

# AL-TAWHĪD

*A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Thought and Culture*

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**Vol. VII, No.1, Muḥarram – Rabī' al-'Awwal, 1410**

(August – October 1989)

قَالَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ :  
إِنَّ قَوْمًا عَبَدُوا اللَّهَ رَغْبَةً فِتْلِكَ عِبَادَةُ التُّجَّارِ، وَإِنَّ قَوْمًا  
عَبَدُوا اللَّهَ رَهْبَةً فِتْلِكَ عِبَادَةُ الْعَبِيدِ، وَإِنَّ قَوْمًا عَبَدُوا اللَّهَ  
شُكْرًا فِتْلِكَ عِبَادَةُ الْأَحْرَارِ.

*There are people who worship God out of desire (for reward); that is the worship of merchants. There are people who worship God out of fear (of punishment); that is the worship of slaves. And there are some people who worship God out of gratitude; that is the worship of free men.*

— Al-'Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A)

(*Nahj al-balāghah, ḥikam: 237*)

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بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

*In the Name of Allāh  
the Merciful, the Compassionate*



## **Editorial**

An ancient disease which has afflicted humanity since times immemorial is immersion in the mundane and material aspects of life and oblivion of the higher and spiritual dimensions of existence. Although materialism as a world-view that denies the existence of anything higher than matter and transcending the realm of the corporeal has never been able to capture the faith and conviction of majority of ordinary people at any time in history, nevertheless, single-minded pursuit of the mundane and neglect of spiritual dimensions of life has characterized the attitude of many people in all ages.

Our era is very unfortunate in that not only materialism as a world-view is a dominant creed in many countries, even in the East and the Third World, 'behavioural materialism,' even among people who claim to follow one of the great religious traditions, is the dominant and largely an unquestioned attitude to life. Behavioural materialism is not a world-view or a system of philosophical convictions about the nature of the world and life, it is an attitude toward life, a mode of living in which spiritual factors have either a marginal role or do not influence a person's life and behaviour. Behavioural materialism is not a creed, it is a way of life. It is not found only among believers in creedal materialism, but also amongst those who may otherwise profess to adhere to spiritual and transcendental views of the world and life.

It is obvious that Islam does not teach renunciation of the corporeal and material aspects of life. It does not discourage its followers from actively taking part in all those areas of human activity on which the life, survival and growth of society depend and which otherwise make up the sole concern of individuals in a society that follows materialism as a creed. The difference between the Islamic outlook and creedal materialism lies in the meaning and purpose that each of them attributes to those activities and issues of life. Islam subordinates all the material aspects of life to certain higher ideals and ends, and views them from the viewpoint of those ends. Behavioural materialism is a practical attitude to life in which that higher meaning and purpose is missing.

Behavioural materialism is, of course, a logical consequence in the case of those who subscribe to materialism as a world-view and creed. It is obvious that those who believe that the physical aspect is all that there is to life and that life has no meaning and purpose beyond corporeal existence, should single-mindedly pursue materialistic and mundane goals. It is logical that physical comforts and pleasures, social, economic and emotional security, physical well-being and welfare and the like

should be factors of sole importance in the lives of those who do not see man as a creature of the higher world, as a traveller bound on an eternal journey, a journey extending beyond death and into unseen worlds and realms.

Behavioural materialism is also not amazing in the case of the followers of polytheistic and idolatrous creeds. This is because idolatry brings divinity into the confines of the physical and the Absolute within the limits of the relative instead of guiding man out of the ephemeral and the relative and leading him towards the transcendental and the eternal. Polytheism not only negates the unity of the universe and divinity, but also the very notion of the unity of cosmic law by denying the unity of the lawgiver and the absolute sovereign, who is God. The unity of human destiny and salvation, so important in monotheistic creeds, is not only lost in a world ruled by a multitude of deities, they become almost meaningless. Divinity, instead of serving as an ideal for the infinite path of perfection lying before man, becomes a barrier to true spirituality in polytheistic creeds, for the deities themselves are debased into the service of mundane needs, goals and ambitions. Polytheism and idolatry debase religion by bringing the supernatural into the service of the mundane, for the true purpose of religion is to liberate man from the bondage of the mundane, to rescue him from the bonds of the corporeal and to guide him in his infinite ascent towards God, the source of all existence.

As we know, when with the mission of the Holy Prophet (S) Islam broke forth like a purifying stream into the life of Arabia, the Qur'anic Revelation not only attacked the polytheistic and idolatrous creed of the Arabs it launched an equally vehement attack against the behavioural materialism of the people, which had become a common way of life. In the early Makkan *sūrah*s the Qur'an draws a terrible and deeply unsettling picture of the end of the world — in which the heavens are cleft asunder, planets scatter after breaking away from their peaceful orbits, the sun becomes darkened and the stars fall, the sky becomes like molten copper, sepulchres are overturned, mountains are tossed like flakes of wool, the seas pour forth, the earth shakes terribly and throws out its burdens and relates her chronicles — in order to shake human beings out of their complacent involvement with the mundane and to wake them up to their real destiny and their responsibility vis-a-vis their Lord:

إِذَا السَّمَاءُ انشَقَّتْ ① وَأَذِنَتْ لِرَبِّهَا وَحُقَّتْ ② وَإِذَا الْأَرْضُ مُدَّتْ ③ وَأَلْقَتْ مَا فِيهَا وَتَخَلَّتْ ④ وَأَذِنَتْ  
لِرَبِّهَا وَحُقَّتْ ⑤ يَتَأْتِيهَا الْإِنْسَانُ إِنَّكَ كَادِحٌ إِلَى رَبِّكَ كَدًّا حَافِلًا قَبِيهًا ⑥

*When heaven is rent asunder and gives ear to its Lord, and is fitly disposed;*



when earth is stretched out and casts forth what is in it, and voids itself, and gives ear to its Lord, and is fitly disposed.

O Man! Thou art labouring unto thy Lord laboriously, and thou shalt encounter Him. (84: 1-6)

إِذَا السَّمَاءُ أَنْفَطَرَتْ ① وَإِذَا الْكَوَاكِبُ انْتَثَرَتْ ② وَإِذَا الْبِحَارُ فُجِرَتْ ③ وَإِذَا الْقُبُورُ بُعِثِرَتْ ④  
عَلِمَتْ نَفْسٌ مَّا قَدَّمَتْ وَأَخَّرَتْ ⑤ يَا أَيُّهَا الْإِنْسَانُ مَا غَرَّبَكَ بِرَبِّكَ الْكَبِيرِ ⑥ الَّذِي خَلَقَكَ فَسَوَّاكَ  
فَعَدَّلَكَ ⑦ فِي أَيِّ صُورَةٍ مَّا شَاءَ رَكَّبَكَ ⑧

When heaven is split open, when the stars are scattered, when the seas swarm over, when the tombs are overthrown, then a soul shall know its works, the former and the latter.

O Man! What has deceived thee as to thy generous Lord Who created thee and shaped thee and wrought thee in symmetry and composed thee after what form He would? (82: 1-8)

إِذَا الشَّمْسُ كُوِّرَتْ ① وَإِذَا النُّجُومُ انْكَدَرَتْ ② وَإِذَا الْجِبَالُ سُيِّرَتْ ③ وَإِذَا الْعِشَارُ عُطِّلَتْ ④  
وَإِذَا الْوُحُوشُ حُشِرَتْ ⑤ وَإِذَا الْبِحَارُ سُجِّرَتْ ⑥ وَإِذَا النُّفُوسُ زُوِّجَتْ ⑦ وَإِذَا الْمَوْءُودَةُ  
سُئِلَتْ ⑧ بِأَيِّ ذَنْبٍ قُتِلَتْ ⑨ وَإِذَا الصُّحُفُ نُشِرَتْ ⑩ وَإِذَا السَّمَاءُ كُشِطَتْ ⑪ وَإِذَا الْجَحِيمُ سُعِّرَتْ ⑫  
وَإِذَا الْجَنَّةُ أُزْلِفَتْ ⑬ عَلِمَتْ نَفْسٌ مَّا أَحْضَرَتْ ⑭

When the sun shall be darkened, when the stars shall be thrown down, when the mountains shall be set moving, when the pregnant camels shall be neglected, when the savage beasts shall be mustered, when the seas shall be set boiling, when the souls shall be coupled, when the buried infant shall be asked for what sin she was slain, when the scrolls be unrolled, when heaven shall be stripped off, when Hell shall be set blazing, when Paradise shall be brought nigh, then shall a soul know what it has produced. (81: 1-14)

إِذَا زُلْزِلَتِ الْأَرْضُ زِلْزَالَهَا ① وَأَخْرَجَتِ الْأَرْضُ أَثْقَالَهَا ② وَقَالَ الْإِنْسَانُ مَالَهَا ③  
يَوْمَئِذٍ تُحَدِّثُ أَخْبَارَهَا ④ بِأَنَّ رَبَّكَ أَوْحَى لَهَا ⑤ يَوْمَئِذٍ يَصُدُّرُ النَّاسُ أَشْتَاتًا لِيُرَوْا  
أَعْمَالَهُمْ ⑥ فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ ⑦ وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا  
يَرَهُ ⑧

When earth is shaken with a mighty shaking and brings forth her burdens, and man says, 'What ails her?' Upon that day she shall tell her tidings for what thy Lord has inspired her. Upon that day men shall issue in scatterings to see their works, and whoso has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoso has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it. (99: 1-8)

الْقَارِعَةُ ① مَّا الْقَارِعَةُ ② وَمَا أَدْرَبْتَكَ مَّا الْقَارِعَةُ ③ يَوْمَ يَكُونُ النَّاسُ كَالْفَرَاشِ

المبثوث ﴿٤﴾ وتكون الجبال كالعهن المنفوش ﴿٥﴾ فاما من ثقلت موازينه ﴿٦﴾ فهو في عيشة راضية ﴿٧﴾ واما من خفت موازينه ﴿٨﴾ فاما هكويه ﴿٩﴾ وما أدرك ما هيبة ﴿١٠﴾ نار حامية ﴿١١﴾

*The Clatterer! What is the Clatterer? And what shall teach thee what is the Clatterer? The day that men shall be like scattered moths, and the mountains shall be like plucked wool-tufts.*

*Then he whose deeds weigh heavy in the Balance shall inherit a pleasing life, but he whose deeds weigh light in the Balance shall plunge in the womb of the Pit. And what shall teach thee what is the Pit? A blazing fire! (101: 1-11)*

All such verses with their powerful rhetoric intend to draw men's attention to their conduct and deeds, their behaviour and life, and call upon them to review them with critical care. The Holy Qur'an condemns those who seek worldly life as an ultimate end in itself and not as a preparation for the Hereafter.

وما الحياة الدنيا الا لعب ولهو وللدار الآخرة خير للذين يتقون أفلا تعقلون ﴿٣٢﴾

*The present life is naught but a sport and a diversion; surely the Last Abode is better for those that are God-fearing. What, do you not understand? (6: 32)*

يعلمون ظهرا من الحياة الدنيا وهم عن الآخرة هم غفلون ﴿٧﴾

*They know an outward part of the present life, but of the Hereafter they are heedless. (30:7)*

... فممن الكاس من يقول ربنا اننا في الدنيا وما له في الآخرة من خلاق ﴿٢٠٠﴾

*Some men there are who say, 'Our Lord, give to us in this world'; such men shall have no part in the world to come (2:200)*

فأعرض عن من تولى عن ذكرنا ولم يرد إلا الحياة الدنيا ﴿٢٩﴾ ذلك مبلغهم من العلم إن ربك هو أعلم بمن ضل عن سبيله، وهو أعلم بمن اهتدى ﴿٣٠﴾

*So turn thou from him who turns away from Our remembrance, and desires only the present life. That is their attainment of knowledge. Surely thy Lord knows very well those who have gone astray from His way, and He knows very well those who are guided. (53: 29-30)*

The Divine teaching and the word of God produces fruitful results only in those whose hearts have not been deadened by worldly lusts, cares and pursuits. The Qur'an declares itself to be guidance only for the God-

fearing ( هُدًى لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ , 2:2) and as warning to those in whom the spark of spiritual life has not been extinguished ( لِيُنذِرَ مَن كَانَ حَيًّا , 36:70). Jesus (A), in one of his greatly instructive parables mentioned in the Gospel of Barnabas, depicts four classes of people in regard to their responsiveness to the word of God:

Behold, the sower went out to sow, whereupon as he sowed some of the seed fell upon the road, and this was trodden under foot of men and eaten up of birds; some fell upon the stones, whereupon when it sprang up, because it had no moisture, it was burnt up by the sun; some fell in the hedges, whereupon when it grew up the thorns choked the seed; and some fell on good ground, whereupon it bore fruit, even to thirty, sixty, and an hundredfold.

Jesus then explains this parable as follows:

The man who soweth seed upon the road, upon the stones, upon the thorns, upon the good ground, is he who teacheth the word of God, which falleth upon a great number of men.

It falleth upon the road when it cometh to the ears of sailors and merchants, who by reason of the long journeys which they make, and the variety of nations with whom they have dealings, have the word of God removed from their memory by Satan. It falleth upon the stones when it cometh to the ears of courtiers, for by reason of the great anxiety these have to serve the body of a prince the word of God doth not sink into them. Wherefore, albeit they have some memory thereof, as soon as they have any tribulation the word of God goeth out of their memory: for seeing they serve not God, they cannot hope for help from God.

It falleth among the thorns when it cometh to the ears of them that love their own life, whereupon, though the word of God grows upon them, when earned desires grows up they choke the good seed of the word of God, for carnal comforts cause (men) to forsake the word of God. That which falleth on good ground is when the word of God cometh to the ears of him who feareth God, whereupon it bringeth forth fruit in him. (pp. 166—169)

In this parable, greed, ambition and lust, which are different manifestations of worldliness, are stated to be hindrances to spiritual life and growth, for they lead man to forget his Creator and Lord and as a result make him negligent not only of his own conduct and behaviour but also his own soul:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَلْتَنْظُرْ نَفْسٌ مَّا قَدَّمَتْ لِغَدٍ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ ﴿١٨﴾ وَلَا تَكُونُوا كَالَّذِينَ نَسُوا اللَّهَ فَأَنْسَاهُمْ أَنفُسَهُمْ أُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ ﴿١٩﴾

*O believers, fear God. Let every soul consider what it has forwarded for the morrow. And fear God; God is aware of the things you do. Be not as those who forget God, and so He caused them to forget their souls (selves); those they are the ungodly (fāsiqūn). (59: 18—19)*

Behavioural materialism is a mode of life that results due to forgetting God, forgetting one's own responsibility before God and one's ultimate destination, which is the life of the Hereafter. The remembrance of God is the only medicine for the man who suffers from this fatal disease. Jesus (A) gives an excellent allegory for the man who constantly remembers God in all his mundane activities and pursuits. To a question of Barnabas, 'O master, how can we always have God in memory? Assuredly, it seemeth to us impossible,' he (A) replies, with a sigh:

This is the greatest misery that man can suffer, O Barnabas. For man cannot here upon earth have God his creator always in memory, saving them that are holy, for they always have God in memory, because they have in them the light of the grace of God, so they cannot forget God. But tell me, have you seen them that work quarried stones, how by their constant practice they have so learned to strike that they speak with others and all the time are striking the iron tool that worketh the stone without looking at the iron, and yet they do not strike their hands? Now do ye likewise. Desire to be holy if ye wish to overcome entirely this misery of forgetfulness. Surely it is that water cleaveth the hardest rocks with a single drop striking these for a long period.

Do ye know why ye have not overcome this misery? Because ye have not perceived that it is sin. I tell you then that it is an error, when a prince giveth thee a present, O man, that thou shouldst shut thine eyes and turn thy back upon him. Even so do they err who forget God, for at all times man receiveth from God gifts and mercy. (pp. 137-138)

The station of the holy to which Jesus (A) refers to here is not attained by any but the *awliyā'* and the *mukhliṣūn*, who have succeeded so much in purifying their hearts that the light of Divine grace shines continually in them. The attainment of such a state of purification, of course, requires sincere effort and austerities on one's part. But ultimately it is God's grace which makes such purification possible. These two points are evident from the following verses of the Noble Qur'an:

قَدْ أَفْلَحَ مَنْ زَكَّاهَا ﴿٩﴾ وَقَدْ خَابَ مَنْ دَسَّاهَا ﴿١٠﴾

Prosperous is he who purifies it, and failed has he who seduces it (i.e. the self or the soul). (91: 9-10)

... وَلَوْلَا فَضْلُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَتُهُ مَا زَكَا مِنْكُمْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ أَبَدًا وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يُزَكِّي مَن يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ ﴿٢١﴾

But for God's bounty to you and His mercy not one of you would have been pure ever; but God purifies whom He will and God is All-hearing, All-knowing. (24:21)

After delivering the above delightful discourse about the importance of always remembering God, Jesus (A) goes on to point out the way of attaining such a condition and the necessity of giving one's best time to prayer and religious instruction:

Verily, I say unto you, one cannot attain to such condition by human powers, but rather by the mercy of God our Lord. It is true indeed that man ought to desire the good in order that God may give it him. Tell me, when ye are at table do ye take those meats which ye would not so much as look at? No, assuredly. Even so I say unto you that ye shall not receive that which ye will not desire. God is able, if ye desire holiness, to make you holy in less time than the twinkling of an eye, but in order that man may be sensible of the gift and the giver our Lord willeth that we should wait and ask.

Have ye seen them that practice shooting at a mark? Assuredly they shoot many times in vain. Howbeit, they never wish to shoot in vain, but are always in hope to hit the mark. Now do ye this, ye who ever desire to have God in remembrance, and when ye forget, mourn, for God shall give you grace to attain all that I have said.

Fasting and spiritual watching are so united one with the other that if one breaks the watch, straightway the fast is broken. For in sinning man breaketh the fast of the soul, and forgetteth God. So it is that watching and fasting as regardeth the soul are always necessary for us and for all men. For to none is it lawful to sin....

But beware that Satan will use all his strength [to bring it to pass] that ye [shall] watch during the night, and afterward be sleeping when by commandment of God ye ought to be praying and listening to the word of God.

Tell me, would it please you if a friend of yours should eat the meat and give you the bones?

Peter answered, 'No master, for such an one ought not to be called friend, but a mocker.'

Jesus answered with a sigh: 'Thou hast well said the truth, O Peter, for verily one that watchath with the body more than is necessary, sleeping, or having his head weighed down with slumber when he should be praying or listening to the words of God, such a wretch mocketh God his creator, and so is guilty of such a sin. Moreover, he is a robber, seeing that he stealeth the time that he ought to give to God, and spendeth it when, and as much as, pleaseth him.

In a vessel of the best wine a man gave his enemies to drink so long as the wine was at its best, but when the wine came down to the dregs he gave it to his lord to drink. What, think ye, will the master do to his servant when he shall know all, and the servant be before him? Assuredly, he will beat him and slay him in righteous indignation according to the laws of the world. And now what shall God do to the man that spendeth the best of his time in business and the worst in prayer and study of the law? Woe to the world, because with this and with greater sin is its heart weighted down. (pp. 139-140)

*Ikhlās* or sincerity in the worship of God represents the pinnacle of all prophetic teachings. The *mukhlisūn* (the sincere) are those who have attained immunity from satanic insinuations and delusions arising from the carnal self:

قَالَ فَبِعِزَّتِكَ لَا أُغْوِيَنَّهُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ ﴿٨٢﴾ إِلَّا عِبَادَكَ مِنْهُمُ الْمُخْلِصِينَ ﴿٨٣﴾

Said he (Satan), 'By Thy honour, I shall pervert them all together excepting those Thy servants among them that are sincere (mukhlisūn). (38: 82—83)

Al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) says about *ikhhlāṣ*:

مَا أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَى عَبْدٍ أَجَلَ مِنْ أَنْ لَا يَكُونَ فِي قَلْبِهِ مَعَ اللَّهِ غَيْرُهُ.

God has not bestowed a greater favour upon a servant than making him such that there is no one in his heart except God.

Al-'Imām al-Bāqir (A) said:

لَا يَكُونُ الْعَبْدُ عَابِدًا لِلَّهِ حَقَّ عِبَادَتِهِ حَتَّى يَنْقَطِعَ عَنِ الْخَلْقِ كُلِّهِمْ إِلَيْهِ فَحَيْثُ يَقُولُ: هَذَا خَالِصٌ لِي، فَيَقْبَلُهُ بِكَرَمِهِ.

The devotee does not worship God as He is worthy of being worshiped until he turns to Him by severing (his hopes) from all the creatures. Then He says: 'That (servant) is sincerely mine.' Then He accepts him out of His grace.

Al-'Imām al-Jawād (A) says of *ikhhlāṣ*:

أَفْضَلُ الْعِبَادَةِ الْإِخْلَاصُ.

Sincerity is the best worship.

When we examine the heritage of the world's great religious traditions, such as those of Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism, and also observe the present conditions of their followers, we see a general state of decline in the quality of life among the followers that may perhaps be said to be roughly proportionate to their age. The distance between the spirit of the Qur'ān and that of the common Muslim, the distance between the teaching of the Upanishads and the life of the common Hindu, the distance between the spirit of the Gospel and the life of the common Christian of the modern times— these distances may not be equal in all the cases, but they are greater today perhaps than they have ever been in each case.

The life of worship, the culture of devotion and *ikhhlāṣ*, the ceaseless, persistent craving for the One Lord, which are so evident in the heritage of the great religious traditions, in their scriptures, in their hymns, prayers, supplications and songs, in their rituals and rites, have been eroded and obliterated by the satanic malice of the times, and no factor has been more effective in this regard than the satanic barbarism

that emanates from the West and goes by the name of 'Western culture.'

The general cultural, intellectual and spiritual environment today in most parts of the world is not only not conducive to the development of spiritual consciousness, it is even destructive in this respect. The general environment even in the Muslim countries becomes day by day more polluted due to Western cultural influences and the advancements in mass communication media and electronics. Islam, of course, has always stood for *jihād* for the protection and purification of social environment and against the forces of its pollution and destruction. The pagan powers, on the contrary, have throughout strived to pollute this environment by the means of their cultural armaments: books, periodicals, press, electronic media, film, music, bars, clubs, fashions, fads, etc. Hence it is the responsibility of all aware people, especially Muslims, in whatever part of the world they may live, not only to strive for personal spiritual purification but to struggle consciously to keep, to the extent they can, the environment of their homes, schools, offices, workplaces, etc. free from all manifestations of un-Islamic anti-spiritual and inhuman values.

We believe that the world stands at the threshold of a great spiritual renewal. The Islamic Revolution in Iran was itself a sign that this glorious process has already begun. The satanic book of Rushdie, the silly ballyhoo over *hijāb* in France, the efforts of Hindu bigots to invigorate a polytheistic and idolatrous ethos (instead of resurrecting true spirituality), and similar developments in other places — all these indicate the great threat felt by anti-human, anti-God forces, forces opposed to genuine spirituality and true spiritual awakening of humanity world-wide, which would serve as the foundation of a new socio-political world order.

*Tehran.*

*15 Rabī' al-Thānī, 1410*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الَّذِينَ يَلْفُوفُونَ رِسَالَتِ اللَّهِ وَيَخْشَوْنَهُ وَلَا يَخْشَوْنَ أَحَدًا إِلَّا اللَّهَ وَكَفَى بِاللَّهِ حَسِيبًا ﴿٣٩﴾

*In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate*

*Those who deliver the messages of God and fear Him, and do not fear anyone but God; and God is sufficient to take account. (33:39)*

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# Zawāhir al-Qur'ān: The Authority of the Book's Literal Meanings

by *Ayatullāh al-'Uzmā al-Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'i*

Translated from the Arabic by *Mujāhid Husayn*

**T**here is no doubt that the Prophet (S) did not innovate any special method for conveying his message; he spoke to the people by applying the modes of expression to which they were habituated. He brought the Qur'ān to them that they may understand it, contemplate over its verses, follow its commands and refrain from what it prohibits. This message often recurs in the verses of the Qur'ān:

أَفَلَا يَتَدَبَّرُونَ الْقُرْآنَ أَمْ عَلَى قُلُوبٍ أَقْفَالُهَا ﴿٢٤﴾

What, do they not contemplate over the Qur'ān? Or is it that there are locks upon their hearts? (47:24)

وَلَقَدْ ضَرَبْنَا لِلنَّاسِ فِي هَذَا الْقُرْآنِ مِنْ كُلِّ مَثَلٍ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿٢٧﴾

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\*The author is one of the *marāji'* (legal authorities) of the Shī'i world and one of the most eminent figures in the world of contemporary Islamic scholarship. The translation given here is that of two chapters from his work on Qur'ānic exegesis, *al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*: "ḥujjiyyat zawāhir al-Qur'ān," (the authority of the Qur'ānic *zawāhir*), and "uṣūl al-tafsīr" (the principles of exegesis).

Two terms need to be understood in regard to the Qur'ānic meanings: *nuṣūṣ* (sing. *nass*) and *zawāhir* (sing. *zāhir*). By *nuṣūṣ* is meant those Qur'ānic texts which are absolutely clear, being of a single meaning, about which there is no ambiguity whatsoever. The term *zawāhir* refers to those meanings which are the most obvious, although the text may have another, less probable, meaning besides its apparent sense. Although '*zawāhir*' has been translated here as 'literal meanings' — which applies to *nuṣūṣ* as well — the difference between *nuṣūṣ* and *zawāhir* should be noted.

Indeed we have struck for the people in this Qur'an every manner of similitude; haply they will remember. (39:27)

وَإِنَّهُ لَنَزِيلُ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ﴿١١٢﴾ نَزَلَ بِهِ الرُّوحُ الْأَمِينُ ﴿١١٣﴾ عَلَى قَلْبِكَ لِتَكُونَ مِنَ الْمُنذِرِينَ ﴿١١٤﴾ بِلسَانٍ عَرَبِيٍّ مُبِينٍ ﴿١١٥﴾

Truly it is the revelation of the Lord of all Being, brought down by the Trustworthy Spirit upon thy heart in a clear Arabic language, that thou mayest be one of the warners. (26:192-195)

هَذَا بَيَانٌ لِلنَّاسِ وَهُدًى وَمَوْعِظَةٌ لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿١٣٨﴾

This is an exposition for mankind, and a guidance and admonition for the God-fearing. (3:138)

فَإِنَّمَا يَسْتُرْنَا بِلسَانِكَ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿٥٨﴾

Thus have We made it easy on your tongue, that haply they may remember. (44:58)

وَلَقَدْ يَسَّرْنَا الْقُرْآنَ لِلذِّكْرِ فَهَلْ مِنْ مُدَكِّرٍ ﴿١٧﴾

And We have made the Qur'an easy for remembrance: Is there any one that will remember? (54:17)

أَفَلَا يَتَدَبَّرُونَ الْقُرْآنَ وَلَوْ كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا ﴿٨٢﴾

And what, do they not contemplate over the Qur'an? And had it been from someone other than God, they would have found in it much inconsistency. (4:82)

Apart from these verses, there are other verses as well which prove the obligatoriness (*wujūb*) of acting in accordance with the contents of the Qur'an and the necessity of accepting the literal meanings of its verses.

Following arguments prove the authoritativeness (*hujjiyyah*) of the literal meanings of the Qur'an as comprehended by the Arabs.

1. The Qur'an's revelation as a proof of prophethood and the Prophet's (S) challenge to all mankind to bring a single *sūrah* of its kind, both imply that the Arabs used to understand the literal meaning of the Qur'an. Had the Qur'an spoken in riddles, it wouldn't have been correct to challenge them regarding it, nor its miraculous character would have been proved to them, because they could not have understood it. It would have also contradicted the purpose for which the Qur'an was

revealed and its invitation to mankind to believe in it.

2. There are ample traditions commanding adherence to 'the two Weighty Things' (*al-Thaqalayn*, which are the Qur'an and the Ahl al-Bayt) that the Prophet (S) left behind for the Muslims. Here, evidently, the meaning of adhering to the Qur'an is to grasp its message and to act in accordance with it, and there is no other meaning apart from this.

3. There are *mutawātir* traditions (i.e. traditions narrated by so many different chains of transmission as to establish their authenticity beyond doubt) which order that traditions be checked against the Qur'an; those which contradict it should be rejected as invalid or false, as those whose acceptance is prohibited, because they are not the words of (the Prophet [S] or) the Imams (A). These traditions categorically prove the canonical authority of the literal meanings of the Qur'an, i.e. the meanings as understood by the ordinary speakers of the language familiar with the literary (*faṣīḥ*) Arabic language. To this category also belong those traditions which order the correlation of contractual conditions with the Qur'an and rejection of those opposing it.

4. The arguments of the Imams (A) regarding some rules of the Shari'ah, as well as other things, in which they have argued by applying the verses of the Qur'an. Following are some examples.

a. There is the exposition of al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) when Zurārah questioned him, "How do you understand that *mash* (the ritual wiping, of the head or the feet during *wuḍū*) of (only) a part of the head is required?" The Imam (A) replied, "From the *bā*," in the verse: *وَأَمْسَحُوا بِرُءُوسِكُمْ*

b. Another example, is his prohibiting Hishām al-Dawānīqī from accepting a slanderer's report, because such a person is a *fāsiq* (evildoer), and the Qur'an says:

... يَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا إِن جَاءَكَ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَأٍ فَتَبَيَّنْهُ ...

*If an ungodly (fāsiq) person comes to you with a tidings, verify it... (49:6)*

c. Among the arguments is his (A) warning a person who had prolonged his stay in the toilet to listen to prohibited music, on the excuse that he had not intentionally come for listening to it, by observing, "Have you not heard the words of God Almighty,

... إِنَّ السَّمْعَ وَالْبَصَرَ وَالْفُؤَادَ كُلُّ أُولَئِكَ كَانَ عَنْهُ مَسْئُولًا ﴿٣٦﴾

*Surely the hearing and sight and the heart will all be questioned?" (17:36)*

d. Another instance is the Imam's telling his (A) son, Isma'il, "When believers give evidence before you, endorse its verity," quoting

Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Mūsawī al-Khū'i

as a proof the verse:

... يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَيُؤْمِنُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ...

*He (the Prophet [S]) believes in God and believes the believers. (9:61)*

e. Concerning the validity of a slave being a *muḥallil* for a woman divorced thrice, he (A) observes: "He is considered (fit to be) a husband, and God Almighty says in the Qur'an:

... حَتَّىٰ تَنْكِحَ زَوْجًا غَيْرَهُ ...

*... Unless she marries another husband...." (2:230)*

f. Another such argument is where the Imam (A) observes that a triple divorcée will not become *ḥalāl* again (for the husband who divorces her) through a temporary marriage (*mut'ah*), because God Almighty says:

... فَإِنْ طَلَّقَهَا فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِمَا أَنْ يَتَرَاجَعَا ...

*Thus if he divorces her, there is no blame on the two if they reunite. (2:230)*

And there is no divorce in *mut'ah*.

g. Similarly, concerning a person who had tripped and lost a nail and then bandaged the toe, he (A) said: "A person's duty in this and other similar instances is known from the Qur'an, which declares:

... وَمَا جَعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ مِنْ حَرَجٍ ...

*God has not ordained any hardship for you in the religion." (22:78)*

Then he (A) said: "Perform the *mash* over it" (the bandage).

h. The Imam (A) brings proof regarding the permissibility of marriage with a certain woman by quoting this verse from the Qur'an:

وَأَحِلَّ لَكُمْ مَا وَرَاءَ ذَلِكَ

*And other than those mentioned (as prohibited) have been made ḥalāl for you. (4:24)*

i. Of such arguments is the one of the Imam (A) concerning the invalidity of a slave's marriage, because the Qur'an says:

... عَبْدًا مَمْلُوكًا لَا يَقْدِرُ عَلَى شَيْءٍ ...

*An owned slave having no authority over anything....(16:75)*

j. The Imam (A) cites the following verse from the Qur'ān as a proof of the permissibility of (eating the flesh of) certain species of animals:

... قُلْ لَا أَجِدُ فِي مَا أُوحِيَ إِلَيَّ مُحَرَّمًا عَلَى طَاعِمٍ يَطْعَمُهُ ...

*Say: 'I do not find in that which has been revealed to me anything forbidden for an eater to eat....' (6:145)*

There are many other similar arguments of the Imams (A) that are based on Qur'ānic verses, and these are scattered through the different chapters of fiqh and other subjects.

#### Arguments against the authority of the Zawāhir

A group of traditionists have rejected the authority of the literal meanings of the Qur'ān, refusing to act on them for following reasons.

##### 1. The understanding of the Qur'ān is limited to a selected few:

They argue that the ability to understand the Qur'ān is limited to those who have been addressed by it. The protagonists of this view rely as their proof on a number of traditions concerning this issue, such as the *mursal* tradition of Shu'āyb ibn Anas narrated from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A), reporting that the Imam (A) said to Abū Ḥanīfah:

أَنْتَ فَقِيهُ أَهْلِ الْعِرَاقِ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ. قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: فَبِأَيِّ شَيْءٍ تُفْتِيهِمْ؟ قَالَ: بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ. قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: يَا أَبَا حَنِيفَةَ تَعْرِفُ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ حَقَّ مَعْرِفَتِهِ، وَتَعْرِفُ التَّاسِيخَ مِنَ الْمَنْسُوحِ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ. قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: يَا أَبَا حَنِيفَةَ لَقَدْ ادَّعَيْتَ عِلْمًا - وَبِلَكَ - مَا جَعَلَ اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا عِنْدَ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ الَّذِينَ أَنْزَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَتِلْكَ مَا هُوَ إِلَّا عِنْدَ الْخَاصِّ مِنْ ذُرِّيَةِ نَبِيِّنَا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: وَمَا وَرَّثَكَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مِنْ كِتَابِهِ حَرْفًا.

"Are you the faqih of the people of Iraq?" He replied: "Yes, I am." The Imam (A) said: "On what basis do you pronounce your *fatwā* for them?" He replied: "On the basis of the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Prophet." The Imam said: "O Abū Ḥanīfah, do you comprehend the Qur'ān the way it should be comprehended, and do you recognize the *nāsikh* and the *mansūkh*?" He replied, "Yes." The Imam (A) said. "O Abū Ḥanīfah, you certainly profess having knowledge! Woe to you! God has not kept this knowledge except with

the people of the Book and they on whom it has been sent down (i.e. the Ahl al-Bayt). Woe to you! This knowledge is with none except the chosen of our Prophet's (S) progeny, and God has not bequeathed a word to you from His Book."

The following tradition is narrated by Zayd al-Shahhām in this relation:

وفي رواية زيد الشحام ، قال :  
 دَخَلَ قَتَادَةَ عَلَى أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ : أَنْتَ فَقيهُ أَهْلِ البَصْرَةِ ؟ فَقَالَ : هَكَذَا يَزْعَمُونَ .  
 فَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بَلَّغْنِي أَنَّكَ تُفَسِّرُ الْقُرْآنَ . قَالَ : نَعَمْ . إِلَى أَنْ قَالَ يَا قَتَادَةَ إِنْ كُنْتَ قَدْ فَسَّرْتَ  
 الْقُرْآنَ مِنْ تِلْقَاءِ نَفْسِكَ فَقَدْ هَلَكْتَ وَأَهْلَكْتَ ، وَإِنْ كُنْتَ قَدْ فَسَّرْتَهُ مِنْ الرِّجَالِ فَقَدْ هَلَكْتَ  
 وَأَهْلَكْتَ ، يَا قَتَادَةَ - وَنَحَكَ - إِنَّمَا يَعْرِفُ الْقُرْآنَ مَنْ خُوِطِبَ بِهِ .

Qatādah visited Abū Ja'far (A) and the Imam (A) asked him: "Are you the faqīh of the people of Baṣrah?" He replied: "This is what they think." The Imam (A) then said: "I have come to know that you expound (*tufassiru*) the Qur'an." He replied: "Yes, I do." (The tradition continues until where) the Imam (A) said: "O Qatādah, if you have expounded the Qur'an in accordance with your own views, then you have certainly perished and have also caused others to perish, and if you have expounded it in accordance with the views of others, then you have perished and have caused others to perish. Woe to you! No one knows the Qur'an except those who have been addressed by it."

Answer: The meaning of these and similar traditions is that the comprehension of the Qur'an mentioned in them implies comprehending it completely, knowing both its literal and hidden meanings, along with its *nāsikh* and *mansūkh*, and this is limited to those who have been addressed by it. The first tradition explicitly conveys this meaning. Thus the question asked in this tradition was about the full comprehension of the Qur'an and about differentiating between the *nāsikh* and the *mansūkh*. The Imam's (A) censure of Abū Ḥanifah was due to his claim of possessing that knowledge. As to the second tradition, it contains the word '*tafsīr*' which means 'unveiling' (*kashf al-qinā'*), and therefore it does not include the acceptance of literal meanings, because they are not concealed so as to require unveiling. This is also borne out by the explicit traditions mentioned earlier that understanding of the Qur'an is not limited to the Infallible Imams (A). Moreover the Imam's statement in the *mursal* tradition (of Shu'ayb ibn Anas) in which he says *وَمَا وَرَّثَكَ اللَّهُ* (God Almighty has not bequeathed to you a word from His Book), also proves the same, for it means that God has chosen the Awsiyā' (A) of His prophet (S) for inheriting the Qur'an, and this is the meaning of the verse.

... ثُمَّ أَوْرَثْنَا الْكِتَابَ الَّذِينَ اصْطَفَيْنَا مِنْ عِبَادِنَا ...

Then We bequeathed the Book on those of Our servants We chose....(35.32)

Therefore, the knowledge of the Qur'ān's reality is exclusively with the Imams (A) and others do not have a share in it. This is the meaning of the *mursal* tradition (of Shu'ayb ibn Anas); otherwise, would it be reasonable to think that Abū Ḥanīfah did not comprehend anything of the Qur'ān including *فَلَنْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ* and other similar other verses which are explicit in their meaning? There is really a very large number of traditions which prove that such complete knowledge is particular to the Imams (A), and some of them have been mentioned earlier.

## 2. The prohibition of *tafsīr bi al-ra'y*:

It is argued that the acceptance of the Qur'ān's meanings is tantamount to *tafsīr bi al-ra'y* (interpreting the Qur'ān according to subjective opinion), and there are *mutawātir* traditions, narrated both by Sunnis and Shī'ah, which forbid such a practice.

Answer: As said, '*tafsīr*' implies unveiling, and this does not include the taking of literal meanings of the verses, because such a meaning is not something hidden that has to be uncovered. Moreover, even if we should consider this as *tafsīr*, it is not *tafsīr bi al-ra'y* for it to come in the purview of the *mutawātir* traditions forbidding it. On the contrary, it is a *tafsīr* in accordance with the common usage of words. Therefore, one who, for example, translates a sermon of *Nahj al-balāghah* in accordance with the ordinarily understood meanings of its words and by using the indications available in the sermon and outside it, his doing so will not be considered *tafsīr bi al-ra'y*, and al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) points this out when he says: "People have solely perished on account of the *mutashābih*, because they could not comprehend its meaning and reality, interpreting its meaning in accordance with their views and seeking thereby to relieve themselves of the need to ask the Awṣiyā', who could have informed them." It is probable that the meaning of *tafsīr bi al-ra'y* is independence from referring to the Imams (A) in giving *fatwā*, although they are companions to the Qur'ān in regard to the obligation of adherence to the two and as the ultimate authority.

Therefore, if a person acts in accordance with the general statements (*al-'umūm*) of the Qur'ān without accepting the views of the Imams (A) in determining and limiting (*taqyīd* and *takhṣīṣ*) the jurisdiction of these statements, it will be considered as *tafsīr bi al-ra'y*. On the whole, the adoption of literal meanings after a due search for internal and external indications (*qarā'in*) present in the Qur'ān and the traditions, or for a rational proof, can not only be not considered *tafsīr bi al-ra'y*, it cannot be considered '*tafsīr*' as such. As mentioned earlier, the aforementioned traditions indicate that the Qur'ān should be referred

to and acted upon, and it is evident that such reference implies the acceptance of its literal meanings. Accordingly, when the relevant traditions are reconciled, *tafsīr bi al-ra'y* ought to be understood as implying something other than acting in accordance with the literal meanings.

### 3. *The mystery of the meanings of the Qur'ān:*

It is said that the Qur'ān contains sublime and mysterious meanings and this quality of it is a hurdle in comprehending its meanings and fully grasping its import. To be certain, there are some books of the ancients whose meanings cannot be comprehended except by knowledgeable experts; accordingly, how could the Qur'ān, which contains all the knowledge regarding both the past and the future, be understood? Answer: It is true that the Qur'ān certainly contains the knowledge of the past and the future, and comprehending it from the Qur'ān is doubtlessly restricted to the Ahl al-Bayt (A). However, this does not contravene the fact that the Qur'ān has literal meanings understandable by anyone acquainted with the Arabic language and its rules, which one may act upon once they become clear after due research for supporting indications.

### 4. *The knowledge that the literal meaning is not intended:*

It may be said that we know in a *mujmal* way (i.e. without knowing all the specific details) that there exist restrictive proofs (*mukhaṣṣiṣāt* and *muqayyidāt*) which limit the application of the general statements (*'umūmāt* and *iṭlāqāt*) of the Qur'ān. This means that some of its literal meanings are certainly not what are intended, for such general statements have been restricted in their jurisdiction. However, those literal meanings which are not intended are not specifically known so as to enable us to confine us to those particular instances. As a result of this, all the literal meanings of the Qur'ān and all its general statements become indistinct (*mujmal*) incidentally, though they are not in fact such essentially. Consequently, it is not valid to act according to them, as a measure of caution against acting in violation of the real (commands of God).

Answer: This *mujmal* knowledge (that there are some general statements whose literal meaning is not the intended one) can act as a hindrance to accepting all the literal meanings when one resolves to act in accordance with them without a due investigation regarding their real import. But after the *mukallaf* (a person responsible for his religious duties) investigates and discovers such instances to the extent of gaining a *mujmal* knowledge of their presence in the Qur'ān, the hindrance posed by the



prior *mujmal* knowledge is removed, and it fails to have any effect. Thereupon, there remains no hindrance to acting upon the literal meanings. The same thing is true of the Sunnah, where we also know that there are proofs which limit the jurisdiction of its general statements. Hence, had the *mujmal* knowledge (regarding the *zawāhir* of the Qur'an) been a hindrance in the way of accepting its literal meanings even after such knowledge is rendered ineffective, it would also be a hindrance in accepting the literal meanings of traditions. Not only that, it would stop us from applying the Rule of *Barā'ah* (the presumption of absence of duty) in situations where doubts concerning the presence of a duty (*al-shubuhāt al-ḥukmiyyah*) arise in the obligatoriness (*wujūb*) or impermissibility (*ḥurmah*) of something. This because every *mukallaf* knows in a *mujmal* way the presence of compulsory duties in the Shari'ah, and this *mujmal* knowledge (in accordance with the reasoning of the opponents of *zawāhir*) could result in applying caution (*iḥtiyāt*) in all doubtful cases of duties pertaining to obligations and prohibitions. However, we know for certain that caution is not *wājib* in them. It is true that a large group of traditionists have considered caution *wājib* in cases of doubts concerning the presence of prohibition (*al-shubuhāt al-taḥrīmiyyah*) because they imagined that the traditions ordering restraint and caution prove restraint and caution in cases of *al-shubuhāt al-taḥrīmiyyah*. But this opinion of theirs is not based on the *mujmal* knowledge regarding the presence of compulsory duties in the Shari'ah, because if it were so they would have considered caution obligatory in case of doubt regarding the obligatoriness of something (*al-shubuhāt al-wujūbiyyah*) as well. However, as far as we know, no one has considered caution compulsory in such cases. The sole secret of caution not being *wājib* in these and other similar instances is that *mujmal* knowledge is at times 'dissolved' as a result of success in acquiring the knowledge (of specifics), and the dissolution of the *mujmal* knowledge renders it ineffective. For a further explanation, the reader should refer to our book *Ajwad al-taqrīrāt*.

##### 5. The prohibition of following the *mutashābihāt*:

The opponents of acting on the *zawāhir* point out that the Qur'anic verses forbid the following of the *mutashābihāt*. God Almighty says:

... مِنْهُ آيَاتٌ مُّحْكَمَاتٌ هُنَّ أُمُّ الْكِتَابِ وَأُخْرُ مُتَشَابِهَاتٌ فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ زَيْغٌ فَيَتَّبِعُونَ مَا

تَشَابَهَ مِنْهُ...

In it are *muhkam* (clear) verses which are the foundation of the Book, and other verses which are *mutashābih*. As for those in whose hearts is deviation,

they follow its *mutashābih* (ambiguous) verses....(3:7)

The term *mutashābih* also includes literal meanings or, at least, the possibility of its including literal meanings makes them incapable of being accepted as authority.

Answer: The word *mutashābih* has a perspicuous meaning, and there is no ambiguity or vagueness in it. It means a word having two or more meanings that stand in the same degree of nearness in relation to that word. Thus when such a word is used in a verse, the possibility arises that any one of these meanings may be actually intended. For this reason, it is *wājib* to observe restraint in giving a judgement in favour of any of the meanings unless there is an indication to specify it. Accordingly, a word having a single literal meaning is not considered *mutashābih*.

If we condescend to accept that the word *mutashābih* is itself ambiguous, and that there exists a possibility of its including literal meanings, our doing so does not prevent us from acting in accordance with the literal meanings. This is after the practice of rational persons (*sīrat al-'uqalā'*) which sanctions the acceptance of the literal meaning of a speech or writing. Therefore, a sole possibility is incapable of preventing this practice from being acted upon, for it requires a categorical proof in order to do so. Otherwise, this practice will undoubtedly be followed. For this reason, a master is able to prove his servant's fault if the latter acts against the literal meanings of the former's speech, and it is valid for the master to punish him for the violation. Similarly, the servant may justify himself vis-a-vis his master if he has acted in accordance with the literal meaning of his master's words where it is opposed to his real intent. On the whole, this practice is followed in accepting the literal meanings, unless there exists a categorical proof against it.

#### 6. The occurrence of *tahrīf* in the Qur'ān:

The occurrence of *tahrīf* (textual corruption, or loss) in the Qur'ān prevents us from accepting the literal meanings because a possibility of there being, alongside the literal meanings, helping indications determining their real intent exists, and these indications might have been lost due to *tahrīf*.

Answer: We reject the claim of occurrence of *tahrīf* in the Qur'ān, and have earlier presented our argument concerning it.<sup>1</sup> There we said that the traditions commanding us to refer to the Qur'ān are by themselves a proof negating *tahrīf*. Even if we condescend to presume the occurrence of *tahrīf*, we are obliged by these traditions to act in accordance with the Qur'ān — even after the presumption of occurrence of *tahrīf*. The conclusion that follows from this discussion is that it is necessary

to act on the literal meanings of the Qur'ān; that the Qur'ān is the basis of the Shari'ah; and that the narrated Sunnah will not be acted upon when it opposes the Qur'ān.

### The Methodology of Tafsīr:

'Tafsīr' means the elucidation of the intent of God Almighty in the Holy Qur'ān. Therefore, it is neither permissible in this regard to rely on conjectures (*ẓunūn*) or on one's preferences (*istiḥsān*), nor on anything whose validity has not been established by reason or the Shari'ah. This is because following conjectures and attributing anything to God without His permission is forbidden. God Almighty says:

... قُلْ أَلَمْ يَأْتِكُمْ لَكُمْ أَمْرٌ عَلَى اللَّهِ تَفْتَرُونَ ﴿٥٩﴾

Say: 'Has God permitted you, or do you forge a lie against God?' (10:59)

وَلَا تَقْفُ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ ...

And follow not that of which you have no knowledge. (17:36)

There are other such verses and traditions that forbid acting without knowledge, and there are a sufficiently large (*mustafīḍah*) number of traditions from both Sunnī and Shī'ah sources forbidding *tafsīr bi al-ra'y*.

This makes it clear that it is not valid to follow the tafsīr of any exegete, irrespective of his being rightful in his creed or otherwise, because it amounts to following conjecture, and conjecture is not a substitute for knowledge.

### The Sources of Tafsīr:

It is necessary for an exegete to: follow the literal meanings as understood by a linguistically competent Arab (and we have already explained that literal meanings are authoritative), or follow the dictates of sound reason, for reason is an inward authority in the same way as the Prophet (S) is an outward authority (*ḥujjah*), or follow the traditions established to have been narrated from the Mu'şūmūn (the Prophet [S], Fāṭimah [A], and the Imams [A]), because they are the authorities to be referred to in the religion (*al-marāji' fī al-Dīn*). The Prophet (S) declared the duty of making recourse to them when he said.

إِنِّي تَارِكٌ فِيكُمْ الثَّقَلَيْنِ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَعِترَتِي أَهْلِ بَيْتِي ، مَا إِنْ تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا  
بَعْدِي أَبَدًا .

Verily, I am leaving behind two weighty things amongst you: the Book of God and my Family, my Ahl al-Bayt. If you hold on to them, you will never go astray after me.<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that the statements of the Imams (A) are established when narrated through a definite chain of transmission free from doubt. Similarly, there is no doubt that they are not proved when narrated by a weak (*ḍa'īf*) chain which does not possess the requirements of credibility. Are their (A) statements proven through a chain creating presumption (*ṭarīq ḡannī*) when supported by a definite proof (*dalīl qaṭ'ī*)? The scholars differ in this regard.

