

activity of competent and devoted collaborators, Ḥusayn finally re-established calm in 1826 in the east, and in 1828 in the west.

Nevertheless external affairs were dominant during his reign. He had to send vessels and men to help the Ottoman government against the Greek insurgents. Previously he had been invited by the European powers, after the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, to suppress piracy and abolish slavery. As he was evasive, a Franco-British naval demonstration had taken place off Algiers in September 1819.

Later, when he was using forceful measures against Kabyle rebels, the British consul stubbornly refused to hand over to him the Kabyle servants whom he employed. The dey retorted by expelling the consul, so Great Britain sent a fleet to bombard Algiers in June 1824. The effects of these reprisals were slight.

The affair of France's debt to the Jewish merchants Bacri and Busnach and the dey himself, which had been simmering long before Ḥusayn had come to power, occupied him for the whole of his reign and caused his downfall. It was in connexion with this affair that he struck the French consul Deval with his fly-whisk on 30 April 1827 in the course of a very animated interview. As he refused to make the apologies demanded by the French government, the French fleet set up a blockade along the Algerian coast. Then there came the incident of 3 August 1829, when the Algerine coastal batteries fired upon the vessel bearing a French plenipotentiary. Ḥusayn had not given the orders for this, but refused to satisfy French demands for reparation. As a sequel the French government decided to organize an expedition to destroy the power of the deys, and on 4 July 1830 Ḥusayn was handed the capitulation proposals from the commander of the French expeditionary force. He set his seal upon them on the morning of the 5th.

He left Algiers for Italy, where he lived for several years, then retired to Alexandria, where he died in 1838.

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AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ABD ALLĀH [see IBN SĪNĀ].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD [see ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪ'Ī; IBN KHĀLAWAYH].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ [see IBN MĀKŪLĀ; AL-MAGHRIBĪ; AL-ṬUGHRĀ'Ī].

(AL-)ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, grandson of the Prophet and son of Fāṭima [q.v.], famous because of his revolt which ended tragically at Karbalā' on 10 Muḥarram 61/October 680.

Childhood and youth. (Al-)Ḥusayn was born at Medina, according to the majority of the sources in the beginning of Sha'bān 4/January 626. He was thus still a child when the Prophet died and could therefore have very few memories of his grandfather. A number of *ḥadīths* mention the affectionate phrases which Muḥammad is said to have used of his grandsons, e.g., "whoever loves them loves me and whoever hates them hates me" and "al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are the *sayyids* of the youth of Paradise" (this statement is very important in the

eyes of the Shi'is, who have made of it one of the basic justifications for the right of the Prophet's descendants to the imāmate; *sayyid shabāb al-ḥanna* is one of the epithets which the Shi'is give to each of the two brothers); other traditions present Muḥammad with his grandsons on his knees, on his shoulders, or even on his back during the prayer at the moment of prostrating himself (Ibn Kathīr, viii, 205-7, has collected a fair number of these accounts, drawn mainly from the collections of Ibn Ḥanbal and of al-Tirmidhī). A number of traditionists have added to these life-like and charming little pictures some details which, to the non-Muslim, appear curious or, when they include angels, fanciful, but which do not appear so to Muslims, with their belief in the frequent visits of Djibril to Muḥammad; it is in other accounts, on which see below under The Legend of Ḥusayn (col. 611a), that the Shi'i influence is apparent. During his youth, Ḥusayn lived in the shadow of his father, obeying his orders (see, e.g., al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 271, 279, 281 etc.) and taking part in his campaigns.

Attitude towards Mu'āwiya. Even after the death of 'Alī, Ḥusayn still does not stand out as a personality; an example of this is seen in his relationship with Mu'āwiya: he reproached his brother Ḥasan for having renounced power, but himself submitted to the *fait accompli*, accepting an appanage of one or two million *dirhams*; he also went often to Damascus where he received further largesse. Several times, even before Ḥasan's death, the Shi'is suggested that he should revolt (e.g., Ḥudr b. 'Adī [q.v.]), but the reply was always the same: "so long as this man [Mu'āwiya] lives, nothing can be done ... the directive is to think continually of future revenge, but to say nothing about it" (al-Balādhuri, 634r-v, 636r, etc.). Mu'āwiya, although informed by his governor at Medina, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, of how the Shi'is frequented Ḥusayn, was not alarmed by it; he prudently counselled Marwān to avoid a clash with Ḥusayn and sent the latter a letter in which he mingled generous promises with the advice not to provoke him. The incident closed with a proud written reply from Ḥusayn, which seems not to have worried Mu'āwiya (Ibn Kathīr, viii, 162). There were only two occasions when Ḥusayn acted boldly: when he defended against some powerful Umayyads his right to certain possessions (*Aghānī*, xvi, 68-70) and when Mu'āwiya asked the high officials of state to recognize his son Yazīd as his successor; Ḥusayn was then among the five persons who refused to submit to this claim, which introduced a new principle in the succession to the caliphate [see WALĪ 'AHP].

Further refusal of the *bay'a* to Yazīd after the death of Mu'āwiya and consequences of this. Immediately after the death of Mu'āwiya (Radjab 60/March-April 680), the governor of Medina, al-Walīd b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Sufyān, on the orders of Yazīd, invited to the palace at an unusual hour Ḥusayn and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.] with the intention of obliging them to pay homage to the new caliph. Both of them realized that Mu'āwiya was dead and, having decided to stand by their refusal to make the *bay'a*, feared for their lives. Whereas Ibn al-Zubayr fled the following night to Mecca, Ḥusayn went to the palace, but accompanied by his supporters, and, after offering his condolence, asked that the *bay'a* should be delayed, under the pretext that, in order to be valid, it must be made in public; he succeeded in delaying it for two days and finally escaped at night with his family to Mecca, without however taking an

indirect route. Al-Walid b. ʿUtba, although urged by Marwān to resort to violence, was unwilling to take serious measures against the grandson of the Prophet and paid for his inactivity with dismissal from his office. The situation created in Mecca by the arrival of Ibn al-Zubayr and Ḥusayn cannot have been a very easy one. The inhabitants of Mecca liked to attend on Ḥusayn, and Ibn al-Zubayr, who was already harbouring secret ambitions, was suspected of jealousy towards him (see al-Ṭabari, ii, 276).

