

The Events In Kufah After The Arrival Of Muslim Bin 'Aqil

[Muslim \(as\) Enters Kufah](#)

Muslim (as) continued his journey until he reached Kufah [together with his three companions: Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi, 'Umarah bin 'Ubaid al-Saluli and 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arhabi].¹ [There] he stayed in the house of Mukhtar bin Abi 'Ubaid.²

The Shi'ah began to visit him regularly. When a group of them gathered round him, he read out to them the letter of al-Husayn (as) and they all started weeping.

'Abbas bin Abi Shu'aib al-Shakiri³ got up, praised Allah and then said: "Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah, I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah, I will answer you when you call. I will indeed fight with you against your enemy. I will strike with my sword in defense of you until I meet Allah. I expect nothing from this except what lies with Allah."

Thereafter stood Habib bin MuZahir al-Faq'asi [al-Asadi] and said: "May Allah have mercy on you! You have reflected all that is in your heart by your brief talk." He then said: "By Allah beside whom there is no deity! I stand on the same position as he does." Then al-Hanafi⁴ also said something similar to that.

The Shi'ah visited [Muslim] so frequently that his place [of residence] became well-known and the news reached Nu'man bin Bashir⁵. [So he set out for the mosque] and went up on the pulpit. After praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said:

"O servants of Allah! Fear Allah and do not hasten to dissension (*fitnah*) and discord; for in that men will be destroyed, blood will be shed and property will be plundered... I will not combat one who does not combat me. I will not pounce on the one who does not pounce on me. I will neither reproach you, nor provoke you. I will not apprehend [you merely] on grounds of accusation and suspicion. But if you

displayed your [true] face to me, violate your pledge of allegiance and oppose your leader (*imam*), then by Allah, other than whom there is no deity, I will indeed strike you with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand, even if I do not have any of you to help me! Yet I hope that those among you who know the truth are more numerous than those whom falsehood will destroy.”

‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Sa’id al-Hadhrami⁶ – an ally of the Banu Umayyah– stood up and said: “What you see can only be adequately dealt with by violence; for the view which you hold about what [should be done] between you and your enemy is that of the weak!”

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

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

“Muslim bin ‘Aqil has arrived in Kufah and the Shi‘ah have pledged allegiance to him on behalf of Husayn bin ‘Ali. So if you have any need for Kufah, then send it a strong man, who will carry out your orders and act in the same way as you would against your enemy. Nu’mān bin Bashir is a weak man, or he is acting like a weak man.”

Then ‘Umarah bin ‘Uqbah⁷ wrote to Yazid in similar vein. Then ‘Umar bin Sa’d bin Abi Waqqas⁸

wrote to him in the same.⁹

[Al-Husayn’s Letter to the People of Basrah](#)

Al-Husayn (as) sent a copy of his letter –with his servant Sulaiman¹⁰– to the heads of the five districts of Basrah¹¹ and also to such noblemen as Malik bin Masma’ al-Bakri¹²,

Ahnaf bin Qais¹³

Mundhir bin al-Jarud¹⁴, Mas’ud bin ‘Amru¹⁵,

Qais bin Haitham¹⁶ and ‘Amru bin ‘Ubaidullah bin Mu’ammār. The letter read:

“Allah chose Muhammad (S) over His creation, honoured him with prophethood and chose him to convey His message. Then Allah took him to Himself after he had sincerely admonished the people and conveyed to them what He had sent him with. We are his family, his friends, his trustees and his inheritors. We are more entitled from among the people to his position than any other person is. But our community held onto it to our exclusion and we did not oppose them; [for] we detested disunity and loved the well-being [of the community]. We know that we are more entitled to that position and truly worthy of it than those who have taken it over.¹⁷ They [may] have done well, put things in order and pursued the truth.

I am sending to you my messenger with this letter. I invite you to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Prophet (S). Indeed, the Sunnah has been eradicated (*umitat*) and the innovations (*bid'ah*) have been revived. If you listen to my speech and obey my commands, I will guide you to the right path. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.”

All these noblemen read the letter and concealed its content except for Mundhir bin Jarud. He was afraid, for he thought that [the sending of Sulaiman, the messenger of al-Husayn (as)] might be a conspiracy by 'Ubaidullah. Thus, he came with the messenger to Ibn Ziyad in the evening preceding the day he intended to leave for Kufah, and asked the messenger to read the letter to him. ['Ubaidullah] asked the messenger to come forward and [as he did so,] he put him to the sword.

Ibn Ziyad's Address in Basrah

Ibn Ziyad went on the pulpit of Basrah, praised Allah and glorified Him and said:

“By Allah! The intractable camel (*su'bah*) shall never be coupled with me¹⁸; and I will not let anyone clatter (*qa'qa'ah*) before me¹⁹; I will punish (*la-nakilun*) whoever is hostile towards me²⁰; I will prove to be a poison for whoever fights me; Indeed, the tribe of Qarrah fairly treated the one who shot at them²¹.

O people of Basrah! Verily the commander of the faithful has made me in charge of Kufah and I am departing towards it tomorrow. I am placing 'Uthman bin Ziyad bin Abi Sufyan as my deputy. Beware of opposition and spreading rumours. By Him beside who there is no deity! If I am informed of any opposition from anyone of you, then I shall certainly kill him, and the one who knows him, and his near ones. Verily, I will punish severely for even the slightest act of disobedience until you totally submit to me and there remains among you no opponent or opposer! I am the son of Ziyad; I resemble him [more] than anyone else on this earth; I have not been taken away by similarity to [my] maternal uncle or [my] cousin.”

Ibn Ziyad Enters Kufah

Ibn Ziyad then left Basrah for Kufah together with Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bahili²², Sharik bin al-A'war al-Harithi²³, his attendants and his family members who were around ten men²⁴. He entered Kufah with a black turban on his head, while he had covered his face. The people [of Kufah] had heard that al-Husayn (as) had set out towards them, so they were waiting for his arrival.

When Ibn Ziyad arrived [in the city], they thought that he was al-Husayn (as). He did not pass a group of people without them greeting him by saying: “Welcome to you, O son of the Messenger of Allah! Your arrival is a happy [event].” He saw in their welcoming of al-Husayn (as) something which [greatly] troubled him. He was so angry at what he heard from them that he said: “I wish I could see them in other than this state!” When their number increased, Muslim bin 'Amru [al-Bahili] called out: “Move back! This is the governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad.”

When he entered the palace and the people came to know that he was ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad, they became very sad and grief stricken!²⁵

Ibn Ziyad’s Address Upon His Arrival in Kufah

After he entered the palace, a caller shouted [in the morning of the following day]: “*al-salah jami’atan* [the prayer is a general prayer which all should gather for].” The people gathered and he went out to them. He praised and glorified Allah and said:

“The commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazid] –May Allah correct him– has appointed me over your city and frontier–station. He has ordered me to give justice to the oppressed among you, help the weak, treat the obedient among you with generosity and to be harsh with the disobedient and suspicious among you. I will follow his order with regard to you and execute his command on you. To the good and submissive among you, I will be like a kind father. But my sword and whip shall be for him who disobeys my orders and opposes my commands. So let each man protect himself! ‘True belief (*sidq*) should declare itself on your behalf, not the threat of punishment (*wa’id*).”

Then, he descended from the pulpit and took the group leaders (*‘urafa’*) and the people harshly, and said:

“Write to me the strangers (*ghuraba’*) and those among you who are the seekers of the commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazid], and those among you are the [members of the] Haruriyyah²⁶, and the suspicious ones who [only] think of discord and turmoil. Whoever writes to us in this regard will be free [from harm].

But he who does not write to us anyone, will have to guarantee that there is no opponent in his group (*‘arafah*)²⁷ who will oppose us, and no wrongdoer who will try to wrong us. Anyone who does not do so shall be denied protection and his blood and his property will be permitted to us. Any head of *‘arafah* in whose group is found an opponent of the commander of the faithful whom he has not reported to us, will be crucified at the door of his house. I will abolish the pay (*‘ata’*) of that group and they shall be expelled to a place in ‘Umman al-Zarah.”^{28,29}

Muslim Moves from the House of Mukhtar to that of Hani’

Muslim Moves from the House of Mukhtar to that of Hani’³⁰

Muslim learnt about the arrival of ‘Ubaidullah, about the speech he had made and his treatment of the *‘urafa’* and the people. So he left the house of Mukhtar –where he was now known to be residing– until he reached the house of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah al-Muradi. He entered the door and asked him to come out. Hani’ came out and disliked his presence when he saw him. Muslim said to him: “I have come to you so that you may give me refuge and take me in as a guest.”

Hani’ replied: “May Allah have mercy on you! Indeed, you are excessive in your demands of me! Had it

not been that you have already entered my house and that you are a reliable man, I would have preferred –and asked– you to leave. However, I am now obliged to protect you. Someone like me cannot refuse you shelter out of ignorance. [So] enter.” Thus, he sheltered him.

The Shi‘ah began to visit Muslim in the house of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah.³¹ After Muslim moved to the house of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah and eighteen thousand people paid allegiance to him, he sent a letter to al–Husayn (as) with ‘Abis bin Abi Shabib al–Shakiri³² [saying]:

“Verily, a scout never lies to his people. Eighteen thousand from among the people Kufah have paid allegiance to me, so hasten to us as my letter reaches you; for the people are all with you. They have no liking or inclination to the family of Mu’awiyah. That is all.”

The letter was dispatched twenty–seven nights before he was killed.³³

Ma’qil al–Shami spies on Muslim

Ibn Ziyad summoned his servant called Ma’qil³⁴ and told him: “Take three thousand dirhams with you and search for Muslim bin ‘Aqil and his followers, and give them this money. Tell them: ‘Use it in the war against your enemy’, and let them know that you are one of them. For if you give it to them, they will have confidence in you, trust you and they will not conceal any of their information from you. Thereafter, visit them frequently.”

[Ma’qil] thus came to Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al–Asadi³⁵ at the great mosque and saw him praying. He had heard the people saying that Ibn ‘Awsajah was accepting people’s allegiance for al–Husayn (as). So he waited until he finished his prayers. He then said [to him]: “O servant of Allah, I am from Sham and a servant of Dhu al–Kala’. Allah has blessed me with love for the people of this House [i.e. the family of the Prophet (S)] and love for those who love them. These are three thousand dirhams with which I want to meet a man from them who I have learnt has come to Kufah to receive pledges of allegiance on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (S). I have been wanting to meet him but I have not found anyone who will direct me to him, as his place [of stay] is unknown. I was just now sitting in the mosque and I heard a number of Muslims saying that this is a person who knows the people of this House. Therefore, I have come to you so that you may take this money from me and introduce me to your colleague (*sahib*) so that I may pledge my allegiance to him. If you wish, you may receive my pledge of allegiance to him before I meet him.”

[Muslim bin ‘Awsajah] replied [him]: “I thank Allah that you met me. I am glad that you are going to attain what you wish, and that Allah will help the house of His prophet through you. Yet your knowledge of my connection with this affair before it is finished troubles me, due to [my] fear of this tyrant and his severity.”

Then he received his allegiance before he departed and took a binding oath from him that he would be

sincere and keep the matter concealed. He [in return] gave him whatever would make him satisfied about this. Then [Muslim] told him: “Visit me at my house for some days; for I will seek permission for you [to visit] your master.”

Thereafter, he sought permission for him [from Ibn ‘Aqil] and [Ma’qil] started visiting [Muslim] with other people.³⁶

The Meeting for Planning the Assassination of Ibn Ziyad

Hani’ bin ‘Urwah fell sick and ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad came to see him. ‘Umarah bin ‘Ubaid al–Saluli³⁷ said to Hani’: “[The purpose of] our gathering and plotting is to kill this tyrant. [At present] Allah has given you the upper hand over him, so kill him.”

Hani’ replied: “I do not like him to be killed in my house.” [Ibn Ziyad paid him a visit and] left.

After only a week Sharik bin al–A’war [al–Harithi] got sick. Although Sharik was very kind towards Ibn Ziyad and other heads of state, he was a staunch Shi’ah. Ibn Ziyad sent him a messenger to inform him that he was coming to visit him in the evening. At this [Sharik] told Muslim: “This sinner is going to visit me tonight, so kill him after he takes his seat. Then sit in the palace and there will be no obstacle between you and it. If I get well from my illness in the coming days, [then] I will proceed towards Basrah and save you of its troubles.”

At evening ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] set out to see Sharik [al–Harithi]. Muslim bin ‘Aqil got up to enter [the room] when Sharik said to him: “You must not miss him when he takes his seat.” [Here] Hani’ bin ‘Urwah stood up and said –as if he detested it: “I do not want him to be killed in my house.”

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyad arrived and entered [the house] and took his seat. He inquired from Sharik about his illness and said: “How do you feel?” His queries took long. [When Sharik] saw that [Muslim] is not coming out, he feared that he would miss him and so he began [reciting the following verse]: “What are you waiting for to greet Salma?! Make me drink it even if it were to take my life!” He repeated this twice or three times.

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

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

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

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

[On hearing this] Hani' said: "By Allah! Had you killed him, you would have had certainly killed a corrupt (*fasiq*), sinful (*fajir*), unbelieving (*kafir*) and a treacherous (*ghadir*) person! But I detested him to be killed in my house!"³⁸

Ma'qil Visits Muslim

Ma'qil used to regularly visit Muslim bin 'Awsajah for some days so that he may arrange for him to meet Ibn 'Aqil, until [one day] he took him to [Muslim]. Ma'qil informed him of his condition and [Muslim] received his allegiance and ordered Abu Thumamah al-Saidi³⁹ to collect the money that Ma'qil had brought with him. Thereafter, Ma'qil would consistently visit them. He would be the first [to enter] and the last to leave. He would hear all their news and take note of all their secrets and he would then go and inform Ibn Ziyad of that.⁴⁰

Ibn Ziyad Inquires About Hani'

Ibn Ziyad said to his courtiers: "How is it that I do not see Hani'?" They replied: "He is ill." 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] then summoned Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath⁴¹,

Asma' bin Kharijah⁴² and 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj⁴³ –whose sister Raw'ah was Hani's wife– and told them: "What prevents Hani bin 'Urwah from visiting us?"

They said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! We do not know, but he is complaining (*la-yatashakka*)⁴⁴."

So Ibn Ziyad said: "I have heard that he has recovered and is [usually] seen sitting at the door of his house. Go to see him and enjoin him not to abandon his duty towards us; for I do not like an Arab nobleman like him to spoil [his reputation] with me."⁴⁵

Hani' Summoned to Ibn Ziyad

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

Hani' replied: "[My] illness stops me."

So they said to him: "He has heard that you sit at the door of your house every evening. He finds you tardy; and tardiness and churlish behaviour are things which the authorities will not tolerate. We adjure you to ride with us."

So Hani' called for his clothes and got dressed. Then he called for his mule and mounted it. [They rode] until when he got near the palace, he began to feel some apprehension. He said to Hassan bin Kharijah:

“O my nephew! By Allah, I am afraid of this man! What do you think?” He answered: “O my uncle! By Allah, I do not fear anything for you. Why are you becoming suspicious while you are innocent?”

