

INDICATORS OF PIETY, PART III¹

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ABSTRACT: This series explains the merits and consequences of piety (*taqwa*) as seen in the Qur'an, hadith, and the lives of the Ahlul Bayt. Piety is one of the most important concepts in the Qur'an by which people are ranked before God as it goes beyond the actions of the body, and is related to the intention behind all actions and is required to reach salvation. In Part I, the merits of piety according to the Qur'an were studied. The previous part explored the definition of piety along with the factors that contribute to its formation. This part further illustrates the qualities of the pious according to the Qur'an, that the pious are those who have faith in the unseen, establish prayer, give charity, believe in the hereafter, and have faith in what has been revealed to the Prophet as well as the previous prophets.

We have already established the significance of piety (*taqwā*) as per the teachings of the Qur'an and hadith, and have demonstrated that it is the fundamental quality required reach salvation. To understand the true nature of piety, a further look into the Qur'an's description of this trait is needed.

¹ This paper is the third part of a series of seven lessons by the author in London, at the Islamic Centre of England in July 2011. This course was an attempt to explore the essence of faith, religiosity, and moral values on which they are based.

With reference to the verses previously cited (2:2-5), God describes the pious as those who hold certain characteristics and as a result, they achieve piety and guidance, and ultimately attain success and happiness.

The pious:

1. Have faith in the unseen; b. establish prayer; c. give charity; d. have faith in what has been revealed to Prophet Muhammad and to the previous prophets, and; e. have faith in the Hereafter.

Faith in the unseen

The quality of faith (*imān*) is a key factor in obtaining piety, without which piety becomes impossible. As seen in the verses, faith is a part of three of the five key qualities of a pious person.

In the very early stages of Islam, the concept of faith came under great scrutiny and was the subject of much debate. Early theologians held differing opinions on the state of a faithful person who commits a major sin (*murtakib al-kabirah*), on whether such a person can remain faithful, or enters a different state. Amongst these, the Mu'tazilites² believed that such a person enters a state in which he is neither a believer nor a non-believer, whilst the Kharijites³ opined that such a person would become

² The Mu'tazilites emerged during the time of Hasan al-Basri (d. 110 AH), after he was asked whether a believer who had committed a major sin remains a believer. One of his students, Wasil bin Ata, gave his opinion by saying, 'A state between the two states [of belief and disbelief]'. Wasil then stood up and sat in a different area of the mosque. Al-Basri declared, 'He has left us' or 'Leave us!' employing an Arabic word from the root *i'tizāl*, from which the name Mu'tazilite has been derived.

³ Kharijites (Arabic: *خوارج* *Khawārij*, literally "those who went out"; singular, *Khārijī*) is the title for a Muslim sect. Early kharijites, while initially supporting the authority of the final Rashidun Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib, the son-in-law and cousin of Prophet Muhammad, later rejected his leadership. With the passing of time, the Kharijite groups fell greatly in their numbers and their beliefs did not

a non-believer and may be killed as a result. Thus, the need to accurately define faith became of paramount importance.

Some theologians held that faith is simply stating the declaration of belief (*shahādatayn*). Others stated that more was required, such as knowledge, action, and submission.

From the Qur'an and hadith it is clear that in order to hold faith, it is not sufficient to merely state one's belief in God and Prophet Muhammad; rather, faith is something that is vested in the heart:

قَالَتِ الْأَعْرَابُ آمَنَّا قُلْ لَمْ تُؤْمِنُوا وَلَكِنْ قُولُوا أَسْلَمْنَا وَلَمَّا يَدْخُلِ الْإِيمَانُ فِي قُلُوبِكُمْ وَإِنْ تُطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ لَا يَلِتْكُمْ مِنْ أَعْمَالِكُمْ شَيْئًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ
The Bedouins say, 'We have faith.' Say, 'You do not have faith yet; rather say, "We have embraced Islam," for faith has not yet entered into your hearts. Yet if you obey God and His Apostle, He will not stint anything of [the reward of] your works. Indeed God is All-Forgiving, All-Merciful.' (49:14)

In this verse, God tells Prophet Muhammad to advise the Bedouins that faith is a stage after the stage of embracing Islam, and therefore a mere declaration of belief is not sufficient to deem someone to be faithful. Therefore, faith is a stage above the initial submission in Islam.

continue to gain any traction in future generations. From their essentially political position, the Kharijites developed extreme doctrines that further set them apart from both mainstream Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. The Kharijites were particularly noted for adopting a radical approach to Takfir, whereby they declared other Muslims to be unbelievers and therefore deemed them worthy of death. (extracted with abbreviation from *Wikipedia*).

After declaring belief, for faith to enter one's heart, some additional steps are required. Simply adding knowledge to one's declaration is not enough for it to transform into faith. Throughout history, instances can be found where people held knowledge of the truth but were not faithful. For example, Mu'awiyah knew that the rightful leadership of the Muslims was vested with Ali b. Abi Talib but he refused to accept this. Similarly, the pagan Arabs repeatedly denied the credentials of Prophet Muhammad, despite knowing that he was truly the Prophet of God, due to their selfish fear of losing power and control of Mecca. The Qur'an says, "*They impugned them – though they were convinced in their hearts – wrongfully and defiantly...* (27:14)"

Thus, in addition to knowledge, a person must have the quality of acceptance. Acceptance will manifest itself in the form of submission and humility towards that truth, no matter what the personal cost, difficult implications, and sacrifice it requires. Therefore, faith and submission must accompany one another. It does not seem credible for one to accept a truth and then not act according to it, or to act according to a truth but then not have confidence to declare it to others.⁴ Describing faith and its components, Prophet Muhammad said:

ليس الايمان بالتحلي ولا بالتمني و لكنّ الايمان ما خلص في القلب و صدقه
الاعمال⁵

⁴ Of course here we are not referring to when people must tactfully hide their faith in order to safeguard e.g. their lives, an act that the Qur'an fully endorses. For example, refer to the verses 16:6 and 40:28.

⁵ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 66, p. 72.

Faith is not an adornment [that is worn], nor is it achieved by merely wishing; rather, it is something that settles in the heart and is confirmed by actions.

الايان اقرار باللسان و معرفة بالقلب و عمل بالاركان⁶

Faith is confirmation by speech, recognition with the heart, and action with the limbs.

الايان و العمل اخوان شريكان في قرن لا يقبل الله أحدهما الا بصاحبه⁷

Faith and action are like two brothers, joined with one another; God does not accept one of them without its partner.

These sayings demonstrate that both faith and action are necessary for any action to be accepted; and when this happens, then according to the Qur'an it is described as piety:

إِنَّمَا يَتَقَبَّلُ اللَّهُ مِنَ الْمُتَّقِينَ

God only accepts from the pious. (5:27)

Therefore, a person's faith requires knowledge and results in action; faith produces verbal declarations, but in a nutshell it is submission and acceptance.

To illustrate this point further, we refer to a number of verses in which the characteristics of the faithful are described:

⁶ Ibid., vol. 10, p. 367.

⁷ *Mizan al-Hikmah*, vol. 1, p. 193.

إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الَّذِينَ إِذَا ذُكِرَ اللَّهُ وَجِلَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَإِذَا تُلِيَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتُهُ زَادَتْهُمْ
 إِيمَانًا وَعَلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ يَتَوَكَّلُونَ الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ أُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ
 الْمُؤْمِنُونَ حَقًّا لَهُمْ دَرَجَاتٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ وَمَغْفِرَةٌ وَرِزْقٌ كَرِيمٌ

The faithful are only those whose hearts tremble [with awe] when Allah is mentioned, and when His verses are recited to them, they increase their faith, and who put their trust in their Lord. They maintain the prayer and spend out of what We have provided them. It is they who are truly the faithful. They shall have ranks near their Lord, forgiveness and a noble provision. (8:2-4)

The grammatical construct of these verses shows exclusivity, i.e. it is impossible to be considered a faithful person without the following qualities:

1. **Their hearts tremble [with awe] when Allah is mentioned:** When a person's beloved is mentioned, it naturally causes the listener's heart to yearn towards him or her and experience a moment of heartfelt love. When the beloved is God, the correct description of this would be feeling a sense of awe. Hence, a fundamental sign of a faithful person is his or her love for God. This love would be complete and perfect, in that it would lead to wilful and pleasurable obedience, not due to any threat or reward. For example, when a child asks his or her parent for something such as a glass of water, the parent obeys. There is no sense of force or imposition upon the parent, nor is there any threat or reward associated with the act. Rather, the parent obeys the child with joy. Similarly, every now and then a lover may seek ways of performing acts of kindness for their beloved even when not asked to do so. This

voluntary obedience and service is what true faithful people display towards God, and it eventually softens the heart.⁸

2. **Their faith increases with the recitation of the Qur'an:** The level of a person's faith is subject to increase and decrease; it is linked to submission, and submission has different degrees. When life's circumstances become very difficult, it is more difficult to submit. An example of unshakable submission at the most difficult of times is that of Prophet Abraham and Prophet Ishmael. Abraham tells Ishmael that he has been ordered to sacrifice him, and Ishmael calmly responds:

يَا أَبَتِ افْعَلْ مَا تُؤْمَرُ سَتَجِدُنِي إِن شَاءَ اللَّهُ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ

...*'Father! Do whatever you have been commanded. If God wishes, you will find me to be patient.'* (37:102)

3. **They trust their Lord:** People often put their trust in other people or institutions, such as family members, teachers, police officers, bankers, or doctors, but the truly faithful person will have put their trust only in God.

4. **They establish prayer and give charity:** In the Qur'an, faith is often mentioned alongside prayer, and prayer is almost always coupled with charity. Prayers and charity can be thought of as the two wings of a bird, both are required for soaring to greater heights and achieving success.

⁸ The Arabic term for heart is *qalb*, which literally means change, because the heart changes due to one's love, hate, hope, despair, etc. It seems that in all languages the term heart is used to refer to the physical heart as well as the soul.

Faithful people who perform these actions are then described as genuine and true believers who are very close to their Lord. As a result they are granted forgiveness and a noble sustenance. Elsewhere the Qur'an says:

وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَهَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ آوَوْا وَنَصَرُوا أُولَئِكَ هُمُ
الْمُؤْمِنُونَ حَقًّا لَهُمْ مَغْفِرَةٌ وَرِزْقٌ كَرِيمٌ

Those who have believed, migrated, and struggled in the way of God, and those who gave them shelter and help, it is they who are truly the faithful. For them shall be forgiveness and a noble provision. (8:74)

In addition to the four actions mentioned in the previous verse, this verse describes the truly faithful as those who invest more effort and struggle in God's way, and are willing to make personal sacrifices.

The Qur'an also says:

وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ يَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ
الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَيُطِيعُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ أُولَئِكَ سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ
اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ

But the faithful, men and women, are guardians of one another: they bid what is right and forbid what is wrong and establish prayer, give alms, and obey God and His Apostle. It is they to whom God will soon grant His mercy. Indeed God is Mighty, Wise. (9:71)

This verse describes the important social responsibility that faithful people have as guardians of one another. Guardianship (*wilāyah*) is not merely between humans and the Creator, or between the Infallibles and their followers, but rather it is something that binds all people together,

as well as with God and the Infallibles. The faithful have rights over one another and their fates are interdependent. They therefore use their guardianship to encourage good and forbid evil as they feel responsible for one another, as one family, or as passengers on the same boat, where the actions of one impacts the others. Thus, for a faithful person, there is no room for selfishness or a carefree attitude with respect to another person's wellbeing. The result is that such faithful people will soon be shown God's special mercy.

Once they attain faith, the truly faithful do not doubt afterwards:

إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَرْتَابُوا وَجَاهَدُوا بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الصَّادِقُونَ

The faithful are only those who have attained faith in God and His Apostle and then have never doubted, and who struggle with their possessions and their persons in the way of God. It is they who are the truthful. (49:15)

Here, we should distinguish unjustified doubt (*rayb*) from genuine doubt.⁹ Islam wholeheartedly encourages enquiry, but once truth is revealed and manifested, pride and stubbornness should not prevent the

⁹ According to a hadith from Imam Sadiq a person went to Prophet Muhammad while he was very worried that he has lost his faith and therefore is destroyed. Before the man said what the problem was, the Prophet what he was going to ask. The Prophet said: "Satan came to you and asked you: 'If God has created everything who has created God?'" The man said: "By the One who has raised you as a Prophet truthfully, that was the problem. Then the Prophet said: "By God, this is pure faith" (Al-Kafi, vol. 2, p. 425). This means that the fact that when you had such question you were concerned and wanted to find the right answer to it shows that you are a true believer. The hadith is as follows:

عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ع قَالَ جَاءَ رَجُلٌ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ ص فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ هَلَكْتُ فَقَالَ لَهُ ع أَتَاكَ الْحَبِيثُ فَقَالَ لَكَ مِنْ خَلْقِكَ فَقُلْتَ اللَّهُ فَقَالَ لَكَ اللَّهُ مَنْ خَلَقَهُ فَقَالَ إِي وَ الَّذِي بَعَثَكَ بِالْحَقِّ لَكَ كَذَا فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ص ذَلِكَ وَ اللَّهُ مَحْضُ الْإِيمَانِ

acceptance of that truth, otherwise such a person will find themselves living in perpetual denial.

One of the disciples of Ibn Sina (Avicenna) once said to him, “Master, you are such a genius! If you claimed to be a prophet people would believe in you!” Ibn Sina did not reply at that moment. On another day, he and this same disciple were travelling and as night fell they slept whilst the weather was very cold. Just before the time of the morning prayer, Ibn Sina awoke the student and asked him to go and fetch him some water to drink. The student was comfortable in his warm coverings and did not want to go out into the cold to fetch water and so he started to make excuses as to why cold water would not be good for Ibn Sina. They then both heard the voice of the call to prayer from one of the nearby minarets. Sensing the moment, Ibn Sina said, “You have been my close student for many years and I asked you only once to bring me water and you made excuses. But that man [the caller to prayer] who has not even met the Prophet goes to the cold top of the minaret every night and shouts the testimony of Prophet Muhammad’s apostleship. This is the difference between me and a prophet.”

Immovable faith and conviction will facilitate for such faithful people to struggle with their wealth and their lives and accept difficulties; such people have been tested by God and have passed the tests, and hence the verse terms them as successful.

THE ROLE OF THE WOMEN OF ASHURA

SIMINDOKHT BEHZADPOOR¹

TRANSLATED BY SEYYEDEH ZAHRA MIRFENDERESKI

ABSTRACT: In all the events that occurred before, during, and after the Day of Ashura, the role of the women was especially remarkable as they were exemplars in demonstrating how to resist against oppression. There were wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters in the camp of Imam Husayn who displayed love and self-sacrifice, and fought cruelty, worldliness, and materialism. In the small desert of Karbala, people of all ages displayed facets of religion such as wilayah,² hijab,³ patience, faith, enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, *tawalli*⁴ and *tabarri*.⁵ The following article offers an account of the women's unwavering support of Imam Husayn and his cause before Ashura, in the Battle of Karbala, and after the massacre.

Introduction

What did Imam Husayn really want to change? And what did he require for it? What public relations did he use to publicize the event of Āshūrā?

¹ Holder of Master's in Management

² Mutual friendship and guardianship among all the believers

³ Obligatory covering of the body as specified in Islam

⁴ Following the Imam's friendship for anyone

⁵ Following the Imam's enmity towards anyone

Imam Husayn was far-sighted about all present and possible future problems and aimed to fight the source so as to show that the problems went further than those that occurred on the Day of Āshūrā; that his uprising was a manifestation of his understanding of its influence on the people's lives. Imam Husayn made his system of propagation as he stood against all misbeliefs. In a short time, he showed those who wanted to secularize the society that *wilayah* is the cause of inseparability of religion and politics.

The Day of Āshūrā

Imam Husayn considered all the factors that the enemy deployed to compromise the foundations of religion and eliminate their effect from the people's lives.

Indeed Islam saved women from being held in contempt, yet they were endangered by the enemy's plots of regarding at women as expenses and not as intelligent beings who can independently decide for themselves. That was how women took on their responsibilities after Āshūrā so as to manifest the greatest values of *wilayah*.

Any uprising has two features: 1) The philosophy of an uprising, and 2) the performance of an uprising.

The performance of the Imam's uprising involved 'martyrdom' – when the Imam and his male relatives and companions were murdered – and the 'capture' that occurred to the women during the aftermath. Āshūrā was a manifestation of the Imam's uprising with a small number of women and children; it exhibited the realization of a true human mission in defending truth.

In early Islam, the Prophet was the true guide for all women, particularly the women of Imam Husayn's companions. Lady Fatimah Zahra defended Imam Ali and Lady Zaynab followed the objectives of her mother who was the role model for the wives of the companions. As much as religious leaders cared about the role of women, the other party attempted to revive the ideologies of the Pre-Islamic Era, the time when women were used and not highly regarded. However, the results of those religious efforts in promoting the culture and status of women was manifested in 61 AH in Karbala; consequently, the events during and after Karbala helped less informed women to review their role in society. Lady Zaynab began her mission of public relations in the evening of Āshūrā; it was so powerfully done that afterwards people demanded answers to their questions which eventually led to the disclosure of the truth.

Lady Zaynab made the system respond to what they did, which in fact was a shift of the power structure so that the people found the rulers responsible for what they did.

Lady Zaynab accomplished this through the three strategies:

1. Introducing the true leader by giving people the right information
2. Analysing the oppression caused by Yazid and his agents before and after Āshūrā
3. Enlightening the people regarding the methods in which people must stand against the enemy's plots

The wives of Imam Husayn's companions

Their support before Āshūrā

Resistance: The events on the Day of Āshūrā were manifestations of love, self-sacrifice, and God’s servitude. The women encouraged their male family members to support Imam Husayn, and the women themselves accompanied and assisted Lady Zaynab. Before Āshūrā, there were women who defended him and his family when some men feared to do so.

For example, the lovers of the Ahlul Bayt gathered and discussed in the house of Marīyah bint Sa’d from the ‘Abd al-Qays tribe in the centre of Kufa. She dispatched Yazīd ibn Nabīṭ, her two sons, her servant, Sayf ibn Mālik and Adham ibn Umayyah to Karbala.⁶

Their support of Imam Husayn

1. In Kufa, when the people conspired against or ignored Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl (Imam Husayn’s cousin and delegate), Ṭaw‘ah, the wife of Usayd al-Ḥaḍramī gave him refuge and treated him with generosity.⁷
2. When Dulham bint ‘Amr, Zuhayr ibn al-Qayn’s wife, discovered that her husband rejected meeting with Imam Husayn, she encouraged him by saying, “Does the son of the Prophet call you to himself and you do not accept? Glory be to God! Go to him and listen to what he says and come back!”⁸ After Zuhayr spoke with the Imam, he happily returned to Dulham, packed up his own stuff and broke up with Dulham so that enemy would not hurt her after the Battle of Karbala. She was escorted by his servant to her family, and he returned to the Imam.

⁶ Abu Mikhnaf, *Maqatal al-Husayn (a)*, p. 18.

⁷ Ibid., p. 45.

⁸ Ibid., p. 74.

