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Shahīd: a Framework on Islamic Martyrdom

Shahīd (Arabic, lit. «witness», pl. *shuhadā'*) is a word often used in the sense of «martyr». In the *Qur'ān* it is attested in its primary meaning (e.g. II, 282, XXIV, 4) and also occurs as one of the divine names (e.g. V, 117). Muslim scholars maintain that in a number of verses *shuhadā'* means «martyrs», as in III, 140,¹ IV, 69,² XXXIX, 69 and LVII, 19; and they explain in various ways how this meaning derives from the verb *shahida* (see Lane, s.v.). Goldziher, in contrast, thought that this sense of *shuhadā'* was post-*Qur'ānic* and reflected the use among Christians of the Greek *martys* and Syriac *sāhdā*.³ What is not in doubt is that the *Qur'ān* refers to the reward for those slain in the way of God (*fī sabīl allāh*) (II, 154, III, 157, 169, IV, 74, IX, 111, XLVII, 4-6).

A large body of traditions describes the bliss awaiting the martyr. All his sins will be forgiven; he will be protected from the torments

¹ «So that God may know those who believe and may take *shuhadā'* from among you».

² «Whoever obeys God and the messenger—they are with those whom God has blessed, prophets, just men, *shuhadā'* and the righteous».

³ Goldziher I., *Muslim studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, ed. and tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, II London 1971, 350-351; cfr. A.J. Wensinck, *The oriental doctrine of the martyrs* (Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel 53, Serie A, No. 6), Amsterdam 1921, I, 9; *Shahīd*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Tome IX (San-Sze), ed. by C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs and the late G. Lecomte, Leiden 1997, from here on abridged EI.

of the grave; a crown of glory will be placed on his head; he will be married to seventy-two houris and his intercession will be accepted for up to seventy of his relations. When the martyrs behold the delights awaiting them, they will ask to be brought back to life and killed again; but this is one request which even they will be denied. The Qur'ānic statement that the *shuhadā'* are alive (*ahyā'*) is often (but not always) interpreted literally.⁴ According to some traditions, the spirits of the martyrs will ascend directly to Paradise, there to reside in the craws of green birds near God's throne. During the Resurrection these spirits will be returned to the martyrs' earthly bodies and the martyrs will then be given their abode in Paradise (*dār al-shuhadā'*).

There are two main types of martyr, the difference between them being marked by the fact that martyrs of the first type have special burial rites while those of the second do not. The first type are *shuhadā' al-ma'raka*, «battlefield martyrs». They are referred to as «martyrs both in this world and the next» (*shuhadā' al-dunyā wa 'l-ākhirā*), meaning that they are treated as martyrs both in this world (in that they undergo the special burial rites) and in the next.

The burial rites accorded to battlefield martyrs differ from those accorded to other Muslims in the following ways:

(1) *Ghusl* [q.v.]. There is widespread agreement among Sunnī and non-Sunnī jurists that the martyr's body should not as a rule be washed. This position is based on the precedent of the Prophet's actions at Uḥud and elsewhere and on the belief that martyrdom removes the impurity which adheres to a person's body at death. A minority view was held by some early authorities, including Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (d. ca. 94/713), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q.v.] and the Baṣran 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-'Anbarī (d. 168/785) (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah at al-mudjtahid*, II, 10). Their view is that the Prophet acted in extraordinary circumstances and that his actions should therefore not serve as a precedent; in addition, they hold that martyrs are subject to the same laws of impurity as others. A special case is the martyr who dies without having performed the *ghusl* following sexual inter-

⁴ See D. Gimaret, *Une lecture mu'tazilite du Coran*, Louvain-Paris 1994, 120 and 202-203

course. Jurists who hold that his body should be washed include Abū Ḥanīfa, the Ḥanbalīs and the Ibādīs. These jurists cite the precedent of the Ansārī Ḥanzala b. Abī 'Āmir: he was with his wife when called upon to fight at Uḥud and was killed before he could perform the *ghusl*; the angels washed his body, and he is therefore known as *ghasīl al-malā'ika*. A further point, allegedly made by Abū Ḥanīfa, is that martyrdom does not cancel an impurity which adhered to a person while he was still alive. Those who say that a martyr of this kind should be treated like any other battlefield martyr by not being washed include Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī and some later Ḥanafīs. Conflicting views on this point are also found among Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs, Zaydīs and Imāmīs.

