Content and Document (Sanad) Analysis of "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (AS)" by *Abū Mikhnaf*

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Abstract

Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā Azdī, was one of the historians of the first century and among the narrators of historical hadiths. His name is associated with the recording of events related to Iraq, evoking occurrences such as the Battle of *Jamal*, *Ṣiffīn*, the incident of *Karbala*, the uprising of *Mukhtār*, and more. One of his most important works is the "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (AS)," which has drawn the attention of both early and later scholarly circles and is considered an inspiring element. The present study aims to explore the historical, literary, and biographical aspects of the "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*." In this historical work, textual and biographical points are examined, and it also reports the existence of a fake martyrdom work bearing the same name. It seeks to explain the reasons for the differences and the nature of its forgery. This work serves as a response to contemporary enthusiasts seeking accurate and authentic details about this event, and perhaps this very concern has

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spurred the compilation of similar works. Thus, it aims to clarify the credibility of *Abū Mikhnaf* and the scholarly value of his work "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (AS)*.*" Additionally, it seeks to shine a light on works that intend to utilize or rewrite *Abū Mikhnaf*'s martyrdom account. It is hoped that this article will provide an appropriate answer to the question of 'Who was the first to write about the *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*?' 'How credible it is?' and 'How the authenticity of these reports and narratives has been examined?' This article has been used library method to collect data.

Keywords: *Abū Mikhnaf*, *Isnād*, Analysis, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, Content.

Introduction

The tradition of writing *Maqtal* (accounts of martyrdom) began in the first century, coinciding with significant and impactful events. These were events that arose following the deaths of important figures and stirred the emotions and sentiments of contemporaries.

Works that hold a special place in Islamic sources include the *Maqtal* of *'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb*, *'Uthman ibn 'Affān*, *'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib* (AS), and others. However, no topic has garnered as much attention from writers as the martyrdom of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS). The *Maqātil* written about Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) are often not available today; works such as the "*Maqtal* of *Abī 'Abdillāh*" by *Asbagh ibn Nubāta*, the "*Maqtal Ḥusayn* (AS)" by *Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Juʿfī*, the "*Maqtal Ḥusayn* (AS)" by *Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī*, and the "*Maqtal* of *Abī 'Abdillāh*" by *Naṣr ibn Muzāhim*. Among the most significant works in this area is the "*Maqtal*" by *Abū Mikhnaf*. One of the features of "*Maqtal Ḥusayn* (AS)*,*" which is recorded in relation to the events of the year 61 in *Ṭabarī*'s history, is the narrative chain (Sanad) presented in the manner of hadith scholars and the acceptance of its

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text; by analyzing the Sanad of the "*Maqtal*" according to the methods of hadith scholars, and further analyzing the text, this research will investigate the dimensions of the importance of this work. The present study, using library research and a descriptive-analytical method, examine the "*Maqtal*" of *Abū Mikhnaf*.

1. Abū Mikhnaf Biography

He is *Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Mikhnaf... ibn Saʿd ibn manāh ibn Ghāmid al-Azdī* (Ibn Saʿd, n.d.: 6, 35; Tustarī, ١٩٩٨ AD/1419 AH: 10, 19; Ḥillī, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 259). He passed away in the year 157 AH (Dhahabī, 1993: 7, 302; Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, 1983: 1, 312; Ziriklī, 1980: 5, 245), or in 170 AH (Dhahabī, 1963: 3, 419). His ancestor, "*Mikhnaf ibn Salīm*," was a companion of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Ibn Saʿd, n.d.: 6, 35). His name is listed among the Shiʿa companions (Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsawī, n.d.: 199; Ṣadr, n.d.: 91). Regarding the beliefs of *Abū Mikhnaf*, some assert that he was a Shiʿa (Dhahabī, 1993: 7, 301, 9, 581; Ibn Maʿīn, n.d.: 1, 210; Rāzī, 1952: 7, 182; Ziriklī, 1980: 5, 245; Najāshī, 1995 AD/1416 AH: 320; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, n.d.: 128; Ḥillī, 1996 AD/1417 AH: 233; Ḥillī, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 157; Tafrishī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 4, 75; Ardabīlī, 1982 AD/1403 AH: 2, 33; Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, 1984 AD/1363 AH: 1, 286; Burūjirdī, 1989 AD/1410 AH: 1, 566; Anṣārī, n.d.: 15, 140; Aqa Bozorg Tehrani, 1983: 1, 312; Amīn, n.d.: 1, 153). Others believe he was Sunni (Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, 1959: 1, 147; Qummī Shīrāzī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 71; Majlisī, 1983: 1, 25). However, there is no strong evidence to support these claims. Several works are attributed to him

(Najāshī, 1995 AD/1416 AH: 320; Anṣārī, n.d.: 15, 141; Ibn Nadīm, n.d.: 105; Kaḥāla, n.d.: 8, 157; Ṭūsī, 1996 AD/1417 AH: 204; Ṣadr, n.d.: 91; Ghaffārī, 1990 AD/1369 AH: 234). Nevertheless, his most important work is "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*" by *Abū Mikhnaf*.

2. Maqtal al-Ḥusayn

Abū Mikhnaf is the author of one of the earliest and most prominent works about Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS)*,* which he narrates in the style of hadith scholars. Important figures such as Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī in "*al-Akhbār al-Ṭawāl*" (Dīnawarī, 1960: 230, 232, 236, 279) and *Shaykh Mufīd* in "*al-Irshād*" (Mufīd, 1993: 23-122) have been influenced by it, while some have followed him with less influence; among these are *Ibn Aʿtham* (Ibn Aʿtham, 1990 AD/1411 AH: 5, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 45, 65, 66.....). *Khārazmī* in "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*" (Khārazmī, n.d.: 2, 196, 197, 199, 211.....) and *Ibn Ṭāwūs* in "*al-Luhūf fī Qatlī al-Ṭufūf*" (Ibn Ṭāwūs, 1996 AD/1417 AH: 33, 34, 35, 42, 44, 49....) are also included. Others have followed him less closely (Ibn Saʿd, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 65, 69; Ibn Kathīr, 1998: 8, 186; Abul Faraj Iṣfahānī, 1965: 74; Ṣadūq, 1996 AD/1417 AH: 219). This *Maqtal* is noted as the oldest source with a chain of narration included in *Ṭabarī*'s history, and *Ṭabarī*'s narration has been considered in this research.