The sources on al-Ḥusayn's revolt and on his tragic end. Unless some of the manuscripts in the Berlin Library attributed to Abū Mikhnaḥ [q.v.] (see Ahlwardt, 9028-9, 9031-8)—which the author of this article is in the process of examining—prove to be entirely or partly authentic, the most important texts on Ḥusayn's enterprise and its tragic sequel at Karbalā' remain al-Ṭabari and al-Balādhuri. The former relates (1) a great number of traditions on the authority of Abū Mikhnaḥ (d. ca. 157/774) with *isnāds* going back to contemporary witnesses; (2) other fairly numerous traditions of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, most of them received from his master Abū Mikhnaḥ; (3) a small number of traditions transmitted with their *isnāds* by other traditionists, which, however, add few variants to the preceding ones and most of which are unimportant. Al-Balādhuri almost always used the same sources as al-Ṭabari, but often made résumés of them, introducing them by *kālu*; and he provides some additional verses and details. Al-Dinawari, al-Yaʿkūbī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, etc. add almost nothing to our knowledge since they based almost the whole of their continuous accounts on Abū Mikhnaḥ. So great was the respect accorded even among the *Shiʿis* to the work of this sympathizer of Ḥusayn that it is chiefly from his collection of traditions that their earliest writers (e.g., al-Mufid, d. 413/1022), or those endowed with enough critical faculty to enable them to eliminate fantastic additions (e.g., the modern Uways), have drawn their narrative of Ḥusayn's enterprise (their *Shiʿism* showing itself elsewhere). It was only much later (apparently beginning in the 7th/13th century) that the narrative of Ḥusayn's enterprise was partly modified by the introduction of romantic accounts (single combats in which the enemies of Ḥusayn were killed by the dozen, Ḥusayn defending himself like a lion and slaughtering his assailants, and other such fables). The exaggerations and the misrepresentations of the *Shiʿis* were severely criticized by Ibn Kathīr (viii, 201 f.).

Invitation from the Kūfāns. Mission of Muslim b. ʿAqil to Kūfa. The news of the death of Muʿāwiya was greeted with satisfaction at Kūfa, the majority of whose inhabitants were *Shiʿis*. Soon there were sent out from there letters and messengers inviting Ḥusayn to make his way to this town which could no longer tolerate the Umayyad régime, which they regarded as guilty of having seized the *fayʿ* [q.v.], allowed the possessions of Allāh to pass into the hands of the powerful and the rich, and killed the best men (an allusion to Ḥudayr b. ʿAdi and his supporters) while allowing the worst to remain alive (see letter of Sulaymān b. Šurad al-Khuzāʿi and of other *Shiʿis*: al-Ṭabari, ii, 234 f., etc.). Ḥusayn replied that he understood their hope of uniting themselves, thanks to him, in the right way and in the truth. "The Imām", he added, "must not be other than a man acting according to the Book of God, taking [his subjects' money] with honesty, judging with truth, devoting himself to the service of God."

Nevertheless, before making a decision he thought it prudent to send his cousin, Muslim b. ʿAqil [q.v.], to Kūfa to test the ground. Muslim soon gathered thousands of pledges of support and was even able to preside over an assembly from the *minbar* in the mosque (al-Ṭabari, ii, 257 f.; al-Dinawari, 252). But his intrigues were reported to the caliph Yazid who, no longer trusting the governor of the town, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī, gave the control of Kūfa to the son of Ziyād, ʿUbayd Allāh [q.v.], then already governor of Baṣra, with orders to go there himself immediately to quell the disturbances. Ibn Ziyād arrived at this destination in disguise and took energetic measures which terrified Ḥusayn's sympathizers. Muslim, after attempting in vain to organize an immediate revolt, fled and went into hiding; he was discovered and put to death (9 *Dhu ʿl-Ḥijjdja* 60/11 September 680). Unfortunately for al-Ḥusayn, he had written a very optimistic letter on the success of his propaganda and, it seems, had even sent to him the thousands of pledges signed by the inhabitants of Kūfa.

Ḥusayn's departure for Kūfa. Already Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya at Medina (al-Ṭabari, ii, 220 f.), then ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, when they met him on the road from Medina to Mecca (al-Ṭabari, ii, 223), and others also, had warned Ḥusayn against the dangers of a revolt: Ibn ʿAbbās had reiterated his advice, and with great insistence, at Mecca (al-Ṭabari, ii, 274 f.; al-Balādhuri, 638v-639r, etc.). Even ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr had attempted to dissuade him from the enterprise, but hypocritically, since he was in fact very pleased that Ḥusayn should leave the field free for him at Mecca (al-Ṭabari, ii, 274-6, etc.). In spite of all this advice, Ḥusayn did not abandon his project. He performed the *ʿumra* [q.v.] instead of the *ḥadjj* and took advantage of the absence of the governor, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Aṣḥdaq [q.v.], who was completing the rites of the Pilgrimage on the outskirts of the town, to slip away together with his own group: about fifty men—relatives and friends able to bear arms—women and children (8 *Dhu ʿl-Ḥijjdja* 60/10 September 680, the day of the *tarwīya*). The names of the places where he stopped on the way from Mecca to Kūfa are all recorded by al-Ṭabari and al-Balādhuri; Wellhausen has noted them.

Informed of Ḥusayn's departure, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd sent in pursuit of him a party of men under the command of his brother Yaḥyā, but all that took place between the two groups was a clash with whips and sticks. At al-Tanʿim, not far from Mecca, Ḥusayn met a caravan coming from the Yemen and considered that he had a right to seize its load which consisted of cloaks and plants for dyeing destined for the caliph. On the way, Ḥusayn met several people: the poet al-Farazdaq who, when questioned, told him frankly that the hearts of the ʿIrāqīs were for him but that their swords were for the Umayyads (al-Ṭabari, ii, 277 and 278, etc.), and his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar who, having obtained from the governor ʿAmr b. Saʿīd a letter granting him *amān*, had come to read it to him. But Ḥusayn's decision was unshakeable; his replies to any who attempted to deflect him from his enterprise were always more or less in the same vein: "God does as He wishes . . . I leave it to Him to choose what is best . . . He is not hostile to him who purposes the just cause (*al-ḥakka*) . . .". Zuhayr b. al-Kayn al-Badjali, who was a supporter of ʿUthmān, and while journeying had avoided pitching his tents at the same place as Ḥusayn, did on one occasion have to make his camp

near to him; invited by Ḥusayn to visit him, he changed his opinion during the interview with him and from then on became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Ḥusayn.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād had stationed men on the roads leading from the Ḥijāz to Kūfa (al-Ṭabari, ii, 285 and 288) and had given orders forbidding all persons to enter or leave the territory bounded by them. Ḥusayn learned of this order from the Bedouins, but was not alarmed by it and continued his journey. It was at al-Ṭaʿlabiyya that he first heard, from some travellers, the news of the execution of Muslim and of Hānī b. ʿUrwa [q.v.] at Kūfa. He would then have turned back, but the sons of ʿAqīl, determined either to avenge their brother or to meet the same fate, made him change his mind. Then, at Zubāla, he learned that his messenger (Ḳays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī or ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḳṭur, his foster brother: al-Ṭabari, ii, 288, 293, 303), sent from al-Ḥāḍijiz to Kūfa to announce there his imminent arrival, had been discovered and killed. Ḥusayn then read to his supporters a proclamation in which, after informing them of the doleful news he had received and of the treachery of the inhabitants of Kūfa, he invited them to leave him. Those who had joined his group during the journey did depart, and there remained with him only those who had followed him from the Ḥijāz.