(2) Clothes. The belief that the martyr's blood-stained clothes will constitute proof of his status on the Day of Judgement is the main reason for holding that he should be buried in the garments in which he was killed. But items of clothing which cannot normally serve as shrouds (e.g. headgear, footgear, fur or skin clothes) may not be buried with him; nor should his weapons accompany him to the grave, as this was a Djāhilī custom. The Shāfi'īs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs maintain that if the martyr's next of kin (*awliyā'*) do not wish to bury him in his garments, they may use shrouds instead.

(3) Prayer. There are conflicting accounts of the Prophet's behaviour at Uḥud: according to some he prayed over the martyrs, according to others he did not. Those who hold that the former should serve as a precedent include the Ḥanafīs, Zaydīs and Imāmīs. Opponents of prayers over the martyrs include the Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs, as well as many of the older Meccan and Medinese authorities. Ibn Ḥazm argues that both accounts are equally reliable and that either practice may therefore be followed; while the Ḥanbalīs are split over the issue, depending on which of two *riwāyas* from Ibn Ḥanbal they choose to follow. One argument (attributed to al-Shāfi'ī) against prayers over the martyrs is that the martyrs are alive, while prayers are held only for the dead. Another argument is based on the notion that the aim of such prayers is to intercede on the dead person's behalf; as the martyr has been cleansed of all sins, he is in no need of such intercession. In contrast, supporters of such prayers claim that no-one can dispense with a request to God for His mercy and forgiveness, and that the

martyrs, more than anyone else, deserve to have this request made on their behalf.

There is some difference of opinion as to who is included in the category of battlefield martyrs. While it is agreed that they are those who went into battle in order to further God's religion and in anticipation of His reward (*iḥatisāb*), there are some jurists who add that they must have died in a battle against unbelievers, whereas others maintain that their death in battle should have been caused by an act of injustice (*zulm*). Again, some jurists insist that these martyrs must have been killed by an enemy soldier, while others do not make this stipulation. All agree that death must be a direct and immediate result of the wounds received, but the interpretation of this rule varies; it is often taken to mean that the warrior must die before he has had a chance either to eat, drink, sleep, receive medical treatment, be moved away, or dictate his last will and testament. The Shāfi'īs stipulate only that he should not have eaten during the time between his injury and his death, and that his death should have occurred either before or shortly after the battle ended.

Tradition has recorded the names of numerous battlefield martyrs who died during the Prophet's lifetime; they include members of his immediate family, such as his paternal uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (known as *sayyid al-shuhadā'*) and his cousin Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. Far greater numbers fell during the conquests which followed the Prophet's death. Most died on land, some at sea; the latter are said to receive the reward of two martyrs who die on land. Many fought with extraordinary bravery against heavy odds and their behaviour is cited as an example of the «wish for martyrdom» (*ṭalab al-shahāda*). Such zeal was also common among various Khāridjī groups. The number of martyrs of this kind declined with the end of the first great wave of conquests, although it rose again whenever particular historical circumstances (such as the Crusades) revived calls for *djihād*.⁵ At the same time, the increasing importance attached to the defense of the border areas led to the elevation of fallen *murābiṭūn* to the rank of martyrs.⁶ In eschatological times, martyrs

⁵ Cfr. E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade*, Paris 1968, 60-62, 110, 134 and *passim*.

⁶ See *Ribāt*, in EI.

will fight on the side of the Mahdī [*q.v.*], just as the early martyrs fought alongside the Prophet.

