



ISLAMIC SHI'ITE  
ENCYCLOPÆDIA

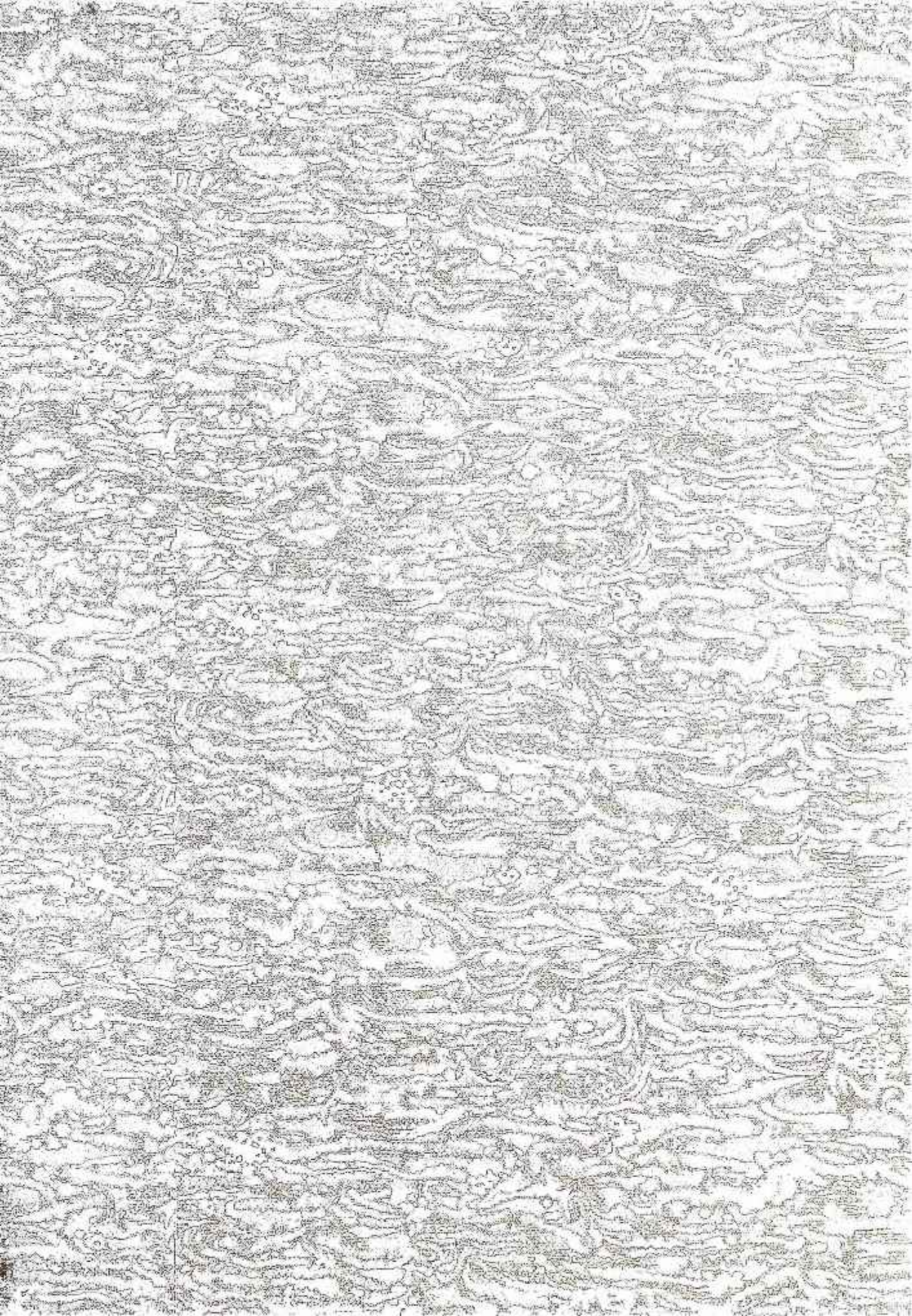
VOLUME I

HASSAN AL-AMINE















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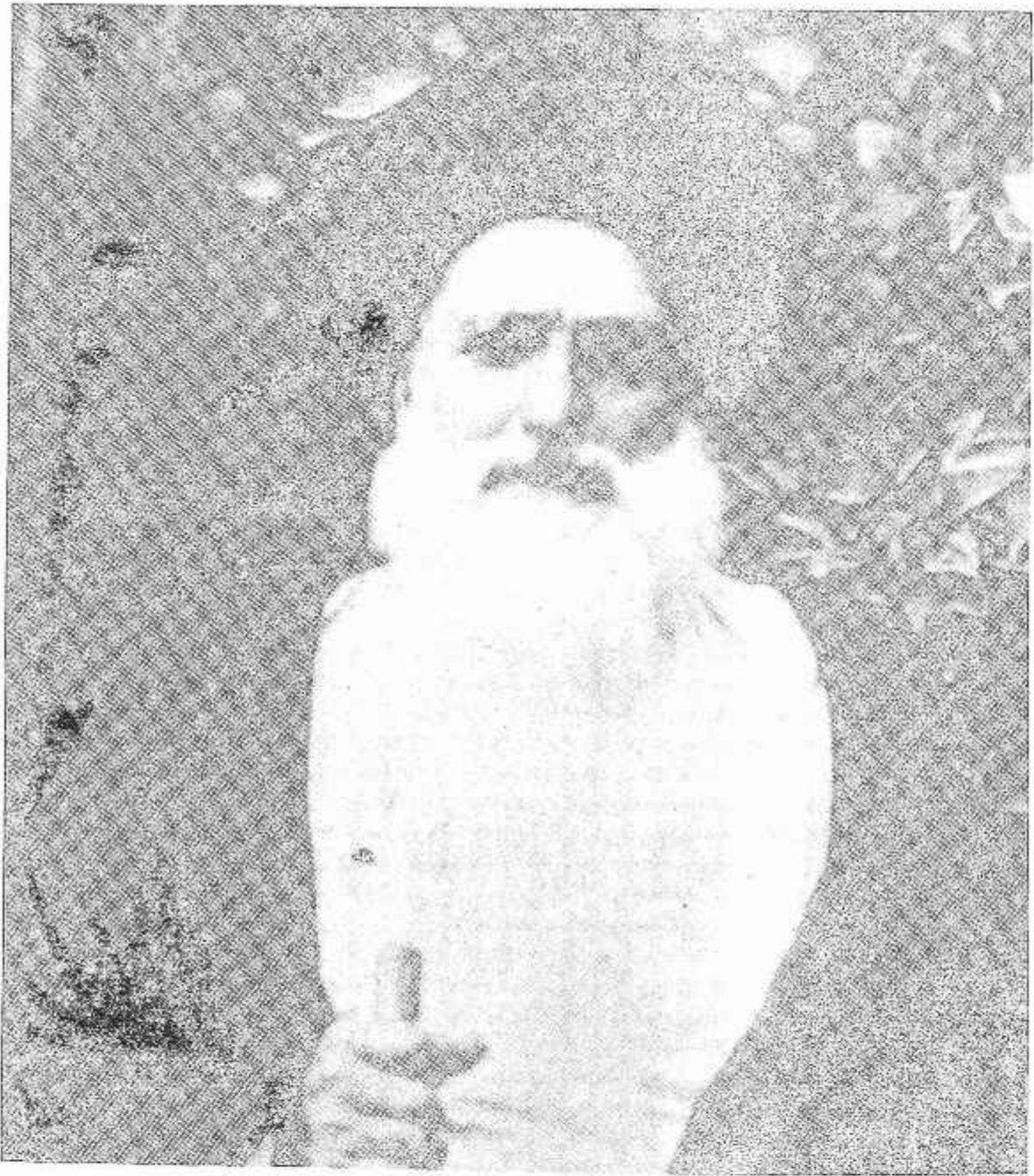
**Hassan Al-AMIN**

BEIRUT 1968









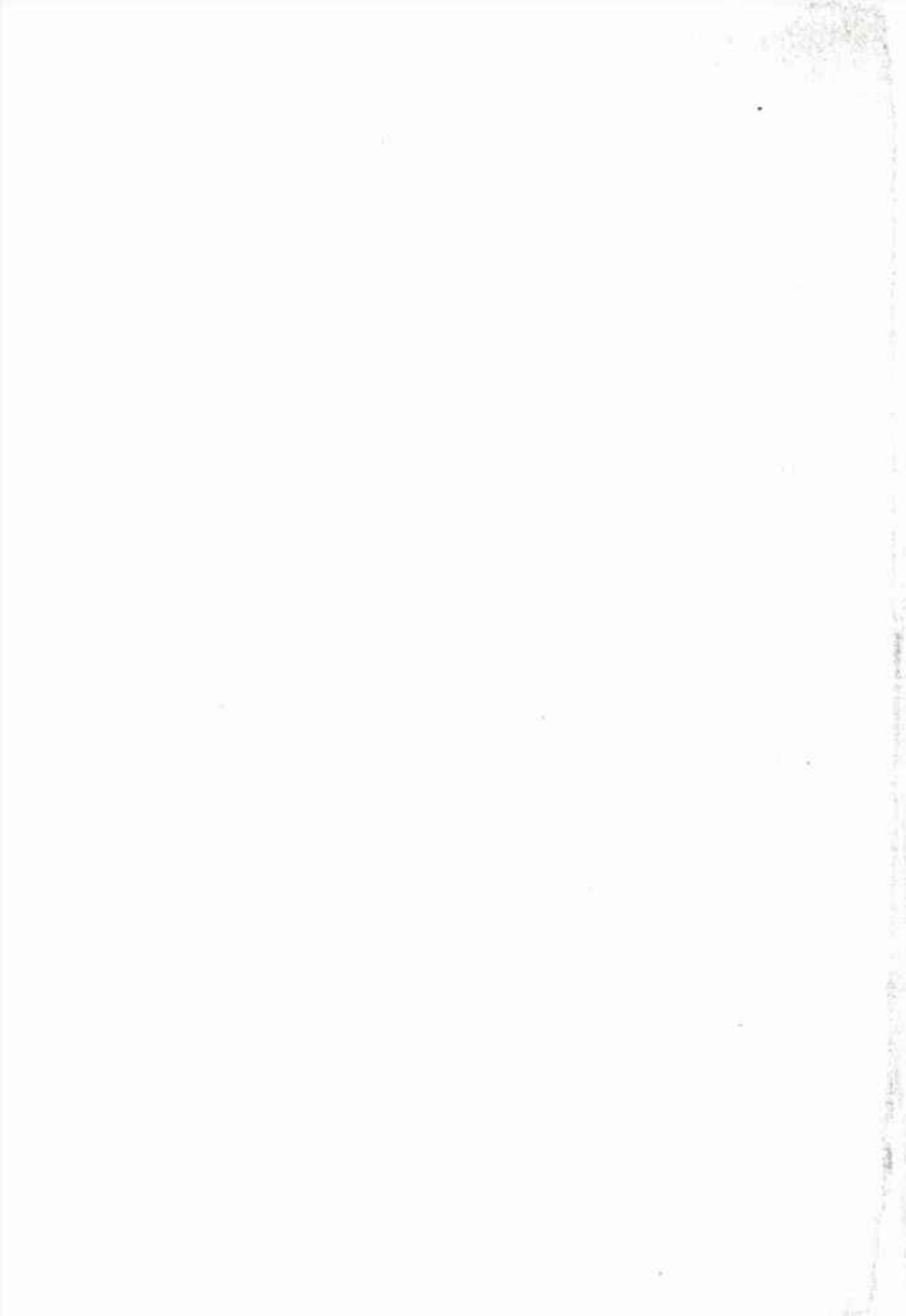
السيد حسين الأمين

Dedication

to

My late father As-Sayyid Muhsin Al-Amin who was the first to think of publishing a Shi'ite Encyclopaedia, and therefore brought out his voluminous book A'Yan-ush-Shi'ah in Arabic.