3. In Nakhīlah, (the camp of the Kufan army), the wife of ‘Abdullah ‘Umayr Kalbī saw the army of Ibn Zīyād moving out of Kufa. She asked her husband, “Where does this army go?” Abdullah answered, “To fight Husayn ibn Ali.” She wished her husband’s martyrdom [in support of Imam Husayn]. Abdullah himself also wished martyrdom, so he told her wife about it. She was overjoyed, and told him, “What a good wish you have! May God guide you. Please, take me with you.”⁹

Their support after Āshūrā

1. In the army of Ibn Sa‘d:
 - a. The first helmet of Imam Husayn was made of fur. A man from Kendeh tribe took it after his martyrdom, went to his wife Umm Abdullah and washed it from blood. His wife asked him, “Have you snatched the helmet of the son of the Prophet and brought to my house? Go away! I remember your friends used to say that you are wretched and miserable!”¹⁰
 - b. When Khūlī ibn Yazid took Imam Husayn’s head to Kufa, the doors of the palace of ‘Ubaydallah were closed, so he took the head to his house and put it under a large basin. Then, he went to his second wife, the daughter of Malik ibn ‘Aqrab from the Bani Asad Ḥaḍramī tribe. She asked him about any news he had. He answered, “I brought a valuable gift to make you happy forever! The head of Husayn is now in your house!” His wife angrily replied, “Damn you! Other men take gold and silver to their wives and you have brought the head of

⁹ Sheikh Abbas Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, Beirut, Dār al-Maḥajjah al-Bayḍā’, 1992, p. 132.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 192.

the son of the Prophet? I swear to God, I will not stay with you in this house!”¹¹

When Mukhtār seized the power, he sent Ma‘ādh ibn Hānī and Aba ‘Umrah, the chief of special guards to kill Khūlī who had hid in the toilet. Ma‘ādh ibn Hānī commanded Aba ‘Umrah: “Khūlī is in the house. Find him!” Khūlī’s wife came out. They asked her, “Where is your husband?” She said, “I do not know!” and pointed to the toilet, where they went and found him hiding under a big basket. They took him out and killed him.¹²

c. When Ka‘b ibn Jābir, one of Ibn Sa‘d’s soldiers, returned home, his wife and sister told him, “You helped the enemies of the son of Fatimah Zahra! I Swear by God, we will not speak with you anymore!”¹³

d. During the evening of Āshūrā when the army of ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d attacked the tents of the women and children of Imam Husayn, a soldier reported: “I saw a woman from Bani Bakr ibn Wā’il was with her husband in the army of ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d. When she saw the soldiers attacking the women in the camp of Imam Husayn and looting their tents, she took a sword, marched towards the tents, and said, “O Men of the Bani Bakr ibn Wā’il tribe! Do you stay indifferent while you see that daughters of the Prophet are being looted?” She then said, “No rules other than God’s! O avengers of the

¹¹ Ibid., p. 207.

¹² Ibid., p. 364.

¹³ Ibid., p. 134.

Prophet's blood!"¹⁴ This slogan later came to be the slogan of the future avengers of the tragedy of Āshūrā.

2. *Their support in Kufa*

a. When Ibn Sa'd arrived in Kufa with the captives, the people came to watch them. It is reported: "A faithful woman from the people of Kufa called from a high place where she could watch the entire scene. She asked, 'Captives, of what tribe are you?' They answered, 'The captives of the family of Muhammad.' She came down and brought them head coverings (chadors) and other pieces of garment to cover themselves with."¹⁵

b. When in the Mosque of Kufa, Ibn Zīyād spoke against the family of the Prophet to strengthen Yazid's position and called Yazid a liar who is the son of a liar. Abdullah ibn 'Afif, who had lost his right eye in the battle of Siffiyn, and his left eye in the battle of Jamal in the army of Imam Ali, stood up and defended the family of Imam Husayn. The agents of Ibn Zīyād wanted to arrest him, but his tribe did not let them do so although they attacked his house at night. His daughter then shouted and called her father, who took the sword from her and fought them using her guidance until they caught and killed him. His daughter shouted, "I wished I was a man to fight with these wicked killers of the family of the Prophet in front of you."¹⁶

3. *Their role in meeting with Yazīd*

¹⁴ Sheikh Abbas Qummi, *Bayt al-Aḥzān*, p. 201.

¹⁵ Sheikh Abbas Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 214.

¹⁶ Abu Mikhnaf, *Ibid.*, p. 208.

- a. At the court of Yazid, when Zaynab saw the head of his brother, she grievingly cried, “O Husayn! O the Friend of Allah! O the son of Mecca and Mina! O Son of Fatimah Zahra, the chief of all women of the worlds! O Son of Muṣṭafā!” Everyone cried while Yazid was silent. There was also a Hashemite woman at the court who cried out, “O Husayn! O Master of the Family of the Prophet! O Muhammad!”¹⁷
- b. After the speech of Lady Zaynab, when they hung the head of Imam Husayn at the doorstep of the court of Yazid and brought the captives towards it, Abu Sufyān’s wives went forth and kissed the hands and feet of the daughters of Imam Husayn and held mourning sessions for three days. Upon seeing the head of Imam Husayn, Yazid’s wife, Hind, tore her clothes, rushed out from behind the curtains and ran towards Yazid with bare feet, crying out, “O Yazid! Did you order to hang the head of Husayn at the doorstep of my house? Yazid jumped up, covered her, and said, “O Hind! Are you crying for the son of the daughter of the Prophet?”¹⁸

Their role during the Battle of Karbala

There are names of twenty women recorded in the Battle of Karbala; ten of them seemingly from the family of the Prophet while the rest were wives and daughters of the companions of Imam Husayn. Karbala contained the result of the uprising of Imam Husayn in the events of the morning until the evening of the tenth day of Muharram 61 AH. God wanted a new manifestation of the greatness of people to be seen. The women present in Karbala were chosen to show self-sacrifice.

¹⁷ Sheikh Abbas Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

1. Their aspiration for martyrdom

On the eve of Āshūrā, after Imam Husayn gave permission to his companions to leave the battlefield, he said, “Anyone who has brought his wife with himself should take her to a safe shelter. Tomorrow, the men of our camp will be killed and the women will be captured.” The Imam did not want other women endure the same suffering as the family of Imam Husayn. It is reported: “When Ali ibn Muḏahhar entered his tent, his wife said, ‘O Son of Muḏahhar! You are not treating me fairly. You want to enter paradise alone.’ Ali ibn Muḏahhar came to the Imam and said, ‘My wife [who is] from Asad tribe does not accept that I take her to a safe shelter.’ Before the Imam answered, Ali ibn Muḏahhar’s wife, visibly upset, addressed the Imam from inside the tent, saying, ‘O Son of Zahra! Are not we worthy of serving your daughters and sisters?’”¹⁹

The camp of Imam Husayn in Karbala was a camp of love for God, and one needed certain qualities to become a member of it. The permission to leave was announced by the Imam to be a quality check for those who had enough faith to stay with him and create the heroic scenes in Karbala and in front of the enemy’s large army. The women highly encouraged their husbands, brothers, and sons to defend the family of the Prophet while simultaneously taking care of Lady Zaynab. They had predicted being in chains, though they deeply wished for martyrdom and visiting Lady Fatima afterwards.

A. Throwing back the heads of the martyrs

The women created great legends in the desert of Karbala. Seven of the mothers of the martyrs dressed the armour over their sons, and watched

¹⁹ Muhammad Wāṣif, *Inqilāb Muḏaddas Husayn*, 1386 AH, p. 153.

their martyrdom as they were beheaded. Their sons' heads were then thrown in their direction. However, they all returned their sons' heads towards the enemy and cried out, "We do not take back what we have given in the way of God."²⁰ Three of those martyrs were among the companions:

1. 'Amr ibn Junādah – or in other reports, son of Muslim ibn 'Awsajah – was a young man whose father was recently martyred. His mother told him, "O my son, go and fight beside the son of the Prophet." Later Imam Husayn said, "The father of this young man has recently been martyred and maybe his mother is not content with him going to the battlefield." The young man said, "My mother ordered me to go." Then he went to the battlefield in support of Imam Husayn and his family and was eventually martyred. The enemy then threw his head towards his mother. His mother embraced the head and said, "My dear son, well done! O the delight of my heart!" Then, she threw it back towards a soldier of the enemy and killed him. She took the tent column and attacked the enemy, killing two soldiers. Then Imam Husayn ordered her to return to the tents.²¹
2. Abdullah ibn 'Umayr attacked the enemy, killing some of them and returned to his mother and wife saying, "O Mother, did I make you happy?" His mother said, "I would not become completely happy unless you are martyred for Husayn."²² He then fought and was martyred. His head was thrown towards his mother afterwards. His mother picked the head, kissed it, and threw it back to the enemy

²⁰ Muhammad Samāwī, *Abṣār al-'Ayn fī Anṣār al-Husayn*, p. 132.

²¹ Sheikh Abbas Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 152.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

which killed one of them. Then, she took the column of the tent, attacked the enemy and killed two soldiers of the enemy! Imam Husayn ordered her: “Come back! You and your son are close to the Prophet! Women are not required to do [the lesser] jihad!” She returned while she was saying: “O God! Do not let me lose my hope!” Imam Husayn said: “God will not let you become hopeless!”²³

Thus, the women gladly seized the opportunity to be included among the captives of Husayn whom were destined in the will of God to be glorified.

B. Yearning for martyrdom

Umm Wahab took a spear, gave it to her husband, and said, “Fight for these righteous, the children of the Prophet.” She then followed her husband. Her husband told her, “Go back!” to which she replied, “I will not return until I am killed with you.” She grasped her husband’s armour and said, “I will not leave you until I am killed with you!” The Imam called the woman and said, “May God bless you, the family of Wahab. Go back to women. May God bless you! Stay with them for war is not for women.”²⁴

Umm Wahab’s aspiration for martyrdom and support for the Imam reminds us of Naṣībah’s acts of bravery in the battle of Uḥud. She defended the Prophet even when men escaped, and the Prophet had prayed for her and her family.²⁵

²³ Ibid., p. 148.

²⁴ Abu Mikhnaf, Ibid., p. 124.

²⁵ Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 414; Muhammad ibn ‘Umar Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol. 1, p. 270.

During the battle, only five women felt sympathy for the Imam; they had come forth in the face of the enemy and consoled him.²⁶

Except for Lady Zaynab who approached the Imam to soothe him during the martyrdom of Ali Akbar, there were three other sisters and mothers of the martyrs who came to Imam Husayn, the fifth of whom was the wife of Abdullah ibn ‘Umayr Kalbi who later became a martyr.

C. The women’s martyrdom after their husbands’

The wife of Abdullah ibn ‘Umayr Kalbi came out of her tent and rushed to her martyred husband, sat beside his head, wiped the dust from his face, and said, “May Paradise be sweet for you.” Then with the orders of Shimr, Rostam, his slave, killed her by hitting her head with a club.”²⁷ Shimr then attacked the tents of Imam Husayn.

The women left the deceased to serve and defend the family of Imam Husayn. They accompanied them in captivity with the heads of their martyrs to manifest the best historical evidence of oppression. They considered the companionship of the children of the Prophet an honour and expressed their gratitude to God. Although they did not accompany Lady Zaynab until the end [of the journey], they displayed a great manifestation of love towards the Imam and his family.

D. Their spiritual magnitude on the Day of Āshūrā

From the evening of the day of Āshūrā, the women supported their Imam with silence. They actualized their potential of endurance when a few people were able to do so.

²⁶ The sister of Muslim ibn ‘Awsajah, the mother of Abdullah ibn ‘Umayr Kalbī, the mother of ‘Umr ibn Junādah or Umm Wahab in some other reports.

²⁷ Sheikh Abbas Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 139; Abu Mikhnaf, *Ibid.*, p. 141.

They did not show too much distress when giving farewell to their husbands, brothers, and sons and encouraged the children to be patient when facing hunger and thirst and keep them away from the battle so as not to emotionally interfere with the soldiers. When the slaughtered bodies of martyrs were brought back to the camp from the battlefield, the women would not sob uncontrollably so as not to not distress the Imam. Even when Imam Husayn's baby, Ali Asghar, was martyred by a three-pointed arrow, Rubāb, the mother of Ali, did not come to the Imam. The Imam approached Lady Zaynab and gave the baby to her.²⁸ Also, when the body of Ali Akbar was brought, none of the women went forth. Moreover, when the bodies of the companions were brought back, their mothers and wives would not come to them.

The role of hijab

In Āshūrā, the women were directly involved in politics; they represented the lessons learned from the efforts of Lady Fatimah during the events of Fadak and her support for Imam Ali. They also did not forget their duty to protect their hijab during the tragedies. When all the companions of Imam Husayn were martyred and he himself was about to go to the battlefield, he came to the tents to give farewell to the women and tell them about their future duties. He said, "Be prepared for the tragedy. Wear your overgarments tightly. Know that God supports, protects, and saves you from your enemy and will create a good destination for you."²⁹

Imam Husayn gave his first advice to women about their hijab. And because the women knew that the battle was for material purposes, they

²⁸ Sayyid ibn Ṭāwūs, *Luhūf*, p. 158.

²⁹ Hadith Group of Baqir al-'Ulūm (a) Research Center, *Farhang-e Jāmi' Sokhanān-e Imam Husayn* as the translation of *Mawsū'ah al-Kalimāt al-Imam al-Husayn*, p. 549.

took off their jewellery and extra garments and threw them at the enemy to avoid the attack. When the enemy was taking the captives into Damascus (Shāam), Umm Kulthūm asked the soldiers to keep the heads away from women so that people of the city would look at the heads and not at the women and girls whose head coverings were snatched away from them. But Shimr did the contrary and moved the women to the city first.

After Imam Husayn's warning, the women chose two kinds of clothing for themselves, the first of which were lost in the attacks of the soldiers. When Yazid asked Imam Husayn's daughter Sukayna why she was crying during the meeting, she replied, "Why would a person who has no face covering in this gathering not cry?"

Like her father, mother, and brother, Lady Zaynab discredited the enemy and belittled Yazid due to his maliciousness to render the tragedy of Āshūrā a good example of how women's hijab is the most powerful weapon.

The tragedy of Āshūrā showed that women were the enemy's primary target with the aim of emotionally breaking them after the death of their men. The tragedy also showed that if women defend religious leadership, they become the most powerful and resolute people against the enemy.

The enemy saw women's hijab as the most powerful weapon in supporting religious authority, thus forcibly pulled off their hijab, unaware of the fact that although hijab gives value to women, what makes hijab more effective is acting like Lady Zaynab. Thus, the enemy unintentionally reinforced this idea that hijab has two positive consequences: a) to cover, and b) to emulate Lady Zaynab.

Sahl ibn Sā'idī reported: "I went to the gate of Damascus where I saw flags coming after each other, and a horseman carrying a flag. There was a head placed on top of it which was most similar to the Prophet than anyone else. Suddenly, I saw women following him on camels without any saddle or covering. I approached the first woman and asked, 'Who are you?' She answered, 'Sukaynah bint al-Husayn.' I asked, 'What can I do for you?' She answered, 'O Sahl! Please tell the bearer of this head to go forth so that people are occupied with watching it and not look at the women of the family of the Prophet.' Then I gave four hundred dinars to that man to do so."³⁰

The importance of the duty of women in protecting their hijab was manifested in the tragedy of Āshūrā; and the message of that tragedy will continuously include the concept of hijab.

Mourning in the tragedy of Āshūrā

Revealing the hardships of the Ahlul Bayt targets women's souls; they are the most fervent grievers of this tragedy, mourning to accompany the captives and desiring to support them with their faith.

Imam Husayn chose Lady Zaynab to present the truth about the martyrs throughout history until today. Commemorating Āshūrā is a reminder for all women to review their value and strengthen their relationship with Lady Zaynab. The women of the companions were legendary defending the Imam and his family; the women of the family made miracles in disclosing the events of Karbala to all people, Lady Zaynab having created all the legends. She sent her sons to the battlefield, received her slaughtered brothers, and witnessed seventeen of her closest kin martyred.

³⁰ Sheikh Abbas Qummi, *Nafs al-Mahmūm*, p. 241.

She gathered the people left from the camp and did not fear the physical tortures of the enemy; she then spoke in captivity similar to father Ali who was the master of speech and did not neglect her midnight prayers throughout the event.³¹ She did so by following the political trend of Lady Fatimah in defending Imamate. This rendered her the ultimate example of patience to teach all women how to spiritually elevate themselves to gain proximity to God.

³¹ So that in his last farewell, Imam Husayn told Lady Zaynab: “O My sister! Do not forget me in your midnight prayers.” (Dhabīḥullah Maḥallātī, *Rayāḥīn al-Sharī‘ah*, vol. 3, p. 62)

THE MARTYRDOM OF BANU HASHIM IN KARBALA AS DESCRIBED BY IBN NAMA' AL-HILLI

MORTEZA KARIMI

ABSTRACT: Ibn Nama' Al-Hilli, a great Shi'i scholar of the 6th and 7th centuries, composed his *Muthir Al-Ahzan* on the description of the events before and after the events of Karbala. As a reliable *maqta*, *Muthir al-Ahzan* offers a detailed account of the martyrdom of nine members of Banu Hashim. Introducing the book and its author, this article offers a description on the martyrdom of the following members of the Banu Hashim: the brothers of Abbas, Ali al-Akbar, Qasim, Abdillah ibn al-Husayn, Abdillah ibn al-Hasan, Abbas, and Imam Husayn. Moreover, the description portrays some inaccuracies available in several accounts on the Battle of Karbala.

An introduction to the book

Muthir al-Ahzan (literally meaning 'sorrow-provoking') is considered to be a *maqta*, which is a title given to books describing the events related to wars in general and specifically regarding the event of Karbala that led to the martyrdom of Imam Husayn. Written by Ja'far ibn 'Abi Ibrahim, most commonly known as Ibn Nama' Al-Hilli, this book is about a) the

lifetime of Imam Husayn, the third Shi'a Imam, b) the events before the event of Karbala, c) a relatively detailed description of the day of 'Ashura,¹ and d) the subsequent incidents.

Due to the significance of the event of Karbala in the Islamic world in general and the Shi'a world in particular, special attention has been given to the compilations of the *maqals* as early as the first years after this event, to the extent that many of the companions of the infallible Imams and prominent Shi'a scholars have written on this subject. Asbagh ibn Nubata al-Mujāshi'i,² a close companion of Imam Ali, is generally considered as the first one who compiled a book in this regard called *Maqal Abi Abdillah*. After him, others such as Jabir Al-Ju'fi, Abu Mikhnaf Al-Azdi³ and Ibn Wadi⁴ compiled independent books on the same subject. The number of the books on the *maqal* in subsequent centuries amounts to hundreds of volumes.

About the author

Najm al-Din Ja'far ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn Hibat Allah ibn Nama' al-Hilli was born to a well-known Shi'a family in 567 AH in Hilla, Iraq. His father, Muhammad ibn Ja'far,⁵ a teacher of Muhaqqiq Hilli, was among the great scholars of that region. His brother, Ahmad ibn Muhammad, and his nephew Hasan ibn Ahmad, were among the renowned scholars as well. According to some, Hasan ibn Ahmad was

¹ The 10th day of Muharram when Imam Husayn together with his 72 companions were martyred by the army of Yazid ibn Mu'awiya

² d. after 100 AH

³ A companion of Imam Sadiq in 2nd century AH

⁴ The author of *Tarikh Ya'qubi*, d. 294 AH

⁵ d. 636 AH

one of the mentors of the First Martyr.⁶ Little is known about Ibn Nama's teachers. However, among them one may refer to three people: his father Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn Nama', Muhammad ibn 'Idris Al-Hilli, and Shaykh Muhammad ibn Mashhadi. Unfortunately, the same is true about the names of his students of whom 'Allamah Hilli and Ali ibn Husayn ibn Hammad are the only ones known. Besides *Muthir al-Ahzan*, only two of his works have survived, both of which are regarding the uprising of Mukhtar al-Thaqafi⁷:

- *Akhdh al-Thar fi 'Ahwal al-Mukhtar (Taking Revenge: a Description of Mukhtar)*;
- *Dhawb al-Nuddar fi Sharh Akhdh al-Thar*, known as *Sharh al-Thar (A Commentary on Taking Revenge)*. It is to be noted that this book has been quoted completely by Allamah Majlisi in the 45th volume of his *Bihar al-Anwar* from the page 346 onwards.

Ibn Nama' Hilli finally passed away in 645 AH at the age of 78.

Author's motivation

In his introduction to *Muthir Al-Ahzan* Ibn Nama' Al-Hilli refers to his incentive to compile this book:

I found some of the books on the *maqatal* very detailed and lengthy and others too short. Thus, I wrote this book as a moderate one: neither too long to exhaust the

⁶ Muhammad ibn Makki Al-'Amili

⁷ The man who revolted against the Umayyad Caliphs in revenge for those who killed Imam Husayn and his companions

readers nor too short so that some historically important points may be neglected.

Author's style

This book uses a historical-narrative style; Ibn Nama' al-Hilli did not analyse the content, a common style among early Muslim historians. He also does not include the entire chain of narrators since his primary goal was to compile information on the maqatal.