Battlefield martyrdom has captured the imagination of Muslims throughout the ages. A martyr's death in combat is the apogee of the believer's aspirations; it is the noblest way to depart this life (hence the motif of the old man who rushes forth to battle) and is a guarantee of God's approval and reward. In his willingness to lay down his life for a higher cause the believer overcomes that most basic of instincts, fear of death. Nor is the reaction to his death necessarily one of grief: there are accounts in mediaeval Sunnī sources of mothers who express gratitude at the news of their sons' martyrdom and forbid any mourning over them; and similar reports have appeared in modern times, most spectacularly on the Iranian side during the Iran-'Irāk war (1980-1988). It is the behaviour of these mothers which is so striking, regardless of whether it reflects their true feelings. The significance of the martyr's death transcends the individual; in the eyes of ordinary Muslims, he endows his entire community with purity and grace, and his immediate family are the object of admiration and support.

The second major type of martyr are the «martyrs in the next world only» (*shuhadā' al-ākhirā*); they are not accorded distinctive burial rites. Among them are the *murtathihūn*, lit. «those who are worn out», i.e. warriors who in other respects qualify as battlefield martyrs, but whose death is not a direct and immediate result of their wounds. The question whether a person is to be regarded as a battlefield martyr or as a martyr only in the next world arose particularly in three cases. The first is that of a warrior accidentally killed by his own weapon; one example is that of 'Āmir b. al-Akwa' (or b. Sinān), whose sword lipped from his hand during the battle of Khaybar [*q.v.*] and fatally wounded him. The Imāmīs and some Ḥanbalīs maintain that such a warrior is a battlefield martyr; others dispute this. The second case concerns those killed by *bughāt* («rebels»).⁷ For the Zaydīs and Imāmīs, the *bughāt* are unbelievers, since they rose against a legitimate ruler; hence those who fall while fighting them (such as

⁷ Cfr. Kh. Abou El Fadl, *Aḥkām al-bughāt: irregular warfare and the law of rebellion in Islam*, in *Cross, crescent, and sword*, ed. J.T. Johnson and J. Kelsay, New York, Westport and London 1990, 149-176.

'Alī's supporters in the battles of the Camel, Şiffin and al-Nahrawān) are considered to be battlefield martyrs. Sunnī scholars generally regard the *bughāt* as erring Muslims and treat those who fall while fighting them as the victims of injustice. For some Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs and Shāfi'īs, this is sufficient grounds for according them the status of battlefield martyrs; while those who hold that such a martyr must have died in a war against unbelievers maintain that victims of the *bughāt* are *shuhadā' al-ākhirā*. Finally, there are those who die while defending themselves, their families or their property against brigands (*luṣūṣ*)⁸ or highway robbers (*kuṭṭa' āl-ṭuruk*). (The assumption appears to be that these brigands and robbers are Muslims rather than unbelievers.) Theirs is a special case, in that their death does not occur on a battlefield. Jurists none the less draw an analogy between such persons and warriors who were killed on the battlefield. According to al-Awzā'ī [*q.v.*] and some Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, they are to be regarded as battlefield martyrs; most jurists, however, consider the victims of brigands or highway robbers as martyrs in the next world only.

The decrease in the number of battlefield martyrs that followed the early conquests coincided (perhaps not fortuitously) with a large extension of the category of martyrs in the next world only. These further types may conveniently be grouped under three major headings:

(1) Persons who die violently or prematurely. Martyrs of this type include:

(a) *Those murdered while in the service of God.* Foremost among them are the caliphs 'Umar, 'Uthmān (who is sometimes regarded as a battlefield martyr) and 'Alī. The Prophet himself was occasionally described as a *shahīd*, since his death was supposedly precipitated by his tasting a piece of poisoned mutton offered him by Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārith at the time of the Khaybar expedition.