Parties of horsemen were scouring the region. When they appeared on the horizon, Ḥusayn changed his direction towards Dhū Ḥusm (or Ḥusam) and there pitched his tents. The horsemen, who were under the command of al-Ḥurr b. Yazid al-Tamimi al-Yarbūʿī, approached and, as the weather was hot, Ḥusayn gave orders for them to be given water. The situation at this time was still so free of tension that al-Ḥurr and his squadron took part that day in two prayers led by Ḥusayn (al-Ṭabari, ii, 297, 298) and, later, four *Shiʿis* who had come from Kūfa were able to join the insurgents in spite of al-Ḥurr's attempt to oppose this (al-Ṭabari, ii, 302 f.). After each of the two prayers, Ḥusayn explained to his adversaries the motives which had caused him to set out: "You had no *imām* and I should have been an instrument of union in the hand of God . . . We are more qualified to govern you than those others who claim things to which they have no right and who act unjustly . . . But if you have changed your minds . . . I shall go away" (al-Ṭabari, ii, 297 f.). Al-Ḥurr knew nothing of the letters which the inhabitants of Kūfa had sent to Ḥusayn but he did not change his attitude when the latter showed him two sacks full of them; he had received the order to take the rebel, without fighting, to Ibn Ziyād and he endeavoured to persuade Ḥusayn to follow him; when Ḥusayn continued his march, he did not dare to oppose him but instead made some suggestions to him: to follow a route leading neither to Kūfa nor to Medina and to write to Yazid or to Ibn Ziyād; at the same time, he himself would write to Ibn Ziyād in the hope that he would receive a reply which would allow him to avoid a painful ordeal. But Ḥusayn would not agree to his proposals and al-Ḥurr therefore followed him closely, uttering warnings from time to time: "I remind you of God for your own sake . . . if there is a battle you will be killed . . .". But Ḥusayn did not fear death. When a halt was made in the district (*nāhiya*) of Ninawā (forming part of the *Sawād* of Kūfa) a horseman arrived from Kūfa; without greeting Ḥusayn, he gave al-Ḥurr a letter from Ibn Ziyād ordering him not to allow the rebels to make a halt except in a

desert place without fortifications or water. Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn then suggested that Ḥusayn should attack al-Ḥurr's small detachment and occupy the fortified village of al-ʿAkr, but Ḥusayn refused to open the hostilities.

On 2 Muḥarram he made his camp at Karbalāʾ [q.v.], a place belonging to the *nāhiya* of Ninawā; on the 3rd the situation worsened: there arrived from Kūfa an army of 4,000 men under the command of ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abi Waḳḳāsh who, appointed *nāʾib* by Ibn Ziyād at Rayy, was to have gone to Dastabā to put down a revolt of Daylamīs, but had been recalled by Ibn Ziyād in order to subdue Ḥusayn. He had tried in vain to escape from the hateful task, but, threatened with the loss of his post, was finally forced to obey. Having arrived at Karbalāʾ, he learned, through a messenger, that Ḥusayn now intended merely to retreat, but Ibn Ziyād, on receiving this information from him, insisted that all the rebels should render homage to Yazid; meanwhile they were to be prevented from reaching the river. ʿUmar b. Saʿd placed ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍiḍiḍi al-Zubaydi with 500 horsemen on the route leading to the Euphrates, so that for three days Ḥusayn and his party suffered terribly from thirst; a daring group led by Ḥusayn's brother al-ʿAbbās made a sortie to the river, but succeeded in filling only a few water-skins. Meanwhile Ibn Saʿd was still trying to reach an agreement and was holding talks at night with Ḥusayn; although there was nobody present at these talks it was rumoured that Ḥusayn had made three proposals: that he should be permitted either to go and fight against the infidels as an ordinary soldier in a frontier region, or to rejoin Yazid, to whom he would accord the *bayʿa* in person, or to return whence he had come (al-Ṭabari, ii, 287, 314, 436; al-Balāḍhūrī, 644r. etc.). On this occasion Ibn Ziyād was given evil advice by *Shamir* [q.v.] (usually known as *Shimr* by the *Shiʿis*) b. *Dhi ʿl-Djawshan* (an ex-supporter of ʿAlī who had fought with him at *Shiffin*: al-Ṭabari, i, 3305); the governor would otherwise have been accommodating, but he was persuaded that he ought to force Ḥusayn to submit to him, Ibn Ziyād, since he had arrived in the territory which was under his jurisdiction. Ibn Ziyād therefore gave orders to Ibn Saʿd either to attack the rebel, if the latter refused to comply with the conditions laid down, or to hand over the command of the troops to *Shamir*, who was the bearer of this order (al-Ṭabari, 315 f.). He is said even to have added that, if Ḥusayn fell in the fighting, his body was to be trampled on, because the man was "a rebel, a seditious person, a brigand, an oppressor and he was to do no further harm after his death" (al-Ṭabari, ii, 316). Ibn Saʿd cursed *Shamir*, accusing him of having envenomed an affair which otherwise would have ended peacefully; he was sure that Ḥusayn would not submit, for "there is a proud soul in him".

On the evening of 9 Muḥarram, Ibn Saʿd advanced with his men towards the group of insurgents. Ḥusayn was seated in front of his tent, leaning upon his sword, his head nodding drowsily; he had a vision in which the Prophet announced that he would soon be joining him. Warned by his sister Zaynab that the soldiers of Ibn Saʿd were advancing, he sent his brother al-ʿAbbās to find out the reason for their approach. While the messenger's return was awaited, warnings, reproaches and insults were hurled from both sides. When al-ʿAbbās returned, Ḥusayn, having learned Ibn Ziyād's demand, requested a respite of one night; this being granted, he delivered

to his relatives and supporters a discourse which his son 'Alī, the only male of his family to escape from the massacre, was later to recall: "I give praise to God Who has honoured us with the Prophethood and has taught us the Qur'ān and the religion . . . I know of no worthier companions . . . than mine nor a more devout family than mine . . . May God reward you all. I think that tomorrow our end will come . . . I ask you all to go away. I do not hold you back. The night will cover you. Use it as a steed . . ." (al-Ṭabari, ii, 320 f.). With a few exceptions, his supporters showed a complete devotion to his cause. Ḥusayn, after reviving and comforting his sister Zaynab, who had fainted in despair, went out to prepare the defences: the tents were brought close together, and tied to one another with ropes, wood and reeds were heaped up in a ditch ready to be set alight when necessary to prevent an attack from behind, and they passed the rest of the night in prayer (al-Ṭabari, ii, 317-24, 326). The next day, after the *ṣubḥ*, hostilities commenced.