So they entered onto Ibn Ziyad and so did Hani'. When he appeared [before Ibn Ziyad, he] said [to himself]: “The fool’s legs have brought him to you.”⁴⁶ When [Hani'] came closer to Ibn Ziyad, while Shuraih al-Qadhi was present too⁴⁷, he turned towards [Hani'] and recited:

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

The one who makes excuses to you is one of your own friends from the [Banu] Murad.”⁴⁸

Hani' in the Presence of Ibn Ziyad

Hani' said to Ibn Ziyad: “What is that, O governor?”

Ibn Ziyad replied: “Yes, O Hani' bin 'Urwah! What are these matters going on in your house against the commander of the faithful and the Muslim community? You have brought Muslim bin 'Aqil and taken him to your house. You have gathered arms and men for him in houses around you. You thought that was hidden from me!”

[Hani'] said: “I have not done that and Muslim is not with me.”

[Ibn Ziyad] said: “Oh yes, you have done that!”

[Hani'] said: “I have not.”

[Ibn Ziyad] said: “Indeed, you have.”

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

Ma'qil replied: “Yes.”

Here Hani' realized that he was a spy against them and that he has given all the information to him. So [Hani'] said to [Ibn Ziyad]: “Listen to me and believe me; for by Allah, I will not lie to you. I swear by Allah beside whom there is no deity, I did not summon him to my house. I did not know anything about his affair until I saw him sitting at my door, asking to stay with me. I was ashamed to refuse him and the duty of giving him protection fell upon me. Therefore, I received him in my house and gave him lodging and refuge. Then his affair developed as you have been informed. If you wish, I will give you strongly sworn testaments and that which will make you satisfied that I will not do you any harm. If you wish, I will give you a guarantee which will be in your hand until I return to you. Then I will go to him and order him to leave my house for wherever in the land he wants to go. Thus, I would come out of my duty to protect

him and to give him refuge.”

[Ibn Ziyad] said: “Never by Allah. You will not leave me unless you bring him to me!”

[Hani’] said: “By Allah, I will never bring him to you! Should I bring my guest to you in order for you to kill him?!”

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

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

After their argument went on for some time, Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bahili stood up and said: “May Allah make the governor among the righteous! Allow me to talk to him.” He then said to Hani’: ‘Come to me this way I want to talk to you.’ So Hani’ got up and moved with him to the side of Ibn Ziyad. They were [standing] where he could see them, such that if they raised their voices he could hear what they were saying, and if they lowered their voices he could not.

Muslim [bin ‘Amru al-Bahili] then said to him: “O Hani’! I adjure you before Allah not to kill yourself and bring tribulation on your people and kinsmen! By Allah! I hold you too precious to be killed. This man [i.e. Muslim bin Aqil] is the cousin of these people [i.e. the Banu Umayyah]; they will not kill him nor harm him. So hand him over to him. There will be no shame and failure for you by that, for you would only be handing him over to the ruler.”

Hani’ replied: “Indeed, by Allah, there will be shame and disgrace for me in doing that. Were I to hand over one who has come under my protection and is my guest, while I am still alive and sound, I can hear and see well, and have a strong arm and many supporters! By Allah! If I was the only one without any helper, I would not hand him over to him until I had died on his behalf.”

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

Ibn Ziyad heard that, so he said: “Bring him closer to me.” So they brought him closer. He then said: “By Allah, either bring him to me, or I will have your head cut off!”

“[If you do so] then there will be much flashing [of swords] around your house”⁴⁹, replied Hani’, thinking that his tribesmen were listening him.

[Ibn Ziyad] said: “What a pity! Do you frighten me with the flashing [of swords]? Bring him nearer to me.” Thus, he was brought [nearer]. He then began hitting his face with a staff and continued striking his nose, forehead and cheeks to the extent that he broke his nose and blood flowed on his clothes, and the flesh of his cheek and forehead was sprinkled over his beard. [He hit him] till the cane broke.

[At this] Hani’ stretched out his hand towards the hilt of the sword of one of the armed attendants but the

guard pulled it away and prevented him.

‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] said: “Have you become a Haruri today?⁵⁰ You have made your blood permissible [to us] and it is now lawful for us to kill you. Throw him into one of the rooms of this building and lock him up and keep a guard over him.” Accordingly, all that was done to him.

Asma’ bin Kharijah stood up and said [to Ibn Ziyad]: “Have we become the messengers of treachery today? You ordered us to bring this man, but when we brought him, you [started] smashing his face till blood ran over his beard and you thought of killing him!”

‘Ubaidullah replied him: “You will be for it here [and now]!” He then ordered his men to take him, so he was beaten (*luhiza*) and harshly taken away (*tu’ta’ a bihi*).⁵¹ He was then imprisoned.

As for Muhammad bin Ash’ath, he remarked: “We give consent to the governor’s decision, be it in our favour or against us. Indeed, the governor is taking [only] disciplinary action (*mu’addib*).⁵² Then he went near Ibn Ziyad and said to him:

“Verily, you know the position of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah in the city and among his clansmen. His people are aware that my companion and I have brought him to you. So I adjure you –by Allah– to hand him over to me; for I dislike the enmity of his kinsmen, as they are the most powerful people in the city and they comprise a good number of the people of Yemen in the city.⁵³

Ibn Ziyad promised him to do so.⁵⁴

[Meanwhile] ‘Amru bin Hajjaj heard that Hani’ has been killed. So he set out with a large number of people from the Madhhij and surrounded the palace. Then he called out: “I am ‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj, and these are the knights of Madhhij and their leading men. [They] have not broken away from obedience, nor [have they] separated from the community! [But] they have been informed that their companion has been killed and so they regarded it as a great crime.”

‘Ubaidullah was informed that Madhhij were at the gate. So he said to Shuraih al-Qadhi: “Go and see their companion [i.e. Hani’], then inform them that he is alive and has not been killed, and that you have seen him.”⁵⁵

[Shuraih] says: “I went to see Hani’, and when he saw me he said: ‘O Allah and O the Muslims! Has my clan been destroyed! Where are the people (*ahl*) of religion! Where are the people of the city! They have gone and have left me alone with their enemy and the son of their enemy! –He said this with blood flowing down his beard. Just then [Hani’] heard the tumult at the gate of the palace. So I [i.e. Shuraih] came out and he followed me saying: ‘O Shuraih! I think these are the voices of Madhhij and my followers among the Muslims! If [only] ten of them reached me, they would rescue me.”

Shuraih says: “I came out to them with Hamid bin Bukair al-Ahmari⁵⁶ –who accompanied me on the order of Ibn Ziyad and was among his bodyguards. When I came out to them I said: “When the governor

was informed about your stance and demand concerning your companion, he ordered me to go and see him, so I went to see him. He then asked me to inform you that he is [still] alive and that the report that he had been killed is false.”

[On hearing this,] ‘Amru [bin al-Hajjaj] and his companions said: “Praise be to Allah since he has not been killed.” Then they went away.⁵⁷

[Ibn Ziyad’s Speech After Hani’s Arrest](#)

‘Ubaidullah feared that people might rise against him. So he went out [to the mosque] accompanied by the noblemen [of the city], his bodyguards and slaves. He went on the pulpit, praised and glorified Allah, and then he said:

“O people! Hold fast onto the obedience of Allah and the obedience of your leaders. Do not differ or become divided, for you will be destroyed, humiliated, killed or harshly treated and deprived! Your brother is [only] he who speaks the truth to you! Indeed, he who warns [from the outset] is excused.”⁵⁸

[The Rise of Muslim](#)

Muslim bin ‘Aqil sent ‘Abdullah bin Khazim as his messenger to the palace to follow up the issue of Hani’. He said: “When [Hani’] was beaten and imprisoned, I mounted my horse and I was the first of the members of the house to bring the information to Muslim bin ‘Aqil. There the women of Murad had gathered crying out: ‘O the kinsmen [of Hani’]! O bereavement of him!’ I went in to see Muslim bin ‘Aqil and gave him the news of Hani’. So he ordered me to announce to his companions: ‘O the helped one! Kill [your enemy]!’⁵⁹ This was at a time when the houses around him were filled with [Muslim’s] followers and eighteen thousand people had [already] paid allegiance to him, four thousand [of them] were present in the houses. So I called out: “*Ya mansur amit!*”, and the people of Kufah called one another and [soon] they gathered around him.

Muslim (as) prepared a banner for ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Amru bin ‘Aziz al-Kindi to lead the quarter of Kindah and Rabi’ah and said: “Move ahead of me with your horses.” He then issued a banner to Muslim bin ‘Awsajah al-Asadi to lead the quarter of Madhhij and Asad and said: ‘Accompany the foot soldiers; you are their head.” He then issued one to Abu Thumamah al-Saidi to lead the quarter of Tamim and Hamdan and the fourth to ‘Abbas bin Ju’dah al-Judali⁶⁰ as the leader of the quarter of the people of Madinah. Muslim [himself] was moving amidst the people from [the] Murad.

[The Coming of the Noblemen to Ibn Ziyad](#)

The noblemen started coming to Ibn Ziyad through the door which adjoined the building of the Romans.⁶¹ ‘Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] summoned Kathir bin Shihab bin al-Husayn al-Harithi⁶² and ordered him to go out among those [men] of Madhhij who obeyed him and to go round Kufah and [try to] make

the people desert Ibn ‘Aqil, make them afraid of the [possibility of] war and threaten them with the punishment of the authorities.

He ordered Muhammad bin Ash’ath to go with those among the Kindah and Hadhramaut who were following him and to raise the banner of protection for those who joined him. Ibn Ziyad gave similar instructions to Qa’qa’ bin Shaur al-Dhuhali⁶³, Shabath bin Rib’i al-Tamimi, Hajjar bin Abjar al-‘Ijli and Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan al-‘Amiri.^{64,65} He gave Shabath bin Rib’i the banner and said to him:

“Go amidst the people and give [glad tidings] to the obedient of increase [in their stipends] and kindness; and threaten the disobedient of deprivation and punishment, and inform them that the army of Sham has [already] advanced towards them.”⁶⁶

The Noblemen Come Out With Banners of Protection

Kathir bin Shihab addressed the people first saying:

“O people! Return to your families; do not hasten to evil and do not expose yourselves to death. The army of the commander of the faithful, Yazid, are approaching. The governor has given Allah a promise that if you persist in fighting him and do not go away by nightfall, he will deprive your children of their [right to] state allotment of money (‘*ata*’) and he will scatter your soldiers in Syrian campaigns without any greed.⁶⁷ He will hold the healthy among you responsible for the sick and those present responsible for those who are absent until none of those rebellious people will remain who has not tasted the evil consequences of what their hands have earned.”

The noblemen also talked in similar vein. When the people heard what they said, they began dispersing.⁶⁸ [Such that] women would come to their sons and brothers saying: “Go, the people will be enough [without] you.” Men were going to their sons and brothers and saying: “Tomorrow, the [army] of Sham will come against you, so what are you going to do with the war and the evil? Go away!” Thus he would be taken.⁶⁹

Muhammad bin al-Ash’ath went out till he stopped at the houses of the Banu ‘Umarah. ‘Umarah bin Salkhab al-Azdi came to him while he was armed and intending to go to Ibn ‘Aqil, but [Muhammad] arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyad where he was imprisoned.

[Thereafter,] Muslim bin ‘Aqil sent ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Shuraih al-Shabami⁷⁰ from the mosque [together with a large number of people] to fight [Ibn al-Ash’ath].

[Qa’qa’ bin Shaur al-Dhuhali attacked Muslim and his companions from a place in Kufah known as al-‘Irar⁷¹] and sent [someone] to inform Muhammad bin al-Ash’ath [that]: “I have attacked Ibn ‘Aqil from ‘Irar and he has retreated from his position.”⁷²

[Shabath bin Rib’i [also] fought them saying: “Wait till the night falls and they will all disperse”. Qa’qa’

bin Shaur said to him: “You have obstructed the way for the people; open it for them and they shall [all] leave”].[73](#)

The Loneliness of Muslim

Abbas al-Jadali says: “We came out with Ibn ‘Aqil while we were four thousand [men altogether], and before we [even] reached the palace our number fell to three hundred.[74](#) The people continued dispersing and scattering until the evening when Ibn ‘Aqil was left with only thirty men in the mosque. Thus, there were only thirty people who prayed with Ibn ‘Aqil.

When he saw this, he came out heading for the gates of Kindah. He reached the gates with only ten of them [left] with him. Then he left the gate with no one beside him. He looked around but could see no one to guide him along the road, to show him to his house or assist him if an enemy appeared before him.

He wandered amid the lanes of Kufah without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses of the Banu Jabalah of Kindah. He went on until he came to a door of a lady called Taw’ah. She had been a slave-wife (*umm walad*) of Ash’ath bin Qais[75](#)

who had freed her. Then she was married by Usaid al-Hadhrami[76](#) and borne him [a son called] Bilal. Bilal had gone out with the people and his mother was standing [at the door] waiting for him.

Ibn ‘Aqil greeted her and she returned the greeting. He said to her: “O servant of Allah! Give me water to drink.” She entered the house and gave him a drink and he sat down. She took the vessel inside and then came out [again].

She said: “O servant of Allah! Have you not had your drink?”

He said: “Yes.”

She said: “Then go to your people.” But he was silent. She repeated it but he was [still] silent. Then she said to him: “Fear Allah with respect to me! Glory be to Allah, O servant of Allah! Go to your people, may Allah protect you. For it is not right for you to sit at my door and I will not permit you to do it.”

He stood up and said: “O servant of Allah! I have neither house nor kinsmen in this town. Would you show me generosity and kindness? Perhaps I will be able to repay it after this day?”

She said: “O Servant of Allah! What is it?”

He said: “I am Muslim bin ‘Aqil. These people have lied to me and deceived me.”

She said: “You are Muslim?!”

He said: “Yes.”

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

Soon her son returned. He saw her frequently going in and out of that room. He said: “By Allah! Your constantly going into and coming out of that room this evening makes me suspect. There is something [there].”

She said: “O my son, forget about this.”

He said: “By Allah, you must tell me!”

She replied: “Go on with your own business and do not ask me about anything.” But he insisted to her until she said: “O my son! Do not tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you.” She took from him an oath and he swore [not to do so]. Then she informed him. He went to bed without saying anything.⁷⁷

The Stand of Ibn Ziyad

A long time passed for Ibn Ziyad without him hearing the [voices of the] supporters of Ibn ‘Aqil as he heard them before. He said to his followers: “[Go and] look down at them. See whether you can see any of them?”

They looked down but did not see anyone. He said: “See whether they are in the shadows and are lying in ambush for you.”

They [went] taking refuge in the corridors of the mosque. They began to lower the torches of fire in their hands and then look whether there is anyone in the shadows. Sometimes the torches gave light for them and sometimes they did not give [as much] light for them as they would have wished. So they let down the torches and sticks of cane tied with rope on which was fire. They were let down until they reached the ground. They did this in [places in which was] the deepest darkness, [as well as] those parts which were closer and those which were in between. They [also] did that in the darkness around the pulpit. When they saw that there was nothing, they informed Ibn Ziyad [that the people had dispersed].

Then he ordered his scribe, ‘Amru bin Nafi’,⁷⁸ to announce [saying]:

“There is no guarantee of security for any man of the bodyguards, or the group leaders (*‘urafa’*), the supporters and the fighters who prayed the night prayers (*‘isha’*) anywhere else except in the mosque.”

It did not take an hour before the mosque was filled with the people. Husayn bin Tamim [al-Tamimi] – the chief of his bodyguards–⁷⁹ said to Ibn Ziyad: “If you wish, you can lead the people in prayers, or someone else can lead them; for I fear that some of your enemies may attempt to assassinate you!”