A doubt is raised here concerning the authority of *khābar al-wāḥid* (a tradition which is not *mutawātir*) narrated by trustworthy narrators from the Ma'sūmūn (A) regarding the tafsīr of the Qur'ān. The reason offered is that the implication of the authority of *khābar al-wāḥid*, or some other proof (*dalīl*) leading to presumption (*ḡann*), is that it is obligatory to follow it in a case when one is ignorant about the actual law as if the law were known for certain. Such an approach is applicable nowhere except in regard to a ḥadīth concerning a law of the Shari'ah or a subject relating to such a law. This condition is at times not present in a *khābar al-wāḥid* narrated from the Ma'sūmūn (A) in regard to tafsīr (for such traditions may relate to subjects having no relation whatsoever with the laws of the Shari'ah, such as doctrines, historical events, etc.).

This objection is contrary to fact. It has been explained in discussions on uṣūl al-fiqh that the meaning of the authority (*ḥujjiyyah*) of the proofs that bring only presumption (and not certainty) about the actual fact, is that such presumptive proofs have been made binding substitutes for definite proofs by the Lawgiver (this is called certainty through *ta'abbud*, i.e. in observance of Divine sanction). Thus, a channel whose credibility is approved by the Lawgiver's sanction is as good as a source resulting in certainty, despite the fact that it lacks the intrinsic capacity to produce certainty. Hence all the effects of certain knowledge will follow from this channel, and it will be as correct to report (regarding non-legal matters) on its authority as it is correct to do so on the basis of actual knowledge; it will not be considered a statement without knowledge.

We are led to this conclusion by the practice prevalent among all reasonable persons (*'uqalā'*). Such persons consider a channel of approved credibility similar to actual knowledge, without making any difference between the effects of the rule. For instance, the possession of a thing by someone is regarded as a proof of his ownership by the people, despite the fact that it can give rise only to presumption that the possessor is its owner, and they allow on its basis all the effects of ownership, and report — without deserving any blame — that he is the

owner of that thing. And this common practice has not been disapproved by the Lawgiver.

Of course, it is true that a trustworthy tradition — or any other credible channel — should possess all the conditions of credibility. Among such conditions is that the tradition should not be of known falsity, because something known to be false cannot reasonably possess the marks of credibility or enjoy the Lawgiver's sanction. Therefore, those traditions which are contrary to consensus or definite Sunnah, or the Qur'ān, or the dictates of sound reason, will certainly not be considered credible, although they may possess other requirements of credibility. There is also no difference here between traditions relating to a rule of the Shari'ah and those relating to non-legal subjects.

The basis of this argument against the credibility of *khobar al-wāḥid* is that however trustworthy a narrator may be, the tradition narrated by him is not secure from being contrary to the truth, because there is at least a possibility of his having made a mistake, especially where there are a large number of links in the chain of transmission. Hence, it is necessary to have some grounds establishing credibility that remove such a possibility, making it as if non-existent. However, in the case of certainty about the falsity of a tradition, which is known to be contrary to the truth, such a certainty cannot be evaded on the basis of the Lawgiver's sanction (*ta'abbud*), for the intrinsic quality of certainty is to reveal the truth and its validity is established as necessary by reason.

Therefore it is necessary to limit the grounds of the credibility of *khobar al-wāḥid* to those traditions which are not known to be false or contrary to the truth. The same rule applies to other reliable channels of information. This issue has a bearing upon many other issues of the kind, and on it are based replies to many doubts and criticisms. The reader should understand it well.

#### Limiting the Jurisdiction of the Qur'ān by *Khobar al-Wāḥid*:

When the credibility of *khobar al-wāḥid* has been established by a definite proof (*dalīl qaṭ'ī*), is it possible to limit the jurisdiction of the general statements of the Holy Qur'ān by a *khobar al-wāḥid*? The prevalent (*mashhūr*) view among the scholars considers it valid. A group of Sunnī scholars opposes this view, and some of them reject it unconditionally. 'Isā ibn Abān states: "If a general statement of the Qur'ān has already been limited by a definite proof, it is valid to further limit it by a *khobar al-wāḥid*; otherwise it is not valid." Al-Karkhī states: "If the Book's general statement has been limited by a separate proof (*dalīl munfaṣil*) it is valid to limit it further by a *khobar al-wāḥid* and not otherwise." Al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr has refrained from giving an opinion in this regard.<sup>3</sup>

We accept the prevalent view, and the ground for doing so is, the *khābar al-wāḥid* — as presumed — enjoys definite credibility, and this implies that it is *wājib* to act according to it as long as there is no hindrance to doing so.

*Doubts and Opinions:*

The imagined hindrance to acting in accordance with *khābar al-wāḥid* is not based on valid reasons. Some main objections and the replies to them are mentioned below.

1. It is argued that the Holy Qur'ān is the word of God Almighty which has been revealed to His Noble Prophet (S); this is a definite fact and beyond doubt. However, a *khābar al-wāḥid* has no certainty of being in accordance with the truth, nor is there a guarantee of its contents being the authentic word of the Ma'ṣūm, because there is at least a possibility of the narrator's mistake. In the light of this, it is not reasonable to abandon a thing which is certain for a proof containing a possibility of error.

The reply to this is that although the authenticity of the Qur'ān is definite, it is not certain whether its general statements represent the actual law. It is obligatory to act in accordance with the general statements because they are the literal meanings, and it is accepted as a reasonable practice not disapproved by the Lawgiver to follow literal imports. It is quite obvious that this common practice, which proves the authority of literal meanings, is limited to cases where there exists no indication (*qarīnah*) contrary to the literal import, irrespective of whether the indication is attached (*muttaṣil*) to the general statement or is separate (*munfaṣil*) from it. Therefore, when there is an indication conflicting with the literal import, it is obligatory to forgo the literal meaning and to act in accordance with the indication. Hence there is no other alternative to limiting the general statements of the Qur'ān by the *khābar al-wāḥid* after a definite proof of its credibility. It means that the *khābar al-wāḥid* has originated from the Ma'ṣūm, though its authenticity is based on *ta'abbud* and not on fact. In other words, we may say, though the authenticity of the Qur'ān is certain, we have only presumption regarding its real intent, and there is no reasonable impediment to forgoing a proof which gives presumption for another similar proof whose credibility is known for certain.

2. It is argued that authentic traditions of the Ma'ṣūmūn (A) command us to compare the traditions with the Qur'ān, and that those which oppose it should be discarded and not considered their word. A limiting tradition (*al-khābar al-khāṣṣ*) conflicting with a general statement of the Qur'ān comes within the purview of such traditions; thus it becomes obligatory to discard it as unauthentic.

The reply to this is that, first, we should clarify the meaning of 'contradiction' and 'opposition.' Customary indications applied in comprehending the intent of the Qur'ān are not considered by custom as opposing the Qur'ān in any manner, and a limiting proof (*al-dalīl al-khāṣṣ*) is an indication which elucidates the intent of a general proof. Two statements contradict each other when people are unable to understand from them the intent of their speaker if both the statements come from him. On this basis, a limiting *khābar al-wāḥid* cannot be considered as contradicting a general statement of the Qur'ān; rather, it elucidates its intent.

This is also further confirmed by our knowledge that a large number of traditions have been issued by the Ma'ṣūmūn (A) that limit the general statements of the Qur'ān. Now, should this limiting be considered as contradiction to the Qur'ān, the following words of the Ma'ṣūmūn (A) will be incorrect:

ما خالف قول ربنا لم نقله، أو هو زُخْرُفٌ، أو باطلٌ.

That which opposes the word of our Lord, has not been said by us. It is absurd or false.

This statement of them (A) proves that the limiting of the jurisdiction of the general statements of the Qur'ān does not involve any contradiction.

Furthermore, the Ma'ṣūmūn (A) have laid down agreement with the Qur'ān of one of two contradicting traditions as a criterion for preferring one of them to the other. This implies that a tradition which is not in consonance with the literal general statements of the Qur'ān is creditable in itself, for it is obvious that if this tradition were opposed to the Qur'ān in a manner that reconciliation were impossible, it would fail to be credible in itself, and thereby leave no room for conflict and preference. Therefore, there is no alternative to accepting that the meaning of a tradition's not being in consonance with the Qur'ān is that it is possible to reconcile the two in an acceptable manner by limiting the general Qur'ānic statements.

The conclusion is that a tradition limiting the general Qur'ānic statements is in itself credible and it is necessary to act in accordance with it, except when it is faced with another tradition contradicting it.

3. It is argued that if it is valid to limit Qur'ānic statements with *khābar al-wāḥid*, it will also be valid to abrogate the Qur'ān with it. But since to do so is certainly not valid, it follows that limiting the Qur'ānic statements with it is also invalid. The basis of such a logical linkage is that abrogation (as explained in the chapter on *naskh*) means limiting the Qur'ānic statements with respect to a specific period of

time, which ends with the arrival of the abrogating proof (*al-dalīl al-nāsikh*). Consequently the abrogation of a Qur'ānic statement does not mean its actual annulment, but only a formal extrinsic abolition. The limiting of the jurisdiction of general Qur'ānic laws in regard to the instances of its application is similar to limiting it to a particular period, both being forms of limitation. Therefore, if the first is valid, the second, too, would be valid.

The reply to this is that the difference between the two forms of limitation is the presence of a definite consensus (*al-ijmā' al-qaṭ'i*) prohibiting the abrogation of general Qur'ānic laws by *khābar al-wāḥid* and had it not been for this *ijmā'*, the abrogation of Qur'ānic statements by a trustworthy *khābar al-wāḥid* would have been as valid as the limiting of the general jurisdiction of Qur'ānic statements. We have mentioned earlier that though the Qur'ān enjoys definite authenticity of source (*qaṭ'i al-sanad*), its actual import is not known for certain, and there is no impediment to forgoing it by accepting a *khābar al-wāḥid* whose credibility is definitely known.

It is to be noted that the above-mentioned *ijmā'* is not based on mere *ta'abbud*, but rests on a rational basis. This is because some matters are such that should they be true in external reality, they are bound to be widely reported (*mutawātir*), and if a matter of great significance is reported only by some, it is evidence of the falsity or error of the report. The proofs in favour of the reliability of *khābar al-wāḥid* do not apply to such reports. It is on this basis that we said that a text is not proved to be a part of the Qur'ān on the basis of *khābar al-wāḥid*. For there is no doubt that the abrogation of the Qur'ān is not an affair limited to a particular group of Muslims to the exclusion of others. Hence, had abrogation occurred, a very large number of traditions (*akhbār mutawātirah*) would have narrated it. Now, if a single tradition reports it, it will be the proof of its falsity or error. With this exposition, the difference between the limitation of the Qur'ānic statements by *khābar al-wāḥid* and the abrogation of them by such traditions becomes obvious, and the logical linkage claimed between the two is thereby refuted.

## NOTES:

1. The author has discussed in detail the issue of *tahrīf* in this book (*al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*) in the chapter "*ṣiyānat al-Qur'ān min al-tahrīf*" pp. 197—285.

2. For the Sunnī sources containing *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn*, see: *Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, part iii, pp. 14, 17, 26, 59 from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī; iv, pp. 366, 371 from Zayd ibn Arqam; v, pp. 182, 189 from Zayd ibn Thābit. See also al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, "*kitāb faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*," ii, 431; al-Suyūṭī in *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, from al-Ṭabarānī, from Zayd ibn Thābit, evaluates it as *ṣaḥīḥ*; al-'Allāmah al-Manāwī, *Sharḥ*,



ii, p. 15; al-Hākim, *al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109, from Zayd ibn Arqam, evaluates it as *ṣaḥīḥ*; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, "bāb al-'i'tisām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah," *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah*, i, 253, 332. Others who have reported it are Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*; Abū Ya'lā, al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn al-'Akhḍar, and many others. For a detailed study of its sources see Ḥāmid Ḥusayn al-Hindī, *'Abaqāt al-'anwār*.

3. Al-'Āmidī, *Uṣūl al-'aḥkām*, ii, 472.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
وَمَا تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ يُوَفَّ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تُظْلَمُونَ

*In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate the Merciful*

*... And whatsoever ye spend in the way of Allah, it will be repaid to you in full and ye will not be wronged. (8:60)*

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# A Study of Sunnī and Shīʿī Traditions Concerning Taḥrīf Part 2

by Rasūl Jaʿfariyān

Translated from the Arabic by Mujāhid Husayn

## The Collection of the Qurʾān and Taḥrīf:

**T**hroughout the course of history, the Muslims' stand concerning the Qurʾān is characterized by the absence of doubt regarding any of the verses and their belief that it is in toto a revelation of God Almighty which has remained secure from deletions and additions.

Despite this belief, some traditions narrated by the Ahl al-Sunnah in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and other books on tradition concerning the compilation of the Qurʾān appear to indicate the absence of *tawātur* of Qurʾānic verses and claim their basis on *khabar al-wāḥid*.<sup>151</sup> Here we shall mention some of these traditions and later examine them critically. The following tradition is narrated by al-Bukhārī:

Zayd ibn Thābit narrates: "Abū Bakr called me after the battle of Yamāmah. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was then also with him and Abū Bakr said to me: 'Umar had come to me and said: "The battle of Yamāmah has taken a heavy toll of the reciters of the Qurʾān, and I fear that fighting in other places would similarly result in a loss of reciters. This would lead to the loss of many Qurʾānic verses. I think it is advisable that you should order the Qurʾān to be collected." I said to 'Umar: "How can we do something which the Prophet (S) did not?" 'Umar replied: "It is, by God, a good thing," and he continued to remind me of it until God opened my breast to the matter, and I appreciated the advice of 'Umar.' " Zayd said: "Abū Bakr said to me: 'you are an intelligent young man, and I consider you free from any kind of blame, for you have also written the Revelation for the Prophet. Search for the Qurʾān and collect it.' I said, 'By God, if they had ordered me to move a mountain it would not have been more difficult than what I have been asked to do concerning the collection of the Qurʾān.' Then I said to him: 'How will you do something which the Prophet (S) did not do.' He replied: 'It is, by God, a good thing.' Then Abū Bakr continued to remind me till God opened my heart to that to which He had opened the breasts of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Then I searched for the Qurʾān and collected it from palm leaves, stone tablets

and the people's memories. I found the concluding part of the *Sūrat al-Tawbah*, from **لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ...** until the end of *al-Barā'ah*, with no one except Abū Khuzaymah al-'Anṣārī. These *ṣuḥuf* were with Abū Bakr till his death, then with 'Umar as long as he was alive, and then with his daughter Ḥafṣah."<sup>152</sup>

Ibn Abī Dāwūd reports the following tradition transmitted through a *ḥasan* chain:

'Umar enquired about a certain Qur'ānic verse and he was told that it was with a person killed in the battle of Yamāmah. Thereupon he said "*Innā lillāh,*" and ordered the collection of the Qur'ān. Thus he was the first one to compile it in form of a *muṣḥaf* (codex).<sup>153</sup>

Ibn Ashtah in *al-Maṣāḥif*, narrates the following from Ibn Buraydah:

Ibn Buraydah said: "The first person to collect the Qur'ān in the form of a *muṣḥaf* was Sālim, the *mawlā* of Ḥudhayfah. He had taken an oath not to put on his cloak (i.e. to leave his home) until he had collected the Qur'ān. Then they consulted as to what they would call it, and some of them suggested that it be named '*al-sifr*.' Sālim observed that this name was given by the Jews, (to their scripture), and therefore they did not favour it. Then he said: 'I have seen the like of it being called '*muṣḥaf*' in Abyssinia.' Thereupon they concurred on naming it *al-muṣḥaf*."<sup>154</sup>

Al-Bukhārī also reports the following tradition, which has also been recorded by al-Tirmidhī:

Zayd ibn Thābit said: "When we wrote the *maṣāḥif* and I missed a verse I used to hear from the Prophet (S). I found it later with Abū Khuzaymah al-'Anṣārī: **وَمِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا** (33:23). 'Umar did not use to accept a verse of the Book of God unless two men gave evidence of its being so. A man belonging to the Anṣār came with two verses and 'Umar said to him: 'I will not demand apart from yourself another witness for it.'"<sup>155</sup>

Yahyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥāṭib observes: "'Umar decided to collect the Qur'ān and standing up among the people he said: 'Anyone who has received anything of the Qur'ān from the Prophet (S) should bring it to us.' They had written it on paper, stone tablets and palm leaves, and nothing used to be accepted from them unless two witnesses gave evidence to this effect. Then Khuzaymah came and said: 'I see that you have not included two verses and not written them.' 'Umar enquired: 'What are those two?' He replied: 'I have received from the Prophet (S): **لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ...** (9:128).'"<sup>156</sup>

Anas ibn Mālik said: "I was one of those who were being dictated the Qur'ān. At times when they differed regarding a verse, they would recall someone who had heard it from the Prophet (S). At times that person would be absent or in some remote place. Thereupon, they would write the verses preceding and following that verse and leave a vacant place for it until that person returned or was sent for."<sup>157</sup>

It is narrated from Ubayy ibn Ka'b that: "They collected the Qur'an in *masāḥif* during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, may God have mercy on him. Men used to write on being dictated by Ubayy, and when they reached the verse of the *Sūrat al-Barā'ah*, ... *ثُمَّ انصَرَفُوا صَرَفَ اللَّهِ* (9:127) they thought that it was the last verse of the Qur'an to be revealed. Thereupon Ubayy ibn Ka'b said: 'After this, two more verses have been read to me: *لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ*' "158

Abū Dāwūd ibn al-Zubayr narrates that Abū Bakr said to 'Umar and Zayd: "Sit at the door of the mosque and whoever comes to you with two witnesses evidencing anything from the Book of Allāh, write it." "159

Ibn Sirīn reports that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar died without the Qur'an having been collected.<sup>160</sup> Ibn Sa'd reports that 'Umar was the first person to collect the Qur'an.<sup>161</sup>

Similar traditions are present in a large number in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and other works, and to accept what they say about the Qur'an implies negating the *tawātur* of the Qur'an and accepting it as based on *akhbār āḥād*, such as the story about incorporation of verses on the sole authority of Khuzaymah, or on the evidencing of two witnesses, or on the narration of Ubayy ibn Ka'b, or on the word of a person who happened to be out in the desert and who had to be called to recite to them. Some traditions — like the one about a verse which was with a *qārī* martyred in Yamāmah — cast doubt on the completeness of the Qur'an. Apart from this, other questionable issues crop up which a person cannot disregard were he to accept the traditions of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* in this regard.

Al-Zarkashī was aware of this, and he has mentioned an alternative interpretation in this regard which cannot possibly be accepted. He says regarding the observation of Zayd concerning the acceptance of two verses from Khuzaymah:

It does not imply that a Qur'ānic text has been proved by *khabar al-wāḥid*, because Zayd, and similarly the other Companions, had assuredly heard it and knew its place in the *Sūrat al-'Aḥzāb* on the basis of the Prophet's instruction. Then Zayd had forgotten it, and on having heard it again recollected it. His seeking the verses from other people was only a means for recollecting and not for getting new knowledge.<sup>162</sup>

But there is no proof to justify this kind of interpretation, because even if we accept it the question remains whether *tawātur* stands on the knowledge of only Zayd and Khuzaymah? Did all the other Companions forget this verse? If this was so, couldn't all of them including Khuzaymah forget some verses without there being anyone to remind and help them to recollect?

A stranger interpretation of his concerns the last verses of *Sūrat al-Tawbah* about which Zayd is reported to have said that he had found

them with none except Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. Here al-Zarkashī says: "It implies, (none) from those among Zayd's *ṭabaqah* (generation) who had not collected the Qur'ān."<sup>163</sup> This interpretation has no basis at all.

Others have also tried to rectify the problem posed by the story of Khuzaymah by construing it to mean that the Ṣaḥābah did not find that verse in a written form with anyone except Khuzaymah.<sup>164</sup> The mention of its being written is not found in any tradition relating to this matter and it is not possible to accept it without an evidence. Apart from this, the condition of Khuzaymah's testimony being considered equal to the evidence of two witnesses negates this supposition. Similarly, the interpretation offered by others that it means that Zayd sought to confirm that verse from someone who had heard it directly from the Prophet (S),<sup>165</sup> is again without any basis. The interpretation of Ibn Hajar about the story of recording verses is incorrect regarding the meaning of '*shāhidayn*' (two witnesses) because he does not rely on any proof and the literal meaning of the word *shāhidayn* also negates his interpretation.<sup>166</sup>

It appears that the main purpose of such traditions is to give credit to the so-called compilers or those who ordered the alleged compilation and collection. But the acceptance of such traditions results in a denial of the *tawātur* of the Qur'ānic text, in addition to laying blame on the Holy Prophet (S) who is implicitly held responsible for neglecting a most momentous duty in regard to the collection and ordering of the Qur'ānic text.

We, however, think that these traditions ought to be rejected on the following grounds:

1. There is contradiction among the different traditions and it is not possible to reconcile them. It is not known whether the collector was Abū Bakr or 'Umar or Sālim, the *mawlā* of Ḥudhayfah or, as Ibn Sirīn observes, someone else.

2. It is said that the reason behind the collection of the Qur'ān was the martyrdom of reciters (*qurrā'*) at Yamāmah. This is not acceptable because the scribes of the revelation (*kuttāb*) and those who had memorized it (*ḥuffāẓ*), such as 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ubayy ibn Ka'b (about whom the Prophet [S] had said: "Ubayy ibn Ka'b is the best reciter among them"),<sup>167</sup> and similarly 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd (about whom the Prophet [S] had said: "Read the Qur'ān the way it is read by Ibn Umm 'Abd")<sup>168</sup> were all present in Madīnah. In the presence of these persons in Madīnah, the alleged fears of Abū Bakr and 'Umar concerning the loss of the Qur'ān cannot be admitted.

3. We have already established in the preceding pages that the Qur'ān had been collected during the lifetime of the Prophet (S). Hence the stories of its being collected during the reign of the Caliphs are untrue and cast aspersion on the Prophet (S) by alleging that he neglected its

collection, considering that there was no more important task for him than the compilation of the Qur'an and its preservation for the future generations of Muslims. Therefore, when it is confirmed that the Qur'an was collected during the lifetime of the Prophet (S), these traditions cannot be accepted.

4. After accepting the presence of *tawatur* concerning all the verses of the Qur'an and the absence of deletions from it and additions to it, as per consensus, it becomes necessary to discard these traditions which entail the Qur'an's basis on *akhbār āḥād*.

#### Tahrif and Shi'i Traditions:

Shi'i narrators have also narrated traditions which apparently entail the presence of *tahrif* in the Book of God. Some people who have a shallow understanding of these issues have used these traditions to accuse that the Shi'ah believe in *tahrif*. The following may be said in answer to such accusations:

1. Inauthenticity of the Traditions Alleging Tahrif: The narration and mention of such traditions in books does not imply a tacit acceptance of their authenticity, especially by the majority of the Imamiyyah. The position of the Ahl al-Sunnah is the same regarding such traditions in their works, although they believe in the authenticity of all that has been narrated in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and the other *Ṣiḥāḥ*. How is it possible to accept the authenticity of all that which has been mentioned in these books when we find in them contradictory traditions concerning many doctrinal and legal Islamic issues, is a question to which there is no credible answer. Even after the explicit claim of a particular traditionist that he has recorded only authentic traditions, it is not possible to rely upon his word and consider all that he has narrated as authentic.

The Shi'ah do not believe in the authenticity of all traditions recorded in their books. Consequently, they mention the chain of narrators of traditions so that the researchers may be able to discern, after scrutinizing the character and reliability of narrators, between authentic and unreliable traditions. This principle applies to *al-Kāfi* and all other Shi'i works of tradition.

As to the *Tafsīr al-Qummī* which has mentioned some of these traditions, what we have just said applies to this book as well. Apart from this, the *Tafsīr al-Qummī* has been mixed up with another exegesis named *Tafsīr Abī al-Jārūd*. Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭehrānī has pointed out this fact in his *al-Dharī'ah*.<sup>169</sup>

This tafsīr of Abū al-Jārūd, apart from having in its chain of narrators Kathīr ibn 'Ayyāsh, who is unreliable, belongs to Abū al-Jārūd

who had deviated from the path of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and had been cursed by al-'Imam al-Sadiq (A) (as mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim) who said about him and some others that they were liars. Traditions negating his veracity and confirming his unreliability have been narrated from the Ahl al-Bayt (A).<sup>170</sup>

Al-Sayyid al-Khū'i's *tawthīq* of Abū al-Jārūd, due to his presence in the chains of the narrators of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, the veracity of whose chains of narrators has been testified by Muḥammad ibn Qūlawayh,<sup>171</sup> is not correct, because the negation of his veracity precedes his establishment as a *thiqah*; the traditions condemning him were present before his being considered a *thiqah* by Ibn Qūlawayh. Apart from this, his acceptance of the veracity of all the narrators of *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* is not correct, and the words of Ibn Qūlawayh do not convey such a claim. Whatever the case may be, al-Māmaqānī, after mentioning the traditions negating Abū al-Jārūd's veracity, observes: "This person has in no way been considered a *thiqah*; rather he has strongly been condemned and considered unreliable in *al-Wajīzah* and other books."<sup>172</sup>

As to the fact that some *thiqah* narrators narrated from him, this does not necessitate his being considered *thiqah*, as expressly stated by al-Sayyid al-Khū'i concerning Abū al-Jārūd.<sup>173</sup>

As to *al-Kāfi*, which was compiled by al-Shaykh al-Kulaynī — may God have mercy on him — during a span of twenty years, we do not accept the authenticity of all its traditions, because some of them are considered *ḍa'if*, *mursal*, etc., due to faults in their chains of transmission. It also contains traditions which do not agree with the Qur'ān and others which are defective from the viewpoint of text. Among such traditions are those which entail the occurrence of *tahrīf*.

Al-Kulaynī, moreover, has placed a number of such traditions under the head "*al-nawādir*," wherein he records *nādir* and *shādhah* traditions.<sup>174</sup>

Thus *al-Kāfi*, in the eyes of the Imāmiyyah, is not like *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and other such compilations of traditions in the eyes of the Ahl al-Sunnah, who accept the authenticity of all the traditions contained in these books, even if they are opposed to the Qur'ān, going to the extent of saying: *السنة قاضية على الكتاب* "The Sunnah judges the Qur'ān."<sup>175</sup>

If one refers to *Mir'āt al-'uqūl* (a commentary on *al-Kāfi*) of al-'Allāmah al-Majlisī, one will observe what al-Majlisī has mentioned about the traditions of *al-Kāfi* concerning their chains of transmission, and will see that he has classed a large number of them as *ḍa'if*, *mursal*, or as possessing some other defect.

Al-Sayyid Hāshim Ma'rūf al-Ḥusaynī states: "The *mutaqaddimūn* have not had any *ijmā'* on relying on all the traditions of *al-Kāfi*."<sup>176</sup> He also says: "*Al-Kāfi* contains 16199 traditions; among these 5072 are



*ṣaḥīḥ*, 144 *ḥasan*, 1128 *muwaththaq*, 302 *qawī*, and 9480 *ḍa'īf*.”<sup>177</sup>  
This break-up is based only on the basis of scrutiny concerning the chains of transmission, not that of the texts of the traditions.

It may be said that most of the traditions entailing *tahrif* belong to the class of *ḍa'īf* traditions whose chains terminate at weak narrators (*ḍu'afā'*)<sup>178</sup> and those who have been accused of *ghuluww* or professing deviate doctrines.

The greater part of these traditions have at their source Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyārī. Al-Shaykh Mirzā Mahdī al-Burūjerdī observes: “I have counted the traditions on *tahrif* and have found more than 188 of them terminating at al-Sayyārī.” We have also counted these traditions and have found more than 300 of them coming from him.

Al-Shaykh al-Najāshī in his book on rijāl speaks about al-Sayyārī: ‘A weak narrator of traditions, of devious beliefs....’ Al-Najāshī’s statement about him indicates that al-Sayyārī had been accused of *ghuluww*.<sup>179</sup> Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī has also considered him *ḍa'īf* in *al-'Istibṣār* after narrating a tradition from him.<sup>180</sup> Ibn al-Ghadā'irī makes this statement about al-Sayyārī: ‘يُكْنَى أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْمَعْرُوفُ بِالسِّيَارِيِّ، ضَعِيفُ الْحَدِيثِ، فَاسِدُ الْمَذْهَبِ، وَ...’ ‘His sobriquet Abū ‘Ubaydullāh and popularly known as al-Sayyārī; (is) *ḍa'īf*, weak, *ghālī* and deviate.’<sup>181</sup> Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī describes al-Sayyārī as: ‘ضَعِيفُ الْحَدِيثِ، فَاسِدُ الْمَذْهَبِ، صَجَفُوا الرِّوَايَةَ كَثِيرَ الْمَرَّاسِيلِ. ‘A *ḍa'īf* narrator, professing deviate doctrines, his traditions are not accepted, and most of his traditions are *mursal*.’<sup>182</sup>

Another of the narrators of these traditions is Yūnus ibn Zabyān about whom al-Najāshī remarks: ‘Very weakly, لا يُلْتَفَتُ إِلَى مَا رَوَاهُ، كُلُّ كُتْبِهِ تَخْلِيطٌ. ‘Ibn Zabyān, a Kūfī, a *ghālī*, a liar, a fabricator of traditions.’<sup>183</sup>

Mankhal ibn Jamīl al-Kūfī is also one of these narrators and writers on rijāl have this to say about him: ‘*Ḍa'īf* and of corrupt narration,’ and add: ‘He is one of the devious *ghulāt*.’<sup>184</sup>

Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Jumhūr is also among these narrators, and al-'Allāmah al-Hillī says about him:

كَانَ ضَعِيفًا فِي الْحَدِيثِ، غَالِيًا فِي الْمَذْهَبِ، فَاسِدًا فِي الرِّوَايَةِ، لَا يُلْتَفَتُ إِلَى حَدِيثِهِ، وَلَا يُعْتَمَدُ عَلَى مَا يَرَوِيهِ.

He was *ḍa'īf* in narrating traditions, a *ghālī* by faith, corrupt in his narrations; no significance is given to what he has narrated and it is not relied upon.<sup>185</sup>

Al-Najāshī has the same to say about him: ‘ضَعِيفُ الْحَدِيثِ، فَاسِدُ الْمَذْهَبِ. ‘A *ḍa'īf* narrator and professor of deviate doctrines.’<sup>186</sup>

From this it becomes clear that these narrators were not acceptable to the authorities on rijāl, being considered by them as devious,

*ghulāt*, etc. The narration of their traditions by some Akhbārī writers is due to their lack of precision and care, and unfortunately some writers have relied on the traditions of these weak narrators in their belief in the incompleteness of the Qur'ān. But such writers are very few in number and as al-Shaykh Abū Zuhrah says: "A very large number of Imāmi scholars headed by al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī and others, oppose them."<sup>187</sup>

The late Āyatullāh al-Sayyid al-Burūjerdī states in this regard:

Logical necessity dictates against it (belief in *tahrīf*), and the traditions contradicting the purity of the Qur'ānic text are extremely unreliable, both from the viewpoint of *sanad* and content. Indeed some of these traditions contradict what is certain and necessary and go against the very purpose of prophethood....Further, it is most amazing to see that some people claim the preservation of traditions in books and through oral transmission throughout a period exceeding thirteen centuries, contending that had any deletion taken place therein it would have been obvious, yet at the same time affirm the possibility of deletion taking place in the Qur'ān.<sup>188</sup>

Al-'Allāmah al-Shahshahānī observes regarding the traditions entailing *tahrīf*: "These traditions deserve no attention on account of their *asnād*. Even those who have argued on their basis have not regarded even one of them as authentic (*ṣahīḥ*). They have been cast aside by the greatest of our scholars." He adds: "These traditions contradict reliable traditions, stronger than them in regard to their conformity with the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, reason and consensus."<sup>189</sup>

2. Traditions Related to Variance of Readings: A part of the traditions narrated in this context are those which are related to the difference in *qirā'āt*; only some of them are mentioned in Shī'ī books while a very large number of them, as said, are found in books of the Ahl al-Sunnah. Most of what has been reported in Shī'ī books is attributed to the Ahl al-Bayt (A), especially to the *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A), while in the books of Ahl al-Sunnah such differences are attributed to such Ṣaḥābah as Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy, and others.

We may say that these traditions, in which the verses have been mentioned in a form different from what is known through *tawātur* and is popular among the people, are all *akhbār āḥād* and consequently incapable of establishing anything as Qur'ānic text. Further, it is also not possible to forsake something *mutawātir* by relying on *akhbār āḥād*. Accordingly, the Imams (A) have ordered their followers to recite the Qur'ān as it is recited by the people.<sup>190</sup>

Dr. 'Abd al-Ṣabūr Shāhīn observes: "All that which has been narrated concerning differences of *qirā'ah*, which delete from or add to the

Qur'an as we possess it, is undoubtedly of a *shādhah* character and incapable of proving something as part of the Qur'an, or is of *mudraj* character in which commentary or explanation has found way into the text without being part of the Qur'anic text."<sup>191</sup>

Accordingly, it is not valid to follow these *shādhah* forms of *qirā'āt* of the Qur'an, because they are based on *akhbār āhād*, in addition to the possibility of these readings being explanations of the Qur'anic text and exegetic comments, as pointed out by Dr. 'Abd al-Ṣabūr. This is further supported by Abū Ḥayyān's statement in his footnotes (*ta'līqah*) on the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd: فَوَسَّوَسَ لَهَا الشَّيْطَانُ عَنْهَا in place of فَأَزَلَّهَا الشَّيْطَانُ عَنْهَا "This reading is contrary to the Qur'anic text as accepted by consensus and it is appropriate to consider it an exegetic remark."<sup>192</sup> The same applies to such traditions as have been narrated by the Imāmiyyah. The books of the Ahl al-Sunnah also contain traditions regarding differences of readings and there are scores of books written on the topic. One may refer in this context to *al-Maṣāhif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, the exegeses of al-Zamakhsharī, al-Ṭabarī and others, and one would be surprised by what he finds.<sup>193</sup>

Most of these variations pertain to exegetic and explanatory remarks, especially of those who accepted the validity of changing the words of the Qur'an for clarification,<sup>194</sup> though with the passage of time it led to lending support to claims of *tahrif*.

As to the tradition narrated by the Ahl al-Sunnah that the Qur'an has been revealed in seven different 'letters' (*'alā sab'at aḥruf*,<sup>195</sup> which was interpreted to imply the validity of the various readings of the Qur'an), it is something which cannot be accepted, neither on the basis of traditions nor logic. This is because this tradition is contradicted by another tradition narrated by them which regards the Qur'an as revealed in three *aḥruf* (*'alā thalāthat aḥruf*).<sup>196</sup> Similarly, it is also opposed to what has been authentically narrated by the Imāmiyyah from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A), who while answering the query of Fuḍayl ibn Yasār regarding the narration that the Qur'an has been revealed in seven *aḥruf*, said:

كَذَّبُوا - أَعْدَاءَ اللَّهِ - لَكِنَّهُ نَزَلَ عَلَى حَرْفٍ وَاحِدٍ مِنْ عِنْدِ الْوَاحِدِ .

They lie, the enemies of God! Rather, it has been revealed in a single *ḥarf* by the One.<sup>197</sup>

The following tradition has been narrated from al-'Imām al-Bāqir (A):

إِنَّ الْقُرْآنَ وَاحِدٌ ، نَزَلَ مِنْ عِنْدِ وَاحِدٍ ، وَلَكِنَّ الْاِخْتِلَافَ يَجِيءُ مِنْ قِبَلِ الرُّوَاةِ .

Verily, there is only one Qur'an, which has been revealed by the One, and the

differences have cropped up due to the narrators.<sup>198</sup>

Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī states in this regard: "It should be noted that the common view of our scholars and their position, well known from their accounts and narrations, is that the Qur'ān was sent down on one *ḥarf* and on one prophet."<sup>199</sup>

The idea of *sab'at aḥruf* implying seven permissible readings, is also negated by the Imāmi tradition that the meaning of *sab'at aḥruf* is seven rhetorical forms, which are *amr* (positive command), *zajr* (prohibitory command), *targhīb* (inducement), *tarhīb* (warning), *jadāl* (polemics, argument), *mathal* (allegory, parable), and *qaṣaṣ* (story telling).<sup>200</sup>

It has been narrated by the Ahl al-Sunnah from Ibn Mas'ūd that the Qur'ān has been revealed on *khamṣat aḥruf*: *ḥalāl*, *ḥarām*, *muḥkam*, *mutashābih*, and *amthāl*.<sup>201</sup> It has also been narrated from 'Alī (A) that the Qur'ān has been revealed in four parts: a quarter concerning *ḥalāl*, a quarter concerning *ḥarām*, a quarter concerning ethical discourses (*mawā'iz*) and parables (*mathal*), and a quarter dealing with historical narratives and accounts (*qaṣaṣ wa āthār*).<sup>202</sup> Many similar traditions have been narrated by the Ahl al-Sunnah.<sup>203</sup>

Those among the Imāmiyyah who have narrated that the Qur'ān has been revealed on seven *aḥruf* are either those whose identity is unknown (*majhūl*),<sup>204</sup> or those who are accused of *ghuluww* and doctrinal deviation,<sup>205</sup> or those who have meant by it something apart from the validity of the different readings.

We also find traditions which negate the existence of different readings, such as the tradition recorded by Aḥmad in his *Musnad* from Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh, from Ibn Mas'ūd:

أَقْرَأَنِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ سُورَةَ الْأَحْقَافِ فَخَرَجْتُ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ فَإِذَا رَجُلٌ يَقْرُؤُهَا عَلَيَّ غَيْرَ مَا  
أَقْرَأَنِي، فَقُلْتُ، مَنْ أَقْرَأَكَ؟ فَقَالَ: رَسُولُ اللَّهِ. قَالَ: قُلْتُ لِلْآخِرِ أَقْرَأَهَا، فَقَرَأَهَا عَلَيَّ  
غَيْرَ قِرَاءَتِي وَقِرَاءَةِ صَاحِبِي، فَأَنْظَلْتُ بِهَا إِلَى النَّبِيِّ (ص) فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ هَذَانِ  
يُخَالِفَانِي فِي الْقِرَاءَةِ فَغَضِبَ وَتَعَمَّرَ وَجْهَهُ وَقَالَ (ص): إِنَّمَا أَهْلَكَ مَنْ كَانَ قَبْلَكُمْ الْاِخْتِلَافُ،  
قَالَ زَيْرٌ: وَعِنْدَهُ (ص) قَالَ: قَالَ: قَالَ: إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ يَقْرَأَ كُلُّ رَجُلٍ كَمَا اتَّهَرَى، فَإِنَّمَا  
أَهْلَكَ مَنْ كَانَ قَبْلَكُمْ الْاِخْتِلَافُ.

The Prophet (S) taught the reading of the *Sūrat al-'Aḥqāf* to me. When I went to the mosque there I found a person reciting this *sūrah* differently. I asked him, "Who taught you this reading?" He replied, "The Prophet (S)." Then I asked another person to recite it and he recited it in a manner which differed from that of me and that of my companion. Then I went with both of them to the Prophet (S) and said, "Both of them differ from me in their reading." The Prophet's (S) face became red with anger and he said, "Surely it was this

difference which caused those who have gone before you to perish.”

Zirr ibn Hubaysh says, “Ibn Mas‘ūd proclaimed in the presence of the Prophet (S), ‘The Prophet (S) orders that each one of you should recite the Qur‘ān as it has been recited to him. For, surely, it is such difference which has caused those before you to perish.’”<sup>206</sup>

This tradition expressly shows that the Prophet (S) prohibited differences in reading and would be dismayed on coming across such variance. It also highlights that the differences did not originate from the Prophet (S); rather, it shows the Prophet (S) as emphasizing that such variance caused the earlier nations to perish and that it should not be present among Muslims.

The differences of reading between some Ṣaḥābah during the Prophet’s (S) time were due to the differences between their dialect and that of the Prophet’s (S) and his tribe, or these differences came into being after the Prophet (S), especially after the spreading of the Companions to different places and their reciting the Qur‘ān to the people, each with his own peculiar rendering of certain verses of the Qur‘ān. The presence of this variance was a cause of anxiety for some Companions and they urged ‘Uthmān to gather the people on the single reading which was received in a *mutawātir* fashion from the Prophet (S). This is apparent from the following traditions about ‘Uthmān’s step:

Anas says: “Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān came to ‘Uthmān at a time when the people of Syria and Iraq were fighting together in the conquest of Armenia and Azarbaijān. Hudhayfah was worried about their differences of reading, and he said to ‘Uthmān: “O Commander of the Faithful, save this ummah before it starts differing about the Qur‘ān, like the Jews and the Christians...” ‘Uthmān consequently ordered the collection of the *maṣāḥif* (which were in the hands of the people).”<sup>207</sup>

Hudhayfah says: “I was fighting in the conquest of Armenia in which both the people of Iraq and Syria took part. The Syrians would recite in accordance with the reading of Ubayy ibn Ka‘b. They would recite in a way which the Iraqis had not heard, and the Iraqis would accuse them of apostasy. The Iraqis would recite in accordance with the reading of Ibn Mas‘ūd. When they recited in a fashion which the Syrians had not heard, they would accuse the Iraqis of apostasy.” Zayd said: “‘Uthmān ordered me to collect the Qur‘ān.”<sup>208</sup>

This is also supported by the following episode reported by al-Balādhuri:

They said to ‘Uthmān, “You have burnt the Book of God.” ‘Uthmān replied, “The people differed in their readings of the Qur‘ān, and one would say to another, ‘My Qur‘ān is better than your Qur‘ān,’ and the other one would claim, ‘My Qur‘ān is better than yours.’ Hudhayfah was the first to disapprove of it and he brought up the matter before me. I gathered the people

on the reading which was written in the Prophet's presence." They said, "But why did you burn the *maṣāḥif*? Weren't their contents in accordance with the reading on which you have brought together the people? Why didn't you allow them to remain as they were?" He replied, "I wanted that nothing should remain except that which had been written in the Prophet's presence and recorded in a *mushaf* that was with Ḥafṣah, the Prophet's wife. I pray to God to forgive me."<sup>209</sup>

Now when the variance of readings could lead to accusations of *tahrīf*, the like of which had occurred among the Jews and Christians, is it logical to believe that the Prophet (S) permitted it? The observation of al-Ṭabarī is strange where he says: "The Prophet's (S) command regarding the reciting of the Qur'ān in seven *aḥruf* (something in accordance with which 'Uthmān did not act, but on the contrary made the people accept a single reading) was a command indicating permissibility and incumbence."<sup>210</sup>

Neither can the tradition (about *sab'at aḥruf*) be interpreted to imply — as interpreted by Dr. 'Abd al-Ṣabūr — the differing dialects and accents, which were the result of differences of language and education, nor can it imply the difference of some words and a change in the sequence of sentences where the meanings remain unaffected, because it obviously amounts to accepting *tahrīf*, which angered the Prophet (S), was a cause of consternation for Ḥudhayfah, and as a measure against which 'Uthmān took his step, which was approved by 'Alī (A) who said: "Had I been in power, I would have done what he has done."<sup>211</sup>

It is necessary to point out that if the tradition regarding the Qur'ān being revealed in *sab'at aḥruf* had been authentic, the Companions would surely have argued on its basis and criticized 'Uthmān's action, because he had approved only a single reading. In this regard, it is the opinion of my revered teacher al-'Allāmah al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā that the reasons for the variant readings were: the absence of diacritical marks and points, variations of the scripts used by the scribes of the Qur'ān, errors and slips made by the copyists, the exercise of personal judgement in regard to reciting, the shortcomings in reciting, mistakes in hearing, differences of dialect, and, sometimes, the inclusion of exegetical remarks while reciting the text.<sup>212</sup> For instance, the verse *إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَغْفِرُ الذُّنُوبَ جَمِيعًا* was recited with the addition *وَلَا يُبَالِي* (and He will not care). Such examples are present in large numbers. Similarly, some differences of reading were the result of the belief held by some that the words of the Qur'ān can be substituted by their synonyms.<sup>213</sup> This fact is evident to anyone conversant with Qur'ānic studies. Therefore, one who refers to books written on the variant readings will find that the basis of these different readings is individual *ijtihād* practised by their propounders in the areas of grammar and syntax. This kind of *ijtihād*, apart from being based on *shādhah* and weak traditions, is only

a later development, not seen in the earlier period. This form of *ijtihād* stands condemned on the ground that it is in fact *ijtihād* in opposition to a *naṣṣ*.

The Shi'ah concur that it is not valid to recite these *shādhah* forms of readings during *ṣalāt*, and this indicates that they do not attach any weight to the traditions on which these readings are based.

Al-Sayyid al-Ṭabāṭabā'i says in this regard: "The basis of authority (in regard to a Qur'ānic verse) is the *tawātur* of its text and reading." He adds: "*Shādhah* traditions are not worthy of notice." Al-Mawlā al-Māzandarānī observes: "That which has reached us through *akhbār āḥād* — such as the *shādhah* forms of readings and that which Ibn Mas'ūd mentioned in his *muṣḥaf* — is not part of the Qur'ān, because there is no proof of its being so." As Fāḍil al-Qummī observes in *al-Qawānīn*: "*Shādhah* traditions not acted upon because there is no proof of their contents being part of the Qur'ān."<sup>214</sup>

3. Traditions Implying the Presence of Certain Names: Of the traditions wherein some verses are mentioned in a form differing from that received through *tawātur* are those which relate to the particular historical context of their revelation (*sha'n al-nuzūl*) and contain the addition of a few words to elucidate their meaning. These extra elements are either the words of the Prophet (S) or have been incorporated by one of the Companions in his *muṣḥaf*, or are additions made by the Companions themselves.

'Alī (A) states: "I had surely come to them with a book comprising both the text of the revelation and its interpretation."<sup>215</sup>

We have already mentioned that 'Alī (A) had mentioned in his *muṣḥaf* the *sha'n al-nuzūl* of the verses, and Ibn Sirīn had sought this *muṣḥaf* for the sake of the information it contained, but was unable to find it.

As to those traditions which entail that the name of 'Alī (A) had occurred in some verses — aside from their possible inauthenticity on the basis of their narrators' character — it is also possible to include them in this class of traditions, considering that we have some traditions which negate the presence of 'Alī's name in the Qur'ān. The following is one from *al-Kāfī* from Abū Baṣīr from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A):

عَنْ أَبِي بَصِيرٍ عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ (ع) فَقُلْتُ لَهُ إِنَّ النَّاسَ يَقُولُونَ : فَمَا لَهُ لَمْ يُسَمَّ عَلِيًّا فِي الْقُرْآنِ وَأَهْلَ بَيْتِهِ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ ؟ فَقَالَ : فَقُولُوا لَهُمْ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ نَزَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَلَمْ يُسَمَّ اللَّهُ ثَلَاثًا وَارْتَعَا حَتَّى كَانَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ هُوَ الَّذِي فَسَّرَ لَهُمْ ذَلِكَ .

Abū Baṣīr says: "I said to him that people ask why God has not mentioned the name of 'Alī (A) and his household in the Qur'ān? The Imam replied:

“Tell them that the command of *ṣalāt* was delivered to the Prophet (S) without God's mentioning specifically the number of *raka'āt* as three or four, and it was the Prophet (S) who explained this to them.”<sup>216</sup>

This tradition explicitly negates the presence of 'Alī's (A) name in the Qur'ān, and therefore those traditions which entail the mention of 'Alī's (A) name in some verses should be considered as furnishing explanatory details.

Accordingly, al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) usually used to recite the verse: *بَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ*, without adding to it the name of 'Alī (A).<sup>217</sup> The Ahl al-Sunnah have narrated traditions regarding this verse which include 'Alī's (A) name in it.<sup>218</sup>

Another tradition which confirms what has been said is narrated by Muḥammad ibn al-Fuḍayl from Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māḍī, i.e. al-'Imām al-Kāzīm (A):

قَالَ : قُلْتُ هَذَا الَّذِي كُنْتُمْ بِهِ تُكَذِّبُونَ فَقَالَ الْإِمَامُ (ع) يَعْنِي أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ : قُلْتُ  
تَنْزِيلٌ قَالَ نَعَمْ .