The work includes in an introduction and three parts:

- The introduction includes the merits of the Ahlul Bayt. It also refers to the importance of mentioning the events leading to their martyrdom and the rewards gained for shedding tears when hearing them.
- The first part is a biography of Imam Husayn. It then narrates the course of events, including his journey from Medina to Mecca and then towards Karbala, which led to the sorrowful event of Karbala.
- The second part is about the events of the very day of 'Ashura until the martyrdom of Imam Husayn and the captivity of his family. At the end of this chapter, Ibn Nama' quotes narrations that revealed predictions of the event of Karbala and the Imam's martyrdom.
- The third and final part is about the events after the captivity of the family of Imam Husayn until their return to Medina. Various sermons of Imam Sajjad, Lady Zaynab, and others in Kufa, Damascus and elsewhere have also been quoted.

The martyrdom of the Banu Hashim

1. *The brothers of 'Abbas ibn Abi Talib*: Based on historical evidence, the companions of Imam Husayn were martyred before the members of his family. Most historical works on the maqal mentioned the Imam's eldest son, 'Ali al-Akbar, to be first one from Imam's family – the Banu Hashim – who went to the battlefield. Ibn Nama', however, refers to the martyrdom of the brothers of 'Abbas⁸ before that of 'Ali al-Akbar. According to him, 'Abbas told his brothers, "Go to the battlefield so that I may see your sincerity in the way of Allah and His Apostle as you have no child." They gladly responded and became martyred.⁹

2. *'Ali al-Akbar*: Ibn Nama' does not refer to his exact age and only mentions that he was more than 10 years old. A very handsome youth, 'Ali al-Akbar asked his father's permission to go toward the battlefield. Imam Husayn, looking at him with tears in his eyes, gave him the permission, and said, "O Allah! Bear witness that the youth going to the battlefield is the one whose physical features, behaviour, and speech are similar to those of the Holy Prophet." 'Ali al-Akbar fought bravely and killed many soldiers of the enemy. Returning to his father, he complained of the thirst and the heavy armour. Hearing this, Imam Husayn cried saying: "Go and continue fighting since you will soon meet your grandfather Muhammad who will quench your thirst". 'Ali al-Akbar returned and fought many others. Finally, struck by Murrat ibn Munqidh Al-'Abdi, he was thrown to the ground and was surrounded by a group who cut him into pieces. Then Imam Husayn approached his son and

⁸ namely, 'Abd Allah, Ja'far and 'Uthman, all the sons of Umm Al-Banin, Imam Ali's wife

⁹ Ibn Nama', *Muthir Al-Ahzan*, p. 68.

cursed those who killed him. Following her brother, Lady Zaynab came out of the tent; while crying, she was taken back to the tent by Imam Husayn.¹⁰

3. *Qasim, son of Imam Hasan*: Like many other historians, Ibn Nama' narrates the story of the martyrdom of Qasim ibn Al-Hasan from Humayd ibn Muslim, who states: "A teenager came towards us whose face was as beautiful as the moon."¹¹ 'Amr ibn Sa'id Nufayl Al-Azdi told me that I will fight him. Then he went toward him and struck him with his sword, the result of which the boy fell flat on his face and then called out, "O my uncle!" Hearing this, [Imam] Husayn rushed toward him like a hawk and struck 'Amr by his sword though 'Amr used his hand as a shield and subsequently his arm was cut off. He cried out loud, so much so that entire army heard him. A group of Kufans riding their horses went to save him but contrary to their intention, he was killed under the feet of their horses. I saw [Imam] Husayn standing beside the adolescent who was breathing his last. [Imam] Husayn, addressing him, called out, 'Cursed be those who killed you. Their enemy on the Day of Judgment is your grandfather. By Allah, it is so difficult for your uncle to feel helpless to your call.' Then he hugged his nephew and took him toward the tents and put his body among the other martyrs." Humayd ibn Muslim continues: "I asked about the name of that adolescent and I was told that he was Qasim ibn Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib." Then, Imam Husayn, while discovering a few members of his family and companions remained, stood up and caused many to weep considerably when he

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 68 f.

¹¹ The moon is used as a comparison of beauty in the Arab world

called out, "Is there anybody to support the family of the Messenger of Allah? Are there any monotheists? Is there any helper?"¹²

4. *'Abdillah, the suckling infant*: Based on *Muthir al-Ahzan*, Imam Husayn then approached the tent and asked for 'Abdillah, his suckling baby, to bid farewell. When he was taken to him, a man from the tribe of Banu Asad shot the baby with an arrow which cut through his throat and killed him. Imam Husayn filled his both hands with his son's blood, threw the blood towards the sky, and said, "O Allah, if you have deprived us of the heavenly help, put that help in what is better for us and take our revenge from these oppressors." According to a narration from Imam Baqir, not one drop of that blood fell to the ground. Then Imam Husayn placed 'Abdillah's body next to the martyrs of his family.

5. *Abbas ibn Abi Talib*: This part of *Muthir al-Ahzan* is more significant as it is not, as in other sources, in accordance with what is commonly narrated about the martyrdom of Abbas ibn Abi Talib. The following is regarding what is generally related in mourning ceremonies: Upon hearing the request of the children for water, Abbas ibn Abi Talib asked for Imam Husayn's permission to move toward the Euphrates. On his way, he killed a large number of the enemies, and eventually reached the river. Remembering the thirst of Imam Husayn and his family, he filled the water-skin, held it with his right hand, and moved toward the tents where thirsty children were waiting for him. Confronted with a group from the enemy, he was compelled to fight with them. Suddenly, Nawfal Al-Azraq struck him and cut off his right hand. He then took the water-

¹² Ibid, pp. 69 f.

skin with his left hand, and that, too, was cut off by another blow by al-Azraq. Having no other choice, Abbas held the water-skin with his teeth. An arrow then hit the water-skin and the water poured out. Then another arrow hit his chest and caused him fall flat on his face whereupon he called out his brother. This emotional and sorrowful version of the martyrdom of Abbas ibn Abi Talib has been narrated by Allamah Majlisi.¹³

Some researchers, however, reject this version as they believe it to lack an authenticated chain of narrators and have some problems with regard to its contents.¹⁴ What has been mentioned by Ibn Nama' is in accordance with the other version. According to him, when Imam Husayn and his companions became extremely thirsty, he decided to move toward the Euphrates while Abbas ibn Abi Talib was in front of him. Meanwhile, a letter from 'Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad reached 'Umar ibn Sa'd according to which 'Umar was commissioned to prevent Husayn and his companions from reaching the water. Thus, he sent 'Amr ibn Hajjaj together with 500 soldiers to fulfil this military command. A man among them named 'Abdillah ibn Husayn Al-Azdi called out, "O Husayn! By Allah, you would not drink even a drop of water until you and your companions will die out of thirst." Then Zar'a ibn 'Aban asked the soldiers to prevent Husayn from reaching the water and shot an arrow at Imam Husayn's throat. Imam Husayn cursed him thus: "O Allah! Kill him while thirsty and do not forgive him at all!" However, the blood gushing out from his throat did not let him drink any water. (Ibn Nama' then relates how the

¹³ *Bihar Al-Anwar*, vol. 45, pp. 41 f

¹⁴ See. *Tarikhe Qiyam va Maqtale Jami' Sayyid Al-Shohada'* (in Persian), by a group of researchers, under the supervision of Mahdi Pishwa'i, vol. 1, pp. 844 f.

curse of Imam Husayn against Zar'a came true). The enemy then made a distance between Imam Husayn and Abbas, surrounding Abbas from each side and eventually killing him, whereupon Imam Husayn bitterly wept.¹⁵

It should be noted, however, that the description of Ibn Nama' here is very concise. He suffices to say that Abbas was killed while surrounded by a group of the enemy. The details of his martyrdom according to the second version (with which Ibn Nama's description is in accordance) have been mentioned in other sources as follows: When the enemy surrounded Abbas to distance him from Imam Husayn, Abbas began to fight with them. Meanwhile, Zayd ibn Warqa' al-Juhani¹⁶ lurked behind a palm tree. Supported by Hukaym ibn Tufayl Sinbisi, Zayd struck the right hand of Abbas with his sword. Taking the sword by his left hand, Abbas continued fighting while shouting, "By Allah! Although you have cut off my right hand, I will continue to defend my religion and the trustworthy Imam who is the grandson of the Holy Prophet." He continued to fight until he felt exhausted. Waiting in ambush for him, Hukaym ibn Tufayl Al-Ta'i struck his left hand whereupon Abbas called out, "They have cut off my left hand. O Allah, make them the dwellers of the Hellfire." Then the same Hukaym moved forward and killed him with an iron spear.¹⁷ The fact that both hands of Abbas were cut off in the battle has been confirmed by Imam Sajjad in a narration where he is quoted to have said, "May Allah's mercy and blessings be upon Abbas

¹⁵ Ibn Nama', *ibid.*, pp. 70 f.

¹⁶ var. Zayd ibn Ruqad Al-Janbi or Yazid ibn Ziyad Al-Hanafi

¹⁷ See Ibn Shah Ashoub, *Manaqib 'Al 'Abi Talib*, vol. 4, p. 117; Shaykh Mufid, *Al-'Ishad*, vol. 2, pp. 109 f.; Sayyid ibn Tawous, *Al-Malhuf*, p. 190; Khwarazmi, *Maqtal al-Husain*, vol. 2 p. 30.

ibn Ali who sacrificed his life for his brother so much so that his hands were cut off..."¹⁸ However, there are different views regarding whomever finally killed Abbas:

- Zayd ibn Ruqad Al-Janbi and Hukaym ibn Tufayl Sinbisi;¹⁹
- Harmala ibn Kahil Al-Asadi;²⁰
- Yazd ibn Ziyad al-Hanafi²¹ and
- Hukaym ibn Tufayl.²²

6. *Imam Husayn*. According to Ibn Nama', after the martyrdom of Abbas, Imam Husayn fought the enemy harshly and killed many of them. Observing the war circumstances, Shimr ibn dhi al-Jawshan ordered his troops to attack the tents, the inhabitants of whom were women and children. At this time, Imam Husayn declared his famous statement: "If you do not believe in any religion [at least] be noble and magnanimous in this world"²³ and asked the enemy to leave the women and children and fight him only. The enemy surrounded him, and each person either shot an arrow or struck him with their swords to the extent that they inflicted 72 wounds and injuries on his holy body. Weak and exhausted, he stood up while a stone hit him, bloodying his face. Then a poisoned three-cornered arrow hit his heart. Imam Husayn then said, "In the Name of Allah and following the creed of the Messenger of Allah"

¹⁸ Shaykh Saduq, *Al-Khisal*, p. 68; Allama Majlisi, *Bihar Al-Anwar*, vol. 22, p. 274; vol. 44, p. 298.

¹⁹ Tabari, *Tarikh al-'Umam wa al-Mulkuk*, vol. 5 p. 468; Shaykh Mufid, *Al-'Irshad*, vol. 2, p. 110.

²⁰ Baladhuri, *'Ansab al-'Ashraf*, vol. 3, p. 406; vol. 11, p. 175.

²¹ Tamimi Maghribi, *Sharh al-Akhbar*, vol. 3, p. 191.

²² Shaykh Tusi, *Ridjal*, p. 102; Allama Hilli, *Khulasa al-'Aqawal fi Ma'rifa al-Rijal*, p. 210.

²³ كونوا في الدنيا أحرارا إن لم يكن لكم دين.

and then raised his face toward the sky and said, "O my Lord! You are well-aware that they are killing the son of the daughter of their Prophet." He took out the arrow from his back, and weak from losing blood, fell to the ground.²⁴ Here, Ibn Nama' narrates the story of Abdillah ibn al-Hasan.

7. *Abdillah ibn al-Hasan, Imam Husayn's nephew.* Observing the attacks on his uncle, the adolescent Abdillah, the son of Imam Hasan, who was with the women, came out and stood next to Imam Husayn, although Lady Zaynab did her best to prevent him. Abdillah, however, resisted strongly and insisted that he would not leave his uncle alone. At this moment, when Bahr ibn Ka'b²⁵ attacked Imam Husayn with his sword, Abdillah was enraged by this scene, and he shouted, "Woe to you...Do you want to kill my uncle?" The enemy, however, inflicted his sword toward Imam Husayn whereupon Abdillah used his hand to block the strike from injuring his uncle's hand. Subsequently, Abdillah's hand was cut off, and he cried out, "O my uncle!" Imam Husayn hugged him and said, "O my nephew! Be patient with what is happening and expect goodness from Allah as He will join you to your righteous forefathers." Then Harmala shot an arrow at 'Abdillah, killing him. Imam Husayn cursed him: "O Allah! If you have provided them with blessings for a while, cause them to quarrel among themselves, divide them, and never be pleased with them!"²⁶

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 72 f.

²⁵ var. Harmala ibn Kahil

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 73 f.

Ibn Nama' then narrates the last moments of Imam Husayn's life: Shimr ordered his army to shoot their arrows and 'Umar ibn Sa'd wondered why nobody was finishing the job. Finally, he ordered Sinan ibn Anas to behead the Imam. Sinan walked towards Imam Husayn while, strange enough, he was repeating these words: "I'm walking toward you while I am well-aware that you are the master of the people and your father and mother are the best ones among all." At last, he beheaded Imam Husayn and gave the head to 'Umar ibn Sa'd.²⁷

The next section of the book concerns the enemy's looting and plundering. Accordingly, several parts of the Imam's clothes were taken by the following people:

- His towel by Qays ibn al-Ash'ath;
- His turban by Jabir ibn Yazid²⁸ who became insane as soon as he put on the turban,;
- His shirt by 'Ishaq ibn Hawyah who thereafter became leprous;
- His ring by Bajdal ibn Sulaym who, in order to take the ring, cut off the Imam's finger;²⁹
- His sword by Qalafis Al-Nahshali

Then the shameless enemy began plundering the women and children.³⁰ Afterwards, 'Umar ibn Sa'd asked the volunteers to ride their horses on

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 74 f.

²⁸ (var. 'Akhnas ibn Mirthad)

²⁹ (var. Jami' ibn Al-Halq 'Awdi).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 76 f.

the body of Imam Husayn. Ten horsemen volunteered and did as they were ordered. These ten vicious men, based on the book, were 'Usayd ibn Malik, Hani ibn Thabt Al-Hadrami, Wakhit ibn Na'im, Salih ibn Wahb Al-Ju'fi, Salim ibn Khuthayma Al-Ju'fi, Raja' ibn Munqidh Al-'Abdi, 'Umar ibn Subayh Al-Saydawi, Hukaym ibn Al-Tufayl Al-Sinbisi, 'Akhnas ibn Mirthad, and 'Ishaq ibn Hawyah.³¹

Finally, it is to be noted that the list of the martyrs among the Banu Hashim as mentioned in *Muthir Al-'Ahzan* is incomplete. The number of them varies in various references. All in all, we come across 25 names: Abu Bakr ibn Hasan ibn Ali bin Abi Talib; 2. Abu Bakr ibn Ali bin Abi Talib; 3. Ja'far ibn 'Aqil ibn Abi Talib; 4. Ja'far ibn Ali bin Abi Talib; 5. Abbas ibn Ali bin Abi Talib; 6. 'Abd Al-Rahman ibn 'Aqil bin Abi Talib; 7. 'Abdillah ibn Hasan ibn Ali; 8. 'Abdillah ibn Husain ibn Ali; 9. 'Abdillah ibn 'Aqil ibn Abi Talib; 10. 'Abdillah ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib; 11. 'Abdillah ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqil; 12. 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abdillah ibn Ja'far; 13. 'Uthman ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib; 14. Ali ibn Husain ibn Ali; 15. 'Umar ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib; 16. 'Awn ibn Abdillah ibn Ja'far; 17. Qasim ibn Hasan ibn Ali; 18. Qasim ibn Husayn ibn Ali; 19. Qasim ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib; 20. Muhammad ibn Sa'id Al-'Ahwal ibn 'Aqil; 21. Muhammad ibn Abdillah ibn Ja'far; 22. Muhammad ibn 'Aqil ibn Abi Talib; 23. Muhammad ibn Muslim ibn 'Aqil; 24. the suckling baby and 25. The adolescent child.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Conclusion

As history shows, unfortunately the narration and description of the event of Karbala have not been free of various kinds of changes and distortions. Undoubtedly, relying on orally narrated events and putting trust in weak sources help such distortions to remain in use. Thus, in narrating the events of Karbala, the preeminent value must be given to authentic and reliable sources, especially those exclusively regarding this event, generally known as maqtals. A quick review of such genuine works may undermine some of the events of Karbala which have been considered as incontestable facts. As one of these trustworthy maqtals, *Muthir Al-'Ahzan* by Ibn Nama' Al-Hilli, helps its readers to acquire a factual picture of the entire event of Karbala.

SAFEGUARDING AZADARI AGAINST WRONG PRACTICES

MUSTAFA HUSSEINI TABATABAI
TRANSLATED BY ZAINAB MOHAMMED

ABSTRACT: On the day of Ashura, Shi'a Muslims all over the world commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husayn ibn Ali, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad, at the Battle of Karbala, in protest against the oppressive ruler Yazid who ordered the massacre of Imam Husayn and his family members and companions given their refusal to accept Yazid's allegiance. In mourning on this day, the tradition of *matam*, or beating one's chest as a sign of grief for the Imam, became common. Moreover, *tatbir*, a more serious form of displaying one's sorrow, was also practiced, and then afterwards banned in the Islamic Republic of Iran. This article provides an analysis as to why the ban occurred using the Qur'an, hadiths, and consensus of Shi'a scholars to verify the forbiddance of this act.

The event of Karbala took place during the life of Imam Abi Abdillah, Husayn bin Ali, in which he, alongside his companions, were brutally killed and their families were taken captive. It was the biggest tragedy that has occurred in the history of Islam creating great pain and sorrow in the hearts of Muslims, especially the Shi'a. Afterwards, the tradition

of beating one's chest in grief for the Imam's martyrdom, called *matam*,¹ came about amongst some of the Shi'as, and over the passing of time, it became one of their slogans. In recent centuries, some groups amongst the Shi'as have introduced other forms of grieving such as *tatbir*² which are not in line with the recommendations and rulings of Islam. This practice continued for a period of time until one of the famous Syrian jurists of the *Imami*³ sect rose up against the innovation of *tatbir* in the streets and alleyways. This jurist was a prominent man named Allamah Syed Mohsen Amin Ameli author of '*at-Tanzeeh fi A'amal as-Shabeeh*', which led to him being attacked by those who were unaware of the clear religious rulings in this matter. In their confrontation with Allamah Ameli, they refused to engage in an intellectual debate and instead chose to stir unrest, preventing the laymen from looking into Ameli's reasons and occupying them with the same rituals of *tatbir*, until the official banning of it occurred with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

This article provides an analysis as to why this ban occurred with due attention to the reliable Shi'a sources. We ask God to keep us all on the path of moderation and reason. Surely He is the guardian of guidance and the right path.

¹ To beat ones chest as a sign of grief in commemoration of the brutal killing of the Imam.

² *Tatbir*: the Arabic term used for a ritual in which the individual strikes his/her head with a sword or knife until blood flows. The Persian term for this act is *Qame Zani*.

³ A sect from among the Muslims who believe in the existence of twelve leaders after the Prophet Mohammadd.