The battle of Karbalā'. Main episodes. If we accept that Ibn Sa'd tried to oblige the rebels to surrender by forcing them to suffer thirst and to capture the Ṭālibis by surrounding them (which is what an impartial study of the traditions would seem to suggest), we may accept also that the battle of Karbalā' was prolonged from dawn until the afternoon in a series of single combats, of attacks and partial repulses, of periods of inaction, of skirmishes in defence of the tents, etc., and that it was not until nearly sunset that Ibn Ziyād's troops, exasperated by the rebels' resistance, and determined to put an end to it, fell upon the surviving Ṭālibis and massacred them. In such an encounter, which began as a sort of deadly tournament with only a small number of combatants and a large number of spectators and soldiers on guard, some of the dialogues between adversaries which the sources recount could have taken place. Lammens (*Le califat de Yazīd 1^{er}*, 169) attributes great importance to a concise tradition of Abū Mikhnaf according to which the fighting lasted as long as a siesta (al-Ṭabari, ii, 374 f., etc.) and from this he deduces that: "The tragedy of Karbalā' instead of lasting for weeks consisted of only one action and was over in an hour . . .". Now among the accounts given by Abū Mikhnaf there are certainly some which are invented, but taken all together they form a coherent and credible narrative; consequently to select one single tradition in so far as it differs or appears to differ from the bulk of others is a critical method of disputable value, particularly as, in the present case, the traditionist is the same and as the tradition in question may be interpreted either as the boasting of a combatant before the caliph or as the description of the last act of the tragedy.

On the morning of 10 Muḥarram, Ḥusayn drew up his supporters (32 horsemen and 40 foot-soldiers with Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn in command of the right wing and Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir of the left) in front of the tents, and having ordered the standard to his brother al-'Abbās, entrusted them to set fire to the heaps of wood and reeds. He had had pitched for himself a tent inside which he coated himself with a depilatory paste and perfumed himself with musk diluted in a bowl. Then, on horseback and with the Qur'ān in front of him, he invoked God in a long and beautiful prayer (al-Ṭabari, ii, 327) and pronounced a discourse to his enemies in which, having declared that God was his *walī*—and God protects the devout—he invited them to consider well whether it was lawful for them

to kill him, reminded them of Muḥammad's statement that he and his brother were the lords of the youth of Paradise, reviewed the great merits of the family of the Prophet, once again reproached the inhabitants of Kūfa for having summoned him, and asked to be allowed to make his way to a country which would offer him safety. When it was repeated to him that first of all he must submit to his cousins, he replied that he would never humiliate himself like a slave (other, longer, versions of his discourse are given in Muḥsin al-A'mīn, 255-60). He then dismounted and commanded that his horse should be hobbled, intending by this to signify that he would never flee.

If the numerous accounts of episodes of secondary importance are removed, the phases of the battle can be followed fairly clearly. After Ḥusayn's speech, it was Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn who exhorted their adversaries to follow Ḥusayn; as he received in reply only insolence and threats, he requested them not to kill him (al-Ṭabari, ii, 331 f.). Then they began to shoot arrows and duels took place (*ibid.*, 335-7); the right wing of the government troops, led by 'Amr b. al-Ḥādīdīdī, attacked, but withdrew on meeting resistance, and the leader ordered his men not to engage in any more single combats (*ibid.*, 337, 342 f.); they preferred to go on shooting arrows from a distance. An assault and an encircling manoeuvre made by the left wing on the orders of Ṣhamir led to losses, and the commander of the cavalry asked Ibn Sa'd for help from the foot-troops and archers (*ibid.*, 344); Ṣhabath b. Rib'ī, a former supporter of 'Alī who in this action was in command of Ibn Ziyād's foot-troops, when asked to attack, made it plain that he had no wish to do so (*ibid.*, 344 f.) and it was the cavalry on armoured horses and 500 (*sic*) archers who went into action. Ḥusayn's horsemen, having hamstringed their horses, fought on foot (*ibid.*, 345). As Ḥusayn and the Ṭālibis could be approached only from the front, Ibn Sa'd sent some men towards the tents, from the right and from the left, to dismantle them, but the supporters of Ḥusayn, slipping in among the tents, defended them energetically. Ibn Sa'd then gave orders to burn the tents and this was done, at first to the advantage of Ḥusayn because the flames prevented the attackers from advancing on that side (*ibid.*, 346). Ṣhamir, who had approached the tent of Ḥusayn and his wives, would have set fire to this also, but even his comrades reproached him for this and he went away ashamed (*ibid.*, 346 f.).

At noon, Ḥusayn and his followers performed the prayer of the *zuhr* according to the rite of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* [q.v.] (*ibid.*, 347 f., 350). It was in the afternoon that Ḥusayn's party became narrowly encircled; his supporters fell fighting in front of him (*ibid.*, 351-4, 355 f.) and the way lay open through to the Ṭālibis who, until this moment, had not entered the field of action, and their massacre began. The first to be killed was 'Alī al-Akbar, the son of Ḥusayn (*ibid.*, 356 f.), then it was the turn of a son of Muslim b. 'Aqīl (*ibid.*, 357 f.), of the sons of 'Abd Allāh b. Dja'far and of 'Aqīl, then of Kāsim, the son of Ḥasan, whose death is related in touching terms: he was young and beautiful; mortally wounded, he called for help to his uncle who swooped like a falcon on the assailant and struck him with his sword; but it was not Ḥusayn who killed the attacker but the horses of Ibn Ziyād's soldiers who knocked him down and trampled him with their hooves. When the dust cleared, Ḥusayn could be seen to take the corpse of his nephew in his arms, cursing

his murderers, and to carry him in front of his tent, where the bodies of 'Alī al-Akbar and other victims were already laid (*ibid.*, 358 f.).

The details of the death of al-'Abbās, Ḥusayn's brother, are not given in the texts of al-Ṭabari or of al-Balādhuri, who limit themselves to relating (the former on p. 361, the latter on fol. 657r) that Ḥusayn, overcome by thirst, made his way towards the Euphrates, but was prevented from reaching it; he then prayed to God that he who had prevented him from achieving his object should die of thirst (and of course his prayer was answered); wounded in the mouth and on the chin, he cast upwards towards heaven the blood which he had collected in his cupped hands, complaining to God of the suffering which was being inflicted on the son of the daughter of His Messenger. But there must certainly have existed also some traditions concerning al-'Abbās, who definitely also fell at Karbalā', and al-Mufid (240) links them with that concerning Ḥusayn; he relates that the two brothers went forward together towards the river, that al-'Abbās, surrounded by enemies and separated from Ḥusayn, fought courageously and was killed on the spot where later his tomb was erected (al-Mufid, 243).

