to each other, in the manner that has been narrated

803. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Mālik al-Juhanī, about the establishment of mourning assemblies on the day of Ashura: I asked Imam al-Bāqir (a), "How should they condole each other?"

He replied, "They should say, 'May God magnify our reward for our grief over al-Ḥusayn (a), and make us and you among those who will seek vengeance for his blood with Imam al-Mahdī (atf), His representative from the progeny of Muhammad (s).'"[3]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 192, no. 199; *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 28.

كان أبي صلوات الله عليه إذا دخل شهر المحرم لا يرى ضاحكاً، وكانت الكآبة تغلب عليه حتى يمضي منه عشرة أيام، فإذا كان يوم العاشر، كان ذلك اليوم يوم مصيبته وحزنه وبكائه، ويقول: هو اليوم الذي قتل فيه الحسين صلوات الله عليه.

[2] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 134, no. 7; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 95, no. 46.

أمّا يوم عاشوراء فيوم أصيب فيه الحسين عليه السلام... وما هو إلّا يوم حزن ومصيبة دخلت على أهل السماء، وأهل الأرض، وجميع المؤمنين.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 328, no. 556; *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 773.

قلت: فكيف يعزّي بعضهم بعضاً؟

قال [عليه السلام]: يقولون: عظّم الله أجورنا بمصابنا بالحسين عليه السلام، وجعلنا وإيّاكم من الطالبين بثأره مع وليّه الإمام المهديّ من آل محمّد صلى الله عليه و آله.

7/2 - 5: Prayers, supplications, and salutations that are mentioned in narrations

844. *Misbāh al-Mutahajjid*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān: On the day of Ashura, I came to my master, Abū 'Abd Allāh, Ja'far ibn Muhammad (a). I saw that his complexion was pale, and he was full of sorrow. Tears were dropping from his eyes like falling pearls.

I asked "O son of God's Messenger! Why are you weeping? May God never bring tears to your eyes."

He said to me, "Are you not aware? Do you not know that on this day, al-Husayn (a) was martyred?"[1]

I asked, "O master, what is your view about fasting on this day?"

He replied, "Fast on it, but do not make the intention from the night before, and break the fast with simple fare. Do not fast for the complete day; break the fast with some water an hour after the afternoon ('asr) prayer. For, this was around the time on that day when the attack against the family of God's Messenger (s) came to an end, and the slaughter was halted.

"Thirty of their companions lay killed on the ground. Their deaths were grievous to God's Messenger (s), and if he had been alive in the world on that day, he – may God bless him – would have wept over them."

The Imam (a) wept until his beard was wet with his tears.

Then he said, "Indeed when God, hallowed be His remembrance, created light, he created it according to His decree, on the first Friday of the month of Ramadān, and likewise, He created darkness on a Wednesday. According to His decree, it was on the tenth day of Muharram, the day of Ashura. And for each of these two, He created specific rules and regulations.

"O 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān! The best thing one can do on this day is to find clean (*tāhir*) clothes, wear them, and come out dressed as one in grief."

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[1] In *al-Iqbāl* (vol. 3, p. 69) the following phrase has been added. "Yes indeed, my Master; I do know, and that is why I have come. I wanted to ask you something about it, and to benefit from your knowledge about this day." The Imam (a) replied, "Ask whatever question you have."

I asked, "How should one dress as one in grief?"[1]

He replied, "Keep the buttons undone, and roll up your sleeves, as grieving people do.' Then, as the day carries on, go out to an isolated place, or somewhere where no one can see you, or to a secluded room, or somewhere private. Then recite four units of prayer, taking care in its bowing, prostrations, and reverence. Recite them in two units of two. In the first unit recite Sūrat al-Ḥamd followed by Sūrat al-Kāfirūn. In the second unit, recite Sūrat al-Ḥamd followed by Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ. Then recite two more units. In the first unit recite Sūrat al-Ḥamd followed by Sūrat al-Aḥzāb. In the second unit, recite Sūrat al-Ḥamd followed by Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn. Alternatively, recite chapters of the Qur'an that you are familiar with.

"After completing the prayers,[2] turn your face in the direction of the grave and resting place of al-Ḥusayn (a), and imagine the scene of his killing and that of his children and family. Then, invoke God's salutations and blessings on him, and His curse on his killers, and declare your disassociation from their [evil] acts. For these acts, God, the Almighty, shall raise your station in paradise many degrees, and forgive you many of your sins.

"Thereafter, walk forward [and back] a few steps from your place, wherever you are, while saying, '*We are from God, and to Him is our* return. We are happy with His decree and submit to His command.' As you do this, you should be in a state of intense grief and sorrow. On this day, be in constant remembrance of God, and recite the verse of return often.

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[1] From this instruction, one can conclude that mourning for Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions had specific conventions in every age. It is also worth mentioning that *tasallub* (dressing in sombre clothes) has also been translated as "wearing black to signify mourning." *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 1, p. 473, s.v. *s-l-b*.

[2] In *al-Iqbāl* (vol. 3, p. 66) the following has been added: "After completing the prayers, turn your face in the direction of the grave and resting place of Abā ʿAbdillāh (a), and imagine the place he fell to the ground. Empty your mind of every other thought, and concentrate with your body and mind, then curse his killers one thousand times. For every curse, God shall write for you a thousand acts of goodness, remove a thousand acts of sin, and raise you a thousand degrees in paradise. Then, from the place of your prayers, walk forward and back seven times, and each time, recite seven times, '*We are from God, and to Him is our return.* We are happy with His decree and submit to His command.' During all this, be in a state of sadness, grief, sorrow, and lament. When you finish, return to stand at your place of prayer, and recite seventy times..." [and continue with the supplication that has been mentioned in the book].

"When you finish with your pacing, and have completed the acts, then stand at the place in which you prayed, and say:

> O God, punish the evil-doers who brought misery to Your Messenger, waged war against your close servants, worshipped other than You, and considered lawful what You had prohibited.
>
> [O God] Perpetually curse their leaders, those who followed them, those who rode and marched with them, and those who condoned their acts.
>
> O God, hasten the relief of the family of Muhammad. Send Your blessings down on him, and them, protect them from the hands of the deviant hypocrites and renegade disbelievers, grant them a quick victory, bless them soon with comfort and relief, and give them from Yourself a controlling authority over Your enemies and their enemies.
>
> "Then raise your hands in supplication (*qunut*), and recite the following, keeping in mind the enemies of Muhammad and his household (s):
>
> O God, many from the nation displayed hostility to the guardians, the Imams (a). They renounced the creed of faith (*kalimah*), joined hands with the leaders of oppression, abandoned the Book and the Sunnah, and severed the two strong ropes which You had commanded them to obey and attach themselves to. Thereby, they suppressed the truth and deviated from the designated [straight] path. They sided with factions and distorted the Book, opposed the truth when it came to them and affiliated themselves to falsehood when it presented itself. They trivialized Your rights and misguided Your creation. In the end, they killed the offspring of Your Prophet, the best of Your servants, the bearer of Your knowledge, and the inheritor of Your wisdom and revelation.
>
> O God, cause the feet of Your enemies, the enemies of Your Messenger, and the enemies of the household of Your Prophet, to stumble.

O God, destroy their homes, make their weapons ineffective, make their words confusing, weaken their support, and disrupt their strategies. Strike them with Your decisive sword, assail them with Your pounding rocks, flood them with overwhelming tribulations, afflict them with painful suffering, punish them with an unanticipated punishment, overcome them in a manner similar to which You destroyed Your enemies [in the past], for verily You exact retribution from the criminals.

O God, your religion is being lost, your laws are being ignored, and the offspring of your Prophet are being repressed in the land.

O God, attend to the truth and its adherents, and restrain falsehood and its adherents. Favour us with salvation, guide us to true belief, hasten our relief, put things in order with the reappearance of your close servants (*awliyā'*), make them affectionate towards us, and make us meet them in a goodly company.

O God, annihilate those who consider the day of the martyrdom of the son of Your Prophet, the best of Your creation, a day of rejoicing, on which they indulge in hilarity and enjoyment. Seize the last of them just as you seized the first of them, and double, O God, the punishment and torment of those who oppressed the household of your Prophet, annihilate their followers and their leaders, and wipe out their supporters and parties.

O God, multiply Your blessings, mercy, and bounties on the offspring of Your Prophet, the offspring whose rights were usurped, who were terrorized, and who were treated dishonourably. They are the fruits of the tree that is good, pure, and blessed.

O God, amplify their message, make their proofs manifest, dispel tribulation, adversity, and the dark blight of vanity and blindness from them, make the hearts of their Shī'a and Your party steadfast in obeying them, loving them, supporting them, and accepting their authority (*wilāyah*).

Assist them, and grant them forbearance against the adversity [that they will face] in Your path. Let them see memorable days and blessed happy moments, when You bring close their relief, and facilitate their foundation and victory, just as You promised your close servants in Your revealed Book; for You stated, and Your words are true, "*God has promised to those of you who believe and do good that He will certainly make them rulers in the earth, as He made those before them rulers; and that He will certainly establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them; and that He will certainly, after their fear, give them security in exchange; so that they shall serve Me, not associating anyone with Me.*"[1]

O God, dispel their distress, O He besides Whom there is none to dispel evil, O One, O ever Living, O ever Sustaining!

I am, O my Lord, Your servant, fearful of You, hopeful in You, beseeching You, standing before You, a runaway to Your sanctuary, knowing well that there is no refuge from You except with You.

O God, accept my supplication, and hear, O my Lord, my calls and my whispers; make me of those with whose actions You are pleased with, whose deeds You have accepted, and whom you have given salvation by Your mercy; You are all-Mighty, all-Wise.

O God honour, first and last, Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad, and bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad, and be merciful to Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad, the most complete and perfect honour, blessing and mercy that You have ever accorded to any of Your Prophets, Messengers, angels, and bearers of Your throne, by the fact that there is no deity except You.

O God, do not separate me from Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad (s), and make me, my Master, from the true followers (Shi'a) of Muhammad, 'Ali, Fatimah, al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and their purified and chosen offspring. Inspire me to hold fast to their rope, be pleased to walk on their path, and to take their direction, indeed You are all-Generous, all-Kind.

'At this point, go into prostration, and recite:

O He Who decrees what He likes and does as He pleases. You have decreed, so to You belongs all praise. You alone are the Praised and the Thanked. So hasten, my Master, their reappearance, and relieve us through them, for You have guaranteed them honour after

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[1] Q 24:55.

> humiliation, abundance after poverty, recognition after obscurity. O most Truthful of the truthful, and most Merciful of the merciful.
>
> And I ask You, O my Lord and Master, appealing to Your generosity and kindness, to fulfil my hopes, to overlook my sins, to accept my trivial good acts and my sizeable ones, to lengthen my life span, and allow me to reach the shrine of al-Ḥusayn (a). Let me be of those who are called and who responds in obedience to them, accepting their authority, and pledging support to them. Let me witness that soon, quickly, and while I am in good health; indeed You have power over all things.

"Then raise your head to the skies and say:

> I seek refuge in You that I should be of those who have no desire for Your days, so give me refuge from that, O my Lord, out of Your mercy.

"These are better acts, O Ibn Sinān, than several greater (*ḥajj*) and lesser (*'umrah*) pilgrimages, which you perform voluntarily, spend your wealth for, put your bodies under great strain to complete, and separate from your family and children for their duration.

"You should know that God, the Almighty, shall grant ten bounties to the one who prays this prayer on this day, who sincerely supplicates with this supplication, and who carries out these acts with conviction and resolve. Among these bounties are: God will save him from a dishonourable death, spare him from His tests and poverty, will not allow an enemy to overcome him until his death, protect him and his children to four generations from insanity, leprosy and other such diseases, and will not allow Shayṭān and his minions access to him or his offspring for four generations."

Ibn Sinān said: I departed saying, "All praise is due to God, who favoured us by allowing us to know and love you. I ask Him for help, out of His mercy and generosity, in obeying you in the matters which are obligatory on me."[1]

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[1] *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 784; *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 473, no. 6.

دخلت على سيدي أبي عبد الله جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام في يوم عاشوراء، فألفيته كاسف اللون ظاهر الحزن، ودموعه تنحدر من عينيه كاللؤلؤ المتساقط، فقلت: يا ابن رسول الله مِمَّ بكاؤك؟ لا أبكى الله عينيك

فقال لي: أوَ في غفلة أنت؟ أما علمت أنّ الحسين بن علي أصيب في مثل هذا اليوم؟ فقلت: يا سيدي، فما قولك في صومه؟

فقال لي: صمه من غير تبييت، وأفطره من غير تشميت، ولا تجعله يوم صوم كملاً، وليكن إفطارك بعد صلاة العصر بساعة على شربة من ماء، فإنّه في مثل ذلك الوقت من ذلك اليوم تجلّت الهيجاء عن آل رسول الله، وانكشفت الملحمة عنهم، وفي الأرض منهم ثلاثون صريعاً في مواليهم، يعزّ على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله مصرعهم، ولو كان في الدنيا يومئذٍ حيّاً لكان صلوات الله عليه هو المعزّى بهم.

قال: وبكى أبو عبد الله عليه السلام حتى اخضلّت لحيته بدموعه، ثم قال: إنّ الله جلّ ذكره لما خلق النور خلقه يوم الجمعة في تقديره في أول يوم من شهر رمضان، وخلق الظلمة في يوم الأربعاء يوم عاشوراء في مثل ذلك يعني يوم العاشر من شهر المحرّم في تقديره، وجعل لكلّ منهما شرعة ومنهاجاً. يا عبد الله بن سنان، إنّ أفضل ما تأتي به في هذا اليوم أن تعمد إلى ثياب طاهرة فتلبسها وتتسلّب. قلت: وما التسلّب؟

قال: تحلّل أزرارك، وتكشف عن ذراعيك كهيئة أصحاب المصائب، ثم تخرج إلى أرض مقفرة أو مكان لا يراك به أحد، أو تعمد إلى منزل لك خالٍ أو في خلوة منذ حين يرتفع النهار، فتصلّي أربع ركعات تحسن ركوعها وسجودها وخشوعها، وتسلّم بين كل ركعتين، تقرأ في الأولى سورة الحمد وقل يا أيها الكافرون، وفي الثانية الحمد وقل هو الله أحد، ثم تصلّي ركعتين أخريين تقرأ في الأولى الحمد وسورة الأحزاب، وفي الثانية الحمد وإذا جاءك المنافقون، أو ما تيسّر من القرآن.

ثم تسلّم وتحوّل وجهك نحو قبر الحسين عليه السلام ومضجعه، فتمثّل لنفسك مصرعه ومن كان معه من ولده وأهله، وتسلّم وتصلّي عليه، وتلعن قاتليه وتبرأ من أفعالهم، يرفع الله عزّ وجلّ لك بذلك في الجنة من الدرجات، ويحطّ عنك من السيئات.

ثم تسعى من الموضع الذي أنت فيه إن كان صحراء أو فضاء أو أيّ شيء كان خطوات، تقول في ذلك: إنّا لله وإنّا إليه راجعون، رضىً بقضاء الله وتسليماً لأمره، وليكن عليك في ذلك الكآبة والحزن، وأكثر من ذكر الله سبحانه والاسترجاع في ذلك اليوم.

فإذا فرغت من سعيك وفعلك هذا فقف في موضعك الذي صلّيت فيه، ثم قل:

اللهم عذّب الفجرة الذين شاقّوا رسولك، وحاربوا أولياءك، وعبدوا غيرك، واستحلّوا محارمك، والعن القادة والأتباع ومن كان منهم فخبّ وأوضع معهم أو رضي بفعلهم لعناً كثيراً. اللهم وعجّل فرج آل محمد، واجعل صلواتك عليه وعليهم، واستنقذهم من أيدي المنافقين المضلّين والكفرة الجاحدين، وافتح لهم فتحاً يسيراً، وأتح لهم روحاً وفرجاً قريباً، واجعل لهم من لدنك على عدوّك وعدوّهم سلطاناً نصيراً.

ثم ارفع يديك واقنت بهذا الدعاء، وقل وأنت تومئ إلى أعداء آل محمد صلى الله عليه وعليهم:

اللهم إنّ كثيراً من الأمة ناصبت المستحفظين من الأئمة، وكفرت بالكلمة، وعكفت على القادة الظلمة، وهجرت الكتاب والسنّة، وعدلت عن الحبلين اللذين أمرت بطاعتهما والتمسّك بهما، فأماتت الحقّ، وحادت عن القصد، ومالأت الأحزاب، وحرّفت الكتاب، وكفرت بالحقّ لما جاءها، وتمسّكت بالباطل

لما اعترضها، وضيعت حقك، وأضلت خلقك، وقتلت أولاد نبيك وخيرة عبادك وحملة علمك وورثة حكمتك ووحيك.

اللهم فزلزل أقدام أعدائك وأعداء رسولك وأهل بيت رسولك. اللهم وأخرب ديارهم وافلل سلاحهم، وخالف بين كلمتهم وفت في أعضادهم، وأوهن كيدهم، واضربهم بسيفك القاطع، وارمهم بحجرك الدامغ، وطمهم بالبلاء طماً، وقمهم بالعذاب قماً، وعذبهم عذاباً نكراً، وخذهم بالسنين والمثلات التي أهلكت بها أعداءك، إنك ذو نقمة من المجرمين. اللهم إن سنتك ضائعة، وأحكامك معطلة، وعترة نبيك في الأرض هائمة.

اللهم فأعن الحق وأهله، واقمع الباطل وأهله، ومن علينا بالنجاة واهدنا إلى الإيمان، وعجل فرجنا وانظمه بفرج أوليائك، واجعلهم لنا وداً واجعلنا لهم وفداً. اللهم وأهلك من جعل يوم قتل ابن نبيك وخيرتك عيداً، واستهل به فرحاً ومرحاً، وخذ آخرهم كما أخذت أولهم، وأضعف اللهم العذاب والتنكيل على ظالمي أهل بيت نبيك، وأهلك أشياعهم وقادتهم، وأبر حماتهم وجماعتهم.

اللهم وضاعف صلواتك ورحمتك وبركاتك على عترة نبيك العترة الضائعة الخائفة المستذلة، بقية الشجرة الطيبة الزاكية المباركة، وأعل اللهم كلمتهم، وأفلج حجتهم، واكشف البلاء واللأواء وحنادس الأباطيل والعمى عنهم، وثبت قلوب شيعتهم وحزبك على طاعتهم وولايتهم ونصرتهم وموالاتهم، وأعنهم وامنحهم الصبر على الأذى فيك، واجعل لهم أياماً مشهودة وأوقاتاً محمودة مسعودة يوشك فيها فرجهم، وتوجب فيها تمكينهم ونصرهم، كما ضمنت لأوليائك في كتابك المنزل، فإنك قلت وقولك الحق: وعد الله الذين آمنوا منكم وعملوا الصالحات ليستخلفنهم في الأرض كما استخلف الذين من قبلهم وليمكنن لهم دينهم الذي ارتضى لهم وليبدلنهم من بعد خوفهم أمناً يعبدونني لا يشركون بي شيئاً. اللهم فاكشف غمتهم يا من لا يملك كشف الضر إلا هو، يا أحد يا حي يا قيوم، وأنا يا إلهي عبدك الخائف منك، والراجع إليك، السائل لك، المقبل عليك، اللاجئ إلى فنائك، العالم بأنه لا ملجأ منك إلا إليك.

اللهم فتقبل دعائي، واسمع يا إلهي علانيتي ونجواي، واجعلني ممن رضيت عمله، وقبلت نسكه، ونجيته برحمتك، إنك أنت العزيز الكريم. اللهم وصل أولاً وآخراً على محمد وآل محمد، وبارك على محمد وآل محمد، وارحم محمداً وآل محمد، بأكمل وأفضل ما صليت وباركت وترحمت على أنبيائك ورسلك وملائكتك وحملة عرشك، بلا إله إلا أنت.

اللهم ولا تفرق بيني وبين محمد وآل محمد صلواتك عليه وعليهم، واجعلني يا مولاي من شيعة محمد وعلي وفاطمة والحسن والحسين وذريتهم الطاهرة المنتجبة، وهب لي التمسك بحبلهم، والرضا بسبيلهم، والأخذ بطريقتهم، إنك جواد كريم.

ثم عفر وجهك في الأرض وقل:

يا من يحكم ما يشاء ويفعل ما يريد، أنت حكمت، فلك الحمد محموداً مشكوراً، فعجل يا مولاي فرجهم وفرجنا بهم، فإنك ضمنت إعزازهم بعد الذلة، وتكثيرهم بعد القلة، وإظهارهم بعد الخمول، يا أصدق الصادقين ويا أرحم الراحمين.

A word about fasting on the day of Ashura

There are various reports about fasting on the day of Ashura. A number of traditions of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) indicate that it is recommended to fast on this day. Several other reports mention that it is forbidden to do so, because the Banū Umayyah used to promote fasting on this day as sign of celebration and good fortune. Since fasting on this day would be considered as an imitation of their practice, the Imams (a) had disapproved of it.

It should be noted that in the sources of the Sunnis, there are also traditions that recommend fasting on this day, and based on this, the Sunni jurists have issued edicts that it is *mustahabb* (recommended) to fast on Ashura. However, based on the traditions mentioned earlier, Shi'a jurists have had different opinions, as below:

1. It is *mustahabb* (without any restrictions or conditions)
2. It is *mustahabb*, and that the intention of the fasting person should be to manifest sorrow at the tragedy of the Ahl al-Bayt (a)
3. It is *makrūh* (disliked or carrying less reward)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

4. It is *ḥarām* (forbidden).[1]

It is worth noting that there is no evidence to suggest that fasting is part of the etiquette of the ʿazādārī of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day of Ashura. Therefore, the only thing that one can conclude is that it is better to refrain from eating and drinking until the afternoon, and then break the fast with simple food, as mentioned in the report by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sinān. Most jurists have ruled accordingly. A more detailed discussion about fasting on the day of Ashura is outside the scope of this book, and can be found in the books of jurisprudence.

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[1] Most contemporary Shīʿa jurists have ruled that it is *makrūh* to fast on the day of Ashura. [Trans.]

PART 4: WEEPING, AND MAKING OTHERS WEEP, OVER THE CHIEF OF MARTYRS (A) AND HIS COMPANIONS

4/1: Encouraging grieving, weeping, and mourning over the martyrs of Karbala

895. *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, quoting Ibn Sinān, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The Prophet (s) looked at al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) as he came towards him. He sat him on his lap, then said, "Indeed, due to the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a), there is a burning heat in the hearts of the believers that will never cool."

Then, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) said, "May my father be sacrificed for the martyr for every tear."

He was asked, "What does 'martyr for every tear' mean, O son of God's Messenger?"

He replied, "Every believer will weep when he remembers him."[1]

896. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Yaḥyā al-Ḥadhdhā', from one of the Shī'a, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The Commander of the Faithful looked at al-Ḥusayn (a), and said, "O [one who would evoke the] tears of every believer!"

He asked, "Do you mean me, my father?"

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[1] *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, vol. 10, p. 318, no. 12084.

نظر النبي صلى الله عليه وآله إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وهو مقبل، فأجلسه في حجره، وقال: إن لقتل الحسين حرارة في قلوب المؤمنين لا تبرد أبدا.

ثم قال عليه السلام: بأبي قتيل كل عبرة، قيل: وما قتيل كل عبرة يا ابن رسول الله؟ قال: لا يذكره مؤمن إلا بكى.

He replied, "Yes, my son."[1]

807. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, quoting Hārūn ibn Khārijah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): I am the martyr of tears. I shall be killed in sorrow, and it is incumbent on God that no one sorrowful visits me except that He returns him back to his family joyful.[2]

808. *al-Kāfī*, quoting 'Īsā ibn Abī al-Manṣūr: I heard Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) say, "The sighs of grief [of a mourner] over our tragedy is [akin to] the glorification of God (*tasbīḥ*), his distress over our affair is an act of worship, and his concealment of our secret[3] is a struggle (jihad) in the path of God."[4]

809. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṭūsī, quoting Mu'āwiyah ibn Wahb, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Every instance of grief and weeping is disliked, except the grief and weeping over al-Ḥusayn (a), which has reward.[5]

810. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, quoting Khālid ibn Sadīr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The women from the descendants of Fāṭimah (a) tore their collars and struck their cheeks in their grief for al-Ḥusayn (a);

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 214, no. 308; *Faḍl Ziyārat al-Ḥusayn*, p. 38, no. 9.

نظر أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام إلى الحسين عليه السلام فقال: يا عبرة كل مؤمن، فقال: أنا يا أبتاه؟ قال: نعم يا بني.

[2] *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 123, no. 52; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 216, no. 314.

أنا قتيل العبرة، قتلت مكروباً، وحقيق على الله أن لا يأتيني مكروب إلا ردّه وقلبه إلى أهله مسروراً.

[3] Concealing the secret (*kitmān al-sirr*) of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (a) is a common phrase in the traditions, and may refer to keeping their exalted status in God's eyes hidden from ordinary people who may misconstrue their true status. [Trans.]

[4] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 226, no. 16; al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, p. 338, no. 3.

سمعت أبا عبد الله عليه السلام يقول: نفس المهموم لنا المغتم لظلمنا تسبيح، وهمّه لأمرنا عبادة، وكتمانه لسرّنا جهاد في سبيل الله.

[5] al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 162, no. 268; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 280.