...(Muḥammad ibn al-Fuḍayl says:) “I asked the Imam (A) regarding the verse *هَذَا الَّذِي كُنْتُمْ بِهِ تُكَذِّبُونَ*. He replied: ‘It implies Amir al-Mu'minin (A).’ I inquired: ‘Is it *tanzil*?’ ‘Yes,’ replied the Imam.”<sup>219</sup>

This tradition clearly indicates that the name of 'Alī (A) was not mentioned in the Qur'ānic verse but was present in the exposition revealed by God concerning the intent of the verse.<sup>220</sup>

Among the traditions of this kind is a tradition narrated by both the Shi'i and Sunni works concerning the verse: *وَحَافِظُوا عَلَى الصَّلَوَاتِ وَالصَّلَاةِ الْوُسْطَى* where they have added to it the words '*ṣalāt al-'aṣr*'.<sup>221</sup>

It is obvious that the addition of the words *ṣalāt al-'aṣr* to the text does not imply that it is a part of the verse; rather, it is an explanation of the phrase *al-ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā* in the verse. Therefore al-Qāḍī, while refuting those who have ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd the exclusion of the *Mu'awwidhatān* (the last two *sūrah*s, *al-Nās* and *al-Falaq*) from his *muṣḥaf* and to Ubayy ibn Ka'b the inclusion of two additional *sūrah*s, *al-Ḥafd* and *al-Khal'*, in his *muṣḥaf*, says that it is possible that Ubayy had recorded in his *muṣḥaf* some interpretative remarks and prayers. He states: “He had recorded in his *muṣḥaf* interpretations and prayers which are not parts of the Qur'ān.”<sup>222</sup>

Al-Bāqillānī has also refuted this allegation saying, “The prayer recited in *qunūt*, which is narrated to have been recorded by Ubayy ibn Ka'b in his *muṣḥaf*, has no proof for considering it a part of the Qur'ān. Rather, it is a kind of a prayer, and had it been a part of the Qur'ān it



would have been transmitted to us and we would have the knowledge of its authenticity."<sup>223</sup>

Regrettably, while Sunni scholars have tried to overcome the difficulties raised by the statements of their authorities and explained them away, they have not adopted a similar attitude regarding the traditions entailing *tahrif* narrated from the Imams of the Shi'ah nor bothered to examine their authenticity. Rather some anti-Shi'i propagandists bent on the villification of the Shi'ah have taken the sole presence of such traditions in Shi'i works as an evidence that the Shi'ah believe in *tahrif* of the Holy Qur'an.

Al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī states: "It would not be far-fetched if said that some of the deletions were of the nature of exegetical clarifications without being parts of the Qur'an. Thus any change that may have occurred is one of meaning, i.e. the charge of alteration and corruption relates to exposition and interpretation. It implies that the meaning ascribed was different from the actual intent. Thus the import of the Imam's statement *كَذَا تَرَكْتُ* (this is how it was revealed) is that its meaning has been altered; not that the verse was revealed with such additional words and then they were deleted from it."<sup>224</sup>

Al-Shaykh al-Mufid states: "...But the revealed expository and exegetical matter recorded in the *muṣḥaf* of Amīr al-Mu'minīn (A) was deleted, even though it was an established revelation (*thābitan munzalan*), although not part of the text of the *kalām* of God Almighty which is the miraculous Qur'an. The *ta'wīl* of the Qur'an has also been called 'Qur'an' ...and there is no difference of opinion among the exegetes about this."<sup>225</sup>

Similarly, al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq has pointed out that some revelations are not part of the Qur'an, such as the counsel given by Gabriel to the Prophet (S) and to which the Prophet (S) refers in many of his traditions. Al-Ṣadūq says: "The like of it are many, all of which are revelation without being a part of the Qur'an. For had it been part of the Qur'an it would have been joined to and combined with the Qur'an instead of being separated from it."<sup>226</sup>

4. Traditions Explicitly Mentioning Tahrif: Other traditions which allude to the presence of *tahrif* are those which speak of the Qur'an as *muḥarraf* (altered, corrupted). It should be pointed that these traditions mention the presence of *tahrif* in the meaning of verses and not in their words. This is indicated by the following tradition narrated by al-Kulaynī in *Rawḍat al-Kāfi*. In a letter al-'Imām al-Bāqir (A) writes to Sa'd al-Khayr:

... وَكَانَ مِنْ نَبْدِهِمُ الْكِتَابَ أَنْ أَقَامُوا حُرُوفَهُ وَحَرَفُوا حُدُودَهُ فَهَمَّ بِرُؤُونَهُ، وَلَا يَزْعُونَ،

وَالْجُهَالُ يُعْجِبُهُمْ حِفْظُهُمْ لِلرَّوَايَةِ ، وَالْعُلَمَاءُ يُحْزِنُهُمْ تَرْكُهُمْ لِلرَّعَايَةِ ، وَكَانَ مِنْ نَبَذِهِمُ الْكِتَابَ  
 أَنْ وَلَوْ الَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ فَأَوْرَدُوهُمْ الْهَوَى وَأَضْرَبُوهُمْ إِلَى الرَّدَى وَغَيَّرُوا مَعْرَى الدِّينِ ثُمَّ  
 وَرَثُوهُ فِي السَّفَى وَالصَّبَا .

Their neglect of the Qur'an was visible in their retaining its words and altering its decrees; thus they quoted it without observing its teachings. The ignorant were amazed by their ability to memorize it for quotation, while the learned were pained by their discarding its observance. Another sign of their neglect of the Qur'an was their giving it into the charge of those who had no knowledge. Hence they introduced their caprices into it and sent them (the people) to destruction. They altered the face of religion and gave it away as an inheritance to imbeciles and the childlike.<sup>227</sup>

Here the Imam (A) has explicitly confirmed the retention of the words of the Qur'an; the alteration, he claims, has occurred in the meanings and decrees ascribed to it. Therefore the import of other traditions concerning the *tahrif* of Qur'an should be construed accordingly, i.e. as implying semantic *tahrif*. To this category belongs the 95th tradition of *Rawdat al-Kāfi* and what al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq has mentioned on page 95 of *al-Khiṣāl*. Al-Ṣadūq's mentioning of this tradition, despite his belief in the absence of *tahrif*, indicates that the *tahrif* meant is semantic, not textual. Accordingly, the mention in some traditions of such words as *tamziq* (tearing to pieces) and *nabdḥ* (discarding, casting off) in regard to the Qur'an (e.g. in *al-Khiṣāl* p.83) also refers to semantic *tahrif*.

On the basis of all that has been said above, if we find a tradition that cannot be placed in any of the four categories mentioned, we should judge it in the light of the Qur'an. Since the Qur'an expressly asserts that it enjoys Divine protection, it is incumbent upon us to reject any tradition which casts doubt on the purity and completeness of Qur'anic text. And this is what we have been commanded to do by the Holy Prophet (S) and the Imams (A).

The presence of traditions entailing *tahrif* in the works of tradition does not indicate their acceptability or belief in them. In addition to the above-mentioned reasons, it is necessary for the Shi'ah to reject these traditions also because 'Alī (A) ruled as a caliph for nearly 5 years, and considering his dedication and zeal for reviving the religion and sunnah of the Prophet (S), so obvious from his biographies, it is inadmissible that he would have ignored so momentous an issue, if it were an issue at all. This is because the Qur'an is the foundation of Islam, and keeping in mind that 'Alī (A) was martyred in the course of his relentless campaign against those who were bent on altering the Prophet's (S) sunnah, it is unimaginable that *tahrif* should have taken place in the Qur'an and 'Alī (A) should have been indifferent towards it.

To be continued — inshā' Allāh

NOTES:

151. Traditions are divided broadly into two categories: *mutawātir* and *āḥād* (or *wāḥid*). A *mutawātir* tradition is that which has been reported by such a number of narrators and through so many different chains of transmitters that it is not possible to doubt its veracity. A tradition which is not *mutawātir* is called *khabar al-wāḥid*. The *āḥād* traditions are divided into five main classes: *ṣaḥīḥ*, *qawī*, *ḥasan*, *muwaththaq* and *ḍa'if*, in accordance with the character of their narrators and transmitters. When narrated by a single narrator, a tradition is generally called *mufrad*, *shādhah* or *nādir*. *Mudarraj* is a tradition in which the narrator, or one of the transmitters, has indistinguishably mixed the words of the narrator or a transmitter with the text.
152. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-tafsīr*, *bāb jam' al-Qur'ān*; *al-Itqān*, i, 57; *Ta'riḥ al-khulafā'*, 77, and *Tafsīr al-Ṭabari*, i, 20.
153. *Al-Itqān*, i, 58.
154. *Ibid.*
155. *Tahdhīb Ta'riḥ Dimashq*, v, 136; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-tafsīr*; *al-Burhān*, i, 234; see al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, i, 51.
156. *Tahdhīb Ta'riḥ Dimashq*, iv, 136.
157. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabari*, i, 21.
158. *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vii, p. 35.
159. *Irshād al-sārī*, vii, 447.
160. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, xliii, 90; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, iii, 211.
161. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, iii, 281.
162. *Al-Burhān*, i, 236.
163. *Ibid.*, 239.
164. *Manāhil al-'irfān*, i, 266.
165. *Irshād al-sārī*, vii, 448.
166. *Al-Itqān*, i, 58.
167. *Mustadrak al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, iii, 53; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ii, 340; *Akhbār Isfahān*, ii, 13.
168. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, x, 520, 521.
169. *Al-Dhari'ah ilā taṣnīf al-Shi'ah*, iv, 303, 304.
170. *Majma' al-rijāl*, iii, 73; *Qāmūs al-rijāl*, iv, 228, 230; *Jāmi' al-ruwāt*, i, 339.
171. *Mu'jam rijāl al-ḥadīth*, vii, 325.
172. *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*, i, 46.
173. *Mu'jam rijāl al-ḥadīth*, vii, 325.
174. See *al-Uṣūl al-'āmmah li al-fiqh al-muqārin*, 109.
175. *Ta'wīl mukhtalaf al-ḥadīth*, 199, *Sunan al-Dārimi*, i, 145; *Maqālāt al-'Islāmiyyīn*, i, 324, 251, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, i, 26; and *'Awn al-Ma'būd*, iv, 429. All the sources quoted are from *Buḥūth ma'a Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Salafiyyah*, 67, 68.
176. *Dirāsāt fī al-ḥadīth wa al-muḥaddithīn*, 132, 134.
177. *Ibid.*, 138, from *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*.
178. *Majma' al-bayān*, i, 15; *Awā'il al-maqālāt*, 195, footnote; *Biḥār al-'anwār*, vol.89, p.75.
179. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 58.
180. *Qāmūs al-rijāl*, i, 403, 404; *Mu'jam rijāl al-ḥadīth*, iii, 290.
181. *Qāmūs al-rijāl*, i, 403.
182. *Mu'jam rijāl al-ḥadīth*, ii, 290.
183. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 838; al-'Allāmah al-Hillī, *Khulāṣat al-rijāl*, 266. See also *Ikhtiyār m'arifāt al-rijāl*, 318, appendices.
184. *Dirāsāt fī al-ḥadīth wa al-muḥaddithīn*, 198.

185. *Khulāṣat al-rijāl*, 251.  
 186. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 238.  
 187. Al-'Imām Zayd ibn 'Alī, 350, 351.  
 188. *Ma'a al-Khaṭīb fī khuṭaṭīhi al-'arīdah*, 49.  
 189. *Al-'Anwār al-Nu'māniyyah*, ii, 363—364, from *Anwār al-riyād*.  
 190. *Al-Kāfi*, i, 219.  
 191. *Ta'rīkh al-Qur'ān*, 81.  
 192. *Al-Baḥr*, i, 159, from *Ta'rīkh al-Qur'ān*, 96.  
 193. For examples of such differences in readings see: *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* ii, 31—38, Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, ii, 504; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vii, 154—156; *Sunan al-Dāraquṭnī*, ii, 192; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, i, 578, 579; iii, 207; iv, 242; v, 75; vii, 312; viii, 305, 514, 560; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 303, 372, 373; ii, 189; *Ḥayāt al-Ṣaḥābah*, iii, 506, from *Kanz al-'ummāl*, ii, 137; *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, iii, 371; *al-Tarātib al-'idāriyyah*, ii, 163; *al-Majrūhīn*, ii, 269.  
 194. *Al-Muṣannaf*, xi, 219.  
 195. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ii, 202—203; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vi, 100, 111, and iii, 90; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*, xi, 60, 62; *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, i, 9—15, and *Tafsīr al-Qurtubī*, i, 43.  
 196. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, x, 517.  
 197. *Al-Kāfi*, *kitāb faḍl al-Qur'ān, bāb al-nawādir*, tradition No.13.  
 198. *Ibid.*, tradition No.12. A large number of such traditions have been narrated by the Shī'ah. Refer *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, 213.  
 199. *Tafsīr al-tibyān*, i, 7.  
 200. *Risālat al-Nu'mānī fī ṣunūf āy al-Qur'ān*, see *al-Tamhīd fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ii, 94.  
 201. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, i, 24.  
 202. *Musnad Zayd ibn 'Alī (A)*, 385.  
 203. *Ālā' al-Raḥmān*, 30, 31, from *al-Mustadrak*, Ibn Jarir, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn al-'Anbārī, *al-Baṣā'ir wa al-dhakhā'ir*, p.130, from Abū 'Ubaydah; *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vii, 153.  
 204. *Al-Bayān*.  
 205. *Ibid.*  
 206. *Musnad Aḥmad*, i, 419, 421.  
 207. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *kitāb al-tafsīr, bāb jam' al-Qur'ān*, vii, 226; *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, i, 23.  
 208. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, i, 21.  
 209. *Ansāb al-'ashraf*, v, 62, 63.  
 210. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, i, 22.  
 211. *Al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, i, 240; *Manāhil al-'irfān*, i, 255; *al-Zanjānī*, *Ta'rīkh al-Qur'ān*, 45; *S'ad al-su'ūd*, 278; *al-Maṣāḥif*, 12; *Irshād al-sārī*, vii, 448.  
 212. *Al-'Itqān*, i, 51.  
 213. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, iii, 364.  
 214. *Radd Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, 62.  
 215. *Ālā' al-Raḥmān*, 257.  
 216. *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, *kitāb al-ḥujjah, bāb naṣṣ Allāh wa Rasūlihi 'alā al-'A'immaḥ*.  
 217 See the related traditions in *al-Kāfi* and *Ālā' al-Raḥīm* (1381) concerning the negation of *tahrīf* in the Qur'ān, 16.  
 218. *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, ii, 298.  
 219. *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, *kitāb al-ḥujjah, bāb al-nukat min al-tanzīl fī al-wilāyah*.  
 220. In accordance with what has been narrated from some authorities regarding the meaning of *al-tanzīl*. This view is also supported by traditions.  
 221. *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, i, 84; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, ii, 504. See *al-'Itqān*, from 'Ā'ishah, and similarly, Ibn Abī Shaybah, ii, 506; and *Majma' al-*

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*zawā'id*, vii, 154, whose author observes that its narrators are *thiqāt*.

222. *Al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ii, 128.

223. *Manāhil al-'irfān*, i, 264, from *al-'Intiṣār*.

224. *Tafsīr al-ṣāfi*, i, 52.

225. *Awā'il al-maqālāt*, 54.

226. *I'tiqādāt al-Ṣadūq*, *bāb al-'i'tiqād fī mablagh al-Qur'ān*.

227. *Rawḍat al-Kāfi* (*Intishārāt 'Ilmiyyah Islāmiyyah*), i, 76.

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## Forty Ḥadīth: An Exposition Part 17

by Imām Rūḥullāh al-Mūsawī al-Khumaynī

Translated from the Persian by A. Q. Qarā'ī

### SIXTEENTH ḤADĪTH: On Ṣabr

مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَعْقُوبَ الْكَلَيْنِيِّ - رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ - عَنْ عِدَّةٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِنَا ، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ خَالِدٍ ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ النُّعْمَانِ ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُسْكَانَ ، عَنْ أَبِي بَصِيرٍ قَالَ : « سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ : إِنَّ الْحُرَّ حُرٌّ عَلَى جَمِيعِ أَحْوَالِهِ ، إِنْ نَابَتْهُ نَابَةٌ صَبَرَ لَهَا ، وَإِنْ تَدَاكَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْمَصَائِبُ لَمْ تَكْسِرْهُ ، وَإِنْ أُسِرَ وَقَهَرَ ، وَاسْتُبْدِلَ بِالْيُسْرِ عُسْرًا ، كَمَا كَانَ يُوسُفُ الصَّدِيقُ الْأَمِينُ لَمْ يُضِرَّ حُرِّيَّتَهُ أَنْ اسْتُغْبِدَ وَقَهَرَ وَأُسِرَ وَلَمْ تُضِرَّهُ ظُلْمَةُ الْجُبِّ وَوَحْشَتُهُ وَمَا نَالَهُ أَنْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ فَجَعَلَ الْجَبَّارَ الْعَاتِيَّ لَهُ عَبْدًا بَعْدَ إِذْ كَانَ [لَهُ] مَالِكًا ، فَأَرْسَلَهُ وَرَحِمَ بِهِ أُمَّةً وَكَذَلِكَ الصَّبْرُ يُعَقِّبُ خَيْرًا فَاصْبِرُوا وَوَقَلُّوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ عَلَى الصَّبْرِ تُوجِرُوا .

...Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī — may God be pleased with him — from a group of his teachers, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid, from his father, from 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, from 'Abd Allāh ibn Muskān, from Abū Baṣīr, who says: "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) say, 'A free human being is free in all circumstances. Should a misfortune befall him he bears it with patience (*ṣabr*). If calamities strike him, they don't shatter him. If taken captive and subdued, he turns hardship into ease, as was the case of Joseph, the truthful and trustworthy (may God's benedictions be upon him). His freedom saved him from harm, although he was enslaved, subdued, and imprisoned. The darkness of the pit, the dread and whatever befell him did him no harm, until God favoured him and made the insolent tyrant, who had been his master, his slave. Then God made him His apostle and through him was merciful to a people. In this way patience is followed by good. So be patient and reconcile yourself to patience in order to be rewarded.' ”<sup>1</sup>

#### Exposition:

**N**ā'ibah is the singular of *nawā'ib*, which means 'events' and 'accidents' and according to *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* means misfortune (*muṣībah*). *Dakka* is synonymous with *daqqa*, which means 'to

pound', 'crush', 'grind' and 'to knock'. *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* says: وَقَدْ ذَكَرْتُ الشَّرِيَّةَ تَدَاكَّتْ عَلَيْهِ أَي تَدَاكَّتْ It also remarks, أَذَكَّةٌ ذَكَا إِذَا ضَرَبْتَهُ وَكَسَرْتَهُ حَتَّى سَوَّيْتَهُ بِالْأَرْضِ. This word also gives the sense of swarming, crowding and pressing together (*ijtimā'* and *izdiḥām*), as mentioned in *al-Nihāyah*. In a ḥadīth, Amīr al-Mu'minīn — may peace be upon him — is reported to have said: أَزْدَحَمْتُمْ تَدَاكُّكُمْ<sup>2</sup>, ثُمَّ تَدَاكُّكُمْ عَلَيَّ تَدَاكُّكَ الْإِبِلِ الْهَيْمِ عَلَى جِيَاظِهَا. According to *al-Nihāyah*, *dakka* also means *casara* (to break). In the present noble tradition, the former meaning is more appropriate in view of the phrase following it, although the second meaning also fits here. The preposition لَمْ تَكْبِيرُهُ signifies *wuṣṭiyyah* and فَهَرَّ وَاسْتَبَدَلَ is conjoined to it. Al-Majlisi — may God's mercy be upon him — states that it is وَاسْتَبَدَلَ بِالْفُسْرُسِ in some manuscripts, and is accordingly conjoined to لَمْ تَكْبِيرُهُ, thus making it the result of *ṣabr*. The phrase أَنْ اسْتَعْبِدَ is the passive participle and لَمْ يُضْرَرْ is the active subject of the verbal sentence. In *Mir'āt al-'uqūl* it is اسْتَعْبِدَ, and appears as اسْتَعْبِدَ in *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah*. It seems that it is a calligrapher's error in the manuscript of the *Mir'āt*, although its meaning is not totally invalid. However, that which is in *Wasā'il* is more in agreement with the totality and content of the noble tradition. وَمَا نَأَى is conjoined to طَلَمَةُ الْجَبِّ, implying that Joseph was not harmed by that which he suffered at his brothers' hands, nor by grief and adversity. As to the phrase أَنْ مَنِ اللَّهُ, it appears that it involves the ellipsis of إِلَى (until) and relates to لَمْ تَضْرُرْ in two possible yet conflicting ways. Al-Majlisi — may God be merciful to him — has mentioned several possible meanings of it whose description is not devoid of prolixity. The meaning of the master of Joseph (A) becoming his slave is that he became subservient and obedient to him (A).

### Desire, the Source of All Bondage:

Let it be known to you that in a man subjugated to the domination of lust and carnal desire, his servitude, servility and indignity increase in proportion to the intensity of their domination; for servitude means complete submission and obedience. The man obedient to lusts and subjugated to the carnal self is their obedient slave. He submissively obeys whatever they command and is a humble and obedient servant and slave in front of them. This obedience reaches a limit when he prefers obedience to them to obedience to the Creator of the heavens and the earth. He prefers their service to the service of the real King of kings. In that state, honour, dignity and freedom depart from his heart on which then settle the dusts of indignity, destitution and servitude. He becomes humble before worldly people and his heart bows down in prostration before them and before the possessors of worldly power and glory. In order to achieve the objects of his carnal desires and to satisfy the cravings of his belly and underneath, he submits to all



kinds of disgrace and indignities. As long as he remains in the bondage of lust and the carnal self, he does not abstain from violating the demands of honour, freedom and chivalry. He readily submits to the obedience of anyone, and is willing to accept favour from any insignificant person, as soon as he sees the probability of attaining his objective through his means, even if that person is the meanest and basest of all creation and even if the probability involved is something imaginary. And it is said that mere fancy is the proof of the greedy.

The servants of lust and mundane ambition have put on the shackles of slavery to carnal desire. They are ready to be slaves of anyone whom they know or imagine to be of worldly benefit to them. If verbally they declare themselves to be chaste and honourable, such lip service to honour is mere deception, for their words and deeds contradict such a declaration. This servility and captivity is a thing which always causes man to undergo suffering, pain, dishonour and distress. Hence a man with a sense of honour and dignity should seriously strive to cleanse himself of this abomination by all means and deliver himself from this bondage. Such purification and emancipation can only be attained through a fundamental treatment, which takes place through curative knowledge and action.

As to curative action, it consists of religious exercises and opposition to the carnal self. Over a period of time these free the soul from excessive love of the world and the pursuit of carnal lust and desire, until it becomes accustomed to virtues and moral excellences. As to curative knowledge, it lies in making oneself understand and causing this to enter into his heart that other creatures are as weak, needy, dependent and impoverished as himself. He should tell his heart, "Since all other creatures are, like me, dependent, in matters big and small, on Him Who is absolutely Able and Powerful, they are not capable of fulfilling anyone's needs. They are too insignificant to deserve the soul's attention or the heart's humbleness. The same Powerful Being that has bestowed honour, dignity and riches upon them is capable of bestowing these on anybody. In fact, it is a matter of shame that man should submit so much to dishonour and indignity for the sake of his belly and his lusts as to accept the favour of an insignificant, impoverished, powerless and lowly creature devoid of wisdom and vision. If at all you should seek anyone's favour, then seek the favour of the Absolutely Self-Sufficient, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, for if you pay attention to His sacred Essence and make your heart humble in His presence, that will liberate you from both the worlds and emancipate you from the servitude of creatures, as it has been said:<sup>3</sup>

الْعُبُودِيَّةُ جَوْهَرَةٌ كُنْهَهَا الرَّبُوبِيَّةُ.

That is, the inner, invaluable essence of servitude to God is freedom and lordship. Thus servitude to God, attention to the unique focus of all being, and subjugation of all powers and dominations to the Sovereignty of God create such a state in the devotee's heart that he comes to wield power and kingdom over all the worlds. His spirit rises to such heights of sublimity that he does not pay obeisance to anyone except the Sacred Divine Essence, and even if, accidentally, he should be under the domination and power of anyone, that does not shake his heart, which preserves its independence and freedom, as in the case of Joseph (A) and Luqmān (A) whose apparent subservience and servitude did not harm their free and freedom-seeking character. And there may be many a powerful despot and king, who having no trace of inner freedom, dignity and honour in their character, are base servants and obedient slaves of lust and carnal desire and who obsequiously ingratiate themselves to creatures.

Al-'Imām 'Alī ibn al-Husayn (A) is reported to have said in the course of a discourse:

إِلَيَّ لَا تَفْتَأُ أَنْ أُطَلَّبَ الدُّنْيَا مِنْ خَالِقِهَا فَكَيْفَ مِنْ مَخْلُوقٍ مِثْلِي؟

I am ashamed to ask anything of worldly things from their Creator, so how can I seek them from creatures like myself?<sup>4</sup>

My dear, if you are not ashamed of seeking the world, at least don't ask for it of weak creatures like yourself. Do understand that creatures have no power to do anyone any worldly good. I admit that you might have succeeded in attracting someone's attention through a thousand indignity and cajolery, but his will has no effect in the kingdom of God and no one has any role in the dominion of the King of kings. Hence do not degrade yourself so much by flattering insignificant creatures for the sake of a passing world and for passing and paltry desires. Don't forget your Lord and preserve your freedom. Remove the shackles of servitude and captivity and never forget Him under any circumstance, for, as stated in the noble tradition:

إِنَّ الْخُرَّ حُرٌّ عَلَى جَمِيعِ أَحْوَالِهِ .

The freeman is free in all circumstances.

Let it be known to you that contentment comes from the heart and the absence of neediness is a spiritual state, unrelated to external matters that lie outside the human self. I have myself seen certain persons amongst rich and wealthy classes who say things which no honourable poor man would say and whose statements are shameful. The hearts of

those wretches were covered by the dusts of dishonour and destitution. The Jews, who, in proportion to their number, are the richest and wealthiest of all people on the earth, have faces that manifest debasement, poverty, indigence, beggarliness, hunger and wretchedness. They spend all their lives in hardship, indignity, destitution and squalor. This is nothing but their inner poverty and spiritual abasement.

I have seen amongst pious and darvish-like persons some individuals whose hearts are so magnanimously free of want and need that they look at the entire world with indifference and consider none except the Sacred Essence of God Almighty as deserving of making a request. You too study carefully the conditions of worldly and ambitious people and you will find that their lack of self-respect and their degradation in flattering others is greater than that of others and their obsequiousness in front of people is greater. Those (pseudo mystic masters) who are in pursuit of disciples and claim to guide others, suffer indignities and put up with degrading flattery and ingratiation for some day's satisfaction of their carnal lusts. The heart of the seeker of disciples and adherents is humbler in front of the disciple than that of the latter in front of him. This is because of the difference in the character of their respect for one another. While the disciple's humbleness and affection is of a spiritual and godly character, the master's affection has a mundane and satanic character.

These that have been mentioned are the worldly forms of these evils and indignities. But were the curtains to rise, the real spiritual forms of these servitudes, bondages and chains of carnal lusts and desires will reveal themselves. Perhaps the seventy-cubit chain, of which God Almighty has informed us, a chain with which we shall be shackled and bound in that world, is the Hereafterly form of this very servitude and subjugation to the domination of Passion and Anger. And God Almighty declares:

... وَوَجَدُوا مَا عَمِلُوا حَاضِرًا ...

*And they shall find all they wrought present....(18:49)*

And He also says:

لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا اكْتَسَبَتْ ...

*(God charges no soul save to its capacity;) standing to its account is what it has earned, and against its account what it has merited.(2:286)*

That is, that which we obtain in the other world is a form of our own deeds.

Therefore, break away the lengthy chains of lust and desire. Remove the locks that bar the heart's entrance and set yourself free from bondage. Live like a free human being in this world so that you may be free in the other world; otherwise, you will encounter there the intolerable Hereafterly form of this bondage. The hearts of the saints of God, despite their absolute and total freedom from bondage, were so much dreadful of the final outcome and so much full of lamentations that it amazes all minds. I am aware that the matters mentioned in these pages are of a common and repetitive character. However, there is nothing wrong in such repetition, for constant reminding of the self and repetition of the truth is a desirable thing. This is why repetition has been considered desirable in prayers, supplications, worship and rituals. The main purpose is to accustom the self by means of repetitive exercises.

My dear, don't be deluded; understand that as long as man remains in the bondage of the carnal self and its desires and as long as the lengthy chains of Passion and Anger are around his neck, he cannot attain to any of the spiritual stations; the inward authority of the soul and the domination of its higher will shall not manifest itself. Also, the station of spiritual independence and dignity, which is one of the highest of spiritual stations, shall not be realized. Rather, this bondage and slavery restrains man from revolting against the authority of the carnal self. And when the authority of the carnal self and Satan becomes consolidated in the inward realm and all the faculties of the self become their obedient slaves, becoming submissive and humble in front of them, they do not remain satisfied with mere sins. Little by little, they draw man from minor to major sins and from there to weakening of beliefs, from there to darkening of the intellect, from there to the constricted path of denial and contestation (of the truth), and from there to the hostility and enmity of the prophets and the *awliyā'*. Throughout these stages, the self, which is their slave and under their domination, cannot disobey them. At last this obedience and captivity becomes so severe that it may take man to the most dangerous point.

Hence, the intelligent man with sympathy for himself must try by all means to liberate himself from this slavery, and as long as there is opportunity and his powers are intact and his life, health and youth are there and his faculties have not been totally subjugated (by Satan and the carnal self), he must rise to undertake this task. For some time he must exercise vigilance over himself, study his own inner states, reflect about the conditions of those who have passed away and faced an evil fate, and make his heart understand the passing character of worldly life. He must awaken his heart and inform it of the truth narrated from the Holy Prophet (S) who said:

## الدُّنْيَا مَزْرَعَةُ الْآخِرَةِ .

The world is the farm of the Hereafter.<sup>5</sup>

That is, if we do not sow the seeds of righteous deeds in the few days of our life here, the opportunity will be lost for ever. When we reach the threshold of the other world and death seizes us, deeds come to an end, hopes are extinguished. If, God forbid, we continue to remain in the slavery of lusts and the captivity of various carnal desires until the Angel of Death arrives, it is possible that Satan may achieve his ultimate objective of wresting away our faith. He may treat us in such a fashion and metamorphose our hearts to such an extent that we may depart from the world as enemies of God and His prophets and *awliyā'*. If that happens, God knows what calamities, what darkness and what terrors await us.

So, O base self! O negligent heart! Awake from thy sleep and arise to confront this enemy who for years has subdued you and made a captive of you, who drags you whenever he wants and commands you to perform every ugly and destructive deed! Arise and break these bonds! Sever these chains! Seek thy freedom and throw away this disgrace and indignity. Wear the girdle of servitude to God, the Almighty and the Glorious, that you may be free from every kind of servitude and slavery, that you may attain to the absolute kingdom of God in both the worlds.

My dear, although this world — being the believer's prison — is not the abode of Divine award and the place of the manifestation of God's kingdom, but should you come out from the captivity of the carnal self and submit to the servitude of God, make your heart a true monotheist and clear the dusts of plurality from the mirror of the spirit, and turn your heart's attention to the focal point of Absolute Perfection, you will witness its effects in this world itself and your heart will attain such an expanse that it will become the realm of the manifestation of God's total sovereignty, thus becoming greater than all the worlds. Hence He has said:

لَا يَسْغُنِي أَرْضِي وَلَا سَمَائِي وَلَكِنْ يَسْغُنِي قَلْبُ عَبْدِي الْمُؤْمِنِ .

My earth and My heaven do not contain Me, but I am contained in the heart of my faithful slave.<sup>6</sup>

Such richness and contentment will then pervade your heart that all the outward and inward realms will become worthless in your eyes and your will will become so mighty that it shall not attach itself to the corporeal and the celestial realms; rather it will not even consider them

worthy of itself.

طیران مرغ دیدی تو ز پای بند شهوت      بدرآی تا ببینی طیران آدمیت

You have watched the bird's flight;  
But should you remove the shackles of lust,  
You will witness the flight of man.

### Ṣabr, the Outcome of Freedom from Lust:

One of the great results and precious fruits of this freedom and emancipation from servitude to the carnal self is patience in calamities and misfortunes. Now it remains for us to explain briefly the meaning of *ṣabr*, the kinds of its fruits and its relation to freedom.

As defined by the researcher of the righteous sect, the explorer of the subtleties of the confirmed creed, the perfect in knowledge and deed, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī — may God sanctify his holy spirit — *ṣabr* means restraining the self from agitation when confronted with undesirables. And the famous, confirmed 'ārif (Khawājah 'Abd Allāh al-'Anṣārī), says in *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*:

صبر، نگاهداری نفس است از شکایت بر جزع مستور.

*Ṣabr* means restraining the self from complaint about hidden anguish.

And let it be known to you that *ṣabr* has been considered as one of the stations of those in the middle group (*mutawassitūn*), for as long as the self regards misfortunes and calamities as detestable and feels inward anguish on their account, its *ma'rifah* is deficient. Thus the station of *riḍā* in regard to Divine destiny and satisfaction at the turning up of misfortunes represents a higher station, although we consider this also to be one of the stations pertaining to the *mutawassitūn*. So also *ṣabr* in regard to abstinence from sins and in regard to fulfilment of duties (*ṭā'āt*) is also related to deficient knowledge of the secrets of *'ibādāt* and the Hereafterly forms of sin and obedience. For if one were to understand the reality of *'ibādah* and to believe in the purgatorial forms of worships and sins, *ṣabr* in regard to these has no meaning for him. Rather, the contrary becomes true here, and if a joy or comfort causes him to neglect worship or commit a sin, they (such joys and comforts) become detestable for him and his inward anguish becomes greater than that of those who bear misfortunes and calamities patiently.

The righteous servant and the knower of the duties of servitude, the possessor of noble stations and miraculous characteristics, 'Alī ibn Ṭāwūs — may God sanctify his spirit — is narrated to celebrate the first

day of his becoming *mukallaf*. He gave feasts and festivated in commemoration of that day, for God, the Blessed and the Supreme, had blessed him with the permission to perform duties on that day. Can anyone say that that sublime spirit exercised *ṣabr* in regard to worship and duties considering them as inwardly unwelcome? What a difference between us and those obedient servants of God! We think that God Almighty has burdened us with duties; we consider them troublesome and view them as a botheration. If one of us attempts to offer his prayer at the outset of its time, he says that it is better to be done with it and the sooner one relieves oneself the better! All our misfortunes are due to ignorance and foolishness and on account of the lack or absence of faith.

In any case, *ṣabr* is concealed anguish. And that which has been said about the great prophets and the Righteous Imams — who have been characterized with *ṣabr* — that could mean forbearance in regard to physical sufferings, which are painful as a matter of human nature; or it could mean *ṣabr* in regard to separation from the Beloved, which is one of the great stations of the lovers — and to this we shall return later. Otherwise, *ṣabr* in regard to obedience or misfortune or sin is not only inapplicable in regard to them but also in regard to their followers (*shī'ah*).

The famous 'ārif 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī, in *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, says:

The intent of the Shaykh, when he says that *ṣabr* means abstinence from complaint, is complaining to creatures. Otherwise, complaining to God Almighty and beseeching Him for relief is not opposed to *ṣabr*. Ḥadrat Ayyūb complained to God and said:

... أَنِي مَسَّنِيَ الشَّيْطَانُ بِئُضْبٍ وَعَذَابٍ ﴿٤١﴾

*Behold, Satan has visited me with weariness and chastisement'.(38:41)*

And God yet praises him, saying:

... إِنَّا وَجَدْنَاهُ صَابِرًا نِعْمَ الْعَبْدُ إِنَّهُ أَوَّابٌ ﴿٤٤﴾

*Surely We found him a steadfast man. How excellent a servant he was! He was penitent.(38:44)*

And Ḥadrat Ya'qūb (Jacob) said:

... إِنَّمَا أَشْكُوا بَنِيَّ وَحُزْنِي إِلَى اللَّهِ ...

*I make complaint of my anguish and my sorrow unto God, (12:86)*

although he was one of the forebearing. Rather, to quit complaining to God is a manifestation of the hardening (of the heart) and a sign of grudgefulness.

The accounts of the lives of the great prophets and the Infallible Imams — upon all of whom be God's benedictions — reveal that although their stations were over and above the stations of *ṣabr*, *riḍā* and *taslīm* (surrender), they never stopped supplicating, lamenting and confessing their impotence before the Worshipped One. They expressed their needs to God Almighty and this is not contrary to their spiritual stations. Rather, remembering God, cherishing the intimacy of solitude with the Beloved, and expression of servitude and humility in front of His absolute perfection and greatness is the ultimate end of the hopes of the mystics (*'ārifūn*) and the final destination of the journey of the wayfarers (*sālikūn*).

### The Results of Ṣabr:

You should know that *ṣabr* produces many results, among which is the soul's training and discipline. If a human being bears patiently with misfortunes and calamities for some time, if he seriously endures the hardships entailed by worship and rites and the bitterness arising from the renunciation of carnal pleasures, and if he does all this for the sake of obedience to his Lord and Provider, his soul gradually becomes accustomed to these things. Then it becomes disciplined and docile and relinquishes its earlier recalcitrance. To bear with hardships and difficulties becomes an easy thing for it. There develops within it an enduring luminous faculty through which he can rise over the station of *ṣabr* to reach other higher spiritual stations. *Ṣabr* in regard to sins is the source of the self's *taqwā*. *Ṣabr* in regard to obedience (*ṭā'āt*) is the source of intimacy with God. And *ṣabr* in misfortunes is the source of *riḍā* or contentment with Divine destiny and decrees. These are the stations of the faithful (*ahl al-īmān*) or rather those of the gnostics (*ahl al-'irfān*). In the noble traditions of the Infallible Ahl al-Bayt we find forceful emphasis on *ṣabr*. The following is a tradition of al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) from the noble *al-Kāfi*, in which the Imam says:

الصَّبْرُ مِنَ الْإِيمَانِ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الرَّأْسِ مِنَ الْجَسَدِ فَإِذَا ذَهَبَ الرَّأْسُ، ذَهَبَ الْجَسَدُ، وَكَذَلِكَ إِذَا ذَهَبَ الصَّبْرُ، ذَهَبَ الْإِيمَانُ.

Verily, *ṣabr* is to faith what the head is to the body. The body perishes without the head, and so also when *ṣabr* goes faith also disappears.<sup>7</sup>

In another tradition whose *isnād* reaches al-'Imām al-Sajjād (A), he is reported to have stated:



الصَّبْرُ مِنَ الْإِيمَانِ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الرَّأْسِ مِنَ الْجَسَدِ وَلَا إِيمَانَ لِمَنْ لَا صَبْرَ لَهُ .

Verily, *ṣabr* is to faith what the head is to the body: one who has no *ṣabr* has no faith.<sup>8</sup>

There are many traditions relating to this topic and we will mention some of them later in relevance with the context.

*Ṣabr* is the key to the gates of felicity and the main means of deliverance from mortal perils. *Ṣabr* makes man bear calamities with ease and face difficulties with composure. It strengthens the will and the power of resolution. It brings independence to the dominion of the soul. Anguish and anxiety on the other hand, aside from their shameful character, are symptoms of the soul's weakness. They deprive one's being of its stability, weaken the determination, and enfeeble the intellect. The informed researcher Khwājah Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī — may God sanctify his soul — states:

وَهُوَ - أَي الصَّبْرُ - يَمْنَعُ الْبَاطِنَ عَنِ الْإِضْطِرَابِ، وَاللِّسَانَ عَنِ الشَّكَايَةِ، وَالْأَعْضَاءَ عَنِ  
الْحَرَكَاتِ غَيْرِ الْمُعْتَادَةِ .

*Ṣabr* restrains the inner being from anguish, the tongue from complaint and the bodily members from untoward movements.

On the contrary, the inward being of the impatient person is full of anxiety and alarm. His heart is full of tremors and shaky, and this is itself the greatest calamity that can befall a human being and deprive him of peace. But *ṣabr* diminishes misfortune and makes the heart overcome hardship and assists the will to overpower calamities. In the same way, the impatient person complains of his troubles to everyone, and this, aside from causing disrepute among people who look down upon him as a weakling of instable character, makes him lose his standing in the court of the Holy Lord and in front of His angels. What faith in God and what surrender to the Holy Lord has the servant who cannot bear an adversity that visits him from his Beloved, the Absolute, after having received thousands upon thousands of His bounties and while being immersed in the sea of His favour, and opens his mouth in front of people to complain as soon as an adversity strikes him? So it is right if it is said that one who has no *ṣabr* has no faith.

If you have faith in your Lord and believe all the affairs to lie in His mighty hands, if you believe none else to have any say in the matters, of course you will not complain of the hardships of life and the adversities that strike you before God Almighty. Rather you will accept them willingly and thank Him gratefully for His bounties. Hence that inner agitation, those plaintive utterances, those unbecoming bodily

movements — all these bear testimony to our lack of faith. As long as we find ourselves amid favours, we are grateful, with a gratefulness that is formal and lacking inner substance, a gratefulness that is offered in greed of further favours. However, when a tragedy occurs or a pain or disease strikes us, we take our complaints against the Blessed and the Almighty Lord in front of the creatures. With a plaintive tongue and a tone brimming with taunts and cynicism, we complain about Him to all and sundry. Gradually those complaints, anxieties and misgivings sow the seeds of hostility towards God and His decrees inside the self. Slowly they sprout and grow, making the once passing feeling into an enduring trait. Thereupon, God forbid, the form of one's inward being assumes the form of enmity towards God and His ordainments. When that happens, things go out of one's control and one is no longer able to check his thoughts and feelings. His inward and outward being becomes coloured with the hostility towards God Almighty, and he departs from this world to face eternal wretchedness and gloom, with a spirit infused with the enmity and hatred of the Lord of Bounties. I seek refuge in God from the evil of a disastrous end and from a provisional faith (*īmān mustawda*). Hence it has been truly said that when *ṣabr* goes faith also departs.

And so, my dear, the matter is of great importance and the road is full of perils. Muster all the strength at your command and be patient and forbearing throughout the ups and downs of life. With manly courage stand against adversities and calamities. Make your self understand that agitation and anguish, aside from involving a great shame by themselves, are futile in confrontation with sufferings and calamities. No purpose is served by complaining about the irresistible decrees and inevitable ordainments of God in front of weak and powerless creatures, as pointed out by the following noble tradition from *al-Kāfī*:

مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَعْقُوبَ بِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ سَمَاعَةَ بْنِ مِهْرَانَ، عَنْ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ - عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ - قَالَ : قَالَ لِي : مَا حَبَسَكَ عَنِ الْحَجِّ ؟ قَالَ : قُلْتُ : جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ ، وَقَعَ عَلَيَّ دَيْنٌ كَثِيرٌ وَذَهَبَ مَالِي ، وَدَيْنِي الَّذِي قَدْ لَزِمَنِي هُوَ أَعْظَمُ مِنْ ذَهَابِ مَالِي ، فَلَوْلَا أَنَّ رَجُلًا مِنْ أَصْحَابِنَا أَخْرَجَنِي مَا قَدَرْتُ أَنْ أَخْرُجَ ، فَقَالَ لِي : إِنْ تَصَبَّرْتَ تَغْتَبَّطَ وَإِلَّا تَصَبَّرْتَ يُنْفِذُ اللَّهُ مُقَادِيرَهُ رَاضِيًا كُنْتَ أَمْ كَارِهًا .

Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī reports with his chain of transmitters from Samā'ah ibn Mihrān from al-'Imām al-Kāzīm (A) that the Imam said to him, "What stopped you from going for ḥajj?" Samā'ah says that he replied, "May I be your ransom, a big debt has fallen upon me and I have lost my property. However, the debt that lies upon me weighed more heavily upon me than the loss of property. Had it not been for one of our companions, I could not have come out of it." The Imam said, "If you are patient, you will be the object of

envy, and if you don't God will enforce His decrees regardless of your pleasure or displeasure."<sup>9</sup>

Thus we know that anxiety and anguish are not only futile, they are capable of inflicting terrible injuries and are followed by fatal consequences destructive to faith. On the other hand, *ṣabr*, forbearance and restraint bring fair, plentiful rewards and have sublime and beautiful forms in the world of Barzakh. This is stated at the end of the noble tradition expounded by us:

وَكَذَلِكَ الصَّبْرُ يُعْقِبُ خَيْرًا فَاصْبِرُوا وَوَقِّنُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ عَلَى الصَّبْرِ تَوَجَّرُوا.

Thus the ultimate result of *ṣabr* is good in this world — as known from the example of Ḥaḍrat Yūsuf (A) — and it is the cause of reward in the Hereafter. In another noble tradition of *al-Kāfi*, whose *sanad* goes up to Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī — may God's mercy be upon him — al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) is reported to have said:

قال : قال ابو عبد الله عليه السلام : من ابتلي من المؤمنين ببلاء فصبر عليه كان له مثل أجر ألف شهيد.

Abū Ḥamzah says: "Abū 'Abd Allāh said: 'Whoever of the believers that bears patiently with a tribulation that befalls him, has the reward of a thousand martyrs.'"<sup>10</sup>

There are many traditions relating to this subject and we will mention some of them in the following section. However, as to that which was said above that *ṣabr* has a beautiful purgatorial form, this is mentioned — apart from the demonstrative proofs confirming it — in the following tradition of the noble *al-Kāfi* from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A):

قال : إذا دخل المؤمن في قبره كانت الصلاة عن يمينه والزكاة عن يساره والبر مطل عليه وتتنحى الصبر ناحية، فإذا دخل عليه الملكان اللذان يليان مساءلته قال الصبر للصلاة والزكاة والبر: دونكم صاحبكم فإن عجزتم عنه فأنا دونه.

The Imam (A) said: "When the believer enters his grave, *ṣalāt* is on his right hand, *zakāt* on his left, virtue faces him, with *ṣabr* taking him under its shelter. When the two angels encharged with questioning enter upon him, *ṣabr* says to *ṣalāt*, *zakāt* and virtue, 'Take care of your companion, and if you fail to assist him I will take care of him myself.'"<sup>11</sup>

### The Degrees and Levels of Ṣabr:

Let it be known to you that, as indicated by the noble traditions,

there are various degrees and levels of *ṣabr*, and its reward and merit vary in accordance with its degree and level. This is revealed by the following tradition of the noble *al-Kāfi* narrated by the Master of the God-fearing, Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī (A) from the Holy Prophet (S):

قَالَ : قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ - الصَّبْرُ ثَلَاثَةٌ : صَبْرٌ عِنْدَ الْمُصِيبَةِ وَصَبْرٌ عَلَى الطَّاعَةِ وَصَبْرٌ عَنِ الْمَعْصِيَةِ . فَمَنْ صَبَرَ عَلَى الْمُصِيبَةِ حَتَّى يَرُدَّهَا بِحُسْنِ عَزَائِهَا ، كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَهُ ثَلَاثِمِائَةَ دَرَجَةٍ مَا بَيْنَ الدَّرَجَةِ إِلَى الدَّرَجَةِ كَمَا بَيْنَ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ ، وَمَنْ صَبَرَ عَلَى الطَّاعَةِ كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَهُ سِتْمِائَةَ دَرَجَةٍ مَا بَيْنَ الدَّرَجَةِ إِلَى الدَّرَجَةِ كَمَا بَيْنَ تَحُومِ الْأَرْضِ إِلَى الْعَرْشِ ، وَمَنْ صَبَرَ عَنِ الْمَعْصِيَةِ كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَهُ تِسْعِمِائَةَ دَرَجَةٍ مَا بَيْنَ الدَّرَجَةِ إِلَى الدَّرَجَةِ كَمَا بَيْنَ تَحُومِ الْأَرْضِ إِلَى مُنْتَهَى الْعَرْشِ .

'Alī (A) said, "The Messenger of Allah said, 'Ṣabr is of three kinds: *ṣabr* at the time of affliction, *ṣabr* in regard to obedience, and *ṣabr* in regard to disobedience. One who bears patiently with affliction, resisting it with a fair consolation, God writes for him three hundred degrees (of sublimity), the elevation of one degree over another being like the distance between earth and heavens. And one who is patient in regard to obedience, God writes for him six hundred degrees (of sublimity), the elevation of one degree over another being like the distance between the earth's depths and the Throne (*al-'arsh*). And one who is patient in regard to disobedience, God writes for him nine hundred degrees (of sublimity), the elevation of one degree over another being like the distance between the earth's depths and the furthest frontiers of the Throne.' "12

This noble tradition reveals that *ṣabr* in regard to disobedience is superior to the other levels of *ṣabr*, for it not only possesses greater number of degrees but also the range between its degrees is greater than those of the other kinds. It also shows that the extent of Paradise is much greater than what can come into our imagination, for our vision is limited and confined. That which has been said as a description of Paradise that:

... وَجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا كَعَرْضِ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ ...

...And a Garden the breadth whereof is as the breadth of heaven and earth....  
(57:21)

perhaps refers to the Paradise of deeds. That which has been referred to here in this noble tradition is the Paradise of character and the criterion in the Paradise of character is the strength and perfection of will. Hence its extent should not be confined within any limits. Some have stated that that which has been meant here is height. That is, it is possibly equal in breadth (to the Paradise of deeds) and different in height. But

this appears to be remote, for evidently 'breadth' here refers to extent not to breadth as opposed to length, for 'breadth' in reference to heaven and earth also has no meaning when taken in the ordinary sense of something opposed to length, although they do have 'breadth' in the sense of a 'second dimension' in the terminology of natural philosophers. The Book of God, however, does not speak in accordance with any specific terminology.