By now Ibn Ziyād's soldiers were quite close to Ḥusayn, but for some time nobody dared to raise a hand against him. Finally a Kindī, Mālik b. al-Nuṣayr, wounded him in the head, and Ḥusayn's hood was filled with blood. While he replaced it by a *kalansuwa*, wrapping a turban round it, Mālik seized the burnous, but it did him little good, for he was followed for the rest of his life by poverty and disgrace (*ibid.*, 359). Another pathetic episode is the death of a child whom Ḥusayn had placed on his knees (al-Ya'qūbī, 290 f., explains the presence of this child on Ḥusayn's lap at such an unsuitable moment by the fact that it had just been born). An arrow pierced the child's neck and Ḥusayn on this occasion also collected the blood in his cupped hands and poured it on the ground, invoking God's wrath against the evil-doers (*ibid.*, 359 f.).

The slaughter continued. Finally it was Ṣamir, the cursed of the *Shi'is*, who advanced with a small group of soldiers against Ḥusayn, but even he did not dare to strike him, and there merely ensued an altercation between the two of them (*ibid.*, 362 f.). At this moment Ḥusayn emerged from his inertia and prepared to fight (when considering the reason for his unwarlike attitude it should be remembered that he was nearly fifty-five years of age and that he had been ill). A boy placed himself bravely beside him, deaf to the order to return to the tent and to Zaynab's calling him back, and had his hand cut off by the stroke of a sword; Ḥusayn comforted him, assuring him that he would soon meet his ancestors in Paradise. There were not more than three or four rebels surviving, and Ḥusayn attacked the enemy. He was wearing well-made drawers of a shining material, but had rent them in advance because he feared that they would be looted from him after his death, a precaution which proved useless, for he was to be left naked on the field of battle (*ibid.*, 364, 366). Ibn Sa'd having approached, Zaynab spoke to him: "Umar b. Sa'd, will Abū 'Abd Allāh (the *kunya* of Ḥusayn) be killed while you stand and watch?". Tears flowed from the eyes of Ibn Sa'd (*ibid.*, 365). Ḥusayn fought vigorously. There are some sources (al-Ya'qūbī, 291, and other *Shi'i* sources) which state that he killed many enemies, even dozens, but one tradition states that if his enemies had wished they could have

killed him at once (*ibid.*, 365). Finally, in spite of his last threat of Divine vengeance, he was wounded in the hand and the shoulder and he fell with his face to the ground (*ibid.*, 366). It was Sinān b. Anas b. 'Amr al-Nakha'ī who, after striking him yet again, cut off his head, since Khawālī b. Yazid al-Aṣbaḥī, whom he had ordered to do so, was trembling too much to be capable of it. Sinān gave the head to this Khawālī, who then carried it to Ibn Ziyād.

The combat having thus ended, the soldiers turned to pillage; they seized Ḥusayn's clothing, his sword and his baggage, his dye-plants and the Yemeni cloaks, and they seized from the women their ornaments, and their cloaks (*ibid.*, 366). A sick boy was lying in one of the tents and Ṣamir would have killed him also, but was restrained; Ibn Sa'd came up and forbade anyone to enter this tent (*ibid.*, 367), and this boy, 'Alī, who was to be given the name of Zayn al-'Abidin [*q.v.*], was the only one of Ḥusayn's sons to survive the massacre; as a sign of Divine favour, there were descended from him all the numerous line of the Ḥusaynids. The martyrs of Karbalā' or of al-Ṭaff—they are known also by this toponym [*q.v.*]—numbered 72, 17 of them Ṭālibis (for a critical analysis of the other figures, see Muḥsin al-Amin, 352); 88 soldiers of Ibn Ziyād fell on the field of battle (*ibid.*, 368 f.). The latter total is given also by Muḥsin al-Amin, although it is difficult to reconcile this figure with the notes scattered throughout his book (138, 267, 268, 269, etc.) on the number killed by this or that combatant: 40 by al-Ḥurr, 30 by Burayr, 12 or 13 by Nāfi' etc., and a great number killed by Ḥusayn.

Minor episodes of the battle. The account of the battle is filled with a large number of episodes; we give here the references for those which have formed the subject of the longest narratives and which have become fairly well-known (the figures in parentheses refer to al-Ṭabari, ii): the repentance of al-Ḥurr, his fighting beside Ḥusayn and his death (332-4, 341, 345, 349 f.); the murder of a Kalbi and his wife for Ḥusayn's cause (335, 336 f., 344, 346); death of 'Abd Allāh b. Hawza following a prayer by Ḥusayn (337 f.); Nāfi' wounded, taken prisoner and executed (341 f., 350 f.); brothers fighting on opposing sides (341); 'Ābis, an old and valiant fighter, killed by stones (353 f.); a supporter who fled (354 f.); heroes who fell in duels: Muslim b. 'Awsajīa, a warrior who had taken part in expeditions against the infidels (343 f.), Burayr, the *sayyid* of the readers of the Qur'ān (338-40), Ḥabīb b. Muḥāhir (348 f.), Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn (349 f.), and others *passim*.

Events after the battle. Ḥusayn's body, covered with wounds (*ibid.*, 366), is said to have been trampled by the horses of ten men who volunteered to inflict this final indignity on the grandson of the Prophet. After Ibn Sa'd's departure, the headless body was buried with those of other "martyrs" by the Asadis of the village of al-Ghādiriyya in the spot where the massacre had taken place (*ibid.*, 368) (on the sanctuary which was erected there in their honour, see KARBALĀ'). Ḥusayn's head, with those of other Ṭālibis, was taken first to Kūfa, then to Damascus. Ibn Ziyād and Yazid, when it was placed in front of them, each reacted differently: the former was insulting, knocking out some teeth with his switch, while the caliph, according to most of the traditions, was respectful and appeared to regret the haste with which his governor had acted,

going so far as to curse "the son of Sumayya"; he is reported to have declared that if Ḥusayn had come to him he would have pardoned him. The Ṭalibi women and children were also taken first to Kūfa, then to Damascus, where the caliph in the end treated them kindly, although at the beginning of his interview with them he addressed them harshly, to which Zaynab and 'Alī replied in a similar manner. The women joined Yazid's wives in their laments for the dead; they received compensation for the property stolen from them at Karbalā' and a few days afterwards were sent back to Medina with a reliable escort. 'Alī, who had run the risk of being executed because it was stated that he was already an adult, was treated by Yazid with an almost affectionate courtesy and instructed to accompany the Ṭalibi women to Medina.

