

# AL-TAWHĪD

A Quarterly Journal of Islamic Thought and Culture

## IN THIS ISSUE:

The Glorious Qur'ān as an Everlasting Miracle  
*Sayyid Muġtabā Mūsawī Lārī*

Forty Ḥadīth: An Exposition  
*Imām Rūḥullāh al-Mūsawī al-Khumaynī*

A Selection From Uṣūl al-Kāfi

Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn: A Study of Its Tawātur  
Waqf, According to Five Schools of Islamic Law  
*Allāmah Muḥammad Jawād Maghniyyah*

Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) and the Heir Apparency  
*Shaykh Muḥammad Mahdī Shams al-Dīn*

Al-Ṭabarī and His Times  
*Rasūl Ja'fariyān*

Imām Khumaynī: Life and Works  
*Sa'īd Najafiyān*

Islam and Iran: A Historical Study of Mutual Services  
*Martyr Murtadā Muṭahhari*

Medical Sects in Islam  
*Dr. Mahdī Muḥaqqiq*

Vol.VIII, No.2, Rabī' al-Thānī — Jamādi al-Thānī, 1411

(November 1990—January 1991)



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## CONTENTS

Editorial	5
<b>Qur'ānic Studies:</b>	
The Glorious Qur'ān as an Everlasting Miracle <i>Part 1</i> <i>Sayyid Muḥtabā Mūsawī Lārī</i>	9
<b>Hadith:</b>	
Forty Ḥadith: An Exposition <i>Part 22</i> <i>Imām Rūḥullāh al-Mūsawī al-Khumaynī</i>	23
A Selection From Uṣūl al-Kāfi <i>Part 10</i>	43
Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn: A Study of Its Tawātur <i>Part 2</i>	61
<b>Fiqh &amp; Uṣūl:</b>	
Waqf, According to Five Schools of Islamic Law <i>Part 3</i> <i>'Allāmah Muḥammad Jawād Maghniyyah</i>	91
<b>Biography:</b>	
Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) and the Heir Apparency <i>Shaykh Muḥammad Mahdī Shams al-Dīn</i>	103
Al-Ṭabari and His Times <i>Rasūl Ja'fariyān</i>	123
Imām Khumaynī: Life and Works <i>Part 3</i> <i>Sa'īd Najafiyyān</i>	143
<b>History:</b>	
Islam and Iran: A Historical Study of Mutual Services <i>Part 8</i> <i>Martyr Murtaḍā Muṭahharī</i>	151
Medical Sects in Islam <i>Dr. Mahdī Muḥaqqiq</i>	163
<b>Book Review:</b>	
Kayhān Andisheh, No. 24 <i>Shahīd Naqawī</i>	169

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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

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## ***Editorial***

The heroic uprising of the Muslims of Palestine against Zionist occupation is now in its fourth year. The Zionist atrocities against Palestine and its people, which have continued unchecked for the past more than forty years, have reached a new peak with the recent ghastly massacre of the Muslims in the al-'Aqṣā Mosque on October 8. Throughout the last four decades of the occupation of the Islamic country of Palestine, and even during the past three years of the glorious *intifāḍah*, the Western powers with the U.S. at their fore have not only supported the Zionist regime in its criminal occupation of Palestine but also frustrated the attempts of the Muslim world and the international community to restore the rights of the oppressed Palestinians and to punish the criminal Zionist entity for its atrocities against the holy land and its people. The U.S. and Britain and other Western powers, which were the real perpetrators of this greatest crime called Israel against humanity in contemporary history, have been staunch patrons of the Zionist criminals.

However, it is the same U.S., the main patron of the Zionist criminals that now pretends to be outraged by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, which has offered it a pretext to build up its military presence in the Islamic countries of the Persian Gulf. Despite all the Western propaganda and the verbal outrage at the Iraqi aggression, it is clear to all that the real motive behind the build-up is restoration of full Western control over the oil reserves of Arabia and Kuwait and not the defence of any principle. The reasons that lay behind the creation of Israel and its maintenance and support throughout the last four decades are not much different from the reasons that lie behind the present extremely dangerous Western military presence in the Persian Gulf region. The same aggressive, exploitive, and in the end destructive, motives lie behind the two. In fact the Western military presence in the region has created a situation similar to the one which prevailed during the First World War in the course of which Britain extended its domination over the region with the pretext of assisting the Arabs liberate themselves from Ottoman oppression. Today the pretext advanced is that of defending the Persian Gulf countries against the threat of Iraqi invasion and liberation of Kuwait.

Almost all the major problems faced today by the countries then under Ottoman rule derive from Western military intervention in the region more than half a century ago. The cancerous Zionist entity, the chaos in Lebanon, the dictatorial regimes in Arabia and elsewhere, the lack of political instability, the oppression of the Muslim masses and

the continuous destruction of their precious resources, the absence of unity among the governments and their inability to cooperate and solve their own problems — these and scores of similar problems derive from Western political and military intervention in the region that began since the fall of the Ottoman state. God knows what calamities await the Muslim world should the Muslims allow the Western military presence in the region to continue. Even the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is a direct result of the intervention of the self-styled neutral Western powers during the Iran-Iraq war, in the form of the huge supplies of arms and equipment provided to Iraq and financed, at the behest of the Western powers, by the foolish Persian Gulf rulers, including the Kuwaiti Shaykh.

Today the puppet regimes of the region, which are themselves a legacy of Western intervention, are unable to defend themselves against aggression by a neighbour state because they lack the support of their own people who for half a century have been deprived of a role in their countries' destinies. Moreover, the false prosperity and political alienation created in these countries by Western political, economic and cultural domination has so much weakened the Islamic moral fibre and spiritual ethos of the people that they choose to take to their heels following their fleeing emirs instead of defending their homeland in an Islamic and manly spirit. Should a real war flare out in the area, a panic will seize these countries — the rulers as well as the people — the like of which has seldom been seen.

The American and other Western forces brought into the area are not humanly less vulnerable than the Kuwaiti armed forces. The process of pervasive moral degeneration among Western population in general and the Western soldiery in particular has gone much deeper than what it was twenty years ago at the time of the U.S.'s defeat in Vietnam. Moreover, the average American, British or French soldier can hardly be said to be adequately motivated when all that he has been called for is to give his blood for the sake of oil and to die to keep the cars running on Western roads and streets with cheap Middle-Eastern fuel and to improve the chances of the victory of Mr. Bush or Mrs. Thatcher in the next elections.

No army can face a formidable enemy and a war-hardened army on the basis of sole reliance on military hardware, in air or on land or sea, used by wretchedly poor human material, however well trained and technically skilled. Iraq is also no Panama or Grenada. The Egyptian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi soldiers too will have little motivation to enter the hell of a modern battlefield to help the Americans maintain their domination on the Islamic countries of the Persian Gulf and the industrialized West its supplies of cheap oil for the next few decades, until the depletion of the Gulf's oil reserves. Apparently, these forces have been des-



patched by the governments of these countries to serve a public relations purpose, to label what is basically an American and Western military presence as a "multinational" one. This label is supposed to help the U.S. in projecting its military build-up and de facto occupation of the Arabian Peninsula as an attempt of the 'international community' to defend Arabia and to force Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. This public relations stunt may fool a section of the gullible Western populace, but it hardly convinces anyone in the Muslim world.

Today, forty years since the creation of the criminal Zionist entity and decades of Western silence vis-a-vis the crimes and atrocities of the Zionist genocides and the injustices and wrongs done to the Muslim people of Palestine, the U.S. and other Western powers have little credibility in the Muslim World. Every one of the more than seventy U.N. resolutions against Israel vetoed by the U.S. to frustrate action against this criminal entity have shredded the West's credibility to nothing. No one, at least no thinking person, believes it when the West makes a pretence of defending some moral principle, like restoration of peace or human rights, or opposition to tyranny and aggression, or respect for international frontiers and the integrity and sovereignty of states. By supporting a genocidal usurper in Muslim Palestine and by arming an aggressor against Islamic Iran — to mention just two important items in a long list of heinous crimes against humanity — the West has forfeited all its moral credentials. It is this total collapse of credibility that has forced the criminal U.S. and its allies to choose to move under the umbrella of the United Nations and compelled them to launch their new crusade against the heart of the Islamic world in the name of the community of nations. However, no global consensus— however justified — against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait can cover the obviousness of the aggressive and exploitive nature of the United States' objectives underlying the present military build-up in the Persian Gulf. Today Western politicians speak of the necessity to destroy Iraq's military machine. But wasn't this military machine built up by the West itself and during a period when it was engaged in an aggressive war against its another neighbour? Now even before a war has started they talk of trying the Iraqi rulers as war criminals, while they have condoned all their crimes perpetrated before August 2, 1990 in the same way as they have condoned the Zionists all their crimes perpetrated against the Muslim nation of Palestine since 1947. Can such hideous hypocrisy prevail and go unquestioned and can such utter moral bankruptcy flourish anywhere except in a civilization whose conscience — even of its intelligentsia — has decayed out of existence?

\* \* \*

There is no doubt that the glorious Palestinian *intifāḍah*, being a Divine phenomenon, is destined for ultimate success. Even as it is, it

has been enormously successful in revealing the real character of the Zionist entity and that of its Zionist operators as being worse than the Nazis. This magnificent *intifāḍah*, one of the most glorious chapters in the history of man's struggle against tyranny, has fully unmasked the hideous faces of the patrons of the Zionist criminals. It is the life pumped by the young martyrs and heroes of the sacred *intifāḍah* into the veins of the Islamic Ummah that has forced the Big Satan to pursue his devilish adventures under the umbrella of the United Nations. It is the stigma of blatant hypocrisy that he carries that has forced the Big Satan to seek the symbolic presence of military contingents from Islamic countries to join his wretched hordes in Arabia. For the first time in recent history and despite the elimination of the Soviet Union as a superpower, the Great Satan does not dare to be seen acting alone. It is the power of Islam which has forced him to resort to such public relations tactics with the help of his Saudi stooges. But it appears that he will stand all alone when this apparently joint enterprise ends in a military debacle.

There is no doubt that the world, with the will of God Almighty, is preparing itself for a global role of Islam. This era, which is an era of the decline and fall of superpowers and pagan ideologies, is certain to be followed by one which shall witness the revival of authentic religion and true human values. It is only when all the hopes tied to the material order of things have collapsed that profligate man is made capable of raising his hope to the higher spiritual order as the ultimate source of all order. The socialist bloc is visibly in shambles and the eastern superpower is on the visible verge of disintegration and collapse. So is also the industrialized West, which will not for long conceal its total hollowness and the deceptive glitter of whose hardwares will not for long hide the glaring darkness of whose inner spirit.

*Tehran*

*14 Rabi' al-'Awwal, 1411.*

# The Glorious Qur'ān as an Everlasting Miracle *Part 1*

*by Sayyid Mujtabā Mūsawī Lārī*

*Translated from the Persian by Dr. Hāmid Algar*

## Let Us Know the Qur'ān Better:

**P**rophethood and messengerhood are closely and inseparably linked to the miracle that proves the relationship of the claimant to prophethood with the supranatural realm; the miracle is the clearest and most objective evidence that disarms those who would illogically deny prophethood, for it demonstrates that the claim of the prophet is founded on a reality

All the prophets had but a single aim in fulfilling their divine missions; their teachings are all of a similar type, notwithstanding the peculiarities of the mission of each, and the truths they expounded concerning the supranatural realm differ only with respect to the degree of detail. It is true that there are differences with regard to acts of worship and social dealings; a common principle is implemented in differing ways that take into consideration the specific characteristics of each age and represent an evolutionary process.

It appears that one of the reasons for the variation in miracles is that in the times of earlier prophets people were inclined to believe only on the basis of material observations of visible objects that lacked any spiritual content. The fetters imposed on human thought by the seers and sages of those times caused men's attention to be limited to a particular realm, which in turn was the most significant factor in separating men from God and causing their minds to stagnate. The destruction of such a limited mode of thought was therefore of necessity a principal aim of the prophets.

The prophets were entrusted by God with the duty of attacking this source of error by confronting the seers and soothsayers with deeds of a type similar to that which they performed, but enjoying a special advantage that placed them beyond the reach of all competition. By the power of the miracle they negated and destroyed that particular cause

of men's separation from God — the concentration of their attention on the dazzling acts performed by the soothsayers of the age which enslaved men's spirits. By demonstrating their own miracles and setting forth the realistic principles of divine religion, they opened the doors of guidance, growth, and development toward perfection, and linked all dimensions of human life and activity to God. All of this derives from the real nature of the miracle.

The Prophet of Islam began conveying his heavenly message in the midst of a society where men's minds revolved exclusively around eloquent speech and the composition of beautiful and attractive poetry and literary excellence. Precisely this concentration on a field of activity that cannot be counted among the basic and vital concerns of man was an important factor in prolonging the stagnation of thought and lack of attention to the source of all existence.

In these conditions God equipped His Prophet with a weapon, the Qur'ān, that apparently belonged to the same category as the literary works of the age but possessed unique and astonishing characteristics that were beyond the capacity of man to reproduce.

The Qur'ān's sweetness of speech, the attraction exerted by the verses of God's book, filled the hearts of the Arabs with new feeling and perception. Their deep attention was drawn to this divine trust that had come to them, this inimitable work. Fully versed as they were in the arts and subtleties of rhetoric, they realized that the extraordinary eloquence of the Qur'ān was beyond the power of man to produce. It was impossible for someone to hear the Qur'ān and understand its meaning without being profoundly affected by its power to attract. From the beginning of revelation, the Qur'ān was, then, the most important factor in bringing men to God's religion.

Moreover, if the Prophet of Islam had performed some miracle other than the Qur'ān, it would have had no meaning for that people, given their mental structure. The path would have been open for all kinds of doubt and hesitation. But the Arabs of that age who were addressed by the Qur'ān could never have any doubts about its extraordinary eloquence, for they were well aware of all the mysteries of rhetoric and had living among them masters of language and literary composition.

At the same time, since the Qur'ān is intended to be an eternal miracle, revealed to make science and learning blossom among men, it is also a scientific miracle. It has expounded, in the most eloquent fashion, truths of a metaphysical nature together with everything that touches, however slightly, on the happiness or wretchedness of man. Although those who are not acquainted with the Arabic language cannot fully appreciate its miraculousness, they can perceive the miraculous nature of the meanings and truths it contains.

The limitation in time of the miracles performed by the earlier prophets was an indication of the impermanence of their religions and the laws that they brought. By contrast, the miracle attesting to the prophethood of the Prophet of Islam cannot be temporally limited, because his message is universal and represents the culmination of all preceding religions; his prophethood requires an eternal miracle, a brilliant and eloquent proof of its immortality.

A permanent message must display to mankind a permanent and everlasting miracle, one which advances with time, so that just as it offered convincing proof to men of the past, it may do the same to men of the future. A short-lived miracle that is imperceptible to later generations cannot be a source of reference or judgement for the future.

For this reason the Qur'an is presented as a permanent and everlasting miracle, the final manifestation of God's revelation. The Qur'an itself says:

وَتَمَّتْ كَلِمَتُ رَبِّكَ صِدْقًا وَعَدْلًا لَا مُبَدِّلَ لِكَلِمَتِهِ...

*The true and well-formulated message of your Lord has now been completed, and none is able to change it. (6:115)*

From the very first day when he presented his religion as a universal school of thought the influence of which was not to be contained by geographical or ethnic boundaries, the Prophet of Islam displayed this proof of his messengerhood to the whole of mankind, as a living proof that his mission and the revolutionary movement he inaugurated represented the final chapter in the history of prophetic missions and movements.

The Qur'an does not represent an ideological weapon for temporary use in moving from an inferior social system to a superior one at a given stage in history; it represents the permanent ideology of man living in the social and intellectual order of Islam.

The miracle accompanying the mission of the beloved Prophet of Islam brings to an end all the previous messages, limited as they were to a certain time. In its unique style, the Qur'an provides man with all necessary guidance, by means either of recalling the circumstances leading to the revelation of various verses, or of recounting of historical narratives describing the events that took place during the life of the Prophet, or by means of various similes and comparisons that touch on the different concerns of human life and guide man in the direction of higher degrees. By analyzing the stories and events contained in the Qur'an, which include also a distinctively Qur'anic mode of judgement, it is possible to deduce certain general principles.

Although the gradual and orderly descent of the Qur'ānic revelation was regarded as a defect by superficial and ignorant people, it should in fact be recognized as a principal factor in the triumph of the Prophet's message, given the conditions of the age and the events with which he was confronted.

Just as chronic diseases require long-term treatment, a continuous struggle against the factors that constantly prevent man from perceiving the truths of existence and stand in the way of his growth and development must be grounded on a firm ideational basis and a comprehensive social organization. Only then will it be able to implement its goals over a period of time and guide men to its ultimate purpose — their liberation from self-alienation.

Solutions whose efficacy does not transcend events limited in time and space will be unable to solve the problems of man. Islam represents the only system which is able to answer those problems, because of the attention it pays to all phenomena.

For Muslims, the miraculousness of the Qur'ān is a matter of religious belief; for scholars and researchers, it is a matter of scientific belief. The Qur'ān possesses a remarkable comprehensiveness and richness, with respect to its world-view and scientific content, and its ability to guide the individual and society. There are still many matters contained in the Qur'ān that call for investigation and await discovery by further research.

### The Extraordinary Richness of the Qur'ān:

The Qur'ān represents the principal source for all researches concerning the Islamic school of thought. Moreover, in every age and every part of the world, it can serve as the basis for a developed and free society which enables all the hidden capacities and potentials of man to blossom in all their dimensions; it lays down a path to the ideal society and the government of God.

More than fourteen centuries have passed since the revelation of the Qur'ān. Throughout this period mankind has undergone numerous changes, and passing through repeated stages of development and growth it has attained a more comprehensive awareness of the mysteries of creation. Nonetheless, the Qur'ān has at all times retained its proud and dignified presence on the stage of human history.

When this miracle first came into existence, at a time when the foundations of human thought had not fully developed, it served to prove categorically the messengerhood of the Prophet of Islam. In the present age, as man discovers in the treasurehouse of the Qur'ān, more and more remarkable indications, commensurate with his own growth in perception, knowledge and civilization, the Qur'ān still stands as a

permanent historical miracle and a living universal proof for the veracity of the Seal of the Prophets. The increase in the volume of human knowledge and the opening up of new horizons of thought have given us the chance to benefit more fully from the Qur'ān than past generations.

If the Qur'ān had been able to establish itself only during a certain segment of time and in a limited spatial environment, it would not have been able thus miraculously to advance together with time. The reason for the eternal vitality and authenticity of the Qur'ān is that it has always been a source for spiritual guidance and command in the face of the changing events of time.

History bears witness that the emergence of the Seal of the Prophets and his mode of activity within society marked the beginning of a new stage in human thought and ratiocination and in the development and expansion of the will and independence of man. For in his growth to maturity, man now advanced in his investigations from the stage of mere observation to that of thought; an exact and profound examination of phenomena took the place of simplistic assumption. All this is indicated by the fact that men's acceptance of true faith was no longer on the basis of miracles involving supranatural or extraordinary phenomena, as was the case with the mission of previous prophets.

Men's turning to faith on the basis of knowledge and thought — something to which the Qur'ān repeatedly invites man — represents in itself the miracle wrought by the heavenly message of Islam. Reliance on sensory miracles would not have been compatible with the nature of the final divine message and its aim of liberating man and fostering the growth of his intellect. God therefore prepared man in the course of many thousands of years to receive the final guidance.

Our investigations of the Qur'ān can be of value only when we empty our minds of all pre-existing notions and attitudes, because fanatical convictions concerning the contents of the Qur'ān will yield nothing but mental stagnation and immobility. This is a pitfall that every alert and fair-minded researcher must seek to avoid.

It is an undeniable reality that the Qur'ān is too elevated a book to be the product of ideas held by a group of scholars. It is even more impossible for it to have been produced by a single individual or to have been borrowed by him from other sources, particularly an individual who was unlettered, had never studied, and had grown up in the degenerate environment of the Arabian peninsula at that time, an environment which was totally alien to science and philosophy.

When we consider the system and programme of action proposed by the Qur'ān for the uplift of man and compare it with the laws and systems of the past, we realize that it borrowed nothing from them and bore no resemblance to them. It represents an entirely new phenomenon,

original and unprecedented in its fundamental nature, and among its lofty aims are the transformation of human societies and their restructuring on the basis of justice, equality, and freedom for the oppressed and deprived masses.

The Qur'ān speaks in detail of the history of earlier prophets and their communities, referring constantly to the events that occurred during their careers.

When we encounter the narratives contained in the Qur'ān, the events that it relates, we are brought into direct contact with reality, in an unparalleled fashion. Every reference they contain, direct and indirect, acquaints us with the very substance of truth. It is, then, totally impossible that the narratives of the Qur'ān should have been borrowed from the Torah or the Gospels. The Qur'ān always presents the stories of the prophets in a positive framework by changing and modifying them so as to purge them of unworthy excrescences and elements contrary to pure monotheism, reason, and sound religious thinking. A copying would have resulted in mere imitation, and would have been entirely negative.

Dr. Maurice Bucaille, the French scholar, expresses himself as follows on this point:

In the West, Jews, Christians and Atheists are unanimous in stating (without a scrap of evidence however) that Muhammad wrote the Qur'an or had it written as an imitation of the Bible. It is claimed that stories of religious history in the Qur'an resume Biblical stories. This attitude is as thoughtless as saying that Jesus himself duped his contemporaries by drawing inspiration from the Old Testament during his preachings: the whole of Matthew's Gospel is based on this continuation of the Old Testament, as we have indeed seen already. What expert in exegesis would dream of depriving Jesus of his status as God's envoy for this reason?

The existence of such an enormous difference between the Biblical description and the data in the Qur'an concerning the Creation is worth underlining once again on account of the totally gratuitous accusations levelled against Muhammad since the beginnings of Islam to the effect that he copied the Biblical descriptions. As far as the Creation is concerned, this accusation is totally unfounded. How could a man living fourteen hundred years ago have made corrections to the existing description to such an extent that he eliminated scientifically inaccurate material and, on his own initiative, made statements that science has been able to verify only in the present day? This hypothesis is completely untenable. The description of the Creation given in the Qur'an is quite different from the one in the Bible.<sup>1</sup>

Taking these factors into consideration, no truth-loving individual can conceive of an origin other than divine revelation for the Qur'ān which is not only a book, but also a proof of messengerhood and a manifestation of the miraculousness that supported the Prophet.

\* \* \*



The Qur'an thus came to be the profound, brilliant and eternal miracle of God's Messenger enabling the teachings and laws of Islam to retain their validity through time. The divine commands and instructions were made manifest in phrases and sentences that were marked by miraculousness, thus implementing God's will for the preservation of religion when faced with the assaults of rancorous enemies and for the frustration of their conspiracies.

Through the permanence and stability of the mould in which God's commands are uniquely set, those enemies who would reach out against them in order to change and distort them are permanently prevented from attaining their goal; the eternal teachings and laws of God will last throughout time, immune from change or distortion.

Another aspect of the miraculousness of the Qur'an which has had a great effect is the revolutionary transformation it brought about in human civilization.

A matter calling for serious attention in the study of Islam is the fact that it received no assistance from factors external to itself when it began to create the nucleus of a universal society out of a scattered and disunited people that lacked all science and free thought and did not even seek to unify its constituent tribes, and when it began, moreover, to found a uniquely vast and spiritual civilization. All the factors for changing the world, for putting forward an international law with the slogan of unity among races, peoples, and social classes, for creating a movement for the liberation of thought and the ennobling of knowledge, were derived from the very text of the Qur'an, from the culture that emerged from the Qur'an and from the Islamic order. Islam never relied on a government or a power situated outside the society it had itself brought into being.

Even the aggressors who attacked the Islamic lands and triumphed over the Muslims thanks to their military superiority, lost their dominance in the end when they were confronted with the spiritual power of Islam, and they adopted the religion of the people they had conquered. The history of nations does not record any other example of a victorious aggressor adopting the religion of the people it had defeated.

#### The Demand of the Qur'an for a Direct Confrontation:

The Noble Qur'an was revealed in the Arabic language, one of the richest languages in the world from the point of view of firmness of structure and abundance of vocabulary. It descended like a flash of lightning in the darkness of the Age of Ignorance, and in the manner in which it conveyed various types of subject matter in the most concise of sentences it had nothing in common with the conventional language of the Arabs.

At the time that the Qur'ān was revealed, the literary talent and eloquence of the Arabs was at its peak. Works created by poets and orators commanded the attention and admiration of everyone, and literature constituted the only art cultivated by the Arab elite.

The Qur'ān, which constituted the documentary proof of the messengerhood of the Prophet of Islam and the raw materials of which were its constituent letters and words, was revealed over a period of twenty-three years in accordance with the particular needs that emerged over time. Thus it guided the Prophet and his companions step by step toward their exalted goals.

The words and expressions of the Qur'ān are harmonious and its words are set together pleasingly and with the utmost beauty, in complete accord with the subtle meanings they express. This unique combination of wording and meaning is a special feature of the Qur'ān and another aspect of its miraculousness.

With the revelation of the Qur'ān, the Arabs made the acquaintance of a fresh and new form of speech which was neither prose nor poetry, but the melody of which was more beautiful and attractive than that of poetry and the discourse of which was more eloquent and effective than that of prose. Whoever heard it was drawn toward it and transformed by it. It was utterly different from all forms of human speech by virtue of the superiority of its concepts, the eloquence of its style and outward form, and its exposition of meanings in the most concise way.

The firm laws and clear logic of the Qur'ān showed men the way to correct religion and living, and inspired them with the determination to create an epic unparalleled in history. The Qur'ān destroyed utterly the superstitions that the oppressors and their helpers had elaborated throughout history.

The Qur'ān established a mode of thought leading to the truth, which it identified as thought that eschews all obstinacy, caprice and fanaticism. From the very first day that the Prophet began preaching his message of monotheism, he summoned men also to a realistic vision of the world. When inviting them to faith, he addressed their wisdom and intelligence and called on them to use their eyes and their ears to perceive the truth. He unshackled them from custom and usage, from obstinately clinging to ancient heritages, and strove to convince them that they should not perversely insist on retaining the beliefs and loyalties that had been born of polytheism. Although these efforts earned him bitter harassment, he was not dismayed, and he did not give up before fulfilling the role that the Creator had given him in improving men's lives.

Many of the polytheists did not permit themselves to listen to the Qur'ān for they were well aware of its remarkable effect and afraid

that its profound and astonishing influence might conquer their hearts as well, drawing them ineluctably towards it. Ibn Hishām writes in his life of the Prophet:

So strong was the heartfelt desire of the people to hear the Qur'an that even some of the unbelievers of the Quraysh would stealthily go near the Prophet's house at night, remaining there until dawn, in order to listen throughout the night to the pleasing melody of the Qur'an as recited by the Messenger of God. This happened many times.<sup>2</sup>

When the revelation of the Qur'an began, the Most Noble Messenger clearly proclaimed the Qur'an to be the word of God, and said it was impossible for any human being to duplicate it; if anyone disagreed, he ought to make an attempt to copy it, and should feel free to seek help from any source in doing so. None was able to take up this challenge and produce even a short *sūrah* similar to the Qur'an.

Still more remarkable is the fact that the utterances of the Prophet, whose tongue would recite the Qur'an, bore no resemblance whatsoever to the Qur'an. This is in itself a convincing proof that the Qur'an originated from a source other than the mind of the Prophet.

#### The Qur'an Modifies the Conditions of its Challenge:

The Qur'an issued a challenge not only to the contemporaries of the Prophet but also to men in all ages. In order to demonstrate the incapacity and impotence of men to imitate it, it issued the following universal proclamation:

قُلْ لَئِنِ اجْتَمَعَتِ الْإِنْسُ وَالْجِنُّ عَلَىٰ أَنْ يَأْتُوا بِمِثْلِ هَذَا الْقُرْآنِ لَا يَأْتُونَ بِمِثْلِهِ وَلَوْ كَانَ  
بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ ظَهِيرًا ﴿٨٨﴾

*Were all of mankind to come together and wish to produce the like of this Qur'an, they would never succeed, however much they aided each other. (17:88)*

It then modifies the challenge and reduces its scope by saying:

أَمْ يَقُولُونَ افْتَرَاهُ قُلْ فَأْتُوا بِعَشْرِ سُوْرٍ مِثْلِهِ مُفْتَرِيْنَ وَأَدْعُوا مَنِ اسْتَعْظَمْتُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ  
إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِيْنَ ﴿١٣﴾

*Do people imagine that this Qur'an is not from Us, and that you, O Prophet, are falsely attributing it to Us? Tell them that if they are speaking truly they should produce ten *sūrahs* resembling the Qur'an, and that they are free to call on the aid of anyone but God is so doing. (11:13)*

Then at a third stage, the scope of the challenge is reduced still further: the deniers are called on to produce only a single *sūrah* resembling the Qur'ān:

وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي رَيْبٍ مِمَّا نَزَّلْنَا عَلَىٰ عَبْدِنَا فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِثْلِهِ...

*O people, if you doubt the heavenly origin of this Book which We have sent down to Our servant, the Prophet, produce one sūrah like it. (2:23)*

Since we know that some of the shorter *sūrahs* consist only of a few brief sentences, this final challenge constituted a definitive proof of men's inability to imitate the Qur'ān.

It is remarkable that the Prophet who thus challenged the Arabs to a kind of literary contest, despite all their literary resources, was someone who had never in the course of the forty years of his life participated in any of their literary competitions or acquired any superiority in eloquence over his own people.

Let us not forget that this challenge was issued to a people whose leaders were threatened by the devastating attacks of the Qur'ān — their lives, their property, their ancient customs, their ancestors, their whole social position. If it had been at all possible for the Arabs to respond to the challenge of the Qur'ān, they would have taken it up immediately, with the unstinting aid of the masters of eloquence that were by no means rare in that age. Thus they would have invalidated the proofs of the Qur'ān and won an everlasting victory.

Furthermore, as a matter of general principle, if one consistently follows and studies the style of a certain form of speech he will ultimately be able to imitate it. But the Qur'ān forms an exception to this rule: however much one tries to practise the use of the Qur'ānic style, he will never be able to create something resembling the Qur'ān. This reveals to us a significant truth: mere learning and study can never give us the capability to imitate the Qur'ān. History has not a single instance to show in which this particular aspect of the miraculousness of the Qur'ān has been negated; it cannot point to a single book comparable to the Qur'ān. Even among the speeches and sayings of the Prophet nothing can be found which resembles the Qur'ān from the point of view of style and eloquence.

If the forces opposing Islam, with all of their skilled rhetoricians, had been able to create works capable of competing with the Qur'ān, there would have been no need for them to endure losses and casualties by going to war, to suffer hardship and expend material resources. They could have won an easy victory by means of propaganda, a kind of cold war, and put paid to the rise of Islam within Makkah itself, its place of origin.

They called into play all their resources in an effort to meet the challenge of the Qur'an, but all their efforts came to naught. They were unable to point even to a single error or defect in the Qur'an and were obliged to admit that its words were situated on a higher plane than the thought and speech of man.

\* \* \*

The verses of the Qur'an penetrated the depths of men's hearts with such unprecedented swiftness that all men of sound mind and heroic disposition eagerly embraced its message. By contrast, the devotees of ignorance and mental stagnation, men who assigned little value to wisdom and thought, and whose lives were spent in the swamp of neglect and lack of awareness, were the principal element in opposing Islam and urging others to do so. In order to conceal from men's view the miraculous nature of the Qur'an, they attributed the Qur'an to the workings of magic, seeking thus to explain the extraordinary attraction exerted by its verses and its unique influence.

Sometimes they would also subject the converts to Islam to harassment and a hail of contempt and ridicule, or through force and coercion they would attempt to prevent the people from thinking freely. Their whole method of struggle against Islam was, in fact, childish, and it betrayed their weakness and utter helplessness.

For example, they instructed a group of people to go and make a noise, to whistle and clap their hands, while the Prophet was reciting the verses of the Qur'an, so that the people would not fall under the influence of its eloquence and power to attract.

The methods followed by the leaders of Quraysh and their insistence on preventing the message of the Qur'an from reaching the ears of the people showed that a deadly serious struggle between truth and falsehood was now indeed underway.

The Qur'an itself unmasks the methods they followed and the negative role that they played:

وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَا تَسْمَعُوا هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ وَالنَّفْوَاءِ بِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْلَبُونَ ﴿٤١﴾

*The polytheists said: Do not listen to the verses of the Qur'an, and make a noise while they are being recited; perhaps you will thus triumph. (41:26)*

But this attempt forcibly to sever the connection between men's minds and the Qur'an did not last long. As soon as the shackles of coercion and fear were loosened from men's minds, even some of the leaders of the polytheists who were firmly attached to the rites and customs of the Age of Ignorance would conceal themselves behind the coverings of the Ka'bah not far from where the Prophet was sitting, in order to listen to him reciting the verses of the Qur'an in prayer. This

shows how deeply the image the Qur'ān had traced of itself was able to penetrate deep into the souls of the people, so that the polytheists were ultimately unable to accomplish anything effective against the message of the Qur'ān, although it represented a call to battle fatal to their interests.

\* \* \*

This impotence on the part of the enemies of Islam belongs to the dawn of Islam: the masters of eloquence were unable to imitate or compete with the Qur'ān.

Now that we are in the fifteenth century since the Qur'ān first laid down its challenge, a time when the progress of learning has opened up new horizons of thought in front of us, we can appreciate the divine origin of the Qur'ān and its infinite values by reference to other matters, quite apart from the unique and inimitable structure and eloquence of the Qur'ān. We can perceive the Qur'ān to be an everlasting miracle, because the position of revelation vis-a-vis its deniers remains firmly the same, and the challenge of the Qur'ān still resounds to all of mankind:

وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي رَيْبٍ مِّمَّا نَزَّلْنَا عَلَىٰ عَبْدِنَا فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِّثْلِهِ...

*If you doubt the heavenly origin of this book, produce one sūrah like it.  
(2: 23)*

Can the man of today take up the challenge of the Qur'ān and produce a *sūrah* like it, thereby conquering the stronghold of Islam and invalidating the claims of its prophet?

Both in past and present times, there have been obstinate and impudent enemies of Islam among the experts on Arabic language and literature. If it had been possible for them to meet the challenge of the Qur'ān that eternal miracle of harmony and symmetry, and produce a single *sūrah* like it, they would certainly have devoted themselves fully to such a destructive undertaking.

Islam has proposed, then, a very simple challenge to those who oppose it. Why then do the deniers of prophethood choose roundabout ways, avoiding this direct method of confronting and defeating Islam? Is it not because the door is firmly closed on meeting the challenge posed by the Qur'ān?

Gibb, a certain Christian scholar, says:

Even if we attempt to reorder the words of the Qur'ān, we will not be able to put them in a new and meaningful order; we must replace them exactly where they were before.

Despite the passage of time, historical documents and evidence

still provide such a clear picture of the Prophet of Islam and his characteristics that all historians are unanimous that the Prophet was an unlettered man who had never known books or teachers and never learned how to write. The Qur'an itself addressed him as follows, proclaiming his characteristics to the members of Makkan society who were acquainted with all the stages of his life:

وَمَا كُنْتَ تَتْلُو مِنْ قَبْلِهِ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَلَا تَخُطُّ بِيَمِينِكَ...

*Before this, you did not read any book nor did you write anything with your hands. (29:48)*

The divine nature of the Prophet's message is thus demonstrated.

Is it at all possible that someone should proclaim to the members of his own society, in utter contradiction of the truth, that he is unlettered and has never studied, without anyone voicing an objection?

The dark cultural environment of that day was in any event a stranger to scholars and teachers; nothing existed that the Prophet might have studied. Those people who knew how to read and write were few and far between, and none of the historians records a single instance of the Prophet having read a single line or written a single word before the beginning of his prophetic mission.

How remarkable it is that such a man who had never studied became the standard-bearer of a movement calling for science and free thought!

With the beginning of his messengerhood and his entry on the stage of human history, mankind entered a new stage of progress. With the suddenness of a flash of lightning, he introduced his people to the world of learning and writing and laid the foundations of a movement that transformed the degenerate society of Arabia into the nucleus of a great world civilization. A few centuries later, that civilization could boast of the most splendid scientific accomplishments and the greatest scholars and researchers.

A consideration of these facts concerning the phenomenon of Islam, particularly as they are judged by non-Muslim scholars, helps us to understand better the profoundly miraculous nature of the Qur'an.

The author of *Muhammad, the Prophet who Must be Examined Anew*, writes as follows:

Although he was unlettered, the very first verses that were revealed to him contain mention of the pen and of knowledge, of learning and teaching. There is no other religion that places such emphasis, in its very origin, on knowledge and learning. If Muhammad had been a scholar, the revelation of the Qur'an in the cave of Hira' would not have been surprising, for a scholar

knows well the value of learning. But he was unlettered and had never studied with any teacher. I congratulate the Muslims that the acquisition of knowledge was so highly valued at the very inception of their religion.<sup>3</sup>

Laura Vaccia Vaglieri, professor at the University of Naples, has the following to say:

The heavenly book of Islam is miraculous and inimitable. Its style is totally unprecedented in Arabic literature, and its peculiar impact on the spirit of man derives from its special and superior characteristics. How is it possible that such a book should be the work of Muḥammad, an Arab who had never studied?

We find in this book a treasury of knowledge beyond the capacity of the greatest philosophers and statesmen, and for this reason it is also impossible to regard the Qur'ān as the work of an educated person.

Smith writes in his book *Muḥammad and Islam*:

I boldly assert that one day the loftiest of human philosophies and the most veracious principles of Christianity will confess and bear witness that the Qur'ān is the word of God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.

An unlettered and unlearned prophet was chosen by God to bring the Qur'ān to mankind, a book that has in the course of history produced thousands of other books and treatises, brought libraries into being and filled them with books, and placed before mankind laws and philosophies and educational, intellectual and ideological systems.

He arose in an environment where there was no trace of learning and civilization. In the whole of Madīnah there were only eleven people who knew how to read and write, and in all the branches of the Quraysh, in Makkah and its environs, not more than seventeen people were literate.

The teachings of the Qur'ān, which mentions knowledge and the pen in its opening verses, brought about a tremendous transformation. Islam proclaimed study to be a religious duty, and made the black ink of the scribe and the scholar to be superior to the red blood of the martyr.

Thanks to the teachings of the Qur'ān and its emphasis on the cultivation of knowledge, countless scholars made their appearance and wrote innumerable books. Different scientific disciplines were derived from the Qur'ān and spread across the world by Muslim thinkers. The world was illumined with the light of the Qur'ān and the culture of Islam.

*To be continued—'in shā' Allāh*

## NOTES:

1. Bucaille, *The Bible, Qur'ān and Science*, 124, 148.
2. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh (S)*, i, 386.
3. *Muḥammad, payghambarī ke az-nau bāyad shinākht*, 45.



## Forty Ḥadīth: An Exposition Part 22

by Imām Rūḥullāh al-Mūsawī al-Khumaynī - quddisa sirruh

Translated from the Persian by 'Alī Qulī Qarā'i

### TWENTY-FIRST ḤADĪTH: On Shukr

بِالسَّنَدِ الْمُتَّصِلِ إِلَى حُجَّةِ الْفِرْقَةِ وَإِمَامِهِمْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ يَعْقُوبَ الْكُلَيْنِيِّ - كَرَّمَ اللَّهُ وَجْهَهُ - عَنْ  
حُمَيْدِ بْنِ زِيَادٍ، عَنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ سَمَاعَةَ، عَنْ وَهَيْبِ بْنِ حَفْصٍ، عَنْ أَبِي بَصِيرٍ، عَنْ  
أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: «كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ عِنْدَ عَائِشَةَ لَيْلَتَهَا فَقَالَتْ:  
يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ لِمَ تُتْعِبُ نَفْسَكَ وَقَدْ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَكَ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِكَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ؟ فَقَالَ: يَا عَائِشَةُ  
أَلَا أَكُونُ عَبْدًا شَكُورًا؟ قَالَ: وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ يَقُومُ عَلَى أَطْرَافِ أَصَابِعِ  
رِجْلَيْهِ فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ - سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى - : طه ﴿ مَا أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لِتَشْقَى. ﴾» .

Through my continuous *sanad* going back to the proof of the sect and its leader, Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī — may God bless his soul — from Ḥumayd ibn Ziyād, from al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Samā'ah, from Wuḥayb ibn Ḥafṣ, from Abū Baṣīr, from Abū Ja'far (A) that he said: "One night that the Messenger of Allah (S) — may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny — was with 'Ā'ishah, she said to him, 'O Messenger of Allah, why do you exhaust yourself when God has forgiven you your former and latter sins?' The Prophet (S) replied: 'O 'Ā'ishah, shouldn't I be a grateful servant?' " The Imam (A) added: "The Messenger of Allah — may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny—used to stand on the toes of his feet (in prayer in the night) and so God, the Glorious and the Exalted, sent down the verse: 'Tāhā. We have not sent down the Qur'an upon thee to cause thee hardship.' " (20:1).

#### Exposition:

The words **قَدْ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَكَ** (God has forgiven thee) refer to the following utterance of God Almighty in *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ*:

إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُبِينًا ﴿١﴾ لِيُغْفِرَ لَكَ اللَّهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِكَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ ...

*Surely We have given thee a manifest victory (fath, which also means 'opening'), that God may forgive thee thy former and thy latter sins....(48:1-2)*

The 'ulamā' — may God be pleased with them — have suggested various explanations for this noble verse so as to reconcile it with the Noble Prophet's infallibility (*iṣmah*). Here we will cite some of those explanations mentioned by the *marḥūm* 'Allāmah Majlisī, may God Almighty's mercy be upon him. Thereafter we will briefly mention that which the 'urafā' have said in this regard in accordance with the teachings of the mystic path.

*Marḥūm* Majlisī says: The Shī'ah have offered various views regarding the explanation (*ta'wīl*) of this verse. According to one of these, the 'sins' (*dhunūb*; singular *dhanb*) mentioned there mean the sins of the Ummah which are forgiven by the Prophet's intercession. These sins of the Ummah have been attributed to him because of the connection that exists between him and it. This possibility is supported by the following narration of Mufaḍḍal ibn 'Umar from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A):

قَالَ: «سَأَلَهُ رَجُلٌ عَنْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ، فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ مَا كَانَ لَهُ ذَنْبٌ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ ضَمِنَ لَهُ أَنْ يَغْفِرَ ذُنُوبَ شِيعَةِ عَلِيٍّ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذُنُوبِهِمْ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ.»

Mufaḍḍal says: "A man asked the Imam concerning this verse. He replied: 'By Allah, he (i.e. the Prophet) had no sin of his own. However, Allah, *subḥānahu*, has insured that He would forgive the sins, whatever they have committed, of those who followed 'Ali (*shī'at 'Alī*).'"

وَرَوَى عُمَرُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ عَنْهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: «مَا كَانَ لَهُ ذَنْبٌ، وَلَا هَمٌّ بِذَنْبٍ، وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ حَمَلَهُ ذُنُوبَ شِيعَتِهِ ثُمَّ غَفَرَهَا لَهُ.»

'Umar ibn Yazīd narrates that al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) said: "He had not committed any sin, not even intended to commit any. However, God made him bear the burden of the sins of his followers and then forgave them on his account."<sup>2</sup>

This author says: This explanation has a significant basis in the teachings of the 'urafā' and it would not be without benefit to mention it briefly. You should know that it has been proved, in the place proper to such a proof, that the unchanging essence (*'ayn-e thābit*) of the Perfect Man (*insān-e kāmil*) is the manifestation (*mazhar*; pl. *mazāhir*) of the Greatest of Divine Names (*ism Allāh al-'a'zam*), which is the prototype (*imām*) of all prototypal names. The essences (*a'yān*) of all other existents subsist in the shadow of the essence of the Perfect Man on the level of knowledge and the world of essences, and exist therein on the level of

being and the world of realization ('*ālam-e taḥaqquq*).

Hence the essences contained in the entire realm of existence are the manifestation of the essence of the Perfect Man, and all the existents are manifestations of his beauty and glory in the world of manifestation. Accordingly, every shortcoming that occurs in the world of exteriorization and every sin that appears in the *maẓāhir* (manifestations), whether on the level of creation (*takwīn*) or on the level of volitional action (*tashrī'*), is attributable to the *ẓāhir* (i.e. that which is manifested through the *maẓāhir*) in accordance with the necessary relation between *ẓāhir* and *maẓhar*. This attribution is not metaphorical, but literal and factual. It is the reality of this relation which is pointed out in the following verses:

... وَمَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ سِتْرَةٍ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ ...

... Whatever evil visits thee is of thy self. (4:79)

... قُلْ كُلٌّ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ ...

Say: 'Everything is from God'. (4:78)

And reference to this matter occurs a lot in the Noble Prophet's traditions:

نحنُ السابقونُ الآخرونُ .

We are the foremost and the last ones.<sup>3</sup>

آدَمُ وَمَنْ دُونَهُ تَحْتَ لِيَاوِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ .

Adam and whoever that came after him shall stand under my standard on the Day of Resurrection.<sup>4</sup>

أَوَّلُ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ نُورِي .

The first thing that God created was my light.<sup>5</sup>

سَبَّحْنَا فَسَبَّحَتِ الْمَلَائِكَةُ ، فَدَسْنَا فَقَدَّسَتِ الْمَلَائِكَةُ .

(Before Adam was created) we glorified (God) and following us the angels glorified (Him). We extolled (His) sanctity and following us the angels called Him Holy.<sup>6</sup>

لَوْلَانَا مَا عَرَفَ اللَّهُ .

Imām Rūḥullāh al-Mūsawī al-Khumayni

Had we not existed, God would not have been known.<sup>7</sup>

لَوْلَاكَ لَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْأَفْلَاكَ .

(God said to the Prophet:) Had you not been, I would not have created the heavens.<sup>8</sup>

نَحْنُ وَجْهُ اللَّهِ .

We are the face of God.<sup>9</sup>

It is stated in a tradition that “the Messenger of Allah — may Allah’s peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny — (in relation to the community of the faithful) has the position of the tree’s trunk; the Imams of Guidance, may peace be upon them, are its branches; their followers (shī‘ah) are like the leaves of the tree.”<sup>10</sup> Hence the beauty of the sacred tree of *wilāyah* is manifested through the *mazāhir*. Should one of the *mazāhir* suffer a shortcoming, that will affect the sacred tree.

Hence the sins of all the existents are the sins of the Absolute Master (*al-walī al-muṭlaq*), and God Almighty, with His encompassing mercy and all-inclusive forgiveness, has showered His grace upon the Noble Prophet — may God’s peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny —, declaring, “The sins of the former people and the sins of those to come will be covered by My encompassing mercy and the entire realm of being shall attain its ultimate felicity through your *shafā‘ah* (intercession), and:

وَأَخِرَ مَنْ يَشْفَعُ أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ .

The last to intercede is the most merciful of the merciful ones. (i.e. God).

According to this teaching the noble verse at hand fulfils the promise given in another verse, which says:

وَلَسَوْفَ يُعْطِيكَ رَبُّكَ فَتَرْضَىٰ ﴿٩٣﴾

And thy Lord shall soon give thee, and thou shalt be satisfied. (93:5)

And it has been said of this verse that it is:

أَرْجَىٰ آيَةٍ فِي الْقُرْآنِ .

The most hope-giving of verses in the Qur’an.<sup>11</sup>

Hence according to this teaching 'the former sins' may possibly mean the sins of the earlier ummahs (*umam*), for all the ummahs are part of the Ummah of this sacred essence (the Prophet) and all the calls (*da'wahs*) of the prophets represent invitation to the ultimate shari'ah, being the *mazāhir* of *al-Walī al-Muṭlaq*, and 'Adam and whoever that came after him' are the leaves of the tree of *wilāyah*.

The second explanation is the one given by al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, may God be pleased with him. He says that *dhanb* is a *maṣḍar* (verbal noun) and it may permissibly be referred or adjoined to the *fā'il* or *maf'ūl*. Here it has been related (in the construct phrase *dhanbika*) to the *maf'ūl*. Hence the verse (48:2) means, "The former sins of theirs against thee in preventing thee from entering Makkah and al-Masjid al-Ḥarām." The meaning of *maghfirah* or *ghufrān* (which also means 'covering') here, according to this explanation, is the abolishment and removal of the persecution that he (the Prophet [S]) faced at the hands of his enemies. The verse then means: "On the occasion of the victory and through it God would end and cover the humiliation inflicted upon you, and with the conquest of Makkah you would soon enter the city triumphantly." Accordingly *ghufrān* has been made the recompense for *jihād* and the benefit of victory.

The Sayyid, upon whom be God's mercy, says: If *maghfirah* here is taken to mean the forgiving of sins, a reasonable meaning cannot be derived from the verse, for forgiveness of sins has no relation whatsoever with victory, nor can it be considered to be the object and benefit of victory. As to the phrase *مَا تَقَدَّمَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ*, there is nothing objectionable in taking it to mean "whatever of the atrocities that have been afflicted on you and your people in the past."

Thirdly, the verse is explained to mean, "If you have committed a sin in the past or in case you commit any hereafter, I shall indeed forgive you." This is a conditional proposition (of the type 'If A then B') and it is not necessary that its two sides should be factually true.

Fourthly, by 'sin' here is meant omission of *mustahabbāt* (supererogatory duties), for the Prophet (S) never defaulted in performing the *wājibāt* (obligatory duties). And it is possible that due to his elevated and exalted station, that which is not considered to be sin for others may be considered sin in relation to him.

The fifth explanation is that this verse is intended to glorify the Prophet (S) and is equivalent to a eulogy, as when one says: *غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَكَ*.

Sixthly, al-Majlisi says:

« وَقَدْ رَوَى الصَّدُوقُ فِي الْعُيُونِ بِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْجَهْمِ قَالَ : حَضَرْتُ مَجْلِسَ الْمَأْمُونِ وَعِنْدَهُ الرِّضَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَالَ لَهُ الْمَأْمُونُ : يَا ابْنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أَلَيْسَ مِنْ قَوْلِكَ أَنَّ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ مَعْصُومُونَ ؟ قَالَ : بَلَى ، قَالَ : فَمَا مَعْنَى قَوْلِ اللَّهِ : لِيَغْفِرَ لَكَ اللَّهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِكَ وَمَا

تَأَخَّرَ؟ قَالَ الرِّضَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: لَمْ يَكُنْ أَحَدٌ عِنْدَ مُشْرِكِي مَكَّةَ أَعْظَمَ ذَنْباً مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ لِأَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يَتَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ ثَلَاثِمِائَةَ وَسِتِّينَ صَنَمًا، فَلَمَّا جَاءَهُمْ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ بِالذِّعْوَةِ إِلَى كَلِمَةِ الْإِخْلَاصِ كَبُرَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَعَظُمَ وَقَالُوا: «أَجْعَلَ الْآلِهَةَ إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا إِنَّ هَذَا لَشَيْءٌ عَجَابٌ — إِلَى قَوْلِهِ: إِنَّ هَذَا إِلَّا اخْتِلَاقٌ.»

فَلَمَّا فَتَحَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ مَكَّةَ قَالَ لَهُ: يَا مُحَمَّدُ «إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُبِينًا \* لِيُغْفِرَ لَكَ اللَّهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِكَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ» عِنْدَ مُشْرِكِي أَهْلِ مَكَّةَ بِدُعَائِكَ إِلَى تَوْحِيدِ اللَّهِ فِيمَا تَقَدَّمَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ؛ لِأَنَّ مُشْرِكِي مَكَّةَ أَسْلَمَ بَعْضُهُمْ، وَخَرَجَ بَعْضُهُمْ عَنْ مَكَّةَ؛ وَمَنْ بَقِيَ مِنْهُمْ لَمْ يَقْدِرْ عَلَى انْكَارِ التَّوْحِيدِ عَلَيْهِ إِذَا دَعَا النَّاسَ إِلَيْهِ. فَصَارَ ذَنْبُهُ عِنْدَهُمْ فِي ذَلِكَ مَغْفُورًا بِظُهُورِهِ عَلَيْهِمْ. فَقَالَ الْمَأْمُونُ: لِلَّهِ دَرَكٌ يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ.»

Al-Ṣadūq in 'Uyūn akhbār al-Ridā has reported with his *isnād* from 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm that he said: "I was present in al-Ma'mūn's gathering when al-Ridā, upon whom be peace, was also with him. There al-Ma'mūn said to him: 'O son of the Messenger of Allah, don't you claim that the prophets are secure from error (*ma'sūmūn*)?' He replied, 'Yes'. Al-Ma'mūn said: 'Then what is the meaning of the utterance of God, *لِيُغْفِرَ لَكَ اللَّهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِكَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ*?'"

