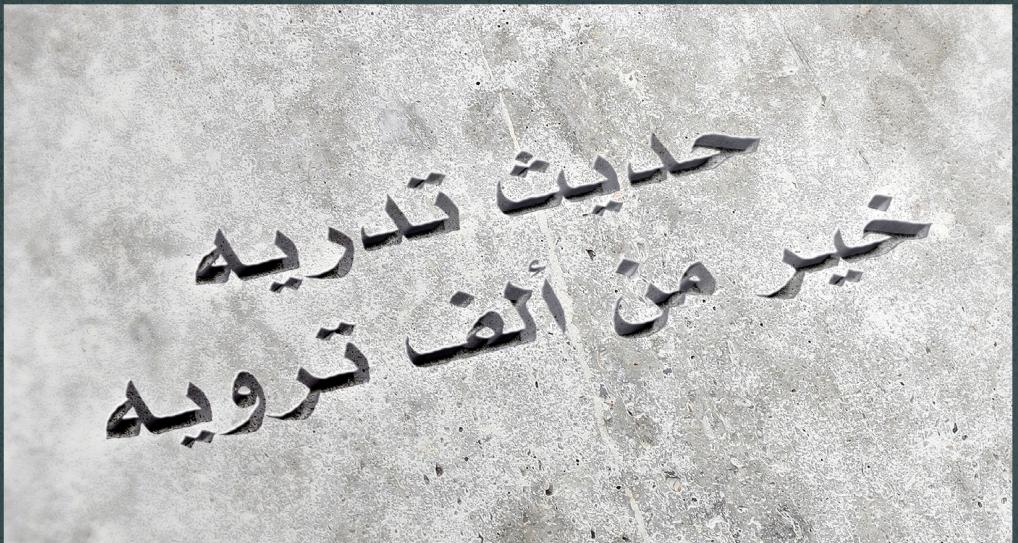


INFALLIBLE WORDS

Discourses on Ḥadīth

VOLUME 2



حَدِيثٌ تَدْرِيجهُ
خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَلْفٍ تَرْوِيهُ

Tahir Ridha Jaffer

Infallible Words

Discourses on Ḥadīth

Volume 2

Tahir Ridha Jaffer

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

ء	'	ط	ٰ
ا	a	ظ	ڙ
ب	b	ع	ڻ
ت	t	غ	ڻ
ث	th	ف	f
ج	j	ق	q
ح	h	ك	k
خ	kh	ل	l
د	d	م	m
ذ	dh	ن	n
ر	r	و	w
ز	z	ي	y
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	ڻ	h (or not transliterated)
ص	§		
ض	ڏ		

Long Vowels

ا	ା
و	ୁ
ي	ି

Short Vowels

ـ	ـ
ـ	ـ
ـ	ـ

(§) : ﷺ - Peace and blessings be upon him and his family

(a) : ﷺ - Peace be upon him (or her, or them)

(atf) : ﷺ May Allah hasten his reappearance

We dedicate this work to the pious ḥadīth scholars who have worked tirelessly over the ages to impart the sayings of the Infallibles to the believers – may Allah bless them all.

INTRODUCTION

The field of ḥadīth studies has burgeoned and continues to grow rapidly in the religious seminary (*hawza ilmiyyah*) today, with numerous institutes devoted to research on the subject and countless tomes, academic journals and advanced classes offered by renowned scholars on the sayings of the Infallibles. With the advent of the internet and adoption of the available technologies by research institutes affiliated to the seminary, it has become increasingly easier to access material that would previously require one to pore through large volumes in dusty old libraries. However, like most human advancements, this has proven to be a double-edged sword, since it has also given non-experts access to material which they cannot comprehend correctly, leading to much confusion in some quarters.

There is a vast scope for ḥadīth research and many of the modern phenomena we see around us can be analysed through the lens of ḥadīth. Second only to the Qur’ān, the ḥadīth constitutes a primary source of beliefs, teachings and legislation in Islam. From the earliest days, Muslims realized the importance of the *aḥādīth* and took great pains to learn and preserve them, at times travelling to far off places to collect and record the sayings of the Prophet (ṣ) from those who had heard it first-hand. The Shī‘ahs likewise regularly travelled to meet the Imam of their time in order to get their religious queries answered and benefit from their advice and teachings.

Given that the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and the chosen ones from his progeny were divinely appointed guides who were tasked with teaching the people, it is evident that they were the only ones from whom Muslims could learn the correct meanings of the verses of the Qur’ān. As such, one of the important functions of ḥadīth has been to give

insight to Muslim exegetes about the interpretation of Qur'ānic verses and out of the numerous commentaries and explanations that have been offered by scholars, only those that are based on the teachings of the Infallibles are deemed to be most authoritative.

As time passed, due to various factors such as the fabrication of ḥadīth by some unscrupulous individuals and groups, the rudimentary nature of stationery on which ḥadīth had been written, the burning of libraries, and the difficulty of making copies of texts, it became increasingly difficult to decipher the meaning and intent of the sayings, and distinguish the authentic traditions from the inauthentic ones. The fact that most narrators conveyed the meanings of the *ahādīth* rather than the actual verbatim statements of the Infallibles only made things more problematic. For this reason, scholars developed different sciences that could be used to help in ḥadīth evaluation and interpretation. These included, for instance, the science of *rijāl* (evaluation of narrators), *dirāyah* (contextual analysis), *fiqh al-ḥadīth* (a study of the purport and meanings of the *ahādīth*), to name a few.

With the passage of time, the complexity of these sciences increased as they were developed further by every subsequent generation of scholars. A lot of time and effort was put into the evaluation and interpretation of the *ahādīth* and seminarians would sometimes spend weeks discussing and debating the meaning of a single ḥadīth. It is precisely for this reason that when a non-expert tries to argue and prove his point using a ḥadīth, he actually undermines the great efforts of ḥadīth experts by ignoring what they have to say about the ḥadīth in question. Hence, it is paramount to realize the *faux pas* of quoting any ḥadīth without taking the time to see what the experts have said about it.

The misconception in the minds of some is that the seminaries of Qum and Najaf are outdated institutions with scholars who are detached from the realities of the modern and postmodern world, and know nothing about the actual problems faced by believers in their daily

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lives. This perception of the *hawza* as an archaic and even obsolete establishment is promulgated by liberal minded individuals who wish to sway believers towards their skewed version of religion. Unfortunately, some people fall for this false notion due to lack of information about the profound and academic nature of contemporary research that is carried out in the *hawza*. One of the reasons for penning this series is to give English readers an idea of the kind of research that is carried out in the seminary.

Like all academic research work, the articles in this series are based on original research that complements the work of other researchers in the field. This is generally the norm when it comes to research: the work of experts is studied and then further developed, with novel ideas incorporated into it to produce new research. The current volume has seven chapters, each being an independent article. Some of the articles are based on classical texts whereas others are studies on more recent issues. The chapters have not been arranged in any specific sequence and since the topics vary and are not directly interconnected, the chapters can be read in any order.

The first chapter is a study of the tradition about the adjuration (*munāshadah*) of Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a) at al-Ruḥbah. This tradition is important because it shows that even after a quarter of a century had passed, and Imam 'Alī had become the caliph and ruler of the Muslims, he still did not want the proclamation of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) at Ghadīr Khumm to be forgotten by the people. In this chapter, we briefly examine the different versions of this tradition as transmitted from those who witnessed the event. We then look at what some scholars have said about the tradition and how they graded it in terms of soundness. Finally, we discuss the significance of the ḥadīth of *munāshadah*.

The second chapter addresses an issue that relates to those who revert to Islam from other faith traditions as well as to the community of believers that welcomes them into the fold. The question pertaining

to the necessity of changing one's name upon becoming a Muslim does not seem to have been clearly or adequately discussed in light of what is found in the ḥadīth corpus. While there is a consensus that it is not obligatory to change one's name after accepting Islam, there is certainly a case to be made for doing so. In this chapter, we look at this issue primarily through the lens of ḥadīth before arriving at a conclusion on the need and importance of adopting a Muslim name.

Chapter three is a close reading of the early ḥadīth collection *Qurb al-Isnād*, which contains traditions with short chains of transmission that have a lower chance of inadvertent corruption in the process of relaying the traditions from one transmitter to the next. This work by 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far al-Himyārī was compiled during the period of minor occultation (*al-ghaybah al-ṣughrā*) and is thus one of the earliest Shī'ī ḥadīth compilations. Furthermore, it is the only Imāmī *Qurb al-Isnād* work that is extant. In this chapter, we have carried out an in-depth examination of its contents and classified the narrations contained therein subjectwise.

The fourth chapter is a brief study of the narrations in praise of women. It includes forty traditions that speak highly of women, acknowledging them as valuable members of society. Such traditions are usually completely overlooked by those whose wont is to criticize Islam and its teachings about women. While it is true that the issue of gender roles and responsibilities is highly nuanced and requires in-depth study and discussion, our aim in this chapter is to show that there is another side to the *ahādīth* about women, which many are unlikely to be aware of since it is not in the interests of those who have feminist agendas to highlight these positive traditions. Since this is our primary objective, and in the interest of brevity, we have refrained from delving into technical discussions regarding the chains of transmission or the historical context of the traditions.

In the fifth chapter, we have undertaken to extract and source (*takhrīj*) traditions from one of the oldest extant Arabic dictionaries, al-

INTRODUCTION

Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāḥīdī's *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*. In this work, the author has included over four hundred *ahādīth*, using them as examples for some of the words he defines. Out of these, we have chosen seventy traditions and found sources for them from both Sunnī and Shī‘ī ḥadīth texts, using a meaning-based approach. This entails searching for sources that are closest in meaning to what has been mentioned in *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* when no verbatim source can be found, which is the case for most of the examples cited. In the end, the benefits of such an endeavour have been highlighted.

Chapter six is a statistical analysis of the chains of transmission found in the ḥadīth collections of al-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūq. For the purpose of our study, we have chosen ten of Ibn Bābawayh's most important extant ḥadīth compilations. The goal of our analysis is primarily to see what kind of traditions, in terms of their chains, have been included in al-Ṣadūq's compilations according to current method of isnād classification. This can then give us some idea about the validity or invalidity of certain claims that have been made about al-Ṣadūq himself, such as the assertion that he was proto-Akhbārī.

The final chapter is a translation of a Zaydī treatise that contains narrations about the martyrdom of Imam al-Ḥusayn (a). The treatise is itself based on works by two 5th century Zaydī authors, and contains a total of 107 narrations. The purpose of this chapter is to get an overall picture of the types of narrations that are found in Zaydī sources regarding the tragedy of Karbalā’, so as to enable us to compare the same with what we have in our own sources. While most of the narrations mentioned in this treatise are found in other early non-Zaydī sources, there are a handful of traditions that are unique and worth exploring further in the future.

In the end, it is hoped that this second volume, and any others that follow in the series, will prove useful to those who are interested in ḥadīth studies. It goes without saying that any errors in this work are

solely the responsibility of the author and nobody else. We pray to the Almighty to grant us the ability to fulfill our duties, as His humble servants, in the cause of Islam. And all praise is due only to Allah, Lord of the worlds.

1

“DO YOU REMEMBER THE PROPHET’S PROCLAMATION AT GHADĪR KHUMM?” A STUDY OF THE ADJURATION AT AL-RUHBAH

The ḥadīth about the adjuration (*munāshadah*) of Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) at al-Ruhbah¹ is perhaps the second strongest evidence of the rightful successorship of the Imam to the Noble Prophet (ṣ) after the ḥadīth of Ghadīr itself. Indeed, one of the arguments posed to those who support the ‘right’ of Abū Bakr, and after him ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān, is that if they had truly been legitimate leaders endorsed by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), why did they never mention that as evidence for their right to rule as successors to the Prophet? We do not have a single recorded instance wherein any of them claimed that the Prophet had appointed him as his rightful successor. Instead, other justifications like being members of the same tribe, or being among the foremost emigrants, etc. were presented to support their claim.

On the other hand, there are several traditions where the event of Ghadīr was mentioned and referred to as evidence for the right of the *khilāfah* of Amīr al-Mu’minīn (a) by the Imam himself. Some of the instances when he (a) reminded people of his appointment by the Noble Prophet (ṣ) as the latter’s successor include what took place on the day of the *shūrā* council (which ended with election of ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān), during the battles of al-Jamal and Ṣiffīn, and in the presence of

¹ Also pronounced al-Raḥabah. It is said to refer to a village near Kūfah which had a large fertile farmland. Alternatively, the term may refer to the courtyard of Masjid al-Kūfah or that which is in front of the central government building (*dār al-imārah*). See: Husaynī Tehrānī, *Imām Shenāsī*, vol. 9, p. 41, footnote no. 1.

the riders (*rukbatān*) in Kūfah.² And this is also true for other Infallibles who referred to the event. When al-Sayyidah al-Zahrā' (a) was approached by a group of people who said, after having heard her sermon, “Had we heard this before giving our allegiance to Abū Bakr, we would never have equated anyone with ‘Alī!” she responded, “Did my father, on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, leave anyone an excuse [for doing so]?”³

The event of Ghadīr was reported by so many transmitters that even headstrong opponents of the *wilāyah* of Imam ‘Alī (a) had to admit that it did in fact transpire. The only thing they could do was to question the meaning of the Prophet’s proclamation, and even in that they were completely unsuccessful. The notion that the Messenger of Allah only wished to declare his love for ‘Alī, and to tell the people to love him and nothing more than that, goes against reason and basic common sense. Some simple reasons can be evinced for this: First, the fact that the Noble Prophet commenced his announcement by asking the people whether he had more authority (*awlā*) over them than they did over themselves. Only when they replied affirmatively did he say, “Whoever takes me as his master (*mawlā*), then ‘Alī is his master.” Second, the fact that the Prophet instructed all his followers to stop in the heat of the desert to make the proclamation belies the idea that it was simply to tell them to love ‘Alī. Thirdly, the fact that in the same sermon, the Prophet also mentioned that he would soon leave this world, and then told ‘Alī, “You are the authority over every believer after me,” clearly shows that what was meant by him by the term ‘*mawlā*’ was authority, and not merely affection.

The question that comes up, however, is: why did Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn need to bring up the event of Ghadīr twenty-five years later, after becoming the caliph? According to al-‘Allāmah al-Amīnī, when he

² For a list of such instances, see: Al-Amīnī, *al-Munāshadah wal-Iḥtijāj bi Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 99.

³ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, vol. 1, p. 173.

learnt that people had started making accusations and raising doubts about what he had narrated regarding how the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) had preferred him over others, and how he had been deprived of his right to the caliphate, he came before the people at al-Ruḥbah in Kūfah and made them testify to what had been spoken by the Noble Prophet (ṣ) at Ghadīr Khumm.⁴ Others have posited that the purpose of bringing up the event of Ghadīr at this time in such a public manner was in order to reaffirm the important truth and awaken those who had since fallen into the slumber of heedlessness about it, as well as to enlighten the later generation who was not aware about his *wilāyah* [and that of the Ahl al-Bayt (a)].⁵ Another possibility was perhaps the Imam knew that rebellion was afoot and he wanted to remove any doubt in the minds of the people regarding the legitimacy of his position before encountering those who would rebel against him in the Battles of Jamal, Ḫiffin and Nahrawān in the coming years.

In any case, the ḥadīth of the adjuration at al-Ruḥbah is one of the many traditions that prove, beyond any shadow of doubt, the *wilāyah* of Amīr al-Mu’minīn (a). The present study aims to build upon the research already carried out by earlier scholars, especially with respect to the narrators and chains of transmission of the tradition. We will look at both the various transmitters of this ḥadīth, as well as the different versions thereof. Though it was a single event, it has been reported by different people who were present there, in different ways. That itself makes it something historically indisputable. Besides this, even those who do not ascribe to the belief in *wilāyah* have attested to the soundness and reliability of at least some of the chains of transmission of this tradition, as we have noted below.

Yet one of the questions that arise is: why were there so few witnesses? Since this event took place about twenty-five years after the event of Ghadīr, many of the Companions who were present at Ghadīr

⁴ Al-Amīnī, *al-Munāshadah wal-Iḥtijāj bi Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 15.

⁵ Jawād, *Iḥyā’ al-Ghadīr fī Madīnat al-Kūfah*, p. 22.

Khumm had passed away, and those who were alive resided in different towns and villages. Kūfah is a long way from al-Madīnah, and only a few Companions, who were loyal to ‘Alī (a), lived in Kūfah. Furthermore, this event was not something pre-planned such that people could travel from other places to al-Ruhbah and give their testimonies. It was spontaneous, so only those who were there at the time could bear witness to what they heard at Ghadīr. Furthermore, there might have also been those who bore a grudge against the Imam and thus withheld their testimony.

According to different available accounts, there were anywhere between ten to thirty people who testified to the event of Ghadīr during this event. And the ḥadīth of the adjuration at al-Ruhbah was itself transmitted by twelve people among the followers of ‘Alī (a), three of whom were Companions, while the rest were Successors.⁶ Other reports mention different numbers of witnesses who stood up to testify. One way of explaining the apparent discrepancy in the number of witnesses is that each individual who reported about the event only mentioned those he was aware of, or those next to him whom he knew, or those on one side of the gathering only. After all, it is but natural that every individual only recalled whomever he could. In the end, it suffices to know that more than ten people stood up to testify that they heard the Prophet’s declaration at Ghadīr.

The Tradition and Its Narrators

Since there are twelve known original transmitters of this tradition, we will mention each of them and quote one version of the tradition that has reached us from that transmitter, as in some instances there are

⁶ This is according to more recent research. Al-‘Allāmah al-Amīnī lists eighteen names of narrators, three being Companions and the rest Successors. However, his list includes Ḥabbat al-‘Uranī as a Companion when, according to most scholars, he was actually a Successor. He was a companion of Imam ‘Alī (a).

multiple versions from each transmitter, with slight differences in wording between them. That, however, does not have any direct bearing on the authenticity of the variant versions, since each rendition has to be studied separately to deduce its value in terms of soundness and authenticity. Nevertheless, the general authenticity of the tradition and the event wherein it was spoken is clearly attested to by the sheer number of varying reports about it in the early sources.

(1) Abū Ṭufayl ‘Āmir ibn Wāthilah

He was a Companion of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).

حدّثنا حسين بن محمد، وأبو نعيم، قالا: حدّثنا فطر، عن أبي الطفيل، قال: جمع عليٌ رضي الله عنه الناس في الرحبة، ثم قال لهم: أنشد الله كلَّ امرئ مسلم سمع رسول الله صَلَّى الله عليه وسَلَّمَ يوم غدير خمٍّ ما سمع، لما قام. فقام ثلاثون من الناس، وقال أبو نعيم: ققام ناسٌ كثير، فشهدوا حين أخذه بيده، فقال للناس: «أتعلمون أيَّ أولي بالمؤمنين من أنفسهم؟» قالوا: نعم يا رسول الله، قال: «من كنت مولاً لهاً فهذا مولاً، اللَّهم وال من والا، وعاد من عاداه». قال: فخرجت وكأنَّ في نفسي شيئاً، فلقيت زيد بن أرقم فقلت له: إني سمعت علياً رضي الله عنه يقول: كذا وكذا، قال: فما تنكر؟ قد سمعت رسول الله صَلَّى الله عليه وسَلَّمَ يقول ذلك له.

Husayn ibn Muḥammad narrated to us, as did Abū Nu‘aym, that Fiṭr narrated to us from Abī Ṭufayl who said, “‘Alī, may Allah be pleased with him, gathered the people at al-Ruḥbah and then said to them, ‘I adjure by Allah every Muslim man who heard what was said by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm to stand up.’ So thirty people stood...” And Abū Nu‘aym said, “Many people stood up”

“...and testified about the moment when he (ṣ) took him by the hand and said to the people, ‘Do you know that I have more authority over the believers than they do over themselves?’ They said, ‘Yes, O Messenger of Allah.’ So he said, ‘Whoever takes me as his master, then this [man, ‘Alī] is his master. O Allah, be an ally to whoever befriends him, and an enemy to whoever takes him as an enemy.’” He (Abū Ṭufayl) said, “So I left [that gathering] feeling something akin to doubt, then I met Zayd ibn Arqam, and I said to him, ‘I heard ‘Alī, may Allah be pleased with him, say such-and-such.’ He responded, ‘So what [part of that] would you reject? I myself heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say that to him.’”⁷

(2) Zayd ibn Arqam

He was a Companion of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).

حدّثنا إبراهيم بن نائلة الأصبهاني، ثنا إسماعيل بن عمرو البجلي، ثنا أبو إسرائيل الملائي، عن الحكم، عن أبي سليمان زيد بن وهب، عن زيد بن أرقم، قال: نشد علي الناس في الرحبة من سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول الذي قال له، فقام ستة عشر رجلاً فشهدوا أنّهم سمعوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: «اللَّهُمَّ مَنْ كُنْتَ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلَيْيَ مَوْلَاهُ، اللَّهُمَّ وَالَّذِي وَالَّذِي عَادَهُ». قال زيد بن أرقم: فكنت فيمن كتم فذهب بصرى، وكان على رضي الله عنه دعا على من كتم.

⁷ Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 32, pp. 55-56. Also, with slight variance of wording, in: Al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 2, p. 133, h. 492; al-Tahāwī, *Sharḥ Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol. 5, p. 15; al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 134; al-Bustī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Hibbān*, vol. 15, p. 376.

Ibrāhīm ibn Nā'ilah al-Asbahānī, quoting Ismā'il ibn 'Amr al-Bajalī, quoting Abū Isrā'il al-Mulā'i, from al-Hakam, from Abī Sulaymān Zayd ibn Wahab, from Zayd ibn Arqam who said, “'Alī adjured the people at al-Ruhbah, calling those who heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say that which he said regarding him, so sixteen men stood up and bore witness that they heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say, ‘O Allah, whoever takes me as his master, then 'Alī is his master. O Allah, be an ally to whoever befriends him, and an enemy to whoever makes enmity with him.’” Zayd ibn Arqam said, “I was among those who hid [this] so I lost my sight, and 'Alī, may Allah be pleased with him, had supplicated against whoever hides [their knowledge of] this.”⁸

(3) Ya'lā ibn Murrah

He was a Companion of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).

أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو مُوسَىٰ كِتَابَةً، أَخْبَرَنَا حَمْزَةُ بْنُ الْعَبَّاسِ الْعَلَوِيُّ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو بَكْرَ أَحْمَدَ بْنَ الْفَضْلِ الْبَاطِرِقَانِيَّ، أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو مُسْلِمٍ عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنَ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ شَهْدَلِ الْمَدِينِيِّ، أَخْبَرَنَا أَبُو الْعَبَّاسِ أَحْمَدَ بْنَ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنَ سَعِيدَ بْنَ عَقْدَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنُ قَتِيَّةَ، أَخْبَرَنَا الْحَسَنُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ بْنُ عُمَرَ، أَخْبَرَنَا عَمَرُ بْنُ سَعِيدَ الْبَصْرِيَّ، عَنْ عُمَرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ يَعْلَى بْنِ مَرَّةَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ جَدِّهِ يَعْلَى بْنِ مَرَّةَ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: «مَنْ كَنْتَ مُولاً فَعَلَيْكَ مُولاً، اللَّهُمَّ وَالَّذِي وَالَّذِي وَعَادَ مِنْ عَادِهِ».

⁸ Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mujam al-Kabir*, vol. 5, p. 171. Also, with slight variance of wording, in: Ibid, p. 175; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 38, pp. 218-9.

قال: فلما قدم عليّ رضي الله عنه الكوفة نشد الناس من سمع ذلك من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فأنسد له بضعة عشر رجلاً، منهم: يزيد أو زيد بن شراحيل الأنصاري.

Abū Mūsā informed us in writing [that] Ḥamzah ibn al-‘Abbās al-‘Alawī Abū Muḥammad informed us, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl al-Bāṭirqānī informed us, Abū Muslim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shahdal al-Madīnī informed us, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘id ibn ‘Uqdah informed us, ‘Abdullāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Qutaybah informed us, al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād ibn ‘Umar informed us, ‘Umar ibn Sa‘id al-Baṣrī informed us, from ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ya‘lā ibn Murrah, from his father, from his grandfather Ya‘lā ibn Murrah who said, “I heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say, ‘Whoever takes me as his master, then ‘Alī is his master. O Allah, be an ally to whoever befriends him, and an enemy to whoever has enmity for him.’”

He [also] said, “When ‘Alī, may Allah be pleased with him, came to Kūfah, he adjured the people who had heard this from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) [to testify to it], so more than ten people testified, among them was Yazid or Zayd ibn Sharāḥil al-Anṣārī.”⁹

(4) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā

حدَثنا عبد الله، حدَثني عبيد الله بن عمر القواريري، حدَثنا يونس بن أرقم، حدَثنا يزيد بن أبي زياد، عن عبد الرحمن بن أبي ليلى، قال: شهدت علىاً في الرحبة يشد الناس: أنسد الله من سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول يوم غدير خم: «من كنت مولاه فعللي مولاها» لما قام فشهد. قال عبد الرحمن: فقام اثنا عشر

⁹ Ibn Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah fī Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2, p. 362.

بدریاً، كأنني أنظر إلى أحدهم، فقالوا: نشهد أننا سمعنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول يوم غدير خم: «ألست أولى بال المسلمين من أنفسهم، وأزواجهم وأمهاتهم؟» فقلنا: بلى يا رسول الله، قال: « فمن كنت مولاه فعليّ مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه». ^{١٠}

‘Abdullāh narrated to us [saying], ‘Ubaydullāh ibn ‘Umar al-Qawārirī narrated to me, Yūnus ibn Arqam narrated to us, Yazid ibn Abi Ziyād narrated to us from ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abi Laylā who said, “I witnessed ‘Alī adjuring the people at al-Ruḥbah [and saying], ‘I adjure by Allah anyone who heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) saying on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, “Whoever takes me as his master, then ‘Alī is his master,” to stand up and bear witness [to it].’” ‘Abd al-Rahmān said, “So twelve veterans of [the Battle of] Badr stood up, and it is as though I can still see [each] one of them. They said, ‘We bear witness that we heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, “Do I not have greater authority over the Muslims than they do over themselves, and are my wives not their mothers?” We replied, “Yes indeed, O Messenger of Allah!” So he said, “Then whoever takes me as his master, ‘Alī is [also] his master. O Allah, be an ally to the one who befriends him, and an enemy of the one who takes him as an enemy.””^{١٠}

(5) Zādhān Abū ‘Umar

ثنا عمار بن خالد، ثنا اسحاق الأزرق، ثنا عبد الملك بن أبي سليمان، حدّثني أبو عبد الرحيم الكندي، ثنا زاذان قال: شهدت علياً بالرحبة فقال: أنشد الله امرأً سمع

^{١٠} Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 2, pp. 268-9. Also, with slight variance of wording, in: Ibid, pp. 270-271; al-Mawṣili, *Musnad Abi Ya'lā*, vol. 1, pp. 428-9; al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 2, p. 235; and others.

رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم يوم غدير خمّ لَمَا قام. فقام ثلاثة عشر رجلاً فشهدوا أنهم سمعوا من رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم يوم غدير خمّ قال: «من كنت مولاه فعلّي مولاه».

'Ammār ibn Khālid narrated to us [that] Ishāq al-Azraq narrated to us, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān narrated to us, Abū 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Kindī narrated to me, Zādhān narrated to us saying, "I witnessed 'Alī at al-Ruhbah when he said, 'I adjure by Allah any person who heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm to stand up.' So thirteen men stood up and testified that they had heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) saying on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, 'Whoever takes me as his master, then 'Alī is his master.'"¹¹

(6) 'Amr Dhū Murr

أخبرنا عليّ بن محمد بن عليّ قال: حدثنا خلف قال: حدثنا إسرائيل قال: حدثنا أبو إسحاق، عن عمرو ذي مر قال: شهدت علىّا بالرحبة يشد أصحاب محمد صلّى الله عليه وسلم: أيكم سمع رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم يقول يوم غدير خمّ ما قال؟ فقام أناس فشهدوا أنهم سمعوا رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم يقول: «من كنت مولاه فإنّ عليّاً مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاده، وأحبّ من أحبّه وأبغض من أبغضه، وانصر من نصره».

'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī informed us saying: Khalaf narrated to us, Isrā'īl narrated to us, Abū Ishāq narrated to us from 'Amr Dhī Murr who said, "I witnessed 'Alī at al-Ruhbah asking the companions of

¹¹ Ibn Abī 'Āsim, *al-Sunnah*, vol. 1, p. 607. Also, with variance of wording, in: Ibn Ḥanbal, *Fadā'il al-Šaḥābah*, vol. 2, p. 724; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Awsat*, vol. 2, p. 219; and others.

Muhammad (ṣ), ‘Which of you heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say what he said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm?’ So some people stood up and bore witness that they had heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say, ‘Whoever takes me as his master, then verily ‘Alī is his master. O Allah be an ally to whoever befriends him, and an enemy to whoever makes enmity with him; love those who love him, hate those who hate him, and assist those who assist him.’”¹²

(7) Ḥabbat al-‘Uranī

حدَّثنا إبراهيم بن نائلة الأصبهاني، ثنا إسماعيل بن عمرو البجلي، ثنا عمرو بن ثابت، عن أبي إسحاق، عن هبيرة بن يريم، عن سعيد بن وهب، وجَّه العرني، وزيد بن أرقم: أَنَّ عَلِيًّا رضيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، نَادَى النَّاسَ مِنْ سَمْعِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: «مَنْ كَنْتَ وَلَيْهِ فَعَلَّيْ وَلَيْهِ». فَقَامَ بِضَعْفَةِ عَشْرٍ فَشَهَدُوا أَنَّهُمْ سَمَعُوا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: «مَنْ كَنْتَ وَلَيْهِ فَعَلَّيْ وَلَيْهِ».

Ibrāhīm ibn Nā’ilah al-Asbahānī narrated to us [that] Ismā’īl ibn ‘Amr al-Bajalī narrated to us, ‘Amr ibn Thābit narrated to us, from Abī Ishāq, from Hubayrah ibn Yarīm, from Sa‘īd ibn Wahab, and Ḥabbat al-‘Uranī, and Zayd ibn Arqam [who said] that ‘Alī, may Allah be pleased with him, adjured the people who had heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say, “For whomever I am his master, then ‘Alī is [also] his master.” So more than ten people stood up and testified that they had heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say, “For whomever I am his master, then ‘Alī is [also] his master.”¹³

¹² Al-Nasā’i, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 136. Also, with variance of wording, in: al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 3, pp. 34–35; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu’jam al-Awsat*, vol. 2, p. 324; al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol. 5, p. 14; and others.

¹³ Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu’jam al-Kabir*, vol. 5, p. 191–2. Also, with slight variance of wording, in: al-Dūlābī, *al-Kunā wal-Asmā’*, vol. 3, p. 928.

(8) Al-Asbagh ibn Nubatah

أخبرنا أبو موسى إدنا، أخبرنا السيد أبو محمد حمزة بن العباس، أخبرنا أحمد بن الفضل المصري، حدثنا عبد الرحمن بن محمد المديني، حدثنا أحمد بن محمد بن سعيد، حدثنا محمد بن إسماعيل بن إسحاق الراشدي، حدثنا محمد بن خلف النميري، حدثنا علي بن الحسن العبدي، عن الأصبهن بن نباتة قال: نشد علي الناس في الرحبة، من سمع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم غدير خم ما قال إلا قام، ولا يقوم إلا من سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول. فقام بضعة عشر رجلاً فيهم: أبو أيوب الأنصاري، وأبو عمارة بن عمرو بن محسن، وأبو زينب، وسهل بن حنيف، وخزيمة بن ثابت، وعبد الله بن ثابت الأنصاري، وحشبي بن جنادة السلولي، وعبيد بن عازب الأنصاري، والنعمان بن عجلان الأنصاري، وثبت بن وديعة الأنصاري، وأبو فضالة الأنصاري، وعبد الرحمن بن عبد رب الأنصاري، فقالوا: نشهد أننا سمعنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: «لَا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَلِيَّ، وَأَنَا وَلِيَّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، لَا فَمَنْ كَنْتَ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلَيَّ مَوْلَاهٌ، اللَّهُمَّ وَالَّذِي وَالَّذِي، وَعَادَ مِنْ عَادَهُ، وَأَحَبَّ مِنْ أَحَبَّهُ، وَأَبْغَضَ مِنْ أَبْغَضَهُ، وَأَعْنَنَ مِنْ أَعْنَانَهُ».«

Abū Mūsā informed us with permission [to relate it], al-Sayyid Abū Muḥammad Ḥamzah ibn al-‘Abbās informed us, Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl al-Miṣrī informed us, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Madīnī narrated to us, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd narrated to us, Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Iṣhāq al-Rāshidī narrated to us, Muḥammad ibn Khalaf al-Numāyī narrated to us, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-‘Abdī narrated to us, from al-Asbagh ibn al-Nubātah who said, “‘Alī adjured the people at al-Ruhbah asking whoever had heard what the

Messenger of Allah said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm to stand up, [and he said,] ‘And none should stand up except those who heard what the Messenger of Allah said.’ So more than ten men stood up, among them were: Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Abū ‘Amrah ibn ‘Amr ibn Muḥsin, Abū Zaynab, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, ‘Abdullāh ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, Ḥabashī ibn Junādah al-Salūlī, ‘Ubayd ibn ‘Āzib al-Anṣārī, al-Nu‘mān ibn ‘Ajlān al-Anṣārī, Thābit ibn Wadi‘ah al-Anṣārī, Abū Faḍālah al-Anṣārī, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd Rabb al-Anṣārī. They said, ‘We bear witness that we heard the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) say, “Indeed Allah, the Almighty, is my Master, and I am the master of the believers. Indeed, whoever takes me as his master, then ‘Alī is his master. O Allah, be an ally to whoever befriends him, and an enemy to whoever takes him as an enemy, and love whoever loves him, and hate whoever hates him, and help whoever helps him.”’¹⁴ ¹⁴

(9) ‘Umayrah ibn Sa‘d

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْنِيْسَابُورِيُّ، وَأَحْمَدُ بْنُ عُثْمَانَ بْنَ حَكِيمٍ
الْأَوْدِيُّ قَالَا: حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُوسَى قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنِي هَانِئُ بْنُ أَيْوَبَ، عَنْ طَلْحَةِ
الْإِيَامِيِّ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا عَمِيرَةُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ عَلَيْهَا وَهُوَ يَنشِدُ فِي الرَّحْبَةِ: مَنْ سَمِعَ
رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: «مَنْ كُنْتَ مَوْلَاهُ، فَعَلَيْهِ مَوْلَاهٌ؟» فَقَامَ بِضَعْفَةٍ
عَشْرَ فَشَهَدُوا.

Muhammad ibn Yahyā ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Naysābūrī and Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Ḥakīm al-Awdī informed us, ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Mūsā narrated to us, Hāni’ ibn Ayyūb informed me, from Ṭalḥah al-Iyāmī who said, “‘Umayrah ibn Sa‘d informed us that he heard ‘Alī as he adjured [the people] at al-Ruḥbah [saying], ‘Who [among you] heard

¹⁴ Ibn Athīr, *Uṣd al-Għabah fī Mařifat al-Šaħabah*, vol. 3, p. 465.

the Messenger of Allah (s) saying, “Whoever takes me as his master, then ‘Alī is his master”? So more than ten people stood up and testified [that they had heard this].”¹⁵

(10) Zayd ibn Yuthay^c

حدّثنا عبد الله، حدّثنا عليّ بن حكيم الأودي، أخبرنا شريك، عن أبي إسحاق، عن سعيد بن وهب، وعن زيد بن يثيغ، قالا: نشد على الناس في الرحبة: من سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول يوم غدير خم إلّا قام. قال: فقام من قبل سعيد سته، ومن قبل زيد ستة، فشهدوا أنهم سمعوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول لعليّ يوم غدير خم: «أليس الله أولى بالمؤمنين؟» قالوا: بلّى. قال: «من كنت مولاً فعليّ مولا، اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاده».

‘Abdullāh narrated to us, ‘Alī ibn Ḥakīm al-Awdī narrated to us, Sharīk narrated to us from Abī Iṣhāq, from Sa‘īd ibn Wahab and from Zayd ibn Yuthay^c who both said, “‘Alī adjured the people at al-Ruhbah [saying], ‘Whoever heard the Messenger of Allah (s) speaking on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm should stand up.’ So six people stood up on the part of Sa‘īd and six on the part of Zayd, and they testified that they had heard the Messenger of Allah (s) say about ‘Alī on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, ‘Does Allah not have greater authority over the believers?’ They replied, ‘Yes indeed.’ He said, ‘Whoever takes me as his master, then ‘Alī is his master. O Allah, be an ally to whoever befriends him and an enemy to whoever bears enmity for him.’”¹⁶

¹⁵ Al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 131. Also, with variance of wording, in: al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muǧam al-Awsat*, vol. 2, p. 324 & pp. 368-9, and vol. 7, p. 70; Ibn Abī ‘Āsim, *al-Sunnah*, vol. 2, p. 913; and others.

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 2, p. 262. Also, with variance of wording, in: Ibn Abī ‘Āsim, *al-Sunnah*, vol. 2, p. 913; al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 132.

(11) Sa‘id ibn Wahab

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْمُتَّمَّى قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدٌ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا شَعْبَةُ، عَنْ أَبِي إِسْحَاقِ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ سَعِيدَ بْنَ وَهْبٍ قَالَ: لَمَّا نَاصَدْهُمْ عَلَيْ قَامَ خَمْسَةٌ أَوْ سَبْطَةٌ مِّنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَشَهَدُوا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: «مَنْ كَتَ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلَيْهِ مَوْلَاهٌ».

Muhammad ibn al-Muthannā informed us that Muhammād narrated to us, Shu‘bah narrated to us from Abī Ishāq who said: I heard Sa‘id ibn Wahab say, “When ‘Alī adjured them, five or six of the Companions of the Prophet (ṣ) stood up and testified that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, ‘Whoever takes me as his master, then ‘Alī is his master.’”¹⁷

(12) Ziyād ibn Abī Ziyād

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، حَدَّثَنَا الرَّبِيعُ يَعْنِي ابْنَ أَبِي صَالِحِ الْأَسْلَمِيِّ، حَدَّثَنِي زَيْدُ بْنُ أَبِي زَيْدٍ: سَمِعْتُ عَلَيَّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ يَنْشَدُ النَّاسَ، فَقَالَ: «أَنْشَدَ اللَّهُ رَجُلًا مُسْلِمًا سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ يَوْمَ غَدِيرِ خَمْ مَا قَالَ». فَقَامَ اثْنَا عَشَرَ بِدْرِيًّا فَشَهَدُوا.

Muhammad ibn ‘Abdillāh narrated to us, Ibn Abī Ṣalāḥ al-Aslāmī narrated to us, Ziyād ibn Abī Ziyād narrated to me [saying], “I heard ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib adjuring the people. He said, ‘I adjure by Allah any Muslim man who heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say what he said on

¹⁷ Al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 131, and vol. 7, p. 816. Also, with variance of wording, in: al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 10, p. 212; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā’il al-Šahābah*, vol. 2, p. 741; and others.

the Day of Ghadīr Khumm [to stand up and testify to it].’ So twelve veterans of the Battle of Badr stood up and testified.”¹⁸

Reception and Evaluation

When attempting to evaluate the authenticity and soundness of the ḥadīth of *munāshadah*, the first thing to consider is that it has been narrated through many chains – more than most of the other commonly accepted traditions. This fact itself gives rise to a level of certainty about its general soundness and authenticity. As for the evaluation of every single chain, with each of their individual narrators, that is a task which has already been undertaken by some scholars and we do not see the need of replicating their work here. Suffice it to say that it has been shown that there are a number of sound chains for this tradition, so even from that perspective there is no doubt regarding its authenticity.¹⁹ Due to the nature of these reports, it would be beneficial to examine how it was received by non-Shī‘ī scholars. As such, we will briefly look at what a number of renowned Sunnī scholars who have reported this tradition opine, explicitly or implicitly, about the tradition of *munāshadah*.

(1) Al-Ṭahāwī (d. 321 AH) has reported this tradition in his work *Sharḥ Mushkil al-Āthār*, as we have noted above, and he clearly states in the introduction to his work that he has only related reports that he finds to be acceptable in terms of their chains of transmission.²⁰

(2) Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354 AH) has reported this tradition in his *Saḥīḥ*, as noted above, and he explicitly states that he only mentions sound and

¹⁸ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 2, pp. 93-94.

¹⁹ See for instance: Jawād, *Iḥyā’ al-Ghadīr fi Madīnat al-Kūfah*, pp. 75 ff.

²⁰ Al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 6.

reliable traditions in it (this is also evinced by the title of his collection).²¹

(3) Al-Diyā' al-Maqdisī (d. 643 AH) has reported it in his work *al-Aḥādīth al-Mukhtārah*, which is a compilation of carefully selected traditions. Indeed, if the author had not deemed this tradition reliable, he would not have included it along with the other sound traditions that he selected.²²

(4) Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH) has a book titled *Risālah fī Ṭuruq Ḥadīth Man Kuntu Mawlāh* in which he mentions the tradition of *munāshadah* and then confirms its acceptability, categorizing it as *ḥasan* (lit. good).²³

(5) Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH) quotes this tradition from al-Nasā'i's work on the exclusive merits (*khaṣā'iṣ*) of 'Alī (a), and then states that its chain of transmission is good (*jayyid*).²⁴

(6) Al-Haythamī (d. 807 AH) quotes this tradition in his work *Majma' al-Zawā'id wa Manba' al-Fawā'id* from al-Tabarānī and then says, "It's chain is good (*ḥasan*)."²⁵

(7) Ibn al-Jazārī (d. 833 AH) reports this tradition in his book *Manāqib al-Asad al-Ghālib 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*. He states in the introduction of this work that he has only compiled reports that are authentic, sound, or good. As such, he considers all the reports in it to be reliable, including the tradition of *munāshadah*.²⁶

²¹ al-Bustī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, vol. 1, p. 104.

²² Al-Maqdisī, *al-Aḥādīth al-Mukhtārah*, vol. 1, pp. 18-19.

²³ Al-Dhahabī, *Risālah fī Ṭuruq Ḥadīth Man Kuntu Mawlāh*, pp. 34-35.

²⁴ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wal-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 671.

²⁵ Al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id wa Manba' al-Fawā'id*, vol. 18, p. 225.

²⁶ Ibn al-Jazārī, *Manāqib al-Asad al-Ghālib 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, p. 11.

Other scholars who have said that this tradition is sound include Ahmād Shākir (d. 1377 AH),²⁷ Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (d. 1420 AH),²⁸ Shuayb al-Arnā'ūt (d. 1438 AH),²⁹ as well as a number of other contemporary researchers.³⁰

The Significance of Ḥadīth al-Munāshadah

When Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a) adjured the Companions who were present and personally witnessed the declaration of the Noble Prophet (ṣ) stating that 'Alī was the master of the believers and had authority over them, that was a brilliant way to alleviate any doubt regarding the event. Indeed, many of the Successors (*tābi'īn*) had heard of and related the event as it had been recounted by the Companions, but by making the first-hand witnesses to the proclamation at Ghadīr Khumm stand up and testify to it, the Imam left no room for excuse for those who would question his mandate or express misgivings about his authority. Indeed, the testimony of those who were themselves present at Ghadīr carried far more weight than the narration of the same by those who merely heard about it.

Imam 'Alī was known among all the people of his time, and his record was impeccable. He had many followers and admirers, so his own recounting of what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) had said about him at Ghadīr Khumm would have sufficed as a reminder. Yet he asked others who had been present to stand up and testify in order to affirm it for those who still harbored an inkling of doubt regarding his right to the caliphate. And indeed, there were a number of people who still had some doubts. For instance, as noted above, Abū Ṭufayl 'Āmir ibn

²⁷ See the version of *Musnad Ahmād* edited by him, ḥh. 670, 950-1, 961.

²⁸ Al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-Abādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah*, vol. 4, p. 331.

²⁹ See the version of *Musnad Ahmād* edited by him, vol. 32, pp. 55-6.

³⁰ Such as: Waṣīyullāh ibn Muḥammad 'Abbās, Bašshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Ḥusayn Salīm Asad, and others.

Wāthilah, who is said to have been the last of the Prophet's companions to pass away and was an ardent supporter of Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a), felt unsure about what he heard. Apparently, he heard of the Ḥadīth of Ghadīr for the first time at al-Ruhbah, when the Companions testified to it, so he expressed dismay and was unsure about how to react to it. That is why he approached Zayd ibn Arqam, who was present on that day, to question him.

It is clear that the meaning understood by Abū Ṭufayl and others who were present at al-Ruhbah, and indeed at Ghadīr Khumm, was not that of a mere proclamation of love and adoration for 'Alī by the Messenger of Allah, as some have wrongly stated. Indeed, he was himself an admirer and supporter of 'Alī (a), having participated by his side in all three of his battles against those who had rebelled during his rule. Therefore, the meaning of the Prophet's statement, 'Whosoever takes me as his *mawla*, then 'Alī is his *mawla*' must refer to more than 'love', otherwise there would be nothing to give the likes of Abū Ṭufayl pause, since they already loved 'Alī. It was evidently clear that the Prophet (ṣ) was referring to authority and leadership when he uttered these words.

To clear any doubt regarding the status of Abū Ṭufayl as a follower of Imam 'Alī (a), we only need to look at his background and what has been said regarding him by others. Ibn Qutaybah has called him one of the 'extremist rejecters' (*ghulāt al-rāfiḍah*),³¹ which is a term that many Sunnī scholars would use to refer to the Shī'ah of 'Alī. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī also said that he was "excessive in his *tashayyu'*"³² which means that he was more than just a lay follower of the Imam, but rather was his ardent supporter and loyal subject. Nevertheless, al-Dhahabī states that he was one of the great scholars of his time [and thus deems

³¹ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 624.

³² Maghlaṭāi, *al-Inābah ilā Ma'rifat al-Mukhtalaffibim min al-Šāhābah*, vol. 1, p. 322, quoting from al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī.

him reliable].³³ Aside from this, his participation in al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī's battles and his belief in 'the return' (*al-raj'ah*) further serve to affirm his position as a Shī'ah.³⁴ Perhaps the difference of opinion regarding Abū Ṭufayl resulted from his dissimulation (*taqīyyah*), since it is reported that Imam 'Alī (a) had instructed him to "speak to the people about only what they [readily] accept and recognize (*bimā ya'rīfūn*)."³⁵

The importance and great significance of the event of *munāshadah* was not lost to the scholars, and being unable to explain it away, some resorted to devious and dishonest means to try and cover up the event and distort reports about it, not unlike what many present-day government pundits do. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī attempted to do just this when he changed the names of those who narrated the tradition, removing Yazīd ibn Wadī'ah from the list of transmitters and adding the name of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mudlij among those who bore witness, despite the latter being one of those who remained silent and tried to hide what he witnessed at Ghadīr. Furthermore, al-'Asqalānī deleted the last part of the tradition where the Prophet (ṣ) prayed to Allah to be an ally to those who befriend 'Alī and an enemy to those who make enmity with him.³⁶ It is noteworthy that Ibn Athīr and al-Dhahabī both narrated the same version of the tradition before al-'Asqalānī without any of these changes.

The adjuring of witnesses to the proclamation of the Noble Prophet (ṣ) at Ghadīr Khumm twenty-five years prior by Imam 'Alī (a) served to renew its memory in the minds of those who knew of it, and to enlighten those who did not. Indeed, the announcement that 'Alī was his successor by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) was purposely misinterpreted by some individuals who tried to explain it away as a mere declaration

³³ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 13, p. 300.

³⁴ Jawād, *Iḥyā' al-Ghadīr fi Madīnat al-Kūfah*, pp. 118-121.

³⁵ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣahīh*, vol. 1, p. 288.

³⁶ Al-'Asqalānī, *al-Īsābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣahābah*, vol. 6, p. 564.

of love and admiration. However, the falsity of this claim has been proven beyond any doubt, and even those who had no love for ‘Alī (a) admitted this on a number of different occasions. For instance, Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ reportedly said that ‘Alī (a) had three qualities, any one of which he would readily prefer over the best worldly wealth. One of them was that the Prophet (ṣ) said about him, “Whosoever takes me as his master, then ‘Alī is his master.”³⁷ Hence, this statement was not a mere declaration of love, otherwise the likes of Sa‘d would not have been so envious regarding it. And there are numerous other examples of this which any objective researcher can easily find in the works of history and ḥadīth.

Conclusion

There were a number of occasions in which Amīr al-Mu’minīn (a) asked the people to testify to what they heard at Ghadīr, or reminded them about the Prophet’s declaration that he (‘Alī) was his successor. Many people testified to this while a number remained silent, seeking to hide what they knew about the event. In this brief study, we looked at one such instance which took place at al-Ruḥbah, where Imam ‘Alī adjured those who were present at Ghadīr Khumm and heard the words of the Messenger of Allah to stand up and testify to what they had heard. The adjuration at al-Ruḥbah was an event of great significance, and the manner in which it transpired caused it to be recorded clearly in the annals of history. None of those who wore the mantle of the caliphate before ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) had any mandate from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), otherwise they surely would have referred to it time and again to legitimize their rule over the Muslims. It was only ‘Alī (a) who had such a mandate and he made sure that the people did not forget it, even

³⁷ Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, pp. 366-7.

though his right had been usurped by those who took the position of leadership before him.

It is important to note that this study is not exhaustive, and there are a number of aspects pertaining to this event, and others like it, that we have not looked at in detail, such as the particulars regarding those who purposely sought to conceal the truth of what the Noble Prophet (ﷺ) had said at Ghadīr. Furthermore, we have referred only to the Sunnī sources that mention the adjuration, since it is the Sunnī position that is being challenged here. As such, there is a lot more that can be investigated and discussed about later references by the Imam to the event of Ghadīr, and those who wish to delve even deeper may do so by referring to the plethora of available texts on the subject in Arabic, such as the works of 'Allāmah Amīnī and others.

2

TAKING A MUSLIM NAME: NAME CHANGE AFTER CONVERSION TO ISLAM IN LIGHT OF ḤADĪTH

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world. It has been so for centuries, much to the chagrin of others. One of the questions that is important to address relates to the duties and responsibilities of revert¹s to Islam, as well as that of the community which welcomes them into the fold. While there are many issues that would fall under this rubric, an interesting question that does not seem to have been clearly or adequately discussed is that which pertains to changing one's name upon conversion to Islam. While there is a consensus that it is not obligatory to change one's name upon accepting Islam, there is certainly a case to be made for doing so. In this chapter, we aim to look at this issue primarily through the lens of ḥadīth before arriving at a conclusion on the need and importance of adopting a 'Muslim' name.²

¹ Converts to Islam are often referred to as revert since Muslims believe that Islam is a religion that is in complete harmony with the innate disposition (*fitrah*) of human beings. As such, all children are born Muslims; it is only their upbringing that causes them to become adherents of other faiths. Therefore, when one becomes a Muslim, he or she is returning to the path of their God-given *fitrah*.

² The definition of a Muslim name is simply that which is considered to be a name usually kept by Muslims in any particular society at any given time. It is recognized by the *'urf* (social tradition, customs, or generally held understanding) in that community. Hence, it may vary from place to place, and a name that is considered to be a Muslim name in Eastern Europe may be uncommon or non-existent in Indonesia, or Turkey, for example. There are, of course, some names that are so ubiquitous among Muslims that one can globally recognize them as Muslim names, like that of the Noble Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ).

The times in which we live are certainly perilous for Muslims, especially those who reside in non-Muslim environments. As such, those who accept Islam today face greater challenges compared to those who did so a century ago. This is not to say that it has ever been easy to change one's faith, especially since it is something very closely linked to one's identity and worldview. Therefore, from the outset, we would like to emphasize our great admiration for those who sincerely adopt Islam as their new religion, after having been born into other faith traditions. Reverts to Islam, by their very conversion, are an inspiration to all Muslims to be better in their adherence to the religion of Islam, which is itself a blessing of the Almighty that is often taken for granted.

The Importance of Names

Names are important. They are the primary identifiers by which people can relate to other things and individuals. As such, it is perfectly reasonable to seek for oneself and one's children names that are good and connote merit and virtue. God Himself has 'beautiful names' (*asma'* *al-husnā*)³ though, of course, Divine names have a more profound significance than the names of creatures. There are a number of verses in the Qurān that also talk about names and implicitly or explicitly highlight their importance. Indeed, when the angels had questioned Allah about His decision to create human beings, given their propensity for bloodshed and chaos (Q2:30), He responded by teaching Ādām certain names and then asked the angels about them. When they admitted that they had no knowledge of the names, He reminded them that He knows that which they do not know.

³ Q7:180 states:

وَلِلَّهِ الْأَنْعَمُ أَنْحَسْنَى فَادْعُوهُ بِهَا وَذَرُوا الَّذِينَ يُلْحِدُونَ فِي أَسْمَائِهِ سَيُجْزَوْنَ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿١٨٠﴾

To Allah belong the Best Names, so supplicate Him by them, and abandon those who commit sacrilege in His names. Soon they shall be requited for what they used to do.

وَعَلِمَ آدَمُ الْأَسْمَاءَ كُلَّهَا ثُمَّ عَرَضُوهُمْ عَلَى الْمَلَائِكَةِ فَقَالَ أَنْتُمُونِي بِأَسْمَاءٍ هَذُولَاءِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَدِيقِينَ ﴿٢١﴾

And He taught Adam the Names, all of them; then presented them to the angels and said, ‘Tell me the names of these, if you are truthful.’ (Q2:31)

When Maryam’s mother had made a vow that she would give up her child in the service of God, expecting to give birth to a son, and when she bore a daughter, she named her Maryam and supplicated to Allah stating that this was the name she had chosen for her daughter. She sought His acceptance of her as He would a male child. “I have named her Maryam” is thus part of a verse of the Qur’ān,⁴ forever to be recited by believers as they echo the words of Maryam’s pious mother. That in itself shows its significance, for nothing irrelevant is ever mentioned in the Qur’ān, just as nothing without some guidance for those who read it is ever quoted therein. Another example is the naming of Yaḥyā by Allah Himself, with a name that ‘none before had been given’:

يَزَّغِّرِيَّا إِنَّا نُبَشِّرُكَ بِعِلْمٍ أُسْمُهُ وَيَحْيَ لَمْ تَجْعَلْ لَهُ مِنْ قَبْلُ سَمِيَّا ﴿٧﴾

‘O Zakariyyā! Indeed We give you glad tidings of a son, whose name is Yaḥyā. Never before have We made anyone his namesake.’ (Q19:7)

Hence, we see that names are not simple monikers with no significance of their own. It is not only the named that is important; the name itself

⁴ Q3:36 states:

فَلَمَّا وَضَعَتْهَا قَالَتْ رَبِّي وَضَعَتْهَا أُنْثَى وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا وَضَعَتْ وَلَيْسَ اللَّهُ كُرَّا لِلْأَنْثَى وَإِنِّي سَمِيَّتُهَا مَرِيمَ وَإِنِّي أُعِيدُهَا إِلَكَ وَدُرِّيَّتُهَا مِنَ الشَّيْطَنِ الرَّجِيمِ ﴿٣٦﴾

When she bore her, she said, ‘My Lord, I have borne a female [child]’ – and Allah knew better what she had borne, and the male is not like the female – ‘and I have named her Maryam, and I commend her and her offspring to Your protection against [the evil of] Satan, the accursed.’ (Q3:36)

is also significant. The fact that Allah gave Yahyā a unique name, as mentioned in the verse above, symbolizes his unique position and status. It is known that the Noble Prophet (ṣ) himself named his grandsons al-Hasan and al-Husayn (a), after the sons of Hārūn (a) Shubbar and Shubayr.⁵ Had there been no real effect or significance in names, there would be no reason for such special care given in naming children. Furthermore, we can understand from this that not all names are equal. Traditions tell us that even when it comes to Divine names, there is one that is the ‘greatest name’ (*al-ism al-ażam*) which is known to a few select friends of Allah.⁶

That is not to say, however, that if a pile of dung is called fragrant, it would change anything of its nature. Indeed, Shakespeare is said to have quipped in one of his plays, “What is in a name? A rose by any other name will smell as sweet.”⁷ Calling something with a name that goes against its essence or character does nothing to change its reality. Thus, when the polytheists of Makkah gave great names to their idols, they were reproached for coining names for that which is devoid of any true value or authority:

إِنْ هِيَ إِلَّا أَسْمَاءٌ سَمَيَّتُهَا أَنْتُمْ وَإِبْرَاهِيمَ كُمْ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ بِهَا مِنْ سُلْطَنٍ إِنْ يَتَبَعُونَ إِلَّا
 الظَّنَّ وَمَا تَهْوَى الْأَنْفُسُ وَلَقَدْ جَاءَهُمْ مِنْ رَبِّهِمُ الْهَدَىٰ

(٢٣)

They are nothing but names that you have assigned – you and your fathers; Allah has not sent down for them any authority. They follow nothing but conjecture and that which their souls desire, though guidance has indeed come to them from their Lord. (Q53:23)

While it is true that calling something by a different name does not change its intrinsic properties, when it comes to names of individuals,

⁵ These two names are also pronounced Shabbar and Shabbīr/Shabīr. (Tr.)

⁶ Al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, vol. 1, p. 235.

⁷ Shakespeare, ‘Romeo and Juliet’, Act II, Scene II.

it is clear that the name given to an individual, by which he is called thousands of times throughout his life, does have a significant impact on the psyche and, perhaps, even the soul of that individual. Indeed, names are believed to have certain effects, not only on those who bear them, but also on their families and dependents. Had this not been the case, there would be no point in the overwhelming emphasis on choosing good names for one's offspring. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why Muslims have been forbidden from calling people by other than their actual family name, thereby attributing them to those who are not their true fathers. Regarding this pagan practice, the Qur'an states:

أَدْعُوهُمْ لِآبَائِهِمْ هُوَ أَقْسَطُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ فَإِنْ لَمْ تَعْلَمُوا إِبَاءَهُمْ فَإِحْوَانُكُمْ فِي الْدِينِ
وَمَوَالِيْكُمْ وَلَا يُسَمِّ عَلَيْكُمْ جُنَاحٌ فِيمَا آخْطَأْتُمْ بِهِ وَلَكِنْ مَا تَعْمَدَتْ قُلُوبُكُمْ
وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَفُورًا رَّحِيمًا

◎

Call them after their fathers; this is more just in the sight of Allah. But if you do not know their fathers, then they are your brethren in faith and your wards. There is no blame on you for any mistake you make [regarding it], but only for what your hearts do intentionally; and Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Merciful. (Q33:5)

It is clear that calling people by other than their own fathers' names, thereby misattributing their parentage, would have negative repercussions for the community as a whole.⁸ At the same time, on an

⁸ Some have wrongly asserted that this verse constitutes evidence that converts should not change their names after accepting Islam, since in so doing they will have disavowed their attribution to their parents. Such an interpretation is an obvious misreading of the verse, which is proscribing a specific pagan practice. Furthermore, changing one's name does not entail disavowing one's parentage. Nevertheless, to avoid any doubt, one need not change his surname or family name, and can simply change his first name. Though, as noted below, the Prophet (ṣ) would sometimes change the name of an entire tribe or clan (see footnote no. 29).

individual level, calling others by nicknames, which are usually debasing in nature, has been also expressly forbidden in the Qur'an:

يَأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا يَسْخَرْ قَوْمٌ مِّنْ قَوْمٍ عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَكُونُوا حَيْرًا مِّنْهُمْ وَلَا يُسَاءَ عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَكُنَّ حَيْرًا مِّنْهُنَّ وَلَا تَلْمِزُوا أَنفُسَكُمْ وَلَا تَنَابِرُوا بِالْأَلْقَبِ ۚ إِنَّ
الْأَلْمَسُ الْفُسُوقُ بَعْدَ الْإِيمَانِ ۖ وَمَنْ لَمْ يَتُبْ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ ۝

O you who believe! Let not one people deride another people, it may well be that they are better than them; nor let women [deride] other women, for they may well be better than them. And do not defame each other or insult one another with [derogatory] nicknames. How evil is the appellation of iniquity after having believed! And whoever does not repent, it is they who are the unjust. (Q49:11)

Aside from the perceivable social and psychological effects of names, according to some traditions, there are also some metaphysical effects that are beyond the grasp of human understanding, and we only learn about them from the Infallibles. An example of this is seen in an interesting tradition attributed to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) that states:

ما من بيت فيه اسم محمد إلا وسع الله عليهم الرزق. فإذا سميتوهم فلا تصربوهم
ولا تستموهم، ومن ولد له ثلاثة ذكور فلم يسم أحدهم أحmdا أو محمدـا فقد
جفاني.

There is no house in which resides one with the name Muḥammad but that Allah increases their sustenance. So when you name them [with this name] then do not beat them or verbally abuse them. And whoever has three sons but does not name any of them Ah̄mad or Muḥammad has wronged me.⁹

⁹ Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabi' al-Abrār wa Nuṣūṣ al-Akhyār*, vol. 2, p. 452.

From this narration, if the attribution is sound, we see that the blessed name of the Prophet (ṣ) has the effect of increasing sustenance for the whole family of an individual.

The primary function of names is for identification of individuals. Sometimes, when no other information is available, the only way to identify an individual is through his or her name. It is in such cases that the temporal impact of one's name can be better appreciated. A name that 'sounds' Christian would *prima facie* be taken to belong to a Christian, just as a predominantly Hindu name would belong to a Hindu, and so on. In his paper on the role of non-Arab converts in the development of Islamic law, Harald Motzki notes that in order to identify non-Arab converts from historical accounts and prosopographical texts when nothing is mentioned about their backgrounds, one has to look for clues in the person's name and the names of his ancestors. He posits that there are certain traits which are peculiar to the names of early non-Arab converts to Islam. For instance, their names were usually shorter, and many times the names of their fathers are missing. Furthermore, some of their names are rarely used by Arabs, though they may sound Arabic. Finally, use of epithets and tekonyms (*kunyah*) was more prevalent in the genealogies of non-Arab converts than that of Arabs.¹⁰

Some non-Arab names from the early period are clearly identifiable as such. Individuals named Farrūkh, Hurmuz, Mihrān, Kaysān, Sīrīn, or Jarmūz are known to originally hail from Persia. Jurayj and Tadrus are Greek names, being Arabicized versions of Georgos and Theodoros, while the name Tārkhān is of Turkish origin. Individuals with such names were relatively easy to identify as non-Arab. At the same time, there were some names which were more commonly used by the *mawālī* (non-Arab clients) such as Yasār, Maymūn, Dīnār, and Muslim. Non-Arabs would either adopt Arab names upon conversion to Islam or,

¹⁰ Motzki, 'The Role of Non-Arab Converts in the Development of Early Islamic Law', *Islamic Law and Society* vol. 6, issue 3 (Brill, 1999), p. 308.

Motzki argues, they would more often only take an Arabic *kunyah*. In some instances, later descendants actually changed their forefather's name to a 'Muslim' one.¹¹ Understanding such early practices and conventions enables us to decipher the identities of individuals about whom we have no other information recorded in historical or biographical works. This is one example of how names are important as identification markers.

Though it is true that names are not always reliable identity markers and cannot tell us for certain about the background or religious affiliation of an individual, they are still the most apparent way for people to form an initial judgment about others. The ethnic and even religious connotations embedded within individual names are thought to reveal a person's affiliation to a specific group or community. This has always been the case throughout history, and a vivid example of this can be seen in the contemporary age where Muslim names carry with them a stigma in certain countries. For instance, Sweden is one of the few European countries notorious for rampant Islamophobia. The recent influx of migrants from war-torn countries has only exacerbated the situation there. A number of academic studies about the relationship of individuals' names and the discrimination they endure in Sweden have also been conducted recently.

In his paper on immigrants and name-changing in Sweden, Shahram Khosravi highlights the explicit social stigma that accompanies Muslim names. He notes that in Swedish society, surnames are a mark of privilege that have an almost commodity-like value. Due to the deeply embedded anti-Muslim prejudice that is prevalent among Swedes, one of the strategies adopted by Muslims has been to change their names to those that sound more Swedish. This is done as a means of coping with and managing the stigmatization and outright discrimination they continually face from the natives. Anti-Muslim propaganda is common among the political elite in Sweden,

¹¹ Ibid, p. 313.

and the situation has only gotten worse over time, to the extent that Islam and Muslims are portrayed as being an existential threat to Sweden. Facing such kind of racism and discrimination on a daily basis, some Muslims opt to try and soften the blow by adopting Swedish-sounding names so that they are not immediately recognized as Muslims.

Since 11th September 2001, Sweden has maintained a special register of Muslim names, which has led to many difficulties for Muslims who reside there. Through name identification, Muslims have their bank accounts blocked, are unable to find rental housing, and suffer from much lower remuneration for their work. The discrepancy in salaries of those with Muslim names when compared to others with more ‘regular’ names is also found in other countries across Europe, like France, Netherlands, etc.¹² The discrimination they face is reminiscent of what African Americans faced, and continue to face, in the US. Due to their inability to pronounce their names or, more commonly, their unwillingness to learn the proper pronunciation, Swedes tend to ‘corrupt’ the names of Muslims while referring to them. Those Muslims who are forced to change their names to escape discrimination undergo a painful psychological experience as they feel they are being stripped of their background and identity.¹³

What makes things even worse is that according to Swedish law, one can only change his or her name by going through a tedious application process at the Swedish Patent and Registration Office (SPRO). Those who have a Swedish surname in their family in the past hundred years are allowed to choose any other Swedish surname, whereas those who do not, like most of the immigrants, are forced to resort to made-up names which are even, at times, computer-generated! As a result, these names are often recognized as atypical thereby

¹² Khosravi, ‘White Masks/Muslim Names: Immigrants and Name Changing in Sweden’, *Race & Class*, vol. 53, issue 3 (Sage, 2012), p. 71.

¹³ Ibid, p. 77.

completely defeating the purpose of name-change in order to assimilate or blend in. Hence, we see that Swedish legislation on name-change actually makes assimilation more difficult by preventing immigrants from adopting traditionally recognized Swedish surnames.¹⁴

Besides the Swedish example, in other parts of the world where Muslims are a minority and Islamophobia is common, names are similarly used as markers to identify and then persecute Muslims. India is a prime example of this. Since it is virtually impossible to identify Muslim males by their outward appearance when they are not wearing clothing that is specific to Muslims, it is their names that give away their religious affiliation. In many cases, news articles in Indian media portray Muslims as criminals by using their names to identify them. After the horrendous violence against the Christian Kukis of Manipur in May of 2023, the Meiti (consisting of Hindus) raped and paraded innocent Kuki women and made a video of it. When that video went viral, Hindutva news outlets fabricated a story naming one of the culprits in the video with a Muslim name, Abdul Hilmī.¹⁵ They obviously did that to protect the true Hindu culprits while at the same time stoking further hatred for Islam and Muslims.

Choosing Names, Changing Names

There are a number of traditions wherein the importance of giving one's children good names is clearly mentioned. In some of these traditions, it is actually stipulated as one of the rights of children on their parents. One such tradition states that in the advice given by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), the following instruction was included:

¹⁴ Bursell, 'Name Change and Destigmatization Among Middle Eastern Immigrants in Sweden', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 35, issue no. 3, (Routledge, 2012), p. 477.

¹⁵ <https://www.siasat.com/ani-spreads-fake-news-in-manipur-sexual-assault-case-accuses-abdul-hilmi-2647008/>

يَا عَلِيٌّ حَقُّ الْوَلَدِ عَلَى وَالِدِهِ أَنْ يَحْسِنَ اسْمَهُ.

O ‘Alī, it is the right of a child on his father that he should give him a good name.¹⁶

Furthermore, according to some narrations, one of the reasons for choosing good names is that the names we have in this world are also the names we will be identified with on the Day of Resurrection. A tradition attributed to the Messenger of Allah (s) states:

اسْتَحْسِنُوا أَسْمَاءَكُمْ فَإِنَّكُمْ تَدْعُونَ بِهَا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ.

Choose good names for yourselves for indeed you shall be called by them on the Day of Judgment.¹⁷

Perhaps it is for this reason that some of their followers would approach the Infallibles and ask for advice about naming their children.¹⁸ The Ahl al-Bayt are also said to have named all their newborn sons Muḥammad for the first week after birth. Then they would either change the child’s name or leave it as is.¹⁹ Out of the names that the Prophet (s) himself often recommended or gave others, the names that signified servitude and contained the term ‘abd (servant) were common. ‘Abdullāh and ‘Abd al-Rahmān were the most common among these, and in one report, the Noble Prophet (s) is quoted as having said:

إِذَا سَمِّيْتُمْ فَعَبْدَوْا.

When you name [your children] use the term ‘servant’ (‘abd).²⁰

¹⁶ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruḥu al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 372.

¹⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 19.

¹⁸ See for instance: Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 18, h. 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, h. 4.

²⁰ Warrām ibn Abī Fāris, *Tanbih al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 1, p. 33; Al-Haythamī, *Majma‘ al-Zawā’id*, vol. 8, p. 50.

And in another similar tradition, Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir (a) is reported to have said:

أصدق الأسماء ما سمّي بالعبودية وأفضلها أسماء الأنبياء.

The truest names are those which contain the meaning of servitude, and the best of them are the names of the Prophets.²¹

Some Muslims would actually boast about the good names they had given their children. It is said that Ṭalḥah once bragged that he had named all his nine sons with the names of Prophets (he had named them Muḥammad, Imrān, Ismā'il, Ishaq, Mūsā, Ya'qūb, Īsā, Zakariyyā, and Yaḥyā). He told al-Zubayr, “I have named my sons after Prophets [of Allah], while you have named yours after martyrs.” Whereat al-Zubayr is said to have retorted, “I hope that my sons will one day become martyrs, but you can never hope that your sons will become Prophets!”²²

In an interesting tradition attributed to the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and found in both Sunnī and Shi'ī ḥadīth works, he (ṣ) is reported as having said:

إذا أبردتم إليّ بريداً فاجعلوه حسن الوجه حسن الاسم

When you send a messenger to me, send a man with a pleasant face and a good name.²³

Some commentators say that the reason for this instruction was that the Prophet could be pleased by seeing and meeting the messenger even before he learned of the message that he was bringing.²⁴ However, it is also likely that the Prophet wanted to emphasize the importance of

²¹ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 18.

²² Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 10, p. 580.

²³ Warrām ibn Abī Fāris, *Tanbīh al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 1, p. 29; al-Suyūtī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 259.

²⁴ Al-Ṣan'ānī, *Al-Tanwīr – Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 488.

choosing and keeping beautiful names, especially since many Arab tribes and bedouins would keep names that had unpleasant or even evil meanings. Indeed, there were individuals, and even entire tribes named after Satan (Banū Shaytān)!²⁵ Islam holds a believer in high regard and does not accept anything that would debase him or cause him to lose his respect in the eyes of the society, including using disrespectful names.

Keeping this in mind, it is considered important for all Muslims that they ensure that the names they give their children are in line with the teachings of Islam and the honored status of believers. Knowing the meaning and background of names ensures that this principle is adhered to. If a figure in history was known for his cruelty and depravity, such as the Umayyad Yazīd ibn Mu‘awiyah, no learned Muslim would want his son to be named after him. Similarly, no one among the believers would name their children after animals deemed to be ritually unclean²⁶ or known for other negative traits, like donkeys

²⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Anṣāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 12, p. 141

²⁶ There is an exception that is seen in history when it comes to the name *kalb* (lit. dog) or its plural *kilāb* (as in the tribe of Banū Kilāb – though different possible meanings have been suggested for this name). Even in the present age, there are some renowned individuals who have this as part of their name. I recall an interesting discussion among some scholars who were travelling together for pilgrimage, in which one asked why the name of Dr. Kalbe Sadiq is always mispronounced when it should surely be Qalbe Sadiq (meaning ‘truthful heart’). He was promptly corrected that the name was indeed Kalbe Sadiq, and there is a story behind why he was named thus. It so happened that Dr. Kalbe Sadiq’s great grandfather, Kalbe Husayn, had been a miracle child since all his eight elder siblings had died in infancy. When he too became ill a few days after he was born, and there was little hope of his survival, his father Mawlana Wali Husayn kept the child next to a *ta’ziah* (miniature replica of the tomb or bier of Imam al-Husayn (a) or any of those who were martyred alongside him) having supplicated for his survival, and then left him there as he proceeded to perform the *a‘māl* (worship rituals) of ‘Āshurā’. Upon his return, he went with a heavy heart to see if the child had also passed away like his siblings. To his surprise, the child was well and healthy. Then and there, he named him Kalbe Husayn, and ever since then, all male children in his family tree have their names prefixed with word ‘Kalbe’ (lit. ‘dog of’). Of course, this is not an abasement since the name is always attached to that

that are known for their stubbornness, for example. And there are a number of other reasons for avoiding certain names as well. Indeed, just as the Noble Prophet (ṣ) had recommended some names, he also disapproved of others. Narrations found in both Shī‘ī and Sunnī sources suggest that it was considered abhorrent to use names that denoted some unique attributes of Allah. These included names such as Khālid, Mālik, and Ḥakīm.²⁷

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) is also said to have criticized the name al-Walid, which was commonly used in the Age of Ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*). It is reported that he even said al-Walid was the name of one of the tyrant Pharaohs and that there would be, in the future, a man by the same name who would be worse for the *ummah* than Pharaoh was for his people.²⁸ In addition to recommending certain names and disapproving of others, narrations tell us that the Prophet (ṣ) would also change the unsuitable names of certain individuals and locations. Regarding this, a tradition from Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (a) states:

كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يغيّر الأسماء القبيحة في الرجال والبلدان

The Prophet (ṣ) used to change the unseemly names of individuals
and places.²⁹

In fact, it is reported that whenever he (ṣ) met someone with a name that was not good, he would immediately give the person another

of a member of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and only means to express the unquestioning loyalty that one has for the members of this purified household. (My gratitude to Shaykh Mustafa Jaffer and Sayyid Me‘rāj Zaydī for these details).

²⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, pp. 20-1; Ibn Wahab, *al-Jāmi‘ fī al-Hadīth*, vol. 1, p. 124.

²⁸ Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, vol. 16, p. 430, no. 45276.

²⁹ Al-Himyarī, *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 93, h. 310. It is worth noting that he (ṣ) would also change the names of entire tribes. For instance, it is reported that he changed the name of Banī al-Zinyah to Banī al-Rishdah, Banī Mughwiyah to Banī Rushd, and Banī al-Ṣammā‘ to Banī al-Samīfah, among others.

name.³⁰ It is worthy of note that this was not only the practice of the Noble Prophet alone; rather, previous Prophets also used to change the names of people when they felt that their names were not appropriate or good.

Al-Shaykh al-Mufid reports from Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a) that Prophet Dāwūd (a) once passed by a group of young boys calling out to one among them, “*Māt al-dīn*” (lit. ‘The religion is dead’). The boy would then answer them. Dāwūd (a) approached them and asked, “Boy, what is your name?” “My name is *Māt al-dīn*,” he answered. “Who gave you this name?” Dāwūd asked. He replied, “My mother.” Then Dāwūd (a) asked where his mother was, so he said, “At home.” “Take us to your house,” said Dāwūd (a). He went with him and called her out of her house. “Maidservant of Allah,” he said, “what is the name of your son?” “His name is *Māt al-dīn*,” she answered. “Who gave him this name?” Dāwūd (a) asked. “His father,” she replied. “What was the reason for that?” he asked. She said, “He went out on a journey with some people while I was pregnant with this boy. The people returned but my husband did not return. I asked them about him and they told me that he had died. I asked them about his money and they told me that he did not leave any money. I asked them if he had made any instruction in his will. They said that he had said that I was pregnant and if I bore a girl or a boy, I should name the child *Māt al-dīn*. So I named him as I was instructed in his will since I did not wish to oppose him.” Dāwūd (a) asked her, “Do you know the people?” “Yes,” she replied. He said, “Take me to them,” – meaning those people whom she had spoken about – “and call them out of their houses.” When they were [all] present, he judged them according to his judgement. The murder [of her husband] was proved against them and he got the man’s

³⁰ Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, vol. 7, p. 157. The report states:

كان إذا أتاه الرجل وله اسم لا يحبه حزله، وكان إذا سمع بالاسم القبيح حزله إلى ما هو أحسن

منه.

money from them. Then he said to her, “Maidservant of Allah, [now] name this child of yours *Āsh al-dīn* (lit. ‘The religion is alive’).”³¹

There were generally two reasons due to which the Noble Prophet (ṣ) would change a person’s name. The first was to do with the negative connotation of that name. Any name that signified something undesirable, or against human nature, or against tenets of the faith, would be changed by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ). As we have noted earlier, such undesirable names have an adverse effect on both individuals as well as families and communities. For instance having a name like *ghāfi* (heedless), or *‘āshī* (sinner), will surely have a negative psychological impact on the owner of that name, aside from causing him to become the butt of jokes and the object of humiliating and snide comments.³² It is even possible that repeatedly hearing such negative names could drive one towards the very negative actions that they

³¹ Al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 218.

إِنَّ دَاوِدَ عَمَّرْ بَلْعَمَانِ يَلْعَبُونَ وَيَنادُونَ بِواحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ يَا مَاتَ الدِّينِ! قَالَ وَالْغَلامُ يَجِيئُهُمْ فَدَنَا دَاوِدَ عَمَّرْ مِنْهُمْ فَقَالَ إِنَّ دَاوِدَ عَمَّرْ بَلْعَمَانِ يَلْعَبُونَ وَيَنادُونَ بِواحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ يَا مَاتَ الدِّينِ! قَالَ لَهُ دَاوِدَ عَمَّرْ: يَا غَلامُ، مَا اسْمُكَ؟ قَالَ: اسْمِي مَاتَ الدِّينِ. قَالَ لَهُ دَاوِدَ: وَمَنْ سَمَّاكَ بِهَذَا الاسمَ؟ قَالَ: أَمِي. قَالَ لَهُ دَاوِدَ عَمَّرْ: وَأَنِّي أَمِكَ؟ قَالَ فِي مَنْزِلِهِ: فَقَالَ دَاوِدَ عَمَّرْ: انْطَلِقْ بِنَا إِلَى أَمِكَ. فَانْطَلَقَ بِهِ إِلَيْهَا فَاسْتَخْرَجَهَا مِنْ مَنْزِلِهِ فَخَرَجَتْ. قَالَ: يَا أَمَةَ اللَّهِ، مَا اسْمُ ابْنِكَ هَذَا؟ قَالَتْ: اسْمِهِ مَاتَ الدِّينِ. قَالَ لَهَا دَاوِدَ: وَمَنْ سَمَّاهُ بِهَذَا الاسمَ؟ قَالَتْ: أَبُوهُ. قَالَ: وَمَا كَانَ سَبِبُ ذَلِكَ؟ قَالَتْ: إِنَّهُ خَرَجَ فِي سَفَرٍ لَهُ وَمَعَهُ قَوْمٌ وَأَنَا حَامِلُ بِهَذَا الْغَلامِ، فَانْصَرَفَ الْقَوْمُ وَلَمْ يَنْصَرِفْ زَوْجِي مَعَهُمْ، فَسَأَلَتْهُمْ عَنْهُ فَقَالُوا مَا تَرَكَ مَالًا. قَتَلَتْ لَهُمْ فَهُلْ وَضَاكُمْ بِوَصْيَةِ؟ قَالُوا: زَعَمْ أَنَّكَ حَبْلِي إِنَّ وَلَدَتْ جَارِيَةً أَوْ غَلامًا فَسَمَّيْهِ مَاتَ الدِّينِ. فَسَمَّيْتَهُ كَمَا وَضَيَّ فَهُلْ وَضَاكُمْ بِوَصْيَةِ؟ قَالَ لَهَا دَاوِدَ عَمَّرْ: فَهُلْ تَعْرِفِينَ الْقَوْمَ؟ قَالَتْ: نَعَمْ. قَالَ لَهَا دَاوِدَ: انْطَلِقِي مَعَ هُؤُلَاءِ يَعْنِي قَوْمًا بَيْنِ يَدِيهِ فَاسْتَخْرِجِيهِمْ مِنْ مَنْازِلِهِمْ. فَلَمَّا حَضَرُوهُ حَكْمُ فِيهِمْ حُكْمُ الْحُكْمَةِ، فَثَبَتَ عَلَيْهِمُ الدَّمْ وَاسْتَخْرَجَهُمْ مِنْهُمُ الدَّمْ. ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهَا: يَا أَمَةَ اللَّهِ سَمِّيِ ابْنُكَ هَذَا بِعَاشِ الدِّينِ.

³² It is reported that ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had once sought to employ a person, so he asked him his name and the man replied, “Zālim ibn Sāriq.” Umar was taken aback and exclaimed, “You are unjust (*zālim*) and your father is a thief (*sāriq*)!?” Then he did not employ him. (See: Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabi‘ al-Abrār wa Nuṣūṣ al-Akhyār*, vol. 2, p. 454)

denote. Hearing oneself called a sinner or a heedless fool by everyone might have just this kind of detrimental effect on an individual.

The second reason he (ṣ) would sometimes change an individual's name was because of their actions or due to the occurrence of a special event. He (ṣ) named a slave called Fath 'Sirāj' because he illuminated the masjid with candles and oil,³³ and when a girl was born right after the revelation of Sūrat Maryam, he named her Maryam.³⁴ The infallible Imams from the Prophet's progeny would also at times ask people to change their unseemly names. For instance, it is reported that there used to be a man whose epithet (*kunyah*) was Abū Murrah (which also happens to be the *kunyah* of the accursed Iblīs). Whenever he visited Imam 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād (a), he would seek permission to enter saying that Abū Murrah is here to see the Imam. However, Imam al-Sajjād (a) told him that when he comes to his house, he should never use the epithet Abū Murrah.³⁵ Indeed, the choice of a *kunyah* is upon an individual, and hence shows the intellect of a person, whereas his name is usually chosen by his father and is hence a reflection of his father's intellect.³⁶

Some of the other recorded instances where the Noble Prophet (ṣ) changed the names of certain individuals include:

³³ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Iṣṭī'āb fi Ma'rīfat al-Āshāb*, vol. 2, p. 683.

³⁴ Al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-Zawā'id*, vol. 8, p. 55.

³⁵ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 21.

عن زرارة قال: سمعت أبا جفرا يقول: إن رجلاً كان يغشى عليّ بن الحسين ع وكان يكتئي أبا مرتة فكان إذا استأذن عليه يقول -أبو مرتة بالباب، فقال له عليّ بن الحسين ع: بالله إذا جئت إلى بابنا فلا تقولن أبو مرتة.

³⁶ This is actually mentioned in a statement attributed to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) where he reportedly said:

كُنْيَةُ الرَّجُلِ أَحَدُ شَوَاهِدِ عِقْلِهِ وَاسْمُهُ أَحَدُ شَوَاهِدِ عِقْلِ أَيْهِ.

The *kunyah* of a man is one of the proofs of a person's intellect while his name is one of the proofs of his father's intellect. See: Al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *Muḥādarāt al-Udabā'*, vol. 2, p. 336.

- (a) One of the great-grandchildren of Prophet Yūsuf (a) who lived in Madīnah was called Ḥaṣīn, which means ‘preventor’ or ‘hinderer’ in Arabic. When he converted to Islam, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) is reported to have changed his name to ‘Abdullāh.³⁷
- (b) One of the early Muslims had been named Ghāfil ibn Bukayr, but the Prophet (ṣ) changed his name to ‘Āqil ibn Bukayr due to the negative connotation of his previous name. ‘Āqil ibn Bukayr was among those who were martyred at Badr.³⁸
- (c) An individual known as Samḥaj was renamed ‘Abdullāh by the Noble Prophet (ṣ).³⁹ The word *samḥaj* refers to a female donkey with a long back. Perhaps that was the reason for changing the name.
- (d) The Holy Prophet (ṣ) also changed Sawād ibn Mālik’s name to ‘Abd al-Rahmān.⁴⁰
- (e) One of the companions who had the name al-Hubāb (which also means ‘serpent’ or ‘devil’) was renamed upon his reversion to Islam by the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and given the name ‘Abdullāh.⁴¹
- (f) There was also an individual named Hazn (meaning ‘hard’ or ‘rugged’) who was renamed by the Prophet (ṣ) to Sahl (meaning ‘ease’) on the day of the Conquest of Makkah, after he accepted Islam.⁴²
- (g) It was not only men whose names were changed by the Prophet (ṣ). It is reported that ‘Umar had a daughter called ‘Āsiyah, so the Noble Prophet renamed her and called her Jamīlah.⁴³
- (h) Abū Rāfi‘ reported that Zaynab, the daughter of Umm Salamah, was previously named Barrah (the virtuous one). Then it was said

³⁷ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-As̄hāb*, vol. 3, p. 921.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 1235.

³⁹ Ibn Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah fī Ma‘rifat al-Ṣahābah*, vol. 2, p. 301.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 333.

⁴¹ Ibid, vol. 3, p. 192.

⁴² Ibn Hajar, *al-Isābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣahābah*, vol. 2, p. 54.