Prohibition in the Quran

Hurting any part of the body through hitting it, or uncontrollable wailing during a tragedy are practices of the Era of Ignorance (*Jahiliyya*); both the Qur'an and the Prophet nullified these acts. Imam Sadiq said: "When the Messenger of God conquered Makkah, the people of Makkah preceded by their men came to pay allegiance to him. At this time this verse was revealed:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِذَا جَاءَكَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ يُبَايِعْنَكَ عَلَى أَنْ لَا يُشْرِكْنَ بِاللَّهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَسْرِفْنَ
وَلَا يَزْنِينَ وَلَا يَقْتُلْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ وَلَا يَأْتِينَ بِبُهْتَانٍ يَفْتَرِينَهُ بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِنَّ وَأَرْجُلِهِنَّ وَلَا
يَعْصِيَنَّكَ فِي مَعْرُوفٍ فَبَايِعُهُنَّ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُنَّ اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ

*O Prophet! If faithful women come to you, to take the oath of allegiance to you, (pledging) that they shall not ascribe any partners to Allah, that they shall not steal, nor commit adultery, nor kill their children, nor utter any slander that they may have intentionally fabricated, nor disobey you in what is right, then accept their allegiance, and plead for them to Allah for forgiveness. Indeed Allah is all-forgiving, all-merciful.*⁴

At this point Umm Hakeem, the daughter of Hareth ibn Hasham who was also the wife of 'Akrame the son of Abi Jahl, asked, "O Prophet of God, in regards to which act has God commanded us not to disobey you? The Prophet replied:

لَا تَلْطَمَنَّ خَدًّا وَلَا تَحْمِشَنَّ وَجْهًا وَلَا تَنْتَفِشَنَّ شَعْرًا وَلَا تَشَقَّقَنَّ جَبِيحًا وَلَا تَسُودَنَّ
ثُوبًا وَلَا تَدْعِينَ بَوِيلًا

⁴ Sheikh Kulayni in his hadith compilation, *al-Kafi*.

Never slap your cheeks, or scratch your faces, or pull your hair, or tear your collar, or blacken your clothes or wail!

It was with these conditions that the Prophet accepted their allegiance.⁵ Imam Baqir said: “Do you know the meaning of this phrase when God said, ‘Nor disobey you in what is right?’” I told him I didn’t know. So he said that the Messenger of God said to Fatimah:⁶

اذا انا مت فلا تخمشي على وجهها و لا تنشري على شعرا و لا تنادي بالويل
و لا تقيمي على نائحة

When I die, do not scratch your cheeks over me, do not pull your hair, do not wail, and do not sit to lament over me. Then Abu Ja’fer, Imam Baqir said, ‘This is the right which God the Almighty has commanded to.’⁷

Therefore, Islam forbids the hitting and slapping of one’s cheeks or scratching one’s face during a tragedy as the Prophet taught since he would clarify ambiguous concepts.⁸

With this in mind, how can one claim that the Qur’an has made *tatbir* permissive (*mubah*) since doing so is far more harmful than hitting oneself on the cheeks? Furthermore, this form of grieving is known to be one of the practises during the Era of Ignorance. *Tatbir* is not

⁵ *Furu’ Kafi*, Book of Nikah, vol. 5, p. 527, Tehran

⁶ Sheikh Kulayni in another document from Umar bin Maqdam narrated that he heard Imam Baqir saying

⁷ *Furu’ Kafi*, Book of Nikah, vol. 5, p. 527, Tehran

⁸ (such as the phrase mentioned above, that they will not Disobey you in acting according to The RIGHT)

justified even when displaying one's grief of the tragedy of Karbala and to show one's love for the Ahlul Bayt. Islam is an easy and simple religion:

وَمَا جَعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ مِنْ حَرَجٍ⁹

...and has not placed before you any obstacle in the religion...

مَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيَجْعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ حَرَجٍ¹⁰

Allah does not desire to put you to hardship.

وَلَا يُرِيدُ بِكُمُ الْعُسْرَ¹¹

and He does not desire hardship for you.

وَيَضَعُ عَنْهُمْ إِصْرَهُمْ¹²

and relieves them of their burden...

يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ أَنْ يُخَفِّفَ عَنْكُمْ¹³

Allah desires to lighten your burden

مَا أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لِتَشْقَى¹⁴

We did not send down to you the Quran that you should be miserable (in hardship).

According to this, whosoever puts himself in hardship and difficulty to the extent that he slits open his head with a blade and/or injures his

⁹ Hajj 22:78

¹⁰ Maedah 5:6

¹¹ Baqarah 2:185

¹² A'araf 7:157

¹³ Nisa 4:28

¹⁴ TaHa 20:2

back using chains, and supposes that he is attaining his Lord's pleasure, without a doubt such a person is mistaken and has disobeyed his Masters' commands. God says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَقْدِمُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ
عَلِيمٌ¹⁵

O you who have faith! Do not venture ahead of Allah and His Apostle, and be wary of Allah. Indeed Allah is all-hearing, all-knowing.

Prohibition by the Prophet

The Messenger of God followed the commands of God and the rulings sent down through revelation. It was for this reason that he openly forbade Muslims from following the ignorant customs and traditions carried out during a tragedy, and he strongly recommended them to refrain from it. Sheikh Zainuddeen¹⁶ in his *Musakkin al-Fuaad*¹⁷ has quoted the Prophet:

لعن الله الخامشة و الشاقة جبيها و الداعية بالويل و الشبور

May God curse the woman who scratches her face (at times of grief), tears her collar and shouts out 'May I be punished' and 'May God send my death.'

¹⁵ Hujarat 49:1

¹⁶ Shaheed al-Thani (Second Martyr)

¹⁷ p. 108

He also quoted the Prophet saying, “Any Muslim who at the time of difficulty even hits his hands on his thighs, his reward will be destroyed.”¹⁸

Thus, the Prophet cursed those who scratch their faces and hit their thighs in grief. He also said, “The one who hits himself on the face (in times of grief) is not from us.”

Therefore, how can we possibly say that *tatbir* and other forms of self-harm are permissible? Is this not disrespect to the law of God and His Messenger?

Prohibition by the Ahlul Bayt

Those who have recognised the true path and sincerely love the Ahlul Bayt know well that they held steadfast to the Prophet’s teachings more than anyone else; they lived in accordance with his commands and prohibitions and followed his way of life. Imam Ja’far Sadiq said:

اذا ورد عليكم حديث فوجدتم له شاهدا من كتاب الله او من قول رسول
الله (صلى الله عليه و آله) و الا فالذى جاءكم به اولى به

When you are faced with a hadith (from us) and you find an evidence for it in the Qur’an or the words of the Prophet then accept it, and if you do not find such, then turn the hadith back to its narrator.¹⁹

¹⁸ ضرب المسلم يده على فخذه عند المصيبة احباط لاجره

¹⁹ *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 1, p. 69, Tehran

Imam Ja'far also said: "Everything should be verified with the Quran and *Sunnah*.²⁰ He also said, "Whoever opposes the book of God or the Sunnah of Mohammed has become a disbeliever."²¹

Consequently we cannot even imagine that the Ahlul Bayt would have chosen to act differently to the Prophet himself when it came to the permissible forms of lamentation. In his *al-Kafi*, Sheikh Kulayni narrated from Jabir when Imam Baqir was asked as to what is meant by the restlessness during grief that has been forbidden? He replied:²²

The strongest forms of lamentation are: for one to cry out 'May I be punished and May God send my death,' for one to hit himself on the face, pull his hair (or shave it), or for someone to set up a lamentation. If someone is intolerant, he has chosen a path other than patience. For the one who is patient and says, '*We are from Allah and surely we will return to Him*,'²³ and thanks God, surely he has shown contentment with the will of God and his reward is upon God. And as for the one who does not act like this, the rule of God has been carried out on him and he deserves blame, and God will remove his reward.

Sharif al-Razi, compiler of in *Nahjul Balaghah*, quotes from Imam Ali:

²⁰ كل شيء مردود الى الكتاب و السنة. Life and teachings of the Prophet.

²¹ من خالف كتاب الله و سنة محمد (صلى الله عليه و آله) فقد كفر - *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 1, p. 70

²² *Al-Furu' min al-Kafi*, book of al-Jana'ez, vol. 3, p. 222, similarly; *al-Furu' min al-Kafi*, vol. 3, p. 223:

اشد الجرع الصراخ بالويل و العويل و لطم الوجه و الصدر و جز الشعر من النواصي و من اقام النوحه
فقد ترك صبر و اخذ في غير طريقه و من صبر و استرجع و حمد الله عزوجل فقرضى بما صنع الله و
وقع اجره على الله و من لم يفعل ذلك جرى عليه القضاء و هو ذميم و احبط الله اجره

²³ Baqarah 2:156

Grant of patience (from Allah) is in proportion to the extent of the calamity you are passing through. If you exhibit fretfulness, irritation, and despair in calamities then your patience and your exertions are wasted.²⁴

Imam Musa Kazim said, “The one who hits his thigh at the time of calamity will lose his reward.”²⁵

Consensus of the classical Imami scholars

The classical scholars of the Imami sect in following the Prophet and his family had reached a consensus that hitting one’s body, scratching one’s face, and recitation of absurd lamentations at times of great sadness are all prohibited acts. Sheikh Abu Ja’fer Tus in his *Mabsoot* writes:

To cry is not a sin, but to hit or slap one’s body, scratch one’s face, pull or shave one’s hair, and to recite lamentations at times of despair and calamity according to the consensus of the jurists are all prohibited and void.

Muhammad ibn Idris Hilli in his *Sara’ir*, Sheikh Abu Abdullah Ameli in *Zikra* and Sheikh Muhammad Hasan Najafi in *Jawaher* hold the same view.

Tatbir: A pretext in the hands of the enemies

Until now we have spoken about the guidelines set by the Prophet, his household, and the scholars, all of whom deem hitting one’s face and

²⁴ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Saying no. 143

²⁵ ضرب الرجل يده على فخذه عند المصيبة احباط لاجره

wailing at time of calamity as forbidden. Unfortunately, there are still people who permit such acts. They justify themselves using the following reasons:

1. Such actions in commemorating the martyrdom of Imam Husayn are a sign of reverence and respect to the slogans of religion and the Prophet's family, and in honour of this the general and ambiguous traditions become stipulated.

In response to this, it is never correct to honour and respect the Prophet and his family through means which he himself has forbidden and has considered one of the customs of the ignorant. It is as if someone were to honour the Prophet by prostrating to him²⁶ and there is no doubt that *tatbir* has been forbidden in Islam, so how can we give ourselves the right to honour Islam and its symbols through such acts?

Sheikh Tusi reports from Khalid bin Sodair that Imam Sadiq said: The daughters of Fatimah al-Zahra – in sorrow of Husayn bin Ali – tore their clothes and slapped their cheeks; thus, it is permissible to do so over someone like Husayn bin Ali.

The answer to this claim can be addressed from two points: First, the mentioned tradition is a weak one as Khalid ibn Sudayr – the narrator – is unknown to the specialists in *Rejal*.²⁷ Allamah Mamqani in his *Tanqeeh al-Maqal* has named Khalid to be unknown to him. Ayatollah Khui states that this man cannot be relied upon due to his unknown identity. Secondly, this tradition contradicts another tradition which

²⁶ Bearing in mind that prostration to any other than God is forbidden in Islam

²⁷ A science in which the narrators of hadith are investigated

demotes its credibility. In the hadith narrated by Sheikh Mufid, Imam Husayn says to his sister, “I have pledged to you – and you should be loyal to my pledge – that when I am killed do not tear your collar, scratch your face, or seek your death.”

Bearing this in mind, can we really claim that it was permissible for the daughters of Fatimah to act in contradiction to the will of Imam Husayn?

In addition to hadith from Khalid bin Sodair contradicting the advice given to the Lady Fatimah from her father, when the Prophet said, “When I die, do not scratch your face upon me, nor pull your hair, and do not wail or cry lamentations for me” this tradition has been narrated by the Sheikh Kulayni with a stronger and more reliable line of narrators than that of Khalid.

Sometimes opponents use the following hadith to permit tatbir: “When the Lady Zainab’s eyes fell upon the severed head of her brother, she hit her face, tore her collar, and fell unconscious.”

Here, they rely on Lady Zainab’s reactions after the massacre on the day of Ashura; they have forgotten that before this event, when the Lady Zainab fainted when she was foretold about the martyrdom of her brother, Imam Husayn, having sprinkled water on her to awake her said, “Zainab, fear God and for His sake, be calm, and know that all of the inhabitants of the earth will die and the inhabitants of the skies will also not remain, and everything except for God will perish.” It need not to be said that Imam is infallible and his words and actions hold higher credibility than others.

It could be said that Lady Zainab's emotional response were beyond her will, and that it occurred due to the impact of the calamity. Other hadiths that mentions Lady Zainab to have hit her head on a pole and blood was seen trickling from beneath her veil should also be translated as an action beyond her strength, otherwise how can it be possible that she had purposely acted against her brother's will?

SHI‘A AUTHORITIES IN THE AGE OF THE MAJOR OCCULTATION PART IV: SHEIKH TUSI

ALI NAGHI ZABIHZADEH
TRANSLATED BY MARZIEH AHMADI

ABSTRACT: Sheikh Tusi, known as Sheikh al-Ta’ifah, was a renowned Shi‘a scholar recognized for his hadith compilations *Tahdhib al-Ahkam* and *al-Istibsar*, two of the four major works of Shi‘a Islamic traditions. Having closely studied under and associated with prominent Shi‘a leaders and scholars such as Sheikh al-Mufid and Sharif al-Murtadha, Sheikh Tusi became the leading spokesperson of Shi‘ism, one of his greatest roles being the founder of the Seminary of Najaf, which marked the city of Najaf as the leading centre of Shi‘a scholarship. This article studies the status, jurisprudential initiative, and religious authority of Sheikh Tusi, including a list of his teachers, students, and works on subjects such as hadith, exegesis, jurisprudence, supplication, and theology, and a description of the political situation during his time.

Abū Ja‘far Muhammad ibn Hasan Tūsī, known as “Sheikh al-Ṭā’ifah,” is one of the brightest luminaries of the Islamic world. The period he lived was the peak of Shi‘a Islamic scholarship which began with the authors of the four major Shi‘a hadith collections: Sheikh al-Kulayni (*al-Kafi*),

Shaikh al-Saduq (*Man la Yahduruh al-Faqih*), and the last two (*Tahdhib* and *al-Istibsar*) compiled by Shaikh Tusi. He also has written books on various subjects of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl*), hadith, exegesis of the Qur'an (*tafsīr*), Islamic theology (*kalām*), and genealogies of hadith narration (*rijāl*). Sheikh Tusi was born in 385 AH. When he was 23, he migrated to Baghdad in 408 AH where and entered the centre of Islamic culture and sciences of Baghdad and wound up spending the rest of his life in Iraq.

After his arrival in Baghdad, Sheikh Tusi studied under Sheikh Mufid for five years. He continued his education during the leadership of Sayyid Murtaḍā,¹ and in 436 AH after Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away, he spent the rest of his life – 24 years – as a leader of the Shi'a. After Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away, he stayed in Baghdad for twelve more years; and when the Seljuks attacked in 448 A.H causing a series of disturbances as his house was pillaged and destroyed, he left for Najaf where he established a centre for theological studies.²

Teachers

Sheikh Tusi was taught by Sheikh Mufid in the last 5 years of his life. When Sheikh Mufid passed away, Sheikh Tusi studied under Sayyid Murtaḍā Alam al-Hudā at the age of 28 and was on his special attention. He took benefit of his profitable presence for 23 years. Although, he did not need to refer to Sayyid Murtaḍā in hadith and

1 *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 6, p. 217. In addition to them, Sheikh Ṭūsī was taught by teachers such as Ibn Ghaḍā'irī and Ibn Ṣalt Ahwāzī, (cf. *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, p. 9, pp. 159 - 160; *Millennium Commemoration of Sheikh Ṭūsī*, the lecture of Muḥammad Wā'iz Zādiḥ, p. 47 & 51).

² Amīn, Sayyid Muḥsin, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 9, p. 159.

mentioned him less in the chain of transmission of hadith but on the subjects of Qur'an exegesis, lexicology, Kalām, Literary Studies, Fiqh and Uṣūl, he studied under the Sayyid and quoted his ideas in his words in " *Uddah al-Uṣūl*" and in some cases critiqued his ideas.

At the time of Sayyid Murtaḍā's life, Sheikh Tusi wrote some books such as *Tahdhīb*, *Istibṣār* (among the Four major References of Shī'a) and *al-Nihāyah*, *al-Mafṣaḥ fī al-Imāmah*, *Rijāl* and a part of "*al-Fihrist*". He also wrote a summary of "*al-Shāfi*" (about imamate) which was originally written by Sayyid Murtaḍā. Sheikh Tusi finished writing his summary 4 years before Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away in 432 AH.

Students

The most famous students of Sheikh Tusi are: 1. Sheikh Abū 'Alī, the son of Sheikh Tusi; 2. Abū al-Salāḥ Halabī, Taqī Najm al-Dīn; 3. Abū al-Faṭḥ Karāchakī; 4. Sheikh Sulaymān ibn Hasan ṣahrushtī; 5. the judge, Ibn Barrāj 'Abd al - 'Azīz ʿIrāblusī Shāmī; 6. Ādam ibn Yūnus ibn Abī al-Muhājir Nasafī; 7. Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Husayn ibn Aḥmad Neyshābūrī Khuzā'ī Rāzī; 8. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān; 9 & 10. Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il and Abū ʿĀlib Ishāq, sons of Muḥammad ibn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Bābiwayah Qumī; 11. Abū al-Khayr Barkah ibn Muḥammad ibn Barkah Asadī; 12. Shams al-Islām Abū Muḥammad Hasan ibn Husayn ibn 'Alī ibn Bābiwayah Qumī; 13. Abū Muḥammad Hasan ibn Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥsin Jahānī; 14. Muhyi al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullāh Husayn Muḥafar ibn Alī Hamdānī Nazīl Qazwīn; 15. Sayyid Abū al-Samṣām Dhūl-Faqār ibn Muḥammad ibn Mu'īd al-Husaynī Marwzī; 16. Sayyid Abū Muḥammad Zayd ibn Ali ibn al-Husayn

Husaynī; 17. Sayyid Zayn al-Dīn, son of Dā'ī Husaynī who was a knowledgeable and erudite man; 18. Muhaddith ibn Shahr Āshūb; 19. Sā'id ibn Rabī'ah ibn Abī Ghānim; 20. Sheikh Aba Salt ibn 'Abd al-Qādir who was a righteous jurist and has commentary on Sheikh's works; 21. Sheikh Abū al-Wafā 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Abdullāh ibn Ali Muqirī Rāzi; 22. Sheikh Abd al-Jabbār ibn Ali ibn Neyshābūrī; 23. Sheikh Ali ibn Abdussamad Tamīmī; 24. Emir, Ghāzī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Manṣūr Sāmānī, et al.³

Publications

The works of Sheikh Tusi, whether in form of books or treatises, are more than forty five volumes addressing nine subjects: 1. Hadith and narrations; 2. Rijāl, translations and listings; 3. Qur'an exegesis; 4. Fiqh; 5. Uṣūl; 6. Kalām; 7. Supplications and practices; 8. History and records of martyrdom; 9. Collections of responses to the questions in various subjects which were asked from him by people from near and far lands and this indicates his great prominence and authority.

Sheikh Tusi was an eminent hadith scholar and his book "*Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām wa Istibṣār*" (among the Four Books⁴) manifested that.

Mabsut

Mabsūt is the first book in Shi'a demonstrative jurisprudence (*al-fiqh al-istidlālī*) that the jurisprudential principles benefitting from reason and religion. *Al-Nihāyah* – written before *Mabsut* – was according to the

⁶ cf. Hizārih Sheikh Tusi, the section of lectures, Hāj Mīrzā Khalīl Kamarīh'ī, p. 194; *Rawḍāt*, vol. 6, pp. 9 – 228.

⁴ The most important hadith references of Shi'a.

method of previous jurists in traditional fiqh, where it simplified the duties of Muslims.

Before *Mabsūt*, the contents of Shi'ā jurisprudential books generally consisted of only jurisprudence and addressed mostly the subjects which were directly received from Imams. Before *Mabsūt*, Shi'ā jurists considered it necessary to use the exact writing and rulings received from the Imam; therefore, jurists of other sects objected and did not deem the Shi'ā as researchers.

In the preface of *Mabsūt*, Sheikh Tusi describes how and why he wrote it:

I frequently hear that among jurists, those who denied the authority of guardianship (*wilāyah*) have underestimated Shi'ā fiqh and believe that it did not delve into secondary topics; moreover, Shi'ā jurists spoke in exaggerative and paradoxical ways. Those who say this cannot expand and add to major topics in *uṣūl* because they refuse *ijtihād* and *qīyās*,⁵ the two ways to add to the topics.