2.1. The *Maqtal* Attributed to *Abū Mikhnaf*

In addition to the *Maqtal* of *Abū Mikhnaf* in *Ṭabarī*'s history, there is another *Maqtal* attributed to *Abū Mikhnaf*, the text of which is more well-known than the *Maqtal* of *Abū Mikhnaf* in *Ṭabarī*'s history. The manuscripts of this forged *Maqtal* date from the year 1200 onward

(*Waqafah 'indal Kitāb: Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* (AS) for *Abū Mikhnaf*: 50-51). *Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī*, after introducing *Abū Mikhnaf*, states about the work attributed to him: "Know that *Abū Mikhnaf* has many books in the fields of history and Sīrah... However, the *Maqtal* that is attributed to him is not his work, and the author is unknown." (Qummī, n.d.: 1, 155) *Muḥsin Amīn* shares a similar view (Amīn, n.d.: 4, 614). Some of the glaring errors in this work can be noted as follows.

2.1.1. Rijālī Mistakes

A) *Abū Mikhnaf*'s narration from *Hishām ibn Muḥammad*: At the beginning of the book, there is a significant chain of narration where *Abū Mikhnaf* narrates from *Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib Kalbī* (Abū Mikhnaf, n.d.: 5). However, *Hishām* is a student of *Abū Mikhnaf* (Dhahabī, 1993: 10, 320), and *Hishām* takes hadith from *Abū Mikhnaf*, not the other way around.

B) *Abū Mikhnaf*'s narration from Kulaynī (Abū Mikhnaf, n.d.: 12): *Abū Mikhnaf* (d. 157 AH) predates Kulaynī (d. 329 AH) by over a century, thus he could not have narrated from Kulaynī.

2.1.2. Content Errors in the *Maqtal* of *Abū Mikhnaf*

A) It is stated that when *Ḥusayn* (AS) arrived in *Karbala*, his horse stopped and, despite many efforts, did not move from its place. He changed horses seven times, yet none of them budged. Then he dismounted and said... (ibid: 75). Such an account is not found in reliable sources, and the mentioned source is single (Wāḥid) in conveying this news.

B) The report of Imam *Ḥusayn*'s *(AS)* departure from Mecca to Medina after hearing about the martyrdom of *Muslim ibn 'Aqīl* (ibid: 61).

C) The Narrative of *Ḥurr* Joining Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS): The depiction of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) in this account is not befitting of him. It is stated in this work: "When Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) saw that all his companions had been killed, he began to cry loudly and then shouted, "Is there no one to help us? Is there no one to come to our aid?" At that moment, these words reached *Ḥurr* and had an effect on him." (ibid: 117) This report contradicts other narratives that describe how *Ḥurr* joined Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) (Ṣadūq, 1996 AD/1417 AH: 223; Dīnawarī, 1960: 253; Ibn Aʿtham, 1990 AD/1411 AH: 5, 101; Mufīd, 1993: 99). In other narratives, *Ḥurr* voluntarily joins Imam *Ḥusayn (AS)* before the beginning of the conflict.

D) The description of Imam *Ḥusayn's* (AS) martyrdom and his request for water from *Shimr*, who tells him: "You will not drink water until you sip death slowly with torture and sorrow." Then Imam (AS) swore *Shimr* to remove the veil from his face. *Shimr* removed the veil, and Imam (AS) saw that he was a leper, blind, had the snout of a dog, and had hair like that of pigs. Then he said, "My grandfather, the Messenger of God (PBUH), spoke the truth." *Shimr* asked, "What did your grandfather say?" He replied, "I heard my grandfather say to my father: "O! Ali, this son of yours will be killed by someone who is a leper and blind..." (Abū Mikhnaf, n.d.: 145-146) This report is not found in any credible sources.

2.1.3. Distortion in the Names of Characters

48 Distortion through misrepresentation (Taṣḥīf) is frequently seen in this

work. For example, the report of the cursing of *Ibn Ḥuza* by *Abā 'Abdillāh* (AS) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 328; Mufīd, 1993: 2, 102; Ibn A'tham, 1990 AD/1411 AH: 5, 96; al-A'lām al-Warā bi A'lām al-Hudā, 1, 462) shows that in the discussed (forged) *Maqtal*, the name *Ibn Ḥuza* is changed to *Jabīrah al-Kalbī* (Abū Mikhnaf, n.d.: 100).

2.2. The Original *Maqtal* of *Abū Mikhnaf*

Maqtal al-Ḥusayn paved its way to important works such as *Ṭabarī*'s History and Shaykh *Mufīd's al-Irshād* after several decades. This work encompasses precise details of the martyrdom of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) and was able to collect oral reports from among the sayings and writings that the author believed were worthy of documentation. The reports that the author considered valuable were either regarding the importance of the narrator or the significance of the news or because they provided answers to questions existing in the audience's minds. Questions such as: 'Where, how, with whom, and why Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) was martyred?' All these factors give *Abū Mikhnaf*'s writing a historical dimension, but this work and similar works are responses to the fervent emotions present in the author's society; thus, we witness a narrative and storytelling aspect in such works. The text possesses a storyline, poetry, elegy, and other techniques of oral narratives.[1] These two aspects, together, created a genre that, despite the merging of *Maqtal* texts with historical books in the ensuing centuries, still allowed these *Maqtal* texts to re-emerge in the eighth century through *Ibn Ṭāwūs*.

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1. https://maarefhekmiya.org/10362/adb-almokatel/

The narrative and storytelling aspect of the material, which some researchers have also referred to in their articles (Abbasi, 2021 AD/1400 SH: 1), and the claim that the literary aspect (emotional and sentimental) was born out of distortion in the tenth century is unfounded (Sahebi, 2007: 70). Essentially, the strong narrative aspect and the audience-friendly nature of the *Maqātil*, alongside the authenticity of the documents and the accuracy of the statements, as well as including content that is not available elsewhere for the audience, have contributed to the creation and continuation of this historical-literary genre throughout the centuries.

The following will examine this work based on *Ṭabarī's* narration.

3. An Overview of *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal*

Abū Mikhnaf's *Maqtal* is an influential source on Shi'a thought. The merits of *Abū Mikhnaf* 's *Maqtal* have not been hidden from past scholars. In general, this work can be examined in two ways: textually and documentarily. We will proceed to analyze the textual aspect of *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal*.

3.1. Examination of the Text of *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal*

Regarding the precedence of this *Maqtal*, it cannot be compared with earlier works. Therefore, we will examine *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal* in various aspects alongside its parallel works. The parallel works refer to collections written about the *Āshūrā* event in the first five centuries of the Islamic calendar. In addition to the comparative method, *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal* will also be examined textually.