حسين الأمين  
*Hassan Al-Amin*





بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَحْمَدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ۝ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۝ مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ ۝

إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ ۝ اهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ ۝ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ

أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ ۝ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ ۝



### Method of Transcription of Name

Due to certain limitations, we have not followed the internationally acknowledged code of transcription. Instead, we have made certain changes in it. Following is the code we have followed:

ا	الهمزة	ص	س
ا	ا	ض	د
آ	آ	ط	ت
ب	ب	ظ	ز
ت	ت	ع	ح
ث	ث	غ	ج
ج	ج	ف	ح
ح	ح	ق	خ
خ	خ	ك	د
د	د	ل	ذ
ذ	ذ	م	ر
ر	ر	ن	ز
ز	ز	ه	س
س	س	و	ش
ش	ش	ي	
ة	ة		
كسرة الإضافة ( الفارسية )	كسرة الإضافة ( الفارسية )		

# FOREWORD

Shi'ite sect is one of the two major groups in the ranks of Islamic society. In the early days of Islamic Caliphate, - the Omayyid and Abbaside periods, when officially favoured sect - Sunnite - was engaged in power politics, the Shi'ites took up the cause of dissemination of knowledge and despite heavy odds against them, laid deep foundations of Islamic thought. The most illustrious names in different fields of knowledge during these periods are those of the members of this sect. Authorities, both Muslim and Orientalists, agree on this point that the propagation of knowledge and inculcation of a taste for education in the early periods of Islamic history owes itself to the efforts of the Shi'ites. According to the late Rector of Al-Azhar University, Sheikh Abdul Raziq, the foundation stone of the Islamic Jurisprudence was laid down by the sixth Imam of the Shi'ites. They were the foremost compilers of the Traditions; they were foremost as well in the initiation of the Muslims into Natural Sciences and Philosophy. The names of thinkers like al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Jabair bin Hayyan, al-Bairuni, Nasir-ud-Din Tusi, and others are the source of inspiration even today for, not only Muslims, but non-Muslims as well.

But the political struggle among the Muslims and the sense of guilt in the Omayyid and Abbaside rulers led them to extreme persecution of the followers of this school of thought, so much so that it became a tradition for the new ruler to show his mettle by intensifying such measures. But despite all persecutions, the Shi'ites gave a good fight in order to maintain their identity and at the same time continued their efforts to contribute their share to the development of Islamic culture and civilization. The history of their persecution, their rise and fall is a different and painful story to tell. The Shi'ites passed the test of time and came out with flying colours, so much so that to-day they constitute more than one-fourth of total Muslim population of the world and are still maintaining the glorious traditions of their forefathers in the service of knowledge.

But the irony of circumstances is that correct information about the beliefs, attitudes, thinking and behaviour of this significant group of Muslims as well as their history is available only behind a hazy curtain of uncertainties. Official forces being always against them in the past, they were intentionally kept in the background. Even the unbiased Orientalists became a victim of this anti-Shi'ite propaganda and they also, instead of clarifying misunderstanding, helped increase, though unintentionally. Even now the world Orthodox Islam is used for the Sunnite version of Islam while very few genuine efforts have been made to an appreciative study by any one aiming at a clearer understanding Islamic doctrine, culture and civilization to have a very clear view of the Shi'ite side.

It is the awareness of this situation that has prompted us to undertake the publication of a Shi'ite Encyclopaedia, which may help any one in the formation of his ideas about Islam. The present volume is only a specimen of what we intend to bring out. And we are issuing this volume with the earnest hope that scholars' eyes will cast an appreciative glance over this work and give an encouraging reply to us to continue our work.



In these pages we are presenting a specimen of our research and study entitled "Shi'ite Encyclopaedia", to be published in parts. We have taken specimens from the General Terms of Reference, Discussions, and account of the Shi'ite territories, names of which begin with letters A and B. In this way, the reader may find a specimen of what is going to be published.

We shall adhere to the following plan in this Encyclopaedia:

- i) A general discussion of the cultural life of the Shi'ites during different eras, so that the reader may form an idea about the subjects to be treated herein;
- ii) Deciding not to include the Prophet and other Imams among the names which will be discussed in alphabetical order in the latter pages, the second subject to be treated will be the life of the Prophet, which will be followed by the Life of Ali Bin Abi Talib, then Sayyidah Fâtimah Az-Zahrâ` and then remaining Imams,
- iii) After these biographical accounts, an account of various subjects will be presented according to the alphabetical order as used in other encyclopaedias.

## Meaning of term 'Shi'ah In Arabic Language.

The word 'Shi'ah, like Islam, is an Arabic word. Some of the famous lexicographers have offered the following interpretations of this term:—

According to 'Al-Qamūs' the friends and followers of a person are called "Shi'at-ur-Rajul". It also signifies a particular sect. The word 'Shi'ah' is equally applicable to singular, plural, masculine and feminine without any variation. In general, the term 'Shi'ah' is used for those who are devoted to ALI and his direct descendents called "Imams". Thus the term Shiah has acquired a special connotation. Its plural is 'Al-shyaa' or Shiya'.

According to 'Taj-ul-Arūs', a group of persons showing unanimity over an issue may be defined as Shias. Persons lending help to a person or forming a group to support him, are called "Shiat-un-Lahoo".

According to 'Lisan-ul-Arab', those who are in agreement over an issue are called "Shia-tul-Qaum". A friend or follower of a person is a 'Shia' of his. An organization having basic unity of approach is 'Shia'. Its plural is 'Shia-un' and the plural of the plural is 'Alshya-o'. The word in common parlance is 'Shayy'-hū' as 'Walāhū' from the root 'Wali-ya'. The basic connotation of the word 'Shia' is "a group of men". The word 'Shia' is singular but is used alike for all forms of numbers and genders. It is frequently used for the devotees of ALI and his descendents called 'Imams'. It specifically refer to those who are attached to the house of Ali. When used for a particular person as a Shia, it means that he is a devotee of Ali. The expression that the Shia sect connotes, means that the 'Shirites' have such beliefs and practices. Thus the word has its root in 'Mashaya'a-tun', which means 'to follow', 'to be exactly in the same direction' or 'to imitate'.

According to 'Azharī', the expression 'Shia' signifies those who follow one-other but are lacking in unanimity. It is also the name of a community which clings to Ali and the sons of Ali and is friendly to them. In its masculine and feminine forms, the word is used as follows:—

فلان شيعة علي ( ع )

(He is the follower of Ali)

فلانة شيعة لعلي ( ع )

(She is the follower of Ali)

when used as plural, the word 'Shia' takes the form as in the following quotations from the Holy Quran:—

(a) هذا من شيعته ، وهذا من عدوه فأستغاثه الذي من شيعته علي الذي من عدوه

(One of his own caste and the other of his enemies; and he who was of his caste asked him for help against him who was of his enemies)

(From 'Al-Qusus' -- 15: Trans-Pickthal)

ان من شيعته لآبراهيم

(b)

(Of his persuasion verily was Abraham)

— From 'Al-Sifat' -- 83: Trans-Pickthal —

(c) علي وشيعته هم الفائزون

(Only Ali and his friends shall win)

— From Tradition --

شيعتنا منا



## MEANING OF SHI'AH

(d)

(Our friends and devotees belong to us)  
— From the sayings of Ali —

The plural form of the word viz; 'Alshiya'a' or 'Shiya' are also mentioned in the Holy Quran as per examples cited below: —

**كما فعل بأشباعهم**

(a) (As was done for people of their kind of old)  
— From As-Saba — 54 —

The interpretation of the above mentioned Verse in the 'Lisan-ul-Arab' is "For such people and the devotees of such religions among the Communities of yore".

(b) **ولقد اهلكنا اشباعهم**

(We have destroyed such groups in the past)  
— From

(c)

(They formed factions and split religion into sects)  
— From

(d) **ان فرعون علا في الارض وجعل اهلها شيعا - (اي فرقا )**

(The Pharaoh raised his head in disobedience and created factions among the dwellers of earth).  
— From

.....

Before and after the death of the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him), this word was used for the devotees of Ali.

Abu Muhammad Hasan Bin Musâ Naubakhti (fourth century Hijrah) writes in his book "Kitab-al Firuq-wal-Miqalat":—

"Among all the sects of Islam, there are four basic sects, the Shia, the Mu'tazilah, the Murji'ah and the Khawarij".

Out of these the 'Shia', is closely affiliated to Ali-Bin-Abi Tâlib. In the days of the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him) and even after him, this group was called "Shia-tu-Ali" (the friends and devotees of Ali). The persons belonging to this group, while dissociating themselves from all others, formed a nucleus round Ali and believed in his Imamate. For the first time in Islam the term 'Tashyya', was associated with Miqdâd-Bin-Aswad, Salmân-i-Fârsi, Abu Dhar Jundab-Bin-Janâdah Ghaffari and 'Ammâr-Bin-Yâsir, who were the bosom companions and friends of Ali. In the remote past, this term was in common usage for the companions and friends of Abraham, Moses Jesus and other Prophets.

"Kashfuz Zunûn" Vol-III, quotes from 'Kitâb-uz-Zeenah' (by Abu Hatîm Sahâil-Bin-Muhammad Sajastani, (d. 205 A.H.): —

'In the days of the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him) the word Shi'ah was mentioned with reference to four persons Salmân-Fârsî, Abu Dhar Ghaffârî, Miqdâd-Bin-Aswad Al-Kindî and 'Ammâr-Bin-Yâsir'.

Immediately after the assassination of Caliph Uthmân Mu'âwiyyah and his supporters came in open conflict with Ali. They wanted to avenge the assassination of Uthmân and collected many a man on their side. These supporters of Uthman were called "Uthmaniyyah" (عثمانية). These people were attached to Uthmân and dissociated themselves from Ali. Those who had respect for both were not called the "Uthmaniyyah". In due course, the followers of Ali, besides being called Shi'ah (شيعة) were also described as "Alawiyyah" (علوية). These two terms 'Uthmaniyyah' and 'Alawiyyah' remained current during the Umayyid Caliphate. In the days of the Abbasides, there was a change in the nomenclature and the 'Alawiyyah' and 'Uthmaniyyah' acquired the appellation of 'Shi'ah' and 'Sunni' respectively.

No other sect in Islam at present except the Khawarij (خوارج), dissociates itself from Ali. The Khawarij, however, dissociate themselves from Uthman as well.

In the light of the statements in Kitâb-uz-Zînah (كتاب الزينة) and Kitâb-al-Firûq-wal-Maqâlât (الفرق والمقالات) the assumptions of the statements in Fihrist of Ibn-un-Nadîm, that the followers of Ali were named as 'Shi'ah' only from the days of the battle of Jamal, becomes palpably incorrect. The following is the translation of Ibn-un-Nadîm's version:-

"The reason of Shias, being called as such, has been given by Muhammad-Bin-Ishâq. According to him, when Talhah and Zubair rose in revolt against Ali to avenge the assassination of Uthman-Bin-'Affân, and Ali came out to wage war against them so that the will of God may prevail, the followers of Ali were called the 'Shi'ah' for Ali called them "شيعتي" (my friends)".

Whatever be the truth, whether the term got current in the days of the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him) or after the 'Battle of Jamal', in any case, it was assigned to those who believed in the superiority of Ali and were devoted to him. This connotation of 'Tashayy' (تشيع) was in vogue in the days of the Prophet and remains so till today.