He said: “Order my guards to stand behind me as they used to do and you should keep a watch on them.” Then he opened the gateway which [went] into the mosque. He came out together with his followers. [He entered the mosque] and led the people [in prayers].

Ibn Ziyad’s Address after Muslim had Remained Alone

[Thereafter,] Ibn Ziyad went on the pulpit, praised Allah and said:

“Ibn ‘Aqil –that fool and ignorant– has caused [all] these differences and discord that you have seen! There will be no security from Allah for a man in whose house we find him. Whoever brings him, will have [the equivalent of] his blood–money. Fear Allah, [O] servants of Allah! And keep to obedience and your pledge of allegiance. Do not do anything which will be against yourselves.

O Husayn bin Tamim! May your mother mourn you, if any of the gates of the lanes of Kufah is open, or this man gets away and you do not bring him to me! I give you authority over the houses of the people of Kufah! Send guards to [keep watch over] the openings of the streets. Tomorrow morning clear out [the people from] the houses and search them thoroughly so that you bring me this man!”

Ibn Ziyad in Pursuit of Muslim

Ibn Ziyad then descended [the pulpit] and went [inside the palace]. He gave a banner to ‘Amru bin Huraith⁸⁰ and appointed him over the people⁸¹, and ordered him to raise [the banner of safe–conduct] for the people in the mosque.

The news of Muslim’s rise reached Mukhtar bin Abi ‘Ubaid while he was in his village called Laqafa at Khutraniyyah. Mukhtar was among those people of Kufah who paid allegiance to Muslim and was sincere to him such that he even invited his followers to obey him. [After he received the news,] he set out for Kufah together with his followers and reached the gate of al–Fil in the evening. This was at a time when ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad had already appointed ‘Amru bin Huraith as the in charge over the people.

While Mukhtar was at bab al–Fil, Hani’ bin Abi Hayyah al–Wada’i⁸² passed by and said to Mukhtar: “Why are you standing here?! You are neither with the people nor in your house.”

Mukhtar replied: “I am shocked at the gravity of your crime.”

Hani’ said: “By Allah! I think you are going to kill yourself.” [He said this] and proceeded towards ‘Amru bin Huraith and informed him about Mukhtar.⁸³

The Stand of Mukhtar

‘Abd al–Rahman bin Abi ‘Umair al–Thaqafi⁸⁴ says: “I was sitting in the company of ‘Amru bin Huraith when Hani’ bin Abi Hayyah informed him of Mukhtar’s statement. [On hearing this,] Ibn Huraith said to

me: ‘Go to your uncle and inform him that the whereabouts of his companion [i.e. Muslim bin ‘Aqil] are not known, so he should not complicate things for himself.’ As I was leaving, Zaidah bin Qudamah bin Mas’ud⁸⁵ stood up and said to [Ibn Huraith]: ‘Will he be safe if he comes to you?’ ‘Amru bin Huraith replied: ‘He is safe on my side. If anything about his affair reaches ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad, [then] I shall give witness before him in his favour and intercede on his behalf.’ Za’idah said: “In this case we hope for the best, by the will of Allah.”

‘Abd al-Rahman says: “I went out to see Mukhtar along with Zaidah and informed him [of our conversation with Ibn Huraith] and adjured him by Allah that he should not act in a way that he could be accused. So Mukhtar [accepted and] went to see Ibn Huraith and greeted him and stayed under his protection till morning.”⁸⁶

Kathir [bin Shihab al-Harithi] happened to see a man from the tribe of Kalb –who was known as ‘Abd al-A’la bin Yazid– in Banu Fityan [an area in Kufah]. He had taken up arms with him, looking for Ibn ‘Aqil. Kathir caught him and took him to Ibn Ziyad and informed him about his intention. He said to [Ibn Ziyad]: “I only intended [to join] you!” He said [mockingly]: “And you had, indeed, promised me that!” Then he ordered him to be imprisoned.⁸⁷

Muslim’s Hiding Place Disclosed

In the morning, Ibn Ziyad took his seat and allowed the people to come and see him. [When] Muhammad bin Ash’ath entered, Ibn Ziyad said: “Welcome to one whose [loyalty] is above suspicion and accusation!” Then he sat him by his side.

The son of that old woman who provided shelter to Muslim bin ‘Aqil, that is Bilal bin Usaid, went to Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash’ath in the morning and told him that Ibn ‘Aqil was with his mother. So ‘Abd al-Rahman went to his father who was with Ibn Ziyad and whispered the news to him.

Ibn Ziyad asked him: “What did he tell you?”

He replied: “He has informed me that Ibn ‘Aqil is [hiding] in one of the houses of our [tribe].”

“Go and bring him to me immediately”, said Ibn Ziyad, poking a cane into his side. ⁸⁸

The Move to Arrest Muslim

[Ibn Ziyad] sent an order to ‘Amru bin Huraith –his representative in the mosque– that he should dispatch sixty or seventy men from the tribe of Qais [to accompany Ibn Ash’ath]. [The reason being that] Ibn Ziyad disliked sending Ash’ath’s Kinsmen⁸⁹ with him, for he well knew that every tribe detested a person like Ibn ‘Aqil to be arrested by them. So Ibn Huraith sent ‘Amru bin ‘Ubaid bin ‘Abbas al-Sulami to accompany Ibn Ash’ath with [around] sixty or seventy men from Qais and they [proceeded] until they reached the house where Ibn ‘Aqil was hiding.

Muslim Fights Ibn Ash'ath

When [Muslim (as)] heard the [voices of the] hooves of the horses and voices of the men, he understood that they have come [to arrest him]. [As] he went out to face them with his sword, they forced their way into the house. He severely resisted, striking them with his sword until he drove them out of the house. They repeated the attack and he counter-attacked in the same way.

Bukair [bin Hamran al-Ahmari al-Shami] struck Muslim's mouth, cutting his upper lip and slicing down to the lower lip to knock out two of his front teeth. Muslim struck him a terrible blow on his head and repeated it again, severing a nerve along his shoulder with a blow which almost reached his stomach.

Muslim Attacked with Stones and Fire

When they saw this, they [went up and] looked down on him from the rooftop of the house. They began throwing stones at him and to light canes of wood with fire which they threw on him from the top of the house. When [Muslim (as)] saw this, he went out against them into the lane with his sword unsheathed.

Muhammad bin Ash'ath came forward and said to him: "O young man! You are given security, do not kill yourself." But he continued to fight against them saying:

I have taken an oath that I will only be killed as a free man, although I see death as a detestable thing.

Every man one day will meet evil, as the pleasant and easy [situation] gets mixed up with difficulty and bitterness.

The heart is at peace [now] after being terrified⁹⁰, [but] I fear that I will be cheated and deluded.

Muslim Taken as a Prisoner

Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath said to him: "You shall not be lied to or deceived or cheated; for these people [i.e. the Banu Umayyah] are your cousins, they will not fight against you or strike you."

[Muslim] was [now] exhausted as a result of constant hail of stones and was unable to fight. [So he paused to rest] and leaned with his back to the wall of the house. Muhammad bin Ash'ath called out to him: "You are granted protection."

So [Muslim] asked: "Am I granted security?"

Ibn Ash'ath replied: "Yes" and the people with him said: "[Yes] you are in safety."

Ibn 'Aqil said: "If it was not for this security that you have granted me, I would not have put my hand in yours." [Here it becomes apparent that he surrendered himself because of the protection he was

granted].

A mule was brought and he was sat on it. They gathered around him and pulled away his sword from his neck, as if he was in despair for his life and his eyes filled with tears. He said: “This is the beginning of the deception.”

Muhammad bin Ash’ath answered: “I hope no difficulty falls upon you.”

“Is it just a hope, where is your protection?! ‘Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return!’”, he retorted as he wept.

‘Amru bin ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Abbas [al–Sulami –the one who led the soldiers to capture Ibn ‘Aqil] said to him: “One who has sought for the like of what you have sought for, would not weep when there befalls him what has befallen you.”

Muslim replied: “By Allah! I am indeed not weeping for myself, nor am I lamenting for my own death, even though I have not the slightest desire for destruction. But I am weeping for my family who are coming to me, I am weeping for al–Husayn and the family of al–Husayn (as).”

Muslim’s Will to Ibn al–Ash’ath

Then he went to Muhammad bin Ash’ath and said: “O Servant of Allah! By Allah, I can see that you are unable to grant me protection. Yet do you have the goodness to be able to send one of your men to inform al–Husayn on my behalf? For I have no doubt that he has [already] set out towards you today, or will be setting out tomorrow with his family members. The anxiety you witness in me is only because of this. [The messenger] should say: “Ibn ‘Aqil has sent me to you. He is a prisoner in the hands of the people and he does not expect to see the evening before he is killed. He says: ‘Return with your household and do not let the people of Kufah tempt you! For they were the followers of your father who desired separation from them through death or murder! The people of Kufah have lied to you and me. [Indeed,] a person who has been lied to has no say!”

Ibn Ash’ath said: “By Allah! I will do that and I will inform Ibn Ziyad that I have given you a guarantee of security.”[91](#)

Muslim at the Gate of the Palace

Muhammad bin Ash’ath went with Ibn ‘Aqil to the gate of the palace while he was thirsty. There were [already] some people sitting there waiting for the permission to enter. Among them were ‘Umara bin ‘Uqbah bin Abi Mu’ti’, ‘Amru bin Huraith, Muslim bin ‘Amru and Kathir bin Shihab.[92](#)

There was a jug of cold water placed at the doorway. Ibn ‘Aqil said: “Give me a drink of this water.”

Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-Bahili] said to him: “Do you see how cold it is! By Allah, you will never taste a drop of it until you taste the boiling water (*hamim*) in the Hell fire!”

[Muslim] said: “Woe on you! Who are you?”

Al-Bahili replied: “I am the one⁹³ who recognized the truth when you denied it; who was sincere to his leader (*imam*) while you deceived him, who listened and obeyed him when you disobeyed and opposed him! I am Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bahili!”

Ibn ‘Aqil retorted: “May your mother weep at the sorrow of your death! How coarse you are, how rough and hard your heart is. O Son of Bahilah, you are more appropriate for the boiling water of the hell fire and to remain there forever than I am!”

Then he sat down resting his back against the wall. ‘Amru bin Huraith [al-Makhzumi] sent his slave called Sulaiman and he brought [some] water in a pitcher⁹⁴ with a napkin on it and a cup. He poured water into it and gave him to drink. But whenever he went to drink, the cup filled with blood. When he filled the cup for the third time and went to drink, his front teeth fell into the cup. So he said: “All praise is due to Allah! If it was part of my decreed provision, I would have [indeed] drunk it.”⁹⁵

[Ibn al-Ash’ath] asked permission to enter and it was given to him.⁹⁶ Muslim was brought before Ibn Ziyad but did not greet him. So a guard said to him: “Will you not salute the governor?”

[Muslim] replied: “If he wants to kill me, then what is [the point of] greeting him with words of peace?! But if he does not want to kill me, then –by my life– my greetings [of peace] to him would be profuse.”

Ibn Ziyad then said to him: “By my life, you will surely be killed!”

He said: “Is it so?”

He replied: “Yes.”

He said: “Then let me make a will to some of my tribesmen.”

Muslim’s Will to ‘Umar bin Sa’d

So he looked at the people who were seated with ‘Ubaidullah and among them was ‘Umar bin Sa’d. So he called out: “O ‘Umar! Indeed there is kinship between you and me⁹⁷ and I have need of you. I have a right on you that you should fulfill my request, but it is a secret.” [But ‘Umar bin Sa’d] refused to listen to him.

So ‘Ubaidullah told him: “Do not refuse to consider the need of your cousin.”

So ‘Umar got up with him and sat where Ibn Ziyad could see him. [Ibn ‘Aqil said]: “I have a debt in

Kufah. I have borrowed seven hundred dirhams since I arrived in Kufah, [please] repay it on my behalf. Ask Ibn Ziyad to give you my corpse [after I have been killed] and bury it. Send someone to al-Husayn (as) to send him back. For I have written to him telling him that the people are with him, and now I can only think that he is coming.”⁹⁸

Muslim in the Presence of Ibn Ziyad

Then Ibn Ziyad said: “Yes, Ibn ‘Aqil! You came to the people while they were united in order to scatter them and divide their opinions so that some of them may attack others?!”

He replied: “Never! I did not come for that, but [because] the people of the city claimed that your father had killed their best men and shed their blood and that he ruled over them the rule of Choesroe and Caesar. We came to them to enjoin justice and invite [them] to the rule (*hukm*) by the Book [of Allah].”

Ibn Ziyad retorted: “O sinner! What are you [to do] with that! Did not we do that when you were in Madinah drinking wine!”

Ibn ‘Aqil exclaimed: “Me, drink wine! By Allah, verily, Allah knows that you are not speaking the truth and you have spoken without any knowledge and that I am not like you have said. [He knows] that the more deserving [to be accused] of drinking wine than me and the more entitled to that, is you who laps the blood of Muslims, kills the soul which Allah has forbidden, kills innocent people, sheds sacred blood and kills out of rage, enmity and suspicion, while he is indulged in play and sport as if he has done nothing [wrong]!”

Ibn Ziyad [angrily] said: “O sinner! Your soul is making you desire that [i.e. caliphate] which Allah has deprived you of and did not regard you worthy of it.”

He said: “Who is worthy of it, O Ibn Ziyad?”

He answered: “Yazid, the commander of the faithful.”

Ibn ‘Aqil said: “Praise is due to Allah in all conditions. We accept Allah as a judge between you and us.”

Ibn Ziyad said: “As if you assume that you have a right to it!”

He replied: “By Allah, it is not an assumption (*Zann*) but a conviction!”

Ibn Ziyad said: “May Allah kill me, if I do not kill you in a manner that no one in Islam has been killed before!”

He said: “You will never abandon evil murder, wicked punishment, shameful practice, and avaricious domination to anyone [else], as no one among the people is more entitled to these [crimes] than you.”

[Hearing this,] the son of Sumayyah⁹⁹ began to curse him and to curse al-Husayn, 'Ali and 'Aqil.

The Martyrdom of Ibn 'Aqil

[Ibn Ziyad] then ordered: "Take him up to the top of the palace and behead him and throw his body to the ground."

[Muslim] said [to Ibn Ash'ath]: "O Ibn Ash'ath! By Allah, had you not offered me protection, I would not have surrendered myself. So rise with your sword in defense of me; for the security [you granted me] has been broken!" ¹⁰⁰

So Ibn Ash'ath came forward and gave 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] an account of Muslim's [arrest] and how he was struck by Bukair [bin Hamran] and informed him about the guarantee of security he gave to [Ibn 'Aqil].

Ibn Ziyad said: "What have you to do with granting security! As if we had sent you to give him protection! We only sent you to bring him to us!" So [Ibn Ash'ath] kept quiet. ¹⁰¹

Then Ibn Ziyad said: "Where is this person whose head and shoulder Ibn 'Aqil struck with [his] sword?" So he was called and Ibn Ziyad [told him]: "Go up and [now] you be the one who cuts his head off."

So he went up with him. [Ibn 'Aqil] was exalting Allah saying *allahu akbar* and seeking His forgiveness and sending salutations on His angels and prophets saying: "O Allah, You judge between us and a people who enticed us, lied to us and deserted us."