3.1.1. Comparison with Parallel and Contemporary Sources

50 *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal* has been compared with its parallel works, such

as "Translation of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) " as part of *Ibn Saʿd*'s *al-Ṭabaqāt* (168 AH), the narration of *ʿAmmār Ibn Duhnī* from Imam *Bāqir* (AS) in *Ṭabarī*'s history, "*al-Futūḥ*" by *Ibn Aʿtham* (314 AH), "*al-Akhbār al-Ṭawāl*" by *Abū Ḥanīfa Dīnawarī* (282 AH), and "*al-Imāmah wa al-Sīyāsah*" by *Ibn Qutaybah* (322 AH). In this section, most of the focus is on discussing the common negative characteristics found in parallel texts, and the absence of these characteristics in *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal* indicates the superiority of this work over its contemporaries.

3.1.1.1. Mastery Over General and Specific Aspects

Ṭabarī, in his narration of the *Āshūrā* event from *Abū Mikhnaf*, says: "*Abū Mikhnaf*'s narration is complete and thorough compared to *ʿAmmār Ibn Duhnī*'s narration" (al-Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 260). Upon a careful review of this work, one can arrive at this conclusion once again.

Abū Mikhnaf has narrated the accounts in detail, maintaining a chronological order and depicting the general outline with robustness. The report regarding the news of *Muʿāwīyah*'s death until Imam *Ḥusayn*'s movement towards Iraq (ibid: 4, 294–374), and the correspondence with the people of Kūfa... up to the martyrdom of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) is narrated sequentially and extensively (ibid: 4, 260–286). This method continues until the end of the work. The detail and sequence in the narration of events have resulted in thematic unity within the *Maqtal*, although this performance is weak in the narration of the events in Syria.

In addition to mastery over general topics, the details are also well reflected. His focus on specifics does not create fragmented images in the audience's mind (Wellhausen, 1988: 113). For instance, when narrating

the death of *Qāsim ibn Ḥasan* (AS), the outlines are well drawn, and valuable details are presented. He narrates: "A young man came towards us, as if his face were a part of the moon; he had a sword in hand and was dressed in a shirt and trousers, wearing sandals, one of which had a broken strap; no matter what I forget, I will not forget that it was his left strap." (al-Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 314) The description of *Qāsim ibn Ḥasan*'s appearance aligns with the account of the events of *Āshūrā*, thereby creating a cohesive image in the audience's mind.

By comparing this work with its contemporary *Maqātil*, the reasonable and appropriate general and specific perspectives become even more evident. For instance, in *Ibn Saʿd's Maqtal*, a morbid focus on details can be observed, stemming from the method of class-writing. These instances often detail specifics such as the quality of hair and its dye (Ibn Saʿd, n.d.: 1, 432, 439; 3, 211; 5, 322), descriptions of types of clothing (ibid: 4, 334), types of rings and their inscriptions (ibid: 1, 471, 473, 474; 3, 30, 143, 211, 220; 4, 176), and the color of turbans (ibid: 1, 452, 455; 3, 29, 201; 4, 113, 276), which vary in detail relative to the person's fame.

A similar trend is present in the translation regarding Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS). *Ibn Saʿd* dedicates 18 narrations solely to the wearing of fur clothing and dyeing by Imam (Ibn Saʿd, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 41-44). However, in recounting the events related to *Āshūrā*, he allocates only 9 narrations to describing the *Āshūrā* events (ibid: 72-75).

3.1.1.2. Lack of Bias

Bias in the narration of history is a red line. This matter had been considered in Islam even before the official compilation of history. They knew that they could only weaken or strengthen a narrative (Duri, 2005: 1,

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20). Therefore, *Ṭabarī* states at the beginning of his history: "Let the reader of my book know that my foundation in what I have presented and stated is based on the words of the narrators, not the authenticity of reasons and the inferences of souls..." (Ṭabarī, 1983: 1, 5)

Some of the earlier historians, contrary to *Ṭabarī*, compromised the credibility of their works by presenting personal opinions while narrating. For instance, *Ibn Saʿd* explicitly mentions at the beginning of his narration of the *Āshūrā* event that he only conveys the essence of the speech without specifying which statement is from which narrator (Ibn Saʿd, 1415: 53). Additionally, while narrating the events, he interrupts his report seven times and continues with the phrase "*Rajaʿal Ḥadīth ilā Awwalihī.*" (ibid: 55, 64, 71, 80, 81, 83, 92) The interruption indicates that *Ibn Saʿd* is constantly expressing his view.

In addition to the chain of narrations, bias is also evident in the text. He states: "The departure of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) was a mistake, and its consequences are evident, and the reaction of the government is entirely natural." (ibid: 57) In the narration of *ʿUbaydullāh ibn Zīyād*'s arrivals in *Kūfa*, the people of *Kūfa* are described with the phrase "*Falammā Raʾathu al-Safla,*" indicating the shadow of *Ibn Saʿd*'s analysis over the *Maqtal* (ibid: 65). In contrast, *Abū Mikhnaf*'s narration is direct, and in the text, there is no explanation or guidance provided.

3.1.1.3. Truthlikeness

Throughout *Abū Mikhnaf* 's report, there is no trace of myth-making. This truth becomes evident when compared with some parallel texts such as *al-Futūḥ* by *Ibn Aʿtham* (d. 314 AH). For example, two instances of these narrations are examined here.

1. As narrated from *Ibn ʿAbbās*: "I was with the Prophet when I saw

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Gabriel with a group of angels beside him, spreading their wings and weeping sorrowfully for Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS)…" (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 323)

2. When *Ḥusayn* (AS) was one year old, 12 angels descended upon the Prophet, one in the form of a lion, one in the form of a cow, another as a demon, and a fourth in the form of a son of Adam, while the other eight took various forms and shapes with red faces, announcing to him the martyrdom of *Ḥusayn* (AS) and informing him… (ibid: 4, 324)

The framework of this speech is a tale, and its content is a myth; because in his narration, the angels are depicted in the form of wild and domestic animals. Furthermore, it is unclear how the narrator understood that a collection of animals in the presence of the Prophet (PBUH) were angels. In the report where *Ibn ʿAbbās* claims to have seen Gabriel, there is the question of whether *Ibn ʿAbbās* really had the ability to see the angel of revelation and other angels. Such narrations have not been observed in the account of *Abū Mikhnaf*.

3.1.1.4. Absence of Contradiction in Definitive Reports

Comparing the narration of *Yazīd* sending a letter to the governor of Medina in sources such as "*al-Akhbār al-Ṭawāl*" by *Abū Ḥanīfa Dīnawarī* and *Ṭabarī*'s narration from *ʿAmmār Duhnī*, the author's negligence in transmitting conflicting historical narratives deserves attention. In the narration of *Yazīd* sending to *Walīd ibn ʿUtbah*, the governor of Medina, and other governors of important Islamic cities such as *Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr*, there are points that will be studied further: *Abū Mikhnaf* mentions in the report of *Yazīd*'s letter to the governor of Medina and ordering him to take

the allegiance of *‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Umar*, *‘Abdullāh ibn Zubayr*, and Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) (ibid: 4, 250-252).