(b) *Those killed for their beliefs.* Pre-Islamic figures include various prophets, most prominently Yaḥyā (John the Baptist),⁹ and righteous persons such as Ḥabīb al-Nadjdār [*q.v.*]. During the early years

⁸ See Liṣṣ, in EI, V.

⁹ For whom see e.g. Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, *Man 'āsha ba'da l-mawt*, Cairo 1352/1934, 17-18

of Muḥammad's mission Sumayya, the mother of 'Ammār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*] (who himself fell at Şiffin), is said in some reports to have been stabbed to death by Abū Djahl after she had openly embraced Islam; some say that she was the very first martyr in Islam. An example from the time of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] is that of Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzā'ī, who refused to acknowledge that the Qur'ān was created and was beheaded in 231/846 by order of the caliph al-Wāthiq. Those executed by a ruler for enjoining him to do what is proper and forbidding him from what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*) are sometimes described as martyrs. Among Ṣufīs, the most renowned martyr is al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*].¹⁰ The list of Imāmī Shī'ī martyrs is particularly long, with many names appearing in the *maqātil* literature; some became posthumously known as «al-Shahīd» (e.g. al-Shahīd al-Thānī [*q.v.*]). The most prominent of these martyrs are the Imāms, with Ḥusayn in particular occupying a unique position. He has traditionally been regarded as having sacrificed himself in order to revive the Prophet's religion and save it from destruction; yet he has also been seen (particularly in recent years) as a battlefield martyr to be emulated for his willingness to fight for justice against all odds. The tombs of Ḥusayn and the other Imāms are the most important shrines in the Shī'ī world; many non-Shī'ī martyrs also generated a cult, and their burial places became centres of pilgrimage.¹¹

(c) *Those who die through disease or accident.* Early collections of Ḥadīth specifically mention victims of the plague (*tā'ūn* [*q.v.*]), of pleurisy or of an abdominal disease (diarrhoea or colic), those who drown, die in a fire or are struck by a falling house or wall, and women who die in childbirth; other forms of death were added at a later date. According to al-Bādījī [*q.v.*], the elevation of these persons to the rank of martyrs is divine compensation for the painful deaths which they suffer.

(d) The «martyrs of love» (*shuhadā' al-ḥubb*) and the «martyrs who died far from home» (*shuhadā' al-ghurba*) may also belong here. The former are, according to a Prophetic tradition, those who

¹⁰ See L. Massignon, *The passion of al-Ḥallāj: mystic and martyr of Islam*, tr. H. Mason, I Princeton 1982, 560-645.

¹¹ See *Mashhad*, in EI, VI.

love, remain chaste, conceal their secret and die.¹² The latter are those who leave their homes (e.g. in order to preserve their faith in times of persecution) and who die in a foreign land.

(2) Persons who die a natural death, either (a) while engaged in a meritorious act such as a pilgrimage, a journey in search of knowledge (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*) or a prayer (including a prayer for death on the battlefield; or (b) after leading a virtuous life. In ascetic circles, those who died after spending their lives waging war against their appetitive soul (*nafs*) were regarded as martyrs in the «greater *djihād*»;¹³ and according to some Imāmī traditions, every believer (i.e. every Imāmī Shīʿī), even if he dies in his own bed, is a *shahīd* who will be treated as if he had been killed fighting alongside the Prophet. Other Imāmī traditions declare as martyrs those who in their lifetime practised *mudārāt*, i.e. who treated others in a friendly manner while concealing their true attitude towards them. It has been suggested that the extension of the term *shahīd* to cover cases of non-violent death was a reaction against what was deemed a fanatical enthusiasm for self-sacrifice.¹⁴

(3) Living martyrs. They include those who, having joined the «greater *djihād*», successfully fight their *nafs*. The Sūfī author Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) [*q.v.*] declares that the battlefield martyr is a *shahīd* only externally (*fi ʿl-zāhir*); the true martyr (*fi ʿl-ḥaqīqa*) is he whose *nafs* has been slain while he continues to live in accordance with the Sūfī rules.¹⁵

A number of questions relating to *shahāda* (particularly of the military kind) were debated in theological circles. For example, a majority of Muʿtazilīs are said to have held that «no one is allowed to wish for martyrdom [...]. A Muslim is only obliged to wish for fortitude (*ṣabr*) to bear the pain of wounds, should he be afflicted with them».