⁴³ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 6, p. 173, h. 2139.

that she is praising and elevating herself [by being called thus], so the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) changed her name to Zaynab.⁴⁴

- (i) It has been reported that during the time of the Prophet (ṣ), there was a Jewish man called Subbakht (or Senjāt in Persian⁴⁵) who was one of the Persian royals and was eloquent in speech. The man questioned the Prophet about Allah and when he was satisfied with the answers, he accepted Islam, whereupon the Prophet changed his name to ‘Abdullāh.⁴⁶

There are numerous other examples of this,⁴⁷ to the extent that one would be right to conclude that it was indeed the Prophet’s *sunnah* to change odious names to good ones.⁴⁸

Other reasons for changing names also arose later in the history of Islam. Sometimes, names had to be changed out of dissimulation due to fear of persecution. We know, for example, that the ‘Abbāsī caliph al-Mutawakkil was particularly spiteful against the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and the progeny of Imam ‘Alī (a). During his time, one of the courtiers of the previous caliph by the name of Ibrāhīm ibn al-‘Abbās had two sons named al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. However, when al-Mutawakkil began his reign, Ibrāhīm renamed his sons Ishāq and ‘Abbās out of fear of al-Mutawakkil.⁴⁹ This is but one example of many in history who had to change their names, either completely or partially, in order to protect

⁴⁴ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, p. 289, h. 5839.

⁴⁵ The famous Persian lexicographer Dehkhudā notes that this name was a shortened form of *se najāt* (three salvations: virtuous speech, virtuous actions, and virtuous thoughts) and was a common Zoroastrian name.

⁴⁶ Al-Rāwandī, *al-Kharā’ij wal-Jarā’ib*, vol. 2, pp. 491-2.

⁴⁷ Other reports state that he (ṣ) changed any names with a negative meaning to one with a positive meaning. For more examples of this, see: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, vol. 10, pp. 576-577.

⁴⁸ A narration in Sunnī sources clearly states this (see: al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-Ummāl*, vol. 7, p. 157):

كان إذا سمع بالاسم القبيح حوله إلى ما هو أحسن منه.

⁴⁹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā*, vol. 2, p. 149.

themselves and hide their identities or ideological leanings from enemies among those who were in authority.

There are also reports of instances where those in authority sought to compel their subjects to change their names. We are told, for example, that ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had once tried to rename all individuals who were called Muḥammad (or were named after other Prophets). The reason for this was that he once heard his nephew Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān being slandered by someone who repeatedly abused the name Muḥammad, so he resolved that he would not allow the name of the Prophet to be abused in this way. He changed his nephew’s name and sought to change the names of others who were also called Muḥammad. When he summoned Muḥammad ibn Ṭalhah, and instructed him to change his name, the latter replied that it was the Prophet himself who had named him. Upon hearing that, ‘Umar could do nothing and hence he withdrew from his plan.⁵⁰

When it comes to religious conversion, some new Muslims change both their first and last names, such as the basketballer Mahmud Abd al-Rauf who was formerly Chris Jackson, and the boxing champion Muhammad Ali who was formerly Cassius Clay, among many others. There are others who keep their surnames and only change their first names. Yet others opt to informally adopt a Muslim name, which they might use from time to time, especially when among their Muslim brethren. For instance, the Muslim American Congressman Keith Ellison, who converted to Islam as a teenager, said in an interview that he goes by Keith Muḥammad in his Muslim community. A popular practice among some revert is to look for an Arabic name with a similar meaning to one’s previous name. For example, Claire might become Munira, since both names refer to something that is “bright or shining.” Those with English versions of names already known in Arabic, like the names of Prophets or known individuals, might simply change to the

⁵⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 10, p. 573.

Arabic pronunciation of their names. So David would become Dāwūd, and Alexander would become Iskandar, and so on.

It is important to note that a revert who wishes to change his full name does not thereby disavow his parents or family. Nor does he pretend to be someone else; so changing one's name in this way is not tantamount to severance from one's heritage. Islam is clear in its instruction about keeping ties with one's family, and being good to one's parents, even if they are disbelievers:

وَإِنْ جَهَدَاكَ عَلَىٰ أَنْ تُشْرِكَ بِي مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ فَلَا تُطِعْهُمَا وَصَاحِبُهُمَا فِي الدُّنْيَا
مَعْرُوفٌ وَاتَّبِعْ سَبِيلَ مَنْ أَنَابَ إِلَىٰ ثُمَّ اتَّهَىٰ مَرْجِعُكُمْ فَأُنِيبُكُمْ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ ⑤

If they (your parents) press you to ascribe as a partner to Me what you have no knowledge of, then do not obey them. Yet keep company with them in this world courteously, and follow the way of those who turn to Me penitently. Then to Me is your return, and I will inform you concerning what you used to do. (Q31:15)

Many Muslim revert scholars have gone on to play prominent roles in the community as scholars and role models, thereby inspiring a whole generation of Muslims, young and old. The prominent convert to Islam, Muhammad Asad, was born to an Austrian Orthodox Jewish family and named Leopold Weiss before his conversion to Islam at the age of twenty-six. He was a polymath and a linguaphile, having learned at least eight languages. At the same time, he was deeply involved in political affairs and even played a role in the founding of Pakistan, which he later came to represent at the UN in 1951. Shaykh Hamzah Yusuf accepted Islam at the age of nineteen and today runs the well-known Zaytuna College in the US, teaching and inspiring many Muslims with his erudition. Good work is also done by Muslims who did not, for some reason, change their names. For instance, Johnathan Brown has written a number of interesting works and given talks on a variety of subjects related to Islam at Georgetown University where he

teaches. The list goes on and on; suffice it to say that Muslim revert play an important role in the *ummah* and have the potential to inspire many believers.

There is a difference, however, in how quickly one can be identified as a Muslim if he or she decides not to change their name to a Muslim one. It has happened on more than one occasion that I was unable to tell, and when I once asked a colleague whether a particular person is a Muslim or not, he replied, “Who can tell nowadays!” The same is true for those who may have adopted a Muslim name but opt not to use it. I recall how pleasantly surprised I was when I learned that Sherman Jackson was actually Sherman Abdul Hakim Jackson. It made his lecture series all the more enjoyable to attend, as I felt that he was talking about Islam as a Muslim, not an outsider. It would not be far-fetched to thus claim that to a Muslim, a Muslim name brings with it a sense of familiarity and comfort. After all, believers are brothers to each other, as the Glorious Qur’ān tells us (Q49:10).

The zeal with which some Muslim revert defend their faith is particularly inspiring. When Mahmud Abd al-Rauf refused to recite the national anthem as a form of protest against the injustices of the US government around the world, and opted to raise his hands in *du‘ā* for the oppressed instead, the media frenzy against him all but destroyed his career. A lesser man would have abandoned his faith right there and then, but not Abd al-Rauf.⁵¹ The same kind of steadfastness was demonstrated by Muhammad Ali when he spoke out openly against the American aggression against Vietnam and refused to join the army when he was drafted, preferring to spend time in jail instead.⁵² Indeed, it is a source of pride for every Muslim when they hear about these heroic stances taken by individuals who were guided to Islam.

⁵¹ For more details about his life and career, one may refer to the Showtime Sports documentary about his life, “Stand”.

⁵² <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2018/06/15/shoot-them-for-what-how-muhammad-ali-won-his-greatest-fight/>

Reversion to Islam: The Experience

Not all converts are cut from the same cloth. It is therefore incorrect to judge individuals without understanding their unique situations. Moreover, people have different reasons for converting, with some changing their religion in order to get married, others to avoid persecution, and yet others spend years researching before arriving at the conclusion that another religion has the answers they were looking for. It is mostly the latter group that ends up being strong, practicing adherents of their new faith. Just as the reasons and motivations to convert to Islam in the first place vary from person to person, so too do the reasons to change or keep one's name. The majority of Muslims who revert do opt to change their names to mark the beginning of a new chapter in their lives. To get some perspective, it is useful to see what other religious traditions say about the adoption of new names by converts.

Judaism has had a long history of proselytization, even if it is not very evident in contemporary times. For Jews, a convert's change of name is a sign that he or she has embraced a new worldview and accepted a new identity. It signifies an intentional change that shows preparedness on the part of the individual for the long future. It is for this reason that according to rabbinic Judaism, all converts are expected to select Hebrew names for themselves in their new lives as Jews. Many rabbis even insist that converts should also modify their old name which they used before conversion, thereby ensuring that it is no longer used as it was previously. Of course, there are a few rabbis who hold a different view, stating that converts do not have to change their names at all. They give the example of Ruth, the most famous female convert to Judaism, who never changed her Moabite name.

Ultimately, the choice remains with the convert when it comes to his or her own name. However, one change that is required without exception relates to the identity of a convert's parents. Since Jews formally refer to a person not only by his or her name, but also the

names of their parents, an identification of parentage is required in all formal settings and religious functions. Due to the fact that a convert is technically considered in Judaism to be like a newborn child, reference is made to a spiritual parentage after conversion. Hence, a male convert is called ‘ben Avraham Avinu’ (son of Abraham, our father), and a female one is called ‘bat Sarah Imenu’ (daughter of Sarah, our mother). In certain Jewish contracts, like those of marriage or divorce, the word *ha’ger* (the convert) is sometimes appended to the name. This naming practice is only required for the first generation of converts.

Among Christians, it has always been the practice to change the names of converts and give them a Christian name. This is sometimes done after they get baptized, or immediately after they convert. Wherever Christian missionaries went, be it China or the jungles of Africa, wherever they managed to convert people, they would immediately give them Christian names. Sometimes the conversions were coerced and involuntary, like in the case of the forced conversion to Orthodox Christianity during the Greek war of 1821-1832 that was dubbed, “the War of Independence”. This was actually a rebellion by the Orthodox Christians of Greece against the ‘Uthmānī (Ottoman) Empire. It was a long and bloody struggle where the European powers came together to assist the Greeks against the Muslims until they gained “independence” through the Treaty of Constantinople in July 1832.

In this war, thousands of Muslims were massacred by Christians, including women and children. One of the only recourses left for the poor Muslims who had no way of escape was to convert to Christianity. There are a number of recorded cases of individuals, mostly women (since they were the most vulnerable), who converted to Christianity and took Christian names in order to escape the genocide. These individuals were disparagingly referred to as neophytes (which literally means ‘newly enlightened’) by the born Christians. Later, many of these converts would revert back to Islam when it was safe for them to do so, but some remained Christians. As many as 30,000 Muslims were killed

in this war, and their land and possessions were appropriated by the newly founded Christian state. In many towns, even those Muslims who surrendered were not spared.⁵³

In Indic culture, names are considered to have a great effect on individuals and we find Hindus, and even Sikhs, going to great lengths to choose good names for their offspring. The tradition of ‘*nāmkaran sanskār*’ is a Vedic ritual that is performed when choosing the name of a newborn. It involves certain calculations based on the genealogy and birth date of a child, all of which factor into the choice of names. The first letter of the chosen name is very important to Hindus who still practice this ritual, and is even one of the considerations taken into account in certain life decisions by the more superstitious among them.⁵⁴

Another religion that generally requires converts to change their names is Sikhism. New Sikhs usually have to adopt a different last name upon initiation into the Khalsa, which is done through a ceremony known as the *amrit sanskār*. The practice of changing names dates back to the very beginning of Sikhism (on a day known as Vaisakhi which took place on 13th April 1699). It was on this day that Guru Gobind Singh gave directives for the adoption of new Sikh names. It is said that he did this with the aim of doing away with the prejudice created by caste-typing based on the family name, which was a common Indian practice. Seeking to promote unity and equality between Sikhs, he decreed that all Sikh men should take the surname ‘Singh’ (lion). Additionally, all Sikh women were given the second name ‘Kaur’ (princess). In this way, it became impossible to identify an individual’s caste by the surname.

⁵³ For more details about this war and the massacre and forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity, see: Stefanos Katsikas, ‘Muslim Converts to Orthodox Christianity during the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1832’, *European History Quarterly*, 2021, vol. 51(3), pp. 299-323.

⁵⁴ Dwivedi, *Change Your Name Change Your Fate*, pp. 9-10.

While this practice is still prevalent, many Sikhs now opt to take the names Singh and Kaur as middle names instead of surnames. Additionally, to promote egalitarianism and equality among the genders, in most cases the first names they use are unisex and can be for both women and men. Converts to Sikhism usually also change their first names. Nearly all Sikh first names are associated with the Divine. It is also noteworthy that compound names are quite common among them. Compound names may end in suffixes like ‘preet’ (love), ‘deep’ (light), and ‘jeet’ (victory). For example, ‘jas’ (glory) joined with ‘preet’ (love), makes Jaspreet, which means ‘glory of love’ and so on. The practice of name change upon conversion is also prevalent among converts to Hinduism and Buddhism, where the latter are given what is termed a new ‘Dharma name’.

In order to understand the reversion experience, both the revert’s personal circumstances and what they undergo, as well as the feelings and experiences of the Muslim community that receive him or her into the fold have to be considered. It is not only about the reception of converts into the larger Muslim body, and the reactions of their family, friends, and acquaintances. In the current climate of suspicion brought about by nefarious anti-Muslim activities by government agencies in many countries, especially in the West, it is natural for new revert to the faith to be looked upon with some distrust by community members, as there have been numerous cases of security agents who infiltrate the *masājid* pretending to be new converts.

The unfortunate reality is that there have indeed been some ‘fake’ converts to Islam, even in earlier times. One of the more famous cases was that of the renowned Jewish scholar Moses Maimonides. It is said that the Al-Muwahhidūn (Almohad) ruler, ‘Abd al-Mu’min, had decreed the expulsion of Christians and Jews from his land, and he only allowed those who converted to Islam to stay. Whoever refused to convert would forfeit his property and even his life. When the order was enforced, many left while a few opted to convert and remain

behind. Maimonides was one of those who openly professed Islam while concealing his unbelief. He did this to remain in the country. He would outwardly perform some of the Islamic rituals and acts of worship, including reciting the Qurān and attending the congregational prayers. All the while he remained a Jew by belief. He did this until he was able to, many years later, migrate from al-Andalus to Egypt, where he settled among the Jews of the old city of Fustāt.⁵⁵

The skepticism that such kind of pretense engendered among Muslims was also seen when the Mongols converted to Islam publicly in 1295. It is said that Ibn Taymiyyah, the individual famously known as one of the progenitors of present-day Salafism, had rejected their conversion in a *fatwa* wherein he declared them to be fake Muslims. A few years later, he even fought against them as they invaded Damascus.⁵⁶ Ibn Taymiyyah was wrong in his assessment regarding the Mongols, since it is known that by the 1330s, three of the four major khanates of the Mongol Empire had become Muslims. In the same way, sometimes unwarranted suspicion against revert by some skeptical community members can drive new Muslims away from the *masjid*, thereby leaving them alone when they need the support of their brethren the most.

Furthermore, it makes the whole reversion experience more difficult for them, after they have already had to undergo a lot in the whole process of converting to Islam. As a result, many new Muslims are left feeling a need to prove their sincerity, and even authenticity, as adherents of the faith. Not immediately taking steps to outwardly demonstrate their ‘muslimness’ like wearing the *hijāb* or growing a beard is a further reason for others to doubt their intentions. Recent studies about this phenomenon among British converts to Islam

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, pp. 317-319.

⁵⁶ Amitai, “The Mongol Occupation of Damascus in 1300” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, p. 31.

highlights the important consequences of such ostensible ‘performance of muslimness’.⁵⁷

Sometimes, there is an unfair expectation of acculturation imposed by a dominant Muslim culture in a given area that forces further changes on new converts – changes that are not even part of the teachings of Islam, *per se*. In Nigeria, where Christians are mostly from the Igbo tribe while Muslims are Hausa, when members of the Igbo convert to Islam, they are often times forced to adopt the cultural practices and customs of the Hausa if they wish to be accepted as true and authentic Muslims. Similarly, there are some instances where new Muslims in some cities in Britain have felt the need to adopt certain Pakistani customs, such as donning the *shalwār kamīz*, in order to blend in and be considered part of the Muslim community.⁵⁸

Those who convert after a long period of deep research and reflection, having arrived at the conclusion that Islam is indeed the true religion that will lead them to felicity in this world and the next, feel a sense of accomplishment and even zeal in their conversion. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as the “zeal of the convert” and is the means by which new converts often justify their conversion to a new faith. However, just as the reasons for conversion are not always the same, likewise the sense of zeal experienced by new converts is not of the same level. A recent study of some American Muslim converts has aimed to show that the popular idea that new Muslims are somehow more committed or eager to follow the teachings of Islam than other Muslims may be nothing more than confirmation bias.⁵⁹ Indeed, it is common for some lay Muslims to get overly enthusiastic in their acceptance of new converts, often giving them a platform to share their

⁵⁷ Moosavi, ‘British Muslim Converts Performing ‘Authentic Muslimness’, *Performing Islam*, vol. 1, issue no. 1 (2012), pp. 103-128.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 118.

⁵⁹ Snook, et. al., ‘Zeal of the Convert? Comparing Religiousness between Convert and Non-Convert Muslims’, *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* (2021), p. 8.

experiences during the conversion with the hope of inspiring others to be better Muslims.

The reality is, however, that the difficulties that converts undergo when they change their faith can and does cause, for many, hardships that affect their personal lives and their relationships even with some of their closest family members. It is therefore unfair for born Muslims to expect too much of them. Time must be given to allow for a gradual transitioning through the various stages of piety, and shining the spotlight on new converts can actually be detrimental for both them and the community of believers at large. This is especially true in places where Islam is anathema, like Denmark, which is said to be 85% Lutheran Protestant and has a Muslim population of about 200,000 out of a total of five million. Life is difficult for Muslims in Denmark, and more so for those who are recent converts to the faith.

From the approximately 2,800 native Danish converts to Islam who have accepted the faith in the last thirty years, only a few have adopted Muslim names officially. Most of the others who changed their names did so without any official registration and still go by their old names in their previous circles. Given the hostile environment for Muslims, this is quite understandable. In fact, studies have shown that new Muslims actually take active measures to mask their identities in public to avoid the discrimination and stigma that goes with being a Muslim in Denmark. Those who openly stage their conversion and practice Islam publicly are often the object of ridicule by their non-Muslim peers. For this reason, Danish converts usually form small discreet groups, meeting in private gatherings to discuss their experiences and trying to learn more about the faith.⁶⁰

It is important to understand the difficulty it entails to change one's name. People already know you by your previous name and it takes a lot of determination to keep correcting them and insisting that they use

⁶⁰ Jensen, 'Religious Authority and Autonomy Intertwined: The Case of Converts to Islam in Denmark', *The Muslim World*, vol. 96 (October 2006), pp. 643-660.

your new name. Of course, it could be argued that the whole process, though tedious and irritating, comes with its rewards. For one thing, it makes the revert's connection to his or her new identity stronger. Some revert have even expressed how when they finally reach a stage where they no longer respond to their previous names, they feel a complete sense of detachment from their old selves, and a sense of achievement as well. For their part, Muslims should understand that not everyone has this kind of resolve, so undue pressure on revert to forcefully change their names is not warranted. They should instead realize that by the next generation, the children of these new Muslims will have Muslim names anyway, so there is no need to make a mountain out of a mole hill.

Establishing Modes of Difference

One of the important teachings found in the ḥadīth that is linked to the question of Muslim identity concerns maintaining modes of difference and not aping or emulating adherents of other faiths. A tradition attributed to the Noble Prophet (ṣ) states:

مِنْ تَشْبِهِ بِقَوْمٍ فَهُوَ مِنْهُمْ.

Whoever imitates a people is one of them.⁶¹

Furthermore, there are a number of traditions that specifically forbid believers from imitating the Jews. For instance, note the following narrations:

⁶¹ Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol. 4, p. 1730, h. 4031. The same tradition is reported in Shī‘ī sources as well. For instance, see: Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *‘Awālī al-La’ālī*, vol. 1, p. 165, and with a slight difference (with the phrase ‘udda minhum instead of *fa-huwa minhum*) reported from Imam ‘Alī (a) in: Qādī Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 513.

قال رسول الله ﷺ: غَيْرُوا الشَّيْبَ، وَلَا تَشَبَّهُوا بِالْيَهُودِ.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said: Change [your] grey hair and do not imitate the Jews.⁶²

قال رسول الله ﷺ: حَقُّوا الشَّوَارِبَ وَأَعْفُوا اللَّحْىَ وَلَا تَشَبَّهُوا بِالْيَهُودِ.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said: Trim [your] moustaches while letting [your] beards grow and do not imitate the Jews.⁶³

قال أبو عبد الله عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَافُ: اكْنُسُوا أَفْيَتُكُمْ وَلَا تَشَبَّهُوا بِالْيَهُودِ.

Abū ‘Abdillāh [al-Ṣādiq] (a) said: Sweep your courtyards and do not imitate the Jews.⁶⁴

The term *tashabbuh* is commonly translated as imitation; however, the term encompasses other related concepts like mimicry, assimilation, and conformity. According to the ‘Uthmānī Arab Sūfī litterateur and jurist al-Ghazī, who spent close to forty years composing a lengthy treatise that discusses this very subject,⁶⁵ *tashabbuh* is a kind of action that has the potential to blur or completely efface the line between self and other. The idea of imitating others irked even the early Greek philosophers, who spoke out avidly against the practice, using terms like “the terror of mimesis,” and insisting that an imitator cannot escape

⁶² Al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 415, h. 9344. In *Nahj al-Balāghah*, we are told that someone asked Imam ‘Alī (a) about this tradition and he explained that it was applicable during the early period of Islam, when there were fewer followers. However, during his time since Islam had spread and its followers had increased, one had the option to decide whether to apply hair dye or not. (See: Al-Rađī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Saying no. 17).

⁶³ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqih*, vol. 1, p. 130, h. 329.

⁶⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 531, h. 5.

⁶⁵ His treatise is called *Husn al-Tanabbuh li mā Warada fī al-Tashabbuh* (*The Virtue of Awareness about What Has been Transmitted regarding Imitation*).

contamination by the object of imitation.⁶⁶ Of course, they were not all of the same mind, and Aristotle is said to have differed with his teacher about the process, deeming it to be more of a poiesis – a creative process that supersedes the original.⁶⁷

However, not all kinds of emulation or imitation are frowned upon in Islam. Some traditions encourage imitating the wise elders of the community and modelling one's behaviour after such elders. However, the opposite of this is forbidden, since we are told, “The best of your youth imitate your elders, and the worst of your elders imitate your youth.”⁶⁸ Hence we see that *tashabbuh* is not always used in a negative way and may at times be recommended and have a positive connotation. Furthermore, imitation is not a one-way street. In the so-called golden age of Islam, many non-Muslims began to imitate Muslims in various ways, including their sartorial styles. Non-Muslim elites in certain European countries such as Poland, imitated the ‘Uthmānī style of dress. It is said that they resembled the ‘Uthmānīs so much that during the 1683 siege of Vienna by the Turks, some Polish soldiers attached straws to their headgear with the aim of distinguishing themselves from their Turkish foes.⁶⁹

The idea of maintaining difference from non-believers is not exclusive to Islam. In Judaism, the doctrine of *hukkat ha goyem* proscribed the imitation of gentile practices for Jews, in order to ensure that the ‘chosen people’ remained set apart from all others. Indeed, it is quite true that imitation in certain practices leads to a kind of assimilation. Muhammad Asad, himself a convert from Judaism, wrote against Muslim imitation of Western civilization and called it “the

⁶⁶ Plato, *Republic*, pp. 73-74.

⁶⁷ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1448b4-9.

⁶⁸ Al-Qudā'i, *Musnad al-Shihāb*, vol. 2, p. 233. The tradition reads:

خَيْرُ شَبَابِكُم مَنْ تَشَبَّهَ بِكَهْوَلِكُمْ، وَشَرُّ كَهْوَلِكُمْ مَنْ تَشَبَّهَ بِشَبَابِكُمْ.

⁶⁹ Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II*, p. 43.

greatest danger for the existence – or rather, the revival – of Islamic civilization.”⁷⁰ It is perhaps to avoid this particular danger that we are told in the traditions that one who imitates people of other faiths is not considered to be part of the Muslim *ummah*.⁷¹

In his recent monograph *The Muslim Difference*, Yoshua Patel asserts that the traditions against *tashabbuh* are rarely found in Shī‘ah ḥadīth collections, thereby suggesting that the term represents “a distinctive Sunnī Muslim vocabulary of religious difference.”⁷² However, as noted above, there are indeed many traditions within the Shī‘ah ḥadīth corpus that do convey the same idea. Avoiding imitation of non-Muslims may take various forms, such as adoption of different attires or use of other visible markers that would set Muslims apart from non-Muslims in the public sphere. Doing this, for any group, has the benefit of a sense of membership in a special community, and in the case of Islam, in the community of believers. When the Christians conquered Granada, converts from Islam were forced to appear Christian by abandoning their “Muslim habits” like putting henna on their hands and feet, or eating couscous.⁷³

Maintaining such kinds of difference is important for purposes of identification, and there have always been efforts to maintain distinctness as a status quo in various societies. Anecdotal evidence suggests that even today, in certain Arab countries like Oman, it is frowned upon for expatriates to don the traditional Arab attire, which is reserved for the locals alone. Before the formation of nation states, there were different boundaries of delineation, including those based on religious affiliation. During the reign of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, it is reported that he commanded that the forelocks of some Christian

⁷⁰ Muhammad Asad, *Islam at Crossroads*, p. 75.

⁷¹ Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣahīḥ*, vol. 4, p. 480, h. 2695. The tradition states:

لِيسَ مِنَّا مَنْ تَشَبَّهَ بِغَيْرِنَا.

⁷² Patel, *The Muslim Difference*, p. 17.

⁷³ Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, pp. 1-62.

Arabs from Najran be clipped because they parted their hair like the Muslims, and since they spoke Arabic and wore Arab attire, they would otherwise be indistinguishable from the local Muslim population. Later, the clipped forelock became a distinctive feature of non-Muslim minorities in Islamic lands (*dhimmīs*), and led to the term *muqassas* (one whose forelock is clipped) being synonymous with *dhimmi*.⁷⁴

When it comes to individuals' names, they are the most obvious identity markers which would give any person an initial idea of the named person's religious affiliation, among other things. However, names were never entirely conclusive as a means of identifying religious affiliation. Even in the study of inscriptions found at archeological sites, on rocks or tombstones, it is thought that a name itself would not be considered sufficient to describe the named as a Muslim, since it is known that sometimes Christians, and possibly Jews, also possessed "Muslim" names. For instance, it is argued by some that one of the oldest tombstones found outside Fustāt, with the name 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khayr al-Hajrī inscribed on it, along with the *basmala* and the lunar date according to the Islamic calendar, lacks "distinctive Islamic formulas"⁷⁵ that would have made us certain about the religious affiliation of the individual buried therein.

However, such an argument is unconvincing, because though one may not attain certainty, one could surely not be faulted for assuming a person with a Muslim name is a Muslim, just as one cannot be faulted for considering a person with a distinctive Christian or Jewish name as being a Christian or Jew respectively. The few exceptions are outliers, and cannot be accepted as sufficient reason to reject the efficacy of names as identity markers that also distinguish an individual's religious affiliation. Nevertheless, it must be said that in the present age, due to migration and advances in communication among other factors, there is a confluence of various cultures that flow and mingle, influencing

⁷⁴ Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire*, pp. 88-96.

⁷⁵ Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, p. 20.

and getting influenced by each other, in this global village we call our world. As a result, we sometimes find names that do not truly reflect their bearers' identities. How else would a black, Christian man, who supports Jewish apartheid, have the Muslim name Barak Hussein Obama? A quintessential oxymoron if there ever was one!

While there are many *abādīth* that emphasize the importance of maintaining difference and not imitating non-believers, some employ phrases with positive imperatives, such as “*khālifū*” instead of negative ones like “*lā tashabbahu*” thereby instructing believers to ‘be different’ rather than simply ‘do not imitate’, as the two imperatives denote respectively. In one tradition, we find an explicit and general condemnation against imitation of disbelievers. It is reported that the Noble Prophet (ṣ) said, “A Muslim must not support a disbeliever, nor should he imitate disbelievers.”⁷⁶ The term disbelievers (*kuffār*) in this tradition appears to include the People of the Book along with all other unbelievers. Hence, we can understand from it that Muslims should not imitate any of the non-Muslims as a general rule.

Preserving difference can take various forms, one of the more obvious of which is through rituals. Hence, we find a number of traditions wherein we are instructed to avoid certain ritual practices because they are carried out by followers of other faiths. For instance, the Prophet (ṣ) is said to have expressed disapproval for praying in narrow niches because that was the practice of the Christians.⁷⁷ Aside from rituals, even in what may be considered mundane acts or everyday practice, differentiation has been deemed important. This includes things like how one should greet others. Muslims have a distinctive

⁷⁶ Ibn Wahab, *al-Jāmi‘ fi al-Hadīth*, p. 442. The tradition states:
أَلَا يُؤْدِي مُسْلِمٌ بِكَافِرٍ، وَلَا يَتَشَبَّهَ مِنْ أَسْلَمٍ بِالْكُفَّارِ.

It is noteworthy that this tradition is found in one of the oldest papyrus manuscripts in existence – a compilation of traditions by ‘Abdullāh ibn Wahab (d. 190 AH), who was a student of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 173 AH).

⁷⁷ Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhar*, vol. 5, p. 21, h. 1577.

greeting when they meet each other where they say, “Peace be upon you” (*al-salāmu ‘alaykum*). Some traditions note that this is purposely different from the way Jews and Christians greet one another. It was due to such traditions against imitation that in the early period, non-Muslims would be compelled to adopt visible markers of distinction (*ghiyār*) in Muslim lands. Distinctive styles of dress and outward appearance (*ziyy*) have also been used as markers for distinction within human societies since the earliest times. For instance, in the medieval Near East, it was standard practice for Jews, Christians and Muslims to grow distinctively styled beards.⁷⁸

Other sartorial practices of distinction included the donning of turbans, tied in specific styles. The general practice of wearing turbans had been considered by some Muslims as part of the *sunnah* of the Prophet (ṣ) himself. The continuity of this practice over the ages led Muslims to be regarded by some as a “turbaned nation”.⁷⁹ To ensure that non-Muslims remained distinct from the general Muslim populous, the ‘Abbāsī caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 239 AH) decreed that Jews and Christians must wear yellowish-orange turbans to differentiate themselves from the black and blue turbans commonly worn by Muslims at that time.⁸⁰ Later on, the Fāṭimī caliph al-Hākim (d. 398 AH) decreed that Jews and Christians must don black turbans, thereby transforming the color which had become a symbol of ‘Abbāsī power into a mark of subjugation and abasement.⁸¹ A similar decree on different headgear was issued by Mamālik Sultans as well as the ‘Uthmānīs, with the latter completely forbidding non-Muslims from wearing turbans.⁸²

The instruction to maintain modes of distinction was extrapolated by some to include anyone who did not agree with their particular creed

⁷⁸ Patel, *The Muslim Difference* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), p. 95.

⁷⁹ Locke, *Two Tracts on Government*, p. 146.

⁸⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Incipient Decline*, vol. 34, pp. 89-90.

⁸¹ Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, p. 120.

⁸² *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., s.v. “Turban” (W. Bjorkman).

or school of thought. In the view of certain scholars, difference was not only to be maintained with adherents of other faiths, but also with followers of other sects deemed to be deviant. Some Sunnī scholars believed that acceptance of the permissibility of wiping over socks during ablution was a fundamental aspect of faith that distinguished them from the Shī‘ah. So much so that it was even claimed that anyone who did not accept the practice was among the people of innovation and thus a disbeliever.⁸³ On his part, Ibn Taymiyyah had accused the Shī‘ah, whom he derogatively referred to as *rawāfiḍ* (rejecters), of being the most ‘polytheistic’ of those who follow their base desires and urged the Sunnis to distinguish themselves from them by wearing their rings on the left hand instead of the right, saying that this had also been the opinion of earlier scholars who were among the disciples of al-Shāfi‘ī.⁸⁴

Like many other traditions, the ḥadīth warning Muslims not to blindly imitate non-believers was sometimes taken literally without considering the spirit of the injunction. This led to some decisions and rulings by scholars that might seem embarrassing for believers today, when they fail to consider the context and the circumstances of those times. For instance, when an alarm clock was first gifted to the ‘Uthmānī court by a European ambassador and was looked upon as a great invention by the Turkish ruling elite, many of whom were Europhiles, it became something that was coveted by the people. However, al-Ghazzī spoke out against the invention, claiming that it transmitted Christian sounds into Muslim lands, displacing Muslim sounds like the *adhān*.⁸⁵ Another example is the negative reception of coffee as a drink, which even came to be compared to alcohol, due to its presumed effects on the mind by some scholars.⁸⁶

⁸³ Al-Taftāzānī, *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam*, p. 156.

⁸⁴ Ibn Taymiyyah, *Iqtidā’ al-Širāt al-Mustaqim*, vol. 1, p. 401.

⁸⁵ Al-Ghazzī, *Husn al-Tanabbih li mā Warada fi al-Tashabbuh*, vol. 7, p. 499.

⁸⁶ Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*, pp. 46-60.

In the more recent past, however, there have been some scholars who felt that restoring Muslim civilization to its previous glory is only achievable by adopting Western values and norms, which, they claimed, actually belongs to Islam since all that is good and wise is actually for believers, as some traditions mention. We see figures like the Egyptian scholar Muhammed 'Abduh (d. 1905) advocating for the breaking of old and entrenched practices like following religious edicts without question (*taqlid*), which he claimed stifled the ability of Islam to thrive amid the rapid changes of modernity. 'Abduh's ideas provoked such anger among some of his peers at al-Azhar University that on one occasion his turban was snatched from his head.⁸⁷ Interestingly, 'Abduh loathed blind imitation, so the accusation that he wished to mimic the West (*taghrīb*) was paradoxical and ironic.

Even after 'Abduh passed away, the question of imitating Western norms and practices was far from settled. A couple of decades after his demise, the Turkish scholar Iskilipi Mehmet Âtif Hoca (d. 1926) published a booklet against imitation of disbelievers in which he emphasized that it was forbidden for Muslims to wear European-style headgear. Hoca was actually tried and executed by Kemal Ataturk for undermining a new state law that banned the tarbush after the formation of the Turkish republic in 1925. Ataturk considered Western attire to be "a civilized international dress." He detailed all the clothing that Europeans were wearing, such as boots or shoes, trousers, shirts, ties, jackets, waistcoats, and a cap with a brim, saying that henceforth that is what will be worn by the Turks.⁸⁸ Some citizens resisted this change but all public protests were ruthlessly suppressed, so the only option they had was a kind of passive resistance in the form of avoidance

⁸⁷ Gesink, *Islamic Reform and Conservatism: Al-Azhar and the Evolution of Modern Sunni Islam*, pp. 94-95.

⁸⁸ Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 269.

of public gatherings or wearing these foreign attires and hats differently, crookedly or pushed to the side.⁸⁹

Some later scholars who had witnessed or heard of the kind of upheaval that such adoption of foreign styles of dress had led to sought to remain neutral, as it were, and avoid issuing any edict that would cause a stir or commotion. When Ahmād Muḥammad Shākir (d. 1958), who was the deputy director of al-Azhar, was questioned about the subject, he is said to have responded, “Religion does not tell people which style of dress to adopt, as long as they are appropriate and modest... So wear whatever maintains your dignity, even if it be a cross.”⁹⁰ Though ‘Abduh’s student Rashīd Rīḍā had initially voiced his opinion on the matter of foreign clothing, stating that it was permissible to wear hats and trousers, etc. the way the Westerners do, he later changed his mind and opined that those Muslims who adopt Western styles of clothing also tend to have a different moral mindset. They usually do not follow what is prescribed in Islam, such as offering the daily prayers or refraining from imbibing alcohol. Such individuals, in Rīḍā’s view, are actually inauthentic believers who are predisposed to sins. They deny their own tradition and act like other peoples. Rīḍā denounced Ataturk for his reforms which he said were a means of abasing Turkish Muslims.⁹¹

Being different from unbelievers in both outward appearance as well as quotidian practices is important in Islam. The Arabic term *ziyy* encompasses different aspects of a person’s outward appearance including style of dress, grooming, and even distinctive gestures. It is generally how a person carries himself, or in a word, one’s ‘style’. In a tradition related by Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, where the term *ziyy* has been employed, the Prophet is reported to have said, “The physical

⁸⁹ Yilmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey*, pp. 32-39.

⁹⁰ Patel, *The Muslim Difference*, p. 199.

⁹¹ Willis, “Debating the Caliphate: Islam and Nation in the Work of Rashid Rida and Abul Kalam Azad,” in *The International History Review*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 717-718.

appearances of people do not match those of others until their morals do. Whoever imitates a people becomes one of them.”⁹² Of course, this is not to say that Muslims never altered any of their practices over the course of history. We know that this happened continually; however, those changes were gradual and organic, over the course of time, due to specific circumstances and factors. Indeed, Islam is a dynamic religion which has teachings that cater for every time and place.

Nevertheless, what is being discussed here relates to doing things in a given time and place that is clearly tantamount to aping and emulating the known, distinctive practice of non-believers. Perhaps one example, albeit contested by some scholars, is that of celebrating ‘secular’ holidays like Valentine’s Day or Halloween. It may be argued that keeping a clearly non-Muslim name after reversion to Islam does not count as emulation of disbelievers, since one already had the name to begin with and has been identified by it throughout their lives. Perhaps it is for this reason that Islam has not insisted that revert to the faith must change their names. However, there is indeed some added value in the practice of adopting a Muslim name when there are ostensibly some strong effects of doing so. One such effect is highlighting that very difference that suffices to extricate a person from the community of unbelievers and place him firmly, and identifiably, within the *ummah*.

Finally, there is a need to recognize the link between imitation and admiration or love. One only emulates a person or group that he or she feels are worthy of imitation. Many times, that feeling is also accompanied by a sense of admiration and love. The traditions state that one will be resurrected with, and counted among, those whom he or she loves and admires. Just as imitating an individual or group makes one ‘part of them’, so too does loving or admiring them. It is narrated that when the Prophet’s companion Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī said,

⁹² Al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws bi Ma’thūr al-Khiṭāb* vol. 5, p. 168. The tradition reads:

لَا ي شبّه الزَّيْ الرَّيْ حَتَّى ي شبّه الْخُلُقُ الْخُلُقُ، وَمَن ت شبّه بِقَوْمٍ فَهُوَ مِنْهُمْ.

as he stood next to the grave of al-Husayn (a), "...I swear by the One who sent the Prophet with truth: we participated with you in your cause," his companion 'Aṭīyyah asked, "How could that be, when we neither crossed any valley or ascended any peak, nor did we take up swords [to aid him]?" Jābir replied, "I heard my beloved, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), say: Whoever loves a people will be resurrected with them; and whoever loves the action of a people will be deemed partners in their action."⁹³ In the same vein, a tradition from Imam 'Alī (a) states:

إِيَّاكُمْ أَنْ تُحِبُّ أَعْدَاءَ اللَّهِ أَوْ تُصْفِي وَذَكْرَ لَغْيَرِ أَوْلَيَاءِ اللَّهِ إِنَّمَا مَنْ أَحْبَبَ قَوْمًا حَسْرٌ مَعْهُمْ.

Beware of loving the enemies of Allah, or having true affection for other than the friends of Allah, for verily whoever loves a people will be resurrected with them.⁹⁴

Conclusion

Muslim scholars generally agree that it is not a requirement for revert to change their names when they enter the fold of Islam. This does not mean, however, that there is no benefit in doing so, or even that there is no difference between a revert who changes his name and one who does not. From the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth we learn that names are important. Furthermore, names have effects, some of which are metaphysical and hence difficult for us to understand. It is perhaps for this reason that according to Prophetic teachings, it is the right of a child that his parents give him a good name. One will, after all, carry that name into the Hereafter and will be called by it on the Day of Judgment.

With no other information available, the only way to identify an individual is through his or her name. It is obvious that a common

⁹³ Al-Ṭabarī, *Bisharat al-Mustafa li Shi'at al-Murtadā'*, p. 75.

⁹⁴ Al-Āmudī, *Għurar al-Hikam wa Durar al-Kalim*, p. 170.

Christian name would *prima facie* be understood to belong to a Christian, just as a predominantly Jewish name would belong to a Jew. Hence, when Muslims come across a revert with a non-Muslim name, it leads to a moment of cognitive dissonance that could then grow into something worse, like suspicion. In the present age, with so much Islamophobia in the world, Muslims can hardly be blamed for doubting the intentions of those who claim to have converted to Islam while refraining from demonstrating their ‘muslimness’. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the stigma that Muslim names carry, and expecting those who have become Muslims, after a lot of struggle, to take on the added burden of bearing with that stigma would not be fair either.

The *ahādīth* and historical reports clearly tell us that it was the *sunnah* of the Prophet (ﷺ) to change any name that was not good. Whenever he met a person with such a name, he would immediately give the person another, better name. Furthermore, traditions also emphasize the importance of remaining different from the adherents of other faiths, and not imitating them in their practices. Taking all these narrations together, one could make a case that it is recommended that revert adopt Muslim names. Indeed, there are many examples of famous Muslim revert who changed their names, despite the difficulty it entailed.

It would be reductionist to try and pinpoint a single factor that leads one to adopt a Muslim name after reversion to Islam. However, there is no denying that those who bravely stand up as Muslims after their reversion to Islam, despite all the discrimination they endure as a result, are undoubtedly a great inspiration for both converts and born-Muslims alike. Changing one’s name in this manner shows determination and a firm resolve to remain attached to one’s new faith and identity. As such, it is our humble contention that those who have been guided to the beautiful religion of Islam should at least try to adopt a Muslim name.

To the born Muslims we would say that in the current anti-Muslim climate, especially in the West, it is understandable that some revert might feel that they would have more to lose than what they could gain by adopting a Muslim name. Let us, as an *ummah*, be accommodating of them, and not pressurize them to do something that is beyond what they can bear. After all, it is important to remember that our new brothers and sisters have undergone huge life changes by their very acceptance of Islam. Furthermore, when they get offspring, Godwilling, they will give them beautiful Muslim names anyway, so by the next generation, the question of adopting a Muslim name will be moot.

3

A CLOSER LOOK AT AL-HIMYARĪ'S *QURB AL-ISNĀD*

Qurb al-Isnād literally refers to a short chain which reduces the gap between the original speaker of a tradition and its final narrator.¹ It is similar to the technical term *ʻālī* ('high' or 'elevated'), which is used to describe those chains of transmission that contain very few transmitters and hence have a lower chance of inadvertent corruption in the process of relaying the tradition from one individual to the next.² Due to the obvious value in such types of traditions, a number of ḥadīth works with this attribute of short chains were compiled in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Hijrah. This gave rise to the *Qurb al-Isnād* genre which was something that ḥadīth scholars highly valued. Hence we find that scholars would often travel long distances to hear even a single tradition from an earlier or closer transmitter.³ The effort expended to compile a

¹ Such chains were usually the result of two possible factors namely, the long life of a given narrator which led him to meet and interact with members of later generations, or beginning one's education at an early age such that a young student would learn directly from aged teachers.

² Generally, for a tradition to be deemed as having a short chain, there has to be no more than three transmitters between the final narrator and the Infallible. Such traditions have a special place and are deemed more authoritative than other traditions with longer chains. An example of this is seen in the *thulāthiyāt* of al-Kulaynī in his *al-Kāfi*, and among the Sunnīs, the *thulāthiyāt* of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Conversely, longer chains have more intermediaries and thus have a greater likelihood of corruption, albeit inadvertent or through forgetfulness, etc.

³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī quotes one of the early ḥadīth scholars stating that they would take traditions only from the earliest transmitter alive, such that if that transmitter lived in Madīnah, they would travel from Basrah to Madīnah just to hear the tradition directly from him instead of sufficing with secondary narrators. See: *al-Kifāyah fi Ḥilm al-Riwayah*, p. 442.

work of *Qurb al-Isnād* was tremendous and scholars who had composed this kind of ḥadīth collection felt a great sense of achievement.⁴

Interestingly, it is only Shī'ah authors who used the title *Qurb al-Isnād* for compilations of this kind, whereas their Sunnī counterparts used titles like *Awālī* and *Taqrīb al-Asānīd* for similar works.⁵ Historically, the first independent compilation of this type among the Imāmiyyah was by Muḥammad ibn Ṭsā ibn ‘Ubayd who lived during the time of Imam al-Riḍā (a) and compiled traditions with short chains, mostly from Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (a). Al-Himyārī actually quotes 65 traditions from him in his own work. Another *Qurb al-Isnād* collection is said to have been compiled by Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ṭsā, who was a contemporary of Imam al-Hādī (a). ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim, who is considered to be another contemporary of the 10th Imam, also had a *Qurb al-Isnād* collection. However, apparently only two traditions from his work have reached us, one of which has been quoted in al-Ṣadūq’s *al-Amālī*.⁶

In subsequent generations as well, scholars continued to place great value on *Qurb al-Isnād* collections and al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq’s father, ‘Alī ibn Bābawayh, also composed a work of this type. Al-Muqaddas al-Ardabīlī (d. 993 AH) mentions that he had in his possession the manuscript of a *Qurb al-Isnād* collection that was hand-written by Ibn Bābawayh himself.⁷ Biobibliographical works list a number of other authors who also compiled *Qurb al-Isnād* collections around the same time. Even those scholars who did not have any *Qurb al-Isnād* compilation clearly valued shorter chains and we see, for example, that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī sufficed with quoting short chains in his *Tahdhīb al-*

⁴ Some of the mystics and ascetics among the Muslim scholars even considered having traditions with short chains to be a means of attaining proximity to Allah as they felt that anything that shortens one’s distance from the Prophet (ṣ) is bound to bring one closer to the Almighty. See: Ibn Ṣalāh, *Muqaddimah*, p. 157.

⁵ Al-‘Amīlī, *Thulāthiyāt al-Kulaynī*, p. 26.

⁶ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, p. 400.

⁷ Al-Ardabīlī, *Hadiqat al-Shī'ah*, vol. 2, p. 749.

Ahkām and *al-Istibsār* while the longer and more authoritative chains for the same traditions were listed by him in his *Fihrist*.⁸

Al-Ḥimyārī's *Qurb al-Isnād* was compiled during the period of minor occultation (*al-ghaybah al-ṣughrā*) and is thus one of the earliest extant Shī‘ī ḥadīth compilations. Furthermore, it is the only Imāmi *Qurb al-Isnād* work that is extant. That, in itself, gives the work great value. However, it remains unclear what yardstick was employed by al-Ḥimyārī in his selection of traditions for the work. This is because there are other traditions in the sources he used that have short chains yet he did not include them in his *Qurb al-Isnād*. For instance, despite his narrating many traditions from Hārūn ibn Muslim on the authority of Maṣ‘adah ibn Ṣadaqah in his book, there are twelve traditions in the works of al-Ṣadūq with the very same chain that are absent in *Qurb al-Isnād*.⁹

Due to the nature of such compilations, they were mostly arranged as *musnad* works, where the traditions are organized according to the primary narrator or source. Al-Najāshī describes al-Ḥimyārī's *Qurb al-Isnād* as comprising three sections, one with traditions from Imam al-Riḍā, another from Imam al-Jawād, and the third from Imam al-Ḥujjah (a). However, while the *Qurb al-Isnād* we have today does indeed have three sections, they are from Imam al-Ṣādiq, Imam al-Kāẓim and Imam al-Riḍā (a) respectively. Scholars have speculated about the possible reasons for this discrepancy. While it seems unlikely that al-Ḥimyārī had compiled other sections from these later Imams since that information could not have remained hidden, and because al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Shahrāshūb and others have not mentioned it, the more plausible explanation would be that it was al-Najāshī who made an error. Such mistakes were not uncommon, and al-Najāshī has also erred when he mentioned al-Ḥimyārī's son's name, calling him Muḥammad ibn

⁸ Sayyid Ḥussayn Fallāḥzādeh, “*Qurb al-Isnād dar Niġārish-hāye Imāmiyye*,” *Hadīth Pażħuhī*, issue no. 25, p. 161.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

‘Abdillāh ibn Ja‘far ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Jāmī‘ ibn Mālik, instead of ibn Mālik ibn Jāmī‘, as he had named his father himself.¹⁰

It has further been suggested that since al-Ḥimyari had compiled his work from a comprehensive collection of earlier texts (mostly comprised of the notebooks of companions of the Imams),¹¹ he was only responsible for writing a small part of the work, while the rest was simply related by himself and a second transmitter from earlier ḥadīth texts in their possession.¹² As for the traditions themselves, there are some obviously weak and even potentially fabricated traditions in this work. However, these constitute only a small fraction of the work and may even be the result of discrepancies in the text resulting from scribal errors and the like. Since such errors are noticeable in the text of this work, it is important to evaluate each tradition independently, as with most other ḥadīth compilations. Indeed, it would be false, by any

¹⁰ Some scholars have posited elaborate hypothetical scenarios to explain why al-Najāshī mentioned two different Imams in his reference to the contents of al-Ḥimyari's *Qurb al-Isnād*. Hassan Ansari suggests that it must be because al-Ḥimyari sought to collect traditions from all the Imams but al-Najāshī had not seen the sections we currently have in the extant version of *Qurb al-Isnād* and had seen only the later sections that have since been lost. However, this hypothesis is weak and goes against Occam's razor (See: <https://ansari.kateban.com/post/2161>).

Other possibilities have also been discussed by various scholars but it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine them all.

¹¹ Some scholars have listed up to twelve primary sources used in *Qurb al-Isnād*. These are: *Masā'il ‘Alī ibn Jafar* (d. 210 AH), *Kitāb Wahab ibn Wahab Abū al-Bakhtārī*, *Kitāb fī al-Halāl wal-Ḥarām* by Maṣādah ibn Ziyād al-Ribā‘ī, *Kitāb Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Azdi*, *Kitāb Sa‘dān ibn Muslim*, *Kitāb Rayyān ibn Ṣalt*, *Kitāb al-Ḥusayn ibn Ulwān al-Kalbī*, *Kitāb Ḥannān ibn Sadīr*, *Kitāb Ismā‘il ibn ‘Abd al-Khāliq*, *Asl ‘Alī ibn Ri‘āb*, *Kitāb Abdullāh ibn Bukayr*, and *Kitāb Khuṭab Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn* by Maṣādah ibn Ṣadaqah al-‘Abdī or *Kitāb al-Du‘ā’* by Hārūn ibn Muslim (See: Rahmatī, Muḥammad Kāzīm, “*Nukāti darbāreye Kitāb Qurb al-Isnād-i Ḥimyārī*,” in *Dīn Kitāb Māh*, vol. 76-77, pp. 27-8).

¹² Rahmatī, Muḥammad Kāzīm, “*Nukāti darbāreye Kitāb Qurb al-Isnād-i Ḥimyārī*,” in *Dīn Kitāb Māh*, vol. 76-77, p. 27.

stretch of the imagination, to claim that all the traditions in *Qurb al-Isnād* are sound.

About the Author

‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far ibn al-Husayn ibn Mālik ibn Jāmi‘ al-Ḥimyarī was a scholar from Qum who, according to al-Najāshī, moved to Kūfah a little after the year 290 AH. While he was there, he narrated traditions and many would come to hear them from him. He was a prolific author who wrote numerous books such as *Kitāb al-Imāmah*, *Kitāb al-Dalā'il*, *Kitāb al-Āzamah wal-Tawḥid*, and *Kitāb al-Ghaybah wal-Hayrah*. He was a companion of Imam Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, and according to some biographers, of Imam ‘Alī al-Hādī (a) as well. While most scholars agree on his authorship of this work, there are some who attribute it to his son Muḥammad, who was himself a renowned scholar.¹³ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥimyarī is even reported to have communicated with Imam al-Hujjah (a) through letters sent via his representatives. He is said to have written to the Imam asking various questions pertaining to legal matters and received responses from the Imam.¹⁴

As for al-Ḥimyarī’s reliability, there are numerous statements by early biographers affirming it. Furthermore, the fact that many early scholars, such as al-Ṣadūq, have narrated from him, attest to his being reliable. Additionally, his having been mentioned in the chains of transmission of 141 early works is itself a clear testament to his credibility as well as his access to early texts of ḥadīth.¹⁵ While we do

¹³ The reason why this attribution is incorrect is simply that there is no mention of any *Qurb al-Isnād* work for Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥimyarī in the bio-bibliographical dictionaries. Furthermore, no other sources mention chains where Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh is transmitting directly from the narrators mentioned in *Qurb al-Isnād*, while they do mention the narrations through his father ‘Abdullāh.

¹⁴ Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, p. 354, no. 949.

¹⁵ Bahrāmī, ‘Alī Riḍā, “*Barrasiye Shakhṣiyat va Aḥwāle ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far Ḥimyarī*,” *Hadīthe Hawzeh*, Issue no. 3, p. 47.

not know the exact date when the author completed compiling this work, it is known that his son Muḥammad gave a permission of transmission (*ijāzah*) to Sa‘id ibn ‘Amr for the whole book in the year 304 AH. It was then copied and passed on. Over the ages, many scholars referred to this work and used it as a source.

The Contents of *Qurb al-Isnād*

The purpose of this study is to analyse the contents of al-Himyārī's *Qurb al-Isnād* in order to get a better understanding of type of narrations found in it. Understanding the subjects addressed in its traditions would help us gain a deeper appreciation about the kinds of narrations that were recorded in the earliest sources. The benefits of such an endeavour are obvious. In order to carry out a close reading of the text, we initially made a rough translation of all the traditions found therein before proceeding to carry out an assessment of the same. The text we have used for this study was the printed edition of the work published by Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt (a), which is based on a number of different manuscripts and took three years of work before a critical edition was compiled.¹⁶ It was part of an important project to compile all the sources (*maṣādir*) used in al-Majlisi's *Bihār al-Anwār* and was published in Qum in 1413 AH.

Qurb al-Isnād contains a total of 1387 traditions that are arranged based on the Imam from whom the traditions have been reported. It is, however, worth noting that in many instances the Imam quotes his father, grandfather, or the Prophet directly. Hence, there are numerous traditions reported from Imam ‘Alī (a) and the Noble Prophet (ṣ) as well. Furthermore, some traditions are out of place, especially when it

¹⁶ Four manuscripts were initially collected, and after analysis when it was determined that two were in a better condition, they were used as the basis for this critical edition. These were the manuscript of the Sayyid Mar'ashi Najafi Library in Qum, and the manuscript of Ayatullah Rawdātī Library in Isfahan.

comes to subtopics that deal with matters of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). This, and other such ‘flaws’, including repetition, actually increase the credibility and authenticity of the work rather than undermine it, as it proves that there has been little to no alteration of the original text in subsequent generations. Most of the traditions in *Qurb al-Isnād* are short, and do not go beyond a few lines in length. There are a few exceptions, however, and a handful of traditions do span several pages. The longest tradition is thirteen pages long in the printed edition (h. 1228) and discusses the miracles of the Prophet (ṣ) in response to a question posed by a group of Jews.

Supplications

The book starts with a section on supplication that contains 27 traditions. The phrase *Alhamdulillah...* at the end of the section on supplication (after h. 27) gives us a clue that it was actually a separate booklet that al-Himyarī copied from and decided to place at the beginning of his work. In total there are 63 traditions on this subject in *Qurb al-Isnād*, some of which deal with how to supplicate, the etiquette of *du‘ā'*, etc. while others contain a variety of different supplications. At times individuals would come asking for the Imam to supplicate for them.

Example of a taught supplication:

وَقَالَ إِذَا خَرَجْتَ مِنْ مُنْزِلِكَ فَقلْ: «بِسْمِ اللَّهِ، أَمَنَّتُ بِاللَّهِ، تَوَكَّلْتُ عَلَى اللَّهِ، لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ». فَإِنَّ الْمَلَائِكَةَ تَضَرِّبُ وجوهَ الشَّيَاطِينِ وَتَقُولُ: قَدْ سَمِّيَ اللَّهُ، وَآمَنَّ
بِاللَّهِ، وَتَوَكَّلَ عَلَى اللَّهِ، وَقَالَ: لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ.

He (Abū al-Ḥasan (a)) said: When you come out of your house, recite, “In the name of Allah, I believe in Allah and place my trust in Allah,

there is no might or power except by Allah." Verily when you do this the angels strike the faces of the devils and say: He has mentioned Allah's name and believed in Him and trusted Him, and he has said, 'There is no might or power save with Allah.' (h. 1328)

Example of the Imam being requested to supplicate for someone:

محمد بن عيسى قال: حدثني حمّاد بن عيسى قال: دخلت على أبي الحسن موسى بن جعفر عليه السلام بالبصرة فقلت له: جعلت فداك، ادع الله تعالى أن يرزقني داراً وزوجةً وولداً وخادماً والحجّ في كلّ سنة. قال: فرفع يده ثمَّ قال: «اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ، وَأرْزُقْ حَمَّادَ بْنَ عِيسَى ذَاراً وَزَوْجَةً وَوَلَدًا وَخَادِمًا وَالْحَجَّ حَمْسِينَ سَنَةً». قال حمّاد: فلما اشترط خمسين سنة علمت أني لا أحجّ أكثر من خمسين سنة. قال حمّاد: وقد حجّت ثمانية وأربعين سنة، وهذه داري قد رزقتها، وهذه زوجتي وراء الستر تسمع كلامي، وهذا ابني، وهذه خادمي، وقد رزقت كلّ ذلك. فحجّ بعد هذا الكلام حجيتين تمام الخمسين، ثمَّ خرج بعد الخمسين حاجاً فزامل أبو العباس النوفلي، فلما صار في موضع الإحرام دخل يغسل، فجاء الوادي فحمله ففرق فمات، رحمنا الله وإياته، قبل أن يحجّ زيادة على الخمسين، وقبره بسيالة.

Muhammad ibn Isa reported that Hammad ibn Isa said: I visited Abu al-Hasan Musa ibn Jafar (a) at Basrah and said to him, "May I be your ransom, please supplicate to Allah for me to grant me a house, a wife, a child, a servant, and the opportunity to go for hajj every year." So he raised his hands and said, "O Allah, bless Muhammad and the progeny of Muhammad, and grant Hammad ibn Isa a house, a wife, a child, a servant, and hajj for fifty years." Hammad said: When he stipulated fifty years, I knew that I would not go for pilgrimage for more than fifty years. Hammad later said: I have performed hajj 48 times and this is my house which I was blessed with. This is my wife behind the curtain

hearing my words, this is my son, and this is my servant – I have been blessed with all this. Later on, he went for ḥajj twice and completed fifty pilgrimages, and as he began the 51st ḥajj in the company of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Nawfalī, when he came to the place of wearing the *ihrām*, he went into a body of water in a valley to perform ghusl and drowned there and died. May Allah have mercy on him, and us. This happened before he could perform ḥajj more than fifty times – and his grave is at Siyālah. (ḥ. 1210)

Examples of instructions regarding the etiquette and method of *du‘ā*:

وأتاه رجل آخر فقال له: جعلت فداك، أريد وجه كذا وكذا، فعلمّني استخارة إن كان ذلك الوجه خيرة أن ييسّره الله لي، وإن كان شرّاً صرفه الله عني. فقال له: وتحبّ أن تخرج في ذلك الوجه؟ قال الرجل: نعم. قال: قل: «اللَّهُمَّ قَدْرُ لِي كَذَا وَكَذَا، وَاجْعِلْهُ خَيْرًا لِي، فَإِنَّكَ تَقْدِيرُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ».

Another man came to him and said, “May I be your ransom, I wish to undertake such and such so teach me *istikhārah* so that if the way is good for me, Allah may make it easy for me, and if it is bad for me, that Allah should avert it from me.” He (a) asked, “And you wish to proceed through that course?” He said, “Yes.” He (a) said, “Say, ‘O Allah, decree such and such for me, and make it good for me, for indeed You have power over that.’” (ḥ. 1178)

And:

عبد الله بن الحسن، عن جده علي بن جعفر، عن أخيه موسى ابن جعفر عليهم السلام، قال: سألت أخي عن الرجل يدعوا وحوله إخوانه، يجب عليهم أن يؤمنوا؟ قال: لئن شاءوا فعلوا، ولئن شاءوا سكتوا، فإن دعا وقال لهم: «أؤمنوا» وجب عليهم أن يفعلوا.

'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan narrated from his grandfather 'Alī ibn Ja'far, from his brother Mūsā ibn Ja'far (a), saying, "I asked my brother about the man who supplicates while his brothers are around him – do they have to say 'Āmīn'?" He said, "If they wish, they can do so, and if they wish they can remain silent. But if he supplicates and says to them: Say 'Āmīn', then it is obligatory upon them to do so." (h. 1173)

There are also certain narrations that show the merit of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) by the way their supplications were quickly answered by the Almighty. For instance, h. 576 describes how a group of people once gathered in the presence of Imam 'Alī (a) and complained to him about the lack of rainfall. They asked him to offer supplications seeking rain. At that moment, Imam 'Alī (a) called al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn (a), then he asked them both to supplicate in turn. When the Imams had both finished supplicating, Allah caused rain to pour heavily from the sky. Someone asked Salmān al-Fārsī whether the two Imams had been taught those supplications. He replied, "Woe be to you! Do you not know that the Prophet (ṣ) said, 'Verily Allah makes lights of guidance flow from the tongues of my Ahl al-Bayt.'"¹⁷ In this way, a tradition

¹⁷ The Arabic text of the tradition is as follows:

أبو البختري و هب بن وهب القرشي، عن جعفر، عن أبيه، عن جده قال: «جتمع عند عليٍّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام قومٌ، فشكروا إليه المطر وقالوا: يا أبا الحسن ادع لنا بدعوات في الاستسقاء. قال: فدعا عليٌّ عليه السلام الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام، ثم قال للحسن: ادع لنا بدعوات في الاستسقاء. فقال الحسن عليه السلام: «اللهم هبّيج لـنا السحاب، يفتح الأنبواب، يماء عُيَّاب، و رَبَاب يانصباب، و انسِكَاب يـا وَهَاب اشيقـنا مـعـدـدة مـطـبـقـة بـيـرـوـقـة، يـفـتح أـلـاـقـهـا، و يـسـرـ إـلـاـقـهـا، و سـهـلـ إـلـاـقـهـا، و عـجـلـ سـيـاقـهـا بـالـأـنـدـيـةـةـ في بـطـونـ الـأـوـدـيـةـ بـصـوبـ المـاءـ، يـا فـعـالـ اـشـيقـنا مـطـرـا طـلاـ مـطـلـاـ، مـطـبـقـا طـبـقاـ، عـامـاـ مـعـتـاـ، دـهـمـاـ بـهـمـاـ رـحـيـماـ، رـئـاـ مـرـشـاـ، وـاسـعاـ كـافـيـاـ، عـاجـلـ طـلـيـاـ مـرـيـاـ مـبـارـكاـ، شـلـاطـحـاـ بـلـاطـحـاـ يـنـاطـحـ الـبـاطـحـ، مـعـدـودـاـ قـطـبـيـقاـ مـعـرـوـرـاـ، اـشـقـ شـهـلـنـاـ وـ جـبـلـنـاـ، وـ يـدـوـنـاـ وـ حـضـرـنـاـ، حـتـىـ تـرـحـصـ بـهـ أـشـعـارـنـاـ، وـ تـبـارـكـ لـنـاـ فـيـ صـاعـنـاـ وـ مـدـنـاـ، أـرـنـاـ الرـزـقـ مـوـجـودـاـ وـ الـغـلـاءـ مـقـفـودـاـ، آمـيـنـ رـبـ الـعـالـمـيـنـ». ثم قال للحسين عليه السلام: ادع، فقال الحسين: «اللهم يا مخطي الحثبات من متألهـها، و مـنـزـلـ الـحـمـاتـ منـ مـعـاذـنـهـا، و مـفـحـرـيـ الـبـرـ كـاتـ علىـ أـلـهـلـهـاـ، مـنـكـ الـغـيـثـ الـمـغـيـثـ، وـ أـنـتـ الـغـيـاثـ الـمـسـتـعـاثـ، وـ يـتـحـ الخـاطـلـوـنـ وـ أـهـلـ الـذـنـوـبـ، وـ أـنـتـ الـمـسـتـغـفـرـ الـغـفارـ، لـإـلـهـ إـلـاـ أـنـتـ. اللـهـمـ أـرـسـلـ السـمـاءـ عـلـيـنـاـ لـجـيـنـهاـ مـدـارـاـ، وـ اـشـقـنـاـ الـغـيـثـ وـ اـكـفـاـ بـعـزـارـاـ، عـيـثـاـ مـغـيـثـاـ، وـاسـعاـ مـغـيـثـاـ، مـهـطـلـاـ مـرـيـاـ مـرـمـعـراـ عـيـابـاـ، عـدـقاـ مـغـيـثـاـ عـيـابـاـ».

about supplication also clearly highlights the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt (a).

Unique and Abstruse Narrations

Qurb al-Isnād has some abstruse (*gharīb*) narrations that are difficult to understand, as well as a number of traditions that are unique and not found in any other early Shī‘ī ḥadīth collection, though they may have been quoted in later encyclopedic works like *Bihār al-Anwār* or *Wasā'il al-Shī‘ah*. From our count, there are at least twenty abstruse narrations and fifty unique traditions in *Qurb al-Isnād*. Our definition of abstruse here is any narration that cannot be understood clearly from its text, either because it is incomplete or because it lacks the context needed to give it some comprehensible meaning. Interestingly, more than half the abstruse narrations (13 to be exact) are also unique to *Qurb al-Isnād*.

Examples of unique narrations:

عن مساعدة بن زياد قال: حدثني جعفر، عن أبيه قال: مر بعض الصحابة براهيب فكلمه بشيء، فقال له الراهب: يا عبد الله، إن دينك جديد وديني خلق، فلو قد خلق دينك لم يكن شيء أحب إليك من مثلها.

Mas‘adah ibn Ziyād said: Ja‘far related to me from his father, who said, “One of the Companions passed by a monk so he spoke to him. The monk told him, ‘O servant of Allah, verily your religion is new and

مُجَلِّجاً سخاً سخساحاً، تجأّنجاجاً، سائلاً مسبيلاً، عاماً وذقاً مطفلاحاً، يدْفعُ الودقَ بالودقِ دفاعاً، ويتلُّ القطرَ منه قطراً، غير حاسبٍ بزفة، ولا مكذبٍ وعدُّه، تعيشُ به الصعيقَ من عبادتك، وتحيي به الميتَ من بلا دك، وترى به ذري الآكام من بلا دك، وتشحُّو به علينا من مبناك، آمين رَبَّ العالَمِينَ». فيما فرغ من دعائهم حتى صبَّ الله تبارك وتعالى عليهم السماء صباً. قال: فقيل لسلمان: يا أبا عبد الله، أعلما هذا الدعاء؟ قال: ويحكم أين أنت عن حديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم حيث يقول: إنَّ الله قد أجرى على ألسن أهل بيتي مصابيح الحكمة.

mine is old, so once your religion becomes old, nothing will be as beloved to you as it is.” (h. 269)

And:

عن عبد الله بن ميمون القدّاح، عن جعفر، عن أبيه قال: قال عليّ بن أبي طالب عَلَيْهِمَا مُنَّا
سبعة خلقهم الله عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لم يخلق في الأرض مثلهم: مَنْا رسول الله ﷺ سيد الأولين
وَالآخرين وخاتم النبيين، ووصيّه خير الوصيّين، وسبطاه خير الأسباط حسناً وحسيناً،
وسيد الشهداء حمزة عمّه، ومن قد طار مع الملائكة جعفر، والقائم.

'Abdullāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāh reported from Ja'far, from his father who said: 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) said, “There are seven among us [the Ahl al-Bayt] whom Allah, the Almighty, created, the likes of whom none have ever been created on the earth. The Prophet (ṣ), who is the master of the first and last, and is the seal of the Prophets; and his legatee is the best of legatees, and his grandsons are the best of grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; his uncle Ḥamzah, master of the martyrs; he who flies with the angels, Ja'far; and the Riser (*al-qā'im*).” (h. 84)

Examples of abstruse narrations:

عن جعفر بن محمد، عن أبيه قال: قال النبي ﷺ: إِذَا أَوَى أَحَدُكُمْ إِلَى فِرَاشِهِ
فليمسحه بضفة إزاره، فإِنَّهُ لَا يَدْرِي مَا حَدَثَ عَلَيْهِ بَعْدَهُ.

Ja'far ibn Muḥammad reported from his father who said: The Prophet (ṣ) said, “When any of you retires to his bed, let him wipe it with the edge of his loincloth, for he knows not what will happen to him after that.” (h. 70)¹⁸

¹⁸ The meaning of this tradition, a similar version of which is also quoted in al-Ṣadūq's *Ilal al-Shara'i'* (vol. 2, p. 589), is unclear. Some discussions in other works give the

And:

عن مسعة بن صدقة قال: حدثني جعفر، عن أبيه: أن علياً عليه السلام كان يعاتب خدمه في تخمير الخمير فيقول: «أكثر للخبز». .

Mas'adah ibn Ṣadaqah said: Ja'far narrated to me from his father (a): 'Alī (a) would scold his servants when they were making dough saying, “[It is] too much for bread.” (ḥ 225)

Creedal Narrations

Of all the narrations in *Qurb al-Isnād*, only 113 are on issues of belief and creed (*'aqā'id*). The subjects they address are diverse, ranging from definitions of faith, *wilāyah* and loving the Ahl al-Bayt (a), to the ambit of the role of the Imams, etc. Some traditions indirectly discuss the matter of belief as they describe miracles (17 narrations) – mostly to do with knowledge of the unseen – and the longest tradition (ḥ. 1228) mentions thirty-five miracles of the Noble Prophet (ṣ). There are also 27 narrations on prophecies about the future. Since prophecies are also miracles in themselves, a total of 78 miracles may be adduced from this work.

Examples of creedal narrations:

عن عبد الله بن ميمون القداح، عن جعفر بن محمد، عن أبيه قال: قال النبي ﷺ: الإيمان قول وعمل أخوان شريكان.

impression that it might be related to the darkness of night wherein one should take precaution to ensure that there is nothing on the bed.

'Abdullāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāh narrated from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, from his father, who said: The Prophet (ṣ) said, "Faith is [comprised of] words and deeds – two brothers and partners." (ḥ. 83)¹⁹

And:

عن عبد الله بن ميمون القداح، عن جعفر، عن أبيه قال: جاء رجل إلى علي عليه السلام فقال: جعلني الله فداك، إني لأحبكم أهل البيت. قال: وكان فيه لين. قال: فأثنى عليه عدّة. فقال له: كذبت، ما يحبنا مختّ، ولا ديوث، ولا ولد زنا، ولا من حملت به أمّه في حيضها. قال: فذهب الرجل، فلما كان يوم صفين قتل مع معاوية.

'Abdullāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāh narrated from Ja'far, from his father, who said: A man came to [Imam] 'Alī (a) and said, "May Allah make me your ransom – I truly love you, the Ahl al-Bayt (a)." He was mild mannered, so some praised him. But the Imam (a) said, "You have lied. We are not loved by effeminate individuals, wittols, those born of fornication, and those conceived during their mothers' menses." So the man went away, and on the day of Ṣiffīn, he died on the side of Mu'awiyah. (ḥ. 85)

And:

عن بكر بن محمد الأزدي قال: قال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: أبلغ موالينا عن السلام، وأخبرهم أنّا لن نغنى عنهم من الله شيئاً إلاّ بعمل، وأنّهم لن ينالوا ولا يتنا إلاّ بعمل أو ورع، وأنّ أشد الناس حسرةً يوم القيمة من وصف عدلاً ثم خالفه إلى غيره.

¹⁹ This narration is deemed to be creedal in as much as it defines faith and belief as being a combination of testimony and action. Therefore any claim to faith without corresponding action in the form of obedience to divine commands and performance of the obligatory acts of worship is deemed null and void.

Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī narrated that Abū ‘Abdillāh (a) said, “Convey our *salām* to our followers from us and tell them that we can avail them nothing before Allah except by [their] deeds. They will never attain our *wilāyah* except through action or piety. The person with the greatest regret on the Day of Resurrection is he who describes justice but leaves it to others [or leaves it for something else].” (ḥ. 106)

And:

عَنْ بَكْرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ الْمُطْبَقُ قَالَ: قَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ الْمُطْبَقُ: إِنَّ الشَّكَّ
وَالْمُعْصِيَةَ فِي النَّارِ، لَيْسَا مَنَا وَلَا إِلَيْنَا، وَإِنَّ قُلُوبَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَمَطْوِيَّةٌ بِالْإِيمَانِ طَيًّا، فَإِذَا
أَرَادَ اللَّهُ إِنَارَةً مَا فِيهَا فَتَحَهَا بِالْوَحْيِ، فَرَعَ فِيهَا الْحِكْمَةُ زَارَهَا وَحَاصَدَهَا.

Bakr ibn Muḥammad narrated that Abū ‘Abdillāh (a) said: Amīr al-Mu’minīn (a) said, “Doubt and sin are in the Fire; they are not from us nor do they lead to us. The hearts of believers are rolled up with faith, so when Allah wishes to illuminate what is in them, He opens them up with revelation. Then wisdom is planted in them by its sower and reaper.” (ḥ. 112)

And:

عَنْ بَكْرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ الْمُطْبَقُ قَالَ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى إِذَا أَرَادَ بَعْدَ خَيْرًا
أَخْذَ بَعْنَقِهِ فَأَدْخَلَهُ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ إِدْخَالًا.

Bakr ibn Muḥammad narrated that Abū ‘Abdillāh (a) said, “Verily when Allah wishes good for a servant, He takes him by the neck and places him in this affair (of our *wilāyah*) completely.” (ḥ. 113)

Example of a miracle:

Interestingly, the longest narration in *Qurb al-Isnād* pertains to the miracles of the Prophet (ṣ), many of which are not found in other early sources. Another example of a narration on this subject is:

محمد بن عبد الحميد، عن أبي جميلة، عن أبي عبد الله عليهما السلام قال: صلى رسول الله عليهما السلام العصر، فجاء علي عليهما السلام ولم يكن صلاها، فأوحى الله إلى رسوله عليهما السلام عند ذلك، فوضع رأسه في حجر علي عليهما السلام، فقام رسول الله عليهما السلام عن حجره حين قام وقد غربت الشمس فقال: يا علي، أما صلیت العصر؟ فقال: لا، يا رسول الله، قال رسول الله عليهما السلام: «اللهم إنّ علياً كان في طاعتك، فاردد عليه الشمس». فرددت عليه الشمس عند ذلك.

Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd narrated from Abū Jamīlah, from Abū ‘Abdillāh (a) who said: The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) prayed ‘Aṣr and then ‘Alī (a) came and he had not yet prayed. Allah sent revelation to His Messenger (ṣ) at that moment, so he placed his head on ‘Alī’s (a) lap. Then the Prophet (ṣ) arose when the sun had already set. He asked, “O ‘Alī, have you prayed ‘Aṣr?” He replied, “No, O Messenger of Allah.” So the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) supplicated, “O Allah, ‘Alī was in a state of obedience to You, so return the sun for him.” So the sun turned back for him [by the command of Allah]. (h. 644)

Example of prophecy about the future:

هارون بن مسلم، عن مساعدة بن صدقة، عن جعفر، عن أبيه: أن النبي عليهما السلام قال: كيف بكم إذا فسد نساؤكم وفسق شبابكم، ولم تأمروا بالمعروف ولم تنهوا عن المنكر؟ فقيل له: ويكون ذلك، يا رسول الله؟ قال: نعم، وشرّ من ذلك. كيف بكم إذا أمرتم بالمنكر ونهيتم عن المعروف؟ قيل: يا رسول الله، ويكون ذلك؟! قال: نعم، وشرّ من ذلك. كيف بكم إذارأيتم المعروف منكراً والمنكر معروفاً؟!

Hārūn ibn Muslim narrated from Maṣ'adah ibn Ṣadaqah, from Ja'far, from his father: The Prophet (ṣ) said, “How will you be when your women become corrupt and your youth become wicked, and you do not enjoin good and forbid evil?” He was asked, “Will that happen O Messenger of Allah?” He (ṣ) said, “Yes, and [something] even worse than that. How will you be when you enjoin evil and forbid good?” He was asked, “Will that [really] happen, O Messenger of Allah?” He (ṣ) said, “Yes, and even worse than that. How will you be when you consider good to be evil and evil to be good?!” (ḥ 178)

Historical Narrations

Qurb al-Isnād contains 130 historical narrations, some of which are exclusively comprised of a historical fact and nothing more, while others are mingled with ethical teachings or jurisprudential clarifications.

Examples of historical reports:

مسعدة بنت صدقة قالت: حدثني جعفر بن محمد، عن أبيه قال: ولد لرسول الله ﷺ من خديجة: القاسم، والطاهر، وأم كلثوم، ورقية، وفاطمة، وزينب. فتزوج علياً عَلِيُّ بْنُ ابْرَاهِيمَ، وتزوج أبو العاص بن ربيعة - وهو من بنى أمية - زينب، وتزوج عثمان بن عفان أم كلثوم ولم يدخل بها حتى هلكت، وزوجه رسول الله ﷺ مكانها رقية. ثم ولد لرسول الله ﷺ - من أم إبراهيم - إبراهيم، وهي مارية القبطية، أهداها إليه صاحب الإسكندرية مع البغة الشهباء وأشياء معها.

Maṣ'adah ibn Ṣadaqah narrated from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, from his father who said, “The children of the Messenger of Allah from Khadījah were: al-Qāsim, al-Tāhir, Umm Kulthūm, Ruqayyah, Fāṭimah, and Zaynab. ‘Alī married Fāṭimah while Abū al-Āṣ ibn Rabī‘ah (who was

from the Banī Umayyah) married Zaynab. ‘Uthmān married Umm Kulthūm but did not consummate his marriage before she passed away, so the Prophet (ṣ) gave him Ruqayyah in wedlock in her stead. Then Māriyah al-Qibtiyyah, who had been gifted to the Prophet (ṣ) by the ruler of Alexandria along with other gifts, later gave birth to Ibrāhīm.” (ḥ. 29)

And:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَيْمُونٍ، عَنْ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَيِّهِ قَالَ: لَمَّا قَدِمَ عَلَى يَزِيدَ بْنَ دَارَارِي الْحَسِينَ أَدْخَلَ بَهْنَ نَهَارًا مَكْشُوفَاتٍ وَجُوَهَنَّ فَقَالَ أَهْلُ الشَّامِ الْجَفَاةُ: مَا رَأَيْنَا سَيِّدًا أَحْسَنَ مِنْ هُؤُلَاءِ، فَمَنْ أَنْتُمْ؟ فَقَالَتْ سَكِينَةُ بْنَتُ الْحَسِينِ: نَحْنُ سَبَّابَيَا آلَ مُحَمَّدٍ.

‘Abdullāh ibn Maymūn reported from Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad, from his father who said: When the family of al-Ḥusayn (a) were taken to Yazid, they were brought in during the daytime, with their faces uncovered. So the evil people of Shām said, “We have not seen any captives as beautiful as these! Who are you?” Sakīnah bint al-Ḥusayn replied, “We are captives from the family of Muḥammad (ṣ).” (ḥ 88)

Exegetical Traditions

There are two general types of exegetical traditions in *Qurb al-Isnād*. The first is where the Infallible mentions an exegesis and commentary of a verse or part of a verse directly, and the second is where a verse or a part thereof is mentioned as supporting evidence for another matter being discussed. This is a kind of indirect exegesis. In all, there are 14 traditions that offer a direct exegesis and 32 that present an indirect exegesis of Qur’ānic verses.

Examples of direct exegesis:

قال حمّاد: سمعت أبا عبد الله يقول: قال أبي: قال علي عليه السلام: في قول الله تبارك وتعالى:
 «اذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ فِي أَيَّامٍ مَعْدُودَاتٍ» قال: أيام التشريق.

Hammād said that he heard Abū ‘Abdillāh narrate from his father: ‘Alī (a) said regarding the verse: *Remember Allah on the appointed days* (Q2:203), “It refers to the days of *tashrīq* (11-13th of Dhū al-Hijjah).” (ḥ 55)

And:

قال: وسألته عن القانع والمعتر. قال: القانع الذي يقنع بما أعطيته، والمعتر الذي يعتر بك.

He (the narrator) said, “I asked him (the Imam) about [the terms] *al-qāni‘* and *al-mu‘tarr* (Q22:36), so he said: *al-qāni‘* refers to one who is content with what you give him while *al-mu‘tarr* is one who asks for more [or applies himself to gain further favour] from you.” (ḥ 1264)

Examples of indirect exegesis:

قال: وسأله الحسين بن أسباط - وأنا أسمع - عن الذبيح: إسماعيل أو إسحاق؟ فقال:
 إسماعيل، أما سمعت قول الله تبارك وتعالى: «وَبَشَّرْنَاهُ بِإِسْحَاقَ».

He (the narrator) said, “Al-Ḥusayn ibn Asbāṭ asked him – while I was listening – about the one who was to be sacrificed, was it Ismā‘il or Ishāq? He said: Ismā‘il. Have you not heard the verse in which Allah, the Almighty, says: *And we gave him glad tidings of Ishāq* (Q37:112)?” (ḥ 1367)

And:

وسائلنا الرضا عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَافُ: هل أحد من أصحابكم يعالج السلاح؟ فقلت: رجل من أصحابنا زرّاد. فقال: إنّما هو سرّاد، أما تقرأ كتاب الله عزّ وجلّ في قول الله لداود عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَافُ: «أَنْ اغْمِلْ سَابِعَاتٍ وَقَدْرٌ فِي السَّرْدٍ» الحلقة بعد الحلقة.

Al-Ridā (a) asked us, “Is there anyone among your companions who repairs weapons?” I said, “We have a companion who makes armour (*zarrād*).” So he said, “Actually it is [pronounced] *sarrād*. Have you not read the verse in which Allah says: *Make coats of mail and measure well the links [thereof]* (Q34:11), one chain at a time.” (h. 1305)

Ethical Narrations

There are 207 ethical narrations in *Qurb al-Isnād*. Some of these talk about the merits of certain actions, while others are more general. A few examples of narrations on *akhlāq* are as follows:

عن الحسين بن علوان، عن جعفر، عن أبيه، عن آبائه، قال: قال رسول الله صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: من قضى لمؤمن حاجةً قضى الله له حوائج كثيرة، أدناهنّ الجنة.

Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Ulwān narrated from Ja‘far, from his father, from his forefathers who said: The Prophet (ṣ) said, “Whoever fulfills the needs of a believer, Allah will fulfill many of his wishes, the least of which is Paradise.” (h. 418)

And:

عن الحسين بن علوان، عن جعفر، عن أبيه قال: قال رسول الله صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: إذا أصبحت فتصدق بصدقة تذهب عنك نحس ذلك اليوم، وإذا أمسست فتصدق بصدقة تذهب عنك نحس تلك الليلة.

Al-Husayn ibn ‘Ulwān narrated from Ja‘far, from his father who said: The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, “When you wake up in the morning, give charity by which the inauspiciousness of that day may be averted, and when evening comes, give charity by which the inauspiciousness of that night may be averted.” (ḥ. 423)

And:

أبو البختري، عن جعفر، عن أبيه: أَنَّ عَلِيًّا عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَافُ قَالَ لِرَجُلٍ وَهُوَ يُوصِيهِ: خذ مِنِي خَمْسًا: لَا يَرْجُونَ أَحَدَكُمْ إِلَّا رَبَّهُ، وَلَا يَخَافُ إِلَّا ذَنْبَهُ، وَلَا يَسْتَحِي أَنْ يَتَعَلَّمَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ، وَلَا يَسْتَحِي إِذَا سُئِلَ عَمَّا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ أَنْ يَقُولَ: لَا أَعْلَمُ، وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ الصَّابِرَ مِنَ الْإِيمَانِ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الرَّأْسِ مِنَ الْجَسَدِ.

Abū al-Bakhtarī narrated from Ja‘far, from his father, that ‘Alī (a) said to someone whom he was advising, “Take from me five things: let not any of you hope for anything other than his Lord, nor fear anything but his sins, nor feel ashamed to learn that which he does not know, nor feel ashamed if he is asked about that which he knows not, to say, ‘I don’t know.’ And understand that the position of patience in relation to faith is like the head in relation to the body.” (ḥ. 572)

Jurisprudential Narrations

Most of the narrations in *Qurb al-Isnād* are about matters of jurisprudence. Over 65% of this work (911 traditions out of the 1387) pertain to Islamic law, and more than two-thirds of these are in the form of responses to questions asked by individuals, verbally or in writing.

Examples of responses to questions posed verbally:

عن ابن محبوب، عن عليّ بن رئاب قال: سألت أبا عبد الله عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قلت: تحضر الصلاة ونحن مجتمعون في مكان واحد، تجزئنا إقامة بغير أذان؟ قال: نعم.

Ibn Maḥbūb narrated from ‘Alī ibn Rīāb who said: I asked Abā ‘Abdillāh (a), “It becomes time for prayer and we are [already] gathered in one place, is it sufficient to recite the *iqāmah* without the *adhān*?” He replied: “Yes.” (ḥ. 596)

And:

حدّثنا عبد الله بن الحسن العلوي، عن جدّه عليّ بن جعفر قال: سألت أخي موسى بن جعفر عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عن الرجل عليه الخاتم الضيق لا يدرى يجري الماء تحته إذا توّضاً أم لا كيف يصنع؟ قال: اذا علم أنّ الماء لا يدخله فليخرجه إذا توّضاً.

‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-‘Alawī narrated to us from his grandfather ‘Alī ibn Ja‘far who said: I asked my brother Mūsā ibn Ja‘far (a) about a man who wears a tight ring and does not know if water goes under it during ablution or not, what should he do? He said, “If he comes to know that water does not enter it then he must remove it when he performs *wudū’*. (ḥ 646)

Examples of responses to questions in written form:

وكتب: فلان مولاك توفّي، وترك ابن أخي له، وترك أمّ ولد له، ليس له منها ولد، فأوصى لها بألفي درهم، هل تجوز الوصيّة، وهل يقع عليها عتق، وما حالها؟ رأيك فدتك نفسي. فكتب: تعقد من الثالث، ولها الوصيّة.

[The narrator said] I wrote: So-and-so who was your follower (*mawlā*) has passed away, and he left behind a nephew and a slavewife who bore him offspring, but none survived. He bequeathed two thousand

dirhams to her – is that permitted and does she become free? What is your view – may I be your ransom? He wrote back: She should be freed from the 1/3 of his wealth, and she [also] gets what was bequeathed to her. (ḥ 1363)

And:

الفضل الواسطي قال: كتبت إليه عليه السلام: كسفت الشمس والقمر وأنا راكب. قال: فكتب إلى: صل على مركبك الذي أنت عليه.

Al-Faḍl al-Wāsiṭī said: I wrote to him (a) [saying]: The sun and moon were eclipsed as I was riding. So he wrote back: Pray [the *āyāt* prayer] while you are on your mount that you are riding. (ḥ 1377)

Examples of jurisprudential narrations without any question having been posed:

وقال: لا ترمي الجمار إلا وأنت ظاهر.

He (Imam al-Ridā (a)) said: Do not stone the pillars unless you are in [a state of] purity. (ḥ 1379)

And:

عن عبد الله بن ميمون القدّاح [عن الصادق، عن أبيه عليهما السلام] قال: يسجد ابن آدم على سبعة أعظم: يديه، ورجليه، وركبتيه، وجبهته.

'Abdullāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ reported [from al-Ṣādiq, from his father (a)]: The son of Ādam must prostrate on seven parts: his two hands, [the toes of] his two feet, his two knees, and his forehead. (ḥ 74)

Medical Narrations

There are also a few narrations (11 to be precise) pertaining to the subject of health and medicine in *Qurb al-Isnād*. For instance:

محمد بن عيسى، عن بكر بن محمد قال: دخلت غنيمة عمتي على أبي عبد الله ومعها ابنتها - وأظن اسمه محمد - قال: فقال لها أبو عبد الله: ما لي أرى جسم ابنك نحيف؟ قال: فقالت: هو عليل. قال: فقال لها: اسقيه السويق، فإنه ينبت اللحم ويشد العظم.

Muhammad ibn ‘Isā narrated from Bakr ibn Muhammad who said: Ghunaymah and her son, whose name was apparently Muhammad, visited Abū ‘Abdillāh (a). Abū ‘Abdillah said to her, “Why is it that I see your son looking so emaciated?” She said, “He is unwell.” So he told her, “Give him *sawīq* (a kind of porridge made of barley and clarified butter) to drink, for it makes the flesh grow and strengthens the bones.” (h. 44)

And:

جعفر عن أبيه، عن جابر بن عبد الله قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ: تداووا بالسناء، فإنّه لو كان شيء يرده الموت لرده السناء.

Ja‘far narrated from his father, from Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh who said: The Prophet (s) said, “Seek a cure through the *sanā* plant, for indeed if there was anything that could repel death, it would be the *sanā* (*cassia senna*) plant.” (h. 379)

And:

جعفر عن أبيه قال: كان رسول الله ﷺ يستعطى بدهن الجلجلان إذا وجع رأسه.

Ja‘far narrated from his father who said: The Prophet (s) would place [a few drops of] sesame (*juljulān*) oil in his nose when he had a headache. (ḥ. 383)

Hadīth Qudsī

There are 4 *hadīth qudsī* mentioned in this work as well. For example:

عن الحسين بن علوان، عن جعفر، عن أبيه قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ: أوحى الله تبارك وتعالى إلى داود النبي عليه السلام، أن: يا داود، إنَّ العبد من عبادي ليأتيني بالحسنة يوم القيمة فأحکمه في الجنة. فقال داود: وما تلك الحسنة؟ قال: كربة ينفّسها عن مؤمن بقدر تمرة، أو بشقّ تمرة. فقال داود: يا رب، حقّ لمن عرفك أن لا يقطع رجاءه منك.

Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Ulwān narrated from Ja‘far, from his father who said: The Prophet (s) said: Allah, the Exalted, revealed to Prophet Dāwūd (a), “O Dāwūd, verily a servant of Mine will bring Me a [single] good deed on the Day of Judgment by which I shall judge that He should be taken to Paradise.” Dāwūd asked, “What is that good deed?” He said, “Some distress that he alleviates from a believer, to the extent of a date or a small part thereof.” So Dāwūd (a) said, “My Lord, truly it behoves the one who knows You to never lose hope in You[r mercy].” (ḥ. 417)

Responses to Questions

When it comes to narrations containing questions posed to the Infallibles, while most are on legal subjects, there are some about creedal issues, ethical subjects, and even historical matters. More than half of the narrations in *Qurb al-Isnād* are in the form of question (744 narrations to be precise). We have already mentioned some examples of questions pertaining to jurisprudential matters and the interpretation

and exegesis of Qur'anic verses. Now we will look at examples of responses to questions on other subjects.

Examples of responses to questions on creedal issues:

عن مساعدة بن صدقة، عن جعفر، عن أبيه أنه قال له رجل: إن الإيمان قد يجوز بالقلب دون اللسان؟ فقال له: إن كان ذلك كما تقول فقد حرم علينا قتال المشركين؛ وذلك أننا لا ندرى - بزعمك - ضمير الإيمان. فهذا القول نقض لامتحان النبي ﷺ من كان يجيئه يريد الإسلام، وأخذه إياته بالبيعة عليه وشروطه وشدة التأكيد.

Mas'adah ibn Shadaqah narrated from Ja'far, from his father, who was asked by someone, "Can faith be in the heart but not on the tongue?" So he (a) said, "If that was possible as you say, then we would be forbidden from fighting the polytheists, since we would not know if they had faith in their hearts. This opinion would negate the test carried out by the Prophet (ṣ) of those who came to him intending to accept Islam and his taking a [spoken] pledge of allegiance from them with strict conditions and strong emphasis [that they be adhered to]." (h 157)

And:

محمد بن الوليد، عن عبد الله بن بكر، قال: سألت أبا عبد الله عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَافُ: أيتلى المؤمن بالجذام والبرص وأشباه هذا؟ قال: وهل كتب البلاء إلا على المؤمن.

Muhammad ibn al-Walid narrated from 'Abdullāh ibn Bukayr who said: I asked Abā 'Abdillāh (a), "Can a believer get afflicted with leprosy, elephantiasis, and other such ailments?" He (a) replied, "And has affliction been decreed [more] for [anyone] other than the believer?" (h 638)

Examples of responses to questions on ethical subjects:

وَسُأْلَهُ عَنِ الرَّجُلِ الْجَحْودِ، أَيْحَلٌ أَنْ يَجْحُدَهُ مِثْلًا مَا جَحَدَ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ، وَلَا يَزِدُّهُ.

[The narrator said:] I asked him about a niggardly person – is it permissible to be niggardly with him just as he is niggardly himself? He said, “Yes, but not more than that.” (ḥ 1045)

And:

مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَيْسَىٰ، عَنْ عَلَىٰ بْنِ يَقْطِينٍ أَوْ عَنْ زَيْدٍ، عَنْ عَلَىٰ بْنِ يَقْطِينٍ، أَنَّهُ كَتَبَ إِلَىٰ
أَبِي الْحَسْنِ مُوسَىٰ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: إِنَّ قَلْبِي يُضيقُ مِمَّا أَنَا عَلَيْهِ مِنْ عَمَلِ السُّلْطَانِ - وَكَانَ وَزِيرًا
لِهَارُونَ - فَإِنْ أَذْنَتْ لِي - جَعَلَنِي اللَّهُ فَدَاكَ - هَرَبَتْ مِنْهُ . فَرَجَعَ الْجَوابُ: «لَا آذْنَ لَكَ
بِالْخُرُوجِ مِنْ عَمَلِهِمْ، وَاتَّقُ اللَّهَ» أَوْ كَمَا قَالَ ...

Muhammad ibn ‘Isā, or Zayd, reported from ‘Alī ibn Yaqtīn that he wrote to Abū al-Hasan Mūsā (a): Verily my heart feels restricted due to the work I am doing for the sultan – and he was Hārūn’s vizier – so if you permit me, may Allah make me your ransom, I will flee from him. So the reply came, “No, I do not permit you to leave working for them; and be mindful of Allah,” or something to that effect... (ḥ. 1198)

Example of responses to questions on historical matters:

عَنْ حَنَّانِ بْنِ سَدِيرٍ قَالَ: سَأَلَ صَدِيقَةَ بْنِ مُسْلِمٍ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ - وَأَنَا عَنْهُ - فَقَالَ: مَنْ
الشَّاهِدُ عَلَىٰ فَاطِمَةَ بَأْنَهَا لَا تَرِثُ أَبَاهَا؟ فَقَالَ: شَهَدْتُ عَلَيْهَا عَائِشَةَ وَحْفَصَةَ وَرَجُلًا مِنَ
الْعَرَبِ يَقَالُ لَهُ: أَوْسُ بْنُ الْحَدَّاثَانَ، مَنْ بْنِي نَصْرٍ. شَهَدُوا عِنْدَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ بِأَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ
عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: لَا أَوْرَثُ . فَمَنَعُوا فَاطِمَةَ عَلَيْهَا السَّلَامُ مِنْ أَبِيهَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ .

Hannān ibn Sadīr reported that Ṣadaqah ibn Muslim asked Abā ‘Abdillāh (a) while he was present, “Who bore witness against Fāṭimah saying that she does not inherit from her father?” He said, “Ā’ishah, Hafṣah, and a man from the Arabs called Aws ibn al-Hadathān, from the Banī Naḍr, testified against her. They testified in front of Abū Bakr that the Prophet (ṣ) had said: ‘I am not [to be] inherited [or I do not bequeath any inheritance].’ So they prevented Fāṭimah (a) from getting her inheritance from her father (ṣ).” (ḥ 335)

And:

وَسُلْطَنَةُ عَنْ فَاطِمَةَ بِنْتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ، أَيْ مَكَانَ دَفَنَتْ؟ فَقَالَ: سَأَلَ رَجُلٌ جَعْفَرًا عَنْ هَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةِ - وَعَيْسَى بْنُ مُوسَى حَاضِرٌ - فَقَالَ لَهُ عَيْسَى: دَفَنْتُ فِي الْبَقِيعِ. فَقَالَ الرَّجُلُ: مَا تَقُولُ؟ فَقَالَ: قَدْ قَالَ لِكَ. فَقَلَتْ لَهُ أَصْلَحُكَ اللَّهُ، مَا أَنَا وَعَيْسَى بْنُ مُوسَى! أَخْبَرْنِي عَنْ آبَائِكَ. فَقَالَ: دَفَنْتُ فِي بَيْتِهَا.

[The narrator said:] I asked him about Fāṭimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) – where is she buried? He said: A man asked Ja‘far (a) the same question, and ʻIsā ibn Mūsā was present at the time, so ʻIsā said to him, “She is buried in al-Baqī‘.” The man asked [the Imam], “And what do you say?” He replied, “He has already told you.” So I said to him, “May Allah enhance you in rectitude. What have I to do with ʻIsā ibn Mūsā! Inform me of it from your forefathers.” So he said, “She was buried in her house.” (ḥ 1314)

Reports from non-Infallibles

There are a handful of reports in *Qurb al-Isnād* that do not quote an Infallible, which technically disqualifies them from being classified as *ahādīth*. Others are purportedly narrated by Infallibles, but they quote a non-Infallible. Sometimes that would be in order to convince those

who do not accept them as Infallible guides, or out of *taqiyyah*. Examples of these include:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَيْمُونٍ، عَنْ جَعْفَرٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ: وَاللَّهِ مَا كَانَ
نَعْرُفُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ فِي زَمَانِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ إِلَّا بِغَضْبِهِمْ عَلَيْنَا عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَذْلَالُ.

'Abdullāh ibn Maymūn reported from Ja'far, from his father who said: 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar said, "By Allah we would only recognize the hypocrites during the time of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) by their hatred for 'Alī (a)." (ḥ 86)

And:

عَنْ مُسْعَدَةَ بْنِ صَدِيقٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنِي جَعْفَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: قَالَ جَابِرُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ
الْأَنْصَارِيُّ: إِنَّ دَبَاغَةَ الصَّوْفِ وَالشَّعْرِ غَسْلَهُ بِالْمَاءِ وَأَيُّ شَيْءٍ يَكُونُ أَطْهَرَ مِنَ الْمَاءِ؟

Mas'adah ibn Ṣadaqah said: Ja'far ibn Muḥammad narrated to me from his father who said: Jābir ibn 'Abdillāh said, "Verily the tanning of wool and fur is through washing with water; and what can be purer than water?" (ḥ. 246)

Hyperbolic, Contradictory and Counterintuitive Narrations

The presence of certain hyperbolic narrations that signify extremist (*ghuluw*) tendencies, as well as seemingly contradictory and counterintuitive narrations, leads us to conclude that the author of *Qurb al-Isnād* was not after compiling only authentic traditions. Rather, as noted earlier, he most likely copied narrations directly from the booklets that had been compiled by the companions of the Imams or their students (what are known as the *uṣūl*) without scrutinizing each narration first.

Examples of narrations that are hyperbolic or counterintuitive:

قال بكر بن محمد: وخرجنا من المدينة نريد منزل أبي عبد الله، فلحقنا أبو بصير خارجاً من زقاق من أزقة المدينة - وهو جنب، ونحن لا نعلم - حتى دخلنا على أبي عبد الله فسلمنا عليه، فرفع رأسه إلى أبي بصير فقال له: يا أبي بصير، أما تعلم أنه لا ينبغي للجنب أن يدخل بيوت الأنبياء؟ فرجع أبو بصير ودخلنا.

Bakr ibn Muḥammad reported: We came out of the town with the aim of visiting the house of the Abū ‘Abdillāh (a), and met Abū Baṣīr as he exited one of the alleys of the city. He was ritually impure, but we did not know. When we all went to the Imam, he (a) raised his head and said, “O Abā Baṣīr, do you not know that it is improper for one who is ritually impure to enter the houses of the Prophets?” So Abū Baṣīr went back and we entered [the house].²⁰ (ḥ. 140)

And:

محمد بن عيسى، عن ابن فضال، عن عليّ بن أبي حمزة قال: كنت عند أبي الحسن عليه السلام إذ دخل عليه ثلاثون مملوكاً من العبس، وقد اشتروهم له، فكلّم غلاماً منهم - وكان من العبس جميلاً - فكلّمه بكلامه ساعة، حتى أتى على جميع ما يريده وأعطاه درهماً فقال: أعط أصحابك هؤلاء، كلّ غلام منهم كلّ هلال ثلاثة درهماً. ثم

²⁰ The problem with this narration is threefold. Firstly, it alludes to the notion that Infallibles never become ritually impure themselves. Secondly, openly informing Abū Baṣīr why he could not enter, such that everyone present heard it, goes against the sublime morals of the Imams. It would have been just as easy to call him aside and tell him why he could not enter, thereby preserving his respect in the eyes of the group. Thirdly, it gives the impression that the Imams had knowledge of the unseen; and while there is no problem in that *per se*, and it is quite possible that Allah had given them access to such knowledge, it would surely have been for the purpose of addressing important matters, and not something as trivial as this.

خرجوا فقلت: جعلت فداك، لقد رأيتك تكلّم هذا الغلام بالحبشية، فما ذا أمرته؟ قال: أمرته أن يستوصي بأصحابه خيراً، ويعطيهم في كلّ هلال ثلاثين درهماً، وذلك لأنّي لما نظرت إليه علمت أنه غلام عاقل من أبناء ملوكهم، فأوصيته بجميع ما أحتاج إليه، فقبل وصيتي، ومع هذا غلام صدق. ثمّ قال: لعلك عجبت من كلامي إيه بالحبشية؟ لا تعجب مما خفي عليك من أمر الإمام أعجب وأكثر، وما هذا من الإمام في علمه إلا كطير أخذ بمنقاره من البحر قطرة من ماء، أفترى الذي أخذ بمنقاره نقص من البحر شيئاً؟ قال: فإنّ الإمام بمنزلة البحر لا ينفد ما عنده، وعجائبها أكثر من ذلك، والطير حين أخذ من البحر قطرة بمنقاره لم ينقص من البحر شيئاً، كذلك العالم لا ينقصه علمه شيئاً، ولا تنفذ عجائبها.

Muhammad ibn ‘Isā narrated from Ibn Faddāl, from ‘Alī ibn Abī Ḥamzah who said: I was with Abū al-Ḥasan (a) when thirty slaves from Abyssinia came to him, and they had been bought for him. He spoke to a young man from among them, and he was a handsome Abyssinian. He (a) conversed with him for some time, until he had said everything that he wanted and then he gave him some money telling him to give each slave thirty dirhams a month. Then they left. I said, “May I be your ransom, I saw you speaking to this man in Abyssinian, so what did you instruct him?” He said, “I instructed him to treat his companions well, and to give them each thirty dirhams every month. That was because when I saw him, I realized that he is an intelligent man from the citizens of their kingdom, so I instructed him of all that I need from him. He accepted my instructions and there is truth in that young man.” Then he (a) said, “Perhaps you are surprised by my speaking to him in Abyssinian? Do not be surprised, for indeed that which is hidden from you about the affair of the Imam is more surprising and greater; and this is nothing from the knowledge of the Imam but like the drop of water taken by a bird in its beak from the ocean. Do you think what

it takes in its beak reduces anything from the ocean?" He [then] said, "Verily the Imam is like an ocean; that which is with him does not deplete, and his wonders are far greater. And when a bird takes a drop from it in its beak, it reduces nothing from the ocean. Similarly for the 'Ālim, his [access to] knowledge is not reduced by knowing anything, and his marvels do not deplete."²¹ (h. 1238)

Examples of contradictory narrations (contradicting other narrations or generally accepted principles)

جعفر، عن أبيه: أنّ عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام كان يقول: من دخل عليه لصّ فليديره
بالضربة، فما تبعه من إثم فأنا شريكه فيه.

Ja'far reported from his father that 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib (a) used to say: Whoever has a thief enter his home, let him strike first [quickly], then whatever results of sin, I am his partner in it.²² (h. 321)

And:

جعفر، عن أبيه: أن رسول الله صلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قال: لو كان العلم منوطاً بالثريّا لتناوله رجال من
فارس.

²¹ In h. 1244, the ability to communicate with all creatures is described as one of the identifying features of an Imam. The 7th Imam is reported to have said, "No speech of the people is incomprehensible to the Imam, nor is speech of the birds or cattle, or anything with a soul. That is how the Imam is identified, and if he does not have this quality then he is not an Imam." This seems counterintuitive for those who do not have the capacity to understand it, and some scholars state that one requires *ma'rifa* to be able to understand the true status of the Imams.

²² This narration has been repeated twice in the text, though it clearly seems to contradict the rules of dealing with criminals which state that they should be arraigned before a judge and then sentenced to the appropriate punishment. Perhaps some context is missing that might still render this narration valid, such as a temporary situation that required such action to curtail rampant burglary or the like.

Ja‘far reported from his father that the Prophet (s) said: If knowledge were suspended on a star, [even then] the men from Persia would still gain access to it.²³ (ḥ. 377)

Peculiarities of *Qurb al-Isnād*

There are certain other peculiarities found within this text. Like many other early ḥadīth compilations, some narrations have chains while others do not. However, in this work we find that at times, the exact date of when something was narrated is mentioned, either at the beginning of the narration or at its end, for example:

محمد بن عيسى قال: حدثنا إبراهيم بن عبد الحميد، في سنة ثمان وتسعين ومائة في مسجد الحرام، قال: دخلت على أبي عبد الله عليه السلام فأخرج إلى مصحفه. قال: فتصفحته فوق بصرى على موضع منه فإذا فيه مكتوب: هذه جهنم التي كتما بها تكذبان فاصليا فيها لا تموتان فيها ولا تحييان. يعني الأولين.

Muhammad ibn Īsā said: Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd narrated to us in the year 198 [AH] at Masjid al-Harām saying: I visited Abū ‘Abdillāh (a) and he showed me a book (*muṣḥaf*). I perused through it and my eyes fell on a line that read: ‘This is Hell which you both used to deny; so burn therein, both of you, neither dying nor living.’ Meaning the first two. (ḥ. 46)

And:

²³ This kind of general praise for specific ethnic groups or races goes against the clear egalitarian Qur’ānic worldview that only gives a preferred position to people based on their level of Godwariness and nothing else.

عن عبد الله بن ميمون القدّاح، عن جعفر، عن أبيه قال: جاء رجل إلى أبي فقال له: هل لك زوجة؟ قال: لا. قال: لا أحب أن لي الدنيا وما فيها وأنّي أبىت ليلة ليس لي زوجة. قال: إن ركعتين يصلّيهما رجل متزوج أفضل من رجل يقوم ليله ويصوم نهاره أعزب. ثم أعطاه أبي سبعة دنانير قال: تزوج بهذه. وحدّثني بذلك سنة ثمان وتسعين ومائة.

'Abdullāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāh narrated from Ja'far, from his father who said: A man came to my father so he asked him, "Do you have a wife?" He replied, "No." He (a) said, "I would not like to have the world and all it contains if it means spending a single night without a wife." Then he said, "Two rak'ahs offered by a married man is better than the worship of a bachelor who fasts in the day and spends his night standing [in prayer].". Then he gave him seven dīnars telling him to use the money to get married. He narrated this to me in the year 198 [AH]. (h. 67)

Examples of other peculiarities

- In h. 282, after the customary phrase '*alayhi al-salām*', there is an added phrase: *wa rahmatullāhi wa barakātuh* and that is quite odd.²⁴
- H. 298 has the Imam questioning Ibn 'Umar about a religious ruling. It is quite odd that an Infallible should ask a non-Infallible regarding Islamic law, unless there was some exigency that demanded it. Yet there is no indication of any such exigency in the narration itself.²⁵

²⁴ This extra phrase is also found in the manuscript of the text at the library of Al-Sayyid Mar'ashī al-Najafī, so it is not a typographical error in the published edition. The Arabic text of the tradition is as follows:

الحسن بن ظريف، عن الحسين بن علوان، عن جعفر، عن أبيه: أَنَّ عَلِيًّا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَرَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ سَئَلَ عَنِ الْبَرَاقِ
يصيب الثوب، فقال: لا بأس به.

²⁵ The narration reads:

- H. 308 portrays Imam al-Hasan and al-Husayn (a) in a negative light, stating that they would accept gifts from Mu‘awiyah while at the same time speaking ill of him.²⁶
- H. 311 describes a conversation the Noble Prophet (s) had with Maymūnah bint al-Hārith, in which he is quoted as having told her that it would have been better for her to gift her slave to her family instead of setting her free.²⁷
- In h. 1095, the Imam oddly redefines the term Ahl al-Kitāb by stating that it does not include Arabian Christians.²⁸
- In h. 1201 we find a report, which is quite obviously a fabrication, quoting a letter written by Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim (a) to Khayzurān, mother of the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, in which he offers her condolences for the passing away of her other son, Mūsā. The repeated use of the term Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn to describe her son Hārūn al-Rashīd, and the flattery that is found in this letter belies its attribution to the infallible Imam. There are many other reasons that lead us to believe that this letter was a fabrication, but a more detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this chapter.²⁹

جعفر، عن أبيه: أَنَّهُ كَانَتْ لَهُ أُمٌّ وَلَدٌ، فَأَصَابَهَا عَطَاشٌ فِي شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ، وَهِيَ حَامِلٌ، فَسُئِلَ ابْنُ عَمِّ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ: مَرْوِهَا فَلَفَظَهُ، وَتَصَدَّقَ مَكَانُ كُلِّ يَوْمٍ بِمَذَّدِ مِنْ طَعَامٍ.

²⁶ The narration reads:

جعفر، عن أبيه: أن الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام كانوا يغمسان معاوية ويقولان فيه، ويقللان جوازه.

²⁷ Perhaps there is some context missing here, but as it stands, one might easily get the wrong impression that slavery was being promoted, albeit for righteous reasons. The narration reads:

جعفر، عن أبيه قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لميمونة بنت الحارث: ما فعلت بجاريتك؟ قالت: أعتقتها يا رسول الله. قال: إن كانت لجلدة، لو كنت وصلت بها رحملك.

²⁸ The narration reads:

وَسَأَلَهُ عَنْ ذِبَاحِ نَصَارَى الْعَرَبِ، قَالَ: لَيْسُ هُمْ بِأَهْلِ كِتَابٍ، فَلَا تَحْلِ ذِبَاحَهُمْ.

²⁹ The narration reads:

مُحَمَّدٌ بْنُ عَيْسَى، عَنْ بَعْضِ مَنْ ذَكَرَهُ، أَنَّهُ كَتَبَ أَبُو الْحَسْنِ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ إِلَى الْخَيْرَانَ أُمَّ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَعْزِيزُهَا بِمُوسَى ابْنِهَا، وَيَهْنَهُهَا بِهَارُونَ ابْنِهَا.

- H. 1266 starts in a unique way where instead of a chain of transmission, a list of Imams who mentioned the tradition is reported: Abū ‘Abdillāh, and Abū Ja‘far, and ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, and al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, and al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī, and ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) said...³⁰

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. لِلخِيَرَانِ أَمْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، مِنْ مُوسَى بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ عَلَىٰ بْنِ الْحَسِينِ. أَمَا بَعْدُ:

أَصْلَحَكِ اللَّهُ وَأَمْتَعَكِ، وَأَكْرَمَكِ وَحَفَظَكِ، وَأَتَمَ النِّعَمَ وَالْعَافِيَةَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ لَكَ بِرَحْمَتِهِ. ثُمَّ إِنَّ الْأَمْوَارَ - أَطَالَ اللَّهُ بِقَاءَكَ - كَلَّا هَيْدَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يَمْضِيهَا وَيَقْدِرُهَا بِقَدْرِهِ فِيهَا وَالسُّلْطَانُ عَلَيْهَا، تُوكَلُ بِحَفْظِ مَاضِيهَا وَتَمَامِ باقيَهَا، فَلَا مَقْتَمَ لَمَّا حَرَّ مِنْهَا وَلَا مَؤْحَرَ لِمَا قَاتَمَ، اسْتَأْثَرَ بِالْبَقَاءِ وَخَلَقَ خَلْقَهُ لِلْفَنَاءِ، أَسْكَنَهُمْ دُنْيَا سَرِيعَ زَوْلَهَا قَلِيلَ بَقَاؤُهَا، وَجَعَلَ لَهُمْ مَرْجِعًا إِلَى دَارِ لَا زَوْلَ لَهَا وَلَا فَنَاءَ. وَكَتَبَ الْمَوْتَ عَلَى جَمِيعِ خَلْقِهِ، وَجَعَلَهُمْ أَسْوَهُ فِيهِ، عَدْلًا مِنْهُ عَلَيْهِمْ عَزِيزًا وَقَدْرَةً مِنْهُ عَلَيْهِمْ، لَا مَدْفَعٌ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْهُ وَلَا مَحِيصٌ لَهُ عَنْهُ، حَتَّى يَجْمِعَ اللَّهُ تَبَارُكُهُ وَتَعَالَى إِلَى دَارِ الْبَقَاءِ خَلْقَهُ، وَيَرِثَ بَهُ أَرْضَهُ وَمَنْ عَلَيْهَا، وَإِلَيْهِ يَرْجِعُونَ.

بَلْغَنَا - أَطَالَ اللَّهُ بِقَاءَكَ - مَا كَانَ مِنْ قَضَاءِ اللَّهِ الْعَالِبِ فِي وَفَاءِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مُوسَى صَلَواتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَرَحْمَتُهُ وَمَغْفِرَتُهُ وَرَضْوَانُهُ، إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ، إِعْظَامًا لِمَصِيبَتِهِ وَإِجْلَالًا لِرَزْرَزَهُ وَفَقْدَهُ، ثُمَّ إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ، صَبِرًا لِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَتَسْلِيمًا لِقَضَائِهِ، ثُمَّ إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ لِشَدَّةِ مَصِيبَتِكَ عَلَيْنَا خَاصَّةً، وَبِلَوْغِهَا مِنْ حَرْقَلَوْنَا وَشَزُورَ أَنْفُسِنَا. نَسَأَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَصْلِيَ عَلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَنْ يَرْحَمَهُ، وَيَلْحِقَهُ بِنَبِيِّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَبِصَالِحِ سَلْفِهِ، وَأَنْ يَجْعَلَ مَا نَقَلَهُ إِلَيْهِ خَيْرًا مَمَّا خَرَجَهُ مِنْهُ، وَنَسَأَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَعْظِمَ أَجْرَكَ - أَمْتَعَ اللَّهُ بِكَ - وَأَنْ يَحْسَنَ عَقْبَكَ، وَأَنْ يَعْوِضَكَ مِنْ الْمَصِيبَةِ بِأَمْرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ صَلَواتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ أَفْضَلُ مَا وَعَدَ الصَّابِرِينَ مِنْ صَلَواتِهِ وَرَحْمَتِهِ وَهَدَاهُ. وَنَسَأَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يُرِيَطَ عَلَى قَلْبِكَ، وَيَحْسِنَ عَزَاءَكَ وَسَلْوتُكَ، وَالخَلْفُ عَلَيْكَ، وَلَا يَرِيكَ بَعْدَهُ مَكْرُوهًا فِي نَفْسِكَ وَلَا فِي شَيْءٍ مِنْ نَعْمَتِهِ عَلَيْكَ.

وَأَسَأَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَهْبِيَكَ خَلَافَةَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَمْتَعَ اللَّهُ بِهِ وَأَطَالَ بِقَاءَهُ وَمَدَّ فِي عمرِهِ وَأَسَأَ فِي أَجْلِهِ، وَأَنْ يَسُوغَكَمَا بِأَتَمَ النِّعَمَ وَأَفْضَلَ الْكَرَامَةَ، وَأَطْوَلَ الْعُمَرَ وَأَحْسَنَ الْكَفَايَةَ، وَأَنْ يَمْتَعَكَ إِيَّاكَ عَلَيْنَا خَاصَّةً وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ عَامَّةً بِأَمْرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، حَتَّى يَنْلُغَ بِهِ أَفْضَلُ الْأَمْلِ فِيهِ لِنَفْسِهِ وَمِنْكَ - أَطَالَ اللَّهُ بِقَاءَكَ - وَمِنْ لَهُ. لَمْ يَكُنْ - أَطَالَ اللَّهُ بِقَاءَكَ - أَحَدٌ مِنْ أَهْلِي وَقَوْمِكَ وَخَاصَّتِكَ وَحَرَمَتِكَ كَانَ أَشَدَّ لِمَصِيبَتِكَ إِعْظَامًا وَبِهَا حَرَزاً وَلَكَ بِالْأَجْرِ عَلَيْهَا دُعَاءً وَبِالنِّعَمَةِ الَّتِي أَحْدَثَ اللَّهُ لِأَمْرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ - أَطَالَ اللَّهُ بِقَاءَهُ - دُعَاءً بِتَنَمَّاهَا وَدَوَامَهَا وَبِقَائِهَا، وَدَفَعَ الْمَكْرُوهَ فِيهَا، مَتَّيٌّ. وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ لِمَا جَعَلَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ بِمَعْرِفَتِي بِفَضْلِكَ وَالنِّعَمَةِ عَلَيْكَ، وَشَكَرِي بِلَاءَكَ، وَعَظِيمَ رَجَائِي لَكَ، أَمْتَعَ اللَّهُ بِكَ وَأَحْسَنَ جَزَاءَكَ إِنْ رَأَيْتَ - أَطَالَ اللَّهُ بِقَاءَكَ - أَنْ تَكْتُبَ إِلَيْيَ بِخَبْرِكَ فِي خَاصَّةِ نَفْسِكَ، وَحَالَ جَزِيلَ هَذِهِ الْمَصِيبَةِ وَسَلْوتُكَ عَنْهَا، فَعُلِتَ، فَإِنِّي بِذَلِكَ مَهْتَمٌ إِلَى مَا جَاءَنِي مِنْ خَبْرِكَ وَحَالَكَ فِيهِ مَتَّلِعٌ، أَتَمَّ اللَّهُ لَكَ أَفْضَلُ مَا عُودَكَ مِنْ نِعَمَهُ، وَاصْطَطَعَ عَنْدَكَ مِنْ كَرَامَتِهِ، وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبِرِّ كَاتِهِ .

وَكَتَبَ يَوْمَ الْخَيْسِ لِسَعِيِّ لِيَالِ خَلُونَ مِنْ شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الْآخِرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِينَ وَمَائَةٍ.

³⁰ The narration reads:

- Responding to a legal question, in h 1296 the Imam gives an answer based on precaution (*ihtiyāt*), which is odd because precaution is usually only employed when a jurist is unsure about the answer.³¹
- H. 1298 is peculiar due to the way the Imam purportedly refers to the legal authority of the sultan in a jurisprudential matter, namely the nullification of the oath of *īlā*.³²
- In h. 1300 there is an obvious error in the text. When the Imam is asked whether a man may look at the hair of his wife's sister, his reply is negative. When the questioner then asked what he is permitted to see of her, the text states that the Imam replied, "her hair and hands," when it is clear that he actually said, "her face and hands." This is further supported by the last part of the narration which shows that one may look at the face of a woman but not her hair.³³
- H. 1326 is a long narration that gives detailed predictions about what would happen in the future and mentions certain signs of End Times. Interestingly, actual dates (years) are mentioned when certain occurrences would transpire. However, a number of the

قال أبو عبد الله، وأبو جعفر، وعلي بن الحسين، والحسين بن علي، والحسين بن علي، وعلي بن أبي طالب عليهم السلام:
والله لو لا آية في كتاب الله لحدثناكم بما يكون إلى أن تقوم الساعة: «يمحوا الله ما يشاء ويثبت وعنه ألم الكتاب».

³¹ This narration is clearly incomplete and seems to be missing some context which might clarify why precaution was called for. It reads:

وسألته: من الأربع هي؟ فقال: أجعلوها من الأربع على الاحتياط.

³² *Al-īlā*' is where one makes an oath to refrain from intercourse, and according to this narration, the ruling authority (*sultān*) can nullify such an oath. Again, perhaps there is some missing context which might make this narration clearer and explain what kind of ruler has this authority. The narration reads:

وسأله صفوان - وأنا حاضر - عن الإيلاه. فقال: إنما يوقف إذا قدمته إلى السلطان، فيوافقه السلطان أربعة أشهر ثم يقول له: إنما أن تطلق وإنما أن تمسك.

³³ The narration reads:

قال: وسألته عن الرجل: أيحل له أن ينظر إلى شعر امرأته؟ فقال: لا، إلا أن تكون من القواعد. قلت له: أخت امرأته والغريبة سواء؟ قال: نعم. قلت: فما لي من النظر إليه منها؟ فقال: شعرها وذراعها. وقال: إنَّ أبا جعفر عليه السلام مِنْ بامرأة محرمة، وقد استترت بمروحة على وجهها، فأمات المروحة بقضيبه عن وجهها.

predictions mentioned did not come to pass, and hence were false predictions. Of course, one may theologically argue that these were not immutable predictions, or that *bādā'* had taken place, and that is why what the Imam predicted did not happen. Nevertheless, by the time of al-Himyārī, it was known that these events did not transpire, so one wonders why he still included this tradition in his work.³⁴

- Another peculiar tradition is h. 1360, which is also unique to *Qurb al-Isnād*. In it the Imam is asked a question pertaining to a matter of Islamic law concerning prayer, but the Imam does not answer the question. Rather, he changes the topic and discusses another

³⁴ The narration reads:

وأسأته عن قرب هذا الأمر. فقال: قال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام، حكاه عن أبي جعفر عليه السلام، قال: أول علامات الفرج ستة خمس وتسعين ومائة، وفي سنة ست وتسعين ومائة تخلع العرب أعتها، وفي سنة سبع وتسعين ومائة يكون النباء، وفي سنة ثمان وتسعين ومائة يكون الجلاء. فقال: أما ترىبني هاشم قد انقلعوا بأهلهم وأولادهم؟. فقلت: فهم الجلاء؟ قال: وغيرهم، وفي سنة تسع وتسعين ومائة يكشف الله البلاء إن شاء الله، وفي سنة مائتين يفعل الله ما يشاء. فقللنا له: جعلنا فداك، أخبرنا بما يكون في سنة المائتين. قال: لو أخبرت أحداً لأخبرتكم، ولقد خبرت بمكانكم، ما كان هذا من رأيي أن يظهر هذا مئي إليكم، ولكن إذا أراد الله تبارك وتعالى إظهار شيء من الحق لم يقدر العباد على ستره.

فقلت له: جعلت فداك، إنك قلت لي في عامنا الأول - حكيت عن أبيك - أن انقضاء ملك آل فلان على رأس فلان وفلان، ليس لبني فلان سلطان بعدهما. قال: قد قلت ذلك لك. فقلت: أصلحك الله، إذا انقضى ملوكهم، يملك أحد من قريش يستقيم عليه الأمر؟ قال: لا. قلت: يكون ماذا؟ قال: يكون الذي تقول أنت وأصحابك. قلت: تعني خروج السفياني؟ فقال: لا. فقلت: قيام القائم؟ قال: يفعل الله ما يشاء. قلت: فأنت هو؟ قال: لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله .

وقال: إنّ قدام هذا الأمر علامات، حدث يكون بين الحرمين. قلت: ما الحديث؟ قال: عصبة تكون ويقتل فلان من آل فلان خمسة عشر رجلا. قلت: جعلت فداك، إن الكوفة قد بتت بي، والمعاش بها ضيق، وإنما كان معاشرنا ببغداد، وهذا الجبل قد فتح على الناس منه بباب رزق. فقال: إن أردت الخروج فاخرج، فإنها سنة مضطربة، وليس للناس بد من معايشهم، فلا تدع الطلب. فقلت له: جعلت فداك، إنهم قوم ملأنون نحمل التأخير، فنباعتهم بتأخير سنة؟ قال: بعهم. قلت: سنتين؟ قال: بعهم. قلت: ثلاثة سنتين؟ قال: لا يكون لك شيء أكثر من ثلاثة سنتين.

issue. When the questioner repeats his query, the Imam again does not answer.³⁵

Flaws in the Text

It is but natural for a book that was written over a thousand years ago to have within it some errors and flaws. The flaws in this work are actually a testament to its authenticity as an early text. Indeed, if such an early work had no discernable flaws in the way it is compiled, one would have cause to doubt its provenance. But in *Qurb al-Isnād*, we find issues such as partially recorded traditions due to effacement of the manuscript, and repetition of narrations (with over 20 instances of repeated narrations), sometimes more than twice, throughout the text. Ḥ. 1382 and ḥ. 1384 are two examples of narrations that are incomplete because of some text that has been effaced. The former is a narration with an answer to a missing question, while the latter has a missing portion that does not affect the overall purport of the tradition.

Repetitions in the text are of two general types: those that are verbatim or with only slight variance, and those that are only partially repeated. Examples of the former type include ḥ. 452 and ḥ. 580,³⁶ as

³⁵ It is possible that this narration is also missing some context, or is incomplete. That would explain why the Imam (a), whose duty is to guide the people in such matters, refused to answer the question posed to him. The narration reads:

قال: وصلت المغرب مع أهل المدينة في المسجد، فلما سلم الإمام قمت فصلت أربع ركعات ثم صليت العتمة ركعتين، ثم مضيت إلى أبي الحسن عليه السلام فدخلت عليه بعد ما أعمت. فقال لي: صلّي العتمة. قلت له: نعم. قال: متى صلّيت؟. قلت: صلّيتك المغرب واثنتين بصلاتي معهم، فلما سلم الإمام قمت فصلت أربع ركعات ثم صلّيت العتمة ركعتين ثم أتيتك. فأخذ في شيء آخر ولم يجني، فقلت له: إبّي فعلت هذا وهو عندي جائز، فإن لم يكن جائزًا قمت الساعة فأعدت، فأخذ في شيء آخر ولم يجني.

³⁶ The first narration reads:

محمد بن خالد الطيالسي قال: حدثني فضيل بن عثمان الأعور قال: سمعت أبا عبد الله عليه السلام يقول: اتقوا الله، وعظموا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، ولا تنفصلوا على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم أحداً.

well as h. 165 and h. 579.³⁷ There are also a few instances of partial repetitions. For example, the report of how Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a) visited Sa'sa'ah ibn Shūhān when the latter was ill is found in h. 1333 as well as in the longer narration h. 1343. The narration which states that a fornicator does not fornicate while he is a believer has been repeated thrice in the text (h. 110, h. 1021, and h. 1176), as part of longer narrations, but verbatim.³⁸

Finally, there is also the problem of misarrangement of narrations. For instance, there is a tradition (h. 139) that has been reported from Imam al-Kāzim (a), yet it is found in the section containing the traditions from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a). Similarly, h. 730, which talks about how to make up for missed recommended prayers, has been placed

فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى قَدْ فَضَلَهُ. وَأَحْبَبَا أَهْلَ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ حَبَّاً مَقْتَصِدًا وَلَا تَغْلُوْا، وَلَا تَفْرَقُوا، وَلَا تَقُولُوا مَا لَا تَنْوِيْلُ، فَإِنَّكُمْ إِنْ قَلَمْ وَقَلَنْ مَمْ وَمَنْتَ ثُمَّ بَعْثَمُ اللَّهُ وَبِعَثَنَا، فَكُنَّا حَيْثُ يَشَاءُ اللَّهُ وَكَنْتُمْ.

And the second reads:

مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ خَالِدِ الطَّيلَسِيِّ، عَنْ فَضْلِ بْنِ عُثْمَانَ عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامِ قَالَ: اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ، وَعَظِّمُوا رَسُولَهُ، وَلَا تَفْرَضُوا عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَحَدًا، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى قَدْ فَضَلَهُ. وَأَحْبَبَا أَهْلَ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّكُمْ حَبَّاً مَقْتَصِدًا، وَلَا تَغْلُوْا، وَلَا تَفْرَقُوا، وَلَا تَقُولُوا مَا لَا تَنْوِيْلُ، فَإِنَّكُمْ إِنْ قَلَمْ وَقَلَنْ مَمْ وَمَنْتَ ثُمَّ بَعْثَمُ اللَّهُ وَبِعَثَنَا وَكَنَّا حَيْثُ يَشَاءُ اللَّهُ وَكَنْتُمْ.

³⁷ The first narration reads:

السَّنْدِيُّ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِي الْبَخْتَرِيِّ، عَنْ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، أَنَّ عَلِيًّا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: لَا يَجُوزُ فِي الْعَتَاقِ الْأَعْمَى وَالْأَعْوَرِ وَالْمَقْعَدِ، وَيَجُوزُ الْأَمْثَلُ وَالْأَعْرَجُ.

And the second reads:

وَعَنْهُ، عَنْ أَبِي الْبَخْتَرِيِّ، عَنْ جَعْفَرٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ: أَنَّ عَلِيًّا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: لَا يَجُوزُ فِي الْعَتَاقِ الْأَعْمَى وَالْأَعْوَرِ وَالْمَقْعَدِ، وَيَجُوزُ الْأَشَلُّ وَالْأَعْرَجُ.

³⁸ The first narration reads:

وَقَالَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: لَا يَزِنِي الزَّانِي وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ، وَلَا يُسْرِقُ السَّارِقُ وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ، إِنَّمَا أَعْنِي مَا دَامَ عَلَى بَطْنِهِ، فَإِذَا تَوَضَّأَ وَتَابَ كَانَ فِي حَالٍ غَيْرِ ذَلِكَ.

The second narration reads:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ: لَا يَزِنِي الزَّانِي وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ.

And the third narration reads:

قَالَ: وَقَالَ أَخِي: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ: لَا يَزِنِي الزَّانِي وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ، وَلَا يُسْرِقُ السَّارِقُ وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ.

under the section on traditions regarding the rules of clothes worn during prayer.

Conclusion

In this study, we sought to examine the contents of al-Himyari's early ḥadīth compilation and simultaneously categorize its traditions based on their type and subject. It is important to note, however, that some traditions fall into more than one category. For example, a tradition can be historical and creedal, or talk about jurisprudence and ethics at the same time, either due to its addressing different matters, or because it is comprised of different sections, or even because it addresses something that is common between two or more general subjects. So, for example, when someone asks the Imam the meaning of the terms *al-rafath*, *al-fusūq*, and *al-jidāl* (ḥ. 915), and he (a) proceeds to explain the answer, that tradition is classified as exegetical as well as jurisprudential. For the most part, however, each narration belongs to a single category.

From an analysis of the contents of *Qurb al-Isnād*, it is evident that this early ḥadīth compilation contains more narrations on issues of Islamic law and jurisprudence than any other subject, though it also has traditions on a variety of other topics, such as *du‘ā'*, ethics, exegesis, history, etc. The format of the work and the reports contained therein give the distinct impression that al-Himyārī copied many, if not all, of the traditions from notebooks that were in his possession. These early notebooks, sometimes referred to as the *uṣūl*, were the original recordings of traditions by first-hand recipients, primarily comprised of the Imams' companions and students. The value of *Qurb al-Isnād* lies in its early provenance as well as the 'closeness' of its chains of transmission from the Infallibles.

Like in most of the early ḥadīth works, there are some hyperbolic narrations found in *Qurb al-Isnād* that signify extremist (*ghuluw*) tendencies. We also come across some apparently contradictory and

counterintuitive narrations, which leads us to conclude that the goal of the author of *Qurb al-Isnād* was not to compile only authentic traditions. Rather, it is more likely that he copied narrations from the booklets that had been compiled by the companions of the Imams or their students. Furthermore, the text contains a number of abstruse (*gharīb*) narrations that are difficult to understand, as well as some unique traditions that are not found in any other early Shī‘ī ḥadīth work. There are also a handful of reports that do not quote an Infallible, which technically disqualifies them from being classified as *ahādīth*.

Like many other early ḥadīth compilations, some narrations in *Qurb al-Isnād* have chains while others do not. There are certain peculiarities in it, however. For instance, in some narrations the year when something was narrated is mentioned; other peculiarities include narrations where an Infallible asks a non-Infallible about a religious ruling, attribution of words or actions to Infallibles that go against their sublime moral character, and some clear errors and flaws in the text. However, we should recall that it is only natural for a book that was written over a millennium ago to have some errors and flaws. That is actually a testament to its authenticity as an early text, for if such an early work had no discernable flaws in the way it is compiled, one would have cause to doubt its provenance.

4

IN PRAISE OF WOMANKIND: TRADITIONS THAT SPEAK POSITIVELY OF THE FAIRER SEX

المرأة الصالحة ليست من الدنيا، إنما هي من الآخرة، لأنها تفرّغك لها.

*A righteous woman is not of this world; rather, she is of the Hereafter.
That is because she keeps you unoccupied [so that you may work] for it.*

Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabi‘ al-Abrār*

As the question of gender identity – which one might [rightly] have thought to be so clearly obvious that there would be no room for doubt or discussion – has taken center stage in current times, it has brought to the fore other related issues such as the distinction between genders and the place and role of males and females in the society. In a world where society and popular culture dictate what is deemed proper when it comes to the construction of gendered roles and meaning, many times there is an outright clash between what is considered right by the laity and what religion preaches. Religious law is often seen as promoting and reinforcing unequal gender arrangements which are not in line with what is currently the norm. Since Islam and Muslims are the favorite archvillains of the 21st century, as per the portrayal of the secular west, even in matters of women’s rights, aim is squarely taken at Islam.

As one of the primary sources of religious law and dogma, ḥadīth is of the utmost importance in Islam. And it is the ḥadīth literature that usually bears the brunt of attacks and criticisms from Muslim and non-Muslim feminists. In this chapter, we have compiled forty traditions that praise and speak highly of women, acknowledging them as valuable

members of society. Such traditions are usually completely neglected by those who are out to criticize Islam and its teachings about women. Though many of the issues are very nuanced and require in-depth study and discussion, we only aim to show here that there is another side to the *ahādīth* which many may not be aware of, since it is not in the interests of those who have feminist agendas that these traditions be seen or read. Since this is our primary objective, we have refrained from delving into technical discussions regarding the chains of transmission, the historical context of the traditions, etc.

Before mentioning the traditions, we will briefly look at how different religions are perceived in terms of the way they value women, and what Muslim feminists say in their arguments against certain Islamic teachings, despite being adherents of Islam. This will serve as a prefatory discussion that might help the esteemed reader to better appreciate the beautiful traditions we have within the ḥadīth corpus that praise the female and speak highly of her.

Women in Lived Religion

Though the light of critique is focused more on Islam and Muslims today than any other religious tradition, a number of examples may be given of how women from different religious backgrounds are treated inequitably. In Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity, women are not allowed to be ordained as priests or preachers. In recent times, there are a number of women's groups that have protested this, such as the LCWR and others, decrying the blatant 'sexism' of the Church in this matter.¹ Hinduism, with its caste system, is also inimical towards the female. Even today, female feticide, infanticide, and the murder of young wives with the hope of procuring more dowry from a second marriage are common occurrences in India. Aside from murder, rape is

¹ See for instance: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/23/pope-francis-female-priests-catholic-church-sexism>

also more prevalent in India than it is in many other countries around the world, and it has only been getting worse.²

The Laws of Manu (*manu-smriti*), considered some of the most authoritative codes of Hinduism in India, state that no matter what her age, a woman must not do anything independently, even in her own home. As a girl, she must be subject to her father, as a youth to her husband, and if he dies, to her sons.³ Hence, we see that in Hinduism, a woman's place is clearly, and always, under that of a man, even if she is older and wiser than him. In Buddhism, women who wish to be ordained as nuns have to adhere to more stringent rules than men who are ordained as monks. First, they have to remain on probation for two years before being fully ordained and then they need to be ordained by ten nuns and ten monks. Men, on the other hand have no such probationary period and only need to be ordained by ten monks. Furthermore, a Buddhist nun, no matter how senior she is, must bow to a Buddhist monk, even if he has just been ordained. Since these rules are recorded in the code of monastic discipline (*vinaya*) from Buddha himself, it is believed that they cannot be abrogated or changed.⁴

The Southern Baptist denomination of Christianity encourages followers to interpret the Bible themselves in order to have a direct, unmediated relationship with the Divine. Nevertheless, the fundamentalist trend among them strongly espouses a literalist reading of the Bible and emphatically opposes the ordination of women as pastors or even as teachers of religion and theology. As late as the year 2000, delegates of the Southern Baptist Convention passed a resolution emphasizing that, based on their literal readings of the New Testament, women should not be allowed to teach theology to men to act as

² See: <https://thewire.in/women/crimes-against-women-rape-cases-india-2021-ncrb-data>

³ Young, "The Laws of Manu," in *An Anthology of Sacred Texts by and About Women*, pp. 277–78.

⁴ Cf. Tsomo, "Is the Bhiksuni Vinaya Sexist?" In *Buddhist Women and Social Justice: Ideals, Challenges, and Achievements*, pp. 45–72.

preachers and pastors to congregations.⁵ When we turn to Judaism, we find that while all the other sects allow women to be ordained as rabbis, until recently there were no rabbis in Orthodox Judaism, and the subject continues to remain controversial to this very day. The public worship area and Torah study space in an Orthodox synagogue is still generally limited to men, while women sit out of sight and worship silently so as not to distract the male worshippers. A small number of *rabba* or *rabbanit* (titles given to female rabbis, though the latter is also used for the wife of a rabbi) have been ordained among the Orthodox Jews, but not without protest.⁶

The difference and, in some respects, inferiority of women compared to men has historically been propounded, either explicitly or implicitly, by many leading religious figures. Thomas Aquinas said that the masculine gender is the perfect likeness that is formed by the ‘active force’ in the male seed, whereas the female is formed by a defect in that same force or some other external influence that prevents the formation of the perfect male likeness.⁷ This view of a woman as being a kind of ‘misbegotten male’ prompted Aquinas and other priests and theologians who followed his line of thinking to conclude that women are defective in body and mind. Rabbinic Judaism is also replete with what many consider misogynistic pronouncements. Rabbi Eliezer is quoted as having said, “Anyone who teaches his daughter Torah is teaching her promiscuity.”⁸ Rabbi Abbahu explained this statement saying that it is not the content of the Torah that is a problem; rather, it is the mental training it provides that is dangerous. He elaborates that

⁵ See: <https://theconversation.com/sexism-has-long-been-part-of-the-culture-of-southern-baptists-112209>

⁶ See: <https://divinity.uchicago.edu/sightings/articles/rabbi-rabba-maharat-rabbanit-orthodox-jewish-women-whats-title>

⁷ Bell, *Visions of Women*, p. 103.

⁸ Talmud, Sota 20a.

a woman who becomes wise by studying the Torah will also become cunning enough to try and get away with sexual immorality.⁹

When it comes to Islam, an earnest study of the sources reveals an egalitarian approach that is not found in other religious traditions. The equality of men and women in the eyes of Allah, and their being able to reach the same spiritual station, has been clearly outlined from the very beginning of creation. In one report, Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (a) said that when Allah created Ādam (a), he once saw Ḥawwā’ in a dream (before she had been created). So he asked, “My Lord, who is this whose closeness You have made desirous to me?” Allah, the Exalted, said, “This is my handmaid, and you are my servant, O Ādam. I have not created any creature more honorable in My sight than the two of you, if you both worship Me and obey Me...”¹⁰ While it is true that there are a number of traditions that look patriarchal and even, to some, misogynistic, these have been convincingly explained by scholars as being restricted to specific contexts.¹¹

The idea of a chaste society which is safe for women is emphasized in Islam, and traditions advise believers to treat other women respectfully, being cognizant of their chastity, for in so doing their own womenfolk will likewise be treated with respect.¹² Furthermore, the lines between the two genders are distinct and must be observed, never transgressed. In one report, the Prophet (ṣ) is said to have cursed those men who behave like women and those women who behave like men.¹³ It has also been reported in a number of traditions that during the End Times, men will behave like women and women like men, and homosexuality will be pervasive.¹⁴ Additionally, in order to keep women

⁹ See: <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/belief/articles/daf-yomi-147>

¹⁰ Al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā’il*, vol. 14, p. 325.

¹¹ For example, see the footnote mentioned here: <http://jaffer.ir/general/review-of-was-imam-'ali-a-a-misogynist-by-amina-inloes/>

¹² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 554.

¹³ Al-Ash‘ath, *al-Jaṣāriyāt*, p. 146, and al-Maghribī, *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 215.

¹⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 38.

comfortable and away from unwanted advances, Islam teaches and emphasizes on a strict code of segregation between genders in the social sphere.

Segregation between genders in Islam is very important and goes beyond simply avoiding physical contact. A number of traditions give the impression of something much deeper. We are told, for instance, that a man should not sit in the place that was previously occupied by a woman until it has ‘cooled’.¹⁵ Other advice which could be deemed part of the preventative measures that ensure no interaction between unrelated individuals from the two genders transpires includes having women walk on the side of the road rather than in the middle,¹⁶ thereby keeping them away from prying eyes. Incentive has been accorded to believing men to keep their gaze away from unrelated women in the form of a promise of the reward of being married to wide-eyed houris in Paradise for turning away their gaze.¹⁷

It is likewise a sign of honor and greatness in women that they should not look upon unrelated men. In one interesting tradition, we find that the Prophet (ṣ) once asked his companions what the best thing for a woman was, but none of them could give the answer. So Imam ‘Alī (a) came home and asked al-Sayyidah Fāṭimah (a) that question. She replied, “There is nothing better for a woman than that she should not see a man [who is unrelated to her] or allow herself to be seen by him.” When ‘Alī (a) mentioned that answer to the Prophet (ṣ), informing him that he had heard it from Fāṭimah (a), the Prophet (ṣ) said, “She is right. Truly, Fāṭimah is a part of me.”¹⁸ Of course, it is understood that there are certain situations where interaction with the opposite gender is unavoidable. For those kinds of situations, traditions

¹⁵ Ibid, vol. 5, p. 564.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 518.

¹⁷ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yabduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 474.

¹⁸ Al-Maghribī, *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 215.

tell us that the interaction should be kept to a minimum and any kind of flirting or jesting must be avoided.¹⁹

It is noteworthy that one of the pledges the Prophet (ṣ) took from some of the women who had come to render their oaths of allegiance was that they would not speak to men who are not their *mahrams*.²⁰ In another tradition, the Prophet (ṣ) is said to have forbidden women from speaking more than five words in the presence of unrelated men, and that too, only when necessary.²¹ Even when it came to greeting (with *salām*), we are told that while the Messenger of Allah would greet women and they would respond to his greetings, Imam ‘Alī (a) would avoid greeting young women. It is reported that he explained this was because he was afraid that their voices might attract him so he would get more than what he sought of reward (for offering greetings).²²

In the early days, all precautions were taken to ensure that segregation between the genders is continually maintained, to the extent that Umm Salamah reported that even when women went to the masjid for congregational prayers, after the prayers had been completed, the women left first while the men stayed in their place. Only once all the women had left did the men stand up to leave, led by the Prophet (ṣ) himself.²³ Private interaction between unrelated men and women was more sternly and explicitly prohibited. In one narration, it is reported that the Prophet (ṣ) said, “Never is a man [who is unrelated] alone with a woman but that the third among them is Satan.”²⁴ The whole purpose of segregation is to maintain the dignity of women and prevent them from being harassed or ogled by unrelated men. Such

¹⁹ See for instance: Warrām ibn Abī Fāris, *Tanbih al-Khawātir*, vol. 1, p. 14.

²⁰ This is narrated in a report from Bint ‘Afif and Umm ‘Āsim. See: Ibn Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, vol. 7, p. 405.

²¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqih*, vol. 4, p. 6.

²² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 648.

²³ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣahīh*, vol. 2, p. 153.

²⁴ Al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, vol. 14, p. 266.

segregation has time and again shown to be effective in keeping women safe and secure in the society.²⁵

Segregation does not mean relegation, as some have wrongly suggested. Despite being physically separated from men in public spaces, women are still considered important members of society. This is clearly evinced when we see that just like men, women too were expected to pledge their allegiance to the Noble Prophet (ṣ), and different reports recount how this was actually done. Some reports speak of the use of a basin of water in which he (ṣ) placed his hand and the women would then place their hand on the other side of the basin and give their pledge, without having their hands touch the hand of the Prophet (ṣ). Other reports state that the Prophet placed a cloth over his hand so that their hands would not directly touch his when he took their oaths of allegiance.²⁶ Their exact pledge has been mentioned in the verse that states:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِذَا جَاءَكَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ يُبَايِعْنَكَ عَلَىٰ أَن لَا يُشْرِكُنَّ بِاللَّهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَسْرِقْنَ
وَلَا يَزْنِنَ وَلَا يَقْتُلْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ وَلَا يَأْتِنَ بِبُهْتَانٍ يَفْتَرِينَهُ وَبَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِنَّ وَأَرْجُلِهِنَّ وَلَا
يَعْصِيَنَّكَ فِي مَعْرُوفٍ فَبَايِعُهُنَّ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُنَّ اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

O Prophet! If faithful women come to you, to take the oath of allegiance to you, [pledging] that they shall not ascribe any partners to Allah, that they shall not steal, nor commit adultery, nor kill their children, nor utter any slander that they may have intentionally fabricated, nor disobey you in what is right, then accept their allegiance, and plead for them to Allah for forgiveness. Indeed Allah is all-forgiving, all-merciful. (Q60:12)

²⁵ Interestingly there are many accounts from non-Muslims in social media about how safe and comfortable they felt during the 2022 World Cup in Qatar. This is just one recent example of how general segregation benefits women.

²⁶ Makārim Shirāzī, *Tafsīr-i Namūne*, vol. 24, p. 45.

On the Day of Ghadīr, after the Prophet (s) had declared that Imam ‘Alī was the master of the believers and his appointed successor, all the believers went to congratulate the Imam and called him by his title of ‘Master of the Believers’. Narrations tell us that after the men had done this, even the womenfolk were told to come to the Imam and greet him as Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn, and that is what they did.²⁷ Hence, from this example, we see that Muslim women were not relegated, through segregation, to second-class members of the society whose opinions held no worth or importance. The variegated roles played by women in the nascent period has been discussed at length by some scholars, and it is clear that Muslim women were active in different fields from the earliest days of Islam.²⁸

As for women working to earn a livelihood, while there might be some factors that must be considered such as the environment in which they work, avoidance of interaction with the opposite gender, etc., generally Islam is not against the idea of women working, especially when it is necessary and unavoidable. There are, in the traditions, a number of occupations which women have undertaken in the past, that have either been tacitly or explicitly approved by the Infallibles. For instance, there was a lady known as Zaynab al-‘Attārah (the perfumer) who would sometimes come to the wives of the Prophet to sell her perfumes. Once, when the Prophet (s) came home and saw that she was there, he said to her, “Whenever you visit us our house smells fragrant.” She replied, “Rather, it is your noble presence that emits a sweeter fragrance.” Then the Messenger of Allah gave her some advice on how to conduct business transactions in a moral way.²⁹

Other such permitted occupations mentioned in the traditions include selling animal fat, selling milk, taking care of sheep, and

²⁷ Al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 21, p. 388.

²⁸ Al-Khechin, *al-Mar’ah fī al-Naṣṣ al-Dīnī: Qirā’ah Naqdīyyah fī Riwayāt Dhāmm al-Mar’ah*, pp. 79-92.

²⁹ Al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 57, p. 83.

spinning yarn.³⁰ Hence we see that those who claim that Islam does not allow women to work in order to earn are mistaken in their claim. There are, however, certain injunctions that do not apply to women, like *jihād* on the field of battle. However, even though women are not meant to fight in battle, they may still participate as helpers and caregivers to the wounded (as they had done during the time of the Prophet).³¹ Furthermore, there are a number of traditions that describe the different types of struggle (*jihād*) to be undertaken by righteous believing women. One tradition states that performing the pilgrimage, be it minor (*'umrah*) or major (*hajj*), is considered to be a *jihād* for women.³² And in another tradition, it is reported that Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a) said, “The *jihād* for women is being good spouses to their husbands.”³³

We therefore see that Islamic teachings are not against women. In the lived experience of Muslims, however, different cultural influences sometimes result in the promulgation of extreme patriarchal attitudes among certain communities. Muslim scholars have also at times offered some opinions about the nature of women that could be classified as harsh or crude. For instance, al-Ghazzālī is said to have claimed that the nature of women is mixed with that of the devil, that women’s minds are not fit for education, and marriage is a form of servitude. Of course, he tried to appeal to verses of the Qur’ān and traditions of the Prophet

³⁰ Spinning yarn has been especially encouraged for women and there are a number of traditions that speak about it. For instance, in one tradition the Prophet (s) is reported to have said, “What a good occupation spinning [yarn] is for women.” (See: Al-Ash'ath, *al-Jāfariyāt*, p. 98)

³¹ There were some women who did, however, participate in battle and even got injured doing so. They did not usually go as soldiers, but as aides, nurses or cooks. However, in the heat of battle, at times they were attacked and were forced to defend themselves. For instance, Umm ‘Ammārah Nusaybah bint Ka'b is known to have participated in the battles of Uhud, Ḥunayn, and Yamāmah, among others, and she even lost her hand [in one of the battles]. (See: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 412).

³² Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnād*, vol. 15, p. 272.

³³ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 9.

(s) to prove his case, albeit unconvincingly.³⁴ Some have claimed that these harsh views had developed over time and indeed in his earlier works, al-Ghazzālī does not speak about the status of women in such a manner. One might surmise that it is due to certain personal experiences in his life that he later came to form such an opinion. Such opinions and the experiences of Muslims from specific cultural backgrounds are not universal and do not apply to all Muslims everywhere in the world.

After reading about the negative view of some religions with regard to the status and nature of women, one might think that it is religion and religious belief itself that is the problem. However, this idea is gravely incorrect. There is numerous evidence to show that even in secular societies, sexism is rife, and this is also true for the learned and educated class. In her book *A Lab of One's Own*, Rita Colwell, who is one of the top scientists in America and was the groundbreaking microbiologist who discovered how cholera survives between epidemics, chronicles how she faced blatant sexism in her career. She recalls how when she first applied for a graduate fellowship in bacteriology, she was told, "We don't waste fellowships on women." Later, due to lack of support from some male superiors, she had to change her area of study six times before completing her PhD.³⁵ This is just one of the countless examples of how women experience patriarchy even in irreligious societies.

Islamic Feminism as Oxymoron

There are a number of definitions of feminism, but in general, it is considered an attitude or a frame of mind that highlights the role of

³⁴ See: Al-Ghazzālī, "On Breaking the Two Desires, Book no. 3: The ways to Perish," in *The Revival of Religious Sciences*.

³⁵ See: Colwell, *A Lab of One's Own – One Woman's Personal Journey Through Sexism in Science*.

gender within the society while at the same time assessing how expectations of behaviour by men and women have led to unjust situations, particularly for women.³⁶ It is portrayed as a quest for justice and relies on what is termed ‘gender discrimination’ to argue for openness and greater participation of women in public life. In contemporary times, there have been a number of Muslim women who have authored works championing the cause of what they term ‘Islamic feminism’. Various approaches have been used by them; for example, the Moroccan writer Fatima Mernissi (d. 2015) authored, among other books, a monograph about *Forgotten Queens of Islam* in which she recounted the lives of powerful women throughout the history of Islam.

One of the fundamental issues Muslim feminists have had to deal with is the presence of what they deem to be patriarchal ideas in the Qur’ān, such as the verse that speaks of men being maintainers of women (Q4:34). Some Muslim feminists try to overcome this issue by proffering an alternative interpretation of such verses. Amina Wadud is one of the well-known scholars who has taken this approach and offered what might be termed a ‘feminist reading’ of the Glorious Qur’ān. Before her, the Druze scholar from Lebanon, Nazira Zeineddine (d. 1976), was a self-styled mother of Arab feminism and among the first women to offer alternative readings of verses in order to show that the Qur’ān glorified women. She also claimed that women have stronger minds than men and the *hijāb* is an insult to both women and men.³⁷

Muslim feminists or those who are sympathetic to feminist ideals have also tried to reinterpret the verse of the Qur’ān that speaks about the way recalcitrant wives should be treated. The Pakistani author Ahmed Ali translates the last part of Q4:34, which mentions ‘beating’, as ‘going to bed with them (when they are willing)’.³⁸ For her part, Amina Wadud argues that Q4:34 is descriptive and not prescriptive.

³⁶ Cooke, *Women Claim Islam: creating Islamic Feminism through literature*, p. viii.

³⁷ See: Cooke, *Nazira Zeineddine: A Pioneer of Islamic Feminism*.

³⁸ Ahmed Ali, *Al-Qur'an – A Contemporary Translation*, p. 78.

She says that the social context has changed and today women also play the role of breadwinners, therefore male-dominance is untenable, and even un-Islamic.³⁹ While a lot of attention has been paid by these scholars to the “beating verse”, less consideration is given to the numerous other Qur’ānic verses that speak positively of the male-female relationship, such as the verse that likens men and women to garments which cover each other (Q2:187).

Though the verses deemed ‘problematic’ for Muslim feminists have been dealt with through reinterpretation, the bigger problem they face are the numerous explicit ḥadīth reports that show the distinct characteristics of women and highlight their different roles in society. Trying to offer alternative interpretations for all these traditions seems to them to be a fool’s errand, and thus the common approach they undertake is to dismiss the entirety of ḥadīth literature as problematic.⁴⁰ For this reason, most feminists are averse to using ḥadīth reports, unless it is to show them to be likely fabrications, and prefer to refer instead to the Qur’ān only wherever possible.

Traditions considered to be misogynistic or androcentric are counted as one of the primary factors in the promotion of what is thought of as gender bias in Islam. Aside from outright and wholesale dismissal of ḥadīth literature, some have attempted other approaches in dealing with narrations that apparently undermine women. The feminist author Fatima Mernissi, for example, even tried employing the methodology of some classical ḥadīth scholars to contest the reliability of some transmitters, such as Abū Hurayrah and Abū Bakra.⁴¹ Sa’diyya Shaykh bases her approach to ḥadīth by drawing on a kind of ‘hermeneutics of suspicion’ as she critically analyses any biases within the traditions that have even a hint of patriarchy or contain patriarchal

³⁹ Wadud, “The Ethics of Tawhid over the Ethics of Qiwanah,” in *Men in Charge?*, p. 438.

⁴⁰ Hassan, “Feminism in Islam,” in *Feminism and World Religions*, p. 248.

⁴¹ Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women’s Rights in Islam*, pp. 49-81.

themes. She then proceeds to provide alternative egalitarian accounts within classical and esoteric texts to build her case.⁴²

It is noteworthy that this type of thinking was not only practiced by Muslim women who championed the cause of feminism in the Muslim world. The famous Christian Arab novelist Jurji Zaydan (d. 1914) had begun the ‘ice-breaking’ process much earlier by shedding light on the role of women in some of the Islamic conquests. He wrote more than ten novels in which women played major historic roles. Though his novels were fictional, they were based on actual historical characters and events. While it is beyond the scope of this article to list all the influential figures in the so-called Islamic feminist movement, there have been, and still are, many figures among the different Islamic sects who propound and promote a feminist or a “feminist-ish” understanding of Islam.

Among Shī‘ī feminist scholars, Amina Inloes stands out as an enigma. Through her crude and often times immature humour, she actually ends up undermining any serious reception of the arguments she makes.⁴³ Nevertheless, we can still briefly examine some of the

⁴² Shaikh, *Sufi Narratives of Intimacy: Ibn Arabi, Gender and Sexuality*, pp. 26-27.

⁴³ Examples of these abound in many of her works. For instance, in her monograph *Women in Shi‘ism – Ancient Stories, Modern Ideologies*, she thanks her parents “for not birthing her with claws” (p. 4), describes the ‘ulamā’ by saying, “the stock photo of Shī‘ī religious authority includes a beard and a turban, none of which are socially acceptable for females” (p. 6), and when relating how Ibrāhīm (a) was reportedly angry at the Angel of Death for entering his house without permission, supposedly due to his *ghayrah*, she says, “My imagination recoils from the implications of *those* suspicions” (p. 153). When relating how Sulaymān (a) is said to have asked the jinn to do something about the excessive hair on Bilqīs, she quips, “after all, who better to run a beauty salon than demons?” (p. 253), and finally, as a last example, when discussing the possibility of Maryam (a) having given birth to Īsā (a) in Karbalā’, as some traditions suggest, she says, “walking or riding from Karbalā’ to Damascus in one night is unfeasible, even with really long legs” (p. 291). Though she does give an explanation in her introduction about why she uses humour, it still makes for a cringeworthy read by anyone looking for serious analysis. Other examples of similarly distasteful statements include (but are not limited to): “while apologists face-palm...”

points put forward by her and perhaps offer an alternative reading, and thereby arrive at a different conclusion. Like most other Muslim feminists, Inloes sees the *ahādīth* about women as either being “patriarchal” or “equitable” and little or no attention is paid to those traditions that actually praise or prefer women over men. Furthermore, an appeal to spiritual cosmology is made as a means of undermining the clear injunction to righteous believing women that they should obey their husbands.⁴⁴ As if one is incompatible with the other, and the notion of a lofty spiritual status for females cannot in any way co-exist with being a dutiful wife. Ironically, it is through that very obedience and dutifulness that such a status is attained in the first place. Surely, no rational person would accept that women are all, simply by virtue of being born females, deserving of the station of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’ (a)!

Just as Inloes disagrees with Shahīd Muṭahharī’s views on women, considering them a product of his time – a time before women had entered into universities and workplaces *en masse* in Iran,⁴⁵ so too can Inloes’ own views be understood and dismissed as a mere product of her time – a time when feminist tendencies among certain privileged Muslims is rife. While Muṭahharī offered, among other strong arguments, scientific research that showed the obvious differences between genders – research that Inloes rejects as ‘outdated’ and ‘pseudo-science’,⁴⁶ all that she herself offers by way of rational evidence is that the ideology of different but equal genders fails to reflect women’s lived experiences.⁴⁷ One wonders how religion is meant to guide human beings if they base their acceptance of it on their own experiences.

Inloes claims that traditions paint a picture of man as ‘demi-god’, which is clearly a misrepresentation of the traditions that call for

(p. 126), “Could it be that Imam ‘Alī wasn’t as restrictive and misogynistic as some people imagine him?” (p. 243), “Virginity 2.0” (p. 306).

⁴⁴ Inloes, *Women in Shi'ism*, p. 22.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 33.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 43.

subservience and respect for the husband, to the point that if prostration were allowed, it would be permitted for the wife to her husband (as the famous tradition states). Typically, one of her arguments is that none of the teachings she finds repugnant and sexist are found in the Qur'ān itself.⁴⁸ However, she herself is unable to explain why the miracles mentioned in the Qur'ān, such as the virgin birth, the baby speaking in the cradle, etc. are all possible while those mentioned in the traditions are not, and must therefore be dismissed.⁴⁹ In certain cases, she presents poor and even self-defeating arguments as well as incorrect analogies. For instance, a blatantly false analogy is presented by Inloes when she compares Bilqīs, the Queen of Sheba's going out to meet Sulaymān, to the rebellious uprising of 'Āishah against Imam 'Alī (a).⁵⁰ Another comparison she makes that is *prima facie* false is how Islam, like the West, sexualizes women – not through perverse nudity, etc., but by discussing menstruation, virginity, and segregation!⁵¹

The Traditions

Love for women

(1)

عن النبي ﷺ: حَبِّبَ إِلَيَّ مِنْ دُنْيَاكُمُ النِّسَاءُ وَالْطِيبُ وَجَعَلَ قَرْةَ عَيْنِي فِي الصَّلَاةِ.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “Beloved to me from your world [are three things:] women, perfume, and that which brings me

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 188.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 297.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 244.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 315.

the greatest joy is prayer.”⁵²

This tradition is reported in many sources, both Shi‘ah and Sunnī, with different chains, and is also deemed authentic according to the condition of Muslim according to al-Hākim in his *al-Mustadrak*.⁵³ Furthermore, the tradition itself has been narrated in different forms, with variance in wording and structure. One similar tradition states: The Prophet (ṣ) said, “...women and perfume have been made beloved to me, and in prayer is my greatest joy.”⁵⁴

(2)

عن الصادق عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ ازداد للنساء حبًّا ازداد في الإيمان فضلاً.

Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “As the servant [of Allah]’s love for women grows, his level of faith increases.”⁵⁵

This tradition has also been reported in a different way: “I do not think that a man increases in his faith but that he [also] increases in his love for women.”⁵⁶

(3)

عن أبي عبد الله عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ كل من اشتَدَّ لنا حبًّا اشتَدَّ للنساء حبًّا وَللحلواه.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “As one’s love for us [the Ahl al-Bayt] intensifies, his love for women and sweets is also heightened.”⁵⁷

⁵² Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, vol. 1, p. 165.

⁵³ Al-Hākim, *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 2, p. 160.

⁵⁴ Al-Tūsī, *al-Amāli*, p. 528.

⁵⁵ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahdūruhu al-Faqih*, vol. 3, p. 384.

⁵⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 320.

⁵⁷ Al-Hillī, *Kitāb al-Sarā’ir*, vol. 3, p. 636.

It is obvious that the love being referred to in these traditions is not based on carnal desire or lust; rather, it is a pure kind of love which is based on compassion, mercy and kindness. As some mystics have noted, women are manifestations of the beauty (*jamāl*) of Allah,⁵⁸ and those who can perceive this manifestation cannot help but love them. Indeed, love for beauty is intrinsic in the nature of mankind. From these traditions we clearly see that there is no place for misogyny or women-hatred in Islam. All the traditions that seemingly portray the negative qualities of women do not mean to inculcate any form of negativity towards women in general; rather, they are specific cases that inform men about certain qualities of women of which they should be aware.

Sensitivity towards women

(4)

فِي خَبْرٍ [عَنِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ] : مَا زَالَ يُوصِينِي [جِبْرِيلٌ] بِالمرأةِ حَتَّىٰ ظَنَنتُ أَنَّهُ لَا يُنْبَغِي طَلاقُهَا.

In a report [attributed to the Noble Prophet (ṣ), he said], “Jibra’il continued advising me about women to the extent that I thought they should never be divorced.”⁵⁹

In another version, the phrase “except in the case of manifest lewdness” appears at the end.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ This concept has been discussed at length in Ayt. Jawādī Amulī’s book *Zan dar Ayineye Jamāl va Jalāl* (lit. Women in the Mirror of Beauty and Glory).

⁵⁹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yabḍuruhu al-Faqih*, vol. 1, p. 52.

⁶⁰ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 512.

(5)

عن النبي ﷺ: أوصيكم بالنساء خيراً، فإنهن عوان عندكم، وإنكم أخذتموهن بأمانة الله عز وجل، واستحللتم فروجهن بكلمة الله.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “I advise you concerning women that you should be good to them, for indeed they are [as] captives with you, and you have taken them as a trust from Allah, the Almighty, and you have sought the right to access their bodies through the words of Allah [recited during the *nikāh*].”⁶¹

This tradition also appears with slight variations in wording in different sources. The term ‘awān is plural of ‘āniyah meaning prisoner or captive. This meaning has itself been explained in another tradition either by the Infallible himself or by the narrator.⁶² In order to understand the nuance of this tradition, one needs to keep in mind the context. This was spoken at a time when captives and prisoners of war were commonly seen in the society, and it was not as it is today, with inmates being secluded in large prisons. Furthermore, the analogy of captives is only used to highlight the similarity of their condition, and it does not mean that women are actually to be treated as such. This is clearly understood when the whole tradition is read in its entirety.

(6)

عن النبي ﷺ: ... خياركم خياركم لنسائهم.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “The best among you are those who are best to their women.”⁶³

⁶¹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*, vol. 3, p. 242.

⁶² The phrase *yā’ni asirāt/usarā’* (“meaning captives”) is added to some traditions. See: al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā’il*, vol. 14, p. 253.

⁶³ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 392.

This ḥadīth is found in many Sunnī and Shī‘ah sources, and has come in different forms. Here, the word ‘women’ has been used, so it could be understood to be general, i.e. all womenfolk of one’s family or community. Later, we have mentioned another iteration of this tradition that uses ‘wives’ instead, which is more specific and refers only to being good to one’s spouse. It is quite possible that both these traditions were spoken independently by the Prophet (ṣ), just as it is possible that either of the two forms was spoken once but related with different wordings. In any case, Islam encourages both being good to women in general and to one’s wife in particular.

(7)

قال أبو عبد الله عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَافُ: أتى رسول الله ﷺ، في ليلة ثلثون امرأة كلهن تشكوا زوجها،
فقال رسول الله ﷺ: أما إن أولئك ليسوا من خياركم.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “Thirty women came to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) in one night, all of them complaining about their husbands. So the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, ‘Indeed, these [men] are not among the best of you.’”⁶⁴

This tradition is interesting because it shows that marital problems were prevalent even during the time of the Prophet (ṣ). Furthermore, the Messenger of Allah was ready to listen to the complaints of the women regarding their husbands and he showed sympathy for their plight.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Maḥmūdī & Jalilī (Eds.), *Al-Ūṣūl al-Sittata ‘Ashar*, p. 84.

⁶⁵ For a detailed discussion on the role of religious guides and scholars in helping people cope with personal problems, as opposed to the western paradigm of psychotherapy and counselling by so-called professionals, refer to our work: *Grief and Depression Management in Islam* (2022).

(8)

فِي وصيَّةٍ عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ الْحَمْدُ: اللَّهُ اللَّهُ فِي النِّسَاءِ وَفِيمَا مَلَكْتُ أَيْمَانَكُمْ إِنَّ آخَرَ مَا تَكَلَّمُ بِهِ
نَبِيُّكُمْ ﷺ أَنْ قَالَ: أَوْصِيكُمْ بِالصُّعْيَفَيْنِ: النِّسَاءِ وَمَا مَلَكْتُ أَيْمَانَكُمْ.

It has been narrated that in his last will, Imam ‘Alī (a) said, “Fear Allah with regards to women and those whom your right hands possess, for verily the last thing that your Prophet (ṣ) said [before leaving this world] was, ‘I advise you [to be careful] regarding the two weak ones: the women and those whom your right hand possesses (i.e. your slaves)”⁶⁶

Another version of this tradition mentions orphans instead of women.⁶⁷ Weakness in this tradition refers to general physical strength, and while sometimes women are stronger than men physically, they are overall considered to be weaker and gentler. This is not meant to demean women in any way. Rather, it means to give special care to women and treat them with more kindness and sensitivity. It is important, therefore, that the tradition should be read in the spirit which was intended. Perhaps one practical example of this would be the chivalry toward women that is expressed in various ways, such as opening doors for them, allowing them to walk in first, etc.

Honoring one's wife

(9)

عَنِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ: خَيْرُكُمْ خَيْرُكُمْ لِأَهْلِهِ، وَأَنَا خَيْرُكُمْ لِأَهْلِي. مَا أَكْرَمْتُ النِّسَاءَ إِلَّا كَرِيمًا،

⁶⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 52.

⁶⁷ Al-Ash‘ath, *al-Jaṣāriyāt*, p. 212.

وَلَا أَهانُهُنَّ إِلَّا لَئِمَّ.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “The best of you are those who are the best with their wives, and I am the best of you [all] with my wives. No one honors women but the one who is honorable, and no one degrades them except the wicked one.”⁶⁸

This ḥadīth has been transmitted in numerous sources and in varying ways. Not only does it speak about being good to one’s wife (*ahl*), it further emphasizes the point by stating that only a wicked person degrades women, while it is the sign of an honorable man to treat women with dignity and respect. This is perhaps one of the clearest statements against any form of domestic abuse, be it verbal or physical, by the husband against the wife.

(10)

عَنِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ: مَنْ اتَّخَذَ زَوْجَةً فَلِيَكُرِّمْهَا.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “Whoever takes a wife should honor her.”⁶⁹

In other words, if one wishes to get married, he should know that marriage comes with its own responsibilities, the foremost among which is to honor one’s spouse.

(11)

عَنْ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: وَأَحْسَنُوا إِلَى نِسَائِكُمْ وَمَا مَلَكْتُ أَيْمَانَكُمْ.

⁶⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghir*, vol. 14, p. 458.

⁶⁹ Al-Maghribī, *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 158

Imam ‘Alī is reported to have said in a sermon he delivered on the occasion of ‘Eid, “And be good to your women and to those whom your right hands possess.”⁷⁰

Though the term used in this tradition is ‘women’ and not ‘wives’, it is evident from the context that the latter is meant. Furthermore, mentioning this in an ‘Eid sermon is particularly interesting as it is usually during times of joy or other heightened emotions such as anger that believers should be especially careful about how they treat their spouses.

Woman as a blessing

(12)

عن أبي عبد الله عَلِيِّاً: أَكْثَرُ الْخَيْرِ فِي النِّسَاءِ.

Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “Most goodness [and blessing] is in [virtuous] women.”⁷¹

Al-Majlīsī (senior) has said in his commentary on this tradition that it may be in reference to the role played by women in procreation and maintaining the affairs of the household. It is also possible that the term ‘*khayr*’ refers to wealth, for we see in other traditions that marriage is a means of increase in wealth.⁷²

(13)

عَنِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ قَالَ: الْبَرَّ كَهْ فِي ثَلَاثٍ: فِي الْفَرْسِ وَالْمَرْأَةِ وَالْدَارِ.

⁷⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, vol. 2, p. 664.

⁷¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yāḥduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 385.

⁷² Al-Majlīsī, *Rawḍat al-Muttaqīn*, vol. 8, p. 93.

It is reported that the Prophet (ṣ) said, “Blessing is in three [things]: the horse, the woman, and the abode.”⁷³

In another version of this tradition the term *yumn* has been used instead,⁷⁴ but the meaning is the same. It is interesting to note that this tradition has reached us in two opposite forms. There are reports in both Sunnī and Shī‘ah sources that employ the word *shūm* (evil omen or misfortune) instead of *yumn* or *barakah*, meaning that there is inauspiciousness in the three things mentioned, i.e. the horse or mount, the woman, and the abode. While it has been narrated that when ‘Ā’ishah, the wife of the Prophet, was asked about this narration which had been transmitted by Abū Hurayrah, she criticized the latter for not having reported the entire tradition and said that he had missed out the part where the Prophet (ṣ) said that this was the belief of the Jews⁷⁵ (or in another version, the pagans⁷⁶). However, since the tradition is found in some of their most reliable sources, some Sunnī scholars reject ‘Ā’ishah’s critique and explanation of the tradition.⁷⁷

In the Shī‘ah version of the opposite report (which says that there is inauspiciousness in the three, rather than blessing), an explanation is given to the effect that the inauspiciousness of riding mounts is in their illnesses and recalcitrance, that of women is in their expensive dowries and painful childbearing, and that of houses is in their narrowness and bad neighbors.⁷⁸ Hence, it is clear that while the above mentioned tradition that talks of women, homes, and riding horses as blessings is general, the opposite version is limited to only the specifically

⁷³ Al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 61, p. 188.