The noble *al-Kāfi* records the following tradition of the Prophet (S) with a chain of narration reaching al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A):

قَالَ : قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ - : سَيَأْتِي عَلَى النَّاسِ زَمَانٌ لَا يُنَالُ فِيهِ الْمُلْكُ إِلَّا بِالْقَتْلِ وَالتَّجْبِيرِ ، وَلَا الْغِنَى إِلَّا بِالْغَضَبِ وَالبُخْلِ ، وَلَا الْمَحَبَّةُ إِلَّا بِاسْتِخْرَاجِ الدِّينِ وَاتِّبَاعِ الْهَوَى ، فَمَنْ أَدْرَكَ ذَلِكَ الزَّمَانَ فَصَبَرَ عَلَى الْفَقْرِ وَهُوَ يَقْدِرُ عَلَى الْغِنَى وَصَبَرَ عَلَى الْبِغْضَةِ وَهُوَ يَقْدِرُ عَلَى الْمَحَبَّةِ وَصَبَرَ عَلَى الذُّلِّ وَهُوَ يَقْدِرُ عَلَى الْعِزِّ آتَاهُ اللَّهُ ثَوَابَ خَمْسِينَ صِدِّيقًا مِمَّنْ صَدَّقَ بِي .

The Imam (A) said: "The Messenger of Allāh (S) said, 'A time will come upon the people wherein political authority will not be attainable without bloodshed and tyranny, nor wealth without usurpation and stinginess, nor affection without discarding religion and pursuing lust and desire. Whoever lives in such times and bears patiently with poverty despite possessing the capacity to become rich (illegitimately), and bears up with hostility despite being capable of acquiring favour and affection, and bears with humiliation despite possessing the capacity to acquire honour, God will give him the reward of fifty truthful ones, of those who confirmed me.'"<sup>13</sup>

Something close to this has been said in another tradition from Amīr al-Mu'minīn (A) and there are many traditions relating to this theme. The few which have been quoted here are sufficient for our purpose.

### The 'Urafā's Degrees of Ṣabr:

Let it be known to you that that which has been said hitherto relates to the condition of ordinary people and the *mutawassitūn*. We stated at the beginning of this exposition that *ṣabr* has been considered as something pertaining to the stations of the *mutawassitūn*. But *ṣabr* has other levels which belong to the wayfarers of the path of perfection and the *awliyā'*. One of such levels of *ṣabr* is *ṣabr fi Allāh* (*ṣabr* in God), and it means steadfastness (*thabāt*) in spiritual endeavour (*mujāhadah*) and abstinence from objects of love and attraction. Rather it means the renunciation of selfhood in the path of the Beloved. This stage belongs to the wayfarers (*ahl al-sulūk*). Another level is that of *ṣabr ma'a Allāh* (*ṣabr* with God). It belongs to those blessed with the Presence and the

Beatific vision, which comes at the time of exit from the garment of manhood, and freedom from the curtains of deeds and attributes, and irradiation upon the heart of the lights of the Names and Attributes, and entry into the state of intimacy and awe and safeguarding of the self against changing from colour to colour and absence from the station of intimacy and vision.

Another level is that of *ṣabr ‘an Allāh* (*ṣabr* from God) which pertains to the stations of lovers of God and piners for Him, of those blessed with epiphany (*ahl al-shuhūd wa al-‘ayān*) at the time of returning to their own world, the world of plurality and sobriety (after intoxication with God). This is the hardest and the most difficult of the stations, and to it has referred the Master of the Wayfarers, the Commander of the Faithful, and the Leader of the Perfect (i.e. ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib [A]) in the noble Du‘ā’ Kumayl:

فَهَبْنِي [ يَا إِلَهِي وَسَيِّدِي وَمَوْلَايَ ] صَبَرْتُ عَلَىٰ عَذَابِكَ فَكَيْفَ أَصْبِرُ عَلَىٰ فِرَاقِكَ .

O my God, my Master and my Lord! Even if I were able to endure Thy chastisement, how shall I bear Thy separation?!

The following is narrated about al-Shibli:

وَرَوَى أَنَّهُ سَأَلَ مِنَ الْمُحِبِّينَ سَأَلَ الشُّبْلِيِّ عَنِ الصَّبْرِ فَقَالَ: أَيُّ الصَّبْرِ أَشَدُّ؟ فَقَالَ: الصَّبْرُ لِلَّهِ. فَقَالَ: لَا. فَقَالَ: الصَّبْرُ بِاللَّهِ. فَقَالَ: لَا. فَقَالَ: الصَّبْرُ عَلَى اللَّهِ. فَقَالَ: لَا. فَقَالَ: الصَّبْرُ فِي اللَّهِ. فَقَالَ: لَا. فَقَالَ: الصَّبْرُ مَعَ اللَّهِ. فَقَالَ: لَا. فَقَالَ: وَنَحَكَ فَأَيُّ؟ فَقَالَ: الصَّبْرُ عَنِ اللَّهِ فَشَهَقَ الشُّبْلِيُّ وَخَرَّ مَغْشِيًا عَلَيْهِ.

It is narrated that a youth from among the Lovers questioned al-Shibli about *ṣabr*. “Which kind of *ṣabr* is the hardest?” He asked. “The *ṣabr* for God,” replied al-Shibli. “No,” said the youth. “The *ṣabr* by God,” answered al-Shibli. “No,” said the youth. “The *ṣabr* over God,” said al-Shibli. “No,” said the youth again. “The *ṣabr* in God,” said al-Shibli. “No,” came the answer. “The *ṣabr* with God?” said al-Shibli, and the youth said “No,” again. “Woe to you, which one is it?” said al-Shibli, exasperated.

“The *ṣabr* from God,” came the answer.

Al-Shibli gave a cry and swooned.<sup>14</sup>

Another level is that of *ṣabr bi Allāh*, which is for those blessed with stability and steadfastness, which is attained after the state of sobriety and endurance with God (*baqā’ bi Allāh*) and after moulding oneself in accordance with Divine norms (*takhalluq bi akhlāq Allāh*). It is something attained by none except the perfect, and since we have nothing to partake of those stations, to elaborate further about these matters is not appropriate for these pages.

And Praise is God's at the beginning and the end, and may God's benedictions be upon Muḥammad and his immaculate Progeny.

*To be continued — inshā' Allāh.*

**NOTES:**

1. Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, ii, *Kitāb al-īmān wa al-kufr, bāb al-ṣabr*, 128. ḥadīth No. 6.
2. Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, ii, 128.
3. *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharī'ah*, bāb 100.
4. *Ilal al-sharāyī'*, i, 165; *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah*, x, 29.
5. *Ihyā' al-'ulūm*, iv, 14.
6. *Ghwāli al-li'ālī*, iv, 7.
7. *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, ii, *bāb al-ṣabr*, 128, ḥadīth No. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth No. 3.
9. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth No. 10.
10. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth No. 17.
11. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth No. 8.
12. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth No. 15.
13. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth No. 12.
14. *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irin*, *bāb al-ṣabr*, 88.

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# Other Sources of the Contents of Nahj al-Balāghah

Part 1



And lo, it is in the scriptures of the men of old. (26:196)

## Introduction:

**N**ahj al-balāghah is the magnificent collection of the sermons and speeches (*khuṭab*), letters (*kutub* or *rasā'il*) and sayings and aphorisms (*ḥikam*) of al-'Imām 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib (A), compiled by al-Sayyid al-Raḍī (359—406/970—1015), the great Shi'i scholar and poet, around the year 400/1009, one thousand years ago. Due to its eminence in the sacred literature of Islam it has been called *Akhkh al-Qur'ān*, 'brother of the Qur'ān, while *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-kāmilah*, the great collection of the prayers of al-'Imām 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn (A), 'Ali's grandson, has been awarded the appellation *Ukht al-Qur'ān*, 'sister of the Qur'ān'.

For centuries since its compilation, *Nahj al-balāghah* has enjoyed the adoring admiration of Muslim scholars, and many Sunni and Shi'i scholars have written lengthy commentaries on it. Many compilations of Imam 'Ali's speeches and sayings were made before and after *Nahj al-balāghah*, but none of them enjoyed the prestige and attention of this work, thanks to the literary acumen and taste of its author, al-Raḍī.

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\*The introduction to the lists of the sources of *Nahj al-balāghah*'s contents has been written by 'Ali Qulī Qarā'i, who has also translated the lists and checked them against the works of 'Abd al-Zahrā' al-Ḥusaynī al-Khaṭīb and the late Imtiyāz 'Alī Khān 'Arshī. It is hoped that this article will lay to rest, once for all, the doubts about the authenticity of *Nahj al-balāghah*'s contents — doubts which have done great harm to the Islamic world by depriving it of the bounty of this great book, which has fittingly be called *Akhkh al-Qur'ān*.

However, despite the great value of its contents and its incontrovertible authenticity, this book became a victim of scholarly ignorance and bias, and doubts were cast on the authenticity of the ascription of its contents to Imam 'Ali (A). These doubts gradually acquired credibility in Muslim circles and were later uncritically circulated by some Orientalists.

However, the learning and prodigious labour of some Muslim scholars in this century, both Sunni and Shi'i, have served to disperse the shadows of doubt that had gathered around *Nahj al-balāghah* and firmly established the authenticity of its contents. Among the works written on this topic, the most outstanding are the works of Imtiyāz 'Alī Khān 'Arshī and 'Abd al-Zahrā' al-Ḥusaynī al-Khaṭīb. Of the works written to establish the authenticity of *Nahj al-balāghah* are:

1. *Mā huwa Nahj al-balāghah* by Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahristānī (1884—1964).

2. *Maṣādir Nahj al-balāghah* by the same author.

3. *Istinād Nahj al-balāghah* by Imtiyāz 'Alī Khān 'Arshī.

4. *Madārik Nahj al-balāghah* by al-Shaykh al-Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'.

5. *Nahj al-sa'ādah fī mustadrak Nahj al-balāghah* by al-Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī.

6. *Maṣādir Nahj al-balāghah wa asānīduh* by al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Zahrā' al-Ḥusaynī al-Khaṭīb, whose dedication bears the date 2nd Rabi' al-Thānī 1368.

7. *Pazhohishī dar asnād wa madārik-e Nahj al-balāghah* (Tehran, 1356 H.Sh.) by Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Ja'fari.

8. *Madārik Nahj al-balāghah* (Qumm, 1396 H.) by Ridā Ustādī.

Both 'Arshī and 'Abd al-Zahrā' hold Ibn Khallikān (608—681/1211—1282) responsible for first casting doubts, in scholarly circles, on *Nahj al-balāghah*'s authenticity, in his work *Wafayāt al-'a'yān*, in the biographical account of al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, al-Raḍī's brother. He wrote:

People have differed about the book *Nahj al-balāghah*, the collection of al-'Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb's utterances, as to whether it was collected by him (al-Murtaḍā) or his brother, al-Raḍī. It has been said that it is not 'Alī's speech (*kalām*) but that of the compiler who has fabricated it and attributed it to him (i.e. Imam 'Alī). God knows best.

After Ibn Khallikān, other historians and biographers echoed his words. Ibn al-'Athīr in *Mukhtaṣar al-Wafayāt*, al-Ṣafadī in *al-Wāfi bi al-Wafayāt*, al-Yāfi'i in *Mir'āt al-jinān*, Ibn al-'Imād in *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, al-Dhahabī in *Mizān al-'itdāl*, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī in *Lisān al-mizān* repeated Ibn Khallikān's irresponsible statements, which threw doubt not only on the authenticity of *Nahj al-balāghah* but also its ascription to al-Raḍī.

Ridā Ustādī in his book mentions the following evidence of al-

**Raḍī's authorship:**

1. Al-Najāshī (d.450/1058) mentions *Nahj al-balāghah* among the works of al-Sayyid al-Raḍī.

2. Al-Raḍī himself mentions it as his work in his other works, which are: (a) *Ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl*, vol.5, p.167; (b) *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī majāzāt al-Qur'ān*, p.178; (c) *Majāzāt al-'āthār al-Nabawiyyah*, which mentions *Nahj al-balāghah* in five places (pp. 39–40, 67, 199, 251, 391); (d) *Khaṣā'is al-'A'immaḥ* (twice).

3. Al-Raḍī mentions his other works, such as *Khaṣā'is al-'A'immaḥ* (introduction, p. 33; Kh:21, p.63) and *Majāzāt al-'āthār al-Nabawiyyah* (H:466, p. 557) in *Nahj al-balāghah*.

4. Al-'Allāmah al-'Aminī reports having seen a manuscript in Najaf of *Nahj al-balāghah* with an *ijāzah* written in al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā's hand to a pupil for narrating *Nahj al-balāghah*. In it he refers to *Nahj al-balāghah* as 'my brother's book.'

5. Of early authors who have ascribed *Nahj al-balāghah* to al-Raḍī are:

(a) Al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī, in *al-Naqd* (compiled 559–566/1163–1170), ed. by Muḥaddith Urmawī, p. 180.

(b) Al-Shaykh Muntajab al-Dīn (d. 585/1189), *Fihrist*, e.f., *Bihār al-'anwār*, vol.105, p.281.

(c) Ibn Shahr Āshūb (d. 588/1192) in *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, p.51.

6. In some extant *ijāzahs* given by early scholars to pupils, *Nahj al-balāghah* is ascribed to al-Raḍī (e.g. see the *ijāzahs* of: al-'Allāmah al-Hillī (d. 726/1326) in *Bihār al-'anwār*, vol. 107 p. 71, and al-Shahīd al-'Awwal (734–786/1333–1384) in *Bihār al-'anwār*, vol. 107, p. 191).

7. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1257) and Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Maytham (d. 679/1280) possessed manuscripts of *Nahj al-balāghah* written in al-Raḍī's own hand. See the *Sharḥ* of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, vol. 12, p. 2, under Kh:223; vol. 14, p. 7, under K: 1; vol. 16, p. 293 under K: 45; vol. 20, p. 180, under H: 468. See the *Sharḥ* of Ibn Maytham, vol. 3, p. 231, Kh:171; vol. 4, p. 37, Kh:206; vol.4, p. 194, Kh:231; vol. 4, p. 209, Kh:232; vol. 4, pp. 247, 251, 275, 294, 299, under Kh:234 and vol. 4, p. 327 under Kh:237.

8. Al-Raḍī mentions his own name in several places in *Nahj al-balāghah* with the phrase *قال الرضوي*, as is his practice in *Khaṣā'is al-'A'immaḥ*.

**Nahj al-Balāghah's Sources:**

Al-Raḍī himself mentions some sources of *Nahj al-balāghah*'s contents, which are as follows:

1. *Al-Maghāzī* by Sa'id ibn Yaḥyā al-'Amawī (d. 191/806).

2. *Al-Jamal* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi

(d. 207/822).

3. *Al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn* of Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāhiz (d. 255/869).

4. *Al-Maqāmāt, fī manāqib Amīr al-Mu'minīn* by Abū Ja'far al-Iskāfī (d. 241/855).

5. *Al-Muqtadab* by Abū al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898).

6. *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk* by Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922).

7. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Abū 'Ubayd ibn Salām (d. 224/838).

8. *Al-Tha'lab* (d. 291/903).

9. Abū Mundhir Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi (d. 204/819).

### 'Abd Al-Zahrā's Work:

The sources given here are mainly derived from the important work of 'Abd al-Zahrā' al-Ḥusaynī, who has made use of the work of 'Arshī as well as other works. Contained in four volumes, it extends over about 1800 pages.

In the first chapter, "*Maṣādir Nahj al-balāghah*", 'Abd al-Zahrā' divides his sources into four kinds: (1) the extant sources compiled before *Nahj al-balāghah*'s compilation in the year 400/1009; (2) extinct sources compiled before 400/1009, mentioned in various books; (3) sources compiled after *Nahj al-balāghah* which transmit its contents from a different source than al-Raḍī and mention the complete chains of transmitters; (4) books written after al-Raḍī which mention Imam 'Alī's utterances with some differences of wording from the *Nahj al-balāghah* that indicate their derivation from some other source.

'Abd al-Zahrā' then goes on to give a list of 114 authors and their works which fall into the first and the second categories.

In the next chapter, "*al-Kutub al-mu'allafah fī kalām Amīr al-Mu'minīn (A)*", 'Abd al-Zahrā' gives a list of 22 compilations of Imam 'Alī's sermons, letters and sayings that are known to have been compiled before *Nahj al-balāghah* and a list of other 26 such works compiled after it.

In "*Mā huwa Nahj al-balāghah*", the author briefly discusses the book's excellences, quoting various writers from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd to al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh.

The next few chapters are devoted to answering ten different objections raised by various authors regarding its contents and style. 'Abd al-Zahrā' gives sound and vigorous replies to each of these objections. He then gives a list of 22 manuscripts of *Nahj al-balāghah* existing in various libraries and collections. He also gives a list of 101 commentaries written on *Nahj al-balāghah* starting from the *A'lām Nahj al-balāghah* of 'Alī ibn Nāṣir, al-Raḍī's contemporary, to recent times. It is followed by a list of 33 works in Arabic and Persian about the various aspects of *Nahj*

*al-balāghah.*

The lists of sources given here are based on the lists given by Kāzīm Muḥammadi and Muḥammad Dashti at the end of their comprehensive index of the words of *Nahj al-balāghah*, *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li alfāz Nahj al-balāghah* (Qumm: 1406 H./1364 H.Sh.). These lists have been compared with the works of 'Abd al-Zahrā' and 'Arshī in order to remove errors and omissions. These contain few sources which have not been mentioned in the two works.

It is to be noted that the sources mentioned under each *khuṭbah*, *kitāb* or *ḥikmah* may contain the whole or just a part of it, and in some cases it is itself part of a longer text which appears in one or more of the sources mentioned. Some works compiled after *Nahj al-balāghah* — such as al-'Āmidī's *Ghurar* or Ibn al-'Athīr's *al-Nihāyah* — are mentioned because, as pointed out by 'Abd al-Zahrā', the textual differences suggest that their authors have taken those texts from some source other than al-Raḍī. In some cases the commentaries of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Ibn Maytham are mentioned as sources, because they contain certain details about a sermon or letter which have not been mentioned by al-Raḍī, which indicates that these details were derived by these authors from some work other than *Nahj al-balāghah* which contained that sermon or letter with additional details.

Readers interested in detailed discussion of the sources of each sermon, letter and aphorism should refer to 'Abd al-Zahrā's fine work, whose third edition (1405/1985) has been published by Dār al-'Aḍwā', P.O.Box 40/25, Beirut.

All references pertaining to *Nahj al-balāghah* are based on the edition of Dr. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, published from Beirut (1387 H.) and reprinted in Iran (Qumm, 1395 H.). The symbols Kh, K and Ḥ refer to the three sections of the book, *Khuṭab*, *Rasā'il* and *Ḥikam* (Kh:100, for instance, stands for *Khuṭbah* No. 100 according to Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ's edition).

The bibliography of the main sources is given at the end.

Readers further interested in *Nahj al-balāghah* and al-Raḍī's life and work may refer to the following articles published in *al-Tawḥīd*:

1. Martyr Murtaḍā Muṭahhari, *Glimpses of the Nahj al-balāghah*, translated by 'Alī Qulī Qarā'i; vol.2, Nos. 3 & 4; vol. 3, Nos. 1 — 4.
2. Waḥīd Akhtar, "An Introduction to Imāmiyyah Scholars: al-Sayyid al-Raḍī, Life and Works," vol.3, Nos. 3 & 4.
3. Al-Tawḥīd Editorial staff, "The *Nahj al-balāghah*: An Introduction," vol.2, No.2.

**KHUṬAB:**

1. Praise belongs to God, Whose glory lies beyond.... الخطبة ١ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَا يَبْلُغُ

Other Sources of the Contents of Nahj al-Balāghah Part 1

(1) Al-Harrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 57; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, I, 140; (3) al-Qādī al-Qudā'ī, *Dustūr*, 153; (4) al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, II, 164; (5) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*; (6) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, *bāb al-samā' wa al-kawā-kib*; (7) al-Wāsiṭī, '*Uyūn*, see al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol.77, 300, 423; (8) al-Rāwandī, *Sharḥ*, see *Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'*, *Madārik*, 69; (9) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, I, 150.

2. I praise Him, seeking the completion of His bounty.... *الخطبة ٢- أحمده استتماماً لِنِعْمَتِهِ...*

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, '*Uyūn*, I, 326; (2) al-Ṭabari, *al-Mustarshid*, p.73; (3) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, III, 112; (4) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 331, 354; (5) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I.

3. By God, so and so (Ibn Abī Quḥāfah).... *الخطبة ٣- أما والله لقد تقصتها ...*

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 62; (2) Ibn Qubbah, *al-'Inṣāf*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, I, 69, see also 'Abd al-Zahrā', I, 309—310; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī*, 344; (4) al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Askarī, from him al-Ṣadūq in *Ma'ānī*; (5) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, see 'Abd al-Zahrā', I, 311—312 and al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol.8, 160; (6) al-Ka'bi (d.319/931) see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Shraḥ*, I, 69; (7) Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Manāqib*, see *Bihār*, vol.8, 160; and 'Abd al-Zahrā', I, 310—11; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 135; (9) al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, see *al-Ghadīr*, VII, 83; (10) al-Ṣadūq, *Ilal*, *bāb al-'illat allatī min ajlihā taraka Amīr al-Mu'minīn (A) mujāhadat ahl al-khilāf*; (11) Abū Sa'īd al-'Ābī, *Nathr al-durar* and *Nuzhat al-'adīb*, see 'Abd al-Zahrā', I, 313; (12) al-Murtadā, *al-Shāfī*, 203, 204; (13) al-Ḥaffār, *al-'Inṣāf* from him al-Ṭūsī in *al-'Amālī*; (14) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 392; (15) Quṭb al-Dīn Rāwandī, *Sharḥ*, from Ibn Mardawayh and al-Ṭabarānī; (16) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 133; (17) al-Harrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 313; (18) al-Murtadā, *Sharḥ al-Khuṭbat al-Shiqshiqiyyah*, see *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol.41, p.195; (19) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Iḥtijāj*, I, 95; for a detailed discussion of sources, see 'Abd al-Zahrā', I, 309—324.

4. Through us you were guided.... *الخطبة ٤- بنا اهتديتم في الظلماء ...*

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 147; (2) al-Ṭabari, *al-Mustarshid*, 95.

5. O people, tear the waves of.... *الخطبة ٥- أيها الناس شقوا أفواج الفس ...*

(1) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, *bāb 6*, 137; (2) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Iḥtijāj*, I, 127; (3) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, II, 139, see 'Arshī.

6. By God, I shall not be like the badger that.... *الخطبة ٦- والله لا أكون ...*

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, events of the year 36 H.S VI, 3107; (2) Ibn Salām, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 174; (3) al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, V, 2026; (4) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, 33\*.

7. They have taken Satan to be the sovereign.... الخُطبة ٧- اِتَّخَذُوا الشَّيْطَانَ ...

(1) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 109; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 50. (*kh-t-1*)

8. He claims that he swore allegiance.... الخُطبة ٨- يَزْعَمُ أَنَّهُ قَدْ بَاتَعَ ...

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 175, from (2) al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*.

9. They thundered and.... الخُطبة ٩- وَقَدْ أَرْعَدُوا ...

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 177, from (2) al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*. (3) Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, as quoted by (4) al-Khwārazmī in *al-Manāqib*.

10. Lo, Satan has brought together.... الخُطبة ١٠- أَلَا وَإِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ ....

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 118; see also under Kh:22 and Kh:135 below.

11. Mountains shift, yet you shouldn't.... الخُطبة ١١- تَزُولُ الْجِبَالُ وَلَا تَزُلْ ...

(1) Al-Māmatīrī, *Nuzhat al-'abṣār*, see 'Abd al-Zahrā', I, 340; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, IV, *bāb al-qatl wa al-shahādah*.

12. Does your brother love us?.... الخُطبة ١٢- أَهْوَىٰ أَخِيكَ مَعَنَا ....

(1) Al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, I, 262.

13. You are a woman's army.... الخُطبة ١٣- كُنْتُمْ جُنْدَ الْمَرْأَةِ ....

(1) Al-Dīnawarī, *al-'Akhbār*, 153; (2) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 377; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, I, 217; (4) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 328; (5) al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, VIII, 447; (6) 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr*, 655; (7) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, \* 78; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 210, 203.

14. Your land is close to the sea.... الخُطبة ١٤- أَرْضُكُمْ قَرِيبَةٌ مِنَ الْمَاءِ ....

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 217; (2) al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*, see al-Mufīd, *op. cit.*; (3) al-Dīnawarī, *al-'Akhbār*, 151; (4) Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, I, 217; (5) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 368; (6) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 169.

15. By God, even if I had found that....

الخطبة ١٥ - وَاللَّهِ لَوْ وَجَدْتُهُ ....

(1) Al-'Askarī, *al-'Awā'il*, 102; (2) al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, I, 396; (3) al-Mas'ūdī, *Ithbāt*, 120.

16. My word is the guarantee of my promise....

الخطبة ١٦ - ذِيقِي بِمَا أَقُولُ رَهِيئَةً ...

(1) Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, I, 170; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 132; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 139; (4) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 236; (5) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 162; (6) al-'Askarī, *al-'Awā'il*, 102; (7) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, I, 369 and *Rawḍat al-Kāfi*, 67; (8) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*,\* 147.

17. The most detestable of creatures....

الخطبة ١٧ - إِنَّ أَبْغَضَ الْخَلَائِقِ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, I, 55; (2) Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt*, I, 290; (3) al-Harawī, *al-Jam'*, see (4) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah* (under *kh-b-ṭ*); (5) al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *Uṣūl al-madhāhib*, 135; (6) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 240; (7) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Ihtijāj*, I, 390; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 109; (9) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, I, 61; (10) Ibn Qutaybah, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, I, 90.

18. When a case is put before....

الخطبة ١٨ - تَرُدُّ عَلَيَّ أَحَدِهِمْ ...

(1) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 141; (2) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Ihtijāj*, I, 139; (3) al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, I, 93; (4) Narrated by Ibn Udhaynah from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) in al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, III, 174; see also al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*.

19. What know ye what is against me....?

الخطبة ١٩ - مَا يُدْرِيكَ مَا عَلَيَّ ....

(1) Abū al-Faraj, *al-'Aghānī*, VIII, 59.

20. Indeed, if you could see....

الخطبة ٢٠ - فَإِنَّكُمْ لَوْ قَدْ عَابْتُمْ ....

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, I, 405.

21. Your ultimate goal is before you....

الخطبة ٢١ - فَإِنَّ الْعَايَةَ أَمَامَكُمْ ....

(1) Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Khaṣā'is*, 87; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*,\* V, 157.

22. Lo, Satan has begun encouraging....

الخطبة ٢٢ - أَلَا وَإِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ ....

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 154; (2) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*,



see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, II, 35; (3) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 95; (4) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf*, 173; (5) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 172; (6) al-Khwārazmī, *al-Manāqib*; 117; (7) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 171, II, 167; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, \* 129; see Kh:26 and Kh: 172 below.

23. Verily, the command descends.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٣ - أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّ الْأَمْرَ ....

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, II, 56, 294, V, 56; (2) Ibn Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 366; (3) Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 10; (4) al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 149; (5) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-kasb wa al-māl*; (6) al-Muttaqī, *Kanz*, VIII, 225; (7) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, in the biographical account of 'Alī (A); (8) Ibn Salām, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, II, 183; (9) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, III, 468; (10) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, I, 189; (11) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 80.

24. By my life,.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٤ - وَلَعَمْرِي مَا عَلَيَّ مِنْ قِتَالٍ ....

Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, III, 244 ('a.s.b).

25. It is only Kūfah.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٥ - مَا هِيَ إِلَّا الْكُوفَةُ ....

(1) Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 149; (2) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, III, 337; (3) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, I, 305, X, 225; (4) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 383; (5) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, \* 163; (6) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, II, 636.

26. Verily, God sent Muḥammad (S).... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٦ - إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا ....

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 154; (2) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 303, II, 633; (3) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 95; (4) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf*, 173; (5) al-Kulaynī, *al-Rasā'il*, mentioned by Ibn Ṭāwūs, *op. cit.*

27. Indeed, jihād is one of the doors of Paradise.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٧ - أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّ الْجِهَادَ ...

(1) Al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān*, I, 170, II, 66; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 236; (3) al-Dīnawarī, *al-'Akhbār*, 211; (4) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, II, 474; (5) al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, I, 13; (6) Abū al-Faraj, *al-'Aghānī*, XV, 45; (7) Idem., *Maqātil*, 27; (8) al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī*, 309; (9) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 442; (10) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 403; (11) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 69; (12) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, \* 160—164; (13) al-Kulaynī, *Furū' al-Kāfī*, IV, 5.

28. Surely, the world has turned its back.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٨ - أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا أُدْبِرَتْ ....

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, \* 138; (2) al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān*, I, 171; (3) al-

Other Sources of the Contents of Nahj al-Balāghah Part 1

Bāqillānī, *I'jāz*, 222; (4) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 35; (5) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 365; (6) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 235; (7) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 413; al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, II, 633.

29. O people, who are together with their bodies, but.... الخطبة ٢٩- آيها الناس المَجْتَمِعة

(1) Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, I, 170; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 150; (3) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 71; (4) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 380; (5) al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, I, 391; (6) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, I, 306; (7) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 112; (8) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, II, 483; (9) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, \* 158; (10) al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*.

30. If I had ordered it,....

الخطبة ٣٠- لو أَمَرْتُ بِهِ ...

(1) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 98, 101.

31. Don't meet Ṭalḥah....

الخطبة ٣١- لَا تَلْقَيْنَنَّ ظُلْمَةَ ...

(1) Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, II, 115; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, I, 115; (3) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 314; (4) al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *al-Muwaffaqiyyāt*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 171; (5) Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-'a'yān*, biographical account of Ibn al-Mu'allim, see 'Abd al-Zahrā', I, 412.

32. O people, we have been born in....

الخطبة ٣٢- آيها الناس إِنَّا قَدْ أَصْبَحْنَا ...

(1) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 90; (2) al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, I, 175; (3) al-Dhahabī, *Mizān*, II, 276; (4) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 237; (5) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, \* II, 173; (6) al-Bāqillānī, *I'jāz*, I, 197.

33. Verily, God sent Muḥammad (S)....

الخطبة ٣٣- إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا (ص) ...

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 154.

34. Woe to you! I am tired of rebuking you....

الخطبة ٣٤- أَفْ لَكُمْ لَقَدْ سَمِنْتُ عِنَابَكُمْ

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 51; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 150; (3) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 380; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 79; (5) Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 179.

35. Praise belongs to God, even though....

الخطبة ٣٥- الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَإِنْ أَنَى ...

(1) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 365; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 43; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 119, 141; (4) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 110; (5) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 103; (6) Abū al-Faraj, *al-'Aghānī*,

IX, 5; (7) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 412; (8) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, II, 171; (9) Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah*, VII, 286.

36. I warn you....

الخطبة ٣٦- فَأَنَا نَذِيرٌ لَكُمْ ...

(1) Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *al-Muwaffaqiyyāt*, 350; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 47; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 147; (4) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 100; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 97; (6) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 402; (7) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 371.

37. I took up the task....

الخطبة ٣٧- فَفَعَلْتُ بِالْأَمْرِ حِينَ فَسَلُوا ....

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 134; (2) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsin*, I, 37.

38. Doubt is called doubt because....

الخطبة ٣٨- وَأَمَّا سُمِّيَتْ الشُّبُهَةُ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurār*, 98; (2) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 170; (3) al-Jāhīz, *Rasā'il*, 125.

39. I am faced with such who do not obey....

الخطبة ٣٩- فَمُنِيتُ بِمَنْ لَا يُطِيعُ ....

(1) Al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 291, 297, II, 453—4; (2) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 404; (3) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 41, events of the year 39 H.

40. A true statement to which a false meaning....

الخطبة ٤٠- كَلِمَةٌ حَقٌّ يُرَادُ بِهَا بَاطِلٌ ...

(1) Al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-'umm*; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 41; (3) Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt*, I, 530; (4) al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 136; (5) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 352, 355, 361, 377; (6) al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, II, 131.

41. O people, loyalty and truthfulness are twins....

الخطبة ٤١- إِنَّ الْوَفَاءَ تَوَامُّ الصِّدْقِ ....

(1) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 170; (2) al-Jāhīz, *Rasā'il*, 125.

42. O people, what I fear most for you....

الخطبة ٤٢- أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّ أَخَوْفَ مَا أَخَافُ ....

(1) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 3, 4; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 50; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 353; (4) al-Kulaynī, *Furū' al-Kāfi*, III, 29; (5) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 35, 47; (6) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*,\* 138; (7) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*,\* 73, 145; (8) Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah*, I, 56; (9) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 436.

43. My preparations for war with the Syrians....

الخطبة ٤٣- إِنَّ اسْتِعْدَادِي لِحَرْبِ أَهْلِ الشَّامِ

Other Sources of the Contents of Nahj al-Balāghah Part 1

(1) Al-Khwārazmī, *Manāqib*, 108; (2) Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 55; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-ʿImāmah*, I, 94; (4) Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, II, 108; (5) al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh*, I, 461; (6) al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 429.

44. May God disgrace Maṣqalah,....

الخطبة ٤٤ - قَبَّحَ اللَّهُ مَصْقَلَةَ ....

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḥ*, VI, 65—77, (2) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 329—372; (3) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 411—417; (4) Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾriḥ*, vol. 55 in the account of Maṣqalah ibn Hubayrah; (5) al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, III, 419; (6) Abū al-Faraj, *al-ʿAghānī*, IX, 100—106.

45. Praise belongs to God, Whose mercy....

الخطبة ٤٥ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ غَيْرَ مَقْنُوطٍ ....

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh*, I, 327; (2) al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 458; parts of it recorded by (3) al-Mufīd, *al-ʿIrshād*; (4) al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, I, 171; (5) Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn*, II, 235; (6) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*; (7) al-Bāqillānī, *Iʿjāz*, 222.

46. My God, I seek Thy refuge....

الخطبة ٤٦ - أَللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَعُوذُ بِكَ ...

(1) Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, II, 461; (2) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 132; (3) al-Qādī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim*, I, 347; (4) narrated from the Prophet (S) in al-ʿAzharī, *Tahdhīb*, III, 153; (5) al-Nūrī, *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*, 197, ḥadīth 975.

47. O Kūfah! It is as if I see you....

الخطبة ٤٧ - كَأَنِّي بِكَ يَا كُوفَةَ ....

(1) Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 163; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, I, *bāb al-bilād wa al-diyār*.

48. Praise belongs to God when night....

الخطبة ٤٨ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ كَلَّمَا وَقَبَّ ...

(1) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 131, 132; (2) mentioned by a group of biographers, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 287.

49. Praise belongs to God, Who knows the inside....

الخطبة ٤٩ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي بَطَّنَ ....

(1) Al-Wāsiṭī, *ʿUyūn*, see al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 67, 304.

50. Verily, the source of misguidance lies in....

الخطبة ٥٠ - إِنَّمَا بَدَأُ وَفُتِيَ الْفِتْنِ ...

(1) Al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, I, 208; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, *bāb al-bidaʿ wa al-raʿy wa al-maqāyīs*; (3) *Idem.*, *Rawḍat al-Kāfī*, 58; (4) al-

Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 136; (5) al-Tawhīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir*, 32.

51. They ask you to feed them....

الخطبة ٥١- قَدْ اسْتَظَلَعْتُمْ الْقِتَالَ ...

(1) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, I, 329.

52. Lo, the world has....

الخطبة ٥٢- أَلَا وَإِنَّ الدُّنْيَا قَدْ تَصَرَّعَتْ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh*, I, 329; (2) al-Ṭūsī, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, 461; (3) Parts of it in Abū Nu'aym, *al-Ḥilyah*, I, 77 and (4) al-Mufīd, *al-'Amālī*, 87.

53. The best kind of sacrifice....

الخطبة ٥٣- وَمِنْ كَمَالِ الْأَضْحِيَّةِ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh*, I, 461; (2) al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 429; (3) al-Khwārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, 108; (4) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 201; (5) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, 94; (6) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 108.

54. Rush towards me....

الخطبة ٥٤- فَتَدَاكَ عَلَى تَدَاكَ الْإِبِلِ ...

(1) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 128 (d.k.k); (3) Abū Mikhnaf, *al-Jamal*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 340; (4) also the sources mentioned under Kh:26.

55. As to your statement that....

الخطبة ٥٥- أَمَا قَوْلُكُمْ أَكُلَ ذَلِكَ ...

(1) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 209; (2) 'Abd al-Zahrā', *Maṣādir*, II, 27, says that statements to this effect have been widely narrated from 'Alī (A).

56. In the company of the Prophet (S)....

الخطبة ٥٦- وَلَقَدْ كُنَّا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ (ص) ...

(1) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 520; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, IV, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-qatl wa al-shahādah*; (3) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*; (4) al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*; for (3) and (4) see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 348—355.

57. Soon after me, a man....

الخطبة ٥٧- أَمَا إِنَّهُ سَيَظْهَرُ عَلَيْكُمْ بَعْدِي ...

(1) Al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 373; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* (1278) 207; (3) al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, under verse 16:106; (4) al-Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-'asnād*; (5) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 119; (6) al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, II, 385; (7) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 214, II, 374; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, \* 184.

58. The sand-storms struck you....

الخطبة ٥٨- أَصَابَتْكُمْ حَاصِبٌ ...

Other Sources of the Contents of Nahj al-Balāghah Part 1

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 48, 3378; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 124; (3) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 100; (4) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 162; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, under (*ā.b.r*); (6) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 369; (7) al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, II, 141.

59. The place they shall fall.... الخُطبة ٥٩- مَصَارِعُهُمْ دُونَ التُّظْفَةِ ...

(1) Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 385; (2) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 416; (3) al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, II, 120.

60. Certainly not. By God, they are yet sperm.... الخُطبة ٦٠- كَلَّا وَاللَّهِ إِنَّهُمْ نُطْفٌ ...

Sources same as that of Kh:59.

61. Do not fight the Khawārij after me.... الخُطبة ٦١- لَا تَقَاتِلُوا الْخَوَارِجَ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *Ilal*, 201; (2) al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tahdhīb*, II, 48.

62. There is a protective shield of God.... الخُطبة ٦٢- وَإِنَّ عَلَيَّ مِنَ اللَّهِ جُنَّةً حَصِينَةً ...

(1) Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah*, VIII, 12, from (2) Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-qadar*; (3) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 89; (4) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-qatl wa al-shahādah*.

63. Lo, this world is a place.... الخُطبة ٦٣- أَلَا إِنَّ الدُّنْيَا دَارٌ لَا يُسَلَّمُ

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, under *inna*, 10, 88, 199.

64. Fear God, O servants of God!.... الخُطبة ٦٤- فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 105, 154, 155, 246; (2) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 145. (3) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, \* 7.

65. Praise belongs to God.... الخُطبة ٦٥- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَسْبِقْ لَهُ حَالٌ خَالًا ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawhīd*, 29, 62; (2) al-Wāsiṭī, *Uyūn*; (3) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 238.

66. O Muslims!.... الخُطبة ٦٦- مَعَاشِرَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ...

(1) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 479; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, I, 110, 133; (3) al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān*, II, 24; (4) Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 45; (5) al-Ṭabarī, *Bashārah*, 172; (6) al-Qudā'ī, *Dustūr*, 124; (7) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, XII, 182; (8) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 380; (9)

Furāt, *Tafsir al-Qur'an*.

67. Why didn't you argue....

الخطبة ٦٧ - فَهَلَا اخْتَجَجْتُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ ....

(1) Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, VIII, 168; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 326; (3) al-Karājiki, *al-Ta'ajjub*, 13; (4) al-Jawhari, *al-Saqifah*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, II, at the beginning; (5) al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 263; (6) Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, *al-'Istī'āb*, in the account of 'Awf ibn Athāthah; (7) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*; (8) al-Tawhīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir*, 59; (9) al-Murtaḍā, *al-'Amālī*, I, 198.

68. I had intended to make Hāshim....

الخطبة ٦٨ - وَقَدْ أَرَدْتُ تَوَلِيَّةَ مِصْرَ ...

(1) Al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*; (2) al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 63 (events of the year 36); (3) al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, II, 404.

69. How long shall I accord to you the consideration... الخطبة ٦٩ - كَمْ أَذَارِيكُمْ كَمَا تُدَارَى ...

(1) Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, II, 438, 458; (2) al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 184; (3) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*; (4) al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, \* VI, 3444, 3445, chronicles of the year 39.

70. I fell asleep as I sat....

الخطبة ٧٠ - مَلَكَتْنِي غَنِي وَأَنَا جَالِسٌ ...

(1) Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, III, 36; (2) Abū al-Faraj, *Maqātil*, 16; (3) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 298; (4) al-Qālī, *Dhayl al-'Amālī*, 190; (5) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 160; (6) Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Mughtālīn*, on the authority of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Salamī; (7) Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, *al-'Istī'āb*, III, 61; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 9; (9) al-Murtaḍā, *Ghurar*, IV, 78; (10) al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, II, 495.

71. O people of Iraq....

الخطبة ٧١ - أَمَا بَعْدُ يَا أَهْلَ الْعِرَاقِ ...

(1) Ibn Da'b, *al-'Ikhtisās*, 155; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 161; (3) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Ihtijāj*, I, 254; (4) al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, II, 236; (5) Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, II, 301; (6) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 105; (7) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 137.

72. My God, Who art the spreader....

الخطبة ٧٢ - أَللَّهُمَّ دَاجِيَ الْمَذْحُوتِ ...

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, IV, 364; (2) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 159; (3) al-Qālī, *Dhayl al-'Amālī*, 173; (4) al-'Azharī, *Tahdhīb*; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*; (6) al-Qudā'i, *Dustūr*, 119; (7) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 136; (8) al-Samāhijī, *al-Ṣaḥīfat al-'Alawiyyah*,

3; (9) al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā'iqa*; for the *asnād* of this *Khuṭbah* see al-Mahmūdī, *Nahj al-sa'ādah*, 286.

73. Didn't he give me his allegiance after.... الخبته ٧٣- أولم يُبايعني بعد قتل ...

(1) Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, I, in the account of Marwān; (2) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 361; (3) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 37; (4) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 78; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 67; see al-Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, II, 54.

74. You know for certain that.... الخبته ٧٤- لقد علمتم أنني أحتق الناس بها من غيري ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, chronicles of the year 23; (2) al-'Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 341; (3) al-Harawī, *al-Jam'*; (4) al-Shaykh Warrām, *Tanbīh*; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, events of the year 23.

75. Didn't the knowledge of Banū Umayyah.... الخبته ٧٥- أولم ينه تبي أمية ...

(1) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, under (*q.r.f*); (2) al-Ṭurayḥī, *Majma'*, under (*q.r.f*).

76. May God have mercy upon him who.... الخبته ٧٦- رحم الله افرأ سمع حكماً قوعى ...

(1) Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 151; (2) al-Karājikī, *Kanz*, 162; (3) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 59; (4) Ibn Shākir, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*; (5) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 231; (6) al-Ḥuṣarī, *Zahr*, I, 42; (7) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*; (8) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 145.

77. The Banū Umayyah.... الخبته ٧٧- إن تبي أمية ...

(1) Abū al-Faraj, *al-'Aghānī*, XI, 29, II, 29; (2) al-'Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, XV, 27; (3) Ibn Salām, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*; (4) Ibn Durayd, *al-Mu'talif*; (5) Al-'Iṣfahānī, *al-Jam' bayn al-Gharībayn*; (6) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 186; (7) al-'Askarī, *Jamharat 'al-'amthāl*, I, 165.

78. My God, forgive me.... الخبته ٧٨- اللهم اغفرلي ...

(1) Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Mi'at al-mukhtārah*.

79. Do you claim that.... الخبته ٧٩- أنزعم أنك تهدي ...

(1) Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan, *Ṣiffīn*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 203; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *'Uyūn akhbār al-Ridā*, I, 138; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 249; (4) al-Ṣadūq, *'Uyūn al-jawāhir*, see (5) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraj al-mahmūm*, 57—



59; (6) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 368.

80. O people, women are....

الخطبة ٨٠- معاشر الناس ...

(1) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 85; (2) Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt*, I, 282 (3) al-Kulaynī, *Furū' al-Kāfi*, V; (4) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, *Majlis* 50; (5) al-Mufīd, *al-'Ikhtisās*.

81. O people, zuhd lies in....

الخطبة ٨١- أيها الناس الزهادة ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī al-'akhbār*, 251; (2) Idem., *al-Khiṣāl*, I, 11; (3) al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 234; (4) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurār*, 119; (5) al-Fattāl, *Rawḍah*, 434; (6) al-Ṭabarsī, *Mishkāt*, 106.

82. How should I describe this house....

الخطبة ٨٢- ما أصف من دار ...

(1) Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, I, 88; (2) al-Qālī, *al-'Amālī*, II, 117; (3) Ibn Durayd, *al-Mujtanā*, 31; (4) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 138; (5) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, III, 172; (6) al-Murtadā, *al-'Amālī*, 153; (7) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 136; (8) al-Ṭabarsī, *Mishkāt*, 243; (9) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurār*, 86; (10) al-Karājikī, *Kanz*, 160.

83. Praise belongs to God, Who is high....

الخطبة ٨٣- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي عَلَا بِحَوْلِهِ ...

(1) Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 146; (2) al-Qudā'ī, *Dustūr*, 59; (3) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurār*; (4) al-Wāsiṭī, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*; (5) Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyah*, I, 77; (6) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 132 (b.d.d), II, 287 ('a.a.z).

84. How strange of the son of al-Nābighah....!

الخطبة ٨٤- عَجَبًا لِابْنِ النَّابِغَةِ ...

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, III, 10, I, 164; (2) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 287; (3) al-Tawḥīdī, *al-'Imtā'*, III, 183; (4) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 54; (5) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 145, 151; (6) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 131; (7) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 117, III, 59, 110, IV, 59, 89; (8) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 513; al-Ṭūsī narrates from Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān al-Marzbānī (d.384/994), Ibn 'Uqdah (d.333/944) and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār (d.255/869).

85. I bear witness that there is no god except Allāh.... وَالشَّهَادَةُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ....

(1) Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyah*, I, 77; (2) al-Wāsiṭī, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*; (3) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 131; (4) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 140.

86. He knows the secrets....

الخطبة ٨٦- قَدْ عَلِمَ السَّرَائِرَ ...

Other Sources of the Contents of Nahj al-Balāghah Part 1

(1) Al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 145; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 100, 101; (3) al-Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 233—4; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 120; (5) al-Ṭabarsī, *Mishkāṭ*, 156; (6) al-ʿĀmidī, *Ghurar*.

87. O servants of God, the most beloved of God's.... الخُطْبَةُ ٨٧- عِبَادَ اللَّهِ إِنَّ مِنْ أَحَبِّ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ...

(1) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, *bāb al-ʿizz wa al-sharaf*; see also Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, II, 132.

88. God didn't crush any tyrant before.... الخُطْبَةُ ٨٨- أَمَا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَقْصِمِ جَبَّارِي ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 62; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-ʿIrshād*, 173; (3) Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 46 (a.z.l.).

89. He sent him after a period.... الخُطْبَةُ ٨٩- أَرْسَلَهُ عَلَيَّ جِئِن فِتْرَةٍ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, I, 60; (2) al-Sayyid al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, I, 342; (3) ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr*, p.3.

90. Praise belongs to God, Who is.... الخُطْبَةُ ٩٠- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَعْرُوفِ مِنْ غَيْرِ رُؤْيَةٍ ...

(1) Al-Wāsiṭī, *Uyūn al-ḥikam*; (2) al-ʿĀmidī, *Ghurar*, 185; (3) Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 345.

91. Praise belongs to God, Who is not enriched by.... الخُطْبَةُ ٩١- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَا يَفْرُهُ  
الْمَنْعُ وَالْجُمُودُ ....

(1) Masʿadah ibn Ṣadaqah, author of *Khuṭab Amīr al-Muʿminīn*; (2) Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīh, *al-ʿIqd*, II, 406; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 34; (4) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, I, *bāb al-malāʾikah*; (5) Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Nihāyah*, discusses its unusual (*gharīb*) phrases in several places; (6) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraj al-mahmūm*, 56.

92. Leave me and find someone else.... الخُطْبَةُ ٩٢- ذَلِّعُونِي وَاتِّمِسُوا غَيْرِي ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, \* VI, 3066 (events of the year 35); (2) Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Nihāyah* (events of the year 35); (3) Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-ʿumam*, I, 508.

93. I have pulled out the eyes of.... الخُطْبَةُ ٩٣- أَمَا بَعْدَ حَمْدِ اللَّهِ... أَبْهَأَ النَّاسِ فَإِنِّي فَقَأْتُ  
عَيْنَ الْفِتْنَةِ...

(1) Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tarīkh*, II, 182; (2) Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyah*, I, 68; (3) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 6, 7, 16; (4) Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 377

(*h.z.b*), III, 200 (*'a.dh.m*); (5) al-Hākim, *al-Mustadrak*, II, 466; (6) Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, *Jāmi'*, I, 114; (7) Ibn Hajar, *al-'Isābah*, II, 509; (8) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ*, 198; (9) al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'*, 124; (10) Dahlān, *al-Futūḥāt*, II, 337; (11) al-Qundūzī, *Yanābt'*, 224.

94. Blessed is God, who is not attained by.... الخطبة ٩٤- فَبَارَكَ اللهُ الَّذِي لَا يَتْلُغُهُ بَعْدُ الْهَيْمَم

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, I, 134; (2) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 74.