The roots lie in their lack of knowledge about our faith and our *uṣūl*. If they thought about our hadiths and fiqh, they had soon learned that more of the subjects mentioned by them exist in our traditions and its ruling is mentioned in general or in particular explicitly or implicitly by our Imams whose words are as valuable and

⁵ Interpretive reasoning and jurisprudential reasoning through analogy

as authentic as the Prophet's. Those whose books are predominantly on secondary topics⁶ should know that they cannot find any unless their rulings exist according to our uṣūl. Not through analogy, rather in a way that brings certainty and thus one must act accordingly. The way of reaching the truth is open for us and we might act according to this and the rule of clearance from obligation⁷ and the like. Most secondary topics lay in general principles written by Shi'a jurists, and the solution to them is simple. But the matter is that they have become somehow complicated due to performing some rules and applying scientific techniques.

Since long ago, I wanted to write a book only on secondary topics though there were obstacles that prevented me to do so. The Shi'a's reluctance caused me frustration and prevented me from initiating it. They did not heed to secondary topics and stuck to the literal meaning of the hadiths.

They would become surprised if a ruling for an issue was expressed with different words than the exact words in hadiths, and they were not able to understand the meaning.

⁶ Besides, through answering questions, Imams tried to teach the principles of laws implicitly so that jurists deduce the jurisprudential rulings for cases from them, these rulings are secondary issues.

⁷ *Barā'at al-Dhimmah*

In *Al-Nihāyah*, I promised to write a book on secondary topics as an additional supplement so that it be completed in the all subjects, whether in uṣūl or secondary topics; but I changed my mind and decided to write a separate book on all jurisprudential books.

The books on fiqh written by jurists are about 80 titles so far. I decided to give information about each book in brief and write a book consisting of fiqh without prayers and recommended rituals, to go chapter by chapter in a way that the same subjects lie in a special part and go ahead in topics as deep as possible, to mention all secondary topics issued by other jurists; then I would mention my ideas according to Shi'a principles. If the rule about an issue is clear, I will simply write the ruling (*fatwā*) and if it is complicated, I will refer to the reasons to make it clear for non-emulating observers. If the jurists have difference of opinions in a subject or in its details and each one express their own judicial opinion, I will mention all opinions and make the root of those disagreements clear; then I will choose and introduce the true opinion and bring a reason except the judicial reasoning acquired through analogy. If I mention similarities between an issue with another, my goal is to give an example not mentioning the differences of them in ruling. In that book, I would not bring the names of opposing jurists lest the book becomes lengthy. I

mentioned their names in the book "*Masā'il al- Khilāf*" in detail.

If the matter is so that none of jurisprudential opinions has any preference, and all of them have the same justification, I would stop further investigation and thus, in practice I will authorize the responsible to choose between them. If I can easily finish this book by the help of God, it will be a unique book among the books of our friends and the books of others.

I have not seen any book by jurists which include all the issues in Uṣūl and secondary topics.⁸

Regarding *Mabsut*, Martyr Muṭaharī said:

It seems that *Mabsūt* is the first jurisprudential book that brought up secondary topics and derived their rulings from uṣūl. The words of Sheikh in *Mabsūt* show that in the time of Sheikh Tusi, the Shī'a experienced a period of inactivity in fiqh. Sheikh Tusi understood that a development in fiqh and ijtihād was needed and achieving it would not be possible without taking steps against some customs; therefore, he displayed courage, a trait exclusive to noble ones like him, to write *Mabsūt* and thus, fiqh and ijtihād entered into a new stage.

⁸ *Al-Mabsūt*, Sheikh Tūsī, vol. 1, pp. 1 – 3; cf. [Proceedings of] *Hezareh Sheikh Tūsī*, the lecture of Martyr Muṭaharī, p. 355 up to the end.

Thus, Sheikh Tusi confirmed that a) he was fully aware of the needs of his time, b) he had a divine bounty of literary and rational bravery, c) he confirmed that *ijtihād*, new topics and responding to them cannot provide an excuse to present Islamic jurisprudence as incomplete and resort to analogy. Rather, we can answer to secondary topics through general Islamic principles and *uṣūl*. The art of Sheikh Tusi was that was he neither rigid in answering to the needs of his time, nor was he reckless by offering personal ideas into Islamic legislation. He did what Islam expects of real scholars of the *ummah*.⁹

Books

Sheikh Tusi continued the period of Shi'ā Islamic scholarship with his *Tahdhib al-Ahkam fi Sharh al-Muqni'*, a commentary to *al-Muqni'a* and the third of the four major works of Shi'ā Islamic traditions.

His books on hadith:

1. *Tahdhib al-Ahkām*, one of the four major works of Shi'ā traditions, a source used by Shi'ā scholars to refer to Islamic rulings. It consists of 23 chapters, the first of which is on *tahārat* (purity) and the last of which *dīyyāt*. In the introduction, Sheikh Ṭūsī writes that he first wrote it as a commentary of *al-Muqni'ah* written by his teacher, Sheikh Mufīd. The chapter *Tahārat* and the early part of *Salāt* was written during Sheikh

⁹ cf. [Proceedings of] *Hezareh Sheikh Tūsī*, the lecture of martyr Muṭaharī, p. 355 up to the end, extracted from it.

Mufīd's life. At that time, Sheikh Tusi was 25 or 26 years old; the rest of the book was written after the death of Sheikh Mufīd;

2. *Al-Istibṣār*:¹⁰ The last of the four major Shi'a works of tradition. Arranged in 3 sections, two sections are on Acts of Worship (*Ibādāt*) and the third section on other issues in fiqh. It includes the whole book of *Tahdhīb*; the only difference is that this book smaller in size and has only some of the hadiths collected in *Tahdhīb*. *Tahdhīb* consists of all conflicting and agreeing traditions together;

3. *Āmālī* consists of 18 sections and 27 chapters. His son, Abu Ali Tusi, wrote the 18 sections for his students in 509 A.H. Abū 'Alī Ṭūsī wrote the 18 chapters for his students in 509 AH and since the traditionist used to mention the name of the traditionist author in the beginning of the book therefore the book including these 18 chapters are known as *Abū 'Alī Ṭūsī's Āmālī*.

His books on rijāl:

1. *Ikhtiyār Rijāl*, originally known as *Rijāl Kashī*. Since it needed re-organization, Sheikh Tusi revised it and titled it *Ikhtiyār al-Rijāl*. According to Allāmah Nūrī, at the end of *Mustadrak al-Wasa'il*, what is available and known as *Rijāl Kashī* is the same Shaykh Ṭūsī's book, *Ikhtiyār al-Rijāl*;

2. *Rijāl Ṭūsī*, in which 8900 names of companions of the Prophet, Imams, and other traditionists during both the minor and major occultation until the time of Sheikh Ṭūsī are listed in alphabetical order.

¹⁰ Full name: *Al-Istibṣār fī ma al-Ikhtalafā min al-Akhhbār*

The primary aim in writing this book was to mention and categorize the numbers of traditionists rather than praising, criticizing, or modifying their sayings;

3. *Al-Fihrist* an introduction to a plethora of books and Uṣūl and consists of more than 900 names of Shi'ā authors and their teachers.

Books on tafsīr:

1. *Al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, one of his greatest books; 2. *Al-Masā' il al-Damishqīyyah*, which consisted of 12 issues on Qur'anic exegesis, mentioned in *al-Fihrist* and *al-Masā' il al-Rajabīyyah*.

His books on fiqh:

1. *Al-Nihāyah fī Mujarrad al-Fiqh wa al-Fatwā*, a series of authentic traditions; 2. *Al-Mabsūt fī al-Fiqh*, a book on jurisprudence consisting of almost 80 chapters on all subjects in fiqh; and one of the top Shi'ā jurisprudential references written with a jurispudent approach, including opened discussion, research, and ijtihād in various secondary topics; 3. *Al-Jumal wa al-'Uqūd fī al-'Ibādāt*, a reply to a student's demand, on the subject of purity (*tahara*) to enjoining good and forbidding evil (*amr bil ma'roof wa al-nahy an il-munkar*); 4. *Al-khilāf fī al-Ahkām* also known as *Masā' il al-Khilāf*, compiled in similar order to jurisprudential books regarding controversial issues between the Shi'ā and Sunnī, mentioned from the beginning of the chapter "Purity" (*Tahārat*) to the end of *Ummahāt al-Awlād*. He then offers his own analysis and quotes public opinion. He ends it with his reason for arriving at his conclusion according to Shī'a doctrine; 5. *Al-ijāz fī al-*

Farā'iz, in which Sheikh briefly mentions some obligations that the author of *Al-Dhurīyah* mentioned in his book; 6. *Manāsik al-Haj fī Mujarrad al-'Amal* mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*; 7. *Al-Masā'il al-Halabīyyah fī al-Fiqh*; 8. *Al-Masā'il al-Junbalā'īyyah*, a book on fiqh consisting of 24 subjects; 9. *Al-Masā'il al-Hā'irīyyah fī al-Fiqh* covering about 300 jurisprudential issues; 10. *Mas'alah fī Wujūb al-Jizyah 'Ala al-Yahūd wa al-Muntamīn Ilā al-Jabābirah*; 11. *Mas'alah fī Tahrim al-Fuqqā* mentioned in *al-Fihrist*.

His books on Uṣūl:

1. *Al-'Udduh fī al-Uṣūl*: he wrote it after *Istibṣār* and *Tahdhīb* in the time of his teacher, Sayyid Murtaḍā – may God have mercy upon him – and it can be understood from its introduction that he wrote it as a response to the demand of his students; 2. *Mas'alah fī al-'Amal bi Khabar al-Wāḥid* mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*.

His books on kalām:

1. *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi*, a summary of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *al-Shafi* written in response to 'Abd al-Jabbar Mu'tazili's *Mughnī* on Imāmat; 2. *Tamhīd al-Uṣūl*: written as an explanation of the uṣūl section of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-'Ilm wa al-'Amal*; 3. *Al-Iqtisād al-Hādī ilā Tarīq al-Irshād*, a concise account on the principles of the beliefs and acts according to the Islamic law; 4. *Al-Mufṣaḥ fī al-Imāmah*, a book on Imamate, the manuscript of which remains until today; 5. *Mā lā Yasa' al-Mukallaf al-Ikhlāl Bih*, written on Kalām; 6. *Mā Yu'llal wa mā lā Yu'alal*, a book on Kalām; 7. *Muqadamah fī al-Madkhal ilā 'Ilm al-Kalām*, mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*; 8. *Rīyādat al-'Uqūl*: an explanation of his previous

Muqaddimah fī al-Madkhal, although it is lost; 9. *Uṣūl al-‘Aqāyid*, his unfinished book, the name of which is mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* and discussed “Monotheism” (*Tawhīd*) and briefly “Justice” (*‘Adl*); 10. The explanation to *al-Sharḥ fī al-Uṣūl*; 11. *Al-Ghaybah*: written on the absence of Imām Mahdī; 12. *Mas’alah fī al-Uṣūl*, mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*; 13. *Al-Farq bayn al-Nabī wa al-Imām* or *al-Masā’il fī al-Farq bayn an-Nabī wa al-Imām* mentioned in *al-Fihrist*; 14. *Al-Masā’il al-Rāzīyah*, consisting of responses to 15 questions from the people of Rey, Iran; 15. *Al-Naqḍ ‘ala ibn Shādhān fī Mas’alah al-Ghār*, mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*; 16. *Masā’il Uṣūl al-Dīn* or *Masā’il al-Ṭūsī*, a brief text on beliefs.

His books on dua:¹¹

1. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid fī A’māl al-Sanah* in rituals and supplications of one year; 2. *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-Ad‘iyah wa al-‘Ibādāt* or *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Saghīr* – a summary of the previous book; 3. *Mukhtaṣar fī ‘Amal Yaum wa laylah fī al-‘Ibādāt* or *Yaum wa Laylah*: on daily prayers and their additional deeds; 4. *Uns al-Waḥīd*; 5. *Hidāyah al-Mustarshid wa Baṣīrah al-Mutu ‘abbid fī al-Ad‘iyah wa al-‘Ibādāt*.

His history books

1. *Mukhtaṣar Akhbār al-Mukhtār ibn Abī ‘Ubaydah al-Thaqafī* or *Akhbār al-Mukhtār*; 2. *Maqṭal al-Husayn*.

¹¹ Supplication

His books on answering questions

1. *Al-Masā'il al-Qumīyyah* or *Jawābāt al-Masā'il al-Qumīyyah*, consisting of answers to the questions of people of Qum, Iran; 2. *Masā'il ibn al-Barrāj*, mentioned in his *al-Fihrist*; 3. *al-Masā'il al-Ilyāsīyyah*, covering 100 issues in various fields, and mentioned in *al-Fihrist*.¹²

Socio-political situation

The fall of the Buyids

Aḍud ad-Dawla was the most powerful Shi'a emir of the Buyids who occupied Baghdād after killing his cousin, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, the son of Mu'izz ad-Dawla, and expanded his territory to Damascus while simultaneously taking control of Halab (Aleppo) whose governor was Sa'd ad-Dawla, the son of Sayf al-Dawla Hamdānī.¹³ Abū Manṣūr Iftakīn, the Turk ruler of Damascus, who was previously under the command of Mu'iz al-Dawla, also succumbed to 'Aḍud ad-Dawla.¹⁴

Before the Fātimids, the governor of Egypt, Anūjūy, the son of Akhshīd, had close consultation with Mu'iz al-Dawla. In the time of Fatimids, al-'Azīz, Fatimid's caliph, sent some letters to 'Aḍud al-Dawla to strengthen his relation with him;¹⁵ but gradually the Buyids were involved in disputes and enmity and were thus weakened.

¹² *A'yān al-Shī'a*, vol. 9. pp. 6 – 165; Cf. 'Alī Dawānī, *Ibid*, the part of the lecture of Sayyid Hāshim Rasūlī Maḥallātī, p. 209 to the end & Muḥammad Wā'iz Zādih, p. 66 to the end; the writer of *Rūḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 6, from p. 229, introduced a lot of Sheikh Tūsī's books.

¹³ 'Abbās Pazwīz, *Tārīkh-e Dīyālamēh wa Ghaznawīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids)*, p. 81-82.

¹⁴ Ibn khalkān, vol. 1, p. 455, quoted from Faqīhī, *Shāhanshāhī 'Aḍad al-Dawla*, p. 200.

¹⁵ cf (see): *al-Muntaẓam*, vol.7, p. 98, quoted from Faqīhī, *Ibid*.

In 369, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla attacked his brother Fakhr al-Dawla who was appointed as the governor of Hamadān and Rey by his father and accused him of coalition with 'Izz al-Dawla. He ran away from Hamadān and took refuge before one of Zīyārīd's emirs, Qābūs ibn Wushmgīr. 'Aḍud ad-Dawla deputed Hamadān and Rey to his other brother, Mū'ayyid al-Dawla. In 371, because Qābūs (Zīyārī) refused to hand over Fakhr al-Dawla to 'Aḍud al-Dawla, he attacked Gorgān and occupied it. Both Qābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla escaped to Khurāsān. Finally, in 372, 'Aḍud al-Dawla passed away from epilepsy in Baghdād when he was 47. He was buried in Najaf.¹⁶

Sharaf al-Dawla¹⁷ got ahead of his brother Abū Kālījār¹⁸ who was in Baghdād and after his father took reign of Shīrāz. A year after 'Aḍud al-Dawla passed away, when his brother Mū'ayyid al-Dawla passed away in Rey, Sāhib ibn 'Ubbād called Fakhr al-Dawla from Khurāsān and appointed him as the governor of Rey after Mū'ayyid al-Dawla. Both the caliph and Samṣām al-Dawla confirmed Fakhr al-Dawla's office. At that time, Aḍud al-Dawla's five sons disputed over the succession of their father. That time, their uncle Fakhr al-Dawla did not have much political influence; therefore, each one settled in a region to counterbalance each other. However, Sharaf al-Dawla attacked Baghdād and imprisoned Samṣām al-Dawla in a castle in Fārs and took its control. He passed away in 379 AH.

¹⁶ Hasan Pīrnīya, 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 165.

¹⁷ 372-379

¹⁸ Or Samṣām al-Dawla

In 380 AH, after Sharaf al-Dawla passed away, Bahā' al-Dawla compromised with Samsām al-Dawla who seized Fārs and Bihbahān, while Bahā' al-Dawla ruled over Khūzistān and Arabian part of Iraq. After Samsām al-Dawla was killed in 388 AH, Bahā' al-Dawla occupied that territory as well. He passed away in 403 AH.

Afterwards, Sultān al-Dawla¹⁹ succeeded his father and ruled Baghdād and Fārs. In 407 AH, his brother Abū al-Fawāras rebelled against him and occupied Shīrāz, though he could not resist and so asked for Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī's assistance and occupied Kirmān and Fārs with the support of the Ghaznavid army. However, Sultān al-Dawla was recaptured there.

In 411 AH, the army rebelled against Sultān al-Dawla in Baghdad and made Abū 'Alī Mushrif al-Dawla, the younger brother of Sultān al-Dawla, the governor of Baghdād. He ruled in Fārs, a part of Khūzistān and Kirmān, for 3 years, and then passed away in 415 AH. His son Abū Kālījār Marzbān succeeded him and ruled from 440 until 450 AH. Finally in 417 AH, after a series of campaigns, Sultān al-Dawla settled in Shīrāz; due to these battles, he could not go to Baghdād, where the city was emptied of emirs for some time.

The situation did not change for 2 years, while some people were supporters of Abū Kālījār and a group supported Jalāl al-Dawla.²⁰ Finally, in 418 AH, Jalāl al-Dawla captured Baghdād and formally became its governor. But the hostilities resumed between the Daylamite

¹⁹ 403-415

²⁰ The son and successor of Mushrif al-Dawla

and Turkish army until the Turks rebelled against al-Malik al-'Azīz Abū Manṣūr, the son of Jalāl al-Dawla in Basra in 419 AH and called for the help of Abū Kālījār who was unconcerned about Kirmān at that time. But in 420 AH, when Abū Kālījār attacked Wāsīt, Jalāl al-Dawla severely defeated him and also seized Ahwāz; in the next year, he defeated him and occupied Basra. These civil wars continued between the two Daylamite Emirs until 428 AH.

Finally, Jalāl al-Dawla passed away in Baghdād in 435 and Abū Kālījār captured Iraq, Khūzistān, and Fārs. His rule continued until 440 AH. Towards the end of his ruling, he fought with the Seljuk governors when the Seljuks ruled most of Iran and occupied many Buyid territories. Abū Kālījār was compelled to make peace between the Seljuk Toghrul in 439 AH, and thus he married his daughter to Toghrul²¹ and his son, Abū Manṣūr to the daughter of Jughrī Biyk, the brother of Toghrul. Since then, the Iraqi Daylamites were supported by the Seljuks.

Toghrul knew it is not easy to annihilate the Daylamites, and so he made unity with them and ordered to his commander, Ibrāhīm Yanāl Tikīn, to end the occupation of the Daylamite regions. Thus, Abū Kālījār ruled Baghdād for 4 years and 3 months after Jalāl al-Dawla passed away in Kerman in 440 AH.²²

²¹ Cf. *Tārīkh-e Dayālamēh wa Ghaznawīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids)*, p. 129; *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 165 to the end.

²² *Rawḍah al-Ṣafā*, vol. 6, pp. 28 – 30; *Tārīkh Gozīdih (selected history)*, pp. 25 – 424, p. 432; and 'Abbās Pazwīz, *Ibid*, p. 129.

The people then pledged allegiance to his son Abū Naṣr Khusro Fīrūz, nicknamed Malik Raḥīm.²³ But Abū Kālījār had six sons, each of whom claimed the crown, and sped up the decline of the Buyids. For example, in 443 AH, Malik Raḥīm conquered Iṣṭakhr and Shīrāz, and his brother Fūlād Sutūn asked Seljuk Toghrul's assistance. Toghrul sent an army from Iṣṭahān to help him. Fūlād Sutūn severely defeated Malik Raḥīm in Ahwāz, and in 447 AH, Seljuk Toghrul arrived in Baghdad, and Malik Raḥīm was taken captive by him. The caliph then ordered to give a speech in the name of Toghrul, rendering Malik Raḥīm the last Iraqi Daylamite.²⁴

In 447 AH, Toghrul, the founder of Seljuk dynasty, came from Rey to Hamadān; in the same year, he went to Baghdad with the intention of meeting the caliph, Qā'im. Malik Raḥīm attempted to stop him though he failed.