This exposition removes the mis-understanding of those who believe the term 'Shi'ah' (شيعة) or 'Tashayy' (تشيع) to be of the recent coinage. Thus Shî'î (شيعي) means one conforming to Shi'ism or a particular Shi'ah and Tashayyu' or Mutashayyê (متشيع) means that a particular individual has embraced Shi'ism.

## IMMAMIYYAH (IMAMITES)

Quoting from 'Majlis-al-Mufid' in 'Ayun-wal-Mahâsin Syed Murtaza (d. 442 A.H.) writes that the Imamites are the people who believe in Imamât and Ismah (infallibility)\*. They hold 'Nas' (nomination by God and the Prophet - May peace be on him) necessary for an Imâm. This sect is called Imamiyyah for they consider the aforesaid principle of Imamate as essential to their faith.

It may also be pointed out that the 'Imamiyyah' are further divided into the following few sections:-



- 1) Ja'fariyyah : Whose introduction is the main subject of this book  
(Ja'farites)
- 2) Kaisâniyyah : The believers in the Imamate of Muhammad-Bin-Hanafiyya  
(Kesanites) but they are non extinct.
- 3) Zaidiyyah : The believers in the Imamate of Zaid-Bin-Ali-Bin-Husain.  
(Zaidites) They hold that whosoever, amongst the sons of Ali and Fatima, wages the holy war (Jehad) is the Imam, provided he is also a scholar and a courageous person. In 'Khutat-ul-Maqrizi' **حطاط المقريزي** the qualifications for the Imam are enumerated as scholarship, piety, valour and also being in the family line of Hasan or Husain. Others add to these qualifications, personal grace and being free from physical deformity.
- 4) Ismâ'liyyah : Are those who believe in the Imamate of Ismâ'il-Bin-Ja'far-as-Sâdiq. They are found in India, Pakistan and East Africa and are called the (Bohras'). The Fatimides of Egypt also professed the beliefs of the Ismâ'flites. They have their own special lodging arrangement when they perform the 'Haj' pilgrimage or pay their homage to the Holy Shrines. These Ismâ'flites have a different status from the 'Batinides'. The Batini-Ismâ'flites are the followers of Agha Khan. The writers on African affairs do not, however, distinguish between the two groups. We will further elaborate this aspect.
- 5) Fatahiyyah : Are those who believe in the Imamate of Abdullah-Bin-Ja'far-as-Sâdiq. This sect is now extinct.
- 6) Wâqifiyyah : This sect professed that the Imamate finally ended with Imam Mûsâ Kâzim or with any other Imam subsequent to him. This sect is also extinct.

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\* An Imam is a person who is nominated as a Caliph by the Prophet (May peace be on him) and God.

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From among the aforesaid sects of the 'Shi'ites' the Ja'fariyyah ( **جعفرية** ) are found in much larger number than the Zaidities, Ismâ'flites or the Bohras.

### THE MATAAWILAH

In the last century the Shi'ahs living in the Jabal-'Âmil, the Ba'albak and mountains of Lebanon were called the Mutaawilahs. This nomenclature is derived from Wila ( **ولا** ) which is the root of Mawalat ( **موالاة** ). The subjective noun of Tawali ( **توالي** ) is Mutawâif ( **متوالي** ) and its plural is 'Matawilah', which means persons devoted and attached to 'Ahl-Bait' (the house of Prophet Muhammad - May peace be on him).

The great scholar of Egypt Muhammad Abduh writes that the aforementioned people 'Matâwilah' used to raise the war cry "Mut-Wâlian" ( **مت وليا** ), (Die as a friend) their battles of freedom and as such all the Shi'ahs were named as "Mutwali". In the book 'Khutat-ush-Shâm' ( **خطط الشام** ) Sheikh Ahmad Ridâ has been quoted as holding the view that the people of Jabal-'Âmil were attributed to this name in the twelfth Century Hijra. No historian earlier than the 12th century A.H. has used this

nomenclature. In 'Khulasa-tul-Athar-fi-A'yān-īl-Qāran-il-Hadi 'Ashar' (

خلاصة الاثر في اعيان القرن الحادي عشر

), they have been mentioned as Rāfidah (رافضه) and in 'Silk-ud-Durar-fil-Qaran-ith-thanf Ashar' (سلك الدرر في اعيان القرن الثاني عشر) under the heading Jabal-Amil,

they have been mentioned as Mutāwilah (متاولة). In some annual gazettes of Turkey the origin of Matāwilah has been traced back to the A.H. 1100. In short, the political organizations formed against the Lebanese aristocracy supporting 'Ale Ansar Wailin' in Jabal-i-Amil, fighting under the banner of 'Ale Harfūsh' in Baalback (بعلبك) and under the leadership of Ale-Himādah in the northern Lebanon were called "Bani Mutwal". Those who were not connected with these political movements were never given this name. The Shias in Halab, Hams, Himah and Damascus were never called by any other name, except the Shias. But those in Salahia and Maydan who had escaped from the battles of Jabal-Āmil, Baalback and Jabal-Lebanon and migrated to those regions, still retained their original title of 'Mutawāli'

## QIZIL BASH

The word in Turkish language means the 'red head'. In this connection a summary of "Bustān-us-Siyāhah" is reproduced below:-

"A particular tribe of the Turks and the Turkmāns is called the Qizil-bāsh. It has its five sub-sections viz: Shamlū, Astajlū, Takallū, Turkman and Dhulqadar. All these groups belong to different Wajaqats (Sub groups). They are different from the Sainkhani (صانن خانسي) Turkemans, who live in Tarjan, Dasht-i-Qabchāq and Kurasan. They hold Sunni belief.

The Qizilbash are Imamiyyah and Jafariyyah. It is said that Sultān Haider-bin-Sultān Junaid Safawf, once in a dream, saw Ali and other eleven Imams. He further noticed that those sacred souls looked at him with affectionate feelings and required him to invent some particular sign for his group. The Sultan invented a cap like a crown, made of red cloth having twelve conical side cones. In Turkish language "Qizil" means red and "Bašh" means head. Thus those who wore this cap were called Qizilbash (The red head). Uptil the time of Shah Husain Safawi, this cap was used but was abandoned later. This title is well known in Iran. In Tehran and India, the Shias and Iranians are usually called the Qizil-bāsh. In Turkey and Syria as well, every Shia is called the Qizilbash. But in Iran 'Qizilbash' is the nomenclature used for the soldiers.

## RAFIDAH

A contemptuous and antagonistic expression used for those who believe Ali to be the First Caliph, is Rāfidiyy. The matter does not end here; there are a number of fabricated traditions traced back to the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him). These traditions speak against the friends of the house of the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him) and those who consider the Quran and Ahl-Bait (the house of Prophet Muhammad — May peace be on him) as the source of all guidance. Generally the writers have suggested that the title of 'Rāfidiyy was first used in the time of Zaid-Bin-Ali-Bin-Husain. It is stated that once, in Kufa, Zaid was



asked to give his opinion about Abu-Bakr and Umar, to which he replied, "Both of them were the companions of my maternal grand-father Muhammad (May peace be on him) and are the neighbours of his grave". On hearing this people deserted him. The word Râfiḍun ( رافض ) means the deserters. Thus they were called the Râfiḍiyyah, the deserters. This story may be only a fragment of imagination, for in his book 'Maqâtil-ut-Tâlibîn' مقاتل الطالبين Abul Faraj has narrated the story of the martyrdom of Zaid but has not mentioned the above episode.

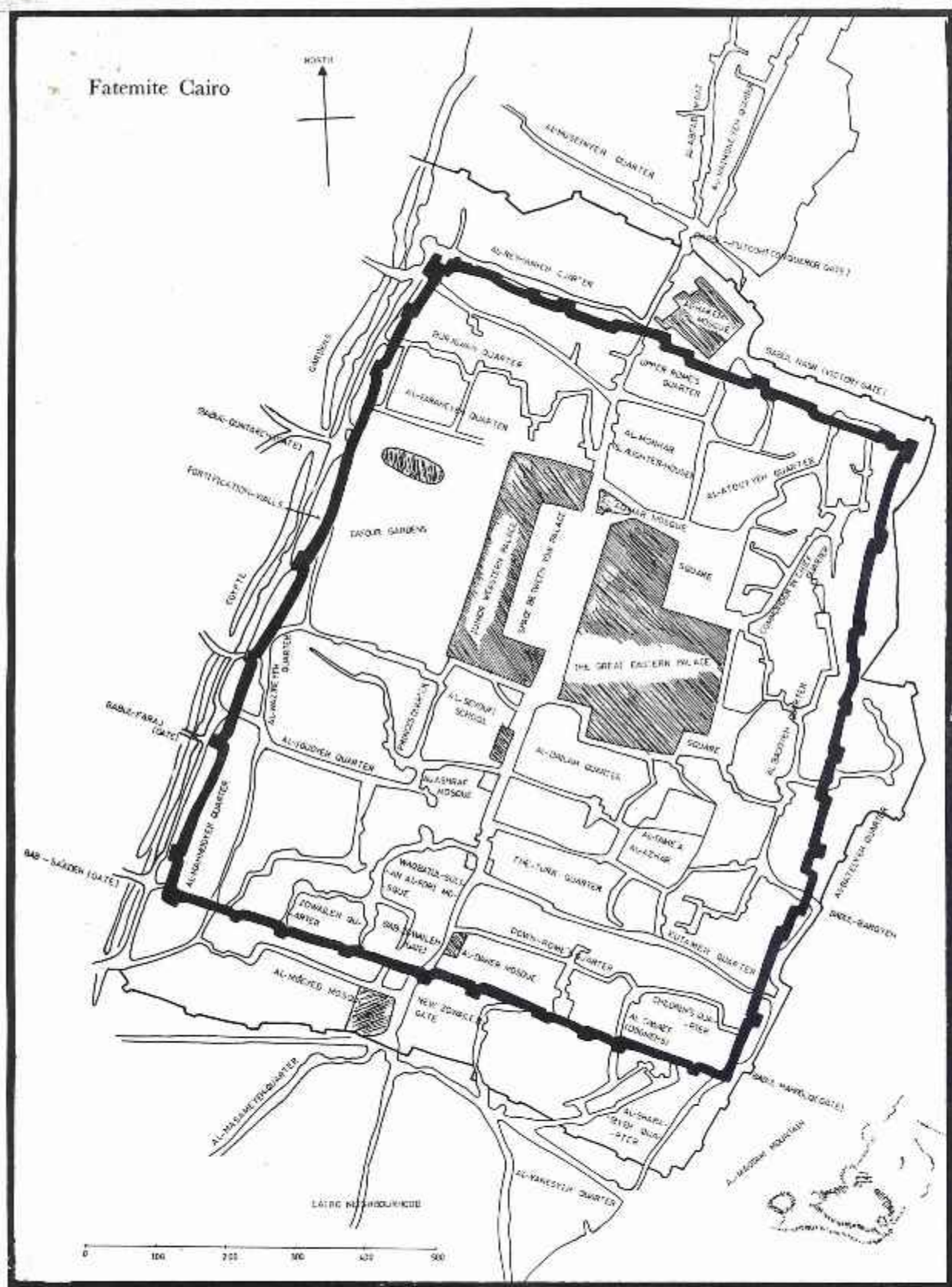
## JA' FARIYYAH

Now-a-days the Athna 'Asharī Shi'ites (believers in the twelve Imams) are called Jafariyyah, because in matters affecting religion, they seek the authority of Imam Ja'far-us-Sadiq. The directive, in respect of faith is mostly derived from the expositions and opinions of Imam Jafar, though the Shias have the same regard for the rest of their Imams. As the period of Imam Jafar begins with the downfall of the Umayyides (the enemies of the house of the Holy Prophet — May peace be on him) and the rise of the Abbasides, the Imam lived in comparative peace and freedom. The Imam thus had the opportunity of spreading the teachings of his grand father (the Holy Prophet — May peace be on him) and the number of his pupils and those who quoted them as authority considerably increased. In the times of the Abbaside Caliph Mansūr, and Rashīd, persecution of Imams and their devotees grew harder and, finding the tyranny even more cruel than the Umayyides, people got afraid and those, who quoted them as authority, decreased in number.