1. The narration of *Abū Ḥanīfa Dīnawarī* (d. 282): The form of the narration is derived from *Abū Mikhnaf*. However, an important point is that in *Abū Ḥanīfa*'s narration, *Yazīd* instructs *Walīd ibn ‘Utbah* to also obtain the allegiance of *‘Abdul Raḥmān ibn Abū Bakr* (Dīnawarī, 1960: 277). This is while *‘Abdul Raḥmān ibn Abū Bakr*, who opposed *Yazīd*'s succession and the transformation of the caliphate into a monarchy, had passed away before *Mu‘āwīya*'s death (Ziriklī, 1980: 3, 311-312).

2. The narration of *‘Ammār Duhnī* (1st century AH): He does not elaborate on the process of sending the letter and the order to obtain allegiance from Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) or the role of the Umayyads. *‘Ammār Duhnī* narrates as follows: I said to *Abū Ja‘far*: Relate to me the killing of *Ḥusayn* (AS) as if I were present. He said: *Mu‘āwīya* died, and *Walīd ibn ‘Utbah* was the governor of Medina, so he sent someone to *Ḥusayn* (AS) to take his allegiance. The Imam (AS) said: Treat me gently and give me time. *Walīd* agreed. Then he went to Mecca, where the letters from the people of Kūfa reached him (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 257-258). None of these reports have been transmitted, indicating a disregard for this news.

3.1.1.5 Accurate Recording of Names

In "*al-Imāmah wa al-Sīyāsah*" by *Ibn Qutaybah* (d. 213 AH), we see the name *‘Umar ibn Sa‘d* and *‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd* recorded (Ibn Qutaybah, n.d.: 2, 4). *‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd Ashdaq* (d. 70 AH) was one of the Umayyad governors who was the governor of Mecca in 60 AH (Ziriklī, 1980: 5, 78). Such inaccuracies are not present in the "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*."

3.2. Intertextual Analysis

By studying *Abū Mikhnaf*'s account, some of the capabilities of this work can be observed. These points indicate the expression of *Abū Mikhnaf* and the cohesive factors of his work, such as:

3.2.1. Narrative and Non-Fictional Expression

Abū Mikhnaf's accounts of events are non-fictional and realistic (Wellhausen, 1988: 113-114). The credibility of *Abū Mikhnaf*'s work primarily stems from the fact that the narrator is a character involved in the events (Yaʿqūbī, 2012 AD/1391 SH: 294). *Abū Mikhnaf*'s narration is one that, according to Gérard Genette's interpretation, is centralized and relies on the portrayal of characters somehow connected to the event of *Āshūrā*. In comparing the forged account of *Abū Mikhnaf* and the account in *Ṭabarī*'s history, one can observe the element of storytelling. Many of *Abū Mikhnaf*'s narrations in *Ṭabarī*'s history also appear in the forged account, but the forger has added storytelling elements to make the text more engaging, while simultaneously undermining its credibility.

Storytelling is a way of expression in which the author selects a part of reality that is more imaginative, then gives it a philosophical or even literary dimension, using each of these selected dimensions appropriately (Ibn Athīr, n.d.: 101).

For example, the description of the battlefield situation on the morning of *Āshūrā* is compared: "On the morning of *Āshūrā*, before noon, the only way to overpower Imam *Ḥusayn*'s army was to burn the tents, which seemingly made the enemy's task more difficult. At this moment, *Shimr* aimed his spear at Imam *Ḥusayn*'s tent, which

frightened the women of the Prophet's family. Then *Shimr* requested fire to burn Imam *Ḥusayn*'s tent. At this point, some individuals, like *Shabath ibn Ribʿī*, protested to *Shimr*, saying: You have reached a point where you frighten women; with this statement, *Shimr* refrained from burning the tent." (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 334) By comparing these words with what is mentioned in the forged account, one can observe the storytelling aspect of this narration. The forger quotes *Abū Mikhnaf* as stating that *Shimr* intends to burn Imam *Ḥusayn*'s tent, but the details he uses in narrating this account leads to a more elaborate description. In this account, it is stated:

"*Shimr* asks his companions for fire to burn the tent of the oppressor. At this moment, the companions of Imam (AS) attack him and drive him away from the tent. Then Imam cried out: Woe to you, O! *Shimr*! Do you want to burn the tent of the Messenger of Allah? *Shimr* replied, yes. The Imam then said: O! God, it is not difficult for you to throw *Shimr* into the fire on the Day of Resurrection. At this moment, *Shimr* became angry and commanded an attack, and the two armies clashed." (Abū Mikhnaf, n.d.: 100-101)

Some factors that have contributed to the narrative becoming more story-like in the forged account of *Abū Mikhnaf* include: addressing the Ahl al-Bayt as the "Oppressors," the Imam's prayer being accompanied by exaggeration, and the addition of a battle to the previous text. Furthermore, the removal of historical context from the narration has also erased some of the valuable insights found in *Abū Mikhnaf*'s account. For instance, aspects such as the intensity of the battle are not mentioned, nor are some military tactics, such as how

the burning of the tents still does not allow the Kufans to reach the Ahl al-Bayt. In the forged narration, however, a brief statement like "Leave them, for they have not reached you" simplifies the discussion, thereby obscuring the military tactic from the reader's perspective.

3.2.2. Mention of Useful Points

3.2.2.1 Indirect and Clarifying Points, such as:

1. *Abū Mikhnaf*'s report regarding the letters sent by *Yazīd* to *Walīd*: In the first detailed letter, news of *Muʿāwīya*'s death is conveyed, whiles the second letter, described as small like a mouse's ear (*Kaʾannahū Uzunun Faʾrah*), and contains orders for pledging allegiance from the prominent men of Medina. This narration indicates that the first letter was for public announcement, whereas the second contained the directive for pledging allegiance, which indirectly clarifies the urgency and secrecy involved in acquiring the allegiance of those individuals.

2. Text of the letters from the Kufans: These texts reflect the ideological orientation of the groups present in *Kūfa* in the year 61 AH.

   A) First letter: The writer of this letter includes some Shi'as led by *Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad*, among others like *Ḥabīb ibn Maẕāhir*. The sincerity of the people of Shi'a *Kūfa* is notable in this long letter (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 261-262).