⁷⁴ Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, vol. 3, p. 408.

⁷⁵ Al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad al-Ṭayālisī*, vol. 3, p. 124.

⁷⁶ Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 42, p. 88.

⁷⁷ See for instance what the renowned ḥadīth scholar Nāṣir al-Dīn Albānī had to say about it here:

<https://www.alathar.net/home/esound/index.php?op=codevi&coid=5929>

⁷⁸ Al-Ṣadūq, *Mā‘āni al-Akhbār*, p. 152.

mentioned cases. When read in this way, there is no contradiction (at least in the Shī‘ī versions).

Woman as a source of tranquility

(14)

عَنْ أَبِي عبدِ اللهِ الصادقِ عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَالَةُ: وَخَلَقَ لِلرِّجَالِ النِّسَاءَ لِيَأْنِسُوا بِهِنَّ وَيُسْكِنُوا إِلَيْهِنَّ
وَيَكُنَّ مَوَاضِعَ شَهْوَاتِهِمْ وَأَمْهَاتَ أَوْلَادِهِمْ.

In part of his response to one of the questions posed to him, Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “And He created women for men, so that they may gain intimacy with them and attain tranquility through them, and so that they may be the object of their [lustful] desires and the mothers of their offspring.”⁷⁹

(15)

عَنْ أَبِي الحَسْنِ الرَّضَا عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَالَةُ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ جَعَلَ اللَّيلَ سَكَناً وَجَعَلَ النِّسَاءَ سَكَناً، وَمِنَ السَّنَةِ
التَّزْوِيجُ بِاللَّيلِ وَإِطْعَامُ الطَّعَامِ.

It is reported that Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ridā (a) said, “Verily Allah made the night a repose, and made women a repose [for their husbands], and marriage at night is part of the *sunnah*, as is giving food to the people.”⁸⁰

These traditions are a reflection of the verse of the Qur’ān that describes wives as a source of tranquility for their husbands (Q30:21). Living a solitary life is not conducive to man’s growth and being alone all the time has a negative effect on a person both mentally and spiritually.

⁷⁹ Al-Tabarī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, p. 347.

⁸⁰ Al-‘Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-‘Ayyāshī*, vol. 1, p. 371.

Hence, through marriage, a man and woman become life partners and provide for each other, more importantly than anything else, a sense of calm and tranquility. The moral support accorded by a good, caring spouse is better and more helpful for an individual than any other emotional help accorded by others.

Women and Paradise

(16)

عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ: أَكْثَرُ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ مِنَ الْمُسْتَضْعِفِينَ النِّسَاءُ - عَلِمَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ ضَعْفَهُنَّ فَرَحْمَهُنَّ.

Abū ‘Abdillāh [al-Ṣādiq] (a) is reported to have said, “Most of the inhabitants of Paradise from among the helpless will be women – Allah, the Almighty, knows their weakness so He will show them mercy.”⁸¹

The weakness of women being referred to here is not necessarily something negative. In certain cases, traits that would otherwise be deemed positive are considered a form of weakness as well. For instance, a person who is soft-hearted is good in showing empathy and caring for others, but that same trait can manifest itself as a weakness when fighting against an enemy in battle. Hence, the traits that render women weak should not be taken as a lowering of their worth and status. Rather, their general disposition is part of the natural order and facilitates their role in society.

In contrast to some of the reports that state many of the denizens of hellfire will be women, this tradition gives the opposite view – that most of the inhabitants of Paradise will be women, as long as they were

⁸¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 468.

helpless and not purposely prone to evil. In such a case, Allah will show them mercy as He knows best about their weaknesses.

(17)

جاهمة جاء إلى النبي ﷺ فقال: يا رسول الله أردت أن أغزو وقد جئت أستشيرك.
قال: هل لك من أم؟ قال: نعم. قال: فالزمها فإن الجنة تحت رجليها.

Jāhimah came to the Prophet (s) and said, “O Messenger of Allah, I wanted to participate in battle and I have come to seek your advice on the matter.” So he said, “Do you have a mother [who is alive]?” He said, “Yes.” So he said, “Then remain with her, for indeed Paradise is under her feet.”⁸²

Treating women with kindness and respect

(18)

عن أمير المؤمنين ع: لا تملّك المرأة من أمرها ما جاوز نفسها فإن المرأة ريحانة
وليس بقهر مانة.

Imam ‘Alī (a) is reported to have said, “Do not seek to control a woman [forcefully] against her will, for indeed a woman is [like] a fragrant flower, not one to be dominated [and dealt with by force].”⁸³

And in another tradition that employs similar wording, the following phrase is added:

فدارها على كل حال وأحسن الصحبة لها ليصفو عيشك.

⁸² Al-Nasā‘i, *al-Mujtabā min al-Sunan*, p. 329.

⁸³ Al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 31.

“...So treat her well [and indulge her] in every situation, and be a good companion to her in order for your life to become good.”⁸⁴

Domestic abuse is an age-old problem and is commonly found in all human societies. The religion of Islam is completely against domestic abuse. This is clearly reflected in the numerous teachings that highlight the importance of respecting women, especially those under one’s care. It is reported that a woman came to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) after her husband had beaten her very badly. So the Prophet (ṣ) was greatly disturbed. He stood up and addressed the people saying, “One of you beats his wife as though she were a [recalcitrant] slave, and then he later embraces her [and seeks intimacy with her] without any shame!”⁸⁵ And in another version that is found in Shī‘ī sources, the Prophet (ṣ) asks rhetorically, “Does anyone of you [actually] beat the woman and then expect her continued embrace?”⁸⁶

(19)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: ... وقدّم الوضياع على الشريف، والضعف على القوي، والنساء قبل الرجال.

In the advice given by the Prophet (ṣ) to Imam ‘Alī (a), he said, “Give preference to the lay over the elite, to the weak over the strong, and to the women before the men.”⁸⁷

A similar tradition reported from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) states, “Treat your children equally in the gifts you give them; indeed, if I had to prefer one over the other, I would give preference to females over males.”⁸⁸ There were only a handful of things deemed of such great

⁸⁴ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 556.

⁸⁵ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 205.

⁸⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 509.

⁸⁷ Al-Halwānī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, p. 17.

⁸⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 308.

importance that the Prophet (ṣ) reported that Jibrā'il had told him and reminded him of their value continually. The importance of treating one's neighbours well is one such thing, for instance. Similarly, the Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said that Jibrā'il reminded him of the importance of treating women with care and kindness to such a degree that he thought it would become impermissible to utter even a single harsh word against them. Jibrā'il (a) is further said to have advised the Prophet (ṣ) about how women are to be considered a trust (*amānah*) from Allah and must therefore be respected.⁸⁹

Daughters and sisters

(20)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: لا يكون لأحدكم ثلات بنات أو ثلات أخوات فيحسن إليهن
إلا دخل الجنة.

The Prophet (ṣ) is also reported to have said, “There is none among you who has three daughters or three sisters and treats them well, but that he will enter Paradise.”⁹⁰

In another similar tradition, the Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said that whoever has two daughters and treats them well as long as they are with him, will be admitted into Paradise.⁹¹ In an interesting tradition narrated by Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), when the Prophet (ṣ) once said that whoever cares for three daughters or sisters will gain entry into Paradise, someone asked, “What if he has two?” So the Prophet (ṣ) replied, “Even if he has two.” Someone else asked, “What about one?” He (ṣ) replied,

⁸⁹ Al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, vol. 14, pp. 252-253.

⁹⁰ Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 4, p. 94.

⁹¹ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 5, p. 396.

“Even one.”⁹² Yet another similar tradition mentions maternal and paternal aunts as well, and states that whoever cares for two daughters, or sisters, or paternal aunts, or maternal aunts, will be veiled from the Fire by them [in the Hereafter].⁹³

(21)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: من ابتلي بشيء من البنات فصبر عليهنَّ كُنْ له حجاباً من النار.

He (ṣ) is also reported to have said, “Whoever undergoes a test due to [having] daughters and remains patient with them, they will be a veil for him against the Fire.”⁹⁴

In another similar tradition, the Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said that whoever has three daughters and raises them patiently until they get married or pass away, he will be a close neighbour to the Prophet in Paradise.⁹⁵ Indeed, the Noble Prophet (ṣ) himself was known as a ‘father of daughters’ (*abā banāt*).⁹⁶

(22)

عن النبي ﷺ قال: من كان له أثنتي فلم يبدها ولم يؤثر ولده عليها أدخله الله الجنة.

He (ṣ) is also reported to have said, “Whoever has a female child and does not oppress her, and does not abase her, and does not prefer his sons over her, Allah will admit him to Paradise.”⁹⁷

⁹² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 6.

⁹³ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 482.

⁹⁴ Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 4, p. 94.

⁹⁵ Al-Majlīsī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 101, p. 99.

⁹⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 5.

⁹⁷ Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Āwālī al-La'ālī*, vol. 1, p. 181.

The negative attitude that pagan Arabs had towards girls often led them to mistreat their daughters and oppress them. Through his wise teachings and admonitions, the Prophet (ṣ) would guide the people to change this mindset. After the time of the Prophet (ṣ), the Imams carried on the important task of guiding the people. It is reported that there was a companion of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) who was disturbed when he heard that his wife had delivered a baby girl. The Imam asked him, “If Allah asked you whether He should choose for you or you would like to choose for yourself, what would you say?” The man said, “I would say: choose for me, my Lord.” So the Imam said to him, “Then verily it is Allah who has chosen [a daughter] for you.”⁹⁸

(23)

عن النبي ﷺ: نعم الولد البنات، ملطفات مجّهّزات مونسات مبارّكات مفلّيات.

It is further reported that the Prophet (ṣ) said, “What good offspring girls are: soft-hearted, caregivers, comforters, blessings, and nurses.”⁹⁹

In a more general statement attributed to the Prophet (ṣ), he is reported to have said that the best children are daughters.¹⁰⁰ While explaining the verses regarding how the young boy was killed by the command of Allah in the story of Mūsā (a) and al-Khiḍr (a), a tradition from Imam al-Bāqir (a) or al-Ṣādiq (a) states that the child given as a replacement to the believing parents was a girl. The Qur’ān also describes the child as being more virtuous and caring (Q18:81).

(24)

عن النبي ﷺ: من يمن المرأة أن يكون بكرها جارية.

⁹⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 6.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Tabarsī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, p. 219.

The Prophet (s) is reported to have said, “It is from the good fortune of a woman that her first child should be a girl.”¹⁰¹

The blessing of the birth of a girl has been depicted beautifully in another report which states that when a daughter is born, Allah sends an angel to the child, and he passes his wing over the head and heart of the child saying, “A gentle, weak creature – whoever [cares for and] spends on her will be granted [divine] aid until the Day of Judgment.”¹⁰²

(25)

عن أبي عبد الله عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ الْمُبَرَّكُ: البنات حسنات والبنون نعمة، فإنما يثاب على الحسنات
ويسأل عن النعمة.

When comparing girls to boys, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “Daughters are virtues and sons are blessings. Virtues merit reward while one will be asked to give account for blessings.”¹⁰³

There are many more traditions of this kind that speak highly of daughters. This was partly due to the fact that the pagan mentality which looked down upon the girl child had not completely vanished and was still present among some people. One report tells us how a man who was in the company of the Prophet (s) received news that his wife had given birth to a girl, so his face grew pale. When the Prophet inquired what had happened, he informed him that his wife had given birth to a daughter. The Prophet (s) said to him, “The earth will bear her, the sky will shade her, Allah will provide her sustenance, and she is [like] a fragrant flower which you will smell.” Then the Prophet (s)

¹⁰¹ Ibn Ash‘ath, *al-Ja‘fariyāt*, p. 99.

¹⁰² Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 482.

¹⁰³ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 6.

turned to his companions and mentioned the great blessings that daughters bring.¹⁰⁴

Women as bestowers of comfort

(26)

عن أبي عبد الله عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ: سَمِّيَ النِّسَاءُ نِسَاءً لِأَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ لِآدَمَ عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ أَنْسٌ غَيْرُ حَوَاءٍ.

It is reported that Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) said, “Women were called *nīsā'* because there was none other than Ḥawwā' with whom Ādām could derive comfort [and intimacy] (*uns*).”¹⁰⁵

We also find another tradition which states, along the same vein, that women were called *nīsā'* because Ādām would take comfort in the presence of Ḥawwā' after they had been sent down to earth and there was nobody else with him besides her.¹⁰⁶

(27)

عن أبي عبد الله عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ: ثَلَاثَةٌ لِلْمُؤْمِنِ فِيهَا رَاحَةٌ: دَارٌ وَاسِعٌ تَوَارِي عُورَتِهِ وَسُوءُ حَالِهِ مِنَ النَّاسِ، وَامْرَأَةٌ صَالِحةٌ تَعِينُهُ عَلَى أَمْرِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ، وَابْنَةٌ يَخْرُجُهَا إِمَّا بِمُوتٍ أَوْ بِتَزْوِيجٍ.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “There are three things in which there is comfort for the believer: a spacious house that hides his private matters and his poor condition from the people, a good wife

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Ṣadūq, *Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, vol. 1, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 57, p. 266.

who helps him in his affairs of this world and the Hereafter, and a daughter whom he only lets go through death or [her] marriage.”¹⁰⁷

The blessing of a righteous wife

(28)

عن النبي ﷺ: الدنيا متعة وخير متعتها الزوجة الصالحة.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “This world is a place of provisions, and the best of its provisions is a righteous wife.”¹⁰⁸

This tradition also has different versions which are recorded with variant wording, but the message is the same. One version states that the Prophet (ṣ) said, “This world is only a place of [fleeting] provisions, and there is nothing from the provisions of this world that is better than a righteous wife.”¹⁰⁹ Indeed, a righteous wife is one of the blessings that enables a believer to work for his Hereafter, since she leaves his mind unoccupied with issues like domestic squabbles and disputes. The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said that whoever has been granted five things has no excuse not to work for his afterlife: a righteous wife who supports him in his worldly matters and those of the Hereafter, dutiful children, a stable livelihood in his home town, good character, and love for the Ahl al-Bayt.¹¹⁰

(29)

عن النبي ﷺ: ما استفاد امرؤ مسلم فائدة بعد الإسلام أفضل من زوجة مسلمة تسره

¹⁰⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 328.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Rāwandī, *al-Nawādir*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan*, vol. 3, p. 308.

¹¹⁰ Al-Rāwandī, *al-Da‘awāt*, p. 40.

إذا نظر إليها وتطيعه إذا أمرها وتحفظه إذا غاب عنها في نفسها وماله.

The Noble Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “A Muslim man can attain no benefit after Islam that is better than a Muslim wife who makes him happy when he looks at her, obeys him when he instructs her, and is protective of herself and his wealth in his absence.”¹¹¹

There are a number of similar traditions in both Sunnī and Shī‘ī sources that echo the same message and give the same description of a dutiful, praiseworthy wife. Indeed, the qualities mentioned in this tradition would only give rise to a happy marital life for both Godwary spouses. In one *hadīth qudsī*, it is reported that Allah, the Exalted, said, “If I wish to grant a believer the good of both this world and the next, I give him a fearful heart, and oft-remembering tongue, a patient body, and a believing wife who brings him joy when he sees her and protects his honor and wealth when he is absent.”¹¹²

(30)

عن النبي ﷺ: أعظم النساء بر كةً أيسرهن مثونةً.

In praising the woman who is not a financial burden on her husband, the Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “The women who are most greatly blessed are those who require the least provisions.”¹¹³

Contentment is indeed a highly praised and admirable quality in women. Imam al-Ṣādiq is reported to have said, “The best of your women are those who are grateful when they are given, and content when they are deprived.”¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 327.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Al-Nishābūrī, *Rawdat al-Wā‘izīn*, vol. 2, p. 375.

¹¹⁴ Al-Majlīsī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 239.

(31)

قال رسول الله ﷺ: أَفْضَلُ نِسَاءِ أُمَّتِي أَصْبَحْهُنَّ وَجْهًا وَأَقْلَهُنَّ مَهْرًا.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “The best women of my nation are those with a bright [and cheerful] countenance, and who take the least [amount of] dowry.”

Other descriptions of a righteous wife in the traditions depict her as one who behaves differently with her husband than with others. She is humble, obedient, open, adorned, and seductive with her husband while being dignified, protective, hidden, plain, and inaccessible with others.¹¹⁵ Such a wife actually preserves part of a man’s faith. A tradition from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) states: “Whoever is granted a righteous wife by Allah has thereby been helped to preserve part of his faith, so let him then remain Godwary regarding the other part.”¹¹⁶ And in one report Allah, the Exalted, revealed to Mūsā (a) that He had given a person the best of this world and the next, namely a righteous wife.¹¹⁷

The idea of righteous spouses helping to elevate each other spiritually has been depicted in different ways within the traditions. In one narration, the Prophet reportedly said that Allah will show mercy to the man who wakes up in the night to pray and then wakes his wife up to do the same. If she refuses, he sprinkles a few droplets of water on her face to awaken her. Likewise, Allah will show mercy on the woman who wakes up in the night to pray and also wakes her husband up to pray as well. If he refuses, she sprinkles some drops of water on his face to awaken him.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhib al-Ahkām*, vol. 7, p. 400.

¹¹⁶ Al-Ḥākim al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 2, p. 175.

¹¹⁷ Al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā’il*, vol. 14, p. 169.

¹¹⁸ Al-Nasā’ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 1, p. 411.

The greater pleasure and patience of women

(32)

عن أبي عبد الله عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: فَضَلَّتِ الْمَرْأَةُ عَلَى الرَّجُلِ بِتِسْعَةِ وَتِسْعِينَ مِنَ اللَّذَّةِ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ أَقَى عَلَيْهِنَّ الْحَيَاةَ.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “The woman has been favored over the man with ninety-nine parts of pleasure, but Allah has placed modesty [and bashfulness] over her.”¹¹⁹

(33)

عن أبي عبد الله عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى جَعَلَ لِلنِّسَاءِ أَنْ تَصْبِرَ صَبْرَ عَشْرَةِ رِجَالٍ، فَإِذَا حَمَلَتْ زَادَهَا قَوْةُ عَشْرَةِ رِجَالٍ أُخْرَى.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) is reported to have said, “Verily Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, has made it such that a woman has the patience of ten men, and when she becomes pregnant [and is ready to deliver], He increases her strength to that of ten more men.”¹²⁰

Man needs woman

(34)

عن فاطمة بنت رسول الله عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: جَزَاكَ اللَّهُ عَزَّيْهِ خَيْرُ الْجَزَاءِ يَا ابْنَ عَمٍّ أَوْصِيكَ أَوْلًا أَنْ تَتَرَوَّجَ بَعْدِي بَابِنَةِ أَمَامَةٍ فَإِنَّهَا تَكُونُ لَوْلَدِي مُثْلِيٌّ، فَإِنَّ الرَّجُلَ لَا بَدْ لَهُمْ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ.

¹¹⁹ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 339.

¹²⁰ Al-Himyarī, *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 11

When Fātimah (a) was on her deathbed, one of the things she told Imam ‘Alī (a) was, “May Allah reward you on my behalf with the best of rewards, O cousin. I advise you, firstly, to marry Bint Amāmah after me, for she will be [kind] to my children as I was; and indeed men surely need women.”¹²¹

(35)

جاء رجل إلى النبي ﷺ فشكى إليه الحاجة فقال تزوج فتزوج فوسّع عليه.

Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) reported that a man came to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and complained about his condition, so the Prophet told him to get married and when he got married, he attained relief [from his condition].¹²²

Aside from the many benefits of marriage, it is also a highly recommended *sunnah* of the Prophet (ṣ), and in one oft-mentioned tradition (especially during the marriage ceremonies), the Messenger of Allah is reported to have said, “Marriage is from my *sunnah*, so whoever turns away from my *sunnah* is not from me.”¹²³

(36)

قال رسول الله ﷺ: من سره أن يلقى الله طاهراً مطهراً فليقلقه بزوجة.

The Prophet (ṣ) is also reported to have said, “Whoever would be pleased to meet Allah in a state of purity should meet him with a wife (i.e. after having married).”¹²⁴

The need for a spouse is not limited to the fulfilment of physical desires. It also affects the spiritual development of an individual. This is

¹²¹ Al-Nishābūrī, *Rawdat al-Wā’izīn*, vol. 1, p. 151.

¹²² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 330.

¹²³ Al-Shu‘ayrī, *Jāmi‘ al-Akhbār*, p. 101.

¹²⁴ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqih*, vol. 3, p. 385.

depicted beautifully in the statement of Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) that the two rak'ahs offered by a married individual is better than seventy rak'ahs offered by one who is not married.¹²⁵ To attain the spiritual benefits of marriage, it is important that the right spouse is selected. That is why, one tradition states, “Women are married for four [possible] reasons – for their wealth, beauty, status, or [devotion to] religion; so take the religious one and you will be prosperous.”¹²⁶ Another tradition from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) clarifies this further. It states, “Whoever marries a woman for no other reason but her beauty, he will not see in her what he loves. And whoever marries her for no other reason but her wealth, Allah leaves him to it [and no longer supports him]. So marry for religiousness [instead].”¹²⁷

Women have likewise been advised to be careful about whom they decide to marry. Traditions tell us, for example, that if one who imbibes comes with a proposal, do not marry him [or give your daughter in marriage to him].¹²⁸ Similar advice has been given against marrying a person who has bad character.¹²⁹ Furthermore, some traits are acceptable in potential wives but not in potential husbands, because, it is generally the case that the wife is forced to adopt the thinking and attitude of her husband after marriage, and not vice versa.¹³⁰ Additionally, a number of prescriptions are found in the *ahādīth* that help maintain a harmonious marital life. For example, it has been forbidden for the spouses to reveal or disclose the secrets of their partners to anyone else.¹³¹ Furthermore, women have been advised not to describe the physical features of other women to their husbands.¹³²

¹²⁵ Al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 100, p. 219.

¹²⁶ Al-Ḥalwānī, *Nuzhat al-Nāzir*, p. 23.

¹²⁷ Al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-Āḥkām*, vol. 7, p. 399.

¹²⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 300.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 563.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 348.

¹³¹ See: al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 73, p. 329

¹³² Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 523.

Women deserve understanding

(37)

عن أبي جعفر عَلَيْهِ الْكَفَافُ: من احتمل من أمرأته ولو كلمةً واحدةً أعنق الله رقبته من النار وأوجب له الجنة، وكتب له مائتي ألف حسنة ومحا عنه مائتي ألف سيئة، ورفع له مائتي ألف درجة وكتب الله عزّ وجلّ له بكلّ شعرة على بدنها عبادة سنة.

Imam al-Bāqir (a) is reported to have said “Whoever bears from his wife even a single [unpleasant] word, Allah will emancipate him from the Fire and make Paradise mandatory for him. He will record two hundred thousand good deeds for him and erase two hundred thousand sins, and will elevate him two hundred thousand levels. And Allah will record for him for every hair on his body [the reward of] one year’s worship.”¹³³

The different traditions on the way women ought to be treated highlight the obvious difference between the thinking and mindset of women compared to men. One tradition that is found in a number of sources with slight variance in wording likens women to a bent rib which, if straightened by force, would break.¹³⁴ This metaphor is used to instruct men to show understanding and keep some room for the alternative way of reasoning and thinking that women possess. It is not, as some might claim, demeaning of women in any way.

In one report, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) mentioned a tradition wherein he said that Prophet Ibrāhīm (a) once complained to Allah about the bad behaviour of his wife Sārah. Allah revealed to him, “Verily the example of a woman is like that of a rib. If you press it, it breaks but if you let it be, you can benefit from it.” Upon hearing this, the narrator asked the Imam, “Who has said this?” So the Imam got angry and then said, “This

¹³³ Al-Ṭabarsī, *Makārim al-Akhlaq*, p. 216.

¹³⁴ Al-Mufid, *al-Ikhtīṣās*, p. 339; al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣahīḥ*, vol. 5, p. 320.

is, by Allah, the statement of the Holy Prophet (ṣ)!¹³⁵ A similar narration explains that Sārah used to behave this way because she was sad that she could not bear a child the way Hājar had, and that is why she disturbed Ibrāhīm concerning the latter.¹³⁶

Plentiful reward for the righteous wife

(38)

عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرَ عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَمُ الْمُبَرَّكُ: مَا مِنْ امرأةٍ تُسْقِي زَوْجَهَا شَرْبَةً ماءً إِلَّا كَانَ خَيْرًا لَهَا مِنْ سَنَةٍ
صِيَامٌ نَهَارَهَا وَقِيَامٌ لَيْلَهَا، وَبَنْيَ اللَّهِ لَهَا بِكُلِّ شَرْبَةٍ تُسْقِي زَوْجَهَا مَدِينَةً فِي الْجَنَّةِ
وَغَفَرَتْ لَهَا سَتِينَ [سَوْنَ] خَطِيئَةً.

It is reported that Imam al-Bāqir (a) said, “There is no woman who gives her husband a drink of water but that it is better for her than a year of fasting during the day and worshipping at night, and Allah builds for her, for each time she gives him a drink [of water], a city in Paradise, and He forgives sixty of her sins.”¹³⁷

(39)

عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: الْمَرْأَةُ الصَّالِحَةُ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَلْفِ رَجُلٍ غَيْرِ صَالِحٍ، وَأَيْمَانُ امْرَأَةٍ
خَدَّمَتْ زَوْجَهَا سَبْعَةً أَيَّامٍ غُلِقَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا سَبْعَةُ أَبْوَابٍ النَّارِ وَفُتُحَ لَهَا ثَمَانِيَّةُ أَبْوَابٍ
الْجَنَّةِ تَدْخُلُ مِنْ أَيِّنَمَا شَاءَتْ.

The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “One righteous woman is better than a thousand unrighteous men, and whichever woman serves her husband for seven days, Allah closes for her seven gates of Fire and

¹³⁵ Al-Ṭabarsī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, p. 216.

¹³⁶ Al-Majlisi, *Bibār al-Anwār*, vol. 96, p. 36.

¹³⁷ Al-Daylamī, *Irshād al-Qulūb*, vol. 1, p. 175.

opens for her seven gates of Paradise so that she may enter from whence she pleases.”¹³⁸

Though a lot has been said about the benefits of a righteous and devoted wife, not everyone is granted that blessing. Just as some Prophets of Allah (like Nūh, and Lüt (a)) had difficult and ill-natured wives, so too do some believers have to face life alongside undutiful spouses. In order to give believers who find themselves in such a situation some solace, they have been promised reward for being patient with insolent wives. One tradition attributed to the Prophet (ṣ) states: “Whoever bears patiently with a woman of bad [and insolent] character, seeking favor from Allah thereby, he shall be given the reward of the grateful ones (*al-shākirīn*) by Allah.”¹³⁹

Another tradition states: “Whoever patiently endures the bad behaviour of his wife, Allah will grant him the same reward that He gave [Prophet] Ayyūb for his trial. And whoever patiently endures the bad behaviour of her husband, Allah will grant her the same reward that He gave Āsiyah bint Muzāḥim.”¹⁴⁰ Women have further been warned against defying their husbands, and there are a number of traditions pertaining to this. For instance, the Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said, “A woman cannot fulfill the right of Allah until she fulfills the right of her husband.”¹⁴¹ And in one report, we are told of how a man once instructed his wife, as he left for battle, not to go downstairs until he had returned. When her father came, she sent a message to the Prophet (ṣ) asking whether she could go down to meet her father or not. The Prophet (ṣ) replied, “Be mindful of Allah and obey your husband.”¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Amāli*, p. 430.

¹⁴⁰ Al-Tabarī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, p. 213.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 215.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 216.

Recognizing the sexual need of a woman

(40)

عن أبي الحسن الثاني عَلِيلًا: غَايَةُ صَبْرِ الْمَرْأَةِ الْأَرْبَعَةُ أَشْهُرٌ فِي تَرْكِ الْجَمَاعِ، فَمَنْ ثُمَّ
أَوْجَبَهُ عَلَيْهَا وَلَهَا.

It is reported that Imam al-Jawad (a) said [in part of a lengthy tradition], “The limit of a woman’s patience is four months without intercourse, so He (the Almighty) made it compulsory upon her and for her.”¹⁴³

In another tradition on the same subject, Imam al-Riqā (a) categorically stated that if a man abandons his wife [and does not have intercourse with her] for four months, he has committed a sin thereby, unless it is with her express permission.¹⁴⁴

Just as men need women, so too do women need men. That is why women have been encouraged to get married just as men have. One tradition states that the Prophet (ṣ) forbade women from purposely staying spinsters and eschewing marriage.¹⁴⁵ Marriage itself also has other benefits, aside from fulfilling the basic urges of husband and wife. It improves the character of young people, increases their livelihoods, and makes them more honorable.¹⁴⁶ The Prophet (ṣ) is also reported to have said, “The best of my *ummah* are married folk, and the worst of them are unmarried.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 113.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yabduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 3, p. 405.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 505.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Rāwandi, *al-Nawādir*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁷ Al-Shu‘ayrī, *Jāmi‘ al-Akhbār*, p. 102.

Conclusion

Thinking of humanity as male versus female is not helpful, nor is this kind of thinking promoted in Islam. Emulous conceptions of gender promote a simplistic approach to a complex reality. Understanding the important role played by both genders and how one remains incomplete without the other is more apt and conducive to the fostering of harmony in society. The complementarity of male and female is also seen in the esoteric teachings of religion. For example, in her famous work *Tao of Islam*, Sachiko Murata has tried to liken the attributes of *jamāl* (beauty) and *jalāl* (majesty) in Islam to the qualities of *yin* (femaleness, softness, humility) that exist alongside those of *yang* (maleness, hardness, assertiveness) in Chinese Daoism, and how they complement each other.

While it is true that the qualities of men differ from those of women, this does not mean that one of the two genders is superior to the other. And if any gender has been praised in the Islamic traditions, it is the female, not the male – as the traditions mentioned above clearly show. Males are clearly different from females, and Islam does not advocate the equality among genders that is promoted in secular, liberal societies. In *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Imam ‘Alī (a) is reported to have said, “The best qualities of women are the worst qualities of men: vanity, timidness, and frugality. If a woman has vanity, she would not let anyone take advantage of her; and if she is frugal, she protects her wealth and the wealth of her husband; and if she is timid, she is afraid of anything [untoward] that comes before her.”¹⁴⁸

Remarkably, the division of roles and equity (rather than equality) based order taught by Islam, which is in line with intrinsic human nature (*fitrah*), has been shown to be more conducive to what is called the ‘subjective well-being’ (SBW) of women. In a study spanning three years and 78 countries, it was found that the SBW index, which

¹⁴⁸ Al-Rađī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Saying 234.

includes life satisfaction and general positivity, is actually lower in counties that are more ‘gender-equal’ and promote the equality of women and men. On the other hand, in countries that are more patriarchal or have clearly distinct gender roles, women have higher SBW and satisfaction with life. The researchers who discovered this were surprised enough to call it a paradox – ‘The Equality Paradox’ to be precise – because like many, they assumed that women who are given a status equal to men would be happier and more satisfied, but this was not the case.¹⁴⁹

Interestingly, there are no matriarchal (ruled by the mother or woman-dominated) cultures in the world, nor is there any evidence that shows such a culture ever existed in the past.¹⁵⁰ This means that throughout history, there has never been a single society where the women generally ruled over the men. Of course, this does not mean that there are no rare cultures where women act independently from men. Examples of this include the Chinese Mosuo tribe who do not marry, or the Indonesian Minangkabau which is deemed the largest matrilineal (and mostly Muslim) society. However, the fact that matriarchal societies have been non-existent shows that it is not within the intrinsic nature of women to act as leaders like men. So when Islam outlines a separate domain or roles for women, it is for the benefit of the entire society and is in line with the nature of creation. It is precisely for this reason that ‘Islamic feminism’ is an oxymoron.

It is hoped that the traditions mentioned in this chapter make it abundantly clear that Islam values women, and according to the tenets of Islam, women are not inferior beings. One must not judge the religion by how its adherents practice it, so while lived experiences in certain Islamic countries might tell a different tale, that is no reflection

¹⁴⁹ See: “The Equality Paradox: Gender Equality Intensifies Male Advantages in Adolescent Subjective Well-Being,” in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* (October, 2022).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future*.

on the teachings of Islam itself. Rather, the corrupting influence of some local customs and cultures sometimes seep in and create an environment that makes women feel degraded and undervalued. At the same time, it is incorrect to use imposed yardsticks of secular liberalism to gauge what value in society means, or what rights give individuals worth. As Muslims, we must take the pure, unadulterated teachings of Islam as the only touchstone for this and any other issue pertaining to our life in this world.

5

A MEANING-BASED *TAKHRĪJ* OF NARRATIONS IN AL-FARĀHĪDĪ'S *KITĀB AL-‘AYN*

The author of *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, one of the oldest extant Arabic dictionaries, al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. ca. 175 AH) included over four hundred traditions (*ahādīth*) in his work, using them as examples for some of the words he defines. While it is true that the authorship of *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* has been contested, with some questioning its attribution to al-Farāhīdī, the early provenance of this work and its inclusion of traditions of the Noble Prophet (ṣ) makes it an interesting source to study. In this chapter, we aim to present a *takhrīj* (sourcing) of seventy traditions from *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*. *Takhrij* works have been common in the past, especially among Sunnī ḥadīth scholars. In early times, it was quite beneficial to search for original references for some partially quoted traditions, or narrations mentioned in non-ḥadīth works, since references were not generally quoted or memorized, and looking for traditions in the primary sources would prove quite a difficult endeavour.

Since the advent of computers and the digitization of most of the primary sources, it has become much easier to search for ḥadīth. However, this has given rise to another problem that is commonly seen in recent works namely, the quick dismissal of traditions as being inauthentic since they are not found in early sources. Some researchers type in traditions and when they are unable to locate them in the available databases, they conclude that the traditions are non-existent and hence fabricated. This approach is highly flawed, as any properly trained ḥadīth scholar will attest, since many of the traditions have been reported with variances in wording. As such, simply searching in available software for a tradition or part thereof is not sufficient. Rather,

one needs to carry out an extensive meaning-based search to see if there is anything that even remotely resembles the main purport of the tradition being studied. Furthermore, one should not restrict the search to the ḥadīth corpus only, as sometimes traditions are mentioned in other works like commentaries of the Qur’ān, lexicons, etc.

In this chapter, we have attempted to carry out a meaning-based *takhrij* of traditions in *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*. The originality of this approach lies firstly in looking at later sources instead of earlier ones, since *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* is itself quite early, and most of the extant ḥadīth corpus was compiled after it. Secondly, employing a meaning-based *takhrij* which entails searching for narrations that are closest in meaning to what has been mentioned in *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*. Thirdly, looking though both the Sunnī and Shī‘ī ḥadīth collections to find the same or similar tradition in both. (Sunnī sources are prefixed [S] while Shī‘ī sources are [SH]). There are a number of benefits to this approach which have been discussed in the conclusion. Seventy traditions were chosen (instead of a fewer number) to demonstrate that this approach is tenable for most, if not all, of the traditions found in such early works.

It should be noted that since *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* is not a work of ḥadīth, many times al-Farāhīdī has quoted traditions only partially, as his intention was just to provide an example of usage for certain terms. Furthermore, the narrations in this study are arranged in the order in which they appear in the text. They are not restricted to any specific subject or topic and also lack context in many instances. This makes it all the more important to carry out a *takhrij* of the traditions so that a proper evaluation can be made of the same, and their purport can be correctly understood.

The Traditions in *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*

أحاديث كتاب العين للفراهيدى

(١) أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ عَقَّ عَنِ الْحَسْنِ وَالْحَسِينِ بِزَنَةٍ شَعْرَهُمَا وَرَقًا.

(1) The Messenger of Allah (s) performed the ‘aqīqah¹ of al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn by giving the weight of their hair in silver [to the needy].

[S] A narration from Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī mentions the ‘aqīqah, while another tradition in the same source, from Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq], from Fātimah the daughter of the Prophet (s), mentions that their hair’s weight in silver was given in charity.²

[SH] A narration from Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq states that the Prophet (s) named al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn after seven days [of their birth], did the ‘aqīqah after seven days... and gave their hair’s weight in silver as alms.³

٢) أفضل الحجّ العجّ والثّجّ.

(2) The best *hajj* is [where there are] raised voices [reciting the *talbiyah*] and flowing forth [of blood from sacrificed animals].

[S] Ibn ‘Umar reported this exact statement from the Prophet (s).⁴

[SH] In a tradition reported from Imam al-Kāzim (a), the Prophet (s) is said to have listed four things that Allah has chosen for the *hajj*. Two are those mentioned in the narration above, and the other two are: *iḥrām* (the pilgrim’s clothing), and *ṭawāf* (circumambulation of the Ka‘bah).⁵

¹ ‘Aqīqah forms part of the recommended actions to be performed when a child is born. It usually entails sacrificing a sheep (or any other similar animal) on the seventh day after birth, and then distributing its meat (or the value thereof) among the poor for the health of the newborn.

² A-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhā’ir al-Uqbā fī Manāqib Dhawī al-Qurbā*, p. 119.

³ Al-Ḥimyārī, *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 122, h. 430.

⁴ Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 3, p. 373.

⁵ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, vol. 1, p. 225, h. 58.

(٣) ما تضعضع امرؤ لاَخر يريد به عرض الدنيا إِلَّا ذهب ثلثا دينه.

(3) A person does not abase himself before another, seeking thereby the [fleeting] gain of this world, except that he loses two-thirds of his religion.

[S] In *Kitāb al-Zuhd*, attributed to Ahmād ibn Ḥanbal, this statement is mentioned as part of the teachings found in the Tawrāt.⁶ However, in a later work, it is presented as a tradition reported on the authority of Abū Dharr wherein he states that Allah curses the poor person who abases himself in front of the rich due to his wealth, and such a person loses two thirds of his faith.⁷

[SH] It is reported that the Noble Prophet (ṣ) said to Imam ‘Alī (a) in his final testament (*wasiyyah*) that whoever comes to a rich person and abases himself before him, he loses two-thirds of his faith.⁸ Furthermore, in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Imam ‘Alī is reported to have said that whoever abases himself in front of a rich person due to his wealth forfeits two-thirds of his religion.⁹

(٤) كانت الكعبة خشعةً على الماء فدحيت منها الأرض.

(4) The Ka‘bah was dry upon the water, then the land was spread out from beneath it.

[S] It is narrated from Abū Hurayrah that the Prophet (ṣ) said the Ka‘bah was dry above the water two thousand years before the land came into being.¹⁰

⁶ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-Zuhd*, vol. 1, p. 265.

⁷ Al-Daylāmī, *al-Firdaws bi Ma‘thūr al-Khiṭāb*, vol. 3, p. 467.

⁸ Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 8.

⁹ Al-Rādi, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Saying no. 228.

¹⁰ Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-Āthār fi al-Siyar wa Mawlid al-Mukhtār*, vol. 4, p. 14.

[SH] It is narrated from Imam al-Ridā (a) that on the twenty-fifth of Dhī al-Qa'dah, the earth was spread from beneath the Ka'bah.¹¹

(٥) ليس لعرق ظالم حقٌ.

(5) There is no right [of ownership] for one who wrongfully cultivates [a land bought by another].

[S] This statement of the Prophet (ṣ) is found in a number of narrations, many of which start with his (ṣ) saying that whoever revives dead land becomes its owner. Then he stipulates that it should not be done wrongfully, using these words.¹²

[SH] This statement has been attributed to the Prophet (ṣ) as mentioned,¹³ and has also been quoted by Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq as part of a longer narration.¹⁴

(٦) إنَّ للشَّيْطَانَ لَعْنَةً وَنُشُوقًا يَسْتَهِلُّ بِهِمَا الْعَبْدُ إِلَى هُوَاهِ.

(6) Verily Satan has linctus and snuff by which he makes the servant incline towards his desires.

[S] In a lengthier tradition from the Prophet (ṣ), he reportedly said that Satan has kohl, linctus, and snuff [by which he misguides the people]. His linctus is lies, his snuff is anger, and his kohl is [excessive] sleep.¹⁵

¹¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yāḥduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 8, p. 89, h. 1814.

¹² Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, pp. 235-236.

¹³ Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Awālī al-La'ālī*, vol. 2, p. 257, h. 6.

¹⁴ Al-Tūsī, *Tahdhib al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 311, h. 66.

¹⁵ Al-Kharā'iṭī, *Masā'i' al-Akhlaq wa Madhmūmuḥā*, pp. 77-78.

[SH] The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said that Satan has snuff [that is sniffed by the nose], linctus [licked by the tongue], and ear plugs [by which he beguiles the people].¹⁶

(٧) العقل عقلان: فأما عقل صاحب الدنيا فعقيم، وأما عقل صاحب الآخرة فمثمر.

(7) The intellect is of two kinds: As for the intellect of the worldly person, it is unproductive, but as for the intellect of the one who is concerned about the Hereafter, it is fruitful.

[S] While this statement cannot be found in the early sources, there are other narrations that bear a similar connotation. For instance, one report on the authority of Anas ibn Mālik states that keeping the company of an intelligent person leads to increase [and fruitfulness], whereas the company of an unintelligent fool only leads to loss in this world and regret and remorse in the Hereafter.¹⁷

[SH] This statement is not found in any extant ḥadīth compilation. However, the idea that truly intelligent people are abstemious in this world and desirous of the Hereafter is found in a number of narrations.¹⁸

(٨) جرح العجماء جبار.

(8) The wound inflicted by the speechless beast [that breaks free] goes without retaliation or penalty. [Meaning that the owner is not liable to pay for that harm inflicted by the animal in such a case].

¹⁶ Al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyyah*, p. 274.

¹⁷ Al-Daylāmī, *al-Firdaws bi Ma’thūr al-Khiṭāb*, vol. 2, p. 421.

¹⁸ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 18.

[S] Abū Hurayrah reports this in a tradition from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) as part of a longer narration that also mentions wells and mines (see below for details).¹⁹

[SH] In a tradition attributed to the Noble Prophet (ṣ), and reported by Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), he said that three things are such that there is no penalty or liability concerning them: the well, the speechless beast, and the mine.²⁰ The first refers to an old well whose owner or digger is not known; if a person or an animal falls into it and is injured thereby, then no one is held liable. The second pertains to the wound inflicted by a speechless beast that breaks free and is not in its owner's control. And the third is the mine that collapses on one who goes into it, out of no fault of the owner of that mine.

٩) أَلْظُوا بِيَا ذَا الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ.

(9) Constantly invoke Allah by [calling out], “O Lord of Majesty and Honor!”

[S] This has been reported by Anas, from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).²¹

[SH] This tradition has also been reported by al-Rāwandī in his section on the different supplications of the Noble Prophet (ṣ).²²

١٠) الْحَمَّى رَائِدُ الْمَوْتِ.

(10) Fever is the harbinger of death.

[S] Al-Bayhaqī relates a lengthy narration in which the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) is approached by some companions who were complaining of

¹⁹ Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwatṭa'*, vol. 5, p. 1276, h. 654.

²⁰ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 7, p. 377, h. 20.

²¹ Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 362, h. 3525.

²² Al-Rāwandī, *al-Da'awāt*, p. 45, h. 107.

fever, so he mentions the above statement to them and then says that it is a part of ‘the fire’. Then he instructs them to pour cold water on those suffering from fever in a specific manner and at a specific time in order for them to get relief.²³

[SH] A tradition from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) mentions this phrase and then states that fever is like the prison of Allah on earth and it is also the believer’s share of the fire [as punishment for his misdeeds].²⁴

(١١) من لقي الله ولم يتنـد من الدماء الحرـام بشيء دخل الجنة من أي بـاب شـاءه.

(11) Whoever meets Allah while he has not spilled any blood unlawfully, shall enter Paradise from any gate he wishes.

[S] This is narrated in a report by ‘Uqbah ibn ‘Āmir al-Juhanī, who relayed it to a group of people at Masjid al-Aqsā when they came and sought to hear a tradition of the Prophet (ṣ) from him. He mentioned the above statement along with the condition that one was not a polytheist – such a person would get to enter Paradise from any gate he pleased.²⁵

[SH] This tradition is reported by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) with the added caveat: ‘whoever does not ascribe partners to Allah’. Hence, one who is innocent of polytheism and unlawful bloodshed will be granted entry into Paradise from whichever door he likes.²⁶

(١٢) كلـما سـمع هـيـعة طـار إـلـيـها.

²³ Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, vol. 6, p. 161.

²⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 111, h. 3.

²⁵ Ibn Mubārak, *al-Musnad*, p. 146.

²⁶ Al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyah*, p. 99.

(12) Whenever he hears a frightening sound, he rushes towards it.

[S] This has been narrated as part of a longer tradition by Abū Hurayrah, from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ). In it he uses two words to describe the frightening sound a believer hears: *hay'ah aw faz'ah* – both with the same meaning.²⁷

[SH] A tradition from the Prophet (ṣ) describes the best life as that which is lived by one who holds on firmly to the reins of his horse, and whenever he hears a frightening sound, he rushes towards it [to fight the enemy] for the sake of Allah, ready to face death.²⁸

١٣) لا عدوى ولا هامة ولا صفر ولا غول ولا طيرة.

(13) There is no contagion [without an external cause], no screech-owl [of vengeance], no serpent in the belly, no ghoul, and no evil omen.

[S] These were some superstitions that the Arabs used to believe in. There are a number of similar traditions found in Sunnī sources, the earliest of which mentions three of the five things quoted above, and is found in Mālik's *Muwatta'*²⁹

[SH] Someone asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) about contagion among camels and the Imam responded by quoting a tradition wherein the Noble Prophet (ṣ) was once approached by a bedouin with a similar query and the Prophet categorically told him that all such things as contagion without cause, evil omens, screech-owls as reincarnated souls seeking vengeance, serpents in the stomachs of human beings, etc. do not exist [and are only superstitious beliefs].³⁰

²⁷ Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 5, p. 462.

²⁸ Warrām ibn Abī Fāris, *Tanbīh al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 1, p. 85.

²⁹ Mālik, *al-Muwatta'*, vol. 5, p. 1381.

³⁰ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 196, h. 234.

(١٤) وللعاهر الأثب.

(14) For the adulterer, there is naught but [worthless] pebbles.

[S] This has only been narrated by one ‘Amr ibn Shu‘ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, from the Messenger of Allah. It talks about the nullification of the practice of claimed parentage which was common in pagan Arabia before Islam.³¹

[SH] Also narrated from ‘Amr ibn Shu‘ayb, from his grandfather. The tradition begins by stating that a child is only attributed to the one who sired him (*al-waladu lil firāsh*) and then disqualifies the false claimant of parentage through adultery.³²

(١٥) أن رسول الله ﷺ رخص في العرايا.

(15) The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) permitted the [practice of] assigning of palm-trees to others [who were in need, to eat therefrom for a year].

[S] The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) is said to have permitted the practice of assigning palm-trees as a temporary gift to those who were poor, so that they could eat of its fruit for a year, and allowed them to sell of that fruit as well, up to a specific measure, or exchange its dried fruit for fresh fruit to provide for their families. Many traditions in the Sunnī ḥadīth corpus mention this, such as the narration of Nāfi‘ ibn ‘Umar from Zayd ibn Thābit.³³

[SH] While there were other practices which were forbidden by the Prophet (ṣ), such as selling the fruit on the heads of palm-trees in

³¹ Al-Harbī, *Gharib al-Hadīth*, vol. 1, p. 234.

³² Al-Rađī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyah*, p. 141.

³³ Ibn Hajjāj, *Sahīh Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1169.

exchange for dried fruit, this particular practice was permitted by him (ṣ), as narrated by al-Qāsim ibn Sallām from the Noble Prophet (ṣ).³⁴

. ﴿١٦﴾ مَا عَالَ مُقْتَصِدٍ وَلَا يَعْيَلُ.

(16) One who economizes does not become poor, nor will he ever become poor.

[S] It is reported from Ibn ‘Abbās that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said that one who economizes [and is not extravagant in his spending] will never become poor.³⁵

[SH] Imam al-Kāzim (a) is reported to have said that a person who practices moderation and economizes his expenses will not become poor.³⁶ And the same statement has also been attributed to the Noble Prophet (ṣ).³⁷

. ﴿١٧﴾ إِنَّ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ عَيْنَةً مَكْفُوفَةً.

(17) Verily between us and you is a heart clear of any deception or malice.

[S] This is said to have been a phrase which was part of the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah and it means that the agreement between the Muslims and Quraysh was one that was clear of secret enmity, perfidy, and deceit.³⁸

[SH] Part of the above phrase is found in Shī‘ī sources as well. The Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have instructed that this be written in the

³⁴ Al-‘Āmilī, *Wasa’il al-Shī‘ah*, vol. 18, p. 241.

³⁵ Al-Tabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 12, p. 123.

³⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 111, h. 3.

³⁷ Ibn Ash‘ath, *al-Ja‘fariyāt*, p. 149.

³⁸ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 31, p. 218.

treaty with Quraysh – that the treaty will be upheld without deception or malice.³⁹

(١٨) اغد عالماً أو متعلماً ولا تغدر إمة.

(18) Become a scholar or a student [of knowledge], and do not be a mindless follower.

[S] ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Bakrah reported from his father that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, “Be a scholar, a student of knowledge, one who listens [to them], or one who loves [them], but do not be of a fifth category, otherwise you will be destroyed.”⁴⁰

[SH] There are a number of similar traditions in the Shī‘ī corpus. For instance, Imam al-Bāqir (a) reported that the Noble Prophet (ṣ) said, “Be a scholar or a student of knowledge, and beware of being a heedless seeker of pleasures.”⁴¹ In another tradition, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) said, “Be a scholar or a student of knowledge, or love the people of knowledge, but beware of being of the fourth category lest you are destroyed due to your hatred for them.”⁴²

(١٩) لا يبلغ أحدكم حقيقة الإيمان حتى لا يعيّب على مسلم بعيّب هو فيه.

(19) None of you will attain true faith until he stops criticizing a Muslim for the fault which is present in himself [as well].

[S] A tradition from al-Hasan [al-Baṣrī] states that one cannot attain true faith until he stops faulting other people for the fault that is found within himself. He should start with reforming his own fault, and when

³⁹ Al-Māzandarānī, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib (a)*, vol. 1, p. 203.

⁴⁰ Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhar*, vol. 9, p. 94, h. 3626.

⁴¹ Al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, vol. 1, p. 227, h. 154.

⁴² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 34, h. 3.

he does so, he will encounter another, and another, and that will keep him too preoccupied to look for faults in other people.⁴³

[SH] Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī reported that among the advice that the Noble Prophet (ṣ) gave them was the statement, “Blessed is he who is prevented by his own faults from looking for the faults of his believing brothers.”⁴⁴ Imam ‘Alī is reported to have described it as the biggest fault for one to criticize others for that flaw which is present in himself.⁴⁵

(٢٠) إِيَّاكمُ وَالْحَقْقَةُ فِي الْأَعْمَالِ، إِنَّ أَحَبَّ الْأَعْمَالِ إِلَى اللَّهِ مَا دَارَ مَعَ عَلِيهِ الْعَبْدُ
وَإِنْ قَلَّ.

(20) Beware of overexerting yourself in your actions, for verily the most liked of deeds in the sight of Allah is that which a servant performs consistently [and continually], even if it be little.

[S] A tradition reported by ‘Āishah from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) states that the best of deeds in the sight of Allah is that which is performed most consistently, even if it is small.⁴⁶

[SH] There are many traditions that emphasize the importance of continuity and consistency of deeds over single or infrequent undertakings, albeit great. A tradition from Imam al-Bāqir (a) states that the most liked deeds in the sight of Allah, the Almighty, are those which are performed regularly, even if they are small.⁴⁷

(٢١) لَا تَقُومُ السَّاعَةُ حَتَّىٰ يَظْهُرَ التَّحْوُتُ.

⁴³ Al-Bayhaqī, *Shu‘ab al-Īmān*, vol. 5, p. 311.

⁴⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, p. 169.

⁴⁵ Al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, saying no. 353.

⁴⁶ Ibn Mubārak, *al-Zuhd*, p. 372.

⁴⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 82, h. 2.

(21) The Hour will not come to pass until those who are underfoot [and unknown] become manifest [and known].

[S] Abū Hurayrah reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said that the [Final] Hour will not come to pass until obscenity and [extreme] stinginess become prevalent; when the trustworthy is deemed treacherous while the treacherous will be trusted; when the lofty mountains (*wu‘ūl*) are wiped out while the underfoot (*tuhūt*) become manifest [and gain fame and power]. When he (ṣ) was asked what is meant by ‘lofty mountains’ and ‘the underfoot’, he said it refers to eminent and noble personalities in the society, and lowly insignificant individuals respectively.⁴⁸

[SH] The Noble Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said that the [Final] Hour will not come to pass until obscenity and [extreme] stinginess become prevalent, the trustworthy is deemed treacherous while the treacherous are trusted, and the noble ones are wiped out while the lowly gain renown [and power].⁴⁹

.٢٢) بالر فاء و البنين.

(22) [Be blessed] with a close union and the begetting of [many] sons.

[S] ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Aqil reported that when ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib got married, he was congratulated by being told, “[Be blessed] with a close union and the begetting of [many] sons!” So he responded by telling the people not to say that, for the Prophet (ṣ) had forbidden it (since it was the way they would congratulate married couples during the Age of Ignorance). Instead, he told them to say, “May Allah bless both you and her.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Saḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, vol. 15, p. 257.

⁴⁹ Al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyah*, p. 265.

⁵⁰ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 3, p. 259.

[SH] Al-Barqī reported that when the Noble Prophet (ṣ) got Fātimah married [to Imam ‘Alī (a)], the people began to congratulate them using the above phrase, so the Prophet stopped them and said, “Rather, say: [Let it be] with goodness and blessings.”⁵¹

(٢٣) أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ لِخَدِيجَةَ مَا يُبَكِّيُكِ؟ فَقَالَتْ: دَرَّتْ لِبْنَةُ الْقَاسِمِ فَذَكَرَتْهُ.

(23) The Prophet (ṣ) asked Khadījah, “What has made you cry?” So she replied, “Al-Qāsim’s milk began to flow so I remembered him.”

[S] Sunnī sources do not have any chain for this report, and it is only found in secondary texts. In one report, after the death of al-Qāsim, the Prophet asked Khadījah why she was crying and she said that milk had begun to flow from her breasts [for the infant], so the Prophet (ṣ) responded that the child has a wet-nurse in Paradise, and that consoled Khadījah.⁵²

[SH] Imam al-Bāqir (a) reported that when his son al-Qāsim passed away, the Noble Prophet (ṣ) came to Khadījah and found her weeping. He asked her why she was crying and she replied it was because milk had started flowing [from her breast for the child]. So he consoled her promising that she would find him waiting for her at the gates of Paradise, and he would lead her into it by his hand.⁵³

(٢٤) إِنَّ لِلخُصُومَةِ قَحْمًاً.

(24) Verily quarrels bring about ruin.

⁵¹ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 568, h. 52.

⁵² Ibn Mulaqqin, *al-Tawdīh li Sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Saḥīb*, vol. 19, p. 155.

⁵³ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 3, p. 218, h. 2.

[S] A man from Madīnah known as Jahm reported this statement from Imam ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a).⁵⁴

[SH] This has been reported from Imam ‘Alī in *Nahj al-Balāghah*.⁵⁵

(٢٥) فِي الْفَتْنَةِ كُنْ حَلْسًا بَيْتَكَ حَتَّى تَأْتِيكَ يَدُ خَاطِئَةٍ أَوْ مِنْيَةٍ قَاضِيَةٍ.

(25) During times of sedition, remain in your home until an evil hand approaches or death comes to you.

[S] One commentator of *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* attributes this statement to Abū Bakr,⁵⁶ and there are a number of traditions from Ibn Mas‘ūd that describe how one should remain in his home during times of *fitnah*. Interestingly one of the narrations has Ibn Mas‘ūd describe this action as being like a heavy and recalcitrant camel that does not move willingly.⁵⁷

[SH] The general advice of remaining aloof during times of *fitnah* is found in a number of traditions. For instance, Imam ‘Alī (a) reportedly advised believers to be like a baby camel during such times, so that they cannot be misused or taken advantage of by either side, just as a baby camel cannot be ridden or milked.⁵⁸ There are, however, other traditions that employ similar wording as the statement above to refer to the tribulations of End Times. For instance, Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) reported from his father that when the fire [of war] starts [during the last days], the believers should remain in their homes until the Qā’im rises, at which time they should join him.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 134.

⁵⁵ Al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, saying no. 260 (Apothegm no. 3).

⁵⁶ Ibn Raslān, *Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol. 16, p. 650.

⁵⁷ Ibn Baṭṭah, *al-Ibānah*, vol. 1, p. 224.

⁵⁸ Al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, saying no. 1.

⁵⁹ Al-Nu‘mānī, *al-Ghaybah*, p. 194, h. 1.

(٢٦) الحسب المال، والكرم القوى.

(26) Value is [deemed by people to be] in wealth, but [true] nobility is in piety.

[S] This tradition, which is considered sound by most Sunnī scholars, is reported from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) by Samurah ibn Jundab and is found in a number of early sources.⁶⁰

[SH] This statement is found attributed to the Prophet (ṣ) in some Shī‘ī sources without a chain of transmission.⁶¹

(٢٧) أَن جَبْرِيلَ قَالَ لِلنَّبِيِّ ﷺ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ دُونَ الْعَرْشِ سَبْعِينَ حِجَابًا لَوْ دَنَوْنَا مِنْ أَحَدِهَا لَأَحْرَقْنَا سَبْحَاتَ وَجْهَ رَبِّنَا.

(27) Jibrīl (a) said to the Prophet (ṣ): Verily Allah has seventy veils under the Throne; were we to come near one of them, we would be burnt by the magnificence of the Face of our Lord.

[S] In a narration from Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, he quotes the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) as having said that Allah’s veil is made of light, and were He to remove it, all creatures as far as the eye can see would perish and get burnt due to the brightness of His majesty.⁶²

[SH] In a tradition reported from the Noble Prophet (ṣ), it is stated that when he ascended to the heavens, he saw the different veils that were there, and he finally came to the loftiest heaven where he saw veils

⁶⁰ Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 5, p. 621.

⁶¹ Warrām ibn Abī Fāris, *Tanbih al-Khawātir*, vol. 2, p. 32.

⁶² Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 1, p. 194.

which, had they been removed it would cause everything under the Divine Throne to get burnt due to the light of the Throne.⁶³

(٢٨) لَوْ صَلَّيْتُمْ حَتَّىٰ تَكُونُوا كَالْأَوْتَادِ أَوْ صَمَّتُمْ حَتَّىٰ تَكُونُوا كَالْحَنَائِرِ مَا نَفْعَكُمْ إِلَّا
بنية صادقة وورع صادق.

(28) Were you to pray until you became like [embedded] stakes, or fast until you become hollow [of stomach], it would not benefit you except [if it is accompanied] with sincere intention and true piety.

[S] The importance of intention for the acceptance of any action has been highlighted in many traditions, both Sunnī and Shī‘ī. In the Sunnī corpus, the most well-known tradition on this is one where the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) is reported to have said that the reward [and indeed acceptance] of any action is based on its intention.⁶⁴

[SH] In part of his advice to Abū Dharr, the Noble Prophet is reported to have told him that if you pray until you become like a bent arch, or fast until you become [thin] like a cord, it will be of no benefit to you unless it is accompanied by [sincerity and] piety.⁶⁵

(٢٩) الرَّحْمُ مَعْلَقَةٌ بِالْعَرْشِ، تَقُولُ: اللَّهُمَّ صُلْ مِنْ وَصْلِنِي وَاقْطِعْ مِنْ قَطْعِنِي.

(29) The [right of the] near of kin is suspended from the Throne, [and] it says, “O Allah, keep ties with the one who kept my ties, and sever ties with the one who severed my ties.”

[S] A tradition reported from the Messenger of Allah by ‘Aishah says the same thing with a slight difference in wording. In it the kin say,

⁶³ Al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 55, pp. 44-45, h. 13.

⁶⁴ Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 5, p. 626.

⁶⁵ Al-Tabarsī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, p. 468.

“May Allah keep ties with those who kept my ties, and may He sever ties with those who severed my ties.”⁶⁶

[SH] Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī reported this from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and said that it refers to the close family of the Prophet (ṣ) as well as one’s own near of kin.⁶⁷ In another report, Abū Baṣir narrates from Imam al-Ṣādiq that on the Day of Judgment, the near of kin will cry out from under the Throne, asking Allah to keep ties with whoever kept their ties and cut off whoever cut them off. When asked if this is specifically with respect to the Prophet’s kin, he replied that it includes the Prophet’s kin, but also one’s own kin.⁶⁸

(٣٠) فِي حِرَجَنْ مِنَ النَّارِ فَيُنْبَتُونَ كَمَا تُنْبَتُ الْجِبَةُ فِي حَمِيلِ السَّبِيلِ.

(30) They come out of the Fire and grow [flesh] the way crops grow in a land that bears copiously flowing water.

[S] In a lengthy narration from Abū Hurayrah where he reports that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) informed some people who had asked him about the Day of Judgment what would happen when the Hour came, he also mentions that when Allah wishes to show mercy to those of His sinful servants who had worshipped Him in the world, He will command the angels to remove them from the Fire, and then the ‘water of life’ will be poured upon them whereat their flesh will regrow just as crops grow in a land with copiously flowing water.⁶⁹

[SH] This is narrated by Abū ‘Ubayd from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and refers to those who are released from Hell after having been punished for their sins. When they finally come out from the Fire, their burnt

⁶⁶ Ibn Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 4, p. 1981, h. 17.

⁶⁷ Maḥmūdī & Jalilī (Eds.), *al-Uṣūl al-Sittata Ashar*, p. 66.

⁶⁸ Al-Ahwāzī, *al-Zuhd*, p. 36, h. 97.

⁶⁹ Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 14, pp. 225-226.

flesh regrows just as the seed germinates and grows in a land with flowing water.⁷⁰

(٣١) القرآن ماحل مصدق.

(31) The Qur’ān is a vying affirmer [as it argues against falsehood and confirms the truth].

[S] Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said this as part of his description of the Qur’ān, in which he also called it a guide that would lead those who followed it to Paradise while those who cast it aside would end up in Hell.⁷¹

[SH] This is mentioned in a longer tradition from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), narrated from his forefathers, from the Noble Prophet (ṣ). In it he (ṣ) describes the different characteristics of the Glorious Qur’ān, including what is mentioned in the statement above.⁷²

(٣٢) إنَّ اللَّهَ لِيبغضُ الْبَيْتَ الْلَّاهِمَ وَأَهْلَهُ.

(32) Verily Allah despises the meat[-eating] house and its people.

[S] The first part of this statement has been narrated from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) by Samurah ibn Jundab. Its source then clarifies that this refers to those who backbite and is not meant literally.⁷³

[SH] It is reported that someone asked Imam al-Ṣādiq about this statement that has been attributed to the Noble Prophet (ṣ), so he confirmed it but said that it has not been understood. After affirming that the Prophet (ṣ) and the Ahl al-Bayt (a) also ate meat and liked it,

⁷⁰ Al-Ṣadūq, *Ma‘nī al-Akhbār*, p. 273.

⁷¹ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Saḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, vol. 1, p. 332.

⁷² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 599.

⁷³ Al-Bayhaqī, *Shu‘ab al-Īmān*, vol. 5, p. 306.

he explained that this statement refers to those who those who ‘eat the meat of people’ through backbiting and slander.⁷⁴

(٣٣) وهل يكبّ الناس على مناخرهم في جهنّم إلّا حصاً ألسنتهم؟

(33) And will anything plunge people headlong into the Fire [of Hell] other than the impudence of their tongues?

[S] In a rather lengthy narration from Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal, he recounts his conversation with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and how he had asked about the deeds that would lead one to Paradise and save one from the Fire. After the Prophet (ṣ) mentioned the important actions a believer should perform, he said that the cornerstone of all that he had mentioned was protecting one’s tongue. Mu‘ādh expressed amazement at this and asked if people would be questioned even about their speech, and that is when the Prophet said to him, “And will anything plunge people into the Fire [of Hell] other than what their tongues reap?”⁷⁵

[SH] It is narrated that a man once came to the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and asked for advice, so the Prophet told him, “Protect your tongue.” The man repeated his request and the Prophet gave him the same advice. When he again repeated his request, the Prophet said after repeating his advice, “And will anything plunge people into the Fire [of Hell] other than what their tongues reap?”⁷⁶

(٣٤) جاءت فاطمة إلى أبي بكر في لميمة من حفدها ونساء قومها.

(34) Fāṭimah went to Abū Bakr surrounded by her entourage of women and female servants.

⁷⁴ Al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, vol. 2, pp. 460-461; al-Ṣadūq, *Ma‘āni al-Akhbār*, p. 388.

⁷⁵ Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 5, pp. 459-460.

⁷⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 115, h. 14.

[S] There are a number of narrations that mention al-Sayyidah Fātimah
 (a) going to Abū Bakr to ask for her rights and her inheritance.⁷⁷
 However this description of how she went surrounded by womenfolk
 is not mentioned in most of them, and only a handful of Sunnī sources
 mention it.⁷⁸

[SH] A lengthy narration describes how al-Sayyidah Fātimah al-Zahrā’
 (a) went to Abū Bakr, surrounded by women [of the community] and
 female servants, to demand her right which was the land of Fadak that
 had been gifted to her by the Noble Prophet (ṣ). It also mentions that
 once they arrived, a curtain was set up between her and Abū Bakr (in
 order to keep the women away from the gaze of men) before she stood
 up to speak.⁷⁹

(٣٥) نَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الْحُوْرِ بَعْدَ الْكُورِ.

(35) We seek Allah’s refuge from depletion after abundance.⁸⁰

[S] ‘Abdullāh ibn Sarjis reported that this phrase was part of the
 Prophet’s supplication when setting out on a journey.⁸¹

[SH] In one Shī‘ī source, it is likewise reported that this was part of the
 supplication of the Prophet (ṣ) when he went out on a journey.⁸²

(٣٦) نَظَفُوا أَفْيَتُكُمْ وَلَا تَدْعُوهَا كَبَاحَةُ الْيَهُودِ.

⁷⁷ Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 3, p. 557.

⁷⁸ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, vol. 16, p. 249.

⁷⁹ Al-Irbili, *Kashf al-Ghumma fī Ma‘rifat al-A‘imma*, vol. 1, p. 480.

⁸⁰ Interestingly, the last part of this phrase has been interpreted in various ways. Some say it means scattering after having come together. Others say it means returning to disbelief after having believed, or to sin after having been obedient.

⁸¹ Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 5, p. 396.

⁸² Al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyah*, p. 142.

(36) Clean your dooryards and do not leave them like the courtyards of the Jews.

[S] The instruction to clean the courtyards has come in many sources. One of the earlier sources narrates that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) instructed the believers to clean their courtyards and not be like the Jews as they are the dirtiest of people (*antān al-nās*).⁸³

[SH] The instruction to clean the yard in front of one's house has been given in a tradition from Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a) wherein he said that cobwebs should be cleaned out of the courtyards otherwise poverty would result.⁸⁴

وَلَيْسَ مِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ تَكَهَّنَ أَوْ تَكَهَّنَ لَهُ . (٣٧)

(37) One who soothsays or has soothsaying done for him is not from us.

[S] Imrān ibn Huṣayn reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said this as part of a longer tradition in which he also mentioned those who employ augury, magic, or witchcraft, all of which he proscribed in the strongest terms. He (ṣ) additionally said that whoever goes to a soothsayer and believes what he tells him has thereby disbelieved in what has been revealed to the Prophet (ṣ).⁸⁵

[SH] In a tradition from Amīr al-Mu'minīn, he mentions some of the things that Allah commanded the Noble Prophet (ṣ) to tell his people. Among those things was that whoever tries to predict the future

⁸³ Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, *Kitāb al-Zuhd*, vol. 2, p. 560.

⁸⁴ Al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, vol. 2, p. 624, h. 78.

⁸⁵ Al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-Zakhkhar*, vol. 9, p. 52.

through soothsaying, or uses magic, is not counted among His [obedient] servants.⁸⁶

(٣٨) أَجِبُ الْمَهْوَفَ.

(38) Respond to the oppressed one calling for help.

[S] There are a number of traditions that talk about the importance of helping the oppressed one who cries out, though they do not employ the exact wording as the phrase above. For instance, one tradition from the Messenger of Allah, reported by Anas, states that whoever aids an oppressed person, Allah will grant him seventy-three pardons, one of which would suffice all his worldly affairs while the remaining will help him in the Hereafter.⁸⁷

[SH] A lengthy tradition which mentions the final advice (*waṣīyyah*) of the Noble Prophet (ṣ) to Imam ‘Alī (a) contains this phrase. In it he (ṣ) says, “O ‘Alī... travel five miles [if you have to] in order to assist the oppressed one who is calling for help.”⁸⁸

(٣٩) أَكْثُرُ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ الْبَلِهِ.

(39) Most of the inhabitants of Paradise are the simple-minded.⁸⁹

[S] This has been narrated by Anas from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).⁹⁰

[SH] Maṣ‘adah ibn Ṣadaqah narrated this statement from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from his father. He then asked the Imam whether it referred

⁸⁶ Mahmūdī & Jalilī (Eds.), *al-Uṣūl al-Sittata ‘Ashar*, p. 168.

⁸⁷ Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 14, p. 40.

⁸⁸ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 361.

⁸⁹ The term *bulh* means being naïve and not cunning or crafty; it refers to one who is heedless of evil.

⁹⁰ Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 13, p. 32.

to all weak-minded people, so the Imam replied negatively and clarified that it actually referred to those who ignored and acted heedless of that which they disliked.⁹¹

(٤٠) مَنْهُوْ مَانْ لَا يَشْبَعُنَّ: مَنْهُومْ بِالْعِلْمِ وَمَنْهُومْ بِالْمَالِ.

(40) Two obsessed people are never satiated: the one obsessed with knowledge and the one obsessed with wealth.

[S] This has been reported by various narrators, some of whom attributed it to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ)⁹² while others did not explicitly do so.⁹³

[SH] Imam ‘Alī narrated this from the Noble Prophet (ṣ), with a slight difference in wording, as part of a longer tradition where the Prophet also described what type of wealth one should acquire and from whom one should seek knowledge.⁹⁴

(٤١) كُلَّ مَالٍ جَمِيعٍ مِّنْ مَهَاوِشٍ أَذْهَبَهُ اللَّهُ فِي نَهَابِرِ.

(41) All the wealth that is amassed from a mixture of the unlawful will be taken away by Allah through destruction.

[S] Most Sunnī sources quote this statement with the term ‘*nahāwîsh*’ instead of ‘*mahāwîsh*’. Both terms denote unlawfulness, but the latter also has the added meaning of mixture which is absent in the former. This tradition is reported from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) by Abū Salamah.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarā’ir*, vol. 3, p. 566.

⁹² Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhaṛ*, vol. 11, p. 148.

⁹³ Al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī*, vol. 1, p. 355.

⁹⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 46, h. 1.

⁹⁵ Al-Qudā’ī, *Musnad al-Shihāb*, vol. 1, p. 271.

[SH] This statement found as part of an interesting report in which a group of Persians came to visit Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) and he said this to them. They responded by saying that they did not understand what this statement means, so he explained it to them in their own language (Farsi).⁹⁶

. دخن على هدنة (٤٢)

(42) [There will be] an armistice based on corruption.

[S] This is part of a tradition reported by Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān in which the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) described the tribulations of the Last Days. In it, when asked what will come after this armistice, he (ṣ) said, “Leaders towards misguidance. So whoever finds a leader (*khalifah*) guiding towards Allah, he must follow him.”⁹⁷

[SH] This phrase is found in a tradition reported to the people by Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān in which he recounts the Noble Prophet’s description of the events of End Times.⁹⁸

. عدوه خلف كل صالحين في (٤٣)

(43) [It will be preserved] by the reliable ones among the righteous in every successive generation.

[S] The last part of the above statement has been reported by Abū Hurayrah and ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr, from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), who described those who would preserve the knowledge [he brought] in every generation.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Al-Ṭabrisī, *Iḥlām al-Warā bi Aḥlām al-Hudā*, p. 276.

⁹⁷ Ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, p. 18, h. 33.

⁹⁸ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 222.

⁹⁹ Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhar*, vol. 16, p. 247.

[SH] The Noble Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have said that the knowledge [brought by him] will be preserved by the reliable ones among the righteous in every successive generation. They will reject and remove all elements of distortion in it, or innovation and corruption that creeps into it.¹⁰⁰

(٤٤) اذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ ذِكْرًا خَامِلًا.

(44) Remember [and glorify] Allah with a soft [and low] voice.

[S] Ḍamrah ibn Ḥabīb reported this statement from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) after which he was asked what he meant by *dhikran khāmilā*, so he (ṣ) said: a concealed [and silent] *dhirk*.¹⁰¹

[SH] In his lengthy advice to Abū Dharr, the Noble Prophet (ṣ) is reported to have told him to do the *dhikr* of Allah in a soft voice.¹⁰²

(٤٥) اطْلُبُوا الرِّزْقَ فِي خَبَايَا الْأَرْضِ.

(45) Search for sustenance is the hidden [inner part of the] land.

[S] This refers to farming and cultivating the land, since seeds are grown within it. A tradition from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), reported by ‘Āishah with a slight difference in wording, mentions this advice.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Al-Maghribī, *Da‘ā’im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ Ibn Mubārak, *Kitāb al-Zuhd*, p. 85, h. 155.

¹⁰² Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 530.

¹⁰³ Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Awsat*, vol. 1, p. 274, h. 895.

[SH] This has been mentioned as is by al-Rāwandī.¹⁰⁴ However, there are many other narrations that encourage the practice of farming, even one describing it as the best work.¹⁰⁵

(٤٦) لتر كبن سنن من كان قبلكم ذراعاً بذراع وباعاً بيعاً حتى لو سلکوا خشم دبر
لسلکتموه.

(46) You will certainly embark on the precedent of those before you yard by yard and cubit by cubit, to the extent that if they went through a hornet's nest, you will surely also go through it.

[S] Abū Hurayrah reported a similar statement from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) wherein he said that this nation will be seized by the same things that overtook the previous nations.¹⁰⁶

[SH] This has been reported verbatim from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) without a chain of transmitters by Qādī Nu‘mān al-Maghribī in his introduction to his compendium (but not within the text).¹⁰⁷ Al-Ṭūsī also mentions a tradition with a similar connotation, albeit with different wording, narrated by Abū Hurayrah from the Prophet (ṣ).¹⁰⁸

(٤٧) لا إسال ولا إغلال.

(47) [There shall be] no theft and no treachery.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Rāwandī, *Fiqh al-Qur’ān*, vol. 2, p. 22.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, p. 260, h. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-Zakhkhar*, vol. 15, p. 174.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Maghribī, *Dā‘im al-Islām*, Introduction, p. 29.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 266.

[S] This has been narrated as part of the terms of the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah.¹⁰⁹

[SH] This phrase was reportedly part of the terms of the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah between the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and the Quraysh.¹¹⁰

(٤٨) إِذَا صَلَّى أَحَدُكُمْ فَلِيَزْمِنْ جَبَهَتَهُ وَأَنْفَهُ الْأَرْضَ حَتَّىٰ يَخْرُجْ مِنْهُ الرَّغْمُ.

(48) When anyone of you prays, let him keep his forehead and nose on the ground until arrogance goes away from him [and he feels completely humbled].

[S] The latter part of this statement has been reported from ‘Ikrimah, and when asked what was meant by the term ‘*al-raghm*’, he said “arrogance”.¹¹¹ The full version of this statement as mentioned above is only found in works of *Gharīb al-Hadīth* and in lexicons, without any chain of transmission.

[SH] This statement has been mentioned in some *Shī‘ī ḥadīth* collections without any chain of transmission.¹¹²

(٤٩) مِنْ نُوقْشَ فِي الْحِسَابِ فَقَدْ هَلَكَ.

(49) Whoever has his account [of deeds] scrutinized is doomed.

[S] In a report from ‘Ā’ishah, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) told her about the accounting on the Day of Resurrection, and he mentioned this phrase as part of the meaning of the verse that describes those who will face easy accounting (Q84:8) versus those who will not. The only

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 31, p. 217.

¹¹⁰ Al-Ṭabrisī, *Iḥlām al-Warā bi Aḥlām al-Hudā*, p. 97.

¹¹¹ Al-Ṣan‘ānī, *Musannaf ‘Abd al-Razzāq*, vol. 2, p. 181.

¹¹² Warrām ibn Fāris, *Tanbih al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, p. 299.

difference was in the last word, which is ‘will be tormented’ (*‘udhdhibā*) instead of ‘is doomed’ (*halaka*).¹¹³

[SH] This has been reported as a tradition in a couple of late Shī‘ī *tafsīr* works, but without a chain of transmission, and with a slight difference in wording.¹¹⁴

(٥) إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ النَّذَاقِينَ وَالنَّذَاقَاتِ.

(50) Verily Allah does not like those men and women who quickly marry and [then] quickly divorce.

[S] Abū Mūsā reported that the Messenger of Allah forbade people from divorcing women except if there was a legitimate reason for doing so, and then he (ṣ) said that Allah does not like those who are quick to divorce among the men and women.¹¹⁵

[SH] A tradition reported from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) states that Allah dislikes one who divorces frequently (*mitlāq*) and quickly (*dhawwāq*).¹¹⁶ And another tradition states, “Marry, but do not divorce; for Allah dislikes those who marry and divorce quickly.”¹¹⁷

(٥) مَنْ قَفَأَ مُؤْمِنًا بِمَا لَيْسَ فِيهِ وَقْفَهُ اللَّهُ فِي رَدْغَةِ الْخَبَالِ.

(51) Whoever accuses a believer for something he is innocent of, Allah will make him stand in the putrid slime [of Hell].

¹¹³ Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol. 3, p. 1352.

¹¹⁴ Al-Ḥuwayzī, *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 2, p. 493; al-Mashhadī, *Tafsīr Kanz al-Daqā’iq*, vol. 6, p. 432.

¹¹⁵ Al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-Zakhkhar*, vol. 8, pp. 70-71.

¹¹⁶ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 54, h. 2.

¹¹⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, *Makārim al-Akhlaq*, p. 197.

[S] In a lengthy narration from Ḥassān ibn ‘Aṭiyyah, he said that whoever accuses a believer of that which he has no [certain] knowledge, Allah will make him stand in the putrid slime [of Hell].¹¹⁸

[SH] A tradition from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) gives the same message with different words, namely that whoever falsely accuses a believing man or woman will be resurrected on the Day of Judgment in foul slime that is emitted from the denizens of Hell.¹¹⁹

(٥٢) يذهب الدين سنةً سنه، كما يذهب الجبل قوةً قوّه.

(52) The religion will disappear *sunnah* by *sunnah*, just as a rope gets unravelled strand by strand.

[S] This is reported as part of a statement from ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Daylāmī who described how the *sunnah* [of the Messenger of Allah] would be abandoned [by the Muslims].¹²⁰

[SH] A tradition attributed to the Noble Prophet (ṣ) states that Islam will get unravelled loop by loop, the way a rope is unravelled strand by strand. This metaphor points to the gradual abandonment of Islam by the people over time.¹²¹

(٥٣) لو يعلم الشارب ما عليه قائمًا لاستقاء ما شرب.

(53) If the drinker knew what harm he brings himself by drinking while standing, he would vomit out what he drank.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, p. 218.

¹¹⁹ Al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, vol. 1, p. 101, h. 76.

¹²⁰ Al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī*, vol. 1, p. 233.

¹²¹ Al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyah*, p. 314.

[S] Interestingly, there are many narrations that state that there is no problem in drinking water while standing.¹²² Yet some reports state that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) was against drinking while standing.¹²³ Perhaps this can be resolved by specifying certain situations or times in which it is discouraged to drink while standing, as seen in Shī‘ī narrations.

[SH] Most narrations in the Shī‘ī corpus restrict this injunction to night time only. For instance, one narration from Imam al-Ṣādiq explains the harm that is caused by drinking while standing at night.¹²⁴

(٥٤) كان أكثر جلوس رسول الله ﷺ القرفصاء، وبيه قضيب مشو.

(54) The most frequent sitting posture of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) was with his arms enfolding his legs, and he would hold in his hand a stick from the bark of a tree.

[S] The second part of the above statement is not found in any of the available ḥadīth texts, but his frequent sitting posture has been reported in numerous *shamā'il* and ḥadīth works.¹²⁵

[SH] The sitting posture mentioned in the narration above is found in a number of sources that even describe what kind of posture it was.¹²⁶ However, the second part of the tradition regarding the stick seems to be absent from Shī‘ī sources.

(٥٥) لا يشرب أحدكم من ثلمة الإناء ولا عروته، فإنّها كفل الشيطان.

¹²² Al-Bazzār, *al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār*, vol. 3, p. 30.

¹²³ Ibn Hajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1601.

¹²⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 6, p. 383, h. 2.

¹²⁵ For example, see: Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol. 4, p. 2068.

¹²⁶ Al-Ṭabarī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, p. 26.

(55) None of you should ever drink from a crack in the mug, nor from its handle, for it is the vehicle of Satan.

[S] This statement is metaphorical and means that drinking from these two parts of a mug is harmful to one's health. A narration from Ibn 'Abbās states that drinking from a crack in the drinking-cup (*qadah*) or its 'ear' (*udhunih*) is frowned upon.¹²⁷

[SH] A tradition from Imam 'Alī (a) gives the same warning as the statement above, saying that the handle of a mug is the place where Satan sits.¹²⁸

لعن آكل الربا ومؤكله. (٥٦)

(56) He cursed the consumer of usury and what he consumes [by it].

[S] Two narrations, one from 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd and the other from Jābir, both state that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) cursed the one who consumes usury and what he consumes by it, but the former rejects the inclusion of one who records or witnesses it while the latter narration includes the recorder and witnesses in the curse.¹²⁹

[SH] In a lengthy tradition reported by Amīr al-Mu'minīn (a) from the Noble Prophet (ṣ), he said that Allah has cursed the one who consumes usury and what he consumes by it, as well as the one who records it, and those who act as witnesses to the usurious transaction.¹³⁰

المسلمون إخوة تتكافأ دمائهم. (٥٧)

¹²⁷ Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 5, p. 105.

¹²⁸ Al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, vol. 2, p. 578, h. 42.

¹²⁹ Ibn Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, pp. 1218-9, h. 105 & 106.

¹³⁰ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 8.

(57) Muslims are brothers [to each other, and] their blood holds equal value.

[S] A tradition from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), reported on the authority of Jābir, states that a believer is the brother of a believer, he does not betray him, nor does he abandon him. Muslims are [like] a single hand above all others, and their blood holds equal value...¹³¹

[SH] A tradition from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) states that the Noble Prophet (ṣ) mentioned this statement as part of his sermon to the people at Masjid al-Khayf.¹³²

(٥٨) كُلَّ مُولَودٍ يُولَدُ عَلَى الْفَطْرَةِ حَتَّىٰ يَكُونَ أَبُوهُ يَمْجِسَانَهُ أَوْ يَنْتَصِرَانَهُ أَوْ يَهُوَدَانَهُ.

(58) Every child is born upon the *fitrah* (innate nature), until it is his parents who turn him into a Magian, or a Christian, or a Jew.

[S] This statement has been reported from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) through Abū Hurayrah, with a slight difference (there is no mention of turning into a Magian).¹³³

[SH] In a tradition from Imam al-Bāqir, the first part of the above statement has been explained to mean that the innate nature of every human being contains within it the cognizance that Allah has created him.¹³⁴ Another tradition from Imam al-Bāqir mentions the entire statement, albeit with slight difference in wording.¹³⁵

(٥٩) الْأَرْوَاحُ جُنُودٌ مَجْنَدَةٌ فَمَا تَعْرَفُ مِنْهَا إِنْتَلَفُ وَمَا تَنَاهَرُ مِنْهَا إِخْتَلَفَ.

¹³¹ Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muǧam al-Awsat*, vol. 6, pp. 304-305.

¹³² Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 403, h. 1.

¹³³ Mālik, *al-Muwatṭa'*, vol. 2, pp. 338-339.

¹³⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, pp. 12-13, h. 4.

¹³⁵ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 2, p. 49.

(59) Souls are [like] marshalled troops; those among them that are familiar have affinity, whereas those that are unfamiliar [with each other] keep apart.

[S] This is part of a narration reported by Abū Hurayrah from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).¹³⁶

[SH] This statement has been reported by Jābir al-Ju‘fi from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), with a slight difference. The phrase ‘in the world’ has been added twice to qualify the affinity and separation of the souls, thereby giving the impression that the familiarity or lack thereof was otherworldly.¹³⁷ And in another version, again from the sixth Imam, an additional explanation is given: if a believer were to enter a masjid where many were present, but only one of them was a [true] believer like him, his heart would incline to that individual.¹³⁸

(٦٠) قد مررت عهودهم وأمر جوها.

(60) Their covenant is marred and they violated it.

[S] In a narration about future times, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) is reported to have told his companions that a time will come wherein people will be tested with difficult tribulations, and they will violate their agreements and trusts.¹³⁹

[SH] In a narration that employs some of the same wording as the phrase above, the Noble Prophet (ṣ) is said to have asked ‘Abdullāh ibn

¹³⁶ Ibn Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 4, pp. 2031-2, h. 160.

¹³⁷ Maḥmūdī & Jalilī (Eds.), *al-Uṣūl al-Sittata ‘Ashar*, p. 68.

¹³⁸ Al-Ahwāzī, *Kitāb al-Mu’mīn*, p. 39, h. 89.