95. He sent him when the people.... الخطبة ٩٥- بَعَثَهُ وَالتَّاسُ صَلَاتٌ فِي خَيْرَةٍ ....

(1) Al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, XVIII, 219.

96. Praise belongs to God, Who is the First.... الخطبة ٩٦- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْأَوَّلِ فَلَا شَيْءَ قَبْلَهُ

(1) Al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, XVI, 380.

97. If He gives respite to the oppressor.... الخطبة ٩٧- وَلَئِنْ أَمَّهَلَ الظَّالِمَ ...

(1) *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, 110; (2) al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, II, 236; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, II, 301; (4) Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyah*, I, 76; (5) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 161; (6) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 105; (7) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 137; (8) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, biographical account of 'Alī (A); (9) al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, II, 68; (10) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 142; (11) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*,\* 62.

98. By God, they will continue.... الخطبة ٩٨- وَاللَّهِ لَا يَزَالُونَ حَتَّى لَا يَدْعُوا لِلَّهِ ...

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 151; (2) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 100; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 157.

99. We praise Him.... الخطبة ٩٩- نَحْمَدُهُ عَلَى مَا كَانَ وَنَسْتَعِينُهُ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī*, 184; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh*, I, 270; (3) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, II, 50; (4) al-Ṭabarsī, *Mishkāt*, 107.

100. Praise be to God, who spreads.... الخطبة ١٠٠- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ التَّائِيرِ فِي الْخَلْقِ فَضْلَهُ ...

See 'Abd al-Zahrā', II, 198—199.

101. Praise be to God, the First.... الخطبة ١٠١- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْأَوَّلِ قَبْلَ كُلِّ أَوْلَى ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 48; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, (*b.j.r*);

(3) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*; (4) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 329; (5) al-Karājikī, *Ma'dan*, 226; (6) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 41; (7) al-Jāhiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, II, 90.

102. On that day God will collect....

الخطبة ١٠٢ - وَذَلِكَ يَوْمٌ يَجْمَعُ اللَّهُ فِيهِ ...

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 153; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 131; (3) al-Kulaynī, *Furū' al-Kāfī*, IV, 31; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 95; (5) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 197.

103. O people, look at the world....

الخطبة ١٠٣ - أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ انظُرُوا إِلَى الدُّنْيَا ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 139; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 143; (3) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, II, 225; (4) Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, II, 352; (5) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 219; (6) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 202; (7) al-Qāḍī al-Quḍā'ī, *Dustūr*, 48; (8) al-Khuzā'ī, *al-Fitan*, see (9) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Malāḥim*, 27; (10) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, V, 131.

104 God Almighty sent Muḥammad....

الخطبة ١٠٤ - أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا ...

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 154; (2) al-Nasā'ī, *al-Khaṣā'is*, 70.

105. Until God sent Muḥammad....

الخطبة ١٠٥ - حَتَّى بَعَثَ اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدًا ...

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 160; (2) 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummi, *Tafsīr*, I, 384.

106. Praise belongs to God, Who laid down....

الخطبة ١٠٦ - الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي شَرَعَ الْإِسْلَامَ ...

(1) Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 126; (3) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, II, 49; (4) al-Qālī, *al-'Amālī*, 171; (5) Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt*, I, 382, 407; (6) Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah*, I, 74, 75; (7) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, I, 108; (8) al-Qāḍī al-Quḍā'ī, *Dustūr*, 121; (9) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, \* 23.

107. I have seen....

الخطبة ١٠٧ - وَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ جَوَارِكَكُمْ ...

(1) Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 14, events of 37H.; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Furū' al-Kāfī*, V, 40; (3) Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 256.

108. Praise belongs to God, Who is Manifest....

الخطبة ١٠٨ - الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَتَجَلَّى بِخَلْقِهِ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 85, 209; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, *bāb tabaddul al-'aḥwāl*.

109. Everything humbles itself.... الخطبة ١٠٩ - كُلُّ شَيْءٍ خَائِعٌ لَهُ ...
- (1) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 76; (2) al-Zamakhshari, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-malā'ikah*; (3) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*.
110. The best means by which.... الخطبة ١١٠ - إِنَّ أَفْضَلَ مَا تَوَسَّلَ بِهِ الْمُتَوَسِّلُونَ ...
- (1) Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 104; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh*, I, 131; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *Ilal*, 114; (4) al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 233; (5) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 220.
111. I warn you.... الخطبة ١١١ - أَمَا بَعْدُ فَإِنِّي أُحَذِّرُكُمْ الدُّنْيَا ....
- (1) Al-Marzbānī, *al-Mūniq*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, II, 242; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 127; (3) al-Qādī al-Qudā'ī, *Dustūr*, 51; (4) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, 144; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 18, 25, 308; (6) al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, II, 112; (7) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 250.
112. Do you feel it when he enters.... الخطبة ١١٢ - هَلْ تُحِسُّ بِهِ إِذَا دَخَلَ مَنْزِلًا ...
- (1) Al-Wāsiṭī, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*, see al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol.77, p. 430.
113. I warn you.... الخطبة ١١٣ - وَأَحَذِّرُكُمْ الدُّنْيَا ....
- (1) Al-Zamakhshari, *Rabī'*, at the beginning; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 86, 189.
114. Praise belongs to God, Who.... الخطبة ١١٤ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْوَاصِلِ الْحَمْدِ بِالنِّعَمِ ...
- (1) Al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, II, 335; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 156; (3) al-Zamakhshari, *Rabī'*, I, II, at the beginning of each part; (4) al-Qādī al-Qudā'ī, *Dustūr*, 33; (5) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*; (6) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, II, 107.
115. My God, our hills have.... الخطبة ١١٥ - أَللَّهُمَّ قَدْ انْصَاعَتْ جِبَالُنَا ....
- (1) Al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh*, I, 335; (2) al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, *ādāb ṣalāt al-'istisqā'*, see *Kāshif al-Giṭā'*, *Madārik*, 250; (3) al-Zamakhshari, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-sahāb wa al-maṭar*; (4) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, V, 53; (5) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 338; (6) al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 190, from (7) al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 139, 159; (9) Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-'umam*, see *Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah*, 415; (10) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 220.
116. He sent him as a caller unto.... الخطبة ١١٦ - أَرْسَلَهُ دَاعِيًا إِلَى الْحَقِّ ...

(1) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, VI, 249; (2) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 150; (3) al-'Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 101 (*kh.d.r*); (4) Ibn Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 181; (5) al-Harawī, *al-Jam'*, see Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 41, V, 170; (6) al-Muttaqī, *Kanz*, VI, 87; (7) al-Daylamī, *al-'Irshād*, I, 33.

117. You spent no wealth.... الخُطْبَةُ ١١٧ - فَلَا أَمْوَالَ بَدَتْكُمْ مَالًا لِلَّذِي رَزَقَهَا ...

See 'Abd al-Zahrā', II, 260.

118. You are supporters of the truth.... الخُطْبَةُ ١١٨ - أَنْتُمْ الْأَنْصَارُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 121; (3) al-Wāqidī, in *al-Jamal* and (4) al-Madā'īnī in his book, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, II, 259.

119. What is wrong with you?.... الخُطْبَةُ ١١٩ - مَا بِالْكُمْ لَا سِدِّدْتُمْ لِرُشْدٍ ...

Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 215 (*th.f.l*).

120. By God, I have known.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٢٠ - تَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ مَحَلَمْتُ تَبْلِيغَ الرِّسَالَاتِ ...

(1) *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, 142; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 81, 82, 83.

121. This is the punishment.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٢١ - هَذَا جَزَاءُ مَنْ تَرَكَ الْعُقْدَةَ ...

(1) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 165; (2) Ibn Ṭalḥah, *Maṭālib*, I, 100; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 139; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-'Ikhtisās*, 153, quoted from Ibn Da'b's work; (5) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Iḥtijāj*, I, 273; (6) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 130; (7) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*; (8) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, \* 135.

122. Were all of you with us.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٢٢ - أَكُلُّكُمْ شَهِدَ مَعَنَا صِفِينَ ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Iḥtijāj*, I, 274; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'ārif*, II, 136.

123. Whoever among you.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٢٣ - وَأَيُّ أَمْرٍ مِنْكُمْ أَحْسَنَ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ ...

(1) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 338; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, V, 53; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 190, from al-Wāqidī's *al-Jamal*; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*; 139, 159; (5) Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-'umam*, see *Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah*, 415; (6) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 220.

124. Place the armoured at the fore.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٢٤ - فَفَعِدُوا الدَّارِعَ وَأَخِرُوا الْحَائِرَ ...

(1) Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 235; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, VI, 9, events of 37H.; (3) al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, V, 39; (4) Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, III, 73; (5) Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, I, 583; (6) Al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir*, 185; (7) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 154.

125. We did not make persons arbiters.... الخطة ١٢٥ - إنا لم نَحْكِمِ الرِّجَالَ ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, VI, 37, events of 37H.; (2) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 100; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 157; (4) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Iḥtijāj*, I, 275.

126. Do you ask me to seek.... الخطة ١٢٦ - أَتَأْمُرُونِي أَنْ أَطْلُبَ النَّصْرَ بِالْجَنْرِ ...

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 153; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 131; (3) al-Kulaynī, *Furū' al-Kāfī*, IV, 31; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 95; (5) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 197; (6) al-Madā'inī, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 182; (7) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 75.

127. If you refuse to stop claiming.... الخطة ١٢٧ - فَإِنْ أَبَيْتُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ تَزْعُمُوا ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, VI, 48, events of 37H.; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, (b.j.r); (3) al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, II, 90; (4) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 41; (5) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*; (6) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 329; (7) al-Karājikī, *Ma'dan*, 226.

128. O Aḥnaf,.... الخطة ١٢٨ - يَا أَحْنَفُ كَأَنِّي بِهِ وَقَدْ سَارَ بِالْجَيْشِ ...

See the sources mentioned under Kh:101.

129. O servants of God,.... الخطة ١٢٩ - عِبَادَ اللَّهِ إِنَّكُمْ وَمَا تَأْمَلُونَ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 320; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, *bāb tabaddul al-'aḥwāl*.

130. O Abū Dharr,.... الخطة ١٣٠ - يَا أَبَا ذَرٍّ إِنَّكَ غَضِبْتَ لِلَّهِ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 206; (2) al-Jawharī, *Kitāb al-Saqīfah*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, II, 375; (3) al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 120.

131. O those of differing minds.... الخطة ١٣١ - أَيُّهَا النَّفُوسُ الْمُخْتَلِفَةُ ...

(1) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 120; (2) al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im*, 531; (3) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, III, 154 (z. 'a.r), V, 270 (w. 'a.a).

132. We praise Him for whatever.... الخطبة ١٣٢- نَحْمَدُهُ عَلَى مَا أَخَذَ وَأَعْطَى ...  
(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 282; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 210 (*w.f.z*), V, 239(*h.b.l*).
133. The world and the Hereafter have.... الخطبة ١٣٣- وَأَنْقَادَتْ لَهُ الدُّنْيَا ...  
(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 77; (2) See Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, II, 386.
134. God has taken upon Himself.... الخطبة ١٣٤- وَقَدْ تَوَكَّلَ اللَّهُ لِأَهْلِ هَذَا الدِّينِ ...  
(1) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, IV, 250; (2) Abū 'Ubayd, *al-'Amwāl*, 252.
135. O son of the accursed.... الخطبة ١٣٥- يَا بَنَ اللَّعِينِ الْأَبْتَرِ ...  
(1) Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, II, 165.
136. Your allegiance.... الخطبة ١٣٦- لَمْ نَكُنْ يَتَعَنَّكُمْ ...  
(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 142; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, III, 467 (*f.l.t*).
137. By God, they did not.... الخطبة ١٣٧- وَاللَّهِ مَا أَنْكَرُوا عَلَيَّ مُنْكَرًا ...  
(1) Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, *al-'Istī'āb*, II, 211; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, II, 61; (3) al-Mufīd in *al-'Irshād*, 146, 142, and *al-Jamal*, 143, from al-Wāqidi; (4) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, III, 318 (*'a.w.dh*); (5) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 154; (6) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 310; (7) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 95; (8) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf*, 173; (9) Ṣafwah, *Jamharah*; (10) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, \* VI, 3143.
138. He will made desires conform to.... الخطبة ١٣٨- يَعْطِفُ الْهَوَى عَلَى الْهُدَى ...  
(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 296.
139. No one overtook me.... الخطبة ١٣٩- لَمْ يُسْرِعْ أَحَدٌ قَبْلِي ...  
(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, V, 39, events of 23H.; (2) al-'Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 241; (3) al-Shaykh Warrām, *Tanbih*; (4) al-Harawī, *al-Jam'*; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*.
140. Verily, it befits those who are saved.... الخطبة ١٤٠- وَأَمَّا يَنْبَغِي لِأَهْلِ الْعِصْمَةِ ...  
(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 135, 359.



141. O people, one who knows his brother.... الخطبة ١٤١- أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ مَنْ عَرَفَ ...

(1) Al-Qudā'ī, *Dustūr*, 139; (2) Ibn Hudhayl, 'Ayn, 215; (3) al-Šadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, I, 110; (4) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, VI, 268.

142. One who lays goodness where it is not.... الخطبة ١٤٢- وَلَيْسَ لِوَأَصِيعِ الْمَعْرُوفِ ....

(1) Naṣr, *Šiffīn*, 235; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, VI, 9; (3) al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, V, 39; (4) Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, III, 73.

143. Lo, the earth which bears you.... الخطبة ١٤٣- أَلَا وَإِنَّ الْأَرْضَ الَّتِي تُقَلِّبُكُمْ ...

(1) Al-Daylamī, *A'lām*, see al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, I, 439; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 137(b.t.n).

144. God sent His apostles.... الخطبة ١٤٤- بَعَثَ اللَّهُ رُسُلَهُ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, see 'Abd al-Zuhrā', II, 322.

145. O people, you are in this world.... الخطبة ١٤٥- أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّمَا أَنْتُمْ فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا ...

(1) Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 73; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 139 as well as *al-'Amālī*; (3) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 220; (4) al-Qālī, *al-'Amālī*, II, 57.

146. The victory in this matter.... الخطبة ١٤٦- إِنَّ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ لَمْ يَكُنْ نَصْرُهُ ...

(1) Al-Dīnawarī, *al-'Akhbār*, 134; (2) Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, II, 37; (3) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, IV, 237 events of 27H; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 120; (5) Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, I, 419.

147. God sent Muḥammad (S).... الخطبة ١٤٧- بَعَثَ اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدًا (ص) ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 386; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 163.

148. Each of the two.... الخطبة ١٤٨- كُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمَا يَرْجُو الْأَمْرَ ...

(1) Abū Mikhnaf, *al-Jamal*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, I, 78; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 142.

149. O people, every man shall meet.... الخطبة ١٤٩- أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ كُلُّ امْرِئٍ لَاقٍ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, I, 229; (2) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 436; (3) al-Mas'ūdī, *Ithbāt*, 103; (4) Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḥ*, XII, 211.

150. They took to the right and to the left.... الخُطبة ١٥٠ - وَأَخَذُوا يَمِينًا وَشِمَالًا ...  
(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 74.
151. I praise God and seek His help.... الخُطبة ١٥١ - وَأَحْمَدُ اللَّهَ وَأَسْتَعِينُهُ عَلَى مَدَاجِرِ الشَّيْطَانِ .....  
(1) Al-Sayyid al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, I, 334.
152. Praise is God's, Who proves.... الخُطبة ١٥٢ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي عَلَى وُجُودِهِ بِخَلْقِهِ ...  
(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, I, 139; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 232, 235.
153. He has been allowed a respite.... الخُطبة ١٥٣ - وَهُوَ فِي مُهَلَّةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ ...  
(1) Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 108; (2) al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, V, 82; (3) Warrām, *al-Majmū'ah*, 77.
154. The enlightened heart.... الخُطبة ١٥٤ - وَنَاطِرُ قَلْبِ اللَّيِّبِ ...  
(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 252, 324, 331; (2) al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, I, 217.
155. Praise belongs to God, Whom epithets.... الخُطبة ١٥٥ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَنْحَسَتْ الْأَوْصَافُ ...  
(1) Al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, I, 334.
156. Whoever can.... الخُطبة ١٥٦ - فَمَنْ اسْتَطَاعَ عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ ...  
(1) Al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfī*, I, 326; (2) al-Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, 195; (3) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Ihtijāj*, I, 326; (4) al-Muttaqī, *Kanz*, VIII, 215; (5) al-Majlisī, *Bihār, bāb al-fitan wa al-miḥan*, 448.
157. Praise belongs to God, Who has made.... الخُطبة ١٥٧ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَ الْحَمْدَ مِفْتَاحًا لِذِكْرِهِ ...  
(1) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 510(*sh.w.l*); (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 97; (3) al-Wāsiṭī, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*, see *Bihār*, vol. XVII, 113.
158. He sent him at a time.... الخُطبة ١٥٨ - أَرْسَلَهُ عَلَيَّ حِينَ فَتَرَوْنِي مِنَ الرَّسُلِ ...  
(1) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, ('*a.dh.r, m.q.r* and *n.kh.m*) I, 46, III, 198, IV, 347, V, 34; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 62; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 173.

159. I was a goodly neighbour unto you.... الخطبة ١٥٩- وَلَقَدْ أَحْسَنْتُ جِوَارِكُمْ ...

160. His command is judicious and wise.... الخطبة ١٦٠- أَمْرُهُ قِضَاءٌ وَحِكْمَةٌ ...

(1) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ, bāb al-yaʿs wa al-qanāʿah*.

161. He sent him with a brilliant light.... الخطبة ١٦١- أَبْتَعَنَهُ بِالنُّورِ الْمُبِضِيِّ ...

(1) Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār XVIII*, 222.

162. O brother of Banū Asad,.... الخطبة ١٦٢- يَا أَخَا بَنِي أَسَدٍ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *al-ʿAmālī*, 368; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *ʿIlal, bāb 119*; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-ʿIrshād*, 172; (4) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 64.

163. Praise belongs to God, the Creator.... الخطبة ١٦٣- أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ خَالِقِ الْعِبَادِ ...

(1) Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilyah*, I, 72; (2) al-Wāsiṭī, *ʿUyūn al-ḥikam*, see al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol.77, p.306; (3) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, I, *bāb al-malāʾikah*.

164. The people are behind me.... الخطبة ١٦٤- إِنَّ النَّاسَ وَرَائِي ...

(1) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 60; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḥ*, V, 96, events of 34H.; (3) Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, IV, 308, II, 273; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 100; (5) Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-ʿumam* (1909), I, 478.

165. He originated them.... الخطبة ١٦٥- ابْتَدَعَهُمْ خَلْقًا عَجِيبًا ...

(1) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ*, I; (2) Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 27, II, 140 (*d.w.r*), III, 238 (*ʿa.s.l.j*).

166. The young among you.... الخطبة ١٦٦- لَيْتَأَسَّ صَغِيرُكُمْ ...

(1) *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, 89; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 62; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-ʿIrshād*, 373; (4) Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 46.

167. God Almighty sent down the Book.... الخطبة ١٦٧- إِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ أَنْزَلَ كِتَابًا هَادِيًا ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḥ*, V, 157, events of 35H.; (2) al-Raḍī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, 87.

168. O brothers, I am not ignorant of.... الخطبة ١٦٨- يَا إِخْوَتَاهُ إِنِّي لَسْتُ أَجْهَلُ مَا تَعْلَمُونَ ...

Other Sources of the Contents of Nahj al-Balāghah Part 1

(1) Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, V, 158, events of 35H.; (2) Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, I, 510.

169. Verily, God sent the Prophet....

الخطبة ١٦٩ - إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَ رَسُولًا هَادِيًا ...

(1) Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 163.

170. Do you see, those who have sent you....

الخطبة ١٧٠ - أَرَأَيْتَ لَوْ أَنَّ الَّذِينَ ...

(1) Al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*, in al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 156; (2) al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, V, 192, events of 36H.; (3) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-jawābāt al-muskitah wa rashaqāt al-kalām*.

171. O God, the Lord of the roof raised high....

الخطبة ١٧١ - أَللَّهُمَّ رَبَّ السَّقْفِ الْمَرْفُوعِ ...

(1) Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 232; (2) al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 8, events of 37H.; (3) Ibn Ṭāwūs, in *Muhaj* from al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'īd al-'Ahwāzī, *Kitāb al-du'ā' wa al-dhikr*.

172. Praise belongs to God, from Whom one heaven...

الخطبة ١٧٢ - الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَا تُؤَارِي

(1) Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 48; (2) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 41; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*; (4) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, (*bāb al-bā'*); (5) al-Karājikī, *Ma'dan*, 226; (6) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 329; (7) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 295; (8) al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, \* 45, 76.

173. The trustee of His revelations,....

الخطبة ١٧٣ - أَمِينٌ وَخِيَةٌ وَخَاتَمٌ رُسُلِهِ ...

(1) Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 130; (2) Abū Ja'far al-'Iskāfī, *Naqḍ al-'Uthmāniyyah*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, II, 171-173,

174. As for me, I am not intimidated by war....

الخطبة ١٧٤ - قَدْ كُنْتُ وَمَا أَمَدَّدُ بِالْحَرْبِ

(1) Al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 172; (2) al-Khwārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, 117; (3) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 171, 282, II, 167, V, 66, 240; (4) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*; (5) al-Ṭabari, *al-Mustarshid*, 95; (6) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf*, 173; (7) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 154.

175. O negligent people,....

الخطبة ١٧٥ - أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ غَيْرِ الْمَغْفُولِ عَنْهُمْ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 191; (2) See 'Abd al-Zahrā', II, 422.

176. Draw benefit from God's....

الخطبة ١٧٦ - اِتَّفِعُوا بَيَانَ اللَّهِ ...

(1) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 219; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, II, 443; (3) al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 6; (4) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 153; (5) al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, II, 262; (6) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 71.

177. You have all agreed to select....

الخطبة ١٧٧ - فَأَجْمَعُ رَأْيَ مَلَأْتِكُمْ ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, V, 48 (chronicle of the year 37) from Abū Mikhnaf.

178. An engagement does not....

الخطبة ١٧٨ - لَا يَشْغَلُهُ شَأْنٌ ...

(1) Al-Wāsiṭī, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*, see al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 77, 307; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, II, 163; (3) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 162; (4) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, III, 282 ('a.q.l).

179. Eyes perceive Him not,....

الخطبة ١٧٩ - لَا تُدْرِكُهُ الْعُيُونُ (لا تراه العيون) ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, I, 98, 138; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 96, 320, 324; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 205; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 131; (5) al-Mufīd, *al-'Ikhtisās*, 236; (6) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 157.

180. I praise God for what He has ordained....

الخطبة ١٨٠ - أَحْمَدُ اللَّهِ عَلَى مَا قَضَى ...

(1) Al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 291; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 60, events of 38H.; (3) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 188 (t.r.k).

181. Away with them....

الخطبة ١٨١ - بَعْدَ أَلَيْسَ كَمَا بَعَدَتْ تَمُودُ ...

(1) Al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 265; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 65, events of 38H.

182. Praise belongs to God, towards Whom....

الخطبة ١٨٢ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي إِلَيْهِ مَصَالِحُ الْخَلْقِ ...

(1) Al-Wāsiṭī, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*, see al-Majlisī, vol. 77, 310; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 145, 198.

183. Praise belongs to God, Who is known....

الخطبة ١٨٣ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَعْرُوفِ مِنْ غَيْرِ رُؤْيَةٍ ...

(1) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 53; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, V, 299; (3) al-Baḥrānī, *Tafsīr al-burhān*, I, 9, from a source other than *Nahj*.

184. Keep silent. May God disgrace you....

الخطبة ١٨٤ - أَسْكُتْ فَبَعَثَكَ اللَّهُ ...

(1) Al-'Askari, *Kitāb al-ṣinā'atayn*, 258.

185. Praise belongs to God Whom senses cannot perceive .... الخُطْبَةُ ١٨٥ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ  
الَّذِي لَا تُدْرِكُهُ الشَّوَاهِدُ ...

(1) Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hārūn al-Ḥusaynī, *al-'Amālī*, 192; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, *bāb dawābb al-barr wa al-baḥr*; (3) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Ihtijāj*, I, 305.

186. He who attributes to Him states.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٨٦ - مَا وَحَّدَهُ مَنْ كَيْفَهُ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, I, 138; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 96, 320, 324; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 205; (4) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 131; (5) al-Mufīd, *al-'Ikhtisās*, 236; (6) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 157; (7) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Ihtijāj*, I, 299; (8) al-Murtadā, *al-'Amālī*, I, 103.

187. May my father and my mother.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٨٧ - أَلَا يَا أُمَّيْ وَأَبِيْ هَلْ مِنْ عِدَّةٍ ...

(1) Al-Madā'inī, *Ṣiffīn*, see 'Abd al-Zahrā', II, 478; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-māl wa al-kasb*.

188. O people, I advise you to fear God.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٨٨ - أَوْصِيْكُمْ أَتَيْهَا النَّاسُ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ ...

(1) Abū Mansūr al-Tha'ālibī, *al-'Ijāz wa al-'Ījāz*, 31.

189. One kind of faith is one which is fixed.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٨٩ - فَمِنْ الْإِيمَانِ مَا يَكُونُ ثَابِتًا ...

(1) Al-Tha'ālibī, *al-'Ijāz*, 32; (2) al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, 31; on p. 202 from (3) Mas'adah ibn Ṣadaqah, *Khuṭab Amīr al-Mu'minīn (A)*; (4) al-Ṣadūq, *'Uyūn*, I, 164; (5) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, II, 164; (6) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 80; *سَلَوْنِي قَبْلَ أَنْ تَفْقِدُونِي* narrated by: (7) al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, II, 466; (8) Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, *Jāmi'*, I, 114; (9) Ibn Ḥajar, *al-'Iṣābah*, II, 509; (10) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ*, 198; (11) al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'riḥ al-khulafā'*, 124; (12) Daḥlān, *al-Futūḥāt*, II, 337; (13) al-Qundūzī, *Yanābt' al-mawaddah*, 224.

190. I praise Him in gratitude for His.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٠ - أَحْمَدُهُ شُكْرًا لِإِنْعَامِهِ ...

(1) Ibn Nubātah (d. 374/984) narrated this *khuṭbah*, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, III, 220; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 20, 108.

191. Praise belongs to God Who has.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩١ - أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْفَاسِي فِي الْخَلْقِ حَمْدُهُ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 87, 180, 245; (2) Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*,

see 'Abd al-Zahrā', III, 28.

192. Praise belongs to God Who has donned... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٢. الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَبَسَ الْعِزَّ وَالْكَبْرِيَاءَ...

(1) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, 196; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Furū' al-Kāfī*, IV, 168; (3) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Faqīh*, I, 152; (4) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 113; (5) al-Māwardī, *A'lām*, 97; (6) See al-Ṭehrānī, *al-Dharī'ah*, VII, 204.

193. God Almighty created the creatures.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٣. أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى خَلَقَ الْخَلْقَ ...

(1) *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, 211; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 340; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, II, 352; (4) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 159; (5) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 148; (6) Ibn Ṭalhah, *Maṭālib*, I, 151; (7) al-Karājīkī, *Kanz*, 31; (8) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 420. 'Abd al-Zahrā' mentions 8 commentaries on this famous *khuṭbah*, *al-Qāsi'ah*.

194. We praise Him for succouring.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٤. نَحْمَدُهُ عَلَى مَا وَفَّقَ لَهُ مِنَ الْقَاعَةِ ...

(1) Al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, II, 308; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 54, 269.

195. Praise belongs to God, Who has made manifest.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٥. الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَظْهَرَ

(1) Al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 74, 314.

196. He sent him (the Prophet) when there wasn't.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٦. بَعَثَهُ حِينَ لَا عِلْمَ قَامَ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar* 87.

197. Those Companions of Muḥammad (S).... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٧. وَلَقَدْ عَلِمَ الْمُسْتَحْفَظُونَ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 243; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-'Amālī*, see al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 17, 105.

198. He knows the criest of the beasts in wilderness.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٨. يَعْلَمُ عَجِيجَ الْوُحُوشِ فِي الْفَلَوَاتِ ...

(1) Al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 126; (2) al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, II, 49; (3) al-Qālī, *al-'Amālī*, 171; (4) Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt*, I, 382; (5) Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyah*, I, 74, 75; (6) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, I, 108.

199. Commit yourselves to prayer.... الخُطْبَةُ ١٩٩. تَعَاهَدُوا أَمْرَ الصَّلَاةِ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, V, *kitāb al-jihād*, 36.

200. By God, Mu'āwiyah is not smarter than me.... الخُطبة ٢٠٠ - وَاللّٰهُ مَا مُعَاوِيَةُ بِأَدْمَى ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, II, 336, 338.

201. O people, don't be averse to.... الخُطبة ٢٠١ - أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ لَا تَسْتَوِجِسُوا ...

(1) Al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, 208; (2) al-Nu'mānī, *al-Ghaybah*, 9; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 300; (4) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 76; (5) al-Bahrānī, *al-Burhān*, IV, 260; (6) al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, II, 266.

202. O Messenger of God, may peace be upon you.... الخُطبة ٢٠٢ - السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, I, 458; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Dalā'il*, 47; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 165; (4) al-Ṭūsī, *al-'Amālī*, I, 108; (5) al-'Irbilī, *Kashf*, II, 147; (6) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 318.

203. O people, verily this world is a.... الخُطبة ٢٠٣ - أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّمَا الدُّنْيَا دَارُ مَجَازٍ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 132; (2) al-Ṣadūq, *'Uyūn akhbār al-Ridā*, I, 298; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 139; (4) al-Ṭabarsī, *Mishkāt*, 243; (5) Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 253; (6) al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*; (7) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 200; (8) Warrām, *Majmū'ah*, 66; (9) al-Qāli, *al-'Amālī*, I, 258; (10) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsin*, II, 31; see 'Arshī.

204. May God's mercy be upon you, procure provision.... الخُطبة ٢٠٤ - نَجِّهْرُوا رَحِمَكُمُ اللَّهُ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, *majlis* 75; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-Majālis*, 116; (3) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 110; al-Ṭabarsī, *Mishkāt*, 275.

205. Addressed to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.... الخُطبة ٢٠٥ - لَقَدْ تَقَمْتُمَا بَيْبَرًا ...

(1) Abū Ja'far al-'Iskāfī, *Naqḍ al-'Uthmāniyyah*; see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, II, 173.

206. I dislike that you should be abusers.... الخُطبة ٢٠٦ - إِنِّي أَكْرَهُ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَكُونُوا سَبَائِينَ ...

(1) Al-Dinawarī, *al-'Akhbār*, 155; (2) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 103; (3) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 154.

207. Hold back this young man.... الخُطبة ٢٠٧ - أَفَلِكُوا عَنِّي هَذَا الْغُلَامَ ...

(1) Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VI, 34, events of 37H.; V, 196, events of 36H.



208. O people, matters between you and me.... الخطبة ٢٠٨- أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَرَنْ أَمْرِي

(1) Naṣr, *Ṣiffīn*, 484; (2) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 118; (3) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 400.

209. What will you do with this spacious house.... الخطبة ٢٠٩- مَا كُنْتُ تَضَعُ بِسِعَةِ هَذِهِ الدَّارِ

(1) Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt*, I, 531; (2) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, I, 329; (3) al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, I, 410; (4) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, IV, *bāb al-lahw wa al-ladhdhāt*; (5) al-Mufīd, *al-'Ikhtisāṣ*, 152; (6) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 194.

210. Verily, that which is in the people's hands.... الخطبة ٢١٠- إِنَّ فِي أَيْدِي النَّاسِ حَقًّا وَبَاطِلًا

(1) *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*; (2) Al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, II, 62; (3) al-Harrānī, *Tuhaf*, 136; (4) al-Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, I, 333; (5) al-Tawḥīdī, *al-'Imtā'*, III, 197; (6) al-Nu'mānī, *al-Ghaybah*, 26; (7) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 30; (8) Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirah*, 142; (9) al-Ṭabarsī, *al-'Iḥtijāj*, I, 293; (10) al-Karājikī, *al-'Intisār*, 10; (11) al-Shaykh al-Bahā'ī, *al-'Arba'in*, 98.

211. It was through the sway of His power.... الخطبة ٢١١- وَكَانَ مِنْ إِفْتِدَارِ جَبْرُوتِهِ ...

(1) Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, *bāb al-samā' wa al-kawākib*; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 27(a.z.r).

212. My God, whoever of Thy servants.... الخطبة ٢١٢- اَللّٰهُمَّ اَيُّمَا عَبْدٍ مِنْ عِبَادِكَ ...

213. Praise belongs to God, Who is above.... الخطبة ٢١٣- اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الْعَلِيِّ ...

(1) Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, IV, 319.

214. I bear witness that He is First.... الخطبة ٢١٤- وَاَشْهَدُ اَنَّهُ عَدَلٌ عَدَلٌ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*; (2) Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, III, 23.

215. Praise belongs to God, Who.... الخطبة ٢١٥- اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي لَمْ يُضْبَحْ لِي مَيْتًا ...

(1) Al-Sayyid Ibn al-Bāqī, *al-'Ikhtibār*; (2) al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 94, 226.

216. God Almighty has given me a right.... الخطبة ٢١٦- اَمَّا بَعْدُ فَقَدْ جَعَلَ اللّٰهُ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 352.

217. My God, I beseech Thee to avenge Quraysh.... الخُطبة ٢١٧- اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّىْ اَسْتَعِيْذُ بِكَ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *al-Rasā'il*, see (2) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf*, 173; (3) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 154; (4) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, (5) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 95; (6) Ṣafwah, *Jamharah*.

218. They marched upon my officials.... الخُطبة ٢١٨- فَاقْدِمُوْا عَلٰى عُمَّالِىْ ...

Part of Kh: 217 and sources same.

219. Abū Muḥammad lies a stranger.... الخُطبة ٢١٩- لَقَدْ اَضْبَحَ اَبُوْ مُحَمَّدٍ ...

(1) Abū al-Faraj, *al-'Aghānī*, XXI, 246; (2) al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, I, 126; (3) al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn*, II, 53; (4) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 279; (5) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 192; (6) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II, 261; (7) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 371.

220. He revived his intellect.... الخُطبة ٢٢٠- قَدْ اَخْبَا عَقْلَهُ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 233.

221. How farfetched are his hopes.... الخُطبة ٢٢١- يَا لَهٗ مَرَامًا مَا اَبْعَدُهٗ ...

(1) Al-Wāsiṭī, *'Uyūn al-ḥikam*, see *Bihār*, vol. 77, 432; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, II, 398; (3) Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah*, II, 132.

222. Indeed, God Almighty has made His remembrance.... الخُطبة ٢٢٢- اِنَّ اللّٰهَ سُبْحٰنُهٗ وَتَعَالٰى جَعَلَ الذِّكْرَ جِلَآءًا لِلْقُلُوْبِ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 81.

223. The addressee is without any excuse.... الخُطبة ٢٢٣- اَلَا حُضُّ مَسْئُوْلٍ حُجَّةٌ ...

(1) Al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, II, 272; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 232.

224. By God, if I were to spend a night on the thorns.... الخُطبة ٢٢٤- وَاللّٰهِ لَآنْ اَبِيْتِ عَلٰى حَسْبِكَ السُّغْدَانِ ...

(1) Al-Ṣadūq, *al-'Amālī*, 369; (2) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 155; (3) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, *bāb al-khayr wa al-ṣalāḥ*; (4) Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, II, 109.

225. My God, save my face.... الخُطبة ٢٢٥- اَللّٰهُمَّ صُنْ وَجْهِيْ بِالْبَيْتَارِ ...

(1) Al-Rāwandī, *al-Da'awāt*, see *Bihār*, vol. 75, 297; (2) al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*, I, 119.

226. It is a house surrounded by tribulations.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٢٦ - دَارٌ بِالْبَلَاءِ مَحْفُوفَةٌ ...

(1) Sibṭ, *Tadhkirah*, 122; (2) al-Khwārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, 267; (3) al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, III, 511.

227. My God, Thou art the friendliest of the friendly... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٢٧ - اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنَّكَ اَنْسُ الْاَنِيسِيْنَ ...

(1) Al-Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 249; (2) al-Samāhijī, *al-Ṣaḥīfat al-'Alawiyyat al-'ulā*.

228. So and so did good for God's sake.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٢٨ - لِلّٰهِ بَلَاءٌ (بِلَاد) فَلَانٍ ...

(1) Al-Rāwandī, *al-Da'awāt*; (2) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, V, 47; (3) see also the commentaries of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, III, 92 and Ibn Maytham al-Baḥrānī, IV, 97.

229. You drew my hand and I held it back.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٢٩ - وَبَسَطْتُمْ يَدِي فَكَفَفْتُمَهَا ...

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 142; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 128; from (3) al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*; (4) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 310; (5) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf*, 173; (6) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 154; (7) al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, V, 28; (8) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 165; (9) al-Kulaynī, *al-Rasā'il*; (10) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 95.

230. Verily, God-fearing is the key.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٣٠ - فَاِنَّ تَقْوَى اللّٰهِ مِفْتَاحُ سَدَادٍ ...

(1) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, I, 355, II, 61, 103, III, 174; (2) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 112, 148, 213.

231. He discharged whatever he was commanded to do.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٣١ - فَصَدَعَ بِمَا اُمِرَ بِهِ

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 127; (2) al-Mufīd, *al-'Irshād*, 115; from (3) al-Wāqidī, *al-Jamal*, (4) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, II, 227.

232. This property is neither mine nor yours.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٣٢ - اِنَّ هَذَا الْمَالِ لَيْسَ لِي ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 69.

233. Beware that the tongue is a part.... الخُطْبَةُ ٢٣٣ - الْاَوْرَانُ اللّٰسَانَ بَضْعَةً مِنَ الْاِنْسَانِ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 396; (2) al-Rāghib, *Muḥādarāt*, I, 89;

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(3) al-Waṭwāṭ, *al-Ghurar*, 108; (4) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, at the beginning; (5) al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 82, 132.

234. The difference between them.... الخُطبة ٢٣٤- إِنَّمَا فَرَّقَ بَيْنَهُمْ مَبَادِي طِيْنِهِمْ ...

(1) Al-Yamānī, *al-Ṭarāz*; (2) al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī'*, I, 110.

235. My father and my mother.... الخُطبة ٢٣٥- يَا بِي أَنْتَ وَأُمِّي ...

(1) Al-Mufīd, *al-'Amālī*, 60; (2) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, III, 143 (*t.y.b*); (3) Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *al-'Amālī*, 112; (4) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ḥadīth 228; (5) Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrat al-Nabawīyyah*, IV, 213; (6) al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 571; (7) Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī ibn Sahl al-Naḥwī, *al-'Amālī*; for (3) & (4) see 'Abd al-Zahrā', III, 182.

236. I began following.... الخُطبة ٢٣٦- فَجَعَلْتُ أَتَّبِعُ مَا خَدَّ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ (ص) ...

(1) Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, V, (*w.t.'a*).

237. Act while there is respite.... الخُطبة ٢٣٧- فَأَعْمَلُوا وَأَنْتُمْ فِي نَفْسِ الْبَقَاءِ ...

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 54.

238. About the two arbitrators.... الخُطبة ٢٣٨- جُفَاءً طَفَامٌ ...

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 154; (2) al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, I, 312; (3) al-Kulaynī, *al-Rasā'il*; (4) al-Ṭabarī, *al-Mustarshid*, 95; (5) Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf*, 173; (6) Ṣafwah, *Jamharah*.

239. They are life for knowledge.... الخُطبة ٢٣٩- هُمْ عَيْشُ الْعِلْمِ ...

(1) Al-Kulaynī, *Rawḍah*, 386; (2) al-Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf*, 163.

240. O Ibn 'Abbās.... الخُطبة ٢٤٠- يَا بَنَ عَبَّاسٍ مَا يُرِيدُ عُثْمَانُ ...

(1) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Imāmah*, I, 34; (2) al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, I, 11; (3) Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, IV, 309.

241. God requires you to be grateful.... الخُطبة ٢٤١- وَاللَّهُ مُسْتَأْدِيكُمْ ....

(1) Al-'Āmidī, *Ghurar*, 308.

To be continued — inshā' Allāh

## A Selection From Uṣūl al-Kāfi Part 6

### The Extent of the Knowledge of the Imams:

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ صَالِحِ بْنِ السِّنْدِيِّ، عَنْ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ بَشِيرٍ، عَنْ ضُرَيْسٍ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ لِلَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ عِلْمَيْنِ: عِلْمٌ مَبْدُوكٌ، وَعِلْمٌ مَكْفُوفٌ فَأَمَّا الْمَبْدُوكُ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ شَيْءٍ تَعَلَّمَهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَالرُّسُلُ إِلَّا نَحْنُ نَعَلَّمُهُ، وَأَمَّا الْمَكْفُوفُ فَهُوَ الَّذِي عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ فِي أَمِّ الْكِتَابِ إِذَا خَرَجَ نَفَذَ.

89/661: 'Ali ibn Ibrāhīm, from Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Sindī,<sup>116</sup> from Ja'far ibn Bashir,<sup>117</sup> from Ḍurays:<sup>118</sup>

Ḍurays says: "I heard Abū Ja'far (A) say, 'Verily, God Almighty has two (kinds of) knowledge: the knowledge bequeathed and the knowledge withheld. As to that which is bequeathed, there is nothing that the angels and the Messengers know and we don't. As to that which is withheld, it is with God Almighty, in the *Umm al-Kitāb* (the Master Book); it goes into effect as (soon as) it comes forth.' "

— أَبُو عَلِيٍّ الْأَشْعَرِيُّ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْجَبَّارِ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ التُّعْمَانِ، عَنْ سُوَيْدِ الْقَلَاءِ، عَنْ أَبِي أَيُّوبَ، عَنْ أَبِي بَصِيرٍ، عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: إِنَّ لِلَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ عِلْمَيْنِ: عِلْمٌ لَا يَعَلَّمُهُ إِلَّا هُوَ وَعِلْمٌ عَلَّمَهُ مَلَائِكَتُهُ وَرُسُلُهُ، فَمَا عَلَّمَهُ مَلَائِكَتُهُ وَرُسُلُهُ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ فَتَحْنُ نَعَلَّمُهُ.

90/662: Abū 'Alī al-'Ash'arī,<sup>119</sup> from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, from 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, from Suwayd al-Qallā',<sup>120</sup> from Abū Ayyūb, from Abū Baṣīr:

Abū Ja'far (A) said: "Verily, God Almighty has two kinds of knowledge: a knowledge which no one knows except Him, and a knowledge which He imparts to His angels and Messengers. Whatever knowledge He has imparted to His angels and Messengers (A) is known to us."

— عِدَّةٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِنَا، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ مُعَمَّرِ بْنِ خَلَّادٍ قَالَ سَأَلَ أَبَا الْحَسَنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ فَارِسٍ فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَتَعْلَمُونَ الْغَيْبَ؟ فَقَالَ: قَالَ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: يُبَسِّطُ لَنَا الْعِلْمَ فَتَعْلَمُ وَيُقْبِضُ عَنَّا فَلَا تَعْلَمُ، وَقَالَ: سِرُّ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ أَسْرَهُ إِلَى جِبْرِئِيلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَأَسْرَهُ جِبْرِئِيلُ إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ، وَأَسْرَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَى مَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ.

91/663: A number of our companions, from Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Isa, from Mu'ammār ibn Khallād:

A man from Fārs asked Abū al-Ḥasan (A), "Do you know the *ghayb*?" Abū Ja'far said to him, "Whenever knowledge extends forth to us we know, and whenever it shrinks away from us we don't know." And he said, "(It is) a secret of God Almighty that He confided to Gabriel (A), and Gabriel confided it to Muḥammad (S) and Muḥammad confided it to whosoever God wished."

#### The Last Book and the Last Prophet:

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى الْأَشْعَرِيُّ، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنِ الْبَرْقِيِّ، عَنِ النَّضْرِ بْنِ سُوَيْدٍ عَنِ يَحْيَى بْنِ عِمْرَانَ الْحَلَبِيِّ، عَنْ أَيُّوبَ بْنِ الْحُرِّ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ ذِكْرُهُ خَتَمَ بِنَبِيِّكُمْ النَّبِيَّينَ فَلَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدَهُ أَبَدًا، وَخَتَمَ بِكِتَابِكُمُ الْكِتَابَ فَلَا كِتَابَ بَعْدَهُ أَبَدًا، وَأَنْزَلَ فِيهِ تَبْيَانَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَخَلَقَكُمْ وَخَلَقَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَنَبَأَ مَا قَبْلَكُمْ وَقَضَى مَا بَيْنَكُمْ وَخَبَرَ مَا بَعْدَكُمْ وَأَمَرَ الْجَنَّةَ وَالنَّارَ وَمَا أَنْتُمْ صَائِرُونَ إِلَيْهِ.

92/704: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-'Ash'arī,<sup>121</sup> from Ahmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Barqī, from al-Nadr ibn Suwayd, from Yaḥyā ibn 'Imrān al-Ḥalabī, from Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥurr:

Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥurr says: "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) say, 'Verily, God, exalted be His remembrance, sealed the prophets with your Prophet, so there will never be a prophet after him. And He sealed the scriptures with your Book, so there will never be a scripture after it. He sent down in it the clarification of all things, of your creation, of the creation of the earth and the heavens. In it is the news of what went before you, the judgement regarding that which passess between you, and the tidings

of that which will occur after you. In it are the matters of Heaven and Hell, and that towards which you are moving.' ”

**The Imams are the Muḥaddathūn:**

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنِ الْحَجَّالِ، عَنِ الْقَاسِمِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ عُبَيْدِ بْنِ زُرَّارَةَ قَالَ: أَرْسَلَ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ إِلَى زُرَّارَةَ أَنْ يُعْلِمَ الْحَكَمَ بْنَ عُتَيْبَةَ أَنَّ أَوْصِيَاءَ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ مُحَدَّثُونَ.

93/709: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Ahmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Ḥajjāl, from al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad,<sup>122</sup> from ‘Ubayd ibn Zurārah:

“‘Ubayd ibn Zurārah says, “Abū Ja‘far sent the word for Zurārah to inform al-Ḥakam ibn ‘Utaybah that the *Awṣiyā*’ of Muḥammad — peace be upon him and them — are the *muḥaddathūn*.”

— أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْحَسَنِ، عَنْ يَعْقُوبَ بْنِ يَزِيدٍ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا الْحَسَنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: الْأَيْمَةُ عُلَمَاءٌ صَادِقُونَ مُفَهَّمُونَ مُحَدَّثُونَ.

94/711: Ahmad ibn Muḥammad and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan,<sup>123</sup> from Ya‘qūb ibn Yazīd,<sup>124</sup> from Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘il:

Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘il says: “I heard Abū al-Ḥasan (A) say, “The Imams are men of knowledge (*‘ulamā*’), truthful (*ṣādiqūn*), those who have been caused to understand (perfectly) (*mufahhamūn*), and *muḥaddathūn*.”

**The Imam’s Knowledge of His Successor:**

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ، عَنْ ابْنِ مَجْبُوبٍ، عَنِ الْعَلَاءِ بْنِ رَزِينٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي يَعْفُورٍ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: لَا يَمُوتُ الْإِمَامُ حَتَّى يَعْلَمَ مَنْ يَكُونُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ فَيُوصِي [إِلَيْهِ].

95/733: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, from Ibn Maḥbūb, from al-‘Alā’ ibn Razīn, from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ya‘fūr:

Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) said: “The Imam does not die until he knows who will succeed him, to whom he testifies (*yūṣī ilayh*).”

— أحمد، عن مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْجَبَّارِ، عن أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْبَرْقِيِّ، عن فَضَالَةَ بْنِ أَيُّوبَ عَنْ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ خَالِدٍ، عن أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: مَا مَاتَ عَالِمٌ حَتَّى يُعَلِّمَهُ اللَّهُ عَزَّوَجَلَّ إِلَى مَنْ يُوصِيهِ.

96/735: Aḥmad, from Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī, from Faḍālah ibn Ayyūb, from Sulaymān ibn Khālid:

Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) said: “The ‘Alim does not die until God Almighty informs him about the one to whom he is to testify (*ilā man yūṣī*).”

### The Signs of Imamate:

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عن أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عن ابْنِ أَبِي نَصْرِ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لِأَبِي الْحَسَنِ الرِّضَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: إِذَا مَاتَ الْإِمَامُ بِمَنْ يُعْرَفُ الَّذِي بَعْدَهُ؟ لِإِمَامٍ عَلَامَاتٌ مِنْهَا أَنْ يَكُونَ أَكْبَرَ وُلْدِ أَبِيهِ وَيَكُونَ فِيهِ الْفَضْلُ وَالْوَصِيَّةُ، وَيَقْدَمُ الرَّكْبُ فَيَقُولُ: إِلَى مَنْ أَوْصَى فُلَانٌ؟ فَيُقَالُ: إِلَى فُلَانٍ، وَالسَّلَاحُ فِينَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ التَّابُوتِ فِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ، تَكُونُ الْإِمَامَةَ مَعَ السَّلَاحِ حَيْثُمَا كَانَ.