كل الجزع والبكاء مكروه، سوى الجزع والبكاء على الحسين عليه السلام، فإنه فيه مأجور.

indeed, for someone like him, cheeks should be struck, and collars torn.[1]

811. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (a), quoting al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn al-Faḍḍāl, from Imam al-Riḍā (a): Whoever remembers our tragedy and weeps, and makes others weep, will not have tears in his eyes on the Day when [other] eyes will be weeping.[2,3]

812. *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (a), quoting al-Rayyān ibn al-Shabīb, from Imam al-Riḍā (a): If you were to weep over anything, then weep over al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib (a), because he was slaughtered the way sheep are slaughtered, and eighteen members of his household, who had no equals in all the land, were killed along with him.[4]

An explanation of the statement "I am the martyr of tears (*anā qatīl al-'abarāt*)"

The addition of *qatīl* (killed, martyr) to *al-'abarāt* (tears) is the addition of the cause to the effect, and so the statement "I am the martyr of tears" means "my martyrdom is the cause of the flow of tears." This is how it has been explained in the narrations as well, for example, "I am the martyr of tears; no believer remembers me except that he is reduced to tears."[1] Or, "No believer will remember him without weeping."[2]

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[1] *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 8, p. 325, no.1207; *'Awālī al-La'ālī*, vol. 3, p. 409, no. 15.

ولقد شققن الجيوب، ولطمن الخدود الفاطميات على الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، وعلى مثله تلطم الخدود، وتشق الجيوب.

[2] *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 1, p. 294, no. 48; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 131, no. 119.

من تذكر مصابنا فبكى وأبكى، لم تبك عينه يوم تبكي العيون.

[3] In *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, the tradition is rendered as, "Whoever remembers our tragedy and weeps over what was done to us, shall be with us and in our ranks on the Day of Judgement, and whoever remembers our tragedy..."

[4] *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 1, p. 299, no. 58; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 192, no. 202.

In explaining this statement, 'Allāmah Majlisī writes, "The phrase, 'I am the martyr of tears', means, 'A martyr associated with weeping and mourning, and the cause of tears to flow from the eyes'. It could also mean, 'A martyr killed while in tears, mourning and crying out', but the first meaning is more likely."[3]

However, [to us] it appears that the first meaning is definitely the correct one [not just more likely] because it is in harmony with the narrations that have mentioned it. It also conforms to the status of *imāmah* and the spiritual loftiness of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a).

In fact, the statement "I am the martyr of tears" is an allusion to an important social and historical message and declaration: that there is no slaughter in the course of history that has evoked as much grief and weeping as the slaying of the Doyen of Martyrs, al-Ḥusayn (a).

There have been many individuals killed over the course of history, over whom no one has wept. There have been many others for whom mourning stopped over time. There have been many whose death affected only a select group of people. However, research has not revealed a single other person besides Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) for whom, even before his birth, every prophet, from Ādam, the father of mankind, to the last of the prophets (s), has wept, as have the household of God's Messenger (s), and his companions. And after his martyrdom, no other person has had the angels, birds, animals, heavens, earth, and even his enemies weep over him.

No figure in history can be found who is mourned nearly 1,400 years after his martyrdom.

There is no doubt that Sayyid al-Shuhadā' (a) is indeed the martyr of tears; tears that will continue to flow from the eyes of true believers and lovers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) until vengeance has been exacted for every innocent martyr in history from their oppressors, and the Husayni ideals are realized in the world under the leadership of his illustrious son, al-Mahdi, from the household of Muhammad (atf).

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 215, no. 310; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 200, no. 214.

أنا قتيل العبرة لا يذكرني مؤمن إلا استعبر

[2] *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, vol. 10, p. 318, no. 12084.

لا يذكره مؤمن إلا بكى

[3] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 279.

4/2: The reward of weeping over them

813. *al-Khiṣāl*, quoting his chain of narrators, from the Commander of the Faithful (a): On the Day of Judgement, every eye shall be weeping, and every eye shall be apprehensive, except the eye of the one whom God has favoured with His honour, [the one] who wept over the transgression against al-Husayn (a) and the household of Muhammad (s).[1]

814. *al-Amālī* of al-Mufīd, quoting Rabī' ibn al-Mundhir, from his father, from Imam al-Husayn (a): No one sheds a drop for us, or his eyes weep tears for us, except that in return, God shall settle him in paradise where he will live for a long [unending] time.[2]

815. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, quoting Muhammad ibn Muslim, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): 'Ali ibn al-Husayn (a) used to say, 'Any believer who weeps for the killing of al-Husayn (a) to the extent that tears roll down his cheeks shall be granted in return a house in paradise by God, where he shall live for a long [unending] time.

'And any believer who weeps over the torment that we suffered in this world at the hands of our enemies, to the extent that tears roll down his cheeks, God shall settle him in the vicinity of the righteous in paradise.

'Any believer who has to face tribulations because of us, and who weeps to the extent that tears roll down his cheeks due to the difficulties he has to face because of [his attachment to] us, God shall grant him safety from His wrath and from the fire on the Day of Judgement."[1]

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[1] al-Khiṣāl, p. 625, no. 10; *'Uyūn al-Ḥikam wa al-Mawā'iẓ*, p. 378, no. 6397.

كل عين يوم القيامة باكية، وكل عين يوم القيامة ساهرة، إلا عين من اختصه الله بكرامته، وبكى على ما ينتهك من الحسين وآل محمد عليهم السلام

[2] al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, p. 340, no. 6; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 117, no. 181.

ما من عبد قطرت عيناه فينا قطرة، أو دمعت عيناه فينا دمعة، إلا بوأه الله بها في الجنة حقبا.

816. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, quoting Abū Hārūn al-Makfūf, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Whoever, when al-Ḥusayn (a) is mentioned in his presence, sheds a tear [even] the amount of a fly's wing, shall have his reward before God, the Almighty, Who will not be satisfied with anything less than paradise for him.[2]

817. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting 'Alī ibn Abī Ḥamzah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Weeping and lamenting is disliked (*makrūh*) in a person, no matter what the reason, except the weeping and lamenting over al-Ḥusayn (a), for that has reward.[3]

818. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Bukayr al-Arjānī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Al-Ḥusayn (a) looks over his visitors; he knows them, knows the names of their fathers, and their status before God better than any of you knows his children, and knows what is in his own house.

He sees those who weep for him; he seeks forgiveness for them out of mercy, asks his father (a) to seek forgiveness for them also, and says, "If you knew, O lamenter, what has been prepared for you [as a reward], you would be more joyful than distressed."

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[1] *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 108, no. 1; *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, vol. 2, p. 291.

كانَ عَلِيُّ بنُ الحُسَينِ عليهما السلام يَقولُ: أيُّما مُؤمِنٍ دَمَعَت عَيناهُ لِقَتلِ الحُسَينِ عليه السلام حَتّى تَسيلَ
عَلى خَدِّهِ، بَوَّأَهُ اللهُ تَعالى بِها فِي الجَنَّةِ غُرَفاً يَسكُنُها أحقاباً، وأيُّما مُؤمِنٍ دَمَعَت عَيناهُ حَتّى تَسيلَ عَلى
خَدِّهِ فيما مَسَّنا مِنَ الأَذى مِن عَدُوِّنا فِي الدُّنيا، بَوَّأَهُ اللهُ فِي الجَنَّةِ مُبَوَّأَ صِدقٍ.

وأيُّما مُؤمِنٍ مَسَّهُ أذىً فينا، فَدَمَعَت عَيناهُ حَتّى تَسيلَ عَلى خَدِّهِ مِن مَضاضَةِ ما أُوذِيَ فينا، صَرَفَ اللهُ
عَن وَجهِهِ الأَذى، وآمَنَهُ يَومَ القِيامَةِ مِن سَخَطِهِ وَالنّارِ.

[2] *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 109, no. 1; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 200, no. 285.

مَن ذُكِرَ الحُسَينُ عليه السلام عِندَهُ، فَخَرَجَ مِن عَينَيهِ مِقدارُ جَناحِ ذُبابٍ، كانَ ثَوابُهُ عَلَى اللهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ،
ولَم يَرضَ لَهُ بِدونِ الجَنَّةِ.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 201, no. 286; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 291, no. 32.

إنَّ البُكاءَ وَالجَزَعَ مَكروهٌ لِلعَبدِ في كُلِّ ما جَزِعَ، ما خَلَا البُكاءَ وَالجَزَعَ عَلَى الحُسَينِ بنِ عَلِيٍّ عليهما السلام
فَإِنَّهُ فيهِ مَأجورٌ.

Every angel in the skies and around the shrine (*ḥā'ir*) who hears his weeping seeks forgiveness for him. And when the visitor returns, he has no sin on him.[1]

4/3: The reward of reciting poetry for their tragedy

819. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, quoting Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Aqabah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Whoever recites couplets of poetry for al-Ḥusayn (a) and weeps, and makes ten people weep, he and they shall go to paradise; whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn (a) and weeps, and makes nine people weep, he and they shall go to paradise.

The narrator adds: He continued in this manner, until he said, "Whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn (a) and weeps shall go to paradise," and I think he said, 'or pretends to weep'."[2]

820. *Thawāb al-A'māl*, quoting Abū 'Umārah, the poet, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The Imam (a) said to me, 'O Abū 'Umārah! Recite a poem about al-Ḥusayn (a) for me." I recited some poetry, and he wept. I recited some more, and he continued to weep. By God, I continued to recite, and he carried on weeping, until I heard the sound of crying from the house.

Then he told me, "O Abū 'Umārah! Whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and makes fifty people cry shall go to paradise; and whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and makes forty people cry shall go to paradise; and whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and makes thirty people cry shall go to paradise; and whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and makes twenty people cry shall go to paradise; and whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and makes ten people cry shall go to paradise; and whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and makes one person cry shall go to paradise; and whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and weeps himself shall go to paradise; and whoever recites poetry for al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a) and pretends to weep shall go to paradise."[1]

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 344, no. 832; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 376, no. 24.

إنّ زائر الحسين عليه السلام [illegible]

عند الله [illegible] فيستغفر له [illegible] الاستغفار

[illegible] فيستغفر له كلّ من سمع بكاءه من

الملائكة في السماء وفي الحائر، وانقلب وما عليه من ذنب.

[2] *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 110, no. 3; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 210, no. 300.

من أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام بيتاً من شعر فبكى وأبكى عشرة فله ولهم الجنّة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام بيتاً فبكى وأبكى تسعة فله ولهم الجنّة، فلم يزل حتّى قال: من أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فبكى - وأظنّه قال: أو تباكى - فله الجنّة.

4/4: The weeping of the Prophet (s) and his household

825. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣan'ānī, from Imam al-Bāqir (a): Whenever al-Ḥusayn (a) would come to him, God's Messenger (s) would hug him, then say to the Commander of the Faithful, "Hold him." Then he (s) would stand before him, kiss him, and weep.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) would ask, "O father! Why do you weep?"

He would reply, "O my son! I am kissing the place where swords will strike you, and it makes me weep."

He would ask, "O father! Then I shall be killed?"

He would reply, "Yes, by God, your father, your brother, and you."[2]

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[1] *Thawāb al-A'māl*, p. 109, no. 1; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 209, no. 298.

قال لي: يا أبا عمارة، أنشدني في الحسين عليه السلام، قال: فأنشدته فبكى، قال: ثم أنشدته فبكى.

قال: فوالله ما زلت أنشده ويبكي حتى سمعت البكاء من الدار.

فقال لي: يا أبا عمارة، من أنشد في الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام شعراً فأبكى خمسين فله الجنة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فأبكى أربعين فله الجنة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فأبكى ثلاثين فله الجنة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فأبكى عشرين فله الجنة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فأبكى عشرة فله الجنة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فأبكى واحداً فله الجنة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فبكى فله الجنة، ومن أنشد في الحسين عليه السلام شعراً فتباكى فله الجنة.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 146, no. 172; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 261, no. 14.

كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله إذا دخل الحسين عليه السلام جذبه إليه، ثم يقول لأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: أمسكه، ثم يقع عليه فيقبله ويبكي.

يقول: يا أبه لم تبكي؟ فيقول: يا بني أقبل موضع السيوف منك وأبكي.

893. *Kashf al-Ghummah*, quoting Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān: God's Messenger (s) was taking a pre-noon nap (*qaylūlah*) in the house of 'Ā'ishah, when he woke up weeping.

'Ā'ishah asked, "What made you weep, O Messenger of God, may my father and mother be sacrificed for you!"

He replied, "I weep because Jibra'īl came to me and said, 'O Muḥammad! Open your hands, for here is the soil from the hills where your son, al-Ḥusayn, shall be slain; he will be killed by a man from your nation.'"

'Ā'ishah said, "As God's Messenger (s) related the incident to me, he kept weeping. Then he said, 'Who from my nation, who from my nation, who from my nation? Who shall kill al-Ḥusayn after me?'"[1]

894. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd: We came to see God's Messenger (s) and he came out to us cheerfully, his face showing signs of pleasure. He answered every question we had. Whenever we became silent, he would speak, [and this carried on] until a group of children from the Banū Hāshim passed by. Amongst them were al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a).

As soon as he (s) saw them, he hugged them. Then his eyes welled up with tears. We said, "O Messenger of God! Why do we frequently see distress on your face?"

He replied, "We are a household for whom God has chosen the hereafter over this world. Soon after me, my family will be exiled and displaced in the lands, until [men holding] black banners shall rise from the east. They will ask for their rights but will be denied, they

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قال: يا أبه وأقتل؟ قال: إي والله، وأبوك وأخوك وأنت.

1 *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 270

بينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله في بيت عائشة رقد القيلولة، إذ استيقظ وهو يبكي، فقالت عائشة: ما يبكيك يا رسول الله، بأبي أنت وأمي؟

قال: يبكيني أن جبرئيل أتاني فقال: ابسط يدك يا محمد، فإن هذه تربة من تلال يقتل بها ابنك الحسين، يقتله رجل من أمتك.

قالت عائشة: ورسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يحدثني وإنه ليبكي ويقول: من ذا من أمتي من ذا من أمتي من ذا من أمتي من يقتل حسينا من بعدي

will ask again, but will be denied, and will ask yet again, but will be denied once more. So they will fight, and will achieve victory. Whoever from you, or your descendants, is present at that time must go to the side of the Imam from my Ahl al-Bayt, even if he has to crawl over snow to do so.

“Those will be the banners of guidance. They will hand them over to a man from my Ahl al-Bayt; his name will be the same as mine… He will rule over the earth, filling it with equity and justice, just as it had been filled with tyranny and injustice.”[1]

804. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from his father, from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a): I, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, were with God’s Messenger (s), when he turned towards us in tears. I asked, “What makes you weep, O Messenger of God?”

He replied, “I weep at what will be done to you (all) after me.”

I asked, “And what is that, O Messenger of God?”

He said, “I weep at the sword strike that you will receive on the crown of your head, the slaps that Fāṭimah will receive on her face, the dagger that will stab the thigh of al-Ḥasan and the poison that he will be given to drink, and [I weep] at the slaying of al-Ḥusayn.”

On hearing these words, the Ahl al-Bayt all wept.[2]

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[1] *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 4, p. 511, no. 8434; *Dalāʾil al-Imāmah*, p. 486, no. 480.

أتينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله فخرج إلينا مستبشرا يعرف السرور في وجهه فما سألناه عن شيء إلا أخبرنا به، ولا سكتنا إلا ابتدأنا، حتى مرت فتية من بني هاشم فيهم الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام فلما رآهم التزمهم وانهملت عيناه، فقلنا: يا رسول الله ما نزال نرى في وجهك شيئا نكرهه؟

فقال: إنا أهل بيت اختار الله لنا الآخرة على الدنيا، وإنه سيلقى أهل بيتي من بعدي تطريدا وتشريدا في البلاد، حتى ترتفع رايات سود من المشرق، فيسألون الحق فلا يعطونه، ثم يسألونه فلا يعطونه، ثم يسألونه فلا يعطونه، فيقاتلون فينصرون. فمن أدركه منكم أو من أعقابكم فليأت إمام أهل بيتي ولو حبوا على الثلج، فإنها رايات هدى، يدفعونها إلى رجل من أهل بيتي يواطئ اسمه اسمي… فيملك الأرض فيملؤها قسطا وعدلا كما ملئت جورا وظلما.

[2] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 197, no. 208; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 2, p. 209.

كنت أنا وفاطمة والحسن والحسين عند رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله إذ التفت إلينا فبكى، فقلت: ما يبكيك يا رسول الله؟

4/5: The weeping of his father, Imam 'Alī (a)

895. *Khaṣā'iṣ al-A'immah* (a), quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father (a), from his forefathers (a): The Commander of the Faithful (a) passed by Karbala with a group of his companions. As he crossed the area, his eyes filled with tears, and he said, "This is where their mounts will be stabled, and this is where they will store their provisions, and here their blood will be spilled.

"Blessed are you, O land, for the blood of loved ones shall be spilt on your sands!"[1]

896. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārazmī, quoting Shaykh al-Islam, Ḥākim al-Jishumī (or al-Jushamī): When the Commander of the Faithful (a) was travelling towards Ṣiffīn, he stopped at Karbala and said to Ibn 'Abbās, "Do you know what this place is?"

He replied, "No."

He remarked, "If you knew, you would weep as I do." Then the Imam (a) wept profusely.

Then he said, "What does the family of Abū Sufyān want from me?" Then he turned to al-Ḥusayn (a) and said, "Have forbearance, my dear son, for your father has already experienced from them what you will experience at their hands after him."[2]

فقال: أبكي لما يصنع بكم بعدي. فقلت: وما ذاك يا رسول الله؟

قال: أبكي من ضربتك على القرن، ولطم فاطمة خدها، وطعنة الحسن في الفخذ، والسم الذي يسقى، وقتل الحسين.

قال: فبكى أهل البيت جميعاً.

[1] *Khaṣā'iṣ al-A'immah*, p. 47; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 453, no. 685.

مر أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام في أناس من أصحابه بكربلاء، فلما مر بها اغرورقت عيناه بالبكاء، ثم قال: هذا مناخ ركابهم، وهذا ملقى رحالهم، وهاهنا تهراق دماؤهم، طوبى لك من تربة عليك تهراق دماء الأحبة.

[2] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 1, p. 162.

إن أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام لما سار إلى صفين نزل بكربلاء، وقال لابن عباس: أتدري ما هذه البقعة؟ قال: لا. قال: لو عرفتها لبكيت بكائي. ثم بكى بكاءً شديداً.

ثم قال: ما لي ولآل أبي سفيان، ثم التفت إلى الحسين عليه السلام وقال: صبراً يا بني، فقد لقي أبوك منهم مثل الذي تلقى بعده.

4/6: The weeping of his mother Fāṭimah (a), the daughter of God's Messenger (s)

807. *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, quoting Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Marūzī, from Imam al-Kāẓim (a), from his father, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his grandfather, Imam al-Bāqir (a), from Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī: God's Messenger said to Fāṭimah, "Jibra'īl came to me and gave me the good news of two sons who will be born to you. Then he gave me condolences for one of them, and I learned that he would be killed thirsty, in a remote land."

Fāṭimah wept so profusely that her sobs became audible. Then she asked, "O father, why will they kill him when you are his grandfather, 'Alī is his father, and I am his mother?"

He replied, "My dear daughter, [they will do so] in their quest for power. However, a sword will be raised against them which will not be sheathed except in the hand of al-Mahdī, who will be from your descendants."[1]

808. *Kamāl al-Dīn*, quoting Ibn 'Abbās: When al-Ḥusayn (a) was born – the time of his birth was on a Thursday evening – Jibra'īl descended to the Prophet (s) and congratulated him, and also condoled him, as commanded by God, the Almighty.

The Prophet (s) asked him, "Will my nation kill him?"

He replied, "Yes, O Muḥammad."

The Prophet (s) stated, "These people are not part of my nation. I disassociate myself from them, and God disassociates Himself from them."

Jibra'īl said, "And I disassociate myself from them, O Muḥammad."

Then the Prophet (s) came to Fāṭimah (a), congratulated her, and condoled her. Fāṭimah (a) wept, and said, "I wish I had not given birth to him. The killer of al-Ḥusayn shall be an inmate of hellfire."

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[1] *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, p. 182, no. 38.

أتاني جبرئيل فبشّرني بفرخين يكونان لك، ثم عُزّيت بأحدهما، وعرفت أنّه يُقتل غريباً عطشاناً. فبكت فاطمة حتى علا بكاؤها، ثمّ قالت: يا أبه، لم يقتلونه وأنت جدّه وأبوه عليّ وأنا أمّه؟

قال: يا بنيّة، لطلبهم الملك، أما إنّه سيظهر عليهم سيف لا يُغمد إلّا على يد المهديّ من ولدك.

The Prophet (s) said, "And I testify to that, O Fāṭimah. However, he shall not be slain, until his son, the next Imam, is at his side, and he will be the forefather of the Imams of guidance after him..." Then Fāṭimah (a) stopped weeping.[1]

[illegible]. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Baṣīr: I was with Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) and speaking to him... when he wept and stated, "O Abā Baṣīr! When I look at the offspring of al-Ḥusayn (a), I am overcome [by sorrow] over what was done to them, and their father.

"O Abā Baṣīr! Indeed, Fāṭimah (a) weeps over him. Her sobbing causes hell to roar in rage; but its keepers also hear the cries of Fāṭimah and become alert while she weeps, fearful that a flame may blaze forth from hell, or that fumes may escape from it, thereby incinerating the inhabitants of the earth. They restrain it and secure its doors, fearful for [the safety of] the people of the earth. The hellfire does not settle until the sobbing of Fāṭimah subsides (a).

"[At the same time] the seas nearly split asunder, and their waves crash into each other. There is not a single drop of water that does not have an angel responsible for it. When the angel hears the angry sound of the ocean, it calms the waters with its wings and restrains the waves from each other, fearful for the safety of the world, its contents, and its population. The angels continue to be distressed, weeping at the tears of Fāṭimah (a), calling to God, and supplicating to Him. Their cries are echoed by the inhabitants of the Throne, and those in their vicinity, and the voices of the angels resonate loudly as they glorify God, fearful for the safety of the people of the earth. If a single sound from their cries would reach the earth, mankind would be rendered unconscious, the mountains would crumble, and the earth would break up around its inhabitants."

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[1] *Kamāl al-Dīn*, p. [illegible], no. [illegible]; *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, vol. [illegible], p. [illegible]

لما ولدت فاطمة الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وكان مولده عشية الخميس ليلة الجمعة ... هبط جبرئيل عليه السلام على النبي صلى الله عليه وآله [illegible] الله عز وجل [illegible]

فقال له النبي صلى الله عليه وآله [illegible] فقال له: نعم [illegible] فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وآله: ما [illegible] والله عز وجل [illegible] قال جبرئيل عليه السلام [illegible] فدخل النبي صلى الله عليه وآله على فاطمة عليها السلام فأعلمها بذلك، فبكت فاطمة عليها السلام وقالت: يا أبتي [illegible] النار.

فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وآله [illegible] يا فاطمة ... ولكنه لا يقتل حتى يكون منه إمام يكون منه الأئمة الهادية بعده... فسكتت فاطمة عليها السلام من البكاء.

I exclaimed, "May I be your ransom! This is a momentous affair!"

He replied, "Even greater than it is what you have not heard." Then he said to me, "O Abū Baṣīr! Would you not like to be among those who would empathize with Fāṭimah (a)?"

When I heard her name, I wept so much that I was speechless, and my tears robbed me of any further ability to speak.

Then he stood on his prayer mat and began his supplications. I departed in that state from him. I could not eat, and my sleep would not come either. I fasted the next day and was fearful when I went back to the Imam (a). When I saw that he was calm again, I [too] calmed down. I praised and thanked God that no chastisement had befallen me.[1]

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 169, no. 220; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 208, no. 14.

كنت عند أبي عبد الله عليه السلام أحدّثه… ثمّ بكى وقال: يا أبا بصير، إذا نظرت إلى ولد الحسين عليه السلام أتاني ما لا أملكه بما أتي إلى أبيهم وإليهم. يا أبا بصير، إنّ فاطمة عليها السلام لتبكيه وتشهق، فتزفر جهنّم زفرة لولا أنّ الخزنة يسمعون بكاءها وقد استعدّوا لذلك مخافة أن يخرج منها عنق أو يشرد دخانها، فيحرق أهل الأرض، فيكبحونها ما دامت باكية ويزجرونها ويوثقون من أبوابها مخافة على أهل الأرض، فلا تسكن حتّى يسكن صوت فاطمة عليها السلام.

وإنّ البحار تكاد أن تنفتق فيدخل بعضها على بعض، وما منها قطرة إلّا بها ملك موكّل، فإذا سمع الملك صوتها أطفأ نارها بأجنحته، وحبس بعضها على بعض مخافة على الدنيا وما فيها ومن على الأرض، فلا تزال الملائكة مشفقين يبكونه لبكائها، ويدعون الله ويتضرّعون إليه، ويتضرّع أهل العرش ومن حوله، وترتفع أصوات من الملائكة بالتقديس لله مخافة على أهل الأرض، ولو أنّ صوتاً من أصواتهم يصل إلى الأرض لصعق أهل الأرض، وتقطّعت الجبال، وزلزلت الأرض بأهلها.

قلت: جعلت فداك، إنّ هذا الأمر عظيم! قال: غيره أعظم منه ما لم تسمعه.

ثمّ قال لي: يا أبا بصير، أما تحبّ أن تكون فيمن يسعد فاطمة عليها السلام؟ فبكيت حين قالها فما قدرت على المنطق، وما قدرت على كلامي من البكاء.

ثمّ قام إلى المصلّى يدعو، فخرجت من عنده على تلك الحال، فما انتفعت بطعام وما جاءني النوم، وأصبحت صائماً وجلاً حتّى أتيته، فلمّا رأيته قد سكن سكنت، وحمدت الله حيث لم تنزل بي عقوبة.