So [Bukair al-Ahmari] led him up to a part which overlooked where the butchers are today. ¹⁰² His head was cut off and his body was made to follow his head. ¹⁰³

When Bukair bin Hamran descended after killing Muslim, Ibn Ziyad asked him: "Have you killed him?" He replied: "Yes."

Ibn Ziyad [inquired]: "What was he saying as you were taking him up?"

He said: "He was mentioning the greatness of Allah and glorifying Him and seeking His forgiveness. When I drew him nearer to kill him, he said: 'O Allah, You judge between us and a people who lied to us, deceived us, deserted us and killed us.' I told him: 'Get closer to me' and gave him a blow but to no avail. Then I struck him for the second time and killed him."

Then his head was brought to Ibn Ziyad. ¹⁰⁴

'Umar [bin Sa'd] said to Ibn Ziyad: "Do you know what he said to me? He told me so and so."

Ibn Ziyad said: "The faithful would not betray you. But sometimes a treacherous man is given a trust. ¹⁰⁵

With regard to your money, it belongs to you and we will not prevent you from doing with it what you like. [106](#) As for al-Husayn, if he does not intend [harm] to us, so will we. But if he intends [harm] to us, we will not hold back from him. As for the body, we do not care what is done to it after we have killed him.” [107](#)

The Martyrdom of Hani' bin 'Urwah

After the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil, [Ibn Ziyad] declined to fulfil his promise [to Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath that he would return Hani' to him in order to avoid the enmity of [Hani's] tribesmen; for it was him who took him to Ibn Ziyad]. 'Ubaidullah then ordered for Hani' bin 'Urwah and said: “Take him to the market place and cut off his head.”

So Hani' was taken –while he his hands were tied behind his back– to a place in the market where sheep were sold. Hani' began to shout: “O Madhhij! There is no one from Madhhij for me today! O Madhhij! Where are the Madhhij to help me!”

When he saw that no one is helping him, he pulled his hand and wrenched it free of the handcuff, saying: “Is there no stick, knife, stone or bone with which one can defend himself!” [At this] they jumped on him and tied him [more] tightly. Then it was said to him: “Stretch your neck forward.” Hani' said: “I am not so generous with my life, I will not help you against myself.”

Then a Turkish slave of 'Ubaidullah by the name of Rashid [108](#) struck him with [his] sword to no avail. So Hani' said: “To Allah is the return. O Allah, to Your mercy and pleasure [do I return]!” Then he struck him again and killed him. [109](#) [May Allah's mercy and pleasure be upon him. Then they took his head to Ibn Ziyad]. [110](#)

Those Who Were Killed After Muslim and Hani'

After killing Muslim and Hani', 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad ordered for 'Abd al-A'ala al-Kalbi, the one arrested by Kathir bin Shihab at Banu Fityan. So he was brought [before Ibn Ziyad]. Ibn Ziyad said to him: “Tell me about your case.”

He said: “May Allah make you among the righteous! I had [just] come out to see what the people were doing when Kathir bin Shihab arrested me.”

[Ibn Ziyad said]: “You must heavily swear that you did not come out for some other reason”, but al-Kalbi refused to do so [and 'Ubaidullah got convinced that he had come out in support of Muslim].

Then, Ibn Ziyad ordered [saying]: “Take this man to the cemetery of Sabi' and behead him there.” So they took him and killed him.

Then 'Umarah bin Salkhab al-Azdi was brought before 'Ubaidullah. He was among those who intended

to mobilize people in support of Muslim bin ‘Aqil.

[Ibn Ziyad] asked him: “From which clan are you?”

He replied: “From Azd.”

[Ibn Ziyad] then said: “Take him to his people [and kill him there].” So he was taken and beheaded amidst his people. [111](#)

The Imprisonment of Mukhtar

The next morning when the door of ‘Ubaidullah’s palace was opened and people were allowed to enter, Mukhtar [also] went in. [Upon seeing him,] ‘Ubaidullah called him and said: “You are the one who was moving in a group of people to help Ibn ‘Aqil?”

He replied: “[No,] I never did that. I only came under the banner of ‘Amru bin Huraith and spent the night with him till morning.” [Here] ‘Amru said: “He is right, may Allah preserve you.”

Then [Ibn Ziyad] lifted his staff and struck the face of Mukhtar tearing his eye, and said: “Woe onto you! By Allah! Were it not for the testimony of ‘Amru, I would have beheaded you. Take him to prison.”

He was then taken to prison and remained there until the martyrdom of al–Husayn (as). [112](#)

The Heads of Muslim and Hani’ Sent to Yazid

‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad dispatched Hani bin Abi Hayyah al–Wadi’i [al–Kalbi al–Hamdani] and Zubair bin al–Arwah al–Tamimi with the heads of [Muslim] and [Hani’] to Yazid bin Mu’awiyah. He [also] ordered his scribe ‘Amru bin Nafi’ to write to Yazid bin Mu’awiyah about what happened to Muslim and Hani’. He wrote a long letter. When ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad saw it, he disliked it and said: “What is this prolixity and this excess? Write [as I say]:

“All praise is due to Allah, who exacted the dues of the commander of the faithful and has given him sufficient provisions against his enemy. I [am writing to] inform the commander of the faithful –May Allah honour him– that Muslim bin ‘Aqil took refuge in the house of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah al–Muradi. I set look–outs and spies on them, concealed men against them, I tricked them until I brought them out. Allah gave me power over them. Thus I came upon them and had them executed. I have sent their heads to you with Hani’ bin Abi Hayyah al–Hamdani and Zubair bin al–Arwah al–Tamimi. They are both men of loyalty, obedience and sincerity. Let the commander of the faithful ask them about whatever of the affair he may wish; for they have knowledge, truth, understanding and piety. That is all.”

Yazid wrote [in reply]: “You have not gone beyond what I wanted. You have acted with the decisive action I wanted. You have launched into the attack with the violence of man who has control of his

emotion. You have sufficed me, been sufficient [for the task], and acted true to my expectation and opinion of you. I have summoned your two messengers, questioned them and talked to them. I found them in their views and merit as you had mentioned. Receive them both with kindness on my recommendation. I have come to learn that Husayn bin ‘Ali has set out towards Iraq. So prepare watchtowers (*manaZir*)¹¹³ and outposts (*masalih*). Guard against any suspicious case and arrest [people] upon mere accusation. Do not kill except one who fights you. Write to me about any news which occurs. May the peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.”¹¹⁴

Muslim bin ‘Aqil rose in Kufah on Tuesday, 8th of Dhu al–Hijjah 60 H, while al–Husayn [(as) left Makkah also] on Tuesday, the Day of Tarwiyah, on the same day when Muslim rose.¹¹⁵

‘Abdullah bin Zubair al–Asadi, or according to some al–Farazdaq, composed the following verses on the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqil and Hani’ bin ‘Urwah al–Muradi:

O soul! If you do not know what death is, then look at Hani’ in the market–place and Ibn ‘Aqil.

Look at a hero [i.e. Hani’] whose face has been smashed by the sword, and at another [i.e. Muslim] who fell dead from a high place.

The command of the governor struck them down, and they became legends for those who travel on every road.

You see a corpse whose colour death has changed, and a spattering of blood, which has flown abundantly.

A young man [who was even] more bashful than a shy young woman, [but] he was more decisive than the polished blade of a double–edged sword.

How can Asma’¹¹⁶ safely ride on ambling horses, while the Madhhij urged him to seek vengeance.

The young and old from [the Banu] Murad, have surrounded him with their necks erected.

If you [still] do not avenge your brother’s blood, then you are like a whore who gives consent to the little [she is given].^{117,118}

¹. Al–Tabari (5:355). This was on the fifth of Shawwal as mentioned in Muruj al–Dhahab (2:86) of al–Mas’udi.

². Al–Tabari: Al–Thaqafi. He was born in the first year of Hijrah (2:402). In 37 H, his uncle Sa’d bin Mas’ud al–Thaqafi appointed him over Madain as his deputy (5:76). He remained there with his uncle until after the Year of Unity, 40 H (5:159). Al–Tabari mentions what Mukhtar pointed to his uncle about the surrender of al–Hasan (as) to Mu’awiyah (5:569). During his rule over Kufah, Ziyad had invited Mukhtar to testify against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy but he evaded it (5:270). Mukhtar was the standard–bearer on the day Muslim rose in Kufah (5:381). In fact, he came out with the banner and his servants –without prior agreement with his companions– as soon as he learned about the arrest of Hani, [even] before the [attempted] rise of Muslim (as). Mukhtar yielded to the invitation of ‘Amru bin Huraith al–Makhzumi to accept the safe–conduct from Ibn Ziyad who struck out his face with a staff, which hit his eyes and seriously tore one. He was then imprisoned until the martyrdom of al–Husayn (as).

Mukhtar had a sister by the name of Safiyyah, who was the wife of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar. Mukhtar sent his cousin –Zaidah bin Qudamah al–Thaqafi– to Ibn ‘Umar, asking him to write to Yazid and request him to order Ibn Ziyad to free him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Ziyad expelled Mukhtar from Kufah. He then went to Hijaz and paid allegiance to Ibn al–Zubair and participated with him in a severe battle against the people of Sham. Five months after the death of Yazid, Mukhtar left Ibn al–Zubair and went to Kufah (5:570–578). He entered the city at the time when Sulaiman bin Surad al–Khuza’i was calling the Shi‘ah to repent and avenge the blood of al–Husayn (as). Here Mukhtar claimed that he was sent by Ibn al–Hanafiyyah and that Sulaiman was not acquainted with warfare, and therefore, he would end up killing himself and his companions (5:560&580). Mukhtar was imprisoned by Ibn Muti’ – the governor of Ibn al–Zubair– at the start of the Movement of Tawwabun (5:605). Mukhtar sent his slave –Zarbiyy– to Ibn ‘Umar asking him to write and request Ibn Muti’ to release him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Muti’ released him after taking an oath and surety from him (6:8). Mukhtar was freed and attained victory over the matter. He fought Ibn Ziyad and killed him. He also killed the assassins of al–Husayn (as). He was finally killed by Mus‘ab bin al–Zubair in the year 67 H (6:107) who ordered his body to be hung. Thus, his body was nailed beside the mosque and remained there until it was removed by Hajjaj al–Thaqafi (6:110). Mus‘ab also killed one of Mukhtar’s wives by the name of ‘Umarah bint Nu‘man bin Bashir and freed his other wife, Umm Thabit, daughter of Samurat bin Jundab (6:112).

In the year 71 H, Mus‘ab fought against ‘Abd al–Malik in whose army Zaidah bin Qudamah al–Thaqafi happened to be present. Zaidah killed Mus‘ab and cried: revenge for Mukhtar! (6:159). Mukhtar’s house was situated near the mosque and was purchased by ‘asa bin Musa al–‘Abbasi from his heirs in 159 H (8:122). It seems that the reason behind choosing Mukhtar’s house for the stay of Muslim (as) was due to the fact that the former was the son in–law of Nu‘man bin Bashir, the governor of Kufah. This was enough as a protection, especially if we take into consideration al–Tabari’s report (5:569) which says: “The Shi‘ah were reproaching and reviling Mukhtar because of his stand in the case of Hasan bin ‘Ali (as), on the day he was stabbed in the darkness of an overlaid lane and was then carried to Madain in broad day light.”

3. Al–Tabari: Thereafter, he took Muslim bin ‘Aqil’s letter to Imam al–Husayn (as) (5:375). He remained with him till he was killed (5:444). He was from the [Banu] Hamdan.

4. He is Sa‘id bin ‘Abdullah al–Hanafi, the messenger of the people of Kufah to Imam al–Husayn (as). He had returned to Kufah with the Imam’s reply to them.

5. Al–Tabari (5:355): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa‘lah informed me on the authority of Abu al–Waddak who said: ‘Nu‘man bin Bashir came out to us and ascended the pulpit..’”

6. Al–Tabari: His name appears in the list of those who gave witness against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy as ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Shu‘bah al–Hadhrami. (5:269)

7. Al–Tabari: He is the brother of Walid bin ‘Uqbah bin Abi Mui. He and his brother, Walid, had come from Makkah to Madinah to request the Messenger of Allah (S) to send back to them their sister, Umm Kulthum –who had migrated to Madinah– by virtue of the terms agreed in the treaty of Hudaibiyah, but the Prophet refused (2:640). Their house was [situated near] the valley of Kufah (4:274). ‘Umarah’s daughter, Umm Ayyub, was the wife of Mughirah bin Shu‘bah. When Mughirah died, she was married by Ziyad bin Abih (5:180). ‘Umarah is the one who slandered against ‘Amru bin al–Hamq al–Khuza’i before Ziyad (5:236). His father, ‘Uqbah bin Abi Mu‘it, was brought to the Messenger of Allah [s] while he was an infidel (kafir) and the Prophet [s] ordered him to be killed. So he said: “O Muhammad! Who is going to look after the children? The Prophet [s] replied: “The fire” (5:349). ‘Umarah was present in the palace on the day Muslim was killed (5:376). He is also the one who slandered against Mukhtar before Ibn Ziyad on the day Muslim rose (5:570). There are no reports about him after this.

8. Al–Tabari: His mother was Bushra, the daughter of Qais bin Abi al–Kaisam, who was taken as a captive among those who had turned their back from Islam after the Prophet [s] (3:341). So he must have been born in the beginning of the second decade of Hijrah, and must have been around fifty in Karbala’. In the year 17 or 19 H when he was still a young man, his father, Sa‘d, sent him with ‘Ayadh bin Ghunm to conquer north of Iraq and Syria (4:53). In the year 37 H, ‘Umar tempted his father to participate in the arbitration (tahkim), and so he brought him [for this purpose] from the watering place of the Banu Sulaim in a desert area, to Dumah al–Jandal, at a place known as Adhrakh. He then told him: “O my father! Attend their deliberations, for indeed you are a companion of the Prophet and were one of the members of the Shura [i.e. the council formed by the second caliph]. So be present, for you are more entitled to the caliphate than any other person”

(5:7–66). [‘Umar bin Sa’d] was one of those who gave witness against Hujr (5:269) and among those who wrote to Yazid advising him to save the situation in Kufah (5:356). He disliked Muslim bin ‘Aqil making his will to him and [later] disclosed it to Ibn Ziyad who said: “A trustworthy person never betrays you, but sometimes a traitor has to be trusted” (5:377).

Muhammad bin al–Ash’ath al–Kindi wanted to appoint ‘Umar bin Sa’d as the governor of Kufah after Ibn Ziyad, but the members of the Banu Hamdan opposed him; their men came out putting on swords, while their women were lamenting for al–Husayn (as) (5:524). Mukhtar sent Abu ‘Umrah against ‘Umar bin Sa’d. The former managed to kill him and brought his head to Mukhtar. He then killed his son, Hafs bin ‘Umar. Mukhtar then said: “By Allah! If I were to kill three quarters of the Quraish, they would not have still compensated for even a fingertip of al–Husayn (as).” He then dispatched their heads to Muhammad bin al–Hanafiyyah in Madinah (6:2–61).