   B) Second letter: This letter reinforces the first, with the Shi'as of *Kūfa* stating: "To *Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī* (AS) from his believing and Muslim Shi'as, but after that: the people await you and have their hearts with no one but you—hurry, hurry, peace be upon you." (ibid: 4, 262)

C) Third letter: This letter is from the wealthy leaders of *Kūfa* and has a very different tone. The flattery of the writers is considerable. They write in their letter: "But after that, everything has become green, the fruits are ripe, and the wells are full of water—if you wish to come, your army is ready, and peace be upon you." The tone of the writers is devoid of devotion and is dry and overly literary (ibid.).

Abū Mikhnaf, by conveying the text of the letters, indirectly shows the reader that Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) responded to the second letter. The evidence in Imam *Ḥusayn*'s letter includes the following:

1) The sending of the letter in response through *Sa ʿīd ibn ʿAbdullāh Ḥanafī* and *Hānī ibn Hānī Sabī ʿī*, who were the messengers of the second letter;

2) The use of language similar to that of the letter sent by the people of *Kūfa*: In his letter, the Imam writes: "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, from *Ḥusayn* ibn *ʿAlī* (AS) to the assembly of believers and Muslims," which is almost identical to the text of the second letter and reflects the urgency, insistence, and pleas of the Shiʿa.

3.2.2.2. Details of Coherence

Abū Mikhnaf quotes the words of *ʿAbbās ibn Shabīb al-Shākirī* in describing the gathering of the Kufans present at Muslim's location. By placing the statements of *ʿAbbās* in Kūfa alongside the day of *Āshūrā*, the reader becomes convinced that the context of both statements is similar and both texts express the principles of *ʿAbbās ibn Shabīb*.

This contextual similarity serves as a factor of coherence. *ʿAbbās* says in *Kūfa*: "As for what follows, I will not inform you of the

activities of others, nor do I know what they have in their hearts, and I do not promise you anything deceptive on their behalf; I speak of something I have decided upon: When you call, I will respond, I will fight alongside you against your enemy, and I will defend you with my sword until I stand before Allah, seeking nothing from this act except the reward of Allah." (ibid: 4, 264)

On the 10th day, he says to Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS)*:* "*Abā ʿAbdillāh*, by Allah, on the face of the earth, I have no one closer or more beloved to me than you, and if I could remove oppression and killing from you with something loftier than my soul and blood, I would do so. O! *Abā ʿAbdillāh*, peace be upon you; I testify that I am guided by you and your father." (ibid: 4, 337-338)

The beginning and the end of what has been narrated from *ʿAbbās* align with each other, allowing the audience to empathize with *ʿAbbās*.

4. A Review of the Sources Related to the *Maktal* of *Abū Mikhnaf*

A review of the sources of *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal* has received more attention from experts than a textual analysis. Accordingly, numerous works have been written about this text, each employing a different method to analyze the chain of transmission of *Abū Mikhnaf*. Among these are resources such as "*Waqʿatu al-Ṭaff*" by Muhammad Hadi Yousef Gharavi and "*Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*" by Hussein Ghaffari. The analysis of the sources related to *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal* will be explored in light of the opinions of the hadith scholars.

4.1. Weak Narrators (Ḍuʿafā')

1) From *ʿUqba ibn Abī ʿAyzār*, two narrations from one source have been reported (ibid: 4, 304, 305-306). He is considered *ʿĀmī*, Kūfan,

and weak narrator (Tustarī, 1998 AD/1419 AH: 11, 68; Amīnī, 1999 AD/1420 AH: 301).

2) *Ḥajjāj ibn ʿAlī Bāriqī Hamadānī*: He narrates the gathering of the people of Kūfa, sending a letter to Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS), and the sermon of *ʿUbaydullāh* after the arrest of *Hānī*, from *Muḥammad ibn Bushr Hamadānī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 261, 275). He is considered unknown (Dhahabī, 1963: 1, 463; Rāzī, 1952: 3, 164). Hence, he is counted as one of the weak narrators.

3) *Fuḍayl ibn Khadīj* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 320-321, 339-340): His status is unknown (Rāzī, 1952: 7, 72). He narrates the news of *Yazīd ibn Zīyād* joining Imam *Ḥusayn* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 339) and describes the political arrangement of the Kufans against Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) (ibid: 4, 321, 339-340).

4) *Numayr ibn Waʿlah* (ibid: 4, 264, 272, 333-334, 338-339): He is listed among the unknown narrators (Dhahabī, 1963: 4, 273).

5) *Naḍr ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥabīb ibn Zuhayr ʿAbasī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 311, 330, 348): *Abū Mikhnaf* is single in narrating from him, and the Rijālīss consider him unknown (Dhahabī, 1963: 8, 477). In the intervals of the work, *Abū Zuhayr ʿAbasī* is referred to as *Naḍr ibn Ṣāliḥ*, indicating that they are likely the same person (Ṭabarī, 1983: 3, 566; 4, 330).

6) *Abū Janāb Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥiyyah Wadāʿī Kalbī* (d. 150 AH) (ibid: 4, 276-277, 285-286, 288-289, 290, 299, 300, 301, 302, 312-313, 314, 324-326, 326-327): He narrates through three ways:

    A) Through a disconnected narration (*Mursal*): He reports the failure of *Muslim*'s uprising in *Kūfa* (ibid: 4, 276-277), the letter of *ʿUbaydullāh* to *Yazīd* (ibid: 4, 314), the threat to

'Umar ibn Sa'd by *'Ubaydullāh ibn Zīyād* (ibid.), and the presence of *'Abdullāh ibn 'Umayr Kalbī* and his wife *Ummi Wahab* on Āshūrā (ibid: 4, 326-327). *'Abdullāh ibn 'Umayr* is mentioned in the chain without a title, but researchers believe he is the husband of *Ummi Wahab* (Tustarī, 1998 AD/1419 AH: 10, 448).

B) Through two intermediaries: From *'Adī ibn Ḥarmalah* through *'Abdullāh ibn Salīm* and *Midhrī ibn Mushma'al*; two *Asadī* men present at the events who narrate the conversation between *Zubayr* and the Imam (AS) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 288-289), a meeting with *Farazdaq* (ibid: 4, 290), a meeting with the two *Asadī* men (ibid: 4, 299), the Imam's words about the martyrdom of *Muslim* (ibid: 4, 300), and the halt of *Abā 'Abdillāh*'s caravan by *Ḥurr* in the land of Iraq (ibid: 4, 301-302).

C) *Hānī ibn Thabīt Ḥaḍramī*: He was present in Karbalā and narrates the report of the Imam's meeting with *'Umar ibn Sa'ad* (ibid: 4, 312-313).

D) *'Adī ibn Ḥarmalah* narrated the news of *Ḥurr* joining Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) (ibid: 4, 324-326).