97/745: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Abī Naṣr:

Ibn Abī Naṣr says: “I said to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riḍā (A), ‘How does an Imam, on his death, know the one who is after him?’ He said, ‘There are certain signs of the Imam; among them are that he is the eldest son of his father, is superior, and in his favour is the *waṣiyyah* (of the previous Imam), so that when travellers come and ask, ‘To whom did so-and-so testify?’ It will be said, ‘To so-and so.’ Among us arms are like the Ark among the Children of Israel: the Imamate is with the arms, wherever they are.’”

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عن مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ، عن يَزِيدِ شَعْرِي، عن هَارُونَ بْنِ حَمْرَةَ، عن عَبْدِ الْأَعْلَى قَالَ: قُلْتُ لِأَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: الْمُتَوَتَّبُ عَلَى هَذَا الْأَمْرِ الْمُدَّعِي لَهُ، مَا الْحُجَّةُ عَلَيْهِ؟ قَالَ: يُسْأَلُ عَنِ الْحَلَالِ وَالْحَرَامِ، قَالَ: ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَيَّ فَقَالَ: ثَلَاثَةٌ مِنَ الْحُجَّةِ لَمْ تَجْمَعْ فِي أَحَدٍ إِلَّا كَانَ صَاحِبَ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ: أَنْ يَكُونَ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِمَنْ كَانَ قَبْلَهُ وَيَكُونَ عِنْدَهُ السَّلَاحُ وَيَكُونَ صَاحِبَ الْوَصِيَّةِ الظَّاهِرَةِ الَّتِي إِذَا قَدِمَتِ الْمَدِينَةَ سَأَلَتْ عَنْهَا الْعَامَّةَ وَالصَّبِيَّانَ: إِلَى مَنْ أَوْصَى فُلَانٌ؟ فَيَقُولُونَ: إِلَى فُلَانِ بْنِ فُلَانٍ.

98/746: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, from Yazīd Sha‘ar,<sup>125</sup> from Ḥārūn ibn Ḥamzah,<sup>126</sup> from ‘Abd al-‘A‘lā:



'Abd al-'A'lā says: "I said to Abū 'Abd Allāh (A), 'What is the proof for confirming the claimant to this matter?' (i.e. Imamate). He said, 'He must be asked about the lawful and the unlawful'. Then turning to me, he said, 'There are three proofs which do not come together in anyone except the master of this matter (*ṣāhib hādihā al-'amr*): he must be the closest person to the one before him; the arms must be with him; he is the one in whose favour the manifest will lie (*yakūn ṣāhib al-waṣiyyat al-zāhirah*). So if you enter Madinah and ask the ordinary people and children about it, "To whom did he testify?" they will say, "To so-and-so".'"

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ بْنِ بَزْرَجٍ، عَنْ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ الرِّضَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَنَّهُ سُئِلَ أَنْتَكُونَ الْإِمَامَةَ فِي عَمِّ أَوْ خَالٍ؟ فَقَالَ: لَا، فَقُلْتُ: فَبِي أَخٍ؟ قَالَ: لَا، قُلْتُ: فَبِي مَنْ؟ قَالَ: فِي وَلَدِي، وَهُوَ يَوْمَئِذٍ لَا وَدَلَّهُ.

99/754: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Bazī:<sup>127</sup>

Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il says: "I asked Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riḍā (A) as to whether the Imamate could go to a paternal or maternal uncle. He said: 'No.' 'How about a brother?' I asked. 'No,' he replied. 'Then to whom (does it go)?' I said. 'To my son,' the Imam replied, and he did not have a son at that time."

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي نَجْرَانَ، عَنْ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ جَعْفَرِ الْجَعْفَرِيِّ، عَنْ حَمَادِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: لَا تَجْمَعُ الْإِمَامَةَ فِي أَخَوَيْنِ بَعْدَ الْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ إِنَّمَا هِيَ فِي الْأَعْقَابِ وَالْأَعْقَابِ.

100/755: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Najrān, from Sulaymān ibn Ja'far al-Ja'fari,<sup>128</sup> from Ḥammād ibn 'Isā:

Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) said: "The Imamate will not go to two brothers after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. It will be confined to the next descendant and to the descendant of the descendant."

#### Textual Proofs in Favour of the Imams:

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ يُونُسَ؛ وَعَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ سَهْلِ بْنِ زِيَادٍ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ يُونُسَ، عَنِ ابْنِ مُسْكَانَ، عَنْ أَبِي بَصِيرٍ قَالَ: سَأَلْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ

عليه السلام عن قول الله عز وجل: «أطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول وأولي الأمر منكم» فقال: نزلت في علي بن أبي طالب والحسن والحسين عليهم السلام: فقلت له: إن الناس يقولون: فما له لم يُسمَ علياً وأهل بيته عليهم السلام في كتاب الله عز وجل؟ قال: فقال: قولوا لهم: إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم نزلت عليه الصلاة ولم يُسمَ الله لهم ثلاثاً ولا أربعاً، حتى كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم هو الذي فسّر ذلك لهم ونزلت عليه الزكاة ولم يُسمَ لهم من كل أربعين دهماً درهم، حتى كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم هو الذي فسّر ذلك لهم ونزلت عليهم حتى كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم هو الذي فسّر ذلك لهم ونزلت «أطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول وأولي الأمر منكم» ونزلت في علي والحسن والحسين، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم في علي: من كنت مولاه، فعلي مولاه؛ وقال عليه السلام أوصيكم بكتاب الله وأهل بيته، فإنني سألت الله عز وجل أن لا يفرق بينهما حتى يُورد هما علي الحوض، فأعطاني ذلك، وقال: لا تعلموهم، فهم أعلم منكم؛ وقال: إنهم لن يُخرجوكم من باب هدي ولن يدخلوكم في باب ضلالة، فلو سكت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم فلم يبين من أهل بيته لأدعاهم آل فلان وآل فلان ولكن الله عز وجل أنزله في كتابه تصديقاً لبيته (ص) «إنما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس أهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيراً» فكان علي والحسن والحسين وفاطمة عليهم السلام، فأدخلهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم تحت الكساء في بيت أم سلمة، ثم قال: اللهم إن لكل نبي أهلاً وثقلاً وهؤلاء أهل بيته وثقلي، فقالت أم سلمة: أنت من أهلِكَ فقال: إنك إلى خير ولكن هؤلاء أهلي وثقلي. فلما قبض رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم كان علي أولى الناس بالناس لكثرة ما بلغ فيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وإقامته للناس وأخذه بيده، فلما مضى علي لم يكن يستطيع علي - ولم يكن ليفعل - أن يدخل مُحَمَّد بن علي ولا العباس بن علي ولا واحداً من ولده إذا لقال الحسن والحسين: إن الله تبارك وتعالى أنزل فيك فأمر بطاعتنا كما أمر بطاعتك وبلغ فينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم كما بلغ فيك وأذهب عنا الرجس كما أذهب عنك، فلما مضى علي عليه السلام كان الحسن عليه السلام أولى بها لكبره، فلما توفي لم يستطيع أن يدخل ولده ولم يكن ليفعل ذلك والله عز وجل يقول: «وأولوا الأرحام بعضهم أولى ببعض في كتاب الله» فيجعلها في ولده إذا لقال الحسين: أمر الله بطاعتي كما أمر بطاعتك وطاعة أبيك وبلغ في رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم

وسلم كما بلغ فيك وفي أهلك وأذهب الله عني الرجس كما أذهب عنك وعن أهلك، فلما صارت إلى الحسين لم يكن أحد من أهل بيته يستطيع أن يدعي عليه كما كان هو يدعي علي أخيه وعلى أبيه، لو أراد أن يضرف الأمر عنه ولم يكونا ليفعلنا ثم صارت حين أفضت إلى الحسين عليه السلام فجرى تأويل هذه الآية «وأولوا الأرحام بعضهم أولى ببعض في كتاب الله» ثم صارت من بعد الحسين لعلي بن الحسين، ثم صارت من بعد علي بن الحسين إلى محمد بن علي. وقال: الرجس هو الشك والله لا نشك في ربنا أبداً.

محمد بن يحيى، عن أحمد بن محمد بن عيسى، عن محمد بن خالد والحسين بن سعيد، عن النضر بن سويد، عن يحيى بن عمران الحلبي، عن أيوب بن الحر وعمران بن علي الحلبي، عن أبي عبد الله عليه السلام مثل ذلك.

101/757: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā,<sup>129</sup> from Yūnus; and 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, from Sahl ibn Ziyād Abū Sa'īd, from Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā, from Yūnus; from Ibn Muskān, from Abū Baṣīr:

Abū Baṣīr says: "I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) about the words of God Almighty, 'Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you' (4:59). He said, 'It (the verse) was revealed concerning 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (A).' I said to him, 'The people say, "Then why didn't God Almighty name 'Alī and his *ahl al-bayt* (household) in His Book".' He replied, 'Tell them: The (command concerning) *ṣalāt* (prayer) was sent down to the Messenger of God (S), but God did not specify to them (whether it was to be) three or four (*raka'āt*), so that it was the Messenger of God (S) who expounded that (command) to them. And He sent down (the command concerning) *zakāt* to him and did not specify that it ought to be a dirham out of every forty dirhams, until it was the Messenger of God (S) who expounded that to them. And He sent down (the command concerning) *ḥajj*, but He did not say, "Circumambulate (the Ka'bah) seven times," until the Messenger of God expounded that to them. And (the verse), "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you," was sent down, and it was revealed concerning 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and so the Messenger of God (S) said concerning 'Alī, "For whomsoever I am his master (*mawlā*), 'Alī is his master." And he (S) said, "I enjoin you (to obey) the Book of God and my Ahl al-Bayt. Verily, I have asked God Almighty not to separate them until the two come to me at the Pool, and He granted that to me." And he (S) said, "They will never lead you out of the gate of guidance and never make you enter the gate of misguidance." If the Messenger of God (S) had remained

silent and had he not made clear who his Ahl al-Bayt were, the families of so-and-so and so-and-so would have laid claim to it. However, God Almighty sent down this in His Book, confirming His Prophet: "Ahl al-Bayt, verily, God wills to keep away abomination from you, and keep you pure in thorough purity" (33:33), and they were 'Ali, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Fāṭimah — peace be upon them. The Messenger of God brought them under the covering in the house of Umm Salamah, and said, "My God, for every prophet there is *ahl* (household) and a *thaql* (charge), and these are my *ahl* and my *thaql*." When the Messenger of God (S) passed away, 'Ali was *awlā* (nearer, with greater authority over) to the people than themselves, because of the many things the Messenger of Allah (S) had communicated concerning him, by making him stand up and by taking his hand. And when 'Ali passed away, he could not, and would not, include Muḥammad ibn 'Ali, or al-'Abbās ibn 'Ali, or any other of his sons (in the Ahl al-Bayt). Had he done so, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn would have said: "God, the Blessed and the Exalted, sent down concerning us what He sent down concerning you. He commanded obedience to us just as He commanded obedience to you. The Messenger of God (S) communicated (to the people) concerning us the same as what he communicated (to them) about you, and He kept away abomination from us as He did from you." When 'Ali (A) passed away, al-Ḥasan was the most worthy of it (Imamate) because of his elder age. At his death he could not, and would not, include any of his sons, nor could he, in accordance with the words of God Almighty, "Some of those bound by blood are nearer (to each other) than others in the Book of God" (33:6), establish it (the Imamate) in his sons (i.e. it was not subject to the laws of inheritance). Had he done so, al-Ḥusayn would have said, "God has ordered obedience to me just as He ordered obedience to you and to our father; and the Messenger of God (S) communicated (to the people) about me the same as what he communicated regarding you and our father, and He kept away abomination from me just as He kept it away from you and our father." So when it reached al-Ḥusayn, there was none among his family who could lay claim (to the Imamate) against him, as he (himself) could against his brother or his father, had they wanted to divert the affair (the Imamate) from him, which they would have never done. Then the time came when it reached al-Ḥusayn (A), and (the Imamate) took its course according to the interpretation of the verse: "Some of those bound by blood are nearer than others in the Book of God." Then it fell after al-Ḥusayn on 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn, and after 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn (A) on Muḥammad ibn 'Ali (A). And He said, 'Abomination (*rijs* in the verse) means doubt, and by God, we do not doubt in our Lord, ever.' "

The same tradition has been narrated by: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad

ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from Muḥammad ibn Khālid and al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'id, from al-Naḍr ibn Suwayd, from Yaḥyā ibn 'Imrān al-Ḥalabī, from Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥurr and 'Imrān ibn 'Alf al-Ḥalabī,<sup>130</sup> from Abū Baṣīr, from Abū 'Abd Allāh (A).

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْمُغِيرَةِ، عَنْ ابْنِ مُسْكَانَ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحِيمِ بْنِ رَوْحِ الْقَصِيرِ، عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي قَوْلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ: «النَّبِيُّ أَوْلَىٰ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنفُسِهِمْ وَأَزْوَاجُهُ أُمَّهَاتُهُمْ وَأُولُو الْأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَىٰ بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ» فِيمَنْ نَزَلَتْ؟ فَقَالَ: نَزَلَتْ فِي الْأَمْرَةِ، إِنَّ هَذِهِ آيَةٌ جَرَتْ فِي وُلْدِ الْحُسَيْنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ، فَتَحَنَّنَ أَوْلَىٰ بِالْأَمْرِ وَبِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ، قُلْتُ: فَوُلْدُ جَعْفَرٍ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَصِيبٌ؟ قَالَ: لَا، قُلْتُ: فَلِوُلْدِ الْعَبَّاسِ فِيهَا نَصِيبٌ؟ فَقَالَ: لَا، فَعَدَدْتُ عَلَيْهِ بَطُونَ بَنِي عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ، كُلُّ ذَلِكَ يَقُولُ: لَا، قَالَ: وَنَسِيتُ وُلْدَ الْحَسَنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَدَخَلْتُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِ، فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: هَلْ لِوُلْدِ الْحَسَنِ فِيهَا نَصِيبٌ؟ فَقَالَ: لَا؛ وَاللَّهِ يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحِيمِ! مَا لِمُحَمَّدِي فِيهَا نَصِيبٌ غَيْرَنَا.

102/758: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mughīrah,<sup>131</sup> from Ibn Muskān, from 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Rawḥ al-Qaṣīr:

'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Rawḥ says: "I questioned Abū Ja'far concerning the words of God Almighty, 'The Prophet is *awlā* to the believers than themselves, and his wives are their mothers. Some of those bound by blood are nearer than others in the Book of God' (33:6), as to about whom they were revealed. He said, 'They were revealed concerning the Authority (of Imamate). Verily, this verse took its course in the descendants of al-Ḥusayn (A) after him. So we are nearer to the affair (the Imamate) and the Messenger of God than the believers and the Emigrants and the Helpers.' I said, 'Do the sons of Ja'far have a part in it?' 'No,' he said. Then I enumerated to him the branches of Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and in each case he said: 'No.' I forgot the descendants of al-Ḥasan (A), and later I went back to him and asked him, 'Do the descendants of al-Ḥasan have a part in it?' He said: 'No. By God, O 'Abd al-Raḥīm, no descendant of Muḥammad has a part in it except us.' "

#### The Designation of al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq:

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ هِشَامِ بْنِ سَالِمٍ، عَنْ أَبِي

عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: لَمَّا حَضَرَتْ أَبِي عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ الْوَفَاةُ قَالَ: يَا جَعْفَرُ! أَوْصِيكَ بِأَصْحَابِي خَيْرًا،  
قُلْتُ: جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ وَاللَّهِ لَا دَعْنَهُمْ وَالرَّجُلُ مِنْهُمْ يَكُونُ فِي الْمِضْرِ فَلَا يَسْأَلُ أَحَدًا.

103/791: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, from Hishām ibn Salīm:

Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) said: “When death approached my father (A), he said: ‘O Ja‘far, I enjoin you (*uṣūka*) to be good to my companions.’ I said, ‘May I be made your ransom, by God, I will leave them at such a stage that even if one of them were to be (alone) in a city he will not have to ask any one (else regarding religious issues).’ ”

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ هِشَامِ بْنِ الْمُثَنَّى، عَنْ سَدِيرِ الصَّرِفِيِّ  
قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ مِنْ سَعَادَةِ الرَّجُلِ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ الْوَلَدُ يَعْرِفُ فِيهِ شِبْهَ خَلْقِهِ  
وَخُلُقِهِ وَشِمَائِلِهِ، وَإِنِّي لَأَعْرِفُ مِنْ ابْنِي هَذَا، شِبْهَ خَلْقِي وَخُلُقِي وَشِمَائِلِي؛ يَعْنِي أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ  
عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ.

104/792: ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, from Hishām ibn al-Muthannā,<sup>132</sup> from Sadīr al-Ṣayrafī:<sup>133</sup>

Sadīr says: “I heard Abū Ja‘far say, ‘Of a man’s felicity is that he should have a son in whom his physical and moral features and character can be perceived. And I perceive the semblance of my personal features and character in this son of mine.’ ” He meant Abū ‘Abd Allāh.

— عِدَّةٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِنَا، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ، عَنْ طَاهِرٍ قَالَ: كُنْتُ عِنْدَ  
أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَأَقْبَلَ جَعْفَرٌ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَالَ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: هَذَا خَيْرُ الْبَرِيَّةِ أَوْ خَيْرٌ.

105/793: A number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥakam, from Ṭāhir:<sup>134</sup>

Ṭāhir says: “I was with Abū Ja‘far (A) when Ja‘far (A) approached us. Thereupon Abū Ja‘far (A) said: ‘He is the best of men.’ ”

#### The Designation of al-‘Imām al-Kāzim:

— عِدَّةٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِنَا، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ، عَنْ أَبِي أَيُّوبَ الْخَزَّازِ عَنْ  
ثُبَيْتٍ، عَنْ مُعَاذِ بْنِ كَثِيرٍ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لَهُ: أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ الَّذِي رَزَقَ أَبَاكَ  
مِنْكَ هَذِهِ الْمَنْزِلَةَ أَنْ يَرْزُقَكَ مِنْ عَقِبِكَ قَبْلَ الْمَمَاتِ مِثْلَهَا، فَقَالَ: قَدْ فَعَلَ اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ قَالَ: قُلْتُ: مَنْ

هُوَ؟ — جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ — فَأَشَارَ إِلَى الْعَبْدِ الصَّالِحِ وَهُوَ رَاقِدٌ فَقَالَ: هَذَا الرَّاقِدُ — وَهُوَ غُلَامٌ —.

106/799: A number of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from 'Alī ibn al-Ḥakam, from Abū Ayyūb al-Khazzāz, from Thubayt,<sup>135</sup> from Mu'adh ibn Kathīr:<sup>136</sup>

Mu'adh ibn Kathīr says: "I said to Abū 'Abd Allāh (A), 'I beseech God, Who granted you to your father for this station, to grant you, before you die, one of your offspring for the like of it.' He said: 'God has already done that.' 'Who is he?' I said, 'may I be made your ransom.' He pointed towards al-'Abd al-Ṣāliḥ (al-'Imām al-Kāzīm), who was asleep, saying, 'The one who is sleeping.' At the time he was a boy."

— أَحْمَدُ بْنُ إِدْرِيسَ، عَنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْجَبَّارِ، عَنِ صَفْوَانَ، عَنِ ابْنِ مُسْكَانَ عَنِ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ خَالِدٍ قَالَ: دَعَا أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَبَا الْحَسَنِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَوْمًا وَنَحْنُ عِنْدَهُ فَقَالَ لَنَا: عَلَيْكُمْ بِهَذَا، فَهُوَ وَاللَّهِ صَاحِبُكُمْ بَعْدِي.

107/809: Aḥmad ibn Idrīs, from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Ṣafwān, from Ibn Muskān, from Sulaymān ibn Khālid:

Sulaymān ibn Khālid says: "One day when we were with Abū 'Abd Allāh (A), he called Abū al-Ḥasan. Then he said to us, 'You shall have him. By God, he is your *ṣāḥib* (master, companion) after me.' "

To be continued — inshā' Allāh

#### NOTES:

116. Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Sindī al-Jammāl; 7/0: among the rijāl of Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, p. 129.

117. Ja'far ibn Bashīr, Abū Muḥammad al-Bajalī; 6/VIII; N119/Tf43/A31: *thiqah*.

118. Ḍurays ibn 'Abd al-Mālik ibn A'yan al-Shaybānī; 4/V, VI; K314/A90: *thiqah*. Also considered *thiqah* by al-Majlisī (p.100), also by al-Kāzīmī and al-Bahrānī as mentioned in *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*, II, 106.

119. The same as mentioned in No.70.

120. Suwayd ibn Muslim al-Qallā'; 5/VI; N191/A84: *thiqah*.

121. Same as Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-'Aṭṭār mentioned in No.1.

122. Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Jawharī al-Kūfī, 6/VII; among the rijāl of Ṣafwān (*al-Wāfi*, vol.5, pp. 77,78, vol.12, p.95, and *Ilal al-sharā'i*, vol.2, p.142) and Ibn Abī 'Umayr (*al-Wāfi*, vol.13, p.85).

123. Mentioned in No.10.

124. Ya'qūb ibn Yazīd ibn Ḥammād al-'Anbarī al-Salamī, Abū Yūsuf; 7/VIII, IX, X; N450/Tf 180/Tr425/A186: *thiqah*.

125. Yazīd ibn Ishāq ibn Abī al-Sakhaf al-Ghanawī, Abū Ishāq, known as

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Sha'ar (or Shaghar); 6/VII, VIII; regarded as *thiqah* by al-Shahīd al-Thāni and al-'Allāmah al-Hillī, as mentioned in *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*, vol.3, p.324.

126. Hārūn ibn Ḥamzah al-Ghanawī al-Ṣayrafī; 5/VI; N437/A180: *thiqah*.

127. Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Bazī', Abū Ja'far; 6/VII, VIII, IX; N330: *kāna min ṣāliḥi ḥādhihi al-ṭā'ifah wa thiqātihim*; Tr 386/A139: *thiqah ṣaḥīḥ*.

128. Sulaymān ibn Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ja'farī; 6/VIII; N183/A77/Tr377/Tf 78: *thiqah*.

129. Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Ubayd ibn Yaḥyā (b.c. 180/796, d. after 260/874); 6/IX; N333: *thiqah 'ayn*; Tr322, 511: *ḍa'īf*.

130. 'Imrān ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Shu'bah al-Ḥalabī, Abū al-Faḍl al-Kūfī; 5/VI; N231: *Āl Abī Shaybah....kānū jamī'uhum thiqāt*; A125/Ibn Dāwūd 147: *thiqah*.

131. Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd ibn Mālik al-'Ash'arī al-Qummi; 6/VIII, IX; N338/A154: *shaykh al-Qummiyyīn wa wajh al-'Ashā'irah*.

132. 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mughīrah, Abū Muḥammad al-Bajalī, Kūfī, 6/VII, N215/A109: *thiqah thiqah, lā yu'dal bihi aḥad*.

133. Hishām ibn al-Muthannā al-Rāzī; 5/VI; among the rijāl of Ibn Abī 'Umayr in this tradition, as well as in other *ṣaḥīḥ* traditions (*al-Wāfi*, IV, 99; VI, 71; VIII, 138; X, 30.)

134. Sadīr ibn Ḥakīm ibn Ṣuhayb al-Ṣayrafī al-Kūfī; 4/IV, V; among the rijāl of Ibn Abī 'Umayr in this and other traditions (*al-Wasā'il, af'āl al-ṣalāt, bāb 1; ḥadīth 12*).

135. Ṭāhir, *mawlā* of Abū Ja'far al-'Imām al-Bāqir (A): 5/V, VI; source of *tawthīq* untraced.

136. Thubayt ibn Nashīṭ al-Kūfī; 5/VI; Ibn Abī 'Umayr narrated from Abū Ayyūb al-Kharrāz, from Abū Baṣīr, from Thubayt, from Mu'ādh ibn Kathīr (N117).



# Inheritance, According to Five Schools of Islamic Law Part 1

by 'Allāmah Muḥammad Jawād Maghniyyah

Translated from the Arabic by Mujāhid Ḥusayn

## Rules Concerning the Heritage:

### The Heritage:

**T**he heritage (*al-tarikah*) comprises the following things:

1. That which the deceased owned before his death in the form of:

- a. tangible property,
- b. debts,

c. any pecuniary right, e.g. the right consequent to *tahjīr* (demarcation of ownerless vacant land with an intention of cultivating it), where he intends to cultivate ownerless vacant land and demarcates it by constructing a wall or something of the kind, thus acquiring a right to cultivate it in preference to others; or an option (*ḥaqq al-khayār*) in a contract of sale; or the right of pre-emption; or the right of retaliation (*qiṣāṣ*) for murder or injury, where he is a guardian of the victim (e.g. if a person kills his son and then dies before retaliation, causing the right of *qiṣāṣ* to change into a pecuniary right payable from the murderer's estate, exactly like a debt).

2. That which the decedent comes to own at his death, e.g. compensation for unintentional homicide (*al-qatl al-khaṭa'*), where the heirs opt for compensation instead of *qiṣāṣ*. The rule applicable to this compensation is the one applicable to all other properties, and all those entitled to inherit, including husband and wife, will inherit from it.<sup>1</sup>

3. That which the decedent comes to own after his death, e.g. an animal caught in a net that he had placed in his life, and similarly where he is a debtor and his creditor relinquishes the debt after his death or someone volunteers to pay it for him. Also, if an offender mutilates his body after his death and amputates his hand or leg, compensation will be taken from him. All these will be included in the heritage.<sup>2</sup>

*Deductions from the Heritage:*

Different types of deductions are made from the heritage. Some of them are deducted from only a third of the heritage, and discussion regarding them has preceded in the chapter on wills. Some deductions are made from the whole heritage, and they too are of different types. Hence, if the heritage suffices, they will be completely met, and what remains of it after these deductions and the execution of the will, will be for the heirs. All the schools concur on this. If the *tarikah* falls short of meeting these deductions, the more important among them will be given precedence over those of lesser importance. If anything remains after the preferred deductions are made, the next in order will follow; otherwise only the deductions of higher preference will be covered. The schools differ regarding the order of preference of these deductions.

The Imāmiyyah state: The first deduction, before any other thing, is to meet the *wājib* funeral expenses, such as expenses of ablution (*al-ghusl*), shrouding, carrying the body and digging the grave, if required, irrespective of whether the decedent has made a will to this effect or not. Therefore, funeral expenses, according to them, are prior to debts, irrespective of the debts being related to the fulfilment of religious duties (*ḥaqq Allāh*) or to creditors (*ḥaqq al-nās*). They bring proof from the tradition narrated by al-Sakūnī from al-'Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (A):

أَوَّلُ شَيْءٍ يُبَدَأُ بِهِ مِنَ الْمَالِ الْكَفْنُ ، ثُمَّ الدَّيْنُ ، ثُمَّ الوَصِيَّةُ ، ثُمَّ الميراثُ .

The first thing which is deducted from the decedent's estate is the shroud (funeral expenses), then debt, then the will, and then the inheritance.

The Imāmiyyah fuqahā' differ among themselves regarding the case where a creditor has a right over the estate itself, such as where the decedent dies after mortgaging his property with a pledgee, the property being all that he owned. Here, a group of fuqahā' give the funeral expenses preference over the right of the pledgee, because of the general nature of the traditions which include the above-mentioned tradition of al-Sakūnī in which no difference has been made between pledged and unpledged properties. Other fuqahā' give precedence to the right of the pledgee because the owner of the pledged property is forbidden by the Shari'ah to exercise his rights of ownership, and that which is forbidden by the Shari'ah is like that which is forbidden by reason.<sup>3</sup>

After meeting the funeral expenses, the repayment of debts will start, irrespective of their being *ḥaqq Allāh* or *ḥaqq al-nās*, such as unpaid *khums* and *zakāt*, pecuniary atonements (*kaffārāt*), the returning of the *mazālim*,<sup>4</sup> the unperformed obligatory ḥajj, and other

similar religious and non-religious liabilities. All these debts are in a single category. Therefore, if all of them cannot be completely met from the estate, they will be covered pro rata like the liabilities of an insolvent person,<sup>5</sup> allowing no exception to this except *khums* and *zakāt*, provided these relate to the actual items of their incidence present, in which case the two will be preferred over other debts. But if these two are due (without the items of incidence being present), they will be treated as all other debts.

The four Sunnī schools, along with the Imāmiyyah, concur that funeral expenses are preferred over the debts payable from the estate before death. The four schools then differ among themselves in giving precedence to funeral expenses over debts relating to the heritage, such as an article which the owner pledged before his death. The Ḥanafī, the Shāfi‘ī and the Māliki schools say: Those claims which are related to specific parts of the heritage will be given precedence over funeral expenses (*ḥāshiyat al-Bājūrī ‘alā Sharḥ Ibn Qāsim*, vol.1, *faṣl al-mayyit*, and Abū Zuhrah’s *al-Mīrāth ‘inda al-Ja‘fariyyah*, p. 40, 1955).

The Ḥanbalis observe: Funeral expenses will be preferred over all other claims and debts including a pledge, penal damages, etc. (*al-Tanqīḥ fī fiqh al-Ḥanābilah*, p.71, al-Maṭba‘at al-Salafiyyah)

In short, according to all the schools the funeral expenses have precedence over debts unrelated to specific items of the heritage, and the Ḥanafī, the Shāfi‘ī and the Māliki schools give priority to debts related to specific items of the heritage over funeral expenses, while the Ḥanbali school gives priority to funeral expenses in this case. Some Imāmi legists favour the view of the three schools, and others concur with the Ḥanbalis.

### *Heirs and the Decedent’s Heritage:*

The schools concur that the heritage devolves on the heirs immediately after the death if there is no debt or will involved. They also concur that the remainder of the heritage exceeding debts and bequests stands transferred to the heirs. The schools differ whether that part of the heritage covered by debts and bequests will be considered transferred to the heirs or not.

The Ḥanafis state: The part which equals the value of debt will not be included in the property of the heirs. Consequently, if the complete estate is covered by debt, the heirs will not own anything from it. But they have a right to free the estate from the creditors by paying them their claim on the estate. If the estate is not totally covered by debt, the heirs will own the remainder.

The Shāfi‘is and the majority of Ḥanbali legists say: The heirs will come to own the indebted part of the estate, irrespective of whether

the debt covers the whole estate or only a part of it. However, the debt will relate to the whole estate and the estate will be liable for it. (Abū Zuhrah, *al-Mīrāth 'inda al-Ja'fariyyah*)

The Imāmiyyah differ among themselves on the issue; the majority of them hold the opinion that the estate will be transferred to the heirs whether totally covered by debts or not. The debts will be linked to it in one of the various ways, like a claim of pledge, or like the claim of damages resulting from the crime of a slave, or linked directly in a way not resembling any of these two ways. In any case, a debt will not hinder the actual act of inheritance, although it hinders the right of disposal in regard to that which is covered by the debt. This opinion is close to the Shāfi'i view. (*al-Jawāhir* and *al-Masālik, bāb al-mīrāth*)

The result of the difference of opinion appears in the increase in the estate which takes place between the time of death and the time of repayment of the debt. According to the opinion of the Shāfi'is, the Ḥanbalis and most of the Imāmi legists, the increase belongs to the heirs and they will dispose it without any hindrance from the creditors and others. But according to the Ḥanafī view, the increase will be subject to the estate, being linked to the debts payable from it.

### **Causes of Inheritance and Impediments:**

#### *Causes of Inheritance:*

There are three causes of inheritance:

- a. blood relationship (*al-qarābah*),
- b. marriage concluded by a valid contract, and
- c. *al-wilā'*.

We can bring these three causes under two heads: consanguinity (*nasab*) and affinity (*sabab*). By *nasab* is meant blood relationship, and *sabab* includes both marriage and *al-wilā'*. *Al-wilā'* is a bond existing between two persons which creates between them a relationship similar to *nasab*. Hence a person manumitting a slave becomes his *mawlā* and inherits from the latter if he has no other heir. We will not discuss here *al-wilā'* with its different meanings and forms because it has no practical application today, and will discuss only the two other causes.

Blood relationship (*al-qarābah*) is established between two persons through legitimate birth when one of them is a direct descendant of the other (such as fathers how highsoever, and sons how lowsoever), or when both of them are descendants of a third person (such as brothers and maternal and paternal uncles). Legitimate birth materializes through a valid marriage as well as through 'intercourse by mistake.' But the marital bond will not materialize except through a valid marriage between man and woman. There is no difference of opinion regarding

mutual inheritance between husband and wife. The schools, however, differ concerning the right of inheritance of certain relatives; the Shāfi'i and the Mālikī schools deny them such a right and consider them exactly like strangers. These relatives are: daughter's children, sister's children, daughters of brothers, children of uterine brothers, all kinds of paternal aunts, uterine paternal uncle, maternal uncles and aunts, daughters of paternal uncles and the maternal grandfather. Therefore, if a person dies and has no relatives except one of those mentioned the heritage escheats to the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*) and they will not receive anything, according to the Shāfi'i and Mālikī schools, because they are neither among the sharers (*dhawū al-furūd*) nor among the residuaries (*'aṣabāt*). (*al-Mughnī*, 3rd ed. vol.6, p.229)

The Ḥanafī and the Ḥanbalī schools consider them capable of inheriting in the particular situation where there are no sharers and residuaries.

The Imāmiyyah consider them capable of inheriting without this condition. Details will follow.

### *Impediments to Inheritance.*

The schools concur that there are three obstacles to inheritance:

- a. difference of religion,
- b. murder,
- c. slavery.

Ignoring slavery, we will discuss the other two causes.

### *Difference of Religion:*

There is consensus that a non-Muslim will not inherit from a Muslim.<sup>6</sup> The schools differ regarding a Muslim inheriting from a non-Muslim. 'He inherits,' say the Imāmiyyah; 'He does not,' say the other four schools.

If one of the decedent's sons or relatives who is a non-Muslim becomes a Muslim after his death and after the distribution of the heritage between the heirs, he is not entitled to inherit by consensus. The schools differ as to whether he inherits if he becomes a Muslim after the death but before the distribution of the heritage. He inherits according to the Imāmiyyah and the Ḥanbalis, and not, according to the Shāfi'i, the Mālikī and the Ḥanafī schools.

The Imāmiyyah state: If there is a single Muslim heir, he will take the whole heritage and the conversion of another to Islam will not entitle him to inheritance.

*An Apostate (Murtadd):*

A *murtadd* from Islam does not inherit in the opinion of the four Sunnī schools, irrespective of his apostasy being *'an fiṭrah* or *'an millah*,<sup>7</sup> except if he returns and repents before the distribution of the heritage. (*al-Mughnī*, vol.6)

The Imāmiyyah observe: A *murtadd 'an fiṭrah*, if a male, will be sentenced to death without being asked to repent, and his wife will observe the *'iddah* of death from the time of his apostasy, and his estate will be distributed even if he is not executed. His repentance will also not be accepted concerning the dissolution of his marriage, or the distribution of his estate, or the *wujūb* of his execution, though it will be accepted in fact and by God, as well as in regard to other issues such as the ritual cleanliness of his body and the validity of his acts of worship (*'ibādāt*). Similarly, he may own after his repentance new properties acquired through work, trade, or inheritance.

A *murtadd 'an millah* will be asked to repent. If he does so, he will have all the rights and obligations of Muslims. If he does not repent, he will be executed and his wife will observe the *'iddah* of divorce from the time of his apostasy. Then if he repents while she is undergoing *'iddah*, she will return to him and his property will not be distributed unless he dies or is killed.

A woman will not be sentenced to death irrespective of her apostasy being *'an fiṭrah* or *'an millah*. But she will be imprisoned and beaten at the times of *ṣalāt* till she repents or dies. Her heritage will be distributed only after her death. (al-Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan's *Wasīlat al-najāt* and al-Shaykh Aḥmad Kāshif al-Ghiṭā's *Safīnat al-najāt, bāb al-'irṭh*)

*Inheritance of Followers of Other Religions:*

The Mālikī and the Ḥanbalī schools say: Followers of different religions will not inherit from each other. Hence a Jew will not inherit a Christian and vice versa, and similarly the followers of other religions.

The Imāmi, the Ḥanafī and the Shāfi'ī schools state: They will inherit from one another because they are a single religious group, considering that all of them are non-Muslims. But the Imāmiyyah lay down a condition in the case of a non-Muslim inheriting from another of his kind, that there be no existing Muslim heir. Therefore, if such an heir is present, even though distant, his presence will prevent a non-Muslim heir, even if he is closely related, from inheriting. This condition is not relevant to the other four schools, because according to them, as mentioned earlier, a Muslim does not inherit from a non-Muslim. (*Ghāyat al-muntahā*, vol.2, al-Shi'rānī's *Mizān*, *al-Jawāhir* and *al-Masālik*)

### The Ghulāt:

Muslims are unanimous in holding that the Ghulāt are polytheists (*mushrikūn*) and do not belong to Islam and Muslims in any manner. The Imāmiyyah have been specially severe concerning the issue of the Ghulāt because a large number of their Sunni brothers have unjustly attributed to them the deviations of the Ghulāt. The Imāmi 'ulamā' have unequivocally mentioned in their books on doctrine and law that the Ghulāt are *kāfir*. Accordingly, al-Shaykh al-Mufid in *Sharḥ 'Aqā'id al-Ṣadūq* (p.63, 1371 H.) says:

The Ghulāt feign to follow Islam. They are those who attribute divinity and prophethood to Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī and the Imams of his descent, and exceed all limits and deviate from the mean concerning their excellence in the religion and the world. They are misguided, unbelievers, whom Amīr al-Mu'minīn ordered to be killed and burnt, and the Imams judged them as unbelievers and apostates from Islam.

The Imāmi 'ulamā' mention them in their legal works in the chapter on *ṭahārah* (purification), and consider them ritually unclean. Their mention also occurs in the chapter on marriage, where it is observed that the marriage of Muslim women with them, as well as marrying their women, is *ḥarām*, although the 'ulamā' permit marriage with women of Ahl al-Kitāb. The mention of Ghulāt is also made in the chapter on *jihād*, where they are considered polytheists in a state of war. In the chapter on inheritance, the 'ulamā' prohibit their inheriting from Muslims.<sup>8</sup>

### One Who Denies an Essential of the Faith:

There is consensus among the schools that a person who denies any of the established and known doctrines of the faith and considers a *ḥarām* as *ḥalāl* or vice versa, making that his creed, goes out of the pale of Islam and becomes an infidel. To this category also belongs one who attributes *kufr* to a Muslim.

It is worthwhile here to point out two issues that have been dealt in detail by the highly learned and leading Imāmi scholar Āqā Ridā al-Hamadānī in *Miṣbāḥ al-faqīh*, vol. I.

1. If a person appears to follow Islam and pronounces the *Shahādātān*, though we do not know whether he does so hypocritically, without having faith in it, or pronounces them with veritable faith, there is no difference of opinion in judging him a Muslim. But if we have knowledge of his falsity and know that he has no faith in God and the Prophet (S) but only presents himself as a Muslim hypocritically with a certain purpose in view, will we consider him a Muslim?

The gist of the Shaykh's opinion is that this hypocrite has a reality and an appearance. As to the reality he is a non-Muslim, though his appearance presents him as a Muslim. It is our duty to leave his reality to God Almighty's judgement, and there is no doubt that God will deal with him as a non-Muslim, because it is presumed that he is such in reality. But we, Muslims, will accept his appearance and associate with him as a Muslim regarding marriage and inheritance, because we have been ordered to do so. It is stated in a tradition:

مَنْ قَالَ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ حَقًّا دَمُهُ وَمَالُهُ.

He who says 'lā ilāha illā Allāh,' his life and property are secure.

This implies that he will be treated as a Muslim, irrespective of any doubt on our part and our knowledge of his verity or falsity. This is also confirmed by the Prophet's treatment of the hypocrites, whom he treated in the same manner in which he treated other Muslims, though he knew of their hypocrisy (*nifāq*).

2. The secret behind the consensus of Muslims regarding the *kufr* of a person denying an established rule is that this denial as such necessitates the denial of the Prophet's prophethood. It follows from this that a person making such a denial, on becoming aware that his rejection amounts to rejecting the prophethood and the messengerhood of the Prophet (S), will be doubtlessly considered a non-Muslim. But if he is not aware of it — either because of ignorance, or his belief that his denial does not necessitate the denial of prophethood — will he be considered a non-Muslim?

The summary of the Shaykh's reply is that an ignorant person can be viewed in different situations. At times his ignorance is the result of his absorption in sin and absence of attention to what is *ḥarām* (like a person who has indulged constantly in fornication from the first day to his present old age, and this continuity has developed in him the belief that his act is *ḥalāl*, not *ḥarām*); such a person is definitely a *kāfir*.

At times his ignorance is due to his following a person whom it is not valid to follow. Such a person is also a non-Muslim even if he believes that his denial does not lead to denying the Prophet's messengerhood.<sup>9</sup>

3. It may be that none of the two above-mentioned causes are the result of his ignorance; rather, his ignorance may be the result of his lack of attention to the station of prophethood, so that if he is informed about it he would desist from his denial. Such a person is doubtlessly a Muslim because he resembles one who disputes regarding a certain thing with the Prophet (S) while not recognizing him, but when he comes to



recognize that he is the Prophet (S), he refrains and is penitent.

There are other cases mentioned by the author of *Miṣbāḥ al-faqīh* which we leave for reasons of space. Those seeking details should refer to the first volume of the book.

### Homicide:

The schools concur that homicide when intentional and without legal authority impedes inheritance. This is based on the tradition:

لا ميراث للقاتل .

There is no (share in) inheritance for a murderer.

Moreover, since the murderer's act expedites inheritance, his intention will be frustrated. Apart from this, the schools differ.

The Imāmiyyah observe: He who kills his relative as *qiṣāṣ* or in self-defence or on the orders of a just judge, or for similar other reasons justified by the Shari'ah, in these instances homicide is no obstacle to inheriting. Also, unintentional homicide (*al-qatl khaṭa'*) is no hindrance.<sup>10</sup>

The author of *al-Jawāhir* states: The intentional act of a child and a lunatic is considered *khaṭa'* (mistake). Similarly *khaṭa'* includes a quasi-intentional act (*shibh al-'amd*). An instance of *shibh al-'amd* is where a father beats his child with an intention of correcting him and the child dies as a result of the beating. Al-Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ṭṣfahānī writes in *al-Wasīlah*: "Some of the causes which lead to death — like digging a well on a road, if a relative falls in it — the person having dug the well will inherit him, though he will be liable to pay the compensation (*diyah*).” Accordingly, there is no hindrance to the concurrence of the liability to *diyah* and inheritance.

Each one of the four Sunnī imams has a separate opinion in this case. The opinion of Imām Mālik concurs with the Imāmiyyah. The opinion of al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī is that unintentional homicide is an obstacle to inheritance, just like intentional murder; the same is the case where the murderer is a child or a lunatic. The opinion of Imām Aḥmad is that a homicide that calls for punishment, even if of a monetary kind, impedes inheritance. This excludes lawful killing, such as killing for *qiṣāṣ*, or in self-defence, or in war, the killing of a rebel (*bāghī*) at the hands of an *'ādil* person — in all these cases he will inherit. The opinion of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah is that a homicide which hinders inheritance is one which necessitates *qiṣāṣ* or *diyah* or *kaffārah* (atonement). This includes *al-qatl al-khaṭa'*, but not *al-qatl bi al-tasbīb* (where the accused is an indirect cause of homicide) or homicide by a lunatic or a minor.

NOTES:

1. The author of *al-Jawāhir* says: The preponderant (*mashhūr*) opinion among the Imāmiyyah legists is that those related through the mother do not inherit the compensation for involuntary homicide. As to the right to *qiṣās* it is inherited by all those who inherit the heritage excepting the husband and the wife, who, however, will inherit the compensation in lieu of *qiṣās*.
2. Al-Shaykh Aḥmad Kāshif al-Ghitā', *Safinat al-najāt, bāb al-waṣāyā*.
3. This is the proof (*dalīl*) mentioned by al-Sayyid al-Ḥakīm in *al-Mustamsak, bāb kafn al-mayyit*. Al-Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Zuhrah, in *al-Mirāth 'inda al-Ja'fariyyah*, writes: It is obvious in this situation that the right of the creditors relates to the property itself and supersedes all other rights to that property. Through this observation, the Shaykh attributes to the Imāmiyyah a consensus concerning the preference of the right of the pledger over funeral expenses, while there is a difference of opinion among them on this issue, and neither of the two differing opinions is preponderant to justify the attribution of consensus.
4. There is a difference between the *mazālim* and usurped (*maghṣūb*) properties. The *mazālim* are those in which *ḥarām* and *ḥalāl* wealth has been mixed and the owner is unable to discern due to his ignorance, while the *maghṣūb* properties have a known owner. The *mazālim* also differ from those properties whose owners are not known (*majhūl al-mālik*), because in the latter the ignorance is concerning the property itself and its being mixed with other property is not necessary. The rule for the *mazālim* is to give them away as charity (*ṣadaqah*) on behalf of its (real) owner when there is no hope of finding him.
5. Al-Sayyid al-Ḥakīm in *Mustamsak al-'Urwah*, vol. VII, *mas'alah* 83, says: This — i.e. pro rata distribution — is customary among us, and this is what is required by the principle of not preferring something without a cause for such preference (*tarjih bilā murajjih*) as well as the tradition of the Prophet (S): "The debt due to God is better entitled to repayment," is understood not to imply a difference (between the debts due to God and the debts due to people); rather it solely explains that it is *wājib* to fulfil *ḥaqq Allāh* and that neglecting it is not permissible.
6. The word 'Muslim' includes all those who pray facing towards the Ka'bah (*ahl al-qiblah*). Hence a Sunnī inherits from a Shī'ī and vice versa, in accordance with Qur'ānic *naṣṣ*, the Sunnah, and *ijmā'*. Rather, this rule is among the essentials of the faith, exactly like the *wujūb* of *ṣalāt* and fasting.
7. *Al-Murtadd 'an fiṭrah* is a born Muslim who apostatizes. *Al-Murtadd 'an millah* is one born to *kāfir* parents who then becomes a Muslim and later deserts his faith.
8. I believe that there is no one today who considers 'Alī (A) and his descendants to possess divinity and that this sect has become extinct. I have myself visited those places in Syria which are inhabited by the 'Alawīs, who are accused of holding such beliefs. I lived among them for a few days and travelled from one village to another in their region. I saw them following Islamic practices like all other Muslims, without the least difference. What do we say about one who proclaims from the *ma'ādhin* at the times of prayer "*Lā ilāha illā Allāh, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*"? Is not negating the divinity of all except Allah contrary to accepting the

divinity of others? Then how is it correct to attribute *ghuluww* to them, when God has said:

... وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَنْ أَلْفَقَ إِلَيْكُمْ السَّلَامَ لَسْتَ مُؤْمِنًا ...

*And do not say to anyone who offers you peace: 'You are not a believer'?*  
(4:94)

9. This is when he can acquire knowledge of the facts but neglects to do so. But one incapable of acquiring such knowledge is excusable.

10. The author of *al-Jawāhir* has narrated from a large number of Imāmi legists that a culprit in an unintentional homicide is prevented from inheriting the compensation, without being prevented from inheriting from the remaining heritage.

# “When Comes the Help of God and Victory...”

by *Martyr Sayyid Quṭb*

*Translated from the Arabic by Batool Ispahany*

*This “letter” was sent by Martyr Sayyid Quṭb, the Egyptian writer of renown, to Āyatullāh Kāshānī of Iran as a confirmation of the emerging unity of the Muslim Ummah. It was published by the journal al-Risālah (No.951, Dhū al-Hijjah 24, 1370/ September 25, 1951) nearly 38 years ago from Cairo. As an active member of Iran’s National Assembly, Āyatullāh Kāshānī had waged a heroic struggle against the despotic rule of Reza Khan, a British stooge.*

*To Martyr Sayyid Quṭb the call for Islamic unity and Islamic government was “the voice of the heavens descending once again onto the earth.” In the encompassing darkness and gloom of his generation, he saw the promising signs on the horizon. These signs were never so clear as they are today, after the emergence of the sun of the Islamic Republic over the dark horizon. The blood of the martyrs has lent its reddish and golden glow to the horizon, and as the sun continues to rise by degrees, spreading its light over the dark earth and sending the quivers of awakening into the bodies of the slumberers wrapped in the shadowy covers of sleep, we get nearer to the goals of the martyrs.*  
—Editor.

\* \* \*

**T**here are promising signs on the horizon these days — despite the encompassing darkness and gloom — of a return to the sanctuary of Islam, being manifested in all parts of the Islamic world. The return of the remnants of a defeated, fugitive and scattered people, weakened by exhaustion while panting after banners alien to their spirit and history, aims and objectives.

They are returning slowly these days, to the sanctuary whose sanctities were violated when they separated themselves from it, and to the banner whose majesty ceased when it was abandoned....They return to Islam calling out its name in every place, seeking from it power and honour and security....These are hopeful times in the Islamic world.

Today, those who call for the Islamic world to unite into a bloc, and to make Islam the ruling force of this bloc, are not only the propagators of religion and those who are of the Muslim Brotherhood. Nor are they only those individuals whose thinking is guided by Islam. These days, they are not only such people. There are also parties and per-

sonalities whose distinctive characteristics and fundamental objectives are not that of Islamic *da'wah*. This is an indication that the Islamic Ummah has found itself, after being lost and having gone astray, and that it is echoing one call emitted from their innermost being without dissimulation or pretence.