9. Al–Tabari (5:357): Hisham says: “‘Awanah has narrated: ‘When [all] the letters reached Yazid with the [maximum] gap of two days between them, he summoned Sarjaun*, Mu’awiyah’s retainer, and asked him: ‘What is your opinion? Al–Husayn has set out for Kufah, while Muslim bin ‘Aqil is there receiving allegiance on behalf of al–Husayn. I have been informed that Nu’mān is weak and [I have had] other bad reports about him. What do you think? Who should I appoint as the governor of Kufah?’ [This was at a time when] Yazid was angry with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. Sarjaun said: ‘Tell me, if Mu’awiyah was to be raised, would you accept his opinion?’ Yazid replied: ‘Yes.’ [Here,] Sarjaun took out Mu’awiyah’s [letter in which] he had appointed ‘Ubaidullah over Kufah and said: ‘This is the opinion of Mu’awiyah. He enjoined this letter as he died.’ Yazid accepted the advice and summoned Muslim bin ‘Amru al–Bahili** and dispatched him to ‘Ubaidullah in Basrah with the [letter of] his appointment. He wrote to him [as follows]: ‘My followers among the people of Kufah have written to me that Muslim bin ‘Aqil is in Kufah gathering people, in order to cause difference in the ranks of the Muslims. Therefore, go to the people of Kufah when you read this letter of mine, and search for Ibn ‘Aqil as if you were looking for a bead until you find him. Then bind him [in chains], kill him or expel him. That is all.’ Muslim bin ‘Amru set out till he reached Basrah and urged ‘Ubaidullah to get prepared and move to Kufah the next day.

Tabari has narrated this on the authority of ‘Ammar al–Duhani*** from Abu Ja’far al–Baqir (as): “He then summoned his servant called Sarjaun whose advice he used to seek, and informed him of the news. Sarjaun said to him: ‘If Mu’awiyah was alive, would you have taken his counsel?’ Yazid answered: ‘Yes.’ Sarjaun said: ‘Then accept [this] from me; there is no one suitable for Kufah except ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. So appoint him over it.’ Yazid was then angry with ‘Ubaidullah and was even seriously thinking of dismissing him from Basrah. Yet, Yazid wrote to him showing his satisfaction and informing him that, besides Basrah, he has also appointed him over Kufah. He also wrote [to him] that he must search for Muslim bin ‘Aqil and kill him if he were to find him” (5:348).

* Sarjaun bin Mansur al–Rumi was Mu’awiyah’s scribe and the record keeper of his office (al–Tabari:5:230 & 6: 180).

** Al–Tabari (5:228): Muslim bin ‘Amru al–Bahili was in Basrah together with Ziyad bin Abih. He was respectable in the clan of Bahilah and was leading it in the year 46 H. He resided in Sham [for some time] and was thus counted to be from both Sham and Basrah. He returned to Basrah with Yazid’s letter to Ibn Ziyad and then moved with him to Kufah. When Hani’ bin ‘Urwah was brought before Ibn Ziyad, al–Bahili asked him to submit Muslim bin ‘Aqil to him (5:366). Al–Bahili also abused Muslim when he reached the gate of the palace and asked for water (5:376). Later, he flattered Mus’ab bin al–Zubair who then sent him to fight Ibn al–Hurr al–Ju’fi, but he was defeated in 68 H (6:132). He was acting as an assistant of Mus’ab (6:136) and was killed together with Budair al–Jathaliq in a battle against Marwan in 71 H (6:158). Al–Bahili used to love wealth exceedingly (5:432). He had seven sons: Qutaibah, ‘Abd al–Rahman, ‘Abdullah, ‘Ubaidullah, Salih, Bashshar and Muhammad (6:516), all of whom joined Hajjaj bin Yusuf. Hajjaj appointed Qutaibah over Khurasan in the year 86 H (6:424). Qutaibah later fought a battle and conquered Bikand, Nushkath, Ramthin, Bukhara, Shuman, Kush, Nasaf, Khamjard, Samarqand, Shash, Farghanah, Kashghar upto the borders of China. He also made peace with Nizak, Saghad and Khwarazmshah. Qutaibah was killed along with his brothers in 96 H (6:429–506).

*** ‘Ammar al–Duhani was the father of Mu’awiyah bin ‘Ammar. Mu’awiyah was among the companions of Imam al–Sadiq (as) and Imam al–Ka’im (as). His father, ‘Ammar, was an outstanding personality and considered to be reliable by the people. His agnomen was Abu Mu’awiyah. He has, at times, narrated [reports] from Abu Ja’far al–Baqir (as) (See al–Rijal of ‘Allamah al–Hilli, pg.166). ‘Ammar also wrote a book as reported by Ibn al–Nadim in al–Fihrist (pg.235; Europe edition).

10. Historians have differed over the name of this messenger of al–Husayn (as) to Basrah. In this book, he is called Sulaiman as he is in al–Maqatal of al–Khwarazmi (1:199) who narrated that from Ibn al–A’tham. Sayyid Ibn Tawus has given

him the same name in al-Luhuf, but with the agnomen of Abu Razin, whereas this was in fact his father's agnomen. His mother was Kabshah, a slave of al-Husayn (as). She used to serve in the house of Umm Ishaq al-Tamimiyyah, one of al-Husayn's wives, and then got married to Abu Razin and gave birth to Sulaiman. Ibn Nama writes in Muthir al-Ahzan (pg.12) that Imam (as) sent the letter through Dhuray' al-Sadusi. Sayyid al-Amin has mentioned both of them together in his Lawajj al-Ashjan (pg.36).

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

12. Al-Tabari: Malik bin Masma' al-Bakri al-Jahdari. He was the head of the clan of Banu Bakr bin Wail in Basrah (4:505). He granted asylum to Marwan bin Hakam on the day he was defeated. The descendants of Marwan remained grateful to them for this favour and honoured them, while the Banu Bakr made use of their good relationship with the Banu Marwan! (5:536). Malik was inclined towards the Banu Umayyah and therefore refused to support Ziyad against Ibn al-Khadhrami, whom Mu'awiyah had earlier sent to Basrah to invite the people to his authority (5:110). Malik was the one who swore allegiance to Ibn Marjanah when Yazid died, but later he infringed his allegiance and broke into the treasure house along with a group of other people, and plundered it (5:505). Later, Malik was accused of trying to restore Ibn Ziyad in the office in Basrah (5:512). Malik bin Masma' was the head of the quarter of Bakr bin Wail from Yemen which comprised the Lahazim, which consisted of the Banu Qais bin Tha'labah and their allies, Ghazzah; the clan of Shiya' al-Lat and its allies: 'Ij; and the family of Dhuhul bin Tha'labah along with its allies: Yashkur and Dai'ah bin Rabi'ah bin Nazzar. These groups were nomads, while the Hanifah were city dwellers (5:515). When the tribe of Azd moved to Basrah towards the end of Mu'awiyah's rule and the early days of Yazid's reign, Malik approached them and renewed the alliance with them (5:516). In the year 64 H, he once again renewed the alliance with them while Mas'ud bin 'Amru al-Ma'na was in charge of them. They revolted against 'Abdullah bin al-Harith bin Naufal bin 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Qarashi al-Hashimi, with the intention of reinstating Ibn Ziyad in the office. They were defeated and Malik's house was set on fire (5:521). Malik defended the followers of Mukhtar in Basrah under tribal fervor, though he did not share with them their views (6:68). When Mus'ab fought Mukhtar, Malik led the district of Bakr bin Wail in support of Mus'ab (6:95). He also gave refuge to Khalid bin 'Abdullah bin Khalid bin 'Ubaid who was sent to Basrah by 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan to invite people to his authority. Malik even took up arms in his defence and sustained injuries to his eyes. As a result, he was annoyed by the battle and sought refuge with 'Ubaidullah bin 'Ubaidullah bin Mu'ammara, Mus'ab's deputy. 'Ubaidullah gave him asylum but also expelled Khalid from Basrah. Malik thereafter was afraid of Mus'ab, so he fled to his people at Tha'j (6:152-155). Mus'ab [in turn] demolished his house (6:155). There are no reports about him after this.

13. Al-Tabari: Al-Ahnaf Sakhr bin Qais Abu Bahr al-Sa'di. He has related [narrations] from 'Abbas bin 'Abd al-Muttalib (1:263). In the year 17 H, 'Utbah bin Ghazwan sent him together with the delegation of the people of Basrah to 'Umar (4:74). He was among those people of Basrah who had participated in the battle against Persia in 17 H (4:81). 'Umar -based on his own judgement- entrusted him with the standard of Khurasan in order to conquer it (4:94). He pursued Yazdgard until he was killed (4:171). Al-Ahnaf also conquered Herat in 31 H (4:301) and signed a peace treaty with [the people of] Mirwadud (4:310) and Balakh (4:313). He was among those people of Basrah with whom 'Aishah was in correspondence (4:461).

During the battle of Basrah, Ahnaf went to see 'Ali (as) who invited him and his people in the city not to fight against him. Ahnaf called on his men not to take up arms and they accepted his call and withdrew. When 'Ali (as) gained victory, Ahnaf entered the city with him, along with his 10,000 (4:497) or 6,000 (4:468) or 4,000 men (4:501). Ahnaf renewed his pledge with 'Ali (as) in the evening of the same day (4:541). Later, Ahnaf came to 'Ali (as) at Kufah and wrote to his kinsmen in Basrah inviting them to come over to Kufah, so that they could move together to Siffin and they accepted that (Waq'at Siffin, pg.24). Ahnaf was leading Tamim, Dubbah and Rubab on that day (Waq'at Siffin, pg.117). Nevertheless, he was apprehensive about the loss of Arabs [in the battle] (Waq'at Siffin, pg.387).

Ahnaf proposed himself to 'Ali (as) for the arbitration (tahkim) and pointed to the tenderness of Abu Musa, but his proposal was denied by Ash'ath bin Qais (Waq'at Siffin, pg.501). Ahnaf stopped 'Ali from erasing his name as the leader of the believers on the day of Siffin (Waq'at Siffin, pg.508). When Ash'ath came out to read the agreement reached at the arbitration, Ahnaf stopped him from that and a man from the Banu Tamim engaged in a [brief] skirmish with Ash'ath with his sword. On seeing this, the people of Yemen came forward to take revenge from the Banu Tamim, so Ahnaf [immediately] went to Ash'ath and apologized to him (Waq'at Siffin, pg.513). He had also advised Abu Musa not to be deceived [in the

arbitration] (Waq'at Siffin: pg. 536). 'Ali (as) used to invite Ahnaf together with the Banu Hashim for consultation (5:53). Ahnaf came out with the Banu Tamim in an army of 1,500 men during his second departure to Siffin (al-Tabari:5:78). In the year 50 H, Ahnaf went to see Mu'awiyah who awarded him 100,000 [dirhams] (5:242). Again in 59 H, Ibn Ziyad sent him to Mu'awiyah where he was received last (5:317). Ahnaf later paid allegiance to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad after Yazid in order to attain the governorship of Basrah (5:507). He also promised Ibn Ziyad to bring to him Ibn al-Zubair's propagandist. But when he saw the latter's refusal, Ahnaf gave up persuading him (5:508).

When the tribe of Azd was attempting to reinstate Ibn Ziyad to the governership after his escape, Banu Tamim flocked on Ahnaf complaining to him of the return of Ibn Ziyad to power, and also of the killing of some men from the Banu Tamim at the hands of the Azd. So Ahnaf rose with them against the Azd and killed Mas'ud bin 'Amru, the head of the Azd and the one who had granted protection to Ibn Ziyad. Upon this, Ibn Ziyad fled to Sham (5:519). Subsequently, Ahnaf paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair (5:615). In 67 H, he fought against Mukhtar alongside Mus'ab bin al-Zubair (6:95) and was the one to advice Mus'ab to kill those of Mukhtar's followers who had surrendered (6:116). It seems Ahnaf was dead by the year 71 H (6:157).

14. Al-Tabari: He was leading the the clans of Jadh'ah and Bakr bin 'Abd al-Qais in support of 'Ali (as) on the day of Jamal (5:505). His daughter, Bahriyyah, was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad's wife. When Yazid bin al-Mufarragh al-Himyari mocked at the family of Ziyad, Ibn Jarud gave him refuge, but Ibn Ziyad denied him (5:318). Later, Ibn Ziyad appointed Ibn Jarud over Sindh in India where he died in 62 H, as reported in al-Isabah (3:480).

15. Al-Tabari: Mas'ud bin 'Amru bin 'Adiyy al-Azdi, the head of the Azd during the battle of Jamal in Basrah (4:505). He is the one who gave refuge to Ibn Marjanah [i.e. Ibn Ziyad] when the people opposed him. Ibn Marjanah waited for ninety days after the death of Yazid before he went to Sham (5:525). Mas'ud sent with Ibn Ziyad 100 men from the clan of Azd –who were led by Qurrah bin 'Amru bin Qais– to escort him to Sham (5:522). Ibn Marjanah appointed Mas'ud as his deputy when he left Basrah. Mas'ud thus set out accompanied by his clansmen until he reached the palace and entered (5:525). A group of the Khawarij entered the mosque while Mas'ud was on the pulpit, accepting allegiance from whoever came to him. A Persian Muslim among them – who had embraced Islam after entering Basrah and then joined the Khawarij– shot at Mas'ud's heart and killed him and then they left the mosque (5:525). They were either 400 or 500 in number and were from the Ashuri's (5:519), together with the Mah- Afridun who presented themselves to the Banu Tamim [on their way to Basrah]. Salamah asked them: "Where are you heading to?" They replied: "Towards you [i.e. Basrah]." So Salamah said: "Then move ahead of us." Accordingly, they were [moving] ahead of them. [Following Mas'ud's assassination] the people of Azd attacked this group of the Khawarij killing a number of them and injuring others, and finally expelled them from Basrah. Some members of the Banu Tamim confessed thereafter that they were the ones who invited this group to Basrah and entered the city with them. So the Azd attacked the Banu Tamim and a great number from both sides were killed. They finally agreed on 100,000 dirhams –ten times more than the amount specified by the Shari'ah– as the blood-money for Mas'ud's killing and thus reconciled (5:526).

16. Al-Tabari (4:314): Qais bin al-Haitham al-Sulami. In the year 32 H, 'Abdullah bin 'Amir appointed him over Khurasan together with Qais' cousin, 'Abdullah bin Khazim. When 'Abdullah bin 'Amir came out of Khurasan, having mobilized around 40,000 men from Herat, Qahistan, Tabas and Badghis, Ibn Khazim took out a fake document –produced by himself– which he attributed to Ibn 'Amir, claiming that he had been appointed as the ruler of Khurasan, in case there was a war. So Qais accepted it and left the place to come to Basrah. Thereafter, the uprising against 'Uthman came up and 'Uthman asked for help from the people of Basrah through 'Abdullah bin 'Amir. As 'Abdullah asked for their assistance, Qais came forward and addressed the people urging them to assist 'Uthman. The people rushed to his help but were then informed of Uthman's murder and so they returned (5:369).