Rijālī scholars have described *Abū Janāb Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥayyah Kalbī* as trustworthy, even though he occasionally labeled some trustworthy narrators as unreliable (Khu'ī, 1992: 1, 246; 'Aqīlī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 4, 398; Rāzī, 1952: 9, 139). The chain of these narrations is weak; however, these instances have been recorded with slight variations in other sources (Mufīd, 1993: 2, 101; Ibn

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Athīr, 1966: 4, 65).

7) Among the friends of *Abū Mikhnaf* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 321): Due to being unknown, the chain is ambiguous (*Majhūl*). This person narrates from *Abū Khālid al-Kāhilī*. It is possible that the name *Kāhilī* is a miswriting of *Kābulī*. If this is true, he would apparently be *Wardān*, *Abū Khālid Kābulī*, one of the close companions of Imam *Sajjād* (AS) (Ḥillī, 1417: 287).

8) *Hishām ibn Walīd* narrates in a *Mursal* form, reporting the news of the martyrdom of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) reaching *Muḥammad ibn Ḥanīfiah* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 297).

9) *Suwayd* reports the killing of *Ibn Ḥuza* (ibid: 4, 328).

10) *Abū ʿAlī Anṣārī* (ibid: 4, 300-301).

11) *Thābit ibn Hubayrah* (ibid: 4, 330).

12) *Ḥasan* (or *Ḥusayn*) *ibn ʿUqbah Murādī* (ibid: 4, 272, 331-332).

13) *Zuhayr ibn ʿAbdul Raḥmān ibn Zuhayr Khathʿamī* (ibid: 4, 340-346).

14) *Ḥajjāj ibn ʿAmmār ibn ʿAbd Yaghūth Bāraqī* (ibid: 4, 345): He narrated the presence of the Imam just a few steps from the execution pit.

15) *Ḥusayn Abū Jaʿfar* (ibid: 4, 327): He narrated the Imam's curse upon *Ibn Ḥuza*.

16) *Muḥammad ibn Qays* (ibid: 4, 297, 335-338).

17) *Jamīl ibn Marthad* (ibid: 306, 307). He narrates from *Ṭarmāḥ ibn ʿAdī*, a companion of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) (Tafrishī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 1, 432). *Jamīl ibn Marthad* reports the meeting of *Ṭarmāḥ* with Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS). In this narration, *Ṭarmāḥ* promises the Imam

that he will join him after placing his commercial goods. When *Tarmakh* arrives in Karbalā, Ahl al-Bayt household had already been martyred (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 307).

18) *Dulham bint ‘Amr* (ibid: 4, 298-299). The name *Dulham*, the wife of *Zuhayr ibn Qīn*, is mentioned in some sources as *Diylam bint ‘Amr* (Ibn Namā, 1950: 32; Majlisī, 1983: 44, 371; Ibn Ṭāwūs, 1996 AD/1417 AH: 44). *Zuhayr* was a companion of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) who was killed on *Āshūrā* by *‘Abdullāh al-Sha‘bī* and *Muhājir ibn Aws* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 336). His wife provides a detailed report about how *Zuhayr* joined Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) (ibid: 4, 298-299).

19) *Sulaymān ibn Abī Rāshid* (ibid: 4, 277, 311-312, 314, 326, 334-335, 340, 341-342, 344-345, 347-348, 349, 350, 357). The majority of his narrations (about 9 narrations) come from *Ḥumayd ibn Muslim*, who is an important figure in the reports of the *Āshūrā* event. In addition to *Ḥumayd ibn Muslim*, he has narrated from *‘Abdul Raḥmān ibn ‘Ubayd Abī al-Kanūd* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 357), *‘Abdullāh ibn Salīm*, and *Mudhrī ibn Mushma‘al Asadī* (ibid: 4, 288-289, 290, 299, 300, 301-302) and *‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥāzim* (ibid: 4, 277). These individuals are significantly important regarding their presence in the event (Wellhausen, 1988: 142).

20) *Sa‘īd ibn Mudrak* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 282-283): He narrated from his grandfather, *‘Ammārah ibn ‘Uqbah*, who was present during the arrest and martyrdom of *Muslim* (ibid: 4, 282, and 281). In the chain of *Abū Mikhnaf*, *Sa‘īd ibn Mudrak ibn ‘Ammārah ibn ‘Uqbah* is mentioned, which appears to be more accurately referred to as *Sa‘īd ibn Mudrak* on the authority of *‘Ammārah ibn ‘Uqbah*.

21) *'Abdul Raḥmān ibn Jundab* (ibid: 4, 260, 308-309, 313, 330). He was among the companions of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (AS) and a participant in the Battle of *Ṣiffīn* and is recognized as a scholar. He is listed among the notable figures by Shaykh (Tafrishī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 3, 45). His narrations are reported through two ways:

1) The report of *K'ab ibn Jābir*'s regret (*Mursal* form) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 330).

2) The report of the refusal to accept the conditions of *'Umar ibn Sa'd*, the dream of seeing Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) on the way to *Banī Muqātil's* castle (ibid: 4, 308-309), the conditions the Imam set for accepting peace (ibid: 4, 313), and the details of the departure from Medina towards Mecca narrated from *'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān* (ibid: 4, 260). In the narration of the departure from Medina, *'Uqbah* says that the Imam left via the main road and did not take a detour like *'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr* (ibid.). *'Uqbah* is a servant of *Rubāb*, the wife of the Imam (AS) (ibid: 4, 347). In his account about the refusal of *'Umar ibn Sa'd*'s conditions, he mentions that he had precise information about the events of Āshūrā and that he was with the Imam (AS) from the time of leaving Medina until his martyrdom, stating that he had never seen the Imam engage in any sort of pragmatism or change of position (ibid: 4, 313).

22) *'Abdullāh ibn 'Āṣim Fā'ishī* (ibid: 4, 317 two reports, 318, 319, 321-323, 339). He is reported through *Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Abdullāh Mushriqī* (the name of a village in Yemen). On the day of *Āshūrā*, with the permission of the Imam (AS), he escaped the battlefield by

taking a horse. The cavalry of *'Umar Sa'd* pursued him, but since *'Abdullāh Sha'bī*, the murderer of *Zuhayr ibn Qīn*, was among the forces of *'Umar Sa'd*, he managed to survive ('Askarī, 1989 AD/1410 AH: 3, 95; Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 338).

23) *'Alī ibn Ḥanẓalah ibn As'ad Shabāmī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 323-324) was among the companions of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS), who utilized verses in his rhymes while fighting against the forces of *'Umar Sa'd* and was subsequently martyred (ibid: 4, 327). His name is mentioned in the Zīyārat *Nāḥīyah* and *Rajabīyyah* (Anṣārī, n.d.: 7, 321). *Kathīr ibn 'Abdullāh Sha'bī* narrated this report from *'Alī ibn Ḥanẓalah*. No translation for him has been seen. According to *Abū Mikhnaf*'s narration, he is a relative of *Ḥanẓalah ibn As'ad* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 323).