Imperialism played a great game the day it tore up the Islamic world and turned it into petty states with the stamp of nationhood, depriving it of its greater Islamic nationality. It destroyed the unity created by Islam in which nationalities and races were dissolved, and colours and languages melted away, and everyone called out with a single cry from hearts united in a brotherhood before Allah.

Imperialism was compelled to play this game for it was incapable of swallowing whole this large bloc while it was united and cohesive. But when the deceiving bugle of 'nationhood' was blown, the bloc broke up and scattered, becoming a palatable morsel for all, easy to swallow.

Then each petty state faced its internal problems, isolated from the flag under whose protection it stood and from the *qiblah* it turned to. Each state began confronting the united imperialist bloc on its own, sometimes in the Security Council in the U.N. and at other times in the Court of Justice. Each time it would return defeated and disappointed, for the imperialists stood united here and the "nationhood" by which the oppressed of the East had been duped had not made them forget the ethos of the Crusades which confronted all Islam!

Each state began confronting its internal oppression and social injustices by solutions and concepts followed in other lands and other environments. Sometimes they used the name democracy, sometimes socialism, and other times, communism. All of these were desperate efforts, created by circumstances different from those of the Islamic world, natural extensions of the concepts of materialism espoused by Western civilization, and whose roots can be found in Greek and Roman cultures. There can be no justification for its emergence in an Islamic environment and in Islamic thinking.

What was the outcome?

As we can see, the outcome abroad was the disintegration of the Islamic world and the uniting of the Christian world. It was the weakness of the small Islamic states and the power of European imperialism. It was the vicious circle in which these petty states revolve around the imperialist states. It was the distribution of the plunder between Britain, France, Holland and America. It was the feeble stand taken by the governments of the quasi-independent states, such as Egypt and Iraq, advancing a step forward and retreating a step backward.

The final outcome was confusion in confronting the oppression and social injustices. Among us there are those who confront it in the name of Islam, others who confront it in the name of socialism, and yet others who call secretly for communism, while feudalism and capitalism stand brazenly in a row on the opposite front, striking each of them against the other, and causing dissension and hatred between them.

Now and then, feeble voices emerge which, parrot-like, caution us against the call of Islam and the banner of Islam, warning us of the hostility of the Western world if we call out with the name of Islam and gather under its banner — as if that world will, one day, offer us a drink from the cup of friendship! They warn us of disunity and feuding in the state — as if, today, there is one front, without parties or factions! They warn us of much worse, of the tyranny of Islamic rule....They warn us of this tyranny, as if today, we are blessed with freedom. They caution us against becoming playthings of the professional men of religion — as if now we are not experiencing great hardship.

These are vain justifications which serve only the imperialists, terrified of the idea of Muslims gathering under the banner of Islam. They realize, as Queen Victoria and Gladstone realized, that the banner of the Qur'ān must be torn to pieces before the white man can rule the Islamic lands, and that the authority of imperialism will wane the day this banner is raised again.

The Western imperialist is well aware of the massive force it can face on the war front and on the political and economic fronts if the Islamic world unites. It is well aware of the massive human and material resources which can be mobilized, and of the change of course that will occur the day 400 million people gather under one banner, with one faith and one social system.

Both capitalism and communism tremble at the aspect of that day. Capitalism, because it knows that the economic foundations of usury, monopoly and capitalist exploitation that it has authorized, will all collapse the day Islam begins to rule and establishes its distinctive economic basis which drives out usurers, monopolists and exploiters, and does not permit them to carry out their unjust and sinful activities.

The day that this vast world extending from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific ocean escapes from its economically exploitative clutches and from its capitalist conspiracies, just as the Eastern bloc countries escaped through communism, then 'the earth will become strait for them, for all its breadth' (9:118). What remains then, for Western capitalism, when the whole Islamic world escapes from its grasp, with the communist world having escaped previously? On that day, it will choke to death and fall, a lifeless corpse. That is what the imperialists fear from the banner of Islam and Islamic government. What they fear is more than armies and regiments which the

Islamic world will unleash to annihilate them.

And communism trembles at the aspect of that day because it knows that the sole opportunity it has in the world is where social and economic imbalances exist. There is no place for communism in a balanced and just society, where there is no amassing of wealth and no great disparity; where usury, monopoly and capitalist exploitation do not prevail; where there is no antagonism between employees and employers because there is no possibility of acting arbitrarily with the employers or of cheating the employees. The society created by Islam, when founded on the correct principles, is a classless society, because the interests of the workers do not differ from the interests of the employer. The workers themselves have a right to half the profits and a right to convert all or part of their share into shares in the workplace. There is no extravagance in the society, nor is there hardship, for both of them are reprehensible (*makrūh*) or forbidden (*ḥarām*). It is a society where wealth is not amassed because it forbids usury, hoarding and unfair wages. It is a balanced society, because the state is committed to redistributing wealth whenever there is an imbalance, and is obliged to take preventive measures to forestall all that may lead to this imbalance. A society in which all public utilities are nationalized, or are jointly owned, and where there is no monopoly. When there is such an Islamic society, then the opportunity for communism to make inroads into it is unlikely, or rather, impossible. The endeavour of communism, like capitalism, is to attack the idea of Islamic solidarity and Islamic government, and to blow its sirens to arouse fear of this idea, or to belittle its value, or to refute the possibility of its practical application, thus making the same efforts in this direction as the capitalists.

\* \* \*

Amidst all this, one united cry echoes in all parts of the Islamic world, calling to the banner of Islam, crying out for Islamic unity and Islamic government.

It is not the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*) alone who is making this call. Neither is it only the Islamic thinkers, writers and propagators of the religion. It is, in fact, a call coming from the innermost being of this Islamic Ummah, from quarters expected and unexpected.

It comes from the government of Pakistan, calling for an Islamic economic conference to regulate the economies of the Islamic world on an Islamic basis. It comes from *Āyatullāh Kāshānī*, the spiritual leader of Iran, telling the British dogs to get out, not from Iran, but from the Islamic world, sending his encouragement and guidance to the Egyptian prime minister, and launching demonstrations on the streets of Iran in support of Egypt in her predicament.

It comes from 'Allāl al-Fāshī and Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazānī, the leaders of Marrakesh, which waged war against France in 1931, on religious grounds, along with its Berber supporters, because France despaired of subjugating it without shattering its religious unity.

It comes from the Muslims of Malaysia in Asia, and of Somalia in Africa, turning to the countries of the Islamic world.

It comes from Aḥmad Ḥusain, leader of the socialist party, in an impassioned letter in the socialist newspapers directed to Āyatullāh Kāshānī and Moṣaddeq, Prime Minister of Iran, who attacked the petroleum monopoly with the dagger of Islam and caused it to bleed!

It comes from Aḥmad Abū al-Faṭḥ in his book *Ḥikāyāt li Miṣr* calling for liberation through Islamic rule and justice.

It is the awakening....it is the guidance....it is the light. It is the conscience of all this Ummah which awakens and is guided and illuminated. It is no longer the call of an individual or of an organization. It is the voice of the heavens descending once again onto the earth. There are promising signs emerging on the horizon, despite the encompassing darkness and gloom....



# The Necessity and Role of Prophethood

by Sayyid Mujtabā Mūsawī Lārī

Translated from the Persian by Dr. Hāmid Algar

## Acquaintance With the School of the Prophets:

**I**n the world where our existence unfolds, we have never heard of or seen an organization or administration that is left to its own devices without a supervisor being responsible for it. Human reason and intelligence cannot accept that social institutions be without a leader or ruler, and no thinker will approve of an organizational formula that lacks a responsible leader.

Given that reason and logic emphasize the necessity of a responsible leader for even the smallest social unit, how can humanity as a whole attain the basic goals to which it aspires or acquire the lofty values of which it is worthy, without a leader and chief?

Now the Creator, within the system of creation, has not withheld

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\*This is the first part of the second volume of the author's work in Persian, *Mabānī-ye i'tiqādāt dar Islām* ("The Foundations of Islamic Doctrines"), which deals with the theological and philosophical foundations of Islamic beliefs. The first of this four-volume work, dealing with Divinity, which has been published in English under the title *God and His Attributes*, was published by *al-Tawhīd* (Vol. V, Nos. 3 & 4 – Vol. VI, No. 4) as a series of independent articles. Among other books by the author are *Western Civilization Through Muslim Eyes*, *Mushkilāt-e akhlāqī wa rawānī* and *Risālat-e akhlāq dar takāmul-e insān*.

Dr. Hamid Algar, the translator, is Professor of Persian and Islamic Studies in the Department of Near Eastern Studies, the University of California, Berkeley. He has written extensively on the religious history of Iran. Among his published works is *Religion and State in Iran 1785–1906*. He has translated works from Arabic, Turkish and Persian into English and has contributed articles to various journals and encyclopedias.

anything that may be needed for any being to advance and attain a fitting degree of perfection; He has placed the necessary means and tools at the disposal of all things, and given to each part of every animate being and plant exactly what it needs. How then can it be believed that in the system of legislating for man He should overlook the sending of prophets who play such a sensitive and multifaceted role in the evolution of man, or that He should remain indifferent to this fundamental pillar?

Furthermore, can any intelligent person accept that the vast scheme of being, with all the wonder-inducing manifestations of life, should be based on aimlessness and purposelessness? Is it possible to attribute such an irrational act to the sublime Creator? The question of reward and punishment, in a precise and calculated form, is involved here.

It is an indubitable scientific principle that purposiveness is the concomitant of all life, thought and will. It is not possible that a wise being should consciously undertake an action in which no goal or purpose resides.

Apart from the fact that man instinctively regards an aimless act as incompatible with wisdom and intelligence, he can clearly perceive that all the atoms in the world of being are ruled by order and calculation. So just as the orderliness of life springs from the knowledge and wisdom of the Creator, the same may be said of the purposiveness of the whole scheme of being, including the existence of man.

Is God indifferent to the fate of humans? Has He abandoned them to their own devices, so they may shed each other's blood, commit any crime they like, and transform the world into a fiery hell?

A God Who holds back nothing in order for every creature to attain its perfection cannot possibly be indifferent to man's attaining the degree of perfection suitable to him. On the contrary, just as He guides man to material perfection by means of his instincts, He guides him to his true perfection both by means of the innate guidance of his nature and by means of legislative guidance, for innate guidance needs help when confronting the instincts.

The Qur'an says:

مَنْ كَانَ يُرِيدُ الْعَاجِلَةَ عَجَلْنَا لَهَا مَا تَشَاءُ لِمَنْ نُرِيدُ ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَا لَهُ جَهَنَّمَ يَصْلَاهَا مَذْمُومًا  
مَذْحُورًا ﴿١٨﴾ وَمَنْ أَرَادَ الْآخِرَةَ وَسَعَى لَهَا سَعْيَهَا وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ فَأُولَئِكَ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ مَشْكُورًا  
﴿١٩﴾ كَلَّا نُمَدِّدُ هُنَّوَلَاءَ وَهُنَّوَلَاءَ مِنْ عَطَاءِ رَبِّكَ وَمَا كَانَ عَطَاءُ رَبِّكَ مَحْظُورًا ﴿٢٠﴾

Whosoever desires the present world, We hasten for him therein what We will unto whomsoever We desire; then We appoint for him Gehenna wherein he shall roast, condemned and rejected. And whosoever desires the world to come and strives after it as he should, being a believer — those, their striving

*shall be thanked. Each We succour, these and these, from thy Lord's gift; and thy Lord's gift is not confined. (17:18-20)*

That is, We will give help to both groups, those who worship the world and those who seek the hereafter, so that none should remain deprived of the favour and generosity of their Lord.

If man were left along in the world with his own hopes, everyone would judge on the basis of his own temperament and taste. He would do whatever he found pleasing and conformable to his inclinations. Every individual would follow his own path in order to secure his interests, and the result would be a clash of desires and interests, leading to the severance of individual and social relations and unending corruption and anarchy.

The French scholar Emile Dermenghem writes in his book "The Life of Muhammad":

The prophets are just as necessary for the world as the beneficial and wondrous forces of nature, such as the sun, rainfall, winter storms, which shake and cleave open dry and infertile land, covering them with freshness and verdure. The grandeur and legitimacy of such events can be deduced from their results: inward capacities that have received strength and confidence, hearts that have been given tranquillity, wills that have been strengthened, tumults that have been quietened, moral diseases that have been cured, and finally, the supplications that have mounted up to heaven.<sup>1</sup>

It can be deduced from the Qur'an that one of the missions of the prophets is ending differences among men purifying them.

The Qur'an says:

كَانَ النَّاسُ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً فَبَعَثَ اللَّهُ النَّبِيِّنَ مُبَشِّرِينَ وَمُنذِرِينَ وَأَنْزَلَ مَعَهُمُ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ فِي مَا اخْتَلَفُوا فِيهِ ...

*Men were one community. God sent messengers to give glad tidings to the good and warning to the bad. He sent the Book in truth so they might judge justly in their dispute....(2:213)*

هُوَ الَّذِي بَعَثَ فِي الْأُمِّيِّينَ رَسُولًا مِنْهُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِهِ وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَإِنْ كَانُوا مِنْ قَبْلُ لَفِي ضَلَالٍ مُبِينٍ ﴿٦٢﴾

*He it is Who sent a great messenger among the unlettered Arabs, one from among them, who might recite to them the verses of God's revelation, purify them from the filth of ignorance and evil characteristics, and teach them the Law contained in His Book, whereas previously they had been in the abyss of ignorance and misguidance. (62:2)*

رَبَّنَا وَابْعَثْ فِيهِمْ رَسُولًا مِّنْهُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِكَ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ...

*O Lord, make our offspring worthy of Your raising messengers from among them who will recite Your verses to men, who will teach them the knowledge of the Book and wisdom, and cleanse and purify their souls from all ignorance and ugliness....(2:129)*

The prophets came in order to convey to men divine knowledge, free of all forms of illusion and error. They came to proclaim to man a series of truths which man would never have attained unaided, such as matters lying beyond the natural realm like death, the intermediate realm, and resurrection.

In divine schools of thought, the mode of thought that underlies both belief and action rests on the knowledge of the material and spiritual dimensions of human existence within the bounds of man's capacity to know. For man approaches true happiness, and his growth and ascent become possible, only when his constant and fundamental needs are recognized, preserved and satisfied in a balanced fashion.

That which causes man trouble and torment is his rebellious spirit. One of the most fundamental missions of the prophets is, then, to bring excesses of the spirit under control and reduce them to order, so as to pacify its rebellious tendencies. Thus we see that in the school of the prophets pleasures are not negated nor is their value and essentiality denied.

The supreme ideal of the prophets, who are the source of virtue and the gushing springs of human ethics, is to cure and nurture the human spirit in such a way that it reaches a higher truth and ascends toward ethical values. Through the realistic and perceptive training man receives from the prophets, he advances on a path that leads to infinity and distances himself from alienation. It is natural that those who establish such a programme of action should have been chosen at the threshold of heavenly power, the power of One Who is aware of all the mysteries of man's creation and the needs of his soul.

The selection that takes place with respect to the prophets is based on ascertainment of an individual's being complete model of the powers and faculties of man. In order to ascend existentially, to cure their souls and to attain the heavenly rank of fruition, men must enter the sphere of the teachings of the prophets; it is only then that their humanity can be fully realized.

\* \* \*

The valuable element that man represents in this world has not been abandoned or left to its own devices, nor has God wished to entrust the destiny of man to capricious oppressors who sinking their poisonous claws into the spirit and mind of man begin their exploita-

tion of humanity by exploiting its mind. For then mankind would be held back from true advancement and be impelled in the direction of false and valueless aims.

Since intellectual and creedal criteria have always played a determining role and constitute an extremely effective factor in the shaping of life, the prophets have always commenced their mission in precisely this area. Because the intellectual criteria of society are generally tainted by the ignorance of divine guidance, they have abolished those criteria and presented new, positive and fruitful criteria to replace them.

The prophets are, then, the true revolutionaries of history. Shining forth in the darkness, they have come forth to struggle against the sources of corrupt belief and misguidance, and to guide the most sacred and beautiful manifestation of the human spirit to its true and proper course. They rescue man from shameful forms of worship that are not worthy of his lofty station, and hold him back from all forms of erroneous thought and deviance that arise in his search for God and inflict harm on him. They conduct him from the confines of ignorance to the region of light and perception, because all the paths of true happiness and salvation lead to the assertion of God's oneness.

At the same time, the prophets guarantee the freedom of man in accepting belief; he is free to exercise his will by accepting either unbelief or belief.

The Qur'an says:

وَقُلِ الْحَقُّ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُؤْمِنْ وَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُكْفُرْ...

*O Prophet, say: the religion of truth is that which has come unto you from your Lord. So let whoever wishes believe, and whoever wishes be an unbeliever....(18:29)*

The Qur'an explicitly rejects the imposition of belief by saying:

لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ...

*There is no coercion or compulsion in the acceptance of religion....(2:256)*

If we examine deeply the content of the teachings of the prophets, which determine the method to be followed by all true movements of reform and liberation, we will see that their sole aim was guiding men to felicity.

Because God looks upon His servants with favour, He chooses as prophets the most perfect of men, who first enter the arena of human thought and belief, creating there a vast outpouring of energy, and then

enter the sphere of action and ethics, in order to draw men's attention away from the natural realm to that which lies beyond nature. Thereby they liberate man from the scandalous and demeaning multiplicity of gods and from infatuation with the world and material phenomena. They cleanse their minds and their hearts and attach them to a source of hope and mercy that bestows tranquillity on their souls.

Once man recognizes the origin of his creation and believes in the unseen forces of the world that lie beyond the natural realm, he learns a programme of advancement toward perfection from the guides on the path to truth, the chosen ones of the divine court. For it is they who demonstrate to human society its origin and the goal of perfection toward which it must strive. Man then begins his efforts to reach God, for it is this that is the lofty goal of all being, and he addresses his Lord as follows:

... وَقَالُوا سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا غُفْرَانَكَ رَبَّنَا وَإِلَيْكَ الْمَصِيرُ ﴿٢٨٥﴾

*We have heard Your command and obey it, O Lord; We seek Your forgiveness and know that our movement is toward You. (2:285)*

The Commander of the Faithful 'Ali, upon whom be peace, says:

وَوَاتَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَنْبِيَاءَهُ، لَيْسَتْ أَدْوَاهُ مِيثَاقَ فِطْرَتِهِ، وَيَدَّ كُرُوهُمُ مَنْسِي نِعْمَتِهِ، وَيَخْتَجُوا عَلَيْهِمْ بِالتَّبْلِيغِ، وَيُشِيرُوا لَهُمْ دَفَائِنَ الْعُقُولِ.

God sent the prophets to remove the veils covering man's innate nature and to bring forth the treasures of thought hidden within him.<sup>2</sup>

He also says, in the first sermon of *Nahj al-balāghah*:

وَأَضْطَفَى سُبْحَانَهُ مِنْ وَلَدِهِ أَنْبِيَاءَ أَخَذَ عَلَى الْوَحْيِ مِيثَاقَهُمْ، وَعَلَى تَبْلِيغِ الرِّسَالَةِ أَمَانَتَهُمْ لَمَّا بَدَلَ أَكْثَرُ خَلْقِهِ عَهْدَ اللَّهِ إِلَيْهِمْ فَجَهِلُوا حَقَّهُ، وَأَتَّخَذُوا الْأَنْدَادَ مَعَهُ. وَأَجْتَالَتْهُمْ الشَّيَاطِينُ عَنْ مَعْرِفَتِهِ، وَأَفْتَقَعَتْهُمْ عَنْ عِبَادَتِهِ. فَبَعَثَ فِيهِمْ رُسُلَهُ وَوَاتَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَنْبِيَاءَهُ لَيْسَتْ أَدْوَاهُ مِيثَاقَ فِطْرَتِهِ، وَيَدَّ كُرُوهُمُ مَنْسِي نِعْمَتِهِ، وَيَخْتَجُوا عَلَيْهِمْ بِالتَّبْلِيغِ، وَيُشِيرُوا لَهُمْ دَفَائِنَ الْعُقُولِ وَيُرُوهُمُ الْآيَاتِ الْمُقَدَّرَةَ مِنْ سَفْفِ فَوْقَهُمْ مَرْفُوعٍ، وَمَهَادِ تَحْتَهُمْ مَوْضُوعٍ.

God Almighty raised prophets from among the sons of Adam and took from them a covenant that they would propagate His message. This was after most men had perverted the divine covenant, becoming ignorant of God, the supreme truth, and assigning likenesses to Him, and after Satan had turned them away from the course of innate nature and disposition, preventing them from worshipping God.

It was then that the Creator sent them a succession of prophets, to remind

them of the bounties that they had forgotten and to demand of them that they fulfil their primordial covenant with God, and to make manifest the hidden treasures and resplendent signs that the hand of divine power and destiny had placed within them.

\* \* \*

The school of thought established by the prophets contains a specific view of the world and society which sets human thought on a distinctive course. Without doubt, man's interpretation of the world and the realities of life is a factor which determines a broad area of his efforts and activities.

The first lesson taught by heavenly religions and their most fundamental pillar consists of the divine unity (*tawhīd*).

At the beginning of their mission, the prophets raised the cry of divine unity, seeking thereby to liberate human thought from the bondage of illusion and humiliating subjection to false and mendacious divinities. Within a short period, they conveyed their divine message to all classes of society in their age — men and women, the old and the young, the rulers and the powerful. They strove to sever the bonds of servitude and to rend the veils of ignorance that were obscuring the mind and intellect of man. Through monotheism, they sought to advance society and cleanse the spirit of all peoples from the contamination of everything other than God.

Unlike the philosophers, the messengers of God did not content themselves with training men's minds. Their efforts to convey the message of God's unity also penetrated men's hearts, and after cleansing their intellects they filled the dwelling of the heart with that true love which is a necessary consequence of man's spiritual ascent. It is this veritable love which impels men toward dynamic and passionate motion, and makes of them vibrant and creative personalities.

Passionate love for infinite source of existence is like the motor for human life; if it be taken away from man, he becomes a lifeless and motionless form.

The principle of divine unity distinguishes the structure of the society in which it prevails from all other societies, with respect to both its internal and its external relationships; it creates a profound structural change in whatever society accepts it, to such a degree that in its ability to reform both the individual and society no other movement in human history can be compared with it. In addition to the fact that it clarifies the relationship of man with the source of being, through restricting all worship to the Creator of the world Who is the absolute ruler and owner of all things, it also determines economic, political and legal relationships among men.

The word "*bi'thah*" (mission) is used in Islamic texts to designate

the function of the prophets, a word that contains the sense of an outpouring of energy, swiftness in action, and unrelenting effort. No better or more precise word could be found to designate the profound and fundamental movement that is that of the prophets.

\* \* \*

The unity of sovereignty derives from the oneness of the Creator, because the sole authority for the fashioning of laws and the issuing of commands is His unique essence. It is the exclusive right of the Creator of being to command and prohibit, and for this reason the doctrine of divine unity necessarily implies that none other than God has the right to exercise sovereign power or promulgate laws.

A full understanding of divine unity goes beyond the recognition that the world has only one Creator; we must also recognize that it has only one sovereign and only one legislator, and that precisely this concept brings to an end the tyranny of oppressive and arbitrary rulers.

Whoever claims to possess sovereignty and the powers that flow from it has in reality claimed divinity, for one of the indications of polytheism is for man to imagine that he possesses sovereignty and an unconditional right to legislate. This contradicts the divine unity and the fundamental beliefs of religion. It is a basic mission and concern of heavenly religions that they propagate the true meaning of the divine unity in order to deliver the masses of humanity and save them, by their belief in the oneness of God, from slavery to unjust and arbitrary rule.

\* \* \*

If it were not for the remarkable profundity and comprehensive-ness exhibited by the contents of religion, and if it were not for the purposive movements of the prophets, and their summons to awareness and perception, the conditions of human societies would never have changed. Today there would have been no trace of humanity left, and we would have no path to convey us to the station of true love.

In the course of human history it is only religion that with its comprehensiveness and all-inclusive scope has been able to come to the aid of men, to lead the masses by the hand, and play the most crucial of roles in guiding them toward ascent and advancement.

No dimension of human existence has remained untouched by the positive effect of the prophets, and their influence even on the formation and growth of human knowledge has been very extensive.

If we examine the history of the missions of the prophets and the swift, remarkable and unparalleled growth of their movements, we will see that more than anyone else they have served as sources of profound intellectual change and transformation in society. It is they who have



breathed into the form of humanity the spirit of brotherhood, love and philanthropy, and who have taught men the culture of justice, peace and unity.

God has attributed to Himself the reconciliation of hearts and the establishment of solidarity that occurred as a result of Islam and the efforts of the Noble Prophet:

...هُوَ الَّذِي آتَاكَ بِنَصْرِهِ وَبِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿١٢﴾ وَأَلْفَ بَيْتٍ قُلُوبِهِمْ لَوْ أَنْفَقْتَ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ جَمِيعًا  
مَا أَلْفَتَ بَيْتَ قُلُوبِهِمْ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ أَلْفَ بَيْنَهُمْ إِنَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿١٣﴾

*He is the God Who has reinforced you with His own aid and the assistance of the believers, and joined their hearts together. Were you to spend all the riches in the world thus to unite and reconcile them, you would be unable to do so. Rather it is God Who has joined their hearts together for He is empowered over all things and all-knowing of the mysteries and benefits contained in all things. (8:62-63)*

The Prophet David was able to establish the justest of all conceivable judicial and political structures on the basis of the divine message he had received. The Qur'an says:

يَا دَاوُدُ إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاكَ خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ فَاحْكُم بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِالْحَقِّ وَلَا تَتَّبِعِ الْهَوَىٰ فَيُضِلَّكَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَضِلُّونَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ إِيمَانُ يَوْمِ الْحِسَابِ ﴿٣٨﴾

*O David, We have bestowed rule on earth upon you, so rule justly among men. Never follow your own inclinations, for this will lead you away from God's path. Those who stray from God's path will be chastised with a great punishment, for they have forgotten the day of reckoning. (38:26)*

The celebrated historian Will Durant says:

Religion bestows a profound and masterly power and capacity on both society and the state. The rites and practices of religion give tranquillity to the spirit, link the generations together, and bind individuals to each other, thus strengthening the fabric of society.<sup>3</sup>

If such a divine movement had not taken place in human history, mankind would have been eternally entangled in the swamp of misguidance and humiliation and could never have entered the realm of virtue and perfection. Even those individuals who deny the prophets have benefited in some way from the blessed legacy of those men of God, from the great cultural achievements they brought about which wrought transformations and fashioned history.

Furthermore, there is a profound and absolute link between the

movement of the prophets and knowledge in the absolute sense. Those periods in which historical movements were led by men of God were among the most brilliant epochs of human history with respect to scientific advancement.

The authentic teachings of divine schools of thought, together with the foundations and principles they expounded, laid both a theoretical and a practical groundwork for appropriate social relations that permit the sciences to advance. Numerous are those philosophers and scientists throughout the world whose profound insights have been inspired in them by the prophets, those guides to divine unity.

### To Whom Belongs the Right to Legislate?

Consider the thinking element within man and the relatively high degree of intellectual power it has gradually come to attain since the beginning of man's existence on earth. Examine, too, his capacities and his incapacities, and the problems and hardships with which he is faced. Despite all his faculties and properties, has he ever been able, or is he now able, to advance on a straight path of perfection merely by relying on his own mind? Can he preserve himself from all deviation and decline, or put an end to the disorders that plague his existence? Can he plant the sapling of virtue and piety in the soil of his own being, alone and without drawing on the guidance of the teachers whom heaven has sent? Can he, unaided, bring to fruition the talents and capacities that are latent within him?

If until now he has been unable to do any of these things, to implement any of these ideals, it is certain that he will be unable to do so in the future either.

Although some of his capacities may increase in the future, we must also accept that the difficulties and problems with which he is faced will also increase and grow more complex, just as his present problems are greater than those that confronted him in the past.

Apart from this, the scope of the intellect's ability to perceive and to judge is a limited area which is illumined only by the light of knowledge and learning. What lies beyond reason is enveloped in veils of obscurity and darkness and lies beyond the grasp of our minds. By contrast, a considerable part of the teachings of God's messengers relates precisely to the realities of which we are ignorant and unaware; it consists of the exposition of truths that are not contained within the sphere of our external perception.

In order to become acquainted as much as possible with the origin of all beings, with the duties of man and other realities, we need a teacher and a guide sent by God, who will guide us toward perfection and the aim of creation with teachings that are both clear and compre-

hensive. This is possible only by means of revelation and the teachings of prophets who have a direct relationship with the source of creation and the lamp of whose intellects has been kindled from the eternal flame of His infinite knowledge.

Another portion of the prophets' teachings relates to the reform of our state and the correction of the errors into which we have fallen. Whenever the sphere of what is knowable to us is penetrated by mistake or error, it is possible to correct the error and make up for the deficiency in our knowledge by referring to the guidance of the prophets. We will thus be able to travel on a path that we could never traverse without the aid of those guides.

Thus we come to understand the significance and value of the mission of the prophets and the services rendered by them in guiding men and elevating them to the pinnacle of triumph and perfection.

\* \* \*

We know that man attains and develops his knowledge gradually. If science wishes to display to man the principles of his development, it must first be acquainted with all of his powers, capacities, and inner mysteries, and discern all of his various needs. In the opinion of all contemporary thinkers who count as authorities in the areas of education, sociology and politics, any plan or ideology that fails to take into account the basic nature of man is bound to be fruitless and valueless.

The establishment of laws is dependent not only on a complete knowledge of all the dimensions of human existence but also on a knowledge of the other beings with which man has dealings. It also requires a knowledge of society and its complex relationships. Furthermore, the legislator must be completely removed from distorting and misleading factors such as ambition, selfishness, personal inclination and desire, which militate against the acquisition of perfect knowledge. It is factors and obstacles such as these which cause men to differ in their assessment of good and evil and the definition and implementation of justice.

Is it possible to cure a sick person without diagnosing his illness? Establishing laws for man without understanding his essence and permitting it to remain covered in a host of unknowns, is exactly like trying to cure a patient whose illness is unknown.

For this reason, and because no school of thought has yet succeeded in defining man, any plan in the area of legislation is bound to end in failure and defeat.

Despite all the efforts that have been made to discover the secrets contained in the existence of man (who is only one small entity among the countless and varied beings found in the scheme of the universe),

and despite all the researches carried out by scientific associations having at their disposal precise and complex instruments — despite all this, who can doubt that there are numerous unconquered peaks in the spiritual being and inner world of man that we have not even glimpsed?

It is possible that a person may know many scientific and technical facts but be completely ignorant of one topic — namely, the limits and nature of his own being. The knowledge he has acquired is next to zero when compared to this ignorance. Ignorance of the limited nature of one's ability to perceive and understand gives rise to many other forms of ignorance; it causes man to turn his back on many truths and avert his gaze from many realities.

If all obscure points concerning the corporeal aspect of man had been clarified, the scientific researches carried out throughout the world by millions of scientists would still be in vain.

A French scholar says:

However much we try, we cannot render these mechanisms comprehensible to our minds. All we know is that the regularity of the parts of our body is greater and more precise than that of a thousand great machines operated by the most highly specialized engineers.

If you do not regard our opinion as a kind of belittlement or insult, all doctors and specialists who exert themselves in their field are convinced that the knowledge we have acquired until now is paltry and insignificant when compared to what we need to know in the future. The truth is that man is a complex, obscure and indivisible whole that cannot easily be known. We still lack the methods that would enable us to know him in all of his different parts and as a whole, as well as in his relations with his environment. Numerous techniques and precise sciences would be needed for such an undertaking, and each science would be able to study only one part of the complex system that is man, yielding only a partial result. We advance on this path only so far as technological progress permits us, and the totality of the abstract concepts we acquire does not furnish us a perception of the reality of man, for there are numerous significant and valuable points that remain unclarified. Anatomy, physiology, chemistry, education, history, economics, together with all their branches, cannot reach the ground of man's essence.<sup>4</sup>

With respect to the astonishing activities of his soul, man is without doubt a deep and limitless ocean, and our worldly knowledge concerning him is inevitably slight and insignificant.

Who can claim to have discovered all the capacities and minutiae contained within this mysterious being, or to be aware of all his capacities and the degrees of perfection that are open to him? Thus we conclude that we have but a drop of insignificant knowledge, shot through with doubt and hesitation, compared to an ocean of ignorance and unknowing.

Science today is then confronted with the problem of the limitation of human powers on the one hand, and the expanse and infinite-

ness of the world and of man on the other; this problem has induced both bewilderment and humility in science. In fact, science itself has aided us in understanding that the knowledge of man can illumine only a small and insignificant part of this expansive world.

Now let us see whether science and intellect alone can assume the mission of impelling man to perfection. A world that cannot provide a precise knowledge of being, that does not know what man is, from the point of view of either body or soul, that is ignorant of the mysterious social relationships that arise from his spiritual and bodily properties — does such a world have the capacity to lay down laws for man that will reflect intelligence and wisdom, and be formed in accordance with the knowledge of man's true needs in their various dimensions? Laws that will ensure his true happiness, answer the totality of his needs, and enable him to walk on the path that befits him?

\* \* \*

As long as we do not know what we wish to make, and for what purpose and for whose sake, how can we even speak of laying down a plan and a programme?

Those schools of thought which claim to be able to make man's capacities blossom do so without first knowing what man is. How can they succeed in turning him into a being that would deserve all those efforts?

Man's basic problem today is not simply the acquisition of power but rather which of the various roads laid out before him he should travel.

Many scientific topics and principles were accepted unanimously by thinkers of the past, but with the passage of time and the advancement of knowledge it has become apparent that their views were erroneous and invalid.

If we look at the history of legislation among the nations of the world, we will see that many laws which were the product of careful reflection and lengthy study on the part of outstanding experts and were drawn up with recourse to considerable scientific and intellectual resources, were proven mistaken and inadequate by the passage of time and the emergence of more accurate research. That the social utility of which was yesterday regarded as proven is seen today as palpably inappropriate and even harmful. The place of such laws is then taken by a new set of laws which will in turn be amended and revised in accordance with the advancement of science and thought.

Naturally this does not mean that all the regulations and ordinances that originate in the human mind are useless and incorrect. The point is that because of such errors and their lack of inerrancy, manmade legal systems are incapable of providing for the different needs of men and

of leading society. It is entirely true that some scholars have expressed valuable views on the subject of legislation, but their ideas and works have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by the teachings of the prophets.

We can clearly see that deficiency and inadequacy are the hallmark of all those systems in the world that derive from man-made laws. Moral and material inadequacy, forms of corruption that kill the personality of man and drag him down to decline — all these are caused by regulations and laws that derive from human thought. The insufficiency and fallibility of human laws is sufficient proof of this.

Even if they acquire knowledge of the principles of human development, science and human thought are unable to assume alone the responsibility for man's ascent. Such a mission presupposes freedom from arbitrary and capricious desire and from the desire for advantage, for these are factors which prevent man from realizing his knowledge of self.

Man's love of the self and his devotion to its interests, as well as to whatever stands in relationship to him, is so profound that on a broad scale, whether consciously or unconsciously, he looks at all things from the point of view of his own interests; self-love deprives him of true realism. When taken to the extreme, the pursuit of self-interest becomes a powerful and destructive factor that does away with man's honour. A condition appears in man such that every instant he is planning the violation of ethical norms and transgression against the rights of others, in order to draw to himself all conceivable benefits and gains. There is thus no guarantee that man can analyze affairs with true impartiality and establish just laws.

Are those who have studied man and then — whether individually or collectively — established legal systems, really aware of the problem and its solution? Have they avoided the trap of egoism, and are their thoughts and reflections immune from self-interest, discrimination and error? Are they truly aware of the problems of groups and classes other than their own, scattered across the world, and the solutions those problems call for? Are they fully protected from the arbitrary whims and desires, the threats and the tricks, of the wielders of power and influence, of biased and evil-hearted men?

Given all of these questions, is it possible to hope that such founders of legal systems will prove to be ideal, positive and desirable elements? Finally, is it possible confidently to ensure the happiness of man by following and submitting to such dubious systems?

Now all these systems are supposed to bring order and equilibrium to the capacities and abilities of man, to his perception and choice; they are situated on a higher level than he is. How then can it be logically correct that man, the intended object of this process, should also be its

director?

Man, the object of the process, wishes to establish a system that will bring order and equilibrium, but ought not he himself be situated within four impenetrable walls that cannot be breached by the factors of deviance and error? If this is necessary, how is it to be achieved?

Do the vision, perception and other faculties of man extend far enough to permit him to assume a position for which he is not qualified, to establish laws and regulations that take into account the different dimensions of man and bring order into all the affairs of the individual and of society, and solve both present difficulties and future problems?

Objective realities without doubt lead us to conclude that man is incapable of truly knowing his own individual world or the world of being, and that at the same time he faces obscure, complex and vital problems that call for solution.

It is here that the inability of science and thought to fulfil such a mission becomes fully apparent. Even if the ray of science were able one day to illumine all the corners of human existence and to solve all those mysteries that were thought incapable of solution, it would still be unable to guarantee human happiness, given the fact that man is by nature condemned to live beneath the sway of self-interest and personal inclination.

Another problem that arises with respect to human legislation concerns the difference in levels of education and cultural circumstances prevailing among individuals belonging to different ranks of society. Judgements, interpretations and assessments of existing realities, as well as of ethnic ideas and customs and many other matters, will differ according to the educational, cultural and social situation in which an individual has grown up. Even the viewpoint of a single class in society is not uniform; the ways in which members of that class elaborate concepts and interpret certain words and terms may be completely different from each other.

Think of all the different interpretations of words such as peace, justice and equality, and of how the interpretation made by every individual or group corresponds to his breadth of vision or thought, as well as to personal or group viewpoints. Normal people understand these truths in a clear and humane sense, but the rulers and leaders of society look on these terms and the matters connected with them in a quite different way.

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Without doubt, the influence on men of their environment is an important factor contributing to the deficiency and inadequacy of man-made laws. Legal scholars and legislators, subject to the influence of the ideas and beliefs prevailing in their societies, accept as irrefutable truth

whatever they absorb from their environment. When they draw up laws, their minds are drawn, consciously or unconsciously, to the beliefs and ideas they have acquired or inherited. The specific cultural atmosphere of society robs them of a realistic spirit and does not permit them to perceive realities as they truly are.

Further, the views and opinions of man change according to different situations and conditions; as a result of the transformations, events and advances that occur in his life, his views and positions will change.

Once a man is installed in the seat of power, his ideas and manner of judgement will no longer be the same as when he was an ordinary individual without any power. According to circumstances, he will look at things in two quite different ways. Once a man's position changes, his views may be so thoroughly transformed that they no longer bear any resemblance to those he held in the past or have any connection with them; it is as if everything has taken on a new meaning for him.

This is an obvious reality; everyone has seen in his own lifetime examples of these changes in direction as individuals rise and fall in the course of their lives.

In addition, when drawing up laws, legislators generally take into account the desires and wishes of the majority, not the truth, even though those desires and wishes may not be beneficial and even be harmful for the individual and for society.

Addressing himself to the inadequacies of these various schools of thought that turn out to be opposed to the advancement and welfare of mankind, Rousseau makes the following realistic remarks:

In order to discover the best possible laws that should truly benefit all nations, a universal intelligence is needed that should be aware of all human passions but not experience them itself; that should have no connection with nature but know it intimately; and whose happiness is not in any way dependent on us but is willing to help us in attaining our happiness.<sup>5</sup>

Another thinker says:

All of the different systems of government that have been fashioned by the thoughts and ideas of theoreticians are mere castles in the sky. Both the man who was the goal of the French Revolution and the man who, according to the vision of Marx and Lenin, is to build the society of the future, are unreal.

Let us not forget that the laws governing the relations of men with each other have not yet been discovered. Both physiology and economics are imperfect sciences, or even pseudo-sciences. It thus appears that the environment we have created around ourselves with the aid of science is not worthy of us, because it has been created in a haphazard way, without adequate knowledge of man's nature or attention to his nature.<sup>6</sup>



Legislation can belong, then, only to God, Whose knowledge embraces all directions and dimensions. He knows man and his relations with the world and other beings; He is aware of the changes and developments that occur in man and the world; He has infinite knowledge of the conditions to which man is subject and the limits of his perfection; and His essence is exalted above all the factors that hold man back and inflict harm on him.

The Qur'an says:

أَلَا يَعْلَمُ مَنْ خَلَقَ ...

*The One Who created, does He not know?....(67:14)*

#### A Rich and Fruitful School of Thought:

The first condition for attaining the true goals of life, the lofty rank of happiness, and, not least, a comprehensive and authentic system of governance, is to appreciate, in a precise and scientific way, the necessity for a message and a messenger. This recognition will enable us to conquer new horizons and journey toward undiscovered and virgin territories of human thought.

Man has extensive resources at his disposal and he may enter a network of guidance, both within his own being and within the world where he lives, through the laws that God has laid down for him. That guidance is protected against all deviation and error, and its bearer is preserved, through the inerrancy bestowed on him by the Creator, from all sin, error, and forgetfulness in the receipt, promulgation and implementation of revelation. Therefore, for those who draw their inspiration from sound thought, no doubt will remain that a system based on such guidance is able to secure the true interests, moral and material, of mankind.

The efforts of the prophets in their summons to men are directed to giving shape to God's rule over mankind, this being the justest form of rule conceivable. In such a system, the domination of man over man and his imprisonment in the grasp of demonic oppressors will be fully negated. The intrinsic value and force of the words of the prophet derive from the fact that he is the bearer of God's message.

The knowledge of true man and of human reality forms the basis of the world view and the planning of all divine schools of thought. A school of thought that is based on the very creation of man, that is aware of all the dimensions of his existence, and that supervises with infinite knowledge all of his natural properties, is well able in the course of its planning and elaboration of laws to take into account all the fundamental and authentic concerns of man.

Setting itself against all ego worship, all desire for fame, all search for mastery over the powers of nature, the movement of the prophets derives its substance from the divine will; it is God Who is the source of their actions. If the prophets come into conflict with men it is fundamentally because of the limited ideas of men; the prophets attempt to bring to an end the narrow and limited vision of men and to introduce them to a more productive mode of thought.

The distinctive feature of the system of governance established by the prophets is the realization of justice in the true and comprehensive sense of the word. By virtue of the principles underlying the movement of the prophets, the most just social relations come into existence in a way that edifies man's inner being. The equality of men on a basis of brotherhood is translated into reality. It is therefore impossible to ensure social justice in the true meaning except by way of God's message.

At the same time, the schools of thought established by the prophets give positive answer to man's profoundly felt need for freedom, and thereby break all the inner chains that fetter man's capacities, energies and will, and transform his vitality into stagnation. Parallel to this inner liberation of man, the prophets also endow his outer life with freedom, setting him free from servitude to the tyrants of his age.

Under such conditions, there is no longer any question of laying down laws that are inadequate and erroneous, nor of rulers coercively enforcing their arbitrary will.

For then the legislator is God, God Who has created the world and all its inhabitants and knows in a precise and perfect fashion how to meet all the needs of men in their various dimensions.

Similarly, there is no question of ignorance or imperfect knowledge or of the slightest degree of oppression and injustice; selfishness and self-interest do not exist. These are realities that deserve our deepest attention, and we must recognize the objective effect of all those ordinances which God has promulgated for the sake of social life and the resurrection of man.

The Qur'an says:

... وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا ...

*Who can rule better than God? (5:50)*

... فَأَصِدُّوا حَتَّىٰ يَحْكُمَ اللَّهُ بَيْنَنَا وَهُوَ خَيْرُ الْحَاكِمِينَ ﴿٨٧﴾

*God it is who determines our social relations and rules over our deeds and conduct; He is the best of all rulers. (7:87)*

أَفَحُكْمَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ يَبْغُونَ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حُكْمًا لِقَوْمٍ يُوقِنُونَ ﴿٥٠﴾

*Do they desire the rule of ignorance, whereas there is no ruler better than God? (5:50)*

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the school of thought founded by the prophets is that according to their teachings the interests of society also benefit the interests of the individual, because the life of man never terminates, his interests being ensured by a long line that continues after his death.

Wherever the laws of heaven make their appearance and a prophetic mission, appearing as a divine phenomenon, takes on the responsibility of responding to the intellectual, spiritual and material needs of man, as well as reforming both the individual and society — wherever this occurs, nothing will be reflected but reality. With respect to God, the question of environmental conditions and susceptibility to the concepts prevailing in society and culture does not even arise; there is also no question of the effect of change giving thought a new direction. The factors that cause man to lose faith in his ability to attain the truth and perceive his true interests are thus totally negated.

In the divine school of thought, it is faith, the symbol of man's intellectual ascent, which functions as a powerful support for ensuring the implementation of the law. This is another advantage of systems of governance based on religion, as well as being a gushing spring from which the reality of existence flows forth.

\* \* \*

In societies that are founded by prophets, man is commonly entrusted with the supervision of his own person; he relies on his own findings, acquisitions and efforts. At the same time that man is thus free, he feels an intense sense of responsibility toward God. He measures every action he wishes to undertake and every position he wishes to take up against the criteria of religion, and then personally assumes the responsibility for that act and position. He knows that to act on the basis of duty will bring numerous fruitful results, and that if he turns his back on his duties, he must be ready to face harmful effects and to endure evil consequences.

A sense of duty vis-a-vis the divine laws that embrace all dimensions of human life causes man to submit to the will of God with all of his being.

The training of man in the school of the prophets takes place in such a way that gradually his passionate inclinations gradually yield to truly human and divine desires, permitting him ultimately to rise to the glorious station of servitude to God and being his representative on

earth, this being the true nature of fully evolved man.

By contrast, in legal systems of human origin, where there is no question of religious belief in a legislator, law lacks moral underpinning and the ability to influence men profoundly and comprehensively. Everyone is constantly thinking how he might best shake off the constraints of the law, with the result that the implementation of the law faces all kinds of difficulty. Various coercive forces must be broadly deployed in order to ensure it. If the law contradicts the desires of the people, the task of its implementation becomes particularly complex and difficult. When such a law is enforced, it will be met with a storm of anger, dislike and repulsion, and it is only pressure that can then impose it.

*There is No Guarantee for the Implementation of Human Law:*

It is of course possible to find people in society who believe in and adhere to laws and regulations of human origin, but it must be affirmed that such individuals are extremely rare and form the exception. They certainly do not represent the average member of society, and cannot be regarded as a principal support of the social order.

The practical effectiveness of a conscience that is not guaranteed by religious faith or principle is, moreover, very slight when compared to effectiveness of religious beliefs.

It must therefore be accepted that this advantage deriving from the teachings of the prophets is restricted to the heavenly religions. If the spirit of people is nurtured with faith in God and religious belief serves as a support for legal principles, law takes on a universal aspect, and its implementation is guaranteed to a degree superior to the ability of human laws to influence men.

Since belief has its roots in the activity of the existential mechanism of man and since it plays a basic role in the structure of human personality, profoundly altering the conditions of the soul, man comes to believe in and adhere to the laws of religion not only with his brain but with the entirety of his being. The certainty that religion bestows shines like a light in the depths of man's being, illumining it and warming it at the same time.

The impetus that religion can create in man cannot be found in any non-religious school of thought. Experience has shown that other schools of thought are unsuccessful in this respect, because it is religion alone that relies on the heart, and the more firmly rooted faith becomes in the heart, the more it will serve as a source of dynamic activity.

Man witnesses today the elaboration and ratification of laws on the part of societies that officially recognize all men, irrespective of racial, national, religious or geographical differences, as possessing

certain rights and values. Nonetheless, although scientific advances have created today more suitable conditions for the acceptance of reality, the attitude of different groups to the laws that represent their own accomplishment is entirely negative and denies those laws any influence or value.

What people accept in theory they do not observe in fact. Whenever the law concerns them directly and their interests and desires are threatened, they will not hesitate to cross the boundaries of the law, to perform inhuman acts, and to engage in trickery and sabotage. It is obvious that the attitude of others towards laws of this nature will also not be one of positive acceptance.

This disregard for the value of man, this violation of law and the expansion of political struggle and conflict, the unhealthy economic rivalries of powerful states with most countries in the world, the tempestuous waves of social crisis and moral corruption — all this shows clearly how shaky and unfirm is the position of man-made laws, how slight are their influence and standing from the point of view of implementation, and how limited is the sphere of their rule.

A brief look at the manner in which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been observed and implemented suffices to show that the only effect this declaration has had consists of the celebration of festivals, and the delivery of empty, meaningless lectures.

\* \* \*

If we follow, step by step, the development of religious ideas among the masses of humanity, will this not cause us to conclude that non-religious principles, which do not derive from exalted concepts, are weak and inadequate? Will it not bring us to believe firmly in the veracity and truthfulness of religious systems which are nurtured with the power and majesty of the Lord of all creation and the influence of whose culture and ideology on the entire cultural life of man becomes more fully known every day through the researches of thinkers?

We must look at results, at the fruits that different schools of thought have borne in human society.