(Once a Hasani Sayyid from West Africa called on me in Damascus. In the course of his comments, he observed that if he had been in the know of the true teachings of Imam Jafar-us-Sadiq, he would never have given up his allegiance. The proper data in this connection was not available. The Shia sources according to him, were false and incorrect. To this I replied that the knowledge about any faith could be gathered only from the followers of that faith. Thus the authentic facts about Islam could only be ascertained from the Muslims. The teachings of Imam Abu Hanffah could only be known from Hanafis, while those of Imam Shâfi'ī from the Shaafis. In the same way the teachings of Imam Ja'far-us-Sadiq could only be appreciated and understood from the Shia sources. The gentleman, however, argued that in case of any difference of opinion, the matter could of course be referred to and decided by a third person. I suggested that we might seek the guidance of a non-Muslim in such matters. He expressed surprise at this approach despite his own suggestion and the matter ended.)

## KHASSAH

the 'Shias' designate themselves as 'Khassah', the distinguished as against Ammah — the non distinguished or the 'Commoners' who are the 'Sunnis'. The Shias believe that they alone have close proximity to the Sunnah and Shariah of the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him). Besides they claim superiority over all the sects of Islam and so they are the 'Khassah' or the 'distinguished'.



This map designates the locations of Cairo's gates, the Azhar Mosque, and the two Fatemite Mosques, and Al-Hakim Mosque which is separated from Fatemite Cairo by the Badr-al-Jamali Wall.





## An Important point to be noted

The non-Shia writers, in their writings on Milal-wa-Nihal e.g., books on different sects of Islam, presented a phantasmagoria of many a sect which had no historical basis and did not exist at all. To crown it, most of the sects and the differences therein were attributed to the Shias. Illustrating it by "Khutat-e-Maqrizî", we can see that the enumerations of sects had no real basis or existence. One of such writers has claimed that out of the seventy-three sects of Islam, the majority belonged to the Shia group and to make up the number he invented new sects. Maqrizî stated in his book that there were three hundred sub-sects among the Shias but while counting, he could not go beyond twenty and pretended to have enumerated only the important ones. About these twenty sub-sects, he recorded observations which are not only painful and heart-rending but also amazingly absurd. I do not want to raise controversies, but such things falsely propagated in numerous books have done a great deal to mislead the world opinion. Within centuries the malicious propaganda has taken deep roots, on the basis of which writers like Rafa'iy and Ala'ilî, Ahmad Amin and Abdul Azîz erected the whole edifice. Every argument that could be used against the Shias, with all relevant and irrelevant details, was magnified and enlisted and the Shias were shown devoid of all the possible virtues. In view of these imputations, I consider it to be a religious obligation on my part to make amends, otherwise the more silence would be interpreted as tacit approval. I am sure that the genuine religious opinion seeking unity of purpose will certainly forgive me.

'Maqrizi' in his "Alkhutat" writes as follows:-

"The Râfidîs have three hundred sub-sects out of which twenty are prominent." All these are designated as the 'Imâmiyyah'.

I would like to point out that the so-called different sects or sub-sects as collectively pointed out by such writers as Maqrizî, may have existed only in name, but the supposed leaders of these sects have no historical existence. It is just possible that these sects may have been imaginatively conceived and had no real existence at all or that they existed for a short while and thus sank into oblivion. Any discussion about them, therefore, seems futile. We, who belong to the Imamiyyah Athna Ashariyyah Ja'fariyyah sect completely disown such so-called facts and vehemently deny their existence. We would, however, like to bring to light some of these so-called sects, specially those that are associated with the revered Imams. The Imams did never hold any such beliefs and were free from such sects and persons to whom these sects are attributed would reveal their self truth.

One of these sects according to 'Maqrizi' was Zurâriyyah. They were the followers of Zurâra-Bin-A'yun. They believe that after Imam Ja'far-us-Sâdiq, the Imamate passed on to his son Abdullah. Zurâra once asked him some questions, and as he did not get proper answers from Abdullah, he foresook him and accepted Imam Mûsa Kazim as his Imam. Having written all this, Maqrizî writes again on the next page that the tenth sub-sect is the "Zurariyyah - the followers of the extremist 'Râfidî' (The Shia) Zurâra-Bin-A'yun, who believed that God in the beginning was neither Omni-scient nor Omni-potent. He acquired these attributes only later on (After this he proceeds to describe the 'Mushabbihah conveniently ignoring the 'Zurâriyyah.)



An important point to be noted:

#### ABOUT THE HISHAMIYYAH

These are the followers of Hisham-Bin-Ai Hakam, who are also known as Hâkimiyyah. One of their beliefs is that God is the embodiment of light with divine rays shimmering all around (May God protect us).

#### ABOUT THE JAWALQIYYAH

The followers of Hisham-Bin Salm-Jawâlqi, are among the Râfidis. One of their beliefs most obnoxious was that God was like men, the upper part of whose frame was hollow while the lower part was solid. His body had neither flesh nor blood but was light incarnate. He had all the five human senses and different parts of body (May God protect us).

Hishamiyah section once again given 9th serial number. This sect had two branches; one comprising the followers of Hisham-bin-Hakam and the other of Hisham-bin-Salim-Jawalqi. Both of them believed that the Imams could not err, whereas the Prophet could: The act of Prophet (May peace be on him) releasing the prisoners of Badar in exchange for blend money was erroneous (May God protect us).

#### ABOUT THE MUFFADDALLIYAH

The followers of Muffaddal-Bin-Umar believed that after Imam Ja'far-as-Sadiq, the Imamate passed on to his second son Muhammad.

#### ABOUT THE YÛNUSIYYAH

They were the followers of Yûnus-Bin-Abdur Rahman Qummi and were undoubtedly Rafidîs.

#### ABOUT THE FIRTEENTH SECT YÛNUSIYYAH

The followers of Yûnus-Bin-Abdullah Qummi were extremists among the 'Mus-habbihah'. It would be interesting to note that the twice mentioned Yûnus, is at one place the son of Abdur Rahman and at another the son of Abdullah. The latter never existed.

#### ABOUT THE SEVENTEENTH SECT SHAITÂNIIYYAH:

They are the followers of Muhammad-Bin Na'mân Shaitân-ut-Tâq. They held the same beliefs as those of Mu'tazilah and Rafidah but differed in one satanic belief that God has no knowledge of any thing and therefore the question of His Omniscience did not arise. No knowledge could be had without having power over something.

Maqrizî once again mentioning the sub-sects of Mu'tazilah said that the twentieth sect of the Mu'tazilah was Shaitâniyyah. They were the followers of Muhammad-Bin-Nu'mân, popularly known as Shaitân-ut-Tâq, who was one of the Râfidis. He held the same views as Mu'tazilah and Râfidah. The Mu'tazilah, usually were in their heresies, at one with the Râfidis. Muhammad-Bin Nu'mân held a peculiar view about the knowledge of God. He held that God could not have knowledge of those things which were not under his Command. Knowledge of anything was not possible without the power and command over the thing, without which again any knowledge was impossible. Had he been the knower of the acts of men, he would never put them to test.



It is strange that the so-called leaders of the sects mentioned by Maqrizi — Zarâra-Bin-A'yun, Hishâm-Bin-Al-Hakam, Hisham-Bin-Salfm Jawalaql, Yûnus-Bin-Abdur Rehman and Muhammad-Bin-Nu'man, known as 'Mo'min-ut-Tâq' — all authentic in their beliefs, sound in faith and profound scholastic, were very close disciples of Imam Ja'far-as-Sadiq and Imam Musa Kazim. They learned every thing from these two Imams and followed them in every respect. They always considered every heresay condemnable with regards to the attributes and qualities of God and had perfect belief in the Divine, Unerring nature of the Prophet (May peace be on him). It is an insult to piety, to impute such fantastic and heretic beliefs to such pious men. No reliable source has ever drawn such views from any Imam from the House of the Prophet (May peace be on him). It is obvious that these fantastic beliefs are no more than malicious, concoctious ideas designed to besmirch those noble souls.

All these pious men are mentioned in the Shi'ite biographies and who's who-s and in the history of Shia Religion A'yân-ush-Shi'ah. All of them were Imamite, Ja'farite and Ahna 'Ashariyyah. They were the recipients of homage. They did not lead any religious movement nor did they spear-head any sect. They believed in the authentic Shia faith and never accepted any other belief. Besides, Maqrizî's opinion have manifest contradictions which may be pointed out here:-

(a) Zurârah is alleged to have been the follower of Abdullah, whom he considered his Imam, but later, when Abdullah could not answer his questions, Zurara transferred his allegiance to his brother Imam Mûsa Kâzim. Now Zurara is still alleged to have established a sect with the belief in the Imamate of Abdullah. How could Zurara form a sect in favour of the Imamate of a person whom he had already disowned? How could Zurara believe in an Imam, without Judging his knowledge? Moreover there is no trace, in the history of the followers of any such sect, but the sect exists only in name.

Another product of fancy, is the sect 'Shaitâniyyah stated to be after Muhammad-Bin-Nu'man. Now Nu'man was a close associate of Imam-Mûsa Kâzim. He lived in Taq-ul-Mahâmil in Kûfa and was a goldsmith by profession. The gold coins were referred to him for testing their genuineness. His correct opinion cost many a customers dear. He was such an adept in his work that people, because of his extraordinary skill and cleverness nicknamed him as Shaitan (Satan). We call him M'omin-ut-Tâq instead. There are many recorded discussions, between Imam Abu-Hanffah and M'omin-ut-Taq (Muhammad Bin Nu'man), which can be referred to in his biography. The most ridiculous aspect of all this is that this very Mo'min-ut-Taq is stated to be the leader of one of the sects of Mu'tazilah and at the same time he is accepted as Imam'ite and Ja'farite. It is also wrongly supposed that the two sects of Mu'tazilah and Imamiyyah are alike. It is true that the Mu'tazilah share some beliefs in common with the Shias but as regards the principles and practices their difference are so large that any identification of the two would be manifestly ludicrous. On the other hand the differences between the Ashâ'irah and Mu'tazilah are very small, so much so that the Mu'tazilah were ultimately merged into the Ashâ'ira. The lie, however, needs no sound basis and in this particular content the lie acquires fantastic proportions. The most irresponsible concoctions about such a pious man and attributing to him such heretical views is a positive proof of the brazen facedness and complete loss of faith on the part of the writer.

As regards Muffaddal-Bin-Umer, there are two divergent opinions among our scholars. There are those who consider him to be sound in his belief and others who regard him to be Ghâli and therefore irrational. We seek to analyse facts and if we find that a certain person does not profess sound beliefs in religion,



An important point to be noted:

we have nothing to do with him. After full research our scholars have concluded that Muffaddal was devoid of heresies and was very sound in his approach to religion.