¹³⁹ Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 5, p. 447.

‘Amr, “How will you be when you have to live among the lowliest of people who [always] violate their covenants and their trusts?”¹⁴⁰

(٦١) لا يدخل الجنة ديوث ولا جياف.

(61) Neither the indifferent husband of an adulteress nor the ransacker of graves will enter Paradise.

[S] A narration reported by ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) states that three types of people are forbidden from Paradise: the one who regularly imbibes, the undutiful [towards his parents], and the husband who is indifferent regarding his wife’s adultery.¹⁴¹ As for the ransacker of graves [who steals the shrouds of the dead], such a person has been cursed by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) in another tradition.¹⁴²

[SH] A lengthy tradition from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) describes Paradise and how it was created by Allah, and then goes on to list those whom Allah has forbidden entry into Paradise. Both of those mentioned in the above statement are found among the eight types of people who will never enter Paradise.¹⁴³

(٦٢) نهي عن الصلاة إذا تصيفت الشمس للغروب.

(62) He forbade offering prayer when the sun declines as it sets.

[S] ‘Uqbah ibn ‘Āmir reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) had forbidden offering prayers at three times: at the moment when it was

¹⁴⁰ Al-Rađī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyyah*, p. 73.

¹⁴¹ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 9, p. 272.

¹⁴² Mālik, *al-Muwatta'*, vol. 2, p. 334, h. 270.

¹⁴³ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, vol. 2, p. 436.

just rising, when it was precisely overhead, and at the moment it declined while setting.¹⁴⁴

[SH] This has been mentioned in a lengthy tradition which lists certain legal prohibitions as outlined by the Noble Prophet (ṣ), including times when it is forbidden to offer prayers.¹⁴⁵

(٦٣) إذا بلغ النساء نص الحقائق فالعصبة أولى.

(63) When women attain complete maturity, then paternal relatives take precedence.

[S] This refers to the precedence of the father and grandfather in decision-making regarding the marriage of a girl who has attained the age of maturity and can thus be married. The above statement has been attributed to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a) in some Sunnī sources.¹⁴⁶

[SH] This statement is attributed to Imam ‘Alī (a) in *Nahj al-Balāghah*.¹⁴⁷

(٦٤) من نظر في صير باب فقد دمر.

(64) Whoever looks through an opening in the door has intruded.

[S] A tradition from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) states that one whose glance goes forth (*sabaqahu bašaruhu*) into the houses has intruded.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Al-Nassā’ī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 1, p. 484.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 10.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 7, p. 196.

¹⁴⁷ Al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Apothegm no. 4.

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 5, p. 294.

[SH] A tradition attributed to the Noble Prophet (s) states that whoever peeps or observes (*iṭṭala‘a*) through a crack or opening in a door has intruded.¹⁴⁹

(٦٥) لجوفه أزيز كأزيز المرجل.

(65) From within him would come sounds like the sound of a cauldron.

[S] Muṭarrif reported from his father, who said that he witnessed the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) praying, while a sound was heard from his noble chest like the sound of a [boiling] cauldron.¹⁵⁰

[SH] It is reported that whenever the Noble Prophet (ṣ) would offer prayers, a kind of sound would be heard from his chest like the sound of boiling water in a cauldron, out of his awe for Allah.¹⁵¹

(٦٦) أفتر الحاجم والمحجوم.

(66) Both the cupper and the one upon whom cupping is performed have broken their fast.

[S] This statement has been reported from the Messenger of Allah by Abū Hurayrah, Abū Asmā’ and others.¹⁵²

[SH] Ibn ‘Abbās was asked whether it is permissible to perform cupping while fasting, and he replied affirmatively. The questioner then asked why the Noble Prophet (ṣ) had said that the cupper and the one on whom cupping is performed have broken their fast, so Ibn ‘Abbās explained that he (ṣ) had witnessed the cupper and the cupped one

¹⁴⁹ Al-Raḍī, *al-Majāzāt al-Nabawiyyah*, p. 366.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad*, vol. 26, p. 242.

¹⁵¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, vol. 1, p. 282.

¹⁵² Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 3, p. 175.

ascribing lies and uttering calumnies, that is why he (s) said that their fast is broken; not because of the cupping.¹⁵³

(٦٧) مطلب الغنيّ ظلم.

(67) The delay of the rich [in paying his debt] is [a form of] oppression.

[S] A report by Abū Hurayrah from the Messenger of Allah (s) mentions this, and Muslim even has a section (*bāb*) in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the prohibition of delaying [repayment] by the rich.¹⁵⁴

[SH] This is a statement attributed to the Noble Prophet (s) as part of the rights of one who is owed money.¹⁵⁵

(٦٨) خير الناس النمط الأوسط.

(68) The best of people are the middle group [who follow the middle course].

[S] In a tradition attributed to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, he said that the best of all people are the middle group to whom those who are lagging behind catch up, and those who have advanced forward turn back.¹⁵⁶

[SH] In an interesting tradition, Imam al-Ridā (a) is reported to have said that the Ahl al-Bayt (a) are the middle group (*al-namāṭ al-awsat*).¹⁵⁷ There are a number of other traditions that also mention and praise this group within the Shī‘ī corpus.

¹⁵³ Al-Ṣadūq, *Ma‘āni al-Akhbār*, p. 319.

¹⁵⁴ Ibn Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1197.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Harrānī, *Tuhaf al-Uqūl*, p. 267.

¹⁵⁶ Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, p. 100.

¹⁵⁷ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 101.

(٦٩) اللَّهُمَّ اشدِّدْ وَطَأْتَكَ.

(69) O Allah, make Your chastisement severe [upon them/him].

[S] Abū Hurayrah is reported to have narrated this phrase as part of a longer tradition from the Messenger of Allah. The supplication of the Prophet (ṣ) is said to have been against the Muḍar, and he asked Allah to chastise them with the same type of famine as that which befell during the time of Yūsuf (a).¹⁵⁸

[SH] This phrase has been reported from the Noble Prophet (ṣ) and from Imam ‘Alī (a). The Prophet is said to have used it in his supplication against the Muḍar,¹⁵⁹ and Amīr al-Mu’minīn is reported to have uttered it when he prayed against Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān.¹⁶⁰

(٧٠) مَنْ سَمَعَ بَعْدَ سَمْعِ اللَّهِ بِهِ.

(70) Whoever publicly impugns a [believing] servant, Allah will expose [and disgrace] him [before the people].¹⁶¹

[S] Ibn ‘Abbās reported a similar statement from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ),¹⁶² and scholars have expressed different opinions on its meaning. Some say that it means whoever tells people about his good deeds to gain renown will be disgraced by Allah on the Day of Resurrection. Others say that it means whoever publicizes or publicly impugns a believer will have his hidden faults exposed by Allah. And there are other possible meanings as well.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 1, pp. 466-7.

¹⁵⁹ Al-Ḥimyārī, *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 324.

¹⁶⁰ Al-Ṣadūq, *Ma‘ānī al-Akhbār*, p. 60.

¹⁶¹ This is the meaning of the statement according to the author of *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*.

¹⁶² Ibn Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 4, p. 2289.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, footnote no. 2.

[SH] A tradition from the Noble Prophet (s) states that whoever publicizes an immoral act is like the one who initiated it, and whoever [publicly] upbraids a believer for something will not die until he has done the same thing.¹⁶⁴

Conclusion

Extracting and sourcing the *ahādīth* found in works of other genres can prove to be a beneficial venture. If the texts being studied are of early provenance, like *Kitāb al-Ayn* in this study, the traditions found therein give us an idea of what kind of narrations were in circulation at the time when the work was written or compiled. Since the traditions are taken from works that have not been compiled by ḥadīth scholars, they lack the ‘sophistication’ and even some of the biases that are commonly found in the works of various ḥadīth compilers. This leads us to acquire ‘raw’ traditions that are quoted by non-specialists in a given era, which can be very helpful not only in determining how prevalent some sayings were at any given time, but also in evaluating the authenticity of similar reports in the extant ḥadīth corpus. Just as the study of similar traditions from different geographical locations, or similar teachings in different religious traditions can help to heighten the probability of authenticity, so too can studying traditions found in early non-ḥadīth texts.

Furthermore, as this study has shown, expanding the scope of *takhrīj* to include traditions from both Sunnī and Shī‘ī ḥadīth collections clarifies the misconception in the minds of some that the traditions in the corpora of these different schools of thought are mutually exclusive, divergent, and contradictory. Such thinking has often led adherents of one school to completely reject the traditions found in the works of the other. However, those who closely study the traditions of both schools note that they have more in common than one might think. In this study, we have noted that all seventy of the

¹⁶⁴ Al-Ahwāzī, *Kitāb al-Mu'min*, p. 66.

sample traditions chosen have analogues in both Sunnī and Shī‘ī ḥadīth works. It should therefore become common practice for ḥadīth scholars to study all the traditions, regardless of which school their compilers espoused, in order to gain a better understanding of the meaning and context of traditions.

A more expansive scope of study yields better results and gives a clearer picture about statements that were spoken over a millennium ago. Restricting oneself to the verbatim utterances is a blunder since traditions were orally transmitted long before being written and recorded in the currently extant ḥadīth collections. This, along with the permission to relate traditions based on their meanings (*al-naql bil-ma‘nā*), means that the verbal structure of a single tradition may take varying forms. Sometimes transmitters would use synonyms or they would explain the purport of the tradition in their own words. As a result, we would not find many of the traditions were we to restrict ourselves to searching for the exact wordings of a given report. We have successively demonstrated this in the above study, and it is hoped that anyone who cannot find a particular saying by carrying out a search in the available digital libraries will take the time to delve deeper and look for anything similar in meaning before dismissing the tradition as false or fabricated.

6

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE *ASĀNĪD* OF AL-SHAYKH AL-ŞADŪQ’S ḤADĪTH COMPILATIONS

Muhammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, famously known as al-Shaykh al-Şadūq (d. 381 A.H.), was a prolific scholar who left behind a noteworthy legacy of works, mainly comprising ḥadīth collections. It is difficult to say for certain how many works he wrote, but some scholars have mentioned about three hundred books and treatises by him.¹ Out of these, less than twenty titles have reached us, and that too, if certain available works are counted as separate treatises (like *Thawāb al-A’māl* being separate from *Iqāb al-A’māl*, or the merits of each of the three months mentioned in *Faḍā’il al-Ashhur al-Thalāthah* counted as independent treatises). His works are mostly based on ḥadīth, even when discussing creedal matters, exegesis of the Qur’ān, historical reports, etc.

In this chapter, we will be carrying out a statistical analysis of the chains of transmission of ten of Ibn Bābawayh’s most important extant ḥadīth compilations.² The purpose of this study is primarily to see what kinds of traditions, in terms of their chains, have been included in al-Şadūq’s compilations according to current standards of ḥadīth *isnād* analysis. This, then, will give us some insight into the validity or lack

¹ Hasan Fatemi, “Āthār-i Shaykh Şadūq az Zabān-i Shaykh Şadūq,” in *Kitāb-i Māh-i Dīn*, 1380 A.H. Solar, p. 72. It is notable that al-Shaykh al-Şadūq travelled widely in order to acquire knowledge and learn traditions from different masters. He travelled to cities like Mashhad, Nayshāpūr, Balkh, Samarqand, Hamadān, Baghdād, Kūfah, and Makkah, and took traditions from numerous scholars of ḥadīth.

² The data used in this research comes primarily from the software *Dirāyat al-Hadīth* by Noorsoft (Qom, Iran).

thereof of certain broad claims about al-Ṣadūq himself, such as the claim that he was a proto-Akhbārī.³ Even his student, al-Shaykh al-Mufid, hints at his over-reliance on narrations when it comes to issues pertaining to beliefs and dogma, as evinced by some of his notes in his *Taṣḥīḥ Itiqādāt al-Imāmiyyah*. However, contrary to what we may expect, al-Ṣadūq does in fact employ rational arguments at times, in both the evaluation and elucidation of the meaning of traditions. This was actually the practice of the scholars of Qum when it came to ḥadīth. They did not neglect reason – they only considered it of secondary importance in the presence of ḥadīth.

While this can be seen, and examples of the same will be mentioned, from the works of al-Ṣadūq, we wanted to see if using statistical analysis of the chains of transmission present in his works might shed any more light on al-Ṣadūq's method and approach. It should be noted that in this study our focus will be on the chains of transmission, not the text (*matn*) of the traditions. It is also important to note there are usually more chains than traditions, since some reports have more than one chain. Furthermore, we have included reconstructed chains from the *mashīkhah* as well as from earlier chains, etc. Hence, the count done in this study does not reflect the number of traditions, but the number of chains. Likewise, when we mention which Infallible they are reported from, we mean the number of chains that end at that Infallible (or contain the name of that Infallible as one of its narrators).

Since we are primarily concerned with the *isnāds*, we have only listed eight data points for each work. The first four are: (a) the total number of chains, (b) narrations with no chains, (c) narrations with complete chains, and (d) narrations with incomplete chains. While the narrations that lack chains or have incomplete chains automatically fall under the category of weak narrations, those with complete chains may be sound or weak depending on the reliability of the individual transmitters. As such, the next four data points pertain to the soundness

³ Lajnat al-Taḥqīq, *Muǧam Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, vol. 1, p. 198.

or weakness of the chains, namely: (a) sound (*sahīh*), (b) reliable (*muwaththaq*), (c) acceptable (*mu'tabar*) and sound based on further investigation (*sahīh 'alā al-taḥqīq*),⁴ and (d) weak (*da'if*).⁵ Before getting into the statistics, it would be beneficial to look briefly at what we know about al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq's overall approach.

Al-Ṣadūq's Approach to Ḥadīth

According to al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, human intellect on its own, bereft of divine guidance and revelation, cannot attain an understanding of all truths and realities. To demonstrate this, he gives the example of how Prophet Mūsā (a) was, despite his intelligence and merit, incapable of understanding and deciphering the actions of al-Khiḍr that he witnessed, until the latter explained them to him.⁶ At the same time, he acknowledges that on its own, the intellect is capable of arriving at a general understanding about the existence and attributes of God. This can be evinced by many of his statements in the opening chapters of his work *al-Itiqādāt*. Furthermore, he employs rational arguments as proof for certain beliefs. For instance, he presents the cosmological argument from causality as well as the impossibility of infinite regress as proofs that God is pre-eternal.⁷

On the issue of apparent contradictions between traditions, al-Ṣadūq notes that it is not possible for Infallibles to contradict one another, yet assuming some of their sayings are contradictory is not surprising, since an ignorant individual might even consider some

⁴ This category includes traditions whose chains may look weak, but upon deeper inspection and by using methods such as chain reconstruction, or referring to extrinsic clues and evidence such as supporting traditions, they are deemed acceptable.

⁵ Weak traditions are of two general types: those deemed weak due to unreliable or unknown narrators, and those considered weak for other reasons such as incomplete chains.

⁶ Al-Ṣadūq, *Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, vol. 1, p. 62.

⁷ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥid*, pp. 80-1.

Qur'ānic verses to be contradictory. For instance, Q9:67 states: *They forgot Allah so He has forgotten them*, and Q7:51 states: *That day We shall forget them just as they forgot the meeting of this day of theirs...* yet on the other hand, Q19:64 states: *...and your Lord is never forgetful.*⁸ In cases where contradictory statements have indeed been reported, and no way to harmonize them exists, al-Ṣadūq selects what he deems to be authentic and rejects the alternative narrations, sometimes without mentioning his reasoning behind the selection.⁹

Furthermore, in trying to resolve apparent contradictions between traditions, or explaining why some traditions seemingly contradict the fundamental tenets of faith, at times al-Ṣadūq employs some of the same kind of reasoning that was used by later, more rationalist scholars such as al-Ṭūsī. For instance, he uses the explanation of dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) to explain a tradition reported from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), from the Prophet (ṣ), stating that his companions are like guiding stars. This is a tradition that is commonly evinced by Sunnīs and constitutes the cornerstone of their argument for the nigh-infallibility of the Companions. After quoting the same tradition from the sixth Imam, al-Ṣadūq explains that it was likely spoken out of *taqiyyah*.¹⁰ At times, he even explains how some deviant groups misinterpreted certain traditions. After quoting the reports pertaining to the martyrdom of Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim (a), he discusses the saying, "None can wash the dead body of an Imam save an Imam," which is attributed to Imam al-Ṣādiq (a). He notes how the Wāqifiyyah misused this tradition to argue that Imam al-Riḍā (a) could not be his successor because, according to them, he did not wash the dead body of his father.¹¹

Another interesting way in which al-Ṣadūq resolved apparent discrepancies between traditions was to interpret some traditions as

⁸ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Itiqādāt*, p. 123.

⁹ See: Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yabduruhu al-Faqīh*, vol. 2, p. 572.

¹⁰ Al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'āni al-Akhbār*, p. 157.

¹¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, vol. 1, p. 105.

questions, rhetorical or otherwise, rather than statements. We know that in early times there were no punctuation marks in Arabic texts that could be used to convey the intonation, pauses, or intent of a sentence. As such, a question or expression of surprise may be recorded as a regular statement and be read as such by those who were not present when it was spoken and were hence unaware of its context. An example of this is seen in his comment regarding a tradition in which the Prophet (ṣ) is said to have forbidden people from joining the fast of the last day of Sha'bān with that of the month of Ramaḍān. He interprets it as a rhetorical negative question, as if to say: “Would he (ṣ) do this himself yet forbid others from it?”¹²

The other method he employs in resolving such apparent contradictions is interpreting one tradition or group of traditions to be in reference to a specific context. So for instance, when he comes across two sets of traditions about the time for the night prayer (*salāt al-layl*), the first of which state that its time begins from midnight and continues until dawn, while the second states that its time is from the beginning of the night, al-Ṣadūq opines that the second set of traditions are specifically for those who are travelling.¹³ In this way, he resolves the apparent contradiction between the two sets of traditions. Al-Ṣadūq employs this method of reading traditions and explaining their specific contexts whenever a tradition that has a general connotation goes against the consensus opinion of the scholars of his age. After mentioning a narration in which Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) was asked about a group of people who were led by a Jew or Christian in prayer because they did not know the individual’s true beliefs, and he (a) said that there was no need for them to repeat the prayer, al-Ṣadūq states that this ruling is only applicable to prayers recited audibly, and not those recited softly.¹⁴

¹² Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqih*, vol. 2, p. 93.

¹³ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 478.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 405.

Just as scholars today resolve contradictory traditions by interpreting some as recommended rather than obligatory injunctions, al-Ṣadūq also used the same method more than a millennium ago. There are numerous traditions which clearly state that if a person is unconscious, he does not have to make up for the prayers he has missed when he regains consciousness. However, there are also some traditions which say that one should make up for the last three days' prayers, or the prayers of the last month in cases where one was unconscious for a prolonged period. Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq opines that since the second set of traditions also have sound chains, they cannot be dismissed, and as such must be interpreted as recommendations rather than mandatory prescriptions.¹⁵ Conversely, he interprets other traditions, like one in which the Prophet (ṣ) forbade plucking out white hair, as signifying discouragement rather than outright proscription.¹⁶

In cases where there is no way of resolving conflicting reports, al-Ṣadūq admits the existence of the discrepancy and then selects those traditions that he feels are correct based on evidence that is extrinsic to the reports themselves. For example, after noting the existence of reports which state that the son who was to be sacrificed by Prophet Ibrāhīm (a) was Ishāq, while other reports say it was Ismā‘il, al-Ṣadūq comments that it was indeed the latter who was to be sacrificed. However, when Ishāq was born and heard of the story, he wished that it had been him who was taken for the sacrifice and had passed the test with patience in the face of a divine command just as his brother had done. And since Allah knew what was in his heart, He named him 'one who is ready to be sacrificed' among the angels.¹⁷

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that al-Ṣadūq was more inclined to traditions than to rational argument. He would employ the latter only in a few cases where he felt it was necessary and that too, after

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 363.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 131.

¹⁷ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 230-1.

mentioning the relevant traditions regarding the subject. This does not necessarily make him a proto-Akhbārī, because as we have noted, he does not shy away from using rational proofs to explain or even reject certain narrations when he feels the need to do so. His use of reason as a means to resolve any ostensible disharmony among traditions is also further testimony of his acceptance of the probative value of the *'aql*. Likewise, the fact that he considers a sound solitary tradition to be sufficient evidence in creedal issues is not enough to warrant the ‘Akhbārī’ label. He also takes consensus (*ijmā'*) to be valid evidence in and of itself when other clear evidence is lacking.¹⁸

It is also noteworthy that al-Ṣadūq never claimed that all the traditions in each of his compilations are deemed by him to be sound and authentic. While it is true that he did make such a claim in one of his works, namely *Man Lā Yahduruḥu al-Faqih*, where he clearly states that he has only mentioned the traditions that he considers sound and on the basis of which he offers his juristic opinions, this is not the case for his other works. In his *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni'mah*, after mentioning some narrations about the occultation from those who lived to an advanced age (*al-mu'ammariṇ*), al-Ṣadūq explicitly says that he does not find these reports reliable. His only goal in adducing these narrations was because many people incline towards such reports and narrations.¹⁹ In one instance, after mentioning a narration, al-Ṣadūq declares, “I distance myself from attesting to the veracity of this report.”²⁰ Also, even though in some of his works he mentions a number of reports that speak about *tahrif* in the Qur’ān, yet in his *al-Itiqādāt*, he clearly states that the Qur’ān we have today is the very same Qur’ān that was revealed to the Prophet (ṣ).²¹

¹⁸ Al-Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni'mah*, vol. 1, p .108.

¹⁹ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 639.

²⁰ Al-Ṣadūq, *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā (a)*, vol. 2, p. 238.

²¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Itiqādāt*, p. 84.

Despite being famously known as *Rā'is al-Muhaddithīn*,²² al-Ṣadūq was not just a *muḥaddith* and a *faqīh*, he also studied history. Anyone who is aware of the historical-critical method that is commonly employed in academia knows how important history is in understanding the context behind what is reported and narrated. Al-Ṣadūq is said to have authored a number of works on history such as *Tārikh al-Akhbār* and *al-Awā'il*, among others, which have unfortunately not reached us. However, the very fact that he was interested in history shows that he did not view the ḥadīth simplistically and without considering the circumstances under which they were spoken and recorded. His critical approach is evinced in *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (a) where he refrains from adducing historical reports that he disagrees with, even when they are mentioned in important works like al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfi*.²³ Furthermore, when investigating a historical question, like the date of Imam al-Riḍā's birth and martyrdom, al-Ṣadūq critically analyzes the different available reports before coming to a conclusion.²⁴

In his quest to bring a sense of ease to the Shī'ah, who were in a state of perplexity (*hayrah*) due to the prolonged occultation of their Imam, al-Ṣadūq included certain traditions that highlight, and even amplify, the merits and status of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). This is why we find narrations in al-Ṣadūq's ḥadīth collections that speak about supernatural events in the lives of the Imams, such as the story of how Imam al-Jawād (a) travelled a lengthy distance in a short time (*tayy al-ard*) to come to his father's bedside from Madīnah when he had been

²² Some of this other appellations and titles include: *Ṣadūq al-Muslimin*, *Āyatullāh*, *al-Shaykh al-Ażam*, *Hujjat al-Islām*, *al-Maulūd bi al-Da'wah* (due to his having been born by the supplication of the 12th Imam), and *Imād al-Dīn*, among others (See: Mahdī Jalālī, "Ravishe Ibn Bābawayh dar Naqde ḥadīth," *Muṭāli'āte Islāmī: Ulūme Qur'ān va ḥadīth*, Issue no. 93, Autumn 1393 A.H. Solar).

²³ Tawhīdīniyā, Rūhullāh and Muḥammad 'Alī, "Binish va Ravish Dar Tārikhnigāri Shaykh Ṣadūq," *Faṣlnāmeye Ilmī-Pazhūhishīye Tārikhe Islām*, Issue 17, Spring, 1398 A.H. Solar.

²⁴ Al-Ṣadūq, *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (a), vol. 1, pp. 18-20, and vol. 2, pp. 240-50.

poisoned by Ma'mūn. When Abū Ṣalṭ saw Imam al-Jawād inside the locked house and asked how he came, the Imam replied that it was by the permission of the Almighty that he was granted the ability to travel from afar and enter the locked house.²⁵

Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq would sometimes explicitly state that the tradition he has quoted is unreliable. After mentioning a tradition about what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) had said regarding wiping his boots during ablution, he notes that the report is unsound for two main reasons. Firstly, the Prophet (ṣ) did not own any boots aside from those given to him as a gift by the Najāshī, which had a slit near the soles so the Prophet was able to wipe his feet while wearing the boots, but the people mistakenly thought that he had wiped the boots while performing ablution. Secondly, the narration about this does not have a sound chain of transmitters.²⁶ At times, part of a tradition that is found questionable is noted by him. For instance, after quoting one tradition that mentions the name of the 12th Imam (a), al-Ṣadūq states that though the report has been related with the Imam's name, he believes that it is forbidden to openly mention the name of the Imam (a).²⁷

Statistical Analysis

Man Lā Yaḥḍuruḥu al-Faqīh

In his introduction to this work, which later became part of the primary ḥadīth collections of the Shī'ah, al-Ṣadūq says that when he travelled to Balkh, he met with a respectable man by the name of Sharīf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Ishāq, and due to his lofty etiquette, he felt at ease in his company. The man spoke about the book *Man Lā*

²⁵ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 243.

²⁶ Al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yaḥḍuruḥu al-Faqīh*, vol. 1, p. 48.

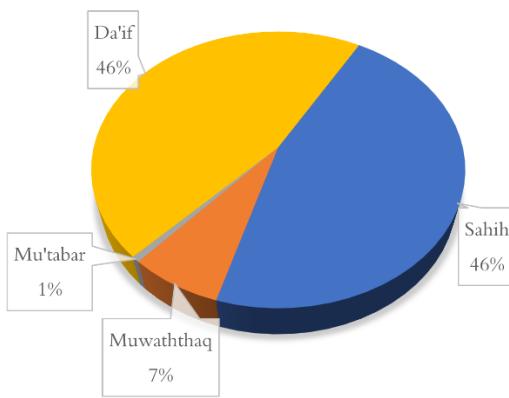
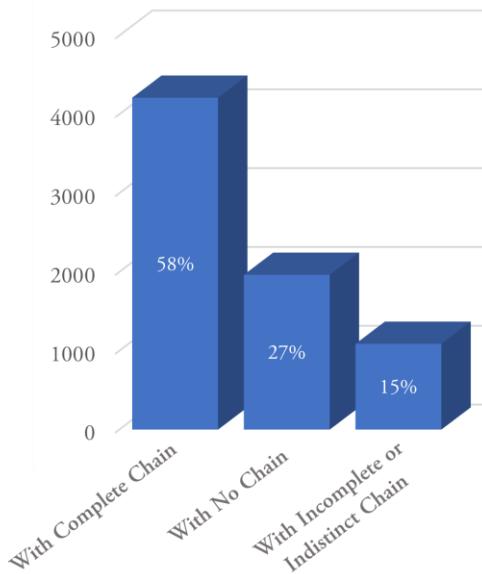
²⁷ Al-Ṣadūq, *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā (a)*, vol. 1, p. 41.

Yahduruḥu al-Ṭabīb and commented that it was a comprehensive manual of medicine. He then requested al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq to write a book on Islamic law, outlining what is permissible and what is forbidden, in a similarly comprehensive manner. He also suggested that al-Ṣadūq name the book *Man Lā Yahduruḥu al-Faqīh*. He wanted it to be a reliable source that was available to those who might seek to attain some reward by acting upon it. So al-Ṣadūq obliged and wrote this very important work.

Sharīf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Iṣhāq also made copies of many of the over two hundred titles that al-Ṣadūq had taken with himself to Balkh. This showed him that he was a serious individual and motivated him all the more to embark on the compilation that later came to be one of the four canonical ḥadīth collections (*al-kutub al-arba'ah*). In his introduction, al-Ṣadūq mentions that his goal was not to include all the traditions on the different legal topics, but only those that he deemed reliable and based on which he gave religious rulings (*fatāwā*). Furthermore, al-Ṣadūq states that all the traditions he mentions are taken from reliable sources and then he proceeds to list some of them. In the end, he says that his chains to these sources have been recorded in the appendix known as the *mashīkhah*.

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 7263

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 4211
- With no chain: 1964
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 1088
- Ṣaḥīḥ: 3359
- Muwaththaq: 509
- Mu'tabar + Ṣaḥīḥ 'alā al-Taḥqīq: 47
- Ḑa'iif: 3348 (due to weak narrator(s): 325, for other reasons: 3023)



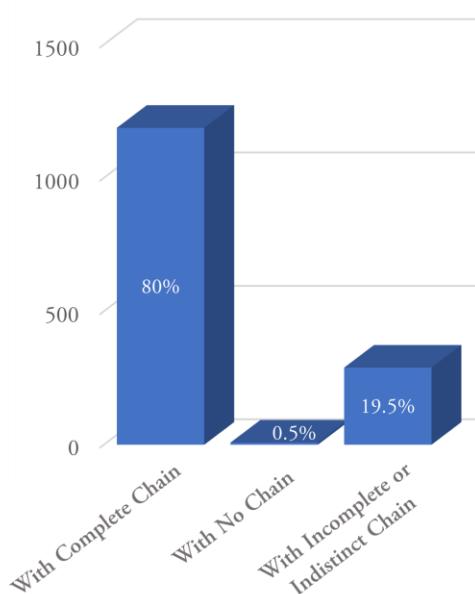
I'lal al-Sharā'i'

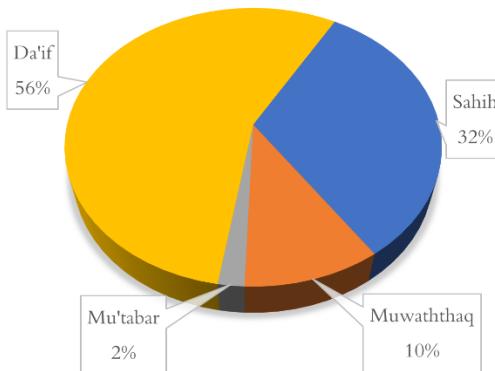
This two volume work deals with the logic and reasoning behind religious injunctions, as well as tenets of faith. The first volume mostly

addresses creedal matters such as how the world was created, the chosen Prophets and Messengers and their role in guiding the people, the Imams as successors to the final Prophet (ṣ), etc. The second volume, however, mostly deals with various legal matters and those pertaining to ritual praxis.

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 1485

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 1188
- With no chain: 8
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 289
- *Ṣahīḥ*: 477
- *Muwaththaq*: 151
- *Mu'tabar + Ṣahīḥ 'alā al-Taḥqīq*: 29
- *Da'if*: 828 (due to weak narrator(s): 295, for other reasons: 533)





Uyun Akhbār al-Riḍā (a)

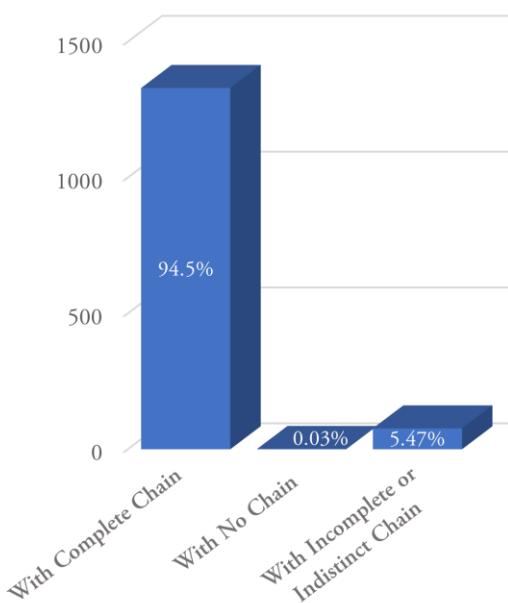
After reading two poems by the vizier Ismā'il ibn ‘Abbād (famously known as Ṣāḥib ibn ‘Abbād) which contained salutations to Imam ‘Alī al-Riḍā (a), al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq wrote this work and gifted it to him for his personal library. He did this because he knew how much Ibn ‘Abbād valued the Ahl al-Bayt (a) and their teachings. Furthermore, by writing this work, al-Ṣadūq hoped to repay Ibn ‘Abbād’s kindness to him and prayed that he would overlook any of his shortcomings in doing so. In his introduction to this work, al-Ṣadūq also prays for the vizier, that his justice continues to prevail and any problems or difficulties he faces get resolved with ease. To honor him further, al-Ṣadūq quotes two traditions from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) in which the Imam praises those who compose or recite poetry praising the Ahl al-Bayt. He also mentions one tradition from Imam al-Riḍā in which he says the same, and also speaks of the great reward that awaits those who recite poems in praise of the Prophet’s progeny (a).

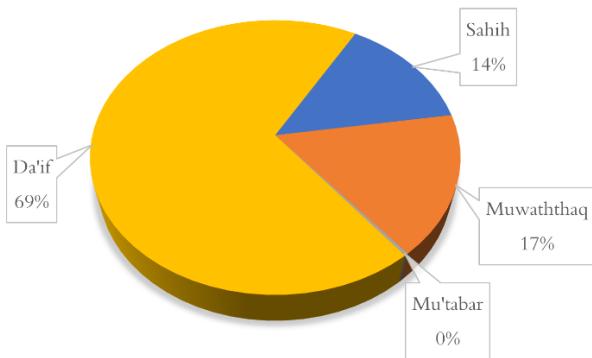
In its 69 chapters, this book presents narrations from Imam ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (a) on various topics ranging from matters of creed and belief to ethics and history. From the chains of transmission of this work, it is evident that al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq compiled the traditions he

had gathered from at least ten of his journeys, including his travels to Balkh, Tūs, Nayshāpūr, Rayy, Hamadān, Baghdād and Kūfah. Perhaps it is for this reason that many of the narrators in the chains found in this work are lesser-known individuals.

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 1408

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 1330
- With no chain: 1
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 77
- Ṣahīḥ: 200
- Muwaththaq: 233
- Mu'tabar + Ṣahīḥ 'alā al-Taḥqīq: 4
- Da'iif: 971 (due to weak narrator(s): 129, for other reasons: 842)





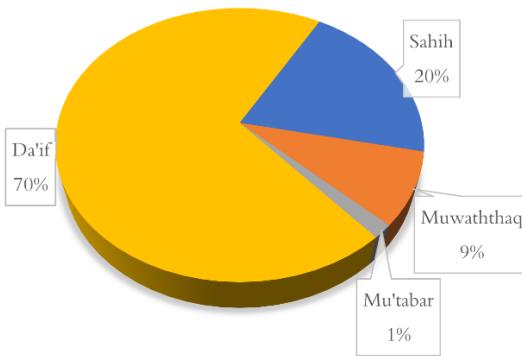
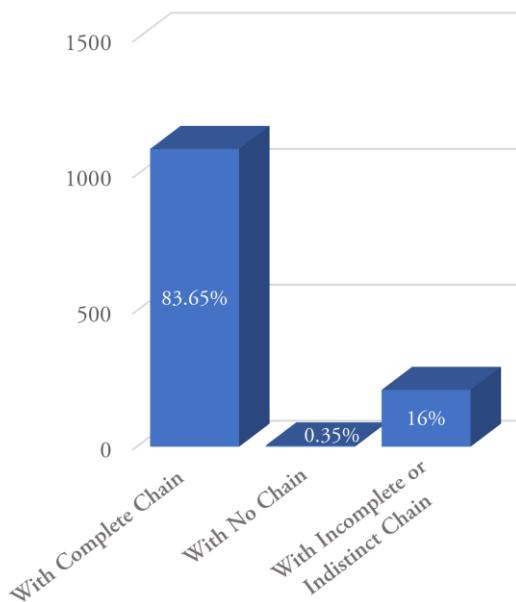
Al-Khiṣāl

In his introduction to this book, al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq notes that his predecessors had not written any work based on a numerical classification of narrations pertaining to ethical matters. Since he felt that such a compilation would be beneficial to both students as well as those who were interested in learning about merits and virtues, he embarked on writing this work seeking thereby the pleasure of Allah, the Exalted.

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 1309

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 1095
- With no chain: 5
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 209
- Ṣahīḥ: 262
- Muwaththaq: 113
- Mu'tabar + Ṣahīḥ 'alā al-Tahqīq: 21
- Da'if: 913 (due to weak narrator(s): 442, for other reasons: 471)

THE *ASĀNID* OF AL-ṢADŪQ'S HADĪTH COMPILEDATIONS

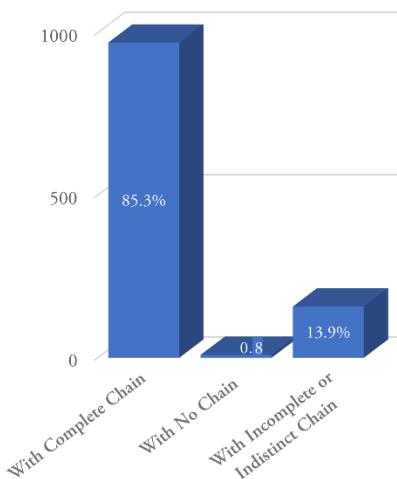


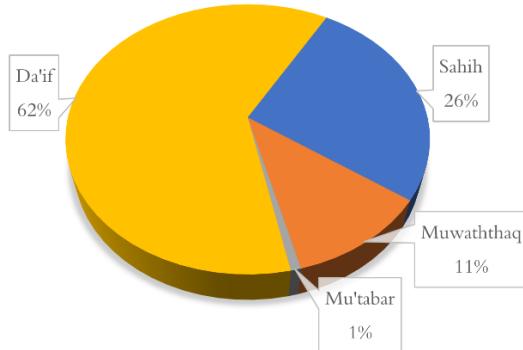
Thawāb al-A‘māl wa Iqāb al-A‘māl

Of these two treatises that have been combined and published as a single volume, it is in the introduction of *Thawāb al-A‘māl* that al-Ṣadūq mentions his motivation for writing the work. He says that it was the ḥadīth of the Prophet (ṣ), “He who guides towards a good deed is like the one who has done it.” He proceeds to say that he has named the work *Thawāb al-A‘māl* with the hope that Allah does not deprive him of its reward, for his only goal in writing it was to please Allah and gain proximity to Him.

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 1137

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 970
- With no chain: 9
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 158
- Ṣahīḥ: 300
- Muwaththaq: 128
- Mu‘tabar + Ṣahīḥ ‘alā al-Tahqīq: 9
- Da‘if: 700 (due to weak narrator(s): 326, for other reasons: 374)



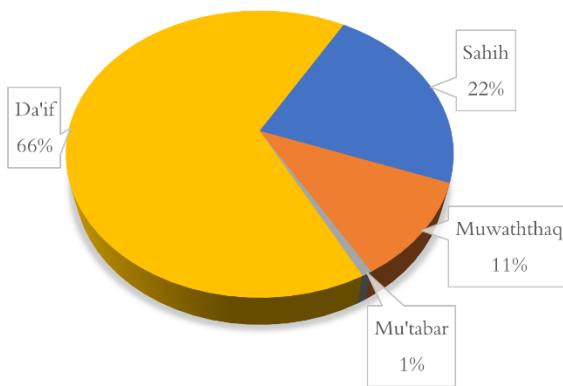
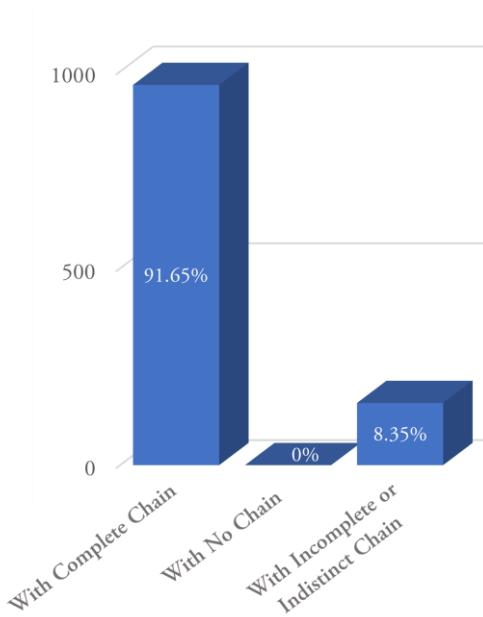


Al-Amālī

This is a work that is based on the ḥadīth sessions (*majālis*) of al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq. Some of the traditions contained in it are about matters of belief, but they have not been arranged in separate chapters. Rather, they are mentioned among the other ethical and legal traditions which comprise most of the collection. For instance, in his 93rd *majlis*, al-Ṣadūq summarizes the fundamental tenets of the Imāmiyyah and also discusses some related issues such as the ascension (*mi'rāj*) of the Prophet (ṣ).

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 1054

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 966
- With no chain: 0
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 88
- Ṣahīḥ: 236
- Muwaththaq: 115
- Mu'tabar + Ṣahīḥ 'alā al-Taḥqīq: 8
- Da'if: 695 (due to weak narrator(s)): 297, for other reasons: 398)



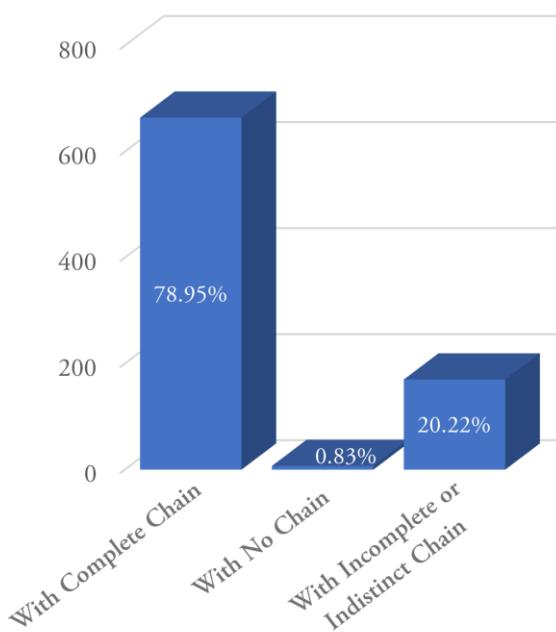
Ma'āni al-Akhbār

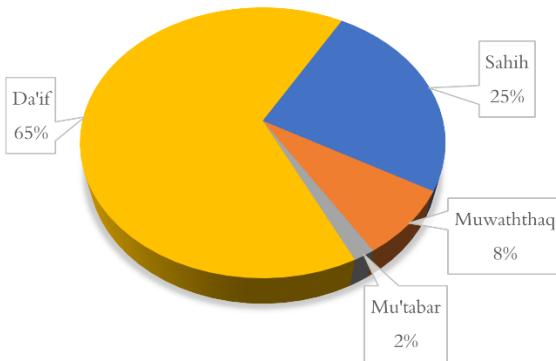
This is a two-volume work [in published form] aimed at explaining the meanings of verses, traditions, as well as phrases and words contained therein. The first volume mostly deals with traditions on creedal

matters whereas the second volume deals with other subjects such as ethics and jurisprudential matters.

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 841

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 664
- With no chain: 7
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 170
- *Ṣahīḥ*: 209
- *Muwaththaq*: 67
- *Mu'tabar + Ṣahīḥ 'alā al-Taḥqīq*: 14
- *Da'iif*: 551 (due to weak narrator(s): 201, for other reasons: 350)





Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni'mah

On his way back from the *ziyārah* of Imam ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Ridā (a), al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq stopped at Nayshāpūr for a while. A number of Shī‘ahs went to visit him and he noticed that most of them were confounded by the matter of the twelfth Imam’s occultation. This had led to doubts in some of their minds and they had taken recourse to other ways, such as personal opinions or analogy. For this reason, he embarked on trying to clarify the matter for them and guide them to the right path through the traditions of the Prophet and Imams regarding this matter. Later, he met with the eminent Shaykh from Bukhārā who was visiting Qum, Najm al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, from whose grandfather al-Ṣadūq’s father had narrated traditions. When he met him, al-Ṣadūq found that after debating with some of the philosophers of Bukhārā, he too had questions and doubts about the lengthy occultation of the Imam (a).

By mentioning some reliable traditions about this to him, al-Ṣadūq was able to alleviate his doubts. Najm al-Dīn then requested that he write a book on this topic so that it might help anyone else who has the same questions or doubts. Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq gave his word that once he returned home to Rayy, he would embark on such a project. One

night, he saw a dream that he was performing *tawāf* of the Ka'bah when all of a sudden, he saw the Imam of the Age (a). He greeted the Imam and spoke to him. The Imam asked him to write a book about his occultation which specifically mentioned the occultation of the Prophets of the past. Then the Imam left, and at that very moment al-Ṣadūq woke up from his sleep. He spent the rest of the night in sadness and weeping, and after morning dawned, he began writing the book as he had been instructed.

In his lengthy introduction to this work, spanning some 120 odd pages, al-Ṣadūq presents discussions on the topics of *mahdawiyyah* and the occultation. He bases his views on rational as well as scriptural evidence and even mentions opposing views before proceeding to argue against them and prove his own position. This is one of the longest introductions of any of al-Ṣadūq's extant works. The introduction is followed by two volumes with a total of 59 chapters comprising traditions and anecdotes aimed at proving the existence of the 12th Imam and answering the doubts pertaining to his prolonged occultation. Yet there are some other interesting discussions that al-Ṣadūq also addresses in this work albeit in passing. For example, on the issue of *badā'*, which the Shī'ah believe in and for which they are wrongfully accused by some of thinking either that God changes His mind or is unaware of certain things, al-Ṣadūq explains that the term only means that the will and decree of Allah becomes apparent – which is also the literal meaning of the term.²⁸

While some scholars, such as al-Mufid and al-Majlisī, have mentioned the title of this work as *Ikmāl al-Dīn wa Itmām al-Ni'mah*, that is only because they wanted the link between the title and verse three of Sūrah al-Mā'idah to be completely evident. However, since al-Ṣadūq was not aiming to 'perfect' the religion or 'complete' the favor, and was rather intending to present reports about the perfection of the faith and completion of the favor, the correct name of the work is *Kamāl*

²⁸ Al-Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni'mah*, vol. 1, p. 70.

al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni‘mah. This is also attested to by many of the extant manuscripts of the work.²⁹ Regarding the traditions contained in this work, it is interesting to note that in many places one narration is adduced with numerous chains of narrators, or one meaning is presented with many variant wordings. For instance, in the chapter on the need for an Imam, there are twenty-three narrations with the same connotation using different chains and wording – all pertaining to how the world can never remain without an Imam.

Similarly, in the chapter on Imam ‘Alī’s informing the people about the Mahdi (a), there is a tradition narrated on the authority of Kumayl ibn Ziyād al-Nakha‘ī from Imam ‘Alī (a) mentioned with 14 different chains of transmission. Furthermore, if a similar tradition is mentioned in Sunnī works, al-Ṣadūq also mentions it. Hence, we find some traditions from individuals who are identified as non-Shī‘ī, such as Mujāhid, Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, Muḥammad ibn al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī, and Mubārak ibn Faḍālah, mentioned in this work. In cases where he deemed it necessary, al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq explains the meaning of some of the traditions. For example, after mentioning the tradition in which Imam al-Ṣādiq responds to a questioner about the status of one who does not know the Imam of his time, saying that he is not a believer (*mu’min*), but merely a Muslim, al-Ṣadūq gives an explanation about the distinction between these two terms.³⁰

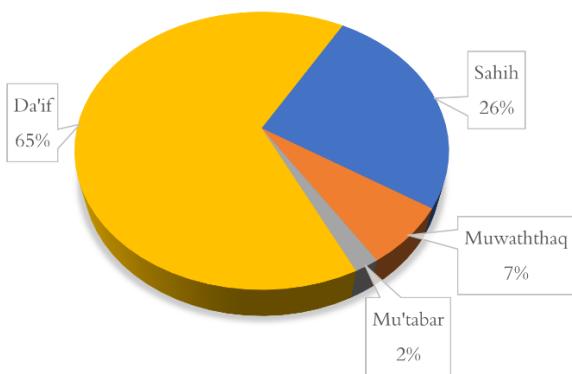
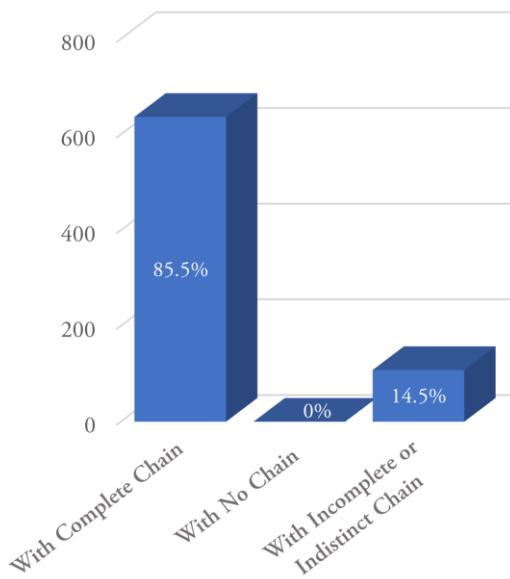
No. of total *asānid* in this work: 745

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 637
- With no chain: 0
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 108
- Ṣahīḥ: 192
- Muwaththaq: 51

²⁹ ‘Ātife Zarsāzān, “Ravishe Shaykh Ṣadūq dar Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni‘mah,” *Faṣl-Nāme Ḥadīth Pazhūhī*, Summer, 1392 A.H. Solar.

³⁰ Al-Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni‘mah*, vol. 2, p. 410.

- Mu'tabar + Ṣahīh 'alā al-Tahqīq: 14
- Da'if: 488 (due to weak narrator(s): 153, for other reasons: 335)



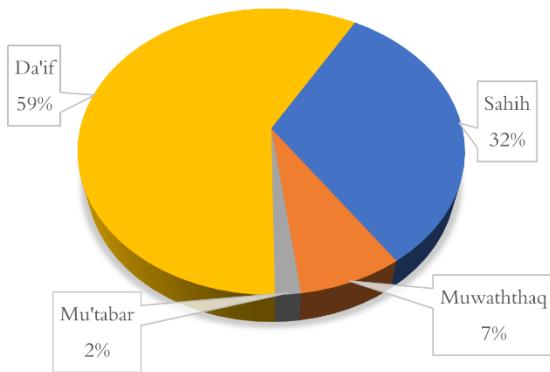
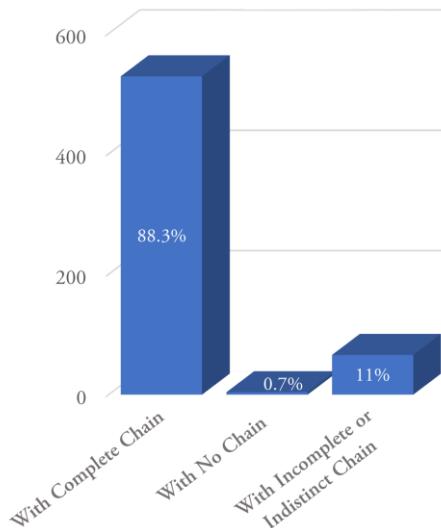
Al-Tawhīd

The motivation behind writing this work was that a group of individuals wrongfully attributed belief in ascribing a likeness to the divine (*tashbih*) and predestination (*jabr*) to the Shī‘ah. This is because among the traditions we have in our ḥadīth corpus, there are some narrations that they did not correctly understand and hence misinterpreted them, thinking them to mean what they do not mean. For this reason, al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq compiled this work in order to dispel the misconceptions and respond to the ugly accusations of this group against the followers of the school of the Ahl al-Bayt (a). From his introduction, we can evince how distressed al-Ṣadūq was at the misportrayal and malicious misrepresentations of the beliefs of the Shī‘ah that prevented the people from coming towards the true path of guidance and made them turn away from the divinely appointed guides. Thus it was that he wrote this book to clarify the belief in divine oneness (*tawhīd*) and the negation of any ascription of likeness to the divine among the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (a).³¹ This book comprises 67 chapters that deal with the general themes of unicity of God and there being nothing like Him, as well as divine attributes and actions.

No. of total *asānid* in this work: 599

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 529
- With no chain: 4
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 66
- Ṣahīḥ: 192
- Muwaththaq: 45
- Mu‘tabar + Ṣahīḥ ‘alā al-Taḥqīq: 11
- Da‘if: 351 (due to weak narrator(s): 125, for other reasons: 226)

³¹ Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawhīd*, pp. 17-18.



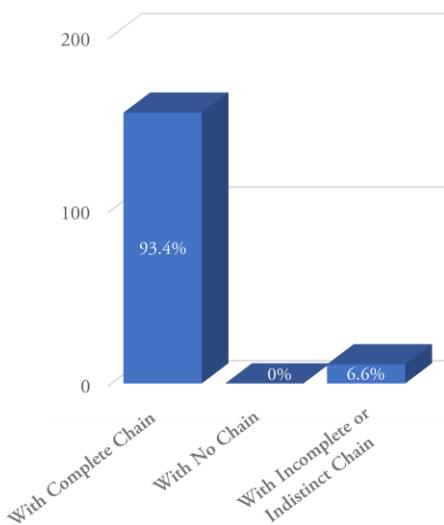
Fadā'il al-Ashbur al-Thalāthah

This work contains the merits of the three months Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramaḍān. It would seem that it is combination of three separate booklets written by al-Ṣadūq, each one recounting the merits of one of

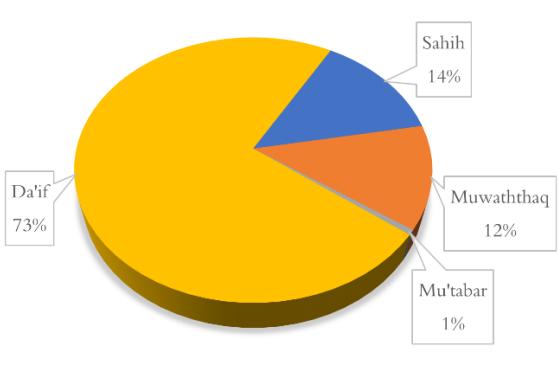
the mentioned months. Aside from the merits of these months, al-Ṣadūq has also described some of the recommended practices that are to be performed in these months. The current title of this work became popular after the time of al-Ṣadūq and has not been mentioned anywhere by the author himself. Rather, he has referred to each booklet as a separate and independent text.³²

No. of total *asānīd* in this work: 167

- With complete chain of clearly named transmitters: 156
- With no chain: 0
- With incomplete or indistinct chain of transmitters: 11
- Ṣahīḥ: 23
- Muwaththaq: 21
- Mu'tabar + Ṣahīḥ 'alā al-Taḥqīq: 1
- Da'iif: 122 (due to weak narrator(s): 59, for other reasons: 63)



³² See for example: al-Ṣadūq, *Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqih*, vol. 2, p. 92.



Conclusion

While it is commonly believed that al-Ṣadūq was a proto-Akhbārī, an in-depth analysis of his works gives us a more nuanced picture of his approach and methodology. From an overview of his ḥadīth collections, it is evident that al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq was quite aware of the intricacies of ḥadīth evaluation. He knew about the status of different narrators, and how some of them held divergent beliefs or had animosity against the Ahl al-Bayt (a).³³ He would also at times relate traditions from those who are known to be Sunnī narrators, especially if the traditions were corroborated by others with stronger chains.³⁴ His insistence on mentioning the chains of transmission for every narration, with only a handful of exceptions, only bolsters the idea that evaluation of chains was considered important to al-Ṣadūq.

While we did not look at all of al-Ṣadūq's extant works in this study, and there are also many of his works that have not reached us, the main

³³ In a number of places he gives his opinions regarding certain narrations and at times even expresses dismay at the contents of some traditions given the background of the individuals who have narrated them. See, for example, his view on the narration of the *nāṣibī* 'Alī ibn Muhammad ibn al-Jahm in *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā*, vol. 1, p 204.

³⁴ See for example, *al-Tawḥid*, vol. 1, p. 21, h. 9.

ḥadīth texts he compiled have been examined and give us sufficient data to arrive at our conclusion that while his methodology was clearly different from what is common among contemporary scholars, he was cognizant about the importance of avoiding false attributions to the Infallibles by any means. Since all the works we examined had a significant percentage of weak chains of transmission, we understand that he did not solely rely on *asānīd* to evaluate the reliability of narrations. Furthermore, it is evident that al-Ṣadūq had his own yardstick for evaluating the narrators which differed significantly from what scholars who came after him, like al-Ṭūsī and al-Najāshī, recorded in their Rijāl works.

NARRATIONS FROM ZAYDĪ SOURCES ON THE MARTYRDOM OF AL-HUSAYN (A)

There are a number of known and extant Zaydī sources that discuss the tragedy of Karbalā'. Some of these sources are quite early and even contain the narrations of a number of companions of the Imams (a). A compilation of traditions taken from a couple of such early Zaydī ḥadīth works was published just over a decade ago by ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥirz al-Dīn with the title: *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn min Amālī al-Sayyidayn*. As the title suggests, the compiler took traditions from two Amālī authors namely, the Amālī of Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥārūnī (d. 424 AH) which is titled *Taysīr al-Maṭālib fi Amālī Abī Ṭālib*, and the Amālīs of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Murshid Billāh Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Shājirī (d. 479 AH) which are known as *al-Amālī al-Ithnayniyyah* and *al-Amālī al-Khamīsiyyah*.¹ In this chapter, we will present a translation of the 107 narrations that have been compiled in this work, which gives one a good idea of the Zaydī traditions regarding the martyrdom of Abā ‘Abdillāh (a) and the extent to which they differ or agree with the traditions recorded in our own works.

Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥārūn, also known as Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥārūnī was among the great imams of the Zaydiyyah. He was a scholar, a jurist, a tradent, and a memorizer of the Glorious Qur’ān. He was born in Āmul in 340 AH and studied subjects such as jurisprudence, legal theory, and didactic theology under the great masters of his time. After the death of his elder brother, he became the imam of the

¹ They were so named because they were written every Monday (*ithnayn*) and Thursday (*khamīs*) respectively.

Zaydiyyah in Daylam. He had one son, Abū Hāshim Muḥammad, who succeeded him after his death at the age of 84 (in 424 AH). He is buried in Jurjān. He authored some fifteen books and treatises on a variety of subjects from history and jurisprudence, to poetry and polemics. His *Amālī*, which is a collection of narrations on miscellaneous topics, is the first source for this compilation on Zaydī narrations about Karbalā'.

Abū al-Ḥusayn Yahyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismaīl, better known as al-Murshid Billāh, is another important Zaydī figure. He was an imam and renowned scholar of the Zaydiyyah in Daylam, Jurjān, and Rayy during the reign of al-Muṣṭaẓhir al-‘Abbāsī. A polymath and expert in various fields of Islamic studies, he was especially known to have narrated a lot of traditions. It is even said that he travelled to 400 lands in search of ḥadīth, and he learned from 400 shuyūkh. As a young boy, his first teacher was his father, al-Muwaffaq Billāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismaīl. He was also a teacher of many of the well-known scholars such as Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Daqqāq and Yahyā ibn Ṭāhir al-Sammān. He died in Rayy at the age of 67. Out of the six works he authored, his two *Amālī* works are more prominent and constitute the second source for this compilation.

We have omitted the chains of narrators for the sake of brevity, and because the purpose of this chapter is to get an overall picture of the narrations that are found in Zaydī sources regarding the tragedy of Karbalā', not to analyse them or seek to ascertain their authenticity. The original Arabic text of the work is available online² and contains all the chains of transmission and even mentions other sources that quote the narrations, for those who are interested. While most of the reports are also found in other early non-Zaydī sources, there are a handful of traditions that are unique and worth exploring further in future. Notably, even in the narrations that are otherwise well-known, there are a few slight differences in wording that do not change the general

² See: https://archive.org/download/almoamltv_gmail_20131107/مقتل_الحسين.pdf

meaning as such, but do at times paint a slightly different picture. It is hoped that those who are interested in this line of research will make use of the text and translation in order to delve deeper into the nuanced differences in the Zaydī approach to understanding Karbalā'.

The Narrations

(١) عن أبي ذر رضي الله عنه قال: قال رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وآله: مثل أهل بيتي مثل سفينة نوح، من ركب فيها نجا ومن تخلف عنها غرق وهو. ومن قاتلنا في آخر الزمان فكأنما قاتل مع الدجّال.

(1) Abū Dharr, may Allah be pleased with him, reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, “The example of my household is like that of the Ark of Nūh, whoever embarks it is saved and whoever turns away from it is drowned and destroyed. Whoever fights us during the final days, it is as though he has fought on the side of al-Dajjāl.”

(٢) عن أبي سعيد الخدري، أنّ رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وآله قال: إنَّ اللَّهَ حرماتٌ مِنْ حفظِهِنَّ حفظُ اللَّهِ لَهُ أَمْرُ دِينِهِ وَدُنْيَاِهِ، وَمَنْ ضَيَّعَهُنَّ لَمْ يَحْفَظْهُ اللَّهُ لَهُ شَيْئًا. قيل: وما هي يا رسول الله؟ قال: حرمة الإسلام، وحرمي، وحرمة رحمي.

(2) Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, “Verily Allah has some inviolable ordinances and whoever preserves them, Allah preserves for him the affair of his religion and his worldly life, but whoever forsakes them, Allah will not preserve anything for him.” Someone asked, “What are they O Messenger of Allah?” He said, “The inviolability of Islam, my inviolability, and the inviolability of my womb relatives.”

(٣) عن علي عليه السلام قال: قال رسول الله عليه وآله: أهل بيته أمان أهل الأرض كما أن النجوم أمان لأهل السماء، فويل لمن خذلهم وعاندهم.

(3) 'Alī (a) reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, "My household are [the source of] security for the people of the world, just as the stars are a security for the inhabitants of the heavens. So woe be to the one who abandons them or opposes them."

(٤) عن عبد الله [بن مسعود] قال: قال رسول الله عليه وآله: الحسن والحسين سيدا شباب أهل الجنة. من أحبهما فقد أحبني، ومن أبغضهما فقد أغضبني.

(4) 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, "Al-Hasan and al-Husayn are the masters of the youth of Paradise. Whoever loves them has loved me, and whoever loathes them has loathed me."

(٥) عن أبي هريرة قال: خرج علينا رسول الله عليه وآله وعليه السلام ومعه الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام، هذا على عاتقه وهذا على عاتقه، وهو يلثم هذا مرّة ويلثم هذا مرّة، فقال رجل: يا رسول الله، اتحبّهما؟ فقال: من أحبهما فقد أحبّني، ومن أبغضهما فقد أغضبني.

(5) Abū Hurayrah said, "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) came out to us while al-Hasan and al-Husayn (a) were with him, one of them was on one of his shoulders and the other was on his other shoulder. He would alternately kiss one of them and then kiss the other. So a man asked him, 'O Messenger of Allah, do you love them both?' He replied, '[Yes, and] whoever loves them has loved me, and whoever hates them has shown hatred towards me.'"

(٦) عن يعلى [بن مرّة] العامري أَنَّهُ خرَجَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَى طَعَامِ دُعَوَالِهِ، فَاسْتَمْثَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمَامَ الْقَوْمِ، وَحَسِينًا عَلَيْهِ الْكَلَّا مَعَ غَلْمَانًا يَلْعَبُ، فَأَرَادَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ يَأْخُذَهُ، فَطَفَقَ الصَّبَّيُّ يَفْرَّ هَاهُنَا مَرَّةً وَهَاهُنَا مَرَّةً، فَجَعَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنْ يَأْخُذَهُ، قَالَ: فَوْضَعَ إِحْدَى يَدِيهِ تَحْتَ قَفَاهُ وَالْأُخْرَى تَحْتَ ذَقْنِهِ، فَوْضَعَ فَاهُ عَلَى فِيهِ وَقْبَلَهُ، وَقَالَ: حَسِينٌ مَنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْ حَسِينٍ، أَحَبُّ اللَّهَ مِنْ أَحَبَّ حَسِينًا، حَسِينٌ سَبْطٌ مِنَ الْأَسْبَاطِ.

(6) Ya'lā ibn Murrah al-Āmirī reported that he once went out with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) for a meal they had been invited to, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) proceeded ahead of the group. Ḥusayn (a) was playing with some boys so the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) wanted to take him, but the young lad started running away, from one place to the next, so the Messenger of Allah started [running after him and] making him laugh, until he caught him. Then he (the narrator) said, “He (ṣ) placed one of his hands under his nape and the other under his chin, then he placed his mouth upon his and kissed him, and he said, ‘Ḥusayn is from me and I am from Ḥusayn. Allah loves the one who loves Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn is a descendant among the righteous descendants [of the Prophets].³’”

(٧) عن يعلى بن مرّة قال: كننا مع رسول الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فدعينا الى طعام، فإذا الحسين يلعب في الطريق، فاسرع النبي عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ امام القوم، ثم بسط يده فجعل حسین يمر مرّة ها هنا ومرّة ها هنا فيصاحكه حتی أخذته، فجعل إحدى يديه في رقبته

³ This translation is based on the term *sibṭ* as it is employed in Q3:84. However, in another interpretation of the phrase offered by Ibn Manzûr and others, the term refers to a tribe, community or nation. If that meaning were to be accepted, the translation of this phrase would read: ‘Ḥusayn is an entire nation [unto himself] among the righteous nations.’

والأخرى بين رأسه وأذنيه، ثم اعتنقه فقبله، ثم قال رسول الله ﷺ: حسین متی وآنا منه، أحب الله من أحب الحسن والحسين – أي هما سبطان من الأسباط.

(7) Ya'lā ibn Murrah said, “We were with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and were invited for a meal. At that moment, al-Ḥusayn was playing on the road, so the Prophet (ṣ) rushed ahead of the people and extended his hand [in order to take him] but Ḥusayn started moving about from one side to another, so he (ṣ) made him laugh until he had caught him. Then he placed one of his hands on his neck and the other between his head and his ears, after which he embraced him and kissed him. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) then said, ‘Ḥusayn is from me and I am from him; Allah loves the one who loves al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn – that is [since] they are both descendants from the righteous descendants [of Prophets].’”

(8) عن علي بن أبي طالب ؓ قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ: لمّا أسرى بي رأيت على باب الجنة مكتوبًا بالذهب لا بماء الذهب: لا إله إلا الله، محمد حبيب الله، علي ولي الله، فاطمة أمّة الله، الحسن والحسين صفوّة الله، على باغضيهم لعنة الله.

(8) ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib (a) said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, ‘When I was taken [to the heavens] by night, I saw [that it was] written on the door of Paradise with gold, not [merely] gold plating:⁴ There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the beloved of Allah, ‘Alī is the friend of Allah, Fāṭimah is the maidservant of Allah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are the specially chosen ones of Allah, [and] upon those who have hatred for them be the curse of Allah.’”

⁴ The phrase ‘not [merely] gold plating’ is not found in other versions of this tradition and might have been a later interpolation.

(٩) عن سلمان قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ: الحسن والحسين من أحبهما أحبّه، ومن أبغضهما أبغضه. ومن أحبّه أحبّه الله تعالى، ومن أحبّه الله أدخله الجنة، جنة النعيم. ومن أبغضهما وبغى عليهما أبغضه، ومن أبغضه أبغضه الله، ومن أبغضه الله أدخله نار جهنّم خالداً فيها، وله عذاب مقين.

(9) Salmān reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, “Al-Hasan and al-Husayn [are such that] I love whoever loves them both, and I loathe the one who loathes them. And whoever I love is loved by Allah, the Exalted, and whoever is loved by Allah, He admits him into Paradise – a garden of [perpetual] bounties. And I loathe whoever loathes them both and goes against them, and whoever I loathe is loathed by Allah, and whoever is loathed by Allah is cast into the fire of Hell by Him, to abide therein, and he shall have everlasting punishment.”

(١٠) عن عليٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى: أَخْرَجُهُمْ عَدَاوَةُ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي إِلَى الْيَهُودِيَّةِ، فَهُمْ أَهْلُ النَّارِ.

(10) ‘Alī (a) said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, ‘Due to their hatred for my household, they were removed [from Islam and went] towards Judaism,^۵ so they are the inhabitants of the Fire.’”

(١١) عن ابن مسعود قال: إنّ لهذه الأمة فرقاً وجماعاتٍ، فجامعوها إذا اجتمعت. فإذا افترقت، فارقبوا أهل بيتكم، فإن سالموا فسلموا، وإن حاربوا فحاربوا، فإنهم مع الحق والحق معهم، لا يفارقونه.

^۵ Another version of this tradition (or a similar tradition) includes Christianity along with Judaism. As such, we note that the basic message is that those who hate the Ahl al-Bayt are closer to non-Muslims (Jews and Christians) than to the true followers of Islam.

(11) Ibn Mas‘ūd said, “Verily this nation has division and unity, so join with it when it comes together [as one]. But when it is divided, watch the Household of your Prophet – if they make peace, then make peace, and if they fight, then fight, for indeed they are with the truth and the truth is with them, neither does it separate from them, nor do they separate from it.”

(١٢) عن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ لعليّ وفاطمة والحسن والحسين: أنا حرب لمن حاربتم، وسلم لمن سالمتم.

(12) Abū Hurayrah said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) told ‘Alī, Fātimah, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, ‘I am at war with the one whom you fight against, and at peace with the one whom you make peace with.’”

(١٣) عن زيد بن أرقم قال: كَانَ يَابْرُوْلِي نَنْتَظِرُ فَجَاءَ عَلَيْهِ الْمُسْلِمُونَ وَفَاطِمَةُ وَالْحَسَنُ وَالْحَسِينُ وَجَلَسُوا نَاحِيَةً، فَخَرَجَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَقَالَ: أَنَا حَرْبٌ لِمَنْ حَارَبَنِي – لَا أَدْرِي أَيْهُمَا بَدَأَ – وَسَلَمٌ لِمَنْ سَالَمَنِي.

(13) Zayd ibn Arqam said, “We were at the door of the [house of the] Messenger of Allah (ṣ) waiting [for him] when ‘Alī (a), Fātimah, al-Hasan and al-Husayn (a) came and sat on one side. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) came out and said [to them], ‘I am at war [or] I am at peace – I do not know which of the two he started with – with the one whom you are at war with, and [I am] at peace with the one whom you make peace with.’”

(١٤) عن زيد بن أرقم قال: وَقَفَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ عَلَى بَيْتِ فِيَهُ عَلَيٰ وَفَاطِمَةُ وَالْحَسَنُ وَالْحَسِينُ، فَقَالَ: أَنَا حَرْبٌ لِمَنْ حَارَبَنِي، وَسَلَمٌ لِمَنْ سَالَمَنِي.

(14) Zayd ibn Arqam said, “The Prophet (ṣ) stood outside a house wherein was ‘Alī, Fātimah, Hasan and Husayn, and said, ‘I am at war

with the one with whom you are at war, and at peace with the one with whom you are at peace.””

(١٥) عن أبي إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن صبيح، عن جده قال: أتيت زيد بن أرقم الأننصاري فقال: ما جاء بك؟ قال: جئت لتخبرني عن رسول الله ﷺ. قال: سمعت رسول الله ﷺ... ومرّ عليّ وفاطمة والحسن والحسين، فقال: أنا حرب لمن حاربكم، وسلم لمن سالمكم.

(15) Abū Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ṣubayḥ reported from his grandfather who said, “I went to visit Zayd ibn Arqam al-Anṣārī, so he asked, ‘What brings you [to see me]?’” He said, “[I replied,] ‘I have come so that you may inform me about the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).’” He said, ‘I have heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ)... and [when] ‘Alī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn passed by, he (ṣ) said [to them], “I am at war with the one who is at war with you, and at peace with the one who is at peace with you.”””

(١٦) عن زيد بن أرقم: أنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قال لعلَّيْ عَلَيْهِ الْكُوُثُرِ ولفاطمة وحسن وحسين: أنا حرب لمن حاربتم، وسلم لمن سالمتم.

(16) Zayd ibn Arqam reported that the Prophet (ṣ) told ‘Alī (a) and Fāṭimah, and Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (a), “I am at war with the one against whom you wage war, and at peace with the one with whom you make peace.””

(١٧) عن أنس بن مالك قال: دخلت على رسول الله ﷺ فقال: قد أعطيت الكوثر. فقلت: يا رسول الله، ما الكوثر؟ قال: نهر في الجنة عرضه وطوله ما بين المشرق والمغارب، لا يشرب أحد منه فيظمه، ولا يتوضأ منه إنسان فيشغث. لا يشرب منه إنسان خفر ذمّتي ولا قتل أهل بيتي.

(17) Anas ibn Mālik said, “I went to visit the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) so he said [to me], ‘I have been granted *al-kawthar*.’ I asked, ‘O Messenger of Allah, what is *al-kawthar*? ’ He said, ‘A river in Paradise whose breadth and length are between the east and the west; none shall drink from it and still remain thirsty, and none shall wash [himself] with its water and still remain unclean. Neither a person who violates my covenant, nor one who kills [any member of] my household will [be allowed to] drink from it.’”

(١٨) عن أم الفضل بنت الحارث، أنها دخلت على رسول الله ﷺ فقالت: يا رسول الله، إني رأيت حلماً منكراً الليلة. قال: ما هو؟ قلت: إنه شديد. قال: ما هو؟ قلت: رأيت كأن قطعةً من جسدي قطعت ووضعت في حجري. فقال رسول الله ﷺ: خيراً رأيت. تلد فاطمة غلاماً فيكون في حدرك. فولدت فاطمة الحسين، فكان في حجري كما قال رسول الله ﷺ. فدخلت به يوماً على رسول الله ﷺ فوضعته في حجره، ثم كانت متى التفاتة فإذا عينا رسول الله ﷺ تهريقان الدموع، فقلت: بأبي أنت وأمي يا رسول الله، ما لك؟ قال: أتاني جبريل عليه السلام فأخبرني بأنّ أمي ستقتل ابني هذا، وأتاني بتربة من تربة حمراء.

(18) Umm al-Fadl bint al-Ḥārith reported that she once visited the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and said, “O Messenger of Allah, I saw a terrifying dream at night.” He asked, “What was it?” She said, “It was intense [and horrifying].” He asked [again], “What was it?” She said, “It was as though I saw a piece of your body being severed and placed in my lap.” So the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, “You have seen something good. Fāṭimah will give birth to a boy and he will be in your lap [and under your care]” [She then narrated,] “So Fāṭimah gave birth to al-Ḥusayn and he was placed in my lap [and under my care], as the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) had said. One day, I brought him to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and placed him on his lap, then I noticed that

the eyes of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) began to well up with tears, so I said, ‘May my father and mother be ransomed for you, O Messenger of Allah, what has happened?’ He replied, ‘Jibrail (a) came to me and informed me that my nation will kill this son of mine, and he brought me some of his blood-stained earth.’”

(١٩) عن أم الفضل أنها أتت النبي ﷺ فقالت: يا رسول الله، إني رأيت في النوم حلماً منكراً. قال: فما هو؟ قالت: أصلحك الله، إنه شديد. قال: وما هو؟ قالت: كأنَّ بضعةً من جسده قطعت فوضعت في حجري. قال رسول الله ﷺ: خير، تلد فاطمة إن شاء الله غلاماً فيكون في حجرك. فولدت فاطمة الحسين عليلًا و كان في حجرها. قالت: فدخل على رسول الله ﷺ فأخذته فوضعته في حجره، فبال عليه. فذهبت أتناوله فقال: دعى ابني، فإن ابني ليس بنجس. ثم دعا بماء فصبَّه عليه. قالت: فحانَتْ متى التفاتة، فإذا عيناه تذرفان. فقللت: يا رسول الله، بأبي أنت وأمي ما لك؟ قال: أتاني جبرئيل عليلًا فأخبرني أنّ أمتقي يقتلون ابني هذا. قالت: قلْ هذا؟ قال: هذا، واراني تربةً حمراء.

(19) Umm al-Fadl reported that she came to the Prophet (ṣ) and said, “O Messenger of Allah, I saw a terrifying dream in my sleep.” He asked, “What was it?” She said, “May Allah enhance you in righteousness, it was indeed intense [and horrifying].” He asked, “And what was it?” She said, “It was as though a piece of your body was cut off and placed in my lap.” The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, “It is good. Fāṭimah will give birth to a boy, if Allah wills, and he will be in your care.” So Fāṭimah bore al-Husayn (a) and he was [placed] in her care. She said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) [once] came to me and took him, placing him in his lap. The baby urinated on him, so I went to take him but he (ṣ) said, ‘Leave my son, for indeed my son is not impure.’ Then he asked for some water to be brought and poured it on him.” She [then] said, “At that moment, I looked closely at him and noticed that his eyes were

flowing [with tears]; so I said, ‘O Messenger of Allah, may my father and mother be ransomed for you, what is the matter?’ He said, ‘Jibrā'il (a) came to me and informed me that my nation will kill this son of mine.’ I asked, ‘This one?’ He said, ‘[Yes] this one, and he showed me the blood-red earth [of the ground upon which he would be martyred].’”

(٢٠) عن ابن عباس قال: رأيت رسول الله ﷺ في النوم أشعث أغبر، وفي يده قارورة فيها دم، فقلت: بأبي وأمي أنت، ما هذا؟ قال: دم الحسين بن علي، لم أزل التقطه منذ اليوم. فأحصى ذلك اليوم، فوجده يوم قتل الحسين صلوات الله عليه وسلامه.

(20) Ibn ‘Abbās said, “I saw the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) in my sleep [while he was] dishevelled and covered in dust. In his hand was a small bottle which contained blood. So I asked, ‘May my father and mother be ransomed for you, what is this?’ He said, ‘This is the blood of al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī. I am still collecting it since [the beginning of] this day.’” So he kept a note of that date and found out that it was the day when al-Husayn was killed, may the blessings of Allah and His peace be upon him.

(٢١) عن أم سلمة رضي الله عنها قالت: كان الحسن والحسين عليهم السلام يلعبان بين يدي النبي ﷺ في بيتي، فنزل جبرئيل عليه السلام فقال: يا محمد، إن أمتك تقتل ابنك هذا من بعدك، وأوّل ما بيده إلى الحسين. فبكى رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وسلم وضمة إلى صدره، ثم قال رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وسلم: ودّيحة عندك هذا التربة، فشمّها رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وسلم وقال: ريح كرب وبلاء. قالت: وقال رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وسلم: يا أم سلمة، إذا تحولت هذه التربة دماً، فاعلمي أنّ ابني قد قتل. قالت: فجعلتها في قارورة، ثم جعلت تنظر إليها كل يوم وتقول: إنّ يوماً تحولين فيه دماً ليوم عظيم.

(21) Umm Salamah said, “Al-Hasan and al-Husayn (a) were playing in front of the Prophet (s) in my house when Jibrail (a) descended and said, ‘O Muhammad, verily your nation will kill this son of yours after you,’ and he pointed towards at al-Husayn. So the Messenger of Allah (s) cried and embraced him. Then he (s) said [to me], ‘I leave this earth as a trust with you,’ and he (s) smelt its fragrance saying, ‘The scent of calamity and trial.’” She [then] said, “The Messenger of Allah (s) said, ‘O Umm Salamah, when this earth turns into blood, know that my son has been killed.’” She said, “I placed it in a small bottle,” and she would look at it every day saying, “Verily the day it turns into blood will be a grievous day.”

(٢٢) عن عائشة قالت: دخل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو منكب فلعلب على ظهره، فقال جبرئيل عليهما السلام لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: أتحبه يا محمد؟ قال: يا جبرئيل، وما لي لا أحب ابني. قال: فإن أمتك ستقتلها من بعدي، فمدّ جبرئيل عليهما السلام يده فأتاها بتربة بيضاء، فقال: في هذه الأرض تقتل أمتك هذا، واسمها الطف. فلما ذهب جبرئيل عليهما السلام من عند رسول الله خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم والتربة في يده يبكي. فقال: يا عائشة، إن جبرئيل عليهما السلام أخبرني أن الحسين ابني مقتول في أرض الطف، وأن أمتى ستفتن بعدي. ثم خرج إلى أصحابه، منهم: علي، وأبو بكر، وعمر، وحذيفة، وعمار، وأبو ذر، وهو يبكي، فقالوا: ما يبكيك يا رسول الله؟ فقال: أخبرني جبرئيل أن ابني الحسين يقتل بعدي بأرض الطف، وجائني بهذه التربة فأخبرني جبرئيل عليهما السلام أن فيها مصحعه.

(22) 'Āishah said, “Al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a) came to the Messenger of Allah (s) while he was resting, and he began playing on his back, so Jibrail (a) said to the Messenger of Allah (s), ‘Do you love him, O Muhammad?’ He replied, ‘Why would I not love my child, O Jibrail?’ He said, ‘Then [know that] your nation will kill him after you,’ then

Jibra'il (a) extended his hand and brought him some white earth and said, 'Upon this land will your nation kill this [son of yours]; its name is al-Taff.' When Jibra'il had left, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) came out with the earth, crying. He said, 'O 'Ā'ishah, verily Jibra'il (a) informed me that my son al-Ḥusayn will be killed in the land of al-Taff, and that my nation will be divided [and face trials] after me.' Then he went out to his companions, among whom were: 'Alī, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Ḥudhayfah, 'Ammār, and Abū Dharr, while he was weeping. They asked, 'What has made you cry, O Messenger of Allah?' He replied, 'Jibra'il has informed me that my son al-Ḥusayn will be killed after me in the land of al-Taff, and he brought me this earth; and Jibra'il (a) informed me that in it he shall lie [and be buried after his martyrdom].'"

(٢٣) أَنْ معاذَ بْنَ جَبَلَ أَخْبَرَهُ قَالَ: خَرَجَ عَلَيْنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ مُتَغَيِّرُ الْلَّوْنِ، فَقَالَ: أَنَا مُحَمَّدٌ، أُوتِيتُ فَوَاتِحَ الْكَلْمَ وَخَوَاتِمَهُ، فَأَطْبَعْتُنِي مَا دَمْتُ بَيْنَ أَظْهَرِكُمْ، إِنَّمَا ذَهَبَ بِي فَلِيَّكُمْ بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، أَحْلَوْا حَالَهُ وَحَرَّمُوا حِرَامَهُ، أَتَكُمُ الْمَوْتَةَ الرُّوحُ وَالرَّاحَةُ، كِتَابٌ مِّنَ اللَّهِ سَبَقَ، أَتَكُمُ فَتْنَ كَفْطَنَ الْلَّيْلِ الْمُظْلَمِ، كَلَّمَا ذَهَبَ رَسُولُ جَاءَ رَسُولٍ، تَنَاسَخَتِ النَّبِيَّةُ فَصَارَتِ مَلِكًا، رَحِمَ اللَّهُ مِنْ أَخْذَهَا بِحَقِّهَا وَخَرَجَ مِنْهَا كَمَا دَخَلَهَا، أَمْسَكَ يَا معاذَ وَأَحْصَى. قَالَ: فَلَمَّا بَلَغَتْ خَمْسَةً قَالَ: يَزِيدُ، قَالَ: لَا بَارَكُ فِي يَزِيدٍ، ثُمَّ ذَفَرَتِ عَيْنَاهُ شَمَّ قَالَ: نَعِي إِلَيَّ الْحَسِينَ، وَأُتِيتُ بِتَرْبِيَّهِ، وَأَخْبَرْتُ بِقَاتِلِهِ، وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيدهِ لَا يُقْتَلُ بَيْنَ ظَهَارِنِي قَوْمٌ لَا يَمْنَعُوهُ إِلَّا خَالِفُ اللَّهِ بَيْنَ صَدُورِهِمْ وَقُلُوبِهِمْ، وَسُلْطَانٌ عَلَيْهِمْ شَرَارُهُمْ، وَأَبْسَهُمْ شَيْعًا. ثُمَّ قَالَ: وَاهَا لَفَرَاخَ آلَّ مُحَمَّدٍ مِّنْ خَلِيفَةٍ مُسْتَخْلِفٍ مُتَرْفٍ، يُقْتَلُ خَلْفِي وَخَلْفُ الْخَلْفِ، أَمْسَكَ يَا معاذَ. فَلَمَّا بَلَغَتْ عَشْرَةً، قَالَ: الْوَلِيدُ: إِسْمُ فَرَعُونَ هَادِمُ شَرَاعِ الْإِسْلَامِ، يَبْوَءُ بِدَمِهِ رَجُلٌ مِّنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ، يَسْلَلُ اللَّهَ سَيْفَهُ فَلَا غَمَادَ لَهُ، وَأَخْتَلَفَ النَّاسُ فَكَانُوا هَكَذَا

— وشَبَّكَ بَيْنَ أَصَابِعِهِ — ثُمَّ قَالَ: بَعْدَ الْعَشْرِينَ وَمِئَةً مَوْتٌ سَرِيعٌ، وَقُتْلٌ ذَرِيعٌ، فَفِيهِ
هَلاْكَهُمْ، وَيَلِي عَلَيْهِمْ رَجُلٌ مِنْ وَلَدِ عَبَّاسٍ.