"Al-Ridā, upon whom be peace, replied, 'The polytheists of Makkah did not consider anyone a greater sinner than the Messenger of Allah, upon whom and whose progeny be God's peace and benedictions, because they worshipped instead of Allah three hundred and sixty idols. When the Prophet — may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny — came to them with the call to pure monotheism (*ikhlas*), it appeared to them as a monstrosity, and they declared: "What, has he made the gods One God? This is indeed an odd thing.... Go! Be steadfast to your gods; this is a thing to be desired. We have not heard of this in the last religion, this is surely an invention." (38:5—7).

"When God Almighty opened Makkah to His Prophet — may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny — He said to him: "O Muḥammad! Surely We have opened for thee a manifest opening, that God may forgive thee what the polytheists of Makkah regarded as thy former and latter 'sins' on account of thy call to the Unity of God." Some of the polytheists of Makkah had embraced Islam and some had left Makkah, and those who remained there had no power to repudiate the Prophet's call to *tawḥīd*. In this way that which was the Prophet's sin in their eyes came to be condoned by means of his domination over them.' Thereat al-Ma'mūn said: 'You are wonderful, O Abū al-Ḥasan!' "12

This writer says: This was the sixth explanation of the blessed verse that occurs in the noble ḥadīth. According to it the meaning of 'sin' here is that which appeared to the polytheists as sin in conformity with their corrupt claims.

#### A Mystical Interpretation:

You should know that there is an interpretation of the noble

verse based on the teachings of the gnostics and the people of the path of the heart. In order to describe it, it is necessary to mention what they call the 'Threefold Openings' (or the 'threefold victories', *futūḥāt-e thalāthah*). *Fath* in their teaching means the opening of the doors of gnosis and gnostic experience on the wayfarer by God after that these doors have remained closed and locked upon him. So long as man remains in the dark abode of the self and tied to its attachments, all the doors of gnosis and gnostic experience remain locked upon him. But as soon as he comes out of this gloomy habitat by means of the force of austerities and the lights of guidance, and leaves behind the stages of the self, the door of the heart is opened upon him and gnostic truths manifest themselves in his heart, and he attains to the 'station of the heart' (*maqām-e qalb*). This stage is called *fath-e qarīb* (the nearer opening), for the first of the openings is the nearest of them. It is this *fath* that is referred to in this utterance of God Almighty:

... نَصْرٍ مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَفَتْحٍ قَرِيبٍ ...

...help from God and a nigh opening. (61:13)

Of course, it is with God's help and assistance and with the guiding light and magnetism of that Sacred Essence that this and other openings take place.

However, as long as the wayfarer remains in the realm of the heart (*'ālam-e qalb*) and is subject to the rituals and duties of the heart, the door of the Attributes and Names remains closed and locked upon him. When, thereafter, the irradiations of the Names and Attributes lead to the dissolution of the *'ālam-e qalb* and when those irradiations bring the heart's attributes and excellences to extinction, that which occurs is the *fath-e mubīn* (the manifest opening). Thereat the door of the Names and Attributes is opened upon the wayfarer, the earlier rituals of the self (*nafs*) and the latter ones of the heart (*qalb*) becoming effaced and covered (*maghfūr*) by the covering grace (*ghaffāriyyat wa sattāriyyat*) of the Names. Hence they say that to this refers the utterance of God, the Exalted:

إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا ﴿١﴾ لِيَغْفِرَ لَكَ اللَّهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِن ذَنْبِكَ وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ ...

That is, We have opened for thee the manifest opening to the realm of the Names and Attributes, so that thy sins, relating to the earlier station of the self and the latter station of the heart, are covered by the covering grace of the Divine Names. And this is the opening of the door of *wilāyah*. As long as the wayfarer is behind the curtain of the pluralities of the Names (*katharāt-e asmā'ī*) and the particularities

of the Attributes (*ta'ayyunāt-e šifātī*), the doors to the irradiations of the Essence are locked upon him. But when he receives the irradiations of the Essence of the One, all the rituals relating to the realms of *khalq* and *amr* become extinct, submerging the devotee in essential synthesis, and the *fath-e muṭlaq* (the absolute opening) is attained. Thereupon, the absolute sin (*dhanb-e muṭlaq*) is enveloped (*maghfūr*) and the essential sin (*dhanb-e dhātī*), which is the source of all sins, is covered by the irradiations of the One.

وَجُودُكَ ذَنْبٌ لَا يُقَاسُ بِهِ ذَنْبٌ .

Your existence is a sin to which no (other) sin is comparable.

And, they say, it is to this *fath* that the following utterance of God, the Exalted, alludes:

إِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللَّهِ وَالْفَتْحُ

When comes the help of God and the opening. (110:1)

Hence it is with *fath-e qarīb* that the doors to the heart's gnosis are opened and the sins relating to the (carnal) self (*dhunūb-e nafsiyyah*) become forgiven. With *fath-e mubīn* the doors of *wilāyah* and Divine irradiations are opened and the remaining traces of the earlier sins of the self and the latter sins of the heart are forgiven. And with *fath-e muṭlaq* the door is opened to the irradiations of the Divine Essence and the absolute essential sin is forgiven.

It should be known that *fath-e qarīb* and *fath-e mubīn* are something which the *awliyā'*, prophets, and 'urafā' share with others; but *fath-e muṭlaq* is a station that is exclusively and ultimately theirs, and should anyone succeed in attaining it, it is only through the mediation of those elevated spirits.

This discourse reveals that there are various levels of sin and sinfulness. Some of them are considered virtues for the virtuous but are sins for the immaculate. It is reported that the Noble Messenger, may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, stated:

لَيْرَانٌ - أَوْلِيغانٌ - عَلِي قَلْبِي ، وَإِنِّي لِأَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً .

In order that my heart should not gather rust, I seek the forgiveness of God seventy times a day.<sup>13</sup>

This rusting may be attention to plurality, although it may be on



the level of passing, stray thoughts. And it is mentioned in the ḥadīth that the Messenger of God, may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, would not leave any gathering without seeking God's forgiveness twenty-five times.<sup>14</sup>

These traditions show that *istighfār* is not solely limited to such sins as are contrary to *iṣmah* (inerrancy), and *'dhanb'* and *'maghfirah'* here (in the context of the prophets and *awliyā'*) do not have their ordinarily understood signification. Therefore, this noble verse is not contradictory to the Prophet's elevated spiritual station; rather, it affirms and confirms it. This is because seeking forgiveness for the sins related necessarily to the various stages of spiritual development are a necessary aspect of spiritual wayfaring and ascent to the heights of human perfection, since every being that exists in this world is the offspring of this corporeal and physical realm and possesses all its accompanying *mulkī*, animal and human functions, some of these potentially and some of these in actuality.

Hence should anyone want to make the journey from this realm to the other realm and from there to the realm of Divine proximity, he should pass through all the intermediary phases and stages. And whenever he attains to a higher stage, he is forgiven the sins of the preceding stage, until he attains to the ultimate station where all his sins are forgiven under the irradiations of the Essence of the One. Thereat, the existential sin (*dhanb-e wujūdī*), which is the source and fountainhead of all sins and sinfulness, is covered and effaced under the shadow of the Majesty of the One. This is the highest point in the ascent of a being towards perfection. It is here that the station of 'death' and complete annihilation is achieved. And therefore when the noble verse: *إذا جاء نصر الله والفتح* was revealed, the Noble Messenger, upon whom be God's peace and benedictions, said: "This *sūrah* is the news of my death." And God knows best.<sup>15</sup>

### The Reality of Shukr:

You should know that thankfulness means appreciation of the *ni'mah* (favour, blessing, bounty) provided by the Provider (*Mun'im*) and the appearance of the effects of this appreciation in the heart, on the tongue, and in bodily acts and movements. As to the heart, the effects there are of such nature as humility, awe, love and the like. As to the tongue, the effects there appear as praise and glorification. As to the bodily members, the effects consist of obedience, the use of the bodily members for the good pleasure of the *Mun'im*, and the like. According to al-Rāghib:

الشُّكْرُ تَصَوُّرُ النَّعْمَةِ وَإِظْهَارُهَا .

Thankfulness (*shukr*) is the contemplation of the *ni'mah* and its expression.<sup>16</sup>

It has been said that *shukr* is the (partial) inverse of *kashr*, meaning *kashf* (uncovering, discovery), and its antonym is *kufr*, which means forgetfulness and concealing of *ni'mah*. '*Dābbah shākir*' (grateful animal) is one which expresses the appreciation of its master and provider by its fatness and robustness. It has also been said that its origin is '*aynun shakrā, shakrā* here meaning *mumtali'ah* (full). Accordingly, *shukr* means being full of the mention of the *Mun'im* (Provider). *Shukr* is of three kinds: the *shukr* of the heart, which is the contemplation of *ni'mah*; the *shukr* of the tongue, which is praise of the *Mun'im*; and the *shukr* of all other bodily members, which is heedful observance of the *ni'mah* as it deserves to be observed (i.e. recognized, and used for the purpose proper to it).

The confirmed gnostic Khwājah 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī says: "*Shukr* is a name for the knowledge (*ma'rifah*) or *ni'mah*, for it is the means of knowing the *Mun'im*". The learned interpreter of his work says:

The contemplation of *ni'mah* as belonging to the *Mun'im* and the knowledge that it is from Him is *shukr* itself. It has been narrated that Ḥaḍrat Dāwūd (David), upon whom be peace, said: "O Lord! How can I thank Thee, for my thankfulness is another bounty (*ni'mah*) of Thee that itself requires thanksgiving!" God revealed to him: "O Dāwūd, when you have known that every *ni'mah* that you enjoy is from Me, you have thanked Me."

This author says: That which these scholars have said is based on some lack of precision, for *shukr* is not the heart's knowledge per se or expression of it by the means of the tongue or bodily acts. Rather, it is a psychical state (*ḥālat-e nafsāniyyah*) which itself results from the knowledge of the *Mun'im*. The acts of the heart and the body are the fruits of this state. What some scholars have said is close to this, although their statements too are not totally free of loose thinking. They have said:

It should be known that *shukr* is compensating for *ni'mah* through word, deed and intention. It rests on three supports.

Firstly, the knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of the *Mun'im* and the attributes befitting Him, as well as the knowledge of *ni'mah* as *ni'mah* per se. This knowledge does not become perfect unless one understands that all the apparent and hidden bounties are from God Almighty and that it is His Sacred Essence that is the real provider. All the means and intermediaries, whatever they are, are subject to His law and command.

Secondly, it is a state which is the result of this knowledge, which consists of humility, awe, and delight for the bounty as a gift that indicates the *Mun'im*'s care and attention for you. Its sign is that you should not be delighted by the world except for something that causes nearness to God.

Thirdly, it is action that results from this state; for when this state appears

in the heart it produces an impulse for action aimed to achieve nearness to God. That action is related to the heart, tongue and other members. As to the heart, its action consists of the veneration, praise and glorification of the Provider, the contemplation of His creation, His acts, the effects of His grace, and His beneficence towards all His creatures. As to the tongue, its action consists of the expression of that beneficence through praising, glorifying and extolling God and declaring Divine unity, as well as through discharging the duty of *al-'amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* and other duties. As to the bodily members, their thanksgiving action lies in using the outward and inward bounties in obedience, worship and in preventing sin against God and violation of His commands. Thus the eye should be used for studying His creation, reading His scripture, and teaching the traditional sciences of the prophets and the *awṣiyā'*, may peace be upon them. Similarly for the other bodily members.<sup>17</sup>

### Ignorance and Ingratitude:

You should know that *shukr* for the inward and outward bounties of God Almighty is one of the obligatory duties of servanthood and creaturehood, which everyone must attempt to fulfil to the extent of his capacity, although no creature can adequately fulfil its obligation of thanking God Almighty. The ultimate limit of thankfulness is the knowledge of the incapacity to satisfy it fully, in the same way as the ultimate limit of servanthood is the realization of the incapacity of fulfilling its demands — and hence the Noble Messenger, may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, confessed to his incapacity, although none of the existents has attempted to discharge the duties of servanthood and gratitude to the extent of that holy master — because the perfection or inadequacy of gratitude is subject to the gnosis of the *Mun'im* and the knowledge of His bounties. (Since this gnosis and knowledge are never complete), no one can satisfy the rights of gratitude.

The servant becomes fully thankful (*shakūr*) when he knows the relation of creation to the Creator, and has gnosis of the entire spread of Divine beneficence, from its beginning to end, of the interrelations of the bounties with each other as well as of the beginning and end of the stream of existence in its true reality. And this gnosis is not attainable for anyone except the elect of the *awliyā'*, the noblest and best of whom is the sacred essence of the Seal of Prophethood, may God's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny. All others are devoid of some or rather most of those stations. Rather, as long as the reality of Divine efficacy does not make an imprint on the devotee's heart and as long as he does not attain conviction that

لا مُؤْتَرِّفِي الْوُجُودِ إِلَّا اللَّهُ .

There is no efficient agency in the realm of existence except Allāh,

the darkness and obfuscations of *shirk* and doubt (*shakk*) remain in his heart and he cannot thank God as he should. One whose gaze is fixed on causes and means and one who considers the efficacy of existents to be independent, does not relate the bounties to the Lord of bounty, and here lie the roots of ingratitude to God Almighty. Such a one has carved out idols, each of which he considers to be efficient. At times he relates actions to his own efficacy and even considers himself as having control over events and affairs. At times he considers the natural aspects of the world of existence as being efficient, and at times he relates the bounties to their apparent dispensers while considering God to be bereft of any efficacy, believing God's hands to be fettered, whereas:

... غُلَّتْ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَلَعْنُوا بِمَا قَالُوا ...

*Fettered are their hands, and they are cursed for what they have said (5:64).*

God's dispensing hands are free and the entire realm of being in reality belongs to Him and no other has any role in it. Rather, the entire universe is the manifestation of His power and bounteousness and His beneficence envelopes everything. All bounties are from Him and no one has any bounty of his own that he may be its provider. Rather, the realm of existence owes its being to Him, and others have no (independent) being so that anything may be attributed to be them. However, the eyes are blind, the ears are deaf and the hearts have curtains drawn upon them.

دیده می خواهم سبب سوراخ کن .

I want a vision that may pierce the (curtain of) causes.

How long shall these dead hearts of ours remain ungrateful toward God's bounties, and relate them to the world, its circumstances and persons? These attachments and attentions amount to ingratitude towards the bounteousness of the Sacred Essence and to Its concealing grace. This shows that fulfilment of the demands of gratitude is not everyone's job, and that Sacred Divine Essence, the Glorious and the Exalted, has declared: *وَقَلِيلٌ مِّنْ عِبَادِيَ الشَّاكِرِينَ*. That is, there are few servants who have adequate gnosis of God's bounties or know them as they deserve to be known. And, therefore, there are few servants who stand up to fulfil the duties of gratitude.

### The Different Levels of Shukr:

And it should be known that even as the levels of knowledge of the servants of God are different, so also are their levels of thankfulness. The levels of gratitude are also different because *shukr* is the praise of the Provider for His bounties. Thus the outward kinds of bounties require one kind of gratitude and the inward bounties a gratitude of another kind. If the bounty is of the category of knowledge and gnosis, its *shukr* is of one kind, and if it is of the category of the irradiation of Divine Names it is of another kind, and if of the category of the irradiation of the Divine Essence, it is of yet another kind. And since all the categories and levels of bounties are enjoyed only by a few of His servants, the effort to fulfil the duties of gratitude at all levels is only possible for a few. Those being the sincere (*khullaṣ*) *awliyā'*, who, in their being, encompass the entire range and levels of being (*jāmi' jamī'-e ḥaḍarāt*), being the limit of all limits (*barzakh-e barāzikh*), and encompasses all the exoteric and esoteric levels. Accordingly, their thanksgiving (*shukr*) is accomplished through all the apparent, inward, and the inmost tongues.

Although *shukr* has been said to be one of the stations pertaining to the common people because of its proximity to the claim to the requital of the Provider — and this is considered to be irreverence — however, such a proximity exists only for others than the *awliyā'*, especially the perfect (*kummal*) among them, who encompass the full range of being and possess the station of unity and plurality. Therefore, the adept gnostic Khwājah 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, who, although he states that *shukr* is one of the stations of the common people, adds:

وَالدَّرَجَةُ الثَّالِثَةُ أَنْ لَا يَشْهَدَ الْعَبْدُ إِلَّا الْمُنْعِمَ فَإِذَا شَهِدَ الْمُنْعِمَ عُبُودَةً اسْتَعْظَمَ مِنْهُ النِّعْمَةَ ،  
وَإِذَا شَهِدَهُ حُبًّا اسْتَحْلَى مِنْهُ الشَّدَّةَ ، وَإِذَا شَهِدَهُ تَفَرُّدًا لَمْ يَشْهَدْ مِنْهُ نِعْمَةً وَلَا شِدَّةً .

That is, the third degree of *shukr* lies there where the servant does not see anything except the beauty of the *Mun'im*, being immersed in His beauty. That consists of three stations. First, he observes Him as the humble slave contemplates his master. In this state, unaware of himself in His presence, he is fully immersed in reverence, not setting any worth upon himself. When in this state of humility, if he is bestowed any bounty, he values it greatly, considering himself as insignificant and unworthy of it. Second, his observation is that of a lover observing his beloved. In this state he is immersed in the beauty of the Beloved and whatever he receives from Him, cherishing it, though it be affliction and hardship. Third, he observes Him without the limitations of the Names, or rather has the epiphany of the Essence itself. In this state he forgets

himself and others and sees nothing but the Divine Essence, and is conscious neither of any bounty nor adversity.

This shows that the first stage in all the stations of the wayfarers is the one tread by the common people, and the ultimate stages in all the stations pertain exclusively to the sincere (*khullas*) or rather to the perfect (*kummal*) (of the *awliyā*).

### The Station of Shukr in Ḥadīth:

We shall complete this section with the mention of some traditions relating to *shukr*.

الكافي : بِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ : قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ :  
«الطَّاعِمُ الشَّاكِرُ لَهُ مِنَ الْأَجْرِ كَأَجْرِ الصَّائِمِ الْمُحْتَسِبِ . وَالْمُعَافِي الشَّاكِرُ لَهُ مِنَ الْأَجْرِ كَأَجْرِ  
الْمُبْتَلَى الصَّابِرِ . وَالْمُعْطَى الشَّاكِرُ لَهُ مِنَ الْأَجْرِ كَأَجْرِ الْمَحْرُومِ الْقَانِعِ.»

In *al-Kāfi*, al-Kulaynī narrates with his *isnād* from Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) that he said: “The Messenger of Allah, may Allah’s peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, said: ‘One who takes food with gratitude has a reward like the one who fasts exercising vigilance over himself. The healthy person grateful for his health has a reward like the one who bears his (bodily) afflictions patiently. And one who gives gratefully has a reward similar to the one who bears his deprivation with continence.’”<sup>18</sup>

وَبِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ قَالَ : سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ : ثَلَاثٌ لَا يَضُرُّ  
مَعَهُنَّ شَيْءٌ : الدُّعَاءُ عِنْدَ الْكَرْبِ وَالِاسْتِغْفَارُ عِنْدَ الذَّنْبِ وَالشُّكْرُ عِنْدَ النِّعْمَةِ .

Al-Kulaynī reports with his *isnād* from ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Walīd that he said: “I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) say: ‘There are three things in whose presence nothing can harm one: prayer in affliction, seeking God’s forgiveness for one’s sins, and thanksgiving for God’s favours.’”<sup>19</sup>

وَبِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ أَبِي بَصِيرٍ قَالَ : قَالَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : إِنَّ الرَّجُلَ مِنْكُمْ لَيَشْرَبُ  
الشَّرْبَةَ مِنَ الْمَاءِ فَيُوجِبُ اللَّهُ لَهُ بِهَا الْجَنَّةَ . ثُمَّ قَالَ : إِنَّهُ لَيَأْخُذُ الْإِنَاءَ فَيَضَعُهُ عَلَى فِيهِ  
فَيَسْمِي ثُمَّ يَشْرَبُ فَيُنْحِيهِ وَهُوَ يَشْتَهِيهِ فَيُحَمِّدُ اللَّهَ ، ثُمَّ يَعُودُ فَيَشْرَبُ ثُمَّ يُنْحِيهِ فَيُحَمِّدُ اللَّهَ ، ثُمَّ  
يَعُودُ فَيَشْرَبُ ، ثُمَّ يُنْحِيهِ فَيُحَمِّدُ اللَّهَ ؛ فَيُوجِبُ اللَّهُ عَزَّوَجَلَّ بِهَا لَهُ الْجَنَّةَ .

Al-Kulaynī reports with his *isnād* from Abū Baṣīr that Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) said: “Verily one of you drinks water and God assigns paradise to him on that account.” Then he (A) added: “Verily, one who takes the vessel (containing water), brings it to his mouth, then takes God’s Name, then drinks from it, then draws it away while desiring it, then praises God, then drinks from it again, then takes it away while he desires it, praises God, then drinks

from it again, then sets it aside and praises God, God, Almighty and Glorious, makes the paradise obligatory for him.”<sup>20</sup>

Praise of God is the purveyor of gratitude, and, as has been stated in many traditions, one who says “*Al-ḥamdu lillāh*” (All praise is God’s) has offered his thanks to God. Al-Kulaynī, in the noble *al-Kāfī*, narrates this tradition through his *isnād* from ‘Umar ibn Yazid:

قَالَ : سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ : شُكْرُ كُلِّ نِعْمَةٍ ، وَإِنْ عَظُمَتْ ، أَنْ تَحْمَدَ اللَّهَ عَزَّوَجَلَّ عَلَيْهَا .

‘Umar ibn Yazid says: “I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) say: “The (adequate mode of) thanksgiving for all favours, however great they may be, is that you praise God, the Almighty and the Glorious, on their account.”<sup>21</sup>

وَبِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ : شُكْرُ النِّعْمَةِ اجْتِنَابُ الْمَحَارِمِ ، وَتَمَامُ الشُّكْرِ قَوْلُ الرَّجُلِ : الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

Al-Kulaynī reports with his *isnād* from Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) that he said: “Gratitude for God’s gifts lies in abstaining from what He has made unlawful. One’s thanksgiving is complete when one says: ‘Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds.’”<sup>22</sup>

وَبِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ حَمَادِ بْنِ عُثْمَانَ قَالَ : « خَرَجَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ وَقَدْ ضَاعَتْ دَابَّتُهُ فَقَالَ : لَيْنَ رَدَّهَا اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ لِأَشْكُرَنَّ اللَّهَ حَقَّ شُكْرِهِ . قَالَ : فَمَا لَيْتَ أَنْ أُتِيَ بِهَا ، فَقَالَ : الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ . فَقَالَ لَهُ قَائِلٌ : جُعِلَتْ فِدَاكَ أَلَيْسَ قُلْتَ : لِأَشْكُرَنَّ اللَّهَ حَقَّ شُكْرِهِ ؟ فَقَالَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : أَلَمْ تَسْمَعْني قُلْتَ : الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ . »

Al-Kulaynī reports with his *isnād* from Ḥammād ibn ‘Uthmān that he said: “Al-‘Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) once came out of the mosque to find his mount missing. Thereupon the Imam (A) said: ‘Should God return it to me, I will thank Him as He deserves to be thanked.’ It was not long before the animal was brought to him. Thereat, the Imam (A) said: ‘*Al-ḥamdu lillāh*.’ Someone said to him: ‘May I be made your ransom, didn’t you say that you will thank God as He deserves to be thanked? Al-‘Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) said to him: ‘Didn’t you hear me say ‘*Al-ḥamdu lillāh*?’”<sup>23</sup>

This tradition shows that the praise of God is the best of the ways of oral thanksgiving. Among the effects of thanksgiving is increase in *ni‘mah*, as mentioned unambiguously in the Noble Scripture:

... لَئِنْ شُكِرْتُمْ لَأَزِيدَنَّكُمْ ...

*If you are thankful, surely I will increase you....(14:7)*

And the noble *al-Kafī* has recorded this *mustanad* tradition of al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) in this regard:

قال: «مَنْ أُعْطِيَ الشُّكْرَ أُعْطِيَ الزِّيَادَةَ، يَقُولُ اللهُ 'عَزَّوَجَلَّ': لَئِنْ شَكَرْتُمْ لَأَزِيدَنَّكُمْ.»

Al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) said: "One who has been given thankfulness has been also given increase (in *ni'mah*). Allah, Almighty and Glorious, says: 'If you are thankful, surely I will increase you.'"<sup>24</sup>

### Conclusion:

You should know that 'Ā'ishah had imagined that the motive behind worship was confined to the fear of punishment or the effacement of sins. She had imagined that the worship of the Noble Prophet, upon whom and whose progeny be God's peace and benedictions, was like the worship of other people. Therefore she had wondered as to why the Prophet (S) took so much pains. This thought was as much due to her ignorance of the station of worship and servanthood as due to the ignorance of the station of prophethood and messengerhood. She did not know that the worship of slaves and hirelings was foreign to the sacred station of that master. The majesty of the Lord and gratitude for His unlimited bounties had made comfort and ease foreign to his holy being. Rather, the worship of the sincere *awliyā'* is the stage of the boundless irradiations of the Beloved, as pointed out in the prayer of the heavenly ascent. The holy *awliyā'*, upon whom be peace, while being absorbed in the beauty and glory of the Beloved and effaced in His attributes and Essence, are never negligent of any of the stages of servanthood. Their bodily movements are subject to their spiritual stirrings, suffused with love, which are subject to the quality of the manifestation of the Beloved's beauty. However, to satisfy someone like 'Ā'ishah it is not possible to give any but a perfunctory explanation. Hence, the Prophet (S) confined himself to mentioning one of the lower stations so as to make her understand that the worship of that master was not aimed at such base purposes. And all praise is God's.

\* \* \*

رَوَى عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي تَفْسِيرِهِ بِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَأَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَا: «كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِذَا صَلَّى قَامَ عَلَى أَصَابِعِ رِجْلَيْهِ حَتَّى تَوَرَّمَتْ، فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى: «طه» - بَلِّغَةَ ظِيٍّ: يَا مُحَمَّدُ - مَا أَنْزَلْنَا - الْآيَةَ.»

'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, in his tafsīr, reports with his *isnād* from Abū Ja'far (A) and Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) that they said: "The Messenger of Allah (S) used to pray



while standing on his toes, until his feet became swollen. Thereupon Allah, Blessed and Exalted, sent down the verse: 'Tāhā...' (20:1-2) It meant: "O Muḥammad! We have not sent down the Qur'ān upon thee to put thee to hardship."<sup>25</sup>

وَعَنِ الصَّدُوقِ فِي مَعَانِي الْأَخْبَارِ بِإِسْنَادِهِ عَنْ سُفْيَانَ الثَّوْرِيِّ عَنِ الصَّادِقِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي حَدِيثٍ طَوِيلٍ قَالَ فِيهِ: «وَأَمَّا «طه» فَأِسْمٌ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَمَعْنَاهُ: يَا طَالِبَ الْحَقِّ الْهَادِيَ إِلَيْهِ.

Al-Ṣadūq in *Ma'āni al-'akhbār* reports with his *isnād* from Sufyān al-Thawrī from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) that he said in the course of a long tradition: "As to Tāhā, it is one of the names of the Prophet, upon whom and whose progeny be God's peace and benedictions, and it means: 'O seeker of the Truth (*ṭālib al-Ḥaqq*) and the Guide towards it (*al-hādī ilayh*).'"<sup>26</sup>

And it has been narrated from Ibn 'Abbās and others that *Tāhā* means 'O Man'. It has been narrated from some Sunnī scholars (*'āmmah*) that *Tā* refers to the purity (*ṭahārah*) of the Holy Prophet's heart and *Hā* refers to its receiving guidance (*hidāyah*) towards God. And it has been said that *Tā* means the delight (*ṭarab*) felt by the inhabitants of paradise and *Hā* signifies the disgrace and degradation (*hawān*) felt by the inmates of hell. Al-Ṭabrisī, upon whom be God's mercy, says: "It has been narrated from al-Ḥasan that he would read (*Tā hā*) as *Tah* ( طه ) with *fathah* on the *tā* and *sukūn* on the *hā*. Should this reading of his be correct, then it must originally have been *tā'*, with the *hamzah* having changed to *hā*. Then the meaning of the verse becomes:

طَا الْأَرْضَ بِقَدَمَيْكَ جَمِيعاً .

Take the earth under both of thy feet."<sup>27</sup>

There is a severe disagreement about the significance of the isolated letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqatta'ah*) at the beginning of the Qur'ānic *sūrah*s. That which seems more likely is that they are of the kind of secrets exchanged between lovers, of whose significance others do not partake. The conjectures advanced by some exegetes in this regard are mostly without any source. The tradition narrated by Sufyān al-Thawrī also indicates their being secret symbols, and it is not very improbable that they relate to matters which lie beyond human comprehension. Through them God Almighty has addressed His elect, and there is nothing that is *mutashābih* (in the Qur'ān) but that they know its interpretation.<sup>28</sup> *Shaqā'* and *shaqāwah* (whose derivative *tashqā* occurs in 20:1) are antonyms of *sa'ādah* (felicity) and mean hardship and trouble. This is what al-Jawhārī states:

الشَّقَاءُ وَالشَّقَاوَةُ — بِالْفَتْحِ — نَقِيضُ السَّعَادَةِ .

Al-Ṭabrisī narrates this tradition in his *al-'Iḥtijāj*:

رَوَى الطَّبْرَسِيُّ فِي الْإِحْتِجَاجِ عَنِ مُوسَى بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَنْ آبَائِهِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ قَالَ :  
قَالَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : وَلَقَدْ قَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ عَشْرِينَ سِنِينَ عَلَى  
أَطْرَافِ أَصَابِعِهِ حَتَّى تَوَزَّمتْ قَدَمَاهُ وَاصْفَرَّتْ وَجْهُهُ ، يَقُومُ اللَّيْلَ أَجْمَعَ حَتَّى غُوتِبَ فِي ذَلِكَ ،  
فَقَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّوَجَلَّ : « طه » مَا أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لِتَشْقَى « بَلْ لِيَسْعَدَ بِهِ .

Al-'Imām Mūsā ibn Ja'far (A) narrates from his ancestors (A) that Amīr al-Mu'minīn (A) said: "For ten years the Messenger of Allah, may Allah's peace and benedictions be upon him and his progeny, stood on his toes (in his prayers) until his feet became swollen and his face turned yellowish. He would stand all the night until he was reproached in this regard. God Almighty said to him: 'Ṭāhā, We have not sent down the Qur'an upon you to cause you hardship'. That is, We have sent it down upon you that you may be felicitous and happy thereby.' "

And it has been narrated from al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) that the Prophet (S) would lift one of his blessed feet during worship in order to make it harder upon himself. Thereat God Almighty sent down this noble verse. Some exegetes have opined that this noble verse is intended as an answer to the polytheists who said that the Prophet had fallen into hardship by abandoning their faith.

The perfect 'arif Shāhābādī, may his shadow endure, used to say:

After some time that that blessed being (i.e. the Prophet) invited the people to his creed and it did not prove to be as effective as he wished, that master thought that perhaps there was something lacking in his call. Thereafter he devoted himself to austerities for a period of ten years, until his blessed feet became swollen. Then the noble verse came down: Don't subject yourself to hardship. You are pure, and a true guide. The defect is not in you but in the people, and that:

إِنَّكَ لَا تَهْدِي مَنْ أَحْبَبْتَ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ ...

*Thou guidest not whom thou likest, (but God guides whom He wills)....*  
(28:56)

In any case that which we infer from the noble verse is that the Prophet (S) used to devote himself to austerities and hardships, and this is what we understand on the whole from the sayings of the exegetes, although they differ regarding the exact character of those austerities. This should be an example and a lesson for the Ummah, especially for

the learned who wish to call people to God. That blessed being, with his purity of heart and perfectness would subject himself to such austerities and pains until he was asked to relax by the noble verse sent down by the Sacred Divine Essence. And we, with all the enormous burden of our sins and offences, are never mindful of our hereafter, resurrection and return, as if we have been guaranteed immunity from punishment and security from hellfire! The reason of it is nothing but that the love of world has stuffed its cotton into our ears and we no longer listen to the words of the Prophets and the *awliyā'*.

To be continued — *inshā' Allāh.*

### NOTES:

1. *Al-Kāfi*, ii, "kitāb al-'imān wa al-kufr," "bāb al-shukr," ḥadīth no.2.
2. *Bihār al-'anwār*, xvii, 76.
3. *Ibid.*, xxiv, 1-9.
4. *Ibid.*, xvi, 402.
5. *Ibid.*, xv, 3 ff.
6. *Al-Ṣadūq*, 'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā, i, 263.
7. *Bihār al-'anwār*, xxvi, 247.
8. 'Ilm al-yaqīn, i, 381.
9. *Al-Ṣadūq*, *Kitāb al-tawhīd*, 150.
10. *Al-Mufid*, *al-'Amālī*, majlis no. 28, p. 245.
11. *Al-Ṭabrisī*, *Majma' al-bayān*, x, 505.
12. *Bihār al-'anwār*, xvii, 73-76, cf. 'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā, i, 202, bāb 15.
13. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, "kitāb al-dhikr," 41; al-Shaykh al-Bahā'ī, *al-'Arba'in*, in the exposition of ḥadīth no. 22, with the words, "hundred times" (*mi'at marrah*).
14. *Safīnat al-Bihār*, ii, 322.
15. *Tafsīr Nūr al-thaqalayn*, v, 689.
16. *Al-Rāghib al-'Iṣfahānī*, *al-Mufradāt fi gharīb al-Qur'ān*, p. 265.
17. This is a summary of al-Ghazālī's discourse from al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī's *al-Maḥajjat al-bayḍā'*, vii, 144-149.
18. *Al-Kāfi*, ii, "kitāb al-'imān wa al-kufr," "bāb al-shukr," ḥadīth no.1.
19. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth no.7.
20. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth no. 16.
21. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth no. 11.
22. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth no. 10.
23. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth no. 18.
24. *Ibid.*, ḥadīth no. 8.
25. *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, ii, 58.
26. *Ma'ānī al-'akhbār*, 22.
27. *Al-Ṭabrisī*, *Majma' al-bayān*; earlier to this command the Prophet (S) used to pray while standing on one foot.
28. This refers to verse 28:56.

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## A Selection From Uṣūl al-Kāfi Part 10

### KITĀB AL-'ĪMĀN WA AL-KUFR:

#### Tawhīd and Human Nature:

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ هِشَامِ بْنِ سَالِمٍ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: قُلْتُ: «فِطْرَتَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي فَطَرَ النَّاسَ عَلَيْهَا؟» قَالَ: التَّوْحِيدُ.

168/1458: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī 'Umayr, from Hishām ibn Sālim:

Hishām ibn Sālim says: "I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) about the verses, 'The God-given nature on which He originated mankind' (30:30). He replied, '(That is) *tawhīd* (monotheism)'."

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ مَجْبُوبٍ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ رِئَابٍ، عَنْ زُرَّارَةَ قَالَ: سَأَلْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَنْ قَوْلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ: «فِطْرَتَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي فَطَرَ النَّاسَ عَلَيْهَا» قَالَ: فَطَرَهُمْ جَمِيعاً عَلَى التَّوْحِيدِ.

169/1460: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from Ibn Maḥbūb, from 'Alī ibn Ri'āb, from Zurārah:

Zurārah says: "I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) concerning the utterance of God, Almighty and Glorious, 'The God-given nature on which He originated mankind' (30:30). He replied, '(It means that) He created all of them on (innate faith in) *tawhīd*.'"

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ أُذَيْنَةَ، عَنْ زُرَّارَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: سَأَلْتُهُ عَنْ قَوْلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ: «حُفَاءَ اللَّهِ غَيْرَ مُشْرِكِينَ بِهِ»؟

قَالَ: الْحَقِيقَةُ مِنَ الْفِطْرَةِ الَّتِي فَطَرَ اللَّهُ النَّاسَ عَلَيْهَا، لِاتَّبْدِيلِ لِحَلْقِ اللَّهِ، قَالَ: فَطَرَهُمْ عَلَى الْمَعْرِفَةِ بِهِ، قَالَ زُرَّارَةُ: وَسَأَلْتُهُ عَنْ قَوْلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ: «وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَىٰ» الْآيَةَ؟ قَالَ: أَخْرَجَ مِنْ ظَهْرِ آدَمَ ذُرِّيَّتَهُ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ، فَخَرَجُوا كَالذَّرِّ فَعَرَفَهُمْ وَأَرَاهُمْ نَفْسَهُ وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمْ يَعْرِفْ أَحَدٌ رَبَّهُ وَقَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ: كُلُّ مَوْلُودٍ يُوَلَّدُ عَلَى الْفِطْرَةِ، يَعْنِي الْمَعْرِفَةَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّوَجَلَّ خَالِقُهُ، كَذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُ: «وَلَيْسَ سَأَلْتَهُمْ مَنْ خَلَقَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ لَيَقُولَنَّ اللَّهُ».

170/1461: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī 'Umayr, from Ibn Udhaynah, from Zurārah:

Zurārah says: "I asked Abū Ja'far (A) concerning the utterance of God, Almighty and Glorious, 'Being men pure of faith (*ḥunafā*) unto God, not associating with Him anything' (22:31). He replied, 'The purity of faith (*al-ḥanafiyyah*) has its origin in the God-given nature on which He originated mankind. There is no changing God's creation.' He also said, 'He created them with (innate) knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of Him.' "

Zurārah says: "I also asked him concerning the utterance of God, Almighty and Glorious, 'And when thy Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their loins, their seed, and made them testify touching themselves, "Am I not your Lord?" They said, "Yes, (we testify)" — this, lest you should say on the Day of Resurrection, "As for us, we were unaware of this," or lest you say, "Our fathers were idolaters aforetime, and we were seed after them. What will Thou then destroy us for the deeds of the vain-doers?"' (7:172—3). The Imam (A) replied, 'God brought out from Adam's back his seed until the Day of Resurrection and they emerged like small ants. He introduced and presented Himself to them and had it not been for that no one would have known his Lord.' The Imam (A) added, 'The Messenger of Allah (S) said, "Everyone is born with (God-given) nature;" that is, with the knowledge that Allah, Almighty and Glorious, is his creator. Hence the verse: "If thou askest them, 'Who created the heavens and the earth?' They will say, 'God' (31:25)."

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ يَظْطِينِ، عَنْ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لَهُ: إِنِّي قَدْ أَشْفَقْتُ مِنْ دَعْوَةِ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَلَى يَظْطِينِ وَمَا وَلَدَ، فَقَالَ: يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ لَيْسَ حَيْثُ تَذْهَبُ، إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُ فِي صُلْبِ الْكَافِرِ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الْحَصَاةِ فِي اللَّبَنَةِ يَجِي الْمَطْرُ فَيَغْسِلُ اللَّبَنَةَ وَلَا يَضُرُّ الْحَصَاةَ شَيْئًا.

171/1464: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī 'Umayr, from 'Alī ibn Yaqtīn: 167

'Alī ibn Yaqtīn says: "I said to Abū al-Ḥasan Mūsā (A): 'I am apprehensive on account of al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq's curse on Yaqtīn ('Alī's father) and his descendants.' The Imam (A) replied, 'O Abū al-Ḥasan, it is not as you imagine. Indeed, the position of the *mu'min* (believer) in the loins of the *kāfir* (unbeliever) is like that of the pebbles in an unbaked brick. The rain comes and washes away the unbaked brick, but it doesn't harm the pebbles.'"

'Al-Ṣibghah' is Islam:

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ وَمُحَمَّدِ بْنِ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ جَمِيعاً، عَنِ ابْنِ مَخْبُوبٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ سِنَانٍ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي قَوْلِ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ: «صِبْغَةَ اللَّهِ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللَّهِ صِبْغَةً» قَالَ: الْإِسْلَامُ، وَقَالَ فِي قَوْلِهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ: «فَقَدْ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى»؟ قَالَ: هِيَ الْإِيمَانُ بِاللَّهِ وَخَدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ.

172/1466: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, and Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, both of them from Ibn Maḥbūb, from 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān:

Al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A), explaining the utterance of God, Almighty and Exalted, "The *ṣibghah* (colour, baptism) of God, and who is there that has a better *ṣibghah* than God?" (2:138) said, "(That means) Islam."

And explaining the utterance of God, Almighty and Exalted, "(So whosoever disbelieves in *tāghūt* and believes in God,) has laid hold of the most firm handle," (2:256) the Imam (A) said, "It (i.e. the most firm handle) means faith in God, Who is One and has no partner."

Faith and the Faithful:

— عَنْهُ، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ، عَنْ صَفْوَانَ، عَنْ أَبَانَ، عَنْ فَضَيْلٍ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لِأَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: «أَوْلَيْكَ كُتِبَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الْإِيمَانُ» هَلْ لَهُمْ فِيهَا كُتِبَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ صُنْعٌ؟ قَالَ: لَا.

173/1470: Muḥammad, from Aḥmad, from Ṣafwān, from Abān, from Fuḍayl:

Fuḍayl says: "I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) concerning the verse (58:22): '(Thou shalt not find any people who believe in God and the Last Day loving anyone who opposes God and His Messenger, not though they were their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their clan). Those — He has written faith upon their hearts, (and He has confirmed them with a spirit from Himself); as to whether they (the believers) had any

role in faith being written on their hearts. He replied, 'No'."

### The Ūlū al-'Azm Prophets:

— عِدَّةٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِنَا ، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ خَالِدٍ ، عَنْ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ عِيسَى ، عَنْ سَمَاعَةَ بْنِ مِهْرَانَ قَالَ : قُلْتُ لِأَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَوْلَ اللَّهِ اعْزَوْجَلَّ : «فَاصْبِرْ كَمَا صَبَرَ أُولُو الْعَزْمِ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ» فَقَالَ : نُوحٌ وَإِبْرَاهِيمُ وَمُوسَى وَعِيسَى وَمُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَعَلَيْهِمْ قُلْتُ : كَيْفَ صَارُوا أُولَى الْعَزْمِ ؟ قَالَ : لِأَنَّ نُوحًا بُعِثَ بِكِتَابٍ وَشَرِيعَةٍ ، وَكُلُّ مَنْ جَاءَ بَعْدَ نُوحٍ أَخَذَ بِكِتَابِ نُوحٍ وَشَرِيعَتِهِ وَمِنْهَاجِهِ ، حَتَّى جَاءَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بِالصُّحُفِ وَبِعَزِيمَةِ تَرْكِ كِتَابِ نُوحٍ لَا كُفْرًا بِهِ فَكُلُّ نَبِيٍّ جَاءَ بَعْدَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَخَذَ بِشَرِيعَةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمِنْهَاجِهِ وَبِالصُّحُفِ ، حَتَّى جَاءَ مُوسَى بِالتَّوْرَةِ وَشَرِيعَتِهِ وَمِنْهَاجِهِ ، وَبِعَزِيمَةِ تَرْكِ الصُّحُفِ ، وَكُلُّ نَبِيٍّ جَاءَ بَعْدَ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَخَذَ بِالتَّوْرَةِ وَشَرِيعَتِهِ وَمِنْهَاجِهِ حَتَّى جَاءَ الْمَسِيحُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بِالإِنْجِيلِ ! وَبِعَزِيمَةِ تَرْكِ شَرِيعَةِ مُوسَى وَمِنْهَاجِهِ ، فَكُلُّ نَبِيٍّ جَاءَ بَعْدَ الْمَسِيحِ أَخَذَ بِشَرِيعَتِهِ وَمِنْهَاجِهِ ، حَتَّى جَاءَ مُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَجَاءَ بِالْقُرْآنِ وَشَرِيعَتِهِ وَمِنْهَاجِهِ فَحَلَّاهُ حَلَالًا إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ وَحَرَامًا إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ ، فَهَؤُلَاءِ أُولُو الْعَزْمِ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ .

174/1481: A group of our companions, from Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalid, from 'Uthman ibn 'Isa, from Samā'ah ibn Mihran:

Samā'ah says: "I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) concerning the utterance of God, Almighty and Exalted, 'So be thou patient, as the Messengers possessed of invitation (*ūlū al-'azm min al-rusul*) were also patient' (46:35). He replied, '(That refers to) Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, may God's peace and benedictions be upon him, his progeny and upon them' I said, 'How did they become *ūlū al-'azm*?' He said, 'That is because Noah was sent with a scripture and shari'ah (law), and every prophet that came after him adhered to the book of Noah and his shari'ah and path (*minhāj*), until Abraham (A) came with his scriptures and with the invitation (*'azimah*) to abandon Noah's scripture, though not with a view to negating its contents. Every prophet that came after Abraham (A) followed his law, faith and scriptures, until Moses (A) came with the Torah and his law and path and the call to abandon Abraham's scriptures. Every prophet that came after Moses (A) followed the Torah and his law and path, until Jesus (A) came with the Gospel and the call to abandon the law of Moses and his path, Every prophet that came after Jesus (A) followed his law and path, until Muhammad (S) came with the Qur'an and his law and path;



what he has forbidden is unlawful until the Judgement's Day and what he has permitted is lawful until the Judgement's Day. These are the *ulū al-'azm* of the Messengers (A).”

**The Supports of Islam:**

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنِ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ سَعِيدٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ الْعَرَزَمِيِّ،  
عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ الصَّادِقِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: أَثَابِيُ الْإِسْلَامِ ثَلَاثَةٌ: الصَّلَاةُ وَالزَّكَاةُ وَالْوَلَايَةُ،  
لَا تَصِحُّ وَاحِدَةٌ مِنْهُنَّ إِلَّا بِصَاحِبَتِهَا.

175/1485: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'id, from Ibn al-'Arzami,<sup>168</sup> from his father:<sup>169</sup>

Al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) said: “There are three supports of Islam: *ṣalāt*, *zakāt* and *wilāyah* (leadership). None of them has validity and soundness without the two others.”

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ؛ وَأَبُو عَلِيٍّ الْأَشْعَرِيُّ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْجَبَّارِ جَمِيعًا،  
عَنْ صَفْوَانَ، عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ حُرَيْثٍ قَالَ: دَخَلْتُ عَلَى أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ فِي  
مَنْزِلِ أَخِيهِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ: جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ مَا حَوْلَكَ إِلَى هَذَا الْمَنْزِلِ؟  
قَالَ: طَلَبُ التُّزْهَةِ فَقُلْتُ: جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ أَلَا أَقْصُ عَلَيْكَ دِينِي؟ فَقَالَ: بَلَى، قُلْتُ:  
أَدِينُ اللَّهِ بِشَهَادَةِ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَأَنَّ  
السَّاعَةَ آتِيَةٌ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهَا وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ يَبْعَثُ مَنْ فِي الْقُبُورِ وَإِقَامِ الصَّلَاةِ وَإِيتَاءِ الزَّكَاةِ وَصَوْمِ  
شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ وَحِجِّ الْبَيْتِ وَالْوَلَايَةِ لِعَلِيِّ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بَعْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ  
وَسَلَّمَ وَالْوَلَايَةَ لِلْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ وَالْوَلَايَةَ لِعَلِيِّ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ وَالْوَلَايَةَ لِمُحَمَّدِ بْنِ  
عَلِيِّ وَلَكَ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ وَأَنْتُمْ أَيْمَتِي عَلَيْهِمْ أَخِيَا وَعَلَيْهِ أُمُوتُ  
وَأَدِينُ اللَّهِ بِهِ، فَقَالَ: يَا عَمْرُو هَذَا وَاللَّهِ دِينُ اللَّهِ وَدِينُ آبَائِي الَّذِي أَدِينُ اللَّهُ بِهِ فِي السَّرِّ  
وَالْعَلَانِيَةِ، فَاتَّقِ اللَّهَ وَكُفِّ لِسَانَكَ إِلَّا مِنْ خَيْرٍ وَلَا تَقُلْ إِنِّي هَدَيْتُ نَفْسِي بَلِ اللَّهُ هَدَاكَ  
فَإِذَا شُكِرَ مَا أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ عَزَّوَجَلَّ بِهِ عَلَيْكَ وَلَا تَكُنْ مِمَّنْ إِذَا أَقْبَلَ طُعِينَ فِي عَيْنِهِ وَإِذَا  
أَذْبَرَ طُعِينَ فِي قَفَاهُ، وَلَا تَحْمِلِ النَّاسَ عَلَى كَاهِلِكَ فَإِنَّكَ أَوْشَكَ — إِنْ حَمَلَتِ النَّاسَ  
عَلَى كَاهِلِكَ — أَنْ يُصَدَّ عُوا شِعْبَ كَاهِلِكَ.

176/1495: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, and Abū 'Alī al-'Ash'arī from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, and both of them from Ṣafwān, from 'Amr ibn Ḥurayth:<sup>170</sup>

'Amr ibn Ḥurayth says: “I went to meet al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) at the

house of his brother, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. I said to him, ‘May I be your ransom, what has brought you to this place?’ ‘(The desire) to take an outing,’ replied the Imam (A). I said to him, ‘May I be your ransom, shall I recount to you my creed?’ ‘Yes,’ he said. I said: ‘I worship God with the creed that there is no god except Allah, Who is One and has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and Messenger, that the hour (i.e. Judgement’s Day) shall come and there is no doubt about it, that God shall raise the dead; and (I affirm the obligatoriness of) *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, ḥajj of the Sanctuary, and the *wilāyah* of Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī after the Messenger of Allah (S) and the *wilāyah* of al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī and you after him (S), may God’s benediction be upon them all, and I confirm that you are the Imams. I live and I worship God according to this creed and on it shall I die.’ He said, ‘O ‘Amr, that, by God, is the creed of Allah, and the creed of my fathers, in accordance with which I worship Allah privately and publicly. Fear God and restrain your tongue except from that which is fair. Don’t say, “I have found guidance myself.” Rather, it was God Who has guided you. So thank God, Almighty and Exalted, for the bounties He has granted you. Don’t be one of those who are rebuked in their faces and spoken ill of behind their backs (i.e. don’t publicize your Shi‘i identity). Don’t allow the people to get on your shoulders, for if you do so they will almost break your shoulder blades.’ ”

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ الثُّعْمَانِ، عَنِ ابْنِ مُسْكَانَ، عَنْ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ خَالِدٍ، عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: قَالَ: أَلَا أُخْبِرُكَ بِالْإِسْلَامِ أَضْلُهُ وَفَرْعُهُ وَذُرْوَةٌ سَنَامِهِ؟ قُلْتُ: بَلَى جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ قَالَ: أَمَّا أَضْلُهُ فَالصَّلَاةُ وَفَرْعُهُ الزَّكَاةُ وَذُرْوَةٌ سَنَامِهِ الْجِهَادُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنْ شِئْتَ أُخْبِرْتُكَ بِأَبْوَابِ الْخَيْرِ؟ قُلْتُ: نَعَمْ جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ، قَالَ: الصَّوْمُ جُنَّةٌ مِنَ النَّارِ، وَالصَّدَقَةُ تَذْهَبُ بِالْخَطِيئَةِ، وَقِيَامُ الرَّجُلِ فِي جَوْفِ اللَّيْلِ بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ، ثُمَّ قَرَأَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: «تَتَجَافَى جُنُوبُهُمْ عَنِ الْمَضَاجِعِ».

177/1496: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān, from Ibn Muskān, from Sulaymān ibn Khālid:

Sulaymān ibn Khālid says: “Abū Ja‘far (A) said to me, ‘Shall I inform you about the root of Islam, its branches and its highest point?’ ‘Yes,’ I said, ‘May I be your ransom.’ He said, ‘As to its root, it is *ṣalāt*; its branch is *zakāt*; and *jihād* is its apex. Then he (A) said, ‘If you want, I shall inform you about the doors of goodness.’ ‘Yes,’ I said, ‘May I be your ransom.’ He said, ‘(They are:) the fast, which is a shield against hellfire; *ṣadaqah* (charity), which wipes out sins; and arising from sleep in the middle of night for God’s remembrance.’ Then he recited the

verse, "Their sides shun their couches as they call on their Lord in fear and hope." (32:16)

### Islam and Īmān:

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنِ الْحَكَمِ بْنِ أَيْمَانَ، عَنِ الْقَاسِمِ الصَّيْرَفِيِّ شَرِيكَ الْمُفَضَّلِ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: الْإِسْلَامُ يُخْفَنُ بِهِ وَتُوَدَّى بِهِ الْأَمَانَةُ، وَتُسْتَحَلُّ بِهِ الْفُرُوجُ، وَالثَّوَابُ عَلَى الْإِيمَانِ.