There are diverse accounts on the place where Ḥusayn's head is buried: (1) beside his father 'Alī, i.e., at al-Nadīf; (2) outside Kūfa but not beside 'Alī; (3) at Karbalā' with the rest of his body; (4) at Medina in the Baḳī'; (5) at Damascus, but exactly where is unknown; (6) at al-Raḳqa; (7) in Cairo, where it was allegedly transferred by the Fātimids [see 'AṢḲALĀN], and exactly in the place where there was built the mosque which bears his name (Muḥsin al-Amin, with many details, 390-4).

On the repentance of the inhabitants of Kūfa and their "revenge" in 64-5/683-5, see SULAYMĀN B. ṢURAD AL-KHUZĀ'Ī and TAWWĀBŪN; for the ceremonies commemorating the battle of Karbalā', see MUḤARRAM; for the Persian popular dramas of which Ḥusayn is often either the protagonist or a character, see TA'ZIYA.

THE LEGEND OF ḤUSAYN

In the legend of Ḥusayn, a first distinction may be made between those beliefs in which the element of cosmogony predominates and an important part is played by "light", those which have an eschatological character and finally those (the most numerous) in which Ḥusayn remains the historical personality known to us, but endowed with a halo of marvels which elevate him above the common run of human beings. In the first group, Ḥusayn has in general a function linked with that of the other members of the *ahl al-bayt* [q.v.] and completely equal to that of his brother Ḥasan. For a detailed study of these beliefs, arising from the influence of metaphysical systems of a much earlier date than Islam and elaborated by the extremist Shī'is (*ghulāt*), see ISMĀ'ĪLIYYA, UMM AL-KITĀB. We give here an example (Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabari, 59): 7,000 years before the creation of the world, Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, figures (*ashbāḥ*) of light, praised and glorified the Lord before His throne. When God wished to create their forms (*ṣuwar*) He forged them like a column (*'amūd*) of light, then threw them into the loins of Adam and made them pass from thence into the loins and the wombs of their forbears. They are not tainted by polytheism or heterodoxy. Among the eschatological accounts is the following (which should perhaps be connected with the beliefs of the Shī'ī sect of the Mughiriyya founded by al-Mughira b. Sa'īd al-'Idjili, d. 119/737), (Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabari, 78): Ḥusayn went to the Raḍwā mountains where he will remain on a throne of light, surrounded by the Prophets, with his faithful followers behind him, until the coming of the Mahdī; then he will transfer himself to Karbalā', where all the celestial and human beings will visit him. Others of these eschatological accounts belong to the cycle of those which

promise to the members of the *ahl al-bayt* a privileged position in Paradise; for example (Ibn Shahrāshūb, iii, 229) Muḥammad, during his *mi'rāḍi* [q.v.], saw a castle made of white pearl and learned that it was intended for Ḥusayn; as he advanced, he saw an apple, grasped it and cut it in two; from it there emerged a young girl, with the corners of her eyes like those of eagles, also destined for Ḥusayn.

Marvels. (Sigla for the authors cited: Bal. = al-Balādhuri; Ṭ. = al-Ṭabari, ii; IRṬ = Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabari; Muf. = al-Mufīd; ISh. = Ibn Shahrāshūb, iii; IKaṭh. = Ibn Kathīr, viii; Muḥs. A. = Muḥsin al-Amin. Details of later stories of a fabulous nature will be found in the book by Muḥammad Mahdī al-Māzandarāni al-Hā'iri which sometimes mentions as a source the *Bihār al-anwār* of al-Maḍīlisī, but also some recent texts).

Marvels concerning the birth and childhood of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 71; ISh., 209, 231, 237) Ḥusayn was born three months prematurely and survived this very early birth—an extraordinary circumstance which occurred only to 'Isā and it is said, also to Yahyā b. Zakariyyā'. (ISh., 209, 239) Muḥammad cared for him for 40 days, putting his thumb or his tongue or his own saliva into his mouth. (IRṬ, 79; ISh., 228 f.; parallel account: IRṬ, 73; ISh., 213) The number of angels who descended from heaven to rejoice, with Muḥammad, at his birth, was about a thousand. (IRṬ, 72; ISh., 209; Muḥs. A., 163) Djibril brought to Muḥammad at the same time the congratulations and the condolences of God. (Muḥs. A., 163) He gave him a handful of earth from Karbalā'. (ISh., 229) He dandled Ḥusayn while his mother was asleep. (IRṬ, 49; ISh., 228 f., etc.) An angel benefited from Ḥusayn's birth: banished by God to an island as punishment, with his wings broken, he saw passing over him the band of angels on their way to offer their congratulations to Muḥammad; having begged them to take him with them, he mended his broken wings simply by rubbing them against the newly-born child; he was pardoned through Muḥammad's intercession and took his place again in Paradise, from then on being called the *mawlā* of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 79) It is he who takes note of the visitors to Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalā'. (ISh., 234 f.) Muḥammad had on his knees his son Ibrāhīm, and Ḥusayn; having learned through Djibril that God would not leave both of them alive and that he could redeem the life of one of them with that of the other, he, in tears, gave up Ibrāhīm in order not to make 'Alī and Fāṭima weep.

Marvels connected with his death: When Ḥusayn fell on the battlefield (Bal., 661r; Muf., 251; ISh., 212 f.; Muḥs. A., 302 f., 305 f.) the day became dark and the stars were visible, etc., the sky became red etc. (Bal., 660v; Muḥs. A., 303 f.) It rained blood, which left traces on the heads and the garments of people as far as Khurāsān etc. (Bal., 667v; ISh., 212, 218, 238; Muḥs. A., 304 f.) Blood appeared beneath the stones in Syria and elsewhere (similar accounts: ISh., 213, etc.). (Muḥs. A., 304) Blood exuded from the walls. (ISh., 213, 236; IKaṭh., 200 f.; Muḥs. A., 163) On the night of Ḥusayn's death, Umm Salama [q.v.] or Ibn 'Abbās saw in a dream Muḥammad with his head and his beard soiled with earth, pouring blood into a phial. (IRṬ, 73; Muf., 250 f.; ISh., 213; IKaṭh., 199, 200 f.) The earth of Karbalā' which Djibril or another angel had given to Muḥammad and which Umm Salama had preserved, turned into blood on the night following Ḥusayn's death. Umm Salama realized that the tragedy was accomplished and cried out; she was the first to cry out at Medina

(all these accounts which show Muḥammad collecting the blood of the martyrs of Karbalā' or receiving a handful of the soil of Karbalā' etc. are presented in the form of *ḥadīths*, with different *isnāds* and many variants, especially in the *musnads* (canonical and non-canonical); for a collection of them arranged by subject see al-Muttaḥī al-Hindī, cited in bibl.). (IṢh., 219; IKaṭh., 200, 201; Muḥs.A., 306 f.) The *djinn*s wept and recited poems; the wives of the *djinn*s uttered funeral lamentations; Umm Salama and other women heard them. The angels wept when Ḥusayn's head was taken to Damascus. (IṢh., 238) Even the wild beasts and the fishes wept. (Muḥs.A., 164 f.) 'Alī knew that his son would be killed at Karbalā' and, when he passed by this place, halted and wept and recalled Muḥammad's prophecy. He interpreted the name of Karbalā': *karb wa-balā'* (affliction and trial). (IKaṭh., 199) The martyrs of Karbalā' will enter Paradise without any accounting for their actions. (Ṭ., 385) An unknown person, heard by all but seen by none, recited during the night before the battle threatening verses.