(23) Mu‘âdh ibn Jabal said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) came to us [one day] with a changed complexion and he said, ‘I am Muhammad. I have been given the beginnings of [all righteous] speech and their endings, so obey me as long as I am among you, but when I am taken from your midst, then hold on to the Book of Allah, the Almighty. Take as permissible what it has permitted and as forbidden what it has prohibited. [For a time] there will come to you peace and tranquility, [this is] a decree from Allah already passed. Trials will [then] come upon you like portions of the dark night. Every time messengers left, other messengers came, [but now] prophethood [has ended and soon it] will be replaced with kingship. May Allah have mercy upon the one who holds on to it (i.e. the teachings of the Prophets) as he ought to and comes out from it [a believer] just as he entered into it. Take this and begin counting O Mu‘âdh.’” He (Mu‘âdh) said, “When I reached the fifth, he (ṣ) said, ‘Yazîd.’ And added, ‘There is no good in Yazîd.’ Then his eyes welled up and he (ṣ) said, ‘I have been given the sad news that al-Husayn will be killed, and I have been given his earth, and I have been informed about his killer. By He in Whose hand is my soul, he will be killed in the midst of a people who will not be prevented [from assisting him] save due to the disagreement placed by Allah between their minds and their hearts. And He will give their most evil ones authority over them, and will cause them to be divided into factions.’ Then he said, ‘Alas for the fledglings of the family of Muhammad, from the self-indulgent, transgressing ruler who is made the successor [to his father]. He will kill my descendants and my descendants’ descendants! Take it [and continue counting] O Mu‘âdh.’ So when I reached the tenth, he (ṣ) said, ‘Al-Walid: the name of a pharaoh who will subvert the ordinances of Islam. His blood will be shed by a member of his family. Allah will cause his sword to be unsheathed and then there will

be nothing that will sheathe it. The people will be divided and will be like this,’ and he interlocked his fingers [signifying how they will face opposite directions], then he said, ‘After a hundred and twenty [years] there will be swift death, and widespread killing, and in that [year] is their doom. Then they will be ruled by a man from the progeny of ‘Abbās.’”

(٢٤) عن علي عليه السلام قال: قال رسول الله عليه السلام: يقتل ابني حسين بظهور الكوفة. الويل لقاتلته، وحاذله، ومن ترك نصرته.

(24) ‘Alī (a) said, “The Messenger of Allah (s) said, ‘My son Ḥusayn will be killed [in a land] near al-Kūfah. Woe be to his killer, to the one who abandons him, and to the one who does not come to his aid.”

(٢٥) عن أبي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن قال: كان لعائشة زوج النبي عليهما السلام مشربة، كان رسول الله عليهما السلام إذا أراد لقاء جبرئيل عليهما السلام لقيه فيها، فرقها مرة من ذلك وأمر عائشة أن لا يطلع عليهم أحد. قال: وكان رأس الدرجة في حجرة عائشة، فدخل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام فرقى ولم تعلم حتى غشيها، فقال جبرئيل عليهما السلام: من هذا؟ قال: ابني، فأخذه رسول الله عليهما السلام فجعله على فخذه، فقال جبرئيل عليهما السلام: سيدل، تقتله أمتك. فقال رسول الله عليهما السلام: أمتى؟ قال: نعم، وإن شئت خبرتك بالأرض التي يقتل فيها، فأشار جبرئيل عليهما السلام بيده إلى الطف بالعراق، فأخذ تربةً حمراء فأراها إياته.

(25) Abū Salamah ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān said, “Ā’ishah, the wife of the Prophet (s), had a roofed upper chamber, and when the Messenger of Allah (s) wanted to meet Jibrail, he would meet him therein. Once, he climbed up there and instructed Ā’ishah not to allow anyone to know where they were [or to approach them].” He (the narrator) said, “The first step [leading up to it] was in Ā’ishah’s room, so al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī

(a) entered [the room] and ascended it, and she did not realize this until he had climbed all the way up. Jibraîl (a) asked, ‘Who is this?’ He (ṣ) replied, ‘My son.’ Then the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) took him and placed him on his thigh. Jibraîl (a) said, ‘He will be killed; your nation will kill him.’ The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) asked, ‘My nation?’ He said, ‘Yes. And if you wish I can inform you about the land in which he will be slain.’ Then Jibraîl (a) pointed with his hand to al-Taff in Iraq, and took some red earth from it which he showed to him (ṣ).”

(٢٦) عن أم سلمة زوج النبي ﷺ قالت: بينما حسین عليه السلام عند رسول الله عليه السلام في البيت، وقد خرجت لأقضى حاجة، ثم دخلت البيت، فإذا رسول الله عليه السلام قد أخذ حسيناً فأضجه على بطنه، فإذا رسول الله عليه السلام يمسح عينيه من الدمعة. فقلت: يا رسول الله، ما يبكيك؟ قال: رحمة لهذا المسكين، أخبرني جبرئيل عليه السلام أنه سيقتل بكرباء. فقلت: أين كربلاء؟ قال: دون العراق، وهذه تربتها قد أتاني بها جبرئيل عليه السلام.

(26) Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (ṣ), said, “Husayn (a) was with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) in the house, and I left to run some errand. Then I returned home only to find that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) had taken Husayn and made him rest on his stomach. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) was wiping tears off his eyes, so I asked, ‘O Messenger of Allah, what has made you cry?’ He said, ‘Compassion for this poor child. Jibraîl (a) informed me that he will be killed in Karbalâ.’ I asked, ‘Where is Karbalâ?’ He said, ‘In Iraq. And this is its earth which Jibraîl has brought to me.’”

(٢٧) عن علي عليه السلام قال: قال رسول الله عليه السلام: الحسين سيد الشهداء، يقتل مظلوماً مخصوصاً على حقه.

(27) ‘Alī (a) said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, ‘Al-Ḥusayn is the Master of Martyrs; he will be killed unjustly, with his right having been usurped from him.’”

(٢٨) عن أم سلمة قالت: قال رسول الله ﷺ: يقتل الحسين بن علي على رأس سفين من مهاجري.

(28) Umm Salamah said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, ‘Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī will be killed at the start of the sixtieth year from [the year after] my migration [to Madinah]’”

(٢٩) عن أم سلمة قالت: قال رسول الله ﷺ: يقتل الحسين حين يعلوه القتير. (قال أبو القاسم [الطبراني]: القتير: الشيب).

(29) Umm Salamah said, “The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said, ‘Al-Ḥusayn will be killed when gray hair covers his head.’”

(٣٠) عن عائشة أو أم سلمة – قال وكيع: قال: شاك هو [يعني عبد الله بن سعيد]
– أن النبي ﷺ قال لإناداهما: لقد دخل عليّ البيت ملك لم يدخل عليّ قبلها،
فقال لي: إنّ ابني هذا حسيناً مقتول، فإن شئت أن آتيك من تربة الأرض التي
يقتل بها. قال: فأخرج إلى تربة حمراء.

(30) ‘Ā’ishah or Umm Salamah – Waki‘ said that he (i.e. ‘Abdullāh ibn Sa‘id) was unsure [who narrated it] – that the Prophet (ṣ) said to one of the two, “There has come to me in the house an angel who has never visited me before, and he told me, ‘Verily this son of yours, Husayn, will be killed. If you wish, I can bring you some of the earth from the land in which he will be slain.’” He said, “So he brought to me some red earth.”

(٣١) عن أبي أمامة قال: قال رسول الله عليه وآله نسائه: لا تبکوا هذا الصبيّ - يعني حسیناً عليهما السلام، قال: وكان يوم أم سلمة، فنزل جبريل عليهما السلام، فدخل على رسول الله عليهما السلام الداخل، وقال لأم سلمة: لا تدع أي أحداً يدخل علىيّ، فجاء الحسين عليهما السلام، فلما نظر إلى النبي عليهما السلام في البيت أراد أن يدخل، فأخذته أم سلمة، فاحضنته، وجعلت تناغيه وتسكّنه، فلما اشتدّ في البكاء خلّت عنه، فدخل حتى جلس في حجر رسول الله عليهما السلام. فقال جبريل عليهما السلام: إنّ أمتك ستقتل ابنك هذا، فقال النبي عليهما السلام: يقتلونه وهم مؤمنون بي؟ قال: نعم، يقتلونه، فتناول جبريل تربةً، فقال: بمكان كذا وكذا. فخرج رسول الله عليهما السلام قد احتضن حسیناً عليهما السلام، كاسف البال مهموماً، فظلت أم سلمة أئنة غضب من دخول الصبي عليه، فقالت: يا نبی الله، جعلت لك الفداء! إئنّا قلنا لآلا لا تبکوا هذا الصبي، وأمرنا لآلا أدع [أحداً] يدخل عليك، فجاء فخلّيت عنه. فلم يردها، فخرج إلى أصحابه وهو جلوس، فقال لهم: إنّ أمتي يقتلون هذه، وفي القوم أبو بكرٍ وعمر، وكانا أجرأ القوم عليه، فقالوا: يا نبی الله، يقتلونه وهم مؤمنون؟ قال: نعم، وهذه تربته، وأراهم إياها.

(31) Abū Umāmah reported that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said to his wives, “Never make this boy cry,” meaning Ḥusayn (a). Then he (Abū Umāmah) said, “It was once the day of Umm Salamah, so Jibrā'il (a) descended and came to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) as a visitor. He (ṣ) told Umm Salamah, ‘Do not allow anyone to enter [my chamber].’ Then al-Ḥusayn (a) came, and when he saw the Prophet (ṣ) in the room, he wanted to enter. So Umm Salamah took him in her arms and started talking with him playfully, trying to pacifying him. But when his crying intensified, she let him go, so he entered the room and went forward until he sat on the lap of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ). Jibrā'il (a) said, ‘Verily your nation will kill this son of yours.’ The Prophet (ṣ) asked, ‘They will kill him while they believe in me?’ He said, ‘Yes, they will

kill him.’ Then Jibra’l took some earth and said, ‘[He will be killed] in such and such place.’ The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) came out cradling Ḥusayn (a) in his arms, downcast and sad, so Umm Salamah thought that he was upset because the child had entered his chamber. She said, ‘O Prophet of Allah, may I be ransomed for you! Indeed you had told us never to make this boy cry, and you had instructed me not to allow anyone to enter [your chamber], but he came so I left him [and did not stop him from coming to you].’ However, he (ṣ) did not reply her. He went out to his companions who were seated and said to them, ‘Verily my nation will kill this [child]!’ And among them [at that time] were Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, and they were the boldest of the people towards him, so they both asked, ‘O Prophet of Allah, they will kill him while they are believers?’ He replied, ‘Yes, and this is his [grave’s] earth,’ and he showed it to them.”

(٣٢) عن عبد الله بن نجي عن أبيه: أَنَّه سافر مع عَلِيٌّ عَلَيْهِ الْكِبَرُ، فَلَمَّا حَادَى نَيْنَوْيَ قَالَ:
 صِبَرًا أَبَا عبد الله، صِبَرًا أَبَا عبد بَشْطَ الْفَرَاتِ! قَلَتْ: وَمَا ذَاك؟ قَالَ: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى
 رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ وَعَيْنَاهُ تَفِيسَانٌ، قَلَتْ: هَلْ أَغْضَبْتُكَ أَحَدًا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، مَا
 لَيْ أُرَى عَيْنِكَ مَفِيسَتَيْنِ؟ قَالَ: قَامَ مِنْ عَنْدِي جَبْرِيلُ عَلَيْهِ الْكِبَرُ فَأَخْبَرَنِي أَنَّ أَمْتِي تُقْتَلُ
 الْحَسِينَ ابْنِي؛ ثُمَّ قَالَ: هَلْ لَكَ أَنْ أُرِيكَ مِنْ تَرِبَتِهِ؟ قَلَتْ: نَعَمْ، فَمَدَّ يَدَهُ فَقَبَضَ
 قَبْصَةً، فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتَهَا لَمْ أُمْلِكْ عَيْنِي أَنْ فَاضَتْ.

(32) ‘Abdullāh ibn Nujay reported from his father who said that he had once travelled with ‘Alī (a), and when they came upon [the land of] Naynawā, he said, “Patience, O Abā ‘Abdillāh! Patience, O Father of the Servant [of Allah who will fall] next to the bank of [the river of] Furāt.” The narrator said, “[Upon hearing this] I asked, ‘What is this [about]?’ He said, ‘One day I visited the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and saw his eyes flowing with tears, so I said, “Has anyone displeased you O Messenger of Allah? Why is it that I see tears in your eyes?” He replied,

"Jibraîl (a) has just left me after having informed me that my nation will kill al-Husayn, my son. Then he (Jibraîl) asked, 'Do you wish me to show you some of his [grave's] earth?' I said, 'Yes.' So he extended his hand and took a handful [of it], and when he showed it to me, I could not control my tears from flowing."'"

(٣٣) عن هرثمة بن سلمى قال: خرجنا مع عليّ عَلِيًّا فِي بَعْضِ غُرُواتِهِ فَسَارَ حَتَّى انتهى إِلَى كَربَلَاءَ، فَنَزَلَ إِلَى شَجَرَةٍ يَصْلِي إِلَيْهَا، فَأَخْذَ تُرْبَةً مِنَ الْأَرْضِ فَشَمَّهَا، فَقَالَ: وَاهَا لَكَ تُرْبَةً، لِيَقْتَلَنَّ بِكَ قَوْمٌ يَدْخُلُونَ الْجَنَّةَ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ.

قال: فقفينا من غراتنا، وقتل عليّ عَلِيًّا ونسيت الحديث. قال: و كنت في الجيش الذين سار إلى الحسين عَلِيًّا، فلما انتهيت نظرت إلى الشجرة، فذكرت الحديث، فقدمت على فرس لي فقلت: أبشرك يا ابن بنت رسول الله عَلِيٰ اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْحَدِيثِ، قال: معنا أو علينا؟ قلت: لا معك ولا عليك، تركت عيالاً، وتركت أمّاً. قال: فوالذي نفس حسين بيده لا يشهد قتلنا اليوم رجل إلا دخل جهنّم. فانطلقـت هارباً مولياً في الأرض حتى خفي على مقتله.

(33) Harthamah ibn Salmâ said, "We went out with 'Alî (a) in one of his battles, and he went onwards until he arrived at Karbalâ'. Then he came down next to a tree to pray, and he took some earth from the ground and smelt it. He then said, 'How fortunate you are O earth! Upon you shall be slain a group who will enter Paradise without any accounting!'"'

He (the narrator) said, "We returned from battle, and [later] 'Alî (a) was killed and we forgot the event. Then, [many years later] I was in the army that marched towards al-Husayn (a) and when we arrived, I saw that same tree and I recalled what had happened. So I rode on my horse towards him and said, 'I give you glad tidings, O son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (s)...' and I informed him about what had

transpired. He asked me, ‘Are you with us or against us?’ I said, ‘Neither with you nor against you. I have left behind a family and my [aged] mother.’ He said, ‘By He in Whose hand is the soul of Husayn, no man will witness our death this day [without helping us] but that he will enter Hell.’ So I left in a hurry, turning away from there in haste until the place of his killing was hidden from me.”

(٣٤) حدثني زريق مولى معاوية قال: لما مات معاوية، بعثي يزيد بن معاوية إلى الوليد بن عتبة بن أبي سفيان، وكان والي المدينة، فكتب إليه بموت معاوية، وكتب أن يدعوه هؤلاء الرهط يبايعون، قال: فقدمت عليه ليلاً فقلت للحاجب: استأذن لي عليه، فقال: إنّه قد دخل، قلت: إنّي قد جئت في أمر لا بدّ من الدخول عليه، قال: فأذن لي فدخلت عليه، فدفعت إليه الكتاب، فلما قرأه جزع من موت معاوية جزعاً شديداً، وجعل يقوم على سريره على فرشه، ثمّ يرمي نفسه، ثمّ يقوم فيرمي نفسه.

ثمّ دعا مروان فجاء وعليه قميص أبيض وملاءة موردة فمعاية، ثمّ أخبره في الذي كتب في أمر القوم، ثمّ قال: ما ترى؟ قال أرى تبعث إليهم الساعة فتعرض عليهم البيعة، فإن بايعوك وإنّا فاضرب أعناقهم. قال الوليد: سبحان الله، أفل الحسين وابن الزبير؟ قال: هو ما أقول لك. قال: فبعث إليهم فجاء الحسين عليه قميص أبيض متورّد مصبوغ بزغافان، فسلم ثمّ جلس. قال: ثم جاء ابن الزبير بين ثوبين غليظين مشمراً إلى نصف ساقه فسلم ثمّ جلس، ثم جاء عبد الله بن مطیع، فجاء رجل أحمر العينين شائر الشعر - أو قال: الرأس - فسلم ثمّ جلس.

قال: فحمد الله الوليد ونعي إليهم معاوية، ودعاهم إلى البيعة ليزيد، فبدر ابن الزبير صاحبيه الكلام مخافة وهنهما، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم ذكر معاوية فترحّم عليه ودعاه، ثم ذكر الوليد فقال: وليتنا فأحسنت ورفقت بنا ووصلت أرحاماً، وقد علمت الذي كان من أيك في بيعة يزيد ولايتنا، ومتى ما بايعنا وشابَ مصرم علينا، خشينا أن لا يذهب ذلك ما في نفسه علينا، فإن رأيت أن تصل أرحاماً وتحسن فيما بيننا وبينك وتخلي سبيلنا، فإذا أصبحت نودي في الناس الصلاة جامعة، ثم صعدت المنبر فنباع حيئد، يذهب ما في نفسه علينا.

قال: وأنا أنظر إلى مروان في ناحية البيت، كلاماً نظر إليه الوليد قال بيده هكذا:
اضرب أعناقهم.

قال: فخلّى سبيلهم. قال مروان: ألا والله، لا يصبح بالمدينة منهم أحد. قال: فانطلق كل واحد منهم إلى منزل فقرّب رواحله فشدّ عليها، ثم أتى بها إلى الطريق، وأصبح - يعني الوليد - فادى بالصلاحة جامعة، فطلب الناس ودعاهم إلى البيعة ليزيد، وأرسل إلى هؤلاء الرهط، فوجدهم قد خرجوا.

(34) Zurayq, the retainer of Mu‘awiyah, narrated, “When Mu‘awiyah died, Yazid ibn Mu‘awiyah sent me to al-Walid ibn ‘Utbah ibn Abi Sufyan, who was the governor of al-Madinah [at that time]. He had written to him informing him of the death of Mu‘awiyah, and instructed that those elite [of the society] should be called to pledge their allegiance [to him]. So I arrived at his place during the night and told the guard to permit me to see him. He said that he has already retired [to his chamber], but I insisted and said that I had come about an urgent matter that necessitates my seeing him immediately. So he allowed me to enter and I gave him (al-Walid) the letter [of Yazid]. When he read it, he became extremely upset at the news of Mu‘awiyah’s

death, and he kept standing on his bed [that was] on his carpet, and then throwing himself to the ground, and then standing and then throwing himself down [again].

Then he called Marwān, so he came wearing a white shirt and a colorful robe. He informed him about the death of Mu‘āwiyah and told him what had been written in the letter regarding the affair of the people. Then he asked, ‘What is your opinion?’ He said, ‘I think you should call them right now and ask them to pledge allegiance. If they give their pledges, then so be it, otherwise strike their necks.’ Al-Walīd said, ‘Glory be to Allah! [You want me] to kill al-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Zubayr?’ He retorted, ‘That is what I am saying to you.’ So he called them and al-Ḥusayn came wearing a white shirt which had been dyed with saffron. He greeted them and sat down. Then Ibn al-Zubayr came wearing two thick garments that had been tucked up until half of his shanks. He greeted them and sat down. Then ‘Abdullāh ibn Muṭfī came – the man’s eyes were red and his hair was dishevelled – and he too offered greetings and then sat down.

Al-Walīd praised Allah and announced to them the death of Mu‘āwiyah before inviting them to pledge allegiance to Yazīd. Ibn al-Zubayr was quick to respond before his two companions, fearing weakness on their part. He praised Allah and glorified Him, then he recalled Mu‘āwiyah, sought mercy for him and prayed for him. Thereafter, he spoke to al-Walīd and said, ‘You have been a good governor to us and have shown kindness to us. You have maintained our ties of kindship, and you know what your father’s position was in the matter of allegiance to Yazīd and our status (*wilāyah*). And if we were to pledge allegiance to the youth who has severed his ties with us [in this manner], we fear that it will not placate what is in his heart against us. So if you see fit to maintain our family ties and establish a good bond between us and you, then let us go for now. When the morrow comes, you can announce among the people to come for a congregational prayer. Then you can climb the

pulpit and at that point we can pledge our allegiance [openly], that is sure to placate him.””

He (the narrator) said, “All the while, I was looking at Marwān who was [seated] in a corner of the room. Whenever al-Walîd would look at him, he would make a gesture to him saying, ‘Strike their necks.’ [In the end, however,] he let them leave. Marwān said, ‘By Allah, you will not find any one of them in Madînah tomorrow morning.’ Each of them returned to his home, prepared his riding mounts, and then brought them out of the city. In the morning, al-Walîd called for the congregational prayer and then sought the pledge of allegiance to Yazîd from the people. He sent for the elites but found that they had all departed [from the city].”

(٣٥) عن مجاهد قال: لَمَّا امتنع الحسين عليه السلام وابن الزبير من البيعة ليزيد بن

معاوية ولحقا بمكّة، كتب يزيد بن معاوية - لعنهم الله تعالى - إلى ابن عباس:

أما بعد، فإنّ ابن عمّك حسيناً وعبد الله بن الزبير لحقا بمكّة مرصدان للفتنة
معرضي أنفسهم للهلاكة، فأما ابن الزبير فهو صريع القنا وقتيل الله عزوجلّ، وأما
حسين فإني قد أحبيت الإعذار إليكم أهل البيت فيما كان منه. وقد بلغني أنّ
أقواماً من أهل الكوفة يكتبوهه يمتنونه بالخلافة ويمتّهم بالإمارة، وقد علمت
واشج ما بيني وبينكم من القرابة والإصارة والرحم، وقد قطع ذلك ابن عمّك
حسين وبئه، وأنت كبير أهل بيتك وسيّد أهل بلادك، فألقه فاكفه عن الفرقة
ورد هذه الأمة في الفتنة، فإنّ أقبل وأناب إلى قولك فنحن مجرون عليه ما كان
نجريه على أخيه، وإن أبي إلا أن تزيده فزده ما أراك الله، واضمن ذلك علينا تنفذ
ضمانتك، ونعطيه ما أحبّ من ذلك الأيمان المغلظة والمواثيق المؤكّدة، وما
طمئن إلية إن شاء الله تعالى، والسلام.

فكتب إليه ابن عباس: أما بعد، فقد بلغني كتابك تذكر حسيناً وابن الزبير ولحاقهما بمكة، فأمّا ابن الزبير فرجل منقطع عن برأيه وهواء، يكتاتنا مع ذلك أضغانًا يسرّها علينا في صدره، ويوري وري الزناد، لا حلّ الله إسرارها، فرأى في أمره ما أنت رأي. وأمّا حسین فإِلَيْ لقيته فسألته عن مقدمه، فأخبرني أنَّ عَمَالَك بالمدينة حرَفت به وعَجَلت عليه، وأنظره رأيه، ولن أدع أداء الصيحة إليه في كلَّ ما يجمع الله به الكلمة ويطفيء به الفتنة ويحقن به دماء الأمة. وأنا آمرك بمثل الذي آمره به إن شاء الله، فاتق الله في السر والعلانية ولا تبترن ليلة مريداً مسلماً بغاللة، ولا مرصدًا له بمظلمة، ولا حافراً له مهواه، فكم من حافر حفرًا لنفسه، وكم من آمل لم يؤت أمله، وكم من راج لطول العمر مبسوط له في بعد الأمل، فيما هو كذلك، إذ نزل القضاء قطع أمله ونقص عمره، وأخرجه من سلطان الدنيا الفانية، إلى سلطان الله وعدله في الآخرة، وخذ مع ما أوصيك به من الصيحة لهذه الأمة بحظك من الركوع والسجود آناء الليل وتارات النهار، ولا يشغلك عن ذكر الله تعالى شيء من ملاهي الدنيا وأباطيلها، فإنَّ كلَّ ما أنت مشغل به من ذات ينفع ويبقى، وكلَّ ما أنت مشغل به عن ذات الله يضرُّ وينهى، فاجعل همك فيما يرضي ربِّك، يفك همك. داج حسيناً وارفق به، ولا تعجل عليه، ولا ترفع عليه رأيًّا، عسى الله عزوجل أن يحدث أمراً يلم به شرعاً، ويشعب به صدعاً، ويرتق به فتقاً، والسلام.

(35) Mujāhid said, “When al-Husayn (a) and Ibn al-Zubayr refused to pledge their allegiance to Yazid ibn Mu‘awiyah and met in Makkah, Yazid ibn Mu‘awiyah – may Allah curse them both – wrote to Ibn ‘Abbās saying:

Now then, verily your cousin Ḥusayn and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr have met in Makkah to hatch a plot that would lead to strife (*fitnah*)

and have thereby put themselves in danger of annihilation. As for Ibn al-Zubayr, he is [the victim of ambition and one destined] to be thrown upon spears and be slain by Allah, the Almighty. But as for Ḥusayn, I would have preferred to excuse you, the Ahl al-Bayt, for what has been done by him. I have been informed that a group from the people of Kūfah are writing to him and offering him the caliphate, and he is promising them leadership. You already know how intricate my connection is with you in terms of nearness, kinship and blood ties. Yet this has been severed and cut off by your cousin Ḥusayn. You are an elder of your family and a nobleman of your city, so meet him and stop him from causing these divisions and returning this nation to a state of strife. If he accepts and turns towards what you advise, then we will bestow upon him the same as what we bestowed upon his brother, and if he refuses that and seeks more, then increase for him whatever Allah guides you to. You may give a guarantee of that [to him] and we will honor your guarantee, and we will give him what he desires of that [with] firm oaths and established covenants, and whatever he will be content with if Allah, the Almighty wills, and peace be with you.

So Ibn ‘Abbās wrote back to him:

Now then, I am in receipt of your letter wherein you mention Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Zubayr as well as their meeting in Makkah. As for Ibn al-Zubayr, he is one who has distanced himself from us by his [differing] opinions and aspirations. He conceals that from us along with grudges that he bears secretly against us in his heart. He kindles it like a fire – may Allah never allow what is concealed to come to pass. In his case, I am of the same opinion as you are. However, as for Ḥusayn, I met him and asked him about his departure and he informed me that your agents in Madīnah were responsible for making him leave the city in haste. Give him respite to declare his position. I will never forgo the opportunity to

sincerely advise him in every matter that can bring about unity, extinguish [the flame of] strife, and prevent bloodshed in the *ummah*. And I urge you to do this just as I urge him, if Allah wills, so be mindful of Allah in secret and in the open. Never spend a single night wishing for a Muslim to face disaster, nor plotting any oppression against him, nor digging a hole for him to perish in, for many a person has dug a hole [for another] and then perished himself therein. And many a person aspires for something but does not attain it, and many an individual hopes for a long life being granted to him as part of his lengthy aspiration, and while he is thinking this way, divine decree descends cutting short his aspiration and diminishing his lifespan. Death takes him out of the dominion of this evanescent world towards the dominion of Allah and His justice in the Hereafter. And in addition to what I advise you for the sake of this nation, perform your share of worship: bowing and prostration in the dark of night and the light of day, and let none of the mundane things of the world and its vanities preoccupy you from the remembrance of Allah, the Exalted, for everything that keeps you engaged [in His remembrance and worship] is going to remain and benefit you while all that preoccupies you from Allah [only] brings harm and perishes. So place your efforts in that which pleases your Lord, He will suffice you in what you require. Be lenient with Ḥusayn and show him kindness, and do not make haste against him, nor raise a banner against him, perhaps Allah, the Almighty, will bring about a matter by which what has dispersed will be brought together, and what has broken will be mended, and what has split will be united as one, and peace be with you.

(٣٦) عن سعيد بن خالد قال: قدم الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام وهو يريد الكوفة، حتى إذا بلغ بستان ابن أبي عامر لقي الفرزدق بن غالب الشاعر، فقال له: أين تريدين يا

ابن رسول الله، ما أُعجلك عن الموسم؟ - وذلِك يوم الترويَّة. قال: فقال: لولم أُعجل لأخذت أخذًا، فأخبرني يا فرزدق الخبر؟ قال: تركت الناس قلوبهم معك وسيوفهم معبني أمية. قال: أصدقتنِي الخبر.

وقد كان الحسين عليه السلام قدْ مسلم بن عقيل يبَايع له في السر إلى الكوفة، فقدم مسلم فنزل على شريك بن الأعور الحارثي، ومرَّ الحسين عليه السلام، حتَّى إذا كان مكانه من بستان ابن أبي عامر بمرحلة أو مرحلةٍ لقي عبد الله بن مطیع العدوی، فقال له: أين ت يريد يا ابن رسول الله؟ قال أريد الكوفة، فإنَّ أهلها كتبوا إليني، فقال: فإِنَّي أشدك يا ابن رسول الله بالبيت الحرام والبلد الحرام والشهر الحرام أن تعرض لنفسك لبني مروان، فوالله لئن عرضت نفسك لهم ليقتلنك، قال: فمضى على وجهه.

ومرض شريك بن الأعور، ومسلم في منزله في حجلة لشريك ومعه السيف، فقال له شريك: إنَّ عييد الله - يعني ابن زياد - سيأتيني عائداً الساعة، فإذا جاءك فدونك هو، فجاء عييد الله فدخل عليه وسألَه، وخرج عييد الله فلم يصنع مسلم شيئاً، وتحول مسلم إلى هانئ بن عروة المرادي، وبَلَغَ عييد الله الخبر، فقال: والله لولا أن تكون سبة لسيبت شريكاً، بلَغَه أنَّ مسلماً يبَايع الناس في السر، فصعد المنبر فقال: يا أهل الكوفة، قد آويتم مسلماً ثم أخر جتموه.

وقد كان مسلم خرج قبل ذلك حتَّى بايده من بايده من أهل الكوفة، فصار عامة العرب عليه. وجاء القعقاع بن شور وثبت بن ربعي، فقاتلوا حتَّى ثار الليل بينهم وذلك عند التمارين عند اختلاط الظلام، فقال: ويحكم، قد خلَّيت بين الناس أن ينهزموا فاخرجوا، ففعلوا ذلك، وانهزم مسلم بن عقيل، فآوى إلى امرأة فاوتَه.

فجاء عبد الرحمن بن محمد الأشعث فقال له: أصلح الله الأمير، بلغني أن مسلم بن عقيل في موضع كذا وكذا. بعث رجلاً منبني سليم في مائة فارس إلى الدار فأخذ فواتها.

فقال عبيد الله على المنبر: يا أهل الكوفة، والله لا أدع في الكوفة بيت مدر إلا هدمته، ولا بيت قصب إلا أحرقته، فلما أتى ب المسلم، وقد عرس عبيد الله بن زياد بأم أيوب بنت عتبة، قال: فأتي بهانئ بن عروة المرادي، فلما أدخل على عبيد الله قال: استأثر على الأمير بالعرس، قال: وهل أردت العرس يا هانئ، ورماه بممحجن كان في يده فارتज في الحائط، وأمر به إلى السوق فضربت عنقه.

ثم أمر ب المسلمين بن عقيل فقال: ائذن لي في الوصيّة، فقال: أوصي، فدع عمر بن سعد للقرابة بينه وبين الحسين، فقال له: إن الحسين قد أقبل في سيافة وتراسه وأناس من ولده وأهل بيته، فابعث إليه من يحذره وينذره فيرجع، فقد رأيت من خذلان أهل الكوفة ما قد رأيت. فقال له عبيد الله: ما قال لك هذا؟ قال: قال لي كذا وكذا، وجاء عبيد الله فأخبره الخبر، فقال عبيد الله: إله لا يخون الأمين، ولكنه قد يؤتمن الخائن. وقد كان هيأً أربعة آلاف فارس يغزو بهم الديلم، فقال له: سرأت عليهم، [قال]: فاعفني، فأبى أن يعفيه وسار إليه، فلما التقوا بكربالا عرض عليهم الحسين عليه السلام، فقال اختاروا مني إحدى ثلات خصال: إما اللحاق بأقصى مسلحة للعرب، لي ما لهم وعلى ما عليهم، أو الحق بأهلي وعيالي فأكون رجلاً من المسلمين، وإما أن أنزل على حكم يزيد بن معاوية، فأبوا عليه إلا حكم عبيد الله بن زياد، فقال رجل يقال له الحر بن يزيد الرياحي: ويحكم عرض عليكم ابن رسول الله عليه السلام إحدى ثلات خصال لا تقبلونها منه، فقاتل وضرب بسيفه حتى قتل - رحمه الله. قال الشاعر:

نعم الحرّ حَرَّ بْنِ رِيَاحٍ هزير عند مختلف الرماح
ونعم الحرّ إِذ نادى حُسَيْنَ فجاد بنفسه عند الصياح

وكان عبيد الله بعث شمر بن ذي الجوشن الضبابي، فقال له: إن قاتله عمر، وإن
فأنت على الناس، فواقعهم. فكان عليّ بن الحسين يضرب بالسيف بين يدي
أبيه عليهما السلام وهو يرتجز ويقول:

أنا عَلَيٰ بْنُ الْحَسَيْنِ بْنُ عَلَيٰ أَنَا وَرَبُّ الْبَيْتِ أُولَى بِالنَّبِيِّ
مِنْ شَمْرٍ وَشَبْتٍ وَابْنِ الدُّعَى أَلَا تَرَوْنِي كَيْفَ أَحْمِيْ عَنْ أَبِي

قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام وقتل ثلاثة عشر رجلاً منبني هاشم، وكان الذي
احتُرِّ رأس الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام خولي بن يزيد الأصبهني - لعنه الله تعالى.
وكان الذي بعثه عبيد الله بن زياد برأسه محفز بن ثعلبة العائذني، فلما وضع رأسه
بين يديه قال: يا أمير المؤمنين، أتيتك برأس أحمق الناس وألأمهم. فقال يزيد: ما
ولدت أمّ محفز أحمق وألأم، إنّ هذا إنّما أوتى من قلة فهمه. قال: جدّي رسول
الله عليهما السلام هو خير من جدّه، وصدق، والله ما يرى أحد لرسول الله عليهما السلام عدلاً ولا ندأً،
وقال: فاطمة بنت رسول الله عليهما السلام خير من ميسون بنت بحدل الكلبي، وصدق،
وقال: أبي خير من أبيه، فقد علم لأيهما حكم، ثمّ جعل يقلب بالقضيب وهو
يقول:

صبرنا و كان الصبر مَنِ سجية بأسينا يفلقنا هاماً ومعصينا
يفلقنا هاماً من رجال أعرة علينا وهم كانوا أعقّ وأظلموا

فقال عليّ بن الحسين عليهما السلام: (مَا أَصَابَ مِنْ مُّصِيبَةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا
فِي كِتَابٍ مِّنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَنْبَأَهَا إِنَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ) فقال يزيد لعنه الله: (وَمَا
أَصَبَكُمْ مِّنْ مُّصِيبَةٍ فِيمَا كَسَبْتُ أَيْدِيكُمْ وَيَعْفُوا عَنْ كُثِيرٍ) فقال: إن كانت
بينك وبين هؤلاء النساء قرابة فمر من يبههن إلى المدينة، قال: فأمر بهن يزيد
فأدخلن داراً لمعاوية، فأقمن ثلاثة، وأمر بهن إلى المدينة، فقال الشاعر في ذلك:

عين جودي بعيرة وعويل	واندبي إن بكية آل الرسول
قد أصيروا وخمسة لعقيل	واندبي تسعة لصلب علي
وابن عم النبي غودر مصقول	قد علوه بصارم مصقول

وقال عبد الله بن الزبير الأنصي:

إِنْ كُنْتَ لَا تَدْرِينَ مَا الْمَوْتَ فَانْظُرْنِي	إِلَى هَانِي فِي السُّوقِ وَابْنَ عَقِيلِ
تَرِى جَسْداً قَدْ غَيَّرَ الْمَوْتَ لَحْمَهُ	وَنَصْحَ دَمْ قَدْ سَالَ كُلَّ مُسْلِلِ
أَيْرَكَبْ أَسْمَاءَ الْهَمَالِيْجَ آمِنًا	وَقَدْ طَلَبَهُ مَذْحِجَ بَقْتِيلِ

(36) Sa'd ibn Khālid said, “Al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) proceeded towards Kūfah until he reached the orchard of Ibn Abī ‘Āmir, where he met the poet al-Farazdaq ibn Ghālib. He asked him, ‘Where are you heading to O son of the Messenger of Allah, and what has made you hasten from the pilgrimage?’ – and this was on the day of al-Tarwiyyah. He (a) replied, ‘If I had not hastened to leave, I would have been seized [by the soldiers of Yazid]. So what news do you bring O Farazdaq?’ He said, ‘I left the people while their hearts were with you but their swords were with the Banī Umayyah.’ He (a) said, ‘You have given me a true report [of the situation].’”

Al-Ḥusayn (a) had sent Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl to Kūfah in order take the pledge of allegiance for him in secret, so Muslim went there and put up at the home of Sharīk ibn al-A‘wār al-Ḥārithī. Then al-Ḥusayn (a) proceeded until he had reached close to the orchard of Ibn Abī ‘Āmir, and was one or two stops away [from the city]. There, he met ‘Abdullāh ibn Muṭī‘ al-‘Adwī. He said to him, ‘Where are you heading, O son of the Messenger of Allah?’ He (a) replied, ‘I am heading to Kūfah, for indeed its people have written to me [inviting me].’ He said, ‘I adjure you, O son of the Messenger of Allah, by the Holy House, the Holy Land, and the Holy Month, not to put yourself face to face with the Banī Marwān, for by Allah if you come in front of them, they will surely kill you.’ But he (a) continued on his way without paying heed.

Sharīk ibn al-A‘wār fell ill while Muslim was in his house, in one of his rooms, and he had his sword with him. Sharīk told him that ‘Ubaydullāh – meaning Ibn Ziyād – would come to visit him in a short while, ‘so when he comes then attack him [and be rid of him].’ ‘Ubaydullāh came and entered the house to ask about his health, then he left without Muslim having done anything. Later Muslim moved to Hāni’ ibn ‘Urwah al-Murādī’s place⁶ and ‘Ubaydullāh received news of this, so he said, ‘By Allah, were it not a disgrace, I would have reviled Sharīk [for what he did].’ Then he received word that Muslim was taking the pledge of allegiance from the people in secret, so he climbed the pulpit and said, ‘O people of Kūfah, you have given refuge to Muslim and then you have caused him to be expelled.’

Muslim had, before this, come out so that those who would pledge their allegiance to him among the people of Kūfah could do so. But as a result [of ‘Ubaydullāh’s threats], most of the Arabs turned against him. Al-

⁶ Some scholars note that it is not likely that Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl stayed at Sharīk’s house since Sharīk is said to have entered Kūfah at the same time as Ibn Ziyād, and he did not have a house in Kūfah. Rather, he was staying with Hāni’ ibn ‘Urwah. See: Rayshahrī, *Chronicles of the Martyrdom of Ḥusayn* (ICAS, 2020), p. 223.

Qa‘qā‘ ibn Shūr and Shabath ibn Ribī‘ came, and they fought [against him and his followers] until the night created a veil between them, and this was in the area of the date-sellers, during the early hours of darkness. He said, ‘Woe be to you! You have let them flee into the crowds of people, so leave!’ And that is what they did. Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl escaped and took refuge at the house of a woman. ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-Ash‘ath came to him (i.e. ‘Ubaydullāh) and said, ‘May Allah increase you in rectitude! I have heard that Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl is in such and such place.’ So he sent a man from the Banū Salīm with a hundred soldiers to that house and took him by surprise.

‘Ubaydullāh proclaimed on the pulpit, ‘O people of Kūfah, by Allah I will not leave any house of bricks in Kūfah but that I demolish it, nor any house made of wood but that I burn it! And when Muslim was brought to him, it was when ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād had [just] married Umm Ayyūb bint ‘Utbah. Then Hāni’ ibn ‘Urwah al-Murādī was brought, and when he came into the presence of ‘Ubaydullāh he said, ‘Perhaps the governor would be preoccupied with his nuptials.’ ‘Ubaydullāh retorted, ‘Do you [also] want to be married, O Hāni’?!’ and he struck him with the cane that was in his hand, so he fell back on the wall. Then he ordered him to be taken to the market place and beheaded.

Subsequently, he commanded Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl to be brought [and killed], so he said, ‘Allow me to make my last wishes known.’ He said, ‘Do so.’ So he said, ‘I wish to speak to ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d,’ because of the closeness between him and al-Ḥusayn. [When he came,] he said to him, ‘Verily al-Ḥusayn has departed with his supporters, and members of his family and children, so send word to him through one who can warn him [of the situation here], so that he may turn back. Indeed I have seen what I saw of the abandonment of the people of Kūfah.’ ‘Ubaydullāh asked him, ‘What did this man say to you?’ He (‘Umar) replied, ‘He said such and such...’ and he divulged what was said to

him. ‘Ubaydullâh remarked, ‘The trustworthy one does not betray the trust, but one may at times [mistakenly] trust the treacherous one!’ He had prepared a contingent of forty thousand soldiers with whom to fight al-Daylam, so he said to him, ‘You go out against them (i.e. al-Ḥusayn and his supporters).’ ‘Umar said, ‘Excuse me [from this task],’ but he refused to excuse him, so he marched towards him. And when they met in Karbalâ’, al-Ḥusayn (a) presented them [an offer] saying, ‘Choose one of three actions from me: either I can join the farthest garrison of the Arabs, such that I may have what they have and be prevented from what they are prevented; or I can rejoin my family and kinsfolk so that I may live as one of the Muslims; or I can refer to the judgment of Yazîd ibn Mu‘âwiyah.’ But they refused anything other than [his] following the judgment of ‘Ubaydullâh ibn Ziyâd. So a man called al-Ḥurr ibn Yazîd al-Riyâḥî said, ‘Woe be to you! The son of the Messenger of Allah is offering you three ways of resolving this and you do not accept any of them?!’ Then he fought them with his sword until he was killed – may Allah have mercy on him. The poet said:

*What a good freeman was Ḥurr banî Riyâḥ,
a lion pouncing amidst the flying spears.*

*And how good was al-Ḥurr when Ḥusayn called out,
so he gave his life away for that [lofty] call.*

‘Ubaydullâh sent Shimr ibn Dhî al-Jawshan al-Ḍibâbî saying to him, ‘If ‘Umar fights him, then so be it, otherwise you are in charge of the people, so attack them. And ‘Alî (al-Akbar) ibn al-Ḥusayn was striking [the enemy] with his sword in front of his father (a) as he recited these lines of poetry:

*I am ‘Alî ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî
I am, by the Lord of the House, closer to the Prophet
than Shimr, and Shabath, and the son of the Illegitimate one;
do you not see how I am supporting my father!*

Then al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed and so were thirteen men from the Banī Hāshim. The one who severed the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī was Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Āṣbahī, may Allah the Exalted curse him. And the one who was sent with his head by ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād was Muḥfiz ibn Thālabah al-Ā’idhī, so when he placed his head before Yazīd, he said, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, I have brought you the head of the most foolish and ignoble of all people.’ So Yazīd replied, ‘The one given birth to by the mother of Muḥfiz is more foolish and ignoble! Verily this [task] was only given to him because of his lack of understanding.’ [Then he said,] ‘He had said: my grandfather the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) is better than your grandfather, and he spoke the truth. By Allah, no one can find any person to be an equal or a peer to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ). He had said: my mother Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), is better than [yours] Maysūn bint Bahdāl al-Kalbī, and he spoke the truth. And he had said: my father is better than your father, yet he knew which of the two won the arbitration.’ Then he began turning [the blessed lips of al-Ḥusayn (a)] with a stick as he said:

*We were patient, and patience is our natural disposition,
with our swords heads are split and hands chopped*

*They split the heads of men who are noble and dear
to us, yet they were most disobedient and oppressive [to us].*

‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) recited [the verse]: *No affliction befalls on earth or in your souls but [that] it is in a Book [even] before We make it happen; verily that is easy for Allah* (Q57:22). So Yazīd, may Allah curse him, recited [the verse]: *Whatever affliction befalls you, it is [a consequence] of what your hands have earned; and He pardons much* (Q42:30). Then he (‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn) said, ‘If there is any [family] relationship between you and these womenfolk, then instruct that they be taken [back] to al-Madīnah.’ So Yazīd instructed that they be taken to a house that

belonged to Mu‘awiyah where they stayed for three days, then he instructed that they be taken to al-Madînah. Regarding this, a poet said:

*O eye, be bountiful in your tears and weeping,
and lament, if you cry, for the family of the Messenger
Weep for the nine [descendants] from the loins of ‘Alî,
who were martyred, and five from ‘Aqîl
And the cousin of the Prophet among them who was deceived,
and attacked by the sharpened blade [of the sword].*

And ‘Abdullâh ibn al-Zubayr al-Asadî said:

*If you do not know what death is then look,
at Hâni’ in the marketplace and Ibn ‘Aqîl
You will find a corpse whose flesh has been changed by death,
and oozing blood that has flowed in every direction
Does Asmâ’ [ibn Khârijah] ride his horse swiftly in security,
while he has been sought by [the tribe of] Madhhij for vengeance?*

(٣٧) عن أبي سعيد المقبري قال: والله لرأيت حسيناً عَلَيْهِ الْمَوْتُ وَإِنَّهُ لِيمشى بَيْنَ رِجْلَيْنِ،
يعتمد على هذا مرّة وعلى هذا مرّة أخرى، حتّى دخل مسجد رسول الله عَلَيْهِ الْمَوْتُ وهو
يقول:

لا ذعرت السوام في فلق الصبح
مغيرةً، ولا دعيت يزيداً
والمنايا ترصدني أن أحيداً
يوم أعطي مخافة الموت ضيماً

قال: فعلمت بعد ذلك أنه لا يلبث إلا قليلاً حتّى يخرج، فما لبث أن خرج حتّى لحق بمكّة.

(37) Abû Sa‘îd al-Maqburî said, “By Allah, I saw Husayn (a) while he was walking between two men, leaning on one for some time and then

leaning on the other, until he entered the Masjid of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) as he recited:

Neither did I frighten the camel herders in the early hours of dawn by carrying out a night raid, nor was I called Yazīd,

On that day, out of fear, a hand was placed over the hand of oppression and from the ambush of death, I am forced to turn aside.”

He (the narrator) said, “I knew after [hearing] this that he will not remain but for a short while before he departs. And indeed, it was not long before he left for Makkah.”

(٣٨) عن ابن عباس قال: بینا أنا أطوف بالبيت إذ لقيت الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام كفه بكتفه بين الركن والمقام. فعافته ثم ضممه إليّ وقلت: يا أبا عبد الله ما تريده؟ قال: أريد أن أسير؛ قال: نشدتك الله تسير إلى قوم قتلوا أباك وطعنوا أخيك، أهل العراق، وأنت بقيننا وجماعتنا؟ فقال: خل عني يا بن عباس، فإني أستحيي من ربِّي عزوجل أن ألقاه ولم آمر في أمتنا بمعرفة ولم أنه عن منكر.

(38) Ibn ‘Abbās said, “While I was once circumambulating the [Holy] House, I met al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a), coming face to face with him between the *rukñ* and *maqām*. I embraced him then brought him close to myself and asked, ‘O Abā ‘Abdillāh, what do you wish to do?’ He said, ‘I wish to depart.’ I asked, ‘I adjure you by Allah, do you wish to go towards a community that killed your father and betrayed your brother – the people of Iraq – while you are our last remaining doyen and elder?’ He said, ‘Let me leave, O Ibn ‘Abbās, for indeed I would be ashamed before my Lord, the Almighty, to meet Him while not having enjoined my nation to good and forbidden them from evil.’”

(٣٩) أنَّ عبد الله بن عباس دخل المسجد وقد سار الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام إلى العراق، فإذا هو بعبد الله بن الزبير في جماعة من قريش وقد استعلاهم بالكلام،

فجاء ابن عباس حتّى ضرب بيده على عضد ابن الزبير، فقال: أصبحت والله كما قال الأول:

يا لك من قبرة بمعمر خلا لك الجو فبيضي واصفري
ونقري ما شئت أن تنقري

خللت والله يا بن الزبير الحجاز من الحسين بن علي، فأقبلت تهدر في جوانبها، فغضب ابن الزبير وقال: والله يا بن عباس إنك لترى أنك أحقّ بهذا الأمر مني. فقال ابن عباس: يا بن الزبير إنما يرى من كان في شنك وأنا من ذلك على يقين. قال ابن الزبير: بأي شيء استحقّ عندك أنكم أحقّ بهذا الشأن مني؟ فقال ابن عباس: لأنّا أحقّ بحقّ من تدلّ بحقّه، وبأي شيء استحقّ عندك أنك أحقّ بهذا من سائر العرب إلّا بنا؟ قال ابن الزبير: أستحقّ عندي أنني أحقّ بها منهم لشرفي عليهم قدیماً وحديثاً. قال ابن عباس: فأنت أشرف أو من شرفت به؟ فقال ابن الزبير: من شرفت به زادني شرفاً إلّى شرف قد كان لي قدیماً، قال ابن عباس: يا ابن الزبير، فالزيادة أشرف أم المزید عليه؟ فالزيادة مني أو منك؟ فأطرق ثم قال: منك ولم أبعد. قال: صدقت يا بن الزبير، قال ابن الزبير: دعني من لسانك يا بن عباس، هذا الذي تقلّبه كيف شئت، والله لا تحبونا يابني هاشم أبداً. فقال ابن عباس: صدقت، نحن أهل بيت مع الله، لا نحبّ من أبغضه الله أبداً. وكان مع ابن الزبير ابن أخيه فنائز ابن عباس، فأخذ ابن الزبير نعله فعلاً بها رأس ابن أخيه وقال: ما أنت والكلام، لا أم لك، ابن عباس تنازع؟ فقال ابن عباس: لم يستحقّ الضرب من صدق وإنما يستحقّ من مرق ومزق. فقال ابن الزبير: يا بن عباس أما ينبغي أن تصفح عن كلمة كأنك قد أعددت لها جواباً، فقال ابن عباس: إنما الصفح عمن أقرّ، وأما عمن هرّ فلا. فقال ابن الزبير: فأين الفضل؟ فقال ابن

عَبَّاسٌ: عَنْدَنَا أَهْلُ الْيَتَمِّ، لَا نَصْرَفُهُ عَنْ أَهْلِهِ وَلَا نَضْعِهِ فِي غَيْرِهِمْ. فَقَالَ ابْنُ الزَّبِيرِ:
أَوْ لَسْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ؟ قَالَ بَلِّي، إِنْ بَذَتِ الْحَسْدُ وَلَزَمَتِ الْجَدْدُ، ثُمَّ تَفَرَّقَا.

(39) ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās entered the masjid after al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) had departed for Iraq, and he came across ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr among a group of Quraysh whom he had debated with [and convinced of his position]. Ibn ‘Abbās approached him until he struck his hand on the upper arm of Ibn al-Zubayr, then he said, “By Allah, you have become just as the early poet described:

*O how you resemble the red headed bird in a spacious habitation;
you have been left free so lay eggs, white and yellow;
and peck at whatever you wish to peck at!*

By Allah, now that al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī is no longer in Ḥijāz, you have come forward to growl in its environs.”

So Ibn al-Zubayr got angry and said, “By Allah, O Ibn ‘Abbās, indeed you suppose that you have a greater right to this affair than me.” Ibn ‘Abbās said, “O Ibn al-Zubayr, only one who is in doubt supposes, while I am certain of this.” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “On what basis have you concluded that you have a greater right to this status than me?” Ibn ‘Abbās said, “I surely have a greater right through the right of the one whose right you use as evidence for your own right. With what do you claim that you have a greater right to this than all the other Arabs if not through us?” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “I consider myself more rightful of it than them due to my position of honor over them, in the past and present.” Ibn ‘Abbās said, “Then are you more honorable or the one due to whom you got honor?” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “The one due to whom I got honor only increased me in honor over what I had already possessed of it in the past.” Ibn ‘Abbās said, “O Ibn al-Zubayr, then is the increaser greater in honor or the one who is increased thereby – and is the increase from me or from you?” So he lowered his head for a while

then he said, “From you, and that is inescapable.” He said, “You have spoken the truth, O Ibn al-Zubayr.” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “Leave me, O Ibn ‘Abbâs, away from this speech of yours which you maneuver as you wish. By Allah you, the Banî Hâshim, will never love us.” Ibn ‘Abbâs said, “You have spoken the truth. We, the Ahl al-Bayt, are with Allah. We will never love the one who is hated by Allah.”

At that time, the nephew of Ibn al-Zubayr was also present with them so he began quarreling with Ibn ‘Abbâs. Ibn al-Zubayr took his slipper and hit his nephew on the head with it saying, “What do you know of speech, O motherless wretch! Do you want to dispute with Ibn ‘Abbâs?” Ibn ‘Abbâs said, “He who speaks the truth does not deserve to be struck; only the one who reneges and slanders deserves that.” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “O Ibn ‘Abbâs, does it not behove you to overlook the words spoken [in anger]? It seems that you had already prepared an answer for it.” So Ibn ‘Abbâs said, “Pardonning is only for the one who admits [his mistake]; not for the one who argues [and tries to provide a justification].” Ibn al-Zubayr asked, “Then where is the merit?” Ibn ‘Abbâs replied, “It is with us, the Ahl al-Bayt. We do not turn it away from those who deserve it, nor do we give it to others [who are underserving of it].” Ibn al-Zubayr said, “Am I not among those who deserve it?” Ibn ‘Abbâs replied, “Yes indeed, but only if you cast away your jealousy and adhere to the correct course.” Then they parted ways.

(٤٠) حدثنا لبطة بن الفرزدق عن أبيه قال: حجّت فمررت بذات عرق، فإذا بها قباب منصوبة، فقلت: لمن هذه؟ قالوا: الحسين بن عليٍّ، فدخلت عليه، فقال: ما الخبر وراءك؟ قلت: القلوب معك والسيوف مع بنى أمية.

(40) Labaṭah ibn al-Farazdaq narrated from his father who said, “I went for pilgrimage and passed by Dhāt ‘Irq⁷, where I saw that a large tent had been erected. I asked, ‘What is this?’ They said, ‘[It is the camp of] al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī.’ So I went to him and he asked me, ‘What news do you bring?’ I said, ‘The hearts [of the people] are with you but their swords are with the Banū Umayyah.’”

(٤١) عن عمرو بن ثابت، قال: لما أراد الحسين بن عليٍّ غَلَّةً إلى العراق، خطب أصحابه فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثم قال: إن هذه الدنيا قد تنكرت وأدبر معروفها، فلم يبق إلا صباة كصباة الإناء، وخشيس عيش كالمرعى. لا ترون أن الحق لا يعمل به، وأن الباطل لا ينهى عنه، ليرغب المرء في لقاء ربِّه، فإني لا أرى الموت إلا سعادة، ولا الحياة مع الظالمين إلا شقاوة.

فقام إليه زهير بن القين البجلي فقال: قد سمعت مقالتك هديت، ولو كانت الدنيا باقية وكما فيها مخلدين، وكان في الخروج مواساتك ونصرتك لاخترنا الخروج منها معك على الإقامة فيها، فجزاه الحسين بن عليٍّ غَلَّةً خيراً، ثم قال صلوات الله عليه:

سأمضي وما بالموت عار على الفتى إذا ما نوى حقاً وجاهد مسلماً

وواسى الرجال الصالحين بنفسه وفارق مثبوراً وخالف مجرماً

فإن عشت لم أندم وإن مت لم ألم كفى بك داءً أن تعيش وترغماً

فلما نزل بستانبني عامر، كتب إلى محمد أخيه وأهل بيته:

من الحسين بن عليٍّ، إلى محمد بن عليٍّ وأهل بيته:

⁷ This is the name of the *mīqāt* (stopping places where pilgrims don their *iḥrām*) of the people of Iraq.

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِنَّكُمْ إِنْ لَحِقْتُمْ بِي أَسْتَشْهِدُتُمْ، وَإِنْ تَخَلَّفْتُمْ عَنِّي لَمْ تَلْحِقُوا النَّصْرَ، وَالسَّلَامُ.

فَلَمَّا وَافَى زِيَالَةً اسْتَقْبَلَهُ الْطَّرْمَاحُ الطَّائِي الشَّاعِرُ، فَقَالَ لَهُ الْحَسَنُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ أَينْ خَرَجْتَ؟ قَالَ: مِنْ الْكُوفَةَ. قَالَ: كَيْفَ وَجَدْتَ أَهْلَ الْكُوفَةَ؟ قَالَ: يَا ابْنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ، قَلْوَبُهُمْ مَعَكُ وَسَيِّدُكُمْ عَلَيْكُ. فَقَالَ لَهُ الْحَسَنُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: صَدِقْتَ. النَّاسُ عَبَدُوا الدِّنَيَا، وَالَّذِينَ لَعِقَ عَلَى أَسْتَهِمْ، يَحْوِطُونَهُ مَا دَرَّتْ مَعَايِشُهُمْ، فَإِذَا مُحَصَّنُوا بِالْبَلَاءِ قَلَ الْدِيَانُونَ. فَلَمَّا وَافَى كَرْبَلَاءَ، قَالَ: فَيْ أَيِّ مَوْضِعٍ نَحْنُ؟ قَالُوا: بِكَرْبَلَاءَ. قَالَ: كَرْبَ وَاللَّهِ وَبَلَاءُ! هَاهُنَا مَنَاخُ رَكَابِنَا وَمَهْرَاقُ دَمَائِنَا. ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ فِي جَوْفِ الْلَّيلِ يَتَمَثَّلُ وَيَقُولُ:

يَا دَهْرَ أَفَّ لَكَ مِنْ خَلِيلٍ كُمْ لَكَ فِي الْإِشْرَاقِ وَالْأَصِيلِ
مِنْ طَالِبٍ وَصَاحِبٍ قَتِيلٍ وَالْدَّهْرُ لَا يَقْنَعُ بِالْبَدِيلِ
وَإِنَّمَا الْأَمْرُ إِلَى الْجَلِيلِ وَكُلَّ حَيٍّ سَالِكُ السَّبِيلِ

فَقَالَتْ أُخْتُهُ زَيْنَبُ: لَعَلَّكَ تَخْبِرُنَا بِأَنَّكَ تَقْصِدُ نَفْسَكَ، فَقَالَ: لَوْ تَرَكَ الْقَطَا لِنَامٍ.

(41) 'Amr ibn Thâbit said, "When al-Husayn ibn 'Alî (a) departed for Iraq, he addressed his companions and after praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said, 'Verily this world has changed for the worse, and its goodness has turned back. Nothing remains [of it] save very little, like the few drops that remain at the bottom of a vessel, and paltry means of life like [sparse] pasture. Do you not see that the truth is not acted upon, and falsehood is not forbidden? So let a person [in such circumstances] desire to meet his Lord, for indeed I do not see death but as [a means to] felicity, nor life with the unjust tyrants but as wretchedness.'

So Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn al-Bajalî stood up and said, 'I have heard what you said and been guided [by it]. Even if this world remained and we

lived in it eternally, yet by [our] rising we would be supporting and aiding you, we would choose to leave it with you over remaining in it!’ Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) thanked him and prayed for him, then he – blessings be upon him – said:

*I shall proceed and death is not a disgrace for the youth,
when what he intends is truth, and fights as a [true] Muslim*

*And he accords the righteous people solace with his life,
separating from the accursed and fighting the wrongdoer*

*So if I live, I shall have no regret, and if I die, I shall not be blamed,
for it suffices as an ailment for one to live under coercion*

Then, when he arrived at the orchard of Banī ‘Āmir, he wrote to his brother Muḥammad, and his family:

‘From al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, to Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī and his family:

Now then, indeed if you join me, you will be killed, but if you turn away from me you will not attain the [great] victory; and peace [be upon you].’

When he arrived at Zubālah, he was welcomed by the poet al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ṭā’ī, so al-Ḥusayn (a) asked him, ‘From where have you come?’ He said, ‘From Kūfah.’ He (a) asked, ‘How did you find the people of Kūfah?’ He said, ‘O son of the Messenger of Allah, their hearts are with you but their swords are against you.’ Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, ‘You have spoken the truth. People are slaves of this world, and religion is only stuck on their tongues. They cling to it as long as their lives are comfortable, but the moment trials afflict them, those who remain religious become few.’ [Then he proceeded onwards] and when he arrived at Karbalā’, he asked, ‘Where have we come to?’ They replied, ‘To Karbalā’.’ He said, ‘[A land of] hardship (*karb*), by Allah, and trial (*balā*)! This is where our caravan will stop and where our blood will be

shed.' Then, in the darkness of night, he began reciting the following couplets:

*O time, fie be to you as a friend,
how many dawns and eves did you have

in which a seeker or an owner was killed,
that time is incapable of replacing with another,

yet the affair returns to the Majestic Lord,
and every living one traverses this course.*

So his sister Zaynab said, 'It is as though you are informing us of what will happen to you!' So he replied, 'If the sand grouse is left [free at night], it will surely sleep.'⁸

(٤٢) عن بشر بن غالب الأنصاري قال: إنّ ابن الزبير لحق الحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما السلام قال: أين تrepid؟ قال: العراق. قال: هم الذين قتلوا أبيك وطعنوا أخيك، وأنا أرى أئمّهم قاتلوك. قال: وأنا أرى ذلك...^٩

(42) Bishr ibn Ghâlib al-Asadî said, "Ibn al-Zubayr met al-Husayn ibn 'Alî (a) and asked, 'Where are you heading?' He replied, 'Iraq.' He said, 'They are the ones who killed your father and betrayed [and maligned] your brother. I think they will also kill you [if you go there].' He responded, 'I think the same...'"

(٤٣) عن يونس قال: لما غدر أهل الكوفة بالحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما السلام جاء عبد الله بن الحرس الجعفي وقد نزل الحسين عليهما السلام قريباً منه، فلما دخل عليه قال له ابن الحرس: والله ما خرجت من الكوفة إلا من أجلك. قال الحسين عليهما السلام: فكن معي. قال له

⁸ This is a proverb used among the Arabs and here it means: they will never let me go. No matter what I do, they will still follow me and force me to give my pledge of allegiance on pain of death.

ابن الحرّ: ما أرى نفسي تسخو بالقتل، وأهل الكوفة ليسوا معك، فإنهم
سيخذلونك، وفرسي هذه ما طلبت عليها شيئاً إلا أدركته، ولا هربت عليها من
شيء إلا فشه، فاركبها حتى تلقى يزيد فتضع يدك في يده فيؤمنك، فأبى عليه،
فقال: أعزلك فلا أكون عليك أبداً. فلما قتل الحسين عليه السلام قال عبيد الله بن زياد
لابن الحرّ: أكنت مع الحسين؟ فقال: لو كنت معه لم يخف مكانه، ثم فارقه. فلم
يزل مفارقاً له حتى كان من أمره ما كان.

(43) Yūnus said, “When the people of Kūfah betrayed al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a), ‘Abdullāh⁹ ibn al-Hurr al-Ju‘fī came and camped close to al-Ḥusayn. When he entered his presence, Ibn al-Hurr said, ‘By Allah, I did not leave Kūfah except for your sake.’ Al-Ḥusayn (a) said, ‘Then join us.’ Ibn al-Hurr said to him, ‘I do not see myself ready to give up my life. The people of Kūfah are not with you, and they will surely forsake you. This horse of mine is such that I have never sought a thing while riding it but that I attained it, and I have never fled from anything while riding it but that I escaped it. Ride it until you meet Yazīd and place your hand in his hand so that he may grant you safety.’ But he (a) rejected that, so he said, ‘I hereby leave you and will never come [to fight] against you.’ So when al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād asked Ibn al-Hurr, ‘Were you with al-Ḥusayn?’ He replied, ‘If I was with him, my position would not have been concealed.’ Then he left him; and it was not long after he had left him that what [is known to have] happened to him happened.¹⁰

(٤٤) حدثنا حسين بن زيد بن علي، عن آبائه عليهم السلام: أن الحسين بن علي عليه السلام
خطب يوم أصيبي، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه وقال: الحمد لله الذي جعل الآخرة

⁹ Most of the other sources spell his name ‘Ubaydullāh instead of ‘Abdullāh.

¹⁰ Historical sources state that he felt guilty for abandoning the Imam so he joined Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, but later he betrayed Mukhtār and joined Muṣāb ibn al-Zubayr.

للمتقين، والنار والعقاب على الكافرين، وإنّا والله ما طلبنا في وجهنا هذا الدنيا، فنكون السالكين في غير رضوان ربنا، فاصبروا فإنّ الله مع الذين اتقوا، ودار الآخرة خير لكم. فقالوا بأنفسنا نفديك. فقال الحسين بن زيد بن عليٍّ عليهما السلام: فكانوا والله يبادرون إلى القتال حتى مضوا بين يديه، فيحتسبهم ويستغفّر لهم.

(44) Ḥusayn ibn Zayd ibn ‘Alī narrated to us from his fathers (a), that al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) addressed [his companions] on the day when he was martyred, and after praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said, “All praise belongs to Allah Who made [Paradise in] the Hereafter for the Godwary, and the Fire and punishment for the disbelievers. By Allah, we did not seek this world thereby traversing a path other than that which brings the pleasure of our Lord. So be patient, for indeed Allah is with those who espouse Godwariness, and the abode of the Hereafter is better for you.” They responded, “We will sacrifice our lives for you.” Al-Ḥusayn ibn Zayd ibn ‘Alī (a) said, “By Allah, they hastened to fight ahead of him, until they died in front of him, so he bore their loss patiently [for the sake of Allah] and sought forgiveness for them.”

(45) حدثنا محمد بن حسن، قال: لما نزل عمر بن سعد بالحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما السلام وعلم أنّهم قاتلوه، قام في أصحابه خطيباً فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، ثمَّ قال: قد نزل ما ترون من الأمر، وأنَّ الدنيا قد تغيرت وتنكّرت، وأدبر معرفتها واستمررت، فلم يبق منها إلَّا صباة الإناء، إلَّا خسيس عيش كالمرعى الويل للمتخالف، ألا ترون الحق لا يُعمل به والباطل لا يتناهى عنه، ليرغب المسلم في لقاء الله عزوجل، وإنّي لا أرى الموت فيه إلَّا سعادة، والحياة مع الظالمين إلَّا برمًا.

قال: وقتل الحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما السلام يوم عاشوراء من سنة إحدى وستين - وعليه جبة خرْ دكناه - بالطف بكربلاء، وهو ابن ست وخمسين سنة.

(45) Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan said, “When ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d came to al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) and he found out that they have come to fight against him, he (a) stood among his companions and addressed them. After praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said, ‘You can see what the affair has come to, and how the world has altered and changed for the worse, and its goodness has turned back and continued [retreating]. Nothing of it remains except a little, like the few drops left at the bottom of a vessel [that is otherwise empty], and the abject [means of] life like insalubrious pasture, glutted and fatal. Do you not see that the truth is not being acted upon, and falsehood is not being forbidden? So let a Muslim [in such circumstances] desire to meet his Lord, the Almighty, for indeed I do not see death but as [a means to] felicity, nor life with the unjust but as wretchedness.’”

He (the narrator) said, “Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed on the day of ‘Āshūrā’ in the year 61AH – while he was wearing a long, coarse, blackish shirt – at al-Ṭaff in Karbalā’, at the age of fifty-six.”

(٤٦) عن عبد الله بن الحسن قال: لما عبأ عمر بن سعد أصحابه لمحاربة الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام ورثتهم مراتبهم، وأقام الريات في مواضعها، وعبأ أصحاب الميمنة والميسرة، وقال لأصحاب القلب: اثبتوا! وأحاطوا بالحسين عليهما السلام من كل جانب حتى جعلوه في مثل الحلقة.

فخرج عليهما السلام حتى أتى الناس فاستنصتهم، فأبوا أن ينتصروا، حتى قال لهم: ويلكم ما عليكم أن تنتصروا إليّ فتسمعوا قولي، فإني إنما أدعوكم إلى سبيل الرشاد، فمن أطاعني كان من المرشدين، ومن عصاني كان من المهلكين وكلكم عاصٍ لأمرِي غير مستمع قولي، فقد انخللت عطياتكم من الحرام، وملئت بطونكم من الحرام، فطبع على قلوبكم. ويلكم ألا تنتصرون، ألا تسمعون؟ فتلاؤم أصحاب عمر بن سعد بينهم وقالوا أنصتوا له، فانتصروا.

فقام الحسين عليهما السلام فيهم، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه وصلى على النبي عليهما السلام ثم قال:

تبأً لكم أيتها الجماعة وترحأً، أفحين استصرختموا ولهين متّحيرين، فأصرختم
موجفين مستعدّين، سللتكم علينا سيفاً في رقابنا، وحشّستم علينا نار الفتنة، خبأها
عدوكم وعدونا، فأصبحتم إلباً على أوليائكم ويداً عليهم لأعدائكم، لغير عدلٍ
أفسوه فيكم، ولا أمل أصبح لكم فيهم إلا الحرام من الدنيا أنالوكم، وحسيس
عيش طمعتم فيه، من غير حدث كان منا، لا رأي تفيل لنا، فهلاً - لكم الويّلات
- تجهّتمونا والسيف لم يشهر، والجأش طامن، والرأي لم يستخف، ولكن
أسرعتم إلينا كطيرة الذباب، وتداعيتم كتداعي الفراش.

فقبحاً لكم، فإنّما أنتم من طواغيت الأمة وشذوذ الأحزاب، ونبذة الكتاب، ونفثة
الشيطان، وعصبة الآثام، ومحرّفي الكتاب، ومطفّي السنن، وقتلة أولاد الأنبياء،
ومبيري عترة الأوصياء، وملحقي العهار بالنسب، ومؤذي المؤمنين، وصراخ أئمّة
المستهزئين الذين جعلوا القرآن عضين، وأنتم على ابن حرب وأشياعه تعتمدون،
وإيانا تخاذلون. أجل والله، خذل فيكم معروف، وشجت عليه عروقكم، وتوارثه
أصولكم وفروعكم، وثبتت عليه قلوبكم، وعشبت صدوركم. وكنتم أخبث
شيء، سنخأ للناصب وأكللة للغاصب. لا لعنة الله على الناكثين الذين ينقضون
الأيمان بعد توكيدها، وقد جعلتم الله عليكم كفياً، فأنتم والله هم.

الا إن الدعي ابن الدعي قد ركز بين اثنين، بين القتلة والذلة، وهيهات منا أخذ
الدّيّة، أبي الله ذلك ورسوله والمؤمنون، وجدد طابت، وحجور طهرت، وأنوف
حميّة، ونفوس أيّة، لا تؤثر مصارع اللئام على مصارع الكرام. لا قد أعتذرت
وأنذرت.

ألا إني زاحف بهذه الأسرة على قلة العتاد وخدمة الأصحاب، ثم أنشأ يقول:

فإن نهزم فهراً مون قدماً
وإن نهزم فغير مهراً مينا

ألا، ثم لا تلبشون بعدها إلا كريث ما يركب الفرس حتى تدور بكم الراحا، عهداً
عهده إلى أبي، (فَاجْمِعُوهُ أَمْرُكُمْ وَشُرَكَاءِكُمْ لَا يَكُنْ أَمْرُكُمْ عَلَيْكُمْ غَمَّةٌ ثُمَّ
أَقْضُوا إِلَى وَلَا تُنْظِرُونَ) (فَكَيْدُونِي حَيْيَا لَمَّا لَأَنْتُنْظِرُونِ ﴿٦﴾ إِنِّي تَوَكَّلُ عَلَى اللَّهِ رَبِّي
وَرَبِّكُمْ مَا مِنْ دَآبَةٍ إِلَّا هُوَ أَخْذُ بِنَاصِيَتِهَا إِنَّ رَبِّي عَلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ).

اللهُمَّ احْبِسْ عَنْهُمْ قَطْرَ السَّمَاءِ، وَابْعُثْ عَلَيْهِمْ سِنِينَ كَسْنِيَّ يَوْسُفَ، وَسَلَطْ عَلَيْهِمْ
غَلامَ ثَقِيفَ يَسْقِيهِمْ كَأْسًا مَرَّةً وَلَا يَدْعُ فِيهِمْ أَحَدًا إِلَّا قُتْلَهُ، قُتْلَةً بَقْتَلَةً، وَضَرَبَةً
بَضَرَبَةٍ، يَنْتَقِمُ لِي وَلِأَوْلَائِي وَأَهْلِ بَيْتِي وَأَشْيَاعِي مِنْهُمْ، فَإِنَّهُمْ غَرَّوْنَا وَكَذَّبُونَا
وَخَذَلُونَا، وَأَنْتَ رَبُّنَا عَلَيْكَ تَوَكَّلُنَا، وَإِلَيْكَ أَنْبَنَا وَإِلَيْكَ الْمَصِيرُ.

ثم قال: أين عمر بن سعد؟ ادعوا لي عمر، فدعى له وكان كارهاً لا يحب أن
يأتيه، فقال: يا عمر، يا ابن عم، أنت تقتلني تزعم أن يوليك الداعي ابن الداعي
بلاد الرئي وجرجان؟ والله لا تتهنأ بذلك أبداً، عهداً معهوداً، فاصنع ما أنت صانع،
فإنك لا تفرح بعدي بدنيا ولا آخرة، ولકائي برأسك على قصبة قد نصب
بالكوفة ترامة الصيانت ويتحذونه غرضاً بينهم.

فاغتاظ عمر من كلامه، ثم صرف بوجهه عنه، ونادي أصحابه: ما تنتظرون به،
احملوا بأجمعكم إنما هي أكلة واحدة.

ثم إن الحسين عليه السلام دعا بفرس رسول الله عليه السلام المرتجز، فركبه، وعيّأ أصحابه،
فزحف إليه عمر بن سعد - لعنه الله تعالى - ونادي غلامه دريدا وقال: أقدم

رأيتك. ثم وضع سهمه في كبد قوسه، ثم رمى وقال: أشهدوا لي عند الأمير – يعني عبيد الله بن زياد لعنه الله تعالى وإياها – أني أول من رمى، فرمى أصحابه كلهم بأجمعهم في أثره رشقة واحدة، فما بقي واحد من أصحاب الحسين عليه السلام إلا أصحابه من رميهم سهم.

(46) 'Abdullâh ibn al-Hasan said, "When 'Umar ibn Sa'd mobilized his people to fight against al-Husayn ibn 'Alî (a) and arranged them in formation, placing the banners in their places, he positioned the right and left flanks and addressed those in the center saying, 'Remain steadfast! And surround al-Husayn (a) from all sides,' [instructing them to do so] until they had made a circle around him. So he (a) came out to the people and began admonishing them, but they refused to become silent, until he said to them, 'Woe be to you! For what reason do you not become silent and listen to my speech? I am only calling you to the path of guidance. So whoever obeys me will be of the rightly guided, and whoever disobeys me will be among those who perish. And all of you are disobedient to my command and refuse to listen to my words. [That is because] unlawful grants have made you heavy and slow, and your bellies are filled with the unlawful, so your hearts have been sealed. Woe be to you, will you not be silent; will you not listen?' So the followers of 'Umar ibn Sa'd began chastising one another and said, 'Be silent for him,' so they fell silent.

Then al-Husayn (a) stood among them and after praising Allah and glorifying Him, and sending blessings upon the Prophet (ṣ), he said, "May you perish, O contingent, and weep! How is it that when you called out to us in bewilderment and perplexity, and we responded to your call swiftly and readily, you draw a sword against us aiming for our necks, and kindled the fire of strife against us, which was concealed by our enemy and your enemy. So you became a means against your friends and a weapon against them for your enemies, without their

having spread justice among you, nor any hope in them that might have risen among you, except the unlawful [gains] of this world which they gave to you, and the lowly [pleasures of] life which you were desirous of, without any [wrongful] action on our part, nor any [popular] opinion that had matured in our favour. So do you now – woe be to you – scowl at us while the sword has not [yet] been unsheathed, the hearts are not agitated, and the decision has not been quietly taken. Rather, you have rushed towards us [quickly] like the flight of a housefly, and you have called each other towards it as the moth flutters [towards a flame].

So shame on you! Indeed you are only among the persecutors of this nation and its violent factions – those who cast away the Book, followers of the whisperings of Satan, union of sinners, distorters of the Book, effacers of the righteous practices, killers of the children of Prophets, destroyers of the progenies of the [divinely appointed] Legatees, joiners with those from the lineage of adulterers, harmers of the believers, criers on behalf of the leaders who mock and shred the Qur'ān [into pieces]. You are relying upon the [bloodthirsty] warrior and his followers, and forsaking us. Yes, by Allah, such forsaking is considered to be a good deed among you; it (such thinking and behaviour) runs through your veins and spreads to every part of you, and gets entrenched in your hearts and embedded in your minds. You are indeed the most vile: a tilth for the spiteful and fodder for the usurper. May the curse of Allah be upon the oath-breakers who break their covenants after confirming them, having made Allah your guarantor, and you are, by Allah, such people.

Indeed, the illegitimate son of the illegitimate father has placed me in a position [to choose] between death and humiliation, and far be it for us to accept the latter. This is rejected by Allah, His Prophet, and the believers, as well as the pious ancestors and pure laps [which have nursed us]. Honorable individuals and high-minded souls never prefer

the death of the vile over the death of the noble. Indeed, I have hereby left no excuse [for you] and have warned you. Indeed, I am slowly proceeding with this family [of mine], with [only] a few supplies, having been abandoned by the companions. Then he recited:

*If we overcome the enemy, then that has been our wont aforetime
And if we are defeated [in battle], we shall not be vanquished*

Know that you will then not remain after it but for the time it takes to mount a horse, before the tides turn against you. This is a promise made to me by my father, *so devise a plot along with your idols - and you do not [even] have to be secretive about your plot - then carry it out against me without delay* (Q10:71). *So let all of you plot against me without delay! I have put my trust in Allah, my Lord and your Lord. There is no living creature which is not under His control. Surely my Lord's way is straight [and just]* (Q11:55-6).

O Allah, withhold from them rain from the sky, and send upon them years of drought like those of [the time of] Yūsuf (a). Give authority over them to the young man of Thaqīf so that he may give them bitter drink, and leave none of them but that he kills him, a life for a life, and a strike for a strike. He would thereby avenge me, my friends, and my family and followers, for indeed they deceived us and lied to us and abandoned us. You are our Lord, we trust in You and turn to You, and to You is our final destination.'

Then he asked, 'Where is 'Umar ibn Sa'd? Call 'Umar.' So 'Umar was called and he did not want to come to him and only did so unwillingly. He (a) said to him, 'O 'Umar, O cousin, will you kill me under the assumption that the illegitimate son of the illegitimate father will give you the governorship of Rayy and Jurjān? By Allah, you will never get to enjoy that! That is a promise. So do whatever you wish, for indeed you will never be joyous after me in this world, nor [in] the Hereafter. Rather, I can see your head upon a pole that has been erected in Kūfah;

young boys are pelting it [with stones] having taken it as a target among themselves.'

So ‘Umar got angry with his words, and he turned his face away and left. He [then] called out to his troops, ‘What are you waiting for? Attack all together. Indeed it is only a single morsel!’

Al-Ḥusayn (a) called for the horse of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), al-Murtajiz, and climbed on it before mobilizing his companions [for battle]. ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d – may Allah curse him – advanced towards him and called his servant Duraydā, saying ‘Put forward your [battle] flag.’ Then he placed his arrow in his bow and shot it saying, ‘Bear witness for me in the presence of the governor – meaning ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, may Allah curse him – that I was the first person to shoot [at al-Ḥusayn (a)].’ Then all his troops shot their arrows together. As a result, there was none among the companions of al-Ḥusayn (a) but that he was struck by an arrow.”

(٤٧) عن حميد بن مسلم، قال سمعت الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام وقد أحاطوا به يقول:
اللهم أحبس عنهم مطر السماء، وامنعواهم بركات الأرض، وإن متّعهم إلى حين
ففرقهم فرقاً ومرّقهم مزقاً، واجعلهم طرائق قدداً، ولا ترض عليهم الولاة أبداً،
فإنّهم دعونا لينصروننا فعدوا علينا فقاتلوا.

وضارب حتى كفّهم عنه، ثمّ تعادوا عليه فقتلوه.

(47) Ḥamīd ibn Muslim said, “I heard al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a), when they had surrounded him, saying, ‘O Allah, withhold from them rain from the sky, deprive them of the blessings of the earth, and if you grant them its enjoyment for a time, then divide them into factions and tear them apart from each other, and make them followers of different paths. Never make their leaders pleased with them, for indeed they invited us [claiming that it was] in order to assist us, but they unjustly

assaulted us and killed us [instead].’ Then he struck them until he drove them back; then they attacked him [from all sides] and killed him.”

(٤٨) عن عمّار الدهني قال: قلت لأبي حعفر عليه السلام، حدثني بمقتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام حتّى كأني حضرته. قال: مات معاوية والوليد بن عتبة بن أبي سفيان على المدينة، فأرسل إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام لأخذ بيته، فقال له: أخْرُنِي، ورافق به فآخره، فخرج إلى مكة، فأتاه رسل أهل الكوفة: أَنَا قد حبسنا أنفسنا عليك، ولسنا نحضر الجمعة مع الوالي فأقدم علينا. وكان نعمان بن بشير الأنصاري على الكوفة.

قال: فبعث الحسين بن علي عليه السلام إلى مسلم بن عقيل، ابن عمّه، فقال: سر إلى الكوفة فانتظر ما كتبوا به إليّ، فإن كان حقاً خرجت إليهم، فخرج مسلم حتّى أتى المدينة، فأخذ منها دليلين فمرا به في البرية فأصابهم عطش، فمات أحد الدليلين، فكتب مسلم إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام يستغفه، فكتب إليه الحسين: أن أمض إلى الكوفة، فخرج حتّى قدمها، فنزل على رجل من أهلها يقال له عوسبة. فلما تحدّث أهل الكوفة بمقدمه دنووا إليه، فباعه منهم اثنا عشر ألفاً، فقام رجل ممّن يهوى يزيد إلى النعمان، فقال له: إِنّك لضعيف أو مستضعف، قد فسد البلاد. فقال له النعمان: لأنّ أكون ضعيفاً في طاعة الله عزّوجلّ أحب إلى ممّا أكون قويّاً في معصية الله، وما كنت لأهتك ستراً ستره الله عزّوجلّ، فكتب بقوله إلى يزيد بن معاوية.

فدعى يزيد مولئي له يقال له سرحون - قد كان يستشيره - فأخبره الخبر، فقال له: أكنت قابلاً من معاوية لو كان حياً؟ قال: نعم. قال: فاقبل مني، إنّه ليس للكوفة إلّا عبيد الله بن زياد، فولّها إيه، وكان يزيد ساخطاً [على عبيد الله بن زياد،

وكان قد همّ بعزله وكان على البصرة، فكتب إليه يرضاه وأنه قد ولأه الكوفة مع البصرة، وكتب إليه أن يطلب مسلم بن عقيل فيقتله إن وجده.

فأقبل عبيد الله في وجوه أهل البصرة حتى قدم الكوفة متلئماً، فلا يمرّ على مجلس من مجالسهم فيسلم عليهم إلا أن قالوا: عليك السلام يا بن بنت رسول الله، وهم يظنون أنه الحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما السلام، حتى نزل بالقصر، فدعوا مولىً له فأعطاه ثلاثة آلاف درهم، فقال له: اذهب حتى تسأله عن الرجل الذي يباع أهل الكوفة، فأعلمه أنك رجل من أهل حمص جئت لهذا الأمر، وهذا مال فادفعه إليه ليقوى، فخرج إليه فلم ينزل يتلطّف ويرفق حتى دخل على شيخ يلي البيعة، فلقيه فأخبره الخبر، فقال له الشيخ: لقد سرّني لقاؤك إيماني، ولقد ساعني، فأمّا ما سرّني من ذلك فما هداك الله عزوجل، وأمّا ما ساعني فإنّ أمراً لم يستحكم بعد، فأندخله على مسلم فأخذ منه المال وبايته، ورجع إلى عبيد الله فأخبره، وتحول مسلم حين قدم عبيد الله من الدار التي كان فيها إلى منزل هانئ بن عمرو المرادي.

وكتب مسلم إلى الحسين ابن عليٍّ عليهما السلام يخبره ببيعة اثنى عشر ألفاً من أهل الكوفة، ويأمره بالقدوم.

قال: وقال عبيد الله لوجهه أهل الكوفة: ما بال هانئ بن عمرو لم يأتي فيمن أتاني؟ قال: فخرج إليه محمد بن الأشعث في أناس منهم، فأتوه وهو على باب داره، فقالوا له: إنّ الأمير قد ذكر استبطاءك فانطلق إليه، فلم يزالوا به حتى ركب معهم، فدخل على عبيد الله وعنده شريح القاضي، فلما نظر إليه قال لشريح: أتتك بخائن رجاله، فلما سلم عليه قال له: يا هانئ، أين مسلم؟ قال: لا أدرى. فأمر

عبيد الله صاحب الدرّاهم، فخرج إليه، فلما رأه قطع به، قال: أصلح الله الأمير، والله ما دعوته إلى منزلتي ولكنّه جاء فطرح نفسه علىي. قال: ائنني به. فقال: والله لو كان تحت قدمي ما رفعتهما عنه. قال: أدنوه إليّ، فأداني فضرره بالقضيب فشّجه على حاجبه، وأهوى هانئ إلى سيف شرطي ليس له فدفع عن ذلك، وقال له: قد أحل الله دمك، فأمر به فحبس في جانب القصر.