178/1497: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī 'Umayr, from al-Ḥakam ibn Ayman,<sup>171</sup> from al-Qāsim al-Ṣayrafī,<sup>172</sup> al-Mufaḍḍal's partner:

Al-Qāsim al-Ṣayrafī says: "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) say: 'Islām is that by which the blood (of the Muslim) becomes inviolate, the trusts are returned and marriages become lawful. But the reward is given in virtue of īmān.'"

(Al-Kulaynī says): A group of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'id, from al-Ḥakam, from al-Qāsim have narrated a similar tradition from Abū 'Abd Allāh (A).

— عَلِيُّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنِ الْعَلَاءِ، عَنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مُسْلِمٍ، عَنِ أَحَدِهِمَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: الْإِيمَانُ إِقْرَارٌ وَعَمَلٌ، وَالْإِسْلَامُ إِقْرَارٌ بِلا عَمَلٍ.

179/1498: 'Alī from his father, from Ibn Abī 'Umayr, from al-'Alā', from Muḥammad ibn Muslim:

Muḥammad ibn Muslim narrates that one of the two Imams (al-'Imām al-Bāqir [A] or al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq [A]) said: "Īmān is the confession (of faith) accompanied with deeds, and islām is confession without deeds."

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ مَحْبُوبٍ، عَنِ جَمِيلِ بْنِ صَالِحٍ، عَنِ سَمَاعَةَ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لِأَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: أَخْبِرْنِي عَنِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِيمَانِ أَهْمَا مُخْتَلِفَانِ؟ فَقَالَ: إِنَّ الْإِيمَانَ يُشَارِكُ الْإِسْلَامَ وَالْإِسْلَامَ لَا يُشَارِكُ الْإِيمَانَ، فَقُلْتُ: فَصِفْهُمَا لِي، فَقَالَ: الْإِسْلَامُ شَهَادَةٌ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَالتَّصَدِيقُ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِهِ حُقِنَتِ الدَّمَاءُ وَعَلَيْهِ جَرَتِ الْمَنَاحِكُ وَالْمَوَارِيثُ وَعَلَى ظَاهِرِهِ جَمَاعَةُ النَّاسِ، وَالْإِيمَانُ: الْهُدَى وَمَا يَثْبُتُ فِي الْقُلُوبِ مِنْ صِفَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَمَا ظَهَرَ مِنَ الْعَمَلِ بِهِ، وَالْإِيمَانُ أَرْفَعُ مِنَ الْإِسْلَامِ بِدَرَجَةٍ، إِنَّ الْإِيمَانَ يُشَارِكُ الْإِسْلَامَ فِي الظَّاهِرِ وَالْإِسْلَامَ لَا يُشَارِكُ الْإِيمَانَ فِي الْبَاطِنِ وَإِنْ اجْتَمَعَا فِي الْقَوْلِ وَالصِّفَةِ.

180/1503: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb, from Jamīl ibn Ṣāliḥ, from Samā'ah:

Samā'ah says: "I said to al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A), 'Tell me, are *islām* and *īmān* different from one another?' The Imam (A) replied, '*Īmān* (always) includes *islām*, whereas *islām* does not (always) include *īmān*.' I said to him, 'Explain them to me.' He said, '*Islām* consists of the (verbal) testimony that there is no god except Allah and the affirmation of the prophethood of the Messenger of Allah (S). By means of it the blood of a Muslim becomes inviolate and on its basis marriages and (distribution of) inheritance are carried out. The mass of people follow this outward aspect of it. As to *īmān*, it is guidance and consists of those characteristics of Islam which become established in the hearts, as well as that which becomes manifest from putting them into action and practice. *Īmān* stands a degree higher than *islām*. *Īmān* partakes of the outward character of *islām*, but *islām* does not partake of the inward reality of *īmān*, although they stand together from the viewpoint of description and characterization.' "

— عَلِيٌّ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ جَمِيلِ بْنِ دَرَّاجٍ، عَنْ فَضِيلِ بْنِ يَسَارٍ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ الْإِيمَانَ يُشَارِكُ الْإِسْلَامَ وَلَا يُشَارِكُهُ الْإِسْلَامُ، إِنَّ الْإِيمَانَ مَا وَقَرَفِي الْقُلُوبِ وَالْإِسْلَامُ مَا عَلَيْهِ الْمَنَاحِكُ وَالْمَوَارِثُ وَحَقِنَ الدَّمَاءُ؛ وَالْإِيمَانُ يَشْرِكُ الْإِسْلَامَ وَالْإِسْلَامُ لَا يَشْرِكُ الْإِيمَانَ.

181/1505: 'Alī, from his father, from Ibn Abī 'Umayr, from Jamīl ibn Darrāj, from Fuḍayl ibn Yasār:

Fuḍayl says: "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) say: '*Īmān* partakes of *islām* but *islām* does not (always) partake of *īmān*. *Īmān* is that which becomes established within the hearts. *Islām* is that on the basis of which marriages and (distribution of) inheritance are carried out and security of life is guaranteed. *Īmān* partakes of *islām* but *islām* does not partake of *īmān*.' "

— عَلِيٌّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ: عَنِ الْعَبَّاسِ بْنِ مَعْرُوفٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي نَجْرَانَ عَنْ حَمَادِ بْنِ عُثْمَانَ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحِيمِ الْقَاصِرِ قَالَ: كَتَبْتُ مَعَ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ أَعْيَنَ إِلَى أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَسْأَلُهُ عَنِ الْإِيمَانِ مَا هُوَ؟ فَكَتَبَ إِلَيَّ مَعَ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ أَعْيَنَ: سَأَلْتَ رَحِمَكَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْإِيمَانِ، وَالْإِيمَانُ هُوَ الْفِرَارُ بِاللِّسَانِ وَعَقْدٌ فِي الْقَلْبِ وَعَمَلٌ بِالْأَرْكَانِ وَالْإِيمَانُ بَعْضُهُ وَهُوَ دَارٌ وَكَذَلِكَ الْإِسْلَامُ دَارٌ وَالْكَفْرُ دَارٌ فَقَدْ يَكُونُ الْعَبْدُ مُسْلِمًا قَبْلَ أَنْ يَكُونَ مُؤْمِنًا وَلَا يَكُونُ مُؤْمِنًا حَتَّى يَكُونَ مُسْلِمًا، فَالْإِسْلَامُ قَبْلَ

الْإِيمَانِ وَهُوَ يُشَارِكُ الْإِيمَانَ، فَإِذَا أَتَى الْعَبْدُ كَبِيرَةً مِنْ كِبَائِرِ الْمَعَاصِي أَوْ صَغِيرَةً مِنْ صَفَائِرِ الْمَعَاصِي الَّتِي نَهَى اللَّهُ عَزَّوَجَلَّ عَنْهَا كَانَ خَارِجاً مِنَ الْإِيمَانِ، سَاقِطاً عَنْهُ اسْمُ الْإِيمَانِ وَثَابِتاً عَلَيْهِ اسْمُ الْإِسْلَامِ فَإِنْ تَابَ وَاسْتَغْفَرَ عَادَ إِلَى دَارِ الْإِيمَانِ وَلَا يُخْرِجُهُ إِلَى الْكُفْرِ إِلَّا الْجُحُودُ وَالْإِسْتِخْلَالُ: أَنْ يَقُولَ لِلْحَلَالِ هَذَا حَرَامٌ وَلِلْحَرَامِ هَذَا حَلَالٌ وَدَانَ بِذَلِكَ، فَعِنْدَهَا يَكُونُ خَارِجاً مِنَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِيمَانِ، دَاخِلاً فِي الْكُفْرِ، وَكَانَ بِمَنْزِلَةِ مَنْ دَخَلَ الْحَرَمَ ثُمَّ دَخَلَ الْكَعْبَةَ وَأَخَذَتْ فِي الْكَعْبَةِ حَدَثًا فَأَخْرَجَ عَنِ الْكَعْبَةِ وَعَنِ الْحَرَمِ فَضُرِبَتْ عُثْقُهُ وَصَارَ إِلَى النَّارِ.

182/1508: 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from al-'Abbās ibn Ma'rūf, from 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Najrān,<sup>173</sup> from Ḥammād ibn 'Uthmān, from 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Qaṣīr:

'Abd al-Rahīm al-Qaṣīr says: "I and 'Abd al-Malik ibn A'yan wrote to Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) asking him as to what is *īmān*. He wrote to me and 'Abd al-Malik ibn A'yan: 'May God's mercy be upon you. You have questioned concerning *īmān*. *īmān* means acknowledgement with the tongue, covenant with the heart, and action performed with the bodily members. The parts of *īmān* are interrelated. It is like a zone, and so are *islām* and *kufr*. Hence one may be a *muslim* before he becomes a *mu'min*, but he cannot be a *mu'min* before he becomes a *muslim*. Thus *islām* precedes *īmān* and includes it. When one commits a major or minor sin prohibited by God, Almighty and Exalted, he goes out of (the zone of) *īmān* and loses his title to *īmān*, although the title of *islām* remains with him. However, when he repents and asks for forgiveness, he returns to the zone of *īmān*. One is not expelled into the zone of *kufr* until he contests (God's commands) or is guilty of *istiḥlāl*; that is, if he regards something forbidden as permissible and considers something permissible as unlawful. So when he does that, he is expelled from (the zones of) *islām* and *īmān* and made to enter into (the zone of) *kufr*. Such a person is like one who enters the *ḥaram* (of Makkah) and gets into the Ka'bah wherein he violates its sanctity; thereat he is expelled from the Ka'bah and the *ḥaram*, beheaded and sent to hell.' "

— عِدَّةٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِنَا، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ عِيسَى، عَنْ سَمَاعَةَ بْنِ مِهْرَانَ قَالَ: سَأَلْتُهُ عَنِ الْإِيمَانِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ قُلْتُ لَهُ: أَفَرَّقَ بَيْنَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِيمَانِ؟ قَالَ: فَأَضْرِبُ لَكَ مَثَلَهُ؟ قُلْتُ: أَوْرِدْ ذَلِكَ، قَالَ: مَثَلُ الْإِيمَانِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ مَثَلُ الْكَعْبَةِ الْحَرَامِ مِنَ الْحَرَمِ قَدْ يَكُونُ فِي الْحَرَمِ وَلَا يَكُونُ فِي الْكَعْبَةِ وَلَا يَكُونُ فِي الْكَعْبَةِ حَتَّى يَكُونُ فِي الْحَرَمِ وَقَدْ يَكُونُ مُسْلِمًا وَلَا يَكُونُ مُؤْمِنًا وَلَا يَكُونُ مُؤْمِنًا حَتَّى يَكُونَ مُسْلِمًا، قَالَ: قُلْتُ: فَيَخْرُجُ مِنَ الْإِيمَانِ شَيْءٌ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ، قُلْتُ: فَيُصَيِّرُهُ إِلَى مَاذَا؟ قَالَ:

إلى الإسلام أو الكفر. وقال: لو أن رجلاً دخل الكعبة فأفلت منه بوله أخرج من الكعبة ولم يخرج من الحرم، فغسل ثوبه وتطهر، ثم لم يمنع أن يدخل الكعبة، ولو أن رجلاً دخل الكعبة فبال فيها معانداً أخرج من الكعبة ومن الحرم وضربت عنقه.

183/1509: A group of our companions, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from 'Uthmān ibn 'Isā, from Samā'ah ibn Mihrān.

Samā'ah says: "I questioned him (al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq [A]) concerning *islām* and *imān*, asking, 'Is there a difference between *islām* and *imān*?' He said, 'Shall I give you an example?' I said, 'Please do.' He said, '*Imān* and *islām* are like the Holy Ka'bah and the *ḥaram*. One may be in the *ḥaram* without being in the Ka'bah, but one cannot be in the Ka'bah without being in the *ḥaram*. Similarly, one can be a *muslim* without being a *mu'min*, but one cannot be a *mu'min* without being a *muslim*.' "

Samā'ah says: "I asked him, 'Can anything expel one from *imān*?' He replied, 'Yes.' I said, 'Then where does he go?' He said, 'Towards *islām* or *kufr*.' Then the Imam added, 'If someone enters the Ka'bah and micturates there involuntarily, he is expelled from the Ka'bah but not from the *ḥaram*. When he has washed his clothes and purified himself, he is not stopped from reentering the Ka'bah. But if someone enters the Ka'bah and urinates there defiantly, he is expelled from the Ka'bah as well as the *ḥaram* and beheaded.' "

— أبو علي الأشعري، عن محمد بن عبد الجبار، عن صفوان أو غيره، عن العلاء، عن محمد بن مسلم، عن أبي عبد الله عليه السلام قال: سألته عن الإيمان فقال: شهادة أن لا إله إلا الله [وأن محمداً رسول الله] والإقرار بما جاء من عند الله وما استقر في القلوب من التصديق بذلك، قال: قلت: الشهادة أليست عملاً؟ قال: بلى، قلت: العمل من الإيمان؟ قال: نعم الإيمان لا يكون إلا بعمل والعمل منه ولا يثبت الإيمان إلا بعمل.

184/1515: Abū 'Alī al-'Ash'arī, from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Ṣafwān or someone else, from al-'Alā', from Muḥammad ibn Muslim:

Muḥammad ibn Muslim says: "I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) concerning *imān*. He said, '(It is) the testimony that there is no god except Allah (and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah) and the acknowledgement of that which he has brought from God, as well as the establishment of the confirmation of that in the heart.' I said, 'Is the testimony not an act?' He said, 'It is.' I said, 'Is action part of *imān*?' He replied,

‘Yes. *Īmān* cannot be without acts, and acts issue forth from it. *Īmān* cannot be confirmed except through acts.’ ”

— عَنْهُ عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ النَّضْرِ بْنِ سُؤَيْدٍ، عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ عِمْرَانَ الْحَلَبِيِّ، عَنْ أَيُّوبَ بْنِ الْخُرَّ عَنْ أَبِي بَصِيرٍ قَالَ: كُنْتُ عِنْدَ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَالَ لَهُ سَلَامٌ: إِنَّ خَيْثَمَةَ يُحَدِّثُنَا عَنْكَ أَنَّهُ سَأَلَكَ عَنِ الْإِسْلَامِ فَقُلْتَ لَهُ: إِنَّ الْإِسْلَامَ، مَنْ اسْتَقْبَلَ قِبَلَتَنَا وَشَهِدَ شَهَادَتَنَا وَتَسَكَ نُسُكَنَا وَوَالَى وَلِيَّنَا وَعَادَى عَدُوَّنَا فَهُوَ مُسْلِمٌ فَقَالَ: صَدَقَ خَيْثَمَةُ، قُلْتُ: وَسَأَلَكَ عَنِ الْإِيمَانِ فَقُلْتَ: الْإِيمَانُ بِاللَّهِ وَالتَّضَدِيقُ بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَأَنْ لَا يَعْصِيَ اللَّهَ، فَقَالَ: صَدَقَ خَيْثَمَةُ.

185/1517: (A group of our companions,) from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid, from his father, from al-Naḍr ibn Suwayd, from Yaḥyā ibn ‘Imrān,<sup>174</sup> from Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥurr, from Abū Baṣīr:

Abū Baṣīr says: “I was with Abū Ja‘far (A) when Salām said to him, ‘Ibn Abī Khaythamah has narrated to us from you that he asked you concerning Islam and you replied to him that, “A muslim is one who faces our *qiblah*, affirms our *shahādah*, practises our rites, befriends our *walī* and is hostile to our enemy.” ’ The Imam said, ‘Khaythamah has stated the truth.’ Salām said, ‘He also asked you regarding *īmān* and you told him, “*Īmān* consists of faith in God, confirmation of the Book of God, and absence of disobedience to God.” ’ The Imam said, ‘Khaythamah has stated the truth.’ ”

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ جَمِيلِ بْنِ دَرَّاجٍ، قَالَ: سَأَلْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَنِ الْإِيمَانِ، فَقَالَ: شَهَادَةٌ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ، قَالَ: قُلْتُ أَلَيْسَ هَذَا عَمَلٌ قَالَ: بَلَى، قُلْتُ: فَالْعَمَلُ مِنَ الْإِيمَانِ؟ قَالَ: لَا يَثْبُتُ لَهُ الْإِيمَانُ إِلَّا بِالْعَمَلِ وَالْعَمَلُ مِنْهُ.

186/1518: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Isā, from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, from Jamīl ibn Darrāj:

Jamīl says: “I asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) concerning *īmān*. He replied, ‘It consists of the testimony that there is no god except Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah.’ I said, ‘Is that not action.’ He said, ‘Yes, (it is)’ I said, ‘Then action is part of *īmān*?’ He replied, ‘*Īmān* is not confirmed except by action and action is part of *īmān*.’ ”

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ مَخْبُوبٍ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ رَبِيعٍ، عَنْ حُمْرَانَ بْنِ أَعْيَنَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ اللَّهَ فَضَّلَ

الإيمان على الإسلام بدرجة كما فضل الكعبة على المسجد الحرام.

187/1539: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from al-Hasan ibn Maḥbūb, from 'Alī ibn Ri'āb, from Ḥumrān ibn A'yan:

Ḥumrān says: "I heard Abū Ja'far (A) say: 'Verily, God has given *īmān* a degree of superiority over *islām*, in the same way as He has given the Ka'bah superiority over al-Masjid al-Ḥarām.'"

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي نَضْرٍ، عَنِ الرَّضَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: الْإِيمَانُ فَوْقَ الْإِسْلَامِ بِدَرَجَةٍ، وَالتَّقْوَى فَوْقَ الْإِيمَانِ بِدَرَجَةٍ؛ وَالْيَقِينُ فَوْقَ التَّقْوَى بِدَرَجَةٍ وَلَمْ يُقَسَمَ بَيْنَ الْعِبَادِ شَيْءٌ أَقْلُ مِنَ الْيَقِينِ.

188/1542: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr:

Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) said: "*Īmān* stands a degree above *islām*; *taqwā* stands a degree above *īmān*; *yaqīn* stands a degree above *taqwā*. And nothing less than *yaqīn* has been distributed among the people."

(Al-Kulaynī says:) A group of our companions, from Sahl ibn Ziyād, and al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, from Mu'allā ibn Muḥammad, and both of them from al-Washshā' have narrated a similar tradition from Abū al-Ḥasan (A).

#### Worship and Contemplation:

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ مُعَمَّرِ بْنِ خَلَادٍ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا الْحَسَنِ الرَّضَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: لَيْسَ الْعِبَادَةُ كَثْرَةَ الصَّلَاةِ وَالصَّوْمِ، إِنَّمَا الْعِبَادَةُ التَّفَكُّرُ فِي أَمْرِ اللَّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ.

189/1550: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from Mu'ammār ibn Khallād:

Mu'ammār ibn Khallād says: "I heard Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riḍā (A) say: 'Worship does not lie in doing much praying and fasting; rather it lies in contemplating about sovereignty (*amr*) of God, Almighty and Glorious.'"

#### The Noble Characteristics:

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنِ الْهَيْثَمِ بْنِ أَبِي مَسْرُوقٍ، عَنْ بَزِيدِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ شَعْرٍ، عَنِ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَطِيَّةَ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ:



الْمَكَارِمُ عَشْرٌ فَإِنْ اسْتَظَفْتَ أَنْ تَكُونَ فِيكَ فَلْتَكُنْ فَإِنَّهَا تَكُونُ فِي الرَّجُلِ وَلَا تَكُونُ فِي  
وَلَدِهِ وَتَكُونُ فِي الْوَلَدِ وَلَا تَكُونُ فِي أَبِيهِ وَتَكُونُ فِي الْعَبْدِ وَلَا تَكُونُ فِي الْحُرِّ، قِيلَ: وَمَا  
هُنَّ؟ قَالَ: صِدْقُ الْبَاسِ وَصِدْقُ الْلِسَانِ وَأَدَاءُ الْأَمَانَةِ وَصِلَةُ الرَّحِمِ وَإِفْرَاءُ الضَّيْفِ  
وَإِظْعَامُ السَّائِلِ وَالْمُكَافَأَةُ عَلَى الصَّنَائِعِ وَالتَّدْمُّ لِلْجَارِ وَالتَّدْمُّ لِلصَّاحِبِ وَرَأْسُهُنَّ  
الْحَيَاءُ.

190/1552: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from al-Haytham ibn Abī Masrūq, from Yazīd ibn Ishāq Sha'ir, from al-Husayn ibn 'Atīyyah: 175

Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) said: "The noble characteristics are ten. Cultivate them if you can, for these qualities may be found in a man but not in his children, or they may be found in the children but not in their father (i.e. they are not hereditary), or they may be found in a slave and not in a free man." "What are they?", he was asked. The Imam said, "They are: sincerity of indifference (to what is in the hands of people), truthfulness, trustworthiness, consideration and care for one's relatives, hospitality, giving food to the beggar, returning the favours done to one, care for one's neighbour, care for one's companion, and modesty, at the head of them all."

#### Fear and Hope:

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ النُّعْمَانِ، عَنْ حَمْرَةَ بِنِ  
حُمْرَانَ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: إِنَّ مِمَّا حُفِظَ مِنْ خُطْبِ النَّبِيِّ  
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّ لَكُمْ مَعَالِمَ فَإِنَّتَهُوا إِلَى مَعَالِمِكُمْ وَإِنَّ  
لَكُمْ نِهَائَةَ فَإِنَّتَهُوا إِلَى نِهَائَتِكُمْ إِلَّا إِنْ الْمُؤْمِنَ يَعْمَلُ بَيْنَ مَخَافَتَيْنِ: بَيْنَ  
أَجَلٍ قَدْ مَضَى لَا يَدْرِي مَا اللَّهُ صَانِعٌ فِيهِ وَبَيْنَ أَجَلٍ قَدْ بَقِيَ لَا يَدْرِي مَا اللَّهُ قَاضٍ فِيهِ  
فَلْيَأْخُذِ الْعَبْدُ الْمُؤْمِنُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ لِتَفْسِهِ وَمِنْ دُنْيَاهُ لِآخِرَتِهِ وَفِي الشَّبِيهِ قَبْلَ الْكِبَرِ  
وَفِي الْحَيَاةِ قَبْلَ الْمَمَاتِ فَوَالَّذِي نَفْسُ مُحَمَّدٍ بِيَدِهِ مَا بَعْدَ الدُّنْيَا مِنْ مُسْتَعْتَبٍ وَمَا  
بَعْدَهَا مِنْ دَارٍ إِلَّا الْجَنَّةُ أَوْ النَّارُ.

191/1599: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, from Hamzah ibn Ḥumrān: 176

Hamzah ibn Ḥumrān says: "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) say: "The Prophet (S) in one of his sermons that have been preserved, said: "O people! Reach the signs that have been fixed for you and get to the destinations that have been determined for you. Verily, the believer

strives between two fears: the fear about his past, concerning which he does not know how God would judge it; and the fear for the future, concerning which he does not know what God has decreed therein. Let the believer take from his (transitory) self that which shall benefit his (abiding) self and from the world that which shall benefit him in the Hereafter. Let him benefit from youth before old age comes upon him, and from life before death seizes him. By Him in Whose hands is the life of Muḥammad, there is no possibility of penitence after this world and there is no abode after it save heaven or hell.” ” ”

### Obedience and Shi‘ism:

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَبِي نَصْرِ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ أَخِي غَرَامٍ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مُسْلِمٍ، عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: لَا تَذْهَبُ بِكُمْ الْمَذَاهِبُ، فَوَاللَّهِ مَا شِيعَتُنَا إِلَّا مَنْ أَطَاعَ اللَّهَ عَزَّوَجَلَّ.

192/1612: ‘Ali ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr, from Muḥammad Akhū (brother of) Gharam,<sup>177</sup> from Muḥammad ibn Muslim:

Abū Ja‘far (A) said: “Let the diversity of creeds not deceive you. By God, our follower (*shī‘ah*) is none except him who obeys God, Almighty and Glorious.”

### Piety:

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ أَبِي الْمَغْرَا، عَنْ زَيْدِ الشَّحَامِ، عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ سَعِيدِ بْنِ هِلَالِ الثَّقَفِيِّ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لَهُ: إِنِّي لَا أَلْفَاكَ إِلَّا فِي السَّنِينَ فَأَخْبِرْنِي بِشَيْءٍ آخُذُ بِهِ، فَقَالَ: أَوْصِيكَ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ وَالْوَرَعِ وَالْإِجْتِهَادِ وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّهُ لَا يَنْفَعُ اجْتِهَادًا لَا وَرَعَ فِيهِ.

193/1620: ‘Ali ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Abī ‘Umayr, from Abū al-Maghra,<sup>178</sup> from Zayd al-Shahḥām, from ‘Amr ibn Sa‘id ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī:<sup>179</sup>

‘Amr ibn Sa‘id says: “I said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh, ‘I cannot see you more often than once in years, so tell me something that I may put into practice. He said, ‘I counsel you to adopt God-fearing (*taqwā*), piety (*wara‘*) and diligence (*ijtihād*). You should know that a diligence that lacks piety is of no use.’ ”

(Al-Kulaynī says:) A similar tradition has been narrated by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Isā, from Ibn Faḍḍāl,

from 'Alī ibn 'Uqbah, from Abū Kahmas, from 'Amr ibn Sa'īd ibn Hilāl from Abū 'Abd Allāh (A).

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ مَخْبُوبٍ، عَنْ حَدِيدِ بْنِ حَكِيمٍ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَصُونُوا دِينَكُمْ بِالْوَرَعِ.

194/1621: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Ḥasan ibn Maḥbūb, from Ḥadīd ibn Ḥakīm: 180

Ḥadīd ibn Ḥakīm says: "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) say, 'Be God-fearing and safeguard your religion by means of piety.'"

— أَبُو عَلِيٍّ الْأَشْعَرِيُّ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْجَبَّارِ، عَنْ صَفْوَانَ بْنِ يَحْيَى، عَنْ يَزِيدِ بْنِ خَلِيفَةَ قَالَ: وَعَظَنَا أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَأَمَرَ وَزَهَّدَ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: عَلَيْكُمْ بِالْوَرَعِ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يُنَالُ مَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا بِالْوَرَعِ.

195/1622: Abū 'Alī al-'Ash'arī, from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā, from Yazīd ibn Khalīfah: 181

Yazīd ibn Khalīfah says: "Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) sermoned us and commanded us to (observe) piety and said, 'Be pious, for that which is with God cannot be attained without piety.'"

— مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ عَيْسَى، عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ التُّعْمَانِ، عَنْ أَبِي أُسَامَةَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَقُولُ: عَلَيْكَ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ وَالْوَرَعِ وَالْإِجْتِهَادِ وَصِدْقِ الْحَدِيثِ وَأَدَاءِ الْأَمَانَةِ وَحُسْنِ الْخُلُقِ وَحُسْنِ الْجَوَارِ وَكَوْنُوا دُعَاةً إِلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ بِغَيْرِ السِّتِّكُمْ وَكَوْنُوا زَنَانًا وَلَا تَكُونُوا شَيْنًا، وَعَلَيْكُمْ بِطُولِ الرَّكُوعِ وَالسُّجُودِ؛ فَإِنْ أَحَدُكُمْ إِذَا طَالَ الرَّكُوعَ وَالسُّجُودَ هَتَفَ إِبْلِيسُ مِنْ خَلْفِهِ وَقَالَ: يَا وَيْلَهُ أَطَاعَ وَعَصَيْتُ وَسَجَدَ وَأَبَيْتُ.

196/1628: Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā, from 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, from Abū Usāmah: 182

Abū Usāmah says: "I heard Abū 'Abd Allāh (A) say, 'Be God-fearing, pious, diligent, truthful, trustworthy, virtuous and kind to your neighbours. Call the people to yourselves (i.e. your creed) but not with your tongues (i.e. call them with your deeds). Be an ornament (for your creed), not a disgrace. (In prayers) prolong your kneelings (*rukū'*) and prostrations (*sujūd*), for when one of you prolongs his *rukū'* and *sujūd*, Iblīs gives a cry from behind him and says: "Woe to him! He has

obeyed, whereas I disobeyed. He has prostrated, whereas I refused to do so!” ‘ ‘ ‘

— عَنْهُ، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ؛ عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ؛ عَنْ سَيْفِ بْنِ عَمِيرَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي الصَّبَّاحِ الْكِنَانِيِّ، عَنْ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: «أَعِينُونَا بِالْوَرَعِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ لَقِيَ اللَّهَ عَزَّوَجَلَّ مِنْكُمْ بِالْوَرَعِ كَانَ لَهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ فَرجاً، وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّوَجَلَّ يَقُولُ: «مَنْ يُطِيعِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَأُولَئِكَ مَعَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ النَّبِيِّينَ وَالصَّادِقِينَ وَالشُّهَدَاءِ وَالصَّالِحِينَ وَحَسُنَ أُولَئِكَ رَفِيقًا» فَمِنَّا النَّبِيُّ وَمِنَّا الصَّادِقُ وَالشُّهَدَاءُ وَالصَّالِحُونَ.

197/1631: From him (Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā), from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥakam, from Sayf ibn ‘Amirah, from Abū al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kinānī:

Abū Ja‘far (A) said: “Assist us by means of your piety. Verily one of you who meets God, Almighty and Exalted, in the state of piety will find comfort with God. And God, Almighty and Exalted, says: ‘Whosoever obeys God and the Messenger — they are with those whom God has blessed: the prophets, the truthful, the martyrs, the righteous; good company they!’ (4:69). And among us is the Prophet, and to us belongs ‘the truthful one’ (*al-Ṣiddīq*, one of the titles of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib), as well as the martyrs and the righteous.”

— عَلِيُّ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ؛ عَنْ أَبِيهِ؛ عَنِ ابْنِ مَحْبُوبٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ رِثَابٍ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ: «إِنَّا لَا نَعُدُّ الرَّجُلَ مُؤْمِنًا حَتَّى يَكُونَ لِيَجْمَعَ أَمْرُنَا مُتَّبِعًا مُرِيداً؛ الْأَوَّلَانِ مِنَ اتِّبَاعِ أَمْرِنَا وَإِرَادَتِهِ الْوَرَعِ؛ فَتَزَيَّنُوا بِهِ؛ يَرْحَمَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَكَبَدُوا أَعْدَاءَنَا [بِهِ] يَنْعَشُكُمُ اللَّهُ.

198/1632: ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Maḥbūb, from Ibn Ri‘āb:

Abū ‘Abd Allāh (A) said: “We do not consider a person as a *mu’min* until he willingly follows all our commands. Indeed, piety is part of following and cherishing our affair (i.e. Imamate). So adorn yourselves with piety and through it inflict a setback on our enemies. May God be merciful to you and may He put new life in you.”

To be continued—‘in *shā’ Allāh*

## NOTES:

167. ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā (124—182/741—798); 5/VI, VII; Tf90/A91: *thiqah jalīl al-qadr, lahu manzilah ‘azimah ‘ind Abī al-Ḥasan Mūsā ‘alayhi al-salām, ‘azim al-makān fī al-ṭā’ifah*. Al-Mufīd in *al-‘Irshād*, 285: *innahu min thiqāt al-Kāzīm ‘alayhi al-salām*.

168. Ibn al-‘Arzami; 6/0; source of *tawthīq* untraced.

169. Father of Ibn al-'Arzami; 5/VI; source of *tawthiq* untraced.
170. 'Amr ibn Ḥurayth, Abū Aḥmad al-Ṣayrafī al-'Asadī; 5/VI; N289/A12: *thiqah*.
171. Al-Ḥakam ibn Ayman, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥannāṭ; 5/VI, VII; among the rijāl of Ibn Abī 'Umayr, who has narrated this tradition from him, as well as other traditions in *al-Wāfi*, iii, 19, 118, vi, 29, ix, 20, x, 135. Also among the rijāl of Ṣafwān ibn Yahyā, as in *al-Wāfi*, viii, 114, and *al-Maḥāsin*, i, 285. See also N137 regarding Ibn Abī 'Umayr's narration of al-Ḥakam's book from him.
172. Al-Qāsim ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣayrafī, *sharik* Mufaḍḍal ibn 'Umar; 5/VI; Ibn Abī 'Umayr has narrated from him here and in *al-Wāfi*, viii, 67.
173. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Najrān, 'Amr ibn Muslim al-Tamīmī; 6/VIII; N235/A114: *thiqah thiqah, mu'tamadan 'alā mā yarwīhi*.
174. Yahyā ibn 'Imrān ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Shu'bah al-Ḥalabī; 5/VI, VII; N444/A182: *thiqah thiqah, ṣahīḥ al-ḥadīth*.
175. Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Aṭīyyah al-Ḥannāṭ al-Salamī al-Kūfī; 5/VI; Ibn Abī 'Umayr has narrated a tradition from him in *al-Wāfi*, v, 223.
176. Ḥamzah ibn Ḥumrān ibn A'yan al-Shaybānī; 5/VI; among the rijāl of Ṣafwān ibn Yahyā (N140) and Ibn Abī 'Umayr (al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faḥīh*, "mashīqah", also in *al-Khiṣāl*, i, 13, *Ikmāl al-Dīn*, i, 341, ii, 58, *al-'Amālī*, 121, 392).
177. Muḥammad Akhū Gharām; 5/(?); among the rijāl of Ṣafwān (*al-Wāfi*, iii, 60).
178. Abū al-Maghra', Ḥumayd ibn al-Muthannā al-'Ijlī al-Kūfī, 5/VI, VII; N133: *thiqah thiqah*; Tf60/A59/al-Ṣadūq in *al-Faḥīh*, 606: *thiqah*.
179. 'Amr ibn Sa'id ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī; 5/VI; Ibn Abī 'Umayr has narrated this tradition from him.
180. Ḥadīd ibn Ḥakīm, Abū 'Alī al-'Azdī al-Madā'ini; 5/VI, VII; N148/A64: *thiqah, wajh, mutakallim*.
181. Yazīd ibn Khalīfah al-Ḥārithī al-Khawlānī; 5/VI; Ṣafwān has narrated from him here as well as elsewhere (*al-Wāfi*, iii, 64, vi, 54, viii, 129).
182. Zayd ibn Yūnus, Abū Usāmah al-Shaḥḥām al-Kūfī; mentioned above in no. 153.

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## Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn: A Study of Its Tawātur Part 2

### ‘Abaqāt al-‘Anwār:

Among Sunnī authors one who has written a book on the topic of the chains of transmission (*ṭuruq*) of this tradition is al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (448–507/1056–1113), known as Ibn al-Qaysarānī, as mentioned by the biographers (Ismā‘il Pāshā in *Hadiyyat al-‘arifīn* (ii, 82), *al-‘Ansāb al-muttafiqah* and *al-Jam‘ bayn rijāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* [Hyderabad]).<sup>3</sup>

However, the most exhaustive study of the subject is the one undertaken by al-‘Imām Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn Lakhnowī — *quddisa sirruh* — in the twelfth part of his great work *‘Abaqāt al-‘anwār fī imāmat al-‘A‘immat al-‘aṭhār*. Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn (1246–1306/1830–1888) wrote this work in Persian as a refutation of the seventh chapter of *Tuḥfeh-ye ithnā ‘ashariyyah* of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dehlawī (1159–1239/1746–1823). In twelve chapters of this work, which is said to be a plagiary in Persian of *al-Ṣawā‘iq al-mūbiqah* by an obscure writer Naṣr Allāh al-Kābulī, Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz severely attacked Shī‘ī doctrines, beliefs and practices. Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s book was an effort to check the expanding influence of Shī‘ism, which had begun

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\*The first part consisted of a preface and a brief explanation of the meaning of *tawātur*, and gave some *ṣaḥīḥ* versions of *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* as well as an account of the various occasions on which the Prophet (S) proclaimed it publicly. This part is an introduction to *‘Abaqāt al-‘anwār*, which is generally admitted to be the greatest work on the subject of Imamate yet written. Here are also listed the names of the narrators of the ḥadīth from the era of the Companions, may God be pleased with them, and those of the succeeding generations up to the end of the 3rd/9th century. The third part will give, *inshā’ Allāh*, the list of its narrators from the 4th/10th to the present century.

to flourish under the patronage of the Shī'ī kingdom of Awadh and under the religious leadership of the great Shī'ī scholar and *mujtahid* Sayyid Dildār 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Mu'in al-Naqawī al-Naṣīrābādī (116—1235/1752—1819), known as Ghufrān Ma'āb.

Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's attack and accusations drew a massive response from Shī'ī scholars. 'Allāmah 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī mentions the following authors who wrote refutations of *Tuḥfeh-ye ithnā 'ashariyyah*:<sup>4</sup>

1. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī al-Naqawī al-Naṣīrābādī, who wrote five books refuting various chapters of the *Tuḥfah: al-Ṣawārim al-'ilāhiyyāt fī qaṭ' shubuhāt 'abīd al-'Uzzā wa al-Lāt* (1215/1800), a refutation of the fifth chapter of the *Tuḥfah* regarding theological issues; *Khātimat al-Ṣawārim*, a refutation of the seventh chapter concerning the Shī'ī doctrine of Imamate; *Husām al-'Islām wa siḥām al-malām* (Calcutta, 1215/1800), a refutation of the sixth chapter of the *Tuḥfah* concerning prophethood; *Iḥyā' al-Sunnah wa imātat al-bid'ah bi ṭa'n al-'asinnah* (1281/1864), a refutation of the eighth chapter of the *Tuḥfah*; *al-Zulfiqār*, a refutation of the twelfth chapter.

2. Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Aḥmad Mirzā Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Nabī Akbarābādī (d. 1232/1816), who wrote *Sayf Allāh al-maslūl 'alā mukharribī Dīn al-Rasūl*, in six big volumes, as refutation of all the chapters of the *Tuḥfah*.

3. 'Allāmah Mirzā Muḥammad ibn 'Ināyat Aḥmad Khān Kashmīrī Dehlawī (d. 1235/1820), who wrote *Nuzhat al-'Ithnā 'Ashariyyah fī al-radd 'alā al-Tuḥfat al-'ithnā 'ashariyyah* in twelve volumes, of which the first, third, fourth, fifth and seventh volumes were published (1255/1839) and others remained incomplete.

4. Mawlawī Ḥasan ibn Amān Allāh Dehlawī 'Azīmābādī (d. c. 1260/1844), who wrote *Tajhīz al-jaysh li kasr ṣanamay Quraysh*, as a refutation of all the chapters of the *Tuḥfah*.

5. 'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥammad Qulī ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Lacknowī Kantūrī (d. 1260/1844), father of Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn, who wrote five books in refutation of different chapters of the *Tuḥfah: al-Sayf al-nāṣirī* on the first chapter, *Taqīd al-makā'id* (Calcutta, 1262/1846) on the second chapter, *Burhān al-sa'ādah* on the seventh chapter, *Tashyīd al-maṭā'in li kashf al-ḍaghā'in* in two volumes (1283/1866) on the tenth chapter, and *Masari' al-afhām li qal' al-'awhām*.

6. Mawlawī Khayr al-Dīn Muḥammad Allāhābādī, who wrote *Hidāyat al-'Azīz* (or *Hadiyyat al-'Azīz*) as a refutation of the fourth chapter of the *Tuḥfah* about *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* and *rijāl*.

7. 'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Dildār 'Alī (d. 1284/1867) known as Sultān al-'Ulamā', who wrote two books, one in Persian and the other in Arabic, in refutation of the seventh chapter of the *Tuḥfah* concerning Imamate, of which the former was entitled *al-Bawāriq al-mūbiqah*. He also wrote *Ṭa'n al-rimāh* in refutation of the



tenth chapter.

8. Sayyid Jafar Abū 'Alī Khān ibn Ghulām 'Alī Mūsawī Banārasī, who wrote *Burhān al-ṣādiqīn* and *Mahajjat al-Burhān* (a condensation of the former) in refutation of the seventh chapter and *Taksīr al-ṣanamayn* in refutation of the tenth chapter.

9. 'Allāmah Sayyid Muftī Muḥammad 'Abbās Mūsawī Tustarī Jazā'irī (d. 1306/1888), who wrote *al-Jawāhir al-'abqariyyah* in refutation of the *Tuḥfah*'s seventh chapter.

10. Al-Shaykh Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Kirmānshāhī (d. 1235/1819), who wrote *Kashf al-shubḥah 'an ḥilyat al-mut'ah* (MS dated 1227 H. in the National Museum, Karachi), in refutation of the ninth chapter.

11. However, the most important work that was written as a refutation of the seventh chapter of the *Tuḥfah* concerning the Shī'ī doctrine of Imamate was *'Abaqāt al-'anwār*, which was destined to take its place not only as the greatest work on Imamate ever written but also perhaps as one of the greatest masterpieces of scholarship ever compiled on a doctrinal issue anywhere in the history of religion.

In the seventh chapter of the *Tuḥfah*, where Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz attacks the Shī'ī doctrine of Imamate, he claims that the Shī'ī claim is based on only six verses of the Qur'ān and twelve traditions of the Prophet (S). Accordingly, Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn wrote his book in two sections, the first concerning the Qur'ānic basis of Imamate and the second concerning its basis in the Prophet's ḥadīth. The first section has not been published. The second section consists of 12 parts, each of which deals with the *sanad* (chains of transmission) and the meaning (*dalālah*) of one of the twelve traditions of the Prophet (S) concerning 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A) or the Ahl al-Bayt (A) rejected by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz as supporting the doctrine of Imamate.

The first part studies the *isnād* and *dalālah* of what is called *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*.<sup>5</sup> It is contained in three volumes, of which the first was published in 1293/1876, in 1251 pages and the remaining two, of 609 and 399 pages, in 1294/1877.

The second part deals with *Ḥadīth al-Manzilah*.<sup>6</sup> It appeared in 1295/1878 in 977 pages.

The third part deals with *Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah*.<sup>7</sup> It was published in 1303/1885 in 585 pages.

The fourth part deals with *Ḥadīth al-Ṭayr*.<sup>8</sup> It was published in 1306/1888 in two volumes of 512 and 224 pages from Maṭba'ah-ye Bustān, Lucknow.

The fifth part deals with *Ḥadīth Madīnat al-'ilm*.<sup>9</sup> It consists of two volumes, of which the first, in 745 pages, appeared in 1317/1899 and the second, in 600 pages, in 1327/1909.

The sixth part deals with *Ḥadīth al-Tashbīh*.<sup>10</sup> It was published in 1301/1883 in two volumes of 456 and 248 pages.

The seventh part, which deals with *Hadīth al-Munāṣabah*<sup>11</sup> and was completed by Sayyid Muḥammad Sa'īd ibn Sayyid Nāṣir Ḥusayn ibn Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn, has not been published yet.

The eighth part, dealing with *Hadīth al-Nūr*,<sup>12</sup> was published in 1303/1885 in 786 pages by Maṭba'ah-ye 'Mashriq' al-'anwār, Lucknow.

The ninth part, dealing with *Hadīth al-Rāyah*,<sup>13</sup> has also remained unpublished.

The tenth part dealing with the ḥadīth.... الْحَقُّ مَعَ عَلِيِّ وَعَلِيِّ مَعَ الْحَقِّ<sup>14</sup> also remains unpublished.

The eleventh part dealing with *Hadīth al-Muqātalah*<sup>15</sup> also remains unpublished.

The twelfth part deals with *Hadīth al-Thaqalayn* and *Hadīth al-Safīnah*.<sup>16</sup> It was published in two big volumes, the first of which in 664 pages appeared in 1314/1896 and the second in 891 pages in 1351/1932.

Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn and his work '*Abaqāt* have been held in great esteem amongst leading Shi'i scholars and many of them, from Mirzā Sayyid Ḥasan Shirāzī, the great *marji'* and juristic authority of his days, to contemporary scholars, have extolled the author and his great work. Sayyid 'Alī Milānī, in the first volume of his condensed translation of '*Abaqāt* into Arabic, quotes the statements of various scholars. Here we will confine ourselves to the opinion expressed by the great scholar 'Allāmah Āqā Buzurg Tehrānī, the author of *al-Dharī'ah ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'ah*, about Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn and his work. He says about the author:

مِنْ أَكْبَرِ مُتَكَلِّمِي الإِمَامِيَّةِ وَأَعَاظِمِ عُلَمَاءِ الشَّيْعَةِ الْمُتَبَجِّرِينَ فِي أَوَّلِيَّاتِ هَذَا الْقَرْنِ، كَانَ كَثِيرَ التَّتَبُّعِ، وَاسِعَ الاِطِّلَاعِ وَالإِحَاطَةَ بِالْآثَارِ وَالْأَخْبَارِ وَالثَّرَاثِ الإِسْلَامِيِّ، بَلَغَ فِي ذَلِكَ مَبْلَغاً لَمْ يَبْلُغَهُ أَحَدٌ مِنْ مُعَاَصِرِيهِ وَلَا الْمُتَأَخِّرِينَ عَنْهُ، بَلْ وَلَا كَثِيرٌ مِنْ أَعْلَامِ الْقُرُونِ السَّابِقَةِ، أَفْنَى عُمُرَهُ الشَّرِيفِ فِي الْبَحْثِ عَنْ أَسْرَارِ الدِّيَانَةِ وَالدَّبِّ عَنْ بَيْضَةِ الإِسْلَامِ، وَحَوْزَةِ الدِّينِ الْحَنِيفِ، وَلَا أَعْهَدُ فِي الْقُرُونِ الْمُتَأَخِّرَةِ مَنْ جَاهَدَ جِهَادَهُ، وَتَدَلَّ فِي سَبِيلِ الْحَقَائِقِ الرَّاهِنَةِ طَارِفَهُ وَتِلَادَهُ، وَلَمْ تَرَ عَيْنُ الزَّمَانِ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَمْصَارِ وَالْأَعْصَارِ مُضَاهِيّاً لَهُ فِي تَتَبُّعِهِ وَكَثْرَةِ إِطِّلَاعِهِ وَدَقِّقَتِهِ وَذَكَائِهِ وَشِدَّةِ حِفْظِهِ وَضَبْطِهِ.

(He is) one of the greatest of Imāmi theologians (*mutakallimūn*) and one of the greatest and deeply learned of Shi'i scholars who lived in the early part of this century. He was profoundly learned, and had extensive knowledge and mastery over the Islamic traditions and heritage and attained such a station in it that none of his contemporaries, or anyone of those who came after him, or even most of the celebrities of the preceding centuries, have been able to attain. He spent his entire noble life in fathoming the mysteries of religiosity and in the defence of Islam and the realm of sincere religion. I don't know of

anyone in the latter centuries who waged a *jihād* like him and sacrificed everything in his possession in the way of everlasting truths. The times, in all ages and periods, will never see a compeer of him in his research, his extensive knowledge, his precision, intelligence, and the immensity of his memory and retention.

Āqā Buzurg Ṭehrānī says about the *'Abaqāt*: "It is the greatest of books compiled on the subject (i.e. Imamate) from the outset of the Islamic era to the present." And what he says about the author and his book is perfectly representative of the opinion of leading Shī'ī scholars on this matter.<sup>17</sup>

### The Author's Approach in *'Abaqāt*:

*'Abaqāt al-'anwār* was written in Persian because Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's *Tuḥfah*, which it refuted, was also in Persian. As mentioned above, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz had cited five verses of the Qur'ān and twelve traditions of the Prophet (S) as constituting the basis of Shī'ī argument concerning the Imamate of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A). This was itself a misrepresentation of the Shī'ī case, for there are hundreds of verses and traditions, many of which are scattered throughout the Sunnī ḥadīth corpus as well as works in tafsīr. Even the verses and traditions that he cites are dismissed summarily by him on, as Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn shows, flimsy and untenable pretexts.

The published parts of *'Abaqāt* deal with eight of these traditions, each part dealing with the *sanad* and doctrinal import of one of them. Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusayn's approach in each of these parts is to show that the ḥadīth is a *mutawātir* one, having been narrated by Sunnī traditionists of every generation from the time of the Companions to the scholars of his own era. He devotes a section to each of the narrators, quotes the tradition as narrated by him, and cites the opinions of biographers and Sunnī authorities of 'ilm al-rijāl regarding his reliability, trustworthiness and his scholarly station.

After discussing the *sanad* aspect of the tradition, he goes on to deal with its meaning, dealing one by one with all the various arguments that have been advanced by Sunnī scholars to refute what the Shī'ah assert to be its doctrinal implications. His treatment is so logical, meticulous, precise, thorough and exhaustive that one cannot but be struck with wonder at his prodigious, or rather miraculous, learning and his encompassing mastery over the entire Islamic heritage of thirteen centuries before him which lies in front of him like an open book.

This sketchy study of *'Abaqāt* relates to its part concerning the *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn*. At first we will give a list of its narrators belonging to every century of the Hijrah calendar. A brief reference is given

under the name of each narrator concerning his standing with Sunni authorities on rijāl. We have included the names of other narrators from the appendix (*mulḥaqāt*) to *'Abaqāt* by Sayyid 'Abd al-'Aziz Ṭabāṭabā'i, which has been included in the condensed Arabic translation by Sayyid 'Alī Milāni.

Reprints of most parts of *'Abaqāt al-'anwār* have appeared in Iran. The first section of the first part, dealing with the *sanad* aspect of *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr* was published in 1369/1949 in 600 pages from Tehran. The twelfth part, dealing with *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* and *Ḥadīth al-Safīnah*, was published in six parts and three volumes (vol. 1 in 1379, vol. 2 in 1378—79, and vol. 3 in 1381 and 1382) by Mu'assaseh-ye Nashr-e Nafā'is-e Makḥṭūṭāt, Iṣfahān. Madrasat al-'Imām al-Mahdī, Qumm, has published offset reprints of the first Indian lithographed print on the occasion of the author's first death centenary (vol. 3 on *Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah*, 1406; vol. 4 on *Ḥadīth al-Ṭayr*, 1405; vol. 5 on *Ḥadīth Madīnat al-'Ilm*, 1406; vol. 6 on *Ḥadīth al-Tashbīh*, 1406; vol. 8 on *Ḥadīth al-Nūr*, 1406). 'Allāmah Shaykh Ghulām Riḍā Burūjerdī has prepared a new edition of the book giving all the necessary references. His edition is under print.

Sayyid 'Alī Milāni has published ten volumes of *Khulāṣat 'Abaqāt al-'anwār*, which is a condensed translation of the book in Arabic. The first two volumes of his translation, which begins with *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn*, were published in 1398. Bunyād-e Bi'that, Tehran, has published a new edition of the *Khulāṣah*, of which ten parts, dealing with *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn*, *Ḥadīth al-Safīnah*, *Ḥadīth al-Nūr* and *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, have appeared.

#### Narrators From Among the Ṣaḥābah:

More than thirty of the well-known and eminent Companions of the Prophet (S) have narrated *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* from him. Their names, as well as those of some authors who have narrated their traditions in their books, are given below:

1. Amīr al-Mu'minin 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A) ( 23 B.H. — 40 H./ 600—661 ).
- (1) Ibn Rāhwayh Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanzalī, (2) Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Shaybānī, (3) Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Bazzāz, (4) Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari, (5) Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dūlābī, (6) Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn ibn Ismā'il al-Muḥāmili, (7) Abū al-'Abbās ibn 'Uqdah al-Kūfi, (8) Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn al-Ji'ābī, (9) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (10) Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī, (11) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (12) 'Alī Muttaqī al-Hindī, (13) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad Bā Kathīr al-Makkī, (14) Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Shaykhānī al-Qādirī, (15) Sulaymān ibn

Ibrāhīm al-Qundūzi.

2. Al-'Imām al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (A) (3 — 50/ 624 — 670).

Al-Qundūzi.

3. Salmān al-Fārsī (d. 36/656).

Al-Qundūzi.

4. Jundab ibn Junādah, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. (d. 32/650).

(1) Muḥammad ibn 'Isā al-Tirmidhī, (2) Ibn 'Uqdah, (3) Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-'Aṣimī, (4) Ibn Kathīr, (5) al-Sakhāwī, (6) al-Samhūdī, (7) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad Bā Kathīr.

5. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās (3 B.H. — 68/619—687).

Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qundūzi.