Since a group of the officials of the caliph were adherents of Toghrul in heart and, Arsalān Basāsīrī, the commander of the Turkish army, stood against the caliph since 446 AH and communicated with the Fātimid caliph, Mustanṣir, in secret, the caliph ordered to give speech in the name of Toghrul²⁵ after his arrival in Baghdad in 447 AH. This way, the Buyid dynasty, who was dominated by Baghdad during the rule of Mu'iz al-Dawla, collapsed in 447 AH. In 448 AH, the family relations between the Seljuks and Abbāsids strengthened after the caliph married Dāwūd's daughter.

²³ 440-447 AH

²⁴ *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 176; *Tārīkh-e Dīyālameh wa Ghaznawīyān (The History of Daylamites and Ghaznavids)*, p. 137.

²⁵ Joel L. Kremer, *Ihyā-e Farhangī dar 'Ahd Āl Būyeh* (the cultural revival in Buyid Era), p. 318.

Finally, with the foundation of the Sunni Turkish Seljuk dynasty, the power and influence of the Turks increased since the stabilization of the caliphate of Mu'taşam. The expansion of the Seljuk territory and the domination on the lands that had been independent greatly influenced the promotion of formal ruling and the apparent position of the caliphs, although the caliphs were pawns in the hands of the Emirs.

Qā'im 'Abbāsī passed away after 44 years of caliphate in 467 AH. He was contemporary with several Ghaznavid and Seljuk kings such as: Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī (432–442 AH); Sultān Muḥammad (421); 'Abd al-Rashīd (441–444 AH); Mawdūd (432–441 AH); 'Ali ibn Mas'ūd (417 AH); Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī (451–452 AH); the first Toghrul, the founder of Seljuk dynasty (429–455 AH); Alp Arslan (455–465 AH) and Malikshāh (465–485 AH).²⁶

Migration to Najaf

The Shi'a leadership in Baghdad – in spite of the competition between the populous Hanbalites and Shi'as at the time of Sheikh Mufid, Sayyid Murtaḍā and a part of Sheikh Tusi's life – was not only due to the Buyids' rule in western Iran or the Mesopotamia, but it also was because of the authority of Shi'ites of Damascus, Hejaz, and Yemen. The Fātimid caliphs in Egypt, Emirs of Banī 'Amār in Tripoli and Damascus, and Zaydi Imams in Yemen were known as a manifestation of Shi'a power at that time. Although Egyptian Fātimids and Yemeni Zaydis had differences of opinion with the Shi'as of Tripoli and Baghdad, their general agreement on religion and their belief on the Abbasids' power

²⁶ Quoted from 'Azīzollāh Bayāt, *Ibid*, pp. 148 – 149.

was stronger than their differences of opinion. Moreover, their opposition with the Umayyad and Abbasid governments strengthened their unity, which forced the Abbasids to have weak reaction against the Shi'as. Conversely, apart from some differences of opinion in kalām, Shi'a scholars maintained their unity and this provided an opportunity for them: until the time of the Buyid dynasty in Baghdad, they could teach and debate on Shi'a kalām, fiqh, and uṣūl conveniently and write major works that were accepted by both friends and enemies. Shi'a scholars in Tripoli were especially dedicated to Sheikh Tusi in fiqh through his student, Ibn Barrāj.

Following the Hamdānids in Halab, they were the inheritors of the early Shī'a. In publication and preservation of books, they established the largest library in the world. However, one million and 300 thousand manuscripts were eventually burnt down after the arrival of the Crusaders.²⁷

It was an event that after a century, made the unknown 'Abd al-Latīf Baghdadi to create the story of firing of the Alexandria library by the hands of the earlier Muslims without any reference to the reports of the

²⁷ For more information, refer to Jacques Nantes, *Tārīkh Lebanon (the history of Lebanon)*, pp. 179 – 180, in brief, the crusader passed Lebanon again and it was important for them as a connection. In April, 28th, 1104 CE (Sha'bān, 498 AH) Raymond de Seine Gilles who planned to make his private emirate in Lebanon, turned from occupation of Jubail to Tripoli with the help of the Geneva navy that blocked the harbor; but he faced with a firm castle above the mountains that prevented him to occupy there. After he passed away, Guillaume de Seire Dane took the advantage of the absent of Fakhr al-Dawla ibn 'Ammār, the last independent Emir of Tripoli and on June 10th, 1109 CE (Dhī al-Qa'dah, 502 AH) with the help of Seine Gilles's army and the support of Biduin I, who came from Jerusalem, started the attack while the Geneva navy prevented of the arrival of Fātimid navy who came to help them. Thus, on July, 12th, 1109 CE (Muḥarram, 503 AH), Tripoli was defeated. In this event, the famous library of city burned completely.

earlier Islamic and Christian historians who wrote about the capture of Egypt, and because of being recent, it became popular and spread in Europe through *Tārīkh ibn 'Ibrī 'Isawī* which hid the true event of the firing of the Shī'a Āl-e 'Amār library in Tripoli by focusing on the false story of firing the library of Alexandria.²⁸

Sheikh Tusi had scientific and spiritual leadership in Baghdad for 12 years after Sayyid Murtaḍā passed away. Iraqi, Damascan, and Iranian Shi'as accepted his religious authority and the scholars received responses for their questions.

Since al-Qā'im bi Amrillāh and Toghrul Beg Seljuki (a bigoted Sunnite) conspired against Basāsīrī at the time of Sheikh Tusi in 447 AH, the harsh treatment against the Shi'a increased. Because the enemies of Shī'ism were free from the Buyid rule, it provided an opportunity for them to relieve their inferiority against Shi'as and the influence of Shi'a scholars during the previous century.

With the arrival of Toghrul in Baghdad, the Shi'as in Karkh were forbidden to say the phrase "Hasten toward best of action"²⁹ in the call to prayer (*adhan*) and instead were required to say "Prayer is better than sleep"³⁰ as Sunnis recited in the morning call to prayer. Moreover, they destroyed all Shi'a mottos and epigraphs such as "Muḥammad wa 'Alī, Khayr al-Bashar" ("Muhammad and Ali are the best of people") written on the walls and gates of Karkh. Then Sunni eulogists entered Karkh and loudly sang poems in the praise of the caliphs. By the order of Ibn

²⁸ 'Alī Dawānī, Ibid, extracted from the lecture of Muḥīṭ Tabātabāeī, p. 99 to the end.

²⁹ Literally meaning: "Hay-e 'alā khayr al-'amal."

³⁰ Literally meaning: "Al-ṣalāt khayrun min al-naum."

Salamah, the first supreme chief, Abū Abdullāh Julāb, the chief of the drapers of Karkh, was hung at the doorstep of his store with the charge of exaggerating about Shi‘as. Sheikh Tusi hid himself, but his home was plundered.³¹

Following the tragic events which took place for the Shi‘as in Karkh, the Sheikh had to leave. Those events happened on the months of Muḥarram and Safar, when the Shi‘as mourn for the martyrs of Karbala and for the oppression of Imam Husayn.

According to Ibn Jawzī³² a series of bloody events took place at the times of the authority of Sheikh Mufid, Sayyid Murtaḍā, and Sheikh Tusi in 408 AH, in the month of Muḥarram,³³ in Ashūrā,³⁴ and in the month of Safar³⁵ in which many were injured or killed, and the shops, houses, and possessions of the Shi‘as were plundered, but owing to the presence of the Shi‘a Buyid monarchs, these brawls were pacified.

In 447 and 448 AH, after the fall of the Buyids and the emergence of the Seljuks, the Sunnis of Baghdad rebelled against the Shi‘a altogether and plundered and burned the house of Sheikh Tusi, and thus Sheikh Tusi left forever.

In their last attack on the Shi‘as in Karkh, they rushed to the house of the Sheikh and when they did not find him, they plundered his possessions and burned his books; and his teacher chair which was

³¹ Ibn Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, p. 8 & p. 16; Ibn Haajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, vol. 5, p. 135.

³² In *Al-Muntaẓam*, Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī in *Lisān al-Mizān*, Ibn Kathīr Shāmī in *Al-bidāyah wa al-Nahāyah* and Ibn Athīr in *Al-Kāmil*

³³ , 417 AH, 430 AH and 432 AH

³⁴ 440 AH

³⁵ 443 AH and 445 AH

brought to Karkh in 449 AH was accompanied by three flags carried by the Shi'as during pilgrimage of Imam 'Alī.³⁶

The migration of Sheikh was very short in time, because in the next year when the power of Basāsīrī³⁷ increased and in the absence of Toghrul while ruling Baghdad he was ineffective, the Shi'as seized the opportunity to take revenge on their opponents for the attacks in Karkh. But very soon Seljuk Toghrul returned to Baghdad. Basāsīrī ran

³⁶ Cf. Ibn Jawzī, *Al-Muntazam*, "The events in 448 – 449 AH"; *A'yān al-Shī'a*, vol. 9, p. 159; Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Tārīkh Tashayū' dar Iran* (the Shi'ites history in Iran), vol. 1, p. 366.

³⁷ When Toghrul resided in Baghdad, Arsalān Basāsīrī with the support of Mustansir Fātimī and his followers in Algeria, attacked the province of Mosul. He fought with Quraysh ibn Badran, Emir of Mosul and Qutlimash, cousin of Toghrul in Sanjār. In this event, Nūr al-Dawla, Emir of Halah (backed) Basāsīrī and Fātimid caliph. Basāsīrī and Nūr al-Dawla defeated Quraysh and Qutlimash severely. The caliph, Qā'im send Toghrul on duty to Algeria and Sultān moved there after 13 month of his residence to make up for this failure which was a threat for his office and also to get rid of the armies of Toghrul that due to their long residence in Baghdad had caused of general bothering of people.

Nūr al-Dawla was brought into submission of Toghrul as result of this movement. In addition Marwānī Emir of Bakr became obeyed him, then Toghrul suppressed the riots in those regions, deposited them with Ibrāhīm Yanāl and returned to Baghdad in 449 AH. Basāsīrī took refuge in Damascus and because he heard that Ibrāhīm Yanāl had upraised against Toghrul and was moving from Mosul to the regions of Jabal, came to Mosul in 450 AH and recaptured there; but Toghrul quickly came from Baghdad to Mosul and Basāsīrī ran away.

After return of Toghrul from Baghdad and his movement to Hamadān, Basāsīrī found an opportunity to attack Baghdad and because the caliph, Qā'im could not resist his power, left the palace (Dār al-Khilāfah). Basāsīrī entered the center of 'Abassid caliphate of Baghdad in 8th of the month "Dhī al-Qa'dah" and gave speech in the name of the Fatimid al-Mustansir Billāh; and this way, the name of 'Abbasids was omitted of speeches in Baghdad. After his arrival to Hamadan, Toghrul engaged in rebellion of his brother, Ibrāhīm Yanāl; so, Toghrul fought with him and defeated him near Rey. He was killed by order of Toghrul. Then, Toghrul moved quickly toward Baghdad to push Basāsīrī out of there and brought Qā'im back to caliphate. In 451 AH, after one year staying in the palace (Dār al-Khilāfah) of Baghdad, Basāsīrī left there for his fear of Toghrul and revolutionists. Both the caliph, Qā'im and Toghrul entered Baghdad. Toghrul fought with Basāsīrī to prevent him from arriving at Damascus and killed him in 451 AH. Then, he sent the head of Basāsīrī for the caliph in Baghdad. Toghrul passed away in 455 AH after 26 years ruling in Rey; and his cousin, Alp Arslan took the throne with the help of Khājah Nizām al-Mulk. (cf. *Tārīkh Iran*, p. 319)

away and later was killed, and Baghdad was occupied by the followers of the 'Abbasids. The public attacks to Karkh restarted; more houses and public places were plundered and the smoke of fire filled the entire city.

In 450 or 451 AH, the Shāhpūr ibn Ardishīr library was burned down. Shāhpūr ibn Ardishīr, a determined scholar, was the minister of Bahā al-Dawla, son of Aḍud al-Dawla.³⁸ The library included 10,400 volumes of unique and valuable books³⁹ which were hand-written copies of the books from Iran, Rome, China, India, and Iraq by the order of Shāhpūr ibn Ardishīr.⁴⁰

Sheikh Tusi taught the largest community in Baghdad. Some Sunni scholars were not pleased by this and were jealous of him; therefore, they attempted several times to push him aside by slandering him. For instance, once they complained to the caliph that Sheikh Tusi had cursed the early caliphs in his book. The caliph ordered to call him to the royal court and they took Sheikh Tusi's *Maṣābīh* which included *Ziyārat Ashūrā* as evidence to the presence of the caliph.

But the Sheikh offered reasonable analyses of the phrases in *Ziyārat Ashūrā*, and the caliph was pleased by them and eventually freed him.⁴¹ However, their jealousy did not cease as the Sheikh's house was burned down once again.

³⁸ cf. *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 9, p. 159, quoted from Yāqūt Hamūmī, *Mu'jam al-Baldān*, vol. 2.

³⁹ cf. *Khatat al-Shām*, vol. 6, p. 185, quoted from *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 9, p. 159.

⁴⁰ cf. Ibn Athīr, *Al-kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 350; 'Alī Dawānī, *Hizāreh Sheikh Tūsī*, p. 16, Ibid, the conference of Wā'iz Zādih, p. 63.

⁴¹ *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, vol. 1, p. 481; cf. *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, vol. 6, p. 226.

Moreover, parts of the conflicts were directly connected to the Sheikh's family and teachers. Even after his arrival to Baghdad, Sheikh Mufid was exiled from the city in 392 AH.⁴² Not only did this not affect his writing career, but all his works and books manifested a calm spirit and a firm will, similar to his impartial debates on controversial issues among Muslim's sects. In the beginning of his *Al-Ghaybah* in 447 AH, regarding the crises in Baghdad and his migration to Najaf, Sheikh Tusi wrote: "[... at this time which is 447 AH...] I accepted his request and in spite of the lack of time, disturbed minds, events and obstacles, I wrote what he wanted..."⁴³ Although these phrases indicate the difficulties he faced, in that situation he wrote the valuable *Al-Ghaybah* one of the most useful references on the crises until today.

Following the migration of Sheikh, the Shi'a scientific centre and community of Baghdad must have been scattered and other scholars must have fled to secure places or stayed in Baghdad in an anonymity and solitude. Najāshī,⁴⁴ contemporary with Sheikh Tusi, left to Matīr Ābād, Samarra and passed away there in 450 AH. Following the arrival of Toghrul Beg many scientific and cultural works and heritage of the Shi'a in Baghdad were destroyed. In this period, the Nizāmīyyah of Baghdad was established for Shafi'i jurists by Nizām al-Mulk, a

⁴² Ibn Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 178; *Mir'āt al-Jinān*, vol. 2, p. 444, quoted from Sayyid Ja'far Murtaḍā, *Al-Sarā' al-Hurīyyah fi 'Aṣr al-Mufīd*, vol. 21, p. 22, its Persian translation by the name "Mubārīzih Barā-ye Āzādī-ye Bayān wa 'Aqīdih dar 'Aṣr Sheikh Mufīd," Muḥammad Sipihri, p. 44.

⁴³ Sheikh Tūsī, *Al-Ghaybah*, p. 2; Wā'iz Zādih, in *Hizārah Sheikh Tūsī*, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Born in Baghdad in 372 AH

minister in the time of Seljuk Alp Arslan in 457 AH, 9 years after the migration of Sheikh Tusi.⁴⁵

Founder of the School of Najaf

During this time, the people were not able to visit the shrines or freely do their rituals; the shrines of Najaf no longer crowded like the time of the Daylamites.

Although Sheikh Tusi was an eminent scholar in the Islamic world, because he was Iranian, there were those in Iraq who saw him as a stranger, and to exercise beneficent influence on the society, he went to Najaf. Apparently, Najaf was not a city at that time and only some pilgrims and Shi'as lived around the Holy Shrine of Imam 'Alī. In the time of the Daylamite monarchs such as Mu'izz al-Dawla, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Bahā' al-Dawla, their ministers, and Shi'a nobility in that dynasty, the condition of Najaf improved and precious objects were endowed to the shrine of Imam 'Alī. However, when the Sheikh arrived in Najaf, the city was not the same as it was at the time of the Buyids and there was less pilgrims.

The Sheikh lived for about 12 years during the closing years of his life in Najaf. After his migration, some of his students came to Najaf as well. Gradually, some Shi'as migrated to Najaf as well because in the end of the Sheikh's life and after he passed away, his son Sheikh Abū 'Alī Tusi known as Mufid al-Thānī [or the second Mufid] and his grandson, Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Muhammad (d. 540 AH) were the authorities in Najaf. Najaf was then a scientific center

⁴⁵ Wā'iz Zādih, Ibid, p. 65.

and a hub for scholars. It flourished with the presence of Sheikh Tusi as he was the founder of the nine-hundred-year old seminary of Najaf.⁴⁶

The demise of Sheikh Tusi

Sheikh Tusi passed away in 460 AH. In 455 AH his honourable son, Sheikh Abū 'Alī Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Tusi who received permit of ijtiḥād five years before Sheikh Tusi passed away and became the Shi'ā leader and head of seminary. Abū 'Alī⁴⁷ included a commentary on his father's book, *al-Nihāyah* and authored others works as well. Abū 'Alī's son, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Hasan was the remaining scholar and Shi'ā leader from the family of Sheikh Tusi.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *A'yān al-Shi'ah*, vol. 9, p. 160.

⁴⁷ Demise 511 AH

⁴⁸ According to 'Allāmah Tehrānī in the introduction of *Tafsīr Bayān*

HEROIC MANIFESTATIONS OF ASHURA¹

ĀYATULLĀH ABDULLAH JAWĀDĪ ĀMULĪ
TRANSLATED BY MOHAMMAD REZA FARAJIAN

ABSTRACT: Imam Husayn's refusal to accept the tyrant Yazid's allegiance triggered the Battle of Karbala on the Day of Ashura. Imam Husayn, grandson of Prophet Muhammad, along with his family members and companions, were martyred on the plains of Karbala, and this marks a turning point for Shi'a Muslims. Year after year, millions of people worldwide commemorate this tragedy to express their sorrow and remind themselves to firmly stand against oppression as Imam Husayn did. This article focuses on the Imam's bravery and steadfastness as seen in his encounters with the enemy, his sermons to all people, and on the battlefield.

The heroic struggle of Imam Husayn

The great event of Ashura is replete with steadfastness and heroism of Imam Husayn and his companions. Therefore, this aspect of that great event has been more impressive than its other aspects, and it has a particular significance. Most people look at Karbala from this perspective and identify it with this characteristic. The steadfastness and gallantries were demonstrated by both Imam Husayn and his companions.

¹ *Hamāse wa 'Irfān* (Heroism and Mysticism), pp. 261-269.

Regarding the bravery of Imam Husayn, it suffices to mention his sayings from his journey to Medina until his martyrdom.

His encounter with the governor of Medina

After Mu‘awiyah’s death, Walīd ibn ‘Utabah ibn Abi Sufyan, the governor of Medina, called Imam Husayn to the Medina headquarters and ordered Imam Husayn to swear allegiance to Yazīd. In this meeting, which was the beginning of the Imam’s uprising initiated before the public announcement of Mu‘awiyah’s death, Imam Husayn spoke about his own virtues versus Yazīd’s immoralities, and said, “A person like me would not swear allegiance to a person like him.”² Also, in some versions of this quotation, the Imam added, “I heard the Prophet say: ‘Caliphate is forbidden to Abu Sufyān’s descendants.’ Then how shall I ever give allegiance to him?”³

² *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 325.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 325. It is also noteworthy that when the Walīd ibn ‘Utabah (that is, Muawiyah’s nephew) was the governor of Medina, there was a dispute between him and the Imam over a garden. Imam Hussain grabbed his turban and wrapped it around his neck. Walīd did not dare to say anything. Marwān was a witness to the scene and said: “By Allah, I have not seen a person who dared to engage in dispute with the governor.” Walīd (who felt humiliated) said: “You did not say this sympathetically and in order to help me, but for your envy of me and my restraint before Hussain. The truth is that the garden belongs to Hussain (and he did so rightfully).” Saying so, Walīd wanted to make up for his lost reputation. Hearing that, Imam Hussain said: “Keep the garden.” He said this and left. (*Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 191).