It has been said that Qais had been the chief of security guards in Basrah for 'Abdullah bin 'Amir during the reign of Mu'awiyah in 41 H (5:170). He later appointed him as the governor of Khurasan for two years (5:172). Qais failed to send him the taxes on time and so Ibn 'Amir wanted to dismiss him. 'Abdullah bin Khazim asked Ibn 'Amir to make him in charge of Khurasan and the latter was about to write for him his letter of appointment when he learned about it. So Qais left Khurasan and went to see Ibn 'Amir. The latter ordered Qais to be whipped (5:209) hundred lashes, shaved his head and imprisoned him. Ibn 'Amir was [in fact] Qais' uncle, so his mother pleaded for his release and he released him (5:210). In the year 44 H, Ibn 'Amir appointed a man from the Banu Yashkur –either Tufail bin 'Awf al-Yashkuri or 'Abdullah bin Abi

Shaikh al-Yashkuri (5:213)– as the governor of Khurasan (5:209), who sympathized with Qais bin Haitham and appointed him as his deputy in Basrah whenever he set out to visit Mu’awiyah (5:213). Mu’awiyah gave the hand of his daughter, Hind, to him in marriage and dismissed him in 44 H from the governership of Basrah (5:214). Mu’awiyah then appointed Ziyad bin Sumayyah in his place in the year 45 H. Ziyad put Qais bin Haitham in charge of Mirwad al-Raudh, Al-Fariyab and Taliqan (5:224). In the year 61 H –after the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as), Qais was appointed as the deputy of ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Ziyad in Khurasan, whenever the latter would go to see Yazid. However, Yazid dismissed him and Qais remained in isolation (5:316). When Yazid died Qais was in Basrah, and Dahhak bin Qais wrote to him inviting him towards himself (5:504), though Qais was inclined towards Nu’mān bin Sahban al-Rasibi, since the people of Basrah had appointed these two [i.e. Nu’mān and Sahban] from among the Banu Umayyah as leaders over them after Ibn Ziyad. Afterwards, they [i.e. Dahhak and Qais] agreed upon a Hashimite from the clan of Mudhar (5:512). In 66 H, Qais was the head of the security guards and the fighting forces in Basrah for Ibn al-Zubair during the battle against Muthanna bin Mukharribah al-‘Abdi al-Basri, the one who used to invite people towards Mukhtar (6:67). He, together with Mus’ab bin al-Zubair, were at the head of the district of Ahl al-‘Aliyah in their encounter with Mukhtar in 67 H (6:95). In the year 71 H, Qais was hiring people –in support of Ibn al-Zubair– to help him fight against Khalid bin ‘Abdullah, the one who was calling the people towards ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan (6:71). Qais used to warn the people of Iraq against betraying Mus’ab (6:157). This is our last encounter with the story of Qais. Perhaps, he was killed in 71 H along with the companions of Mus’ab at the hands of ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan.

[17.](#) This indicates that the acceptance of this situation by the Ahl al-Bait (as) was only to avoid discord [within the community] and ward off evil, not out of their willing consent.

[18.](#) Al-su’bah as it has appeared in the Arabic text means a she-camel who is not easy to mount. By using this term, Ibn Ziyad meant to say that as if he has mounted Basrah and leading it. Thus, he would not allow it to become difficult for himself to get on.

[19.](#) Al-qa’qa’ah means voice. As if he meant to say: I will not let the people speak about their hatred and dislike to me.

[20.](#) Nakilun comes from al-nikal which means punishment and revenge.

[21.](#) This is how al-Tabari has reported. This statement was actually a call of a man from the tribe of Qarrah. This particular tribe was known for its proficiency in shooting during the days of Ignorance (jahiliyyah). So a member of this tribe happened to meet a person from another tribe and told him: “If you wish I can fight with you; and if you like I can race with you; and if you want I am ready to compete with you in shooting.” The other person replied: “I have chosen shooting.” Here the member of the tribe of Qarrah recited the following couplets: “Indeed the tribe of Qarrah fairly treated the one who shot at them; Verily if we were to meet any group, we shall send back its first one to its last.” He then shot at him an arrow piercing his heart. Now, by repeating a part of these couplets, perhaps Ibn Ziyad meant to say that whoever chooses to shoot at the Banu Umayyah, then he is like the one who chose shooting with the member of the tribe of Qarrah; for the Banu Umayyah are as much proficient in shooting as the tribe of Qarrah.

[22.](#) We have already given his biography earlier.

[23.](#) Al-Tabari: He was appointed over Istakhr Faris where he built a mosque in the year 31 H (4:301). He participated in the battle of Siffin with ‘Ali (as) (5:361). In the year 38 H, ‘Ali (as) sent him together with Jariyah bin Qudamah al-Sa’di at the head of a group of men from the Banu Tamim to Basrah to fight Ibn al-Hadhrami and those with him who had responded to his call to Mu’awiyah (5:112). ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amir had also sent Sharik to Basrah along with 3,000 riders from the tribe of Rabi’ah to fight Mustawrad bin ‘Allafah, the Khariji (5:193). He also ruled over Kerman for ‘Abdullah bin Ziyad in 59 H (5:321). He lived for a few days after reaching Kufah and then died. Ibn Ziyad led his funeral prayer (5:364).

[24.](#) Al-Tabari (5:359) narrates on the authority of ‘«sa bin Yazid al-Kanani who said: “When Yazid’s letter reached ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad, he selected 500 men from the people of Basrah among whom were ‘Abdullah bin al-Harith al-Naufal and Sharik bin al-A’war.

[25.](#) Al-Tabari (5:357): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Saq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Uthman al-Hindi who said...” This has also been narrated in al-Irshad (pg. 206) and al-Maqṭal (pg. 200) of al-Khwarazmi.

[26.](#) The Khawarij. They are attributed to Harawra’ –which is located in the suburbs of Kufah– because that was the first place that they had gathered in on their return from Siffin and before entering Kufah.

[27.](#) Al-Tabari: ‘Arafah was a governmental post responsible for the identification of the citizens and to organize their

stipends from the treasure house (bait al-mal). There were a hundred people who held this position ('irrif) in Kufah. The stipends used to be given to the heads of the four districts of the city, who would pass it to the 'urafa' (pl. of 'irrif), and the trustworthy people, who would then distribute it to the people within their areas (4:49). They used to receive the order to distribute the stipends in the month of Muharram of every year, and their grants at the harvest time every year (4:43). The system of 'arafa used to exist even during the time of the Prophet (S) (3:448).

[28.](#) 'Umman al-Zarah is the present day Oman which is situated in the coast of the Persian Gulf. This place is extremely hot and difficult to live in, and that is why Ibn Ziyad was threatening to deport his opponents to this place.

[29.](#) Al-Tabari (5:358): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "Mu'alla bin Kulaib has narrated to me from Abu Waddak who said..." Al-Irshad (pg.202) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.200) have narrated this also.

[30.](#) Al-Mas'udi writes: "He was the chief and leader of Murad. In those days he used to ride accompanied by 4,000 armored warriors and 8,000 foot soldiers. If their allies from the [Banu] Kindah and others were to respond to them, then Hani would ride amidst 30,000 armoured fighters" (See Muruj al-Dhahab:3:69). It is thus known from here why Muslim left Mukhtar's place and moved to the house of Hani, the chief (shaikh) of the clan. Nevertheless, events turned out to be as al-Mas'udi says: "But their leader could not find even a single supporter from among them due to their faint-heartedness and betrayal.

Both Hani' and his father were among the companions [of the Prophet (S)]. He was killed while he was either eighty or ninety years of age as mentioned in al-Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd. Al-Mubarrad says in al-Kamil that Hani's father was among those who rose with Hujr bin 'Adiyy, but Ziyad bin Abih interceded [with Mu'awiyah] on his behalf. This is why Ibn Ziyad had told Hani' -as it has appeared in al-Tabari: "O Hani! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shi'ah except for your father and Hujr? And you well know what came to happen of Hujr. He [i.e. Ziyad] did not cease to show his kindness towards you to the extent that he even wrote to the governor of Kufah [saying]: 'My request from you is that you should take care of Hani'. Hani' answered: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziyad then said: 'Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man that he may kill me!'" (5:361).

[31.](#) Al-Tabari (5:361): [I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf, who reported from Mu'alla bin Kulaib, who related from Abu al-Waddak that..."

[32.](#) Al-Tabari (5:375): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Ja'far bin Hudhaifah al-Tai narrated to me that..."

[33.](#) Al-Tabari (5:395): "Abu Mikhnaf reports [that]: 'Muhammad bin Qais narrated to me [saying]..."

[34.](#) Al-Tabari (5:360) relates on the authority of '«sa bin Yazid al-Kanani that Muslim bin 'Aqil arrived in Kufah a night before Ibn Ziyad. The latter was informed about Muslim's arrival while he was in the suburbs of Kufah. So he summoned a slave from the Banu Tamim and gave him some money and told him: "Take up this matter and help them with this money. Proceed to Hani' and Muslim, and make him stay at Hani's place."

[35.](#) Al-Tabari (5:436): Shabath bin Rib'i said in reply to those of his companions around him who had gathered to kill Muslim bin 'Awsajah: "May your mothers mourn you! You are killing yourselves with your own hands and abasing yourselves to the benefit of others. You are happy that someone like Muslim bin 'Awsajah has been killed?! I swear by the one to whom I have submitted! How often I have seen him amidst the Muslims doing a noble deed! I have seen him on the highlands of Adharbajian killing six idolaters before [even] the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. Should you be rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you?!"

[36.](#) Al-Tabari (5:361): "[I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who related from Mu'alla bin Kulaib, who reported from Abu al-Sawwak that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.207) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.201).

[37.](#) Al-Tabari: Al-Saluli was among the messengers of the people of Kufah -with 53 letters- to al-Husayn (as) while [the latter] was in Makkah. The Imam (as) then sent him to Kufah together with Muslim bin 'Aqil, Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Arhabi (5:343-344).

[38.](#) Al-Tabari (5:361): "[I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu'alla bin Kulaib, who reported from Abu al-Waddak that..."

[39.](#) Al-Tabari: He used to collect their funds and all that by which they used to help one another. He used to buy them weapons and was proficient in this matter. He was among the brave warriors of the Arabs and a distinguished personality among the Shi'ah (5:364). Muslim had given him the banner [and he was leading] the quarter of [the Banu] Tamim and Hamdan (5:369). He was present in Karbala' and was the gate-keeper of al-Husayn (as) (5:410). He was the one who

asked al-Husayn (as) to lead them in their prayers on the noon of Ashura', and the Imam (as) prayed for him saying: "You have remembered the prayers (salat); may Allah make you among those who establish prayers (musallin) and remember him (dhakirin)" (5:439). His cousin –who was in the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd– had engaged him in a duel –before the time of prayers [on that day]– and was killed by Abu Thumamah (5:441).

[40.](#) Al-Tabari (5:361): [I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu'alla bin Kulaib, who reported from Abu al-Waddak that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.208).

[41.](#) Al-Tabari: Muhammad bin Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindi. He is the one whom Ziyad had asked to surrender Hujr to him. Hujr requested al-Ash'ath to seek protection (aman) for him from Ibn Ziyad so that he could go to Mu'awiyah who would have the final word on him, and Ziyad accepted the request (5:263–264). 'Ubaidah al-Kindi has some verses in which he reproaches Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath for his betraying Hujr and fighting Muslim (as). [He says]:

"You surrendered your uncle and did not fight for him out of cowardice; if it was not because of your action, he would not have been caught. You killed the envoy of the household of Muhammad, and plundered his sword and armor plate" (5:285).

Ibn al-Ash'ath had raised the banner of protection for those among the [men of] Kindah and Hadhramaut who obeyed him, encouraging them to abandon Ibn 'Aqil (5:369). However, in order to fight Ibn 'Aqil, he had also sent some men from [the clan of] Qais together with his men; since every tribe disliked Ibn 'Aqil to be killed by its kinsmen (5:373). Ibn al-Ash'ath granted protection to Ibn 'Aqil also (5:374) and informed Ibn Ziyad of that, but he did not approve it (5:375). He also interceded for Hani bin 'Urwah but was rejected by Ibn Ziyad (5:378).

The clan of Kindah was carrying out the orders of 'Umar bin Sa'd as they were his maternal kin. So when Yazid bin Mu'awiyah died and Ibn Ziyad invited them towards himself, they rejected him and instead appointed 'Umar bin Sa'd as their head. However, when the men of Hamdan took up swords and their women lamented al-Husayn (as), Ibn Ash'ath backed down and said: "A new situation has arisen" (5:525). Subsequently, the [people of] Hamdan wrote to Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah, and the latter sent Muhammad bin Ash'ath bin Qais to Mosul. When 'Abd al-Rahman bin Sa'id bin Qais arrived in Mosul as its governor under Mukhtar, Ibn Ash'ath withdrew from it in his favour. Al-Ash'ath then went to Tikrit and stayed there with some of the noble men of his kinsmen and others, observing the stand of the people. [Ultimately,] he set out to Mukhtar and paid allegiance to him (6:36). When Ibn Ziyad proceeded towards Mosul with the army of Sham and the followers of Mukhtar came out to fight him, the outstanding men of Kufah –among them being Muhammad bin Ash'ath– came together and spread calumnies against Mukhtar. Al-Ash'ath's son, Ishaq, came out amidst the Jabanah of Kindah and they attacked Mukhtar, pouncing on him (6:39–45) and [they] got broken. Thus, Muhammad bin Ash'ath withdrew to his village near al-Qadisiyyah where Mukhtar sent 100 warriors from among his slaves and others to chase him up. But Muhammad managed to escape and joined Mus'ab bin al-Zubair and instead his house was demolished (6:66). Mus'ab then sent Ibn al-Ash'ath with a letter to Muhallab bin Abi Sufrah with whom he [once again] came for the battle against Mukhtar (6:94). Mus'ab also dispatched Ibn Ash'ath with a huge group of riders from Kufah who had been expelled by Mukhtar and, therefore, were more hostile towards him than the people of Basrah such that they would not see a prisoner from a defeated army except that they would kill him (6:97). Ibn Ash'ath was killed in the battle between Mus'ab and Mukhtar, so Mus'ab sent his son 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash'ath to the suburbs (kinasah) of Kufah (6:104).

[42.](#) Al-Tabari: Asma' bin Kharijah al-Fazari. He was one of those who wrote his testimony against Hujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindi (5:207). He was [also] the one to remind Hajjaj of Kumail bin Ziyad al-Nakha'i and 'Umar bin Dabi' as those who rebelled against 'Uthman and so he killed them (4:404). Al-Fazari protested against Ibn Ziyad for beating and imprisoning Hani' bin 'Urwah and was consequently imprisoned by Ibn Ziyad (5:367). He later came to be among the companions of Ibn Muti' al-'Adawi (6:31) and in 68 H was among the followers of Mus'ab bin al-Zubair (6:124).

[43.](#) We have mentioned him earlier among those who had written to al-Husayn (as) from the people of Kufah.

[44.](#) Yatashakka means 'he is complaining (yashtaki) of his illness'.

[45.](#) Al-Tabari (5:361&364): "[I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who was reporting from Mu'alla bin Kulaib, who narrated from Abu al-Waddak; and [also] from Mujalid bin Sa'id, Hasan bin 'Uqbah al-Muradi and Numair bin Wa'lah who reported from Abu al-Waddak." See also al-Irshad (pg.208).

[46.](#) Al-hain means 'a fool'. This is an idiom [in Arabic] that is [usually] said in such a situation. Those who have recorded al-ha'in as al-kha'in are mistaken. See al-Fakhir (pg.251).