6. Sa'd ibn Mālik, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (10 B.H.—74/613—693).

(1) 'Abd al-Malik al-'Arzamī, (2) Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-'A'mash, (3) Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Madanī, (4) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mas'ūdī, (5) Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah al-Yāmī, (6) 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr al-Hamadānī, (7) 'Abd al-Malik al-'Uqdī, (8) Ibn Sa'd al-Zuhri, (9) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, (10) 'Abbād ibn Ya'qūb al-Rawājini, (11) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Riyāhī, (12) 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, (13) Abū Ya'lā al-Tamīmī, (14) Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī, (15) Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī, (16) Ibn 'Uqdah, (17) Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, (18) Abū Ṭāhir al-Dhahabī, (19) Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī, (20) Abū Nu'aym al-'Iṣfahānī, (21) Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Naḥwī, (22) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, (23) Abū Muḥammad al-Ghandajānī, (24) Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jullābī (25) Abū al-Muzaffar al-Sam'ānī, (26) Abū al-Barakāt al-'Anmāṭī, (27) Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, (28) Abū Muḥammad ibn al-'Akhḍar, (29) Abū al-Faḥ al-'Abīwardī, (30) Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī, (31) al-Nizām al-'A'raj al-Nishābūrī, (32) Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī, (33) Abū al-Ḥajjaj al-Mizzī, (34) Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Zarandī, (35) Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, (36) al-Sayyid 'Alī al-Ḥamdānī, (37) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (38) Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, (39) Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qaṣṭallānī, (40) 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bukhārī, (41) 'Alī al-Qārī al-Hindī, (42) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Bā Kathīr, (43) Maḥmūd al-Qādirī al-Shaykhānī, (44) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Zarqānī, (45) al-Mirzā Muḥammad al-Badakhshānī al-Ḥārithī, (46) Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Ṣan'ānī, (47) Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qundūzi, and others.

7. Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Anṣārī (16 B.H. — 78/607 — 697).

(1) Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah al-'Absī, (2) Naṣr al-Washshā' al-Kūfī (3) al-Tirmidhī, (4) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, (5) al-Nasā'ī, (6) Abū al-'Abbās ibn 'Uqdah, (7) Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Baghdādī, (8) al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, (9) Abū Bakr al-Baghawī, (10) Ibn al-'Athīr al-Jazarī, (11) al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī, (12) Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, (13) al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭayyibī, (14) Muḥammad ibn al-Muzaffar al-Khalkhālī, (15) Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Zarandī, (16) Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, (17) Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāfizī al-Bukhārī, (18)

Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī, (19) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (20) Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, (21) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (22) ‘Alī al-Qārī al-Hindī, (23) Aḥmad ibn Bā Kathīr, (24) Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafāji, (25) Ḥuṣām al-Dīn al-Sahāranpūri, (26) al-Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Badakhshānī, (27) Muḥammad Mubīn al-Lakhnowī, (28) al-Mīrzā Ḥasan ‘Alī Muḥaddith al-Lakhnowī, (29) al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Qundūzī, (30) al-Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān al-Qannawjī.

8. Abū al-Haytham Mālik ibn al-Tayhān (d. 20/641).

(1) Abū al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Uqdah, (2) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (3) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (4) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad Bā Kathīr, (5) al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Qundūzī.

9. Ibrāhīm Abū Rāfi‘, one of the Prophet’s *mawālī* (d. after 40/661).

(1) Ibn ‘Uqdah, (2) al-Sakhāwī, (3) al-Samhūdī, (4) Ibn Bā Kathīr, (5) al-Qundūzī.

10. Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān (d. 36/656).

(1) Al-Shaykh Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qundūzī.

11. Ḥudhayfah ibn Usayd al-Ghifārī.

(1) Naṣr ibn ‘Alī al-Jahḍamī, (2) Abū ‘Isā al-Tirmidhī, (3) al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, (4) Abū al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Uqdah, (5) Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, (6) Abū Nu‘aym al-‘Iṣfahānī, (7) Abū al-Qāsim ibn ‘Asākir, (8) Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, (9) Abū al-Futūḥ al-‘Ijlī, (10) ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-‘Athīr, (11) al-Diyā’ al-Maqdisī, (12) Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī, (13) Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, (14) Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, (15) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (16) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (17) ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Shīrāzī, (18) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Bā Kathīr, (19) al-Shaykhānī al-Qādirī, (20) Muḥammad Ṣadr al-‘Ālam.

12. Khuzaymah ibn Thābit Dhū Shahādātayn (d. 37/657).

(1) Abū al-‘Abbās Ibn ‘Uqdah, (2) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (3) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (4) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Bā Kathīr, (5) al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Qundūzī.

13. Zayd ibn Thābit (11 B.H. — 45/611 — 665).

(1) Al-Rukayn ibn al-Rabī‘ al-Fazārī, (2) Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, (3) Sharīk al-Qāḍī, (4) Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, (5) Aswad ibn ‘Āmir al-Shāmī, (6) Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, (7) ‘Abd ibn Ḥamid al-Kashshī, (8) Aḥmad ibn ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, (9) ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, (10) Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī, (11) Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Anbārī, (12) Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, (13) Abū Mansūr al-‘Azharī, (14) Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Kanjī al-Shāfi‘ī, (15) Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Haythamī, (16) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (17) Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, (18) ‘Alī al-Qārī al-Hindī, (19) ‘Abd al-Ra’ūi al-Munāwī, (20) ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-‘Azizī, (21) al-Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Badakhshī, (22) Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qundūzī, (23) Ḥasan al-Zamān al-Hindī.

14. Abū Hurayrah, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣakhr (d. 59/679).

(1) Abū Bakr al-Bazzāz, (2) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (3) Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, (4) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Bā Kathīr, (5) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (6) Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Shaykhānī al-Qādirī.

15. 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanṭab.

(1) Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, (2) 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-'Athīr, (3) Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.

16. Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im (d. 59/679).

(1) Abū Nu'aym al-'Iṣfahānī, (2) al-Sayyid 'Alī al-Hamadānī, (3) al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Qundūzī.

17. Al-Barā' ibn 'Azīb (d. 71/690).

(1) Abū Nu'aym al-'Iṣfahānī.

18. Anas ibn Mālik (10 B.H. — 93/612 — 712).

(1) Abū Nu'aym al-'Iṣfahānī.

19. Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī (28 B.H. — 36/596 — 656).

(1) Al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Qundūzī.

20. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf (44 B.H. — 32/580 — 652).

(1) Al-Qundūzī.

21. Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (d. 23 B.H. — 55/ 600 — 675).

(1) Al-Qundūzī.

22. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ (50 B.H. — 43/574 — 664).

Al-Muwaffaq ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī.

23. Sahl ibn Sa'd al-'Anṣārī (d. 91/710).

(1) Ibn 'Uqdah al-Kūfī, (2) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (3) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (4) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Bā Kathīr, (5) Sulaymān al-Qundūzī.

24. 'Adī ibn Ḥātim (d. 68/687).

(1) Ibn 'Uqdah, (2) al-Sakhāwī, (3) al-Samhūdī, (4) Ibn Bā Kathīr, (5) al-Qundūzī.

25. 'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir (d. 58/678).

(1) Ibn 'Uqdah, (2) al-Sakhāwī, (3) al-Samhūdī, (4) Ibn Bā Kathīr, (5) al-Qundūzī.

26. Abū Ayyūb al-'Anṣārī, Khālid ibn Zayd (d. 52/672).

27. Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzā'i, Khuwaylid ibn 'Amr (d. 68/687).

28. Abū Qudāmah, al-'Anṣārī (martyred 37/657).

29. Abū Laylā al-'Anṣārī (martyred 37/657).

30. 'Umayrah al-'Aslamī.

*Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* has been narrated from all the above five (26 — 30) by (1) Ibn 'Uqdah, (2) al-Sakhāwī, (3) Samhūdī, (4) Ibn Bā Kathīr, (5) al-Qundūzī.

31. 'Amir ibn Laylā ibn Ḍamrah.

(1) Ibn 'Uqdah, (2) Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, (3) Abū al-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī, (4) 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-'Athīr, (5) Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, (6) Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, (7) Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, (8) Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad Bā Kathīr, (9) al-Qundūzī.

32. Zayd ibn Arqam (d. 68/687).

(1) Al-Nasā'ī, (2) al-Ḥākim, (3) al-Ṭabarānī, (4) 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, (5) Muḥammad Ṣadr al-'Ālam, (6) Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Ṣan'ānī, (7) al-Shaykhānī al-Qādirī, (8) al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Zarandī, (9) al-Samhūdī, (10) Aḥmad ibn Bā Kathīr, and many others.

33. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (10 B.H. — 73/613 — 692).

34. Faṭimah al-Zahrā' (A) (18 B.H. — 11/604 — 632).

Al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Qundūzī.

35. Umm Salamah, Hind bint Suhayl (28 B.H. — 62/596 — 681).

(1) Ibn 'Uqdah, (2) Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Dārquṭnī, (3) al-Sakhāwī, (4) al-Samhūdī, (5) Aḥmad ibn Bā Kathīr, (6) al-Shaykhānī al-Qādirī, (7) al-Razzāz, as in *Wasīlat al-ma'āl*.

36. Umm Hānī, Fākhtah bint Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661).

(1) Ibn 'Uqdah, (2) al-Sakhāwī, (3) al-Samhūdī, (4) Ibn Bā Kathīr.

Narrators of Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn from Among the Tābi'ūn:

A large number of narrators from among the Tābi'ūn have narrated this tradition from one or more of the Ṣaḥābah mentioned above. Some of them are:

37. Abū al-Ṭufayl 'Āmir ibn Wāthilah al-Laythī (3 — 100/625 — 718).

38. 'Aṭīyyah ibn Sa'd al-'Awfī.

39. Ḥanash ibn al-Mu'tamar.

40. Al-Ḥārith al-Hamdānī.

41. Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit.

42. 'Alī ibn Rabī'ah.

43. Al-Qāsim ibn Ḥassān.

44. Ḥusayn ibn Sabrah.

45. 'Amr ibn Muslim.

46. Abū al-Ḍuḥā Muslim ibn Ṣabīḥ.

47. Yaḥyā ibn Ju'dah.

48. Al-'Aṣbagh ibn Nubātah.

49. 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Rāfi'.

50. Al-Muṭṭalib ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥanṭab al-Makhzūmī.

51. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Sa'id al-Khudrī.

52. 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

53. Faṭimah ibnat 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

54. Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

55. Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (A).

56. Yazīd ibn Ḥayyān.

57. Mālik ibn Ḍamrah.

58. Abū Ṣāliḥ.



**Second/Eighth Century:**

**59. Sa'īd ibn Masrūq al-Thawrī (d. 126/743).**

His narration is recorded in Muslim (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 238) from Muḥammad ibn Bakkār, from Ḥassān ibn Ibrāhīm, from him, from Yazīd ibn Ḥayyān, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Is considered *thiqah* by Ibn Ḥibbān, Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, and al-Dhahabī.<sup>18</sup>

**60. Al-Rukayn ibn al-Rabī' Abū al-Rabī' al-Fazārī al-Kūfī (d. 131/748).**

In Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad*, v, 181, 182) from al-'Aswad ibn 'Āmir, from Sharīk, from him, from al-Qāsīm ibn Ḥassān, from Zayd ibn Thābit. Is considered *thiqah* by Aḥmad, Ibn Mu'īn, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Ḥibbān and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>19</sup>

**61. Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd ibn Ḥayyān, Abū Ḥayyān al-Taymī al-Kūfī (d. 145/762).**

In Muslim (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 237—238) and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad*, iv, 371) from Yazīd ibn Ḥayyān from Zayd ibn Arqam. Is considered *thiqah* by al-Thawrī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ijlī, al-Dhahabī, al-Yāfi'ī, al-'Asqalānī, and Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>20</sup>

**62. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaymān Maysarah al-'Arzamī al-Kūfī (d. 145/762).**

In Aḥmad (*Musnad*, iii, 26) from 'Aṭīyyah from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. Is considered *thiqah* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā ibn Mu'īn, and also by 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Nasā'ī, al-'Ijlī and Ibn 'Ammār al-Muṣīlī.<sup>21</sup>

**63. Al-'A'mash, Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-'Asadī al-Kūfī al-Kāhili (61 — 147/680 — 764).**

In al-Tirmidhī (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 220) from 'Alī ibn al-Mundhir, from Muḥammad ibn Fuḍyāl from him from 'Aṭīyyah from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī and also from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit from Zayd ibn Arqam. Is considered *thiqah* by al-Dhahabī, al-Yāfi'ī, al-'Ijlī, Yaḥyā ibn Mu'īn and al-Nasā'ī.<sup>22</sup>

**64. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yasār al-Thaqafī al-Madani (d. 151/768).**

His *marfū'* narrations from Zayd ibn Arqam and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī have been recorded by Ibn Manzūr (*Lisān al-'Arab*, iv, 538). Is considered *thiqah* by Ibn Ḥibbān, Shu'bah, Sufyān, Yaḥyā ibn Mu'īn, Ibn al-Madīnī and al-Subkī, and other scholars.<sup>23</sup>

**65. Isrā'īl ibn Yūnus al-Sabī'ī, Abū Yūsuf al-Kūfī (d. 160/776).**

In Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (*Musnad*, iv, 371) from al-'Aswad ibn 'Āmir, from him, from 'Uthmān ibn al-Mughīrah, from 'Alī ibn Rabī'ah, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Considered *thiqah* by al-'Ijlī, Abū Ḥātim, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Ḥibbān,<sup>24</sup> Ibn Ḥajar,<sup>25</sup> and others.

**66. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utbah ibn Mas'ūd al-Kūfī al-Mas'ūdī (d. 160/776).**

Al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, i, 135) records his narration from Kathīr al-Nawāʾ, from ʿAṭīyyah from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. He is considered *thiqah* by Yahyā ibn Muʿīn, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn al-Madīnī.<sup>26</sup>

67. Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah ibn Muṣarrif al-Yāmi al-Kūfī (d. 167/783).

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in *Musnad*, Ibn al-Maghāzilī in *al-Manāqib* and al-Ḥamawī in *Farāʾid al-simṭayn* have narrated *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* from him. He has been considered *thiqah* by the authors of the six *Ṣiḥāḥ* all of whom have narrated traditions from him.

68. Abū ʿAwānah al-Waḍḍāḥ ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Yashkarī al-Wāsiṭī al-Bazzāz (d. 176/792).

Al-Nasāʾī in *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* and al-Khwārazmī in *al-Manāqib* have narrated *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* from him. He is considered *thiqah* by Abū Ḥātim,<sup>27</sup> Abū Zurʿah, Ibn ʿAdī,<sup>28</sup> al-Dhahabī,<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ḥajar<sup>30</sup> and al-Suyūṭī.<sup>31</sup>

69. Sharīk ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī (d. 177/793).

In *Musnad Aḥmad* (v, 181, 182) from al-Rukayn, from al-Qāsim ibn Ḥassān, from Zayd ibn Thābit. Has been considered *thiqah* by Yahyā ibn Muʿīn and al-ʿIjlī.<sup>32</sup>

70. Ḥassān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kirmānī (d. 176/792).

Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak*. Has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Muʿīn, Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn ʿAdī, Ibn Ḥibbān,<sup>33</sup> and al-Dhahabī.<sup>34</sup>

71. Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Ḍabbī al-Kūfī (d. 188/803).

Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* mentions his narration of *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn*. He has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Saʿd, Muḥammad ibn Ḥammād, Abū Ḥātim, al-ʿIjlī,<sup>35</sup> Yūsuf ibn ʿAmmār al-Mūṣilī, al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Khirāsh, Abū al-Qāsim al-Lālikāʾī, al-Khalīlī and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>36</sup> According to the latter two there is unanimity on his *tawthīq*.

72. Abū Bishr Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muqsim al-ʿAsadī al-Baṣrī, known as Ibn ʿUlayyah (d. 193/808).

His narration of *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* is recorded by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* and Aḥmad in his *Musnad*. One of the leading traditionists and jurists of Baṣrah, he has been considered *thiqah* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Muʿīn,<sup>37</sup> al-Dhahabī,<sup>38</sup> al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Saʿd,<sup>39</sup> and al-Suyūṭī.<sup>40</sup>

73. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn al-Fuḍayl al-Ḍabbī al-Kūfī (d. 194/809).

His narration of *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* is mentioned by Muslim and al-Tirmidhī in their books. He has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Muʿīn and *ṣadūq* by Abū Zurʿah.<sup>41</sup>

74. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Numayr al-Hamdānī (d. 199/814).

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in his *Masnad* and *Kitāb al-manāqib*. Has been con-

sidered *thiqah* by Yahyā ibn Mu‘in, al-‘Ijli and Ibn Sa‘d.<sup>42</sup>

75. Ḥābīb ibn Abī Thābit (d. 119/737).

His narration is mentioned by al-Nasā‘i (*Khaṣā‘iṣ*, i, 133) and Ibn Kathīr (*al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, v, 209) from Ibn al-Ṭufayh from Zayd ibn Arqam. Has been considered *thiqah* by al-‘Ijli, Ibn Mu‘in, al-Nasā‘i and Abū Ḥātim.<sup>43</sup>

76. Abū Ishāq ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Sabī‘i (d. 129/746).

His narration is mentioned by al-Dārquṭni in *Kitāb al-‘Ilal* (ii, 78) from Ḥanash ibn al-Mu‘tamir from Abū Dharr. Has been considered *thiqah* by Ibn Mu‘in, al-Nasā‘i, al-‘Ijli and Abū Ḥātim.<sup>44</sup>

77. Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

In al-Dulābi, *al-Dhurriyyat al-ṭāhirah*, from his father, from his grandfather (A). Regarded *thiqah* by al-Dhahabī<sup>45</sup> and mentioned in *al-Thiqāt* by Ibn Ḥibbān.

78. Ḥakīm ibn Jubayr al-‘Asadī.

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, iii, No. 2681), from him, from Abū al-Ṭufayl from Zayd ibn Arqam. One of four eminent traditionists of his time.<sup>46</sup>

79. Zakariyyā ibn Abī Zā‘idah (d. 147/764).

In al-Muḥāmili (*al-‘Amālī*, iii, 38, MS. in Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyyah, Damascus), from him, from ‘Aṭiyyah al-‘Awfī from Abū Sa‘id al-Khudri. *Tawthīq* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-‘Ijli, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā‘i<sup>47</sup> and Ibn Sa‘d.<sup>48</sup>

80. Fiṭr ibn Khalīfah al-Makhzūmi (d. 153 or 155/770 or 772).

In al-Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-‘iqdayn*, MS., F. 86) and al-Sakhāwī (*al-Istijlāb*, MS., F. 22), from him, from Abū al-Ṭufayl. *Tawthīq* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Yahyā ibn Mu‘in, al-‘Ijli, al-Nasā‘i, Ibn Sa‘d, Abū Nu‘aym al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn and Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>49</sup>

81. Kathīr ibn Zayd (d. 158/774).

In Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭahāwī (*Mushkil al-‘āthār*, ii, 307) and al-Dulābi (*al-Dhurriyyat al-ṭāhirah*, 168) from him, from Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī, from ‘Alī (A). *Tawthīq* by Ibn ‘Ammār al-Mūṣili and Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>50</sup>

82. Ma‘rūf ibn Kharrabūdh al-Makkī.

In Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ḥasan ibn Sufyān al-Nasawī (*al-Musnad al-kabīr*), Abū Nu‘aym (*Ḥilyat al-‘awliyā*, i, 355), Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-‘iqdayn*), al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*), al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Haythamī (*Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn ‘Asākir, Ibn Ḥajar and others, from him from Abū Ṭufayl, from Ḥudhayfah ibn Asīd al-Ghifārī. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>51</sup>

83. Abū al-Jahḥāf Dāwūd ibn Abī ‘Awf al-Tamīmī.

In Imām Aḥmad’s *Faḍā’il ‘Alī*, from him, from ‘Aṭiyyah, from Abū Sa‘id al-Khudri. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu‘in and Sufyān. Among the rijāl of al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, and al-Nasā‘i. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>52</sup>

84. Şālih ibn Abi al-'Aswad al-Laythi.

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, ii, No. 2679) from al-'A'mash from 'Aṭiyyah from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī.

85. Abū al-Jārūd Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir al-'Abdī.

In al-Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-'iqdayn*) and al-Sakhāwī (*al-'Istijlāb*) from him, from Abū Ṭufayl.

86. Ḥātim ibn Ismā'il al-Madanī (d. 186/802).

In al-'Uqaylī (*Kitāb al-du'afā'*), from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (A). *Tawthīq* by Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-'Ijlī.<sup>53</sup>

87. Kathīr ibn Ismā'il al-Nawā' al-Kūfī.

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr*, i, 131) from him, from 'Aṭiyyah. Among the rijāl of al-Tirmidhī. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>54</sup>

88. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Musahhar al-Qarashī (d. 189/805).

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, ii, No. 2678), from Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, from Manjāb ibn al-Ḥārith from him, from 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaymān, from 'Aṭiyyah from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu'in, al-'Ijlī, Abū Zur'ah, al-Nasā'ī,<sup>55</sup> Ibn Sa'd<sup>56</sup> and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>57</sup>

89. 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Jazari.

In al-Bazzāz (*Musnad*, see 136), from him, from Sufyān ibn Sulaymān, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Ḥārith, from 'Alī (A). *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu'in, Ibn Ḥanbal, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Numayr, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Ammār, Abū Dāwūd,<sup>58</sup> Abū Zur'ah, al-'Ijlī and others.<sup>59</sup>

90. 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān al-Zuhri.

In Ibn 'Uqdah (*al-Muwālāt*) Abū Mūsā al-Madinī (*Kitāb al-Ṣaḥābah*), Abū al-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī (*Kitāb al-mu'jiz fī faḍā'il al-Khulafā'*), al-Samhūdī (*op. cit.*), and al-Sakhāwī (*op. cit.*), from him, from Abū al-Ṭufayl.

91. Hārūn ibn Sa'd al-'Ijlī.

In al-'Uqaylī (*Kitāb al-du'afā'*, xii, MS. F. 288) from Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭār, from him, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Khudrī. Among the rijāl of Muslim. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>60</sup> *Taṣḍīq* by al-Dhahabī.<sup>61</sup>

92. Yūnus ibn Arqam.

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr*, i, 135) and al-Khaṭīb (*Talkhīṣ al-mutashābih fī al-rasm*, MS. F. 29), from 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Ṣabīḥ, from him, from Hārūn ibn Sa'd, from 'Aṭiyyah. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>62</sup>

93. 'Uthmān ibn Abī Zur'ah al-Mughīrah al-Thaqafī al-Kūfī.

In al-Ṭahāwī (*Mushkil al-'āthār*, iv, 368) and Aḥmad (*al-Musnad*, iv, 37), from Isrā'il ibn Yūnus al-Sabī'i, from him, from 'Alī ibn Rabī'ah. Among the rijāl of al-Bukhārī. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Ḥajar, Abū Ḥātim, al-Nasā'ī, 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Sa'īd, al-'Ijlī and Ibn Numayr.<sup>63</sup>

94. Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qarashī al-'Anmāti, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Kūfī.

In al-Nasawī (*al-Musnad al-kabīr*), Abū Nu‘aym al-‘Iṣfahānī (*Hilyat al-‘awliyā’*), al-Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-‘iqdayn*), al-Ṭabarānī, (*al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*), al-Haythamī (*Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (*Ta‘rikh Baghdād*), Ibn ‘Asākir (*Ta‘rikh Dimashq*), Ibn Kathīr (*al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*) and others, from him, from Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad (A) from Jābir; and from him, from Ma‘rūf ibn Kharrabūdh, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Hudhayfah ibn Usayd. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt* and al-Tirmidhī narrates a tradition from him about ḥajj.<sup>64</sup>

### Third/Ninth Century:

95. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī al-Ḥabbāl al-Kūfī (d. 203/818).

In *Musnad Aḥmad* (v, 189) from him, from Sharīk, from al-Rukayn, from al-Qāsim ibn Ḥassān from Zayd ibn Thābit. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu‘īn and al-‘Ijlī.<sup>65</sup>

96. Abū ‘Āmir ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Amr ibn Qays al-‘Aqadī al-Baṣrī (d. 204/819).

In Ibn al-Maghāzili (*al-Manāqib*), from him, from Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah, from al-‘A‘mash, from ‘Aṭīyyah, from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu‘īn, al-Nasā‘ī, Ibn Sa‘d, ‘Uthmān al-Dārimī, Abū Ḥātim and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>66</sup>

97. Ja‘far ibn ‘Awn al-Makhzūmī al-Kūfī (d. 206/821).

In ‘Abd ibn Ḥamid al-Kashshī (*Musnad*, MS. 894, F. 40, Ayasofia Library), al-Dārimī (*Sunan*, x, 113), al-Bayhaqī (*Sunan*, ii, 148, vii, 30) and others, from him, from Abū Ḥayyān al-Taymī. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu‘īn, Ibn Sa‘d and Ibn Qānī. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>67</sup>

98. Yazīd ibn Hārūn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 206/821).

In al-Muḥāmili (*al-‘Amālī*, MS. F. 38), from him, from Zakariyyā ibn Abī Zā‘idah. *Tawthīq* by Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Mu‘īn, al-‘Ijlī, Abū Ḥātim, Ya‘qūb ibn Shaybah and Ibn Qānī.<sup>68</sup>

99. Al-‘Aswad ibn ‘Āmir Shādhān al-Wāsiṭī (d. 205/820).

In *Musnad Aḥmad* (iv, 371) from him, from Isrā‘īl ibn ‘Uthmān, from ‘Alī ibn Rabī‘ah from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthīq* by Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>69</sup>

100. Ya‘lā ibn ‘Ubayd al-Ṭanāfisi (d. 209/824).

In al-Bayhaqī (*Sunan*, x, 113), from him, from Abū Ḥayyān al-Taymī from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthīq* and *taṣdīq* by Ibn Mu‘īn and Abū Ḥātim. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>70</sup>

101. ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-‘Absī al-Kūfī (d. 213/828).

In al-Bazzāz, al-Fasawī (*al-Ma‘rifah wa al-ta‘rikh*, i, 536), Abū Bakr al-Ji‘ābī (*Kitāb al-Ṭalibiyyīn*), al-Sakhāwī (*al-‘Istijlāb*, MS. F. 24), al-Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-‘iqdayn*, ii, F. 87), from him, from his father, Isrā‘īl ibn Yūnus and Sharīk ibn ‘Abd Allāh from Abū Isrā‘īl and

Fuḍayl ibn Marzūq. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Sa'd, al-Dhahabī, al-Jazari, Ibn Mu'in, al-Qāḍī Asad, Abū Ḥātim, al-'Ijlī and Ibn 'Adī.<sup>71</sup>

102. Talid ibn Sulaymān al-Muḥārībī al-Kūfī.

In Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Faḍā'il*, 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, from Ismā'il ibn Mūsā ibn bint al-Sadī, from him, from Abū al-Jahḥāf, from 'Aṭīyyah from Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī.

103. Hāshim ibn al-Qāsim Abū al-Naṣr (Naḍr) al-Kinānī al-Baghdādī (d. 207/822).

In Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 194) from him, from Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah, from al-'A'mash, from 'Aṭīyyah, from Abū Sa'id. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Mu'in and al-'Ijlī.<sup>72</sup>

104. Yaḥyā ibn Ḥammād ibn Abī Ziyād al-Shaybānī al-Baṣrī (d. 215/830).

In al-Nasā'ī (*al-Khaṣā'is*), al-Ḥākim (*al-Mustadrak*), and al-Khwārazmī (*al-Manāqib*), from Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā, from him, Abū 'Awānah, from Sulaymān, from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Sa'd,<sup>73</sup> Abū Ḥātim, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>74</sup>

105. Abū Ghassān al-Nahdī Malīk ibn Ismā'il al-Kūfī (d. 219/834). In al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (*Mushkil al-'āthār*, iv, 268), from Fahd ibn Sulaymān, from him, from Isrā'il ibn Yūnus al-Sabī'ī. *Tawthīq* by Ya'qūb ibn Shaybah, Ibn Numayr, Abū Ḥātim and al-Nasā'ī. Mentioned in *al-Thiqāt* by Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>75</sup>

106. Muḥammad ibn Sa'id ibn Sulaymān ibn al-'Iṣfahānī (d. 220/835).

In al-'Uqaylī (*al-Du'afā'*, vi, MS. F. 104) from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, from him, from Ḥātim ibn Ismā'il, from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad (A), from his father (A), from Jābir. *Tawthīq* by al-Nasā'ī, mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>76</sup>

107. Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-'Abdī al-Baṣrī (d. 223/837).

In al-Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-'iqdayn*, ii, MS. F. 86) and al-Sakhāwī (*al-'Istijlāb*, MS. F. 22), from him, from Fiṭr ibn Khalifah and Abū al-Jārūd, from Abū al-Ṭufayl. *Tawthīq* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Ḥātim. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>77</sup>

108. Sa'id ibn Sulaymān al-Wāsiṭī al-Baghdādī (d. 225/839).

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, iii, No. 3052) from Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim, from him, from Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Anmāṭī, from Ma'rūf ibn Kharrabūdh, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ḥudhayfah ibn Usayd. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Sa'd, Abū Ḥātim, al-'Ijlī and Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>78</sup>

109. 'Abd Allāh ibn Bukayr al-Ghanawī.

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, iii, No. 2681) from Muṭayyan, from Ja'far ibn Ḥamīd, from him, from Ḥākim ibn Zubayr, from Abū al-Ṭufayl from Zayd ibn Arqam. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*. *Taṣḍīq* by al-Sājī.<sup>79</sup>

110. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Hāshimī al-Baghdādī (d. 215/830).

In his book *al-Munammaq*, p. 9. An eminent scholar and author of several books; has been considered *thiqah* by al-Suyūṭī.<sup>80</sup>

111. Sa'id ibn Mansūr al-Khurāsānī (d. 227/841).

In his *Sunan* with his *isnād* from Zayd ibn Thābit, as cited in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, i, 47. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Numayr, Ibn Khirāsh, Abū Ḥātim, Ibn Qānī' and al-Dhahabī; al-Khalīlī considers his *tawthīq* unanimous.<sup>81</sup>  
A leading traditionist.

112. Dāwūd ibn 'Amr al-Ḍabbī al-Baghdādī (d. 228/842).

In Abū Bakr al-Bazzāz (*Musnad*; see 136) and al-'Asqalānī (*Zawā'id Musnad al-Bazzāz*, see under Aḥmad ibn al-Mansūr) from Aḥmad ibn al-Mansūr al-Ramādī, from him, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Mūsā ibn 'Abd Allāh, from 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Rāfi', from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Abū Hurayrah. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Qānī' and Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>82</sup>

113. 'Ammār ibn Naṣr al-Marūzī al-Baghdādī (d. 229/843).

In Abū Nu'aym (*Ḥilyat al-'awliyā'*, ix, 64) from 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, from Aḥmad ibn Yūnus al-Ḍabbī, from him, from Ibrāhīm ibn al-Yasa', from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad (A), from his father (A), from his grandfather (A), from 'Alī (A). *Tawthīq* and *taṣḍīq* by Abū Ḥātim and Ibn Mu'in. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>83</sup>

114. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-Zuhri al-Baṣrī (d. 230/844).

In al-Suyūṭī (*al-Durr al-manthūr*, ii, 60), from him with his *isnād* from Abū Sa'id al-Khudri. A leading historian and scholar, his *tawthīq* and *taṣḍīq* has been done by Ibn Khallikān, Abū Ḥātim and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>84</sup>

115. Abū Muḥammad Khalaf ibn Sālim al-Mukharrimī al-Muhallabī al-Sindī al-Baghdādī (d. 231/845).

In al-Ḥākim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109) and al-Khwārazmī (*al-Manāqib*) from Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Baghdādī, from him, from Yahyā ibn Ḥammād, from 'Abū 'Awānah, from al-'A'mash, from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthīq* and *taṣḍīq* by Ibn Ḥibbān, Ibn Mu'in, Ya'qūb ibn Shaybah, al-Nasā'ī and Ḥamzah al-Kinānī.<sup>85</sup>

116. Minjāb ibn al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī (d. 231/845).

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* iii, No. 2678) from him, from 'Alī ibn Musahhar (88). Among the rijāl of Muslim and Ibn Mājah. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>86</sup>

117. Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb ibn Shaddād, Abū Khaythamah al-Nasā'ī (d. 234/848).

In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (ii, 237—238) from him, and Shujā' ibn Makhlad, from Ibn 'Ulayyah (72), from Yazīd ibn Ḥayyān (56), from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthīq* by al-Sam'ānī, Ibn Mu'in, al-Ḥusayn ibn Fahm, Abū

Bakr al-Khaṭīb, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Qānī', Ya'qūb ibn Shaybah, Abū Ḥātim, Ibn Waḍḍāḥ and Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>87</sup>

118. Abū al-Faḍl Shujā' ibn Makhlad al-Fallās al-Baghawī al-Baghdādī (d. 235/849).

In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; see 117 above *Tawthīq* by al-Ḥusayn ibn Fahm, Ibn Qānī', Abū Zur'ah, Aḥmad, and al-Dhahabī. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>88</sup>

119. Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Abī Shaybah al-Kūfī (d. 235/849).

In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* from him, from Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl (73), from Zayd ibn Arqam. Also in his own *Muṣannaf* from Jābir. He is one of the great scholars. *Tawthīq* and *taṣdīq* by al-'Ijlī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Mu'in, Abū Zur'ah and others.<sup>89</sup>

120. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣāliḥ al-'Azdī al-Kūfī (d. 235/849), settled in Baghdad.

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, ii, no. 2679) from Muṭayyan, from him, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī al-'Aswad (84). *Tawthīq* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal Ibn Mu'in and Mūsā ibn Hārūn.<sup>90</sup>

121. Bishr ibn al-Walīd al-Kindī (d. 238/852).

In al-Khwārazmī (*Maqatal al-Ḥusayn*, i, 104) and al-Ḥamawī (*Farā'id al-simṭayn, al-simṭ al-thānī, bāb 54*). The former from Muḥammad ibn al-Mūsili, from him, from Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah (67). The latter from Abū Ṭāhir, from al-Baghawī, from him. *Tawthīq* by Abū Dāwūd and al-Dārquṭnī.<sup>91</sup>

122. Muḥammad ibn Bakkār ibn al-Rayyān al-Hāshimī al-Baghdādī (d. 238/852).

In *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* from him. See Sa'id ibn Masrūq (59). *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu'in al-Dārquṭnī and al-'Asqalānī.<sup>92</sup>

123. Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn Rāhwayh (d. 238/852).

In al-Sakhāwī (*al-'Istijlāb*), al-Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-'iqdayn*), Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad Bā Kathīr (*Wasīlat al-ma'āl*), Muslim (*Ṣaḥīḥ*) and (*al-Dhurriyyat al-ṭāhirah*), from him, from him, from 'Alī (A) and Zayd ibn Arqam. A great scholar, author of a famous *Musnad*, teacher of al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī. One of the Imams of ḥadīth and fiqh. It was he who inspired al-Bukhārī into writing his *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>93</sup>

124. Abū Muḥammad Wahbān ibn Baqiyyah ibn 'Uthmān al-Wāsiṭī (d. 239/853).

In Ibn al-Maghāzili's *al-Manāqib*. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Mu'in, al-'Ijlī, Abū Zur'ah, Ibn Ḥajar and others.<sup>94</sup>

125. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī (d. 241/855). He has narrated *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn* through various chains of transmission, with varying wordings from Abū Sa'id al-Khudri and Zayd ibn Arqam (*Musnad Aḥmad*, iii, 14, 17, 26, 59, 371, 181, 182). He is one



of the Imams of Ahl al-Sunnah in ḥadīth and fiqh.

126. Ja'far ibn Ḥamid al-Qarashī al-Kūfī (d. 240/854).

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, iii, No. 2681) from Mutayyan, from him, from 'Abd 'Allāh ibn Bukayr al-Ghanawī, from Ḥakīm ibn Jubayr, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Among the rijāl of Muslim. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>95</sup>

127. Ismā'il ibn Mūsā al-Fazārī ibn Bint al-Suddī al-Kūfī (d. 245/859).

In Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *Faḍā'il 'Alī*; see (102). *Taṣḍīq* by Abū Ḥatīm and Abū Dāwūd.<sup>96</sup>

128. Sufyān ibn Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 247/861).

In al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ya'lā (*Musnad*), from him, from Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl, from 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Sulaymān, from 'Aṭīyyah, from Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī. Among the rijāl of al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah. *Taṣḍīq* by Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>97</sup>

129. Naṣr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Bakkār al-Bāji al-Kūfī al-Washshā' (d. 248/862).

In al-Tirmidhī (*Ṣaḥīḥ*), from him, from Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan, from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad (A), from his father (A), from Jābir. Also in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (*Nawādir al-'uṣūl*) and al-Ṭabarānī (see 166) from him.

130. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd ibn Ḥamid al-Kissī (or al-Kashshī) (d. 249/863).

In his *Musnad* (see 97) from Zayd ibn Thābit; also as mentioned by al-Suyūṭī (*Iḥyā' al-mayyit bi dhikr faḍā'il Ahl al-Bayt*, 12), al-Samhūdī (*Jawāhir al-'iqdayn*), al-Shaykhānī al-Qādirī (*al-Ṣirāṭ al-sawī*), and Mirzā Muḥammad Khān al-Badakhshī (*Miftāḥ al-najāḥ*). Also from him from Zayd ibn Arqam in al-Suyūṭī (*al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, *Sharḥ* by al-Munāwī, ii, 174—175) and 'Alī al-Muttaqī (*Kanz al-'ummāl*). Author of *Musnad* and *Tafsīr*, he is one of the Imams of the Ahl al-Sunnah.<sup>98</sup>

131. 'Abbād ibn Ya'qūb al-Rawājini al-'Asadī (d. 250/864).

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr*, i, 131) from al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Muṣ'ab al-'Ushnānī al-Kūfī, from him, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mas'ūdī, from Kathīr al-Nawā', from 'Aṭīyyah, from Abū Sa'id.

132. Naṣr ibn 'Alī ibn Naṣr ibn 'Alī al-Jahḍamī al-Baṣrī (d. 250/864).

In al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (*al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr*, i, 131) from him, from Zayd ibn al-Ḥassān, from Ma'rūf ibn Kharrabūdh al-Makkī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl from Ḥudhayfah ibn Usayd al-Ghifārī. A leading scholar, his *tawthīq* has been done by al-Sam'ānī, Ibn Khirāsh, al-Nasā'ī, al-Dhahabī and others.<sup>99</sup>

133. Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā Abū Mūsā al-'Anzī (d. 252/866).

In al-Nasā'ī (*al-Khasā'is*), from him, from Yaḥyā ibn Ḥammād (see 104). Among the rijāl of Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Abū 'Isā and al-Nasā'ī. *Tawthīq* by al-Sam'ānī, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Nishābūrī,

Abū Ḥātim, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Khaṭīb, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>100</sup>

134. Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, Akhu Karkhwayh al-Wāsiṭī (d. 246/860).

In al-Muḥāmili (*al-'Amālī*) from Yazīd ibn Hārūn (98). *Tawthīq* by al-Khaṭīb.<sup>101</sup>

135. Yūsuf ibn Mūsā al-Qaṭṭān (d. 253/867).

In Imām Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Khuzaymah's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (MS. 348, Maktabat Sulṭān Aḥmad, Istanbul) from him, from Jarīr ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid, from Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl, from Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Taymī, from Yazīd ibn Ḥayyān, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Among the rijāl of al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah. *Tawthīq* by Ibn Khuzaymah and others. Mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>102</sup>

136. Aḥmad ibn al-Manṣūr al-Ramādī (d. 265/878).

In Abū Bakr al-Bazzāz (*Musnad*, MS. 578, Maktabat Murād, Istanbul), from him, from Dāwūd ibn 'Umar, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Mūsā ibn 'Abd Allāh from 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Rafī', from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Abū Hurayrah. *Tawthīq* by Abū Ḥātim and al-Dārquṭnī.<sup>103</sup>

137. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī al-Samarqandī (d. 255/869).

In his *Musnad*, as mentioned by al-Sakhāwī in *al-'Istijlāb*. Author of *al-Musnad*, *Tafsīr* and *al-Jāmi'*. A leading scholar (imam). *Tawthīq* by al-Sam'ānī, al-Dhahabī and al-'Asqalānī.<sup>104</sup>

138. 'Alī ibn al-Mundhir al-Ṭarīqī al-Kūfī (d. 256/870).

In al-Tirmidhī (*Ṣaḥīḥ*) and Ibn al-'Athīr (*Uṣd al-ghābah*), from him from Abū Sa'īd (see 63). *Tawthīq* by Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Numayr and al-Dhahabī.<sup>105</sup>

139. Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Nishābūrī (d. 261/874).

In his *Ṣaḥīḥ* narrates it through various chains of transmission. He is one of the imams of the Ahl al-Sunnah in ḥadīth, and his *Ṣaḥīḥ* has been preferred to al-Bukhārī's by some major scholars, among them Abū 'Alī al-Nishābūrī.

140. Aḥmad ibn Yūnus Abū al-'Abbās al-Ḍabbī (d. 268/881).

In Abū Nu'aym (*Ḥilyat al-'awliyā'*, ix, 64) from 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, from him, from 'Ammār ibn Naṣr (see 113). *Tawthīq* mentioned by al-Khaṭīb and Abū Nu'aym.<sup>106</sup>

141. Ibrāhīm ibn Marzūq ibn Dīnār (d. 270/883).

In Abū Ja'far al-Ṭaḥāwī (*Mushkil al-'āthār*, ii, 307) and al-Dūlābī (*al-Dhurriyyat al-tāhirah*, 186) from him, from Abū 'Āmir al-'Aqadī (96) from Kathīr ibn Zayd (81), from Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī (77), from his father, from 'Alī (A). *Tawthīq* by al-Dārquṭnī, Ibn Yūnus, Ibn Ḥātim, Ibn Ḥibbān and Sa'īd ibn 'Uthmān.<sup>107</sup>

142. Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ja'far.

In al-Bazzāz (*Musnad*, MS. F. 75), from him, from 'Alī ibn Thābit, from Sufyān ibn Sulaymān from Abū Ishāq from al-Ḥārith from 'Alī (A).

Among the rijāl of Abū Dāwūd, al-Nāsā'ī and al-Bazzāz.<sup>108</sup>

143. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Abū Aḥmad al-Farrā' (d. 272/885).

In al-Bayhaqī (*Sunan*, ii, 148) from al-Ḥākim, from al-Ḥasan ibn Ya'qūb, from him, from Ja'far ibn 'Awn, from Yaḥyā ibn Sa'id, from Yazīd ibn Ḥayyān from Zayd ibn Arqam. Again in al-Bayhaqī (*op. cit.* vii, 30) from Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm, from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb, from him, from Ja'far ibn 'Awn. *Tawthīq* by al-Nāsā'ī and Ibn Ḥibbān. Among the rijāl of Muslim, al-Bukhārī, Ibrāhīm, Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ibn Khuzaymah.<sup>109</sup>

144. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīni (d. 273/886).

Al-Kanji (*Kifāyat al-ṭālib*, 53) mentions his narration of *Ḥadīth al-Thaḡalayn*. He is one of the imams of ḥadīth and his *Sunan* is counted among the Six *Ṣiḥāh*.

145. Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Ash'ath al-Sijistānī (d. 275/888). Al-Kanji (*Kifāyat al-ṭālib*, 53) mentions his narration of the ḥadīth. He is also one of the imams of ḥadīth and a leading traditionist of his era.

146. Abū Qalābah 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Raqqāshī al-Baṣrī (d. 276/889).

In al-Ḥākim (*al-Mustadrak*, ii, 193), from Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, from him, from Yaḥyā ibn Ḥammād, from Abū 'Awānah, from al-'A'mash, from Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit from Abū al-Ṭufayl from Zayd ibn Arqam. *Tawthīq* and *taṣdīq* by Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Dārquṭnī, and Abū Dāwūd.<sup>110</sup>

147. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī al-'Awwām ibn Yazīd ibn Dinār al-Riyāhī al-Tamīmī (d. 276/889).

In Ibn al-Maghāzili (*al-Manāqib*, 234—236). *Taṣdīq* by al-Dārquṭnī.<sup>111</sup>

148. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān al-Fasawī (d. 277/890).

In his *al-Ma'rifah wa al-ta'rikh*, i, 536—538, narrates the ḥadīth through 8 chains from four Ṣaḥābah: Zayd ibn Arqam, Abū Sa'id, Zayd ibn Thābit and Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. An eminent historian and traditionist (imām), al-Tirmidhī, al-Nāsā'ī, Ibn Khuzaymah, Abū 'Awānah al-'Asfarā'inī and Ibn Abī Dāwūd have narrated from him. Ibn Ḥibbān has mentioned him in *al-Thiqāt*.<sup>112</sup>

149. Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq, al-Qāḍī Abū Ishāq al-Zuhri (d. 277/890).

In al-Bayhaqī (*Sunan*, x, 113), from Abū Muḥammad Janāḥ ibn Nadhīr, from Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Daḥīm al-Shaybānī, from him, from Ja'far ibn 'Awn (97), from Ya'lā ibn 'Ubayd (100). *Tawthīq* by al-Khaṭīb.<sup>113</sup>

150. Abū 'Isā Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn Sawrah al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892).

In his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ii, 219, 220) narrates it through several chains of transmitters from Jābir, Abū Dharr, Abū Sa'id, Zayd ibn Arqam and Ḥudhay-

fah ibn Usayd. He is one of the imams of hadith and his *Ṣaḥīḥ* one of the Six *Ṣiḥāḥ*.

151. Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894).

In his book *Fadā'il al-Qur'ān*, MS. *Tawthīq* and *taṣdīq* by Ibn Abi Hātim, al-Dhahabī and al-Kutubī.<sup>114</sup>

152. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 285/898).

In his *Nawādir al-'uṣūl*, 68–69, through 2 *asānīd* from Jābir and Hudhayfah ibn Usayd.

153. Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Amr ibn Abī 'Āṣim al-Nabīl, known as Ibn Abī 'Āṣim al-Shaybānī (d. 287/900).

In his *Kitāb al-Sunnah*, as mentioned by al-Suyūṭī in *al-Budūr al-sāfirah 'an umūr al-'ākhīrah*, from Zayd ibn Thābit; and from 'Alī (A), as mentioned in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, xv, 122.

154. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī (d. 290/902).

In *Ziyādāt al-Musnad* from his father, from Zayd ibn Thābit; in *al-Mustadrak* (iii, 109) from his father, from Zayd ibn Arqam; in *Yanābī' al-mawaddah*, 32, from him, from Abū Sa'īd and Zayd ibn Arqam. Son of Imam Aḥmad and an eminent scholar of his era; *tawthīq* by al-Khaṭīb and al-Dhahabī.<sup>115</sup>

155. Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl, Abū Ja'far al-Saqāṭī (d. 288/900). In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, iii, No. 2680), from him, from Sa'īd ibn Sulaymān, from Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Anmāṭī (93). *Tawthīq* and *taṣdīq* by al-Dārquṭnī and al-Khaṭīb.<sup>116</sup>

156. Fahd ibn Sulaymān al-Naḥḥās al-Miṣrī.

In al-Ṭahāwī (*Mushkil al-'āthār*, iv, 368) from him, from Abū Ghassān Mālik ibn Ismā'il al-Nahdī.

157. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Shaybānī al-Baghdādī, known as Tha'lab (d. 291/904).

In al-'Azharī (*Tahdhīb al-lughah*, ix, 78). A great traditionist, grammarian and man of letters. *Tawthīq* by al-Khaṭīb.<sup>117</sup>

158. Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Bazzāz (d. 292/905).

In his *Masnad* through two chains from Abū Hurayrah and 'Alī (A); see 89, 112, 136. One of the leading traditionists.

159. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Faqīh al-Qabbānī (d. 292/904). In al-Ḥakīm (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109), from him, from Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad, from Khalaf ibn Sālim al-Mukharrimī, from Yaḥyā ibn Ḥammād, from Abū 'Awānah, from al-'A'mash, from Ḥabīb ibn Thābit, from Abū Ṭufayl, from Zayd ibn Arqam. Al-Ḥakīm has narrated many traditions from him in *al-Mustadrak* and mentions him with great respect.

160. Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim al-Jawhari (d. 293/905).

In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, iii, no. 3052), from him, from Sa'īd ibn Sulaymān al-Wāsiṭī from Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Anmāṭī, from Ma'rūf ibn Kharrabūdh, from Abū Ṭufayl from Ḥudhayfah ibn Usayd. *Tawthīq* by al-Khaṭīb.<sup>118</sup>

161. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad Jazarah (d. 294/906). In al-Ḥākim (*al-Mustadrak*, iii, 109) see 159. One of the leading traditionists of his age. *Tawthīq* by al-Khaṭīb.<sup>119</sup>

162. Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Ḥulwānī (d. 296/908). In al-'Uqaylī (*Kitāb al-du'afā'*, MS. 362, Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyyah, Damascus, vi, F. 104), from him from 'Abd Allāh ibn Dāhir, from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs, from al-'A'mash, from 'Aṭiyyah, from Abū Sā'īd al-Khudrī. *Tawthīq* by al-Dhahabī.<sup>120</sup>

163. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ja'far Muṭayyan, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān (d. 297/909). In al-Ṭabarānī (*al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, Nos. 2680, 2683, 3052) from him. One of the leading traditionists. *Tawthīq* by al-Dārquṭnī; see al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, 662.

To be continued—'in shā' Allāh

## NOTES:

3. Al-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī "Ahl al-Bayt (A) fī al-maktabat al-'Arabiyyah", *Turāthunā*, no. 15 (4th year, 2nd issue), pp. 84—93.

4. *Idem.*, "Mawqif al-Shī'ah min hajamāt al-khuṣūm wa khulāṣah 'an kitāb 'Abaqāt al-'anwār", *Turāthunā*, no. 6 (2nd year, 1st issue), pp. 41—52.

5. This is the famous tradition, also mentioned in the narration given by al-Ḥākim in *Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (vol. iii, pp. 109-110), quoted in the section "On Some Ṣaḥīḥ Versions of the Ḥadīth" in the present article, in which the Prophet (S) while returning from his last pilgrimage stopped the entire caravan at Ghadīr Khumm and made the announcement:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلَيْهِ مَوْلَاهُ.

Of whomever I am his master, 'Alī also is his master (*mawlā*).

This is also a *mutawātir* tradition about which al-'Allāmah al-'Aminī wrote his great work *al-Ghadīr fī al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah wa al-'adab*. Among the many Sunni traditionists who have recorded this tradition in their works are:

Al-Tirmidhī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Būlāq, 1292), ii, 298;

*Sunan Ibn Mājah* (Maṭba'at al-Fārūqī, Delhi), in "bāb Faḍā'il aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh (S)" from al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib and Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ;

Al-Ḥākim in *Mustadrak* (Hyderabad, 1313) from Zayd ibn Arqam (iii, 109, 533), Sa'd ibn Mālik (iii, 116), from Rifā'ah ibn Ayās al-Ḍabbī from his father from his grandfather (iii, 371), and from Buraydah al-'Aslamī (iii, 110; ii, 129);

Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*, al-Maṭba'at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt, 1313, from al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib (iv, 281), Buraydah al-'Aslamī (v, 347, 350, 358), Zayd ibn Arqam (iv, 372, iv, 368, v, 307), Ibn 'Abbās (i, 330), Abū al-Ṭufayl (iv, 270) and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A) (i, 84, 88, 118, 139, 152, v, 307, 366, 419);

Hadīth al-Thaqalayn: A Study of Its Tawātur Part 2

Abū Nu‘aym al-‘Iṣfahānī in *Hilyat al-‘awliyā’* (Egypt: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘ādah, 1351) iv, 23, v, 26;

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* (Dār Ṭibā‘at al-‘Amīrah) under the verse 5:67;

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, in *Ta’rīkh Baghdād* (Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘ādah, 1360), vii, 377, viii, 290, xii, 343, xiv, 236;

Al-Nasā‘ī in *Khaṣā‘iṣ* (Maṭba‘at al-Taqaḍdum al-‘Ilmiyyah, Egypt, 1348), pp. 4, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 40;

Al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍīrah* (Maṭba‘at al-‘Ittiḥād, Egypt, 1st éd.), ii, 169, 170, 172, 203 and *Dhakhā‘ir al-‘uqtā* (Egypt 1356), 86;

Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī in *al-Ṣawā‘iq al-muḥriqah* (al-Maṭba‘at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt, 1312), pp. 25, 26;

‘Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī in *Kanz al-‘ummāl* (Hyderabad, 1312), i, 48, vi, 83, 153, 154, 390, 397, 398, 399, 403, 405, 406, 407;

Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī in *al-‘Iṣābah* (Calcutta, 1853 A.D.), i, part one, 57, 319; iii, part one, 29; iv, part one, 14, 16, 61, 143, 169, 182; vi, 223, vii, part one, 78, 156;

Ibn al-‘Athīr in *Usd al-ghābah* (al-Maṭba‘at al-Wahbiyyah, Egypt, 1285), i, 308, 367, 368, ii, 307, 233, iii, 92, 93, 321, 374, iv, 28, v, 205, 276, 383;

Ibn Qutaybah in *al-‘Imāmah wa al-siyāsah* (Maṭba‘at al-Futūḥ al-‘Adabiyyah, 1331), 93;

Al-Ṭahāwī in *Mushkil al-‘āthār* (Hyderabad, 1333), ii, 307;

Al-Manāwī in *Fayḍ al-Qadīr* (Egypt, 1356), vi, 218, 358 and *Kunūz al-ḥaqā‘iq* (Istanbul, 1285), 92;

Al-Haythamī in *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id* (Egypt, 1352), vii, 17, ix 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 119, 163, 164;

‘Alī ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī in *Mirqāt al-mafātiḥ* (al-Maṭba‘at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt, 1309), v, 568.