وخرج الخبر إلى مذبح، فإذا على باب القصر جلبة سمعها عبيد الله بن زياد، فقال: ما هذا؟ فقالوا: مذبح. فقال لشريح: أخرج إليهم فأعلمهم أئنما حبسه لأسائله، وبعث عيناً عليه من مواليه يسمع ما يقول، فمرّ شريح بهانئ، فقال هانئ: يا شريح، أئن الله فإنه قاتلي، فخرج شريح حتى قام على باب القصر، فقال: لا بأس عليه، إنما حبسه الأمير ليس له. فقالوا: صدق ليس على أصحابكم بأس، فتفرقوا.

وأتى مسلماً الخبر، فنادى بشعاره فاجتمع إليه أربعة آلاف من أهل الكوفة، فقدّم مقدمة وهي ميمنة وميسرة وسار في القلب إلى عبيد الله، وبعث عبيد الله إلى وجوه أهل الكوفة فجمعهم عنده في القصر، فلما سار إليه مسلم فانتهى إلى باب القصر، أشرفوا عليه من فوقه على عشائرهم، فجعلوا يكلّمونهم ويردّونهم، فجعلوا أصحاب مسلم يتسلّلون حتى أمسى في خمسيناتة، فلما اخطل الظلام ذهب أولئك أيضاً، فلما رأى مسلم أنه قد بقي وحده تردد في الطرق، فأتى بباباً فنزل عليه، فخرجت إليه امرأة، فقال لها: اسقيني ماءً، فسقته، ثمَّ مكث ما شاء الله، ثمَّ خرجت فإذا هو على الباب. قالت: يا عبد الله، إنَّ مجلسك مجلس ريبة، فقم. فقال لها: أنا مسلم بن عقيل، فهل عندك مأوى؟ قالت: نعم. أدخل، وكان ابنها مولىً لمحمد بن الأشعث، فلما علم به الغلام انطلق إلى محمد فأخبره، فانطلق

محمد إلى عيد الله فأخبره، فبعث عيد الله عمرو بن حرث المخزومي صاحب شرطة إليه ومعه محمد، فلم يعلم مسلم حتى أحيط بالدار، فلما رأى ذلك مسلم خرج بسيفه فقاتلهم، فأعطاه محمد الأمان فأمكن من يده، فجاء به إلى عيد الله بن زياد، فأمر به فأصعد إلى أعلى القصر فضرب عنقه، وألقى جثته إلى الناس، وأمر بهاني فسحب إلى الكناسة فصلب هناك، وقال شاعرهم:

إِنْ كُنْتَ لَا تَدْرِينَ مَا الْمَوْتَ فَانْظُرْنِي
إِلَى هَانِئٍ بِالسَّوقِ وَابْنَ عَقِيلَ
أَصَابُهُمَا أَمْرُ الْإِمَامِ فَأَصْبَحَا
أَحَادِيثَ مَنْ يَسْعَى بِكُلِّ سَبِيلٍ
أَتَرَ كَبِ أَسْمَاءَ الْهَمَالِيْجَ آمَّاً
وَقَدْ طَلَبَتِهِ مَذْحِجٌ بَقْتِيلٍ

وأقبل الحسين عليه السلام بكتاب مسلم كان إليه، حتى إذا كان بينه وبين القادسية ثلاثة أميال لقيه الحر بن يزيد التميمي، فقال له: أين تريد؟ قال أريد هذا المسر، قال ارجع فإني لم أدع لك خلفي خيراً أرجوه، فهم أن يرجع، وكان معه إخوة مسلم بن عقيل، قالوا: والله لا نرجع حتى يصيب بثارنا أو نقتل، فقال: لا خير في الحياة بعدكم، فسار فلقيه أول خيل عبيد الله بن زياد، فلما رأى ذلك عدل إلى كربلا، فأنسد ظهره إلى قصب حتى لا يقاتل إلا من وجه واحد، فنزل وضرب أبنيته، وكان أصحابه خمسة وأربعين فارساً، ونحوه من مائة رجل.

وكان عمر بن سعد بن أبي وقاص قد ولأه عبيد الله بن زياد الري، وعهد إليه عهداً، فقال: اكفني هذا الرجل، فقال: اعفني، فأبى أن يعفيه. قال: فانظرني الليل فأحرره، فنظر في أمره، فلما أصبح غدا عليه راضياً بما أمر به، فتووجه عمر بن سعد إلى الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، فلما أتاه قال له الحسين: اختر واحدة من ثلاث: إما أن تدعوني فالحق بالثغور، وإما أن تدعوني فأذهب إلى يزيد، وإما أن تدعوني

فأنصرف من حيث جئت، فقبل ذلك عمر بن سعد، فكتب إلى عبيد الله بن زياد بذلك، فكتب إليه عبيد الله: لا، ولا كرامة حتى يضع يده في يدي، فقال الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام: لا والله، لا يكون ذلك أبداً. فقاتلته، فقتل أصحابه كلهم. وفيهم بضعة عشر شاباً من أهل بيته، ونحو سبعمائة قاتلوا ثم قتلوا. ثم يمسح الدم عنه ويقول: اللهم احكم بيننا وبين قومنا، دعونا لينصر علينا ثم قتلوا. ثم دعا بسراويل حبرة فشققها ثم لبسه، ثم خرج بسيفه فقاتل حتى قتل عليه السلام، فقتله رجل من مذحج، وحز رأسه وانطلق به إلى عبيد الله، لعنه الله، فقال:

أوْقَرْ رَكَابِيْ فَضَّلَّهُ وَذَهَبَا
فَقُدْ قُتِلَتْ الْمَلَكُ الْمُحَجَّبَا
قُتِلَتْ خَيْرُ النَّاسِ أَمَّا وَأَبَا^١ وَخَيْرُهُمْ إِنْ يَنْسِبُونَ نَسْبَا

فوفد هو إلى يزيد بن معاوية - لعنهم الله تعالى - ومعه الرأس، فوضع بين يديه وعنده أبو بزرة الأسلمي، فجعل يزيد ينكث بالقضيب على فيه ويقول:

نَفَّلَقْ هَامَّاً مِنْ رَجَالْ أَعْرَةَ عَلَيْنَا وَهُمْ كَانُوا أَعْقَ وَأَظْلَمْ لَمَا

قال له أبو بربعة: ارفع قضيتك، فوالله لربما رأيت رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وآله وسلامه على فيه يلشه. وسرح عمر بن سعد بحرمه وعياله إلى عبيد الله، ولم يكن بقي من أهل بيته الحسين عليه السلام إلا غلام كان مريضاً مع النساء، فأمر به عبيد الله ليقتل، فطرحت زينب بنت علي عليه السلام نفسها عليه، وقالت: لا يقتل حتى تقتلوني، فرق له، فتركه وكف عنه.

ثم جهزهم وحملهم إلى يزيد، فلما قدموا عليه جمع من كان بحضرته من أهل الشام ثم دخلوا عليه، فهؤلئك بالفتح، قاتل رجل منهم أزرق أحمر، فنظر إلى وصيحة من بناتهم، فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، هب لي هذه، فقالت زينب: لا والله ولا

كرامة لك ولا له، إلا أن يخرج من دين الله عَزَّوجَلَّ، فأعادها الأزرق، فقال له
يزيد: كف. ثم أدخلهم إلى عياله، ثم جَهَّزْهم وحملهم إلى المدينة، فلما
دخلوها خرجت امرأة من بنى عبد المطلب ناشرةً شعرها، واسعةً كمها على
رأسها، تلقّتهم وهي تقول:

ماذا تقولون لو قال النبي لكم ماذا فعلتم وأنتم خيرة الأمم
بعترتي وبأهلي بعد مفتقدني منهم أسارى وقتلى ضرموا بدم
قال أبو الوليد: هذا البيت لم أسمعه من خالد:
ما كان هذا جزائي إذ نصحت لكم أن تخلفوني بسوء في ذوي رحمي

(48) ‘Ammār al-Duhanī said, “I said to Abū Ja‘far (a), ‘Narrate to me the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) [such that I feel] as if I was present there.’ He said, ‘Mu‘āwiyah died and al-Walīd ibn ‘Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān was the governor in Madīnah, so he sent for al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) in order to take his pledge of allegiance (for Yazīd). He (a) said to him, “Defer it for me,” and he was kind to him so he deferred it. So he (a) departed for Makkah, and there came to him messengers from the people of Kūfah [saying]: “Indeed we have reserved ourselves for you, and we will not attend the congregational [Friday] prayer with the governor [appointed by Yazid], so come to us.” At that time Nu‘mān ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī was the governor of Kūfah.

Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) sent for Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl, his cousin, and said, “Go to Kūfah and see whether what they have written to me is true, for if it is I will go to them.” So Muslim left until he came to Madīnah. Then he took two guides from there. They took him [towards Kūfah] through abandoned routes in the desert, but they were overcome by thirst and one of the guides perished. Muslim wrote to al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) [informing him about what had happened and] asking to be

excused from the task, but al-Husayn wrote back to him telling him to continue on his way to Kūfah. So he continued until he arrived there, and he put up at the house of one of its inhabitants who was called ‘Awsajah. When the people of Kūfah came to learn of his arrival, they approached him, and twelve thousand of them pledged their allegiance to him. So one of the partisans of Yazīd stood up and confronted al-Nu‘mān, saying, “Indeed you are a weakling! The city has been corrupted!” So al-Nu‘mān said to him, “I would rather be a weak person in the path of obedience to Allah, the Almighty, than being strong in disobedience to Allah. I will not violate the sanctity that has been bestowed by Allah, the Almighty.” So the man wrote to Yazīd ibn Mu‘awiyah, quoting his response.

Yazīd called one of his clients who was called Sarhūn,¹¹ whom he would regularly consult for advice, and informed him about what had transpired. He responded by asking, “Would you accept the words of Mu‘awiyah had he been alive?” He said, “Yes.” He said, “Then accept from me [what I say]. No one can handle Kūfah but ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, so make him its governor.” Yazīd had been displeased [with ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād], and had even made plans to dismiss him from the governorship of Baṣrah. But he wrote to him expressing his approval and stating that he had appointed him as the governor of Kūfah in addition to Baṣrah. And he wrote to him instructing him to seek out Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl and kill him if he is found.

‘Ubaydullāh left the people of Baṣrah and proceeded to Kūfah, having covered his face. When he [entered the city and] passed by any of their

¹¹ Most of the other sources spell it as Sarjūn, which is said to be the Arabicized pronunciation of his original name, Sir John (or Sergios). He was a manumitted slave of Mu‘awiyah. He later served as his secretary, and continued the same role under Yazīd as well. He was a practising Christian, and even maintained a chapel in Damascus, which had been built especially for him. He was also Yazīd’s drinking companion.

gatherings, they would greet him saying, “Peace be upon you, O son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah,” thinking that he was al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a). This continued until he arrived at the [governor’s] mansion. He then called one of his servants and gave him three thousand dirhams saying, “Go and ask about the man to whom the people of Kūfah are pledging their allegiance, and tell him that you are from the people of Ḥimṣ [and that] you have come for this affair. Then give him this money as a donation to support their cause.” So he left and started mingling with the people and being friendly with them, until he came to the old man who was in charge of the matter of allegiance, so he met him and informed him of the matter [as he had been instructed]. The old man said to him, “It pleases me to meet you, and displeases me as well. That which pleases me is how Allah, the Almighty, has guided you, but that which displeases me is that our matter has not yet been fully established.” Then he took him to Muslim who took the money from him as well as his pledge of allegiance. The man returned to ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād and informed him [of what had transpired]. When ‘Ubaydullāh approached [his location], Muslim moved out of the house he was residing in and went to the home of Hāni’ ibn ‘Urwah al-Murādī.

Muslim wrote to al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) informing him that twelve thousand Kūfans had pledged allegiance to him, and asked him to proceed there.

[In the meantime] ‘Ubaydullāh addressed the elders of Kūfah saying, “What is the matter with Hāni’ ibn ‘Urwah? Why has he not come to see me?” So Muḥammad ibn Ash‘ath went to him with a group among them. When they arrived, they saw him standing at the door of his house. They said to him, “The governor mentioned you and noted that you have delayed in going to see him, so go to him.” They kept insisting until he rode with them. When he came to ‘Ubaydullāh, Shurayḥ al-Qādī was with him. When he saw him, he said to Shurayḥ, “The

treacherous one has been brought by his own two feet.” When he greeted him, he said, “O Hāni’, where is Muslim?” He said, “I do not know.” So ‘Ubaydullāh commanded the man whom he had given the money to, and he came out to him. Upon seeing him, Hāni’ was dumbfounded, and he said [desperately], “May Allah enhance the governor in rectitude! By God, I did not invite him to my home; rather, he came and imposed himself on me.” He shouted, “Bring him to me!” But Hāni’ refused, saying, “By Allah! Even if he was under my feet, I would not lift them [to expose him].” So ‘Ubaydullāh ordered, “Bring him closer.” When they brought Hāni’ close to him, he struck him with his cane and split his forehead. Hāni’ tried to grab the sword of one of the guards and unsheathe it, but he was pushed away. Then ‘Ubaydullāh said to him, “Allah has [now] made it lawful to shed your blood,” and he commanded that Hāni’ should to be imprisoned in a corner of the mansion.

The news of this reached the tribe of Madhhij [so they all gathered around the governor’s mansion]. When ‘Ubaydullāh heard their clamour outside, he asked, “What is going on?” They replied, “It is the Madhhij.” He said to Shurayḥ, “Go to them and inform them that I have only detained him for questioning.” He also sent after him one of his freedmen as a spy to eavesdrop on what he would say. Shurayḥ passed by Hāni’’s cell. Hāni’ said to him, “O Shurayḥ, be mindful of Allah, for indeed he (i.e. Ubaydullāh) will murder me.” But Shurayḥ went out to the gate of the mansion and said [addressing the Madhhij], “He (i.e. Hāni’) is fine. The governor has only detained him to ask him some questions.” So they said to one another, “He is right; there is no need to be concerned about your leader.” Then they dispersed.

The news of this reached Muslim, so he raised his battle-cry and four thousand Kūfans gathered around him. He ordered his vanguard to advance and arranged the right and left flanks. He placed himself in the centre [of the army] and advanced towards ‘Ubaydullāh. On his part,

‘Ubaydullāh sent for the elders and notables of Kūfah and had them gather in his presence in the mansion. When Muslim came to him and reached the gates of the mansion, they (the notables) looked down over their tribes from the roof and began speaking to them and convincing them to turn back, so the followers of Muslim began sneaking away, until he remained with [only] five hundred. When night fell, those remaining [with him] also left, and when Muslim saw that he was all alone, he began roaming the streets [of Kūfah]. He came to a door and sat outside it. A woman came out to him and he said to her, “[Please] give me some water to drink.” So she brought water for him. Then he remained there for a while. The lady came and saw that he was still seated outside her door, so she said, “O servant of Allah, the place you are sitting would rouse suspicion. So stand up [and leave].” He said to her, “I am Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl. Do you have a place of refuge [for me]?” She said, “Yes. Come in.” Her son was the client of Muḥammad ibn Ash‘ath, so when he learnt of his presence [in his home], he went to Muḥammad and informed him. So Muḥammad [ibn Ash‘ath] went to ‘Ubaydullāh and informed him [of it]. ‘Ubaydullāh sent ‘Amr ibn Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī, the head of the police, to him along with Muḥammad. Muslim was unaware of this until the house had been surrounded. When he saw that [there was no possibility of escape], Muslim came out with his sword and fought them. Muḥammad [ibn Ash‘ath] gave him a [false] guarantee of immunity, and then he captured and restrained him. He brought him to ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād who commanded that he be taken to the top of the mansion before being beheaded and having his body thrown off the roof towards the people. He also ordered that Hāni’ should be dragged to al-Kunāsah¹² and crucified there. Their poet said:

¹² Al-Kunāsah (lit. rubbish dump) was a camel market in Kūfah.

*If you do not know what death is then look
at Hāni' at the market and Ibn 'Aqīl,*

*The command of the ruler against them was passed so they became
the subject that was spoken of by those who traversed on every path*

*Does Asmā' [ibn Khārijah] ride his mount swiftly and safely
when the [tribe of] Madhhij seeks [vengeance by] his death?*

Al-Ḥusayn (a) proceeded [towards Kūfah] due to the letter that Muslim had written to him, until he came to a place three miles from al-Qādisiyah where al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Tamīmī met him. He asked him, “Where are you heading?” He (a) said, “I am heading towards this city.” He said, “Go back, for I have indeed not left behind [in it] any good for you that I could hope for.” So he decided to return, but the brothers of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl were accompanying him, and they said, “By Allah, we will not return until we exact our vengeance [for the killing of Muslim] or are killed.” So he (a) said, “There is no good in life after you,” and continued on his way [to Kūfah]. Then he met with the first horses of 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād [under the command of Ḥurr ibn Yazīd al-Riyāḥī]. When he saw this, he turned towards Karbalā' and positioned himself in a place behind which there were reeds, so that he would only have to fight from one direction. He set up camp there and his companions consisted of forty-five horsemen and about a hundred men on foot.

'Umar ibn Sa'īd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ had been given the governorship of Rayy by 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, as a promise he made to him, saying, “Deal with this man for me.” He responded, “Excuse me [from this].” But 'Ubaydullāh refused to excuse him. So he said, “Then give me one night [to think about it].” So he gave him one night. He considered the matter, and when the next day dawned, he accepted to undertake what he was instructed to do. Then 'Umar ibn Sa'īd proceeded in the direction of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), and when he came to him, al-Ḥusayn said to

him, “Choose one of three options: either you leave me to go and join the [distant] borderland frontier [of the Muslims], or you leave me to go to Yazīd, or you leave me to return from whence I came.” So ‘Umar accepted that and he wrote to ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād about it. ‘Ubaydullāh wrote back to him saying, “No. There is no honor until he [submits and] places his hand in mine.” But al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) said, “No, by Allah, that will never happen!” So they fought him, and all his companions were killed. Among them were over ten youths from his family; and an arrow was shot that hit his infant child [whom he was cradling] in his arms. So he began wiping away his blood saying, “O Allah, judge between us and our community. They invited us to help us, then they killed us!” Then he called for striped cotton trousers which he tore before wearing. He then came out with his sword [and fought] until he (a) was killed. He was killed by a man from the Madhhij who beheaded him and took his [blessed] head to ‘Ubaydullāh, may Allah curse him, saying:

*Load my mount with silver and gold
For I have killed the lofty highborn king*

*I killed the one who had the best mother and father
And who had the greatest lineage of all people*

Then he was dispatched to Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah, may Allah curse them both, with the [blessed] head. So he placed it in front of him while [the Prophet’s companion] Abū Barzah al-Aslamī was present with him. He (i.e. Yazīd) began poking his (a) mouth with his stick, saying:

*We split the heads of men who are noble and dear
to us, yet they were most disobedient and oppressive [to us].*

So Abū Barzah said, “Withdraw your stick! For by Allah I would at times see the Messenger of Allah (s) kissing him on the lips.” And ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d took his womenfolk and his family to ‘Ubaydullāh, and none from the household of al-Ḥusayn (a) remained except a young boy who

was ailing, along with the women. ‘Ubaydullâh ibn Ziyâd commanded that he should be killed, so Zaynab bint ‘Alî (a) threw herself over him, saying, “He will not be killed until you kill me first!” So he was moved, and he left him and did not harm him.

Then he prepared them and sent them to Yazîd. When they arrived, Yazîd gathered all those who were present from the people of Shâm, and then they (i.e. the captives) were brought before him. They (the people of Shâm) congratulated him upon his victory [over them]; then a red-skinned, blue-eyed man among them looked at one of the young girls among them, and said, “O Commander of the Faithful, grant this one to me [as my slavegirl].” So Zaynab said, “No, by Allah! And there is no honor in you or in him [if you do that], unless you leave the religion of Allah, the Almighty.” The blue-eyed man repeated his request, so Yazîd said to him, “Stop.” Then he took them inside to his [own] family. Later, he prepared [a caravan for] them and sent them [back] to Madînah. When they entered the city [of the Prophet (ṣ)], a woman from among the Bani ‘Abd al-Muṭâlib came out with her hair disheveled, having placed her sleeves on her head, she met them as she recited:

*What will you reply if the Prophet asks you,
“What did you do, while you are the chosen nation,
with my progeny and my family after my demise?
Among them are captives and martyrs, covered in blood.”*

Abû al-Walîd said, “[And] I did not hear the following couplet from Khâlid:

*Was it my reward for sincerely guiding you
that you should, after me, mistreat my near of kin?”*

(٤٩) عن ابن الكلبي، قال: صاح شمر بن ذي الجوشن يوم واقعوا الحسين عليهما السلام وأبا عباس - يعني العباس بن علي عليهما السلام أخرج إلي أكلمك، فاستأذن الحسين فأذن

له، فقال له: مالك؟ قال: هذا أمان لك ولا خوتوك من أملك أخذته لك من الأمير - يعني ابن زياد - لمكانكم متى لأنني أحد أخواكم، فاخرجوا آمنين. فقال له العباس: لعنك الله ولعن أمانك، والله إنك تطلب لنا الأمان أن كنّا بني أختك، ولا يأمن ابن رسول الله ﷺ؟ فأراد العباس أن ينزل، فقال له الحسين: قدّم أخيك بين يديك، وهما عبد الله وعمر، فإنهما ليس لهما ولد ولك ولد، حتى تراهما وتحبسهما، فأمر أخيه فنزل، فقاتلها حتى قتلا، ثم نزل فقاتلها حتى قتل.

قال الحسن: قال أبي: وهم ثلاثة بنو أمّ جعفر، وهي الكلالية، وهي أمّ البنين.

قال الحسن: قال أبي: بلغني عن جعفر بن محمد عليهما السلام أنه قال: يبكي الحسين عليهما السلام خمس حجج، وكانت أمّ جعفر الكلالية تدب الحسين وتبكيه، وقد كف بصرها. فكان مروان وهو وال المدينة يجيء متذمراً بالليل حتى يقف فيسمع بكاءها وندبها.

(49) Ibn al-Kalbī said, “Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshan called out, on the day when they attacked al-Ḥusayn (a), to Abā ‘Abbās – meaning to al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī (a) [saying,] ‘Come out, I want to talk to you.’ So he sought permission from al-Ḥusayn and he permitted him [to go]. He asked him, ‘What do you want?’ He replied, ‘This is a guarantee of safety for you and your maternal brothers which I have taken for you from the governor – meaning Ibn Ziyād – because of your relationship to me, as I am one of the brothers of your tribe. So you may leave [here] in safety.’ So al-‘Abbās responded, ‘May Allah curse you and curse your guarantee of safety! By Allah, you seek immunity for us because we are the sons of your sister [from the same tribe] while there is no immunity for the son of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ)?’ Then al-‘Abbās sought to descend [upon him and fight him] but al-Ḥusayn said to him, ‘Send forward your brothers before you...’ and they were ‘Abdullāh and Ja‘far

‘...for they do not have children and you do. Watch them and bear patiently their loss [for the sake of Allah].’ So he instructed his brothers and they went out to the battlefield and fought until they were martyred. Then he went forth and fought until he was killed.”

Al-Hasan said, “My father said, ‘These three were the sons of Umm Ja‘far, who was a Kilâbiyyah, and she was [known as] Umm al-Banîn.’”

Al-Hasan said, “My father said, ‘I received word that Ja‘far ibn Muhammad (a) said, ‘Al-Husayn was mourned for five years, and Umm Ja‘far would lament for al-Husayn and weep for him, until her eyesight was lost. Marwân, who was the governor of Madînah, would come in disguise at night in order to stand [outside her door] and hear her weeping and lamentation.’’”

(٥٠) حَدَّثَنَا الْلَّيْثُ بْنُ سَعْدٍ، قَالَ: تَوَفَّى مَعَاوِيَةُ فِي رَجَبٍ لَأْرَبِعَ لِيَالٍ خَلَتْ مِنْهُ، وَاسْتَخْلَفَ يَزِيدَ سَنَةً سَيِّنَةً. وَفِي إِحْدَى وَسَيِّنَ قُتِلَ الْحَسَنُ بْنُ عَلَيٍّ عَلَيْهَا أَصْحَابُهُ، لِعَشْرِ لِيَالٍ خَلُونَ مِنَ الْمُحَرَّمِ يَوْمَ عَاشُورَاءِ. وَقُتِلَ الْعَبَّاسُ بْنُ عَلَيٍّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَلَيٍّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ بْنَ عَلَيٍّ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَأَمْمَهُ لِيلَى بْنَ مُسْعُودٍ نَهْشَلِيَّةَ، وَعَلَيٍّ بْنَ الْحَسِينِ الْأَكْبَرَ، وَأَمْمَهُ لِيلَى ثَقْفِيَّةَ، وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنَ الْحَسِينِ، وَأَمْمَهُ الرِّبَابُ بْنَ امْرَئِ الْقَيْسِ كَلْبِيَّةَ. وَأَبُو بَكْرٍ بْنَ الْحَسِينِ لَأْمَ وَلَدَ، وَالْقَاسِمُ بْنُ الْحَسِينِ لَأْمَ وَلَدَ، وَعُوَنُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنَ جَعْفَرٍ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَجَعْفَرُ بْنُ عَقِيلٍ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَمُسْلِمُ بْنُ عَقِيلٍ بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَسَلِيمَانُ مَوْلَى الْحَسِينِ، وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ رَضِيعُ الْحَسِينِ، وَقُتِلَ الْحَسِينُ وَهُوَ ابْنُ ثَمَانَ وَخَمْسَوْنَ سَنَةً.

(50) Al-Layth ibn Sa‘d said, “Mu‘awiyah died four nights into the month of Rajab, and he left Yazid as his successor, in the year 60 AH.

And in the year 61 AH, al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed along with his companions, on the tenth of Muḥarram, on the day of ‘Āshūrā’. Al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Umm al-Banīn Āmiriyah, was also killed along with his [maternal] brothers Ja‘far ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Also among those who were killed was Abū Bakr ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Laylā bint Maṣ‘ud Nahshaliyyah, and ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar, whose mother was Laylā Thaqafiyah, and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, whose mother was al-Rabāb bint Imru al-Qays Kalbiyyah, and Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan, son of a slave woman, and al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan, son of a slave woman, and ‘Awn ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Ja‘far ibn ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Sulaymān the freedman of al-Ḥusayn, and ‘Abdullāh the sucking infant of al-Ḥusayn. And al-Ḥusayn [himself] was killed while he was fifty-eight years old.”

(٥١) (عن فطر، عن منذر الشوري) قال: كان إذا ذكر قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام
عند محمد بن الحنفية، قال: لقد قتل معه سبعة عشر ممن ارتكض في رحم
فاطمة عليهما السلام.

(51) [It is narrated from Fiṭr, from Mundhir al-Thawrī] who said, “Whenever the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was mentioned in the presence of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, he would say, ‘Seventeen such individuals were killed with him that were from those who moved in the womb of Fāṭimah (a).’”¹³

¹³ This is referring to Fāṭimah bint Asad, not Fāṭimah bint Rasūlillāh, as attested to by another similar narration which is attributed to Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (a) in *Muthbir al-Abzān* (p. 111).

(٥٢) عن الحسن [البصري] قال: قتل مع الحسين بن عليّ لَيْلًا سَتَةً عَشْرَ رِجَالًا مِنْ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ، وَاللَّهُ مَا عَلَى ظَهَرِ الْأَرْضِ يَوْمَئِذٍ أَهْلُ بَيْتٍ لَهُمْ يَشْبَهُونَ. قال سفيان: ومن يشك في هذا؟

(52) Al-Hasan [al-Baṣrī] said, “Along with al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a), sixteen men from his family were killed. By Allah, there was no household on the face of the earth that day that resembled them.” Sufyān said, “And who would ever doubt that?”

(٥٣) حَدَّثَنَا الْحَسَنُ بْنُ خَضْرٍ عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ: بَلَغَنِي أَنَّ عَلَيَّ بْنَ الْحَسَنِ لَيْلًا قَالَ: لَمَّا كَانَتِ الْأَيَّامُ الَّتِي قُتِلَ فِيهَا أَبِي، رَمَانِي اللَّهُ بِالْحَمْنَى، وَكَانَتِ عَمْتِي زَيْنَتْ تَمْرَضَنِي، فَلَمَّا كَانَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الَّذِي قُتِلَ فِي غَدَرِهِ، خَلَا أَبِي بِأَصْحَابِهِ فِي فَسَطَاطِ كَانَ يَخْلُو فِيهِ إِذَا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَشَارِرَ أَصْحَابَهُ فِي شَيْءٍ، فَسَمِعْتُهُ وَرَأَسِي فِي حَجْرِ عَمْتِي وَهُوَ يَقُولُ:

لَا ذَعَرْتُ السَّوَامِ فِي غَلْسِ الصَّبْرِ
حَمْغَرَّاً، وَلَا دُعِيتُ يَزِيدَا
يَوْمَ أُعْطِيَ مِنْ خِفَةِ الْمَوْتِ ضِيمًا
وَالْمَنِيَا يَرْصَدُنِي أَنْ أُحِيدَا

قال: أَمَا أَنَا فَرَدَدْتُ عَبْرَتِي وَتَصَبَّرْتِي، وَأَمَا عَمْتِي فَإِنَّهُ أَدْرَكَهَا مَا يَدْرِكُ النِّسَاءُ مِنَ الْفَصْعَفُ، فَوَضَعْتُ رَأْسِي عَلَى مِرْفَقَةِ ثَمَّ قَامَتْ فَمْضَتْ نَحْوَ أَبِي وَهِيَ تَصْحِيْحٌ: يَا خَلِيفَةَ الْمَاضِينَ، وَثَمَّ الْبَاقِينَ، اسْتَقْلَتْ جَعْلَنِي اللَّهُ فَدَاءَكَ! فَقَالَ: يَا أَخِيَّةَ، لَوْ تَرَكَ الْقَطَا لِنَامٍ، فَقَالَتْ: ذَاكَ أَسْخَنَ لِعِينِي وَأَحْرَّ لِكَبْدِي، أَتَغْصَبُ نَفْسَكَ اغْتَصَابًا يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ؟ ثَمَّ سَقَطَتْ مَعْشِيًّا عَلَيْهَا، فَأَقْبَلَ أَبِي يَمْسَحُ الْمَاءَ عَنْ وَجْهِهَا وَيَقُولُ: (وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ قَدَرًا مَقْدُورًا) (وَكَانَ أَمْرًا مَقْضِيًّا). فَلَمَّا أَقَامَتْ قَالَ: يَا أَخِيَّةَ، إِنَّ أَهْلَ الْأَرْضِ يَمُوتُونَ، وَإِنَّ أَهْلَ السَّمَاءِ يَقُولُونَ، إِنَّ أَبِي كَانَ خَيْرًا مِنِّي، وَأَمْيَّ كَانَتْ

خِيرًا مَنِّي، وَأَخْيَ كَانَ خِيرًا مَنِّي، فَإِذَا أَصْبَتْ، فَلَا تَخْمُشِي وَجْهًا، وَلَا تَحْلُقِي
شَعْرًا، وَلَا تَدْعُي بَوْيلَ وَلَا ثَبُورَ. ثُمَّ أَخْذَ بِيَدِهَا فَرَدَّهَا إِلَى مَوْضِعِهَا وَأَجْلَسَهَا،
وَأَخْذَ رَأْسِي فَوْضَعَهُ فِي حَجْرِهَا.

(53) Al-Hasan ibn Khaqān narrated to us from his father who said, “I received word that ‘Alī ibn al-Husayn (a) said, ‘During the days in which my father was killed, Allah afflicted me with [severe] fever, and my aunty Zaynab was taking care of me. On the day before he was martyred, my father met with his companions in a large tent where he would usually go when he wanted to consult with his companions about an important matter. As my head was on my aunt's lap, I heard him saying,

*“I have not terrified the pasturing camels in the early morning
by leading a nightly raid, nor I have been called Yazid [ibn Mufarrigh]
For the day when I give in to injustice out of fear of dying
and turn aside from the death that is lying in wait for me.”*¹⁴

He (a) said, ‘As for me, I held back my tears and forced myself to remain patient. But my aunty was overwhelmed by weakness, as women are [at times such as these], so she placed my head on the pillow and then stood up and went towards my father as she cried out, “O heir of the greats of the past, and protector of those who remain, you have resolved to stop [here for martyrdom], may Allah make me your ransom!” So he said, “O my dear sister, if the sand grouse is left [alone at night], it would sleep.”¹⁵ She said, “That burns my eyes and sears my heart. Will you allow your life to be taken in this manner, O Abā ‘Abdillāh?” Then she fainted and fell down. My father went towards her and wiped her

¹⁴ This was the poetry of Yazid ibn Mufarrigh which the Imam quoted to emphasize his unwillingness to give in to oppression and tyranny, even on pain of death.

¹⁵ Meaning: if there was any other choice, I would take it. But they are determined to kill me and will never let me go.

face with water, reciting: *And Allah's command is a pre-ordained decree* (Q33:38). *It is a matter [already] decided* (Q19:21). And when she [regained consciousness and] stood up, he said, "O my dear sister, the people of this earth [all] die, and the inhabitants of the heavens remain. Verily my father was better than me, and my mother was better than me, and my brother was better than me, so when I am killed do not scratch your face, and do not pull your hair, and do not cry out wailing and lamenting." Then he took her hand, brought her back to her place, and made her sit down. He then took my head and placed it in her lap [once again].”

(٥٤) حدثني فضيل بن الزبير، قال: سمعت الإمام أبا الحسين زيد بن علي عليهما السلام، ويحيى بن أم طويل، وعبد الله بن شريك العامري، يذكرون تسمية من قتل مع الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام من ولده وإخوته وأهله وشيعته، وسمعته أيضاً من آخرين سواهم:

[١] الحسين بن علي، ابن رسول الله صلوات الله عليهم. قتله سنان بن أنس النخعي، وحمل رأسه، فجاء به خولي بن يزيد الأصبهني.

[٢] والعباس بن علي بن أبي طالب عليهما وأمه أم البنين بنت حرام بن خالد بن ربيعة بن الوحيد العامري. قتله زيد بن الرقاد الجهنمي، وحكيم بن الطفيلي الطائي السنبي، وكلاهما ابتلي في بدنه.

[٣] وجعفر بن علي بن أبي طالب عليهما وأمه أيضاً أم البنين بنت حرام. قتله هانئ بن ثابت الحضرمي.

[٤] وعبد الله بن علي عليهما وأمه أيضاً أم البنين. رماه خولي بن يزيد الأصبهني بسهم، وأجهز عليه رجل من بني تميم بن إبان بن دارم.

[٥] ومحمد بن عليّ بن أبي طالب عليهما الأصغر. قتله رجل من إبان بن دارم، وليس بقاتل عبد الله بن عليّ، وأمه أم ولد.

[٦] وأبو بكر بن عليّ بن أبي طالب عليهما، وأمه ليلي بنت مسعود بن خالد بن مالك بن رباعي بن سلم بن جندل بن نهشل بن دارم التميمي.

[٧] وعثمان بن عليّ عليهما، وأمه أم البنين بنت حزام، أخو العباس وجعفر (وعبد الله أبناء عليّ) لأمهما.

[٨] وعلى بن الحسين الأكبر، وأمه ليلي بنت مرأة بن عروة بن مسعود بن مغيث التقفي، وأمهما ميمونة بنت أبي سفيان بن حرب. قتلها مرأة بن منقذ بن النعمان الكندي، وكان يحمل عليهم ويقول:

أنا عليّ بن الحسين بن عليّ نحن وبيت الله أولى بالنبي
حتى قتل صلّى الله عليه.

[٩] وعبد الله بن الحسين عليهما، وأمه الرباب بنت امرئ القيس بن عدي بن أوس بن جابر بن كعب بن حكيم الكلبي. قتلها حرملة بن الكاهل الأسدية الوالي. وكان ولد للحسين بن عليّ عليهما في الحرب، فأتى به وهو قاعد، وأخذه في حجره، ولباه بريقه، وسمّاه عبد الله، فبينما هو كذلك إذ رماه حرملة بن الكاهل بسهم فنحره، فأخذ الحسين عليهما دمه فجمعه ورمى به نحو السماء، فما وقعت منه قطرة إلى الأرض. قال فضيل: وحدّثني أبو الورد أنه سمع أبا جعفر يقول: لو وقعت منه إلى الأرض قطرة لنزل العذاب، وهو الذي يقول الشاعر فيه:

وعند غنيّ قطرة من دمائنا وفي أسد أخرى تعدّ وتذكر

وكان عليّ بن الحسين عليهما علیلاً، وارتّ يومئذ، وقد حضر بعض القتال، فدفع الله عنه، وأخذ مع النساء هو ومحمد بن عمرو بن الحسن بن عليّ بن أبي طالب عليهما.

[١٠] [١٠] قُتِلَ أبو بكر بن الحسن بن عليّ، وأمه أمّ ولد. قُتِلَه عبد الله بن عقبة الغنوبي.

[١١] [١١] وعبد الله بن الحسن بن عليّ عليهما، وأمه أمّ ولد. رماه حرملاة بن الكاھل الأسدی بسهم فقتله.

[١٢] [١٢] والقاسم بن الحسن بن عليّ، وأمه أمّ ولد. قُتِلَه عمرو بن سعيد بن نفیل الأزدي.

[١٣] [١٣] وعون بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب، وأمه جمانة بنت المسیب ابن نجية بن ربعة بن رباح الفزاری. قُتِلَه عبد الله بن قطنة الطائی النبهانی.

[١٤] [١٤] ومحمد بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب، وأمه الخوصاء بنت حفصة بنت ثقیف بن ربعة بن عائذ بن الحارث بن تیم الله بن ثعلبة بن بکر بن وائل. قُتِلَه عامر بن نہشل التیمی.

قال: ولما أتى أهل المدينة مصابهم، دخل الناس على عبد الله بن جعفر يعرّونه، فدخل عليه بعض مواليه، فقال: هذا ما لقينا ودخل علينا من حسين. قال: فخذفه عبد الله بن جعفر بنعله، وقال: يا ابن اللخناء، أللحسين تقول هذا؟ والله، لو شهدته ما فارقته حتى أُقتل معه. والله، ما شحى بمنفسي عنهما وعن أبي عبد الله إلا أنّهما أصيّا مع أخي وكبيري وابن عمّي مواسيين مضاريب معه. ثمّ أقبل على جلسائه فقال: الحمد لله على كلّ محظوظ ومحبوب، أعزّ على بمحضر أبي عبد الله، ثمّ أعزّ على إلّا أن أكون آسيته بمنفسي، الحمد لله على كلّ حال، قد آساه ولدي.

[١٥] [١٥] جعفر بن عقیل بن أبي طالب، أمّه أمّ البنین بنت التفرة بن عامر بن هسان الكلابی. قُتل عبد الله بن عمرو الخثعمی.

[١٦] وعبد الرحمن بن عقيل، أمه أم ولد. قتله عثمان بن خالد بن أسير الجهني، وبشر بن حرب الهمданى القانصي، اشتراكا في قتله.

[١٧] وعبد الله بن عقيل بن أبي طالب، وأمه أم ولد، رماه عمرو بن صبيح الصيداوي فقتله.

[١٨] ومسلم بن عقيل بن أبي طالب، قتل بالكوفة، وأمه حبلة أم ولد.

[١٩] وعبد الله بن مسلم بن عقيل، وأمه رقية بنت علي بن أبي طالب. قتله عمرو بن صبيح الصيداوي، ويقال: قتله أسد بن مالك الحضرمي.

[٢٠] ومحمد بن أبي سعيد بن عقيل بن أبي طالب، وأمه أم ولد. قتله ابن زهير الأزدي، ولقيط بن ياسر الجهني، اشتراكا فيه.

ولما أتى الناس بالمدينة مقتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام، خرجت زينت بنت عقيل بن أبي طالب وهي تقول:

ماذا تقولون إن قال النبي لكم ماذا صنعتم وأنتم آخر الأمم
بعترتي أهل بيتي بعد مفتقددي منهم أسارى ومنهم ضرموا بدم
ما كان هذا جزائي إذ نصح لكم أن تخلفوني بسوء في ذوي رحمي

الشهداء من صحابة الحسين عليهما السلام:

[٢١] وقتل سليمان مولى الحسين بن علي. قتله سليمان بن عوف الحضرمي.

[٢٢] وقتل منجح، مولى الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام. قتله حسان بن بكر الحنظلي.

[٢٣] وقتل قارب الديلمي، مولى الحسين بن علي.

- [٢٤] وقتل الحارث بن نهان، مولى حمزة بن عبد المطلب، أسد الله وأسد رسوله.
- [٢٥] وقتل عبد الله بن بقطر، رضيع الحسين بن عليّ، بالكوفة. رُمي به من فوق القصر، فتكسر، فقام إليه عبد الملك بن عمير اللخمي فقتله واحتز رأسه.
- وقتل من بني أسد بن خزيمة:
- [٢٦] حبيب بن مظاهر. قتله بديل بن صريم الغفقياني، وكان يأخذ البيعة للحسين بن عليّ.
- [٢٧] وأنس بن الحارث، وكانت له صحبة من رسول الله ﷺ.
- [٢٨] وقيس بن مسهر الصيداوي.
- [٢٩] وسليمان بن ربيعة.
- [٣٠] ومسلم بن عوسجة السعدي، من بني سعد بن ثعلبة. قتله مسلم بن عبد الله، وعييد الله بن أبي خشكارة.
- وقتل من بني غفار بن مليل بن ضمرة:
- [٣١] عبد الله،
- [٣٢] وعييد الله، ابن قيس بن أبي عروة.
- [٣٣] و(جون بن) حويّ، مولى لأبي ذر الغفاري.
- وقتل من بني تميم:
- [٣٤] الحز بن يزيد، وكان لحق بالحسين بن عليّ، بعد.

[٣٥] وشيب بن عبد الله، منبني نفيل بن دارم.

وقتل منبني سعد بن بكر:

[٣٦] الحجاج بن بدر.

وقتل منبني تغلب:

[٣٧] قاسط،

[٣٨] وكردوس، ابن زهير بن الحارث.

[٣٩] وكنانة بن عتيق.

[٤٠] والضرغامة بن مالك.

وقتل منقيس بن ثعلبة:

[٤١] خوين بن مالك.

[٤٢] وعمرو بن ضبيعة.

وقتل من عبد القيس، منأهل البصرة:

[٤٣] يزيد بن ثبيط.

[٤٤] وابناته: عبد الله،

[٤٥] وعييد الله، ابنايزيد.

[٤٦] وعامر بن مسلم.

[٤٧] وسالم مولاه.

[٤٨] وسيف بن مالك.

[٤٩] والأدهم بن أمية.

وقتل من الأنصار:

[٥٠] عمرو بن قرظة.

[٥١] وعبد الرحمن بن عبد ربّ، من بني سالم بن الخزرج، وكان أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام رباه وعلمه القرآن.

[٥٢] ونعيم بن العجلان الأنصاري.

[٥٣] وعمران بن كعب الأنصاري.

[٥٤] وسعد بن الحارث.

[٥٥] وأخوه [أبو] الحتوف بن الحارث، وكانا من المحكمّة. فلما سمعاً أصوات النساء والصبيان من آل رسول الله عليه السلام حكماً، ثم حملأ بأسيافهما، فقاتلوا مع الحسين عليه السلام حتى قتلا، وقد أصابا في أصحاب عمر بن سعد ثلاثة نفر.

وقتل من بني الحارث بن كعب:

[٥٦] الضباب بن عامر.

وقتل من بنى خثعم:

[٥٧] عبد الله بن بشر الأكلة.

[٥٨] وسويد بن عمرو بن المطاع. قتله هانئ بن ثبيت الحضرمي.

وقتل:

[٥٩] بكر بن حي التيملي، من بنى تيم الله بن ثعلبة.

[٦٠] وجابر بن الحجاج، مولى عامر بن نهشل، من بنى تيم الله.

[٦١] ومسعود بن الحجاج،

[٦٢] وابنه عبد الرحمن بن مسعود.

وقتل من عبد الله:

[٦٣] مجتمع بن عبد الله،

[٦٤] وعايذ بن مجتمع.

وقتل من طيء:

[٦٥] عامر بن حسان بن شريح بن سعد بن حارثة بن لام.

[٦٦] وأمية بن سعد.

وقتل من مراد:

[٦٧] نافع بن هلال الجملي، وكان من أصحاب أمير المؤمنين ع.

[٦٨] وجنادة بن الحارث السلماني،

[٦٩] وغلامه، واضح الرومي.

وقتل من بنى شيبان بن ثعلبة:

[٧٠] جبلة بن عليّ.

وقتل من بنى حنيفة:

[٧١] سعيد بن عبد الله.

وقتل من جواب:

[٧٢] جندب بن حمير،

[٧٣] وأبنته حمير بن جندب.

وقتل من صدا:

[٧٤] عمرو بن خالد الصداوي،

[٧٥] وسعد مولاه.

وقتل من كلب:

[٧٦] عبد الله بن عمرو بن عياش بن عبد قيس.

[٧٧] وأسلم، مولى لهم.

وقتل من كندة:

[٧٨] الحارث بن امرئ القيس.

[٧٩] ويزيد بن زيد بن المهاصير.

[٨٠] وزاهر، صاحب عمرو بن الحمق، وكان صاحبه حين طلبه معاوية.

وقتل من بحيلة:

[٨١] كثير بن عبد الله الشعبي.

[٨٢] ومهاجر بن أوس.

[٨٣] وابن عمّه: سلمان بن مضارب.

وقتل:

[٨٤] النعمان بن عمرو.

[٨٥] والخلاص ابن عمرو الراسبيان.

وقتل من خرقة جهينة:

[٨٦] مجّمـع بن زيـاد.

[٨٧] وعبدـ بن أبيـ المـهـاجـرـ الجـهـنـيـ.

[٨٨] وعقبة بن الصلت.

وقتل من الأزد:

[٨٩] مسلم بن كثير.

[٩٠] والقاسم بن بشر.

[٩١] وزهير بن سليم.

[٩٢] ومولى لأهل شندة يدعى رافعاً.

وقتل من همدان:

[٩٣] أبو ثمامة، عمرو بن عبد الله الصائدي، وكان من أصحاب أمير المؤمنين ع. قتلهم قيس بن عبد الله.

[٩٤] ويزيد بن عبد الله المشرقي.

[٩٥] وحنظلة بن أسعد الشامي.

[٩٦] وعبد الرحمن بن عبد الله الأرجبي.

[٩٧] وعمار بن أبي سلامة الدالاني.

[٩٨] وعابس بن أبي شبيب الشакري.

[٩٩] وشوذب، مولى شاكر، وكان مقدماً في الشيعة.

[١٠٠] وسيف بن الحارث بن سريح.

[١٠١] ومالك بن عبد الله بن سريح.

[١٠٢] وهمام بن سلمة القانصي.

وارثٌ من همدان:

[١٠٣] سوار بن حمير الجابري، فمات لستة أشهر من جراحته.

[١٠٤] وعمرو بن عبد الله الجندعي، مات من جراحة كانت به على رأس السنة.

وقتل:

[١٠٥] هانئ بن عروة المرادي، بالكوفة. قتله عبيد الله بن زياد.

وقتل من حضرموت:

[١٠٦] بشير بن عمر.

[١٠٧] وخرج الهفهاف بن المهند الراسي من البصرة، حين سمع بخروج الحسين عليه السلام، فسار حتى انتهى إلى العسكر بعد قتله، فدخل عسكر عمر بن سعد، ثم انتضى سيفه وقال: يا أيتها الجند المجندة، أنا الهفهاف بن المهند، أبغى عيال محمد، ثم شد فيهم.

قال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام: فما رأى الناس منذ بعث الله محمداً صلوات الله عليه وآله وسلامه فارساً بعد علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، قتل بيده ما قتل، فتداعوا عليه، فأقبل خمسة نفر فاحتوشوه حتى قتلوه، رحمة الله تعالى.

ولمّا وصلوا إلى سرادقات الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، أصابوا علي بن الحسين علياً مدنقاً. ووجدوا الحسن بن الحسن [بن علي بن أبي طالب] جريحاً، وأمه خولة بنت منظور الفزاروي.

ووجدوا محمد بن عمرو بن الحسن ابن عليّ غلاماً مراهقاً، فضمّوهم مع العيال، وعافاهم الله، فأنقذهم من القتل.

فلما أتى بهم عبيد الله بن زياد هم بعليّ بن الحسين، فقال له: إنّ لك بهؤلاء النساء حرمة فأرسل معهنَّ من يكلفهنَّ ويحوطهنَّ، فقال: لا يكون أحد غيرك، فحملهم جميعاً.

واجتمع أهل الكوفة ونساء همدان حين خرج بهم، فجعلوا يبكون، فقال عليّ بن الحسين: هذا أنتم تبكون، فأخبروني من قتلنا؟

فلما أتى بهم مسجد دمشق، أتاهم مروان فقال للوفد: كيف صنعتم بهم؟ قالوا: ورد علينا منهم ثمانية عشر رجلاً، فأتينا على آخرهم. فقال أخوه عبد الرحمن بن الحكم: حجيت عن محمد عليهما السلام يوم القيمة، والله لا أجمعكم أبداً، ثمَّ قام فانصرف.

فلما أن دخلوا على يزيد، قال: إيه يا عليّ، أجزرتم أنفسكم عبيد أهل العراق، فقال عليّ بن الحسين عليهما السلام: (مَا أَصَابَ مِنْ مُّصِيبَةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا فِي كِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَبْرُأَهَا إِنَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ) فقال يزيد: (وَمَا أَصَبَكُمْ مِنْ مُّصِيبَةٍ فِيمَا كَسَبَتُ أَيُّدِيكُمْ وَيَعْقُوا عَنْ كَثِيرٍ) ثمَّ أمر بهم فأدخلوا داراً، فهياهم وجهزهم، وأمر بتسریحهم إلى المدينة. وكان أهل المدينة يسمعون نوح الجنّ على الحسين بن عليّ عليهما السلام حين أصيب، وجئنته يقول:

ألا يا عين فاحتلي بجهد ومن يبكي على الشهداء بعدي
على رهط تقودهم المانيا إلى متجر في ملك عبدي

(54) Fuḍayl ibn al-Zubayr narrated to me saying, “I heard Imam Abā al-Husayn Zayd ibn ‘Alī, and Yaḥyā ibn Umm Ṭawīl, and ‘Abdullāh ibn Sharīk al-Āmirī, mentioning the names of those who were killed with al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a), including his offspring, his brothers, his

family and his followers. And I heard this also from others besides them. [They are]:

- [1] Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, the [grand]son of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ). Sinān ibn Anas al-Nakhaī killed him and raised up his head [on a spear]. Al-Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Āṣbahī [then] brought it [to Ibn Ziyād].
- [2] Al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a). His mother was Umm al-Banīn bint Ḥizām ibn Khālid ibn Rabī‘ah ibn al-Wahīd al-Āmīri. Zayd ibn al-Ruqād¹⁶ al-Juhānī and Ḥakīm ibn al-Tufayl al-Ṭā’ī al-Sinbīsī killed him. Both of them were [later] stricken by disease in their bodies.
- [3] Ja‘far ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a). His Mother was also Umm al-Banīn bint Ḥizām. He was killed by Hāni’ ibn Thubayt al-Ḥadrāmī.
- [4] ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Alī (a). His mother was also Umm al-Banīn. Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Āṣbahī shot an arrow at him and a man from Banī Tamīm, [from] Ibn Abān ibn Dārim, finished him off.
- [5] Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Āṣghar (the younger). A man from [Ibn] Abān ibn Dārim – different from the killer of ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Alī – killed him. His mother was a slave woman.
- [6] Abū Bakr ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a). His mother was Laylā bint Maśūd ibn Khālid ibn Mālik ibn Ribī‘ ibn Salm ibn Jandal ibn Nahshal ibn Dārim al-Tamīmī.
- [7] ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Alī (a). His mother was Umm al-Banīn bint Ḥizām. He was the brother of al-‘Abbās, Ja‘far, and ‘Abdullāh, the sons of ‘Alī by their mother.
- [8] ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar (the elder). His mother was Laylā bint [Abī] Murrah ibn ‘Urwah ibn Maśūd ibn Mughīth al-Thaqafī. Her mother was Maymūnah bint Abī Sufyān ibn Ḥarb. He was killed by

¹⁶ Or: al-Raqqād.

Murrah ibn Munqidh ibn al-Nu‘mān al-Kindī. And as he attacked the enemy, he recited the following poetry:

*I am ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī
We are, by Allah’s House, closer to the Prophet*

...until he was killed, may Allah’s blessings be upon him.

[9] ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥusayn (a). His mother was al-Rabāb bint Imru al-Qays ibn ‘Adī ibn Aws ibn Jābir ibn Ka‘b ibn Ḥakīm al-Kalbī. Ḥarmalah ibn al-Kāhil al-Asadī al-Wālibī killed him. He was born to al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) during the battle. He was brought to him while he was seated, and he took him in his lap. He let him suckle on his saliva and named him ‘Abdullāh. Suddenly, as he was doing this, Ḥarmalah ibn al-Kāhil shot the baby with an arrow, slaughtering him. Al-Ḥusayn (a) took his blood, gathering it, and threw it towards the sky. Not a single drop returned to the earth.

Fuḍayl said, “Abū al-Ward narrated to me that he heard Abū Ja‘far say, ‘If a single drop had fallen on the earth, divine punishment would surely have descended.’” He [‘Abdullāh] was the one about whom the poet said:

*A drop of our blood is with [Banū] Ghānī
and another is with [Bani] Asad, counted and remembered.*

‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was ill, and was wounded that day. He was present for some of the battle, but Allah protected him and he, along with Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥasan, [and al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan] ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), was taken [captive] with the women.

[10] Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī was [also] killed. His mother was a slave woman. ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Uqbah al-Ghanawī killed him.

[11] ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (a). His mother was a slave woman. Ḥarmalah ibn al-Kāhil shot him with an arrow, killing him.

[12] Al-Qāsim ibn al-Hasan ibn ‘Ali. His mother was a slave woman. ‘Amr ibn Sa‘id ibn Nufayl al-Azdī killed him.

[13] ‘Awn ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib. His mother was Jumānah bint al-Musayyib ibn Najabah ibn Rabī‘ah ibn Rabāh al-Fazārī. He was killed by ‘Abdullāh ibn Quṭnah al-Ṭā’ī al-Nabhānī.

[14] Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib. His mother was al-Khawṣā’ bint Ḥafṣah bint Thaqīf ibn Rabī‘ah ibn ‘A’idh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Taymīlāh ibn Tha’labah ibn Bakr ibn Wā'il. He was killed by ‘Āmir ibn Nahshal al-Taymī.

He (the narrator) said, “When news of their tragedy reached the inhabitants of Madīnah, people went to see ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far to give him condolences. One of his freedmen went to see him and said, ‘This is what has befallen us because of al-Ḥusayn!’ So ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far threw his sandal at him and said, ‘O’ son of an odious woman! Do you say this for al-Ḥusayn?! By Allah, had I been present there, I would not have separated from him until I was killed with him. By Allah, I did not leave my sons with Abū ‘Abdillāh, except so that they may killed with my brother, elder, and cousin, as his supporters and as warriors by his side.’ Then he came forward to those seated with him and said, ‘Praise is due to Allah for every liked and disliked thing. I am severely pained by the martyrdom of Abū ‘Abdillāh! And I am further pained that I could not support him with my life. Praise is due to Allah in every circumstance, [at least] my two sons supported him.’”

[15] Ja‘far ibn ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib. His mother was Umm al-Banīn bint al-Nafrāh ibn ‘Āmir ibn Hiṣān al-Kilābī. He was killed by ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr al-Khath’amī.

[16] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Aqīl. His mother was a slave woman. ‘Uthmān ibn Khālid ibn Asīr al-Juhanī and Bashīr ibn Ḥarb al-Hamdānī al-Qāniṣī killed him. They both participated in his killing.

[17] ‘Abdullâh ibn ‘Aqîl ibn Abî Ṭâlib. His mother was a slave woman. ‘Amr ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣaydâwî shot him [with an arrow] and killed him.

[18] Muslim ibn ‘Aqîl ibn Abî Ṭâlib. He was killed in Kûfah and his mother was Ḥablah, a slave woman.

[19] ‘Abdullâh ibn Muslim ibn ‘Aqîl. His mother was Ruqayyah bint ‘Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib. He was killed by ‘Amr ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣaydâwî. It is also said that Asad ibn Mâlik al-Ḥâdramî killed him.

[20] Muḥammad ibn Abî Sa‘îd ibn ‘Aqîl ibn Abî Ṭâlib. His mother was a slave woman. Ibn Zuhayr al-Azdî and Laqîṭ ibn Yâsir al-Juhanî killed him. They both took part in his killing.

When [the news of] the killing of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî (a) reached the people of Madînah, Zaynab bint ‘Aqîl ibn Abî Ṭâlib went out as she recited [the following couplets]:

*What will you answer when the Prophet questions you,
“What have you done, and you are the last nation,
to my progeny, my family, after my death?*

*Some of them are captives and others covered in blood!
This was not my reward for having sincerely guided you
that after me you visit evil on my close relatives.”*

[The Martyrs from the Companions of al-Ḥusayn (a):]

[21] Sulaymân, the freedman of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî was killed. Sulaymân ibn ‘Awf al-Ḥâdramî killed him.

[22] Munjîh, the freedman of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî (a) was killed. Hassân ibn Bakr al-Ḥanzalî killed him.

[23] Qârib al-Daylamî, the freedman of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî, was also killed.

[24] Al-Ḥārith ibn Nabḥān, the freedman of Ḥamzah ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭalib, the lion of Allah and the lion of His Messenger, was also killed.

[25] ‘Abdullāh ibn Yaqtur, the foster brother of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, was killed in Kūfah. He was thrown from the palace roof and [his bones] shattered. ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Umayr al-Lakhmī went up to him, killed him, and beheaded him.

Those who were killed from Banī Asad ibn Khuzaymah:

[26] Ḥabīb ibn Muẓāhir. Badil ibn Ṣuraym al-Ghafaqānī killed him. He had taken the [pledge of] allegiance for al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī.

[27] Anas ibn al-Ḥārith. He was a companion of the Messenger of Allah (s).

[28] Qays ibn Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī.

[29] Sulaymān ibn Rabī‘ah.

[30] Muslim ibn ‘Awsajah al-Sa‘dī. He was from Banī Sa‘d ibn Tha‘labah. Muslim ibn ‘Abdullāh and ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Khashkārah killed him.

Those who were killed from Banī Ghiffār ibn Malīl ibn Ḏamrah:

[31] ‘Abdullāh,

[32] and ‘Ubaydullāh, the sons of Qays ibn Abī ‘Urwah.

[33] And Jawn ibn Ḥuwayy, the freedman of Abū Dharr al-Ghiffārī.

Those who were killed from Banī Tamīm:

[34] Al-Ḥurr ibn Yazīd. He had joined al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī at the end.

[35] Shabīb ibn ‘Abdullāh, from Banī Nufayl ibn Dārim.

And from Banī Sa‘d ibn Bakr:

[36] Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Badr.

And from Banī Tagħlib:

[37] Qāsiṭ,

[38] and Kurduṣ, the two sons of Zuhayr ibn al-Ḥārith.

[39] Kinānah ibn ‘Atīq.

[40] Al-Dirghāmah ibn Mālik.

And from [Banī] Qays ibn Tha‘labah:

[41] Juwayn ibn Mālik.

[42] ‘Amr ibn Ḏubay‘ah.

And from ‘Abd al-Qays, from the people of Baṣrah:

[43] Yazīd ibn Thubayt,

[44] and his two sons, ‘Abdullāh

[45] and ‘Ubaydullāh, the sons of Yazīd.

[46] ‘Āmir ibn Muslim,

[47] and Sālim, his freedman.

[48] Sayf ibn Mālik.

[49] Al-Adham ibn Umayyah.

And those killed from the Anṣār were:

[50] ‘Amr ibn Qarazah.

[51] ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd Rabb, who was from Banī Sālim ibn al-Khazraj. Amīr al-Mu’minīn (a) had raised him and taught him the Qur’ān.

[52] Nu‘aym ibn ‘Ajlān al-Anṣārī.

[53] ‘Imrān ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī.

[54] Sa‘d ibn al-Hārith,

[55] And his brother, Abū al-Hutūf ibn al-Hārith. They were among the Muḥakkimah.¹⁷ When they heard the voices of the women and children of the family of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), they discerned [to join al-Ḥusayn], then attacked with their swords and fought alongside al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) until they were killed. They had both killed three men from the troops of ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d.

From Banī al-Hārith ibn Ka'b:

[56] Al-Ḍabāb ibn ‘Āmir.

And from Banī Kath'am:

[57] ‘Abdullāh ibn Bishr al-Aklah.

[58] Suwayd ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Muṭā'. He was killed by Hāni' ibn Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī.

Others who were killed:

[59] Bakr ibn Ḥayy al-Taymālī, from Banī Taymullāh ibn Tha'labah.

[60] Jābir ibn al-Hajjāj, the freedman of ‘Āmir ibn Nahshal, from Banī Taymullāh.

¹⁷ The Muḥakkimah were those who opposed the idea of arbitration in the Battle of Siffīn, and they stood against both parties for participating in the arbitration.

[61] Maṣ‘ūd ibn al-Ḥajjāj,

[62] and his son, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Maṣ‘ūd.

And from [the progeny of] ‘Abdullāh:

[63] Mujammi‘ ibn ‘Abdullāh,

[64] Ḵidh ibn Mujammi‘.

And those from Tayy:

[65] Ḥamīd ibn Ḥassān ibn Shurayḥ ibn Sa‘d ibn Ḥārithah ibn Lām.

[66] Umayyah ibn Sa‘d.

And those from Murād:

[67] Nāfi‘ ibn Hilāl al-Jamalī. He was among the companions of Amīr al-Mu’minīn (a).

[68] Junādah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī,

[69] and his slave, Wādiḥ al-Rūmī.

And from Banī Shaybān ibn Tha‘labah:

[70] Jabalah ibn ‘Alī.

And from Banī Ḥanīfah:

[71] Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abdullāh.

And from Juwāb:

[72] Jundub ibn Ḥujayr,

[73] and his son, Ḥujayr ibn Jundub.

And from Ṣaydā:

[74] ‘Amr ibn Khālid al-Şaydāwī,

[75] and Sa‘d, his freedman.

And from Kalb:

[76] ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Ayyāsh ibn ‘Abd Qays,

[77] and Aslam, a freedman of theirs.

And from Kindah:

[78] Al-Ḥārith ibn Imru’ al-Qays.

[79] Yazīd ibn Zayd ibn al-Muhāṣir.

[80] Zāhir, the companion of ‘Amr ibn al-Hāmiq. He had joined his company when Mu‘āwiyah was looking for him.

And from Bujaylah:

[81] Kathīr ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Sha‘bī.

[82] Muhājir ibn Aws,

[83] and his cousin, Salmān ibn Muqārib.

Also among those who were killed:

[84] Al-Nū‘mān ibn ‘Amr al-Rāsibī,

[85] and al-Hulās ibn ‘Amr al-Rāsibī.

And from Khirqah Juhaynah:

[86] Mujammi‘ ibn Ziyād.

[87] ‘Abbād ibn Abī al-Muhājir al-Juhanī.

[88] ‘Uqbah ibn al-Şalt.

And from al-Azd:

- [89] Muslim ibn Kathīr.
- [90] Al-Qāsim ibn Bishr.
- [91] Zuhayr ibn Salīm.
- [92] A freedman of the people of Shandah, called Rāfi‘.

And from Hamdān:

- [93] Abū Thumāmah ‘Amr ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Ṣā’idī. He was a companion of Amīr al-Mu’minīn (a). Qays ibn ‘Abdullāh killed him.
- [94] Yazīd ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Mashriqī.
- [95] Ḥanzalah ibn As‘ad al-Shibāmī.
- [96] ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Arḥabī.
- [97] ‘Ammār ibn Salāmah al-Dālāni.
- [98] ‘Ābis ibn Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī,
- [99] and Shawdhab, the freedman of Shākir. He was foremost among the Shī‘ah.
- [100] Sayf ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sarī‘.
- [101] Mālik ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Sarī‘.
- [102] Hammām ibn Salamah al-Qāniṣī.

And from Hamdān, those who were wounded:

- [103] Sawwār ibn Ḥimyar al-Jābirī, who then died from his wound six months later.
- [104] ‘Amr ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Junda‘ī, who died from the wound he received at the beginning of the following year.

Also among those killed:

[105] Hāni' ibn 'Urwah al-Murādī in Kūfah. 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād killed him.

And from Hadramawt:

[106] Bashīr ibn 'Umar.

[107] Al-Hafhāf ibn al-Muhannad al-Rāsibī left Başrah when he heard about the expedition of al-Ḥusayn (a), and he set forth until he arrived at the army encampment after al-Ḥusayn's death. He entered among the army of 'Umar ibn Sa'd. Then he unsheathed his sword and began to recite [the following poetry]:

*O you army of mobilized troops!
I am al-Hafhāf ibn al-Muhannad!
I wish to defend the family of Muhammad!*

...then he fought them intensely.

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said, "No one had seen a warrior, after 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a), kill with his hands as [many as] he did, since Allah sent Muḥammad (ṣ)." Then they called each other forward and five of them surrounded him [and attacked him together] until they killed him, may Allah have mercy on him.

When they reached the camp of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (a), they found 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, who was ill and infirm, and they found al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan [ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib] wounded, and his mother was Khawlah bint Manzūr al-Fazārī. They also found Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Alī, an adolescent boy, so they took them along with the family [of the Prophet (ṣ)], and Allah gave them wellbeing and protected them from being killed.

When they were brought to 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, he turned his attention to 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, so he said to him, "You have a

[religious] obligation towards these womenfolk, so send them with someone who can be responsible for them and watch over them." He answered, "There is no one [for that task] other than you." So he had them transported all together.

The people of Kūfah and the women of Hamdān gathered when they were brought outside, and they began crying. ‘Alī ibn al-Husayn said, "You are the ones [now] crying?! Tell me, then, who killed us?"

When they were brought to the Mosque of Damascus, Marwān came to them and said to those arriving, "How did you deal with them?" They said, "Eighty of their men came to us, so we finished off every last one of them!" His brother, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam, said, "You have been screened off [and blocked] from Muḥammad (ṣ) on the Day of Judgement. By Allah, I will never mingle with you again!" Then he stood up and left.

When they came into the presence of Yazīd, he said, "Alas, O ‘Alī! Did you get yourselves killed by the slaves of the people of Iraq?" ‘Alī ibn al-Husayn replied [by reciting the verse]: *No calamity occurs on earth nor in yourselves except that it is [written] in a record before we bring it into existence. Surely, that is easy for Allah* (Q57:22). Yazīd retorted [by quoting the verse]: *Whatever affliction befalls you, it is [a consequence] of what your hands have earned; and He pardons much* (Q42:30). Then he commanded them to be taken to a house. Subsequently, he prepared them [for travel], supplied them [with provisions], and ordered their dismissal [and return back] to Madīnah.

The people of Madīnah could hear the lamentation of the jinn crying over al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) when he was martyred. A female jinn would recite [the following couplets for him]:

*O eye, fill yourself with tears and strive at it
And who will cry for the martyrs after me?*

*For the group is being led by death,
to the Majestic Lord, in a slave's kingdom.*

(٥٥) حدثنا جدي يحيى بن الحسين قال: فولد الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب... والقاسم، وأبو بكر ابنا الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب، قتلا بكربالاء مع الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب، لا عقب لهما. قتل أبا بكر بن الحسن عبد الله بن علقة الغنوبي. وعبد الرحمن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب، لا عقب له، وأمه أم ولد، توفى عبد الرحمن بن الحسن بالأبواء وهو مع الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب، محرم، ومعهم ابن عباس.

(55) My grandfather Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn said, “The sons of al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib [were]: ...al-Qāsim and Abū Bakr, the two sons of al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib who were both killed in Karbalā’ with al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, none of whom had [any] children. ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Alqamah al-Ghanawī killed Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥasan. As for ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Ṭālib, he too had no progeny, and his mother was a slave woman. ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥasan died at al-Abwā’, while he was with al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, in the state of *iḥrām*, and Ibn ‘Abbās was [also] with them.”

(٥٦) عن ابن إسحاق قال: وخرج الحسين بن علي إلى العراق فقتل بها، وقتل معه من أهل بيته: علي بن الحسين الأكبر، وعبد الله بن الحسين، والقاسم بن الحسن، وأبو بكر بن الحسن، وعبد الله، وجعفر، وعباس بن علي بن أبي طالب، وعبد الله، وعبد الرحمن بنو عقيل بن أبي طالب، وعبد الله بن مسلم، ومحمد بن أبي سعيد بن عقيل، وعون بن عبد الله بن جعفر، ومحمد بن عبد الله بن جعفر.

(56) Ibn Ishāq said, “Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī left for Iraq and was killed there, and those among his family members who were also killed included: ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar, ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, al-

Qāsim ibn al-Hasan, Abū Bakr ibn al-Hasan, ‘Abdullāh, Ja‘far, and ‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, ‘Abdullāh and ‘Abd al-Rahmān sons of ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Tālib, ‘Abdullāh ibn Muslim, Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa‘īd ibn ‘Aqīl, ‘Awn ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far, and Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far.”

(57) عن جعفر بن محمد، عن أبيه: أنّ رسول الله ﷺ سمي حسناً وحسيناً يوم سابعهما، واشتقّ اسم حسين من حسن. والحسين بن عليّ، ولد لخمس ليال خلون من شعبان سنة أربع من الهجرة، وقتل يوم الجمعة يوم عاشوراء في المحرم سنة إحدى وستين، قتلته سنان بن أبي أنس النخعي، وأجهز عليه خولي بن يزيد الحميري الأصبهيّ من حمير، وحزّ رأسه، وأتى به عبيد الله بن زياد.

(57) Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad narrated from his fathers that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) named Ḥasan and Ḥusayn on the seventh day of their [respective] births, and the name Ḥusayn was derived from Ḥasan. Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī was born on the fifth night of Sha‘bān in the year 4 AH. He was killed on Friday, the tenth of Muḥarram, in the year 61 AH. Sinān ibn Abī Anas al-Nakha‘ī killed him, and he was dealt the final deathblow by Khawlī ibn Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī al-Āṣbahī from Ḥimyar, who then beheaded him and brought his head to ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād.

(58) حدثنا عمرو بن علي قال: وقتل الحسين عليه السلام، وكان يكنى أبا عبد الله، سنة إحدى وستين، وهو يومئذ ابن ستّ وخمسين سنة في المحرم يوم عاشوراء.

(58) ‘Amr ibn ‘Alī said, “And al-Ḥusayn (a), who was referred to by the *kunyah* Abū ‘Abdillāh, was killed in the year 61 AH while he was fifty-six years old, in [the month of] Muḥarram, on the day of ‘Āshūrā’.”

(٥٩) حدثني من سمع أباً معاشر، يقول: قتل الحسين بن عليّ لعشر ليالٍ خلون من المحرم سنة إحدى وستين.

(59) It was narrated to me by one who heard Abā Ma‘shar saying, “Al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī was killed ten nights into [the month of] Muḥarram, in the year 61 AH.”

(٦٠) عن جعفر بن محمد عليهما السلام قال: سمعت أبي يقول: قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام وهو ابن ثمان وخمسين.

(60) Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad (a) said, “I heard my father say, ‘When al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed, he was fifty-eight years old.’”

(٦١) عن الشعبي قال: أول رأس حمل في الإسلام على خشبة رأس الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام.

(61) Al-Sha‘bī said, “The first head in Islam that was carried on a wooden stake was the [blessed] head of al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a).”

(٦٢) عن أبي قبيل قال: لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام وحمل رأسه، جلسوا يشربون، ويحيي بعضهم بعضاً بالرأس، فخرجت يد فكتبت بقلم حديدي بدم على الحائط:

أترجو أمة قتلت حسيناً شفاعة جده يوم الحساب؟
فتركوا الرأس و هربوا.

(62) Abū Qubayl said, “When al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed and his head was taken, they sat to drink and congratulated each other for the [severed] head, when suddenly a hand appeared and wrote with an iron pen, and blood for ink, [the following] on the wall:

*Does a nation that killed Husayn expect
the intercession of his grandfather on the Day of Accounting?*

So they left the [blessed] head and ran away.

(٦٣) عن أنس قال: لم تر عيناي مثل يوم أتي برأس الحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما في طشت، فوضع بين يدي عبيد الله بن زياد لعنهما الله، فجعل يمسه بقضيبه ويقول: إن كان لصيحاً، إن كان لجميلاً.

(63) Anas said, “My eyes had never seen the likes of the day when the head of al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was brought in a large bowl. It was placed before ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, may Allah curse them both. He then began to touch it with his stick saying, ‘He was very comely; he was very handsome.’”

(٦٤) عن أنس قال: كنت عند ابن زياد إذ جاء برأس الحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما. قال: فجعل يقول بقضيب في أنفه: ما رأيت مثل هذا حسناً، ثم تذكر، فقلت: أما إلهه كان من أشبههم برسول الله عليهما.

(64) Anas said, “I was with Ibn Ziyād when the head of al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was brought. He (Ibn Ziyād) began poking his [blessed] nose with his stick and said, ‘I have never seen beauty like this.’ Then he began recalling [the past]. So I said, ‘Indeed, he was the most similar of them to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ).’”

(٦٥) سمعت أبا العالية البراء، قال: لما قتل الحسين بن عليٍّ عليهما أتي عبيد الله بن زياد برأسه، فأرسل إلى أبي بربة، وكان في أبي بربة بعض العظم، كذا قال السيد، وأظنه بعض القصر. قال له عبيد الله: إنَّ مُحَمَّدَ يكُمْ هذَا الدِّحَدَاح! قال أبو بربة: إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ، مَا كنْتَ أَحْسَبَ أَنْ أَعِيشَ حَتَّى يُعِزِّنِي إِنْسَانٌ بِصَحَّةِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ. قال عبيد الله: كيف ترى شأني وشأن الحسين يوم القيمة؟

قال: الله أعلم، وما علمي بذلك. قال: إنما سألك عن رأيك. قال: إن سألكني عن رأيي فإن حسيناً يشفع له يوم القيمة أبوه، ويُشفع لك زياد. قال: أخرج، فلولا ما جعلت لك لضربيت عنقك، حتى إذا بلغ باب الدار، قال: رذوه. فقال: لئن لم تغدو عليٍ وتروح لأضربنَّ عنقك.

(65) Abū al-‘Āliyah al-Barā’ said, “When al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed, ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād was brought his [severed] head. So he sent for Abū Barzah, who was a hefty man; (that is what al-Sayyid said, but I think he said: he was a stout man). ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād said, ‘This companion of the Prophet is quite plump!’ Abū Barzah said, ‘Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him shall we return. I never imagined that I would live to see a person disgrace me for being a companion of Muḥammad (ṣ).’ ‘Ubaydullāh asked, ‘How do you see my status compared to that of al-Ḥusayn on the Day of Judgement?’ He replied, ‘Allah knows best; I have no knowledge of that.’ He said, ‘I have only asked for your personal opinion.’ He responded, ‘If you are asking for my opinion, then verily Ḥusayn will be given his father’s intercession on the Day of Judgment, and you will get the intercession of [your father] Ziyād.’ He [angrily] shouted, ‘Leave! Indeed, were it not for the position [of honor] given to you, I would have struck your neck.’ When he reached the door, Ibn Ziyād said, ‘Bring him back!’ Then he said to him, ‘If you do not visit me every day, I will certainly strike your neck.’”

(٦٦) عن عبد الملك بن عمير، قال: دخلت قصر الكوفة، فرأيت رأس الحسين بن عليٍ عليهما السلام على ترس بين يدي عبيد الله بن زياد، وعبيد الله على السرير. ثم دخلت القصر بعد ذلك بحين، فرأيت رأس عبيد الله بن زياد على ترس بين يدي المختار، والمختار على السرير. ثم دخلت بعد ذلك بحين فرأيت رأس المختار بين يدي مصعب بن الزبير، ومصعب على السرير. ثم دخلت بعد ذلك بحين

فرأيت رأس مصعب بن الزبير بين يدي عبد الملك بن مروان، وعبد الملك على السرير.

(66) 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr said, "I entered the [governor's] mansion in Kūfah, and I saw the head of al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a) on a platter in front of 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, while 'Ubaydullāh was seated on the couch. Then after a while had passed, I entered the mansion and saw the head of 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād on a platter in front of al-Mukhtār, while al-Mukhtār was seated on the couch. Then, after some time had passed, I went to the mansion only to see the head of al-Mukhtār placed in front of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr, while Muṣ'ab was on the couch. Then after a while, I again entered the mansion and saw the head of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr placed in front of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, while 'Abd al-Malik was seated on the couch."

(٦٧) حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حَسْنٍ [الْمَخْزُومِيُّ] قَالَ: لَمَّا دَخَلَ رَأْسَ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ عَلَيِّ لِيَهْلِكَا عَلَى يَزِيدَ بْنِ مَعَاوِيَةَ، لِعَنْهُمَا اللَّهُ، قَالَ يَزِيدُ:

نَفَلَّقْ هَامًاً مِنْ رِجَالِ أَعْرَةٍ عَلَيْنَا وَهُمْ كَانُوا أَعْقَ وَأَظْلَمَا

فقال عليّ بن الحسين لِيَهْلِكَا: ليس هكذا، قال: فكيف يا ابن أم؟ قال كما قال الله عزوجل: {مَا أَصَابَ مِنْ مُّصِيبَةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا فِي كِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَنْبَرَأَهَا إِنَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ}، فقال عبد الرحمن بن أم الحكم:

لهم بجنب الطف أدنى قربة من ابن زياد العبد ذي الحسب الوغل

سمينة أضحي نسلها عدد الحصى وبنت رسول الله أضحت بلا نسل

فضرب يزيد صدره، وقال له: اسكت.

(67) Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan [al-Makhzūmī] said, “When the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was brought to Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiya – may Allah curse them both – Yazīd said:

*We split the heads of men who are noble and dear
to us, yet they were most disobedient and oppressive [to us].*

So ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said, “It is not that way.” So he asked, “Then how is it, O brother?” He said, “It is as Allah, the Almighty, says: *No affliction befalls on earth or in your souls but [that] it is in a Book [even] before We make it happen; verily that is easy for Allah* (Q57:22). And ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Umm al-Ḥakam said:

*The head in the land of al-Taff is closer in relation
than Ibn Ziyād, the slave of low-born lineage*

*Sumayya’s progeny has multiplied to the extent of [grains of] gravel,
while the daughter of the Messenger of Allah has remained with [almost]
no progeny.*

Thereat Yazīd struck his chest and said to him, “Shut up!”

(٦٨) حدثني الليث قال: أتى الحسين بن علي عليهما فقاتلوه، وقتلوا بنيه وأصحابه الذين قاتلوا معه، بمكان يقال له: الطف، وانطلق بعلي بن الحسين، وفاطمة بنت حسين، وسُكينة، إلى عبيد الله بن زياد، لعنه الله، وعلى يومئذ غلام قد بلغ، فبعث بهم إلى يزيد بن معاوية، لعنهم الله، فأمر سُكينة فجعلها خلف سريره لئلا ترى رأس أبيها وذوي قرابتها، وعلي بن الحسين عليهما في غلّه، فوضع رأسه، فضرب على ثيابي الحسين عليهما فقال:

نَفَّلَقْ هَامًاً مِنْ رِجَالْ أَعْزَّةٍ عَلَيْنَا وَهُمْ كَانُوا أَعْقَّ وَأَظْلَمَا

فقال عليّ بن الحسين عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: (مَا آَصَابَ مِنْ مُصِيبَةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا
فِي كِتَابٍ أَنَّ نَبَرَاهَا إِنَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ)، ثُقُولَ عَلَى يَزِيدَ أَنْ تَمَثِّلَ
بِيَتَ شِعْرٍ، وَتَلَاقَ عَلَيِّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، فَقَالَ يَزِيدُ: بَلْ (فِيمَا كَسَبْتُ
أَيْدِيكُمْ وَيَعْفُوا عَنِ الْكَثِيرِ)، فَقَالَ عَلَيّ بنَ الْحَسَنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: أَمَا وَاللَّهِ لَوْ رَأَنَا رَسُولُ
اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَغْلُولِينَ لِأَحَبِّنَا مِنَ الْغَلَّ، قَالَ: صَدِقْتُ، فَحَلَوْهُمْ مِنَ الْغَلَّ، قَالَ:
وَلَوْ وَقَفْنَا بَيْنَ يَدِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَلَى بَعْدِ لِأَحَبِّنَا مِنْ يَقْرَبْنَا، قَالَ: صَدِقْتُ،
فَقَرَبُوهُمْ، فَجَعَلَتْ فَاطِمَةُ وَشَكِينَةُ تَطَافِلَانِ لَتَرِيَا رَأْسَ أَيِّهِمَا، وَجَعَلَ يَزِيدَ
يَتَطَاولُ فِي مَجْلِسِهِ لِيَسْتَرِ عَنْهُمَا رَأْسَ أَيِّهِمَا، ثُمَّ أَمْرَ بِهِمْ فَجَهَزُوهُ، وَأَصْلَحَ آلَهُمْ
وَأَخْرَجُوهُمْ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ.

(68) Al-Layth said, “Al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) came so they fought him, and they killed his children and companions who fought alongside him, in a place called al-Ṭaff. Then ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Fāṭimah bint Ḥusayn, and Sukaynah were taken to ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, may Allah curse him. ‘Alī was, at that time, a young man who had matured. Then they were sent to Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah – may Allah curse them both – so he ordered that Sukaynah be placed behind his couch so that she would not see the head of her father and [those] of her near relatives. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) was in shackles. Then his [father’s] (a) head was placed there, and Yazīd stuck his front teeth [with his stick] and said:

*We split the heads of men who are noble and dear
to us, yet they were most disobedient and oppressive [to us].*

So ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) recited [the verse]: *No affliction befalls on earth or in your souls but [that] it is in a Book [even] before We make it happen; verily that is easy for Allah* (Q57:22). It weighed heavily on Yazīd that he used a couplet as an example while ‘Alī (a) recited from the Book of Allah, the Almighty. So Yazīd said, ‘Rather, whatever affliction befalls

you, it is [a consequence] of what your hands have earned; and He pardons much (Q42:30).’ ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) responded, ‘Indeed, by Allah, were the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) to see us in shackles, he would have loved to free us from them.’ He said, ‘You have spoken the truth. Release them from their shackles.’ Then he (a) said, ‘If we stood at a distance from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), he would have loved to bring us closer.’ He said, ‘You have spoken the truth. Bring them closer.’ Fāṭimah and Sukaynah began standing on their toes in order to catch a glimpse of their father’s head, and Yazīd began standing on his toes in his court in order to conceal their father’s head from them. Then he commanded that they be prepared [for travel], and he fixed their condition, and they were allowed to return to Madīnah.”

(٦٩) حَدَّثَنِي حُمَزَةُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ الْحَضْرَمِيُّ، قَالَ: رَأَيْتُ امْرَأَةً مِنْ أَجْمَلِ النِّسَاءِ وَأَعْقَلِهِنَّ يُقَالُ لَهَا زَبَاءُ. كَانَ بْنُو أُمِّيَّةَ يَكْرِمُونَهَا، وَكَانَ هَشَامٌ يَكْرِمُهَا، وَكَانَتْ إِذَا جَاءَتْ إِلَى هَشَامٍ تَجِيءُ رَاكِبَةً، وَكُلُّ مَنْ رَآهَا مِنْ بَنِي أُمِّيَّةَ أَكْرَمَهَا، وَيَقُولُونَ لَهَا: يَا خَاصَّةَ يَزِيدَ بْنِ مَعَاوِيَةَ، وَكَانُوا يَقُولُونَ: قَدْ بَلَغَتِ السَّنَّ مائةَ سَنَةَ، وَحَسْنٌ وَجْهُهَا وَجَمَالُهَا بَاقٌ بِنَصْارَتِهِ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ الَّذِي كَانَ، اشْتَهِرَتْ فِي بَعْضِ مَنَازِلِ أَهْلِهَا، فَسَمِعْتُهَا وَهِيَ تَقُولُ وَتَعِيبُ بَنِي أُمِّيَّةَ مَدَارَاهَا لَنَا. قَالَتْ: دَخَلَ بَعْضُ بَنِي أُمِّيَّةَ عَلَى يَزِيدَ فَقَالَ: أَبْشِرْ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، قَدْ أَمْكَنَكَ اللَّهُ مِنْ عَدُوكَ - يَعْنِي الْحَسِينَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ الْبَشَّارَةُ - قَدْ قُتِلَ وَوَجْهُهُ بِرَأْسِهِ، فَوُضِعَ بَيْنَ يَدِي يَزِيدَ فِي طَشْتَ، فَأَمَرَ الْغَلامَ فَرَفَعَ الشَّوْبَ الَّذِي كَانَ عَلَيْهِ، حَتَّى إِذَا رَأَاهُ خَمْرٌ وَجْهَهُ بِكَمَّهُ كَأَنَّهُ شَمَّ مِنْهُ رَائِحةً، وَقَالَ: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي كَفَانَا الْمُؤْنَةَ بِغَيْرِ مُؤْنَةٍ، (كَلَّمَا أَوْقَدُوا نَارًا لِلْحَرْبِ أَطْفَأَهَا اللَّهُ)، قَالَتْ زَبَاءُ: فَدَنَوْتُ مِنْهُ فَنَظَرَتْ إِلَيْهِ وَبَهْ رَدْعٌ مِنْ حَنَاءٍ. قَالَ حُمَزَةُ: فَقَلَّتْ لَهَا: أَقْرَعَ أَيَابَهُ بِالْقَضِيبِ كَمَا يَقُولُونَ؟ قَالَتْ: أَيِّ الَّذِي ذَهَبَ بِنَفْسِهِ، وَهُوَ قَادِرٌ أَنْ يَغْفِرَ لَهُ، لَقَدْ رَأَيْتَهُ يَقْرَعُ ثَنَيَاهُ بِالْقَضِيبِ فِي يَدِهِ، وَيَقُولُ أَيَاتًا مِنْ شِعْرِ ابْنِ

الزبوري، ولقد جاء رجل من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ فقال له: قد أمكنك الله من عدوك وعدوأبيك، فاقتلوه هذا الغلام ينقطع هذا النسل، فإنه لا ترى ما تحبّ وهم أحياء، آخر من ينماز فيه - يعني علي بن الحسين عليه السلام - لقد رأيت ما لقي أبوك من أبيه، وما لقيت أنت منه، وما صنع مسلم بن عقيل بن أبي طالب. اقطع أصل هذا البيت وهؤلاء القوم، فإنه إذ أنت قتلت هذا الغلام انقطع نسل الحسين خاصة، وإلا فالقوم ما بقي منهم أحد طالبكم بهم، وهم قوم ذو مكر، والناس إليهم مائلون، وخاصة غوغاء أهل العراق، ويقولون: ابن رسول الله وابن علي وفاطمة، فليس هو بأكرم من صاحب هذا الرأس. فقال: لا قمت ولا قعدت فإنه ضعيف مهين، بل أدعه كلما طلع منهم طالع أخذته سيف آل أبي سفيان. قالت: إني سمعت هذا الرجل من أصحاب رسول الله عليه السلام ولكن لا أسميه أبداً، ولا أذكره.