4/7: The weeping of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) over his family members and companions

4/7 - 1: The weeping of the Imam (a) over Muslim ibn 'Aqīl

830. *al-Malhūf*: Al-Ḥusayn (a) travelled until he reached Zubālah. There, he received the news of [the martyrdom of] Muslim ibn 'Aqīl…

The narrator adds, "The whole camp was filled with [the sound of] weeping and wailing at the killing of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. Tears flowed from every person…"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) also wept profusely. Then he said, "May God have mercy on Muslim. He has gone on to the mercy, provision, blessing, and pleasure of God. He has fulfilled his duty, and [now] our duty remains."[1]

4/7 - 2: The weeping of the Imam (a) over Qays ibn Mushir

831. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, quoting 'Uqbah ibn Abī al-'Aizār, after news came of the martyrdom of Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī: The eyes of al-Ḥusayn (a) welled up, and he could not hold back his tears. Then, he recited, "*And amongst them [the believers] are those who have fulfilled their vow [by martyrdom], and amongst them are those who wait [for their turn]; and they have not changed [in their conviction] in the least.*"[2] Then he prayed, "O my Lord, grant us and them a station in

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 134; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 374.

سار الحسين عليه السلام حتى بلغ زبالة، فأتاه فيها خبر مسلم بن عقيل...

قال الراوي: وارتج الموضع بالبكاء والعويل لقتل مسلم بن عقيل، وسالت الدموع عليه كل مسيل...

فبكى الحسين عليه السلام بكاء شديدا ثم قال: رحم الله مسلما، فلقد صار إلى روح الله وريحانه وتحيته ورضوانه، أما إنه قد قضى ما عليه وبقي ما علينا.

[2] Q 33:23.

paradise, and gather us and them in the abode of Your mercy and of Your desirable reward which has been stored for us."[1]

4/7 - 3: The weeping of the Imam (a) over his son, 'Ali al-Akbar (a)

832. *Muthir al-Ahzan*, when describing the martyrdom of 'Ali al-Akbar: 'Ali al-Akbar returned to their ranks and entered the thick of battle. Munqidh ibn Murah al-'Abdi threw a spear at him and caused him to fall to the ground. The enemy gathered around him and cut him to pieces.

Al-Husayn (a) stood at his body and cried, "May God kill the people who killed you. How audaciously they have defied God and violated the sacred trust of the Messenger." His eyes overflowed with tears, and he said, "After you, the world is nothing but ashes!"[2]

4/7 - 4: The weeping of the Imam (a) over his brother, al-'Abbas (a)

833. *al-Malhuf*, when describing the battle on the day of Ashura: They separated al-'Abbas (a) from his brother, al-Husayn (a). They surrounded him from every direction and path, until they killed him, may God bless his soul. At this, al-Husayn (a) wept profusely.[3]

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[1] *Tarikh al-Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 405; *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, vol. 2, p. 554.

فترقرقت عينا الحسين عليه السلام ولم يملك دمعه، ثم قال: «منهم من قضى نحبه ومنهم من ينتظر وما بدلوا تبديلا»، اللهم اجعل لنا ولهم الجنة نزلا، واجمع بيننا وبينهم في مستقر من رحمتك ورغائب مذخور ثوابك.

[2] *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 69.

رجع إلى موقف رتبهم وخالط صفوفهم، فرماه منقذ بن مرة العبدي فصرعه، واحتواه القوم فقطعوه، فوقف الحسين عليه السلام عليه وقال:

قتل الله قوما قتلوك، ما أجرأهم على الله وعلى انتهاك حرمة الرسول، واستهلت عيناه بالدموع ثم قال: على الدنيا بعدك العفاء.

[3] *al-Malhuf*, p. 170; *Muthir al-Ahzan*, p. 71.

اقتطعوا العباس عليه السلام عنه (الحسين عليه السلام)، وأحاطوا به من كل جانب ومكان، حتى قتلوه قدس الله روحه، فبكى الحسين عليه السلام بكاء شديدا.

834. *al-Manāqib*, of Ibn Shahr Āshūb, in the account of the martyrdom of al-'Abbās (a): When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw him lying lifeless at the banks of the Euphrates, he wept.[1]

4/7 - 5: The weeping of the Imam (a) over his nephew, al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan (a)

835. *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of Khwārazmī, quoting Abū Mikhnaf: After 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, according to some reports, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib, and according to others, al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan, came out to fight. He was a young boy, who had not yet reached the age of maturity.

When al-Ḥusayn (a) saw him, he hugged him close, and the two began to weep so much they [nearly] swooned. Then, the youth asked to be allowed to go to fight, but his uncle al-Ḥusayn (a) did not grant him permission. But the youth kept kissing the hands and feet of al-Ḥusayn (a), begging to be allowed to go, until he finally agreed.

Then al-Qāsim went out to the battlefield, tears rolling down his cheeks.[2]

4/8: The weeping of his sister, Zaynab (a)

836. *al-Irshād*: 'Umar ibn Sa'd called out, "O horsemen of God, mount up, and receive glad tidings [of paradise]." The soldiers mounted their horses, and he mobilized them towards the camp of al-Ḥusayn (a) in the afternoon.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) was sitting before his tent, his sword at his side. He nodded off briefly, with his head on his knees. His sister Zaynab (a) heard the commotion and came to her brother and said, "O brother, do you not hear the shouting that has got closer?"

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[1] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 108; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 42.

فلمّا رآه الحسين عليه السلام صريعاً على شطّ الفرات بكى.

[2] Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, vol. 2, p. 27; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 34.

خرج من بعده (أي بعد عون بن عبد الله) عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب في بعض الروايات - وفي بعض الروايات القاسم بن الحسن عليه السلام، وهو غلام صغير لم يبلغ الحلم، فلمّا نظر إليه الحسين عليه السلام اعتنقه وجعلا يبكيان حتى غشي عليهما، ثم استأذن الغلام للحرب، فأبى عمّه الحسين أن يأذن له، فلم يزل الغلام يقبّل يديه ورجليه ويسأله الإذن حتى أذن له، فخرج ودموعه تسيل على خدّيه.

Al-Ḥusayn (a) raised his head and said, "I just saw God's Messenger (s) in a dream. He said to me, 'You are coming towards us.'"

His sister struck her face and cried out in distress, "Woe unto me!"

Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "You do not need to be distressed, dear sister. Be calm, may the all-Merciful have mercy on you."[1]

837. ***al-Irshād*****:** The family of al-Ḥusayn (a) was brought before Ibn Ziyād. Zaynab (a), the sister of al-Ḥusayn (a), entered amongst them. She remained unnoticed, and was wearing her shabbiest clothes....

Then Ibn Ziyād said to her, "God has soothed my heart through [the killing of] your tyrant and the disobedient rebels of your household!"

On hearing this, Zaynab (a) broke down and wept, then replied, "By my life, you have killed all our adults, decimated our family, cut off our branches, and pulled out our root. If this soothes you, then let it be so."[2]

4/9: The weeping of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a)

838. ***al-Khiṣāl*****, quoting Ḥamrān ibn Aʿyan, from Imam al-Bāqir (a):** "ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) would recite a thousand units of prayer in a single day and night.... He wept over his father, al-Ḥusayn (a), for twenty years.

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[1] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 89; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 416.

ونادى عمر بن سعد: يا خيل الله اركبي وأبشري، فركب الناس ثم زحف نحوهم بعد العصر، وحسين عليه
السلام جالس أمام بيته محتبياً بسيفه، إذ خفق برأسه على ركبتيه، وسمعت أخته الصيحة، فدنت من
أخيها، فقالت: يا أخي أما تسمع الأصوات قد اقتربت؟ فرفع الحسين عليه السلام رأسه فقال: إني
رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله الساعة في المنام فقال لي: إنك تروح إلينا.
فلطمت أخته وجهها، ونادت بالويل، فقال لها: ليس لك الويل يا أخية، اسكني رحمك الله.

[2] *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 115; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 457.

أُدخل عيال الحسين عليه السلام على ابن زياد، فدخلت زينب عليها السلام أخت الحسين عليه السلام
في جملتهم متنكرة وعليها أرذل ثيابها...
فقال لها ابن زياد: لقد شفى الله نفسي من طاغيتك والعصاة من أهل بيتك.
فرقّت زينب عليها السلام وبكت، وقالت له: لعمري لقد قتلت كهلي، وأبدت أهلي، وقطعت فرعي،
واجتثثت أصلي، فإن يشفك هذا فقد اشتفيت.

Whenever food was placed before him, he would weep. Once, one of his servants asked him, "O son of God's Messenger! Is it not time for your grief to end?"

He replied, "Woe unto you! Prophet Ya'qūb (a) had twelve sons. When God took one of them away from him, his eyes became white [blind] due to his excessive weeping for him, his hair turned hoary due to his grief, and his back grew bent due to his sorrow, while his son was still alive in this world! [On the other hand] I watched my father, my brother, my uncle, and seventeen members of my family killed around me – so how can my grief ever come to an end?"[1]

899. *al-Khiṣāl*, quoting Muhammad ibn Sahl al-Bahrānī, from his chain of transmitters, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Five individuals are known for their weeping: Ādam (a), Ya'qūb (a), Yūsuf (a), Fāṭimah (a), and 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a).

As for Ādam (a), he wept over [his expulsion from] paradise, until deep furrows formed on his cheeks.

Ya'qūb wept for Yūsuf (a) until he lost his eyesight and was told, "*By God! You will not cease to remember Yūsuf until you lose your health, or until you perish.*"[2]

And Yūsuf (a) wept over [his separation from] Ya'qūb (a) to the extent that his fellow inmates in the prison were discomfited and said to him, "Either weep in the night and be quiet in the day, or weep in the day and be quiet at night", and so he settled for one of these two periods.

Fāṭimah (a) wept over God's Messenger (s) to the extent that the people of Medina became distressed and said to her, "You are troubling us with your excessive weeping." So she would go the cemetery – the cemetery of the martyrs – and mourn as long as she desired, before returning.

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[1] *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 517, no. 4; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 166.

كان علي بن الحسين عليه السلام يصلي في اليوم والليلة ألف ركعة... ولقد كان بكى على أبيه الحسين عليه السلام عشرين سنة وما وضع بين يديه طعام إلا بكى، حتى قال له مولى له: يا ابن رسول الله أما آن لحزنك أن ينقضي؟

فقال له: ويحك إن يعقوب النبي عليه السلام كان له اثنا عشر ابنا، فغيب الله عنه واحدا منهم فابيضت عيناه من كثرة بكائه عليه وشاب رأسه من الحزن، واحدودب ظهره من الغم، وكان ابنه حيا في الدنيا، وأنا نظرت إلى أبي وأخي وعمي وسبعة عشر من أهل بيتي مقتولين حولي، فكيف ينقضي حزني؟

[2] Q 12:85.

As for 'Ali ibn al-Husayn (a), he wept over al-Husayn (a) for twenty or forty[1] years. Whenever food was placed before him, he would weep, until one of his servants said to him, "May I be sacrificed for you, O son of God's Messenger! I fear that you will die of grief."

He replied, "*'I only complain of my suffering and grief to God, and I know from God that which you do not know.'*[2] I cannot recall the slaughter of the household of Fāṭimah without being choked by tears."[3]

841. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Sawwār, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was asked about his continual weeping. He replied, "Do not blame me, for Ya'qūb (a) lost one of his sons, and wept until he went blind, while he did not know if he was dead, while I witnessed fourteen men from my household slaughtered in *one day* – do you imagine that my grief over them will ever leave my heart?"[1]

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[1] The narrator expresses uncertainty, but twenty years is correct, not forty, because Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) lived for around 34 years after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He himself was martyred in 95/713.

Perhaps the figure of forty years is an approximation meant to indicate that he wept for his father until the end of his life, as is mentioned in the next report.

[2] Q 12:86.

[3] al-Khiṣāl, p. 272, no. 15; al-Ṣadūq, al-Amālī, p. 204, no. 222.

البكّاؤون خمسةٌ: آدمُ ويعقوبُ ويوسفُ عليهم السلام، وفاطمةُ بنتُ محمّدٍ صلّى الله عليه و آله، وعليّ
بنُ الحسين عليهما السلام.

فأمّا آدم عليه السلام فبكى على الجنّة حتّى صار في خدّيه أمثالُ الأودية، وأمّا يعقوب عليه السلام فبكى
على يوسف عليه السلام حتّى ذهب بصره، وحتّى قيل له: ﴿تَاللَّهِ تَفْتَأُ تَذْكُرُ يُوسُفَ حَتَّى تَكُونَ حَرَضًا
أَوْ تَكُونَ مِنَ الْهَالِكِينَ﴾.

وأمّا يوسف عليه السلام فبكى على يعقوب عليه السلام حتّى تأذّى به أهلُ السجن، فقالوا له: إمّا أن
تبكي الليلَ وتسكتَ بالنهار، وإمّا أن تبكي النهارَ وتسكتَ بالليل، فصالحهم على واحدٍ منهما.

وأمّا فاطمة عليها السلام فبكت على رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و آله حتّى تأذّى بها أهلُ المدينة، وقالوا
لها: قد آذيتنا بكثرة بكائك، فكانت تخرج إلى المقابر - مقابر الشهداء - فتبكي حتّى تقضي حاجتها ثمّ
تنصرف.

وأمّا عليّ بن الحسين عليهما السلام فبكى على الحسين عليه السلام عشرين سنة أو أربعين سنة، ما وُضع
بين يديه طعامٌ إلّا بكى، حتّى قال له مولىً له: جُعلتُ فداك يا ابن رسول الله، إنّي أخاف عليك أن تكون
من الهالكين. قال: ﴿إِنَّمَا أَشْكُو بَثِّي وَحُزْنِي إِلَى اللَّهِ وَأَعْلَمُ مِنَ اللَّهِ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾، إنّي ما أذكر مصرع
بني فاطمة إلّا خنقتني لذلك عبرةٌ.

841. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī: Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) was asked about his continual weeping. He replied, "Ya'qūb (a) lost one of his sons, and wept over him until he went blind, while his son was alive in the world, and he did not know for certain that he was dead; while I saw my father and seventeen members of my household killed in one hour – do you imagine that their grief will ever leave my heart?"[2]

842. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Zurārah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when recollecting the mourning of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) over his father, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): Whenever my grandfather would remember al-Ḥusayn (a), he would weep, and the tears from his eyes would soak his beard. Whoever saw him would also be moved to tears in compassion.[3]

843. *al-Malhūf*, quoting one of the bondsmen of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a): One day the Imam (a) went out to the desert. I followed him and found him in prostration on a coarse rock. I stopped to hear his sobbing and weeping, and I heard him recite one thousand times, "There is no deity but God, [I say this] truly, truly; there is no deity us with your excessive weeping." So she would go the cemetery – the cemetery of the martyrs – and mourn as long as she desired, before returning.

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[1] *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, p. 399; *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vol. 3, p. 138.

سُئِلَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ عَلَيْهِمَا السَّلَامُ عَنْ كَثْرَةِ بُكَائِهِ، فَقَالَ: لَا تَلُومُونِي، فَإِنَّ يَعْقُوبَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَدَ سِبْطًا مِنْ وُلْدِهِ فَبَكَى حَتَّى ابْيَضَّتْ عَيْنَاهُ وَلَمْ يَعْلَمْ أَنَّهُ مَاتَ، وَنَظَرْتُ أَنَا إِلَى أَرْبَعَةَ عَشَرَ رَجُلًا مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي ذُبِحُوا فِي غَدَاةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ، فَتَرَوْنَ حُزْنَهُمْ يَذْهَبُ مِنْ قَلْبِي أَبَدًا؟

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 115.

سُئِلَ الْإِمَامُ زَيْنُ الْعَابِدِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَنْ كَثْرَةِ بُكَائِهِ، فَقَالَ: إِنَّ يَعْقُوبَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَدَ سِبْطًا مِنْ أَوْلَادِهِ فَبَكَى عَلَيْهِ حَتَّى ابْيَضَّتْ عَيْنَاهُ وَابْنُهُ حَيٌّ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَلَمْ يَعْلَمْ أَنَّهُ مَاتَ، وَقَدْ نَظَرْتُ إِلَى أَبِي وَسَبْعَةَ عَشَرَ مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي قُتِلُوا فِي سَاعَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ، فَتَرَوْنَ حُزْنَهُمْ يَذْهَبُ مِنْ قَلْبِي؟

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 168, no. 219; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 207, no. 13.

كَانَ جَدِّي إِذَا ذَكَرَهُ بَكَى حَتَّى تَمْلَأَ عَيْنَاهُ لِحْيَتَهُ، وَحَتَّى يَبْكِي لِبُكَائِهِ رَحْمَةً لَهُ مَنْ رَآهُ.

As for 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a), he wept over al-Ḥusayn (a) for twenty or forty[1] years. Whenever food was placed before him, he would weep, until one of his servants said to him, "May I be sacrificed for you, O son of God's Messenger! I fear that you will die of grief."

He replied, "*'I only complain of my suffering and grief to God, and I know from God that which you do not know.'*[2] I cannot recall the slaughter of the household of Fāṭimah without being choked by tears."[3]

842. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Sawwār, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a)

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[1] The narrator expresses uncertainty, but twenty years is correct, not forty, because Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn (a) lived for around 34 years after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). He himself was martyred in 95/713.

Perhaps the figure of forty years is an approximation meant to indicate that he wept for his father until the end of his life, as is mentioned in the next report.

[2] Q 12:86.

[3] *al-Khiṣāl*, p. 272, no. 15; al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 204, no. 221.

البكاؤون خمسة: آدم، ويعقوب، ويوسف عليهم السلام، وفاطمة بنت محمد صلى الله عليه و آله، وعلي بن الحسين عليهما السلام.

فأما آدم عليه السلام فبكى على الجنة حتى صار في خديه أمثال الأودية، وأما يعقوب عليه السلام فبكى على يوسف عليه السلام حتى ذهب بصره، وحتى قيل له: ﴿تالله تفتؤا تذكر يوسف حتى تكون حرضا أو تكون من الهالكين﴾.

وأما يوسف عليه السلام فبكى على يعقوب عليه السلام حتى تأذى به أهل السجن فقالوا له: إما أن تبكي الليل وتسكت بالنهار، وإما أن تبكي النهار وتسكت بالليل، فصالحهم على واحد منهما.

وأما فاطمة عليها السلام فبكت على رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله حتى تأذى بها أهل المدينة، وقالوا لها: قد آذيتنا بكثرة بكائك، فكانت تخرج إلى المقابر - مقابر الشهداء - فتبكي حتى تقضي حاجتها ثم تنصرف.

وأما علي بن الحسين عليهما السلام فبكى على الحسين عليه السلام عشرين سنة أو أربعين سنة، ما وضع بين يديه طعام إلا بكى، حتى قال له مولى له: جعلت فداك يا ابن رسول الله، إني أخاف عليك أن تكون من الهالكين. قال: ﴿إنما أشكو بثي وحزني إلى الله و أعلم من الله ما لا تعلمون﴾، إني ما أذكر مصرع بني فاطمة إلا خنقتني لذلك عبرة.

was asked about his continual weeping. He replied, "Do not blame me, for Yaʿqūb (a) lost one of his sons, and wept until he went blind, while he did not know if he was dead; while I witnessed fourteen men from my household slaughtered in one day – do you imagine that my grief over them will ever leave my heart?"[1]

842. *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī: Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) was asked about his continual weeping. He replied, "Yaʿqūb (a) lost one of his sons, and wept over him until he went blind, while his son was alive in the world, and he did not know for certain that he was dead; while I saw my father and seventeen members of my household killed in one hour – do you imagine that their grief will ever leave my heart?"[2]

843. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Zurārah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when recollecting the mourning of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a) over his father, Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): Whenever my grandfather would remember al-Ḥusayn (a), he would weep, and the tears from his eyes would soak his beard. Whoever saw him would also be moved to tears in compassion.[3]

844. *al-Malhūf*, quoting one of the bondsmen of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a): One day the Imam (a) went out to the desert. I followed him and found him in prostration on a coarse rock. I stopped to hear his sobbing and weeping, and I heard him recite one thousand times, "There is no deity but God, [I say this] truly, truly; there is no deity but God [I say this] in submission and servitude; there is no deity but God, [I say this] with faith and sincerity."

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[1] *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, p. 399; *Mirʾāt al-ʿUqūl*, vol. 5, p. 198.

سُئل عليّ بن الحسين عليهما السلام عن كثرة بكائه، فقال: لا تلوموني، فإنّ يعقوب عليه السلام فقد سبطاً من ولده فبكى حتّى ابيضّت عيناه ولم يعلم أنّه مات، وقد نظرتُ إلى أربعة عشر رجلاً من أهل بيتي ذُبحوا في غداة واحدة، أفترون حزنهم يذهب من قلبي أبداً؟

[2] *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 115.

سُئل الإمام زين العابدين عليه السلام عن كثرة بكائه، فقال: إنّ يعقوب عليه السلام فقد سبطاً من أولاده فبكى عليه حتّى ابيضّت عيناه وابنه حيّ في الدنيا ولم يعلم أنّه مات، وقد نظرتُ إلى أبي وسبعة عشر من أهل بيتي قُتلوا في ساعة واحدة، أفترون حزنهم يذهب من قلبي؟

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 168, no. 219; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 207, no. 13.

كان جدّي إذا ذكره بكى حتّى تملأ عيناه لحيته، وحتّى يبكي لبكائه رحمةً له من رآه.

Then he raised his head from his prostrations. His face and beard were soaked with tears.

I asked, "O my master! Has the time not come for your grief to end and your tears to decrease?"

He replied, "Woe unto you! Indeed, Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm (a) was a Prophet, the son of a Prophet; he had twelve sons, and God, Almighty, concealed one of them. As a result, his hair turned white from sorrow, his back became bent from grief and distress, and his eyes became blind due to weeping, but his son was still alive in the world – while I saw my father, my brother, and seventeen members of my household lying slain: so how will my grief ever end, and my tears decrease?"[1]

4/10: The weeping of Imam al-Bāqir (a)

844. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, quoting Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Nawfalī: Kumayt ibn Zayd al-Asadī, from the tribe of Asad of Muḍar ibn Nizār, had composed poetry about the Hāshimites.... At that time, he came to Medina, and went to visit Abū Ja'far, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a).

One evening he invited him to recite his ode (*qaṣīdah al-mīmiyyah*). The Imam (a) wept when Kumayt reached the couplet,

And the slaying at al-Ṭaff was due to the betrayal

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[1] *al-Malhūf*, p. 234; *Muthīr al-Aḥzān*, p. 91.

حدّث مولى للإمام زين العابدين عليه السلام أنّه برز إلى الصحراء يوماً، قال: فتبعته فوجدته قد سجد على حجارة خشنة، فوقفت وأنا أسمع شهيقه وبكاءه، وأحصيت عليه ألف مرة يقول: لا إله إلا الله حقاً حقاً، لا إله إلا الله تعبّداً ورقّاً، لا إله إلا الله إيماناً وصدقاً. ثمّ رفع رأسه من سجوده، وإنّ لحيته ووجهه قد غمرا من الدموع، فقلت: يا مولاي، أما آن لحزنك أن ينقضي ولبكائك أن يقلّ؟

فقال لي: ويحك، إنّ يعقوب بن إسحاق بن إبراهيم عليهم السلام كان نبيّاً ابن نبيّ، له اثنا عشر ابناً، فغيّب الله سبحانه واحداً منهم، فشاب رأسه من الحزن، واحدودب ظهره من الغمّ والهمّ، وذهب بصره من البكاء، وابنه حيّ في دار الدنيا، وأنا رأيت أبي وأخي وسبعة عشر من أهل بيتي صرعى مقتولين، فكيف ينقضي حزني ويقلّ بكائي؟

Of the rabble and dregs of the nation.

Then, Abū Ja'far (a) said, "O Kumayt! If we had wealth at our disposal, we would have bestowed it on you. However, you shall have what the Messenger of God (s) promised to Ḥassān ibn Thābit: 'You will always be supported by the holy spirit (al-rūḥ al-qudus) as long you defend us, the Ahl al-Bayt (a).'"[1]

4/11: The weeping of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a)

845. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, quoting 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān: On the day of Ashura, I came to my master, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (a). I saw that his complexion was pale, and he was full of sorrow. Tears were flowing from his eyes like falling pearls.

I asked, "O son of God's Messenger! Why are you weeping, may God never bring tears to your eyes?"

He said to me, "Are you not aware? Do you not know that on this day, al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred?..."

The Imam (a) wept until his beard was wet with his tears.[2]

846. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Hārūn ibn Khārijah: We were with Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when we mentioned [the tragedy of] al-Ḥusayn (a). The Imam (a) began to weep, and we all wept as well.

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[1] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 244.

لما قال الكميت بن زيد الأسدي - من أشد شعر بن زيد - الهاشميات ... فلما قدم المدينة أتى أبا جعفر محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي عليهم السلام، فأذن له ليلاً وأنشده، فلما بلغ من الميمية قوله:

وقتيل بالطف غودر منهم بين غوغاء أمة وطغام

بكى أبو جعفر عليه السلام، ثم قال: يا كميت، لو كان عندنا مال لأعطيناك، ولكن لك ما قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لحسان بن ثابت: لا زلت مؤيداً بروح القدس ما ذببت عنا أهل البيت.

[2] *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 782; *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 476, no. 6.