6. Al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (al-Maṭba‘at al-Khayriyyah, Egypt, 1320) in “Kitāb bad’ al-khalq”, “Bāb manāqib ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib” and “Bāb ghazwat Tabūk,” in two places, records this tradition in which the Prophet (S) is reported to have said to ‘Alī (A):

أَمَا تَرْضَىٰ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَىٰ؟

Are you not pleased to have the position (*manzilah*) in relation to me as that Aron had in relation to Moses?

Among other traditionists who have recorded this tradition in their works are:

Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Maṭba‘at Būlāq, 1290), “kitāb faḍā‘il al-Ṣaḥābah,” through three chains; al-Tirmidhī, in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 301; Ibn Mājah in his *Sunan*, p. 12; al-Hākim in *Mustadrak*, ii, 337; Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in *Musnad*, i, 29, 170, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 182, 184, 185, 230, iii, 338, vi, 369; al-Nasā‘ī in *Khaṣā‘iṣ*, 4, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 32; Ibn Sa‘d in *al-Ṭabaqāt* (Leiden 1322) iii, part one, 14, 15; Abū Nu‘aym in *Hilyat al-‘awliyā’*, vi, 345, vii, 194, 195, 196, viii, 307; al-Khaṭīb in *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, i, 324, iii, 288, iv, 71, 204, 382, vii, 452, viii, 52, ix, 394, x, 43, xi, 432, xii, 323, al-Ṭabarī in his *Ta’rīkh al-‘umam wa al-mulūk* (Maṭba‘at al-‘Istiḳāmah, Cairo, 1357), ii, 368; Ibn al-‘Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, v, 8; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, iii, 154, v, 40, vi, 154, 188, 395, 402, 404, 405, viii, 215; al-Haythamī, *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, ix, 109, 110, 111, 119; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍīrah*, i, 13, ii, 162, 163, 164, 175, 195, 203 and *Dhakhā‘ir*

*al-uqbā*, 120.

7. Al-Tirmidhī, in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 297, records this tradition of the Prophet (S):

إِنَّ عَلِيًّا مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْهُ ، وَهُوَ وَلِيٌّ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ بَعْدِي .

Verily, 'Alī and I are inseparable, and he is the master (*walī*) of every believer after me.

Among other traditionists who have recorded it in their books are: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*, iv, 437, v, 356; Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī in his *Musnad*, iii, 111, xi, 360; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, ix, 109, 127, 128, 199; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'riḥ Baghdād*, iv, 339, al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, ii, 203, 171; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vi, 154, 155, 396, 401; Ibn al-'Athīr in *Usd al-ghābah*, v, 94; Abū Nu'aym in *Hilyat al-'awliyā'*, vi, 294; al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'is*, 19, 23; as well as Ibn Abī Shaybah, al-Ṭabarī, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Daylamī, Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Rafī'ī, and Ibn Ḥajar.

8. Al-Tirmidhī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* reports that once when the Prophet (S) sat down to eat a fowl that had been prepared for his dinner; he prayed to God:

اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَنِي بِأَحَبِّ خَلْقِكَ إِلَيْكَ يَا كَلُّ مَعِي هَذَا الطَّيْرَ فَجَاءَ عَلِيٌّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَأَكَلَ مَعَهُ .

“My God, bring the most beloved of Your creatures, that he may eat this fowl with me.” Then 'Alī (A) came and the Prophet ate with him.

Among others who have recorded this tradition in their works are: al-Ḥākim in *Mustadrak*, iii, 130, 131; Abū Nu'aym in *Hilyah*, vi, 339; al-Khaṭīb in *Ta'riḥ Baghdād*, ii, 171; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, ii, 160, 161, and *Dhakhā'ir al-'uqbā*, 61; al-Haythamī in *Majma' al-zawā'id*, ix, 125, 126; al-Muttaqī in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, iv, 406; Ibn al-'Athīr in *Usd al-ghābah*, iv, 30.

9. Al-Ḥākim records this tradition of the Prophet (S) in his *Mustadrak*, iii, 126, 127:

أَنَا مَدِينَةُ الْعِلْمِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا فَمَنْ أَرَادَ الْمَدِينَةَ فَلْيَأْتِ الْبَابَ .

I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate; whoever intends to enter the city should come to its gate.

Among others who have narrated or recorded it in their works are: al-Khaṭīb in *Ta'riḥ Baghdād*, ii, 348, 377; vii, 172; xi, 48, 49; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, ii, 193; al-Muttaqī in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vi, 152, 156, 401; Ibn Ḥajar in *al-Ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqah*, 73; al-Manāwī in *Kunūz al-ḥaqā'iq*, 43 and *Fayḍ al-Qadīr*, iii, 46; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, ix, 114; Ibn al-'Athīr in *Usd al-ghābah*, iv, 22 and *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1325), vi, 152; as well as al-'Uqaylī, Ibn 'Adī and al-Ṭabarānī.

10. The following is one of its versions:

مَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَنْظُرَ إِلَى آدَمَ فِي عِلْمِهِ وَإِلَى نُوحٍ فِي تَقْوَاهُ وَإِلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي حِلْمِهِ وَإِلَى مُوسَى فِي بَطْشِهِ وَإِلَى عِيسَى فِي عِبَادَتِهِ فَلْيَنْظُرْ إِلَى عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ .

Whoever wishes to see Adam in his knowledge, Noah in his piety, Abraham in his forbearance, Moses in his strength, and Jesus in his worship and devotion should look at 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

## Hadith al-Thaqalayn: A Study of Its Tawatur Part 2

Among the narrators who have recorded similar traditions in their works are: al-Muhibb al-Ṭabarī in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍīrah*, ii, 218, 208; al-Muttaqī in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, i, 226; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah* (Egypt, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl), ix, 168; al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawaddah* (Istanbul), p. 214, 312; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashq*, "tarjumat al-'Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib," ii, 280; Fakhr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 700; Ibn al-Maghāzili, *Manāqib*, 212, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Mālikī, *al-Fuṣūl al-muhimmah*, 107.

11. This is the following tradition:

مَنْ نَاصَبَ عَلِيًّا الْخِلَافَةَ فَهُوَ كَافِرٌ.

Whoever contests 'Alī in regard to the *khilāfah* is an unbeliever.

Among those who have narrated it in their works are: Ibn al-Maghāzili in his *Manāqib* (Tehran), p. 45, from Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, and 'Allāmah 'Aynī Hyderābādī in *Manāqib Sayyidinā 'Alī* (A'lam Press, Charminar), p. 52, from al-Khaṭīb al-Khwārazmī and Ibn al-Maghāzili.

12. Al-Muhibb al-Ṭabarī narrates this tradition on the authority of Salmān from the Prophet (S) in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍīrah*, ii, 163:

كُنْتُ أَنَا وَعَلِيٌّ نُورًا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى قَبْلُ أَنْ يُخْلَقَ آدَمُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بِأَرْبَعَةِ عَشَرَ أَلْفِ عَامٍ فَلَمَّا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ آدَمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَسَمَ ذَلِكَ النُّورَ جُزْءَيْنِ فَجُزْءٌ أَنَا وَجُزْءٌ عَلِيٌّ.

Fourteen thousand years before Adam — upon whom be peace — was created, I and 'Alī were a light in the presence of God. When God created Adam — upon whom be peace — He divided it into two parts. I am one of the parts and 'Alī is the other part.

Among others to have narrated this tradition are: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in *al-Faḍā'il*; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī in *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, 46; Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Rāzī in *Zayn al-fatā fi tafsīr Sūrat Hal atā*, MS.; 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in *Zawā'id manāqib Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, MS., also Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Maghāzili, al-'Āṣimī, Shīrūyah al-Daylamī and others from 'Alī (A), Salmān, Abū Dharr, Anas ibn Mālik, Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh and other Companions. See the part of *'Abaqāt* on this tradition, which discusses fifty-five different *riwāyahs* narrated by leading and eminent Sunnī and Shi'i traditionists and scholars.

Among Shi'i scholars those who have narrated it are: al-Kulaynī in *al-Kāfi*, from Abū Ja'far al-Thānī (A) and al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A); Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās ibn Māhyār in *Mā nazala min al-Qur'an fi Ahl al-Bayt*, cf., *Ghāyat al-marām*, 12; Furāt ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn 'Abbās; al-Ṣadūq in *al-Khiṣāl* and *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'* from al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A), Mu'adh ibn Jabal and al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A), and in *Kamāl al-Dīn* from al-'Imām 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (A) and al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A); al-Sayyid Ḥāshim al-Baḥrānī in *Ghāyat al-marām*, bāb 2, p). 8-13; al-Shaykh al-Mufīd in *al-'Ikhtisāṣ*; al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī in *al-'Amālī*, i, 186, 300-301, 311-312, 320 from al-'Imām al-Ḥādī (A), al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A), al-'Imām al-Kāzīm and Anas ibn Mālik from the Prophet (S); Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī in *al-Kharā'ij wa al-jarā'ih* from Sa'dān; as well as al-'Allāmah al-Hillī, Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Daylamī, Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamdān al-Ḥādīnī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsi, Sharaf al-Dīn ibn 'Alī al-Najafī and al-'Allāmah al-Majlisī in their works.

13. Al-Bukhārī mentions this tradition in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "kitāb al-jihād wa al-siyar":



عن سهل بن سعد قال: قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم خيبر: لأعطين الراية غداً رجلاً يفتح على يديه يحب الله ورسوله ويحبه الله ورسوله، فباتت الناس ليلتهم أتتهم يعطي فغدوا كلهم يرجوه، فقال: أين علي؟ فقيل يشكي عينيه فبصق في عينيه ودعا له فبرئ كأن لم يكن له وجع فأعطاه....

Sahl ibn Sa'd said: "The Prophet (S) said on the day of (the victory of) Khaybar: 'Tomorrow I will give the standard to a man, by whose hand God shall conquer (Khaybar). He loves God and His Messenger, and God and His Messenger love him.' The people passed the night wondering as to who will receive it and everyone was hopeful of getting it. (The next day) the Prophet (S) declared: 'Where is 'Ali?' He was told: 'He is suffering with an eye pain.' (When 'Ali came) the Prophet applied his saliva to his eyes and prayed for him. 'Ali recovered as if he had no pain before. Then the Prophet (S) gave it (the standard) to him....

Among others to have recorded this tradition in their books are: Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, "kitāb al-jihād wa al-siyar" and "kitāb faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah"; al-Tirmidhī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, i, 218; Ibn Mājah in *Sunan* (Maṭba'at al-Fārūqī, Delhi) "bāb faḍā'il aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh (S)"; al-Hākim in *Mustadrak*, iii, 38, 437; Imam Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in *Musnad*, i, 99, 133, 185, 320, iv, 51, v, 353; Abū Nu'aym in *Hilyat al-'awliyā'*, i, 26, 62; al-Nasā'ī in *Khaṣā'is*, 4, 5, 7, 8, 32; al-Muttaqī in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, v, 283, 285, vi, 394, 395, 405; al-Haythamī in *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vi, 150, 151, ix, 119, 123, 124; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 337, 339. al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍirah*, ii, 185, 187, 203; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, ii, 300; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ii, part one, 80; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-'Istī'ab* (Hyderabad, 1336), ii, 450; al-Bayhaqī in *Sunan*, vi, 362.

14. Al-Tirmidhī has recorded this tradition of the Prophet (S) in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 298:

رَحِمَ اللهُ عَلِيًّا، اللَّهُمَّ أَدِرِ الْحَقَّ مَعَهُ حَيْثُ دَارَ.

May God's mercy be upon 'Ali. My God, keep the *ḥaqq* (truth, righteousness, justice) always with 'Ali.

Among others who have recorded it in their works are: al-Hākim in *Mustadrak*, iii, 119, 124; al-Khaṭīb in *Ta'riḥ Baghdād*, xiv, 321; al-Haythamī in *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vii, 134, 235, 243; and al-Muttaqī in *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vi, 157.

15. Al-Nasā'ī in *Khaṣā'is*, 40, reports this tradition on the authority of Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī:

عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال: كنا جلوساً ننتظر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فخرج إلينا قد انقطع شئغ نعليه فرمى به إلى علي فقال: إن منكم رجلاً يُقاتل الناس على تأويل القرآن كما قاتلت على تنزيله، قال أبو بكر: أنا؟ قال: لا، قال عمر: أنا؟ قال: لا، ولكن خايف النعل.

Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī reports: "We sat waiting for the Messenger of Allah (S) when he came out to meet us. The strap of his sandal was broken and he tossed it to 'Ali. Then he (S) said, 'A man amongst you will fight the people over the *ta'wīl* (interpretation) of the Qur'an in the same way as I have fought over its *tanzīl* (revelation).' Thereupon Abū Bakr said, 'Is that I?'" The Prophet (S) said, 'No.' Then 'Umar asked him, 'Is that I?' 'No.' said the Prophet (S). 'It is the mender of the sandal (i.e. 'Ali).'"

## Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn: A Study of Its Tawātur Part 2

Among others who have recorded this tradition in their works are: al-Ḥākim in *Mustadrak*, iii, 122; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*, iii, 33, 82; Abū Nu‘aym in *Ḥilyat al-‘awliyā’*, i, 67; Ibn al-‘Athīr in *Usd al-ghābah*, iii, 282, iv, 33; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-‘Iṣābah*, i, 22, iv, 152; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-‘Istī‘āb*, ii, 423; al-Haythamī, *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, v, 186; al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vi, 155, 390, 391.

16. Al-Ḥākim records this tradition of the Prophet (S) in his *Mustadrak*, ii, 343, iii, 150:

مَثَلُ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي مَثَلُ سَفِينَةِ نُوحٍ مَنْ رَكِبَهَا نَجَا وَمَنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْهَا غَرِقَ.

The parable of my ahl al-bayt is that of the boat of Noah; whoever gets aboard it is saved and whoever stays away from it is drowned.

Among the traditionists who have narrated it are: Abū Nu‘aym in *Ḥilyat al-‘awliyā’*, iv, 306; al-Khaṭīb in *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, xii, 19; al-Suyūṭī in *al-Durr al-manthūr* (al Maṭba‘at al-Maymaniyyah, Egypt, 1314), under verse 2:58; al-Muttaqī in *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, i, 250, vi, 216; al-Haythamī in *Majma‘ al-zawā‘id*, ix, 167, 168; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī in *Dhakhā‘ir al-‘uqbā*, 20; al-Manāwī in *Kunūz al-ḥaqā‘iq*, 132.

17. See al-Sayyid ‘Alī al-Milānī, “Al-Sayyid Ḥamid Ḥusayn (r) wa Kitābuhū al-‘Abaqāt,” *Turāthunā*, No. 4 (Rabi‘ 1406 H.), pp. 144–156.

18. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 82; *al-Kāshif*, i, 272.

19. *al-Kāshif*, i, 313; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 286; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 252.

20. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, M.S.; *al-Kāshif*, ii, 256; *al-‘Ibar*, i, 205; *Mir‘āt al-jinān*, i, 301; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 248; al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dehlawī, *Asmā’ rijāl al-Mishkāt*.

21. Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, MS.; al-Maqdisī, *al-Kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, MS.; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, 155; al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 396.

22. *al-‘Ibar*, i, 209; *Mir‘āt al-jinān*, i, 305; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 222.

23. Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS.; *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyyah*, i, 85; al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, iii, 19; see also *Mir‘āt al-jinān*, i, 313.

24. Al-Mizzī, *Asmā’ rijāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, i, 42; Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, i, 116; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 261.

25. *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 64.

26. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, 197.

27. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS.

28. Al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, MS.

29. *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, 236, also *al-Kāshif*, iii, 235.

30. *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 231.

31. *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, 100.

32. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, *al-Kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, MS.

33. Al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iii, 245.

34. *al-Kāshif*, i, 215, and *al-‘Ibar*, i, 293.

35. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS.

36. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 75, and *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 127.

37. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS.

38. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, 323; *al-Kāshif*, i, 118, *al-‘Ibar*, i, 310.

39. Al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 275.

40. *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, 133.

41. Al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, MS.; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, 315.

42. Al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 56.

43. *Ibid.*, ii, 178.

44. *Ibid.*, viii, 63.

45. *Al-Kāshif*, iii, 82.
46. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 445.
47. *Ibid.*, iii, 329.
48. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vi, 355.
49. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 300.
50. *Ibid.*, vi, 413.
51. *Ibid.*, x, 230.
52. *Ibid.*, iii, 196.
53. *Ibid.*, ii, 128.
54. *Ibid.*, viii, 411.
55. *Ibid.*, vii, 382.
56. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vi, 388.
57. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 290.
58. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, xi, 356.
59. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 288.
60. *Ibid.*, xi, 6.
61. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Kāshif*, ii, 214 and *Mizān al-'itidāl*, iv, 284.
62. *Ibid.*, vi, 331; Ibn Ḥajar, *Ta'jīl al-manfa'ah*, 301.
63. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 155.
64. *Ibid.*, iii, 406.
65. Al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, MS.
66. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, Ms.; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 409; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 521.
67. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 101; *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vi, 396.
68. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xi, 366.
69. *Ibid.*, i, 304; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 76; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, 155.
70. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 402.
71. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vi, 400; *al-Kāshif*, ii, 234; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 50.
72. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vii, 355; *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, xiv, 64.
73. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*.
74. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*; *al-Kāshif*, iii, 253; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 346.
75. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, x, 3.
76. *Ibid.*, ix, 188.
77. *Ibid.*, ix, 417.
78. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vii, 340; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 43.;
79. *Lisān al-mizān*, iii, 264.
80. *Baghyat al-wi'ā'*, 29—30.
81. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 89; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 416.
82. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iii, 195.
83. *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, xii, 255; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 407.
84. *Wafayāt al-'a'yān*, iii, 473; *al-'Ibar*, i, 407; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, 183.
85. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iii, 152.
86. *Ibid.*, ii, 297.
87. *Ibid.*, 342; al-Sam'ānī, *al-'Ansāb*, under 'al-Nasā'i.'
88. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 312; *al-Kāshif*, ii, 5.
89. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-'alām al-nubalā'*, MS.
90. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 197.

Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn: A Study of Its Tawātur Part 2

91. *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, vii, 80—84.
92. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 147.
93. *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'yyah*, ii, 83; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 216; *Hudā al-sāri*.
94. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, MS.; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 337.
95. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 87; *al-Kāshif*, i, 184; al-Khazrajī, *al-Khulāṣah*, i, 166.
96. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 335.
97. *Ibid.*, iv, 123.
98. *Ibid.*, vi, 455; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 534; *Mir'āt al-jinān*, ii, 155; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 529.
99. Al-Sam'ānī, *al-'Ansāb*; al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, MS; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 519; *al-'Ibar*, i, 457.
100. *Al-'Ansāb*, under al-Ghanzi, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 152; *al-Kāshif*, iii, 93; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 204.
101. *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, iii, 374.
102. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xi, 425.
103. *Ibid.*, i, 83.
104. *Al-'Ansāb*; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 535; *al-Kāshif*, i, 103; *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 429.
105. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, MS; *al-Kāshif*, ii, 296.
106. *Akhbār Isfahān*, i, 81; *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, v, 223.
107. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 163.
108. *Ibid.*, ii, 344.
109. *Ibid.*, ix, 319.
110. *Al-'Ansāb*, under 'al-Riqashī'; 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, *al-Kamāl*, MS.
111. *Al-'Ansāb*, under al-Riyāḥī.
112. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xi, 385; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, i, 582; *al-'Ibar*, ii, 58.
113. *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, vi, 25.
114. *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 677; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, 294; *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii, 228.
115. *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 665; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, v, 141; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*, 288.
116. *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, iii, 153.
117. *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*; 290.
118. *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, iv, 349.
119. *Ibid.*, ix, 322—328.
120. *Al-'Ibar*, ii, 106.

# Waqf, According to Five Schools of Islamic Law Part 3

by 'Allāmah Muḥammad Jawād Maghniyyah

Translated from the Arabic by Mujāhid Ḥusayn

## The Sale of Waqf:

**D**o there actually exist causes which justify the sale of *waqf* property? What are these causes if they exist? And if such a sale is valid and takes place, what is the rule concerning the proceeds? May we replace it (the original *waqf* property) with something capable of fulfilling the objectives of the *waqf*, so that a new property takes the place of the old one and is governed by the rules applicable to it?

## Al-Makāsib and al-Jawāhir:

We will discuss the opinions of the different schools in detail and this discussion will make clear the replies to these as well as some other questions. I haven't come across anyone among the legists of the five schools who has dealt with this issue in such detail as the two Imāmi legists al-Shaykh al-'Anṣārī, in *al-Makāsib*, and al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan, in *al-Jawāhir*, "bāb al-tijārah." The two have examined the issue from all the angles, together with its numerous sub-issues, and have sifted the various opinions expressed in this regard. We will present a summary of the important issues dealt with in these two incomparable books, on which we have relied more than any other work in presenting the Imāmi viewpoint.

In this regard it may be pointed out that al-Shaykh al-'Anṣārī and the author of *al-Jawāhir*, in what they have left of their works, do not save the reader from toil and effort; rather, they require from him application, patience, intelligence and a substantial educational background. Without these it is not possible to follow these two authors or even to trace the path they have taken. Rather, they leave him lost and unable to find safe passage.

But one who has a firm educational base is bestowed upon by them the most precious of gems (*jawāhir*) and the most profitable of earnings (*makāsib*), provided he possesses patience and persistence. I am not aware of any other Imāmi legist from among the earlier or later generations who has bestowed Ja'fari fiqh and its principles life and originality to the extent given to it by the mighty pen of these two.

I apologize for this digression which I was compelled to make by my sense of gratitude as a pupil of these two great figures, or more correctly of their works.

### The Present Question:

Numerous views have been expressed in this regard and the clash of opinions visible here is not to be seen in any other issue of fiqh, or at least in the chapter on *waqf*. The author of *al-Jawāhir* has dealt with the medley of conflicting opinions and we mention here a collection of his observations:

The legists differ regarding the sale of *waqf* in a manner the like of which we do not generally encounter in any other issue of *waqf*. Some of them absolutely prohibit the sale of *waqf*, some others allow it under certain circumstances, while a group among them refrains from giving any opinion. Rather, the number of opinions expressed is so large that each legist has his own specific view, and there are instances where a single legist has expressed contradictory views in the same book; for example, the view expressed by him in the chapter on sale contradicts his opinion in the chapter on *waqf*. Sometimes contradictory ideas have been expressed in a single argument, so that that which is observed in the beginning differs from the observations at the time of conclusion. The author of *al-Jawāhir* has recorded twelve different opinions and the reader will learn about the most important among them from the issues discussed below.

### Mosques:

The rule applicable to a mosque, in all the schools of Islamic law, differs from the rules applicable to other forms of *waqf* in a number of ways. Hence all the schools, except the Ḥanbalī, concur that it is not permissible to sell a mosque irrespective of what the circumstances may be, even if it lies in ruins or the people of the village or locality where it is located have migrated and the road to it is cut in such a manner that it is certain that not a single person will pray in it. Despite all this, it is *wājib* that it remain in the same state without any change. The reason given for this is that the *waqf* of a mosque severs all links between it and the *wāqif* as well as everyone else except God Almighty, and, there-

fore, it is at times termed *fakk al-milk* (release from ownership) and at times *tahrir al-milk* (liberation from ownership). That is, earlier it was confined, while now it has become free from all constraints. Now when it is not anyone's property, how can its sale be valid when it is known that sale cannot take place without ownership?

Consequently, if a usurper utilizes a mosque by residing in it or cultivating it (when it is a piece of land), though he be considered a sinner, he is not liable for any damages, because it is not owned by anyone.

It is noteworthy that its ceasing to be anyone's property precludes its ownership through sale or purchase, but this prohibition does not apply if its ownership is acquired through *al-ḥiyāzah* (acquisition), like all other forms of natural bounties (*al-mubāḥāt al-‘āmmah*).

The Ḥanbalis say: If the residents of a village migrate from the locale of the mosque and it stands in a place where no one prays in it, or if it is too small for the number of people praying in it and its extension or building a part of it is also not feasible without selling a part of it, its sale is valid, and if it is not possible to draw any benefit from it except through sale, it may be sold (*al-Mughnī*, vol. 5, "bāb al-waqf").

The opinion of the Ḥanbalis is similar in some aspects to the view expressed by the Imami legist al-Sayyid Kāzim, who observes in *Mulḥaqāt al-‘Urwah* that there is no difference between the *waqf* of a mosque and its other forms.

Thus dilapidation, which justifies the sale of other forms of *waqf* property, will also justify the sale of a mosque. As to the 'release from ownership', it does not hinder its sale in his view so long as the property has value. The correct view, in our opinion, is that it is not valid to own a mosque through a contract of sale, though it is valid to do so through *al-ḥiyāzah*.

That which gives strength to the view expressed by this great legist, that there is no difference (between the various kinds of *waqf*), is that those who permit the sale of a *waqf* which is not a mosque if it is in a dilapidated condition, do so because in a dilapidated state the structure is either unable to fulfil the purpose for which it was endowed or loses the quality made by the *wāqif* as the subject of the *waqf* (such as where he endowes an orchard because it is an orchard and not because it is a piece of land). This logic applies exactly in the case of a mosque as well, because the condition that it should be used as a place of prayer was what caused it to be made a *waqf*. Now when this condition is not being fulfilled, the property ceases in its use as a mosque. In such a situation, the rule applicable to a non-mosque *waqf* will also be applied here, in that it can be owned through any of the forms of acquisition of ownership, even if it be through *al-ḥiyāzah*.

### Properties Belonging to Mosques:

Generally mosques have assets in the form of *waqfs* of shops, houses, trees or land, whose profits are utilized for the repairs and carpeting of mosques and for paying its attendants. Obviously, these forms of property do not enjoy the sanctity of a mosque and its merit as a place of worship, because there is a difference between a thing and the properties subject to it.

The two also differ with respect to the rules applicable to their sale. Therefore those who prohibit the sale of a mosque allow the sale of a mosque's assets because there is no causal *shar'ī* or non-*shar'ī* relationship between them, considering that a mosque is used for worship, a purely spiritual activity, while the *waqf* of a shop (owned by a mosque) is destined for material benefit. Hence a mosque belongs to the category of public *waqfs* — or rather it is one of the most prominent of its forms — while the properties owned by it are private *waqfs* belonging specifically to it. Consequently, it is doubtlessly valid to sell *waqf* properties belonging to mosques, cemeteries, and schools, even if we accept the invalidity of the sale of a school or a graveyard.

But is it valid to sell the properties subject to a *waqf* unconditionally, even if there is no justifying cause — such as its being in a dilapidated condition or dwindling returns — or is it necessary that there exist a justifying cause so as to be treated exactly like a *waqf* in favour of one's descendants and other forms of private *waqf*?

These properties are of two types. The first type is one where the *mutawallī* buys the property from the proceeds of the *waqf*, such as where a mosque has an orchard which the *mutawallī* rents out, or buys or builds a shop from its proceeds for the *waqf*'s benefit, or obtains a shop from charitable donations received. In such a situation, both sale and exchange are valid if beneficial, irrespective of whether there exists any justifying cause mentioned by the legists, because these properties are not *waqf* but only the proceeds or assets belonging to the *waqf*. Hence the *mutawallī* is free to deal with them in the interest of the *waqf*, exactly like he deals with the fruits of an orchard endowed for the benefit of a mosque,<sup>1</sup> except where the religious judge (*ḥākim al-shar'*) supervises the creation of the *waqf* of a real estate bought by the *mutawallī*, in which case the real estate will not be sold unless there exists a cause justifying its sale. But where the *mutawallī* creates a *waqf*, it has no effect without the *ḥākim*'s permission, because the *mutawallī* is appointed for managing the *waqf* and its utilization, not for creating *waqfs*.

The second type of property is one where the benefactors endow it as a *waqf* for the benefit of a mosque or school (as when a person provides in his will that his house, shop or land be made a *waqf* for the



benefit of a mosque or school, or he himself makes a *waqf* of it). This kind of property is considered a private *waqf* and its sale is valid if the justifying causes, such as dilapidation or dwindling returns amounting to almost nothing, exist. But if they do not exist, it is not valid. I haven't come across in any work of the four Sunni schools in my possession anyone making this distinction.

This is what I have inferred from what al-Shaykh al-'Anṣārī mentions in *al-Makāsib* while discussing the rule applicable to a mosque's mat. He says: "A difference has been made between what is 'free' property (e.g. a mat purchased from the income of a mosque; in this case it is valid for a *mutawallī* to sell it if it is beneficial, if it has fallen into disuse or even if it is still new and unused) and between what is part of a *waqf* in favour of the mosque (e.g. a mat which a person buys and puts in the mosque, or the cloth used to cover the Ka'bah; the like of these are the public property of Muslims and it is not valid for them to alter their condition except in cases where the sale of *waqf* is valid)."

Thus when it is valid for a *mutawallī* to sell a new mat of the mosque which he has purchased from its funds, it is without doubt valid for him to sell other such items, and that which indicates an absence of difference (between a mat and something else) is the Shaykh's own observation soon after the above quotation. There he states: "The rule applicable to baths and shops which have been built for income through letting them and the like, is different from the rule applicable to mosques, cemeteries and shrines."

Exactly similar is the following view of al-Nā'ini mentioned in al-Khwansāri's *Taqrīrāt*: "Where a mosque is ruined or forsaken, in a manner that it is no longer in need of the income from its *waqfs* and other sources, the income from *waqfs* pertaining to it will be spent in worthy causes, though it is better that it be spent on another mosque." Similarly, if the *waqf* is in favour of a certain school or hospital which lies in ruins, its income will be used for charitable purposes or for another institution of its kind.

#### Waqfs which are not Mosques:

We have referred to the opinions held by the different schools concerning mosques, and pointed out that the Imāmi, Shāfi'i, Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools are opposed therein to the Ḥanbalīs. But concerning *waqfs* other than mosques, the Imāmiyyah have their own specific stand regarding their sale. We will first mention the views of the four Sunni schools and then deal separately with the opinion of the Imāmiyyah.

Since the Ḥanbalīs have allowed the sale of a mosque on the existence of a justifying cause, it is more in order for them to allow the sale

and exchange of a *waqf* which is not a mosque, provided a justifying cause exists.

As to the Shāfi'is, they absolutely prohibit its sale and exchange even if it is a private *waqf* (e.g. in favour of one's progeny) and even if a thousand and one causes exist, though they allow the beneficiaries to use up the private *waqf* themselves in case of necessity (e.g. using a dried fruit tree as fuel, though its sale or replacement is not valid for them).

The Mālikis, as mentioned in *Sharḥ al-Zarqānī 'alā Abī Diyā'*, permit the sale of a *waqf* in the following three situations. First, where the *wāqif* stipulates its sale at the time of creation of *waqf*; here his condition will be followed. Second, where the *waqf* is a movable property and is considered unfit for its prescribed purpose; here it will be sold and the amount realized will be used to replace it. Third, an immovable property will be sold for the expansion of a mosque, road or cemetery. Apart from these its sale is not valid, even if it lies in ruins and is not being utilized for any purpose.

As to the Ḥanafis, according to Abū Zuhrah in *Kitāb al-waqf*, they allow the replacement of public and private *waqfs* of all kinds except mosques. They have mentioned the following three situations in this regard:

1. That the *wāqif* should have specified it at the time of creation of *waqf*.
2. The *waqf* should fall in a condition of disuse.
3. Where replacement is more profitable and there is an increase in its returns, and there exists no condition set by the *wāqif* prohibiting its sale.

This was a brief account of the views of the four schools regarding a *waqf* which is not a mosque, and, as noticed, they, as against the Imāmiyyah, do not differentiate between private and public *waqfs* — excepting mosques — from the point of view of their sale.

### Public and Private Waqfs:

The Imāmiyyah divide *waqfs* into two categories and specify the rules applicable to each one of them as well as their consequences.

**Private Waqf:** It is a *waqf* which is the property of the beneficiaries, i.e. those who are entitled to utilize it and its profits. To this category belong *waqfs* in favour of one's progeny, 'ulamā', or the needy, the *waqfs* of immovable property for the benefit of mosques, cemeteries, schools, etc. It is regarding this category that there is a difference of opinion between the legists as to whether its sale is valid when the justifying causes are present or if it is totally invalid even if a thousand and one causes exist.

**Public Waqf:** It is a *waqf* for the common benefit of people in general, not for a specific group or class among them. To this category belong schools, hospitals, mosques, shrines, cemeteries, bridges, caravansaries of the past, springs and trees dedicated for the use of passers-by, because they are not meant for any specific Muslim individual or group to the exclusion of other individuals or groups.

The Imāmiyyah concur that these public *waqfs* cannot be sold or replaced in any situation even if they are in ruins or about to be destroyed and fall into disuse, because, according to them, or most of them, they are released from ownership, i.e. gone out of the ownership of the earlier owner without becoming anyone's property. Thus on becoming *waqf* such a property becomes exactly like the free gifts of nature, and it is obvious that there can be no sale except where there is ownership. This is in contrast to private *waqfs* which involve the transfer of ownership of the *wāqif* to the beneficiaries in some particular manner. Hence (in the case of public *waqfs*), if the purpose of a *waqf* becomes totally impossible to achieve (such as a school which has no students and consequently no lessons can be held in it) it is valid to transform it into a public library or a conference hall.

We have already pointed out in the discussion on mosques that though they are precluded from being owned through sale, it is valid to own them through *al-ḥiyāzah*. We also said that the author of *Mulḥaqāt al-'Urwah* has criticized the legists on the basis that there is no difference between public and private *waqfs* and that the reason justifying the sale of a private *waqf* also justifies the sale of a public *waqf*. He does not concede that a public *waqf* involves release and freedom from ownership, and there is no impediment to sale in his opinion even if it is accepted to be such, because, according to him, the factor justifying a thing's sale is that it should possess value.

However, we have some remarks to make about the opinion of the legists as well as that of the author of *al-Mulḥaqāt*. We reject the position of the legists on the ground that though the absence of ownership prevents ownership of a *waqf* through a contract of sale, it does not prevent its ownership through *al-ḥiyāzah*. Similarly, ownership by itself does not validate sale, because mortgaged property, which is certainly owned (by the mortgagor), cannot validly be sold without the consent of the mortgagee.

We reject the position of the author of *al-Mulḥaqāt* because possession of value by itself is not sufficient, for the unowned gifts of nature, (such as the fishes in the water or the birds in the sky), though they possess value, cannot be sold (in that state). Therefore, as observed earlier, the only way of ownership is through *al-ḥiyāzah*.

## Cemeteries:

We have already mentioned that cemeteries are public *waqfs* like mosques and that the Imāmiyyah do not consider their sale valid in any situation, even if they are in ruins and their signs have been wiped out. I consider it useful to specifically discuss cemeteries in this chapter for the following two reasons.

1. The necessity of mentioning the rules in this regard, because there are numerous Muslim cemeteries which have been forsaken and are used for other purposes.

2. Usually there is a difference between cemeteries and other forms of *waqfs*. This difference will become clear in the following discussion.

If we know about a cemetery that a person had donated his land for that purpose and it was used for burial, the rule applicable to public *waqfs* will apply to it, and it will be reckoned among *waqfs* whose sale is invalid, even if its signs have disappeared and the bones of the buried have decayed.

But if we know that the cemetery was previously an unused land not owned by anyone and the people of the village used it as a cemetery — as is usually the case — then it is not a *waqf* ab initio, neither public nor private; rather it will remain the common property of all (*al-mushā'*) and its *ḥiyāzah* is valid for anyone who takes the initiative. But if a corpse is buried in a part of it, both the opening of the grave and using it in a desecrating manner is not valid. But anyone can personally utilize any part of this land by either cultivating it or building upon it if it is without graves or there are old graves whose occupants' bones have decayed.

Using this land is valid for him, exactly like it is valid for him to use abandoned land or land whose original user has migrated and it has reverted to its previous state.

Where we are unaware of the history of a piece of land which is being used as a cemetery — i.e. as to whether it was an owned land which was endowed by the owner, so that it would be considered a *waqf* and governed by its rules, or if it was an ownerless land which the villagers later used for burying their dead — it will not be considered a *waqf* because the presumption is the absence of a *waqf* unless its existence is proved according to the Shari'ah.

Here one might say: A *waqf* is proved if it is popularly known to be such; therefore why cannot the *waqf* of a cemetery be similarly proved?

Our reply is that if it is popularly known that a certain cemetery is a *waqf* and it has been narrated generation after generation that a particular person had endowed it for a cemetery, we would definitely confirm it as a *waqf*. But if all that is widely held is that it is a cemetery,

the sole knowledge of its being a cemetery is not sufficient to prove that it is a *waqf*. It could have been common land.

#### A Sub-Issue:

If a person digs a grave for himself to be buried in it at the time of his death, it is valid for others to bury in it another corpse even if there is extra space in the cemetery. But it is better to leave it for him, refraining from troubling a believer.

#### Causes Justifying the Sale of Waqf Property:

We have already mentioned that Imāmi legists concur that the sale of public *waqfs*, like mosques and cemeteries, etc., is not valid. But regarding private *waqfs* (e.g. the *waqfs* made in favour of one's progeny, scholars, or the needy) there is a difference of opinion between them where there exists a cause justifying their sale. The following causes justifying the sale of private *waqfs* have been mentioned by these legists.

1. Where there remains no benefit of any kind in the property from the viewpoint of the purpose for which it was endowed (e.g. a dried branch not yielding fruit, a torn mat fit only for being burnt, a slaughtered animal which can only be eaten), there is no doubt that this cause justifies sale.

2. Al-Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Iṣfahānī observes in *Wasīlat al-najāt*: "The articles, carpets, cloth coverings of tombs, and similar items cannot be sold if they can be utilized in their present state. But if they are not required in the location any longer, and their being there would only damage and destroy them, they should be utilized in a similar alternative place, and if such a place does not exist or exists but does not need them, they will be used for public benefit. But where no benefit can be derived from them except by selling them and their retention amounts to their damage and destruction, they will be sold and the proceeds used for the same place if it is in need of it. Otherwise, it will be used in any other similar place if possible or for public benefit.

3. If a *waqf* is in ruins (such as a dilapidated house or an orchard which is not productive) or its benefit is so little as to be reckoned nonexistent, if its repair is possible it will be repaired, even if it entails its being rented out for years; otherwise, its sale will become permissible, provided its proceeds are applied for replacing the former property as mentioned below.

4. If the *wāqif* provides for the sale of *waqf* property in case of dispute between the beneficiaries, or dwindling profits, or any other reason which does not make a *ḥarām ḥalāl* and vice versa, his desire will

be carried out.

5. Where dispute occurs between the beneficiaries of a *waqf* threatening loss of life and property and there is no way of ending it except through its sale, the sale is permissible and the amount realized will be distributed among the beneficiaries.

This is what the legists say, though I do not know the basis of their opinion except what they have mentioned regarding the counter-ing of a greater by a lesser harm. But it is obvious that it is not valid to remove harm from one person by shifting it to another, and the sale of the *waqf* entails loss to the succeeding generations of beneficiaries.

6. If it is possible to sell part of a dilapidated *waqf* property and repair the remaining part with the proceeds of the sale, such a sale is permissible.

7. If a mosque is ruined, its stones, beams, doors, etc. will neither be treated in accordance with the rules applicable to the mosque itself, nor the rules applicable to fixed property endowed for the benefit of a mosque which forbid its sale except on the presence of a justifying cause. Rather, the rules applicable to them will be those which apply to the income of the mosque and its *waqfs* (such as the rent of a shop belonging to or endowed in favour of the mosque). In this regard the *mutawallī* is free to utilize it in any manner beneficial for the mosque.

### The Sale Proceeds of a Waqf:

Where a *waqf* is sold on the presence of a justifying cause, how will the sale proceeds be used? Will they be distributed among the beneficiaries exactly like the income generated by the *waqf*, or is it necessary, if possible, to buy with these sale proceeds a similar property to replace the one sold?

Al-Shaykh al-'Anṣārī as well as many other *mujtahids* observe: The rule applicable to the sale proceeds is the rule applicable to the *waqf* sold, in that it is the property of the succeeding generations. Therefore, if the sale proceeds are in the form of immovable property, it will take the place of the *waqf* sold; if it is cash, we will buy with it the most suitable replacement. The replacement does not require the reciting of a *ṣiḡḡah* for making it a *waqf*, because the fact that it is a replacement naturally implies that the latter is exactly like the former. Hence al-Shahīd states in *Ghāyat al-murād*: 'The replacement is owned on the basis of the ownership of the replaced property, and it is impossible that it be owned separately.'

Then al-'Anṣārī observes in *al-Makāsib*, at the conclusion of the discussion on the first cause validating the sale of a *waqf*: 'If it is not possible to buy immovable property from the sale proceeds, the money will be kept in the custody of a trustworthy person awaiting a future

opportunity. If deemed beneficial, it is also permissible to do business with it, though the profits will not be distributed among the beneficiaries, as is done in the case of the income generated from the *waqf*; rather the rule applicable here will be the rule applicable to the *waqf* itself because it is part of the property sold and not a true increase.”

This is what al-'Anṣārī has said and he, may God be pleased with him, is better aware of his true intent. But I do not perceive any difference between the profits of the sale proceeds of a *waqf* and the income generated from the *waqf* itself. Therefore, as the income of the *waqf* is distributed among the beneficiaries, it is appropriate that the profits (from the sale proceeds invested) be similarly distributed, though it may be said that the income from the *waqf*'s immovable property does not belong to the class of the *waqf* property itself but is separate from it, whereas the profits from business are in the form of money which does not differ from it, and where there is a difference, the rule applicable will also differ. Whatever the case, if the mind is set to work, it finds a solution for every difficulty and doubt from a theoretical point of view. But, obviously, practice should be the criterion, and the tangible reality is that usage does not distinguish between the two situations, and therefore it should be resorted to.

Al-Shaykh al-Nā'ini observes in al-Khwansāri's *Taqrīrāt*: If another property is purchased from the sale proceeds of the first property, the latter will neither take the place of the former nor will it be considered a *waqf* similar to the former; rather it is exactly like the income generated from a *waqf*, and it is permissible to sell it without any justifying cause if the *mutawallī* considers its sale to be beneficial.

The correct opinion is the one mentioned by al-'Anṣārī, al-Shahīd and other researchers that there is no difference between the replacement and the property replaced.

### Some Curious Waqfs:

I did not intend to add anything about *waqf* after having finished discussing it and having mentioned the positions of the schools. But incidentally at the time when I had finished the chapter on *waqf* to go on to the chapter on *ḥajr* (legal disability) I read a curious and interesting account regarding Egyptian *waqfs* during the eras of the Mamlūks and earlier 'Uthmānis. I had received two magazines, the Lebanese *Lisān al-Ḥāl* and the Egyptian *al-'Akhbār* dated 7th July 1964, and I set aside my pen and started perusing them so to know about the current developments and to relieve myself of monotony.

By chance I happened to read in the magazine *al-'Akhbār* that in the Directorate of Waqf, Egypt, is an iron vault that had remained locked for hundreds of years. The Directorate decided to open it to find out

its contents. When the doors of this vault were opened, thousands of deeds and agreements covered with dust and piled upon one another were found. Twenty persons were appointed to study them. When they started this work they came across curious and amazing things: 300 deeds written with gold water, a deed executed a thousand years ago, and so on. It made an interesting and enjoyable reading either because it was actually so or due to my immersion in related research and writing. I mention a part of these contents hoping that the reader too would also enjoy reading them:

An immovable property was endowed for providing grass for the mule ridden by the Shaykh of al-'Azhar at that time.

A woman created a *waqf* of 3000 feddans (1 Egyptian feddan = 4200.833 sq. metre) for the benefit of the 'ulamā' who followed Abū Ḥanīfah.

Some *pāshā* endowed 10,000 feddans for covering the graves of his relatives with branches of palm and myrtle.

A person endowed parts of his wealth for the water-carriers of the city mosque.

Another created a *waqf* for the reciter of the Friday sermon.

A lady created a *waqf* for providing ropes for pails used for supplying water to a mosque.

A *waqf* for providing caftans and outer garments for old persons.

A *waqf* for incensing study sessions.

I remember having read in the past about a *waqf* in Syria whose income is used to buy new plates to replace those broken by maid-servants to save them from the censure of their mistresses.

I have heard that in Ḥomṣ there is a *waqf* for those who sight the new moon of the 'Īd of Ramaḍān. For this reason there is a multitude of claims of having sighted it in that region. There are also present *waqfs* in some villages of Jabal 'Amil for providing shrouds for the dead.

These *waqfs*, if they reveal anything, show the thinking prevailing at that time, the mode of living and habits of the society in which the *wāqifs* lived, and that there were a large number of families who could not even provide their dead with a shroud.

Concluded; wal-ḥamdu lillāh

## NOTES:

1. The difference between property purchased from the income of *waqf* and property purchased from the sale proceeds of a dilapidated *waqf* is noteworthy. In the former case, the property purchased will take the place of the *waqf* sold, while the property purchased from the *waqf*'s income will not take the position of a *waqf*.



# Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) and the Heir Apparency \*

by Shaykh Muḥammad Mahdī Shams al-Dīn

Translated from the Arabic by Batool Ispahany

## 1. Goals and Methods:

**A**fter the martyrdom of al-'Imām al-Ḥusayn (A) the objective of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), as we see it, was two-fold. Firstly, their goal was to protect Islam against corruption, forgery and mis-interpretation. This was done in several ways. The foremost of them was to establish the authentic Sunnah in the face of other claims which were influenced, to a lesser or greater degree, by the inclinations of existing regimes and the heresies (*ahwā'*) of those in control of them during the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsīd eras.

Since the corruption (*tahrīf*) on the Qur'ānic text was out of question, the most dangerous phenomenon that confronted Islam from within was the narration of forged and corrupted traditions ascribed to the Prophet (S). The meanings of certain Qur'ānic verses were distorted — particularly those concerning the most important political and social concepts — by the means of fabricated and corrupted ḥadīth. Therefore, the Imams (A) did their best to spread the ḥadīth among the people and employed all the means to extend the range of its circulation throughout the various regions.

Secondly, their objective was to protect the followers of the authentic Islamic path, and those who were close to it in various degrees, from ignorance, deviation and the danger of physical liquidation. Their protection from ignorance was secured by strong emphasis on the diffusion of Islamic teachings among them, through dispatching missionaries to them, founding centres of religious instruction in various regions, and establishing a rightly-guided authority for them, and these

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\*This paper was presented by the author, a well-known Lebanese scholar, at the first international seminar held on al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) at Mashhad from August 10 to 14, 1984.

affiliated them to the path of the Ahl al-Bayt (A). This affiliation was a conscious one, based on knowledge (*ma'rifah*) and conviction, which guaranteed continuity and resistance in the face of trials and difficulties, not one based only on emotional attachment or merely on *taqlīd*, for that could not ensure the perpetuity and invincibility of a revolutionary political and ideological movement as sought by the Ahl al-Bayt (A).

They were protected from deviation (*fitnah*) by being persistently and repeatedly prohibited from being assimilated into the infrastuctive of an oppressive and irreligious political authority, and by being enjoined to keep aloof from it without dissociating themselves from the rest of the Islamic community. They were instructed to keep close relations with all the Muslims, on the basis of coexistence with the authorities while abstaining from entering their organization or participating in its establishment so far as it did not harm the general order of the society or go against the basic vital interests of the community following the path of the Ahl al-Bayt (A). They were also protected from deviation by being constantly prohibited to take sides with this or that rival party from among the oppressors who struggled for power.

They, as individuals or groups, were protected from being persecuted in their districts or from being exiled or executed by the prescription of *taqiyyah*. We basically understand *taqiyyah* as being an ordinance aimed at the protection of the lives of individuals and their personal interests, so long as that does not violate the basic principles and political commitment to society. However, when *taqiyyah* leads to the abandonment of the principles or deviation from them in a political issue, or when it goes against political commitment to society, then it is not lawful, because it was introduced to protect the individuals upholding and defending the principles. Thus it should be noted that *taqiyyah* was prescribed to safeguard the principles and to insure their success in the future. It is not reasonable, therefore, that it should become a cause of the weakening or even the destruction of those very principles for the sake of protecting the interests of the individuals.

This objective manifested itself on the plane of practice and reality, after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (A), in the form of a balance between three elements: (1) *taqiyyah* on the individual level, (2) preservation of the general order of the Islamic society and the Muslim community in respect of administration and public services, (3) refusal to grant political legitimacy to the oppressive regime. The Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) dealt with the existing regimes within these limits. This balance resulted in the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) working with the existing system on an administrative level, in so far as that would preserve the general order of society and provide an atmosphere conducive to safety and freedom of movement for them and their followers. Thus the goal of safeguarding the ultimate prophecy from corruption would

be achieved while preserving the political stand opposing the oppressive regimes, which characterized the path of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), in a live and active state.

A situation such as this has always been a painful one for those Islamic activists who, by virtue of their stand, have various responsibilities towards the society and yet work at a socio-political stage in history during which immediate and complete revolution is not possible. It was necessary for them to ensure, firstly, that political opposition does not damage the foundations of society and upset its general order.

On the other hand, it was necessary to exercise thorough vigilance at every stage so that the fulfilment of those requirements would not lead to the granting of political legitimacy to the oppressive or irreligious government. The guidance offered by the lives of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) in direction of political activism, either at the level of the Ummah or that of specific communities within it, will protect the activist from errors and confusion while considering the limits within which he must remain.

When we examine the nature of this goal, the characteristic of both aspects of which have been recorded and demonstrated in the lives of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), we find that, on the one hand, it has the fundamental characteristic of propagating the ultimate prophetic message and safeguarding Islam from distortion. On the other hand, we find that it has a defensive characteristic shown in the protection of the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) from the afore-mentioned dangers.

The most profound significance of both the aspects of this goal lay in the preparation of the Ummah and the renewal of its foundations, after its relapse in the early period of Islam and the consequent deviation in political matters and issues pertaining to government, which in turn were followed by deviation on the legal front. This deviation was regarding the source and authority of the Sunnah, which is the second source of legislation in Islam after the Book of Allah, the Mighty and Sublime.

The object of this preparation was to safeguard the healthy nucleus constituted by the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and to enable it to expand by attracting a larger number of Muslims to its circle. This would facilitate the establishment of a state on the basis of Islam, following the creation of a wider Islamic base for it. This base would be committed to the idea of the Islamic state; it would promote it and serve as the point of departure towards it, until God, the Exalted, fulfils His ultimate promise through the appearance of the Mahdī (*Baqiyyat Allāh*), may God's peace be upon him and may He hasten his appearance.

## 2. The Central Issue:

In order to understand this goal, one must study the social,

political and legal aspects of the life of each of the Infallible Imams (A). Here we will study one aspect of the political life of al-'Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā (A), his designation to the heir apparentcy of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn — which was perhaps the most significant phase in his political life — and the issues related to it.

We will see that al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) played the role of an active leader in giving direction to the events even in his situation where he could only react, for his responses stemmed from a precise and universal plan that enabled him not only to counter the problem that he faced but also to carry out his duties of supreme leadership in the Ummah.

Here the discussion revolves around the question of succession, which was the central problem of the Islamic polity after the demise of the Prophet (S). This problem had grown steadily in significance until it reached a climax following the martyrdom of Amīr al-Mu'mīn 'Alī (A). It exploded with the revolution of al-Ḥusayn (A) into a series of crises of political legitimacy throughout the era of the Imams (A) up to the occultation of the Awaited Imam (A). In the period of occultation it assumed other forms of expression.

In the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd regimes — as well as other regimes contemporaneous with the 'Abbāsīds, such as the Umayyad regime in Andalusia, the Fāṭimid caliphate in North Africa — and other regimes that came after them in various parts of the Islamic world through the ages up to the time of the Ottoman caliphate and the Safavid sultanate — all the rulers identified their regimes, in character and origin, as being Islamic. They ruled in the name of Islam and governed over the people in matters of peace and war, the economy, politics, the judiciary, social organization and other matters of socio-political life on the basis of their governments being Islamic systems which implemented Islamic laws. The legitimacy of these governments was based on the claim of their being derived from Islam. But what was the source of the legitimacy of actual leadership?

On a theoretical and abstract level, the issue is dissolved, for all claim to be Islamic and apply Islam according to their own understanding of it, in different ways, without being faithful to the Qur'ānic text and often disgracefully violating the spirit of the Qur'ānic text.