The argument put forward was that the Muslim's wish for martyr-

¹² Ibn Dāwūd, *K. al-zahra* [first part], ed. A.R. Nykl in collaboration with I. Ṭūkān, Chicago 1932, 66; see the discussion in J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 307-316; L.A. Giffen, *Theory of profane love among the Arabs*, New York and London 1971, 99-115.

¹³ See *Djihād*, in EI, II.

¹⁴ Goldziher, *Muslim studies...*, II, 352.

¹⁵ al-Sulamī, *Manāhidj al-ʿarīfīn*, ed. by E. Kohlberg, in *JSAI* 1 (1979) 30.

dom could only be fulfilled by his being killed; and since killing a Muslim is an act of unbelief, it follows that the Muslim would be wishing for such an act to take place. A related question concerns God's attitude to the death of His servants as martyrs. This question was already addressed by the Ibādī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd (*fl.* second half of the 2nd/8th century): he argued that since martyrdom could only come about through death at the hands of a sinner, it followed that God wants (*ah abba*) the sinner to perform the sin which God knows he will perform. In his refutation of this view, the Zaydī Imam Aḥmad al-Nāṣir (d. 322/934) maintained that God does not want sinners to kill believers, nor does He determine that this should happen; only after a Muslim has been killed does God refer to him as a *shahīd*.¹⁶ For ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*], God's wish that martyrdom should occur does not mean that He wishes His servants to die: one may wish for something without wishing for the prerequisites for its attainment. Muʿtazilī exegetes, in line with their belief that God does not command evil, interpret the «permission» (*idhn*) of Qurʾān III, 166¹⁷ as meaning that God allowed the unbelievers freedom of action (*takliya*) by removing any obstacles from their way; it does not mean that God decreed the death of the believers.

A genuine battlefield martyr is one whose actions proceed from the right intention (*niyya*) [*q.v.*]. But people's intentions are only known to God; in this world people are treated according to their apparent state. This means that even those who went into battle for the wrong reasons (for instance, to show off their prowess or to partake of the spoils) or without true belief in their hearts (as in the case of the *mun-āfikūn*) are nevertheless accorded the burial rites of the battlefield martyr (provided of course that they meet the other necessary conditions). They are known as «martyrs in this world only» (*shuhadāʾ al-dunyā*), and will not enjoy the rewards of martyrs in the next world; indeed, some reports say that they will suffer the torments of hell. The right intention is also required of certain kinds of *shuhadāʾ al-ākhirā* (though not, say, of victims of disease or accident); but there is no specific term to designate the pseudomartyrs among them.

¹⁶ al-Nāṣir, *K. al-nadjāt*, ed. W. Madelung, Wiesbaden 1405/1985, 127-139.

¹⁷ «And what happened to you on the day on which the two armies clashed happened with God's permission».

Bibliography

[i] *Ḥadīth*: references to the most important traditions are given in A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. «Martyr(s)». Further material may be found e.g. in 'Abd al-Razzāk, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. H. al-A'zamī, Beirut 1390-2/1970-2, III: 540-8, V: 253-87; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. 'A. al-Afghānī et al., Karachi 1406/1986-7, III: 252-4, XII: 287-92; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. M. 'A.-K. 'Aṭā, Beirut 1414/1994, IX: 274-87; Ibn Shaddād, *Dalā'il al-aḥkām min ahādīth al-rasūl 'alayhi 'l-salām*, ed. M. Shaykhānī and Z. al-Ayyūbī, Damascus and Beirut 1413/1992-3, II: 469-75; al-Suyūfī, *Abwāb al-sa'āda fī asbāb al-shahāda*, ed. N. 'A.-R. Khalaf, Cairo 1981.