دخلت على سيدي أبي عبد الله جعفر بن محمد (الصادق) عليهما السلام في يوم عاشوراء، فألفيته كاسف اللون، ظاهر الحزن، ودموعه تنحدر من عينيه كاللؤلؤ المتساقط، فقلت: يا ابن رسول الله مم بكاؤك؟ لا أبكى الله عينيك

فقال لي: أو في غفلة أنت؟ أما علمت أن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام أصيب في مثل هذا اليوم؟...

قال: وبكى أبو عبد الله عليه السلام حتى اخضلت لحيته بدموعه.

Then he raised his head and said, "Al-Ḥusayn (a) had said, 'I am the martyr of tears. No believer remembers me without weeping.'"[1]

846. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Ṣafwān al-Jammāl: On the road from Medina, as we were heading towards Mecca, I asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), "O son of God's Messenger! Why do I see you preoccupied, sorrowful, and upset?"

He replied, "If you could hear what I am hearing, it would prevent you from asking me any question."

I asked, "What is it that you can hear?"

He replied, "The invocation of the angels to God, the Almighty, against the killers of the Commander of the Faithful (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a); and the elegies of the jinn, the weeping of the angels around his shrine, and their intense lamentation. In these circumstances, who can think of food, or drink, or sleep?"[2]

4/12: The weeping of Imam al-Kāẓim (a)

848. *al-Amālī* of al-Ṣadūq, quoting Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Maḥmūd, from Imam al-Riḍā (a): When the month of Muḥarram would arrive, my father (a) would not be seen laughing. He would be immersed in grief until ten days passed. The 10th day of Muḥarram itself would be a day of lamentation, sorrow and mourning. He would say, "This is the day al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred."[1]

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 216, no. 313; *Faḍl Ziyārat al-Ḥusayn*, p. 41, no. 14.

كنا عنده فذكرنا الحسين عليه السلام، فبكى أبو عبد الله عليه السلام وبكينا.

قال: ثم رفع رأسه فقال: قال الحسين عليه السلام: أنا قتيل العبرة لا يذكرني مؤمن إلا بكى.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 187, no. 263, and p. 435, no. 767; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 226, no. 19.

سألته في طريق المدينة ونحن نريد مكة فقلت: يا ابن رسول الله ما لي أراك كئيبا حزينا منكسرا؟

فقال: لو تسمع ما أسمع لشغلك عن مسألتي. فقلت: فما الذي تسمع؟

قال: ابتهال الملائكة إلى الله عز وجل على قتلة أمير المؤمنين وقتلة الحسين عليهما السلام، ونوح الجن وبكاء الملائكة الذين حوله وشدة جزعهم، فمن يتهنأ مع هذا بطعام أو بشراب أو نوم؟

4/13: The weeping of Imam al-Riḍā (a)

849. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Bakkār: I had taken some soil from around the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a). It was reddish in colour. When I visited al-Riḍā (a), I showed it to him. He took it in his palm and inhaled its fragrance. He began to weep and said, as his tears flowed, "This is the soil of [the grave] of my grandfather."[2]

4/14: Excerpts from *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al-Muqaddasah*[3]

850. *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, from *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah*: If the course of time forestalled me, and God's decree prevented me from assisting you, and I could not fight against those who waged war on you, and could not stand against those who declared their enmity to you, then I will certainly lament over you morning and evening. In place of tears, I will weep blood over you.

[I shall lament] due to my anguish for you, and my regret over what befell you, until I die in pain and burning grief over the tragedy.[4]

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[1] al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 190, no. 199; *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 28.

كان أبي عليه السلام إذا دخل شهر المحرم لا يرى ضاحكاً، وكانت الكآبة تغلب عليه حتى يمضي منه عشرة أيام، فإذا كان يوم العاشر كان ذلك اليوم يوم مصيبته وحزنه وبكائه، ويقول: هو اليوم الذي قتل فيه الحسين عليه السلام.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 474, no. 725; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 135, no. 76.

أخذت من التربة التي عند رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام فإنها طينة حمراء، فدخلت على الرضا عليه السلام فعرضتها عليه، فأخذها في كفه ثم شمها، ثم بكى حتى جرت دموعه، ثم قال: هذه تربة جدي.

[3] The complete texts of both salutations attributed to the sacred personages (a) have been included at the end of this work. A brief analysis about their reliability has also been presented.

[4] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 501, no. 9; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 320, no. 8.

فلئن أخرتني الدهور، وعاقني عن نصرك المقدور، ولم أكن لمن حاربك محارباً، ولمن نصب لك العداوة مناصباً، فلأندبنك صباحاً ومساءً، ولأبكين عليك بدل الدموع دماً، حسرة عليك وتأسفاً على ما دهاك وتلهفاً، حتى أموت بلوعة المصاب وغصة الاكتئاب.

4/15: The weeping of the angels

851. ***al-Kāfī*, quoting Hārūn ibn Khārijah:** I heard Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣādiq (a) saying, "God has assigned 4,000 angels to the grave of al-Husayn (a). They shall remain there, dishevelled and dust-covered, weeping over him until the Day of Judgement."[1]

852. ***Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Hārūn ibn Khārijah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a):** When al-Husayn (a) was slain, even the desolate lands wept for him. Then God assigned 4,000 angels to his grave. They shall remain there, dishevelled and dust-covered, weeping over him until the Day of Judgement.[2]

853. ***Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Zurārah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a):** The angels who are around the grave of al-Husayn (a) weep profusely over him, and on hearing them, every angel in the skies and the heavens also weeps.[3]

4/16: The weeping of the jinn

854. ***al-Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshūb, quoting al-Awzāʿī, from Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (a):** I am the son of the one over whom the jinn on the earth mourned, as did the birds in the skies.[4]

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[1] al-Kāfī, vol. 4, p. 586, no. 8; *Thawāb al-Aʿmāl*, p. 123, no. 17.

سمعت أبا عبد الله (الصادق) عليه السلام يقول: وكّل الله بقبر الحسين عليه السلام أربعة آلاف ملك، شُعثًا غُبرًا يبكونه إلى يوم القيامة.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 333, no. 607; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 224, no. 16.

إنّ الحسين لمّا أُصيب بكته حتّى البلاد، فوكّل الله به أربعة آلاف ملك، شُعثًا غُبرًا يبكونه إلى يوم القيامة.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 168, no. 219; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 227, no. 23, and p. 174, no. 22.

إنّ الملائكة الّذين عند قبر (أي قبر الحسين عليه السلام) ليبكون، فيبكي لبكائهم كلّ من في الهواء والسّماء من الملائكة.

[4] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 4, p. 168.

أنا ابن من ناحت عليه الجنّ في الأرض والطّير في الهواء.

4/17: The weeping of various animals

855. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting al-Ḥārith al-A'war, from Imam 'Alī (a): May my father and mother be sacrificed for al-Ḥusayn, who will be slain just beyond Kufa! By God, it is as if I see various wild animals turning their necks towards his grave, weeping for him, and spending all night lamenting him; and when this comes to pass, beware that you do not abandon him.[1]

856. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Baṣīr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Humans and jinn, birds and wild animals; all mourned over al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), until their tears flowed.[2]

4/18: The weeping of hellfire

857. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Zurārah, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When al-Ḥusayn's (a) soul departed, a mighty roar erupted from hell, and the earth was nearly torn asunder by its heaving… It [continually] mourns and laments over him (a). Its flames seek to consume his killers.[3]

4/19: The weeping of the heavens, the earth, and everything between the two

858. *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, quoting Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), in the salutation to Imam al-Ḥusayn (a): May my father and mother be sacrificed for you, O my master! I wept for you, O chosen one of God, son of His chosen one; and it is befitting that I should weep over you, when the heavens, the earths, the mountains, and the seas wept over you. What would be my excuse if I did not shed tears

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[1] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 165, no. 214; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 205, no. 9.

بأبي وأمي الحسين المقتول بظهر الكوفة، والله كأني أنظر إلى الوحوش مادة أعناقها على قبره من أنواع الوحش يبكونه ويرثونه ليلاً حتى الصباح، فإذا كان ذلك فإياكم والجفاء.

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 165, no. 212; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 205, no. 8.

بكت الإنس والجن والطير والوحش على الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام حتى ذرفت دموعها.

[3] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 167, no. 219; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 45, p. 205, no. 13.

لقد خرجت نفسه (أي الحسين) عليه السلام فزفرت جهنم زفرة كادت الأرض تنشق لزفرتها... وإنها لتبكيه وتندبه، وإنها لتتلظى على قاتله.

over you when the beloved (s) of my Lord wept over you, and the Imams (a) wept over you, and everyone between the furthest lote-tree (*sidrat al-muntahā*)[1] and the earth, wept in distress over you?[2]

859. *al-Kāfī*, quoting al-Ḥusayn ibn Thuwayr, from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a) was martyred, the seven heavens, the seven earths, and whatever is within them and between them, all wept over him, as did the creatures of our Lord that inhabit paradise and hell. All creatures, visible as well as invisible, wept over Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a).[3]

A word about the happiness and sorrow of inanimate objects

Many, continuously-narrated (*mutawātir*) reports, from both Shīʿī and Sunni sources, have reached us that speak of the grave impact of his martyrdom on the entire world of creation. We have mentioned some examples in the section entitled, "The signs that appeared after the Imam (a) was martyred".

Therefore, the reported appearance of supernatural signs throughout the existential world is not only a matter that cannot be disproved by rational principles, but we can be certain that these signs have definitely occurred in the world.

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[1] Al-Ṭabrisī writes, "It has been reported from al-Kalbī and Muqātil, that sidrat al-muntahā (the farthest lote-tree) is a tree located on the right side of the throne (*ʿarsh*) of God in the seventh heaven. It is the source of the understanding of the angels. It has also been reported from Ibn Masʿūd and al-Ḍaḥḥāk that the decrees of God which are directed beyond, or below, the heavens, are issued from this tree."

[2] *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 409, no. 659; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 182.

بِأَبِي أَنْتَ وَأُمِّي يَا شَهِيدُ، بَكَيْتُكَ يَا صَفْوَةَ اللهِ وَابْنَ صَفْوَتِهِ وَحُقَّ لِي أَنْ أَبْكِيَكَ وَقَدْ بَكَتْكَ السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالْأَرَضُونَ وَالْجِبَالُ وَالْبِحَارُ، فَمَا عُذْرِي إِنْ لَمْ أَبْكِكَ وَقَدْ بَكَاكَ حَبِيبُ رَبِّي وَبَكَتْكَ الْأَئِمَّةُ صَلَوَاتُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَبَكَاكَ مَنْ دُونَ سِدْرَةِ الْمُنْتَهَى إِلَى الثَّرَى جَزَعاً عَلَيْكَ.

[3] *al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 575; *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, p. 167, no. 218.

إِنَّ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ الْحُسَيْنَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمَّا قُضِيَ بَكَتْ عَلَيْهِ السَّمَاوَاتُ السَّبْعُ وَالْأَرَضُونَ السَّبْعُ وَمَا فِيهِنَّ وَمَا بَيْنَهُنَّ وَمَنْ يَنْقَلِبُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ مِنْ خَلْقِ رَبِّنَا وَمَا يُرَى وَمَا لَا يُرَى بَكَى عَلَى أَبِي عَبْدِ اللهِ الْحُسَيْنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ.

Of course the happiness, sadness, laughter, and tears of animate objects take a different form than those emotions in human beings. When they do occur, they manifest an effect and "sorrow" in creation that is consistent with the objects themselves.

In the case of animals, we should add that according to the Qur'an and *aḥādīth*, animals have a special perceptive ability. The accounts of Hudhud and the ants that have been mentioned in the Qur'an indicate the heightened awareness possessed by animals. Therefore their reaction and response to the great event of Ashura is also completely plausible.

◆

PART 5: TWO SALUTATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO IMAM AL-MAHDĪ (ATF)

5/1: The first salutation (*ziyārah*), as reported in *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*

860. *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*: Another *ziyārah* of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) on the day of Ashura is reported from the sacred personage (*nāḥiyah al-muqaddasah*) of the Imam (atf) through one of his portals.[1]

The visitor is instructed to stand by the head of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a), and recite the following:

السلام على آدم صفوة الله من خليقته

Peace be on Ādam, the Chosen one of God from His creation.

السلام على شيث ولي الله وخيرته

Peace be on Shayth, the Friend of God, and one of His best servants.

السلام على إدريس القائم لله بحجته

Peace be on Idris, who rose for God by His authority.

السلام على نوح المجاب في دعوته

Peace be on Nūḥ, whose supplication was answered.

السلام على هود الممدود من الله بمعونته

Peace be on Hūd, who was aided by God's support.

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[1] *Bāb* (portal) here, refers to one of the four special representatives, companions, or deputies (*nuwwāb*) of the Imam of this Age (atf) during the time of his minor occultation (*al-ghaybat al-ṣughrā*).

السلام على صالح الذي توّجه الله بكرامته

Peace be on Ṣāliḥ, to whom God turned in His generosity.

السلام على إبراهيم الذي حباه الله بخلّته

Peace be on Ibrāhīm, who God gifted with His friendship.

السلام على إسماعيل الذي فداه الله بذبح عظيم من جنّته

Peace be on Isma'īl, whom God ransomed with a great sacrifice from His paradise.

السلام على إسحاق الذي جعل الله النبوّة في ذرّيّته

Peace be on Isḥāq, in whose descendants God placed prophethood.

السلام على يعقوب الذي ردّ الله عليه بصره برحمته

Peace be on Ya'qūb, whose eyesight God restored out of His mercy.

السلام على يوسف الذي نجّاه الله من الجبّ بعظمته

Peace be on Yūsuf, who God rescued from the well by His majesty.

السلام على موسى الذي فلق الله البحر له بقدرته

Peace be on Mūsā, for whom God split the sea with His power.

السلام على هارون الذي خصّه الله بنبوّته

Peace be on Hārūn, who God favoured with His prophethood.

السلام على شعيب الذي نصره الله على أمّته

Peace be on Shu'ayb, who God made victorious over his community.

السلام على داود الذي تاب الله عليه من خطيئته

Peace be on Dāwūd, whom God forgave for his mistake.

السلام على سليمان الذي ذلّت له الجنّ بعزّته

Peace be on Sulaymān, to whom the jinn were subservient by His might.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى أَيُّوبَ الَّذِي شَفَاهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ عِلَّتِهِ

Peace be on Ayyūb, whom God healed from his illness.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى يُونُسَ الَّذِي أَنْجَزَ اللَّهُ لَهُ مَضْمُونَ عِدَتِهِ

Peace be on Yūnus, whom God allowed to fulfil his covenant.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى عُزَيْرٍ الَّذِي أَحْيَاهُ اللَّهُ بَعْدَ مَيْتَتِهِ

Peace be on ʿUzayr, whom God restored to life after his death.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى زَكَرِيَّا الصَّابِرِ فِي مِحْنَتِهِ

Peace be on Zakariyyā, who was steadfast in the face of His trial.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى يَحْيَى الَّذِي أَزْلَفَهُ اللَّهُ بِشَهَادَتِهِ

Peace be on Yaḥyā, who God elevated through his martyrdom.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى عِيسَى رُوحِ اللَّهِ وَكَلِمَتِهِ

Peace be on ʿĪsā, the Spirit of God, and His Word.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ حَبِيبِ اللَّهِ وَصَفْوَتِهِ

Peace be on Muḥammad, the Beloved of God, and His choicest Servant.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ الْمَخْصُوصِ بِأُخُوَّتِهِ

Peace be on the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abū Ṭālib,
who was distinguished by his brotherhood (to the Prophet).

السَّلَامُ عَلَى فَاطِمَةَ الزَّهْرَاءِ ابْنَتِهِ

Peace be on Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ, his (s) daughter.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى أَبِي مُحَمَّدٍ الْحَسَنِ وَصِيِّ أَبِيهِ وَخَلِيفَتِهِ

Peace be on Abū Muḥammad, al-Ḥasan, the heir of his father and his
successor.

السلام على الحسين الذي سمحت نفسه بمهجته

Peace be on al-Ḥusayn, who sacrificed his life blood.

السلام على من أطاع الله في سره وعلانيته

Peace be on the one who obeyed God in private and public.

السلام على من جعل الشفاء في تربته

Peace be on the one, the soil of whose grave was
granted curative powers.

السلام على من الإجابة تحت قبته

Peace be on the one under whose dome,
supplications are [always] answered.

السلام على من الأئمة من ذريته

Peace be on the progenitor of the Imams.

السلام على ابن خاتم الأنبياء

Peace be on the son of the seal of the Prophets.

السلام على ابن سيد الأوصياء

Peace be on the son of the chief of the heirs [of Prophets].

السلام على ابن فاطمة الزهراء

Peace be on the son of Fāṭimah, the radiant.

السلام على ابن خديجة الكبرى

Peace be on the son of Khadījah, the excellent.

السلام على ابن سدرة المنتهى

Peace be on the son of the Farthest Lote-tree (*sidrat al-muntahā*).[1]

السلام على ابن جنة المأوى

Peace be on the son of the Garden of Refuge (*jannat al-ma'wā*).

السلام على ابن زمزم والصفا

Peace be on the son of Zamzam and al-Ṣafā.

السلام على المرمّل بالدماء

Peace be on the one who was bathed in blood.

السلام على المهتوك الخباء

Peace be on the one whose tents were desecrated.

السلام على خامس أصحاب أهل الكساء

Peace be on the fifth member of the People of the Cloak (*Ahl al-Kisā'*).

السلام على غريب الغرباء

Peace be on the stranger amongst strangers.

السلام على شهيد الشهداء

Peace be on the [greatest] martyr of all martyrs.

السلام على قتيل الأدعياء

Peace be on the one slain by illegitimate men.

السلام على ساكن كربلاء

Peace be on the one who resides in Karbala.

السلام على من بكته ملائكة السماء

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[1] *Sidrat al-Muntahā* is the farthest lote or sidr tree. It denotes a special tree that is located in the farthest reaches of paradise, and is the source of all the wisdom of the past and future generations *al-Hidāyah*, vol. 2, p. 323, sv. *s-d-r*.

Peace be on the one over whom the angels of the skies wept.

السّلام على من ذرّيّته الأزكياء

Peace be on the one whose descendants are pure.

السّلام على يعسوب الدّين

Peace be on the leader of the religion.

السّلام على منازل البراهين

Peace be on the centres of divine proofs.

السّلام على الأئمّة السّادات

Peace be on the Imams, the Leaders.

السّلام على الجيوب المضرّجات

Peace be on the blood-soaked chests.

السّلام على الشّفاه الذّابلات

Peace be on the parched lips.

السّلام على النّفوس المصطلمات

Peace be on the souls that were wrested out.

السّلام على الأرواح المختلسات

Peace be on the spirits that were seized away.

السّلام على الأجساد العاريات

Peace be on the stripped corpses.

السّلام على الجسوم الشّاحبات

Peace be on the haggard bodies.

السّلام على الدّماء السّائلات

Peace be on the gushing blood.

السلام على الأعضاء المقطّعات

Peace be on the severed limbs.

السلام على الرؤوس المشالات

Peace be on the heads that were raised [on spears].

السلام على النّسوة البارزات

Peace be on the women who came out [of the tents].

السلام على حجّة ربّ العالمين

Peace be on the Proof of the Lord of the worlds.

السلام عليك وعلى آبائك الطاهرين

Peace be on you, and on your purified forefathers.

السلام عليك وعلى أبنائك المستشهدين

Peace be on you, and on your martyred sons.

السلام عليك وعلى ذرّيتك الناصرين

Peace be on you, and on your offspring, who
supported [the religion of God].

السلام عليك وعلى الملائكة المضاجعين

Peace be on you, and on the angels assigned to your resting place.

السلام على القتيل المظلوم

Peace be on the one who was slain and oppressed.

السلام على أخيه المسموم

Peace be on his brother [al-Hasan], who was poisoned.

السلام على علي الكبير

Peace be on ʿAlī, the elder [ʿAlī al-Akbar].

السلام على الرضيع الصغير

Peace be on the suckling infant [ʿAlī al-Aṣghar].

السلام على الأبدان السليبة

Peace be on the plundered bodies.

السلام على العترة القريبة

Peace be on the close [and watching] family.

السلام على المجدلين في الفلوات

Peace be on those who were abandoned in the desert.

السلام على النازحين عن الأوطان

Peace be on those who were driven out of their homes.

السلام على المدفونين بلا أكفان

Peace be on those who were buried without shrouds.

السلام على الرؤوس المفرقة عن الأبدان

Peace be on the heads that were separated from their bodies.

السلام على المحتسب الصابر

Peace be on the one who assigned his account to God, and was steadfast.

السلام على المظلوم بلا ناصر

Peace be on the one who was oppressed, [and left] without any supporter.

السلام على ساكن التربة الزاكية

Peace be on the one who lies in the pure soil.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى صَاحِبِ الْقُبَّةِ السَّامِيَةِ

Peace be on the possessor of the lofty dome.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى مَنْ طَهَّرَهُ الْجَلِيلُ

Peace be on the one who was purified by the all-Majestic (al-Jalīl).

السَّلَامُ عَلَى مَنِ افْتَخَرَ بِهِ جَبْرَئِيلُ

Peace be on the one who was the pride of Jibra'īl.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى مَنْ نَاغَاهُ فِي الْمَهْدِ مِيكَائِيلُ

Peace be on the one who was comforted in his cradle by Mīkā'īl.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى مَنْ نُكِثَتْ ذِمَّتُهُ

Peace be on the one whose covenant was breached.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى مَنْ هُتِكَتْ حُرْمَتُهُ

Peace be on the one whose sanctity was violated.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى مَنْ أُرِيقَ بِالظُّلْمِ دَمُهُ

Peace be on the one whose blood was shed unjustly.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى الْمُغَسَّلِ بِدَمِ الْجِرَاحِ

Peace be on the one who was bathed in the blood of his wounds.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى الْمُجَرَّعِ بِكَاسَاتِ الرِّمَاحِ

Peace be on the one who had to bear the hail of spears.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى الْمُضَامِ الْمُسْتَبَاحِ

Peace be on the one against whom those who
deemed his blood lawful gathered.

السلام على المهجور في الورى

Peace be on the one who was slaughtered in public.

السلام على من تولى دفنه أهل القرى

Peace be on the one who was buried by people
from [nearby] settlements.

السلام على المقطوع الوتين

Peace be on the one whose aorta was severed.

السلام على المحامي بلا معين

Peace be on the defender [of faith] who had no helper.

السلام على الشّيب الخضيب

Peace be on the white hair that was dyed [with blood].

السلام على الخدّ التّريب

Peace be on the cheek that was covered in dust.

السلام على البدن السّليب

Peace be on the body that was plundered.

السلام على الثّغر المقروع بالقضيب

Peace be on the front teeth that were poked by canes.

السلام على الودج المقطوع

Peace be on the jugular that was severed.

السلام على الرّأس المرفوع

Peace be on the head that was raised [on a spear].

السلام على الأجسام العارية في الفلوات تنهشها الذّئاب العاديات، وتختلف إليها السّباع
الضّاريات

Peace be on the bodies that were left exposed in
the deserts to be gnawed by wolves,
and around whom savage beasts circled.

السلام عليك يا مولاي وعلى الملائكة المرفرفين حول قبتك، الحافين بتربتك،

الطائفين بعرصتك، الواردين لزيارتك

Peace be on you, my master, and on the angels
who hover over your dome,
who congregate around your grave, circumambulate your
shrine, and come [continually] for your visitation.

السلام عليك فإني قصدت إليك ورجوت الفوز لديك

Peace be on you. Indeed, I have made the intention to come to you,
hoping to attain the prosperity that is with you.

السلام عليك سلام العارف بحرمتك، المخلص في ولايتك، المتقرب إلى الله بمحبتك،
البريء من أعدائك،

Peace be on you. [Receive] the salutations of one
who recognizes your sanctity,
who is your sincere follower, who seeks proximity
to God through his love for you,
and who has disassociated from your enemies.

سلام من قلبه بمصابك مقروح، ودمعه عند ذكرك مسفوح

[Receive] the salutations of one whose heart is
broken by your tragedies,
and whose tears flow when you are remembered.

سلام المفجوع المحزون، الواله المستكين

[Receive] the salutations of one who is anguished,
grief-stricken, distracted, and resigned.

سلام من لو كان معك بالطفوف لوقاك بنفسه حد السيوف، وبذل حشاشته دونك للحتوف

[Receive] the salutations of one who, if he had been with you at al-Taff,
would have defended you from the sharpened swords with his body,
and would have given his last breath to save your life.

وجاهد بين يديك، ونصرك على من بغى عليك، وفداك بروحه وجسده وماله وولده،

وروحه لروحك فداء، وأهله لأهلك وقاء

He would have fought alongside you, protected
you from those who had assaulted you,
and sacrificed his soul, body, wealth and children for you.
May his soul be ransomed for yours, and his family for your family.

فلئن أخرتني الدهور، وعاقني عن نصرك المقدور، ولم أكن لمن حاربك محارباً، ولمن نصب لك العداوة مناصباً، فلأندبنك صباحاً ومساءً، ولأبكين عليك بدل الدموع دماً

If the course of time forestalled me, and God's decree prevented me from assisting you, and I could not fight against those who waged war on you and could not stand against those who declared their enmity to you, then I will certainly lament over you, morning and evening; in the place of tears, I will weep blood over you.

حسرة عليك وتأسفاً على ما دهاك وتلهفاً، حتى أموت بلوعة المصاب وغصة الاكتئاب

[I shall lament] due to my anguish for you and my
regret over what befell you,
until I die in pain and burning grief over the tragedy.

أشهد أنك قد أقمت الصلاة وآتيت الزكاة، وأمرت بالمعروف ونهيت
عن المنكر والعدوان

I bear witness that you established the prayer, paid the religious alms,
enjoined good, and forbade evil and transgression.