However, on a practical level, there are two very different viewpoints about the source of the legitimacy of leadership: firstly, the view based on designation (*naṣṣ*); secondly, the view which disregards designation (*naṣṣ*) and is based on the principle of allegiance (*bay'ah*). The conflict between these two views dominated the Islamic Ummah after the demise of the Noble Messenger (S) up to the end of the Umayyad era, when the 'Abbāsīd missionary activity (*da'wah*) began.

The principle of designation (*naṣṣ*) had been firmly established in the minds of the Ummah as a result of the activities of the Imams of

the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and their companions in educating them, firstly, about the issue of designation, secondly, about the cause of the perverseness of the Umayyad regime and its deviation from Islam on a theoretical and practical level, and thirdly, about the reason for the Umayyad rulers implementing the principle of designation (*naṣṣ*) in their own particular way. For example, Mu'āwiyah implemented it by means of designating his heir apparent and seeking prior allegiance (*bay'ah*) for him. Due to all that, the principle of *naṣṣ* became the sole basis in the minds of a large section of Muslims, and came to be regarded as the most preferable choice among the rest as the source of the legitimacy of rule on the basis of actual and practical leadership. The principle of *bay'ah* became invalid as the only source of legitimate rule and was no longer anything but a complementary aspect of the principle of *naṣṣ*.

When 'Abbāsīd *da'wah* began, it confronted this reality in the political domain as well as in the mind of the Ummah. It also used all the suggestions and concepts of the past to allude to the principle of *naṣṣ*, without making an explicit commitment to it, for the fear that such a commitment would entail handing over power to the legitimate ruler.

Thus the 'Abbāsīd missionaries exploited the names of the 'Alids and the Ahl al-Bayt (A), and the term *'itrah* (progeny). They constantly used an ambiguous expression which had been used earlier by certain people who had revolted against the Umayyads after the revolution of al-Husayn (A): the call to "*al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad*".

This expression was a new endorsement of the position based on the principle of *naṣṣ* — and it was aimed to exploit all the political potential that this principle carried with the Ummah — without explicitly committing to it. This would enable them to make an about-face in a massive publicity operation aimed to misguide the Muslim public opinion. The 'Abbāsīd missionary activity advanced under this banner, and when it implemented its political plan to overthrow the Umayyad regime and establish the 'Abbāsīd state, it was based on the principle of *naṣṣ*.

From the very first speech of Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ, after he was acknowledged as the leader in Kūfah, the 'Abbāsīds claimed that they had implemented the political plan of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), the family of 'Alī (A), the Banū Hāshim and the descendants of the Prophet (S).

With the implementation of the 'Abbāsīd plan, three different ideas in the Islamic political thought were alternately used, in order to address the main question in the Islamic political problem during the era of the Infallible Imams (A). The question dealt with the source of the legitimacy of actual leadership after the expiry of all Islamic political entities which traced their origins to Islam and claimed to practise

it.

1. The principle of *naṣṣ*. This was the principle of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) who devoted themselves to establish it firmly in the mind of the Ummah and to create an awareness in it through it, so that it became, as mentioned, generally acceptable to all the Muslims, whether as the sole formula for legitimacy of rule or as the most preferable one.

2. The principle of *bay'ah*. It completely ignored the principle of *naṣṣ* and did not acknowledge it, directly or indirectly.

3. The principle of "*al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad*". It was the formula on which the 'Abbāsīd missionary activity was based and which was politically implemented. This principle, which in essence was the principle of *bay'ah*, was actually, as we have said, a distortion of the principle of *naṣṣ* aimed to exploit its political potential on one hand, and to escape from its political implications on the other. The political implication of the principle of *naṣṣ* is government by the Infallible Imam. This was what the 'Abbāsīds did their utmost to prevent. However, for the success of their missionary activity, they urgently needed the political benefits of the principle of *naṣṣ*; hence the slogan of "*al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad*".

Other expressions used by them were: "Alids", "Hāshimites", "Ahl al-Bayt," "the Offspring of the Prophet" (*dhurriyyat al-Nabī*), and "the Progeny" (*itrah*). These were the ideological and political tools they used to achieve their aim, and they accomplished it in the following way. In the mind of the Ummah the principle of *naṣṣ* was associated with the Ahl al-Bayt (A). Mentioning *naṣṣ* would make one immediately think of the preeminent right of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), and speaking of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) in a political context would call to mind the principle of *naṣṣ*.

The 'Abbāsīd missionary activity took advantage of this association and connection between *naṣṣ* and the Ahl al-Bayt (A), who were regarded as being the embodiment of the principle of *naṣṣ* in Islamic society. After their victory, the 'Abbāsīds developed the ideology that served as the basis of vindicating their rule in order to counter the difficulty created by the discovery of the truth by some of the senior leaders of the *da'wah*, who believed that they were active against the Umayyads on the basis of the principle of *naṣṣ*. The 'Abbāsīds had used the slogan 'revenge for the family of Muḥammad (S)', as a justification for holding on to political power. They also used the terms 'right' (*al-ḥaqq*) and 'inheritance' (*irth*) to vindicate their ideological stand. This was a political message understood by the people, and it suggested the principle of *naṣṣ* to certain groups of people who did not have strong links with the Ahl al-Bayt (A). The evil 'ulamā' and venal thinkers were able, by intellectual and theological maneuvering, to misguide the people

about the true meaning of the principle of *naṣṣ*.

### 3. New Distortions, and the Dilemma of the 'Abbāsīd Regime:

After the triumph of the 'Abbasids and the realization of their plan, the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and their companions did not give up their political activity, based on the principle of *naṣṣ*, in the Ummah. Now, they did not only have to deal with the principle of the *bay'ah*. A new, political concept had entered the scene; it was the notion of '*al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad (S)*'. The legitimacy claimed by the 'Abbāsīds had been acquired on the basis of this formula on the instructions of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

The Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and their followers faced these new conditions with vigour. A penetrating study of the texts concerning Imamate pertaining to the period following the establishment of the 'Abbāsīd state will reveal a development in the quantity of these texts, their intellectual and ideological content, and the increased emphasis on the central position of the Imamate in the belief of the Ummah.

The activity of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and their followers in educating and making the Ummah aware of the political question on the basis of *naṣṣ*, in revealing the fabrications of the 'Abbāsīd regime regarding the legitimacy of actual leadership, and disclosing the ambiguity which was exploited in the slogan '*al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad (S)*' — all that reawakened the consciousness of the Ummah with regard to the principle of *naṣṣ* and the conception of Imamate.

This education on the one hand, and the injustices committed by the 'Abbāsīd government on the other, served to nurture an atmosphere of revolution in the Ummah based on the principle of *naṣṣ*. This was often done with the slogan of '*al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad (S)*' — the same slogan on whose basis the 'Abbāsīd state had been established and by which it acquired its legitimacy. This means that the legitimacy of 'Abbāsīd rule had completely disappeared and the idea of a radical change, instead of one of mere reform, was put forward.

Thus it is evident that the problem which began to seriously trouble the 'Abbāsīd state regarding the basis of legitimacy of rule was a second political problem resulting from the political and military conflicts within the state between the major forces which formed the caliphal state, as well as the conflicts among the 'Abbāsīds themselves. From the reign of al-Manṣūr, in the early stages of their rule, the 'Abbāsīds had faced the problem of legitimacy with the policy of suppressing the 'Alids by measures unheard of in history. They also employed legal notions to bear upon the political question, such as: 'right' (*ḥaqq*), 'inheritance' (*irṭh*), 'kinship' (*qarābah*), and priority of paternal cousins over daughter's sons.

Jurisprudence (fiqh), speculation, literature and theology were all used in this political battle, and some heretical theological sects emerged which put forward certain concepts and expressions that were employed in it. However, bitter experience had proved that these repressive measures not only failed, but further nourished the propagation and continuance of revolutionary trends which rejected the 'Abbāsīd regime.

Al-Ma'mūn realized the futility of this method in facing the problem caused by the principle of *naṣṣ*. He realized that he could deal successfully with the problem arising from the struggle of factions among the 'Abbasids and the struggle of the major powers in the regime through political and military means. However, he could not deal with the first problem — that of the *naṣṣ* — with the same measures, since it was of a different nature and would not yield to such measures. Political measures would not be of any use, and military measures would only aggravate the problem.

The 'Abbāsīds were very aware of the ineffectiveness of political measures in this kind of predicament and of the counter-productive effects of military measures. It was enough to recall how the Umayyads dealt with the problem of Khurāsān at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd revolution, in order to learn a lesson from it.

Al-Ma'mūn confronted both the problems together. He continued to deal with the second problem using the customary military and political methods, but he faced the first fundamental issue of legitimacy through an understanding of the nature and method of its treatment. Al-Ma'mūn realized that this problem had to be dealt with in a way that was in keeping with its nature. An ideological problem had political effects, so it was not reasonable to treat the effects without treating their cause. The appropriate method should also be ideological. Thus, he conceived the idea of an ideological solution for the ideological problem, and that was to make al-'Imām 'Alī ibn Musā ibn Ja'far (A), called al-Riḍā, the heir apparent.

The solution was brilliant, for it revived the 'Abbāsīd *da'wah* and restored effectiveness and credibility to the slogan "*al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad*" by embodying it in the person who represented that slogan in the mind of the Ummah. Thus the slogan remained no longer vague or obscure; rather it was now portrayed in a particular person who represented the principle of *naṣṣ* in its complete purity. The brilliance of the idea was that it presented an exemplary solution to the problem, which realized the goal of al-Ma'mūn's greatest desire.

On the one hand, it gave legitimacy to the leadership, thus putting an end to the political and ideological problem and legitimating all military and political confrontations with the revolutionary movement. On the other hand, it deferred returning the right (to the Imam of the Ahl al-Bayt [A]), for it was succession and not a transfer of power that



was offered. It was doubtful that the heir apparency offered would result in sovereign rule, since al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) was twenty-two years older than al-Ma'mūn.

The idea was also brilliant since, apparently, it completely altered the balance in al-Ma'mūn's favour, for the ideological problem which was earlier the problem of al-Ma'mūn and the 'Abbāsīd regime now became the problem of the followers of the principle of *naṣṣ* and the figure who was its embodiment: al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A).

#### 4. The Problematical Aspect of Heir Apparency:

One aspect of this problem is that it is completely natural and understandable that a ruler who unlawfully holds power, as a result of which he is plagued by dangers and difficulties, should authorize the handing over of power after him to the rightful and lawful nominee who is twenty-two years older than him. This would be carried out in a carefully planned operation by the actual ruler who wished to overcome his difficulties in this way. The explanation of this aspect of the problem is simple after the circumstances, aims and precautions are clarified in light of our knowledge of the central issue in the Islamic political problem.

However, that which is difficult to understand is why the lawful, older nominee should accept this succession. Such an acceptance may imply an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the *de facto* ruler, helping to put an end to his difficulties, in exchange for the promise of handing over the government. Naturally, it was not possible to fulfil such a promise in view of the difference in the ages of the ruler and his heir apparent, in view of the constant possibility of assassination, and especially in view of what was indicated by al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) when he said: "It is a matter that will not be accomplished" and his awareness that al-Ma'mūn's moves were not motivated by any conviction that the right to rule should be returned to those worthy of it, but only out of necessity. This is the problematic aspect of the issue.

To solve this problem, we must return to the fundamental aim of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) after the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn (A). In the light of that we will understand why al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) first refused and then accepted the *bay'ah* of succession to al-Ma'mūn.

As we said, this aim was twofold: firstly, to protect Islam from being distorted, falsified and misinterpreted; secondly, to protect the followers of the authentic Islamic path, the followers of the principle of *naṣṣ* and those Muslims close to it, from ignorance, deviation and liquidation. Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) in his refusal and acceptance, and in his term as the heir apparent, adopted a stand appropriate for this aim and took steps which led towards its fulfilment, in the midst of the

varying reactions of amazement, resentment and expectation.

He was aware that the allegiance offered to him was the allegiance of death. He was aware of the difficulty of al-Ma'mūn and the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, of the aims of al-Ma'mūn in offering him the heir apparenacy, and of his own dilemma in this offer, which held the danger of acknowledging the legitimacy of al-Ma'mūn's rule and thus acknowledging the legitimacy of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. He was aware of the traps which would be set in his way, not the least dangerous of which would be the attempt to involve him in the apparatus of a government and an administration which he had not himself set up, and which were not in keeping with his views, his policies, and his character.

He was aware of all that. That is why his first stand towards the offer was to reject it. Al-Ma'mūn and his party continued their efforts to persuade him, and he continued to refuse it until he faced veiled and open threats of death, whence he accepted the heir apparenacy, "tearfully and sorrowfully", according to many reports. This was how al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) explained his acceptance at various times to some of his companions.

The refusal was understandable. It was in keeping with his general situation, since he was aware of al-Ma'mūn's aims and of his own aims in his lifetime. However, the acceptance requires an explanation. The threat of death, inasmuch as it was a threat to a personal life, was not a sufficient reason, in our view, for the acceptance. The position of al-Riḍā (A) resembled in certain aspects the position of al-Ḥusayn (A), in a form that was in conformity with al-Ma'mūn's personality and era, and al-Ḥusayn (A) had made the choice of martyrdom. We must discover the reason, deeper than that of preservation of personal life, which lay behind al-'Imām al-Riḍā's acceptance of the heir apparenacy and which was more fitted to his personality as an Infallible Imam and more in keeping with the firm aim of the Infallible Imams. In fact, we see that preserving personal life was not one of the real reasons for the acceptance, for al-Ma'mūn's offer of heir apparenacy itself amounted to a sentence of death for al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A). We believe that the Imam was aware of it, and perhaps because of that, he did not take any of his family to Marv, presuming that the same fate that was in store for him would befall them.

He was under a sentence of death if he did not accept, and he was under a sentence of death if he did. The difference between the two conditions was that either the sentence would be put into effect or postponed. We believe that his refusal was aimed to reveal further elements of al-Ma'mūn's plans and intentions as well as the network of contacts which directed the operation of succession (*wilāyat al-'ahd*). His rejection of the heir apparenacy was not merely a simple reaction.

We believe that al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) in his stand — taking into

account the difference in eras and the nature of the opposition — strongly resembled the stand of al-'Imām al-Ḥasan (A). The difference between the two was that al-Ḥasan (A) faced an immediate or deferred death sentence by withholding what was in his power to give. Al-Riḍā (A) faced immediate or deferred sentence, on the basis of the false offer that he would gain his usurped rights in the future. But in order to negate the legitimacy of this right, he chose deferment — like al-'Imām al-Ḥasan (A) — since it was more suited to the aim of the Imams (A). Al-'Imām al-Ḥusayn (A) chose immediate death since it was more in keeping with his circumstances and the circumstances of the Ummah of his time, more closely connected to the firm aim of the Infallible Imams, and more destructive of his enemy, Yazid and the Umayyad regime.

### 5. The Causes:

In order to understand the underlying cause for al-'Imām al-Riḍā's (A) acceptance of the fatal allegiance, we must look for the answers on two levels. Firstly, what might have happened if he did not accept, and secondly, what was his aim when he did accept?

Firstly, what might have happened if al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) did not accept the fatal allegiance? We believe that which might have happened is as follows:

a. Death. It was necessary for him to avoid being killed, not to preserve his own life, for the Imams did not value their own lives and consider them important except as a means of serving the Ummah. His death would open the door wide for tribulations for the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), who would then have no refuge or guide. We must link the avoidance of death with the essence of the issue of Imamate and its timing, when we note how young al-'Imām al-Jawād (A) was at the time the offer of heir apparency was made. His life was committed to achieving the aims and to avoiding the dangers.

He explained his acceptance to one of his companions who asked him about it, saying: "I chose acceptance over death." To another companion who asked him: "What made you become involved in the (matter of) heir apparency (*wilāyat al-'ahd*)?" he answered: "That which made my grandfather (i.e. 'Alī [A]) to become involved in the council (*shūrā*)?"

We must note that he (A) was compelled to give this simple explanation, acceptable to the people, that he being on his guard against being killed, or the ambiguous explanation in which he made al-'Imām 'Alī (A) his precedent. We must also note that he gave explanations of saving himself from being killed in some of his other discussions. However, we must be aware that he was compelled to give this kind

of explanation, for he was not in a position to speak openly about the reasons underlying his acceptance, in order not to disclose his plan, the reasons why it was necessary, and his actual objective.

He was under surveillance; his conversations and his letters were controlled. He lived in the same conditions as al-'Imām al-Ḥasan (A) and bore its agonies, as when he heard someone say to him: "Peace be on you, O humiliator of the believers", without being able to explain his ordeal to the people, not even to many of his confidants. He had to suffer martyrdom every day while he still lived, protecting those whom he loved and defended with his life, while they misunderstood and misinterpreted his actions!

This and other similar situations reveal to us how forlorn the responsibility of leadership was, isolated as he was even from the people closest to him, sad and distressed even in the radiant moments when difficult decisions were taken without being able to explain their reasons. How many agonies and pains did the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) suffer because of that, especially Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A) who had the greatest share of this kind of suffering!

b. It was possible that he might not have been killed, but even then it was certain that there would be an increase in the repression, persecution and exile of the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A). In this way, al-Ma'mūn would be able to put pressure on him and take his revenge.

c. It was possible that his rejection of the heir apparenacy might have led al-Ma'mūn's enemies to exploit the situation, which would have added to the stormy revolutionary reactions on the Islamic scene at that time. Moreover, al-Ma'mūn's overthrow was in the interests of the hard-line 'Abbāsids, the party of al-'Amin, with their attitude to the 'Alids and their hatred of the Iranians; for the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) did not have the ability to take over the government and replace al-Ma'mūn after his downfall.

d. It was possible that the refusal might have led to a wide-ranging propaganda against the Imam (A), to the effect that he had let a valuable opportunity pass by, and that in turn might have led to confusion and disarray among the people following the Ahl al-Bayt (A), who would have been subjected to persecution, exile, and intimidation. The inevitable question would have been raised in this dilemma: 'Why didn't he accept when the caliphate was offered to him?', instead of the question: 'Why did he accept?' We may recall circumstances similar to this in the issue of the arbitration after Ṣiffīn and that which took place in regard to the issue of the truce (*ṣulḥ*) with al-'Imām al-Ḥasan (A).

e. Finally, we may ask: Had al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) insisted on refusing the offer, wouldn't al-Ma'mūn have been able to find an 'Alid substitute, an important member of society, whom he could appoint

as successor? There were personalities among the Zaydis who were prepared for such an undertaking. There were also independent 'Alid personalities ready to accept this position. If this occurred, it was certain that the results would have been totally negative, and no new, positive achievements would have been realized by rejecting the offer. This is what such an occurrence could have led to, together with the disagreement that could arise among the followers of the principle of *naṣṣ*.

Secondly, what was his aim when he did accept?

a. It was to avoid all the negative results which would have ensued from his refusal. He had removed the sentence of death on himself, thus avoiding the occurrence of a change in the leadership of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) during a critical period. He had also avoided a new wave of terror, exile and execution against the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), and prevented the hard-line 'Abbāsīd faction from taking full control of the regime. In fact, he had created circumstances suitable for destroying this faction and had neutralized its capacity for political activity and its influence on the course of events.

He had prevented confusion and disorder among the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A).

Finally, he had prevented al-Ma'mūn from substituting him with an 'Alid successor, through whom he could exercise a policy of repression against the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), using the principle of *naṣṣ* as an excuse.

b. By his acceptance, he was able to get in touch with people who would not have dared to communicate with him, had he not been the heir apparent. Thus, there gathered around him the Murji'ites, the Ahl al-Hadīth, the Zaydis, the Ahl al-Sunnah and all the Shī'ite sects.

Through this contact, he was able to work with them on the basis of the principle of *naṣṣ*. Through it, he also enabled the traditionists and theologians on the path of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) to come into safe and free contact with these opposing sects, and put forward intellectual and political issues for calm, objective, and learned discussion. Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) himself practised this kind of wide-ranging intellectual activity. We should not underestimate the positive intellectual and political results which were achieved in the interest of the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) from this contact and interaction.

c. He enabled the intellectual leadership on the path of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) to communicate and interact, freely and safely, with all classes of people, on the basis of the principle of *naṣṣ*. Thus the principle of *naṣṣ* became more deeply rooted in the minds of the people and more effective in confronting the evil and misleading designs of the government and the corrupt religious scholars who aided it. It also gained greater acceptance among the upper classes. These positive and negative

causes were not all defensive, but were a combination of defensive and offensive. Some of them were defensive and precautionary, while others were aggressive and penetrative.

Thus, after knowing the reasons for al-Ma'mūn's offer, these are the possible causes for al-'Imām al-Riḍā's (A) acceptance of the offer of the heir apparenacy. What were the results, as far as achievement of the aims was concerned?

## 6. The Results:

Al-Ma'mūn had achieved his immediate and urgent objectives but had failed to achieve his strategic objective. Al-Riḍā (A) had achieved his immediate and urgent objectives, and was successful in achieving his strategic objective as well.

1. Al-Ma'mūn had achieved his aim of restraining revolutionary activities against the 'Abbāsīd regime, whether within groups following the principle of *naṣṣ*, or within the dissenting opposition who did not accept that principle. Providing the revolution with revolutionaries depended, in both the cases, on the hostile Muslim population. They saw in the acceptance of the heir apparenacy by al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) a clear sign for the need to establish a truce between themselves and the regime, and so realized that armed revolutionary activity during that period was unreasonable. Perhaps some revolutionary leaders had also reconciled with that because they no longer had the means to arouse the people and to mobilize them for the revolution.

2. Al-Ma'mūn had achieved his aim of creating a wider base for the political acknowledgement of his caliphate, since the allegiance to al-Riḍā (A) necessitated a renewal of allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and an allegiance by many who had not previously acknowledged him. Thus, as a result of the allegiance to the successor, a united stand was taken by all during al-Ma'mūn's rule. We may notice here what al-Ma'mūn wrote in the document of heir apparenacy: "The family (ahl al-bayt) of the Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn (i.e. al-Ma'mūn) paid allegiance to the Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn and to al-Riḍā (A) after him, as did the commanders and troops of the city, and all the Muslims."

He clearly asked for a renewal of allegiance to himself on this occasion, not only for allegiance to the heir apparent. However, he demanded sole obedience to himself from those who paid allegiance, as he stated in his document: "And hasten to obedience to Allāh and obedience to the Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn". He did not include his successor in this statement and this reveals some of the hidden aspects in his plan.

3. He achieved his aim of creating great confusion among his enemies in the 'Abbāsīd household and their Arab supporters, who were

partisans of al-'Amin. This made them too weak to resist him and struggle against his regime. They became fragmented, since the people moved away from them, and the popular base which no longer had an issue to fight over, broke up.

These were the urgent and immediate aims of al-Ma'mūn on which the survival and stability of his rule depended. The continuance of revolutionary activities against him, the existence in many regions of the empire of many groups of Muslims who had not paid allegiance to him, and the conspiracies of the 'Abbāsīd household against him — these were factors which could have led to the downfall of his regime. Al-Ma'mūn achieved these aims and ensured the stability and survival of his regime. Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) also achieved his urgent and immediate aims by accepting the heir apparency, the allegiance of death. His aims justified this, and all or most of them were realized.

On the strategic level, however, al-Ma'mūn had failed while al-Riḍā (A) had been successful.

## 7. Success and Failure:

Al-Ma'mūn's strategic aim had been to make his own caliphate, and the caliphate of the 'Abbāsīds in general, an expression of the principle of *naṣṣ* in the minds of the Muslims in general, and in the minds of the followers of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) in particular.

This was one of the oldest plans on which 'Abbāsīd missionary activity (*da'wah*) and thereafter the 'Abbāsīd state were based, for among the claims which were the basis of the *da'wah* and the state was the declaration about the *waṣīyyah* from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A) to Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, to Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, to 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās, to his son Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, to Ibrāhīm, the Imam. Al-Saffāḥ referred to this declaration in his first speech after allegiance was paid to him in Kūfah. It was also quoted in Kūfah, Madīnah, and other places by Dāwūd ibn 'Alī and various other 'Abbāsīd leaders.

This was al-Ma'mūn's strategic aim. When that was impossible for him to achieve, there was a substitute strategic aim, i.e., to remove the principle of *naṣṣ* as an ideological, doctrinal principle bound to the core of religious belief, and to turn it into a mere political formula devoid of any ideological or doctrinal content — a formula like that of other political and religious groups and parties fighting on the Islamic stage.

This aim of al-Ma'mūn is evident in the many debates arranged by him between al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) and the many groups of religious scholars, theologians, philosophers, and men of letters. He summarized it in a statement of his to al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A): "I consider the differences of our Shī'ah concerning that — the legitimacy of rule — to be a

result of heresy (*hawā*) and bigotry.”

The first aspect of this aim made use of the unity of the Hāshimite house with its ‘Alid and ‘Abbāsīd branches, and then its political unity, to make it, in its appearance and meaning, a firmly rooted reality in the mind of the Ummah. The second aspect of the aim tried to show al-‘Imām al-Riḍā (A) as a political, wordly, and maneuvering figure.

The achievement of this aim enabled political interaction with the principle of *naṣṣ*, and made it possible to make an alliance with it, enter into settlements with it, and to shape it like any other political formula. This was the strategic aim of al-Ma’mūn, while the strategic aim of al-‘Imām al-Riḍā (A) was to prevent al-Ma’mūn from achieving his objective.

All al-Ma’mūn’s actions in the issue of succession were directed towards achieving this aim. The negative stand adopted by al-‘Imām al-Riḍā (A) was to frustrate al-Ma’mūn’s conspiracy regarding the principle of *naṣṣ*, while his positive stand was to firmly root the principle of *naṣṣ* in the mind of the Ummah, as it was closely linked to Islamic belief and was not merely a political formula.

We find in the life of al-‘Imām al-Riḍā (A), before and after the fated allegiance, attitudes and statements which illustrate his plan of protecting himself from falling into the trap of al-Ma’mūn’s plan and which are the signs of confrontation in this silent battle about the strategic aim of each one of them. In what follows, we will present some of these signs. To form a complete or an approximate picture of the efforts of al-‘Imām al-Riḍā (A) in this battle, we need to make a comprehensive examination of all his words and deeds in the legal field and in the field of intellectual guidance.

1. We come accross following statements in history concerning al-Riḍā’s continued rejection and then his acceptance of the heir apparenacy after al-Ma’mūn and his aids began to make death threats: “He accepted the heir apparenacy, woefully and sorrowfully”; “He was in severe distress and under a great trial”; “He remained saddened and grieved until his death.” “He would pray: ‘O Allāh, if my release (from suffering) lies in death, then hasten the hour for me.’ ” “He said to one who rejoiced at the ceremony of allegiance: ‘Do not rejoice, for it is a matter which will not be accomplished.’ ”

This is the picture of the Imam’s condition as seen by the traditionists and historians after his decision to accept, and these were some of his statements.

In this and similar ways, he expressed his dislike and distaste of this matter, and spread it among the people by speaking and writing of it to his confidants, so that everyone became aware of it. Historians and traditionists have reflected its wide knowledge among the people.

2. His stand in Neyshāpūr when he dictated the famous ḥadīth to



thousands of religious scholars and traditionists, and to the rest of the people:

كَلِمَةٌ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ حِصْنِي، فَمَنْ دَخَلَ فِي حِصْنِي أَمِنَ مِنْ عَذَابِي، ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُمْ:  
بِشُرُوطِهَا وَأَنَا مِنْ شُرُوطِهَا.

“The declaration (*kalimah*), ‘There is no god but Allāh’, is My stronghold; whoever enters My stronghold is secure from My punishment.” Then he (al-'Imām al-Riḍā) said: “On its conditions (i.e. conditions of the '*kalimah*'), and I am one of its conditions.”

In this way he made a public announcement, while on his way to the heir apparency, of the principle of *naṣṣ* and his position on it. It is for us to estimate the profound and wide-spread reactions caused among the masses and the political and educated circles by such an announcement.

3. When he was paid allegiance to as the heir apparent, he stipulated its conditions to al-Ma'mūn completely divesting the heir apparency of its power and political content, which al-Ma'mūn had hoped al-Riḍā (A) would exercise so that he could achieve his strategic aim. He imposed the following conditions on al-Ma'mūn: “That he would not appoint or dismiss anyone, or abolish a practice, or alter anything in existence, and that he would be an advisor on the matter from a distance.”

After being appointed heir apparent, the Imam resisted all attempts of al-Ma'mūn to force him into activities of power and draw him into the administrative affairs of the 'Abbāsids. The climax of those attempts of al-Ma'mūn was his offer to al-Riḍā (A) to go to Iraq, in order to manage the affairs of the caliphate from there. The conditions laid down by the Imam reflected a profound and comprehensive awareness of the nature of the situation from its objective, ideological and political aspects.

As regards the objective aspect, the 'Abbāsīd regime was made up of ruling and administrative organizations controlled and linked by a network of alliances which had become corrupt. These organizations and alliances guarded themselves against all intervention from the outside and either absorbed such intervention or destroyed it, or, if that were not possible, removed it. When they were unable to absorb the Imam, they tried to destroy him or remove him from their circle.

As regards the political and ideological aspects, the participation of the Imam would mean his receiving instructions and guidance from al-Ma'mūn, and recognizing the latter as “Amir al-Mu'minin” and the legitimate ruler of the Islamic Ummah. This is what al-Ma'mūn wanted in order to achieve his aim of being included in the *naṣṣ* formula so as to apply and regulate it himself, with the Imam as a representative of

the political formula with which the existing government would be allied.

The conditions laid down by al-Riḍā (A) had frustrated al-Ma'mūn's plan. We believe that al-Ma'mūn did not expect these conditions, for the success of his plan depended on the Imam entering the network of the alliances of power and becoming entangled in its problems and hostilities. This would result in people making accusations against him and directing their anger towards him, thus tarnishing his pure and sacred image among them. In this way al-Ma'mūn would achieve his aim of transforming the formula of *naṣṣ*, if he could not be included in it, into a mere political formula, and he would display the Imam as a worldly person and political maneuverer. Al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) had avoided falling into this trap by setting these conditions, which transformed him from being a partner of al-Ma'mūn — as the heir apparen- cy made necessary — to being a witness against him and one of his victims.

4. In his speech made before al-Ma'mūn and important state officials, influential people, notables from among the leaders of public opinion, and others after the Imam was paid allegiance to as heir apparent, the Imam (A) confined himself to saying:

إِنَّ لَنَا عَلَيْكُمْ حَقًّا بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ، وَلَكُمْ عَلَيْنَا حَقٌّ بِهِ، فَإِنْ أَنْتُمْ آدَيْتُمْ لَنَا ذَلِكَ وَجَبَ عَلَيْنَا الْحَقُّ لَكُمْ.

We have a right over you through the Messenger of Allāh, and you have a right over us through him; so if you have fulfilled that (our right) towards us, we must (fulfil) the right towards you.

The substance of this statement was repeated in many of his replies and discussions, like his comparison of his own and al-Ma'mūn's positions to those of the Prophet Joseph and the king of Egypt, and like his statement:

إِنَّ مَنْ أَخَذَ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ لِحَقِّقِ بَأَنْ يُعْطَى بِهِ.

Whosoever follows the Messenger of Allāh is entitled to receive from him.

5. His many letters and discussions in which he constantly affirmed the formula of *naṣṣ*, of which is a letter about the articles of faith which he had written in answer to a request from al-Ma'mūn:

إِنَّ الْإِمَامَ حُجَّةَ اللَّهِ عَلَى خَلْقِهِ، وَمَعْدِنُ الْعِلْمِ، وَمُفْتَرَضُ الطَّاعَةِ.

The Imam is the proof of Allāh over His creation and the source of His knowledge, and obedience to him is incumbent.

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These are some examples of his statements and actions with which he confronted al-Ma'mūn's plan, and a researcher will certainly come across many others. In order to clarify this and other issues in the life of al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A), it would be very useful to examine, classify and analyze all the legislative and instructive texts which originated from him during the heir apparency, and to compare them with those which pertain to the period before it. That will reveal new aspects of this luminous and noble life.

The statements and actions with which the Imam (A) confronted al-Ma'mūn's plan in order to achieve his strategic aim, together with the reasons for acceptance, led to the following results:

a. They firmly established the formula of *naṣṣ* in the mind of the Ummah.

b. They created an opposition within the regime on an ideological, political and popular level (we can regard the popular sentiments expressed during the incident of the prayer of the festival [*'īd*] as an indication of this phenomenon).

c. They led al-Ma'mūn to adopt a defensive attitude, for he felt that the principle of *naṣṣ* would have a popular reaction in society.

We will give an important example of the extent of actual influence that al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) had on a public level. During the public outburst following the death of al-Faḍl ibn Sahl and the attack of the commanders and troops on al-Ma'mūn's residence, the latter took refuge from them and asked the Imam (A) to intervene and save him. The Imam came out to meet them and instructed them to disperse, which they did. A historical report describes this scene: "He approached the people and by Allāh, they fell over each other, and he did not signal to anyone except that he ran and continued (running) and did not stop."

This incident shows the strong influence which the Imam had over the commanders and troops and those who were with them, despite the fact that in accordance with the conditions that he had laid down he did not intervene in any matter related to political authority so that he might be an object of hope or fear on that account. Thus, he was influential due to a cause which was not political or governmental but ideological, i.e., the belief in the *naṣṣ* and the obedience which that entailed.

Al-Ma'mūn realized through his political experience that the appearance of these reactions demanded an end of this experiment, the experiment of heir apparency. He discovered that he had failed to realize his strategic aim as regards *naṣṣ* and that it was the Imam who had been victorious in this field. So he preferred to be content with the achievements of his immediate and urgent aims, before there was a reaction to the Imam's victory regarding *naṣṣ*. This would have created

an irredeemable situation, in which the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn and the 'Abbāsids would have fallen into turmoil and swept away in a revolution which upheld the banner of *naṣṣ* in its purity.

Thus, he ended the allegiance of death by poisoning al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A).

In this way, al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) became another one of those for whom Allāh seeks retaliation (*tha'r*) in the battlefield between Islam and error. Tears were shed for him, hearts grieved for him, and he became an excellent model for those striving in the way of Allāh and the oppressed.

When we see the similarity between al-'Imām al-Riḍā's acceptance of the heir apparenacy and al-'Imām al-Ḥasan's (A) acceptance of it, and then the similarity between al-'Imām al-Riḍā's acceptance of the allegiance of death and the decision to embrace martyrdom by al-'Imām al-Ḥusayn (A), we are in the final stage of the study. When estimating the effects on Islamic society during the era of al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A), of its immediate and urgent aims, and the greater goals of the Islamic movement in the history of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), we also see a resemblance between the acceptance of heir apparenacy by the Imam and the treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah. The Messenger of Allāh (S) complied with the offer of the Quraysh — just as al-Riḍā (A) accepted al-Ma'mūn's offer — which amazed many of his companions, angered others, and was accepted by those among them who possessed awareness. Some saw in the action of the Messenger of Allāh (S) a granting of undeserved concessions to the Quraysh, but the outcome of the treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah was a victory, in the near future, of the strategic objectives of Islam. The acceptance of the heir apparenacy resulted in a victory, in the near future, of immediate and urgent aims, and of the strategic objective of al-'Imām al-Riḍā, in view of his being the guardian of Islam.

The former was one of the battles of Islam against disbelief (*kufr*) on the level of revelation (*tanzīl*), and the latter was one of the battles of Islam against disbelief on the level of interpretation (*ta'wīl*).

May Allāh's blessing be on al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) and his fathers and his descendants, the pure, among the former people and the latter. Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds.

# Al-Ṭabarī and His Times\*

by Rasūl Ja'fariyān

Translated from the Persian by 'Alī Qulī Qarā'i

**A** bū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī al-'Āmulī<sup>1</sup> was born in the year 224/838—9 or 225/839—40 (it appears that our historian did not know the exact date of his own birth<sup>2</sup>) and died in 310/922. One of the leading figures of his era, he was highly erudite in most of the disciplines current during his times, particularly ḥadīth, fiqh, tafsīr, chronicles and philology.

Al-Ṭabarī was mainly famous as a legist in his own time. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions him with such fuqahā' as Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and Dāwūd ibn 'Alī<sup>3</sup> but does not mention him in the part of his bibliographical work on historiographers.

Here we shall refrain from describing the details of his life, which have been given by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in *Ta'rikh Baghdād* and more elaborately by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī in *Mu'jam al-'udabā'* as well as al-Ṭabarī's pupils such as Ibn al-Kāmil. That which is of interest to us here is his intellectual life which constitutes the most significant aspect of his life.

He is said to have started learning the Qur'ān at the age of seven and, with his father's efforts,<sup>4</sup> commenced his education, first in his own hometown, Āmul, and later at Ray, Baṣrah, Kūfah, Wāsiṭ, Egypt and Syria. He studied ḥadīth as well as law according to the legal schools of Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī.<sup>5</sup> After completing his studies, he settled in Baghdad, where he kept teaching and writing until the end of his life, visiting twice his hometown during this time.<sup>6</sup>

His works, of which his exegesis of the Qur'ān and history are the

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\*The Persian, entitled "Shakhsīyyat-e 'ilmī wa farhangī-ye Ṭabarī," appeared in the Persian bimonthly *Kayhān-e Andīsheh*, No. 25 (Murdād and Shahriwar 1368 H.Sh.) in its special issue on the occasion of the one thousand and one hundred year anniversary of this great Iranian scholar.

most important, show his extensive effort in collecting traditions, which he collected during his long journeys and, with the help of his powerful memory, arranged and recorded in his many works.

Among his works is *Tahdhīb al-'āthār*, in which besides a critical study of traditions he asserts his own juristic independence, adopting in some cases the Shī'ī legal positions, which, among other things, led his opponents to accuse him of being a Rāfiḍite.

Al-Ṭabari in his works shows a particular awareness of the issues under debate in his contemporary scholarly circles, and when he heard that someone had challenged the veracity of the ḥadīth of Ghadir, he wrote a voluminous work on its *ṭuruq* (chains of transmission). Ibn Kāthīr, who has seen this work of al-Ṭabari, describes it as a big book.<sup>7</sup>

Although at one stage al-Ṭabari promoted the Shāfi'ī school of fiqh<sup>8</sup> — which made some later Shāfi'īs to present him as one of the followers of that school<sup>9</sup> — in his years of intellectual maturity he founded his own legal school through his *ijtihād*, and many scholars and traditionists came to follow his opinions and write books on the subject.<sup>10</sup>

### Al-Ṭabari's Times:

The era in which al-Ṭabari lived was one during which the Islamic civilization, having passed through its formative stages, was ready to display its power and energies on the stage of human history. There were hundreds, or rather thousands, of Islamic thinkers and scholars dispersed throughout the Islamic lands, engaged in study and research in various scientific disciplines. The stage was now ready for the emergence of the era of the glory of Islamic civilization.

Among the fields of learning of the time, *ilm al-ḥadīth*, or the science of ḥadīth, was one which enjoyed the greatest prominence. It was from ḥadīth that such disciplines as fiqh, tafsīr, rijāl and even history emerged to develop as independent branches of learning. But ḥadīth retained its pivotal significance. The institutions of learning in Baghdād, Kūfah, Ray, Nayshābūr, as well as the cities of Syria and Egypt and other towns were full of traditionists who served as the bearers of the Islamic cultural and intellectual heritage. Most of these traditionists undertook continuous journeys from town to town to collect traditions.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, the various schools of fiqh and tafsīr that had emerged in different regions and had been founded by the legists of the past were in the process of expanding their influence, and their followers, in order to broaden their legal and traditional foundations, were engaged in producing compilations on an extensive level. Scores of compilations in the form of *musnad*, *muṣannaf*, *sunan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, etc, were produced, and the followers of every legal school tried to get ahead of others by

collecting a greater number of traditions in order to propagate and establish the opinions of their founders.<sup>12</sup>

This encounter between the various legal and theological schools played a decisive role in the scholarly work of individuals by setting certain juristic and doctrinal limits within which they would carry on their study and research. The number of refutations written in the 3rd/9th century, and usually styled *al-radd 'alā...*, cited by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* exceeds one hundred and twenty, though a few of these pertain to the late 2nd/8th and early 4th/10th centuries.<sup>13</sup>

In order to highlight al-Ṭabari's position it would be proper to describe briefly the intellectual and doctrinal trends prevailing at that time. Basically there were several main trends that prevailed in the early centuries of Islamic history. One of them was Shī'ism (*tashayyu'*) which ranged widely from inclination towards 'Alī (A) to the extremist doctrines of the Ghulāt and included such sects as the Zaydiyyah, Imāmiyyah and Ismā'īliyyah.

Another group was that of the Khawārij, who first emerged during the battles of Ṣiffin and Nahrawān. The third group was that of the Murji'ah who largely became visible during the late 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries and held specific beliefs on matters related to 'Alī (A) and 'Uthmān as well as opinions regarding the perpetrator of major sins.

The fourth doctrinal trend, which later became known as the Ahl al-Sunnah, was represented by the 'Uthmāniyyah or the Amawiyyah (derived from Umayyah) who propagated the official doctrines set forth by the regime founded by Mu'āwiyah and the scholars attached to the Umayyad court, such as al-Zuhri, Abū al-Zannād and others.<sup>14</sup> It is this school of doctrine which al-Jāhiz defends in his book *al-'Uthmāniyyah*, although he himself personally drifted from one school to another and did not remain bound to any particular one. The contents of this book, as pointed out by my teacher 'Allāmah Sayyid Mahdī Rūḥānī, do not aim to defend 'Uthmān — who is mentioned only twice throughout the length of the book — but to defend the basis of the 'Uthmāni doctrine, which constituted the official as well as the popular religion during the Umayyad era.<sup>15</sup> The salient feature of this doctrine was belief in the relative superiority of the first three caliphs in their order of succession and rejection of 'Alī (A) as a legitimate caliph and hostility towards the Ahl al-Bayt — an attitude termed *naṣb* by the Shī'ah.

However, in contrast to this official doctrine was the belief of many legists and traditionists of the Ḥijāz and Iraq, particularly the Iranians among them, who did not subscribe to the 'Uthmāni doctrine and held 'Alī in veneration. This veneration of 'Alī (A) on their part was sufficient for them to be dubbed as Shī'i, and we find in the Sunni works of rijāl hundreds of individuals accused of holding "Shī'i" beliefs

with the words *fihī tashayyu'* ("He possesses Shī'i inclinations"). This shows the prevailing trend of the time, for the 'Uthmāniyyah called anyone who narrated anything in 'Alī's favour as a Shī'i or a Rāfiḍite.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the words *kāna 'Uthmāniyyan* ("He was an 'Uthmānī")<sup>17</sup> indicated an anti-Shī'i inclination and in fact the popular doctrinal trend of the first two Islamic centuries.

The Mu'tazilah, who were first formed in Baṣrah and later established another centre at Baghdad, at first had an 'Uthmānī spirit, but later, in Baṣrah itself, certain Shī'i characteristics became prevalent among them,<sup>18</sup> and this was due to their rationalist character. However, the Mu'tazilah of Baghdad had stronger Shī'i leanings. An example of it are Abū Ja'far al-'Iskāfī and his son. He wrote a book *al-Mi'yār wa al-muwāzanah*<sup>19</sup> in the course of the heated controversies of those days and described in it 'Alī's excellences (*faḍā'il*) in comparison with others. He also wrote a book in refutation of al-Jāhīz's *al-'Uthmāniyyah*.<sup>20</sup>

'Allāmah Rūḥānī has pointed out that basically the term 'Ahl al-Sunnah' was not used to indicate anyone's sectarian identity before 150/767 and that it was probably around 200/815 and afterwards that this term gained currency. Accordingly, the Ahl al-Sunnah, as a religious group representing a new trend in the popular religion that negated the early 'Uthmānī spirit, emerged only around the beginning of the 3rd/9th century.

This does not contradict the fact that there existed earlier a large number of legists and traditionists with beliefs similar to the later Ahl al-Sunnah. However what is significant is that until the time of al-Jāhīz (d. 255/869) 'Uthmāniyyah was the current term used to designate the majority religious group defended by him in his book.

At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century with al-Ma'mūn's coming to power, there was a Shī'i resurgence and the 'Uthmāniyyah, who had now emerged in the form of Ahl al-Ḥadīth<sup>21</sup> and Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, faced straitened conditions. Al-Ma'mūn's moves in regard to the controversy regarding the nature of the Qur'ān and the repressive measures taken by him, al-Wāthiq and al-Mu'taṣim, which continued until the year 232/846, silenced the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and heightened the inclination of the Mu'tazilites towards Shī'ism — in the sense of acceptance of 'Alī (A) and rejection of Mu'āwiyah and 'Uthmān and even giving 'Alī precedence over the first two caliphs. However, with al-Mutawakkil's coming to power in 232/846, and his fierce defence of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, of whom Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was the most eminent figure, stage was set for opposition to Shī'ism and I'tizāl as well as for the violent reappearance of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, who came to be called Ḥanābilah (Ḥanbalis) soon, after Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

Although Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal himself tried to reform the 'Uthmānī doctrine and rehabilitate 'Alī (A) as the fourth caliph amongst them<sup>22</sup>



despite the fact that he had to face a hostile current, a spirit of subdued opposition to 'Alī — in the form of the denial of his excellences — as well as a literalist tendency in regard to ḥadīth and belief in anthropomorphism did survive amongst the Ahl al-Ḥadīth.

However, as mentioned before, there were many among the legists and traditionists who did not share these tendencies, but they had to bear up with various kinds of accusations. In order to picture the kind of spirit that moved the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and the Ḥanbalis, who constituted one of the main intellectual currents of Baghdad in al-Ṭabarī's era, and with whom al-Ṭabarī came into conflict, we may quote Ibn Qutaybah's opinion of them. Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) himself was one who defended the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and was even accused by Ibn Ḥajar of being a Nāṣibī.<sup>24</sup> Ibn Ḥajar writes about him: *كان ابن قتيبة يميل إلى التشبيه منصرف عن العترة.* "Ibn Qutaybah used to incline towards anthropomorphism and was ill-disposed towards the 'Itrah" (i.e. the Prophet's family).

In a book most probably written in his later years, Ibn Qutaybah fiercely criticizes the extremism of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth. He writes:

I saw that they (i.e. the Ahl al-Ḥadīth), in opposition to the extremism of the Rāfidites in their love of 'Alī and their giving him precedence..., went to the other extreme in disparaging 'Alī — *karram Allāh wajhahu* — not giving him that which was his due. Although they do not explicitly attribute injustice to him, they accuse him of having shed blood unlawfully and of having participated in the assassination of 'Uthmān. They consider him as not belonging to the leaders of guidance and place him among the leaders of misguidance. They deny his having been a (legitimate) caliph, due to the people's disagreement about him, but on the contrary consider Yazīd to have been a (legitimate) caliph, for they confirm the public consensus (*jamā'at*) in his favour. Many of their traditionists refrain from narrating his excellences and divulging that which has been narrated about him (from the Prophet), even though all such traditions relating the excellences of 'Alī have been transmitted through authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) chains of transmission.

They regard his son, al-Ḥusayn, as a Khārijī who broke the solidarity of the Muslims and consider him as one who might be killed lawfully (*mahdūr al-dam*), for the Prophet said: *مَنْ خَرَجَ عَلَى أُمَّتِي وَهُمْ جَمِيعٌ فَأَقْتُلُوهُ كَأَنَّكَ مَنْ كَانَ.* "One who takes up arms against my ummah when it is united, kill him, whoever he may be." Yes, they equate 'Alī to the participants of the council (*ahl al-shūrā*), for they say that had 'Umar considered 'Alī to be superior, he would have given him precedence over the others (i.e. the other members of the six-man *shūrā*). They refrain from mentioning him and even detest narrating any tradition relating his excellences, while they engage in narrating the merits of 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Mu'āwiyah. Their aim behind the narration of the merits of those two is not for the sake of giving them attention, but for the sake of disparaging him. If one says about 'Alī that 'Alī was the Prophet's brother, the father of his grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and that the People of the Covering (*aṣḥāb al-kisā'*) are 'Alī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, their faces become red and denial glares from their eyes... Should anyone narrate the sayings of the Messenger of Allah that *مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا عَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ.* "To whomever I am

his master, to him this 'Alī is also master," and that *أنت مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى*. "Your position in relation to me is that of Aaron in relation to Moses," and the like, they take upon themselves the task of finding fault with their *isnād* so as to destroy those traditions. They deny him the right due to him on account of (their hostility towards) the Rāfidites and on their account attribute to 'Alī, may peace be upon him,<sup>25</sup> that which is not in him. And this is ignorance itself....

So it is up to you to know his position with the Prophet (S), as the latter's brother and son-in-law, his fortitude in the struggle against the Prophet's enemies, his self-sacrificing role in the Prophet's battles, as well as his station from the viewpoint of learning, piety and courage.<sup>26</sup>

Ibn Qutaybah goes on to describe 'Alī's merits in the succeeding passages, and, as the editor of his work remarks, these passages reveal the occurrence of a definite shift in his position, for Ibn Qutaybah was famous for his hostility towards the Ahl al-Bayt (A). We have quoted this passage of Ibn Qutaybah solely in order to show the character of beliefs held by the Ḥanbalis with whom al-Ṭabarī came into conflict and who constituted one of the main intellectual currents of his time.

Al-Maqdisī also describes the Baghdād of his time in these words: *وَبَيْدَادِغَالِيَةً يُفْرَطُونَ فِي حُبِّ مُعَاوِيَةَ وَمَشَبَّهُةٍ وَتَرْبَاهَارِيَّةٍ*, "And in Baghdād are the extremists who are extravagant in the love of Mu'āwiyah, the Mushabbihah (believers in anthropomorphism) and the Barbahāriyyah."<sup>27</sup> Barbahār was one of the leaders of the Ḥanbalis of Baghdād.

In any case, from the time of al-Mutawakkil onwards the Ḥanbalis constituted the major part of the population of Baghdād and the other scholars were afraid of them and had to guard against them. There were also Shī'is and Mu'tazilis in Baghdād, and the Shī'ah were mainly concentrated in the locality called Karkh. But they had no power to play any prominent role until the coming of the Buwayhids in the fourth decade of the 4th/10th century, after which Shī'i power was increased and they opened a new and powerful front against the Ḥanbalis.

### Al-Ṭabarī's Encounter with the Ḥanbalis:

Before the strengthening of the Shī'i position vis-a-vis the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and before the attempt of Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Ash'arī in the middle of the 4th/10th century to propagate a middle position between the rationalist and traditionist standpoints, the Ḥanbalis were the sole force in the arena at Baghdād. There were few scholars who could dare to challenge them and even the caliphs, who were well disposed towards them, had to take them fully into account.

The moral courage shown by al-Ṭabarī in his encounter with the Ḥanbalis in relation to the issues of the nature of the Qur'ān, anthropo-

morphism, the detraction of 'Alī and their defence of the legal judgements of the predecessors — who had been promoted by Mu'āwiyah — is very noteworthy. Without any inhibition or fear of the Ḥanbalis or of the rulers, who were their natural patrons, he openly expressed his opinions and made an attempt to weaken the intellectual base of the Ḥanbalis. Historians have given certain accounts in their books which are useful for elucidating his relations with the Ḥanbalis.

1. The several biographical accounts concerning al-Ṭabarī indicate the persecution that he had to face at the hands of the Ḥanbalis, who forced him into isolation by stopping visitors and pupils from meeting him or learning ḥadīth from him. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusaynak Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī says: "Ibn Khuzaymah asked me if I had heard anything from Ibn Jarir. I said to him, 'No (I did not) because the Ḥanbalis prevented anyone from meeting him.'" <sup>28</sup> Elsewhere Ibn Khuzaymah is on record as having said, "The Ḥanbalīs have wronged him," <sup>29</sup> and *وكانت الحنابلة تمنع ولا* , i.e. The Ḥanbalis would prevent anyone from attending his lectures and would not overlook anyone who did so. <sup>30</sup>

Al-Subkī in *Ṭabaqāt* argues that the Ḥanbalis did not have so much power as to prevent someone like Ḥusaynak from visiting al-Ṭabarī, and that is why Ibn Khuzaymah had reproved him for not having visited al-Ṭabarī. <sup>31</sup> Such an inference is incorrect, for Ḥusaynak was an unknown youth at the time, and the power of the Ḥanbalis was much greater than what al-Subkī imagines. Only persons of courage could dare to visit al-Ṭabarī.

2. Al-Subkī writes that in the month of Dhū al-Qa'dah Ibn Jarir al-Ṭabarī went to the house of 'Alī ibn 'Isā for a debate with the Ḥanbalis. But the Ḥanbalis failed to appear and Ibn Jarir returned to his home. <sup>32</sup> This incident at least shows that there existed a conflict between al-Ṭabarī and the Ḥanbalis of Baghdād.