Apart from these sects, Muqrifî has enumerated some others, which it is hard to prove to have ever existed viz; The Mubarakîyyah, the followers of Mubarik and Shamîtiyyah the followers of Yahya-Bin-Shamî Ahmasi. Yahya was a friend of Mukhtar-ath-Thaqafi and is not known to have founded any sect. In the light of these arguments it can be concluded that Muqrifî's accounts are thoroughly unreliable and completely untrue. He has gone to the extent of including among the Shi'ites, even those sects that are known to be outside the fold of Islam, for example the Khatâbiyyah and the Sabâ-îyyah, who are known to be the followers of Abdullah-bin-Saba (1).

Mentioning such apostates as muslims is clearly unjust. How could such heretics be included among the Shi'ites who utterly denounce the practice of treating the Created as the Creator and have concern with any thing beyond the Islamic Sharîyah.

Maqrifî includes the following sects among the Shi'ites who according to him are Râfidis.

Halawiyah, Al-shaiyah and Al-sharikiah, who believe that Ali shares the Prophethood with Muhammad (May peace be on him).

Al-Tanâsukhiyyah who believe in the transfiguration of soul.

La'înah and Almukhtiyyah who believe that Gabriel committed an error.

Al-Ishaqiyyah and Al-khalafiyyah, who profess that in prayer no one should be followed except an Imam.

Al-Raj'îyyah, who believe that Ali will rise again to take revenge from his enemies.

Al-Mutarabissah, who believe in the re-appearance of Imam Mehdi.

The Amsiyyah, Jahiyyah, Jalaliyyah and the Karabiyyah e.g., the followers of Karibi Zarir.

The Hazaniyyah, who are said to be the followers of Abdullah-Bin-Umer Hazani.

The afore-mentioned sects seem to be the product of Maqrifî fancy. No book written by a Shia about the sects of Islam, has ever mentioned them. They appear to have been invented in order to scandalize.

Mentioning such absurd and heretical sects among the Shi'ites is no more harmful than including the un-Islamic sects in Islam or bracketing an apostate with the true Prophet (May peace be on him) of Islam. Had these sects any real existence, they would have surely been mentioned by Naubakhtî, who, in the fourth Century Hijra, wrote a book "Al-Firaq-i-Wal-Miqâlât" specifically on the Shia sects.

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1. Modern researches have proved that Abdullah-bin-Saba is a fictitious figure, having no historical existence. He will be discussed in the subsequent pages.

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## THE SHI'ITE STATES

The aim of our present discussion of the Shi'ite States is not to give a detailed history of these states nor is to trace out their growth. Such an objective cannot be achieved in these few pages we have at our disposal and will be attempted on another occasion. For the present, we only wish to touch upon some of the salient features of these states which gave them a distinction over other Islamic States, and to draw attention of the reader to those characteristics by which these Shi'ite States were distinguished from others in every age and time.

Guaranteeing basic liberties, propagation of knowledge and advancement of literature, and encouragement of those engaged in such pursuits was the distinguishing character of the Shi'ite rule. Whosoever may read the history of the Shi'ite rulers, such as the Fatimides, the Hamdānides and the Buwaihides, objectively and without having any bias, will be astonished to find that those states were at such a level of thinking and that their rulers should help intellectual movements and literary efforts to flourish, and should themselves take a leading role in the growth of activities. There came a time when the Shi'ites alone took up the cudgels for the Islamic world and defended it against reckless foreign invasions which were threatening the whole existence of the Islamic State. It was Saif-ud-Dawlah Al-Hamdānī who successfully defended the Muslims against the Byzantians when they mobilized their armies under the command of Nicoforfacus in order to occupy Syria, intent upon a further penetration into the Islamic territories. Saif-ud-Dawlah faced this menace alone and fought against the Byzantians in more than forty battles until he pushed them back and saved the whole Islamic world from their evils.

Similarly, Banū Mardās who succeeded the Hamdānīs, faced the Byzantians under the command of Nasr Bin Sāleh. The Byzantians had mobilized an army of 600,000 warriors under the command of Armanus. The Byzantians were ultimately defeated and the Muslims as well as the Arabs were saved from that menace. In the same way, Banu 'Ammār who were the rulers of Tripoli, defended their country for five years against the repeated attacks of the Crusaders while under the leadership of 'Ammār Bin Muhammad Bin 'Ammār.

To crown them all was the heroism and gallantry of the armies of Al-Mu'izz Li-Dīn-illah, the Fatimide Caliph of Egypt. In these heroic activities, which the reader will find in detail elsewhere in this book, his navy played an equal part. It is sufficient to say here that Al-Mu'izz had become the saviour of the Muslims everywhere. The Muslims of Crete who were under the Abbaside Rule did not find anyone else to help them in their struggle against the Byzantians.

In the modern times, the Shi'ite kings were the foremost to resist the British in their advance on India. The most illustrious among these were Haider Ali and his son Fateh Ali, commonly known as Tipū Sultān who died in the battle against the joint forces of Hindu Marāthas, the Nizām of Hyderabad and the British. Among others were Mfr Qāsim, Sirāj-ud-Dawlah, Shujā'-ud-Dawlah and Mirs of Sindh who fought hard against the foreign invaders and were able survive in the face of the British tactics.

## THE FATIMIDE STATE

No state has ever been such a target of injustice as the Fatimide State. Firstly it was attempted to cast doubts about the genealogy of the Fatimide Caliphs. Then, either on account of ignorance or intentionally, the creed of the Fatimide Caliphs was mixed up with that of the Batinides. The people with vested interests or those



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ignorant of the Fatimides, confused their creed and beliefs with those of Batinides and Al-Qarâmitah. This was done in order to condemn the Fatimide State, but the fact is that the Fatimides had no worse enemies than the Batinides or Al-Qarâmitah.

This was the method employed to disfigure and deface the history of the Fatimides and to hide the glory of its heroes, or to efface it altogether.

### Al-Azhar(1)

One of the Fatimide relics, from which people benefit even now, is the Al-Azhar University (Jâmi'ah, Al-Azhar). It was founded by the Fatimide commander Jawhar at the orders of the Caliph Al-Mu'izz as he founded the city of Cairo. This was (probably on Saturday) in Jimad-ul-Uula in the year 359 A.H. Its building was completed on the 9th of Ramadân in the year 361 A.H. Both Al-'Azîz Billah and Al-Hâkim Bi Amrillah added to its premises. It was further repaired, renovated and extended by Al-Mustanîr Billah and Al-Hâfiz Li-Dîn-illah. This mosque was the object of the greatest favours of the Fatimide Caliphs. They never grudged their attention to its repairs, maintenance and extension, and created separate trusts to support its "Mu'adhdhins", caretakers, its maintenance, cleaning and lighting. All these details are found in the relevant books of history. But the point with which we are concerned at present is that the Fatimide Caliphs always encouraged scholars and jurists to have their study-circles and gatherings in this mosque, and thus it was turned into a university which has the claim to be considered as the oldest University still functioning.

There used to be a Dâ'î-ud-Du'ât (Chief Preacher) in this mosque who held special meeting for the ladies during which he talked about the studies and knowledge relating to Ahl Bait(1).

Al-Qalqashandî has said that the Minister Abul Faraj Ya'qûb Bin Kalas asked the Caliph Al-'Azîz Billah to support and maintain a group of scholars who lived in the Mosque in Cairo. He set aside a special amount of money to meet their expenses and built them a house to live in beside the Mosque of Al-Azhar(2).

It has also been reported in history that in the year 383 A.H., a Ja'farite scholar was appointed to give fatwa according to the Principles of Ja'farite Jurisprudence. This made the other scholars (who were non-Shi'ites) protest and create trouble. This was reported to the Qadi who ordered the arrest of some of them(3).

This incident leads us to conclude that there were scholars in the Mosque who were against the Fatimide creed and who used to give fatwa according to their own creed. When a Ja'farite scholar came to give fatwa according to the Principles of

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1. This portion is a summary of what Dr. Muhammad Kâmil Husain has written. He is a Professor at the Cairo University.

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1. Al-Khutub by Al-Maqrîzî  
2. Fatimides were foremost rulers in preparing scholars and completely devoted to the cause of knowledge.  
3. Al-Kindî

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Ja'farite Jurisprudence, the non-Shi'ite scholars made such a strong protest that the Qādī was forced to arrest some of them, not for any reason other than that they did not show tolerance to the Ja'farite Jurist like that shown to them by the State.

Furthermore, Egypt saw a number of Shāfi'ite and Mālikite Jurists during the Fātimide regime. Similarly, Abdus Salām Bin Muhammad Bin Bindār sent Abu Yūsuf Al-Qazwīnī — a Mu'tazilite leader who stayed in Egypt for forty years and whose preaching was against the beliefs of the Fatimides.

If we go through the pages of history and biography, we would find that a large number of Sunnite scholars were living under the Fatimide regime and were imparting their teachings to the people, with the obvious knowledge and sanction of the Fatimide government and without interference. One of the Shāfi'ite scholars living in this age was Al-Qādī Abul Fadl Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin 'Isā who settled in Egypt, spread his ideas there, and died in 441 A.H. (1). Another scholar was Abul Qāsim Nasr Bin Bashār Bin Ali who died in 447 A.H. Similarly, Abul Fateh Sultān Bin Ibrāhīm was one of those who were sent from Palestine to Egypt. He died in 518 A.H. There were five other scholars who were given appointments as Qādīs by the Fatimides, despite the fact that they were Shāfi'ites. They were Abul Hajjāj Yūsuf Bin Abdul Aziz Al-Mayyūr (d. 523 A.H.), Majla Bin Jam' Al-Makhzūmī (d. 550 A.H.), Qādī Abul Hasan Ali Bin Husain Al-Mūsali (d. 448 A.H.), Abu Muhammad Abdullah Bin Rafā'ah Bin Ghadr As-Sa'dī (d. 561 A.H.) and Qādī Al-Qadā'ī. There were many others in addition to those mentioned here.

Among the Malikiite Jurists, we can mention the name of Muhammad Bin Sulaimān, known as Abu Bakr An-Na'āl, who used to lead the prayers for the Malikiites. He had come to Egypt and held his study-circle in the Mosque of Al-Azhar. The number of students attending his lectures was so great that his "circle" was extended to seventeen pillars of the Mosque. He died in 380 A.H. (2).

Another Malikiite Jurist living under the Fatimides was Abul Qāsim Al-Jawhari Abur Rahmān Bin Abdullah Al-Ghāfiqūf who died in 380 A.H. We all know the story of the Mālikite jurist Abdul Wahhāb Bin Ali, who was one of the top-ranking jurists of the Mālikite creed, and about whom Al-Khatīb has said in Tārīkh-u-Baghdād that he never saw a Mālikite jurist more able or more accomplished than Abdul Wahhāb. We also know how he came to the Fatimides after he was persecuted in Baghdād and how the Fātimides honoured him. He became well-to-do in Egypt but his health deteriorated and he used to say (There is no God but Allah, When we began to live, we died). His death occurred in 422 A.H. Among other Mālikite

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1. From the life-account of this scholar as well as others who will be referred to, we can conclude that the tolerance shown by the Fatimides was so great that Non-Egyptian scholars came to Egypt in order to avail themselves of the atmosphere of freedom of thought and belief created by the Fatimides.
  2. Husn-ul-Muhādīrah. Prof. 'Atiyyah Muṣṭafa Muṣhrifah had written in the magazine Al-Maqṭaf (Vol. 106, No. 4, page 326) that there were 15 study-circles for the Malikiites in Al-Azhar, while the Shāfi'ite had an equal number and the Hanafites had three.
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jurists living during the Fatimide regime were Abdul Jalil Bin Makhlud As-Saqalif (d. 459 A.H.), Ali Bin Al-Hasan Bin Muhammad Al-Fahrif, Abu Bakr Tartusif Muhammad Bin Walfid Al-Andulasif, domiciled in Alexandria (d. 525 A.H.), and others.