Is not the reason for the failure of human laws in ensuring man's progress and happiness not to be sought in their having remained ignorant of the true nature of man and their neglect of his real needs and creative abilities?

All of this serves to elucidate a single truth: that belief in the school of thought of the prophets is a guarantor for the life of society, a support for all healthy relationships among men, and a protector for the oppressed masses, and it has always bestowed the gift of freedom and brotherhood on mankind.

Whatever society, group or system that does not set its face on this

path and does not respond affirmatively to the liberating summons of God's messengers to a more elevated life, will never experience true prosperity and salvation.

The school of thought of the prophets has provided penal laws for those persons who may exceptionally transgress against God's law. These laws weigh the offence carefully and specify punishment corresponding to the degree of seriousness of the crime and take into consideration the situation of the criminal.

#### NOTES:

1. *Mas'aleh-ye wahy*, p. 31.
2. Al-'Allāmah al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-'anwār*, xi, 60.
3. Will Durant, *History of Civilization*.
4. Alexis Carrel, *Insān, mawjūd-e nāshinākhteh*, pp. 2,3,7,149.
5. *Qarārdād-e ijtimā'ī* (The Social Contract), p. 81.
6. Carrel, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

# Islam and Iran: A Historical Study of Mutual Services *Part 4*

*by Martyr Murtadā Muṭahharī*

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## The Religious Scene in Pre-Islamic Iran:

### Christianity:

**T**he advent of Christianity in Iran, the occasional persecutions that it faced, the strong resistance put up by the Christians, and the subsequent spread of this faith in Iran, to the extent that some of the latter Sassanid kings showed an inclination toward it and many noble Zoroastrian families were converted to it — all these stages make an interesting as well as an instructive story. It is an indicator of the weakness of the spiritual hold of Zoroastrianism — despite the power possessed by the creed's priestly class — over the people of Iran.

If Islam were not to come to Iran, Christianity would have invaded it and Zoroastrianism would have been supplanted by Christianity. Similarly, the Manichaeian and Mazdakean faiths, which had arisen within Iran, were formidable rivals to Zoroastrianism, and the Zoroastrians nursed an intense hatred for them. It is due to the same reason that the Zoroastrians of Iran were more hostile toward Manichaeians, Mazdakeans and even Christians than toward Muslims. During the Muslim era we frequently witness the Zoroastrians, particularly their priests, cooperating with Muslims in defeating Manichaeians and Mazdakeans. On the other hand the Christians of Iran, too, because of their persecution and their occasional massacres (in the reign of Shapur II) at the hands of the Zoroastrians, preferred Muslims to Zoroastrians and welcomed their advent to Iran.

The penetration of Christianity into Iran and its spread was quite a natural and normal phenomenon. Concerning the origins of Christianity in Iran, Christensen writes:

When the Sassanid dynasty took over power from the Ashkanids (the Parthians), Christians already had an important missionary centre at the city of

Edessa (in Asia Minor, present Turkey)....During the big wars with Rome, the Persian regime transferred the prisoners captured to the farthest corners of Iran. At the time of his campaign in Syria, the Persian king sometimes ordered all the inhabitants of a city or district to migrate to some point in the country's interior and settled them there. As the major portion of these immigrants comprised of Christians, the Christian faith found some prevalence in every corner of Iran.<sup>29</sup>

It is stated in the book "Iranian Culture" by a group of orientalist:

In fact, the Christian faith entered Iran with the Aramaeans who were settled in Syria, or with the missionaries coming from Edessa,<sup>30</sup> or with the prisoners of war brought to this land. From 100 A.D. onwards some groups of Christians were living in Arbīl, the evidence of whose presence between the years 148 and 191 at the present Karkūk exists. Even though the Christian faith had not yet established its official institutions in Iran, it had succeeded in winning the attention of many Iranians, especially that of Mani.<sup>31</sup>

The same book, writing about the Christian faith in Sassanian Iran, gives the following account:

In Rome, the emperor, the court, and the whole society were Christian. In Iran, apart from the power being practically in the hands of the Zoroastrians, basically from the inception of the Sassanid era the regime championed the Zoroastrian faith, which was made the state religion. From the very beginning of the appearance of Christianity, tolerance toward Christians was not in evidence. During the reign of Shapur II (r. 310—379 A.D.), who was politically the enemy of Constantine, the condition of Christians was very difficult in Iran....In the beginning the Christians were severely persecuted. They were killed after a summary trial or without any at all, or were brutally tortured. The accounts of the torture of Christian martyrs have reached us in Syriac. They reveal how courageously those Christians, whose names are not known to us today, received martyrdom. But soon the official authorities came to realize that these seasoned Christians were not rebellious foreigners or the residents of frontier areas, who all the time betrayed the country, but were from among real Iranians who were considered staunch supporters of Zoroastrianism in the past, some of whom were distinguished and famous persons whose patriotism was beyond any doubt; only they were greatly steadfast in defending their faith. Thereafter, the administrative body resolved not to punish but to guide the wayward to the right path. But this proved to bear no fruitful results. Henceforth, after forty years of torture and persecution, Christianity acquired a safe footing in Iran. When the days of persecution came to an end as a result of the attacks of the Huns and Heptalites in the east, the Christians found an opportunity to organize their church permanently in Iran....The Christians of Iran became spiritually and culturally a force to be reckoned with in a short time. Even the severe treatment meted out to them by Behram V (420—438) and Yazdgerd II (438—457) could not defeat their spirit. The spiritual and theological schools established in Ctesiphon (Tisfūn) and particularly in Nisibis (Nuṣaybīn) emerged as the most illustrious schools in the east. The founding of churches became instrumental in training a large



number of teachers of theological doctrine, and this tradition is still alive in the churches. The actual life of Christianity in Iran is indebted to their missionary work.<sup>32</sup>

The author of the above-quoted article, <sup>33</sup> after dealing with the issues of Christian presence in that era and the influence of Christian missionary work in that age, gives an account of the defeat of Christianity in the East at the hands of Islam. He says in this context:

A rapid glance at the map recently drawn by Mr. G. Doelier (?), professor at the Noloz (?) College of Law, with a lot of rewarding labour, throws light on how missionaries from the province of Chaldea went to the countries of the Mediterranean and the China Sea, reached south India, Tibet and Mongolia, and converted a large number of people to the Christian faith. This missionary work was not in the countries with settled population but was performed among nomadic people who constantly moved from one place to another. Thus Christianity survived in these farthest places until the 13th century, and when Franciscan missionaries such as John of Pean de Carpine and Rubruquis (d. c 1270 A.D.) and travellers like Marco Polo (d.1324) visited those countries they found this faith still alive there. In the itinerant camps of the Mongol tribal chiefs marching toward the West in the pursuit of victory, who were still undecided about any of the different religions like Buddhism, Manichaeism and Islam which they encountered on their way, there were many followers of Nestorianism. But at the time when it seemed likely that it would rout all the rivals, the Mongol acceptance of Islam was the greatest blow Christianity received in those areas.<sup>34</sup>

In the reign of Khusro Parwiz (590—628) Christianity progressed more than at any other time. Many of his close associates of Persian descent embraced Christianity. As we know, due to the rebellion of Behrām Chūbin, the famous Iranian general, Khusro Parwiz was forced to leave his country and take refuge with his powerful rival, Maurice, the Byzantine emperor, seeking his help. He succeeded in returning to his capital by granting Maurice certain concessions. It is said that Khusro was attracted towards Christianity during his stay in Byzantium. Christensen says:

The *mu'bad*s were not much pleased with Khusro's return, which took place in 581 A.D., for he had brought with him from Byzantium an inclination for Christian superstition and mythology, and he was encouraged in these beliefs by a Christian woman named Shirin, who became his favourite wife.<sup>35</sup>

Some claim that Khusro Parwiz gave up the Zoroastrian faith and formally embraced Christianity. But Christensen is of a different view:

To be certain the claim of Euty chius that Khusro Parwiz embraced Christianity has no basis. But his relations with Maurice, who helped him in recapturing his throne and his marriage with the Byzantine princess, Maria, and the influence

of his favourite wife Shirin, who was a Christian by faith, compelled him to show, at least in appearance some kindness to his Christian subjects. It is just possible that Khusro may have added some Christian superstitions to his old fancies....<sup>36</sup>

Christensen, in continuation of his discussion of this subject, gives an account of two Christian sects, the Jacobites and the Nestorians, acquiring influence in the court of Khusro Parwiz, their struggle for supremacy, and the conversion of some Iranian nobles to Christianity — like that Mehrān Goshnasp, who was baptized by the Nestorian priests and named 'Georgios,' and some others. He says:

Mehrān Goshnasp, on conversion to Christianity, withdrew to a desert in order to learn the truths of the new faith from monks. One day he asked his sister as to what was said in the court after he converted to the Christian faith. She said, 'Return to the court, for there is no danger. When the king learnt about your conversion, he just remarked that Mehrān Goshnasp had hurried to the hell. Set out now, for it is possible that the king may also decide to return your properties.' After some time Mehrān Goshnasp visited his sister on the occasion of her marriage to one of the nobles. He went forward a few steps and greeted her respectfully. His sister stood up from her seat and lovingly extended her hand towards him. Then laughingly she said, 'Be happy, for I am also now a Christian.'<sup>37</sup>

From the above-mentioned description we can infer the following points: Firstly, Christianity was making a natural advance in the Zoroastrian Iran. Had the conditions remained the same, it would have been a great threat for Zoroastrianism. Secondly, Christianity, as against Zoroastrianism, had a universal mission; that is the Christian missionaries did not recognize any boundaries, and actively sought to spread the Christian faith inside and outside Iran. They had also achieved some success in this regard. Thirdly, when Islam came to Iran it meant a greater blow to Christianity than to Zoroastrianism, for Christianity was in a state of advancement while Zoroastrianism was on decline. Islam made it lose its market and ousted it from the field. Had Islam not entered the arena, Christianity would have stretched its roots deeper and farther in the East. The spiritual impact of Islam put a halt to the advancement of Christianity in the near and far East.

The Christian popes were much pained by the growing spiritual influence of Islam in Iran, because they had a stronger feeling of being cheated than the Zoroastrian priests. They are still nursing that sense of loss. For the same reason, even today after the lapse of many centuries when a malicious writer takes up the pen to write on Iran and Iranianism and tries his best to malign Islam, the person who is most obliged to honour him by bestowing medals upon him is none other than His Excellency, the Pope.<sup>38</sup>

### Manichaeism:

The Manichaean creed was another living and dynamic religion of the Sassanid era. Much has been written about the creed of Mani and its rites. It is evident that as to its creed as well as its system of rites and rituals, in every respect, the Manichaean religion was a very complex one. It is generally held that the Manichaean creed is a syncretism of various Zoroastrian, Christian and Buddhist elements with the addition to them of the new ideas and innovations of Mani himself. Sayyid Hasan Taqizādeh, in two of his scholarly lectures which he delivered at the Anjamun-e Irānshināsi (The Society of Iranology), says:

A group of scholars were of the view that the ancient Iranian beliefs, especially the Zurwanian faith and some other heterodox and heretical Zoroastrian creeds that sprouted from Zoroastrianism during the later Ashkanid and early Sassanid eras, played an important part in the synthesis and formation of Manichaean doctrines. But deeper research into this matter has revealed that these apparent similarities issued from Mani's effort to present his teachings in the terminology of other peoples and faiths and in the mould of the beliefs of the people to whom he communicated his message. Later more attention was paid to Christian elements in his teachings, and it has been established that Mani was better acquainted with the Christian faith than with other Indian and Iranian creeds. But, of course, he did not draw this knowledge from the official Christian creed but from Christian gnostic orders, which were under the influence of Helenism — that is, the beliefs and doctrines of eastern Greek philosophy of emanation current in the east (Syria and Iraq) during the post-Alexanderian era, which differed from the ancient and original Greek philosophy and had a philosophical colour and character of the East, having developed there uninterruptedly for centuries since the pre-Christian era — and particularly Marcion and Bardesanes, both of whom held gnostic and dualist beliefs.<sup>39</sup>

Taqizādeh also makes the following remarks:

...Concerning the views of scholars about the source and origin of the Manichaean faith, it should be said that, according to competent research, although Mani had borrowed ideas from all the faiths and religions current around him (for instance very little from Buddhism, a bit more from Zoroastrianism and Zurwanism, and still more from Christianity, and more than all the others from the gnostic orders, especially from Marcion), yet his religion was not merely a syncretism of borrowed ideas only. Its basis and spirit was evolved by Mani himself. The founder and designer of this great structure was this amazing man. He had painted his doctrines with the superficial colours of other known faiths, mainly for the sake of facilitating the propagation of his creed in other countries and among Indian, Zoroastrian and Christian peoples.<sup>40</sup>

The character of the teachings of the Manichaean faith or that of

Mani is not related to our present discussion. In subsequent chapters when discussing dualism and so on we shall deal with at least a part of the doctrines, practices and laws of Manichaeism. What concerns us here is the position of this religion at the time of the emergence of Islam, the number of its followers, the extent of its influence in those days and the question whether it was a growing and expanding faith or if it was in a state of decline and degeneration at that time.

It is an accepted fact that this religion had a universal message, that Mani claimed to be a prophet, and that he regarded himself as the last prophet and his creed as the most perfect of all religions. Manichaeism produced powerful missionaries in the latter periods and could, as against Zoroastrianism, transcend Iran's borders and bring into its fold people from many nations. Despite all the pressure and restraints exerted on it by the Zoroastrian priesthood it had survived till the emergence of Islam, and the Manichaeans resisted Muslim invasions more vigorously than Zoroastrians. They continued to exist for a few centuries in the Islamic era and became extinct gradually.

Mani appeared in the beginning of the Sassanid period. He was born in Mesopotamia but was of Iranian race. He lived during the reign of Ardashir (224—241 A.D.), the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, but made his claim to prophethood during the reign of Shapur I (241—272 A.D.), son of Ardashir. It is said that Shapur came under the influence of Mani's teachings and even toyed with the idea of making the Manichaean creed the official religion instead of Zoroastrianism.<sup>41</sup> Subsequently he gave up the idea. It is said that the remnants of this faith lingered on till the 7th/13th century. Accordingly, from the date of its inception till its final end Manichaeism had been in existence for about one thousand years.

At the outset Manichaeism spread with an extraordinary pace. Taqizādeh says:

The history of Manichaeism, its missionaries and its followers up to the Mongol invasion makes a long story by itself. Its salient feature is the rapid spread of Manichaeism in the world, to the extent that around 300 A.D., a quarter of century after Mani's death, his religion had spread to Syria, Egypt, in North Africa and up to Spain and the Gallic regions.<sup>42</sup> ...In Tukhāristān, Merv and Balkh the faith of Mani had a large number of followers, to the extent that Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese traveller, writing in the second quarter of 7th century A.D., says that Manichaeism was then the sole religion of Iran. He meant by 'Iran' the regions of the country bordering Tukhāristān where the Manichaean faith was in a very strong position. In the early 8th century A.D. a Manichaean vicar was posted there!<sup>43</sup>

Christensen says:

In spite of the persecution of Manichaeans by the Zoroastrian priesthood in

Iran, this new creed survived there, though more or less as a secret and clandestine sect. Accounts of the persecution of Manichaeans during the reigns of Narsi (293—303 A.D.) and Hormuz II (303—310 A.D.) can be found in Coptic Manichaean texts. 'Amr ibn 'Adi, the Arab ruler of Hīrah, patronized this sect. Many Manichaeans lived in Babylonia, which was the birth-place of this faith, and Ctesiphon, the capital of the empire. But due to the persistent persecution and tyranny some of them moved to the north-eastern areas, which were inhabited by tribes of Iranian origin. A very large group of Manichaeans settled in Sogdiana. Gradually these eastern Manichaeans were cut off from their western coreligionists....<sup>44</sup>

The Manichaean faith could not survive and was eradicated in the course of time. Unquestionably Islam was the chief factor of its defeat. Manichaeism was totally a dualist faith and, naturally, such a faith could not survive longer against a monotheistic faith based on firm natural and intellectual grounds and better capable of attracting straight minds, especially those of an intellectual and philosophical bent. Apart from this, Manichaeism is based on a kind of ascetic rigour which is not practical as a matter of nature. Especially, its teachings condemning procreation as sinful and extolling the virtues of celibacy played a major role in turning people away from it, particularly at a time when it had to confront a school which notwithstanding its plenteous spirituality showed an aversion for this kind of asceticism and pronounced marriage as sacred and declared procreation to be a *sunnah*.

If Muslims had counted Manichaeans too — like Zoroastrians, Jews, and Christians — among the 'People of the Book,' there was a chance for Manichaeans, who were in a large number in the Islamic domain at the time of the appearance of Islam, to continue their existence as a religious minority. But the Muslims' declaring of them to be heathen (*zandaqah*) destroyed their chances of survival even as a religious minority.

#### Mazdakism:

Another religion that made its appearance in the last phase of the Sassanid period and which attracted a large number of people towards it was Mazdakism. It has been regarded as an off-shoot of Manichaeism. Mazdak made his claim to a kind of religious leadership during the reign of Qubād (Kavadh I, 488—531), father of Anūshīrwān, who first showed some interest in this movement. This might have been either a matter of genuine conviction or just a political tactic for curtailing the power of the aristocracy and the Zoroastrian priesthood, and this proved to be instrumental in promoting the mission of Mazdak. But within a short period, either in the reign of Qubād himself with the assistance of his son Anūshīrwān or in the reign of Anūshīrwān, Mazdakians were massacred on a mass scale. Subsequently they became a secret sect.

In the Islamic era, also, Mazdakians were in existence for a period of two to three centuries. During the Islamic epoch most of the anti-caliphate movements, and occasionally anti-Islamic movements, in Iran were led by the Mazdakians. However, the Zoroastrians did not support them and cooperated with the Muslims to crush them.

It is said that the real founder of Mazdakism was a man named Zarādusht from Fasā near Shiraz, who invited people to a version of Manichaeism opposing the orthodox Manichaean creed. He started his mission in the Roman region and subsequently travelled to Iran to invite people to his faith. This man was known in Rome by the name of 'Bondus.' Christensen, after mentioning these points, makes the following observation:

Accordingly, the faith of Mazdak is the *Drist-dīn* which was preached by Bondus. If this Manichaean called Bondus started his new mission in Byzantine and then proceeded to Iran for propagating his beliefs, it might be said on the basis of a strong probability close to certainty, that he was an Iranian by origin. The word 'Bondus' has no resemblance to Iranian names, but it might have been his title. Not only the Islamic books that draw upon the *Khūdhāi Nāmeg*, but *al-Fihrist* also, which draws on some other source, regard the founder of Mazdakism as a person belonging to a period earlier than that of Mazdak. In *Khūdhāi Nāmeg*, his name is mentioned as 'Zarādusht,' and it is after him that his sect is called 'Zardushtagān'....On the basis of this, it may be said with certainty that Bondus and Zarādusht are names of the same person, and that Zarādusht is the real name of the originator of this faith and that this person was the namesake of the prophet of Mazdayasnā. It may be concluded that the sect under discussion was an off-shoot of Manichaeism, which was initiated two hundred years earlier than Mazdak in Rome, and that its founder was an Iranian called Zarādusht son of Khurgan from 'Pasā' (Fasā)....The references mentioned in the Arabic books indicate that Zarādusht (of Fasā) was a religious leader whose teachings had a theoretical aspect only. But Mazdak, who was a man of action, and, in the words of al-Ṭabarī, was believed by the common people to be Zarādusht's successor, gradually overshadowed the name of the real founder and in his own lifetime made this sect known as Mazdakism. This led the people of the latter ages to consider Mazdak to be the actual founder of the faith.<sup>45</sup>

Much has been said about the nature of the beliefs of Mazdakism and the causes of the emergence of Zarādusht (of Fasā). From the viewpoint of doctrine, Mazdak also was a dualist like Mani with some differences which shall be discussed in the next chapter. So far as the prescribed rites and rules are concerned, it was based upon an ascetic and pessimistic approach to life. Christensen says:

...In the view of this sect, like that of Manichaeans, the fundamental principle is to reduce one's attachment to mundane matters and to abstain from anything that strengthens this attachment. In accordance with this principle, the eating of meat was prohibited among Mazdakians. They always followed cer-

tain regulations concerning food, and underwent ascetic exercises....Al-Shahri-stānī narrates that Mazdak used to order the 'killing of the selves' so that they could be saved from mixing with darkness. Possibly, by the 'killing' he meant the extinguishing of the desires and appetites that were considered hurdles in the way of salvation. Mazdak restrained people from enmity, malice and fighting. According to his belief, the root cause of malice and hostility is inequality. Therefore inequality ought to be eliminated from society, so that enmity and discord are wiped out from the world. In the Manichaean community the 'Elect' should remain bachelors and should not keep more than a day's food and a year's clothing. Since Mazdakism was also inclined toward asceticism and the renunciation of the world, it may be conjectured that the elders of the Mazdakian sect also had to follow rules similar to those practised by the Manichaean elect. But the leaders of Mazdakism realized that common men could not get rid of inclinations towards pleasures and corporeal joys such as possession of property, wealth and women, or the love for some particular woman, unless they were allowed to seek the satisfaction of their desires freely and without any hindrance. Hence they based such ideas on specific doctrines and beliefs stating that God had placed all the means of livelihood in the earth at the disposal of human beings in general, so that people should divide them among themselves equally, in such a way that no one had anything more than others. The world is plagued with inequality and disparity because everyone wants to satisfy his urges and desires at the cost of his brother's pocket. But no one has a right to possess things, wealth and women more than other fellow beings. Therefore it is essential to take away from the wealthy and to distribute among the poor in order to reestablish equality in the world.<sup>46</sup>

Concerning Mazdak the man and his mission certain and reliable information is not available to us. His fame is mainly due to his socialist and communist ideas. Christensen feels that his ideas of this type are rooted in his ethical and humanistic philosophy. Whatever may be the motives of Mazdak and whatsoever aims his socialist suggestions might have had, that doesn't concern us here. What is significant from a historical viewpoint is the favourable ground for the emergence of socialist ideas in the society of that age. Christensen, in the chapter "The Mazdakian Movement" in his book, provides us with a description of the strange class structure of the Iranian society of that period which paved the ground for the currency and expansion of Mazdakian teachings. While discussing the social institutions of that period, we shall refer to that structure. In short, the social conditions were ripe enough to give rise to such type of ideas.

Sa'īd Nafīsī, in his book "The Social History of Iran," after discussing the system of inheritance, marriage, divorce and women's rights in the Sassanid era, makes the following observations:

Class distinctions and the deprivation of a large section of Iranian people from the right of ownership had created peculiar conditions in society, due to which the Iranian society in the Sassanid era had never been harmonious and united. The great masses of people were always discontented, worried and deprived.

This is the reason why two revolutions, both of them issuing from the social conditions of the time and each of them aimed at restoring the legitimate God-given rights to the people, occurred during this period. Firstly, in the year 240 A.D., on the day of the coronation of Shapur I, that is fourteen years after the establishment of this dynasty, Mani advanced his creed as a refuge for the deprived people. Secondly, approximately fifty years after this event, Zarādusht, a man from Fasā in Fārs, professed another doctrine, the extent of whose socialistic character is uncertain. As he could not advance this cause, another man, Mazdak, son of Bāmdād, revived the same doctrine two centuries later. Ultimately Islam, which was a liberal, progressive and equality-seeking ideology at the time, demolished this structure and restored the rights of the deprived and underprivileged members of the society.<sup>47</sup>

Mazdakism by virtue of its being a pro-deprived class ideology and its appearance in a class society gained an unprecedented ground and currency in the society. Christensen says:

Though the Mazdakian creed after being welcomed by the lower classes had assumed a politically revolutionary character, it retained its religious base and had its followers in the higher classes also. At last the Mazdakians acquired so much power that they began to organize their spiritual hierarchy. They elected a person as their spiritual head.<sup>48</sup>

It is said that Mazdak and his followers were in favour of Kāwūs, another son of Qubād, who was a Mazdakian, and through conspiracy and instigation wanted to bring him to the throne instead of Khusro Anūshīrwān in opposition to the wishes of Qubād. These were the circumstances in which a large-scale plan for their liquidation was chalked out. Christensen writes in this context:

The state officials resorted to the same method which had been repeatedly tested in the past. An assembly of spiritual leaders was called, in which the Mazdakian preacher along with all the leaders of the sect were invited. A very large group of followers of the sect was also invited to attend the assembly. Kovadh (Qubād) personally conducted the assembly's proceedings. But Khusro, who had been nominated as crown prince and saw his right being threatened by the conspiracy of the Mazdakians and Kāwūs, made all his efforts to arrange the affair ending in a way that would inflict a terrible and decisive blow to the Mazdakians. He brought forth some of the experienced and tested debaters and dialecticians from among the *mo'bad*s....Gulunazas, the *mobadān mo'bad* and Bāzāns, the bishop of Iranian Christians who had joined hands with Zoroastrians in this matter, were present in the assembly. Bāzāns was held in high esteem by Kovadh for his knowledge of medicine. Naturally the defenders of Mazdakism were forced to silence and were defeated. In the meantime armed soldiery that guarded the area specified for the Mazdakians fell upon them with swords. The preacher (apparently Mazdak himself) was killed. The exact number of Mazdakians trapped in this massacre is not known. Numbers furnished by Iranian and Arab historians are not based on reliable sources. But it seems that all the leaders of the sect present there were assassinated. After this incident, an order to massacre all Mazda-



kians was issued. As the followers had no recognized leader, they were scattered, being unable to hold the ground against their opponents. They were routed, their property was confiscated, and their books were burnt.... From this day onwards Mazdakians became a secret sect and managed to survive in this way. After the fall of the Sassanids, during the Islamic era, too, they appeared on the scene several times.<sup>49</sup>

Mazdakism was suppressed with brutal military force and extraordinary violence. Apparently it was destroyed, but remained like fire beneath the ashes. Had Islam not emerged at that time, Mazdakism, because of its socialist teaching would have raised its head again, for the causes that had been responsible for its birth and its amazingly rapid popularity among the people, had not disappeared. So far as the doctrinal and theoretical side is concerned, its teachings regarding the universe, creation, and man were in no way inferior to those of Zoroastrianism. It was rather superior to some extent, and from this angle its appeal was not weaker than all the other existing creeds. From the viewpoint of social teachings it was just the opposite of Zoroastrianism, which was consistently on the side of the ruling class. For this reason Mazdakism had an immense appeal for the masses.

The effect of force and violence does not last long. The real cause of the fall of Mazdakism was Islam. With its monotheistic creed, Islam presented a set of principles and doctrines about God, nature, man and life which had no parallel in Mazdakism. Its social philosophy was grounded in justice and the equality of all individuals and races, without having any strain of Mazdakian extremism. Inevitably, such an ideology had to have greater intellectual and social appeal than Mazdakism. It was but natural that the people of Iran should have gravitated toward Islam, which proclaimed justice, instead of being attracted by Mazdakism.

In the reign of the oppressive Umayyad and the 'Abbāsid caliphs who revived the traditions of the caesars and khusros, the ground was ready for the reemergence of Mazdakism. But the Muslim masses realized that the practice of the caliphs was at variance from the teachings of Islam, and believed that Islam needed to be liberated from the evil clutches of these tyrants. Thus Mazdakism did not find an opportunity to emerge again.

Accordingly, we see that, for instance, when on the first day that the black-robed Iranians formally inaugurated their movement at Sefidhanj around Merv in Shawwāl 129/747 during the last phase of Umayyad rule, the following Qur'ānic verse appeared on their flag:

أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظَلَمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ ﴿٢٥١﴾

*Permission (to fight) is given to those upon whom war is waged because they*

*are oppressed, and most surely Allāh is powerful to help them (22:39)*

The day being *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, Sulaymān ibn Kathīr, one of the leaders of the movement, led the *ʿīd* prayers at the instance of Abū Muslim and delivered the sermon in the course of which he announced the heralding of the revolution against Umayyad rule. If Mazdakism had any strong appeal for the people there would not have been a better opportunity than this one — although not unique in itself — to gather Iranians together under its banner. But when we read the history of Iran we see that all the Iranian movements seeking social justice had been based on Islam, not on Mazdakism or any other ideology.

The reason for the total eradication of Mazdakism, which, like Manichaeism, could not survive even as a minority, as in the case of Zoroastrianism, is the same that was explained in the context of the extermination of Manichaeism; that is, Muslims did not count Mazdakians among the 'People of Book,' did not regard their creed as having a divine origin, and considered it to be a form of heathen creed (*zandaqah*) like Manichaeism. That was the reason why Mazdakism could not survive as a minority like Zoroastrianism. Of course, there were other factors too, such as its peculiar ethics, asceticism, and social extremism leading to absolute communism, which had a role in the complete extermination of this creed.

### Buddhism:

About 2500 years ago in India, among a people known as Sakhiyas living in the foothills of the Himalayas, a prince was born who lived in princely comfort till he reached the age of about thirty. During this period, he made his acquaintance with the sciences current in those days, particularly the sacred books of the Hindus, known as the Vedas. Thereafter, his life was completely transformed by a spiritual revolution. He renounced all luxuries and comforts and abandoned his crown and throne to withdraw to the seclusion of an ascetic and contemplative life. What particularly tormented him was the question wherefrom pain and suffering came to inflict human life and how can man find happiness. After many years of hardship, exercises, seclusion and contemplation an illumination dawned upon him under a banyan tree that revealed, he believed, the mystery of life and the path to salvation (*nirwānā*). Thereafter he gave up ascetic practice and seclusion and returned to the world to teach and guide the people. What was revealed to him was a simple natural law, that is, the world is governed by a moral law of reward and punishment (*karma*) according to which evil gives birth to evil and good is born out of good.

This prince, whose name was Sidharta, subsequently came to be

known as the Buddha. After discovering this law, he rejected the utility of sacrifices, prayers, supplications and worship of gods and their role in human destiny. He denied the role of gods and affirmed his faith in an eternal cosmic law. The Vedas, which called on the people to offer sacrifices and prayers, and regarded the human differences as having their roots in creation itself, were rejected by him and put to criticism.

The creed and the way of Buddha is more akin to philosophy than religion. But his followers gradually converted it into a religious faith in the course of time, and Buddha himself, who was opposed to the worship of gods, was raised to the status of divinity. Temples were raised and his statues were erected in them. Buddha's utterances were collected after him under the name of "The Three Baskets of Wisdom."

Buddha attracted a large number of followers in his own lifetime. Two Indian states, one of which was ruled by his father, were converted to his faith. Gradually it spread to other parts also. In a latter period, a famous and powerful Indian king named Ashoka embraced Buddhism in the 3rd century B.C. He revived the faith and constructed a large number of monasteries (viharas).<sup>1</sup> Buddhism earned much eminence and fame alongwith a great multitude of followers throughout India. But it was gradually exiled from its birthplace and homeland, particularly after the advent of Islam in India. Instead, it found a strong foothold in the neighbouring countries. In our times Buddhism is one of the great religions of the world and has its followers in Ceylon, Burma, Siam (the present Thailand), Vietnam, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, China, Tibet and Mongolia.

Buddhism entered Iran from India. Christensen says in this regard:

During the period of Greek domination (after Alexander's invasion) Buddhism gained influence in the eastern provinces of Iran. The Indian king Asoka, who embraced the Buddhist faith around 260 B.C., sent missionaries to Gandhara (near Kabul) and Bākhṭar (Balkh)....The Buddhists constructed viharas in Gandhara, the reliefs found in whose remains reveal a synthesis of Greek and Indian styles....At Bāmiyān, to the west of Kabul, there are gigantic statues of Buddha carved out of the mountain....It is revealed by the travel accounts of Hsuan Tsang that till 7th century A.D. Buddhist viharas were in existence in Iran, and according to him followers of other Indian religions also formed settled pockets in the eastern provinces of Iran.<sup>50</sup>

He further says:

In last part of the second and the early part of the first century B.C. Menander, king of the Kabul Pass and India, who had made many conquests in India, came to the fold of Buddhism and earned a great name among the followers of this faith....<sup>51</sup> In the year 125 A.D. Qandhar and Punjab were annexed by a king, Kanishka, who acquired fame in Buddhist literature as a great devotee

and propagator of the faith.<sup>52</sup>

Gradually, however, Buddhism was pushed out of this region. It was mentioned earlier that it were the Buddhist and Manichaeen minorities, as against the Zoroastrian majority, that actively resisted the advance of Muslims in Iran. We have also mentioned that the Barmakid family held priesthood of the Buddhist temple at Balkh before converting to Islam.

After the advent of Islam in Iran, Buddhism could not resist longer and was ousted from this land, in the same way as it was forced to leave the country of its birth. Of course, the decline of Buddhism was gradual in Iran. The book "Iranian Culture" states:

Hsuan Tsang has left us a record of the flourishing and eminent religious buildings of Bāmiyān (a place near Kabul in Afghanistan) during the 7th century A.D. Centuries later a Korean monk who visited the place reported that it was ruled by a Buddhist monarch of Iranian origin who had powerful armies at his command. But soon after, in the 3rd/9th century Ya'qūb Layth al-Ṣaffārī annexed that region.<sup>53</sup>

The circumstances indicate that Buddhism which came from the east of Iran, that is India, penetrated into the country and its influence extended gradually, in the same way as Christianity, which came from the west of Iran and Mesopotamia, was extending its influence. Buddhism was advancing towards the west, while Christianity spread towards the east. But the Iranian empire — which considered Zoroastrianism to be the state religion and championed it and had vested immense authority in the Zoroastrian priesthood — did not allow these two religions to spread freely and to a certain extent checked their progress. As quoted earlier, the inscription of the headpriest Kerter declares in clear terms how "a number of the missionaries of foreign religions, whose presence in the country was undesirable — like Jews, Samnas (Shamans) or Buddhist monks, Brahmins, Nasirites and Christians....were deported from the country..."

But the force that brought the activities of Buddhism to an end, reduced Christianity to a negligible minority, and put a halt to Buddhism's westward march and Christianity's eastward progress was Islam — a fact which draws signs of regret from Christian clergymen and Christian orientalists till this day.

However, one of the religions of Iran in those days was Buddhism. But the Buddhists, as against the Jews, Manichaeans and Mazdakians, had no politically active role. They, therefore, were rarely disturbed.

*To be continued — inshā' Allāh*

NOTES:

29. Christensen, A., *L'Iran lesus les Sassanides* (Copenhagen:1936), Persian tr. p. 321.
30. Called *Alrihā*, *Awrfah*, or *Awrfā* in Arabic and Persian.
31. *Tamaddun-e Īrānī*, p. 28.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 216—17.
33. J. P. de Menasce.
34. *Tamaddun-e Īrānī*, pp. 218—219.
35. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 466.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 510.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 512—13.
38. The daily newspaper *Ittilā'āt*, No. 12744, 28-8-1347 H.Sh., p.11.
39. Taqizādeh, *Mānī wa dīn-e ū*, p. 28—29.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
41. *Tamaddun-e Īrānī*, p. 222.
42. *Mānī wa dīn-e ū*, p. 18.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 19 (ft. note).
44. Christensen, *op. cit.*, 225.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 363—364.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Sa'id Nafisi, *Ta'rikh-e ijtimā'i-ye Īrān*, vol. ii, pp. 46—47.
48. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 382.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 384—386.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
53. *Tamaddun-e Īrānī*, p. 407.

## Readers' Forum:

M. M. Mehdi  
Bangalore, India.

This is in response to the article "The Critical Role of Language in Educational Policy: A Study of Urdu-Speaking Indian Muslims," by Muḥammad Zāhid Ḥusayn, whose abstract appeared in *al-Tawḥīd* (vol. VI, No. 3). Since its publication, Urdu has been accorded recognition as the second official language by the State governments of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, although not out of sheer sympathy for Urdu but as a calculated measure aimed to woo the Muslim vote in the next Parliamentary elections. To what extent this recognition will make a difference for Urdu and its education in Bihar and U.P. is difficult to tell, but one thing which is certain is that despite the lack of official support, Urdu is the only spoken national language of India, for no other Indian language is spoken so widely throughout the country. Hindi — if what we mean by it the kind of language that has been promoted since the independence — remains more or less an official manufacture confined mostly to Hindi text books, and the news read over the radio and TV.

Although the position of Urdu in India is an important matter touching upon the culture, religious and secular education of Urdu-speaking Indians, to whom also belong a vast number of Urdu-speaking Muslims, the situation of Muslims in this country should be viewed in a wider perspective.

The partition of India in 1947, which led to the formation of Pakistan, came as a great setback to the great number of Indian Muslims who remained in the so-called secular India. A vast number of the educated class of Indian Muslims, such as

university professors, teachers, intellectuals, lawyers, journalists, engineers, doctors, managers, administrators and statesmen, left for Pakistan with their families. The Muslim community that remained behind in India was depleted of its intellectual and cultural reserves. Devoid of effective leadership and any vision of the future, all that remained for it to accomplish was to accept its difficult situation in the midst of a majority that viewed it with hostility and suspicion. For about three decades after the partition Muslims lived under a cloud of disappointment, frustration, confusion and weakness. Systematic discrimination against Muslims in official employment drastically reduced their number in all government services, the armed and security forces, educational institutions and everywhere. The lack of employment possibilities inside the country forced a great number of educated Muslims to migrate. Whereas in the decade following the partition most immigrations were to Pakistan and U.K., in the late 60's and throughout the 70's the brain drain of the community was towards U.S.A and Canada. Thousands of Muslim professionals and educated persons, in fact almost a generation of educated Muslims, left for these countries to make U.S. or Canada their home. The Indian Muslim society, which showed some sign of recuperation was further weakened as a result of these wholesale migrations in the educated classes. However, in the last decade, there have emerged some signs of a comeback in confidence and hope. An effective factor in this regard has been the sudden boost in the economies of the Persian Gulf countries since the mid 70's as a result of increase in the oil prices. Thousands of Muslim youths have flocked to Persian Gulf

countries from where they send back home their savings. Remittances made from the Gulf constitute the major part of India's foreign exchange earnings. The possibilities of employment abroad have brought some economic welfare and financial capacity to a section of the Indian Muslim community.

However, although the chances of employment in the Gulf countries have contributed to the general upliftment of the Muslim community to some extent, they have also had a negative impact on the will to acquire higher education. Now most Muslim youths have no interest in facing the tough competition for entrance into the universities. Many are after some kind of technical diplomas which may help in acquiring lucrative jobs in the Gulf countries.

\* \* \*

Muslims constitute 12% of the total population of 800 million according to the official figures. In actual fact they are said to be 15% i.e. 120 million. According to 1981 census only 36.23% of Indians are literate. The government has not published the religion-wise figures but according to a sample survey made by G.A. Abdus Salam, Pro-chancellor of Cochin University of Science and Technology, only 33.7% of the Muslim population is literate. The figure for female literacy is 21.9% while the same for the whole country is 24.82%.

The Central Minorities Commission has released some statistics on the basis of figures collected by the Gopal Singh Panel. At the high school level, enrollment of Muslim students is 4%. From the data collected from 21 universities spread over 11 states, Muslims account for just 6.21% of the total enrollment. From the data collected from another 16 universities spread over 9 states, the Muslim students in post-graduate courses account for 9.11%.

In medical courses, from the

data given by 12 universities spread over 8 states, out of a total of 2,845 students, only 98 (3.44%) are Muslim students. In engineering courses, from the data collected from 9 universities from 6 states, out of a total of 2,698 students, only 92 (3.42%) were Muslims.

According to the Commonwealth Universities Year Book 1986, there are 624 top administrative posts in the Indian universities, out of which 30 (4.8%) are held by Muslims. Out of a total of 23,299 university teachers, 1,423 (6.1%) are Muslims. There are 4,917 principals of colleges affiliated to various universities in India and of them 129 (2.6%) are Muslims. Out of a total of 3,633 colleges eligible for U.G.C. (Universities Grant Commission) aid only 68 (1.9%) are run by Muslims. The position of Muslims in the fields of science and technology is miserable. Out of 488 Fellows of Indian Academy of Sciences, only six (1.2%) are Muslims.

There are 16,000 students studying in the Aligarh Muslim University, a Muslim minority institution, out of whom 40% are non-Muslims. The proportion of Muslim students in engineering and medical courses is quite low, and most of the Muslim students as well as teachers are confined to the faculties of humanities, social sciences and arts.

According to the Minorities Commission report, the total number of Muslims employed under the Central Government in Class I grade is 1.61%; in Class II 3%; Class III 4.41%; and in Class IV 5.12%.

According to a publication of the Reserve Bank of India, namely Banking Statistics—Basic Statistical Reports (BSR), which gives zonewise figures of bank deposits and credits with other details, only 6.2% of total bank credits were given to Muslims. The situation is no better in some zones which have substantial Muslim population ranging between 40% and

95%.

According to the Kothari's Economic Directory, a study made in respect of 1,086 companies, which have in all 9,036 directors, showed that only 162 (1.78%) of them are Muslim. Out of 1,086 companies, only in 8 companies there are Muslim managing directors. Only in six companies (.55%) there is a majority of Muslims on the board of directors. The number of companies having at least one Muslim director is 105, which accounts for 1.2% of the total number of companies surveyed.

This dismal picture of the educational and economic backwardness of Muslims in India emerges from the statistics given in a very elaborate thesis presented by G.A. Abdus Salam at a seminar, which was the first of its kind on the problems of Muslims in India, organized on July 4-5, 1987 by the Institute of Objective Studies, New Delhi.

Muslims in India provide the best example of what a people can be reduced to when discriminated against, despite their proven intelligence, industry, initiative and a rich cultural heritage.

The condition of nearly 5.5 million Shi'ah Muslims of India is probably worse than that of the Sunni community in all respects. This is quite deplorable, especially when one takes into account the brilliant past role of this community in India's intellectual and cultural history.

\* \* \*

In addition to some causes mentioned above for the continuous decline of the Muslim community in India, there are some other causes which may be mentioned:

1. The failure of Muslims in relating their religion to the actual conditions of life, their situation in India and their future in this country. The result is a lack of direction and purpose, an ideological blindness and an absence of historical vision of their past and

mission for the future. In other words, there is no effective leadership. Muslim leaders are mostly self-seeking, spineless and visionless figures susceptible to maneuvering by anti-Muslim forces.

2. Dissipation of the Muslims' political and intellectual energies in confronting artificial crises and facing non-issues.

3. They are part and parcel of a general moral and spiritual decline in the Indian society, which is ruled by the degenerate and bankrupt Hindu ethos, in addition to being affected deeply by the corrosive Western and materialist cultural influences. Whereas the so-called Hindu fundamentalists take a hostile view of the Islamic culture and the Muslim history, they seem to have no complaints against the onslaught of the West's materialist culture. They consider Islam and Christianity as dangers to Hinduism, but seem to have reconciled themselves to the destruction of India's deeply spiritual ethos by the flood of Westernization which inundates many sectors of Indian life.

4. The Muslims have no effective press of their own. As a result they are subject to the demoralizing influence of the so-called national press which is aimed to isolate the Indian Muslim psyche and insulate it from the rest of the Islamic Ummah.

5. The absence of community-run financial institutions which can pool the financial resources of the community and serve as a source of credit.

6. Planned and frequent anti-Muslim riots throughout India which are aimed to disable the community economically and to demoralize it.

7. General discrimination against Muslims in governmental organs and non-governmental concerns in respect of employment.

8. Lack of political organization to defend and promote Muslim interests.



**Abdullah I. Sodagar**  
Laranjeiro, Portugal

...Accept my heartiest congratulations for your excellent magazine *al-Tawhīd* whose well-selected articles are very educative for all the readers. May Allāh reward you and your staff for your contribution to the cause of Islam.

Recently, last July, I was fortunate enough to perform ḥajj for the second time with my family. I really enjoyed and felt inner peace and happiness. I could not control my tears in front of the *Ka'batullāh*, where all the Muslims from all the corners of the world had gathered, without any difference of colour or class, to receive the blessings of the Almighty Allāh.

During my stay in Makkah Sharīf, when after midnight I was returning to my hotel from the Ḥaram Sharīf, an explosion shattered the night's peace. Next morning no radio, newspaper or TV reported the blast. I asked a few residents of Makkah, but no one answered. Everyone turned his face the other way. I was told, however, to be careful about asking questions! I was told that there are many secret informers, trained by the Imperialists, who roam around. Innocence is no guarantee against arrest, and many innocent persons are arrested, detained for years without any case being filed in a court of law. The radically dictatorial system is protected by the Imperialists for their monetary and political benefits. The masses are oppressed and tyrannized by the self-appointed custodians of the Ḥaramayn.

I met a few foreigners from the working classes, who wept as they told me that they were being treated like slaves, working 18 to 20 hours a day with very low wages. They also said that the present explosions were part of the 1979 uprising against the present system of the House of Sa'ūd, who are throwing all the country's assets in the foreigners' pockets.

My first shocking experience in

the Sa'ūdī Airline was that of women dressed in Western-type dresses. The Air-hostesses looked like Western mannequins. My impression of the Jeddah airport was very negative. First, there were the very tight security measures. The airport staff was unmannerly, irresponsible, incompetent and ruthless. Some did not know where is Portugal! How shameful! Islam sets the example of respect and hospitality for guests. And how sad it is to observe the way they treat the guests of Allāh and welcome the Ḥajjīs! I met a Canadian, a new convert to Islam, who could not believe his eyes. He remarked: "How beautiful a religion Islam is, and just see how these people are!"

At Makkah Sharīf, on the third day of my stay, I hired a taxi for *ziyārat* of the historical Islamic places. The Arab taxi driver said sadly that most of the historical places had been destroyed. The memorials of the past years remained only in memories and Islamic historical books. Formerly, I believe, one visited the Hijaz to visit the places and landmarks that reminded one of the blessed times of the Prophet Muhammad (S) and the Khulafā'-e Rāshidīn, the memorials of the earliest struggle of Islam against *kufr*. The self-appointed Sa'ūdī custodians of the Ḥaram Sharīf are busy building 5, 6 and 7 star hotels with commercial centres around the Ḥaram Sharīf for business and tourist attraction, instead of planting trees and making gardens around the Ḥaram to beautify it. All they are concerned with is to make money. They have spent millions in Jeddah to give it a Western look, but the majority of people are illiterate. Everywhere one sees ill-spent wealth, illiteracy and the King's photo. Other nations of the world spend fortunes to discover and preserve their history, and the Sa'ūdīs are destroying the common heritage of Islam and the world's Muslims. It is very SAD. That is all I can write now, and my heart

## Readers' Forum

weeps....

**Fred DiDomenica**  
Philadelphia, Penna., U.S.A.

...I wish to inform you that I wholeheartedly approve of the Iranian people's reaction to Mr. Rushdie's book for the following reasons.

For the many years that I have attempted to do professional writing, during that time I have found that here in the United States the claim of freedom of speech is a mere pretense, behind which there is censorship as severe as any that has existed anywhere. For the Americans, to protest against the Iranian people's demand to ban Rushdie's book is an act of utmost hypocrisy. While the Iranian people have demanded a ban on the book openly and honestly, the Americans practice censorship by clandestine, covert and concealed methods.

This covert censorship can most readily be encountered when writing about the Jews. I can assure you from personal experience that here in America the slightest word and the merest observation, which the Jews alone consider objectionable, is answered with the most severe, deadly and long-lasting retaliation. I can assure that while Americans may fight for the right to defame and villify your religion, they will go to extreme lengths to prevent even the slightest word of criticism of Jews and the Jewish religion. This censorship is, I repeat, carried on in the most clandestine manner, but it is nevertheless very effective and deadly.

I assure you, the very same publishers and distributors who are determined to sell and distribute Rushdie's book will with equal determination refuse to handle any book which criticizes Jewish manners, customs, religion and practices. Anyone with the most casual acquaintance

with the communications media in the United States knows this to be true from his experience, and most people are afraid to be heard speaking out this truth.

From my own experience I can tell that the Rushdie case has all the earmarks of a plot cooked up by the British and American secret services. Even the very name "Rush-die" — particularly the way it is spelled — sounds very much like one of the code words that are often used by them!

The task of the Jewish lobby in Washington D.C. is to make the U.S. government do everything that Israel wants it to do. It is well-known fact that there are very few U.S. Congressmen who dare to say or do anything contrary to the wishes of the Jewish-Israeli lobby.

I repeat, when the Americans rise up and demand the distribution of the Rushdie book on grounds of freedom of speech, they are being most garishly hypocritical, because simultaneously they refuse to allow free speech in regard to what the Jews and the Zionists do.

# التفكير

مجلة

إسلامية • فكرية • جامعة

تصدر

كل شهرين مرة

الرسائل والمقالات العلمية ترسل إلى هيئة تحرير المجلة

على العنوان التالي:

□ الجمهورية الإسلامية في إيران - طهران

ص . ب : ( ٤٣٦٥ - ١٥٨٧٥ )

□ خ . طالقان - ميدان فلسطين - ساختمان شماره ٢٨

هاتف : ٦٤٠٣٣٤٣ / ٣٤٥

تلكس IPO IR ( ٢١٣٩٨٠ )

طريقة الاشتراك في الداخل:

■ تسدد قيمة الاشتراك السنوي في إيران ( ١٠٠٠ ريال بالبريد ) إلى العنوان التالي:  
على أن ترسل نسخة من وصل التحويل إلى إدارة المجلة في طهران.

□ العنوان:

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