3. In one of his works *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'* al-Ṭabarī did not mention Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. When asked the reason, he replied "He was not a faqīh but only a traditionist." This remark infuriated the Ḥanbalis, <sup>33</sup> for Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was held in high regard by them.

4. Al-Ḥamawī relates that once on a Friday in the principal mosque the Ḥanbalis came to question him concerning Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the tradition regarding God's 'sitting' on the Throne (*'arsh*). The Mushabbihah and the Ḥanbalis interpreted it literally. Al-Ṭabarī replied that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's individual opinions have no credibility in the issues. The Ḥanbalis told him that the scholars had cited his opinion with the opinions of others and taken into account his individual judgements. Al-Ṭabarī replied, "I have not come across such a thing, nor do I know anyone (among the legists and traditionists) who has followed him." As an answer to their query about the tradition he told them that the tradition about God's sitting on the Throne described an impossibility. Then he recited this couplet:

سُبْحَانَ مَنْ لَيْسَ لَهُ أَنْيْسٌ      وَلَا لَهُ فِي عَرْشِهِ جَلِيْسٌ

Glory be to Him, Who has no intimate.  
Nor has He any companion on His Throne.

The Ḥanbalis and the Ahl al-Ḥadīth were furious when they heard these words. They attacked him and kicked him. It is said that there were thousands of them present there. Abū Ja'far got up and left. But they stoned his house and a big pile of stones gathered in it. Nāzūrak, the chief of the police, came with tens of thousands of men to disperse the crowd. They wiped out al-Ṭabari's couplet written on the door of his house and instead wrote on it verses praising Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and describing others' envy of him.<sup>34</sup>

5. The hostility between al-Ṭabari and the Ḥanbalis became more intense during the last years of his life, reaching its peak during his last days. Ibn Kathīr, a Ḥanbalī, writes that al-Ṭabari was buried inside his house because some of the Ḥanbalī populace prevented his burial during the day. In this, he adds, they were being led by the influence of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd,<sup>35</sup> a Zāhiri, who had accused al-Ṭabari of being a Rāfiḍite. When al-Ṭabari was dead, he tells us, the people gathered from different parts of Baghdād and offered the funeral prayers in his house.<sup>36</sup>

That al-Ṭabari was given a nocturnal funeral is also mentioned in other accounts, and the reason given is the charge of being a Shī'i.<sup>37</sup> Ibn al-'Athīr quotes Miskawayh's statement in *Tajārib al-'umam* to this effect.<sup>38</sup> Other accounts which attempt to conceal his secret burial, with the claim that no one was informed of his death and yet the people gathered for the funeral prayers, unwittingly divulge the peculiar character of his burial.

6. Ibn al-Jawzi's account is also elucidating in this regard. He quotes Thābit ibn Sinān to the effect that the people prevented his burial during daytime and accused him of being a Rāfiḍite and a heretic (*mulhid*). Then he writes that the reason for accusing him to be a Rāfiḍite was due to his opinion about the permissibility of the wiping of the feet (during *wuḍū'*, in conformity with Shī'i fiqh). He adds that Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd complained to Naṣr al-Ḥājib regarding al-Ṭabari, levelling certain charges against him, including the charge of entertaining the beliefs of the Jahmiyyah.<sup>39</sup> He charged that al-Ṭabari interpreted the verse *لَا يَدَاؤُهُ مَبْسُوطَانِ* (rather His hands are open, 5:64) as implying the (expansive) bounties of God rather than literally as His hands. Al-Ṭabari denied have made such a statement. Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd also accused him of narrating this ḥadīth: *إِنْ رُوحَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ لَمَّا: حَرَجَتْ سَالَتْ فِي كَفِّ عَلِيٍّ فَحَسَاهَا* 'When the Prophet's soul went out of his body, it flowed into 'Ali's palm (for the Prophet died while his head was in

‘Ali’s lap) and ‘Ali licked it (فَحَسَاها).”

Ibn al-Jawzī remarks that it should be مَسَحَ بِهَا عَلِيٌّ وَجْهَهُ (‘Ali stroked with it his face) instead of فَحَسَاها; however, he adds, the tradition does not seem to be right even in this form. According to Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Ṭabari wrote to Naṣr al-Ḥājib complaining that لا عُصَابَةَ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ كَهَذِهِ الْعُصَابَةِ الْخَسِيَّةِ. “There has been no group in Islam meaner than this group” (i.e. the Ahl al-Ḥadīth). Ibn al-Jawzī, himself an extreme Ḥanbalī, accuses al-Ṭabari of resorting to defamation instead of engaging in scholarly debate.<sup>40</sup>

The above account shows the severe character of al-Ṭabari’s conflict with the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and, as mentioned, this is an indication of al-Ṭabari’s great moral courage and is a significant aspect of his intellectual life.

A book *al-Radd ‘alā al-Ḥarqūsiyyah*<sup>41</sup> is attributed to him. Ḥarqūs ibn Zuhayr was one of the leaders of the early Khawārij, while the book is a refutation of the Ḥanbalis.<sup>42</sup> Al-Ṭabari called them Ḥarqūsiyyah because of their sharing the hostility of the Khawārij towards ‘Ali (A).<sup>43</sup> His opponents, on the contrary, levelled charges against him and claimed the path of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth to be the only right path. One of the scholars belonging to the Ahl al-Ḥadīth addressed this couplet to al-Ṭabari:

عَلَى نَهْجِ الدِّينِ لَا زَالَ مَعْلَمًا      عَلَيْكَ بِأَصْحَابِ الْحَدِيثِ فَإِنَّهُمْ  
إِذَا مَا دَجَى اللَّيْلُ الْبَهِيمُ وَأَظْلَمَا      وَمَا الدِّينُ إِلَّا فِي الْحَدِيثِ وَأَهْلِهِ

When the night falls and becomes pitch dark,  
Stay with the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, for they are  
On a path that remains the hallmark of the religion,  
And the (true) religion is only with ḥadīth and Ahl al-Ḥadīth.

### Al-Ṭabari’s Shi‘ism:

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Khwārazmī is a famous poet and man of letters of the 4th/10th century. He had close relations with the nobles and men of letters of his time and was a staunch supporter of the Buwayhids and wrote eulogies for them.<sup>45</sup> His birth probably occurred in 323/935 and he died in 383/993.<sup>46</sup> Among his extant works, besides his poetry, is the collection of his letters, which has a high literary value and has been published (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-‘Iḥyā’, 1970, with a short introduction by al-Shaykh al-Khāzin).

Al-Khwārazmī is an Imāmī Shi‘ī, a Rāfidite in the terminology of the Sunni scholars of rijāl.<sup>47</sup> The difference between *rafḍ* and *tashayyu’* from their viewpoint is that *rafḍ* represents a kind of extremism in *tashayyu’* manifested in Twelver Shi‘ism, while the term *tashayyu’* is

applied by them to those who prefer 'Alī to 'Uthmān and occasionally also to the other two caliphs.<sup>48</sup> Al-Khwārazmī's *rafḍ* is clearly evident from his letter to the Shī'is of Nayshābūr, in which he recounts some of the injustices perpetrated by the rulers against the Ahl al-Bayt and the Shī'is.<sup>49</sup>

That which concerns us here is the relationship between al-Ṭabari and al-Khwārazmī, which is significant from the viewpoint of the former's alleged Shī'i leanings. In this relation there are two matters that need study: (1) that al-Khwārazmī was the nephew of al-Ṭabari; (2) the couplet of al-Khwārazmī in which he attributes *rafḍ* to his maternal uncles, the Banū Jarir.

### Al-Khwārazmī's Relationship with al-Ṭabari:

Many early historical accounts confirm that al-Khwārazmī was the nephew of the famous historian al-Ṭabari. Al-Sam'āni (d. 562/1167) in *al-'Ansāb* writes that "Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-Khwārazmī, the man of letters, is also called al-Ṭabari because he is the sister's son of Muḥammad ibn Jarir ibn Yazid al-Ṭabari."<sup>50</sup> Ibn al-'Athir (d. 632/1234) with some brevity reproduces al-Sam'āni's remarks.<sup>51</sup>

Al-Tha'alibi (d. 430/1038) devotes many pages of his work to al-Khwārazmī's letters and poetry, and while pointing out that the latter belonged to Ṭabaristān says that he is also called "al-Ṭabarkhazmī." However, he does not mention any relationship between him and al-Ṭabari.<sup>52</sup> Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) states that al-Khwārazmī was al-Ṭabari's nephew.<sup>53</sup> Al-Dhahabī (d. 747/1346), the most famous of Sunnī scholars of rijāl, also confirms this relationship.<sup>54</sup>

It is evident from the statements of the above-mentioned authors that they refer to al-Ṭabari the historian whose grandfather's name was Yazid. Among other early writers who have mentioned this relationship between al-Khwārazmī and al-Ṭabari are Ibn Funduq (d. 565/1169) in *Ta'rikh-e Bayhaq*,<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī<sup>56</sup> and al-Yāfi'i (d. 768/1367).<sup>57</sup> Al-Zirikli also mentions it.<sup>58</sup> We did not find anyone among the early writers who had denied this relationship between the two, though, there are some later writers who consider it unlikely without any sufficient reason.

Al-Khwārazmī's verses quoted by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī are as follows:

فَأَخْوَالِي وَتَحْكِي الْمَرْءُ خَالَه	بِأَمْلٍ مَوْلَدِي وَتَنُوجِرِي
وَعَبْرِي رَافِضِيٍّ عَنِ كَلَالِه	فَهَا أَنَا رَافِضِيٍّ عَنِ ثَرَاتِي

Amul is my birthplace,  
And the Banū Jarir are my maternal uncles.  
Every man resembles his uncles, and Lo!

I am a Rāfiḍite by lineage, though others be,  
Rāfiḍites through kinship.<sup>59</sup>

‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzi al-Qazwīnī (d. c. 560/1164), the author of *al-Naqḍ*, while citing al-Khwārazmī’s verses states that no Shī‘ī has ever borne the name Abū Bakr. He mentions the verses with a slight change in the second couplet:

فَمَنْ يَكُ رَافِضِيًّا عَنْ تَرَاتٍ      فَأَنَا رَافِضِيٌّ عَنْ كَلَالِهِ

Should someone be a Rāfiḍite through lineage,  
Lo, I am a Rāfiḍite through kinship.<sup>60</sup>

It is probable that this second version is the more correct one. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd also mentions these lines (with the words *فَمَنْ يَكُ رَافِضِيًّا عَنْ أَبِيهِ*) but mistakenly attributes them to the Shī‘ī Imāmī author Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī instead of al-Khwārazmī.<sup>61</sup> Ibn Funduq, whom we mentioned earlier,<sup>62</sup> as well as Yāqūt and ‘Abd al-Jalīl have attributed it to al-Khwārazmī.

As to ‘Abd al-Jalīl’s doubt about al-Khwārazmī’s Shī‘ī identity, it must be said that it is not worthy of serious notice for the following reasons.

As mentioned by Yāqūt, as well as that which is obvious from al-Khwārazmī’s letter to the Shī‘īs of Nayshābūr, he is an Imāmī Shī‘ī — a Rāfiḍite. Secondly, as indicated by the version quoted by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, al-Khwārazmī’s father was a Sunnī and he had been led to embrace Shī‘ī beliefs through his maternal uncles. Thirdly, as can be seen from Shī‘ī books on rijāl, there were many among the Shī‘ī companions of the Imams (A) with the name ‘Umar and with such *kunyahs* as Abū ‘Uthmān and Abū Bakr.<sup>63</sup> Fourthly, it is probable that the words of the author of *al-Naqḍ* may have been meant as a sarcasm.

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, while citing al-Khwārazmī’s verses in *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, under the name of the city of Āmul, says that he claimed that Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī was his maternal uncle. Then he says: *كَذِبٌ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ رَافِضِيًّا*, “He lied. Abū Ja‘far, may God be merciful to him, was never a Rāfiḍite.”<sup>64</sup> In our opinion Yāqūt’s denial pertains to al-Khwārazmī’s claim that al-Ṭabarī was a Rāfiḍite, not to his statement that the latter was his maternal uncle.

Al-Khwānsārī in *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, quoting *Maqāmi‘ al-faḍl*, writes that there are two persons with the name Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. One of them is Ibn Jarīr ibn Ghālib al-Ṭabarī, a Shāfi‘ī<sup>65</sup> and author of the famous exegesis and history. The other is Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī, the author of *al-Mustarshid* and *al-‘Idāh*, who is a Shī‘ī beyond doubt. It is this Ṭabarī whose nephew was al-Khwārazmī. Al-Khwānsārī continues that this confusion has led Yāqūt

to call al-Khwārazmī a liar, and he points out that almost a century separated the generation of al-Ṭabari the historian from that of al-Khwārazmī.<sup>66</sup>

The author of *A'yān al-Shī'ah* has accepted this view and he holds that al-Khwārazmī was the nephew of the Imāmi Ṭabari, not of Ṭabari the historian.<sup>67</sup>

Here it should be pointed that there are not two but three Ṭabaris the name of each as well as his father being identical and all the three belong to Āmul.<sup>68</sup> Al-Najāshī mentions two Ṭabaris in his book on rijāl, one is an Imāmi<sup>69</sup> and the other a Sunni ('āmmī al-madhhab).<sup>70</sup> Also, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsi in his *Fihrist* after mentioning a Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, an 'āmmī al-madhhab,<sup>71</sup> explicitly considers him to be different from the author of the history and exegesis.<sup>72</sup> Āqā Buzūrg al-Tehrāni as well as al-Khwānsārī<sup>73</sup> have offered certain explanations in this regard, pointing out that there was another Ṭabari who was a contemporary of al-Najāshī and whom al-Najāshī did not mention in his book. Thus even if we suppose al-Khwārazmī to be the nephew of a Shī'i Ṭabari, the problem remains as to which Ṭabari it was. According to the research done by al-Tehrāni,<sup>74</sup> one of the Ṭabaris is Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam ibn Jarīr (or Yazīd) al-Ṭabari, the author of *al-Mustarshid* who was a contemporary of al-Kulayni (d. 329/940). Another is Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam al-Ṭabari, the author of *Dalā'il al-'imāmah* and contemporary of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsi (d. 460/1067) and al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058).

The objection that a generation separates al-Ṭabari the historian from al-Khwārazmī still remains even if we identify his maternal uncle with one of the Imāmi Ṭabaris mentioned. Moreover, as mentioned, when such earlier writers as al-Sam'āni, Yāqūt, al-Yāfi'i, Ibn Funduq, al-Dhahabi, Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbali and Ibn Khallikān have explicitly considered al-Khwārazmī as the nephew of al-Ṭabari, the historian and exegete, there is no reason why we should approve the baseless conjecture of later writers concerning al-Khwārazmī being the nephew of an Imāmi Ṭabari. As to the problem of the space of time between al-Khwārazmī and al-Ṭabari, there are many examples of a space of seven decades between the deaths of uncles and nephews. Moreover, it is also probable that al-Khwārazmī was the grandson of al-Ṭabari's sister, not her son.

Now the basic question is whether it is possible to consider al-Ṭabari a Rāfiḍite. In answer it must be said that there are certain indications which confirm al-Ṭabari's Shī'i inclinations in later years.

Apart from the hostility of the Ḥanbalis towards al-Ṭabari arising from his abstaining from mentioning Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal among the fuqahā' in his book *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, there was another cause of this hostility. Yāqūt, in *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, writes, "He (i.e. al-Ṭabari) was



given a nightly funeral due to the fear of the people, because he was accused of being a Shi'ī<sup>75</sup> (وَذْفِنَ لَيْلًا خَوْفًا مِنَ الْعَامَةِ لِأَنَّهُ كَانَ يُتَّهَمُ بِالتَّشْيِيعِ).

In his *Mu'jam al-buldān*, however, Yāqūt denies this allegation and considers the Ḥanbali's hostility towards al-Ṭabari as the main cause of this allegation, which, according to him, was made by al-Khwārazmī a pretext for calling al-Ṭabari a Rāfiḍite.<sup>76</sup> Another thing which must be remembered in this context is that the main conflict in the Baghdād of those days was that between the Ḥanbalis and the Shi'ah. This is a definite fact.

Even though al-Ṭabari's history and exegesis explicitly preclude his being considered a Rāfiḍite, the allegations against him as well as al-Khwārazmī's statement about him could not have been totally without grounds.

There can be two interpretations of these allegations regarding al-Ṭabari's *tashayyu'*. Firstly, it is possible that al-Ṭabari inclined towards *tashayyu'* and even *rafḍ* in the last years of his life but could not give expression to his beliefs due to the fear of the Ḥanbalis. Secondly, he, like other neutral Sunni scholars, accepted the traditions in favour of the Ahl al-Bayt and adopted a moderate approach in certain legal issues. In view of the existing circumstantial evidence we consider the first explanation as being the more probable one.

Apart from al-Khwārazmī's statement about his uncle and the fact of his nightly funeral, another fact that supports al-Ṭabari's *rafḍ* is the accusation of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Sulaymānī, who said about him that al-Ṭabari used to fabricate traditions for the Rāfiḍites (كَانَ يَضَعُ لِلرَّوَافِضِ). Al-Dhahabī, while rejecting al-Sulaymānī's allegation, says that "he had in him some inclination towards *tashayyu'* and love (of the Ahl al-Bayt) which are not harmful (i.e. for his standing near the Ahl al-Sunnah)" (فِيهِ تَشْيِيعٌ [إِسِيرًا] وَمَوْلَاةٌ لَا تَضُرُّ).<sup>77</sup> Al-Dhahabī then forwards the conjecture that perhaps by 'Ṭabari' al-Sulaymānī meant Ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam al-Ṭabari. Al-Dhahabī's conjecture is not justified in our opinion, because it is very improbable that a Sunni scholar like al-Sulaymānī should not have known which Ṭabari he was talking about, especially in view of al-Ṭabari's fame and repute amongst the Sunnis.

Another piece of evidence supporting al-Ṭabari's Shi'ism in later years is the book he wrote on the *ṭuruq* of *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*. Although many Sunni traditionists have transmitted this tradition and accept it as authentic, al-Ṭabari's writing an entire book on the theme reveals the importance it held for him. Among Shi'ī scholars al-Najāshī and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī have mentioned this book in their bibliographical works.<sup>78</sup> Al-Dhahabī also writes that "when al-Ṭabari heard that Ibn Abī Dāwūd denied the authenticity of *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, he wrote a book on the subject of its authenticity and the excellences (*faḍā'il*, of the Ahl al-Bayt)." He adds that he himself saw a volume of this work

on the *ṭuruq* of *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr* and was frightened by the great number of its chains of transmission.<sup>79</sup> Al-Dhahabī also says that al-Ṭabarī wrote a *musnad* of the Ahl al-Bayt, in the same way as he produced similar compilations of the traditions narrated by other Companions.<sup>80</sup>

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī also confirms that al-Ṭabarī wrote a book on the *faḍā'il* of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) in the first part of which he collected the chains of transmission of *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*. The book, he says, remained incomplete.<sup>81</sup> While pointing out that al-Ṭabarī wrote the book as a rejoinder to one of the shaykhs of Baghdād (i.e. Ibn Abī Dāwūd) who had declared that 'Alī was in Yemen when the Prophet (S) was at Ghadīr Khumm, and who had composed some verses to prove his point. In it al-Ṭabarī has described the various chains through which *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr* had been transmitted, as well as traditions concerning the *faḍā'il* of 'Alī (A). Yāqūt further says that many people gathered to listen to these traditions including a group of the Rāfiḍites. Thereupon al-Ṭabarī began with the *faḍā'il* of Abū Bakr and 'Umar and, thereafter, the 'Abbāsids asked him to narrate the *faḍā'il* of al-'Abbās as well. But while he was dictating it, death did not give him the opportunity to complete it.<sup>82</sup> We don't know how much to rely on the latter part of Yāqūt's account, which also contains some contradiction.

In any case, al-Ṭabarī's interest in *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr* and his compilation of a book on its *ṭuruq* under the title '*Kitāb al-wilāyah*' must have been the main reason behind the ascription of *rafḍ* to him. Unfortunately this book, which existed until al-Dhahabī's times (6th/12th century), seems to be no longer extant.

Al-Ṭabarī also wrote a book on the *ṭuruq* of *Ḥadīth al-Ṭayr*.<sup>83</sup> In this tradition, as reported by al-Tirmidhī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, once when the Prophet (S) sat down to eat a fowl that had been prepared for his dinner, he prayed to God: "My God, bring the most beloved of Your creatures that he may share this fowl (*ṭayr*) with me." Then 'Alī (A) entered and the Prophet (S) ate with him. Al-Ṭabarī's abandoning al-Shāfi'i's school and his founding of an independent legal school of his own show his independent bent of mind.<sup>84</sup> It is very probable that his research regarding *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr* may have guided him to Shī'ism, especially in view of his background and origin in Āmul where there were many Shī'is.

We do not intend to prove that al-Ṭabarī was throughout an Imāmi Shī'i in the full meaning of the term. All that we wish to point out is that al-Ṭabarī appears to have developed strong Shī'i inclinations towards the end of his life. In the 3rd/9th century there was an adage popular among the people: *أرني شيعياً صغيراً أريك رافضياً كبيراً*. ("Show me a little Shī'i, I will show you a big Rāfiḍite.")<sup>85</sup> It meant that one with a little Shī'i inclination is sure to grow into a full-fledged Rāfiḍite. It was

natural that one who studies the extensive chains of transmission of *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr* with such interest as al-Ṭabari's and with his open mind could turn from a 'little Shī'i' into a 'big Rāfiḍite.' The restrictions imposed by the Ḥanbalī domination over Baghdād forced him to conceal his beliefs and hence, perhaps, his late Shī'ism was not very open.

However, his fame as a Sunnī rests on his works, especially his exegesis and history, which are part of the Muslim, particularly Sunnī, heritage. However, the man himself, as indicated by the evidence discussed above, was able to transcend in later life the beliefs that he had held when he wrote his history and exegesis.

### Al-Ṭabari's Works:

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentions the following among al-Ṭabari's works:<sup>86</sup>

*Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl al-Qur'ān.*

*Al-Faṣl bayn al-qirā'āt.*

*Kitāb al-qirā'āt*, which, probably, was different from the above-mentioned book.

*Ta'rīkh al-'umam wa al-mulūk*, his famous history.

*Dhayl al-Mudhayyil*, on the biographies of Ṣaḥābah and Ṭābi'ūn.

*Ikhtilāf 'ulamā' al-'amṣār fī aḥkām sharāyi' al-'Islām.*

*Kitāb al-shurūṭ.*

*Laṭīf al-qawl fī aḥkām sharāyi' al-'Islām*, which had a condensed version entitled *al-Khāfīf fī aḥkām sharāyi' al-'Islām*.

*Tahdhīb al-'āthār*, which has been published recently in four volumes.

*Adab al-nufūs al-jayyidah wa al-'akhlāq al-nafīṣah.*

*Al-Musnad al-mujarrad.*

*Kitāb al-baṣīr (or al-tabṣīr) fī ma'ālim al-Dīn*, which is extant.

*Kitāb faḍā'il 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, in which he collected the *ṭuruq* of *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*.

*Al-Radd 'alā al-Ḥarqūsiyyah*, mentioned by al-Najāshī.<sup>87</sup>

The following have also been mentioned among his treatises:

*'Adad al-tanzīl.*

*Al-Radd 'alā dhī al-'asfār.*

Al-Ṭabari, when compared with other scholars, is relatively fortunate, in that most of his works have survived. Brockelmann has mentioned al-Ṭabari's extant works including his history, *Tahdhīb al-'āthār*,<sup>88</sup> his exegesis, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā*,<sup>89</sup> and *Kitāb tabṣīr ulī al-nuhā wa ma'ālim al-hudā*.<sup>90</sup> He mistakenly includes *Bashārat al-Muṣṭafā*, by a Shī'i scholar Muḥibb al-Ṭabari, among al-Ṭabari's works.<sup>91</sup>

Fu'ād Sizgin has also produced a detailed bibliography of the

manuscripts and translations.<sup>92</sup> He mentions the following among al-Ṭabari's extant works: *Ṣariḥ al-Sunnah*, *Ramī al-qaws*, *al-'Aqidah*, *al-Jāmi' fī al-qirā'āt al-mashhūrah wa al-shawādh*, *Ḥadīth al-ḥimyar*, *al-Risālah min laṭīf al-qawl fī al-bayān 'an uṣūl al-'aḥkām*.<sup>93</sup>

### Al-Ṭabari's Last Counsel:

It is reported that someone narrated a supplication of al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) mentioned in a tradition to al-Ṭabari during his last moments.

The tradition is as follows. Naṣr ibn Kathīr says: "It was sixty or more years ago when I went with Sufyān al-Thawri to meet Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (A). I said to Ja'far ibn Muḥammad that I intended to go on ḥajj and I requested him to teach me a prayer. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad said, 'When you reach the Holy House, put your hand on the wall of the Ka'bah and say:

يا سائق القوتِ ويا سامعِ الصَّوتِ ويا كاسيَ العِظامِ بعدَ الموتِ .

"O Provider of livelihood, O Hearer of sounds, O Coverer of bones (with flesh) after death."

Then ask for whatever you need.' Then Sufyān al-Thawri said something to Ja'far ibn Muḥammad which I did not comprehend. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad turned to him and said:

يا سُفْيَانُ إِذَا جَاءَكَ مَا تُحِبُّ فَأَكْثِرْ مِنَ الْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ، وَإِذَا جَاءَكَ مَا تَكْرَهُ فَأَكْثِرْ مِنْ قَوْلِ لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ، وَإِذَا اسْتَبْطَأْتَ الرِّزْقَ فَأَكْثِرْ مِنَ الاسْتِغْفَارِ .

O Sufyān, when something that you love happens to you, then say many number of times "All praise is God's." When something that you loathe befalls you, say many number of times, "There is no power or force that is not dependent on God" (God's Power). And when your livelihood becomes meagre, seek God's forgiveness a lot.

When the above-mentioned supplication taught by al-'Imām al-Ṣādiq (A) was narrated to al-Ṭabari, he asked for paper and ink. Someone said that it was not time for writing. Al-Ṭabari answered:

يَنْبَغِي لِلْإِنْسَانِ أَنْ لَا يَدَعَ اقْتِبَاسَ الْعِلْمِ حَتَّى يَمُوتَ .

It is worthy of a human being not to abandon the acquisition of knowledge until death.<sup>94</sup>

NOTES:

1. Al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Tehran, 1393) 291; Muḥammad ibn Jarir ibn Yazid ibn Kathīr ibn Ghālib according to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī.
2. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xviii, 48.
3. Al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 291.
4. Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* (Leiden), vol. xv, p. LXXXIX.
5. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, xviii, 50.
6. *Ibid.*, 56.
7. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, xi, 147; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssirin*, ii, 113; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, xviii, 54.
8. Al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, vol. xv, p. LXXXIV.
9. Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-'asmā' wa al-lughāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah) i, 79.
10. Al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 292, 293; *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, ii, 260; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-'a'yān*, iii, 332; al-Shirāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 93; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xviii, 54, 93.
11. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Rihlah fī talab al-ḥadīth*.
12. See in this regard Adam Miths, *Tamaddun-e Islāmī dar qarn-e chahārrum-e hūri* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr). Trans. 'Alī Ridā Qaraguzulū.
13. Al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 111, 112.
14. See *Mutammim al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 157, 318, ed. Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, about the role of al-Zuhri, Abū al-Zannād and other scholars attached to the Umayyad regime.
15. I have benefitted in this regard from his notebooks as well as his oral remarks.
16. Al-Sayyid al-Rūḥānī, *Buḥūth ma'a Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Salafiyyah*, 24, 25, (footnote).
17. Ibn al-Ja'd, *Musnad*, i, 527.
18. This book, edited by Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī, has been published from Beirut.
19. Ibn Ḥajar in *Lisān al-mizān*, i, 188, says about Yāqūt that he has been charged of *naṣb* and that he considered every Shi'i a Rāfiḍī.
20. Parts of this book were written by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and the original has been unfortunately lost. At the end of *al-'Uthmāniyyah* (Egypt, 1374) ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥarūn, 282—283, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's quotations from al-'Iskāfī's book have been published.
21. 'Ḥashawiyyah' is a term used by the opponents of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth to refer to them. The term probably refers to their staunch traditionalism as well as their blind following of every ruler and caliph.
22. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in *al-'Istī'āb*, i, 154, says that consensus regarding the order of superiority of the caliphs in the order of their succession emerged only in the time of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.
23. *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, i, 393, cf. al-Sayyid al-Rūḥānī, *op. cit.*, 25.
24. *Lisān al-mizān*, iii, 357.
25. These are Ibn Qutaybah's own words.
26. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-'Ikhtilāf fī al-lafz* (Egypt, 1349) ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, 47—49.
27. Al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 126.
28. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, ii, 164; Ibn al-'Athīr, *op. cit.*, viii, 135; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 712; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān*, v, 102; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssirin*, ii, 110.

29. Al-Sam'ānī, *al-'Ansāb*, ix, 42; Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, xi, 146; al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, ii, 164.
30. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xviii, 43.
31. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, cf. al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. xv, p. xcvi.
32. Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. xv, p. xcxi.
33. Ibn al-'Athīr, *op. cit.*, viii, 134.
34. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xviii, 58.
35. This man was son of Dāwūd ibn 'Alī, the founder of the Zāhiri school. Although he wrote a book in refutation of al-Ṭabarī (see *al-Fihrist*), but the one who was entangled with al-Ṭabarī was Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd, son of Abū Dāwūd, the well-known author of the *Sunan*.
36. Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, xi, 146, 147.
37. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xviii, 40.
38. Ibn al-'Athīr, *op. cit.*, viii, 134, 135.
39. Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (killed in 128/745) was among the followers of Ḥārith ibn Sarīh in Khurasan who held beliefs opposed to anthropomorphism. Charging one of being a Jahmī was among the accusations made by the Ahl al-Ḥadīth against their opponents.
40. Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazim*, vi, 172; al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. xv, p. xlcix.
41. According to Brockelmann, the book was named after Ḥarqūs, the grandfather of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He also states that it was a refutation of the Ḥanbalīs. See *Ta'riḥ al-'adab al-'Arabī*, iii, 50.
42. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 225.
43. A similar thing is said regarding Yāqūt in *Lisān al-mizān*, that is similarity with the Khawārij in the belief regarding 'Alī (A).
44. Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. xv, p. lxxxvii.
45. Al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatimat al-dahr*, ed. Muḥyi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid, vol. , pp. 208, 214, 217, 225.
46. Al-Sam'ānī, *op. cit.*, v, 213.
47. In fact, a Rāfidite from the viewpoint of the Ahl al-Sunnah is one who does not accept the caliphs. Although many of the leading Sunnī scholars have not held a high opinion of 'Uthmān, there are some who have been critical of the other two caliphs as well.
48. Cf. al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'itidāl*, i, 5; however, some of his claims in this regard are not correct.
49. *Rasā'il al-Khwārazmī* (Beirut; Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt) 16.
50. Al-Sam'ānī, *op. cit.*, iv, 204.
51. Ibn al-'Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-'ansāb* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir) i, 468.
52. Al-Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, iv, 204.
53. Al-Khwānsarī, *Rawḍat al-jannāt* (Qumm: Ismā'ilyān), vii, 296.
54. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah) xvi, 526.
55. Ibn Funduq, *Ta'riḥ-e Bayhaq* (Tehran: Farūghī) ed. Dr. Bahmanyār, 16, 108.
56. Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī) iii, 105.
57. Al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-jinān*, ii, 416.
58. Al-Ziriklī, *al-'A'lām*, vi, 183.
59. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, i, 57.
60. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī al-Qazwīnī, *al-Naqd*, 218.
61. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, ii, 36.
62. Ibn Funduq, *op. cit.*, 108.

63. *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Qumm: Dāwari) 202, 317.
64. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, i, 57.
65. It is not correct to consider al-Ṭabari a follower of al-Shāfi'i, because, as mentioned by al-Nadīm, al-Ṭabari founded his own independent legal school.
66. Al-Khwānsārī, *op. cit.*, vii, 293, 294.
67. Al-'Āmilī, *op. cit.*, ix, 377, 378, 199.
68. Al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 291.
69. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 226.
70. *Ibid.*, 225.
71. Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Bahr al-'Ulūm, 150.
72. *Ibid.*, 159.
73. Al-Khwānsārī, *op. cit.*, vii, 294; Shaykh 'Abbās al-Qummi, *al-Kunā wa al-'alqāb*, i, 331, 333.
74. Aqā Buzurg al-Tehrānī, *al-Dhari'ah ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'ah* (Beirut: Dār al-'Adwā') xxi, 9, viii, 241.
75. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xvii, 40.
76. *Ibid.*, i, 57.
77. Al-Dhahabī, *Miẓān al-'itidāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah) iii, 499.
78. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 225; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 150.
79. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ii, 713.
80. *Ibid.*
81. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xvii, 81.
82. *Ibid.*, 82.
83. Al-Qummi, *al-Kunā wa al-'alqāb*, i, 231; al-'Āmilī, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, ix, 199.
84. Al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 291.
85. Al-'Iskāfī, *al-Mi'yār wa al-muwāzanah* (Beirut) ed. al-Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir al-Mahmūdī, 32.
86. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, xviii, 54-93.
87. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 225; Brockelmann, *Ta'rikh al-'adab al-'Arabī* (Egypt: Dār al-Ma'arif) trans. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Najjār, iii, 50; al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 291, has also given a list of al-Ṭabari's works; see also al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn*, ii, 111.
88. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, iii, 49.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*, 50.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Fu'ād Sizgīn, *Ta'rikh al-turāth al-'Arabī* (al-Ḥijāz, 1983) trans. Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Ḥijāzī, i, part 2, 162.
93. *Ibid.*; 167, 168.
94. Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, vol. xv, p. lxxxiv, from Ibn 'Asākir; see also al-Sahmī, *Ta'rikh-e Jurjānī*, 554.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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*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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# Imām Khumaynī: Life and Works Part 3

by Sa'īd Najafiyān

## A List of the Imam's Works:

Imam Khumaynī's writings cover a wide spectrum from kalām, akhlāq and 'irfān to fiqh and uṣūl al-fiqh.

### 'Irfān, Akhlāq and Poetry:

1. *Sharḥ du'ā' al-saḥar*, or *Mukhtār fī sharḥ al-du'ā' al-muta'alliq bi al-saḥar*, a profound mystical and spiritual exposition in Arabic of one of the most inspiring of Islamic supplications. Its Persian translator considers it as the first work of the Imam, which was written according to him in 1347/1928, in the same year as that of the Imam's marriage with Mirzā Muḥammad Thaqafī's daughter, at the age of 27. This book has been translated into Persian by Sayyid Aḥmad Fihri (1359 H.Sh/1980).

2. *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāyah fī al-khilāfah wa al-wilāyah*. This is one of the earliest of his works and at the same time the most obtruse of his writings, written in Arabic and, as mentioned by the Imam himself at the end of the book, at a time when he was 29 (25 Shawwāl 1349/March 1931). The book expounds some profound mystical dimensions of the *khilāfah* and *wilāyah* of the Prophet Muḥammad (S) and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (A) in terms couched in the mystical tradition established by Ibn al-'Arabī, who is often referred to in the book. The Imam also refers to the mystical and theological views of Qāḍī Sa'īd Qummi (d. 1104/1692), as expressed in his work *al-Bawāriq al-malakūtiyyah* as well as the views of his own teacher, Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Shāhābādī. This book has also been translated into Persian by Sayyid Aḥmad Fihri (1360 H. Sh/1981).

3. *Hāshiyah on Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* is the work of the great Ṣūfī Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī whose *sharḥ* or exposition by Dāwūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Qayṣarī is a famous one.

This work, in Arabic, is the product of the seven years (1347-1354/1928-1935) when the Imam was studying mystical texts under the tutelage of Āyatullāh Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Shāhābādī.

4. *Hāshiyah on Miṣbāḥ al-'uns*. *Miṣbāḥ al-'uns bayn al-ma'qūl wa al-mashhūd* is a *sharḥ* by Muḥammad ibn Hamzah ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Fanārī, of *Miftāḥ ghayb al-jam' wa al-wujūd*, a work of Abū al-Ma'ālī Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Qūnawī. Like the *hāshiyah* on *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, this is also a product of the years of study (1350-54/1931-35) under Āyatullāh Shāhābādī. It was completed in 1355/1936. Both the *ḥawāshī* have been published together by Mu'assaseh-ye Pāsdārān-e Islām, Ramaḍān, 1406 H., with the title *Ta'liqāt 'alā Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam wa Miṣbāḥ al-'uns*.

5. *Chihil ḥadīth*, completed in Muḥarram 1358 (Feb-Mar. 1939), is an exposition, in Persian, of forty mystical and ethical traditions of the Prophet (S) and the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A). Reportedly, it is the product of the Imam's lectures on akhlāq during the years 1356-58/1937-39, which were first held at Madraseh-ye Fayziyyeh and then, after the prohibition by Reza Khan's regime, at Madreseh Ḥājj Mullā Ṣādiq. At the beginning of the book, the Imam names his teachers (*shuyūkh*) in ḥadīth and the chain of teachers (*mashyakhaḥ*) reaching up to Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī.

6. *Asrār (or Sirr) al-ṣalāt* or *Mi'rāj al-sālikīn wa ṣalāt al-'ārifīn*, completed on 2 Rabī' al-Thānī 1358 (May 1939) around the age of 38, and published for the first time in *Yādnāmeḥ-ye Shahīd Muṭahharī* (vol. 1).

7. *Ādāb al-ṣalāt*, in Persian, is a profound spiritual and mystical treatise on *ṣalāt* and its etiquette, rewards, significance and mysteries. As mentioned at the end of the book, the Imam completed it in Rabī' al-Thānī, 1361 H. (April 1942). It has been edited with footnotes by Sayyid Aḥmad Fihri, who has also translated it into Arabic.

8. *Sharḥ-e ḥadīth-e junūd-e 'aql wa jahl* is an incomplete exposition of a famous tradition of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, *kitāb al-'aql wa al-jahl*. It is apparently, a work of ethical and philosophical character.

9. *Liqā' Allāh*, is a seven-page treatise in Persian which has been published at the end of Ḥājj Mirzā Jawād Mālīkī's book *Liqā' Allāh*.

10. *Dīwān*, or collection of his Persian poetry, which seems to have been lost as a result of the assault of the SAVAK, the Shah's security organization, on the Imam's house. It is possible that like his another work, the *Hāshiyah on Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, which had also been deemed lost and was later discovered in the city of Hamadān, this precious work will also be found one day.

11. *Jihād-e akbar*, or *Mubārezeh bā nafs*, is a compilation made by Sayyid Ḥamid Rūḥānī of the Imam's lectures of an ethical and spiritual character delivered during his stay in Najaf.

12. *Tafsīr-e sūreh-ye Ḥamd* is an exegetical discourse in Persian on the opening *sūrah* of the Holy Qur'ān, which was telecasted in five sessions by the Islamic Republic Television around the early months of 1980. It has been translated into English by Dr. Hamid Algar. The Persian has been published together with an exposition of *Sūrat al-'Alaq*.

13. *Subūye 'ishq* is a collection of his eight *ghazals* published shortly after his demise.

14. *Bādeh-ye 'ishq* consists of a mystical letter addressed to his daughter-in-law, Fāṭimah Ṭabāṭabā'i, as well as some mystic poetry.

15. *Rāh-e 'ishq* is another epistle addressed by the Imam to his daughter-in-law.

16. *Nuqṭeh-ye 'atf* also consists of a letter addressed to his son, Ḥājj Sayyid Aḥmad Khumaynī, as well as a *tarjī' band* (a poetical form) and twenty-two *rubā'iyyat*.

### Kalām and Political Thought:

The following may be mentioned as the works of Imam Khumaynī on kalām. It should be remembered that the issues of kalām have always carried significant political implications. In some of the following works, like *Kashf al-'asrār* and *Wilāyat-e faqīh*, kalām completely breaks its traditional confines and marches boldly into the field of political theory.

17. *Sharḥ-e ḥadīth-e Ra's al-Jālūt* is an exposition of a famous account of the debate of al-'Imām al-Riḍā (A) with the scholars of various faiths, such as Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrianism, reported in al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq's *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* and '*Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā (A)*. Completed in 1348/1929, according to *Ā'īneh-ye dāmishwaran*, it is one of his early writings, or even his first according to a statement of the Imam himself. It appears that there are two expositions — both in Arabic — written by the Imam on the tradition.

18. *Hāshiyah on Sharḥ-e ḥadīth-e Ra's al-Jālūt*, a treatise by Qāḍī Sa'id Qummī, in Arabic.

19. *Kashf al-'asrār*, which was mentioned above, is a refutation of one Ḥakamizādeh's 32-page pamphlet, *Asrār-e hazār sāleh* (1943), in which the Imam refutes the author's views based on Wahhābism. This book was published at a time when the tyrant Reza Khan had been deposed and sent into exile and the forces of the Allies occupied Iran. The Imam took full advantage of the spell in the Pahlavi repression to vigorously attack the imperialists and their agents, such as Rezā Khān and Atātürk, and their plots against Islam. The book consists of 6 parts. The first part is a refutation of Wahhābī doctrines. The second part is about Imamate. The third part deals with the authority and legal powers

of the *mujtahidūn*. The fourth and fifth parts discuss issues related to Islamic government. The sixth part answers criticisms against the notion of the perpetual validity of Islamic laws and discusses the causes behind the general decline of interest in religion. In *Kashf al-'asrār* there are the first glimpses of the stylistic vigour and power that characterize the Imam's declarations, messages and speeches of the years since the Revolution.

20. *Risālah fī al-ṭalab wa al-'irādah* is a product of the years after the Imam had started his lectures on *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the year 1945. Completed in Ramaḍān 1371/1951, it has been translated into Persian by Sayyid Aḥmad Fihri (1362 H.Sh/1983); deals with various problems of *kalām*, such as Divine attributes of volition (*irādah*) and speech (*kalām*), human freedom and predestination, human nature and felicity.

21. *Lubb al-'athar* or *Risālah fī al-ṭalab wa al-'irādah wa al-jabr wa al-tafwīd*, a record of the Imam's lectures in Arabic by Āyatullāh Ja'far Subḥānī. Written in 1371/1951, its final draft was completed in 1373/1953. A photo-copy of this 57-page treatise exists in the library of Dar Rāh-e Haqq Institute, Qumm.

22. *Wilāyat-e faqīh*, or *Hukūmat-e Islāmī*, in Persian, is a compilation, as mentioned earlier, of twelve or so lectures compiled by Sayyid Ḥamid Rūḥānī of Imam Khumaynī (R) delivered in Najaf on the topic of the *wilāyat al-faqīh*.

### Fiqh and Uṣūl:

Imam Khumaynī's writings in the field of fiqh and *uṣūl* consist of the following:

23. *Risāleh ī mushtamil bar fawā'idī dar ba'dī masā'il-e mushkilah*, which contains the opinions of his teacher Āyatullāh Ḥā'iri Yazdī in the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. This, an early work, was a product of the years when the Imam attended his lectures.

24. *Tahdhīb al-'uṣūl*, a work in three volumes, consist of the Imam's lectures on *uṣūl al-fiqh* delivered during about twelve years, after 1945, which have been recorded and compiled by his pupil Āyatullāh Ja'far Subḥānī.

25. *Risālah fī al-'ijtihād wa al-taqlīd*, a record of the Imam's lectures in Arabic written by Āyatullāh Ja'far Subḥānī in 1370/1950. It has been published together with *Tahdhīb al-'uṣūl*.

26. *Nayl al-'awṭār fī bayān qā'idat lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār*, a record of his lectures on a topic of *uṣūl* written by Āyatullāh Ja'far Subḥānī in 1375/1955. It has also been published with *Tahdhīb al-'uṣūl*.

27. *Ta'liqah 'alā Kifāyat al-'uṣūl*, completed in 1368/1948, is an annotation written on the famous work on *uṣūl al-fiqh* by Akhūnd Khurāsānī.

28. *Al-Rasā'il*, a collection in two volumes of the Imam's treatises on such issues of uṣūl as the principle of *lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār* (1367/1947), *istiṣhāb* (1370/1950), *ta'ādul wa tarājih* (1370/1950), *ijtihād wa taqlīd* (1370/1950), *taqiyyah* (1373/1953). Published in 1385/1965 from Qumm.

29. *Risālah fī mawḍū' 'ilm al-'uṣūl*, which is a book on the subject of uṣūl al-fiqh.

\* \* \*

30. *Risālah fī qā'idat man malak*.

31. *Kitāb al-ṭahārah*, in 3 volumes, consists of the Imam's lectures on fiqh, delivered in Qumm before his exile. The first volume was completed on 10 Dhū al-Hijjah 1373, the second on 22 Rabī' al-'Awwal 1376, and the third on 11 Sha'bān 1376.

32. *Ta'liqah 'alā al-'Urwat al-wuthqā*, completed in Jamādī al-'Awwal 1375/1955, it is an annotation on the *al-'Urwat al-wuthqā* of Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī, on fiqh.

33. *Al-Makāsib al-muḥarramah*, in two volumes, completed in Jamādī al-'Awwal 1380 (Oct. — Nov. 1960) and published in Muḥarram 1381 (June—July 1961).

34. *Hāshiyah* on *tawḍīḥ al-masā'il*, published in 1381/1961, after the death of Āyatullāh Burūjerdī, it is an annotation on the latter's *Tawḍīḥ al-masā'il* in Persian.

35. *Risālah-ye najāt al-'ibād*, a three-volume work in Persian on fiqh.

36. *Hāshiyeh-ye Risāleh-ye irth*, an annotation on the treatise on inheritance by Ḥājj Mullā Hāshim Khurāsānī, the author of *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*.

37. *Ta'liqah 'alā Wasīlat al-najāt*, an annotation on Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Iṣfahānī's *Wasīlat al-najāt*, on fiqh.

38. *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, in two volumes, is an extension of the *Wasīlat al-najāt* of Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Iṣfahānī (d. 1365/1946) in the field of fiqh, from *kitāb al-ṭahārah* to *kitāb al-diyāt*. This book, which includes the original text of the *Wasīlah* together with the Imam's annotations and additions, was mostly written during the Imam's stay in Turkey and completed in Najaf. Two Persian translations of it have been done. Two works that have been written in relation to it are *Tafṣīl al-Sharī'ah fī sharḥ Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, a *sharḥ* in forty volumes by Āyatullāh Ḥājj Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil Lankarānī (some volumes of which have appeared) and *Mustanad al-Tahrīr* by Shaykh Aḥmad Muṭahhari (which has been translated into Persian by Hāshim Nūri).

39. *Manāsik-e ḥajj*, in Persian, contains his *fatāwā* regarding the rituals of ḥajj. The third print of it in 187 pages appeared in 1384/1964.

40. *Kitāb al-bay'*, in 5 volumes, consists of the Imam's lectures on fiqh during his nearly fifteen-year stay in Najaf. Written between the years 1380—1396/1960—1976, the first draft of the fifth volume was completed in Jamādī al-'Awwal 1396/May 1976. The book was published in the years 1391—1397/1971—1977 from Najaf. The part of this book relating to *wilāyat al-faqīh* has been translated into Persian and published by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance under the title *Shu'ūn wa ikhtiyārāt-e walī-ye faqīh*.

41. *Kitāb al-khalal fī al-ṣalāt*, written between the years 1397—1398/1977—1978.

42. *Risālah fī ta'yīn al-fajr fī al-layālī al-muqmirah*, which is a short treatise relating to the determination of daybreak in moon-lit nights. It was published in 1367 H.Sh/1988.

\* \* \*

Apart from these, there are various compilations done by pupils of the Imam's lectures and *fatāwā*, some of which are:

1. *Tawḍīh al-masā'il*, in Persian, which contains Imam's *fatwās* on various legal issues.

2. *Risāleh-ī dar aḥkām-e ma'lūlīn wa majrūhīn mutābiq bā fatwā-ye Imām*, contains his *fatāwā* for those wounded and disabled in the war, compiled by Sayyid Ḥusayn Muhājir.

3. *Zubdat al-'aḥkām*, a selection of his *fatāwā*, in Arabic.

4. *Istiftā'āt*, in two volumes, is a compilation of the queries addressed to the Imam and his replies to them. The first volume, in 519 pages, has been published by Intishārāt-e Jāmi'eh-ye Mudarrisīn-e Hawzeh-ye 'Ilmiyyeh-ye Qumm.

5. *Farāmīn-e ilāhī yā aḥkām-e jebheh*, contains his *fatāwā* in relation to the religious needs of the combatants on the war front, published by I.R.G.C., 1364 H.Sh.

6. *Faḍīlat wa aḥkām-e namāz-e jamā'at*, compiled by Goroh-e Farhangī-ye Jihād-e Dānishgāhi-ye Ṣan'ati-ye Sharīf (1364 H.Sh).

7. *Risāleh-ye nawīn*, an excellent expository description of fiqhī issues in Persian in accordance with the Imam's *fatāwā*, by 'Abd al-Karīm Bi-Āzār Shīrāzī (1362—1364 H.Sh).

\* \* \*

Besides these, there exist scores of different collections and selections of the Imam's speeches, declarations, messages, letters, interviews that have appeared in the last eleven years since the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The most important of them is:

1. *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye nūr*, published by Markaz-e Madārik-e Farhangī-ye Inqilāb-e Islāmī, Ministry of Islamic Guidance, of which 18 volumes (1361—1365 H. Sh) have appeared to date, is the most complete collection of the speeches, messages and letters of Imam Khumayni (R).

Other significant collections in this respect are:

2. *Payāmhā wa sukhanrānihā-ye Imām Khumaynī*, Intishārāt Nūr, 6 volumes.

3. *Dar justujū-ye rāh az kalām-e Imām*, a collection of the Imam's speeches and declarations from 1341 H.Sh. (1962—63) to 1361 H. Sh. (1982—83) in 22 volumes, published by Amīr Kabīr. Each of the volumes is devoted to a separate topic, e.g. *mustad'afīn* and *mustakbirīn*, war and *jihād*, women, martyrdom, leadership of the Islamic Revolution, the clergy, the counterrevolution, nationalism, colonialism and super-powers, freedom, Israel and Zionism, the religion minorities, education and culture, etc.

4. *Ṭalī'eh-ye Inqilāb-e Islāmī*, a collection of the Imam's press interviews at Najaf, Paris and Qumm; Tehran: Markaz-e Nashr-e Dānish-gāhī 1362 H. Sh., pp. 393.

5. *Balāgh*, a 3-volume topical anthology of the Imam's statements on various subjects, published by Sāzmān-e Tablighāt-e Islāmī, Amīr Kabīr, 1366 H. Sh.

*To be continued — inshā' Allāh*

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# Islam and Iran: A Historical Study of Mutual Services\* Part 8

by Martyr Murtaḍā Muṭahharī

Translated from the Persian by Dr. Wahid Akhtar

## Islam's Contribution to Iran:

**F**rom the study of the previous pages the conditions under which the people lived in our country at the time of the advent of beloved Islam to our dear land become clear. They make clear what Islam took away from Iran and what it gave to it in return.

Let us recall the main points of our study up to this point. You will see that the first thing that Islam eliminated from Iran was the confusion of tenets and religious creeds, and replaced them by the unity of faith. This was achieved for the first time by Islam in this land. Its people, in its west and east, north and south, who were comprised of the Semitic and Aryan races, who spoke different languages and followed various creeds, and the only means that related them to one another was the coercive power of the state, were united under a single faith for the first time in its history. They came to have one ideology, one ideal and one aspiration, and cultivated a feeling of brotherhood amongst themselves. Though this goal was attained gradually in the course of four centuries, it was achieved at last and 98 percent of its population

\*This is the last section of the first part of Martyr Muṭahhari's book *Khadamāt-e mutaḡābil-e Islām wa Īrān*, which deals with Islam's contribution to Iran and its culture. There is a chapter in this part which studies the historical question concerning the destruction of the libraries of Alexandria and Jundī Shāhpūr and the baseless allegations against Muslims in this regard. We will, *inshā' Allāh*, publish this chapter later on as an independent paper.

The second part of the book deals with the contributions made by Iranians to the advancement of Islamic culture in such fields as *fiqh*, *kalām*, *ḡadīth*, philosophy, Ṣūfism and 'irfān. God willing, we will publish its translation in the future issues of *al-Tawḡid*.

still sticks to this faith. The regime of the *mu'bad*s, which also ruled over this country for about an equal span of time and made persistent endeavours to create a unity of faith based on Zoroastrianism, failed to achieve it. On the contrary, despite the waning away of the political domination of Arabs from Iran after two centuries, Islam succeeded in creating this unity of faith — not only in Iran but in several other countries — due to its spiritual attraction and its capacity to persuade minds.