[47.](#) Al-Tabari: Shuraih bin Harith al-Kindi. 'Umar had appointed him as the judge of Kufah in 18 H (4:101). He was among

those who urged the people of Kufah to help 'Uthman (4:352). He appears in the list of those who bore witness against Hujr bin 'Adiyy as Shuraih bin al-Harith al-Qadhi. However, he [himself] used to say: "Ziyad inquired from me about him, so I informed him that he is [a man who] exceedingly establishes prayers (qawwam) and fasts a lot (sawwam)" (5:270). Ziyad had once sought his advice on amputating his leprous hand, so Shuraih suggested him not to do so and was reprimanded [by Ibn Ziyad's companions]. He said [in reply]: "The Messenger of Allah [s] has said: 'A person from whom advice is sought (mustashar) must be trusted' (5:289).

Ibn al-Zubair wanted him to serve as his judge in Kufah, but he refused (5:582). This was before he accepted the position for Mukhtar. But when he heard that the followers of Mukhtar were saying that he was a partisan of 'Uthman, and that he testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy, and that 'Ali bin Abi Talib had dismissed him from the judicial position, and that he did not convey the message that Hani' had sent him with [when Ibn Ziyad had imprisoned him, and Hani's kinsmen stormed the palace and Shuraih went to see them]; he pretended to be ill. Consequently, Mukhtar replaced him with 'Abdullah bin 'Utbah bin Mas'ud and later with 'Abdullah bin Malik al-Ta'i (6:34). After Mukhtar, Shuraih accepted the position from Ibn al-Zubair (6:149). He requested Hajjaj to be relieved from this position and suggested to him Abu Burdah bin 'Abi Musa al-Ash'ari in the year 79 H. Hajjaj accepted his resignation and [instead] appointed Abu Burdah (6:324). Therefore, he held the judicial position for about 60 years altogether!

[48.](#) This verse is that of 'Amru bin Ma'd Yakrub al-Zubaidi. Al-hiba' comes from habwah which means 'a gift' ('ata'). Hiba'ahu [in the first verse] has appeared in al-Kamil and al-Irshad (pg.208) as hayatahu [i.e. his life], but this is a [case of] phonetic distortion (tahrif) of the word.

[49.](#) Tabari (5:361) narrates from '«sa bin Yazid al-Kanani that Ibn Ziyad said to him [at this point]: "O Hani! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shi'ah except for your father and Hujr? And you well know what came to happen of Hujr. He [i.e. Ziyad] did not cease to show his kindness towards you and [even] wrote to the governor of Kufah [saying]: 'My request from you is [that you should take care of] Hani'.' Hani replied: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziyad then said: 'Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man who should kill me!' Hani' said: '[No] I have not done that.' [Here] Ibn Ziyad called forth his slave, al-Tamimi, who had been spying against them. So when Hani' saw him, he realized that the man has given him all the information. So he said: 'O governor! What you have heard is true. However, I shall never be ungrateful with respect to your favours. You and your people are in safety, so move [freely] to wherever you like.' Mahran, Ibn Ziyad's servant, was the guard standing behind him with a club in his hand. He said [to 'Ubaidullah]: 'What a humiliation! This deceiving slave is giving you protection in your [own] kingdom?' Then he threw Ibn Ziyad his club saying: 'Take it'. He grabbed Hani' by his braids while Ibn Ziyad began striking at his face with the club until he broke his nose and brow, and pushed him so violently that he crashed against the wall."

[50.](#) That is, a Khariji. They are attributed to Harawra' which is located in the suburbs of Kufah; since this was the first place they had gathered in against 'Ali (as).

[51.](#) Al-lahz means beating at the meeting point of the clothes, from above the chest to the neck. Al-ta'ta'ah means a violent movement.

[52.](#) Al-Tabari (5:367): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Ghayr bin Wa'lah informed me on the authority of Abu al-Waddak that..."

[53.](#) This is because Kindah was among the tribes of Yemen in Kufah, while Murad and Madhhiq were among the clans of Kindah.

[54.](#) Al-Tabari (5:378): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair related to me on the authority of 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.210) and al-Maqtal (pg.205) of al-Khwarazmi.

[55.](#) Al-Tabari (5:367): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Numair bin Wa'lah informed me on the authority of Abu al-Waddak that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.210) and al-Maqtal (pg.205) of al-Khwarazmi.

[56.](#) Al-Tabari: He was with Ziyad and used to spy on his officers. Ziyad had also sent him with a group of other people from among his companions to pursue the companions of Hujr bin 'Adiyy. He was the one to strike Ibn 'Aqil on his upper lip and [later] killed him (5:373&378). Ahmari was a slave from Sham.

[57.](#) Al-Tabari (3:367): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Abd al-Rahman bin Shuraih who said: 'I heard him telling Isma'il bin Talhah that..."

[58.](#) Al-Tabari (5:368): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Hajjaj bin 'Ali related to me from Muhammad bin Bishr al-Hamdani that..."

[59.](#) 'Ya mansur, amit'. This was the slogan raised by the Muslims in the battle of Badr for gathering the warriors and

passing information to them, and was also raised in other battles after that. [Editor]

[60.](#) We find in the left wing of the army of Mukhtar –which he had sent to Madinah to fight Ibn al-Zubair– someone called ‘Ayyash bin Ju’dah al-Judali. Al-Tabari: He, together with three hundred of his men, did not accept the safe-conduct from Ibn al-Zubair after they were defeated by his followers. When they were [finally] caught by them, they were killed except for about two hundred men, many of whom died on the way (6:74). Now, since we do not find any mention of ‘Abbas or ‘Ayyash al-Judali in apart from this case, and also by taking into consideration the fact that he remained loyal to Mukhtar, it is very unlikely that they are two [different] persons. It is more probable that [the two names in fact indicate a] single person, either by the name of ‘Abbas or ‘Ayyash, who continued to live after Muslim bin ‘Aqil and rose with Mukhtar until he was either killed or died [somewhere] there.

[61.](#) This indicates that the house of the Romans followed the back side of the Palace. Since they were ahl al-dhimma [i.e. the non-Muslims living under the protection of the Islamic government], Ibn Ziyad used to disguise himself as one of them while moving in and out of the palace. It escaped the followers of Muslim to block this passage.

[62.](#) Al-Tabari: He is among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:269). He took Hujr and his companions to Mu’awiyah (5:270). He is [also] the first person Ibn Ziyad issued a standard and the first to be made in charge of urging the people to desert Muslim (as) (5:370).

[63.](#) Al-Tabari: He is one of those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:269) and also fought Muslim (as). (5:270&381)

[64.](#) Al-Tabari (5:368): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Yusuf bin Yazid narrated to me from ‘Abdullah bin Khazim that...’”

[65.](#) Al-Tabari (5:369): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Yunus bin Ishaq narrated to me from ‘Abbas al-Judali that...’” Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan was with ‘Ali (as) at Siffin (5:28) and was among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy (5:270). He was the one who incited Ibn Ziyad to kill al-Husayn (as) (5:414). He was present in Karbala’ and invited the sons of Umm al-Banin, the brothers of ‘Abbas, to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyad and to abandon the Imam (as) (5:415). Ibn Sa’d sought his advice with regard to giving al-Husayn (as) respite for the night before ‘Ashura’, but he did not respond (5:417). Shamir was in charge of the left flank of Ibn Sa’d’s army (5:422). He responded to the speech of al-Husayn (as) with foul language and was rebuked by Ibn Mu’ahir (5:425). He responded to Zuhair bin al-Qain’s address by shooting an arrow at him and was reproached by him. (5:436). He attacked the left wing of al-Husayn’s army with the left flank of Ibn Sa’d’s army (5:436). Shamir was the one who pierced the tent of the Imam (as) with his spear and called for fire to burn down the tents together with its inhabitants. So the women started screaming and walked out of their tents, upon which the Imam (as) cursed him (5:438). He was the one who killed Nafi’ bin Hilal al-Jumali (5:442) and attempted to kill Imam al-Sajjad (as) but the people prevented him [from doing so] (5:454). He was [also] the one to bring the heads [of the martyrs] to Ibn Ziyad (5:456), and the heads, together with the captives, to Yazid (5:460&463). He along with the [members of] Hawazin had twenty heads (5:468). Ibn Muti’ sent Shamir as the head of the quarter of Salim in Kufah along with 2,000 fighters (6:29) to encounter Mukhtar (6:18). He had rose with the noblemen of Kufah to fight Mukhtar (6:44) and was [ultimately] defeated and fled Kufah (6:52). He was killed by ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Abi al-Kanud in 66 H (6:53).

The word ‘shamir’ is a Hebrew word whose root is shamir meaning entertainer (samir). This word is prevalent today also as when it is said [for instance] ‘Yitzhak Shamir’.

[66.](#) Al-Tabari (5:369): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Abu al-Janab al-Kalbi narrated to me that...’”

[67.](#) That is, they will not have any share from the war booty that the Muslims shall attain from their battles against the Romans. [Editor.]

[68.](#) Al-Tabari (5:370): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid informed me on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Khazim al-Kathiri –from the tribe of Azd– that...’”

[69.](#) Al-Tabari (5:371): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujalid bin Sa’id related to me that...’”

[70.](#) Al-Tabari (5:369): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Abu Hab al-Kalbi narrated to me that...’”

[71.](#) Al-Tabari: This part has been mentioned by Harun bin Muslim from ‘Ali bin Salih, from ‘Isa bin Yazid (5:381). We have put it in brackets since it has not been reported by Abu Mikhnaf.

[72.](#) Al-Tabari (5:370): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has related it to me from ‘Abdullah bin Khazim al-Kathiri –from the tribe of Azd– that...’”

[73.](#) Al-Tabari (5:371): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujalid bin Sa’id has narrated to me saying...”

[74.](#) Al-Tabari (5:369): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Yusuf bin Abi Ishaq related to me that...”

[75.](#) Al-Tabari: Ash’ath bin Qais came to see the Messenger of Allah (S) in the year 10 H amidst 60 riders. He traced his ancestry from his mother’s side to Akil al-Mirar who had royal blood and wanted to link the Holy Prophet (S) to the same ancestry, but he related himself to al-Nadhr bin Kananah, something which did not impress Ash’ath (3:137). The Prophet of Allah (S) married his sister Qutailah, but he passed away before having relation with her. So she turned her back from Islam together with her brother Ash’ath! (3:168). Ash’ath turned his back from Islam after the Messenger of Allah (S) and fought [the Muslims] but was defeated (3:335). He sought protection [from the Muslims] and they granted it to him (3:337). Then they sent him along with other captives to Abu Bakr. [Ash’ath] had earlier proposed Abu Bakr’s sister, Umm Farwah, in marriage and [later] married her but did not have coition with her. Thereafter, he turned his back from Islam, so Abu Bakr freed him from captivity [and later] overlooked his wrong doing, accepted his Islam and returned back to him his family (3:339). However, on his death bed, Abu Bakr [regretted his action] saying: “I wish I would have put Ash’ath to the sword the day he was brought to me as a captive; for he has made me believe that he did not come across any evil except that he supported it” (3:430). Ash’ath led 1,700 men from among the people of Yemen to join the army of the battle of al-Qadisiyyah (3:487). Sa’d [the commander in chief of the army] found Ash’ath among those with good physical features, an awe-inspiring personality and sound judgement and so he included him in the group of those who he sent to invite the Persian king to Islam (3:496). Ash’ath was urging his men –during the battle of al-Qadisiyyah– to fight the Persian army in the cause of the Arabs, there being no mention of Allah! (3:539&560). He marched with 700 warriors from Kindah and killed the leader of the Persian brigade called ‘Turk’ (3:563). He craved for the the spoils of war attained by Khalid bin Walid and asked him for some and Khalid allowed him [to take] 10,000 [dirhams] (4:67). Ash’ath also participated in the battle of Nahawand (4:129). In the year 30 H, he purchased from ‘Uthman the spoils of war of Tirnabad in Iraq with [the money] he had in Hadhramaut (4:280). In the year 34 H, Sa’id bin al-‘As sent him from Kufah as the governor of Adharbaijan (4:331) and he was still in this position when ‘Uthman died (4:422). Then ‘Ali (as) invited Ash’ath to pay allegiance to him and join him and he accepted the invitation (4:561). He had accepted in Siffin the task of regaining control over the water from the followers of Mu’awiyah (4:569). He was the one who disobeyed Amir al-Mu’minin (as) [at Nahrawan] and gave consent to arbitration and nominated al-Ash’ari [for that] and refused to accept Ibn ‘Abbas and al-Ashtar who were approved by ‘Ali (as), insisting on al-Ash’ari while he was tired of the battle (4:51). He was the first person whose witness appeared on the document of arbitration. He called on al-Ashtar to sign [the document] but he refused and reproached him. Al-Ash’ath [then] went out reading the document to the people (5:55). He declined to accompany ‘Ali (as) in his move towards Mu’awiyah after the Nahrawan and insisted on returning to Kufah under the pretext of [the need for] preparation (5:89). ‘Uthman had tempted him with the taxes from Adharbaijan [nearing] 100,000 [dinars] a year (5:130). Ash’ath had also built a mosque in Kufah (5:22).

[76.](#) Usaid bin Malik al-Hadhrami. It is said that he is the one who killed ‘Abdullah bin Muslim in Karbala’. His son, Bilal, revealed the place in their house [where] Muslim [was hiding], which resulted in his killing.

[77.](#) Al-Tabari (5:371): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Mujalid bin Sa’id narrated to me that...” See also al-Irshad (pg.212) and al-Maqtal of al-Khwarazmi (pg.208). Al-Tabari reports on the authority of ‘Ammar al-Duhani from Imam al-Baqir (as) who said: “When Muslim saw that he was now alone [and just] wandering in the streets [of Kufah], he stopped at a door and a lady came out from the house. So he said to her: ‘Give me water to drink.’ She gave him water and then went inside. She came out again after sometime and found Muslim still at the door. So she said: ‘O servant of Allah! Your sitting [here] arouses suspicion, so go away!’ He said: ‘I am Muslim bin ‘Aqil, do you have shelter [for me]?’ She said: ‘Yes, come in.’ Her son was a servant of Muhammad bin Ash’ath, so when he learnt of Muslim [being in their house], he went to Muhammad and informed him, who then went to ‘Ubaidullah and gave him the news. ‘Ubaidullah sent ‘Amru bin Huraith al-Makhzumi –the head of his bodyguards– together with ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash’ath [to arrest Muslim]. Muslim did not know of this until after the house was surrounded [by them]” (5:350). But we shall see soon that the head of his bodyguards was [in fact] Husayn bin Tamim.

[78.](#) Al-Tabari (5:380): He was Ibn Ziyad’s scribe who wrote the letter for him to Yazid informing him of the killing of Muslim. He used to take long in writing letters and was disliked by Ibn Ziyad.

[79.](#) Al-Tabari: Ibn Ziyad had sent him [i.e. Husayn] to al-Qadisiyyah for arranging the horsemen from there to the cities of

Khaffan, Qutqutanah and La'la' (5:394). He was the one who sent Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi, the messenger of al-Husayn (as), to Ibn Ziyad who latter killed him (5:395) and 'Abdullah bin Buqtur (5:398). He was the one to send ahead Hurr with an army of 1,000 men of the Banu Tamim from al-Qadisiyyah to encounter al-Husayn (as). He was the head of the guards in Karbala' and was [constantly] inciting them to kill Hurr (5:434). Ibn Sa'd had sent him along with 500 archers to shoot at the followers of al-Husayn (as), so they drew near them and showered them with arrows, stunning thereby their horses (5:437). Ibn Tamim also launched an attack on the companions of al-Husayn (as) as they were preparing for the prayers, so Habib bin Mu'ahir came out to him and struck the face of his horse with [his] sword upon which it reared and [Hasin] fell off. Consequently, Budail bin Suraim al 'Aqfani al-Tamimi struck Habib on the head with his sword. Another person from the Banu Tamim attacked him and stabbed him with a spear. Then Husayn bin Tamim returned to him and struck him on the head and [Habib] fell [to the ground]. Then Budail beheaded Habib and gave his head to Husayn. Husayn hung his head on the neck of his horse and went with it round the army and then gave it back to his killer (5:440). Husayn shot an arrow at the Imam (as) when he drew near the water to drink and the arrow hit his mouth and the Imam (as) prayed against him (5:449).