We can therefore safely say that the study of the Mâlikite Jurisprudence continued under the Fatimide regime in Egypt, along with that of the Shâfi'ite, and that the Fatimides gave full freedom of thought to the jurists belonging to these different schools and allowed them to hold their study-circles in Al-Azhar, in order to teach according to the different Sunnite schools to students who were desirous of such knowledge.

When Al-Hâkim Bi Amrillah ordered Dâr-ul-'Ilm to be built and books from his palace transferred to it, he appointed two of the Sunnite Shaikhs — one of them being Abu Bakr Al-Antâkî — gave them Khal'ats, honoured them and asked them to attend his audiences at their will and to take part in discussions. 'Amârah Al-Yamanif has said that Talâ'i Bin Razik used to meet Sunnite scholars and listen to them during his governorship, despite the fact that he was very staunch in his own creed.

### Al-Mahwal and Dâr-ul-'Ilm

The Fatimides laid the foundations of what was called Al-Mahwal and was very much like the modern lecture halls. This place was visited by the Khâssah, prominent officials of the state, officers of the palace, visitors to Egypt and general public (1). The Fatimide Kaliph did not stop at making this place a part of their palace but took great care to build up the library of the palace until it came to be considered the pride of the Fatimide and was quite unique among all other libraries. Al-Maqrîzî has quoted Ibn Tayy, after giving an account of Salâh-ud-Din Ayyûbî's conquest, as saying, "Among other things they sold was the library which was one of the wonders of the world. It is said that there was not a bigger library in all the Muslim countries, or one that could even be compared with that of Cairo. One of its distinctive features was that there were 1,200 different copies of the History written by At-Tabarî. It is also said that it contained 1,600,000 books(2)."

Al-Maqrîzî further says, "It is supported by the fact that A-Qâdî Abdur Rahîm Bin Ali laid the foundation of Al-Madrisah Al-Fâdiliyyah and set up a library in that school comprising 100,000 books taken from the library of the Fatimides. It is also reported by As-Sabhî that there were 40 rooms for the books on different subjects. Some of these rooms were inside the palace and others outside. These rooms contained books on all the branches of knowledge. It is said that someone mentioned the name of Kitâb-ul-'Ain written by Khalîl Bin Ahmad in the presence of the Caliph Al-'Azîz Billah. He asked for it from the Librarian, who brought more than thirty copies of the book, and some of those copies were written in the hand of Khalîl Bin Ahmad himself. A man brought to him a copy of Tarîkh ut-Tabarî and he bought it for one hundred dinârs. Then, Al-'Azîz ordered his librarian to bring other copies of the book which he did, bringing more than twenty copies including the one written by Ibn Jarîr himself..."

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1. Al-Majâlis Wal Musâ'irât.

2. Al-Maqrîzî, Vol. II, p. 255



In this way the library of the palace was built up. We may get some idea from this brief account of the library as to just how much attention the Fatimide Caliph paid to collecting books on various branches of knowledge, and the care they took in gathering the finest writing on various subjects; all this in order to encourage scholars and to uphold the cause of knowledge.

But these treasures of learning, comprising the finest books available which the Fatimides protected and saved, met the same fate as that meted out to the Fatimides themselves.

After writing this, Dr. Muhammad Kāmil Husain describes the beginning of the national calamity and tells how the leather covers of these books were taken away by the slaves for use as foot-wear; their pages were burnt and the few left were scattered by the wind, to be covered with dust (?). Dr. Muhammad Kāmil Husain ends his statement by saying, "These were destroyed by Salāh-ud-Din Al-Ayyūbī in the same manner in which he exterminated the Fatimides and thus these Fatimide treasure were lost forever.

As for those libraries which Al-Masbahī describes as "external", they were probably what we now call "public libraries". These libraries were probably founded by Al-Ḥākim Bi Amrillah in 395 A.H. He named them as Dar-ul-'Ilmand made them a part of his palace. He transferred a large number of books from his palace to the Dar-ul-'Ilm. These books related to various branches of knowledge and such a collection was never made by any of other king. He permitted all classes of the people to benefit from these books if they could read them and make use of them. Thus it became the center of scholars in many different fields of study e.g. poetry, astronomy, grammar and linguistics, medicine etc. This place was a fine memorial of a kind previously unheard of for its cost or for those who used or served it. All types of people visited Dar-ul-'Ilm regardless of difference of class, or of their levels of education and nature of their studies. There came to it those who wanted to read, those who wanted to copy down books and those who wanted to learn. Arrangements were made there to provide the people whatever they needed, such as paper, ink, pens etc. (1).

Dār-ul-'Ilm was therefore run on the lines of what we call today "public libraries"(?). In addition to this, the Azhar Mosque was a great institute of learning as a university should be. There were held discussions and debates between scholars of different schools of thought. In this connection, As-Suyūti has reported that Junādah Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Al-Azdf Al-Harwf, known as Abu Usāmah, was a renowned grammarian and linguist. He came to Egypt and joined the company

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1. Khutat by Al-Maqrīzī

2. We would like to draw attention of the reader to the fact that the Shi'ite rule, wherever it was, gave preference to the encouragement of arts and letters over anything else. We have already seen above what the Fatimides did in this cause and have learnt about their libraries. Similar was the case Bani 'Ammār in Tripoli (Lebanon) and their libraries. Islamic rule after the Fatimides has not seen a more glorious period in respect of scholarship, thought, poetry, prose and philosophy than the periods of Hamdānides and Buwaihides.
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of Al-Hâfiz Abdul Ghanî Bin Sa'îd and Abu Ishâque Ali Bin Sulaimân Al-Mu'arrif An-Nahwî. He used to visit in Dâr-ul-'Ilm in Cairo and there discussed and debated on various issues. Similarly, Al-Maqrîzî reports through Al-Masbahî that in 403 A.H., Al-Hâkim Bi Amrillah ordered a group of scholars from Dâr-ul-'Ilm to be presented him. They were specialists in mathematics, logic and jurisprudence and included among them Abdul Ghanî Bin Sa'îd. He also called a group of physicians. This was so that they should debate in his presence. Every group of scholars presented itself to Al-Hâkim separately. Then Al-Hâkim gave them "Khal'at" (a robe as a reward) and bade them goodbye.

Among the most reputed scholars who taught at Dâr-ul-'Ilm was a blind man known as Abul Fadl Fa'far. He came to Egypt and received the attention of Al-Hâkim who gave him a "Khal'at" and the title of 'Aalim-ul-'Ulamâ' (Scholar of the scholars). He asked him to sit in Dâr-ul-'Ilm and teach grammar and linguistics(1). Among other such persons was a Mâlikite jurist Abu Bakr Al-Antâkî who with another Mâlikite scholar was asked by Al-Hâkim to stay at Dâr-ul-'Ilm and give lectures on the Mâlikite jurisprudence(?).

All these fact indicate that Dâr-ul-'Ilm was in fact the equivalent of a university with its teachers, professors and libraries, which gave rise to intellectual activity, research and attainment of knowledge. Hence, the Fatimides were the foremost in establishing a university, in the form of Al-Âzhar and Dâr-ul-'Ilm, which is a mark of distinction of civilization in our age.

### Fatimide Regime — the most glorious period of intellectual activity in Islamic History.

The intellectual life in Egypt during the Fatimide period reached a high degree of progress and activity due to the number of scholars who either lived in Egypt, or came from outside as well as the number of books available and written in various fields of study.

The Fatimide Caliphs gave prominent positions to the scholars in their courts and encouraged the students. They set aside funds to be spent on those who were engaged in pursuit of knowledge so as to give them a chance to devote themselves wholeheartedly to their intellectual accomplishments. In paying attention to the affairs of scholars as well as students, the Fatimide Caliph had taken a lead over other rulers and states which did not recognize the value of scholars, and did not give them their proper rights and position. The most important of these steps was making arrangement for expenses, which affected the growth of intellectual activity in these states. We have already noticed how the Fatimides gave attention to establishing Libraries in their palaces and in Dâr-ul-'Ilm so that the scholars might benefit from what their predecessors had written. The Fatimides' encouragement to the students reached such a degree that Al-Qâgî An-Nu'mân heard the Caliph Al-Mu'izz saying, "We are as pleased to find people from among our friends seeking

1. He was one of the many who were attracted by the freedom of expression and respect of knowledge shown by the Fatimides and came to Cairo which was their capital. He thus received all these privileges there.
2. An-Nujûm-uz-Zâhirah,



knowledge and wisdom, as we are pleased when our own children do so." Thus under the patronage of such rulers and in the light of what Al-Mu'izz said, the scholars not only found themselves in possession of such means as might free them from need and save them from hunger, but also of what encouraged them pursue their activities in connection with research, learning, study and authorship.

Historians have mentioned a number of scholars who came to Egypt during the Fatimide rule and found encouragement that made them remember Egypt and the Fatimides with gratitude. Ibn Abi Usaiba'ah has reported that Al-Muhadhhab Bin An-Naqqâsh was an expert physician who came to Damascus from Baghdâd and stayed there for some time, but he could not find there sufficient for his needs. He heard of Egypt and the generosity of its Caliphs especially to those who were men of letters and scholars. He thus went to Egypt where he was treated generously and stayed there in dignity (1). We again refer to what the historians have said of Al-Qâdi Abdul Wahhâb Bin Ali who was one of the profoundest jurists of the Mâlikite school. The author of Tarîkh-u-Baghdâd has written about him, "I have never seen among the Mâlikites a better or more accomplished jurist. When conditions worsened in Baghdâd, he went to Egypt where Fatimides honoured him, despite the fact that he followed a creed which was against theirs. He became a well-to-do person there but was taken ill, in which condition he used to say, 'There is no God but Allah. When we started living, he died.'"

There are many scholars in addition to these two, who opposed the Fatimide creed but were honoured and generously treated by them.

Cairo of the Fatimides was looked upon with envy by scholars and students. During the Fatimide rule, Egypt became able to lead the Islamic world in intellectual life and propagate its opinions and ideas in other countries. We find some of the scholars who used to attack the Shi'ites in general and Fatimides in particular, themselves going to Egypt and being influenced by certain opinions and ideas which were at that time in vogue there. The most appropriate example of such a scholar which we can present here is that of Imam Al-Ghazzâlî who attacked the Fatimides in books like Al-Qiâtâs, Al-Munqidh Minad Balâi, Al-Mustazhir etc., but who went to Egypt in the latter period of his life and wrote his book "Mishkât-ul-Anwâr". Dr. Muhammad Kâmil Husain comments here saying, "It has occurred to me that the reason why the Fatimide Caliphs encouraged scholars and development of knowledge is that Shi'ism itself is based upon reason and knowledge above all else. It should therefore not surprise us to see the Fatimide Caliph upholding the cause of knowledge, which is one of the fundamentals of the Shi'ite belief."

The Fatimides gave attention to the philosophical studies at a time when rulers in other countries declared those who were engaged in such pursuits to be apostates and heretics. Greek thought met a warm reception with the Fatimides who expanded the boundries of such studies. They paid much attention to philosophy, and gave support to all who were known to be engaged in the study of any branch of philosophy. Al-'Azîz Billah wrote to Jibrâ'îl Bin Bakhtîshû'a and invited him to come to Egypt but he excused himself (2). Similarly, Al-Hakim invited Ibn-ul-Haitham who agreed. They also invited Abul 'Ulâ Al-Mu'arrî and promised him

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1. Ibn Abi Usaiba'ah, vol. II, page 9 (Cairo, 1882 A.D.)