وأطعت الله وما عصيته، وتمسكت به وبحبله

And you obeyed God and did not [ever] disobey Him, and held fast to Him and to His strong rope.

فأرضيته وخشيته وراقبته واستجبته

So you pleased Him, were in awe of Him, were mindful of Him, and responded to Him.

وسننت السنن وأطفأت الفتن

You set the standard [for emulation] and quenched the flames of sedition.

ودعوت إلى الرشاد، وأوضحت سبل السداد، وجاهدت في الله حق الجهاد

You called to virtue, defined the beneficial paths, and strived in the way of God with your utmost effort.

وكنت لله طائعاً، ولجدك محمد صلى الله عليه وآله تابعاً

You were devoted to God, and a [true] follower of your grandfather Muhammad (s).

ولقول أبيك سامعاً، وإلى وصية أخيك مسارعاً

Attentive to the words of your father, and swift in executing the will of your brother,

ولعماد الدين رافعاً، وللطغيان قامعاً

You were the one who held upright the pillars of religion and curbed tyranny.

وللطغاة مقارعاً، وللأمة ناصحاً

You were one who rebuked the transgressors and gave sincere counsel to the nation.

وفي غمرات الموت سابحاً، وللفساق مكافحاً، وبحجج الله قائماً

You were one who advanced into the arms of death, confronted the degenerates, and stood by God's proofs.

وللإسلام والمسلمين راحماً، وللحق ناصراً، وعند البلاء صابراً

You were a mercy to Islam and the Muslims, a supporter of the truth, and resolute in the face of tribulation.

وللدين كالئاً، وعن حوزته مرامياً، وعن شريعته محامياً

[You were] a protector of the religion, a guardian of its domain, and a defender of its regulations.

تحوط الهدى وتنصره

You preserved the right path and supported it.

وتبسط العدل وتنشره

You manifested justice and propagated it.

وتنصر الدين وتظهره

You supported the religion and embodied it.

وتكف العابث وتزجره

You restrained the idler and admonished him.

وتأخذ للدني من الشريف

You took the entitlements of the disadvantaged back from the privileged.

وتساوي في الحكم بين القوي والضعيف

You were equitable in your judgements between the strong and the weak.

كنت ربيع الأيتام، وعصمة الأنام، وعز الإسلام

You were the delight of the orphans, the safeguard for mankind, and a [source of] honour for Islam.

وَمَعْدِنَ الأَحْكَامِ، وَحَلِيفَ الإِنْعَامِ

[And you were] the source of religious laws, and
willing to grant favours.

سَالِكاً طَرَائِقَ جَدِّكَ وَأَبِيكَ

You followed the path of your grandfather and father.

مُشْبِهاً فِي الوَصِيَّةِ لِأَخِيكَ

You matched your brother in legacy.

وَفِيَّ الذِّمَمِ، رَضِيَّ الشِّيَمِ، ظَاهِرَ الكَرَمِ

You were true to your covenants, possessed a charming personality,
and were known for your generosity.

مُتَهَجِّداً فِي الظُّلَمِ، قَوِيمَ الطَّرَائِقِ، كَرِيمَ الخَلَائِقِ

You spent the night in worship, represented the most upright course,
and were the most noble of men.

عَظِيمَ السَّوَابِقِ، شَرِيفَ النَّسَبِ، مُنِيفَ الحَسَبِ

You had an exemplary record, pristine lineage, and noble descent.

رَفِيعَ الرُّتَبِ، كَثِيرَ المَنَاقِبِ، مَحْمُودَ الضَّرَائِبِ

You had a lofty status, numerous merits, and praiseworthy qualities.

جَزِيلَ المَوَاهِبِ، حَلِيمٌ رَشِيدٌ مُنِيبٌ، جَوَادٌ عَلِيمٌ شَدِيدٌ

You had great gifts, and were forbearing, upright, forgiving,
repentant to God, generous, knowledgeable, and strong.

إِمَامٌ شَهِيدٌ، أَوَّاهٌ مُنِيبٌ، حَبِيبٌ مَهِيبٌ

You were the martyred Imam, always venerating God,
and frequently turning to Him, beloved [by all], and awe-inspiring.

كُنْتَ لِلرَّسُولِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَلَداً

You were [like] a son to God's Messenger (s).

وللقرآن منقذاً، وللأمة عضداً، وفي الطاعة مجتهداً

You were a saviour for the Qur'an, a pillar for the nation,
and diligent in obedience [to God].

حافظاً للعهد والميثاق، ناكباً عن سُبُل الفسّاق

You were committed to your pledge and covenant [to God]
and stayed away from the paths of the corrupt.

باذلاً للمجهود، طويل الرّكوع والسّجود

You sacrificed whatever you could [to establish God's word],
and were given to lengthy bowing and prostrations.

زاهداً في الدّنيا زهد الرّاحل عنها

You were abstinent in the world, in the manner of one who
is [soon] departing from it.

ناظراً إليها بعين المستوحشين منها

Looking at it with the eyes of one who is aloof from it.

آمالك عنها مكفوفةٌ، وهمّتك عن زينتها مصروفةٌ

Your ambitions in it were austere,
and you were remote from any interest in its adornments.

وألحاظك عن بهجتها مطروفةٌ، ورغبتك في الآخرة معروفةٌ

Your attentions were averted from its delights,
and your eagerness for the hereafter was obvious.

حتى إذا الجور مدّ باعه، وأسفر الظّلم قناعه، ودعا الغيّ أتباعه

Then, when oppression extended its reach,
injustice became unmasked,
and wickedness called out to its adherents

وأنت في حرم جدك قاطنٌ وللظالمين مباينٌ، جليس البيت والمحراب

While you resided in the sanctuary of your grandfather, isolated
from the wrongdoers, settled in your house and the prayer niche,

معتزلٌ عن اللذات والشهوات، تنكر المنكر بقلبك ولسانك على قدر طاقتك وإمكانك

Detached from worldly pleasures and desires,
renouncing evil in your heart
and by your tongue, with all your strength and ability.

ثم اقتضاك العلم للإنكار، ولزمك أن تجاهد الفجار

Then [your] knowledge required you to make a
stand [against falsehood],
and forced you to fight the transgressors.

فسرت في أولادك وأهاليك، وشيعتك ومواليك

So you set out with your children and your family,
your followers (Shi'a) and your bondsmen.

وصدعت بالحق والبينة، ودعوت إلى الله بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة

You made clear the truth and the [Divine] proofs, and called
towards God with wisdom and goodly counsel.

وأمرت بإقامة الحدود، والطاعة للمعبود، ونهيت عن الخبائث والطغيان

You ordered for the establishment of God's boundaries,
the obedience to God, Who is deserving of worship,
and forbade people from lewdness and transgression.

وواجهوك بالظلم والعدوان، فجاهدتهم بعد الإيعاز لهم، وتأكيد الحجة عليهم

But they confronted you with oppression and
persecution, so you fought against
them after having counselled them, and
emphasized [Divine] proofs to them.

فنكثوا ذمامك وبيعتك، وأسخطوا ربك وجدك، وبدؤوك بالحرب

They violated your sanctity and broke their oaths,
displeased your Lord,
and your grandfather, and they launched a war against you.

فثبت للطعن والضرب، وطحنت جنود الفجار

But you stood firm against spear thrusts and sword strikes,
and crushed the army of the transgressors.

واقتحمت قسطل الغبار، مجالداً بذي الفقار، كأنك علي المختار

You plunged into the dust of battle, fighting with Dhū al-Faqār,
as if you were ʿAlī, the chosen.

فلما رأوك ثابت الجأش، غير خائف ولا خاش

When they saw you composed of mind, neither afraid nor overawed,

نصبوا لك غوائل مكرهم، وقاتلوك بكيدهم وشرهم

they initiated their most devious plots, and fought
you with their cunning and viciousness,

وأمر اللعين جنوده فمنعوك الماء ووروده

and the accursed [ʿUmar ibn Saʿd] ordered his
army to block your access to the water.

وناجزوك القتال، وعاجلوك النزال، ورشقوك بالسهام والنبال،
وبسطوا إليك أكف الاصطلام

They came forward to fight you, descended swiftly on you, showered
you with arrows and missiles [spears], and extended their cutting
sword-arms towards you.

ولم يرعوا لك ذماماً، ولا راقبوا فيك آثاماً في قتلهم أولياءك ونهبهم رحالك

They did not care about your rights, nor were they mindful of
the penalty of killing your companions or plundering your possessions.

أنت مقدم في الهبوات، ومحتمل للأذيات

You were in front in the thick of battle, sustaining injuries.

وقد عجبت من صبرك ملائكة السماوات

Indeed, the angels in the skies were amazed at your perseverance.

وأحدقوا بك من كل الجهات، وأثخنوك بالجراح

Then they surrounded you from every side, and
weakened you by inflicting [multiple] wounds.

وحالوا بينك وبين الرواح، ولم يبق لك ناصر

They prevented you from any respite, until
[finally] you had no supporter left,

وأنت محتسب صابر، تذب عن نسوتك وأولادك

But you remained resolute [God-focused] and steadfast,
defending your womenfolk and children,

حتى نكسوك عن جوادك، فهويت إلى الأرض جريحاً

until they unseated you from your horse, and you
fell to the ground, wounded.

تطؤك الخيول بحوافرها، وتعلوك الطغاة ببواترها

Horses trampled you under their hooves, and the tyrants raised their
blades against you.

قد رشح للموت جبينك، واختلفت بالانقباض والانبساط شمالك ويمينك

The perspiration of death appeared on your
forehead, and you began to
clench and unclench your hands.

تدير طرفاً خفياً إلى رحلك وبيتك، وقد شغلت بنفسك عن ولدك وأهاليك

You kept looking surreptitiously towards your caravan and your tents,
because you were separated from your children and family

وأسرع فرسك شارداً، وإلى خيامك قاصداً، محمحماً باكياً

And your horse wandered off confused, towards
your camp, neighing and crying.

فلما رأين النساء جوادك مخزياً، ونظرن سرجك عليه ملوياً

When the women saw your horse agitated, and your saddle twisted,

برزن من الخدور، ناشرات الشعور، على الخدود لاطمات، للوجوه سافرات

they came forth from the tents, with dishevelled hair,
slapping their cheeks, with their faces exposed,

وبالعويل داعيات، وبعد العز مذللات

wailing and lamenting, humiliated after having lived with honour,

وإلى مصرعك مبادرات

rushing towards the place where you lay mortally wounded

والشمر جالس على صدرك، مولغ سيفه على نحرك

while Shimr was sitting astride your chest, running
his blade on your neck,

قابض على شيبتك بيده، ذابح لك بمهنده

holding your beard in his fist, slaughtering you with his sword.

قد سكنت حواسك، وخفيت أنفاسك، ورفع على القنا رأسك

Then, your senses dulled, your breaths faded, and
your head was raised atop a lance,

وسبي أهلك كالعبيد، وصفدوا في الحديد فوق أقتاب المطيات

and your family were taken captive like slaves, and shackled in
iron chains, mounted atop unsaddled camels.

تلفح وجوههم حر الهاجرات، يساقون في البراري والفلوات

The heat of the midday [sun] burned their faces, as they were
driven across deserts and wilderness.

أَيْدِيهِمْ مَغْلُولَةٌ إِلَى الْأَعْنَاقِ، يُطَافُ بِهِمْ فِي الْأَسْوَاقِ

Their hands were shackled to their necks, and they
were paraded in the marketplaces.

فَالْوَيْلُ لِلْعُصَاةِ الْفُسَّاقِ، لَقَدْ قَتَلُوا بِقَتْلِكَ الْإِسْلَامَ

So, woe be unto the transgressors! By killing you, they killed Islam.

وَعَطَّلُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَالصِّيَامَ، وَنَقَضُوا السُّنَنَ وَالْأَحْكَامَ

And abandoned [the sacredness of] prayer and
fasting, and breached the
Prophetic practice (*sunnah*), and the Divine commandments (*aḥkām*).

وَهَدَمُوا قَوَاعِدَ الْإِيمَانِ، وَحَرَّفُوا آيَاتِ الْقُرْآنِ، وَهَمْلَجُوا فِي الْبَغْيِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ

They pulled down the pillars of faith, distorted the verses of the Qur'an,
and rushed into tyranny and persecution.

لَقَدْ أَصْبَحَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ مَوْتُوراً

[And thus] God's Messenger (s) became bereaved,

وَعَادَ كِتَابُ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ مَهْجُوراً، وَغُودِرَ الْحَقُّ إِذْ قُهِرْتَ مَقْهُوراً

the Book of God, the Almighty, became abandoned once more, and
the truth was betrayed – when you were overcome by force.

وَفُقِدَ بِفَقْدِكَ التَّكْبِيرُ وَالتَّهْلِيلُ، وَالتَّحْرِيمُ وَالتَّحْلِيلُ، وَالتَّنْزِيلُ وَالتَّأْوِيلُ

With your loss, the slogans of God's glorification and Unity were lost, as
were the commands of the forbidden (*ḥarām*) and permitted (*ḥalāl*),
and the guidance of revelation (*tanzīl*) and interpretation (*ta'wīl*).

وَظَهَرَ بَعْدَكَ التَّغْيِيرُ وَالتَّبْدِيلُ، وَالْإِلْحَادُ وَالتَّعْطِيلُ، وَالْأَهْوَاءُ وَالْأَضَالِيلُ، وَالْفِتَنُ وَالْأَبَاطِيلُ

After you, alterations and substitutions, apostasy and obstruction [in obeying God's law], heresy and misguidance, and sedition and falsehood all became manifest.

فَقامَ ناعِيكَ عِنْدَ قَبْرِ جَدِّكَ الرَّسُولِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ

The announcer of your martyrdom stood at the grave of your grandfather (s), God's Messenger,

فَنَعاكَ إِلَيْهِ بِالدَّمْعِ الهَطُولِ قائِلاً: يا رَسُولَ اللهِ قُتِلَ سِبْطُكَ وَفَتاكَ،

and informed him with flowing tears, "O Messenger of God, your youthful grandson was slain,

وَاسْتُبِيحَ أَهْلُكَ وَحِماكَ، وَسُبِيَتْ بَعْدَكَ ذَرارِيكَ، وَوَقَعَ المَحْذُورُ بِعِتْرَتِكَ وَذَوِيكَ

And insult to your family and supporters was deemed lawful. After you, your offspring were made captives, and adversity befell your family and descendants."

فَانْزَعَجَ الرَّسُولُ وَبَكَى قَلْبُهُ المَهُولُ

The Messenger became distressed, and his appalled heart wept.

وَعَزّاهُ بِكَ المَلائِكَةُ وَالأَنْبِياءُ

The angels and Prophets condoled him (s) over you.

وَفُجِعَتْ بِكَ أُمُّكَ الزَّهْراءُ

Your mother, al-Zahrā', was distraught over you,

وَاخْتَلَفَتْ جُنُودُ المَلائِكَةِ المُقَرَّبِينَ تُعَزِّي أَباكَ أَمِيرَ المُؤْمِنِينَ

And contingents of senior angels came, one after another, to condole your father, the Commander of the Faithful.

وَأُقِيمَتْ لَكَ المَآتِمُ فِي أَعْلَى عِلِّيِّينَ

Gatherings of lamentation were held for you in the highest reaches of paradise.

ولطمت عليك الحور العين

The heavenly damsels mourned over you,

وبكت السماء وسكانها، والجنان وخزانها، والهضاب وأقطارها،

The skies and their inhabitants wept, as did paradise and its guardians,
the mountains and their ranges.

والأرض وأقطارها، والبحار وحيتانها، ومكة وبنيانها، والجنان وولدانها،

The earth and its territories, the oceans and its fish,
Mecca and its foundations, the heavens and their servants,

والبيت والمقام، والمشعر الحرام، والحل والإحرام

the Ka'ba and the Maqām of Ibrāhīm, the sacred valley (between
Muzdalifah and Mina - *mash'ar al-ḥarām*), the blessed lands around
Mecca (*al-ḥil*) and the sanctuary itself (*ḥaram*) all wept over you.

اللهم فبحرمة هذا المكان المنيف

O God! So, by the sacredness of this blessed tomb

صل على محمد وآل محمد

Bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad,

واحشرني في زمرتهم وأدخلني الجنة بشفاعتهم

Raise me in their company, and bring me into
paradise through their intercession.

اللهم إني أتوسل إليك يا أسرع الحاسبين، ويا أكرم الأكرمين، ويا أحكم الحاكمين

O God! I beseech you, O Swiftest of examiners, O most-Generous
of the generous ones, and O Wisest of judges,

بمحمد خاتم النبيين رسولك إلى العالمين أجمعين

By Muhammad, the seal of the Prophets, Your
Messenger to all the worlds,

وبأخيه وابن عمه الأنزع البطين، العالم المكين، علي أمير المؤمنين

By his brother and cousin, the destroyer of polytheism,
the firmly established in knowledge, 'Alī, the
Commander of the Faithful,

وبفاطمة سيدة نساء العالمين

By Fāṭimah, the foremost of the women of the worlds,

وبالحسن الزكي عصمة المتقين

By al-Ḥasan, the pure, the guardian of the God-wary,

وبأبي عبد الله الحسين أكرم المستشهدين

By Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the most respected of the martyrs,

وبأولاده المقتولين، وبعترته المظلومين

By his slain descendants and his oppressed offspring,

وبعلي بن الحسين زين العابدين

By 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, the adornment of the worshippers,

وبمحمد بن علي قبلة الأوابين

By Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, the signpost for those who turn to God,

وجعفر بن محمد أصدق الصادقين

By Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, the most truthful of the veracious,

وموسى بن جعفر مظهر البراهين

By Mūsā ibn Ja'far, the revealer of [divine] proofs,

وعلي بن موسى ناصر الدين

By 'Alī ibn Mūsā, the supporter of the religion,

ومحمد بن علي قدوة المهتدين

By Muhammad ibn 'Alī, the exemplar of the guided,

وعليّ بن محمد أزهد الزاهدين

By 'Alī ibn Muhammad, the most restrained of the ascetics,

والحسن بن عليّ وارث المستخلفين

By al-Hasan ibn 'Alī, the successor of the appointed ones,

والحجة على الخلق أجمعين

By the Proof [al-Mahdi] on all creation

أن تصلّي على محمد وآل محمد، الصادقين الأبرّين، آل طه ويس

To bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad,
the truthful and the devoted, the family of Ṭā Hā and Yā Sīn.

وأن تجعلني في القيامة من الآمنين المطمئنين، الفائزين الفرحين المستبشرين،

And, on the Day of Judgement, to include me
amongst those who are safe
and at ease, successful, happy and recipients of glad tidings.

اللهم اكتبني في المسلمين، وألحقني بالصالحين

O God! Write my name amongst those who truly submitted to You,
and add me to [the ranks of] the righteous.

واجعل لي لسان صدق في الآخرين، وانصرني على الباغين،

*And grant me an honourable mention in later
generations.*[1] And grant me
victory over the transgressors.

واكفني كيد الحاسدين، واصرف عني مكر الماكرين

Protect me from the plots of the envious, and turn away from me
the subterfuge of the schemers.

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[1] Q 26:84.

واقبض عني أيدي الظالمين، واجمع بيني وبين السادة الميامين في أعلا عليين

Keep the hands of the unjust away from me, and gather me with
the blessed leaders in the highest assemblies of paradise

مع الذين أنعمت عليهم من النبيين، والصديقين والشهداء،
والصالحين، برحمتك يا أرحم الراحمين.

with those whom You have favoured from the Prophets,
the truthful, the martyrs [witnesses to the truth] and the
righteous, by Your mercy. O most-Merciful.

اللهم إني أقسم عليك بنبيك المعصوم

O God! Indeed, I beseech You by Your infallible Prophet

وبحكمك المحتوم، ونهيك المكتوم

By your obligatory commandments, and by your concealed restraints

وبهذا القبر الملموم، الموسد في كنفه الإمام المعصوم، المقتول المظلوم،

And by this grave, where people assemble from everywhere,
in which lies an infallible Imam, the slain, the oppressed

أن تكشف ما بي من الغموم، وتصرف عني شر القدر المحتوم،
وتجيرني من النار ذات السموم.

To dispel all my sorrows, to divert from me the evil
of what has been preordained for me, and to keep
me away from the hellfire of intense heat.

اللهم جللني بنعمتك، ورضني بقسمك

O God! Honour me with Your bounties, and make me content with
Your apportionment.

وتغمدني بجودك وكرمك، وباعدني من مكرك ونقمتك

Cover me with Your generosity and kindness, and distance me
from Your stratagem and wrath.

اللّهمّ اعصمني من الزلل، وسدّدني في القول والعمل

O God! Protect me from mistakes, and keep me
focused in speech and action.

وافسح لي في مدّة الأجل، وأعفني من الأوجاع والعلل

Extend my lifespan, and relieve me from pain and sickness.

وبلّغني بموالي وبفضلك أفضل الأمل

And let me achieve, through my masters and through Your grace, the
best of ambitions.

اللّهمّ صلّ على محمّد وآل محمّد، واقبل توبتي

O God! Bless Muhammad and the progeny of
Muhammad, and accept my repentance.

وارحم عبرتي، وأقلني عثرتي، ونفّس كربتي،

Have mercy on my tears, reduce my faults, and relieve my sorrow.

واغفر لي خطيئتي، وأصلح لي في ذرّيّتي،

Forgive me my lapses, and make my children righteous for me.

اللّهمّ لا تدع لي في هذا المشهد المعظّم والمحلّ المكرّم، ذنباً إلّا غفرته،

O God! Do not leave me at this exalted place of
martyrdom and place of honour
with any sin except that You forgive it,

ولا عيباً إلّا سترته، ولا غمّاً إلّا كشفته

Nor any flaw except that You conceal it, nor any
sorrow except that You dispel it.

ولا رزقاً إلّا بسطته، ولا جاهاً إلّا عمّرته، ولا فساداً إلّا أصلحته

Nor any sustenance [written for me] except that You advance it, nor any merit except that You allow it to flourish; nor any corruption except that You correct it,

ولا أملاً إلا بلّغته، ولا دعاءً إلا أجبته، ولا مضيقاً إلا فرّجته

Nor any aspiration except that You actualize it, nor any prayer except that You answer it, nor any stress except that You relieve it,

ولا شملاً إلا جمعته، ولا أمراً إلا أتممته، ولا مالاً إلا كثّرته

Nor any scattered [friends] except that You reunite them, nor any pending matter except that You complete it, nor any wealth except that You increase it,

ولا خلقاً إلا حسّنته، ولا إنفاقاً إلا أخلفته، ولا حالاً إلا عمّرته

Nor any character except that You beautify it, nor any charity except that You recompense for it, nor any condition except that You improve it,

ولا حسوداً إلا قمعته، ولا عدوّاً إلا أرديته، ولا شرّاً إلا كفيته

Nor any jealous one except that You restrain him, nor any enemy except that You destroy him, nor any evil except that You suffice me against it.

ولا مرضاً إلا شفيته، ولا بعيداً إلا أدنيته، ولا شعثاً إلا لممته، ولا سؤالاً إلا أعطيته

Nor any sickness except that You cure it, nor anything remote except that You make it [more easily] accessible, nor any dispersed ones except that You assemble them, nor any need except that You grant it.

اللّهمّ إنّي أسألك خير العاجلة وثواب الآجلة

O God! I ask you for the best of this world and the reward of the hereafter.

اللّهمّ أغنني بحلالك عن الحرام، وبفضلك عن جميع الأنام

O God! Suffice me through what You have made lawful (*ḥalāl*),
from that which is forbidden (*ḥarām*), by Your grace, that
encompasses all creatures.

اللهم إني أسألك علما نافعا، وقلبا خاشعا، ويقينا شافيا

O God! Grant me beneficial knowledge, a devout
heart, unassailable certitude,

وعملا زاكيا، وصبرا جميلا، وأجرا جزيلا

Sincere action, worthy perseverance, and a goodly recompense.

اللهم ارزقني شكر نعمتك علي، وزد في إحسانك وكرمك إلي

O God! Inspire me to be grateful for Your bounties on me,
and increase Your favour and kindness on me

واجعل قولي في الناس مسموعا، وعملي عندك مرفوعا

Let my words be effective amongst the people, and
my deeds be worthy in Your eyes

وأثري في الخيرات متبوعا، وعدوي مقموعا

Let my good actions be perpetual, and my enemy be restrained.

اللهم صل على محمد وآل محمد الأخيار، في آناء الليل وأطراف النهار

O God! Bless Muhammad and the progeny of
Muhammad – the best of mankind –
in the course of the night and the ends of the day.

واكفني شر الأشرار، وطهرني من الذنوب والأوزار

Suffice me against the evil of the wicked, and
purify me from sins and burdens.

وأجرني من النار، وأدخلني دار القرار

Keep me away from the hellfire, and cause me to
enter the everlasting abode [paradise].

واغفر لي ولجميع إخواني فيك وأخواتي المؤمنين والمؤمنات، برحمتك يا أرحم الراحمين

Forgive me and my brothers and sisters among the believers,
by Your mercy, O most Merciful.

لا إله إلا الله الحليم الكريم

There is no deity but God, the Forbearing, the Kind.

لا إله إلا الله العلي العظيم

There is no deity but God, the High, the Great.

لا إله إلا الله رب السماوات السبع والأرضين السبع، وما فيهن وما بينهن

There is no deity but God, the Lord of the seven heavens and the seven
earths, [as well as] what is in them, and what is between them.