The narrator of the event is one of the martyrs of *Āshūrā*, so one must reflect on this narration or its chain of transmission.

24) *Mu'allā ibn Kulayb al-Hamdānī* (ibid: 267-269): Narrated from *Jabr ibn Nūf*, *Abul Wadāk Hamdānī*. *Abul Wadāk* is trustworthy (Anṣārī, n.d.: 4, 584; Dhahabī, 1963: 53). He was among the companions of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (AS) (Tafrishī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 2, 399). According to the narration of *Abū Mikhnaf*, *Abul Wadāk* was in the army of *'Umar Sa'd* but had a hatred for fighting Imam's (AS) companions and dissuaded others from battle (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 333).

25) A person named *Abū Ṣāliḥ* narrates from the servant of *'Abdul Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Rabbah* (ibid: 4, 321). Both the servant of *'Abdul Raḥmān* and *Abū Ṣāliḥ* are unknown.

26) A person from the *Banī Ludhān* tribe: Narrated the advice given to *Ḥusayn* (AS). This speech is recorded in the name of one of the

Imam's cousins, urging the Imam not to go to Iraq (ibid: 4, 301).

27) *'Abbās al-Jadalī* (ibid: 4, 267, and 275).

The above individuals either do not have a general translation or are not mentioned by the Rijālīs and are unknown. In any case, the anonymity of a person, especially among *Rijālīs*, classifies them as weak narrators, even if they were present on the Day of *Āshūrā.*

28) *Muḥammad ibn 'Abdul Raḥmān*: Shared information among the unknown and the trustworthy. It is unclear who he is.

29) *'Uqbah ibn Bashīr al-Asadī* (ibid: 4, 342). From the companions of Imam *al-Sajjād, al-Bāqir*, and *al-Ṣādiq* (AS) (Kashshī, 1981 AD/1402 AH: 2, 459; Anṣārī, n.d.: 11, 165; Tafrishī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 3, 205; Namāzī Shahrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 5, 246). He narrated the story of the killing of the infant of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) from Imam *al-Bāqir* (AS). There is no explicit declaration of his trustworthiness.

4.2. Trustworthy Narrators *(Rijāl)*

1) Imam *al- Ṣādiq* (AS), narrated the behavior of *'Umar Sa'd's* army with the blessed body (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 346).

2) *Abul Makhāriq al-Rāsabī* (ibid: 4, 262-263) is trustworthy (Ibn Ḥajar, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 6, 379). Some have stated that *Abū al-Makhāriq* is trustworthy in narrating from *'Umar* (Dhahabī, 1963: 4, 58; Dhahabī, 1986 AD/1407 AH: 7, 82).

3) *Abā Sa'īd 'Aqīṣī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 289) was one of the companions of the Imam (AS), deemed trustworthy by Ali (AS) and just (Ardabīlī, 1982 AD/1403 AH: 1, 312; Tustarī, 1998 AD/1419 AH: 11, 374; Tafrishī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 3, 208).

4) *Abū Ḥamzah Thumālī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 355-356). *Dīnār ibn Thābit*

ibn Ṣafīyya was trustworthy (Najāshī, 1995 AD/1416 AH: 115). He narrated from *Qāsim ibn Bakhīt* the story of the whipping on the lips of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 355-356), although there is no translation for *Qāsim ibn Bakhīt*.

5) *Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbdul Raḥmān ibn Abī Karīma Suddī* (d. 127 AH) narrated from a man of *Banī Fazāra*. *Suddī* is among the trustworthy and interpreters of the Quran (Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 1, 97).

6) *Jaʿfar ibn Ḥudhayfa Ṭāʾī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 281): He was a companion of Ali (AS) in the Battle of *Ṣiffīn*. *Ibn Ḥibbān* has listed him among the trustworthy (Ibn Ḥibbān, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 4, 105). Some have mentioned his name in the list of obscure figures (Rāzī, 1952: 2, 476; Ibn Ḥajar, 1971: 2, 113).

7) *Ḥārith ibn Ḥuṣayra* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 314, 317): Trustworthy (Kashshī, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 170). He narrated from *ʿAbdullāh ibn Sharīk ʿĀmirī* (trustworthy) (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 5, 223). *ʿAbdullāh ibn Sharīk ʿĀmirī* also narrated from Imam al-Sajjād (AS) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 317). All narrators in this chain of transmission have been praised.

8) *Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb Wālbī* (ibid: 4, 287, 289, 291, 318-319, 353): In Shiʿa *Rijālī* Books, *Ḥurr ibn Kaʿb Azudī* is mentioned as one of the companions of *Ali ibn Ḥusayn* (AS) (Anṣārī, n.d.: 5, 178). He is likely a distortion of *Ḥārith*. He transmitted news from the servant of *Rubāb* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 289, 313), Imam al-Sajjād (AS) (ibid: 4, 291), and *Fāṭimah*, daughter of Ali (AS) (d. 117 AH) (ibid: 4, 353). There are several reports from him that do not mention the phrase "*Abū Mikhnaf* Qāla," (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 354) which do not account for the narration of *Abū Mikhnaf*.

9) *Ṣaqʿab ibn Zuhayr ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Salīm Azudī Kūfī* (ibid: 4, 265, 274, 283-285, 286, 326, 345, 352): Trustworthy (Ibn Ḥibbān, 1973 AD/1393 AH: 6, 79; Majlisī, 1983: 42, 63).

10) *Abū ʿUthmān Nuhdī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 265): A pious, ascetic, and trustworthy man (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 6, 249-250).

11) *ʿAbdul Raḥmān ibn Shurayḥ ibn ʿUbaydullāh Maʿāfirī* (d. 167 AH) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 274): A distinguished and trustworthy scholar of the first century AH (Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 1, 573).

12) *ʿAwn Abū Juḥayfa Wahab ibn ʿAbdullāh Suwāʾī* (d. 116 AH) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 283-285, 286): His grandfather, *Abū Juḥayfa*, known as *Wahab al-Khayr*, was a companion and close associate of Ali (AS) (Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 2, 292). He is among the successors and a skilled scholar from Kūfa (Ibn Ḥibbān, 1990 AD/1411 AH: 170; Iṣfahānī, 1944: 201). Ṭabarī mistakenly wrote 12) *ʿAwn* as *ʿAwf*.

13) *ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdul Raḥmān ibn Ḥārith ibn Hishām Makhzūmī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 286): Trustworthy (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 7, 415).