Marvels of the severed head: (IṢh., 217 f.) While the head was being transported, a mysterious quill wrote threatening verses on a wall. The same verses had been written in a church of the Rūm, built 300 years before Muḥammad's mission. The head emitted a perfume; and a monk, impressed by the miraculous light emanating from it, paid a sum of money to be allowed to keep it in his cell; during the night the head spoke and the next day the monk embraced Islam; the *dirhams* which he had paid changed into stones. A snake crawled into one nostril of the severed head and out of the other. (IRṬ., 77 f., etc.) The head recited verses of the Qur'an. (Ṭ., 369; IṢh., 217 f.) *Khawālī* having taken it to his house on the night of his arrival at Kūfa and having put it under an urn, a column of light descended from the sky and a white bird circled around the urn.

Punishment of those who had insulted and wounded Ḥusayn. All those who had wronged Ḥusayn were visited by some immediate or eventual misfortune: (IṢh., 214-6; Muḥs.A., 348-51) there are mentioned: murder, blindness, various maladies (e.g., leprosy, unquenchable thirst, hands as dry as wood in summer, damp in winter), death from burns, stings from scorpions, loss of vigour, poverty, a man driven from his house by his own wife (some of these misfortunes are related by al-Ṭabarī, *passim*). Those who stole property belonging to Ḥusayn were also punished: he who put Ḥusayn's turban on his own head was afflicted with madness; he who put on his cloak, with poverty; he who used his perfume, his dye-plants and his clothes, with leprosy or the falling out of his hair. The items stolen underwent changes which made them unusable or caused them to lose their value: (IṢh., 215, 218) The meat of the camels became bitter or caught fire; the dye-plants and the perfumes changed into blood, the gold into copper or fire in the hands of the goldsmiths; the saffron caught fire. On the marvels of the tombs, see KARBALĀ'.

Supernatural attributes of Ḥusayn which caused marvels. (IṢh., 230) His forehead was so white that people could find their way to him in the dark. He was able to cure sickness: (IRṬ., 77) he caused a white mark between the eyes of a devout woman to vanish by blowing on it; (IṢh., 210) he cured a sick person of his fever. He detached the hand of a man which had become fixed to a woman's arm because he had touched her during the rite of circumambulation of the Ka'ba; the *fakīhs* had already decided

to cut off the hand. Ḥusayn's extraordinary faculties also enabled him (IṢh., 210 f.) to make a foster-child speak so as to reveal the name of his true father, to allow anyone who asked it of him to be present at events which had happened in the past in very distant places ('Alī and Muḥammad in the mosque of Kūbā), (IRṬ., 75, 77, 78) to obtain for his son grapes and bananas out of season, to make a barren palm bear fruit, to quench the thirst of all his followers by putting his thumb into their mouths, and to feed them with celestial food on the day of the battle, (IṢh., 209) to make water spring up, by shooting an arrow, near to the tent of his wives at Karbalā'. (IRṬ., 74 and cf. 72) He made a sign towards the sky and a band of angels came down ready to fight for him, but he chose to sacrifice himself. He was able to see into the future and to know secrets. In general it is Muḥammad who had informed those close to him or who informs Ḥusayn in a dream of the fate which awaits him (he told the Five (IṢh., 240) that Ḥusayn would be unjustly killed and his brother also and that their descendants would be exempt from the rendering of accounts on the Day of the Resurrection), but it is a wild animal which reveals to Ḥusayn the feelings of the Kūfāns towards him. He knew in advance that 'Umar b. Sa'd would be in command of the enemy troops (and predicted his death (Muf., 251; IṢh., 213) shortly after his own), that his own head would be taken to Ibn Ziyād and that the bearer of it would receive no reward; (see also Muf., 251) he forbade a group of his servants to leave on a certain day, and as they did not obey and were killed, he revealed to the governor the names of the murderers.

Names and by-names of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ., 73; IṢh., 232) In the Tawrah God called Ḥusayn Shubayr and in the Gospels Ṭab. Hārūn, the brother of Moses, having learnt the names which God had given to the sons of 'Alī, gave the same names to his own sons. For a long and interesting list of the by-names of Ḥusayn, in the form of a litany, see IṢh., 232. Ḥusayn and his brother are often referred to as the "Proof (*ḥudūd*) of God" on earth (see, e.g., Muf., 198).

Verses of the Qur'an interpreted by the *Shi'is* as referring to Ḥusayn. For a series of these verses, see IṢh., 206 f., 236 f.; cf. Muf., 199. An example is verse XLVI, 14/15, which speaks of the pregnant mother bearing her child with suffering and giving birth to him with pain; it is interpreted as an allusion to Fāṭima, who, having conceived Ḥusayn, was much distressed when she heard from Muḥammad that he had received God's condolences on the fate of his future grandson. The mysterious letters K.H.Y.'Ṣ., with which *sūra* XIX begins, had been explained by God to Zakariyyā' as follows: K = Karbalā'; H = *halāk al-'itira*; Y = Yazid; ' = *'atshuh*; Ṣ = *ṣabruhu*. This explanation is merely a detail in a rather involved narrative (IṢh., 237) forming part of a group of curious comparisons between the fate of Ḥusayn and that of Yaḥyā, the son of Zakariyyā' (perhaps owing to the motif of the severed heads placed on a dish): Zakariyyā', who had learned the names of the Five from *Djibril*, was astonished by the fact that when he uttered the name of Ḥusayn his eyes filled with tears, while when he uttered the others he felt joy. God then revealed to him the destiny of Muḥammad's grandson, and Zakariyyā' wept and sobbed, asking God to give him also a son who could cause him to endure a sorrow similar to that which He was to inflict on his beloved Muḥam-

mad. God granted him a son, Yahyā. At each stage of his journey from Mecca to Kūfa, Ḥusayn recalled Yahyā. According to another account (Iṣḥ., 238, cf. 234), Ḥusayn's blood will boil as that of Yahyā had done, and in order to quieten it God will kill 70,000 hypocrites, unbelievers and wicked believers, as he had also done for Yahyā.