خلافاً لأعدائه، وتكذيباً لمن عدل به، وإقراراً لربوبيته، وخشوعاً لعزته

[Thus] I stand against His enemies, disavowing anyone who
has turned away from Him, acknowledging His Lordship, and
humbled before His might.

الأول بغير أول، والآخر بغير آخر

He is the First without a beginning, and the Last without any end.

الظاهر على كل شيء بقدرته، الباطن دون كل شيء بعلمه ولطفه

He dominates everything by His Power, and is
aware of the hidden aspects
of everything through His Knowledge and Subtleness.

لا تقف العقول على كنه عظمته، ولا تدرك الأوهام حقيقة ماهيته

Intellects cannot grasp the nature of His Greatness,
and thoughts cannot reach the reality of His Essence.

ولا تتصور الأنفس معاني كيفيته

Souls cannot imagine the meanings of His Nature.

خبيراً على الضمائر، عارفاً بالسرائر

He is informed about the innermost thoughts, and aware of the secrets.

يعلم خائنة الأعين وما تخفي الصدور

He knows the stealthy looks, and what the hearts conceal.[1]

اللهم إني أشهدك على تصديق رسولك صلى الله عليه وآله، وإيماني به، وعلمي بمنزلته

O God! I make You a witness that I have accepted Your Messenger (s), brought faith in him, and recognized his station.

وإني أشهد أنه النبي الذي نطقت الحكمة بفضله

I testify that he is a Prophet through whose merits, wisdom found a voice.

وبشرت الأنبياء به، ودعت إلى الإقرار بما جاء به

[Past] prophets had announced the good news of his coming, calling people to accept the message that he had brought.

وحثت على تصديقه بقوله تعالى

And instructed their communities to acknowledge him, just as God has mentioned:

﴿الذي يجدونه مكتوباً عندهم في التوراة والإنجيل يأمرهم بالمعروف وينهاهم عن المنكر ويحل لهم الطيبات ويحرم عليهم الخبائث ويضع عنهم إصرهم والأغلال التي كانت عليهم﴾

[The unlettered Prophet] whom they find mentioned before them in the Tawrah and the Injil, enjoining them to goodness, forbidding them from evil, and making lawful that which is good and unlawful that which is indecent. He relieves them of their burden and the shackles which were on them.[2]

فصل على محمد رسولك إلى الثقلين، وسيد الأنبياء المصطفين

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[1] Q 40:19.

[2] Q 7:157.

So bless Muḥammad, Your Messenger to the two
great creations (man and jinn),
and the Leader of those whom You selected to be Prophets.

وَعَلَى أَخِيهِ وَابْنِ عَمِّهِ اللَّذَيْنِ لَمْ يُشْرِكَا بِكَ طَرْفَةَ عَيْنٍ أَبَداً

And (bless) his brother and cousin. They both
never worshipped any deity besides You,
not for even a moment.

وَعَلَى فَاطِمَةَ الزَّهْرَاءِ سَيِّدَةِ نِسَاءِ الْعَالَمِينَ

And [bless] Fāṭimah, the radiant, the foremost of
the women of the worlds.

وَعَلَى سَيِّدَيْ شَبَابِ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ الْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ

And [bless] the two chiefs of the youth of
paradise, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn.

صَلَاةً دَائِمَةَ الدَّوَامِ، عَدَدَ قَطْرِ الرِّهَامِ، وَزِنَةَ الْجِبَالِ وَالْآكَامِ

A perpetual and abiding blessing, equal to the
number of the drops of rain,
and the weight of all the mountains and hills

مَا أَوْرَقَ السَّلَامُ، وَاخْتَلَفَ الضِّيَاءُ وَالظَّلَامُ

As long as the blessings keep bearing fruit, and the day and night
continue to alternate.

وَعَلَى آلِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ، الْأَئِمَّةِ الْمُهْتَدِينَ، الذَّائِدِينَ عَنِ الدِّينِ

And [bless] his purified progeny, the [divinely] guided Imams, the
defenders of the religion

عَلِيٍّ وَمُحَمَّدٍ، وَجَعْفَرٍ، وَمُوسَى، وَعَلِيٍّ، وَمُحَمَّدٍ، وَعَلِيٍّ، وَالْحَسَنِ، وَالْحُجَّةِ

'Alī, Muḥammad, Ja'far, Mūsā, 'Alī, Muḥammad, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, and the
Ḥujjah [al-Mahdī]

القوّام بالقسط، وسلالة السبط

who stood firm on justice, and were the
descendants of the grandson [of the Prophet].

اللهم إني أسألك بحق هذا الإمام

O God! I ask you by the sake of this Imam

فرجاً قريباً، وصبراً جميلاً، ونصراً عزيزاً، وغنى عن الخلق

For early relief, worthy perseverance, a mighty victory,
independence from reliance on people

وثباتاً في الهدى، والتوفيق لما تحبّ وترضى،

Sureness in guidance, inspiration to do what You
like and are pleased with,

ورزقاً واسعاً، حلالاً، طيّباً، مريئاً، داراً، سائغاً، فاضلاً، مفضلاً

And a sustenance that is expansive, lawful, good, wholesome,
fruitful, agreeable, abundant, and pleasant,

صبّاً صبّاً، من غير كدٍّ ولا نكدٍ، ولا منّةٍ من أحدٍ

Pouring forth without toil, exertion, or obligation to anyone

وعافيةً من كلّ بلاءٍ وسقمٍ ومرضٍ، والشّكر على العافية والنّعماء

[And by his sake] I ask You for well-being from
every trial, sickness, and ailment,
and to keep me grateful for my well-being and bounties.

وإذا جاء الموت فاقبضنا على أحسن ما يكون لك طاعةً، على ما أمرتنا محافظين

[And by his sake] I ask that when death comes, we
should be taken while in
the best state of obedience to You, observing Your commandments

حتى تؤدّينا إلى جنات النّعيم، برحمتك يا أرحم الراحمين

So that You may direct us into the Gardens of
Blessings, by Your mercy, O most Merciful.

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ

O God! Bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad.

وَأَوْحِشْنِي مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَآنِسْنِي بِالْآخِرَةِ

Detach me from this world, and make me familiar with the hereafter,

فَإِنَّهُ لَا يُوحِشُ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا إِلَّا خَوْفُكَ، وَلَا يُؤْنِسُ بِالْآخِرَةِ إِلَّا رَجَاؤُكَ

For nothing detaches one from this world except fear of You,
and nothing makes one yearn for the hereafter except hope in You.

اللَّهُمَّ لَكَ الْحُجَّةُ لَا عَلَيْكَ، وَإِلَيْكَ الْمُشْتَكَى لَا مِنْكَ

O God! The argument is for You, not against You,
and the complaint is to You, not about You.

فَصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ، وَأَعِنِّي عَلَى نَفْسِي الظَّالِمَةِ الْعَاصِيَةِ

So bless Muhammad and his progeny, and help me
against my unjust and rebellious soul

وَشَهْوَتِي الْغَالِبَةِ، وَاخْتِمْ لِي بِالْعَفْوِ وَالْعَافِيَةِ

And my overpowering desires. Make my end one
of forgiveness and well-being.

اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّ اسْتِغْفَارِي إِيَّاكَ وَأَنَا مُصِرٌّ عَلَى مَا نَهَيْتَ قِلَّةُ حَيَاءٍ

O God! I seek your forgiveness, while I persist in
doing what You have forbidden
because of my lack of shame,

وَتَرْكِيَ الِاسْتِغْفَارَ مَعَ عِلْمِي بِسَعَةِ حِلْمِكَ تَضْيِيعٌ لِحَقِّ الرَّجَاءِ

But if I abandon seeking forgiveness, while I know
the great extent of Your tolerance,

then I will have wasted the right to hope.

اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّ ذُنُوبِي تُؤْيِسُنِي أَنْ أَرْجُوَكَ، وَإِنَّ عِلْمِي بِسَعَةِ رَحْمَتِكَ يُؤْمِنُنِي أَنْ أَخْشَاكَ

O God! My sins make me hesitant to seek from You, but my knowledge
of the vastness of Your mercy prevents me from fearing You.

فَصَلِّ عَلَىٰ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ

So, bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad.

وَصَدِّقْ رَجَائِي لَكَ، وَكَذِّبْ خَوْفِي مِنْكَ

Justify my hope in You, and belie my dread of You,

وَكُنْ لِي عِنْدَ أَحْسَنِ ظَنِّي بِكَ يَا أَكْرَمَ الْأَكْرَمِينَ

And deal me with me according to the best opinion I hold about You,
O most Benevolent of the benevolent.

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَىٰ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ، وَأَيِّدْنِي بِالْعِصْمَةِ

O God! Bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad,
and support me with a secure protection [from sin].

وَأَنْطِقْ لِسَانِي بِالْحِكْمَةِ، وَاجْعَلْنِي مِمَّنْ يَنْدَمُ عَلَىٰ مَا ضَيَّعَهُ فِي أَمْسِهِ

Make my tongue speak with wisdom, and make me of those
who regret the lost opportunities of the past.

وَلَا يَغْبِنُ حَظَّهُ فِي يَوْمِهِ، وَلَا يَهُمُّ لِرِزْقِ غَدِهِ

And who does not consider his portion of today as unfair,
and who is not troubled about his sustenance of tomorrow.

اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّ الْغَنِيَّ مَنِ اسْتَغْنَىٰ بِكَ وَافْتَقَرَ إِلَيْكَ، وَالْفَقِيرَ مَنِ اسْتَغْنَىٰ بِخَلْقِكَ عَنْكَ

O God! Verily, the one who only relies on You, and
begs from You, is truly wealthy;
and the one who relies on Your creation, instead of You, is indeed poor.

فَصَلِّ عَلَىٰ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ

So, bless Muḥammad and the progeny of Muḥammad.

وأغنني عن خلقك بك، واجعلني ممن لا يبسط كفاً إلا إليك.

Free me, by Yourself, from needing Your creation, and make me
one who never extends his hand except before You.

اللهم إن الشقي من قنط وأمامه التوبة ووراءه الرحمة

O God! Indeed, wretched is the one who feels hopeless
when repentance stands before him, and mercy stands behind.

وإن كنت ضعيف العمل فإني في رحمتك قوي الأمل، فهب لي ضعف عملي لقوة أملي

Although I have been weak in action, I am strong
in my hope in Your mercy,
so overlook the weakness in my action because of
the strength of my hope.

اللهم إن كنت تعلم أن في عبادك من هو أقسى قلباً مني وأعظم مني ذنباً

O God! Even if You know that there is none more
hard-hearted amongst
Your servants than me, and more sinful,

فإني أعلم أنه لا مولى أعظم منك طولاً، وأوسع رحمة وعفواً

I know that there is no Master more tolerant than You, more Merciful
and Forgiving.

فيا من هو أوحد في رحمته، اغفر لمن ليس بأوحد في خطيئته

So, O He who is unmatched in His Mercy, forgive the one
who is not unmatched in his lapses.

اللهم إنك أمرتنا فعصينا، ونهيت فما انتهينا

O God! You commanded us, but we disobeyed; and
You forbade us, but we did not refrain.

وذكرت فتناسينا، وبصرت فتعامينا، وحذرت فتعدينا

You reminded us, but we forgot; You enlightened
us, but we remained blind;
and you set boundaries for us, but we transgressed.

وما كان ذلك جزاء إحسانك إلينا، وأنت أعلم بما أعلنا وأخفينا

This was not the correct repayment for Your favour unto us,
and You know better what we have disclosed, and
what we have concealed.

وأخبر بما نأتي وما أتينا

And You are better informed about what we will
do, and what we have done.

فصل على محمد وآل محمد

So, bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad

ولا تؤاخذنا بما أخطأنا ونسينا

And do not take us to task for our mistakes and our neglect.

وهب لنا حقوقك لدينا، وأتم إحسانك إلينا، وأسبل رحمتك علينا

Forgive us Your rights that are due from us,
complete Your favours on us,
and shower Your mercy over us.

اللهم إنا نتوسل إليك بهذا الصديق الإمام

O God! We seek Your proximity through this truthful man, [this] Imam.

ونسألك بالحق الذي جعلته له ولجده رسولك

We ask You by the right you accorded to him and
to his grandfather, Your Messenger

ولأبويه علي وفاطمة أهل بيت الرحمة

And to his parents, 'Ali and Fatimah, the household of mercy

إدرار الرزق الذي به قوام حياتنا، وصلاح أحوال عيالنا

[We ask You] For the flow of sustenance that is necessary for our lives,
and for the wellbeing of our families.

فأنت الكريم الذي تعطي من سعة، وتمنع من قدرة

Indeed, You are the all-Kind, Who grants from His vast capacity,
and forbids [when He wants] due to His power.

ونحن نسألك من الرزق ما يكون صلاحاً للدنيا وبلاغاً للآخرة

We ask You from Your sustenance that which will
bring about wellbeing
in [the life of] this world, and success in the hereafter.

اللهم صل على محمد وآل محمد

O God! Bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muḥammad.

واغفر لنا ولوالدينا، ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات والمسلمين
والمسلمات الأحياء منهم والأموات

And forgive us and our parents, and all the believing men and women,
and the Muslim men and women, those who are
alive and those who have died.

وآتنا في الدنيا حسنة وفي الآخرة حسنة وقنا عذاب النار

And give us good in this world and good in the hereafter, and save us from the punishment of hellfire.[1]

Then, complete your prayer, by performing the *rukū'*, *sujūd*, *tashahhud* and *salām*. Thereafter, recite the *tasbīḥāt* of Fāṭimah (a), place your cheek on the ground, and recite forty times, "Glory be to God! Praise and gratitude is for God! There is no deity but God! God is greater!"[2]

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[1] Q 2:201.

[2] سبحان الله والحمد لله ولا إله إلا الله والله أكبر - أربعين مرة

Then beseech God for protection, salvation, forgiveness, inspiration to perform good acts, and His acceptance of the deeds that you have performed to achieve His proximity and in seeking His pleasure.

Then stand next to the head of the Imam (a) and recite two units of prayers, as described earlier.

Then embrace the shrine, kiss it, and say, "May God increase your honour, and the peace, mercy, and blessings of God be on you."[1]

Finally, pray for yourself, for your parents, and for whomever else you wish.[2]

5/2: The second salutation (*ziyārah*), as reported in *al-Iqbāl*[3]

861. *al-Iqbāl*, quoting Abū al-Manṣūr ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn al-Nu'mān al-Baghdādī: From the sacred personage in the year 252/866.[4] When my father died, this text was sent to me by Muḥammad ibn Ghālib al-Iṣfahānī. I was a young man at the time, and had written to him for permission to go for the visitation of my master Abū 'Abd

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[1] زاد الله في شرفك، والسلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته.

[2] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 496, no. 9; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 317, no. 8.

[3] After mentioning this *ziyārah*, 'Allāmah Majlisī comments, "Al-Mufīd and Ibn Ṭāwūs have included this *ziyārah* in their works, without citing its chain of transmission, for recitation on the day of Ashura. The author of *al-Mazār al-Kabīr* wrote: 'The Salutation to the Martyrs on the day of Ashura: Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ja'farī, may God perpetually honour him, reported to me from... and also, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Ayyāsh reported to me from...' and then reported this same *ziyārah*; however, we have included it under the heading of general salutations, because the report does not indicate that it should be recited at any specific time [like Ashura]." *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 274.

[4] 'Allāmah Majlisī comments, "There is a problem with the date of this report [and signed script], because it is dated four years before the birth of Imam al-Mahdī (atf). Therefore, the date may be 262/876 [and not 252/866]. It is also possible that it was issued by Imam al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (a)." *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 274.

However, it should be noted that the date mentioned in the report, 252/866 is concurrent with the period of *imāmah* of Imam al-Hādī (a) – 220/835 to 254/868. Therefore, it does not seem that the assertion of 'Allāmah Majlisī is correct; rather, it is likely that it was issued by Imam al-Hādī (a).

Allāh al-Ḥusayn (a) and the martyrs of Karbala, may God be pleased with them.

The reply to my letter said the following, "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. When you wish to recite the salutation to the martyrs of Karbala, may God be pleased with them all, stand next to the feet of al-Ḥusayn (a), which is where his son, 'Alī al-Akbar (a), is buried. Then, face the qibla, which is in the direction of the grave of the martyrs. Begin by addressing 'Alī al-Akbar (a), pointing at his grave, and say:

السَّلامُ عَلَيْكَ يا أَوَّلَ قَتِيلٍ مِنْ نَسْلِ خَيْرِ سَلِيلٍ مِنْ سُلالَةِ إِبْراهِيمَ الْخَلِيلِ

1. Peace be on you, O first martyr from the offspring of the
best descendant in the lineage of Ibrāhīm, the friend of God.

صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْكَ وَعَلى أَبِيكَ، إِذْ قالَ فِيكَ: قَتَلَ اللهُ قَوْماً قَتَلُوكَ، يا بُنَيَّ ما أَجْرَأَهُمْ عَلَى
الرَّحْمٰنِ وَعَلَى انْتِهاكِ حُرْمَةِ الرَّسُولِ، عَلَى الدُّنْيا بَعْدَكَ الْعَفاءُ.

May God bless you, and your father, who cried over you,
"May God kill the people who killed you, O my dear son. How audaciously they have defied the Merciful Lord, and violated the sacred trust of the Messenger.
After you, the world is nothing but ashes!"

كَأَنِّي بِكَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ ماثِلاً، وَلِلْكافِرِينَ قائِلاً:

أَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَلِيّ نَحْنُ وَبَيْتِ اللهِ أَوْلى بِالنَّبِيّ

أَطْعَنُكُمْ بِالرُّمْحِ حَتّى يَنْثَنِي أَضْرِبُكُمْ بِالسَّيْفِ أَحْمِي عَنْ أَبِي

ضَرْبَ غُلامٍ هاشِمِيٍّ عَرَبِيٍّ وَاللهِ لا يَحْكُمُ فِينا ابْنُ الدَّعِي

It is as if I can see you there, challenging the disbelievers, saying,
"I am 'Alī, the son of Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī
By the House of God, I swear we are closer to the Prophet.
I shall attack you with my spear until it bends [and snaps].
I shall strike with my sword in defence of my father

The strike of a knight who is a Hāshimī, an Arab.
By God, the son of the illegitimate one [Ibn Ziyād]
shall not dominate over us."

حتى قضيت نحبك ولقيت ربك، أشهد أنك أولى بالله وبرسوله، وأنك ابن رسوله،

وحجته وأمينه، وابن حجته وأمينه.

[You fought] until your life came to an end, and you met Your Lord.
I testify that you are indeed closer to God, and His Messenger,
and that you are a true son of God's Messenger.
You are His Proof, and Trustee, the son of His Proof and Trustee.

حكم الله على قاتلك مرة بن منقذ بن النعمان العبدي، لعنه الله وأخزاه، ومن شركه في
قتلك، وكانوا عليك ظهيراً، أصلاهم الله جهنم وساءت مصيراً.

God shall judge against your killer, Murrah ibn
Munqidh ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī –
may God curse and humiliate him – and his accomplices in
your killing, who flocked around you. May God consign them to
hellfire, and a terrible abode.

وجعلنا الله من ملاقيك ومرافقيك، ومرافقي جدك، وأبيك، وعمك،
وأخيك، وأمك المظلومة.

May God make us of those who will meet you and be in your company,
and in the company of your grandfather, father, uncle, brother, and
your oppressed mother.

وأبرأ إلى الله من أعدائك أولي الجحود، والسلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته.

I disassociate myself before God from your enemies, [who were] men
who turned apostate.
May the peace, mercy, and blessings of God be on you.

السلام على عبد الله بن الحسين الطفل الرضيع،

2. Peace be on 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, the suckling baby

الرمي الصريع، المتشحط دماً، المصعد دمه في السماء، المذبوح بالسهم في حجر أبيه.

Who was knocked to the ground by an arrow, who
lay quivering soaked in blood,
whose blood was thrown to the skies, and who was slaughtered
by an arrow in the arms of his father.

لعن الله راميه حرملة بن كاهل الأسدي وذويه.

May God curse the archer who killed him,
Harmalah ibn Kāhil al-Asadī, and his companions.

السلام على عبد الله ابن أمير المؤمنين، مبلى البلاء، والمنادي بالولاء في عرصة كربلاء، المضروب مقبلاً ومدبراً.

3. Peace be on ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, who was tested by tribulation, who called to the authority [of the Ahl al-Bayt] on the battlefield of Karbala, and who was struck by the enemy from the front and back.

لعن الله قاتله هاني بن ثبيت الحضرمي.

May God curse his killer, Hānī' ibn Thubayt al-Hadramī.

السلام على أبي الفضل العباس ابن أمير المؤمنين، المواسي أخاه بنفسه،

4. Peace be on Abū al-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās, the son of the Commander of the Faithful,

who gave his life in the defence of his brother,

الآخذ لغده من أمسه، الفادي له، الواقي، الساعي إليه بمائه، المقطوعة يداه.

who took provisions for the hereafter from this world, who sacrificed himself for his brother, who guarded him, strove to bring water for him, and whose two arms were severed.

لعن الله قاتليه يزيد بن الرقاد الحيتي وحكيم بن الطفيل الطائي.

May God curse the two who killed him, Yazīd ibn al-Ruqād al-Hayti
and Hakīm ibn al-Ṭufayl al-Ṭā'ī.

السّلامُ على جعفرِ ابنِ أميرِ المؤمنين، الصّابرِ بنفسِه محتسباً، والنّائي عن الأوطانِ مغترباً،

5. Peace be on Ja'far, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, who was patient and kept himself steadfast, a traveller far from his home.

المستسلمِ للقتال، المستقدمِ للنّزال، المكثورِ بالرّجال،

He submitted to the call to fight, was in the
vanguard in the field of battle,
but was outnumbered by the enemy.

لعنَ اللهُ قاتلَه هانئَ بنَ ثُبيتٍ الحضرميّ.

May God curse his killer, Hāni' ibn Thubayt al-Hadrami.

السّلامُ على عثمانَ ابنِ أميرِ المؤمنين، سميّ عثمانَ بنِ مظعون،

6. Peace be on 'Uthman, the son of the Commander of the Faithful,
who was named after 'Uthmān ibn Maz'ūn.

لعنَ اللهُ راميَه بالسّهمِ خوليَّ بنَ يزيدَ الأصبحيَّ الإياديَّ الدّارميّ.

May God curse the archer who killed him,
Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Asbahi al-Iyādī al-Dārimī.

السّلامُ على محمّدٍ ابنِ أميرِ المؤمنين، قتيلِ الإياديّ الدّارميّ،

7. Peace be on Muḥammad, the son of the Commander of the Faithful,
who was killed by al-Iyādī al-Dārimī.

لعنَه اللهُ وضاعفَ عليه العذابَ الأليم،

May God curse his killer, and inflict painful
punishment on him two-fold.

وصلّى اللهُ عليكَ يا محمّدُ وعلى أهلِ بيتِكَ الصّابرين.

May God bless you, O Muḥammad, and your patient household.

السّلامُ على أبي بكرِ بنِ الحسنِ بنِ عليٍّ الزّكيّ الوليّ، المرميّ بالسّهمِ الرّديّ،

8. Peace be on Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, the righteous,
the supporter, who was struck by a mortal arrow.

لَعَنَ اللهُ قاتِلَهُ عَبْدَ اللهِ بْنَ عُقْبَةَ الْغَنَوِيَّ،

May God curse his killer, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī.

السَّلامُ عَلى عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ الزَّكِيِّ،

9. Peace be on ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, the righteous.

لَعَنَ اللهُ قاتِلَهُ وَرامِيَهُ حَرْمَلَةَ بْنَ كاهِلٍ الْأَسَدِيَّ،

May God curse his killer, Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil
al-Asadī, who shot him with an arrow.

السَّلامُ عَلَى الْقاسِمِ بْنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ، الْمَضْرُوبِ عَلى هامَتِهِ، الْمَسْلُوبِ لامَتُهُ،

10. Peace be on al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, who was mortally
struck on his head, and whose armour was plundered.

حِينَ نادَى الْحُسَيْنَ عَمَّهُ، فَجَلى عَلَيْهِ عَمُّهُ كَالصَّقْرِ، وَهُوَ يَفْحَصُ بِرِجْلَيْهِ التُّرابَ،

When he called out to al-Ḥusayn for help, his
uncle flew to his side like an eagle,
but found him convulsed, with his legs writhing on the sand.

وَالْحُسَيْنُ يَقُولُ: «بُعْداً لِقَوْمٍ قَتَلُوكَ! وَمَنْ خَصْمُهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيامَةِ جَدُّكَ وَأَبُوكَ»،

Al-Ḥusayn cried, "Away with the people who killed you! On the Day of
Judgement, their accusers shall be your grandfather, and your father."

ثُمَّ قالَ: «عَزَّ وَاللهِ عَلى عَمِّكَ أَنْ تَدْعُوَهُ فَلا يُجيبَكَ، أَوْ أَنْ يُجيبَكَ
وَأَنْتَ قَتيلٌ جَديلٌ فَلا يَنْفَعَكَ،

هذا وَاللهِ يَوْمٌ كَثُرَ واتِرُهُ وَقَلَّ ناصِرُهُ»،

Then, he said, "By God, it is grievous for your uncle
that you called him, but he was unable to respond
[in time]; or that he responded to you, but you

[already] lay on the ground, killed, and he was not
of use to you.
By God, this day is one where those who have gathered to kill him are
many, and those who would aid him are few."

حشرني الله معكما يوم حشركما، وبوّأني مبوّأكما،

May God raise me with the two of you on the Day that you are gathered
together, and grant me a place me in your vicinity

ولعن الله قاتلك عمر بن سعد بن عروة بن نفيل الأزدي، وأصلاه جحيما، وأعدّ له عذابا أليما.