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2. Akhbâr-ul-Hukamâ' by Al-Qiftî



that they would build a special "Dar 'Ilm" where he would have a prominent position and would allow him to receive the revenue of Al-Mu'arrā, but Abul 'Ulā declined. The Fatimides showed extreme tolerance to those who did not follow their creed. Not only this but they were also extremely tolerant to non-Muslims. Abul Fateh Mansūr Bin Muqashshir was private physician to Al-'Azfz and Al-Hākim Bi Amrillah, and was very close to them. After his death, Ishāque Bin Nistās became a physician to Al-Hākim. Both these were non-Muslims. But the Fatimides treated them just as generously as others, giving them "khal'ats", money and titles. History records the names of a large number of such persons.

If we consider the intellectual life in the Islamic world during the fourth century and later, we will find that most of the scholars and thinkers were influenced by the Shi'ite ideas. We also find that some of the philosophers who excelled in their respective fields of study during this period were to some degree attached to the Shi'ite beliefs in general and Fatimides in particular. Ibn Hawqal was very much inclined towards them, so much so that it is said that he was one of their propagandists. Al-Fārābī in his discussion of "Al-Qalam Wal Lown" seems to speak the language of the Fatimide propagandists(1). He also seems to share their ideas about Tawhīd. It is said about Ibn Sīnā that he belonged to the Ismā'īlite creed. His father was one of the Ismā'īlite propagandists and he was therefore brought up under the influence of their beliefs(2). Similar is the case of Ikhwān-us-Safā who most probably flourished under the Buwaihides, who were inclined towards Shi'ism (3). This Shi'ism has found expression in the Treatises of Ikhwān-us-Safā. Ibn-ul-Haitham was very close to the Fatimide Caliph Al-Hākim Bi Amrillah and lived under his patronage. Abul 'Ulā Al-Mu'arrī was thoroughly influenced by the Shi'ite ideas, which were to be found all around him as the Fatimide influences had extended to Syria and got circulation there, as they had in other areas which surrendered to the Fatimides and even to those which did not. This is why the poetry as well as prose of Abul 'Ulā Al-Mu'arrī is full of the Fatimide beliefs, which were quite in vogue during that age (4). We are also reminded of Ahmad Hamīd-ud-Dīn Al-Kirmānī who was the chief of the Fatimide propaganda in Irāq and Kirman. He was the author of many books on Fatimide philosophy, such as Rāhat-ul-'Aql, Kitāb-ul-Masābīh, Kitāb-ul-Hādī wal Muhtadī, Al-Aqwāl-udh-Dhahabiyyah etc. All these books indicate that Al-Kirmānī was a philosopher of mature thoughts. We may also remember that he was a supporter of religion and one of the leaders in missionary-work. In this

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1. The correct thing to say would be that he spoke the language of the Shi'ites because Al-Fārābī was openly a Shi'ite. Hence Dr. Husain's saying that he seemed to speak like a Shi'ite, is inaccurate.
  2. Ibn Sīnā was a Shi'ite like Al-Fārābī, but the latter was a clear-cut Ja'farite while it cannot be said for sure about Ibn Sīnā whether he was an Ismā'īlite or a Ja'farite.
  3. It is not possible to say, as Dr. Muhammad Kāmil Husain has said here, that the Buwaihides were inclined to Shi'ism; they were rather most thorough Shi'ites.

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4. The poetry of Abul 'Ulā Al-Mu'arrī clearly indicates that Shi'ite tendencies were firmly rooted in him.



way, we can follow on and find that a large number of Muslim philosophers were influenced by Greek philosophy which they coloured with Islamic ideas. They had the credit of presenting such studies to the Muslims. All of them were influenced by the Shi'ite beliefs in general, and by the Fatimides in particular.

In this way, we find that the Fatimides did not overlook philosophy. By philosophy we mean here all those studies which came under philosophy during medieval times and which are covered in the Treatises of *Ikhwân-us-Safâ* i.e. mathematics, music, medicine, astrology, physics, metaphysics, logic and other such studies which the philosophers of that age mastered. A student could not expect to be called a philosopher unless he had studied all these branches. We have also seen how the Fatimide beliefs depended upon reason and knowledge above anything else, and how they distinguished between metaphysics and physics. We should therefore not be surprised to see all these different branches of philosophical studies flourishing during the Fatimide rule and the Fatimides giving them full patronage, not only this but one of the Caliph himself mastered these branches of study and became an excellent scholar.

Probably the most famous mathematician the Fatimide Egypt saw was Abu Ali Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Al-Haitham, about whom Professor Muhammad Ridâ has said, "If we wish to compare Ibn-ul-Haitham with mathematicians of our own age, we would not be exaggerating in saying that his position equals that of Einstein in our times."

Similarly, Professor Mustafâ Nazî remarks about him, "Undoubtedly, Ibn-ul-Haitham changed altogether all old notions and brought forward completely a new study. He disproved old Greek phenomenology and laid the foundations of modern optics, exactly in the same meaning and with the same limits and principles which we know today."

But the fault of Ibn-ul-Haitham was that he lived under the Fatimide rule in Egypt, and therefore, his teachings and his opinions met the same fate to which the Fatimide Egypt was doomed. Every scholar living in the Fatimide Egypt was lost to posterity when his books were burned. This is what happened to Ibn-ul-Haitham and other scholars like him.

During this age in Egypt, there appeared a large number of physicians. Medicine, as we know, was treated at that time as a branch of philosophy. During the Fatimide rule, the discussions and debates of the scholars on medicine increased to a large extent. This was one factor responsible for the progress made in this branch of study. A large number of books was written on medicine. The Fatimide Caliphs honoured physicians and showered upon them various rewards and gifts in addition to what was fixed as their monthly salaries. This brought a large number of physicians to Egypt from various places. Among such was Muhammad Bin Ahmad Sa'îd At-Tamîmî who came from Jerusalem. Another such physician was Abul Faraj Jurjî Bin Yuhanna, otherwise known as Al-Yabrûdî, who had come from Damascus. Abul Hasan Al-Mukhtâr Bin Al-Hasan, or Ibn Butlân Al-Baghdâdî, came from Iraq. There were many others. Among other philosophers who were not physicians and who had come to Egypt from other places was Umayyah Bin Abî Salat Al-Andulusî who, in addition to being a philosopher, was a poet and writer of repute.

Thus we can safely repeat what we have already said that philosophical studies progressed in Egypt during the Fatimide rule in such a manner as may not found in other Islamic territories. Instead, we notice that the non-Fatimide rulers were inclined to treat philosophical studies as heresy, and the scholars who engaged in such studies as apostates. But the Fatimides were broad-minded in their thinking.



Dr. Muhammad Kāmil Husain ends his statement by saying, "Whatever the case may be, this intellectual movement continued its progress in every respect and in every field of study. Its centers in Egypt increased in number. There were study circles or classes in mosques or Houses (of Knowledge) in Cairo, Al-Fistās, Alexandria and Tanīs in the north, and in Aswān, Qaws and other places in the south. Similarly, regional rulers or governors gathered round them poets and scholars. Many a scholar, both in the East as well as the West, learnt from the Fatimide Egypt."

After discussing the literary life during the Fatimide rule, Dr. Husain says, "But this artistic wave which covered the whole area was soon crushed and destroyed by the Ayyubites when they destroyed the legacy of this golden period of Islamic Egypt. Hence, all the best poetry was lost and what remained of it was very little, and rather insipid. Nothing was left except the name of a poet, just by chance, if it was so destined. We do not reiterate our condemnation of the Ayyubites for this crime against the literary history of Egypt, or that they intentionally tried to wipe out all literary traces that could establish any link with the Fatimides. Thus they burned all of their books including the works of poetry."

### Fatimides in defence of Islamic World

Perhaps the most significant feature of this rule was that freedom was given to the people and liberty was given to the minds of men. Man might believe in whatever he would provided that he did not infringe others rights. We have seen how the Fatimides reserved separate pulpits for different Islamic sects, where the scholars expressed their ideas in whatever the manner they wished. We have also noticed how the Fatimides gave patronage to scholars and invited them from anywhere, spending money on them regardless of what they believed in, even though it was against the beliefs of the Fatimides. The history of the Fatimides, from this point of view, is in fact the history of knowledge, literature and philosophy. It is the history of sacred freedom -- freedom of expression. Can there be anything better than this freedom of expression which the Fatimide State allowed and defended? Can there be anything more glorious than the fact that the State itself becomes a general school, spreading knowledge, giving patronage to literature, caring for the scholars and respecting and honouring the philosophers, irrespective of caste and creed?

This was the condition of Egypt during the Fatimide rule, a condition no country or state had ever witnessed. But those who succeeded the Fatimides were just their opposites. They did their utmost to efface and destroy all that had been achieved.

We can appreciate the Fatimides better if we compare the freedom they gave to those who did not belong to their sect, and were against their beliefs, with the freedom given by other states.

We should be surprised if we find even half the amount freedom given by other rulers. As an instance we may consider Mu'āwiyah Bin Abu Sufyān. He sent Sufyān Bin Awf Al-Ghāmidī to Iraq and briefed him with these words, "Kill whomsoever you meet and he holds a different opinion." The scholars who did not believe that the Qurān was created by God were subjected to such sufferings and tortures that even the most ill-informed persons are aware of it. This was in addition to charges of apostasy and heresy, which was an easy method of getting rid of men of thinking and knowledge wherever they were found. Apart from this, there was the military standpoint by which the enemies of the Fatimides tried to distort facts and ensure that the coming generations should not know the truth. But what has reached us is sufficient to conclude that the Fatimides put all their military glory and power at the



service of the Islamic world and its defence, whenever it was menaced by dangers and threats. The Fatimides were able to meet these threats and repel these attacks with their military power -- both the land forces and naval, especially during the rule of Al-Mu'izz Li Dînillah. During his reign, the Byzantian empire was ruled by Nicophore(1) who was very hard on Muslims. He conquered Tartûs, Al-Masaisah, 'Ain Zarbah and other places, and, as Ibn-ul-Athîr says, was set upon conquering the whole Islamic territory. His desires were facilitated by the fact that the Muslim rulers were fighting with one another and thus he ravaged the Islamic lands. His method was to attack small villages, plunder them and devastate them, and then capture them because of their weakness. He gained complete control of the Iraqi and Syrian borders. The Muslims were terrified and were quite convinced that the Byzantians would occupy whole of Syria, Egypt, Al-Jazfrah (Northern Iraq), Diyâr Bakar etc(2). But the armies and the navy of the Fatimides firmly stood against the Byzantians, shattered the hopes of their kings and defeated them.

It is unfortunate that while the Fatimides were facing a more powerful and better equipped enemy just in order to defend the Islamic world, their enemies (of course Muslims,) were signing pacts and siding with that force (the Byzantians) out of their spite for the Fatimides. Here we quote from Târikh Ad-Dawlat-il-Fâtimiyyah by Dr. Hasan Ibrâhîm Hasan. While discussing the book Al-Majâlîs Wal Musâ'irât by An-Nu'mân, Dr. Hasan writes:

An-Nu'mân has more than once dealt with the relations between Al-Mu'izz and the Byzantian Empire. He has also explained and clarified the trust which the Omayyid ruler of Andulus (Spain) Abdur Rehmân An-Nâsir reposed in the Byzantians in his struggle against the Fatimides. He has also very beautifully described what became of the Byzantians and their allies in their battle against the fleet of Al-Mu'izz. He has also referred to the letters which Byzantian chiefs wrote to Al-Mu'izz to arouse his mercy and to pacify him.