Judgements on Ḥusayn. Throughout the Muslim world there was sympathy and a high regard for Ḥusayn. It was only the adherents of the Umayyad movement who presented him as a *bāghīn* *ba'da in'ikād al-bay'a*, that is as a rebel against the established authority, and thus condoned his murder by Yazid, but their opinion was opposed not only by those who despised the Umayyad régime (for an echo of the protests of the latter and their denial of the validity of the *bay'a* to Yazid, see al-Mukram, 12-6, and Muḥsin al-Amin, 67), but also by those Muslims who refused to recognize that the murderers had acted according to their consciences and at the same time sought pretexts to refrain from blaming either the rebel al-Ḥusayn or the Companions and the *tābi'ūn* who had remained neutral in order to avoid civil war (see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, Būlāḳ 1284, 177, 181, *faṣl fī wilāyat al-'ahd*). In this almost universal exaltation of Ḥusayn due to his descent from the Prophet and to the conviction that he had sacrificed himself for an ideal, it is not possible to make a clear distinction between the opinions of the Sunnis and those of the Shī'is, except in the case of certain privileges and attributes which only the Shī'is accord him. The very favourable attitude of the Sunnis was probably strongly influenced by the pathetic accounts which Abū Mikhnaḥ collected, either directly or with a very short *isnād*, mainly from the Kūfans who repented of their behaviour towards the Prophet's grandson; it was these traditions, suffused with the sentiments of the Kūfans and marked by the notoriously pro-'Alid character of Abū Mikhnaḥ's collection, which formed the basis of the account of the later historians and through them spread throughout the Muslim world.

As there exists no work which can serve as a guide to the ideas of all the groups of Shī'is concerning Ḥusayn, we limit ourselves here to the following notes: Ḥusayn in his capacity as *imām* [see IMĀMA] shares the various privileges accorded to the *imāms* (see Bausani, *La religione* . . . , 346 f.) by the Twelver Shī'is [see ITHNĀ-'ASHARIYYA], the Ismā'īlis [see ISMĀ'ILĪYYA], the Zaydis [see ZAYDIYYA], etc.; like the other *imāms*, he is a mediator with God for those who call on him; it is through his intercession (*tawassul*) that his faithful followers obtain guidance and attain salvation. As a member of the holy Five he received the same divine grace as his brother Ḥasan [see AHL AL-BAYT, AHL AL-KISĀ', FĀTIMA, MUBĀHALA, etc.]. As a grandson of the Prophet he had the right to receive reverence (*hurma*). In addition he possessed personal qualities, above all the attribute of piety, demonstrated by his 25 pilgrimages on foot from Medina to Mecca and the 1,000 *rak'as* which he performed each day (on this number, which is considered to be exaggerated, see Muḥsin al-Amin, 124 f.). It was because of his lengthy devotions that he had little time to spare for his wives and consequently had few children. Other qualities which he possessed were generosity (there are several stories to illustrate this), forbearance (*hilm*), humility, eloquence (as a proof of this there are mentioned speeches and poems by him), and finally the qualities which may be inferred from his actions,

such as his contempt for death, disdain for a life of humiliation, his pride, etc. (see, e.g., Muḥsin al-Amin, 125-39, 152, 156 f.). But the basis of the exaltation of Ḥusayn by the Shī'is is found in the noble motives for which he sacrificed himself and of course in the moving fact of his edifying exploit. From the belief that the *imāms* know all that was, that is, and that is to come, and that their knowledge does not increase with time, it is inferred that Ḥusayn knew in advance the destiny which awaited him and his followers; he thus set off from Mecca towards Kūfa aware of his imminent sacrifice and yet without any hesitation or any effort to escape from God's will. A tradition according to which he was invited by God to choose between sacrifice and victory (helped by an angel) gives yet more value to his enterprise, since it makes of it a voluntary action, and hence of great significance. The question arises as to his aim in thus sacrificing himself. The Shī'ī texts are very clear on this point: Ḥusayn gave his person and his possessions as an offering to God to "revive the religion of his grandfather Muḥammad", "to redeem it", and "save it from the destruction into which it had been thrown by the behaviour of Yazid"; furthermore, he wished to show that the conduct of the hypocrites was shameful and to teach the peoples the necessity of revolt against unjust and impious governments (*fāsiqs*), in short he offered himself as an example (*uswa*) to the Muslim community (see, e.g., Muḥsin al-Amin, 136, 152 f.). The idea that his intention was to redeem men from their sins by his blood and to save them, that his action was a redemptive sacrifice for the salvation of the world, is, in these actual terms, foreign to Shī'ī beliefs; at least the writer of this article has found no trace of it in the texts consulted. It is possible that it penetrated later into the *ta'ziyas* and into recent poems, since the transition from *tawassul* to this idea is an easy one and it may have been helped by the influence of Christian ideas.

Among western Islamic scholars, Wellhausen and Lammens have formed judgements on the character of Ḥusayn after careful study of the sources available to them. The former, guided by his subtle intuition of historical facts, painted a fine picture of the situation and the characters; he denies that Ḥusayn had any religious motives for his exploit, seeing it merely as the bid of an ambitious man for supreme power. The latter has no sympathy with the adversary of the chivalrous Yazid; he regards Ḥusayn as a frivolous man (this had also been the opinion of Mu'awiya: al-Ṭabari, ii, 197), and completely improvident. Neither of these scholars attached any importance to the speeches and phrases which Ḥusayn is said to have uttered on various occasions, obviously considering them to be later forgeries. But although it is probable that the traditionists have re-cast or modified this material, it must nevertheless be admitted that there emerges from it as a whole and, more important, from the facts themselves, the figure of a man impelled by an ideology (the institution of a régime which would fulfil the demands of the true Islam), convinced that he was in the right, stubbornly determined to achieve his ends, as in general are all religious fanatics, and admired and encouraged by supporters who were also convinced that their cause was just. This interpretation may not be a true picture of Ḥusayn as an individual; it was nevertheless that which the following generation, for motives either of sentiment (respect, pity for his death), or of politics (the campaign against the Umayyads), gave of him, which was shared by the

later Arabic historians and which led to his exaltation and his legendary position among the *Shi'is*.

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(L. VECCHIA VAGLIERI)

AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ, ṢĀḤĪB FAKHKH, 'Alid who led a revolt at Medina during the caliphate of al-Hādī ila 'l-haqq [q.v.] and was killed at Fakhk on 8 Dhu 'l-Hijja 69/11 June 786 (the date 170 suggested in some sources is incorrect, since al-Hādī died on 16 Rabi' I 170/15 September 786, and it is certain that the insurrection took place in the last months of the year). His father was the 'Alī al-'Ābid (or al-Khayr or al-Agharr), famous for his piety and his noble sentiments, who wished to share the fate of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muḥannān (= 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [q.v.]) and the group of his relatives when they were