And may God curse your killer, 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn
'Urwah ibn Nufayl al-Azdi,
consign him to the hellfire, and punish him with a
painful chastisement.

السلام على عون بن عبد الله بن جعفر الطيّار في الجنان،

11. Peace be on 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, the one who flies in the heavens

حليف الإيمان، ومنازل الأقران، الناصح للرحمن، التالي المثاني والقرآن،

who was unified with faith, who was the companion of great peers,
who advised for the sake of the Merciful Lord,
and who was a reciter of the chapters and verses of the Qur'ān.

لعن الله قاتله عبد الله بن قطبة النبهاني.

May God curse his killer, 'Abd Allāh ibn Quṭbah al-Nabhāni.

السلام على محمد بن عبد الله بن جعفر، الشاهد مكان أبيه، والتالي لأخيه، وواقيه ببدنه،

12. Peace be on Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, who was martyred representing his father, who followed the example of his brother, and protected him with his life.

لعن الله قاتله عامر بن نهشل التميمي.

May God curse his killer, 'Āmir ibn Nahshal al-Tamīmī.

السلام على جعفر بن عقيل، لعن الله قاتله وراميه بشر بن خوط الهمداني.

13. Peace be on Ja'far ibn 'Aqīl. May God curse the one who shot and killed him, Bishr ibn Khawṭ al-Hamdānī.

السلام على عبد الرحمن بن عقيل، لعن الله قاتله وراميه عمر بن خالد بن أسد الجهني.

14. Peace be on 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Aqīl. May God curse the one who shot and killed him, 'Umar ibn Khālid ibn Asad al-Juhanī.

السلام على القتيل ابن القتيل، عبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل،

15. Peace be on the martyr, son of a martyr, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl.

ولعن الله قاتله عامر بن صعصعة، وقيل: أسد بن مالك.

May God curse his killer, 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah [and it has also been reported, Asad ibn Mālik].

السلام على عبيد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل، ولعن الله قاتله وراميه عمرو بن صبيح الصيداوي.

16. Peace be on 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqīl. And may God curse the one who shot and killed him, 'Amr ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Ṣaydāwī.

السلام على محمد بن أبي سعيد بن عقيل، ولعن الله قاتله لقيط بن ناشر الجهني.

17. Peace be on Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn 'Aqīl, and may God curse his killer, Laqīṭ ibn Nāshir al-Juhanī.

السلام على سليمان مولى الحسين بن أمير المؤمنين، ولعن الله قاتله سليمان بن عوف الحضرمي.

18. Peace be on Sulaymān, a bondsman of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, and may God curse his killer, Sulaymān ibn 'Awf al-Ḥaḍramī.

السلام على قارب مولى الحسين بن علي.

19. Peace be on Qārib, a bondsman of al-Husayn ibn 'Ali.

السلام على منجح مولى الحسين بن علي،

20. Peace be on Munjih, a bondsman of al-Husayn ibn 'Ali.

السلام على مسلم بن عوسجة الأسدي، القائل للحسين وقد أذن له في الانصراف:

21. Peace be on Muslim ibn 'Awsajah al-Asadi, who said to al-Husayn when he had allowed him to depart [from Karbala]:

أنحن نخلي عنك وبم نعتذر عند الله من أداء حقك؟ لا والله حتى أكسر في صدورهم رمحي هذا،

وأضربهم بسيفي ما ثبت قائمه في يدي، ولا أفارقك، ولو لم يكن معي سلاح أقاتلهم به لقذفتهم بالحجارة،

ولم أفارقك حتى أموت معك.

"Should we abandon you? And what excuse will we present to God about falling short in fulfilling your right over us?
No, by God! I will not leave you until I pierce their chests with this spear of mine, and smite them with my sword while it remains in my hand. And when I have no other weapon left to fight them with, I shall hurl stones at them.
I will never leave you until I am killed with you."

وكنت أول من شرى نفسه، وأول شهيد شهد لله وقضى نحبه، ففزت ورب الكعبة، شكر الله استقدامك ومواساتك إمامك، إذ مشى إليك وأنت صريع، فقال:

You were the first to offer your life, and the first martyr amongst the martyrs of God to die. By the Lord of the Ka'bah, you triumphed in life. May God show you His gratitude [reward you] for your actions and fidelity to your Imam, who, when he came to your side as you lay mortally wounded, said,

رحمك الله يا مسلم بن عوسجة، وقرأ[1]: «فمنهم من قضى نحبه و منهم من ينتظر و ما بدلوا تبديلا».

"May God have mercy on you, O Muslim ibn 'Awsajah!" and then recited, "*Among them is the one who has fulfilled his vow [to the death], and among them is the one who waits [his turn], and they have not altered [in their commitment] at all.*"

لعن الله المشتركين في قتلك: عبد الله الضبابي، وعبد الله بن خشكارة البجلي.

May God's curse be on the two men who jointly killed you: 'Abd Allāh al-Ḍibābī and 'Abd Allāh ibn Khushkārah al-Bajalī.

السلام على سعد بن عبد الله الحنفي، القائل للحسين وقد أذن له في الانصراف:

22. Peace be on Sa'd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī, who said to al-Ḥusayn when he had permitted him to leave [Karbala],

«لا والله لا نخليك حتى يعلم الله أنا قد حفظنا غيبة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فيك،

"By God! We will never abandon you until God sees that through you, we honoured the memory of the Messenger (s) of God.

والله لو أعلم أني أقتل ثم أحيى ثم أحرق ثم أذرى، ويفعل بي ذلك سبعين مرة ما فارقتك، حتى ألقى حمامي دونك،

By God! If I knew that I would be killed, then brought back to life, then burnt alive, then my ashes scattered in the wind – and that this would happen to me seventy times, even then I would not leave you until I gave my life before you!

وكيف لا أفعل ذلك وإنما هي موتة أو قتلة واحدة، ثم هي بعدها الكرامة التي لا انقضاء لها أبدا».

So why then should I not do the same, when I know that I will be killed but once, after which lies eternal and abiding honour?"

فقد لقيت حمامك، وواسيت إمامك، ولقيت من الله الكرامة في دار المقامة.

---

[1] Q 33:23

So you faced death and protected your Imam,
and were honoured by God in the eternal abode.

حشرنا الله معكم في المستشهدين، ورزقنا مرافقتكم في أعلى عليين.

May God raise us with you amongst the martyrs, and grant us
your company in the highest realms of Paradise.

السلام على بشر بن عمر الحضرمي، شكر الله لك قولك للحسين وقد أذن
لك في الانصراف:

23. Peace be on Bishr [Bashir] ibn 'Umar al-Hadrami. May God
reward you
for your words to al-Husayn when he allowed you to depart [Karbala].

«أكلتني إذن السباع حياً إن فارقتك، وأسأل عنك الركبان،

"May the beasts devour me alive, if I ever leave your side,
and then enquire about your fate from travellers.

وأخذلك مع قلة الأعوان، لا يكون هذا أبداً».

And I should abandon you while you have so few
companions? This will never happen!"

السلام على يزيد بن حصين الهمداني المشرقي القاري المجدل بالمشرفي.

24. Peace be on Yazid ibn Husayn al-Hamdani al-Mishraqi,
the Qur'an reciter, killed by a Syrian sword.

السلام على عمر بن أبي كعب الأنصاري.

25. Peace be on 'Umar ibn Abi Ka'b al-Ansari.

السلام على نعيم بن عجلان الأنصاري.

26. Peace be on Nu'im ibn 'Ajlan al-Ansari.

السلام على زهير بن القين البجلي القائل للحسين وقد أذن له في الانصراف:

27. Peace be on Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bajali, who said to al-Husayn

when he had permitted him to leave [Karbala].

«لا والله لا يكون ذلك أبداً، أأترك ابن رسول الله أسيراً في يد الأعداء،
وأنجو؟ لا أراني الله ذلك اليوم».

"That can never happen, by God! Should I leave the son of God's Messenger in the clutches of the enemy, and save myself? May God never show me such a day!"

السلام على عمرو بن قرظة الأنصاري.

28. Peace be on 'Amr ibn Qaraẓah al-al-Anṣārī.

السلام على حبيب بن مظاهر الأسدي.

29. Peace be on Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir al-Asadī.

السلام على الحر بن يزيد الرياحي.

30. Peace be on al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī.

السلام على عبد الله بن عمير الكلبي.

31. Peace be on 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umayr al-Kalbī.

السلام على نافع بن هلال بن نافع البجلي المرادي.

32. Peace be on Nāfi' ibn Hilāl ibn Nāfi' al-Bajalī al-Murādī.

السلام على أنس بن كاهل الأسدي.

33. Peace be on Anas ibn Kāhil al-Asadī.

السلام على قيس بن مسهر الصيداوي.

34. Peace be on Qays ibn Mus'hir al-Ṣaydāwī.

السلام على عبد الله وعبد الرحمن ابني عروة بن حراق الغفاريين.

35. Peace be on 'Abd Allāh, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the sons of 'Urwah ibn Ḥarāq al-Ghifārī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى جَوْنِ بْنِ حَرِيٍّ مَوْلَى أَبِي ذَرٍّ الْغِفَارِيِّ.

36. Peace be on Jawn ibn Hariyy, the freedman of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى شَبِيبِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ النَّهْشَلِيِّ.

37. Peace be on Shabīb ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nahshalī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى الْحَجَّاجِ بْنِ يَزِيدَ السَّعْدِيِّ.

38. Peace be on al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yazīd al-Sa'dī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى قَاسِطٍ وَكَرِشٍ ابْنَيْ ظُهَيْرٍ التَّغْلِبِيَّيْنِ.

39. Peace be on Qāsiṭ, and Kurish [Kardūs], the sons of Ẓahīr [Zuhayr] al-Taghlabī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى كِنَانَةَ بْنِ عَتِيقٍ.

40. Peace be on Kinānah ibn 'Atīq.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى ضِرْغَامَةَ بْنِ مَالِكٍ.

41. Peace be on Ḍirghāmah ibn Mālik.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى حُوَيِّ بْنِ مَالِكٍ الضُّبَعِيِّ.

42. Peace be on Huwayy ibn Mālik al-Ḍuba'ī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى عَمْرِو بْنِ ضُبَيْعَةَ الضُّبَعِيِّ.

43. Peace be on 'Umar ibn Ḍubay'ah al-Ḍuba'ī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى زَيْدِ بْنِ ثُبَيْتٍ الْقَيْسِيِّ.

44. Peace be on Zayd ibn Thubayt al-Qaysī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَعُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ ابْنَيْ يَزِيدَ بْنِ ثُبَيْتٍ الْقَيْسِيِّ.

45. Peace be on 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh, the sons of Yazīd ibn Thubayt al-Qaysī.

السَّلَامُ عَلَى عَامِرِ بْنِ مُسْلِمٍ.

46. Peace be on 'Āmir ibn Muslim.

السلام على قعنب بن عمرو النمري.

47. Peace be on Qa'nab ibn 'Amr al-Tamri.

السلام على سالم مولى عامر بن مسلم.

48. Peace be on Sālim, a bondsman of 'Āmir ibn Muslim.

السلام على سيف بن مالك.

49. Peace be on Sayf ibn Mālik.

السلام على زهير بن بشر الخثعمي.

50. Peace be on Zuhayr ibn Bishr al-Khath'ami.

السلام على زيد بن معقل الجعفي.

51. Peace be on Zayd ibn Ma'qil al-Ju'fi.

السلام على الحجاج بن مسروق الجعفي.

52. Peace be on al-Ḥajjāj ibn Masrūq al-Ju'fi.

السلام على مسعود بن الحجاج وابنه.

53. Peace be on Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥajjāj and his son.

السلام على مجمع بن عبد الله العائذي.

54. Peace be on Mujammi' ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ā'idhī

السلام على عمار بن حسان بن شريح الطائي.

55. Peace be on 'Ammār ibn Ḥassān ibn Shurayḥ al-Ṭā'ī.

السلام على حيان بن الحارث السلماني الأزدي.

56. Peace be on Ḥayyān ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī al-Azdī.

السلام على جندب بن حجر الخولاني.

57. Peace be on Jundab ibn Ḥujr al-Khawlānī.

السلام على عمر بن خالد الصيداوي.

58. Peace be on 'Umar ibn Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī.

السلام على سعيد مولاه.

59. Peace be on his bondsman, Sa'īd.

السلام على يزيد بن زياد بن المهاجر الكندي.

60. Peace be on Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn al-Muhājir al-Kindī.

السلام على زاهر مولى عمرو بن الحمق الخزاعي.

61. Peace be on Zāhir, a bondsman of 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī.

السلام على جبلة بن علي الشيباني.

62. Peace be on Jabalah ibn 'Alī al-Shaybānī.

السلام على سالم مولى ابن المدنية الكلبي.

63. Peace be on Sālim, a bondsman of Ibn al-Madaniyyah al-Kalbī.

السلام على أسلم بن كثير الأزدي الأعرج.

64. Peace be on Aslam ibn Kathīr al-Azdī al-A'raj.

السلام على زهير بن سليم الأزدي.

65. Peace be on Zuhayr ibn Sulaym al-Azdī.

السلام على قاسم بن حبيب الأزدي.

66. Peace be on Qāsim ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī.

السلام على عمر بن جندب الحضرمي.

67. Peace be on 'Umar ibn Jundab al-Ḥaḍramī.

السلام على أبي ثمامة عمر بن عبد الله الصائدي.

68. Peace be on Abū Thumāmah 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaydāwī.

السلام على حنظلة بن أسعد الشبامي.

69. Peace be on Ḥanẓalah ibn As'ad al-Shibāmī.

السلام على عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن الكدر الأرحبي.

70. Peace be on 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kadir al-Arḥabī.

السلام على عمار بن أبي سلامة الهمداني.

71. Peace be on 'Ammār ibn Abī Salāmah al-Hamdānī.

السلام على عابس بن شبيب الشاكري.

72. Peace be on 'Ābis ibn Shabīb al-Shākirī.

السلام على شوذب مولى شاكر.

73. Peace be on Shawdhab, a client of the Banū Shākir.

السلام على شبيب بن الحارث بن سريع.

74. Peace be on Shabīb ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sarī'.

السلام على مالك بن عبد بن سريع.

75. Peace be on Mālik ibn 'Abd ibn Sarī'.

السلام على الجريح المأسور سوار بن أبي حمير الفهمي الهمداني.

76. Peace be on the wounded prisoner, Sawwār ibn Abī Ḥimyar al-Fahmī al-Hamdānī.

السلام على المرتث معه عمرو بن عبد الله الجندعي.

77. Peace be on the one also carried away wounded with him, 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Junda'ī.

السلام عليكم يا خير أنصار.

Peace be on you all, O best of supporters!

السَّلامُ عَلَيْكُمْ بِما صَبَرْتُمْ فَنِعْمَ عُقْبَى الدّارِ.

Peace be on you for your steadfastness, and how
excellent will be the eternal abode.[1]

بَوَّأَكُمُ اللهُ مُبَوَّأَ الأَبْرارِ.

May God place you in the settlements of the righteous.

أَشْهَدُ لَقَدْ كَشَفَ اللهُ لَكُمُ الغِطاءَ، وَمَهَّدَ لَكُمُ الوِطاءَ،

I testify that God had lifted the veils [from before your eyes],
and prepared for you a place of comfort,

وَأَجْزَلَ لَكُمُ العَطاءَ.

and that He has rewarded you with a goodly recompense,

وَكُنْتُمْ عَنِ الحَقِّ غَيْرَ بِطاءٍ.

and that you did not fall short in defending the truth.

وَأَنْتُمْ لَنا فُرَطاءُ، وَنَحْنُ لَكُمْ خُلَطاءُ فِي دارِ البَقاءِ.

You have preceded us, and we shall soon join you in the eternal abode.

وَالسَّلامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللهِ وَبَرَكاتُهُ.

May the peace, mercy, and blessings of God be on you all.[2]

About the reliability of the two salutations attributed to Imam al-Mahdi (atf)

The two *ziyārah* texts presented above have both been attributed to the sacred personages (*nāḥiyah al-muqaddasah*).[3] Since they contain a detailed mention of the tragedy of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a) and his companions [especially the first salutation], they are frequently referred to by lecturers from the pulpit and those who recount the tragedy of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). For this reason, it is especially important to look into the reliability of the two salutations. However, before we discuss this, it is necessary to consider a few points.

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[1] Q 13:24.

[2] *al-Iqbāl*, vol. 3, p. 73; *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 486, no. 8.

[3] *Nāḥiyah al-muqaddasah* is a term that the Shi'a began to use in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, because of the socio-political pressures against reporting traditions from, or even speaking about, the last three Imams (a): Imam

1. Although both the salutations are attributed to the sacred personages (a), the first salutation in this section is the one famously known as *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al Muqaddasah*. The *ziyārah* is mentioned by al-Mashhadī[1] in his *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*.[2]

2. 'Allāmah al-Majlisī has also included the first *ziyārah* in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, quoting *Kitāb al-Mazār* of al-Mufīd.[3] However, this text is absent in in the extant manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Mazār*.

The reliability of the first salutation (famously known as *Ziyārat al-Nāḥiyah al Muqaddasah*)

The author of *al-Mazār al-Kabīr* does not mention the chain of transmission (*isnād*) from the sacred personages (a), and therefore, technically, the chain of the report is interrupted (*mursal*) and cannot be evaluated. However, in the foreword of the work, the author states:

> In this book, I have mentioned various salutations that can be recited at the sacred shrines, and have also included the etiquette of visiting holy mosques, the supplications that are recommended to be recited after the daily prayers, eloquent private conversations with God (*munājāt*) that can be recited in seclusion, and a selection of supplications that can be made to God for important matters. These

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al-Hādī (a), Imam al-'Askarī, and Imam al-Mahdī (atf). The term was used instead of the names of these three sacred personages (a). In the period of the minor occultation, it was mostly used when referring to Imam al-Mahdī (atf).

[1] Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Mashhadī al-Ḥā'irī (d. 610/1213).

[2] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, pp. 496-513.

[3] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 317.

> are supplications that trustworthy narrators have reported, with *isnād*, from their masters.[1]

Some scholars, for example Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī,[2] believe that this statement suffices to confirm the general reliability of the *isnād* of all the reports included in the aforementioned work. However, in this regard, it is necessary to consider the following:

1. It is possible that by his statement, al-Mashhadī is only indicating the reliability of his immediate sources. Therefore, he may only be testifying to the trustworthiness of the scholars whom he was quoting his reports from, or who had mentioned it in their own works, and not his confidence in all the transmitters of the reports that he has included in *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*.
2. When some of the transmitters of even major works like *al-Kāfī* [despite the great care taken by its author] are not trustworthy, it is unlikely that any author would claim that he is confident of the reliability of every report in his book.
3. Even if we conclude from the statement of al-Mashhadī that he was confident that every report in *al-Mazār al-Kabīr* was reliable, he is one of the later authors, and so his level of certainty would have been based on his assumptions and opinion; and this does not reach the required level for conviction.

On this basis, although al-Mashhadī's personal conviction about the reliability of his sources gives his work a reasonable level of reliability, it is not at the level where we can claim that this salutation has definitely come directly from Imam al-Mahdī (atf). We therefore caution those quoting this *ziyārah* not to attribute it to the Imam (atf) directly, but to narrate it quoting *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*.

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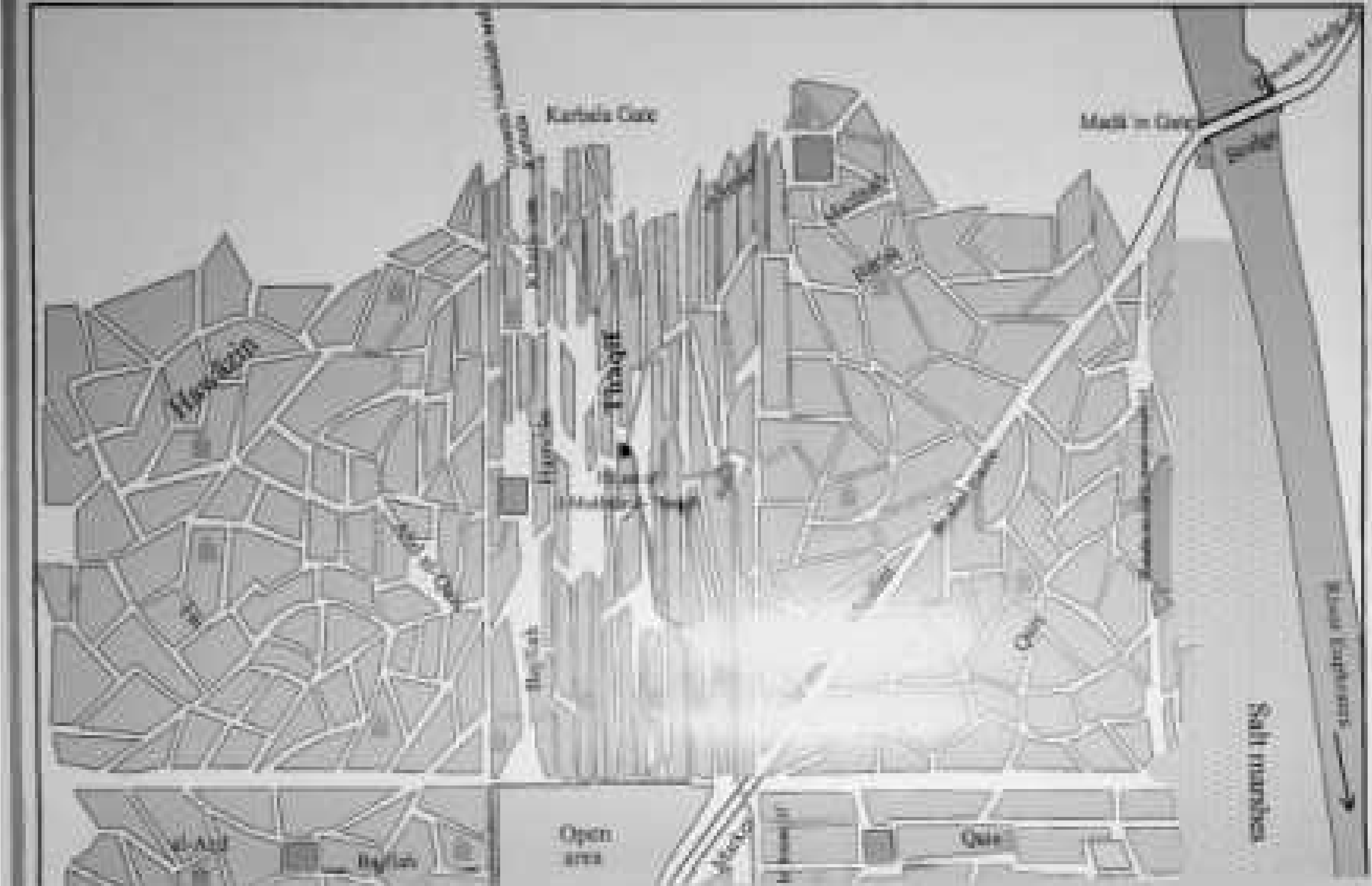
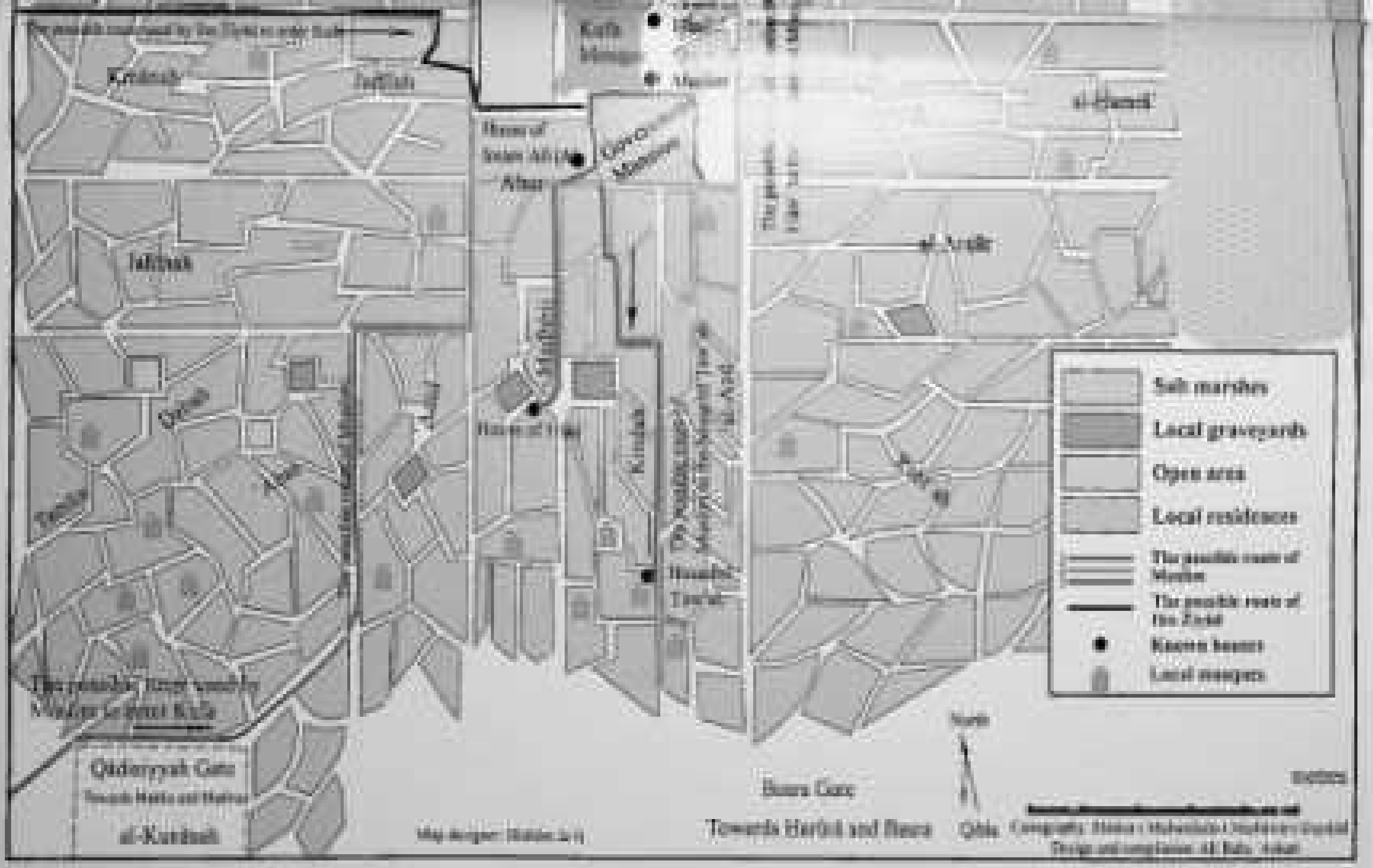
[1] *al-Mazār al-Kabīr*, p. 27.