[80.](#) Al-Tabari: 'Amru bin Huraith al-Makhzumi. He purchased from Sa'ib bin al-Aqra' al-Thaqafi –the scribe and accountant of the Muslim army at the conquest of Nahawand– two large boxes from the spoils of war that contained pearls, chrysolite, and rubies, for two million dirhams. He then went to the cities in Persia and sold them for four million. He was the richest man in Kufah by the year 21 H. (5:117)

'Amru was the deputy of Sa'id bin al-'As in Kufah and helped calm the people with respect to [the crisis of] 'Uthman in the year 34 H (4:322). He also served as Ziyad bin Sumayyah's deputy in Kufah in 51 H and was [once] stoned by the companions of Hujr (5:256). He was the head of the quarter of the people of Madinah [residing] in Kufah and was among those to testify against Hujr and his followers (5:268) in 64 H. Ibn Huraith also served as Ibn Ziyad's deputy in Kufah in the year 64 H. When Yazid died and Ibn Ziyad made the bid for the caliphate, Ibn Huraith followed him and was inviting people towards his authority, on account of which he was stoned by the people of Kufah (5:524) and was expelled by them from the palace (5:560). He then detached himself from the people and joined the righteous people in the movement of Mukhtar in 66 H (6:30). Ibn Huraith owned a bathhouse in Kufah (6:48). In the year 71 H, he earned the favour of 'Abd al-Malik (6:167) and served as the deputy of Bishr bin Marwan in Kufah in 73 H (6:144). Ibn Huraith refused to bring water to Muslim bin 'Aqil [when he was brought before Ibn Ziyad] (5:376). He pleaded for Zainab (as) in the court of Ibn Ziyad only because of his fervor for the Quraish (5:457). He died in 85 H. He was 12 years old when the the Prophet (S) passed away, as reported in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (pg.527; Suwaidan publications).

[81.](#) Al-Tabari (5:371–373): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Mujalid bin Sa'id narrated to me that..."

[82.](#) Al-Tabari: He was among those who testified against Hujr and his followers (5:270) and went with the heads of Muslim and Hani' to Yazid (5:38). He met Mukhtar in Makkah during the reign of Ibn al-Zubair in 64 H and learnt that Mukhtar was planning to return to Kufah and initiate a revolt there, so he warned Mukhtar of [causing] dissension (5:578).

[83.](#) Al-Tabari: (5:569): "Abu Mikhnaf reports: 'Nadhr bin Salih related to me that..."

[84.](#) Al-Tabari: He was with Mukhtar in his uprising in 67 H (6:98). Apparently, he seems to be 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman al-Thaqafi, the son of Mu'awiyah's sister by the name of Umm al-Hakam. Mu'awiyah had appointed him as the governor of Kufah in 58 H after Dahhak bin Qais, while the head of his bodyguards then was Za'idah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi (5:310). He was earlier the governor of Mosul under Mu'awiyah in 51 H. He was the one who killed 'Amru bin al-Humq al-Khuza'i while he was ill, claiming it to be a retaliation for 'Uthman's blood (5:265). He maltreated the people of Kufah to the extent that they expelled him and he joined Mu'awiyah, his maternal uncle, who then appointed him as the governor of Egypt and he was [again] expelled from there, so he returned back to Mu'awiyah (5:312). If it was not for his family ties with Yazid, Ibn Huraith would not have benefited him.

[85.](#) We have already given his biography in the introduction.

[86.](#) Al-Tabari (5:570): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Nadhr bin Salih related to e from 'Abd al-Rahman bin Abi 'Umair al-Thaqafi that..."

[87.](#) Al-Tabari (5:369): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Abu Janab al-Kalbi has narrated to me that..."

[88.](#) Al-Tabari (5:371–373): "Abu Mikhnaf reports: 'Mujalid bin Sa'id narrated to me...". See also al-Irshad (pg.213) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.208).

[89.](#) Ibn Ash'ath himself could have justified this act of his by saying that he was only taking out Muslim from the house of their slave lady, Taw'ah, and her son Bilal. This indicates how well acquainted Ibn Ziyad was with regard to tribal matters such that he was careful of them and employed them for his own ends.

[90.](#) In the actual text of al-Tabari and other books that have reached us, the phrase shi'a' al-nafs has been replaced with shi'a' al-shams (rays of the sun). According to Shaikh al-Samawi in Ibsar al-'Ain (pg.49), this is a distortion by those who could not understand the meaning of shi'a' al-nafs, so it seemed to them that shi'a' al-shams was more appropriate. Shi'a' al-nafs means 'the fearing of the heart' as it is said: marat nafsuhi shi'a'an, that is his heart became dispersed like the tiny rays out of fear (tafarraqat nafsuhi kasshi'a' al-daqiq min al-khauf); for shi'a' means a thing which is totally scattered.

[91.](#) Al-Tabari (5:372): "Abu Mikhnaf said: 'Qudamah bin Sa'id bin Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi has related to me from his grandfather Zaidah that...' For more about him, see the Introduction.

[92.](#) Al-Tabari (5:375): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Ja'far bin Hudhaifah al-Tai narrated to me that...'"

[93.](#) The actual text reads: "I am the son of one...", but the correct version is what has been mentioned in this text.

[94.](#) Here Abu Mikhnaf stops his report from Qudamah bin Sa'id and begins relating from Sa'id bin Mudrak bin 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it [saying] that he is the one who sent his servant called Qais to bring the pitcher. The report of Ibn Mudrak appears to go back to that of Qudamah. We [here] preferred Qudamah's report on the authority of his grandfather Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi, because we have indicted Ibn Mudrak for concocting [this] narration as a merit for his grandfather, 'Umara, whereas such an objection cannot be made on the report of Qudamah since he has not attributed it to his grandfather, Zaidah, although he was present at the scene, but instead attributes it to 'Amru bin Huraith. Ibn Huraith had two other stands [also]: his favourable word about Mukhtar in the presence of Ibn Ziyad as he testified in favour of the former thus saving him from being killed; and his intervention when Ibn Ziyad intended to beat [Lady] Zainab (as), though all this was out of his fervour for Quraish. As for 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it al-Umawiyy, he is among the enemies of the Ahl al-Bait (as) whose biography we have mentioned in the introduction. Shaikh al-Mufid has mentioned Qudamah's report in al-Irshad (pg.215) and so has al-Khwarazmi in his al-Maqtal (pg.210). Al-Samawi has reconciled between the two reports by saying that both of them [i.e. 'Umarah and 'Amru] had sent for the water, something which is not correct. See Ibsar al-'Ain (pg.45) of al-Samawi.

[95.](#) Al-Tabari (5:375): "Abu Mikhnaf reports from Qudamah bin Sa'id that..."

[96.](#) Al-Tabari (5:375): "Abu Mihnaf says: 'Ja'far bin Hudhaifah al-Ta'i related to me saying..."

[97.](#) Both of them were from Quraish and both were related to the Banu Zuhrah –the tribe from which Ibn Sa'd came– from their mother's side.

[98.](#) Muslim (as) repeated the last part of his will to Ibn Sa'd after he had earlier asked Ibn Ash'ath to do so, due to the significance of the matter and that may be one of them would act on it.

[99.](#) Sumayyah was the mother of Ziyad [bin Abih] and used to have a flag over her house during the days of Ignorance (jahiliyyah) to indicate that she was was prostitute. Abu Sufyan and other men had illicit relations with her which resulted in the birth of Ziyad. So they drew lots by using arrows which were without head and feathers in order to decide who would have Ziyad. He fell to Abu Sufyan's lot and he claimed him to be his son. Nevertheless, he came to be known as Ziyad bin Sumayyah, that is after his mother, until after Mu'awiyah attributed him to his own father. [By doing so,] Mu'awiyah committed the most abominable act from the viewpoint of both religion and convention ('urf).

[100.](#) Al-Tabari (5:376): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Sa'id bin Mudrak bin 'Umarah narrated to me from his grandfather, 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it, that..."

[101.](#) Al-Tabari (5:375): "Abu Mikhnaf reports that: 'Ja'far bin Hudhaifah al-Tai informed me that..."

[102.](#) By 'now' Abu Mikhnaf meant his own times. Al-Irshad (pg.216) says: "...now the location of the cobblers (al-hidhaiyyin)", while al-Khwarazmi says on page 215 of his al-Maqtal: "...the market of the butchers", and again on page 214 he says: "...at a place where sheeps and goats were sold." This report [of al-Khwarazmi] supports what has appeared in the text of al-Tabari.

[103.](#) Al-Tabari (5:376): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Sa'id bin Mudrak bin 'Umarah narrated to me..."

[104.](#) Al-Tabari (5:378): "Abu Mikhnaf reports that: "Saq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that..."

[105.](#) When Ibn Sa'd saw that Ibn Ziyad has asked Ibn Hamran about the last words of Muslim (as), he immediately went on to disclose what Muslim had entrusted him with in order to win [Ibn Ziyad's] favour, but Ibn Ziyad responded by charging

him with treachery. Such is the reward of the bootlickers!

[106.](#) By saying: “With regard to your money...”, as if Ibn Ziyad considers him to be the inheritor of Muslim!

[107.](#) In another version he is reported to have said: “We will not grant your request regarding his corpse, since we do not consider him to deserve that, for he fought and opposed us and also tried to destroy us” (al-Tabari:5:377). This is found in the same narration by Abu Mikhnaf which begins with [the following phrase]: “And they thought that he said...”

[108.](#) Al-Tabari (5:379): [Later,] ‘Abd al-Rahman bin al-Husayn al-Muradi happened to see Rashid with ‘Ubaidullah and heard people saying that: “This is the killer of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah.” So he attacked him with a spear, stabbed him and killed him. See also al-Irshad (pg.217) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.214).

[109.](#) Al-Tabari (5:378): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’qab bin Zuhair narrated to me from ‘Aun bin Abi Juhaifah...”

[110.](#) Al-Tabari does not mention here that they were dragged by their two legs in the markets. But after this, he reports from Abu Mikhnaf himself who narrated from Abu Janab al-Kalbi, who in turn was relating from ‘Adiyy bin Harmalah al-Asadi on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin Salim and Madhri bin al-Mushma’il –both of whom were from Banu Asad, who reported from Bukair bin Math’abah al-Asadi who said: “I did not leave Kufah until after Muslim bin ‘Aqil and Hani’ bin ‘Urwah were killed and I saw them being dragged by their two legs in the market (5:397). Al-Khwarazmi (2:215) and Ibn Shahrashub (2:212) have mentioned that Ibn Ziyad crucified them up side down in the outskirts of Kufah.”

[111.](#) Al-Tabari (5:378): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’qab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that...”

[112.](#) Al-Tabari (5:566): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Nadhr bin Salih has narrated to me that...”

[113.](#) Al-mana’ir is the plural of man’arah which means a place used for keeping an eye on the enemy, while al-masalih, plural of maslahah, is a place in which armed men keep a watch on the enemy in order to avert any sudden attack. See also al-Irshad (pg.217) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.245).

[114.](#) Al-Tabari: “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘I relate from Abu Janab Yahya bin Abi Hayyah al-Kalbi (5:380). He is the brother of Hani’ bin Abi Hayyah, the one who carried the heads of Muslim and Hani’ to Yazid. It appears from Abu Janab’s report about his brother that he was proud of the way Ibn Ziyad described him that he was a man of knowledge, truth, understanding and piety! And also the way Yazid characterized him, though such an attitude was not unexpected from the tribe of Kilab.

[115.](#) Al-Tabari (5:378): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’qab bin Zuhair narrates from ‘Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that...”

[116.](#) This refers to Asma’ bin Kharijah al-Fazari who brought Hani’ bin ‘Urwah to Ibn Ziyad.

[117.](#) Al-Tabari (5:381): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’qab bin Zuhair narrated to me from ‘Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that...”

[118.](#) Al-Tabari narrates on the authority of ‘Ammar al-Duhani from Imam al-Baqir (as) who said: “Their poet said the following on that...” and the Imam (as) mentioned three verses of it, the first being “And (fa) [O soul!] If you do not know what death is, then look at...” (5:350), while in the text it reads “[O soul!] If you do not know...” which is not correct, as the couplet does not rhyme in this case. Al-Muhaqqiq has recorded the name Zubair as ‘Zabair’ and he seems to have taken it from al-Kamil of Ibn al-Athir (4:36) and Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg. 108). With regard al-Asadi [the poet], al-Isfahani says in his book (pg.290): “He was one of the notable Shi’ite narrators of hadith and ‘Abbad bin Ya’qub al-Rawajani (d.205 H) and his like, and even more distinguished personalities than him, have also narrated from ‘Abdullah”. It has also been related from al-Isfahani that he was among the companions of Muhammad bin ‘Abdillah bin al-Hasan Dhi al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, who was martyred during the rule of Mansur in the year 145 H. Al-Isfahani then says: “He is the father of Abu Ahmad al-Zubairi, the traditionist whose actual name was Muhammad bin ‘Abdillah bin al-Zubair” (pg.290).

Al-Kashhi narrates in his al-Rijal (hadith no.621) from ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Sayabah who said: “Abu ‘Abdillah (as) gave me some dinars and aksed me to distribute them among the families of those who were martyred along with his uncle Zayd. So I distributed the money, and the share of the family of ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair al-Rassan was four dinars. Shaikh al-Mufid reports in al-Irshad (pg.269) from Abu Khalid al-Wasiti who said: “Abu ‘Abdillah (as) gave me a thousand dinars and ordered me to distribute them among the families of those who had been martyred with Zayd and the share of the family of ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair, the brother of Fudhail al-Rassan, was four dinars.” In fact, they might be two different persons with the same name; for while al-Isfahani counts Ibn al-Zubair among the distinguished Shi’ah traditionists, the author of al-Aghani (13:31) asserts that he was a partisan of the Banu Umayyah who was very zealous in their cause and supported them against their enemies! He further says: “Ibn al-Zubair never assisted anyone against them or their governors. ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad used to maintain relations with him, honour him and pay his debts. Ibn al-Zubair has in return a

number of eulogies in praise of Ibn Ziyad and also Asma' bin Kharijah al-Fazari (al-Aghani: 13:33&37).

Sayyid al-Muqarram brings the above verses attributed to al-Asadi in his book al-Shahid Muslim (pg.201) and says: "How can one ascribe these verses about Muslim and Hani' to this man after knowing his inclination towards the Banu Umayyah and his eulogies in their praise?!" Al-Muqarram then prefers to attribute them to Farazdaq who composed them after his return from hajj in the year 60 H.

Al-Isfahani quotes these verses ascribed to Ibn al-Zubair al-Asadi from al-Madaini who narrated them on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf from Yusuf bin Yazid.

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