A similar event happened to Marwan. Out of his rancor to the household of the Prophet, once he told Imam Hussain, “If you do not take pride in your mother, Fatimah, how will you be superior to us?” In response, Imam Hussain grabbed his neck and pressed it— usually when he grabbed something; he did so firmly and did not release his grip on it. He wrapped Marwan’s turban around his neck so strongly that he fainted. Finally, Imam Hussain released his grip on him and told the Qurayshites there, “By Allah, I want you to confirm me if I tell the truth. Is there anybody on the earth more beloved than my brother and I by the Prophet Muhammad? Except my brother and I, do you know anybody to be the sons of the Prophte’s daughter?” They responded, “No.” Then he added, “I do not know any cursed one, son of the cursed one except Marwan whose father was exiled on orders of the Prophet. By Allah, there is nobody found in the whole world who

His encounter with Marwān ibn Hakam

After the meeting, the next day Marwān advised the Imam to give allegiance to Yazīd, to which Imam Husayn firmly responded, “The Islamic nation must resign itself to the loss of Islam if it finds a ruler like Yazīd.” In other words, Islam will vanish with the rulership of Yazīd. Imam said:

...O’ Marwān! How do you urge me to give allegiance to Yazīd, a wrongdoer? Indeed, what you say is nonsense and I do not reprimand you for it, because you are the cursed person whom the Prophet cursed while you were not born yet. And it is improbable that the one who is cursed by the Prophet invites people to give allegiance to Yazīd...⁴

The Imam’s firm resolution shocked Marwān and silenced him. No one but Imam Husayn dared to speak in this manner to Marwān,⁵ and Marwan feared this could destroy his own reputation.

claims to be a Muslim and at the same time is more hostile than this man and his father to Allah, the Prophet and his household,” (Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 44, p.206).

⁴ *Maqatal Khārazmī*, vol. 1, p. 185.

⁵ Marwān was son of Hakam son of Abi al-‘Ās, son of Umayyah. (So, Hakam, Marwān’s father was Mu‘awiyah’s cousin and ‘Uthmān’s uncle; since, Abi al-‘Ās was the brother of ‘Affān, father of ‘Uthmān.) When the Prophet (S) conquered Mecca, Hakam had to convert to Islam together with Abū Sufyān and other polytheists in order to save his life. Once, the Prophet (S) came across Hakam (Marwān’s father) and stated: “Woe to my Ummah dealing with the child of this man. (i.e. Marwān)”. The Prophet (S) exiled Hakam to Ta’if and even once wanted to take his eye out since he eavesdropped on private conversations of the Prophet’s (S) house and spread them in meetings and gatherings. (Of course, other reasons are also mentioned for his exile.) Once ‘Āysha told Marwān: “I testify that the Prophet (S) cursed your father when you were in his [your father’s] loins!” In his *Usd al-Ghābah*, Ibn Athīr says: “No doubt despite the Prophet’s mercy and forgiveness, he cursed and exiled Hakam to Ta’if. This shows that he had not done little wrong!” Hakam stayed with his son (Marwān) in Ta’if during the rest of the Prophet’s (S) life and ruling of

His reply to Muhammad Hanafiyyah

When Muhammad Hanafiyyah talked to the Imam about giving allegiance, Imam Husayn said, "O' my brother! By Allah, even if I find no refuge in the whole world, I would never give allegiance to the son of Mu'awīyyah."⁶

Imam Khomeini was a student and follower of the school of Ahlul Bayt. After being expelled from Iraq by its government and forbidden from entering Kuwait, Imam Khomeini said, "I do not head for a specific place. The real important issues are carrying out divine duties and defending Islam and Muslims."⁷ Imam Khomeini also said, "I will express my opinions, no matter where I go. I would go from one airport to another and from one city to another to tell the world that all the

the first and second caliphs but his nephew, 'Uthmān - during his government - asked him to come back. Once, Imam 'Ali saw Marwān and said: "Woe to you, woe to the Prophet's Ummah dealing with you and your children." When Muslims attacked 'Uthmān's house and killed him, Marwān's neck was hurt and remained askew until the end of his life. Mu'awiyah appointed him as his agent in Medina and Mecca and later Ta'if, and dismissed him in 48 AH. After withdrawal of Mu'awiyah ibn Yazīd (second Mu'awiyah) from rulership, Marwān became the caliph of Sham and finally was killed by his wives. (Cf. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2, p. 48, no. 1217, trans. by Hakam ibn Abi al-'Ās Umawī; *Ibid.* vol. 5, p. 139, no. 4848, trans. by Marwān ibn Hakam; *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah*, Ibn Abi al-Hadīd, vol. 6, p. 275, Sermon no. 72.)

Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn interceded and Marwān was released after he had been captured in the battle of Jamal. After his release, the two Imams reported to their father: "Marwān wants to swear allegiance to you." Imam 'Ali stated: "Did he not swear allegiance to me after the murder of 'Uthman in Medina? Now I do not need his allegiance, because he is cooperating with deceitful Jews. If he swears allegiance to me with his hand, he would violate it very soon. Well, he will rule so long as a dog licks his nose [for a very short time]. He is the father of four rams (who will also rule). The people will face hard days due to him and his sons." (*Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon no. 73)

⁶ *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 329.

⁷ *Sahīfeh-ye Nūr*, vol. 1, p. 587 (The message of Imam Khomeini to the Iranian Nation; 10/6/1978).

oppressors of the world have conspired with each other ignore to the voices of the oppressed throughout the world...”⁸

Part of his sermon in Mecca

“Death is predestined for human beings; it is hung around his neck similar to a necklace worn by a girl. I am as eager to meet my forefathers as Jacob was to meet Joseph.”⁹

His encounter with Hurr

Hurr had threatened to engage in a war with the Imam, whom displayed his disapproval and said, “Do you threaten me with death? Can you do anything other than killing me?”¹⁰

In the Shaquq station

In this stop, a Kufan informed the Imam Husayn of the corruptions caused there. Imam Husayn responded by reciting a poem. One of its verses was, “If the body is made for dying, it is better to be killed by the sword in the way of Allah.”¹¹

⁸ *Kawthar*, vol. 1, p. 438. Cf. speech made by the departed Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

⁹ *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 366.

¹⁰ *Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 81. Hussain (A) is the son of Ali ibn Abi Talib (A), who said the same when he had been arguing with Ash‘ath ibn Qays (May Allah curse him). When Ash‘ath threatened to kill. Imam ‘Ali, he (A) said, “Do you threaten me with death?! By God I swear that I do not fear that I go toward death voluntarily or it approaches me suddenly,” (*Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 42, p. 233.)

An argument broke out between Barīr and Shimr on the eve of Ashura, and Shimr threatened Barīr with death. Barīr said: “Do you threaten to kill me?! By God I swear that dying with the Prophet’s grandson (A) is much more preferable for me than living with you! By God I swear that the Prophet (S) will not intercede on behalf of people who kill his Household. (*Maqatal Khārazmī*, vol. 1, p. 251.)

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 223.

In the Bayzah station

The Imam quoted the Prophet: “If somebody witnesses a tyrannical king who practices forbidden (*haram*) acts as if they are permissible (*halal*), breaks the Divine promise, opposes the Prophet’s way of life (Sunnah), and oppresses people while saying and doing nothing to stand against the tyrannical ruler, Allah will place him in the abode of that oppressor...”¹² Then the Prophet enumerated the crimes of the Umayyads.

The above saying was used in either Imam Husayn’s letter or speech. It not only demonstrates his irreconcilability with the enemy and strong determination but also indicates that he would make any effort to demonstrate this heroic spirit to the society.

In Karbala

After arriving in Karbala, Imam Husayn gave his companions a speech, saying:

...Under such circumstances, a faithful person should be willing to make any sacrifice to see his Lord. In such a situation as mine, I would consider death nothing but salvation and living with oppressors nothing but humiliation and ignominy.¹³

¹² Ibid. p. 234.

¹³ *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 44, p. 381.

On the day of ‘Āshūrā and his refusal to give allegiance

The statements made by Imam Husayn on the Day of Ashura when he was again advised to give allegiance to Yazīd later became mottos of the Shi‘a community:

By God I swear, I will neither extend my hand to offer a handshake for humiliating allegiance, nor will I escape like slaves.

Dying with honour is better than living with shame.

Dying is better than riding the horse of shame; and accepting shame is better than entering Hellfire and facing the wrath of Allah.¹⁴

Thus, giving allegiance to Yazīd is not only a disgrace in this world, but it also means entering the Hellfire in the Hereafter which is incomparable with humiliation in this world.

Know that this evil-doer who is a son of an evil-doer makes me choose between two things: the sword (to fight) and humiliating allegiance. We will never be humiliated! Neither God, His Prophet, the immaculate women who raised us, nor the zealous and dignified ones would let us accept such humiliation. They would not permit us to prefer obeying immoral people over dying with honour. I have made all excuses invalid by these final notices. Know that I will fight with the help

¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 191 & 192.

of my small family, but I do not accept to give this degrading allegiance, even if those who promised to help me have abandoned me.”¹⁵

¹⁵ *Tuḥaf al-‘Uqūl*, p. 241; *Maqṭal Khārazmī*, vol. 2, p. 7 (with a little difference)

TAWASSUL IN THE CONDUCT OF GREAT SCHOLARS

ZAINAB PAKKARI

TRANSLATED BY MAHBOOBEH MORSHEDIAN

ABSTRACT: God answers our prayers when we sincerely plead, and He has approved of people asking for His help through a mediator. Tawassul is the practice of using an intermediary to approach God with a request, and is a source of achieving closeness to Him. Though topic of tawassul has indeed raised questions and includes in-depth discussions on its validity, this article offers a brief explanation of tawassul, its levels, and focuses on examples of scholars' emphasis on calling on to the Infallibles as a source of spiritual upliftment and a key solution to their problems by visiting their shrines, holding occasions on their births and mourning sessions on their death anniversaries. Some of these scholars include Ayatullah Baha'ul-Dini, Allamah Tabataba'i, Ayatollah Boroojerdi, and Ayatullah Bahjat.

Introduction

Whatever can be conceived of sincerity, purity, and honesty in a society exists in the Shi'a Imams to perfection; thus, through following the example of the matchless Imams, one can cultivate human virtues in himself. Great religious scholars are exemplars of those who have resorted to the Ahlul Bayt and have reached the peak of perfection as a

result through comprehending its importance. This study reflects several aspects of *tawassul* (resorting to or calling on) in the lives of some contemporary religious scholars. Enumerating instances of great scholars' recourse to the holy Imams, the author draws the attention of the believing friends of the Ahlul Bayt to the concept of resorting as well as their motivation in seeking proximity to the Imams.

The meaning of *tawassul*

Tawassul is regarding an action or a person as an intermediary to reach a certain goal.¹ That is, when someone regards a purpose as important, he takes an action; similarly, if he or she regards a person as a way of approach to achieve that objective, this action or person is called an "intermediary."

Proximity to God, the highest degree of moral perfection, is a major objective that can be achieved only through putting forth much effort. Since this is not achievable by everybody, man needs an intermediary to accompany him in this path.

Addressing the believers, God said in the Holy Qur'an: "*Seek a means of approach unto Him.*"² In other words, seek a way to stay close to God. In another verse, He says, "*Allah's are the most beautiful names. Invoke Him by them.*"

¹ Frahidi, Khalil ibn Ahmad, Al-Ayn, vol. 7, p.298.

² Ma'idah, 35.

The “means of approach” and the “names” as mentioned in the above verses are the Imams, as mentioned in numerous hadiths.³ Thus, the Infallibles are the manifestations of a perfect man and a way of approach God. They are the best means of compensating for people’s imperfections and assistance to those who are unable to tread in the path of perfection and proximity to God alone.

The levels of resorting

Resorting has three levels:

- a) Verbal resorting: This is the lowest level and merely a word that is uttered. It does not permeate a person’s heart and actions, thus not influencing his or her character and behaviour.
- b) Resorting in the heart: When at heart one believes that the Ahlul Bayt are a connection between the earth and God’s grace, and that God has made them the means of receiving His bounty and achieving proximity to Him.
- c) Resorting with the limbs: After heartfelt belief, the limbs – which are the functional aspects of the heart – perform actions to pave the way for connection to the Imams. In other words, the hands, tongue, eyes, ears, etc. should work towards the goals of the Imams by putting their teachings into action and should avoid doing anything against their commands and instructions.

³ Arusi Huweizi, Abd Ali ibn Jum’ah, Noor-u-Thaqalayn Qur’anic Commentary, vol.1, pp.626-627; ibid, vol. 2, pp.103-104.

If resorting to the Imams reaches the highest level – that of resorting to them with the limbs – its outcomes will be manifested in a person's actions, and his conduct will display the qualities of God and resemble the Imam's deeds. Accordingly, through developing good actions, his manners also become divine; thereby, he achieves the highest levels of proximity of God, so high a degree that a person is considered as one of the Ahlul Bayt, as Salman al-Farsi was: "Salman is one of us – the Ahlul Bayt."⁴

Scholars' resorting to the Imams

1) Ayatullah Baha'ul-Dini

Since early childhood, this sagacious Shi'a jurist has had immense love for and devotion to Prophet Muhammad as well as the Ahlul Bayt. He said:

At the age of three or four, I really loved the holy shrine of the respected daughter of Imam Musa ibn Ja'far – Lady Masumah. Along with my father, I used to go there and tried to offer services to her pilgrims. In the dark nights, I used to go to the thirty- or forty-step underground water storage to bring water for the pilgrims of her holy shrine.⁵

As a result of his remarkable devotion, Ayatullah Baha'ul-Dini held ceremonies on the occasions of the birthdays and martyrdoms of the Ahlul Bayt as he would generously gift the guests with the vast wealth

⁴ Shaikh Saduq, *'Uyun Akhbar al-Rida*, vol.2, p.64.

⁵ Shafi'i, Hasan, *The Sign of Insight*, p.86.

of the Ahlul Bayt's knowledge, insight, and grace. On the high status of the Ahlul Bayt and the importance of holding ceremonies for them, he said:

Their [Ahlul Bayt's] status is inconceivable in this world; there is nobody like them. Know that all these gatherings are these sacred figures' blessings. The speech, works, and gatherings all belong to them. If it were not for Prophet Muhammad, there would be no gatherings. Owing to Prophet Muhammad's life, there is life and vitality in the world. Know that all men and jinns are indebted to the Messenger of Allah until the Day of Judgment.⁶

2) Imam Khomeini

Throughout his stay in Najaf, he visited the holy shrine of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam Ali, every night, never giving up this ziyarah other than some exceptional cases. During the days on which ziyarah was recommended, he would visit the holy shrine of Imam Husayn. In the first ten days of Muharram ending on the day of Ashura, he would recite Ziyarat Ashura every day with its one hundred "salams" on Imam Husayn. According to his son, "One night, a coup in Iraq occurred. Searching every room, I could not find him, so I went up to the roof and saw him reciting Ziyarah of Imam Ali while facing his holy shrine."

According to a relative of the Imam Khomeini:

⁶ Heydari Kashani, Hussain, *An Excursion in Horizons - The World*, p.233.

Every night at a certain hour, he used to go to the holy shrine of Imam Ali and recite Ziyarah Jami'ah Kabeera, which would take an hour to recite. However, by reciting it, one feels that he is in the presence of the Infallible Imams, telling them what is true of them and their virtues. In fact, this ziyarah is a course on knowing the Imams, and it is interesting to note that Imam Khomeini kept reciting this ziyarah every day for fifteen years.

Imam Khomeini's intense love for the Ahlul Bayt cannot be put into words. He loved them so profoundly that whenever the name of Imam Husayn was mentioned, he automatically shed tears. Although Imam Khomeini was patient with calamities – and even in the face of sufferings such as the martyrdom of his son Hajj Mustafa, he did not shed tears – once the Marsiya reciter said, “Peace be upon you! O Aba Abdillah al-Husayn!” tears spilled from his eyes. Before the Islamic Revolution of Iran, when some so-called intellectuals criticized holding mourning sessions and beating chests, Imam Khomeini fervently promoted traditional mourning customs and recommended that people hold organized and uplifting mourning sessions for Ahlul Bayt as much as possible.

Sometimes the Marsiyeh reciters would shorten their traditional elegies during the mourning sessions in the presence of Imam Khomeini because he would endanger his health by weeping profusely.⁷

⁷ *The Features of the Sages*, p.142.

3) Allamah Tabataba'i

Admiration and love for the Ahlul Bayt were considered the prominent features of Allamah Tabataba'i. His devotion to the Ahlul Bayt, particularly to Imam Ali, was substantial and indescribable. One of his students said:

I cannot remember any occasion on which he would name an Imam without paying homage to Imam Ali. He spent his summer in Mashhad, and whenever I accompanied him, I could see him put his shaking hands on the door of the courtyard of Imam Rida's holy shrine and kiss it wholeheartedly upon entering it. Sometimes people asked him to pray for their wants, and he would respond, "Go and ask Imam Rida for your wants. I am powerless here; everything is in the hands of the holy Imam."

He often took part in mourning sessions on Fridays and sometimes wept so wholeheartedly and bitterly that his whole body trembled.

His fascination for and devotion to the household of Prophet Muhammad were so remarkable that sometimes when there were mourning and Marsiyeh sessions, he put aside writing and studying books.⁸

⁸ The Features of Sages, p.196.

4) Ayatollah Boroujerdi

The respect of the late Shi'a religious authority, Ayatollah Boroujerdi, to the Imams was also exemplary. Ayatullah Shaikh Ali Safi Gulpayegani said in this regard:

Once a group of people came to him, and a person among them called out, 'For the good health of Imam Mahdi and Ayatullah Boroujerdi, please recite a salawat.' Upon hearing this, Ayatullah Boroujerdi expressed his dissatisfaction with this word, saying, "This man uttered my name beside the name of Imam Mahdi [and this is disrespect to the 12th Imam]."

In another incident, once the Saudi Arabian king came to Iran and sent him some gifts. He accepted a copy of the Qur'an and a piece of the Ka'ba covering while rejecting the rest of the gifts. The king also asked for a visit with him, but Ayatullah Boroujerdi rejected his request. When he was asked about this decision, Ayatullah Boroujerdi replied, "If this person comes to Qum and does not pay a visit to holy shrine of Lady Masumah, this will be disrespect to her and I cannot accept this at all."⁹

5) Ayatollah Gulpaygani and his dedication to Imam Husayn

The late religious authority of the Shi'a world, Ayatullah Gulpaygani, who considered his birth owing to resorting to the Ahlul Bayt and witnessed his father's inexpressible love and enthusiasm for Imam Husayn since childhood, has also been familiar with devotion to Ahlul Bayt since his childhood, rendering his soul replete with love for them.

⁹ Muhammad Ali Abadi, *The Exemplary Religious Authority*, p. 176.

He always shed tears when the sufferings of Ahlul Bayt were recounted. As soon as the Marsiyeh reciter or anyone else spoke of the hardships of the Imams' lives, he was overwhelmed with sorrow. Even before his role as a religious leader, celebrations were held in his house on all birthday anniversaries of the 14 Infallibles, as well as mourning gatherings for them; and many people from various social classes attended these gatherings.

According to one of the orators in Qum, Hujjat-ul-Islam Bashiri:

During his stay in the hospital, one day I was told to visit him to recite Hadith ul-Kisaa and Marsiyeh for a few minutes. I was about to start reciting when he said, "Wait a moment please." Then he changed his position from lying to sitting and asked for his cloak and turban. Then he said, "The assembly held for elegy to Imam Husayn is different from other gatherings. We must attend it respectfully and in formal clothing."

His son, Hajj Baqir Gulpaygani, also said:

One day on the last days of Ashura, when an orator was reciting Marsiyeh, Ayatollah Gulpaygani was shedding tears. Right after the mourning session, I was about to give him his eye drops, but he stopped me and said, "I do not want my tears to be mixed with anything else."¹⁰

¹⁰ *A Visit with the Righteous*, p. 33.