فسألتها ممن هي؟ فقالت: كانت أمي امرأة من كلب، وكان أبي رجل من مواليبني أمية. وقالت لي: ماتت أمي ولها مائة سنة وعشرين، فذكرت أنّ أمها عجيبة. وعاشت تسعين سنة، وأنها أدركت زمان رسول الله عليه السلام وسمعت به، وهي امرأة أمّ أولاد، وأنها رأت عمر بن الخطاب حين قدم الشام، وهي مسلمة.

قال حمزة بن يزيد: إني رأيت زباء بعد ذلك مقتولةً مطروحة على درج جিرون مكسوفة الفرج. قال حمزة: وقد كان حدثي بعض أهله أئمه رأى رأس الحسين بن علي عليه السلام مصلوباً بدمشق ثلاثة أيام.

قال أبي: فحدثني أبي، عن أبيه، أن أباه حدثه أنّ الرأس مكث في خزائن السلاح حتى ولـي سليمان بن عبد الملك، فبعث إليه، فجيء به وقد قحل وبقي عظماً

أبيض، فجعله في سبط، وطيه وجعل عليه ثوب ودفن في مقابر المسلمين، فلما
ولي عمر بن عبد العزيز، بعث إلى الخازن - خازن بيت السلاح: وجّه لي برأس
الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، فكتب إليه الخازن: أنَّ سليمان أخذه مُنِي، فكتب إليه: إنَّ
أنت لم تحمله فتجيء به لأجعلنك نكالاً، فقدم عليه فأخبره أنَّ سليمان أخذه
 يجعله في سبط، وصلَى عليه، ودفنه، فصحَ ذلك عنده، فلما دخلت المسوَدة
سألوا عما صنع به.

قال حمزة: ما رأيت في النساء أجود من زباء، كيف علمت أنة شعر ابن الزبرى،
قال: يعني أنها أشدتني مائة قافية من قولها ترثي يزيد بن معاوية، كانت عندي
مكتوبة في قرطاس، فذهبت في زمان عبد الله بن طاهر.

(69) Ḥamzah ibn Yazīd al-Ḥadramī said, “I saw a woman who was the most beautiful of women, and the most intelligent of them. She was called Zabbā’. The Banū Umayyah used to honor her, and Hishām would show her great respect. Whenever she came to Hishām, she would do so riding a mount. All those who saw her among the Banū Umayyah honored her. They used to say to her, ‘O special one of Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah!’ And they would say that she has reached a hundred years in age, yet the beauty of her face and her attractiveness still remains as it was [when she was young]. When what had transpired came to pass, she became famous among some of the houses of her folk, so I [once] heard her speaking and criticizing the Banū Umayyah in favour of us. She said, ‘One of the Banū Umayyah came to Yazīd and said, ‘Rejoice, O Commander of the Faithful. Allah has granted you victory over your enemy – meaning al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) – he has been killed.’’ And he brought his head and placed it in front of Yazīd in a platter. So he commanded his servant to lift the cloth that was covering it. When he saw it, he covered his face with his sleeve, as if he had smelt a scent from it. He then said, “All praise belongs to Allah who sufficed us in

hardship without any loss [to us]. *Whenever they kindle the fire of war, Allah puts it out* (Q5:64).”

Zabbâ’ said, ‘I approached it, and looked at it, and it had some henna on it.’ Hamzah said, “I asked her, ‘Did he hit his (al-Husayn’s) front teeth with a stick, as they say?’ She said, ‘Yes, by He who took his soul, and He is able to forgive him. I saw him hitting his front teeth with the stick that he held in his hand, as he recited the verses of poetry that were composed by Ibn al-Zibâ’râ. One of the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) had come to him so he said, “Indeed Allah has granted you victory over your enemy and your father’s enemy, so kill this young boy and cut off this lineage [once and for all], for indeed you will never see what you love as long as they are alive. He is the last of those about whom there could be dispute – meaning ‘Alî ibn al-Husayn (a) – [and] you have seen what your father had to face from his father, and what you had to face from him, and also what Muslim ibn ‘Aqîl ibn Abî Tâlib did [in Kûfah]. Cut off the roots of this family and this group, for indeed if you kill this young man, the lineage of al-Husayn in particular would be severed. Otherwise, there is nobody remaining by whom the group can challenge you, and they are a conniving lot, and people tend to incline towards them, especially the riffraff among the people of Iraq. They say, ‘Son of the Messenger of Allah, son of ‘Alî, and son of Fâtimah.’ And he is not nobler than the owner of this [severed] head.” He (Yazîd) responded, “You have neither a standing or a sitting, for indeed you are vile and lowly. Rather, I will leave him. Every time one among them rises, the swords of the family of Abû Sufyân will strike him.” Then she (Zabbâ’) said, ‘I heard that man who was among the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), but I will never name him, or mention him.’

I asked her about her origins, so she said, ‘My mother was from [the tribe of] Kalb, and my father was one of the freedmen of the Banî Umayyah.’ And she said to me, ‘My mother died while she was a

hundred and ten years old,’ and I said that her mother was indeed amazing [for having lived so long]. She [herself] had lived for ninety years. She was alive during the time of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and heard of him. She was a slave wife who bore a child [and was hence freed]. She saw ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when he came to Shām, and was [by then] a Muslim.”

Hamzah ibn Yazīd said, “I later saw Zabbā’ after that; she had been murdered and her body thrown down the steps of [the tower of] Jayrūn, having been stripped of clothing.” Ḥamzah said, “One of our family members told me that he saw the head of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) kept hanging outside in Damascus for three days.”

He (the narrator) [also] said, “The [blessed] head remained in the armory until Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik came to power and sent for it. So they brought it to him and it had withered, with only white bones [of the skull] remaining. He placed it in a casket, perfumed it, and put a cloth over it before burying it in the graveyard of the Muslims. When ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz came to power, he called for the man in charge of the armory saying, ‘Bring me the [blessed] head of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a).’ The man wrote back to him saying, ‘Sulaymān had taken it from me.’ So he wrote to him, ‘If you do not bring it to me, I will punish you severely.’ So he came to him [in person] and informed him that Sulaymān had indeed taken it and placed it in a casket before praying on it, and burying it. So ‘Umar was convinced of this. When the carriers of black banners (*al-musawwidah*) entered, they asked what had happened to him [and they were informed of it].”

Ḥamzah said, “I had not seen among the women anyone comelier than Zabbā’. I was impressed by how she knew the poetry of Ibn al-Zibā’rā.” He added, “She recited to me a hundred couplets [by heart] eulogizing Yazīd ibn Mu‘awiyah, that I had with me on a written paper. She left [this world] during the time of ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṭāhir.”

(70) حدثني محمد بن الحسن [المخزومي] قال: كان بنو أمية مجتمعين عند عمرو بن سعيد [بن العاص] فسمعوا صياحًا، فقالوا: ما هذا؟ فقيل: نساء بنى هاشم يصحن لمن رأين رأس الحسين عليهما السلام. فقال مروان بن الحكم:

عَجِّتْ نِسَاءُ بْنِي زِيَادٍ عَجَّةً كَعَجِّيجِ نِسْوَتِنَا غَدَةُ الْأَرْبَبِ

فلما دخل على عمرو بن سعيد، قال: وددت والله أنَّ أمير المؤمنين ما كان وجهه إلى، فقال له مروان: أسكَتْ لَأَمَّ لَكَ، إِلَّا قَلْتَ كَمَا قَالَ القائل:

ضَرِبَتْ دُوْسِرَ مِنْهُمْ ضَرِبَةً أَثَبَتْ أَوْتَادَ مَلِكٍ فَاسْتَقَرَ

ثُمَّ أَخْذَ مَرْوَانَ الرَّأْسَ فَوْضَعَهُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ فَقَالَ:

يَا حَبَّذَا بَرْدَهُ فِي الْيَدَيْنِ وَلُونَهُ الْأَحْمَرُ فِي الْخَدَّيْنِ
كَأَنَّمَا بَاتْ بِمُحَسِّدِيْنِ

والله إنِّي لِكَائِنُ أَنْظَرْ إِلَى أَيَّامِ عُثْمَانَ، فَقَالَ أَبُو الْأَسْوَدِ الدُّؤْلِيُّ فِي قَتْلِ الْحَسِينِ عليهما السلام:

أَقُولُ وَزَادَنِي جَزْعًا وَغَيْظًا أَرَالَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَ بَنِي زِيَادٍ
وَأَبْعَدَهُمْ بِمَا غَدَرُوا وَخَانُوا كَمَا بَعْدَتْ ثَمُودٌ وَقَوْمُ عَادٍ
وَلَا رَجَعَتْ رَكَابُهُمْ إِلَيْهِمْ إِذَا صَفَّتْ إِلَى يَوْمِ التَّنَادِ

(70) Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Makhzūmī] said, “The Banū Umayyah had gathered in the presence of ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd [ibn al-Āṣ] when they heard a loud cry, so they asked, ‘What is this?’ Someone said, ‘It is the womenfolk of the Banī Hāshim, crying out upon seeing the head of al-Ḥusayn (a).’ So Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam said:

*The womenfolk of Banī Ziyād had wailed,
Like the wailing of our womenfolk on the morning of [the Day of]
Arnab.¹⁸*

And when it was brought to ‘Amr ibn Sa‘id, he said, “I would have preferred, by Allah, that the Commander of the Faithful not send it to me.” So Marwān said, “Shut up, no mother have you! Unless you speak as the poet said:

*Dawsar¹⁹ struck them such a blow that
by it they embedded the pillars of the kingdom and established it.*

Then Marwān took the head and placed it in front of him and said,

*“How nice is his coldness in my hands
And the red color spread across his cheeks
As though it had been left overnight in dye!*

By Allah, it is as though I am witnessing the days of ‘Uthmān.’’ So Abū al-Aswad al-Duwālī said regarding the killing of al-Husayn (a):

*I say this, and my uneasiness and anger increases,
that may Allah destroy the kingdom of Banī Ziyād

And do away with them for their betrayal and treachery,
just as the Thamūd and the people of ‘Ād were done away with*

¹⁸ The Day of Arnab refers to the raid of the Banī Zubayd on the Banī Ziyād. By quoting these lines of poetry by an earlier poet, Marwān meant to say that the womenfolk of Banū Hāshim are only crying the way the womenfolk of their enemies cried before them. By saying this, he is, in essence, trying to justify the killing of their men.

¹⁹ Dawsar is the name of a famous warrior-tribe who fought on behalf of Nu‘mān ibn Mundhir (the king of Hīrah). The term *dawsar* is also used in Arabic to refer to a fierce lion.

*And may their mounts [of authority] never return to them,
[until] they are arraigned on the Day of Summoning.*

(71) عن أبي النعمان من ولد النعمان بن بشير قال: أتى برأس الحسين بن عليٍّ [عليهما السلام] فقال مروان بن الحكم شرعاً:
صربت دوسراً فيهم ضربةً أثبتت أوتاد ملك فاستقرَّ

وقال عبد الرحمن بن أمّ الحكم:
سميّةُ أمسي نسلها عدد الحصا وبنت رسول الله ليس لها نسل

(71) Abū al-Nu'mān narrated that the son of al-Nu'mān ibn Bāshīr said, "The head of al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a) was brought. [Then] Marwān ibn al-Hakam recited the following lines of poetry:

*Dawsar struck them such a blow that
by it they embedded the pillars of the kingdom and established it.*

And [in response] 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Umm al-Hakam recited:

*Sumayya's progeny has multiplied to the extent of [grains of] gravel,
while the daughter of the Messenger of Allah has remained with [almost]
no progeny."*

(72) عن الزهري قال: لما قتل الحسين بن عليٍّ [عليهما السلام] لم يرفع حجر إلا وجد تحته دم عبيط.

(72) Al-Zuhrī said, "When al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a) was killed, no stone was raised but that fresh blood was seen under it."

(73) حدثني شهر - يعني ابن حوشب - قال: سمعت أم سلمة زوج النبيٍّ [عليه السلام] حين جاء نعي الحسين بن عليٍّ [عليهما السلام] لعنت أهل العراق، فقالت: قتلواه، قتلهم الله! غزووه وذلوه، لعنهم الله! الحديث.

(73) Shahr, meaning Ibn Hawshab, narrated to me saying, “I heard Umm Salamah, wife of the Prophet (ṣ), cursing the people of Iraq when the news of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī’s (a) martyrdom was brought. She said, ‘They killed him – may Allah kill them! They deceived him and humiliated him – may Allah curse them!’...”

(٧٤) حَدَّثَنِي شَهْرٌ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أُمَّ سَلَمَةَ زَوْجَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ جَاءَ نَعْيُ الْحَسَنِ بْنَ عَلَيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَعْنَتَ أَهْلِ الْعَرَاقِ، وَقَالَتْ: قَتَلُوهُ، قَتَلُهُمُ اللَّهُ! غَرَّوْهُ وَذَلَّوْهُ، لَعْنُهُمُ اللَّهُ! فَإِنَّمَا رَأَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ جَاءَتْهُ فَاطِمَةٌ بِرْمَةً غَدِيرَةً بِرْمَةً، قَدْ صَنَعْتَ لَهُ فِيهَا عَصِيدَةً تَحْمِلُهَا فِي طَبَقٍ لَهَا، حَتَّىٰ وَضَعَتْهَا بَيْنَ يَدِيهِ، فَقَالَ لَهَا: أَيْنَ أَبْنِي؟ وَذَكَرَ حَدِيثَ الْكَسَاءِ بِتَمَامِهِ.

(74) Shahr said, “When the news of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī’s killing came, I heard Umm Salamah, wife of the Prophet (ṣ), cursing the people of Iraq. She said, ‘They killed him, may Allah kill them! They deceived him and humiliated him, may Allah curse them! Indeed I saw the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) on the day when Fāṭimah (a) came to him with a cooking pot in which she had cooked some ‘aṣīdah²⁰, carrying it on a tray. She placed it in front of him, so he asked her, “Where is my son?”...’ Then she recounted the entire event of the cloak.”

(٧٥) حَدَّثَنَا حَمِيدٌ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْأَصْمَمُ، عَنْ أَمَّهِ قَالَتْ: ضَرَبَ لِأُمِّ سَلَمَةِ قَبْلَةَ فِي مسجدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ قُتِلَ الْحَسَنُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَرَأَيْتُ عَلَيْهَا خَمَارًا أَسْوَدًا.

(75) Ḥumayd ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Āṣamm narrated to us from his mother who said, “Umm Salamah, may Allah be pleased with her, had a round tent erected in the Masjid of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) when al-Ḥusayn (a) was killed, and I saw her wearing a black veil.”

²⁰ *Aṣīdah* is a dish made from moistened wheat flour cooked with clarified butter.

(76) عن ابن أبي نعيم قال: كنت عند ابن عمر فسأله رجل عن دم البعوض، فقال: ممّن أنت؟ قال: من أهل العراق. قال: انظروا إلى هذا، يسألني عن دم البعوض وقد قتلوا ابن رسول الله ﷺ! وقد سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: هما ريحانتي من الدنيا.

(76) Ibn Abī Nu‘aym said, “I was with Ibn ‘Umar when a man asked him about the blood of a gnat. He responded by asking, ‘From whom are you?’ The man said, ‘From the people of Iraq.’ So he said, ‘Look at this one, he asks me about the [ruling pertaining to the] blood of a gnat while they have killed the son of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ)! Indeed, I have heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say, “These two (i.e. al-Hasan and al-Husayn) are my fragrant flowers in this world.”’”

(77) عن محمد بن عبد الله بن أبي يعقوب [التميمي البصريي], عن أبيه قال: كنت عند عبد الله بن عمر بمكة، فجاءه ناس من أهل الكوفة، فسألوه عن دم البراغيث: هل تجوز معه الصلاة؟ فقال من أين أنتم؟ قالوا: من أهل العراق. قال: ومن أى العراق؟ قالوا: من الكوفة. فقال: يا عجباً، قد جاءوا يسألون عن دم البراغيث، وقد قتلوا ابن رسول الله ﷺ، سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول، ونظر إليهما وشهمها، فقال: هما ريحانتي من الدنيا.

(77) Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Abī Ya‘qūb [al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī] narrated that his father said, “I was with ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar in Makkah when a group of people came from Kūfah and asked him about [the ruling pertaining to] the blood of fleas – whether it is permissible to offer prayers with it [or not]. He asked them, ‘Where are you from?’ They replied, ‘From Iraq.’ ‘From where in Iraq?’ He asked. They said, ‘From Kūfah.’ So he said, ‘How surprising! They have come to ask me about the blood of fleas while it was they who killed the son of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ)! I have heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) say,

while he looked at them [lovingly] and smelt their fragrance, “These two are my fragrant flowers in this world.””

(٧٨) قال أبو بكر الهمذاني: قيل للحسن – يعني الحسن البصري: يا أبا سعيد، قتل الحسين بن علي عليه السلام، فبكى حَتَّى اخْتَلَجَ جَنْبَاهُ، وقال: وَذَلِكَ لِأَمَّةٍ قُتِلَ ابْنُ دُعَيْهَا – يعني عبيد الله بن زياد لعنه الله – ابن نبيها!

(78) Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī said, “It was said to al-Hasan – meaning al-Hasan al-Baṣrī, ‘Al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī has been killed.’ So he cried until his sides shook, and [then] he said, ‘What a disgrace for a nation to have the son of an illegitimate one among them – meaning ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, may Allah curse him – kill the son of their Prophet!’”

(٧٩) عن عمرو بن مسعدة قال: دخلت على المأمون، وبين يديه كتاب ينظر فيه وعياه تجريان بالدموع. قال عمرو: فقلت: يا أمير المؤمنين، ما في هذا الكتاب الذي أبكاك، لا أبكى الله عينك؟ فقال: يا عمرو، هذا مقتل أمير المؤمنين علي، والحسين بن علي عليه السلام. فقلت: يا أمير المؤمنين، إنَّ الخاصة والعامة قد كثرت في أمرهما، فما يقول أمير المؤمنين في أهل الكسae؟

قال: فتنفس الصعداء ثم قال: هي يا عمرو، هم والله آل الله، وعترة المرسل الأولاء – يعني إبراهيم عليه السلام – وسفينة النجا، وبدر ظلام الدجى، وبحر بغاة الندى، وغيث كل الورى، وأشبال ليث الدين، وميد المشركين، وقاصم المع狄ين، وأمير المؤمنين، وأخو رسول رب العالمين، صلوات الله عليه وعليهم أجمعين. هم والله المعلنو التقى، والمسروا الهدى، والمعلموا الجدوى، والناكون عن الردى، لا لحظ ولا جحظ، ولا فظاظ غلظ، وفي كل موطن يقظ، هامات هامات، وسادات

سادات، غivot جارات، وليوث غابات، أولوا الأحساب الوافرة، والوجوه الناصرة، لا في عودهم خور، ولا في زبدهم قصر، ولا صفوهم كدر.

ثم ذكر الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام، فهمل منه دمع العين في واضحة الخدين، كفيض الغررويين، ونظم السمطين هوى من القرطين. ثم قال: هما والله كبدري دجى، وشمسى ضحى، وسيفي لقاء، ورمحي لواء، وطودي حجى، وكهفي تقى، وبحرى ندى. وهم ريحانتا رسول الله صلوات الله عليه وآله وسلامه وثمرتا فؤاده، والناصران لدين الله تعالى. ولدا بين التحليل والتحريم، ودرجها بين التأويل والتنتزيل، ورضعا لبان الدين والإيمان، والفقه والبرهان، وحكمة الرحمن. سيدا شباب أهل الجنة، ولدتهما البتوول الصادقة، بنت خير الشبان والكهول، وسمماهما الجليل، ورباهما الرسول، وناغاهما جبريل، فهل هؤلاء من عديل؟ بررة أتقياء، ورثة الأنبياء، وخزنة الأوقياء، قتلتهم الأدعية، وخذلهم الأشقياء، ولم ترعوا الأئمة من قتل الأئمة، ولم تحفظ الحرمة، ولم تحذر النعمة. ويل لها بماذا أتت، ولسخط من تعريضت، وفي رضى من سعت، طلبت دنيا قليل عظيمها، حقير جسيمها. وزاد المعاد أغلقت، إذا الجنة أزلفت وإذا الجحيم سعرت، وإذا القبور بعشرت، ولحسابها جمعت. ويل لها ماذا حرمت، عن روح الجنان ونعمتها صدفت، وعن الولدان والحوار غييت، وإلى الجحيم صيرت، ومن الضريع والرّقّوم أطعمت، ومن المهل والصديد والغسلين سقيت، ومع الشياطين والمنافقين فرنست، وفي الأغلال والحديد صفت، ويل لها ما أتت.

ثم هملت عيناه، وكثر نحيبه وشهيقه. فقلت: يا أمير المؤمنين، يشفيك ما إليه صار القوم. فقال: نعم، إنه لشفاء، ولكني أبكي لأشجان أحزان تحركها الأرحام وقال:

لَا تقبل التوبه من تائب إِلَّا بحَبِّ ابْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ
 حَبَّ عَلَيْ لازم واجب في عنق الشاهد والغائب
 أخو رسول الله حلف الهدى والأخ لا يعدل بالصاحب
 لو جمعا في الفضل يوماً لقد نال أخوه رغبة الراغب
 بعد على حب أولاده ما أنا بالمزري ولا العائب
 إن مال عنه الناس في جانب ملت إلى الدهر في جانب
 جاءت به السُّنة مقبولةً فلعنة الله على الناصب
 حَبَّهُمْ فرض علينا لهم كمثل حجّ لازم واجب

(79) ‘Amr ibn Ma’sadah said, “I went to see Ma’mūn and [noticed that] he had a book in front of him which he was reading, as his eyes flowed with tears. So I said, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, what is this book that has made you cry? May Allah never make your eyes weep.’ He said, ‘O ‘Amr, this is the *maqta* of Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī, and [of] al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a).²¹’ I said, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, verily both the distinguished and the lay people [among the believers] have spoken a lot about their affair, so what does the Commander of the Faithful have to say about the People of the Cloak (*ahl al-kisā*)?’”

He heaved a deep sigh and then said, ‘Alas, O ‘Amr, they are, by Allah, the people of Allah, and the descendants of the tender-hearted messenger – meaning Ibrāhīm (a) – and are the ark of salvation, the shining moon in the darkness of night, the sea of generosity for the seekers, the rain [of blessings] for all of creation, the cubs of the lion of the religion, [and ‘Alī (a) is] the destroyer of polytheists, the annihilator of transgressors, the [true] Commander of the Faithful, the brother of the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, may the blessings of Allah be

²¹ A *maqta* is a historical account of the killing or martyrdom of a well-known figure.

upon him and upon them all. They are [all], by Allah, promulgators of Godwariness, those entrusted with guidance, teachers of what is beneficial [to humankind], those who turn [the believers] away from ruin, neither leering nor peering [at others], neither rough nor harsh, and at every instance fully aware. [They are] the highest of the high, the elite of the elites, [like] flowing rains, lions of the jungle. They possess great merit and radiant faces. Neither are they affected by frailty, nor is there any shortcoming in their bounty, nor is there any [hint of] turbidity in their purity.'

Then he recalled al-Hasan and al-Husayn (a) [specifically], and tears overflowed from his eyes to his cheeks, like a widespread deluge and two strings of pearls hanging close to the earlobes. Then he said, 'By Allah, they are like two bright full-moons, and shining suns, two swords joined, two raised spears, two mountains of wisdom, two caves of Godwariness, and two bountiful seas. And they are the two fragrant flowers of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), and the two fruits of his heart, and the helpers of the religion of Allah, the Exalted. They were born between [the ordinances of] prescription and proscription, and they were positioned between exegesis and revelation. They were nursed with the milk of religion and faith, knowledge and evidence, and the wisdom of the all-Merciful. [They are] the two masters of the youth of Paradise, born to the chaste and veracious lady, daughter of the best of all the people – youth and elderly. They were named by the Majestic Lord, nurtured by the Messenger, and coddled by Jibrā'il, so can there ever be anyone comparable to them? Virtuously pious, heirs of the Prophets, holders of the treasures of the Legatees; they were killed by illegitimate ones and abandoned by the wretched. The nation did not fear [the consequences] of killing their leaders, and they neither preserved their sanctity, nor were cautious of [divine] wrath. Woe be to them for what they did, and for Whose wrath they brought upon themselves, and for whose pleasure they strived. They sought this world, the greatness of which is trivial, and the immensity of which is

insignificant. They neglected the provisions of the Hereafter, when Paradise will be brought near and when hellfire will be set ablaze, and when the graves will be overturned and they will be gathered for accounting. Woe to them, what have they been deprived of [for their misdeed]! They have been turned away from the bliss of the Gardens and its bounties, and kept aloof from the [heavenly] youths and houris, and [will be] placed in hellfire, and made to eat from [the tree of] Zaqqūm and dry thorns, and to drink molten metal, foul liquid, and oozing pus, and kept in the company of devils and hypocrites, and shackled with chains and iron – woe be to this nation and what it did!

Then his eyes overflowed, and his whimpering and sobbing increased. I said, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, your grief is assuaged by what those people will face [is it not]?’ He said, ‘Yes, it is, but I weep due to the overwhelming grief that is evoked by [their nearness in] kinship. Then he recited:

*The repentance of he who repents is not accepted,
except with love for [‘Ali] ibn Abī Tālib.*

*The love of ‘Ali is necessarily obligatory,
upon both one who is present and one absent.*

*Brother of the Messenger of Allah, a league of guidance,
and a brother cannot be compared to a companion.*

*Were they to be joined together in merit one day,
his brother will have attained the most desired of all attainments.*

*After ‘Ali [comes] love for his children,
[in which] I am neither deficient nor flawed.*

*If people incline away from him towards one side,
I will incline towards him for all time by his side.*

*It is based on this [love] that the accepted sunnah was established,
so may Allah curse the one who despises him.*

*Their love is an obligation upon us for them,
just as the hajj pilgrimage is a religious obligation, a must.*

(٨٠) قال المغيرة بن نوفل الهاشمي للجراح بن سنان الأسدى لعنة طعن الحسين

بن علي عليهما السلام:

إذا سقى الله عبداً صوب غاديه فلا سقى الله جراحاً من الديم
أعني به ابن سنان شرّ من حملت أنتي ومن شرّ من يمشي على قدم
شلت يمينك من غاد بمعوله على فتى ليس باللواني ولا البرم
يا نصر نصر قعين كيف نومكم وقد أتيتم عظيماً ليس بالأمم
حاشا جذيمة إني غير ذاكرها ولابني جابر لم ينطفوا بدم

قال أبو بكر: الجراح بن سنان، هذا الذي طعن الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام من بنىأسد،
من بنى نصر بن قعين.

(80) Al-Mughîrah ibn Nawfal al-Hâshimî recited [the following lines] for al-Jarrâh ibn Sinân²² al-Asadî when he struck al-Husayn ibn ‘Alî (a):

*When Allah quenches the servant with the early morning downpour,
then may Allah never quench al-Jarrâh with rain.*

*By him I mean Ibn Sinân, the worst baby to be conceived,
by a woman, and among the worst to walk on two feet.*

*Paralyzed be your right hand which, with the lethal weapon assailed
the brave warrior, who was neither listless nor restless.*

²² There is no individual by this name in the works of the history of Karbalâ', so it is apparently a scribal error and the correct name should be Sinân ibn Anas.

*O helpers of Nasr Qu'ayn, how can you calmly sleep,
when you have undertaken a grave act, not at all insignificant.*

*Save those from Judhaymah, whom I shall not mention here,
and those from Banī Jābir, who were not sullied by blood.*

Abū Bakr (who was the narrator of these words) said, “This al-Jarrāḥ ibn Sinān was the one who struck al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) from the Banī Asad, from the Banī Naṣr ibn Qu'ayn.”

(٨١) حدثني الأصممي، قال: قلت لشيخ من أهل المدينة: من يقول هذا؟...

عين بكى بعراة وعویل واندبي إن ندب آل الرسول
ستة كلهم لصلب عليّ قد أبيدوا وستة لعقيل

(81) Al-Asma'i said, “I asked an old man from the people of Madīnah, ‘Who has said the following:

*O eye, cry with tears and wailing,
and lament, if you lament, the [tragedy of] the Prophet's family.*

*Six, all of them from the loins of 'Alī
have been annihilated, and six from 'Aqīl.²³*

(٨٢) قال سليمان بن قتة يرثيه - يعني الحسين عليهما السلام:

وإن قتيل الطف من آل هاشم أذل رقاباً من قريش فذلت
مررت على أبيات آل محمد فألفيتها أمثالها يوم حلّت
وكانوا لنا غنماً فعادوا رزيةً لقد عظمت تلك الرزايا وجلت

²³ In another version of this poem, nine individuals from the family of 'Alī (a) and five from the family of 'Aqīl have been mentioned – which seems more accurate. (See: *Murūj al-Dhahab* 3:62)

فلا يبعد الله الديار وأهلها وإن أصبحت منهم برغمي تختَّ
 إذا افتقرت قيس جبرنا فقيرها وقتلنا قيس إذا النعل زلت
 وعند غني قطرة من دمائنا سنجزيهم يوماً بها حيث حلَّت
 ألم تر أن الأرض أضحت مريضة لفقد حسين والبلاد اشتررت

(82) Sulaymān ibn Qattah said as he eulogized him – meaning al-Husayn (a):

Verily the martyrs of al-Taff from the family of Hāshim lowered the necks of Quraysh, and they were humiliated.

I passed by the houses of the family of Muhammad and found them to be mere vestiges of what they were in the bygone days.

They were a bounty for us that turned into a tragedy, and that tragedy was indeed grave and encompassing.

May Allah not cause those houses and its people to disperse, even if they have been emptied against their will.

When [the tribe of] Qays became impoverished we assisted their poor, yet Qays kills us when the scabbard [of the sword] slips.

A drop of our blood is with [the clan of] Ghānī, for which we will one day requite them, wherever they may be.

Do you not see that the earth has become sick due to the loss of Husayn, and the land quakes!

(٨٣) أنسدني منصور بن سلمة بن الزير قان النمري:

شاء من الناس راتع هامل يعلّلون النفوس بالباطل
 تقتل ذرّية النبي وير جون دخول الجنان للقاتل

ويلك يا قتل الحسين لقد قمت بحمل يميل بالحامل
 أي حباء حبوت أحمد في حضرته من حرارة التأكيل
 بأي وجه تلقى النبي وقد دخلت في قتلها مع القاتل
 تعال فاطلب غداً شفاعته أو لا ترد حوضه مع الناهم
 ما الشك عندي في حال قاتله ولا أراني أشك في الخاذل
 لا يعجل الله إن عجلت وما ربك عما ي يريد بالغافل
 نفسي فداء الحسين يوم غدا إلى المنايا غدو لا قافل
 ذلك يوم أنحى بشفرته على سنام الإسلام والكافل
 يا عاذلي إني أحببني أحمد والترب في فم العاذل
 كم ميت منهم بغضته معترب القبر بالعراء نازل
 ما انتخبت حوله قرابته عند مقاسات يومه الباسل
 أذكر منهم ومن مصابهم فيما يمنع القلب سلوة الذهاب
 مظلومة والنبي والدها تدبر أرجاء مقلة حامل
 قد ذقت ما أنتم عليه فيما رجعت من دينكم إلى طائل
 من ذبكم جفوة النبي وما الـ سجافي لآل الرسول كالواصل

(83) The following lines were recited by Manṣūr ibn Salamah al-Zabriqān al-Namirī:

*Some people live aimlessly, roaming about seeking pleasure,
 giving false justifications to themselves.*

*They kill the progeny of the Prophet,
 and they expect admission into the Gardens [of Paradise] for the killer.*

*Woe be to you O killer of al-Husayn, for
you have taken up a burden that makes its carrier to lean [towards
perdition].*

*What gift did you give Aḥmad in
his grave, of burning grief and sorrow!*

*With what face will you meet the Prophet when
you have participated in his killing along with the killer.*

*Come and seek his intercession tomorrow [if you dare],
or do not enter [to drink from] his pool with those who drink therefrom.*

*There is no doubt in my mind regarding the fate of his killer,
and I do not think there is any doubt regarding the one who abandoned
him [either].*

*Allah does not hasten, even if you hasten, and neither is
your Lord unaware of what he wants.*

*May my soul be ransomed for al-Husayn on the morning
when he proceeded towards his death, never to return.*

*That day he (the enemy) attacked with his blade
the epitome of Islam and its apex.*

*O my critic, indeed I love the progeny
of Aḥmad, and may dust fill the mouth of my critic!*

*How many corpses among them, to his agony,
were laid within graves in a plain far away from their homes.*

*His near ones did not gather around him to mourn
[his death] on his very difficult day when he fought valiantly.*

*I mention some of them and their calamity
so that the heart is deprived of the solace of distraction.*

*An oppressed faction, and the Prophet is their father,
turn the direction of the bearer's eyes.*

*[O enemy,] I have tasted what you are upon, so I did not
[hesitate to] return from your [understanding of] religion to something
beneficial.*

*Among your sins is tyranny against the Prophet, and
he who tyrannizes the family of the Prophet is not like the one who has
reached [righteousness].*

(٨٤) عن أبي جناب الكلبي قال: كان الجحاصون يخرجون إلى الجنة حين
قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام فسمعوا نواح الجن، وفيهم جنٌ يقول:

مسح الرسول جبينه وله بريق في الخدود
أبواه من أعلى قريه ش وجده خير الجدود

(84) Abū Janāb al-Kalbī said, “The *jāṣṣāṣūn*²⁴ would go out into the desert when al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed, and they would hear the lamentation of the jinn. Among them was a female jinn who would recite:

*The Messenger wiped his forehead,
and he has a radiance in his cheeks.*

*His parents are from the elite of the Quraysh,
and his grandfather is the best of all grandfathers.*

(٨٥) حدثني ناجية العطار قال: كان الجحاصون في هذا الظهر يسمعون نواح
الجن على الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام:

²⁴ *Jāṣṣāṣ* refers to one who works with gypsum, which is a substance used in building or plastering.

مسح الرسول جينه وله بريق في الخدود
 أبواه من أعلى قرية شن جده خير الجدد
 زحفوا إليه بجمعهم وألوثكم شر الجنود
 قتلوا تقىًّا زاكياً لا أسكنوا دار الخلود

(85) Nâjiyah al-‘Atîr said, “On this midday, the *jâssâshûn* heard the lamentation of the jinn upon al-Husayn ibn ‘Alî (a):

*The Messenger wiped his forehead,
 and he has a radiance in his cheeks.*

*His parents are from the elite of the Quraysh,
 and his grandfather is the best of all grandfathers.*

*They marched against him with their [large] contingent,
 and these were the worst of your armies.*

*They killed a pure, pious one,
 may they never rest in the eternal abode.*

(٨٦) أنسدنا الزبير، لمخلد بن المهاجر المخزومي:

أبني أمية هل علمتم أنني أحصيت ما بالطف من قبر
 صب الإله عليكم غضباً أبناء جيش الفتح أو بدر

(86) Al-Zubayr recited the following couplets from Makhlad ibn al-Muhâjir al-Makhzûmî:

*O Banî Umayyah do you know that I
 counted all the graves that were at al-Taff.*

*May Allah pour down His wrath upon you,
 [for among them most were] children of the armies of the Conquest [of
 Makkah] or of Badr.*

(٨٧) سمعت أَحْمَدَ بْنَ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ حَمِيدَ الْجَهْمِيَّ - مِنْ وَلَدِ أَبِي جَهْمٍ بْنَ حَذِيفَةَ - يَنْشُدُ فِي قَتْلِ الْحُسَينِ بْنَ عَلَىٰ عَلِيٰ عَلِيٰ لِعَلِيٰ لِعَلِيٰ - فَقَالَ: هَذَا الشِّعْرُ لِزَيْنَبَ بْنَتِ عَقِيلٍ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ:

ما ذا تقولون إن قال النبي لكم
ما ذا فعلتم وأنتم آخر الأمم
بأهل بيتي وأنصاري وذرّيتي منهم أسارى وقتلى ضرّجوا بدم
ما كان ذاك جزائي إن نصحت لكم أن تخلفوني بسوء في ذوي رحمي

(87) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Jahmī, from the progeny of Abū Jahm ibn Ḥudhayfah, was heard reciting the following lines about the killing of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) – and he said, “This is the poetry of Zaynab bint ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib (r):

*What will you say if the Prophet asks you
what you did, while you are the last of the nations [to receive revelation],
with my family, my helpers, and my progeny?*

*Some of them are captives and others lie covered in blood.
It is not my recompense for having sincerely guided you
that after me you should mistreat my nearest of kin thus!*

(٨٨) أَخْبَرَنَا الأَصْعَمِيُّ، قَالَ: لَمَّا قُتِلَ الْحُسَينُ بْنُ عَلَىٰ عَلِيٰ عَلِيٰ لِعَلِيٰ وَحَمَلَ عِيَالَهُ إِلَى الشام، فَشَيَعُوهُمْ أَهْلُ الْكَوْفَةَ يَكُونُونَ وَيَنْتَهُونَ، وَأَنْشَأُوا أَبُو الْأَسْوَدَ الدُّولِيَّ يَقُولُ:

ما ذا تقولون إن قال النبي لكم
ما ذا صنعتم وأنتم آخر الأمم
بأهل بيتي وأنصاري ومحرمتي منهم أسارى وقتلى ضرّجوا بدم
ما كان هذا جزائي إذ نصحت لكم أن تخلفوني بسوء في ذوي رحمي

(88) Al-As‘amī said, “When al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed, and his family was taken to Shām, the people of Kūfah followed behind them

crying and wailing, and Abū al-Aswad al-Duwālī recited [the following lines]:

*What will you say if the Prophet asks you
what you did, while you are the last of the nations [to receive revelation],
with my family, my helpers, and my household?*

Some of them are captives and others lie covered in blood.

*It is not my recompense for having sincerely guided you
that after me you should mistreat my nearest of kin this way!*

(٨٩) عن عوانة قال: دخل [عروة بن] المغيرة بن شعبة على مصعب بن الزبير،

فسأله عن قتل الحسين عليه السلام فوصفه له. فقال مصعب:

إِنَّ الْأُولَى بِالظُّفْرِ مِنْ آلِ هَاشِمٍ تَأَسَّوا وَسَّنُوا لِلْكَرَمِ التَّأْسِيَا

قال: فعلمت أن مصعباً لا يفرّ، فكان كما ظنت.

(89) 'Awānah said, “[Urwah ibn] al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah came to Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr, so he asked him about the killing of al-Ḥusayn (a), and he described it for him. So Muṣ'ab said:

*As for the first from the family of Hāshim at al-Taff,
follow his example and make it a practice to honor such nobles.*

He (the narrator) said, “I knew that Muṣ'ab does not flee [out of fear], and he turned out to be just as I assumed.”

(٩٠) أَحْمَدُ بْنُ الْقَاسِمِ قَالَ: أَنْشَدَنِي أَبُو طَالِبٍ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْجَعْفَرِيُّ لِنَفْسِهِ:

لِي نَفْسٌ تُحِبُّ فِي اللَّهِ وَاللَّهِ حَسِينًا وَلَا تُحِبُّ يَزِيدًا
يَا بْنَ أَكَالَةِ الْكَبُودِ لَقَدْ أَنْضَجْتَ مِنْ لَابْسِي الْكَسَا الْكَبُودًا
أَيْ هُولَ رَكِبْتَ عَذْبَكَ الرَّحْمَنَ فِي نَارِهِ عَذَابًا شَدِيدًا

لَهُفْ نَفْسِي عَلَى يَزِيدَ وَأَشْيَا حَيْزِيدَ ضَلَّوْا ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا
 يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ يَا بْنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ هَيْ يَا أَكْرَمَ الْبَرِيَّةِ عَوْدًا
 لَيْتَنِي كُنْتُ يَوْمَ كُنْتُ فَأَمْسِيَ فِيكَ فِي كَرْبَلَاءَ قَتِيلًا شَهِيدًا

(90) Al-Ḥamad ibn al-Qāsim said, “Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Ja‘farī recited to me the following lines of poetry:

*I have a soul that loves for the sake of Allah, by Allah,
 Husayn, and has no love [whatsoever] for Yazid.*

*O son of the devourer of livers, have you
 fattened the liver from those who wear the cloak [of purity]!?*

*What a terrible crime you have perpetrated, may the
 Merciful Lord punish you in His Fire with a severe chastisement.*

*Alas, [how regrettable is] what Yazid and the followers
 of Yazid did, they truly went far astray [from the right path].*

*O Abā ‘Abdillāh, O son of the Messenger of Allah,
 O most noble of all human beings with the greatest lineage,*

*I wish I was with you on that day,
 in Karbalā’, alongside you killed and martyred.*

(٩١) عن عمرو بن بعجة قال: أول ذلة دخل على الإسلام يوم قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام وادعى معاوية يزيداً.

(91) ‘Amr ibn Ba‘jah said, “The first disgrace that entered upon Islam was on the day that al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed, and [this was after] Mu‘awiyah claimed [rulership] for Yazid.”

(٩٢) عن عطية العوفي قال: خرجت مع جابر بن عبد الله الأنصاري زائري قبر الحسين عليهما السلام، فلما وردنا إلى كربلاء دنا جابر من شاطئ الفرات، فاغتسل ثم اتّزر

يازار، ثم ارتدى بآخر، ثم فتح صرّة فيها سعد فشره على بدنّه، ثم لم يخط خطوةً إلا ذكر الله تعالى حتّى إذا دنا من القبر، فقال: ألمسيه، فألمسته، فخرّ على القبر مغشياً عليه، فرشّت عليه شيئاً من الماء، فلما أفاق قال: يا حسين! يا حسين! يا حسين! - ثلاثةً - ثم قال: حبيب لا يجيب حبيبه! ثم قال: وأنت لك بالجواب وقد شُبّت أوداجك على أثاباجك، وفرق بين بدنك ورأسك! فأشهد أنك ابن خاتم النبيين، وابن سيد الوصيين، وابن حليف التقوى، وسليل الهدى، وخامس أصحاب الكسأء، وابن سيد النقباء، وابن فاطمة سيدة النساء، وما بالك ألا تكون هكذا وقد غذّتك كف سيد المرسلين، وريست في حجور المتقين، وأرضعت من ثدي الإيمان، وفطمته بالإسلام، فطبّت حيّاً وطبّت ميتاً، غير أن قلوب المؤمنين غير طيبة لفارقك ولا شاكّة في الخيرة لك، فعليك سلام الله ورضوانه، فأشهد أنك مضيت على ما مضى عليه يحيى بن زكرياء.

قال العطية: ثم جال ببصره حول القبر فقال: السلام عليكم أيتها الأرواح الطيبة التي حلّت بفناء الحسين عليهما السلام وأنا خت برحله، وأشهد أنكم أقمتم الصلاة، وآتتكم الزكاة، وأمرتم بالمعروف، ونهيتم عن المنكر، وعبدتم الله حتّى أتاكم اليقين. والذى بعث محمداً عليهما السلام بالحقّ لقد شاركناكم فيما دخلتم فيه.

قال عطية: فقلت لجابر بن عبد الله: وكيف، ولم نهبط وادياً، ولم نعمل جبلاً، ولم نضرب بسيف، والقوم قد فرق بين رؤوسهم وأبدانهم، فأوتمت الأولاد، وأرمّلت الأزواج؟ فقال لي: يا عطية، سمعت حبيبي رسول الله عليهما السلام يقول: من أحبّ قوماً حشر معهم، ومن أحبّ عمل قوم أشرك في عملهم. [والذى بعث محمداً بالحقّ نبياً، إنّ نبئي ونبيّة أصحابي على ما مضى عليه الحسين عليهما السلام وأصحابه.] خذني نحو أبيات كوفان.

قال: فلما صرنا في بعض الطريق، قال: يا عطية، هل أوصيك، وما أظنّ أنني بعد هذه السفرة ألاقيك: أحبب محب آل محمد عليهما السلام ما أحبابهم، وأبغض مبغض آل محمد عليهما السلام ما أبغضهم، وإن كان صواماً قواماً.

(92) ‘Atiyyah al-‘Awfi said, “I set out with Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Anṣārī to visit the grave of al-Ḥusayn (a). When we reached Karbalā’, Jābir went to the bank of the Euphrates and bathed himself, then he put on a [fresh] garment and covered himself with another robe. He then opened a pouch that contained some *sud*²⁵ and perfumed his body with it. Then he walked slowly, mentioning the name of Allah, the Exalted, with every step he took, until he came to the grave. He said [to me], ‘Make me touch it.’ So I made him touch it, 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! O Ḥusayn! O Ḥusayn!’ Then he said, ‘Why does a beloved not respond to his beloved? But how will you reply, when your jugular veins have been severed from the base of your neck, and your head has been separated from your body! I bear witness that you are the son of the last of the Prophets, the son of the master of the Legatees, the son of the espouser of piety and the scion of guidance, and the fifth [member] of the People of the Cloak (*ashāb al-kisā’*). You are the son of the master of all chiefs, and the son of Fāṭimah, the foremost among all women. How can you not be so, when you were fed by the hand of the Master of Messengers, raised in the laps of pious individuals, suckled from 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 pleasure of God be upon you! And I bear witness that you traversed on the same path as that which was traversed upon by [your brother] Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā.”

²⁵ *Sud* is a kind of perfume derived from an aromatic plant.

'Atiyyah said, "Then, he looked around the gravesite and said, 'Peace be upon you all, O pure souls who remained at the side of al-Husayn and stood by him. I bear witness that you established the prayer, paid the *zakāt*, enjoined good, forbade evil, and worshipped Allah until you met your deaths. I swear by the One who sent Muḥammad (ṣ) with the truth, we have participated alongside you in that which you undertook.'"

'Atiyyah said, "I asked Jābir ibn 'Abdillāh, 'How did we participate in it with them, when we neither crossed 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 'Atiyyah, I heard my beloved, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), say, "Whoever loves a people shall be raised with them, and whoever loves the actions of a people shall be counted as a participant in their actions." [I swear by He who sent Muḥammad as a Prophet with the truth, my intention and the intention of my companions is no different from the path taken by al-Husayn (a) and his companions.] Now lead me to the houses of the Kūfans.'

Once when we had travelled part of the way, he said, 'O 'Atiyyah, should I give you some advice – for I do not think that I will meet you again after this journey? Always love the one who loves the family of Muḥammad (ṣ) as long as he loves them, and hate the one who hates the family of Muḥammad (ṣ) as long as he hates them, even if he is one who often fasts and spends his nights in worship.'"

(٩٣) عن عوف بن عبد الله الأحمر [الأزدي] قال: لما قتل الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام ونصب رأسه بالكوفة، وبعث به إلى يزيد بن معاوية، ورجع الناس من معسكرهم، وتلاقت الشيعة بالتلاؤم والتندم، ورأى أن قد أخطأوا خطأً كبيراً بدعاء الحسين عليهما السلام إياهم، فلم يجيئوه ولم ينصروه، ورأى أن لا يغسل عنهم

الإثم إلا قتل من قتله أو القتل فيه، ففزعوا إلى خمسة نفر من الشيعة: إلى سليمان بن صرد الخزاعي، وإلى المسيب بن نجدة الفزاري، وإلى عبد الله بن سعد الأزدي، وإلى عبد الله وال من بنى تيم اللات بن ثعلبة، وإلى رفاعة بن شداد البجلي.

ثم إن هؤلاء الخمسة اجتمعوا في دار سليمان بن صرد، فاقتصر الكلبي على أبي مخنف ما تكلّم به القوم، وما اجتمعوا عليه من التوبة من خذلان الحسين ابن علي عليهما السلام والطلب بدمه، فقال عوف بن عبد الله بن الأحمر [الأزدي]: يحرّضهم على الخروج، ويرثي الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام:

صحوت وودعت الصبا والغوانية	وقلت لأصحابي أجيروا المناديا
وقولوا له إذ قام يدعوه إلى الهدى	وقتل العدى: ليك ليك داعيا
وقدوا إلى الأعداء كل مطهم	عيوف وقودوا السانحات المذاكيا
وشدوا له إذ سعر الحرب أزرة	ليجزي أمرؤ يوماً بما كان ساعيا
وسيروا إلى القوم المحلين حسبة	وهرزوا حرباً نحوهم وعوايلها
ألسنا بأصحاب الحرية والأولى	قتلنا بها من كان حيران باعيا
ونحن سمونا لابن هند بجحفل	كرجل الدبا تزجي إليه الدواهيا
فللما التقينا بين الضرب أينما	بصقين كان الأصرع المتفاديا
غداةئذ زرقاً ظماء صواديما	دلقنا فألفينا صدورهم بها
وملنا رجالاً بالسيوف عليهم	نشقّ بها هاماتهم والترافقا
فذدناهم من كل وجه وجانبه	وحزنناهم حوز الرعاء المتاليا
زويناهم حتى أزالـت صفوـفهم	فلـم نر إلا مستـخفـاً وكـابـيا
وحتـى أدـاعـوا بـالـمـصـاحـفـ وـاتـقـوا	بـها دـفـعـاتـ يـحـطـبـنـ الـمحـامـيا

وحَتَّى أَظْلَلتُ مَا أَرَى مِنْ مَعْقُلٍ وَأَصْبَحْتُ الْقَتْلَى جَمِيعاً وَرَائِيَا
 فَدَعْ ذَكْرَ ذَلِيلَ تَيَاسِنَ مِنْ ثَوَابِهِ وَتَبَ وَاعْنَ لِرَحْمَنِ إِنْ كَنْتَ عَانِيَا
 أَلَا وَانْعَ خَيْرَ النَّاسِ جَدَّاً وَوَالَّدَأَ حَسِينَاً لِأَهْلِ الدِّينِ إِنْ كَنْتَ نَاعِيَا
 لِيَكَ حَسِينَاً كَلَّمَا ذَرَ شَارِقَ وَعِنْدَ غَسْوَقِ اللَّيلِ مِنْ كَانَ باكِيَا
 لِيَكَ حَسِينَاً كُلَّ عَانِ وَيَابِسَ وَأَرْمَلَةَ لَمْ تَعْدَ الدَّهْرَ لَاجِيَا
 لِيَكَ حَسِينَاً مِنْ رَعِيَ الدِّينِ وَالْتَّقِيَ وَكَانَ لِتَضَعِيفِ الْمُثَوِّبَةِ رَاجِيَا
 لِيَكَ حَسِينَاً مَمْلُقَ ذُو خَصَاصَةَ عَدِيمٌ وَأَيْتَامٌ تَشْكِيَ الْمَوَالِيَا
 لَحَا اللَّهُ قَوْمًا أَشْخَصُوهُ وَغَرَّرُوا فَلَمْ يَرِيْوْمَ الْبَأْسَ مِنْهُمْ مَحَمِيَا
 وَلَا مَوْفِيًّا بِالْوَعْدِ إِذْ حَمَسَ الْوَغْرِيَ وَلَا زَاجِراً عَنِ الْمُضَلِّيْنَ نَاهِيَا
 وَلَا قَائِلاً: لَا تَقْتُلُوهُ فَتَسْحَطُوا وَمِنْ يَقْتَلُ الزَّاكِيْنَ يَلْقَيُ التَّخَازِيَا
 فَلَمْ يَكِ إِلَّا نَاكِثًا أَوْ مَقَاتِلًا وَذَا فَجْرَةٍ يَسْعَى إِلَيْهِ مَعَادِيَا
 سُوَى عَصَبَةٍ لَمْ يَعْظِمْ الْقَتْلُ عِنْهُمْ يَشْبَهُهَا الرَّاءُونَ أَسْدًا ضَوَارِيَا
 وَقَوْهُ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ وَحْرَ وَجُوهُهُمْ وَبَاعُوا الَّذِي يَفْنِي بِمَا كَانَ باقِيَا
 وَأَضْحَى حَسِينَ لِلرَّمَاحِ دَرِيَّةَ فَغَوْدَرَ مَسْلُوبًا لَدِيِ الطَّافَ ثَاوِيَا
 قَتِيلًاً كَأَنَّ لَمْ يَغْنِ فِي النَّاسِ لِيَلَةً جَزِيَ اللَّهُ قَوْمًا أَسْلَمُوهُ الْمَحَازِيَا
 فِيَا لِيَتَنِي إِذْ ذَاكَ كَنْتَ شَهِيدَتَهِ فَضَارَبَتُ عَنِ الشَّائِئِنَ الْأَعْدَادِيَا
 وَدَافَعْتُ عَنْهِ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ مَجَاهِدًا وَأَعْمَلْتُ سَيْفِي فِيهِمْ وَسَانِيَا
 وَلَكِنْ قَعَدْتُ فِي مَعَاشِ ثَبَطُوا وَكَانَ قَعُودِيَ ضَلَّةَ مِنْ ضَلَالِيَا
 فَإِنْ تَنْسِيَ الْأَيَّامَ مِنْ نَكْبَاتِهَا فَإِنَّي لَنْ أَلْقَى لِيَ الدَّهْرَ نَاسِيَا
 وَيَا لِيَتَنِي غَوَدَرْتُ فِيْمَنْ أَجَابَهِ وَكَنْتُ لَهُ مِنْ مَقْطَعِ السَّيْفِ فَادِيَا
 وَأَهْلِي وَخَلَّاتِي جَمِيعًا وَمَلِيَا

سقى الله قبراً ضمّن المجد والتقي بغرية الطف الغمام الغواديا
 فتى حين سيم الخسف لم يقبل النبي تذلل العزيز أو تجرّ المخازيا
 ولكن مضى لم يملأ الموت نحره فبورك مهدياً شهيداً وهاديا
 فلو أن صدّها نزيل وفاته حصون بلاد والجبال الرواسيا
 لزالت جبال الأرض من عظم فقده وأضحي له الحصن المحسّن خاويما
 وقد كسفت شمس الصبح بمصابه وأضحت له الآفاق حمراً بوادي
 في أمة تاهت وضلت عن الهدى أنيبوا فأرضوا الواحد المتعاليا
 وتوبوا إلى التواب من سوء صنعكم وإلا تتوبوا تلقوا [عقاب] الله عاتيا
 وكونوا شرّاً بالسيوف وبالقنا تفزوا وفدياً من كان شاريا
 وفتیان صدق دون آل نبیهم أصيروا لهم كانوا الولاة الأدانيا
 وإن خوتنا كانوا إذا الليل جنّهم تلوا أطول الفرقان ثم المثانيا
 أصحابهم أهل الشناء والعدى فحّتى متى لا يبعث الجيش غادي
 وحّتى متى لا أعتلي بمهدّد قدّال ابن وفّاص وأدرك ثاويا
 وإنّي زعيم إن تراخت منيّتي بيوم لهم منا يشب النواصيا

(93) ‘Awf ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Aḥmar [al-Azdi] said, “When al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) was killed and his [severed] head was raised in Kūfah, after which it was sent to Yazid ibn Mu‘awiyah, and the people returned [to their homes] from the battlefield, the Shī‘ah began blaming each other and expressing great regret. They realized that they had made a grave mistake by inviting al-Ḥusayn (a) and then not responding to his call or helping him. They also realized that such a sin could not be washed away from them except by killing those who killed him or dying in his cause. So they turned to five individuals among the Shī‘ah: to Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad al-Khuza‘ī, to al-Musayyab ibn Najabah al-Fazārī, to

‘Abdullāh ibn Sa‘d al-Azdī, to ‘Abdullāh of the Banī Taym al-Lāt ibn Tha‘labah, and to Rifā‘ah ibn al-Shaddād al-Bajalī.’

These five individuals then gathered at the house of Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad, then al-Kalbī recounted to Abū Mikhnaf what the group spoke about and what they agreed upon concerning penance for abandoning al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) and avenging his blood. ‘Awf ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Āḥmar [al-Azdī] said, “He motivated them to rise up as he eulogized al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (a) [reciting]:

*I woke up and bade farewell to juvenility and diversion,
and said to my companions: respond to the caller!*

*Say to him when he stands inviting towards guidance,
and killing the enemy: Here I am, Here I am, O caller!*

*Direct towards the enemy every worthy steed,
and drive every stallion towards them from the right.*

*Tighten your belts for the battle when it rages,
for every individual will be rewarded for his striving.*

*Rush towards the location of the enemy with hope for divine reward,
and shake your spears and your lances [thrusting] towards them.*

*Are we not the ones who earned spoils of war and fought in the first
[battles]?*

We killed through them those who were perplexed in their rebellion.

*We looked down at the son of Hind with a legion,
like the leg of a young locust, that is moved with cunning.*

*Yet when we met it became evident by the strike who among us,
at Siffin, was to be brought down through evasion.*

*We drew closer and encountered them thereat,
on the morning, blue and parched with overwhelming thirst.*

*Yet we advanced on foot towards them, striking with our swords,
and slashing with them their heads and throats.*

*We drove them back from every direction and every side,
and encircled them just as herders round up their flocks.*

*We dispersed them until their ranks were broken up,
and we did not see save the one trying to hide and the hopeless.*

*Until they raised up copies of the mushaf and guarded themselves,
through that from the attacks, and resorted to it as an aid.*

*[And] until they betook to what I consider a refuge,
and all the dead were left behind us.*

*So leave aside the memory of that, and lose not hope in its reward,
and repent and humble yourself before the All-Merciful if you are to be
humbled.*

*Also humble yourself before the one who has the best grandfather and
father,*

Husayn, [and] for the people of faith, if you are to be humble.

*Let one weep for Husayn whenever the sun rises,
and as the cover of night spreads [on] whoever cries.*

*Let every captive and forlorn one cry for Husayn,
as well as the widow who lost not but a recourse for all time.*

*Let he who cares about the religion and piety weep for Husayn,
and who hopes for his reward to be multiplied thereby.*

*Let he who is needy and poor weep for Husayn,
and the deprived, and the orphans who always seek a guardian.*

*May Allah destroy the people who sent him back and deceived him,
so he did not see on the day of battle any of them as helpers.*

*Neither were they faithful to the promise when the fighting flared up,
nor did they restrain those who had strayed by forbidding them [from
fighting]*

*None of them said: Do not kill him lest you be punished,
and whoever kills the pure ones meets only disgrace.*

*They were naught but oath-breaker or aggressor,
or one full of wickedness striving to attack him violently.*

*Only a small group did not consider the battle terrifying,
and those who saw them likened them to brave predatory lions.*

*They protected him (al-Husayn) with their hands and the heat [of rage]
on their faces,
and they bought that which is eternal for that which perishes.*

*Husayn became the target of the spears [of the enemy],
betrayed and plundered at al-Taff, and then left there.*

*Slain, as though he was never with the people on any night,
may Allah requite the people who forsook him and punish them.*

*O how I wish I was present there with him,
then I would have struck the spiteful enemies.*

*And defended him, striving to the best of my ability,
using my sword on them as well as my spear.*

*But alas, I sat among a community that was weak and held back,
and this laxness of mine was an error most grave.*

*So if the days [pass by and] make me forget the calamity,
I will still not face time to be one that forgets.*

*O I wish I had proceeded along with those who responded to him,
and had sacrificed myself, in order to save him from the sword.*

*O I wish I had put my own family's life in danger to defend him,
and all my relatives and my friends, as well as my possessions.*

*May Allah bestow upon the grave that encompasses all glory and piety,
with a heavy raincloud, quenching all on the western side of al-Taff.*

*A warrior who, when coerced and compelled, did not accept the option
that would humiliate the honorable or lead to disgrace.*

*Rather, he proceeded and did not falter when faced with death,
so blessed is he as one guided, a martyr, and a guide.*

*If the arrival of his death was to be staved off
by the city fortresses and large mountains.*

*The mountains of the earth would have crumbled due to the greatness of
his loss,*

and for him the strongest fortresses would turn into ruins.

*The noonday sun has turned dark due to his calamity,
and the horizons turned red over the steppes.*

*O nation that has lost its way and strayed from guidance,
turn in repentance and seek the acceptance of the One, the Exalted.*

*And seek forgiveness from the Oft-forgiving from the evil you wrought,
for if you do not repent, you will meet the overwhelming chastisement of
Allah.*

*Be those who deal with the sword and the spear,
you will be successful, as those who dealt with them succeeded.*

*The warriors of truth [who stood] besides the family of their Prophet,
and were struck down while they were the next leaders.*

*Our brothers were such that when the night encompassed them,
they read the long surahs of the Qur'an and then short ones.*

*They were attacked by the people of malice and enmity,
so until when will the army not be sent forth [to avenge them]?*

*And until when will I not rise up with my Indian dagger,
over the back of the head of Ibn Waqqāṣ and strike vengeance?*

*And I am responsible if my courage slackens on the saddle,
on the day when from us the forelocks are raised for [battle against] them.”*

(٩٤) حدثنا هشام بن محمد، قال: لما أجري الماء على قبر الحسين بن علي عليهما نصب بعد أربعين يوماً، وامتحن أثر القبر، فجاء أعرابي منبني أسد، فجعل يأخذ قبضةً ويشمها حتى وقع على قبر الحسين، فشمّه وبكي، وقال: بأبي وأتّي، ما كان أطيفك حيّاً، وأطيب تربتك ميتاً، ثم بكى وأنشأ يقول:

أرادوا ليحفوا قبره عن صديقه وطيب تراب القبر دلّ على القبر

وهو بيت مشهور.

(94) Hishām ibn Muḥammad said, “When water was diverted towards the grave of al-Ḥusayn (a) [in order to flood it], it flowed [over it] for forty days and all signs of the grave were wiped out. Then a bedouin from the Banū Asad came and started taking handfuls of the earth and smelling it until he came upon the grave of al-Ḥusayn. He smelt its fragrance and cried, saying, “May my father and mother be ransomed for you, how fragrant you were when alive and how fragrant the earth of your grave is after your death! Then he cried and recited the following couplet:

*They sought to conceal his grave from his friend,
Yet the fragrance of the grave's earth guided him to the grave.*

And this is a well-known couplet.

(٩٥) عن ابن عباس قال: أوحى الله تعالى إلى محمد عليهما السلام: أنّي قد قلت بمحبتي بن زكريّا سبعين ألفاً، وإني قاتل بابن بنتك سبعين ألفاً وسبعين ألفاً.

(95) Ibn ‘Abbās said, “Allah, the Exalted, revealed to Muḥammad (ṣ): I have killed seventy thousand due to [the unjust killing of] Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā, and I will surely kill seventy thousand of seventy thousand due to [the unjust killing of] the son of your daughter.”

(٩٦) عن جعفر بن محمد، عن أبيه، عن جده عليهما السلام: قال: قال علي عليهما السلام: لَمَّا أخبرني رسول الله عليهما السلام بقتل الحسين وصلب ابنه زيد، قلت: يا رسول الله، ترضى أن يقتل ولدك؟ فقال: يا علي، أرضى عن الله في وفي ولدي. إِنْ لَيْ دُعَوْتَنِي: أَمَا أَحْدَهُمَا فَالْيَوْمَ، وَأَمَا الثَّانِيَةَ فَإِذَا عرَضُوا عَلَى أَعْمَالِهِمْ. ثُمَّ رُفِعَ يَدِيهِ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا عَلِيٌّ، أَمِنْتَ عَلَى دُعَائِي: اللَّهُمَّ أَحْصِهِمْ عدَدًا، وَاقْتُلْهُمْ بَدْدًا، وَسَلِطْ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ، وَامْنَعْهُمُ الشَّرْبَ مِنْ حَوضِي وَمِرْافِقِي. ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا عَلِيٌّ، أَتَانِي جَبَرِيلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَأَنَا أَدْعُو وَأَنْتَ تُؤْمِنُ عَلَى دُعَائِي، فَقَالَ: قَدْ أَجَبْتَ دُعَوْتَكُمَا.

(96) Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad reported from his father, from his grandfather (a) who said, “‘Alī (a) said, ‘When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) informed me about the killing of al-Husayn and the crucifixion of his [grand]son Zayd, I said, “O Messenger of Allah, are you content knowing that your son will be killed?” He said, “O ‘Alī, I am content with whatever Allah has decreed for myself and for my son. Verily, I have two supplications to make – one for today and the other for when they will be shown their deeds [on the Day of Judgment].” Then He raised his hands towards the sky and said, “O ‘Alī, say *āmīn* to my supplication: O Allah, count them one by one and kill them off, being rid of them. Give some of them authority over others, and deny them drink from my pool [in the Hereafter] and my company.” Then he said, “O ‘Alī, Jibrīl (a) came to me while I was supplicating and you were

saying *āmin* to my supplication, and he said, ‘Your supplication has been answered.’””

(٩٧) عن عبد الجبار بن وائل قال: لما خرج الناس إلى الحسين بن علي عليهما رحيل من أهل الكوفة رجل على فرس له شقراء ذنوب، فأقبل على الحسين عليهما يشتمه، فقال له: من أنت؟ فقال: حويزة أو ابن حويزة، قال: اللهم حزه إلى النار. قال: وبين يديه نهر، فذهب ليعبره فزال إسته عن السرج، فمرّ بنا وقد قطعته، فما أبقيت منه إلّا فخذله وساقه وقدميه في الركاب وإحدى خصيتيه، فقلنا: ارجعوا لا نشهد قتل هذا الرجل.

(97) ‘Abd al-Jabbâr ibn Wâ'il said, “When the people went out to al-Husayn ibn ‘Alî (a), one man from Kûfah set out on a fair horse that had a hairy tail. He approached al-Husayn (a) and began hurling abuses at him. So he asked, ‘Who are you?’ The man said, ‘Huwayzah’ or ‘Ibn Huwayzah’. He (a) said, ‘O Allah, take him to the Fire!’ At that moment, there was a river in front of him, so he tried to cross it but his backside came off from the saddle, and he passed by us [with his body] having been severed, and nothing remained of him except his thigh and shank, and his two feet on the stirrups, and one of his testicles. So we said, ‘Turn back, so that we do not witness the death of this man.’”

(٩٨) عن حاجب عبيد الله بن زياد قال: دخلت القصر خلف عبيد الله بن زياد حين قتل الحسين عليهما فاضطرم في وجهه نار، فقال: هكذا بكمه على وجهه. فقال: هل رأيت؟ قلت: نعم. فأمرني أن أكتم.

(98) The doorkeeper of ‘Ubaydullâh ibn Ziyâd said, “I entered the palace behind ‘Ubaydullâh ibn Ziyâd after al-Husayn (a) had been killed, when [suddenly] a flame of fire burst towards his face. So he covered his face with his sleeve like this... Then he asked, ‘Did you see

[that]?' I said, 'Yes.' So he ordered me to keep it a secret [and not inform anyone about it]."

(٩٩) حدثنا الربع بن المنذر الشوري، عن أبيه قال: جاء رجل بشّر الناس بقتل الحسين عليهما السلام فرأيته أعمى يقاد.

(99) Al-Rabi' ibn al-Mundhir al-Thawri narrated to us from this father who said, "A man came to give glad tidings of the killing of al-Husayn (a) to the people, then I [later] saw him blind, being led [by someone]."

(١٠٠) سمعت أبا رجاء يقول: لا تسّبوا علياً ولا أهل هذا البيت. إنّ جاراً لنا من بني الهجميّ قدم من الكوفة فقال: ألم تروا إلى هذا الفاسق بن الفاسق إن الله قتله - يعني الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام - فرمي الله عزوجل بكتين في عينيه فطمس الله عزوجل بصراه.

(100) Abū Rajā' was heard saying, "Do not curse 'Alī, nor any member of this household. We had a neighbor from the Banī Hujaym who once came back from Kūfah and said, 'Did you not see this iniquitous son of an iniquitous father, how Allah killed him!' – referring to al-Husayn ibn 'Alī (a) – so Allah, the Almighty, afflicted him with ailments in both his eyes, and thereby Allah, the Almighty, blotted out his sight."

(١٠١) عن قطبة بن العلاء [بن المنهال الغنووي الكوفي]، قال: كنا في قرية قريباً من قبر الحسين عليهما السلام، فقلنا ما باقي ممن أعن على قتل الحسين إلا قد أصابته بليمة. فقال رجل: أنا والله ممن أعن على قتلها، ما أصابني شيء، فسوّي السراح فأخذت النار في إصبعه، فأدخلها في فيه، وخرج هارباً إلى الفرات، فطرح نفسه في الماء، فجعل يرتمس والنار فوق رأسه، فإذا خرج أخذته النار حتى مات.

(101) Quṭbah ibn al-'Alā' [ibn al-Minhāl al-Ghanawī al-Kūfi] said, "We were in a village that was close to the grave of al-Husayn (a), and we

spoke about how there was no one who helped in the killing of al-Ḥusayn but that he was afflicted by some [form of] tribulation. A man said, ‘By Allah, I was one of those who aided in his killing, yet nothing has befallen me.’ Then he turned on the lamp and its fire burned his finger, so he placed it inside his mouth and ran out towards the Euphrates. He jumped into the water and began immersing himself in it while there was a fire over his head. When he came out, the fire seized him until he died.”

(١٠٢) القاسم بن الأصيغ بن نباتة التميمي قال: لما أخذ برأس الحسين عليهما السلام وبيرؤوس أهل بيته وأصحابه، أقبل الخيل شماطيط معها الرؤوس، وأقبل رجل من أنضر الناس لوناً وأحسنهم وجههاً على فرس أدهم، قد علق في لب فرسه رأس غلام أمرد، كأن وجهه قمر ليلة البدر، فإذا هو قد أطاح الخيط الذي فيه الرأس، والفرس يمرح، فإذا رفع رأسه لحق الرأس بجرانه، فإذا طأطأ رأسه صكَ الرأس الأرض، فسألت عنه، فقيل: هذا حرملة بن الكاهل الأسدي، وهذا رأس العباس بن علي عليهما السلام. فمكث بعد ذلك ما شاء الله، ثم رأيت حرملة وجهه أسود كائناً أدخل النار ثم أخرج، فقلت له: يا عمام، لقد رأيتك في اليوم الذي جئت برأس العباس، وإنك لأنضر العرب وجههاً. فقال: يا بن أخي، ورأيتنني؟ قلت: نعم. قال: فإني والله مذ جئت بذلك الرأس ما من ليلة آوي فيها إلى فراشي إلا وملكان يأتياني فياخذان بضعي ينتهيان بي إلى نار تأجج، فيدفعاني فيها وأننا أنكص عنها فتسقطعني كما ترى.

قال: وكانت عنده امرأة منبني تيم، فسألتها عن ذلك فقالت: أما إذا أ נשى على نفسه فلا يبعد الله غيره، والله ما يوقظني إلا صياحه كأنه مجنون.

(102) Al-Qāsim ibn Aṣbagh ibn Nubātah al-Tamīmī said, “When the head of al-Ḥusayn (a) was taken along with the heads of his family and

companions, different horses advanced with the heads and one man, who was of the fairest complexion and had the most handsome face, came forward on a black horse, with a head of a youth having no hair on his cheeks, with a face like the full moon, hanging from the martingale of his horse. The man had kept the rope that held the head long, and the horse would trot frolicly and when it raised its head, the youth's head would cling to the underside of its neck and when it bowed its head, the youth's head would hit the ground. I asked about him, so someone said, 'This is Ḥarmalah ibn al-Kāhil al-Asadī, and that is the head of al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī (a).' A time – as long as Allah willed – passed and then I saw Ḥarmalah with a face that was black, as though it has been burnt in fire and then removed therefrom. So I said to him, 'O uncle, I saw you on the day when you brought the head of al-'Abbās, and you were the most handsome of all Arabs. [So what happened to you?]' He said, 'O nephew, you saw me then?' I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'By Allah, since the time I brought that head, there has not been a single night when I retire to my bed but that two angels come and seize me by the arm and take me to a blazing fire, throwing me therein as I recoil from it, and it singes me as you can see.'"

He (the narrator) said, "And he had a wife from the Banī Taym, so I asked her about this and she said, 'If he has revealed his state, then may Allah not remove anyone else from His mercy. By Allah, nothing keeps me awake [at night] but his loud cries – as though he is possessed.'"

(١٠٣) عن عمر بن عليّ [بن الحسين عليهما السلام] قال: كان أبي يصلّي من الليل، فإذا أصبح خلقهُ، ثم يدعوا بالسواك، ثم يتوضأ، ثم يدعوا بالغداء فيصيّب منه قبل أن يخرج، فبعث المختار برأس عبيد الله بن زياد وعمر بن سعد، وأمر رسوله أن يتحرّى غداء عليّ بن الحسين عليهما السلام، ففعل رسوله الذي أمره، فدخل الرسول

عليه فوضع الرأسين بين يديه، فلما رآهما خرّ ساجداً لله، وقال: الحمد لله الذي أدرك لي بثأري من عدوّي.

(103) ‘Umar ibn ‘Alî [ibn al-Husayn (a)] said, “My father used to pray during the night, and when the day dawned, he would take a short nap then [wake up and] call for his toothbrush. He then performed ablution and then ask for breakfast to be prepared, of which he would partake before he left the house. Al-Mukhtâr sent the heads of ‘Ubaydullâh ibn Ziyâd and ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d, and instructed his messenger to ascertain the moment when ‘Alî ibn al-Husayn (a) is having his breakfast. The messenger did as he was instructed, and he came to him [at that moment] and placed the two heads in front of him. When he (a) saw them, he fell into prostration before Allah and said, ‘All praise belongs to Allah who allowed me to witness vengeance against my enemy.’”

(١٠٤) عن بشر بن غالب الأَسْدِي - وإِلَيْهِ تَنْسَبْ جَبَانَةُ بَشَرٍ بِالْكُوفَةِ - قَالَ: حَجَجَتْ سَنَةً فَأَتَيْتُ عَلَيَّ بْنَ الْحُسَيْنِ زَائِرًا وَمُسْلِمًا، فَقَالَ لِي: يَا بَشَرُ، أَيْكُمْ حَرْمَلَةُ بْنُ كَاهْلٍ؟ قَلَّتْ: ذَاكَ أَحَدُ بْنِي مُوقَدٍ. قَالَ: أَوْقَدَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ النَّارَ، وَقَطَعَ يَدِيهِ وَرِجْلِيهِ عَاجِلًا غَيْرَ آجِلٍ، فَإِنَّهُ رَمَى صَبِيًّا مِنْ صَبِيَانَنَا بِسَهْمٍ فَذَبَحَهُ.

قال بشر: فخرج المختار بن أبي عبيد وأنا بالكوفة، وإلي لجالس على باب داري إذ أقبل المختار في جماعة كثيرة فسلم علىي، فقلت: أين يريد الأمير؟ فقال: هاهنا فريباً وأعود، فقلت لغلامي: أسرج، فركبت واتبعته، فإذا هو واقف في الكناس - وهي محلّة بني أسد - وقد ثنى رجله على معرفة فرسه، مما لبث أن أطلع قوم معهم حرملاة بن كاهل الأَسْدِي في عقنه حبل، وهو مكتوف اليدين إلى ورائه.

فقال المختار: قطّعوا يديه ورجليه، فوالله ما تمّ الأمر حتّى قطعوا يديه ورجليه، وهو واقف، ثمّ أمر بنفط وقصب، فصبّ عليه النفط، وألقى عليه القصب، وطرح فيها النار فأحرق.

فقلت: لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له. فقال: يا بشر، أنكرت فعلي بحرملة هذا، أنسيت فعله بآل عليّ وموقفه فيهم يوم الحسين، وقد رمى طفلاً للحسين وهو في حجره بسهم؟

فقلت: أيها الأمير، ما أنكرت ذلك، وإنّ هذا قليل في جنب ما أعدّ الله له من عذاب الآخرة الإثم الدائم، ولكنّي أحذث الأمير بشيء ذكرته، يسرّه ويثبت قلبه ويقوّي عزمه. قال: وما هو يا مبارك؟ قلت: حجّدت سنةً، فأتيت على بن الحسين زائراً ومسلماً عليه، فسألني عن حرملة بن كاهيل هذا، فقلت: هو أحدبني موقد النار، فقال: قطع الله يديه ورجليه وأوقد عليه النار عاجلاً غير آجل.

قال: فخرّ المختار ساجداً على قربوس سرجه وكاد أن يطير من السرج فرحاً وسروراً، وقال: الحمد لله، بشّرك الله يا بشر بخير. فلما انصرفنا وصار إلى باب داري، قلت: إن رأى الأمير أن يكرمني بنزوله عندي ويشرّفي بأكله طعامي؟

فقال: سبحان الله وله الحمد، تحدّثني بما حدّثني به عن عليّ بن الحسين عليهما وتسألني الغداء؟ لا والله يا بشر، ما هذا يوم أكل وشرب، هذا يوم صوم وذكر.

(104) Bishr ibn Ghālib al-Asadī, after whom the burial ground of Kūfah is named, said, “I went for pilgrimage one year, and I visited ‘Alī ibn al-Husayn (a) and greeted him. He asked me, ‘O Bishr, who among you is Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil?’ I said, ‘That one, he is from the Banī Mūqid.’ He said, ‘May Allah kindle the fire upon him, and cut off his hands and

legs in this world before the next, for verily he is the one who shot one of our babies with an arrow and slaughtered him.””

Bishr said, “Then al-Mukhtār ibn Abī ‘Ubayd went out [searching for the enemies] while I was in Kūfah. I was seated at the door of my house when al-Mukhtār came towards me surrounded by a large group. He greeted me, and [after replying the greeting] I asked, ‘Where is the Amīr (i.e. al-Mukhtār) heading?’ He said, ‘Somewhere nearby and I shall soon return.’ So I said to my servant boy, ‘Prepare my saddle.’ Then I mounted my horse and followed him. I saw that he had stopped at al-Kinās, which was the area of the Banū Asad, and had folded his legs on the mane of his horse. Not long after, the people came out with Ḥarmalah ibn Kāhil al-Asadī, who had a noose around his neck and his hands were tied behind his back.

Al-Mukhtār said, ‘Cut off his hands and legs!’ By Allah, no sooner had he issued the command than they cut off his hands and legs as he stood. Then he called for oil and sticks to be brought. He poured the oil on him and threw the sticks over him before igniting a fire and burning him [alive].

I said, ‘There is no god but Allah, alone, with no partner!’ So he said, ‘O Bishr, do you disapprove of my doing this to Ḥarmalah? Have you forgotten what he did with the family of ‘Alī and his role on the day of [the battle against] al-Ḥusayn? He was the one who shot al-Ḥusayn’s baby with an arrow while he was in his lap.’

I replied, ‘O Amīr, I do not disapprove of it. In fact, this is little in comparison to what Allah has prepared for him of painful and everlasting punishment in the Hereafter. Rather, I wish to tell the Amīr something that I just remembered, which is sure to please him, make his heart firmer and strengthen his resolve.’ He said, ‘And what is that, O blessed one?’ He said, ‘I went for *hajj* one year, and I visited ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn to pay my respects. He asked me about this [man] Ḥarmalah

ibn Kāhil, and I told him that he is one of the Banī Mūqid. So he said, “May Allah sever his hands and legs, and kindle fire over him, in this world before the next.”

Upon hearing this al-Mukhtār fell prostrate upon the saddle of his horse, and it was as though he was flying from his saddle out of joy and happiness. He said, ‘All praise belongs to Allah! May Allah give you glad tidings O Bishr [just as you brought me glad tidings].’ When we left and I came to the door of my house, I said, ‘If the Amīr sees fit, would he honor me by staying with me and giving me the opportunity of serving him some food to eat?’

He said, ‘Glory be to Allah and praise be to Him. You have narrated to me about what ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (a) said and now you offer me a meal? No, by Allah, O Bishr. Today is not the day of eating or drinking. Today is the day of fasting and worship.’”

(١٠٥) عن عمارة بن عمير قال: لَمَّا جَاءَ بِرَأْسِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ وَأَصْحَابِهِ،
نَصَبَتْ فِي الرَّحْبَةِ فَانْتَهَى إِلَيْهِمْ وَهُمْ يَقُولُونَ: قَدْ جَاءَتْ! قَدْ جَاءَتْ! فَإِذَا حَيَّةٌ قَدْ
جَاءَتْ تَخْلَلُ الرَّؤُوسَ حَتَّى دَخَلَتْ فِي مَنْخَرِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زَيْدٍ، فَمَكَثَتْ هَنِيَّهَةً ثُمَّ
خَرَجَتْ فَذَهَبَتْ. ثُمَّ قَالُوا: قَدْ جَاءَتْ فَفَعَلَتْ ذَلِكَ مَرَّةً أَوْ ثَلَاثَاتًّا.

(105) ‘Umārah ibn ‘Umāyr said, “When the head of ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād and his followers were brought, they were placed in the courtyard, so I went there and heard the people say, ‘It has come! It has come!’ Just then, a snake came slithering between the heads until it entered the nose of ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Ziyād, then it stayed for a short while and then came out [of his head] and left. The people then said, ‘It has come and done this twice or thrice [already].’”

(١٠٦) عن عبد الله بن عباس قال: ينادي مناد يوم القيمة: يا أهل الجمع غضوا
أبصاركم حتى تمر فاطمة بنت محمد عليهما السلام. قال: فتخرج من قبرها ومعها ثياب
تشخب بالدم حتى تنتهي إلى العرش وتقول: يا رب، انتصف لولدي ممن قتلهم.
قال ابن عباس: والله، ليتصفحن الله ممّن قتلهم.

(106) ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās said, “A caller will cry out on the Day of Resurrection, ‘O people of the gathering, lower your gazes so that Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad (ṣ) may pass.’ Then she will come out from her grave and with her will be a cloth soaked in blood. She will proceed until she reaches the Throne, and then she will say, ‘O Lord, exact fair retribution for my son against those who killed him.’”

Ibn ‘Abbās said, “By Allah, Allah will surely punish those who killed him as they deserve [to be punished].”

(١٠٧) سمعت جعفر الخلدي يقول: كان بي جرب عظيم، فتمسحت بتراب قبر
الحسين بن علي عليهما السلام. قال: فغفوت، وانتبهت، فليس عليّ منه شيء.

(107) I heard Ja‘far al-Khuldī say, “I suffered from a large mangy scab [on my skin], so I rubbed it with the earth from the grave of al-Husayn ibn ‘Alī (a), after which I fell asleep and when I woke up, there was no sign of it on me.”

Conclusion

After examining the above narrations, it becomes evidently clear that there are many common teachings between the Zaydī and Imāmī traditions when it comes to the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt (a), the significance of the event of Karbalā’, and the importance of visitation (*ziyārah*). In this treatise, we see many historical accounts regarding the

details of what transpired in Karbalā' and subsequent to it. Some of these accounts differ from what is found in Imāmī sources, and even those of other sects. For instance, the list of martyrs at Karbalā' mentioned in this treatise lacks some names found in other works, and contains others that have not been mentioned elsewhere. Given that this treatise is based on relatively early (5th century) texts, it is valuable as an alternative source which may present accounts from a different perspective, where it differs from the commonly known and accepted narratives.

Indeed, there are some details found in this treatise which we were unable to find anywhere else. Perhaps as more hitherto unpublished works become digitized and available to researchers, we may come across them in the future. For now, however, the unique reports in this work are worthy of study, and it is hoped that this initial translation can be a precursor to a more in-depth study of this treatise and others like it in the future, Godwilling.

All praise belongs to Allah, Lord of the worlds

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