Islam stopped the onward march of Christianity in Iran and in the East in general. We do not know what would have happened to Iran and the East had they been converted to Christianity; but we can say almost with certainty that the same would have happened in all these lands as happened with the countries that embraced Christianity, that is, the dark medieval ages would have been their fate also. As a result of embracing Islam Iran marched forward on the path of building a great and glorious civilization together with, or rather in the vanguard of, all other Muslim nations, while the nations that embraced Christianity sank into the darkness of the Christian medieval ages.

At this juncture a question may occur to one's mind: If that was the effect of Christianity and this was the fruit of Islam, why is it that today matters are reverse? The answer is obvious: They gave up Christianity seven or eight centuries ago, and we also abandoned Islam at about the same time.

The political boundaries and the religious walls that were drawn around Iran, which did not allow the Iranian talent to blossom and benefit other nations with its fruits and which at the same time did not allow this people to benefit from the ideas of neighbouring or distant nations, were demolished by Islam. It opened the gates of other lands to the Iranian and opened the doors of Iran for other cultures and civilizations. Through these open doors and roads Iranians were benefited in two ways. Firstly, they could practically prove their intelligence, talent and ability to others, in a fashion that they were accepted as leaders and guides by other peoples. Secondly, as a result of acquaintance with other cultures and civilizations they could play a leading role in the expansion and development of a great cosmopolitan culture.

Hence we see that as a consequence of accepting Islam, Iranians, for the first time in their history, became the religious leaders and guides of non-Iranian peoples. For instance, Layth ibn Sa'd, an Iranian, became the guiding faqih of the Egyptian people. The Iranian Abū Ḥanīfah — though not having many followers in Iran itself because of the Iranians' inclination toward the school of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) — became the unrivalled leader of other peoples unacquainted with the sacred school of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (A). Abū 'Ubaydah Mu'ammār ibn al-Muthannā and Wāsil ibn 'Aṭā', both Iranians, and others like

them, became leading theologians (*mutakallimūn*). Sibawayh and al-Kisā'i established their leading position in Arabic grammar, and others emerged as authorites of Arabic language and lexicography. It will not be irrelevant if we reproduce a historical anecdote here. Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. / ) once happened to be in Raṣāfat al-Kūfah, where one of the scholars went to see him. He asked the scholar: "Do you know the scholars and intellectuals who now hold positions of religious authority in various Islamic cities and whose *fatāwā* are followed by the people?" The scholar replied, "Yes".

Hishām said: "Who is the faqīh of al-Madīnah?"

The answer was, "Nāfi'."

"Is Nāfi' a *mawlā* or an Arab?"<sup>190</sup>

"He is a *mawlā*."

"Who is the faqīh of Makkah?"

"'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ."

"Is he a *mawlā* or an Arab?"

"A *mawlā*."

"Who is the faqīh of Yaman?"

"Ṭāwūs ibn Kaysān."

"Is he a *mawlā* or an Arab?"

"A *mawlā*."

"Who is the faqīh of Yamāmah?"

"Yaḥyā ibn Kathīr."

"Is he a *mawlā* or an Arab?"

"A *mawlā*."

"Who is the faqīh of Syria?"

"Makhūl."

"Is he a *mawlā* or an Arab?"

"A *mawlā*."

"Who is the faqīh of al-Jazīrah?"

"Maymūn ibn Mihmān."

"Is he a *mawlā* or an Arab?"

"A *mawlā*."

"Who is the faqīh of Khurāsān?"

"Al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim."

"Is he a *mawlā* or an Arab?"

"A *mawlā*."

"Who is the faqīh of Baṣrah?"

"They are two, al-Ḥasan and Ibn Sirīn."

"Are they *mawālī* or Arab?"

"Both of them are *mawālī*."

"Who is the faqīh of Kūfah?"

"Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i."

"Is he a *mawlā* or an Arab?"

“An Arab.”

Hishām said: “I was close to being struck dead. Whomever I asked you about, you told me he was a *mawlā*. Thanks God, at least one of them is an Arab.”<sup>191</sup>

In what age and period did Iranians have such an opportunity to enjoy the honour of being leaders of various peoples in different regions and countries such as the Hijāz, Iraq, Yaman, Syria, al-Jazīrah, Egypt and other places? During later periods this leading influence of Iranians extended even beyond these regions. It is very amazing that Sir John Malcolm calls the first two Islamic centuries, which marked a period of renaissance and blossoming of spiritual and intellectual talents of Iranians after a long period of stagnation, as the centuries of silence and decline in Iran!

Sir John Malcolm endeavours consciously to view and present the matters from a political angle and through the glasses of racial prejudice, which was intensively propagated by imperialism in the nineteenth century. In the view of Sir John Malcolm what counts is who rules the people and to what race he belongs. That which he does not bother to take into account is the condition of the masses and how they fared, favourably or unfavourably.

Sir John Malcolm and the likes of him feel no regret, for instance, if al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf killed and persecuted many people. What they are sorry for is that why an Iranian did not do the job that was done by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf! Let us leave behind these digressions.

Study of the history of Iran after the advent of Islam reveals a great vigour and enthusiasm among the Iranian people for academic and cultural pursuits. Like thirsty men deprived of water for long, they got hold of the opportunity provided them and developed their abilities in a manner that other nations accepted their leadership for the first time. This leadership is still retained by the Iranians belonging to the period extending to the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries in the Muslim world. This phenomenon makes the study of this period extraordinarily interesting.

While this happened the doors also opened on foreign lands. This, in addition to the blossoming of Islamic culture and sciences from within, allowed the Greek, Indian, Egyptian and other cultures to enter Iran and thus prepare the ground for building a great Islamic cultural edifice. In the course of time this climate led to the flowering of the talents of such peerless geniuses as Abū ‘Alī Sinā, al-Fārābī, Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, Khayyām the mathematician, Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Ṣadr al-Mut’allihīn (Mullā Ṣadrā) and hundreds of physicists, mathematicians, historians, geographers, physicians, writers, philosophers and mystics. In the light of this Pūr Dāwūd’s following statement seems to be ridiculous:

Had it not been for the Arab invasion and the Semitic culture, our scholars like Khayyām and Abū 'Alī would have written other books in the style of *Nawrūznāmeḥ* and *Dānishnāmeḥ-ye 'Alā'ī*, and the Persian language would have been richer and more extensive than it is today.<sup>192</sup>

Had Arabs not invaded Iran and broken the walls raised by the *mu'bad*s and had the suppressed talents of the Iranians not been released, could there have been such geniuses as Abū 'Alī and Khayyām to write books like *Nawrūznāmeḥ* and *Dānishnāmeḥ* and thousands of other works in Persian? All the works produced in Arabic and Persian that Iranian intellects presented to the world were the fruits of the Arab invasion, which shattered the walls and as a result of which the Iranians were introduced to a rich religious culture that made the acquisition of knowledge obligatory on every Muslim. Pūr Dāwūd's suggestion is like saying that if there had been no sun during day to make its heat trouble us we would have been better able to work. As a matter of fact, without the sun there can be no day.

These two processes that set in were not the sole consequence of the collapse of the external walls and the opening of new avenues; there was another factor at work: the lifting of restrictions prohibiting the common man from acquiring knowledge and education that were imposed by the rigid caste system and the priestly regime. Islam did not recognize any class distinctions that could confer special rights and privileges on nobles or priestly class with respect to education. In the eyes of Islam a shoemaker and a potter had the same right to receive education as a prince, and, incidently, geniuses are born among the children of shoemakers and potters. The removal of both the internal and external barriers allowed the Iranians to attain the station of which they were worthy, whether as leaders of other Muslim nations or as partners in building the great edifice of the global Islamic civilization.

Islam made the Iranian known to himself as well as to the world. The common impression that the Iranians had only military genius and no intellectual aptitude was proved to be incorrect. The backwardness of Iranians in certain periods of history was not because of any inbuilt lack of capacity but a result of their enslavement in the chains of the regime of fire-priests. Hence it was the same Iranian who revealed his academic genius to such a high degree in the Islamic epoch. The oppressive priestly regime that strangulated the Iranians' talents before Islam was responsible for creating the mistaken impression in the minds of some foreigners that caused them to look down upon the Iranians' intellectual abilities. For instance, Gustave Lebon says:

The importance of Iranians in the world's political history has been enormous, but it was negligible in the history of civilization. During the two centuries that the ancient Iranians ruled over the major parts of the world, they built

up an extraordinarily majestic empire, but they never contributed anything original in the spheres of science, art, crafts and literature, and they did not add anything to the treasure of the knowledge and learning of the nations whom they had replaced. The Iranians were not creators but only the promoters of civilization. Accordingly, their importance for the creation of culture is very small.<sup>193</sup>

Clement Huart, the French historian and co-author of "*L'Iran antique: Elam et Perse et la civilization Iranienne*", writes:

Iran was a military state. Whether it was sciences, crafts or arts, none had a chance to develop there. The only representative of science in Iran was the Greek physician educated and trained in the schools of the Mediterranean regions. Similarly, the alien craftsmen and artisans from Greece, Libya, and Egypt were the only representatives of art and craft in that land. In the same way the auditors were also Chaldeans and Aramaeans of Semitic descent.<sup>194</sup>

George Rawlinson, in *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World*, has said:

The ancient Iranians never helped in the development of science and philosophy. The spirit and temperament of these people was never compatible with researches that require patience and perseverance and demand labourious investigations, study and pursuit, which are all the assets of scientific progress .... From the inception of their empire and glory till the end, they were never inclined to acquire scientific knowledge. They thought that the palaces of Shūsh, Persepolis (Takht-e Jamshīd) and the gigantic machinery of their empire and dominion were sufficient for proving their intellectual superiority and predominance.<sup>195</sup>

Undoubtedly this kind of judgement and outlook about the Iranian people is not justifiable. Besides, such description and assessment of ancient Iranians (of the pre-Islamic period) seems to be exaggerated (in the next part of our book we shall discuss the nature of the Iranian civilization). One should not judge the real aptitude of a people on the basis of their deficient output and hold the Iranians guilty for the sins of the priestly regime. The proof of this assertion may be found in the Iranians' services to the growth of culture and civilization during the Islamic era of their history.

Gustave Lebon, Clement Huart and Rawlinson acknowledge this fact, though they mistakenly call Islamic culture the 'Arab culture', while Islamic culture is neither Arab nor Indian.

Islam proved that the above-mentioned conception about the Iranians was wrong. It made Iranians aware of their own capacity and genius and made them known to the world as well. In other words, Iranians discovered themselves through Islam, and thereafter made it known to the world.

Why, in pre-Islamic periods, did there not emerge among them even persons of the stature of Layth ibn Sa'd, Nāfi', 'Aṭā', Ṭāwūs, Yaḥyā, Makhūl and hundreds of others like them who held the intellectual leadership of the people of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Yaman, the Hijāz, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and even Spain and some parts of Europe? Why, in those periods, did there not arise among them personages like Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzi, al-Fārābi and Abū 'Alī Sinā?

The arrival of Islam in Iran was an invasion from the viewpoint of the politico-religious forces ruling the country. But it was a revolution in the fullest sense of the word and with all its characteristics from the viewpoint of the masses and the Iranian nation.

Islam transformed the world outlook of the Iranian, liberated the Iranian mind from the dualist nonsense and all its accompanying misconceptions. Dualism, which was considered the hallmark of the Iranian mode of thinking, had a past record of several thousand years. It could not be eliminated by Zarathustra despite his struggle against it and it ultimately vanquished him and polluted his creed. But it was wiped out from the Iranian mind, and the Iranian's brain was cleansed of its remnants, by Islam.

What does a revolution do? Does it do anything except transforming a people's view of the world? Doesn't it give them a programme, an ideal, and an ideology, turn their beliefs and ideas upside down, overthrow the existing social structure and institutions, abase the high, uplift the lowly, bringing down the unworthy highups and uplifting the unjustly abased? Doesn't it transform natural dispositions and characteristics, which are revitalized into a new, energetic form? Doesn't it produce a spirit of revolt against tyrants, create fresh vigour, vitality and conviction and commitment among the people, and make their veins throb with new blood transfused into them? Are the characteristics of a revolution anything except these? And were all these changes not brought about in the life of Iran as an impact of Islam?

It is said that it was the sword! Yes, it was the sword, but what kind of sword was it and what did Islam do with it? The sword of Islam shattered the satanic forces, removed the evil shadow of the *mu'bad*s, broke with it the chains of about one hundred and forty million people, and emancipated the oppressed masses from slavery. The sword of Islam always struck at the heads of tyrants for the benefit of the oppressed and severed the hands of tyrannical exploiters. It always served the cause of the oppressed and weak sections of humanity.

وَمَا لَكُمْ لَا تُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَالْمُسْتَضْعَفِينَ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ وَالنِّسَاءِ وَالْوِلْدَانِ ...

*And what reason have you that you should not fight in the way of Allah*

*and of the weak among the men and the women and the children....(4:75)*

Islam removed dualism, fire-worship, *haoma*-worship and sun-worship from Iran and instead offered it *tawḥīd* and the worship of the One God. In this sense the service that Islam rendered to Iran is greater than it did to Arabia, for the *jāhiliyyah* of the Arabs was confined to polytheism in worship alone, while the *jāhiliyyah* of Iran was polytheism in creatorhood.

Islam changed the idea of a horned and winged deity, curly haired, with a staff in hand, cloak on shoulders, and an ornamented crown on his head, to the idea of a Self-Existent God<sup>197</sup> transcending the reach of thought, imagination and conception, beyond description,<sup>196</sup> immanent, everywhere and in everything but transcending everything at the same time,<sup>198</sup> the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden,<sup>199</sup> Who beholds all vision but Whom vision perceives not.<sup>200</sup>

Islam taught the doctrine of Divine Unity — whether it was Unity of Essence or of Attributes or Acts — in its sublimest form to the Iranian and the non-Iranian alike. Islam made *tawḥīd* the foundation of its faith, which besides being grounded in philosophical principles is the dynamic force of thought and action.

Islam purified the intellectual and behavioural life of Iranians from mythology and superstitions, such as the nine-thousand year war between Ahuramazda and Ahriman, the one thousand years of sacrifice of Zurwān for begetting a son, the birth of Ahriman as a consequence of doubt in regard to the acceptability of sacrifice and the fulfilment of his vow, the charms aimed to capture demons, the amazing ceremonies of fire-worship, the placing of food and drink for the dead on the tops of roofs, the driving of animals and birds into fire, the eulogizing of the sun and the moon four times a day, the protecting of fire from sunlight, the prohibition on burying the dead, the troublesome rituals of purification after touching a dead body or a woman in her monthlies, the abstention from taking bath with hot water, the sanctity of washing with cow's urine and hundreds of other similar things.

Islam established a highly reasonable and the most spiritually sublime and subtle kind of worship in place of standing facing the sun or fire and uttering nonsensical hymns, stirring the fire with one's mouth covered with the *panām*, kneeling before fire and regarding the nine-cornered pot as holy. These practices were substituted with the Islamic prayer call, the Islamic prayer, fast, ḥajj, the congregation and Friday prayers, the mosque of Islam, with sublime remembrances (*adhkār*) and recitations (*awrād*) full of Islamic teachings, with supplications overflowing with the wisdom and gnosis of Islam. All of these are witnesses to our claim.

Islam, as against Christianity, Manichaeism and Mazdakism, (and



in accordance with the teachings of Zarathustra) abolished the idea of separation between spiritual felicity and worldly happiness and of contradiction between the worldly and the otherworldly, as well as such notions as profanity of procreation and holiness of celibacy for the Elders (in Manichaeism and Mazdakism), cardinals and popes (in Christianity), which were harmful to civilization and were advancing in Iran. In place of these beliefs and practices it taught self-purification,<sup>201</sup> while condemning abstinence from enjoyment of pure earthly bounties.<sup>202</sup>

Islam toppled the class structure of the society of those days which had very ancient roots in Iran's tradition and was based on the principles of blood and property, around which revolved all its laws, customs, rituals and traditions. It built a society free from the evil of these two principles, that revolved around the axis of personal merit, knowledge, effort and piety (*taqwā*).

Islam abolished hereditary and professional priesthood based on caste, liberated spirituality from its exclusive confines, and reestablished it on the principle and basis of learning and piety and without regard for professional and social class or caste.

Islam uprooted the theory of the divine origin of kings for ever. Christensen says:

The Sassanid kings always called themselves 'worshippers of Mazda' in their inscriptions, yet at the same time they called themselves divine personages belonging to the race of gods (*Yazdān*).<sup>203</sup>

He says further:

Khusro Parwiz has described himself in these words: "An immortal man from among the gods and a god of great glory among men."<sup>204</sup>

Edward G. Browne says:

Probably no kingdom has had such staunch believers in the principle of celestial right of kings as Iranians in the era of the Sassanids. Noldeke says that any person not from the royal family who usurped the kingship — such as Behrām Chūbin, who belonged to the nobility and rebelled, or Shahr Borāz (Vorāz) — his act was considered something unthinkable that nothing could explain except impudence and mischief.

Accordingly the people were accustomed to believing that only one race had the ability to rule. In support of his assertion Edward Browne cites the well-known story of Behrām Chūbin, who during his flight comes across and converses with an old woman who censures him for laying claim to kingship without being from the royal seed. Dr.

Maḥmūd Ṣanā'ī, in *Azādī-ye fard wa qudrat-e dawlat*, while dealing with the views of some modern European philosophers concerning the theory of the divine right of kings says: "Of course, this theory is not new and perhaps its origin is traceable in our own history. The notion of *farreh-ye izādī*, which was believed in by the ancient Iranians, signifies the same theory."<sup>205</sup>

Islam demolished this principle also with great vehemence. In the Islamic era no one talked about royal seed. The son of a coppersmith, or a fisherman, or a slave or a ṣūfī or a mendicant — whenever he saw in himself such ability makes a resolve and attains the highest position. During the Islamic era, the kings relied upon their own ability, not on their descent. As Islam removed the belief that spiritual leadership was the privilege of a special class from the Iranian mind, similarly it removed this idea also from their minds. Islam abolished the notion of the government of nobles or aristocracy, and brought into existence a new thinking based on the idea of democracy and government of the people.

Islam bestowed upon woman a legal personality. Polygamy in the form of a harem not subject to any rule, condition, and limit was abolished by Islam and made subject to certain conditions based on the equality of the rights of the wives, the husband's means and certain limits, permitting it as something necessitated by a social need. Islam also abolished the lending of wives, the adoption of children, proxy marriage, incestual matrimony and the legal guardianship of the husband over his wife.

Islam not only proved to be a blessing for the Iranians who embraced Islam, but also influenced Zoroastrianism and indirectly caused profound reforms in it. Earlier we have quoted Christensen, who said:

When the Sassanid regime, which patronized the priesthood, was overthrown by the Islamic victory, the priests realized that extraordinary efforts were required to save their faith from total liquidation. This effort was made on the following lines. The Zurwanian beliefs and the childish legends related to them were discarded... Sun worship was abolished... Many religious traditions were either completely deleted or modified, parts of the Sassanid Avesta and their expositions that were tainted with Zurwanian ideas were consigned to oblivion or were destroyed.

The services of Islam to Iran are not confined to the early Islamic period alone. Since Islam spread its wings over this country every danger that threatened Iran was repelled by Islam. It was Islam that assimilated the Mongols, moulded those genocidal man-eaters into lovers and patrons of knowledge and science. From among the descendants of Changiz it offered Muḥammad Khudā Bandeh, and from the race of Timur it produced Bayasunqur and Amīr Hasan Bayqurā.

Even today it is Islam that stands firm against destructive alien philosophies and proves to be the source of the sense of honour, dignity and independence of our people. What Iran can proudly present to the world today is the Qur'an and the *Nahj al-balāghah*, not the Avesta and Zand.

Here I bring to end my discourse on the contributions of Islam to Iran. In the second part of our book we shall give an account of the services that Iran in its turn rendered to Islam.

*Concluded; wal-ḥamdu lillāh.*

## NOTES:

190. The word *mawlā* in the Arabic language has different and sometimes contradictory meanings. For example, master, owner and boss is also called *mawlā*, as the Prophet (S) said in relation to 'Alī (A):

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلَيْ مَوْلَاهُ.

Of whomever I am the master 'Alī is also his master.

It is also used for a servant, slave and subordinate. In general *walā'* means relation, nearness or closeness. Therefore, it is used in different senses, one of which is *walā' al-'itq*. Individuals who were slaves earlier and were afterwards set free and their children were called *mawālī* (plural of *mawlā*). At the same time one who sets a slave free is also called *mawlā*. Mawlawī says:

کیست موالی آنکه آزادت کند      بند رقیبت زبایت بر کند

Who is *mawlā*? One who sets you free,  
And liberates your feet from the shackles of servitude.

Sometimes individuals who concluded a covenant with a tribe, particularly non-Arabs who made a pact with Arabs to seek their protection, were also called *mawlā*.

Iranians were called *mawālī* either because their ancestors were slaves that were later set free — of course, their number was not large — or because they made a pact of protection with some Arab tribe. In the course of time all Iranians were called *mawālī*. But the view stressed by some persons that Arabs called Iranians *mawālī* because they regarded them as their slaves is certainly incorrect.

191. Muḥammad Abū Zuhrah, *Abū Ḥanīfah: ḥayātuhu wa 'aṣruhu, fiqhuhu wa āra'uhu*, p. 15.

192. *Iṭṭilā'āt* (Persian daily) No. 1275, 29th Aban 1347 H. Sh.

193. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamālzādeh, *Khulqiyat-e mā Irāniyān*, p. 93; cf. Gustave Lebon, "Ancient Civilizations."

194. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

195. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

196.      اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ ...

*Allah is He besides Whom there is no god, the Everlasting, the Self-subsisting  
....(2:255).*

197. سُبْحَانَ رَبِّكَ رَبِّ الْعِزَّةِ عَمَّا يَصِفُونَ ﴿١٨٠﴾

*Glory be to your Lord, the Lord of honour, above what they describe.  
(37:180)*

198. ... وَهُوَ مَعَكُمْ أَيْنَ مَا كُنْتُمْ ...

*...And He is with you wherever you are....(57:4)*

199. هُوَ الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ ...

*He is the First and the Last and the Manifest and the Hidden....(57:3)*

200. لَا تَدْرِكُهُ الْبَصَرُ وَهُوَ يُدْرِكُ الْبَصَرَ ...

*Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends (all) vision....(6:103)*

201. قَدْ أَفْلَحَ مَنْ زَكَّاهَا ﴿٩١﴾ وَقَدْ خَابَ مَنْ دَسَّاهَا ﴿٩٠﴾

*He will indeed be successful who purifies it (his self); and he will indeed fail who corrupts it. (91: 9-10 )*

202. - قُلْ مَنْ حَرَّمَ زِينَةَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي أَخْرَجَ لِعِبَادِهِ وَالطَّيِّبَاتِ مِنَ الرِّزْقِ ...

*Say: 'Who has prohibited the embellishment of Allah which He has brought forth for His servants and the good provisions?' (7:32).*

203 & 204. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

205. Maḥmūd Ṣanā'ī, *Āzādī-ye fard wa dawlat*, p. 5.

206. The Ṣaffārids were originally coppersmiths, the Daylamids were by profession fishermen, the Gaznawids were descendants of slaves and the Ṣafawids descendants of ṣūfis.

# Medical Sects in Islam

by Dr. Mahdī Muḥaqqiq

**I**n the history of Greek medicine three main schools were notable, namely the empiricists (*Aṣḥāb al-Tajārib*), the dogmatists (*Aṣḥāb al-Qiyās*), and the methodists (*Aṣḥāb al-Ḥiyal*). Different opinions and arguments of these sects can best be seen in two works of Galen: "On Medical Sects for Students" (*Fī firaq al-ṭibb li al-muta'allimīn*) and "On Medical Experience" (*Fī al-tajribah al-ṭibbiyyah*). In his work, *Pinax*, which is in fact a list of his own works, Galen advises the students to start their studies by reading "On Medical Sects." Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, who translated this book into Arabic, says that the purpose of Galen was to bring side by side the arguments of these three sects, which differ from each other by genus. Ḥunayn also adds that each of these sects includes smaller divisions which differ from each other by the species. This book, known as *De sectis* in Latin, was one of the sixteen works by Galen which were compulsory for the medical students of Alexandria. Galen's "On Medical Experience" was translated by Ḥunayn from Greek into Syriac and by Ḥubaysh from Syriac into Arabic. In this work, Galen creates an imaginary court in which the representatives of each school demonstrate their positions and refute the positions of the other schools. He starts his work by saying:

The art of healing was originally invented and discovered by analogy (*qiyās*)

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\*The author is a well-known Iranian scholar who has edited, either alone or jointly with other scholars, numerous classics of Islamic philosophy, mysticism, jurisprudence, etc. Among these are: Sabzawārī's *Sharḥ Ghurar al-farā'id* (1348 H.Sh) (which he, together with T. Izutsu has also translated into English), Nāṣir Khusro's *Dīwān* (1357 H.Sh), 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhijī's *Shawāriq al-'ilhām fī sharḥ Tajrīd al-kalām*, Shaykh Ḥasan ibn Zayn al-Dīn's *Ma'ālim al-dīn wa malādh al-mujtahidīn* (*Ma'ālim al-'uṣūl*), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Tabrizī's *Sharḥ-e bist-o-panj muqaddameh-ye Ibn Maymūn*.

in conjunction with experience (*tajribah*) and today also it can only be practised excellently and done well by one who employs both of these methods.

Although his position is made clear in the above passage, yet he disassociates himself from either of the two sects, namely the dogmatists and the empiricists, in the following statement:

You must not allow yourself to think that what I am about to say first against empiricism in this book is my own personal opinion, or that the second argument I use in support of empiricism is my own view. Rather I shall let one of the dogmatists bring forward the first argument, which is similar to Asclepiades' view, and the second argument shall be laid down by a representative of the empiricists, Menodots if you like, or Serapion, or Theodosius."

At the same time as the Greek medical heritage was being transmitted into Arabic, arguments concerning the nature of these sects were taking place among Islamic physicians.

Al-Mas'ūdī states that at the time of al-Wāthiq, the 'Abbāsīd caliph, a group of philosophers and physicians, among which were Bukhtishu', Ibn Māsūyah, Ḥunayn and Salmūyah, were asked by the caliph about the origin of medicine and whether it was sense experience, reason or tradition. One of those present spoke about the arguments of each sect on these matters. When al-Wāthiq asked about the opinion of the majority of the physicians, they unanimously declared that they are in favour of the dogmatists.

Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn in "The History of Physicians and Philosophers" quotes John Philoponos as saying that Asclepius, who was the first physician, invented medicine with the help of experience. And after mentioning the physicians who appeared after Asclepius, Ishāq continues as follows:

They considered experience and analogy as the most correct methods of medicine. Medicine thus continued to be transmitted from those pupils to those members of their families whom they taught and left behind.

When Plato appeared and studied the treatises, he realized that experience alone was bad and dangerous and that analogy alone was not correct. Therefore, he considered the two views together as correct. He burned the books which they had composed and left the old books which contained the two views together.

Ishāq mentions that after Plato, Hippocrates the son of Heracleides remained as the unique man of his time, the man of perfect virtue, the one who had become proverbial, the philosopher-physician. He strengthened the art of analogy and experience in a marvellous manner, so that no blame would be able to dissolve it and tear it apart. Then he continues:

When Hippocrates died, he left behind children and pupils from the clan of Asclepios and other clans. Medicine continued to be transmitted from those physicians to those whom they taught, until the time of the appearance of Galen. The noteworthy physicians in the interval between Hippocrates and Galen are quite a few.

After mentioning Hippocrates and Galen, who supported experience together with analogy, Ishāq refers to methodism as follows:

Among them there was one who held a different opinion and composed books on the procedures of methodism in the craft of medicine. He wanted to corrupt the people and to lead them away from the belief in analogy and experience. Some physicians continued to accept methodism, and others did not, until Galen appeared. He disapproved of methodism, destroyed it, burned the books which existed on it, and invalidated that technique.

As mentioned above, in the 3rd/9th century, scholars and physicians paid special attention to these three sects and their arguments. What was agreed upon was that experience and analogy should be used together to solve medical issues and that each one alone was not valid. This point has been made clear by Ibn Abī Ṣādiq Nishābūrī (fl. 5th/11th century) in his "Commentary on Hippocrates's Aphorisms". In connection with the first aphorism, that is "Life is short, and art is long, the occasion fleeting, and experience is dangerous and analogy is difficult" (*al-'umr qaṣīr wa al-ṣinā'ah ṭawīlah wa al-waqt ḍayyīq wa al-tajribah khaṭar wa al-qaḍā' asīr*), Ibn Abī Ṣādiq comments that if experience is not based on analogy and not founded on a principle and rule it can be very dangerous. On the other hand, analogy, which is difficult in itself, cannot be used as a source for other arts, without the help of experience.

The most comprehensive account on the medical sects is given by the Iranian physician Ibn Hindū of Qumm (d. 420/1029) in his book entitled "The Key to the Science of Medicine" (*Miftāḥ al-ṭibb*).

The sixth chapter of *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb* is devoted to the medical sects, a summary of which is as follows:

Each of the various medical 'sects' has its own particular view and method in recognizing illness and treating it. The physicians agree that the goal of medicine is to confer the benefit of health; that is, to give health to sick persons. On the method of obtaining the things which are beneficial to health, however, they differ. Some say that such things are obtained through experience (*tajribah*). These are called 'empiricists'. Others believe that experience alone is not enough, but that it must rather be combined with analogy (*qiyās*); these are called the 'dogmatists'. There is also a third group, called the 'methodists' (*aṣḥāb al-ḥiyāl*),

because they imagine that they have, through clever tactics, cut short the science of medicine, purifying it of the superficialities and accretions with which the empiricists and dogmatists preoccupy themselves.

Ibn Hindu, after introducing the three sects, goes on to describe and characterize each of these sects as follows.

The empiricists say that medicine is derived from experience, experience being the knowledge which is obtained through the senses. They also say that the principles and rules of medicine result from four things: incident (*ittifāq*), intention (*irādah*), comparison (*tashbīh*), and the use of something in one case that was used in another similar case (*naql min shay' ilā shabīhihi*).

'Incident' is in turn divided into two parts: natural incident, such as a nosebleed, a sweat, vomiting, or something similar which occurs naturally and which brings either benefit or harm; and 'accidental' incident, which occurs in a human being neither naturally nor through his intention, and which similarly results in either some benefit or some harm. An example of an accidental incident is when a sick person falls and blood flows out of him.

'Intention' means when something is experienced by choice; the motive for such an 'experience' may be something seen in a dream or other similar things.

'Comparison' is when the physician employs one of the three instances mentioned above (that is intention, natural incident, or accidental incident) when a new case presents itself. For example, when he sees that his patient, who has a bloody fever, obtains relief through a flow of blood from his nose, whether that occurs naturally, accidentally, or through his personal will, then he will try drawing blood in similar illnesses.

Finally, *naql* is the method employed when the physician encounters an illness which he has not seen before, or which he has seen but for which there is no proven treatment. In this case he will resort to *naql*, that is he will use a medicine which has been proven in the case of one illness in a similar illness, or will use a medicine proven in the case of one organ of the body for another similar organ; or if he does not have access to the proper medicine, he will use a similar one.

The dogmatists hold that there is no doubt that sense and experience are the root and principle of all sciences and arts, but these must be subject to the instruments of thought. They say that the rules of medicine and of other arts must be derived through thought and analogy; that is, the determination of unknown things through things which are known. It is through the use of thought and analogy that the various natures and constitutions may be known, and through which the faculties which are the cause of changes in the body may also be known.



Causes of changes in the body are of two types. One is that which necessarily results in alteration: such as climate, movement and rest, food and drink, sleep and wakefulness, and constipation and looseness, as well as mental occurrences such as sorrow or happiness, anger or joy. The second type of cause is that which results in a change in the body without that change being necessary: such as the change which appears as the result of the blow of a sword, the attack of a wild animal, or burns inflicted on the body.

It is also necessary to know the type of illness which the physician intends to treat, for if it is not known it will not be possible to take it away from the body. Finally, one must know the extent of the illness in order that the type of treatment be determined. The extent will vary in accordance with the following factors: the bodily strength of the patient, age, temperament, the season in which the illness appears, the weather on the day it appears, the type of city the patient lives in, and his habits and profession.

The difference between these two sects is that when a patient comes to an empiricist he refers to his previous experience of persons who have had the same type of illness to the same degree, and who are of similar age and temperament. Then he prescribes the same medicine which proved effective in the past. The analogist will, however, on the basis of the same evidence — that is age, temperament, habits, and residence — envisage a general rule with regard to each type of sickness, and when he is presented with a new case will refer to that rule.

As for the methodists, they examine neither the causes of illnesses, nor the habits and age of the patient, nor the times of the year, temperament and residence, bodily strength or the members of the body. They do not pay attention to each separate and particular case in itself, and they say that such cases are unlimited. Their attention is directed instead to a knowledge of the most general aspects which consist, according to them, either of 'constipation' and 'looseness', or a combination of the two. By 'constipation' they mean the trapping of waste which should normally be eliminated from the body, such as the retention of urine and other such things. By 'looseness' they mean an excess in the elimination of these same wastes, such as constant urination and the like. By a combination of the two, finally, they mean a sickness which combines both the conditions, such as an eye which is swollen but which is at the same time constantly tearing.

The methodists state that the treatment of these three general illnesses is accomplished either through the management of food and drink, through rest and movement, or through sleep and wakefulness.

Ibn Hindu finally declares that the dogmatists are correct, and goes on to demonstrate the invalidity of both the empiricist and methodist schools. He concludes that it is the dogmatists who hold out

the possibility of progress in methods of diagnosis and treatment. The empiricists, because they do not believe in analogy, are extremely limited in this area. As for the methodists, who do not deal at all with particularities but pay attention only to certain general aspects, are subject to many errors.

In this paper an attempt was made to show that the arguments of the three Greek medical schools were continued among the physicians of the Islamic world. In spite of the fact that among the Greeks attention was paid to experience and analogy together, it appears that Islamic physicians were more in favour of analogy. It can be suggested that this is due to the influence of logic in the centres of scholarship. The influence of logic is evident not only in medicine but also in Arabic grammar and Islamic jurisprudence. It is hoped that more research would be carried out on this point.

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## Book Review:

### Al-Ṭabarī as a Historian, Legist and Exegete

KAYHĀN ANDĪSHEH, No. 25, Murdād and Shahriwar 1368 H. Sh.; Qumm, Khiyābān-e Hujjat; 100 Rials.

Eleven hundred years have passed since the death of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) and last year a 3-day international seminar was held in the city of Bābulsar, September 13–15, jointly by the Ministry of Higher Education and the University of Māzandarān, at the suggestion of the UNESCO.

*Kayhān Andīsheh* was one of the Persian journals that have brought out a special number on al-Ṭabarī. There are nine articles in this special issue and the translation of the first one by Rasūl Ja'fariyān appears in this issue of *al-Tawhīd*. The next five articles deal with al-Ṭabarī as an historian. Ṣādiq Ā'inehavand in "Maktab-e ta'rikhnigāri-ye Ṭabarī" (al-Ṭabarī's School of Historiography) first points out that two kinds of approaches to historiography have been adopted by Muslim historians: the subject-wise or year-wise narration of events. Al-Ṭabarī follows the second approach, which was adopted before him by al-Haytham ibn 'Adī (d. 206/821), Abū 'Isā ibn al-Munajjim (d. 279/892), Muḥammad ibn Yazdād, and Muḥammad ibn al-'Azhar (d. 276/889). Al-Ṭabarī in his history — which begins with the creation of Adam and goes on to narrate the history of the pre-Islamic times and then the history of the Islamic era up to the year 302/914 — is throughout a traditionalist for whom the reliability of a narrated account depends on the reliability of the chain of its transmitters. The author mentions the sources used by al-Ṭabarī in writing the various parts of his history: Ibn Ishāq and Wahb ibn Munabbih for the 'history' of the prophets; Ibn al-Muqaffa', Hishām ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī and others for the history of Iran; Arabic translations of Christian authors for Graeco-Roman history; the Torah and Jewish sources for Jewish history; 'Ubayd ibn Shariyyah, Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qarazī, Wahb ibn Munabbih, Hishām al-Kalbī and Ibn Ishāq for the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs; Abān ibn 'Uthmān, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Shurahbīl ibn Sa'd, Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah, 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq for the history of the Prophet's era; Sayf ibn 'Umar al-'Asadī and al-Madā'ini for the campaigns of the post-Prophetic era; Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madā'ini and Sayf ibn 'Umar for the civil wars of Jamal and Ṣiffīn; 'Uwānah ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madā'ini, al-Wāqidī, 'Umar ibn Shubbah and Hishām al-Kalbī for the Umayyad period; and the writings of Aḥmad ibn Abī Khaythamah, Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr, al-Madā'ini, 'Umar ibn Rāshid, al-Haytham

ibn 'Adī, al-Wāqidī and Ibn Ṭayfūr for the history of the 'Abbāsīd era. Al-Ṭabarī's sources belong mostly to Iraq, the main among them being the Shī'ī Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774) and the pro-Umayyad 'Uwānah ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 147/764) and Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 200/815). Al-Ṭabarī's main sources for the fables and legends of Jewish origin, called *Isrā'īliyyāt*, were Wahb ibn Munabbih, Ka'b al-'Aḥbār, 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām, and Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qarazī.

Al-Ṭabarī in his history abstains not only from a critical evaluation of the traditions assembled and arranged in a chronological order by him but also, generally, from expressing his own critical opinion of the accounts given. Nevertheless, his history is a great wealth of raw material which — aside from the bulk of irrational legends, especially those pertaining to the earlier prophets, and historical fabrications, such as those of Sayf ibn 'Umar forged in favour of the Umayyads — contains much authentic historical material recorded in the form of traditions received orally from transmitters or copied from books. The author gives a list of the objections that have been raised against al-Ṭabarī's history, including his relative neglect of the history of his own era, his taking sides with the ruling regimes, and his general confinement of interest to the internal affairs and politics of regimes and neglect of conflicts and relations with other states. Nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī has been held in exemplary esteem by Muslim historians and the author quotes the laudatory remarks of Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-'Athīr regarding his history.

The third article is based on an interview with 'Allāmah Sayyid Murtaḍā 'Askarī and is entitled "Naqd-e method-e Ṭabarī dar ta'rikh-nigāri" (Criticism of al-Ṭabarī's Method of Historiography). The first part of this article throws light on al-Ṭabarī's eminence as a faqīh. The author is of the opinion that al-Ṭabarī's extant works on fiqh and uṣūl enjoy an incomparable superiority over other Sunnī works in these fields. He states that one of the factors behind the absence of attention to al-Ṭabarī's station as a faqīh has been his independence as well as the lack of caliphal patronage.

Al-Mas'ūdī, in the beginning of his *Murūj al-dhahab*, mentions the names of eighty-seven historians, al-Ṭabarī being one of them. The books of most of these authors are not extant today to afford a critical comparison between them. But, according to the author, viewing from extant works, al-Balādhurī and al-Mas'ūdī — who, among other things, journeyed to the site of a battle before writing about it — were better historians than al-Ṭabarī who confined his work to recording traditions in the style of the *muhaddithūn*.

The author, who has written some important works concerning the forgeries and fabrications of Sayf ibn 'Umar, one of the sources of al-Ṭabarī's history, is severely critical of al-Ṭabarī as a historian due to

the latter's failure to critically evaluate, collate and analyze that which he records and reports. He, moreover, criticizes al-Ṭabari for giving respectability and currency to legends and fabrications and for suppressing information unfavourable or detrimental to the rulers. The author gives numerous examples of such suppression of information by al-Ṭabari, which has, however, reached us from other reliable sources. At one place, for instance, al-Ṭabari truncates one of the Prophet's traditions in 'Ali's favour and at other places withholds information to shield such figures as 'Uthmān, Marwān, Mu'āwiyah and others. Then 'Allāmah 'Askari goes on to give instances of Sayf's fabrications given currency by al-Ṭabari. Among Sayf's inventions cited are non-existent towns (such as Dārayn), campaigns which never occurred (victory of Amghishiyā), and an entire gallery of about one hundred and fifty Companions of the Prophet (S) none of whom has ever existed. Al-Ṭabari has lent authenticity to these fabrications by recording them in his history. While he visibly suppresses information detrimental to those attached to the Umayyad regime, he does not abstain from reporting slanders and false charges against those who were attached to 'Ali (A) — such as Mālik al-'Ashtar, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and others. The author points out that al-Ṭabari's history has played an effective role in distorting some critical phases of Islamic history and, by giving currency to legends and fabrications, has armed the enemies of Islam among the orientalisks with which they have launched their base assaults on Islam. "Isrā'iliyyāt dar tā'rīkh-e Ṭabari" is the title of the fourth article by Sayyid Ja'far Murtaḍā 'Āmili. He begins by pointing out the great harm inflicted on Islam, especially ḥadīth, by Jewish and Christian forgers posing as converts to Islam. That which heightened the danger of these forgers was the support given them and their followers by some of the caliphs and the prohibition imposed by the early caliphs on the recording and writing of the Prophet's ḥadīth and the Sunnah. After referring to the role of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and their followers in safeguarding Islam from the dangers of forgery and falsification, he goes on to cite some examples of Jewish legends given respectability by al-Ṭabari in his history, which he claims is loaded with such legendary material and fabrications. The first relates to the Jewish claim that it was Ishāq, not Ismā'il, whom Abraham (A) took with him for the sacrifice of his first-born son. Al-Ṭabari, while holding that both kinds of traditions have been narrated from the Prophet (S), makes statements in support of the Jewish claim, having been misled therein by the subversive narrations of Ka'b al-'Aḥbār, the Jewish rabbi who embraced Islam during 'Umar's rule.

The other instances given are traditions narrated by Wahb ibn Munabbih and others in al-Ṭabari's history which imply belief in

anthropomorphism, predestination (*jabr*), ascription of major sins to the prophets, or try to give credence to Judaic legends regarding the creation of the world, Adam's temptation and his exile from paradise in opposition to the teachings of Islam and the Qur'an.

The fifth article "Bi'that-e Payambar dar ta'rikh-e Ṭabari" by Sayyid Ibrāhīm Sayyid 'Alawī studies the stories recorded in al-Ṭabari's history regarding the beginning of the Prophet's ministry (*bi'thah* or *mab'ath*). The station of prophethood represents the sublimest peaks of humanity according to the teaching of the Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt (A). It is one characterized with the greatest majesty, knowledge, certainty, self-confidence, self-assurance, dignity, tranquillity, courage, determination and trustworthiness of which a human being is capable. Especially, the Prophet Muḥammad (S), who stood at the apex of prophethood and messengerhood, possessed these qualities to their highest degrees. These characteristics are evident to anyone who studies the genuine history of the Prophet's struggle throughout the twenty-three years of his ministry and compares it with the lives of other leaders.

Nonetheless, there is some material in Sunnī works of ḥadīth and history which resembles the silly chatter of ignorant old women or malicious stories made up by the hypocrites. The author of this article studies the contents as well as the transmitters of four such traditions, concerning the Prophet's *mab'ath* recorded by al-Ṭabari in his history. As to their narrators — such as Muḥammad ibn Muslim, known as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Sulaymān ibn Abi Sulaymān al-Shaybānī, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr, Ismā'il ibn Abi Ḥakīm, Abū Salamah and Yaḥyā ibn Kathīr — none of them, the author argues, is reliable. Some of them, like al-Zuhri and 'Urwah, were closely attached to the Umayyad court and were open enemies of 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib (A). Some others were known forgers or mischief makers. According to these stories, which have self-contradictory details, the Prophet (S) fled in doubt and horror on receiving the first revelation and had to be reassured by his wife Khadijah and Waraqah ibn Nawfal, a Christian, that he is indeed a prophet. The Prophet according to one of the versions was so upset that he wished to commit suicide by throwing himself down a cliff. According to another version he thought that some vicious illness had afflicted him. According to another version, the Prophet (S) thought that an affliction common to poets or madmen had struck him. In most of the versions, it was either Khadijah or Waraqah ibn Nawfal who had assured the Prophet (S) that it was an angel not the devil that had visited him. No doubt the anti-Islamic motives of the Umayyads, who intended to destroy Islam from within, were responsible for the fabrication and circulation of these stories. But a respectable scholar like al-Ṭabari cannot evade responsibility for

uncritically recording this kind of nonsense in his work on history. The author points out that al-Ṭabari does not show any inclination for dismissing these traditions in the way he dismisses a similar tradition regarding the Prophet's marriage with Khadijah. According to it Khadijah's father was opposed to her marriage with the Prophet (S), and she, who wished to marry him, made her father drunk with wine and held the marriage ceremonies while he lay unconscious. Al-Ṭabari dismisses the tradition while pointing out that it is known for certain that Khadijah's father died years before her marriage with the Prophet (S).

Sayyid Kāzim Rūḥānī in "Ṭabari wa ta'rikh-e nahḍathā-ye Islāmi" (al-Ṭabari and Revolutionary Movements in Islamic history) describes al-Ṭabari's attitude towards the various uprisings that took place during the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods. Three characteristics mark the era in which al-Ṭabari lived: first, the struggle of the Iranians for political independence; second, the emergence of various political movements and uprisings — many of them Shī'ī — against the 'Abbāsīd regime; third, the establishment of the notion of the religious legitimacy of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate and its sovereignty over the *dār al-Islām* in Islamic political thought as developed in the debates and studies of the fuqahā' and mutakallimūn. This period also witnessed the expansion of certain Islamic creeds — such as the Twelver Shī'ah, the Zaydiyyah and the Ismā'īliyyah — as well as such legal sects as the Ḥanafīs, the Mālikīs, the Shāfi'īs and the Ḥanbalīs. In fact Baghdad had become an arena for the contesting creeds whose conflict sometimes led to violence and bloodshed.

It was during this era that the Iranian struggle, which led to the establishment of the rule of the Ṭāhirids, and the Shī'ī movement of the 'Alawids of Ṭabaristān occurred. The uprising of the Ṣāhib al-Zanj in Baṣrah also occurred during this era. As said above, al-Ṭabari's approach in his history is that of a traditionist for whom it is the chain of transmission rather than the content of the reports which carry the primary importance. It means that al-Ṭabari takes no responsibility for the authenticity of the contents of the reports recorded by him. In line with the attitude prevailing in the legal, traditionist and theological circles of Iraq, which regarded the 'Abbāsīds as the legitimate representatives of Islam's political sovereignty, al-Ṭabari takes a hostile stance towards all movements and uprisings against the established rulers. For instance he calls the Ṣāhib al-Zanj such names as "the enemy of God," "traitor" "base" (*makhdhūl*), "evil-doer" (*fāsiq*), etc. Al-Ṭabari appears to be unaware of the contemporary Shī'ī movements and uprisings and shows little understanding of the political and historical significance of the movements and uprisings that he reports and the motives that lay behind them. At times he does not refrain from falsifying facts in order to shield the ruling caliphs, as in the case of al-'Imām

al-Ridā (A). The cause of the Imam's death has been reported by other Sunnī historians as being poisoning by al-Ma'mūn, but al-Ṭabari puts it as being a result of eating too much grapes!

Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Jannāti in his article "Bu'd-e fiqh wa ijtihādīye Ṭabari" throws some light on al-Ṭabari's station as a leading faqīh who — like Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawri, al-'Awzā'i, al-Shāfi'i — had many followers among eminent legists and scholars and was the founder of an independent school of jurisprudence. He mentions al-Ṭabari's works in the field of fiqh and uṣūl al-fiqh, and refutes the belief of some who have regarded al-Ṭabari as an *akhbārī* in the field of jurisprudence. Al-Ṭabari regarded the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, and *ijmā'* (consensus) as the sources of law, and refrained from the employment of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*). The author points out that if al-Ṭabari does not mention reason explicitly as one of the sources of *ijtihād*, that does not preclude the implicit use of reason as a source of law by al-Ṭabari and his contemporary legists. It was only after the Shī'i legist Ibn Junayd (d. 381/991) that reason came to be reckoned explicitly among the sources of law. The author quotes from Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist* the names of eight major scholars and legists who belonged to al-Ṭabari's school of jurisprudence and gives examples of al-Ṭabari's *fatwās* on six issues of fiqh, comparing them with the positions of the Imāmiyyah and the four Sunnī schools regarding them. At the end the author takes up the question of al-Ṭabari's shī'ism. After mentioning the arguments of those who consider al-Ṭabari to have been a fanatical Sunnī and of those who opine that al-Ṭabari embraced Shī'ism in later years, he dismisses both the arguments as inadequate and inconclusive. That which can be inferred from the available evidence, he says, is that al-Ṭabari was a moderate Sunnī, who in some cases admitted certain truths on finding them. The last two articles concern al-Ṭabari's exegesis. Ridā Ustādī in "Ahl al-Bayt dar tafsīr-e Ṭabari" (The Ahl al-Bayt in al-Ṭabari's Exegesis) first divides Sunnī scholars into four categories on the basis of their attitude towards the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and the Prophet's statements concerning them: those who have carried out a self-imposed censor in regard to the Ahl al-Bayt; those who cite the Prophet's statements in the Ahl al-Bayt's favour but then attempt to undermine them either by citing something contradicting them or by finding fault with the related chains of transmission, or by misinterpreting their significance; third, those who narrate such statements of the Prophet (S) and consider them to signify the preeminence of the Ahl al-Bayt (A), but either pass silently by their doctrinal significance or controvert them as signifying the Imamate of the Ahl al-Bayt; fourthly, there are those who cannot find any fault with the *asānīd* or contents of such traditions but state that these traditions must somehow be reinterpreted in view of the historical fact that the Companions did not accept 'Alī (A) as



the Prophet's successor.

Then the author proceeds to examine the case of al-Ṭabari to see in which of the above categories the latter may be placed. For this purpose he examines al-Ṭabari's commentary on thirty verses of the Qur'an which according to Shī'i and many Sunnī exegetes have been revealed either concerning the preeminence of 'Alī (A) and the Ahl al-Bayt or their Imamate. Only under seven of these verses does al-Ṭabari refer to the traditions of the Prophet (S) regarding 'Alī (A) or the Ahl al-Bayt (A) and in most of the cases makes some attempt to undermine their importance and significance. In his commentary on verse 26:214 ("And warn thy clan, thy nearest kin"), al-Ṭabari mentions the famous related episode. After the revelation of this verse the Prophet (S) assembled together the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib inviting them to a meal. There, he addressed them saying, "O sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I know of no Arab who hath come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I bring you the best of this world and the next. God hath commanded me to call you unto Him. Which of you, then, will help me in this?" There was silence. But when it remained unbroken, the thirteen-year-old 'Alī felt impelled to speak. 'Alī said, "O Prophet of God, I will be thy helper in this." The Prophet laid his hand on the back of 'Alī's neck and said: "This is my brother, mine executor (*waṣī*) and my successor (*khalīfah*) amongst you" (al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, p. 1171). While al-Ṭabari cites the Prophet's above statement fully in his history, he deletes the words "mine executor and my successor" in the exegesis and instead puts the words "so on and so forth." (*kadhā wa kadhā*).

However in one of the cases examined al-Ṭabari cites the Prophet's tradition without making any adverse remark. This relates to the verse 98:7 ("But those who believe and do righteous deeds, they are the best of creatures.") In his commentary on this verse al-Ṭabari cites this tradition of the Prophet (S) regarding the verse:

أَنْتَ يَا عَلِيٍّ وَشِيعَتُكَ

(It means) you, O 'Alī, and your followers (*shī'ah*).

In the last article "Nuktaḥā-ye balāghī dar Tafsīr-e Ṭabari," Muḥammad 'Alawī Muqaddam has undertaken a study of al-Ṭabari's exegesis with a view to highlighting the close attention paid by al-Ṭabari to the subtleties of literary style, syntax, composition and rhetoric in the Holy Qur'an. The author points out that although works on the subject had been compiled earlier by such writers as 'Abū 'Ubaydah Mu'ammār ibn al-Muthannā (d. 210/825; he wrote *Majāz al-Qur'an*) and Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889; he wrote *Ta'wil mushkil al-Qur'an* and *Gharīb al-Qur'an*) it was al-Ṭabari who more than any exegete before him has shown

the exegetes the importance of studying such issues for understanding the Qur'ān as a literary miracle.

In the end, we congratulate the editors of the *Kayhān Andīsheh* for bringing out such an interesting special number on al-Ṭabarī and for highlighting the different aspects of one of the most erudite and versatile scholars in the history of Islam and Iran.

— *Shahīd Naqawī*

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