6) Ayatullah Bahjat

Visiting the holy shrine of Lady Ma'suma in Qum was a daily routine of the prominent religious authority of the Shi'a world, Grand Ayatullah Bahjat. For many years, just after the Morning Prayer, he would visit the shrine, standing humbly in front of her burial chamber and recite her ziyarah (*visitation*) and the Ziyara of Ashura. Then he would find a place to sit in the shrine and continue his remembrance (*dhikr*) and worship of God. He was especially attached to the Ziyara of Ashura, as he said:

I think weeping for Imam Husayn is more virtuous than the night prayer because the night prayer is not a deed rooted in one's heart and soul. However, grieving and weeping are deeds rooted in one's heart and soul in such a way that shedding indicates the acceptance of the *Witr*¹¹ prayer.¹²

7) Ayatullah Quddusi and his continued recitation of Ziyara of Ashura

Ayatullah Quddusi, who struggled considerably for the victory of Islamic revolution of Iran and was finally martyred for this cause, was a real lover of the Ahlul Bayt. During the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah Quddusi always encouraged people to get involved in the revolution. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini appointed him as the Attorney General of Iran.

¹¹ A recommended prayer during the Night Prayer

¹² Rida Baqi-Zadeh, *A Paper from the Sunlight Notebook*.

A prominent feature was his resorting to and loving the Imams as well as his continually holding mourning sessions for them. His yearly religious schedule included holding sessions in his home for reciting *Dua al-Nudbah*, half-a-century-old mourning sessions in Muharram, commemorating Lady Fatimah's martyrdom (*Ayyam Fatimiyyah*), and resorting to Imam Mahdi.

Likewise, his daily schedule included reciting *Ziyarat Jami'a Kabeera* and *Ziyarat Ashura* with its one hundred "salams" on Imam Husayn. According to one of his friends:

He seemed to recite the *Ziyarah* of Ashura every day because when he was the Attorney General, I dreamed that because of his reciting the *Ziyarah* of Ashura, he was granted certain types of [divine] knowledge. When I related the dream to him, he was saddened and said that due to his position as the Attorney General, he failed to recite it for a while because he considered his duties more urgent.¹³

8) Hujjat al-Islam Dashti

The name 'Muhammad Dashti' and the title *Nahjul Balaghah* are intertwined. His name reminds us of his long-term and valuable works on the enlightening words of Imam Ali. His success in writing, particularly collecting and compiling terms in *Nahjul Balaghah*, was so considerable that his *Mu'jam al-Mufahris li Alfaz al-Nahj-ul-Balaghah* turned to a practical and useful book for researchers. The Iranian

¹³ *Features of the Sages*, p. 88.

Supreme Leader, Ayatullah Khamenei, said to him, “Your book, *Mu’jam*, always lies beside the Qur’an and *Mafatihul Jinan* in my room. I always refer to it.”

Despite his short, albeit fruitful life, the late Dashti left behind more than one hundred and ten books, one of which is in fifteen volumes. Some of his works are: *The Future and Those Who make it*, *Documents Related to Nahjul Balaghah* (Vol. I & II), the *Messages of Ashura*, the translation of *Nahjul Balaghah*, *The Religion of Intellectualism*, *Glossary of Imam Husayn’s Sayings*, *Nahjul Hayat*, *The Exemplary Conduct of Imam Ali* (15 volumes), and a collection of his poems.

Hujjat al-Islam Dashti’s firm resorting and trusting in the holy Imams positively affected his life. He considered trust as the key to solution for all problems and thus he never neglected it. He said:

The holy Imams are the means of achieving God’s grace and bounty, a way to approximate to the Almighty God. Through resorting to these heavenly lights, we can overcome all seemingly unsolvable problems.

Through resorting to the Ahlul Bayt, he solved numerous important problems. In challenging cases, he usually resorted to one of the holy Imams and recited fourteen thousand salawat for him.

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THE CONNECTION BETWEEN IMAM MAHDI AND IMAM HUSAYN, PART I

MOHAMMAD ALI SHOMALI

ABSTRACT: Although there are similarities between all members of Ahlul Bayt and they are from the same light, there is a special link between Imam Husayn and Imam Mahdi. In this paper, verses from the Qur'an and hadiths of the Ahlul Bayt will be used to demonstrate this connection. Indeed, Imam Mahdi is from the progeny of Imam Husayn who will rise on the Day of Ashura and will speak of his grandfather's oppression. Imam Husayn also spoke of Imam Mahdi avenging for him, and helping Imam Husayn is similar to helping Imam Mahdi. Moreover, one of the best deeds on the birth of Imam Mahdi is to recite Ziyarah of Imam Husayn, as renewing one's allegiance with Imam Husayn is renewing it with Imam Mahdi.

Although there are many similarities between all members of Ahlul Bayt and they are from the same light, there is a special link and connection between Imam Husayn and Imam Mahdi. Below we will study some of the links and then we will try to explain the reason behind this exceptional connection.

1. In Chapter Israa, we read:

وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا النَّفْسَ الَّتِي حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ وَمَنْ قُتِلَ مَظْلُوماً فَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا لَوْلِيهِ
سُلْطٰنًا فَلَا يُسْرِفُ فِي الْقَتْلِ إِنَّهُ كَانَ مَنْصُورًا

Do not kill the soul that Allah has made inviolable, except with due cause, and whoever is killed wrongfully, We have certainly given his heir an authority. But let him not commit any excess in killing, The one who is the guardian of one who is killed would be helped by Allah and would be victorious. (Quran 17:33)

The most obvious case for this verse is Imam Husayn as approved by several hadiths that introduce Imam Husayn as the first oppressed person. There are also hadiths from Imam Rida and other Imams that say that this verse is related to Imam Husayn and Imam Mahdi. For example, Imam Baqir said:

الْمَقْتُولُ الْحُسَيْنُ وَوَلِيُّهُ الْقَائِمُ وَالْإِسْرَافُ فِي الْقَتْلِ أَنْ يُقْتَلَ عَيْرَ قَاتِلِهِ إِنَّهُ كَانَ
مَنْصُورًا فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَذْهَبُ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا حَتَّى يُنْتَصَرَ بِرَجُلٍ مِنْ آلِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمُ
الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ يَمْلَأُ الْأَرْضَ قِسْطًا وَعَدْلًا كَمَا مُلِئَتْ جَوْرًا وَظُلْمًا

The one who is killed is Husayn and his guardian is Imam Mahdi. And Israaf is to kill someone other than his killers. “Truly he is helped.” This world will not expire unless a man from the family of the Prophet would come. He will fill the earth with equity and justice as it has been filled with injustice and inequity. The demand of that guardian of that innocent life is establishment of justice all over the world.¹

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 44, p. 218, chapter 28, no. 7

The blood of Imam Husayn will not receive its compensation if worldwide justice does not take place. Of course, all Imams after Imam Husayn were guardians. However, Imam Mahdi is special. He is the victorious whom will be helped by Allah.

2. More than three hundred hadiths stress on the fact that Imam Mahdi is the progeny of Imam Husayn. 180 of these are from the Prophet. Imam Husayn himself said:

مِنَّا اثْنَا عَشَرَ مَهْدِيًّا أَوْلَهُمْ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَ آخِرُهُمُ التَّاسِعُ
مِنْ وُلْدِي وَ هُوَ الْإِمَامُ الْقَائِمُ بِالْحَقِّ يُحْيِي اللَّهُ بِهِ الْأَرْضَ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهَا وَ يُظْهِرُ بِهِ
دِينَ الْحَقِّ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَ لَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ

There will be twelve people who are guided. The first Imam who is guided by Allah and does not need to be guided by people is Imam Ali, and the last one is the ninth generation of my progeny. He is the Imam that is will rise truthfully, and the one who gives life to earth after being dead. And Allah is going to make the right religion prevail [over] all other religions even if the pagans may not like it.²

Therefore, the hadith emphasizes that Imam Mahdi is progeny of Imam Husayn.

² The last sentence in Imam's speech is from the Qur'an:

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَ دِينَ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَ لَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ
"It is He who has sent His Apostle with the guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make it prevail over all religions, though the polytheists should be averse." (9:33; 61:9)

3. According to hadiths, the day of the uprising of Imam Mahdi is the day of Ashura. There is a call in Month of Ramadan and then the uprising is on the day of Ashura. Imam Sadiq said:

إِنَّ الْقَائِمَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ يُنَادِي بِاسْمِهِ لَيْلَةَ ثَلَاثٍ وَعِشْرِينَ وَ يَتُومُ يَوْمَ
عَاشُورَاءَ يَوْمَ قُتِلَ فِيهِ الْحُسَيْنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ

There would be a call for him in the night of 23 but he will be raised on the day of Ashura in which Imam Husayn was killed.³

4. Imam Mahdi will stand between Rukn and Maqam next to the Ka'ba clearly making reference to Karbala in the beginning of his movement:

إِلا يَا أَهْلَ الْعَالَمِ أَنَا الْإِمَامُ الْقَائِمُ إِلا يَا أَهْلَ الْعَالَمِ أَنَا الصَّمْصَامُ الْمُنْتَقِمُ إِلا يَا
أَهْلَ الْعَالَمِ أَنِ جَدِّي الْحُسَيْنُ قَتَلُوهُ عَطِشَانَا إِلا يَا أَهْلَ الْعَالَمِ أَنِ جَدِّي الْحُسَيْنُ
طَرَحُوهُ عَرِيَانَا إِلا يَا أَهْلَ الْعَالَمِ أَنِ جَدِّي الْحُسَيْنُ سَمَّحُوهُ عِدْوَانَا

O people of the world, I am the uprising Imam. O people of the world, I am the avenger. O people of the world, my grandfather Husayn was killed while he was thirsty. O people of the world, my grandfather was left without dress. O people of the world, they damaged the body of my grandfather.

Also, Imam Husayn said to Imam Sajjad:

لَا يَسْكُنُ دَمِي حَتَّى يَبْعَثَ اللَّهُ الْمَهْدِيَّ فَيَقْتُلَ عَلَيَّ دَمِي مِنَ الْمُتَأَفِّقِينَ الْكُفْرَةَ
الْفَسَقَةَ سَبْعِينَ أَلْفًا

³ *Bihar al-anwar*, vol. 52, p. 290, Chapter 26, no. 29

By Allah, my blood will keep boiling until Allah sends the Mahdi and kills seventy thousand of those disbelievers who are transgressors and hypocrites.⁴

When Hirawi asked Imam Rida to check a hadith from Imam Sadiq regarding Imam Mahdi killing some of the progeny of the killers of Imam Husayn, Imam Rida approved it. He then asked, “How this can be explained with regards to the verse that says, “*No one carries the burden of another person* (Qur’an 6:164)⁵.”⁶ The Imam replied:⁷

صَدَقَ اللَّهُ فِي جَمِيعِ أَقْوَالِهِ وَ لَكِنْ ذَرَارِيُّ قَتَلَةِ الْحُسَيْنِ يَرْضُونَ بِفِعَالِ آبَائِهِمْ وَ
يَفْتَخِرُونَ بِهَا وَ مَنْ رَضِيَ شَيْئاً كَانَ كَمَنْ أَتَاهُ وَ لَوْ أَنَّ رَجُلًا قُتِلَ بِالْمَشْرِيقِ
فَرَضِيَ بِقَتْلِهِ رَجُلٌ بِالْمَغْرِبِ لَكَانَ الرَّاضِي عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَ جَلَّ شَرِيكَ الْقَاتِلِ وَ
إِنَّمَا يَفْتُلُهُمُ الْقَائِمُ عِذَا خَرَجَ لِرِضَاهُمْ بِفِعَالِ آبَائِهِمْ

Allah says the truth in all his sayings but these are those who are proud and satisfied with what their fathers did. When one is pleased with something, it is like the one

⁴ Ibid., vol. 45, p. 299, Chapter 45, no. 10

⁵ Also: Qur’an 17:15, 35:18, 39:7

⁶ What he was trying to say was that if a person has committed murder then his progeny have nothing to do with that and why should they carry his burden. What he did not understand was the correct meaning of *dhurriyyah*” used in the hadith. It does not mean progeny, rather ideological approvers of someone. When we say Aale Ziyad we mean the party of Ziyad because of the Qur’anic view. One’s progeny are those who fully follow him even if they are not his sons. And if one’s son does not follow him then they are not his *Dhurriyyah*. This is what we understand from the story of Noah where Allah says, regarding his son, that “Indeed He is not of your family”⁶. On the other hand, Salman was counted as the Ahl al-Bayt while he was ethnically different from them let alone the blood line. In the story of Talut when his army reached the river, he told them whoever drinks from this river more than a little is not from me.

⁷ One of the beauties of the school of Ahlul Bayt is that they discussed with people over matters. They wanted to equip their followers with knowledge and arguments to help them discuss with others.

who is doing it. If someone is killed in the east and another person in the west is happy with this killing, it is as if he is also involved.⁸

Regarding the above hadith, maybe the punishment is different but there is punishment and involvement. Thus, this is with the people who are happy with what has been done in Karbala. We will explain how the end of times (*akhir ul-zaman*) would be built around Husayn. One of the conflicting points of truth and falsehood would revolve around him.

5. There are hadiths that state the helper of Imam Husayn to be similar to helping Imam Mahdi. As mentioned by Imam Husayn during the night of Ashura:

قد قال جدى رسول الله: ولى حسين يقتل بطف كربلا غريبا وحيدا
عطشانا فريدا فمن نصره فقد نصرنى و نصر ولده الحجة

My grandfather said that, 'My son Husayn will be killed in Karbala while he is alone and thirsty and abandoned [In that lonely time] whoever helps Husayn has helped me and has helped his son, al-Hujjah.'

Thus, helping Husayn is similar to helping both the Prophet and Imam Mahdi. They have the same ideas and goals, and if you accept and try to achieve those goals, you are with them. Betraying one of them is like betraying all of them. If we wisely spread the message of Imam Husayn today, we are helping Imam Mahdi.

⁸ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 45, p. 295, Chapter 45, no. 1

6. Imam Sadiq said that 4000 angels wanted to help Imam Husayn on the Day of Ashura, although the Imam did not accept. The angels went to get permission from Allah to take part without the Imam's permission, yet when they descended to the earth, the Imam was killed:

فهبطوا الى الارض فقد قتل فهم عند قبره شعث قبره سيكونه الى يوم القيامة و
هم ينتظرون خروج القائم

When they descended to the earth, the Imam was already killed. They have remained in Karbala. They are covered with dust and will cry for him until the resurrection. They are waiting for the coming of Imam Mahdi.

Imam Rida also said:

وَ لَقَدْ نَزَلَ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ مِنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ أَرْبَعَةُ آلَافٍ لِنَصْرِهِ فَوَجَدُوهُ قَدْ قُتِلَ فَهُمْ
عِنْدَ قَبْرِهِ شُعْثٌ غُبْرٌ إِلَى أَنْ يَقُومَ الْقَائِمُ فَيَكُونُونَ مِنْ أَنْصَارِهِ وَ شِعَارُهُمْ يَا
لِنَّارَاتِ الْحُسَيْنِ

Four thousands angels descended to earth to help him. They found him killed. They will remain there until the coming of Imam Mahdi. Then they will help him. And their motto is *Yaa lathaaraat al-Husayn!*⁹

Imam Sadiq also said:

⁹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 44, p. 285, Chapter 34, no. 23

يَدْعُونَ بِالشَّهَادَةِ وَ يَتَمَنُّونَ أَنْ يُقْتَلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ شِعَارُهُمْ يَا لثَارَاتِ الْحُسَيْنِ
إِذَا سَارُوا يَسِيرُ الرَّعْبُ أَمَامَهُمْ مَسِيرَةَ شَهْرٍ

The supporters of Imam Mahdi wish to be killed in the way of Allah and their motto is “*Ya lithaarat al-Husayn!*” Whenever they move fear goes in front of them one month in advance.”¹⁰

7. On the night of the 15th Sha’ban, the night of the birth of Imam Mahdi, one of the best deeds is to recite *Ziyarah of Imam Husayn*. Sheikh Abbas al-Qummi in his *Mafatih ul-Jinan*, says that there are many authentic hadiths regarding the rewards for those who visit Imam Husayn in the middle of Sha’ban; it is as if the visitor shook hands with the 124,000 prophets. Renewing one’s allegiance to Imam Husayn is renewing one’s allegiance to Imam Mahdi. Without having love for Imam Husayn, you are not counted as a lover of Imam Mahdi.

8. The Night of Qadr is the night of Imam Mahdi. Every year on this night “*the spirit and the angels descend*” (97:4) to the heart of Allah’s proof – Imam Mahdi:

يُنزِلُ الْمَلَائِكَةَ بِالرُّوحِ مِنْ أَمْرِهِ عَلَى مَنْ يَشَاءُ

He sends the spirit to the one whom he is pleased with.

(16:2)

This verse argues for Imamah: the Imams are the only people to whom the Allah would send the angels. In this night, Allah decides everything

¹⁰ Ibid., vol. 52, p. 307, Chapter 26, no. 81

for the twelve months of the year and the spirit and the angels bring down the decisions to the heart of the Imam.

Moreover, on this night, one of the best deeds is to visit Imam Husayn. There is one of special recitation of ziyarat exclusively for the night of Qadr. This shows the strong the link between Imam Husayn and Imam Mahdi. And it is with this recitation that all the prophets shake hands with you as you are supporting a goal in which all the prophets strove for. Allah says, “*We sent aforesaid our messengers with Clear Signs and sent down with them the Book and the Balance (of right and wrong), that men may stand forth in justice*” (57:25). Hundred twenty four thousand prophets worked to establish justice, and the people of the end of time, with the Imam’s leadership, will achieve it. Hence, when one visits Imam Husayn and affirms his commitment to this cause, all the prophets will shake hands with him. Of course, justice begins by establishing justice within oneself.

9. In Dua al-Nudba, there is also a link starting with all the prophets, Prophet Mohammad, the Ahlul-Bayt, and then we say:

اين الحسن و اين الحسين اين ابناء الحسين ... اين الطالب بدم المقتول
بكرلاء اين المنصور على من اعتدى عليه و افترا

Where is Hasan? Where is Husayn? Where are the sons of Husayn? ... Where is he who shall avenge the blood of the one killed in Karbala? Where is he who shall be aided against all who transgress against him or lie about him?

The one helped by Allah here refers to Imam Mahdi because Allah will help him as mentioned from the Qur'an. Again, here you can see special emphasis put on Imam Husayn in a dua about Imam Mahdi.

10. In Ziyarat Ashura we can also find the link between Imam Husayn and Imam Mahdi in one passage:

(و اسئل الله) ان يرزقنى طلب ثارك مع امام منصور من اهل بيت محمد

I ask Allah that He grant me the opportunity to seek your revenge with the victorious Imam from the family of Muhammad.

And also:

(و اسئل الله) ان يرزقنى طلب ثارى/ثاركم مع امام مهدى ظاهر ناطق
بالحق منكم

I ask Allah and that He grant me the ability to fight for justice and fair play with the rightly guided Imam, who surely will come and speak the truth, (and who is) from your progeny.

11. On the Day of Ashura, we are recommended to offer condolences to each other by saying:

أعظم الله أجورنا بمصابنا بالحسين ع و جعلنا و إياكم من الطالبين بثاره مع
وليه الإمام المهدي من آل محمد

May Allah make our reward and your reward great, for our grief for Husayn, peace be on him and may He place us and you from those who help his cause with His

guardian, the guided Imam from the family of Muhammad, peace be on them.¹¹

Conclusion:

There is very clearly a special connection between Imam Husayn and Imam Mahdi. The event of Karbala and the advent of Imam Husayn are closely connected. Mourning for Imam Husayn and preparing for Imam Mahdi are connected. In this part, eleven reasons that clearly illustrate this connection were discussed. In the next part, we will try to offer an analysis of this connection and see how the event of Karbala can serve the universal mission of Imam Mahdi by being both a symbol for missing justice as well as a source of inspiration for establishing it.

¹¹ *Al-Balad al-Amin*, p. 268