14) *Qāsim ibn ʿAbdul Raḥmān Shāmī Abū ʿAbdul Raḥmān Dimashqī Mawlā Āli Abī Ḥarb Umawī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 352). Trustworthy (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 8, 290).

15) *ʿAbdul Malik Nūfil ibn Masāḥiq ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Makhramah ʿĀmirī Qurashī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 253). From the people of Medina. He reported on the intention of *Ḥusayn* (AS) to leave Medina and the manner of Imam *Ḥusayn's* (AS) entry into the Prophet's Mosque (ibid: 4, 253). This report has appeared in other sources attributed to

Zubayr ibn Bakkār from Abū Saʿīd Maqbarī (Maghribī, n.d.: 3, 144; Ibn ʿAsākir, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 204). He is accepted among *Rijālīs* (Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 1, 621).

16) *ʿAmr ibn Khālid* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 300). A person by this name is one of the martyrs of the *Āshūrā* incident (Anṣārī, n.d.: 14, 35; Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 340). For this reason, he cannot be considered a transmitter of news. Considering his narration from *Zayd ibn Alī*, it seems he is "*ʿAmr ibn Khālid, Abū Khālid Qurashī, Mawlā Banī Hāshim Kūfī,*" who narrated more than 97 reports from *Zayd ibn Alī* (Anṣārī, n.d.: 14, 100). *ʿAmr ibn Khālid* is trustworthy (Kashshī, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 2, 498).

17) *ʿAmr ibn Shuʿayb* (d. 105 AH). He narrated the fate of *Baḥr ibn Kaʿb* from *Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdul Raḥmān* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 345). *ʿAmr ibn Shuʿayb* was one of the great successor and jurists of Medina, trustworthy (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 1, 84, 737).

18) *ʿAṭāʾ ibn Sāʾib* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 328): Initially he was Sunni and later became Shiʿa. He took hadith from Imam Sajjād (AS). Most scholars regard him as trustworthy. However, at the end of his life, he experienced confusion and change (Anṣārī, n.d.: 4, 159).

19) *ʿAbdul Jabbār ibn Wāʾil Kūfī* is trustworthy. He does not narrate from his father and brother, *ʿAlqamah*, and has few narrations (Ibn Saʿd, n.d., 6, 312; Rāzī, 6, 30).

20) *Masrūq ibn Wāʾl* was present at the *Āshūrā* incident and is the brother of *ʿAbdul Jabbār ibn Wāʾil*. He, along with a group from *Ḥaḍramūt* and *Aslam*, embraced Islam in front of the Prophet

(PBUH) (Tustarī, 1998 AD/1419 AH: 10, 53). On *Āshūrā*, he intended to demonstrate his bravery to earn a reward from 'Ubaydullāh but withdrew upon witnessing the grim fate of *'Abdullāh ibn Ḥuzah* (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1999 AD/1415 AH: 7, 403). He is the one who transmitted the fate of *'Abdullāh ibn Ḥuzah* in *Abū Mikhnaf*'s *Maqtal* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 328). Generally, companions are considered trustworthy by Sunni scholars.

21) *'Amr ibn Murrah Jamalī* (ibid: 4, 321). He is reliable ('Ijlī, 1984 AD/1405 AH: 2, 186). He is one of the four Kufans from whom there is no disagreement or issue in his narrations (Rāzī, 1952: 6, 256-257).

22) *Mujālid ibn Sa'īd* (d. 144) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 272, 307, 313, 350). Some trusted him (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 7, 349; Dhahabī, 1963: 3, 438). However, another group of *Rijālīs* deemed him weak (Mizzī, 1998: 2, 101; Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 10, 37; Ibn Ḥibbān, n.d.: 3, 10). The reason for this difference of opinion may stem from *Mujālid* being Shi'a, and *Rijālīs* who weakened him referred to this point (Dhahabī, 1963: 3, 438).

23) *Ṣaq'ab ibn Zuhayr Azudī* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 313). Trustworthy (Ibn Ḥibban, 2014 AD/1393 AH: 6, 79; Majlisī, 1983: 42, Explanation p. 63).

24) *'Āmir ibn Sharāḥīl Sha'bī* (d. 110 AH) (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 307). He is a trustworthy and distinguished scholar of the first century (Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 1, 461).

25) *Yaḥyā ibn Hānī ibn 'Urwah* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 331) is one of the notable Arabs and trustworthy (al-Ansāb: 4, 531). This person is not the son of *Hānī ibn 'Urwah*, who sheltered *Muslim ibn 'Aqīl*,

because the son of *Hānī* was one of the companions of Imam *Ḥusayn* (AS) and was martyred on the day of *Āshūrā*; for this reason, he cannot be the transmitter of the verses recited by *Nāfi' ibn Hilāl* (Tustarī, 1998 AD/1419 AH: 11, 84).

26) *Yūsuf ibn Yazīd* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 275, 328). Trustworthy (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 11, 377; Rāzī, 1952: 9, 235). He transmitted the narration in two ways:

A) He narrated the revolution of *Muslim ibn 'Aqīl* in *Kūfa* from *'Abdullāh ibn Ḥāzim* (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 275).

B) The narration of *Burayr Mubāhila* with *Yazī ibn Ma'qal* was transmitted through *'Afīf ibn Zuhayr ibn Abū Akhnas* (ibid: 4, 328).

27) *Yūnus (Yūsuf) ibn Abī Isḥāq* (d. 175) (ibid: 4, 275-276, 297). He is recognized as one of the prominent scholars (Ibn Ḥibbān, 1990 AD/1411 AH: 266). Some regard his narration as careless, negligent, with omissions and additions, while others consider him trustworthy and free from the aforementioned flaws (Namāzī Shāhrūdī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 11, 382). It seems he may have been accused of these flaws regarding his Shi'a affiliation. He is the transmitter of news regarding the siege of the *Dār al-Imārah* by *Muslim* and the dispersal of that siege (Ṭabarī, 1983: 4, 275, 276).

Conclusion

The Maqtal of *Abū Mikhnaf* is among the earliest works written concerning the *Āshūrā* uprising. This work has multiple documentary and textual advantages, including the existence of narrators' chains and content that closely aligns with reality, derived from a literary

genre that documented events in the first century, addressing occurrences that conflicted with the powerful political narrative and sought to uncover truths in detail. Furthermore, this work adheres more closely to scientific principles compared to its contemporaries and has a total of 70 independent chains of narration, 11 of which are from correct or reliable sources, while the rest are weak. However, the weakness of the narrations does not mean the rejection of their content as long as there are external clues and evidence supporting their authenticity or likelihood of authenticity.

Additionally, 30 of its narrations have particular historical value considering the presence of narrators at the event. Such performance is less noticeable in other works written about the events of Karbala.

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