[ii] *Tafsīr*: interpretations of the Qur'ānic *shuhadā'* as martyrs are to be found in commentaries on the relevant verses, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-bayān*, Cairo 1368/1988, IV: 106-7 (to III: 140).

[iii] Biographical literature: Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaqr, Beirut n.d.; Wā'iz Kāshifī, *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'*, Tehran 1334 Sh./1955.

[iv] *Fikḥ* (often in the chapters on *djanā'iz*): Ḥanafīs: *al-Sarakhsī, Mabsūt*, Cairo 1324-31, II: 49-56; Kāsānī, *Badā'i' al-ṣanā'i' fī tartīb al-sharā'i'*, Cairo 1327/1909, I: 320-5; *al-Ḥalabī, Multaḳā 'l-abḥur*, ed. W.S. Gh. al-Albānī, Beirut 1409/1989, I: 166-8; Shāfi'īs: Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, Cairo 1321-1326, I: 236-8; Māwardī, *al-Ḥawā'ī*, ed. 'A.M. Mu'awwadūḍ and 'A.A. 'Abd al-Mawdjūd, Beirut 1414/1994, III: 33-38; Abū Ishāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *al-Muḥadhdhab fī fikḥ al-imām al-Shāfi'ī*, ed. M. al-Zuhaylī, Damascus and Beirut 1412/1992, I: 441-2; Ṭaqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwā*, II Cairo 1355, 339-354; Mālikīs: Bādījī, *K. al-muntakā sharḥ muwaṭṭa' Mālik*, II Cairo 1332, 25-27, 31; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid wanīḥayat al-muḳtaṣid*, ed. M.Š.Ḥ Ḥallāk, II Cairo 1994/1415, 10-12, 41-42; Kharashī, *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-muḳtaṣar li 'l-Khalīl*, II Cairo 1316-1317, 44-45; Ḥanbalīs: Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Kāfi fī fikḥ al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, ed. S.M. al-Laḥḥām, I Beirut 1412/1992, 288-9; Mardāwī, *al-Inṣāf fī ma'rifat al-rādjiḥ fī 'l-khilāf 'alā madhhab al-imām al-mubadjdjal Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fikī, II Cairo 1374-1378/ 1955-1958, 498-504, 555; Zāhirīs: Ibn Ḥ azm, *al-Muḥallā*, V Cairo 1347-1352, 115-116, 138; Ibādīs: Muḥ ammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish, *Sharḥ kitāb al-nīl wa shifā' al-'alīl*, II

Djudda 1405/1985, 564-9; Zaydīs: al-Mu'ayyad bi 'llāh, *Sharḥ al-tadjiṛid fī fikḥ al-zaydiyya*, facs. ed., I Ṣan'a' 1405/1985, 233-235; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, III Cairo 1368/1949, 93-97, 122-123; Imamīs: Ṭūsī, *K. al-khilāf*, I Nadjaf 1376, 260-264; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nihāyat al-iḥkām fī ma'rifat al-aḥkām*, ed. M. al-Radjā'ī, II Beirut 1406/1986, 235-239; al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Masālik al-afhām* (or *ifhām*) *fī sharḥ sharā'i'* *al-islām*, ed. Ḥ.M. Āl Ḳubaysī al-Āmilī, I Beirut 1414/1993, 172-173. For a succinct summary of the Sunnī positions see al-Djazīrī, *K. al-fikḥ 'alā 'l-madhāhib al-arba'a*, I Cairo 1392/1972, 527-530; *al-Mawsū'a al-fikḥiyya*, XXVI Kuwait 1412/1992, 272-278.

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Summary: This article deals briefly with the following issues relating to Islamic martyrdom: the origins of the concept of shahada; the conditions for becoming a battlefield martyr and the burial rites accorded to them; the category of «martyrs in the next world only»; theological discussions of martyrdom.