[2] See *Khātimat Mustadrak al-Wasā'il* by al-Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, vol. 1, p. 359, and vol. 2, p. 457.

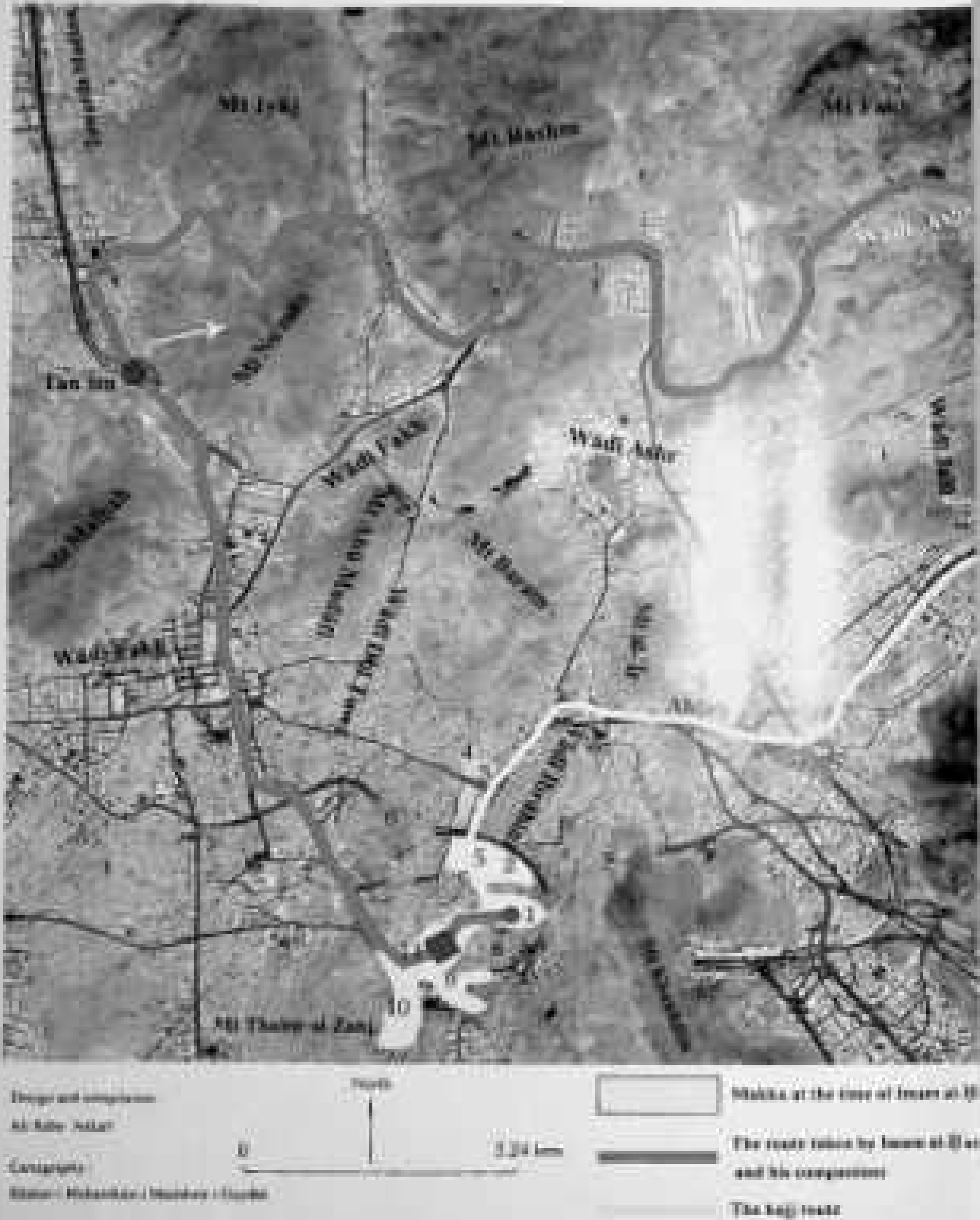
MAPS

◆

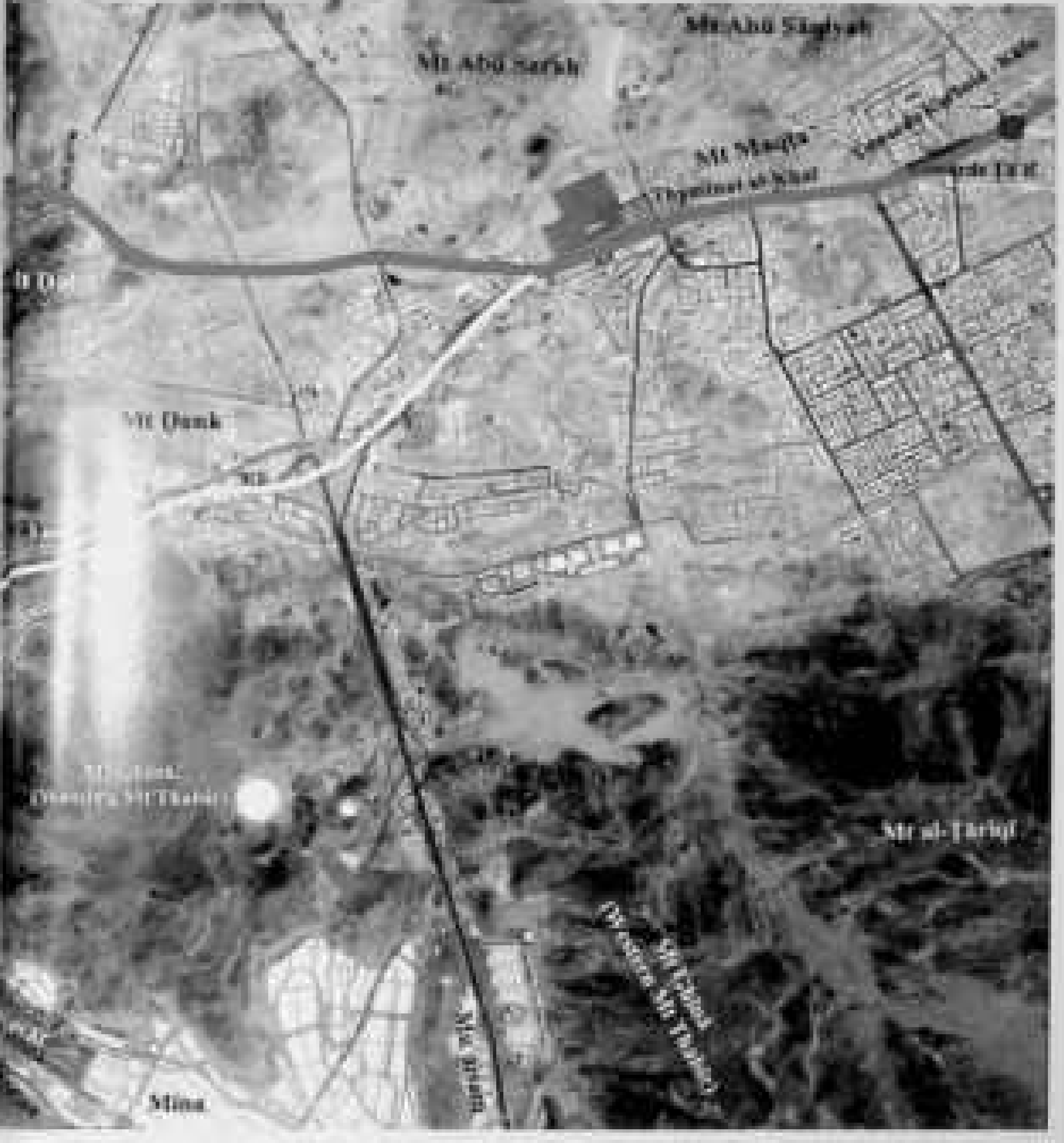

Karbala Gate
Madā'in Gate
Hawazin
Thaqif
Hamdan
Bajilah
Qais
Open area
al-Azd
Bajilah
Salt marshes
River Euphrates


Kindah
al-Azd
Kindah
Qādisiyyah Gate
al-Kunāsah
Basra Gate
Towards Harbiyyah and Basra
North
Qibla
Salt marshes
Local graveyards
Open area
Local residences
The possible route of Muslim
Known houses
Local mosques

Map 1


Mt Hashim
Tan'im
Wadi Fakh
Wadi Adhr
Mt Thaur al-Zanj
10
North
0
3.24 km
Design and compilation:
Cartography:
The hajj route

Map 1



in (A)

n(A)

1.Valley of Abū Ṭālib and the house of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib

2.Valley of ʿĀmir

3.Graveyard of al-Ḥujūn

4. Grave of Lady Khadījah (A)

5. Muʿallāt

6. Mt Quʿayqiʿān

7. Mt Khadīlah

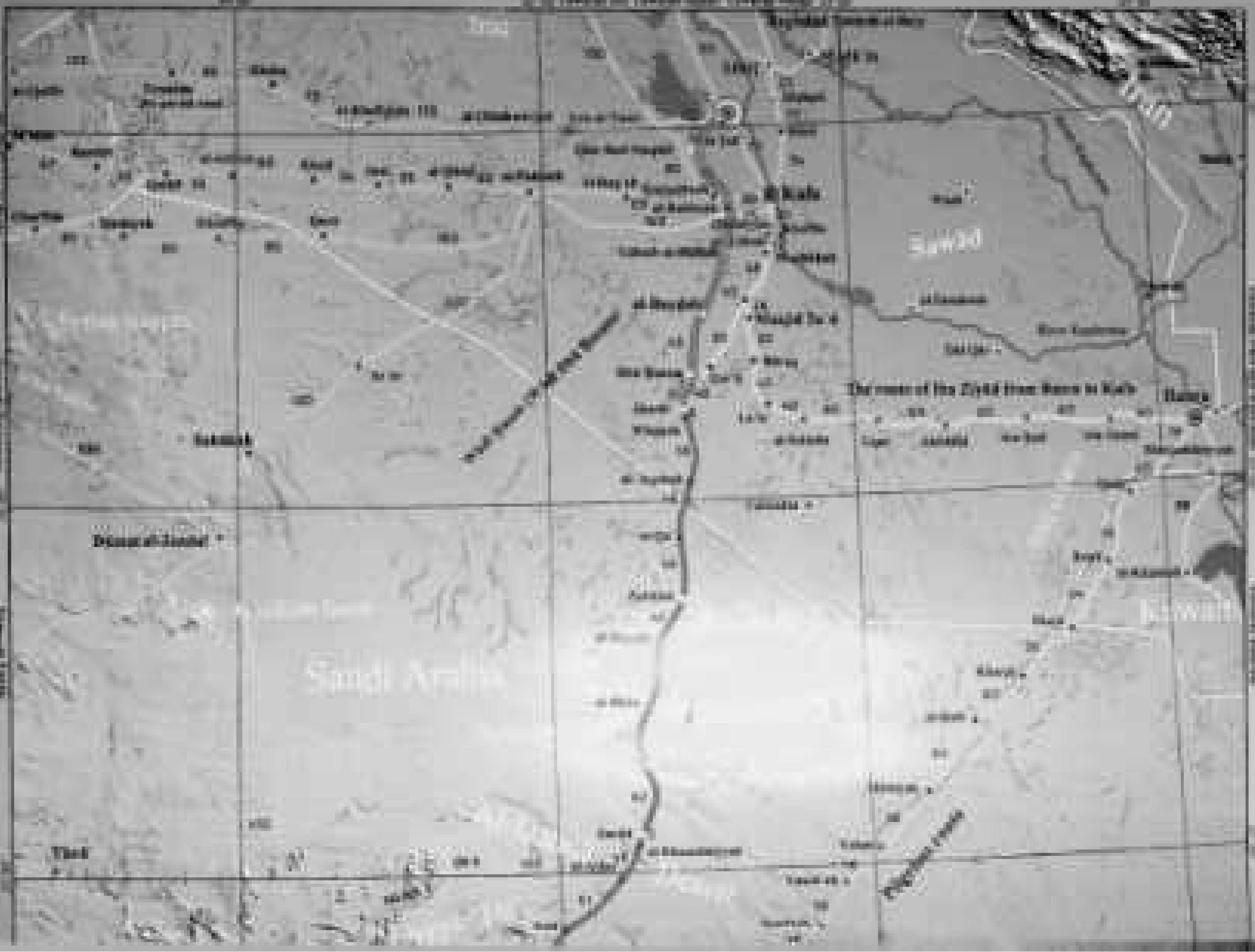
8 . Mt Abū Qubais

9 . Ajyād

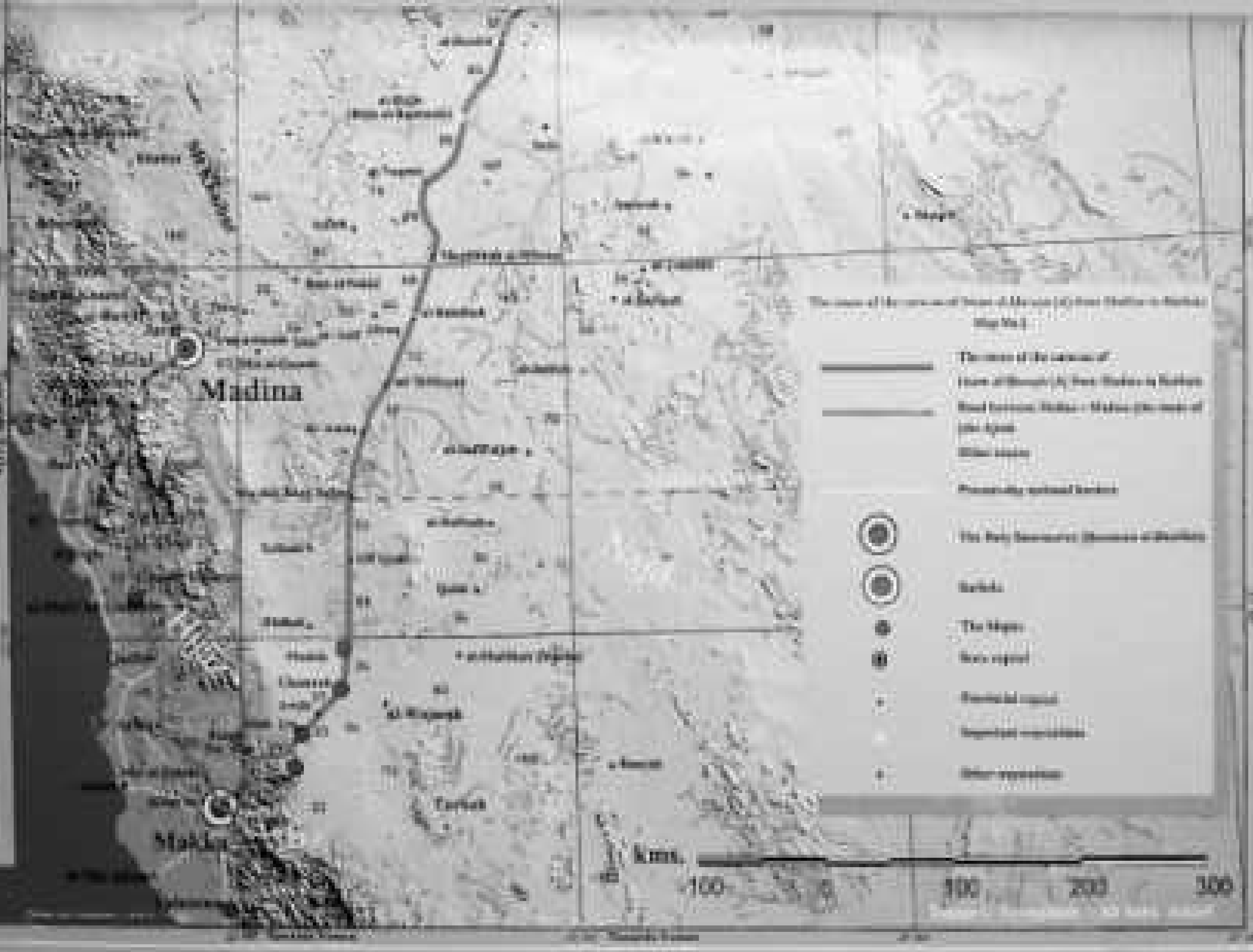
10 . Al-Mafalah

11. The Sacred Mosque (Masjid al-Ḥarām)

12.Mosque of Allegiance (Bayʿah)



Map 3


Madina
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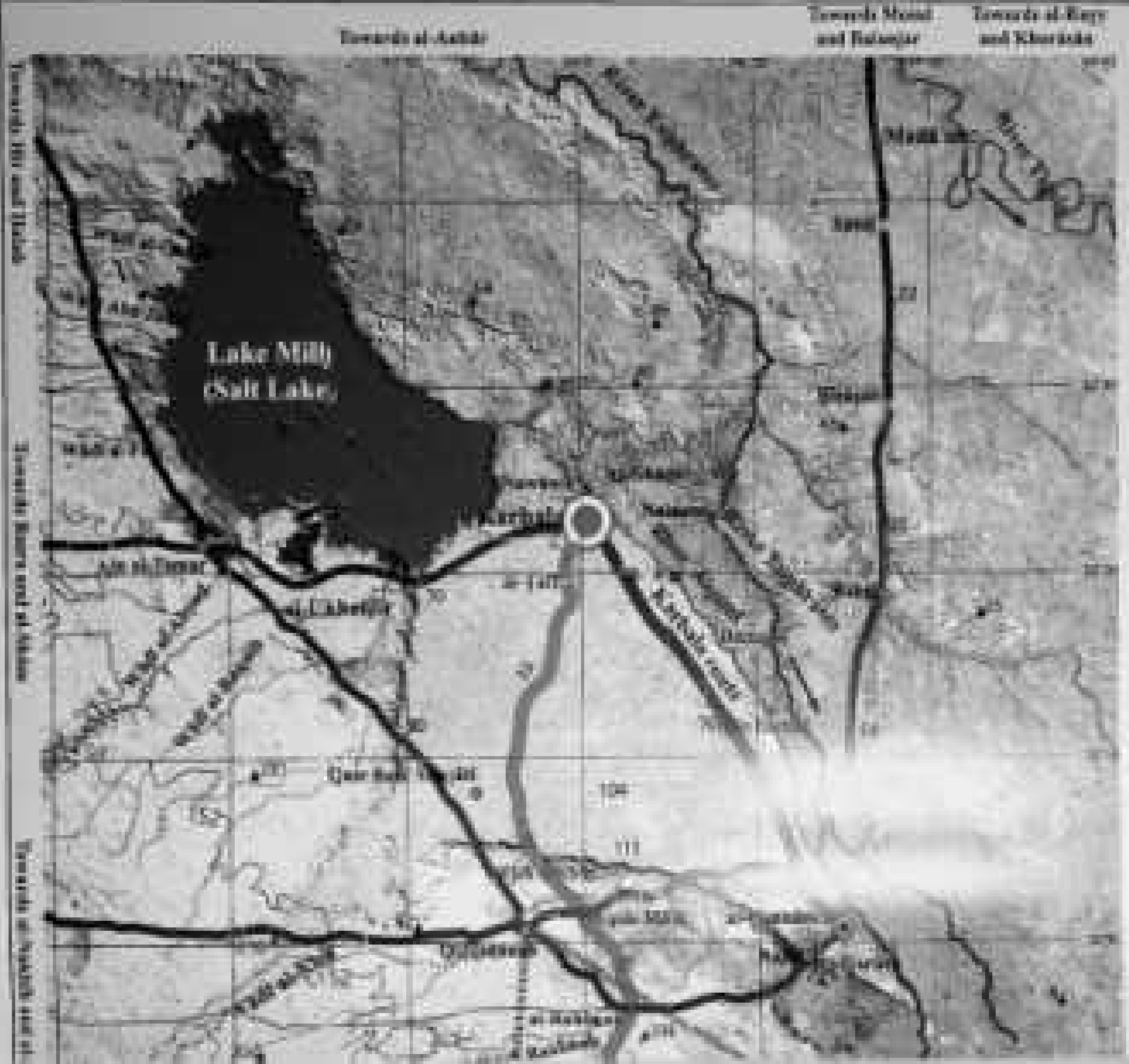
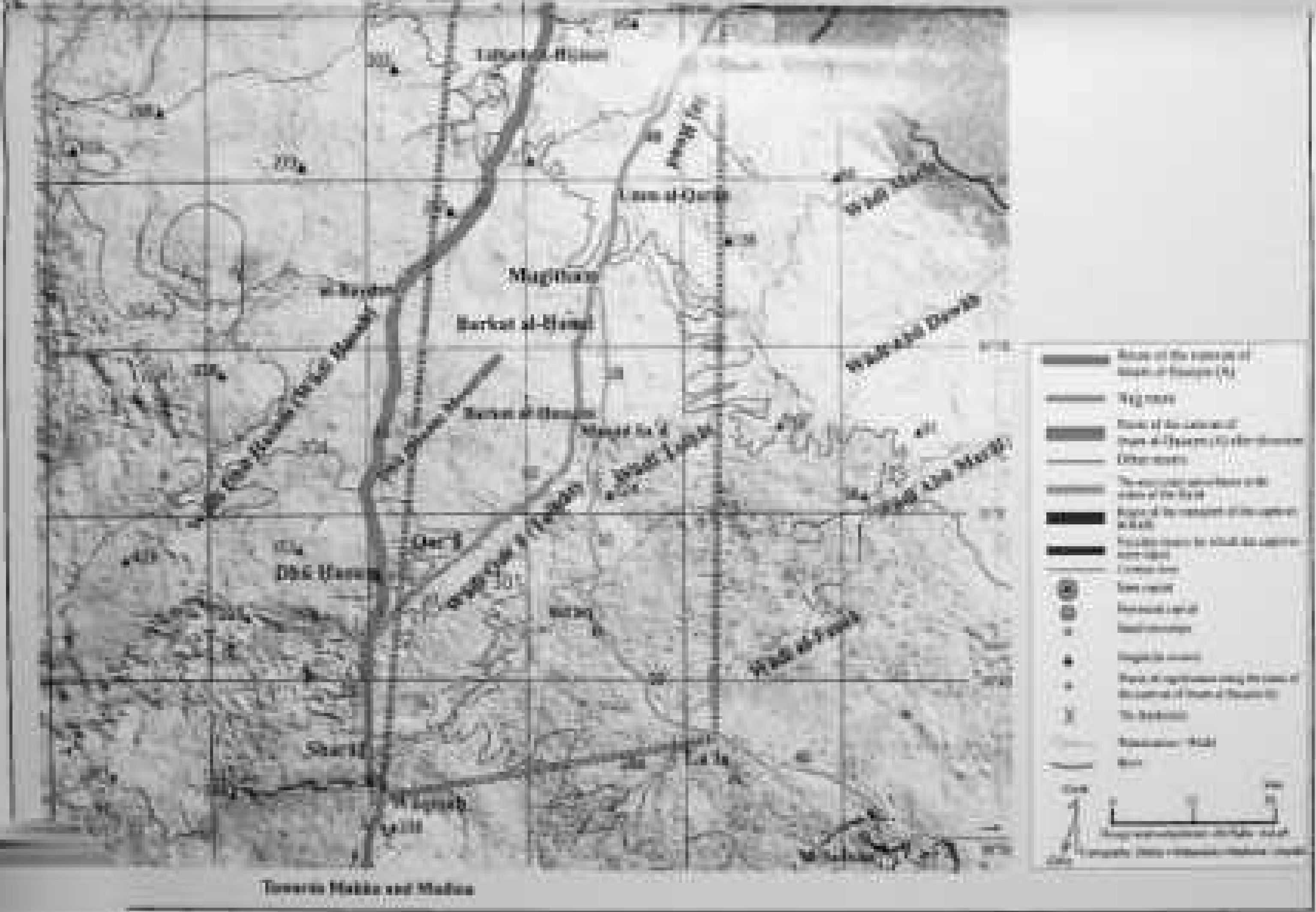

Towards al-Anbar
Towards Mosul and Balanjar
Towards al-Rayy and Khurasan
Towards Hit and Halab
Towards Basra and al-Ahsa
Towards al-Nakhib and al-
Lake Milh (Salt Lake)
Karbala



Map 4