For the first time we hear that the Muslims of Crete who were under the Abbâside rule sought help from Al-Mu'izz against the Byzantians.

Through our study of the correspondence which was exchanged between the Muslims of Crete and Al-Mu'izz, we can very well imagine the degree of influence and power the Fatimide state had achieved at that time.

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1. Al-Mutanabbî has very often mentioned Damascus in his poetry while describing Saif-ud-Dawlah's campaigns. In this those who saved the Muslims and Islam from the treachery of Damascus were two Shi'ite states -- the Fatimide and the Hamdânide.

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## 2. Ibn-ul-Athîr

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## THE SHITE STATES

The Fatimide state had achieved at that time,

It is unfortunate that the historians who came after the Fatimides treated indifferently, or completely ignored, the battle the Fatimides led against the Byzantians in order to repel their attacks on Muslim territories and defend the Muslims and Arabs. Not only this, but they also repressed or destroyed what was already written and thus the details were completely lost. Had not there been the poetry of Ibn Hānīf Al-Andalusī in which he has referred to these battles, even their names and memory would have disappeared. But Ibn Hānīf has given only a very brief account of some of them, and these deal with those which took place before the conquest of Egypt, because he was murdered before this took place. The Fatimide power after the conquest of Egypt and Al-Mu'izz's entry into this territory increased a lot, and their battles against their enemies were more fierce and decisive.

The brief outline of the battles referred to here, and which Ibn Hānīf has passed on to us through his poetry gives really a very incomplete picture of the great stand which the Fatimides, and especially Al-Mu'izz, took against the onslaught of the Byzantians over the Muslim territories.

## THE HAMDANIDE STATE

The hero of this state was Ali Bin Hamdān known as Saif-ud-Dawlah. He died in 356 A.H. in Aleppo (Halab) which was his capital. The Syrian author Sāmī Al-Kayyālī has written about Saif-ud-Dawlah Al-Hamdānī:

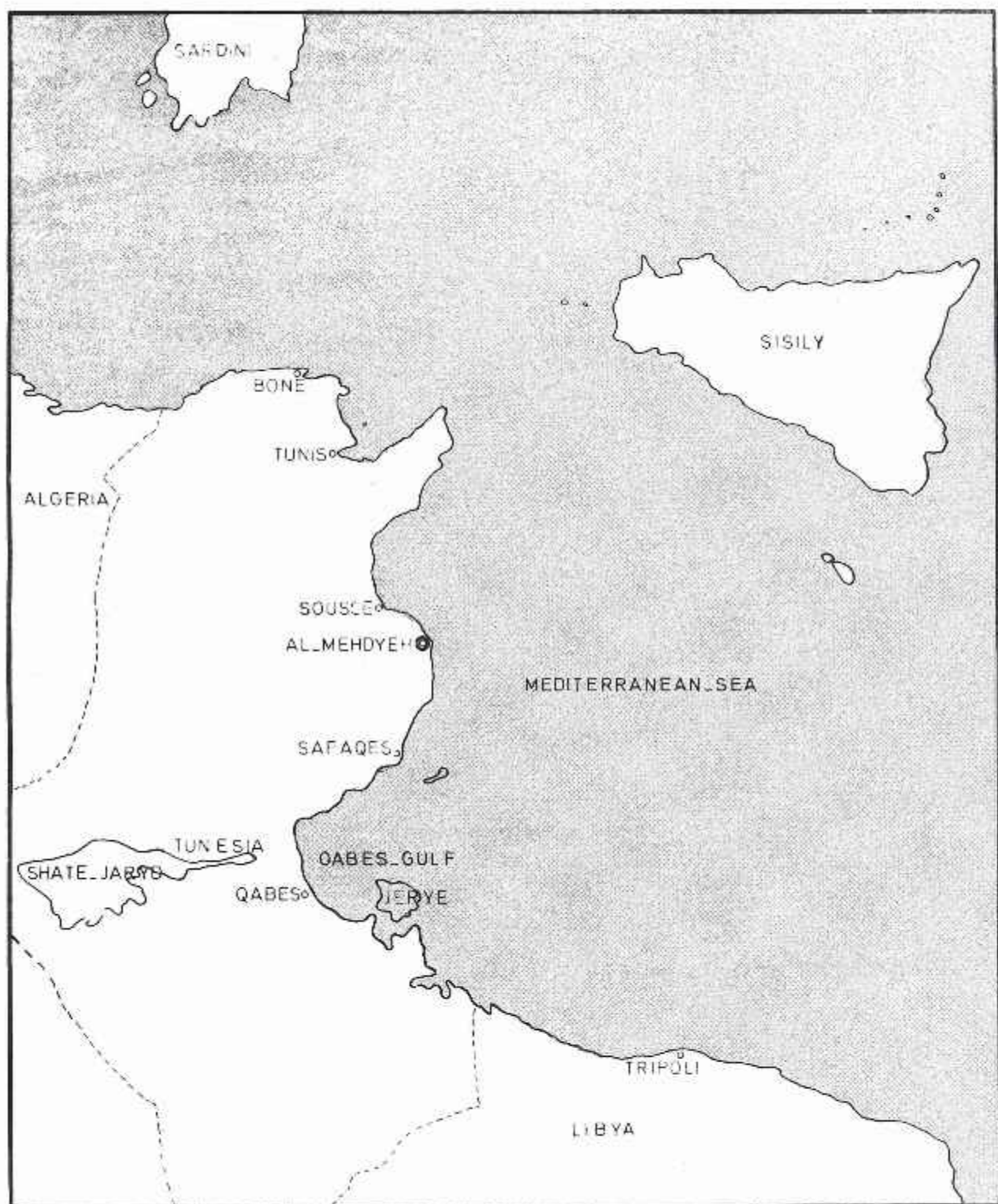
Among the glorious acts of heroism, which played an important part in repelling the Byzantian invasion of the Arab territories, was the bravery of Saif-ud-Dawlah Al-Hamdānī. This great Arab commander stood alone against the onslaught of the armies of the great Byzantian Empire at a time when the Abbāside State was torn within itself and shattered, and was threatened by vested interests from every side.

During this critical period rose Saif-ud-Dawlah to lay the foundations of the Hamdānide state in Aleppo. He used his fort as a stronghold for repelling the Byzantian invasions on his motherland.

His position was very difficult. He organised an army and made it fit for the combat. His foremost concern was to stop the Byzantians from occupying one inch of his country. He took the initiative and pushed the fighting back into the Byzantian territory in order to repel their attacks when they dreamed of re-establishing their supremacy over the Eastern Arabian lands — having sensed that the Abbāside empire was undergoing a split, and was going to end in small principalities always fighting against one another for petty thrones.

Indeed, Saif-ud-Dawlah's mission was of great importance and very dangerous. But he was one of those brave men to whom great and dangerous events look petty and small, despite all their hazards.

Saif-ud-Dawlah fought more than forty battles against the Byzantians, and the advance ranks of his armies reached Anādūl and came almost to Constantinople. His battles have become poetry. If we read the eulogies written by the poets about him and his bravery, we may be astonished to find that they give less attention to praising him than describing the battles he fought. Saif-ud-Dawlah preferred to take the poets along with him to the front so that they might see the battles themselves. Thus, if they described the battles, they would portray the real picture and not wander in imaginary worlds.



A map indicating the location of the city of Al-Mahdiyyah, which was built by 'Ubayd Allah Al-Mahdi, the first of the Fatemite caliphs, as a capital of his nation.





Salambarker says in his book about the Byzantian commander Nichorphagus: "The pages of the history of the Byzantians during the mid-tenth century, and for more than twenty years, i.e. from 945 to 967 A.D., repeat the name of one person again and again, he who is described as a brave man, an untiring and sworn enemy of the Byzantian Empire. This man is named the Prince of Aleppo, Saif-ud-Dawlah Bin Hamdân."

His engagements in the field did not cause this great commander to neglect the creation of an environment suitable for the development of art and letters in Aleppo. He, as Salambarker has said, opened his palace to talented artists and writers who came to him from various places, including Iraq, Iran, Syria, Byzantium, Phoenicia etc. He gave an attentive ear to the poets, loved writers and painters and showered gifts upon historians. All of them returned to their own countries carrying with them a fine picture of the character and personality of this man.

This hero, despite the internal troubles which Akhshîdites created, or risings which the tribal people led against him, was able to repel the repeated attacks of the Byzantians and to protect Syria from being invaded and occupied. Protection of Syria from these invasions meant the protection of the whole Islamic territory, especially Egypt and Iraq. Had the Byzantians captured and occupied Syria, they would penetrate into all other areas.

## THE BUWAIHIDES

The first one among them to establish a kingdom was Ali Bin Buwaih who was given the title of 'Imâd-ud-Dawlah. He established himself as a king (or a Prince) in Shîrâz in 321 A.H. and later on expanded his territory to the remaining parts of Iran and Iraq.

Adam Mitz has said in Islamic Civilisation Vol. I, "The reason for Ali Bin Buwaih's rise was his bravery, his broad-mindedness, his diplomacy and his generosity. He was a man of great qualities. He listened to the people who, in return, gathered around him. In addition to this, the Buwaihides treated prisoners very kindly. They used to grant them amnesty and provide them with their needs. Their enemies, on the other hand, put their prisoners in chains and devised other methods of leading them through the cities. When Ali Bin Buwaih defeated his enemies, who had all these instruments of torture with them, he changed punishment to pardon and amnesty and refrained from cruelty.

Ibn-ul-Athîr has said while writing about the event of the year 322 A.H., "When Ali captured Shîrâz, he proclaimed a general amnesty for people and announced that justice would be given to all." It is found in the footnotes of Ibn-ul-Athîr that Ali Bin Buwaih died in Shîrâz at the age of 57 years, and was considered to be one of the most noble and benevolent kings of his time.

While writing about the events of the year 356 A.H., Ibn-ul-Athîr says about Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah: "In this year, Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah started building Mârîstan (hospital) and created a vast trust for it. He distributed much of his property among the needy, gave freedom to his slaves and spent a lot of money on his friends. He was very tolerant, generous and wise."

Adam Mitz writes about Rukn-ud-Dawlah (I): "As for Rukn-ud-Dawlah, he was very gentle and considerate, was very generous, knew how to deal with his subjects



## THE SH'ITE STATE

and his army, was very kind to them, and always refrained from acts of injustice and cruelty and also urged upon his companions to do likewise. Historians have praised him greatly for his sense of justice and his generosity."

Ibn-ul-Athîr says, "Rukn-ud-Dawlah was gentle and considerate. He was very generous and always refrained from injustice. He avoided bloodshed and engaged in it only when there was no other alternative. He would supply daily needs to the indigent in order to save them from begging. He spent large sums of money in alms and was very kind-hearted towards every one. May God be pleased with him and he may please God. His period was good age, and he commanded the love and respect of the people."

According to the author of *An-Nujûm-uz-Zâhirah*, Jalâl-ud-Dawlah was a king who was loved by his subjects. He was of a fine character and in turn loved pious people very much.

In order to emphasize how much respect the Buwaihides had for freedom of expression, we would like to quote this incident which Ibn-ul-Athîr has narrated while giving an account of the event in the year 429 A.H. Briefly, what Ibn-ul-Athîr has written is that the Jurist Abul Hasan Al-Mâwardî expressed his opinion that it was not permissible for Jalâl-ud-Dawlah to affix and use the title of Malik-ul-Mulûk (King of the kings) with his name, while all other jurists agreed on its being permissible. Al-Mâwardî was very dear and close to Jalâl-ud-Dawlah who ranked him above others. After giving this verdict, Al-Mâwardî cut off his relations with Jalâl-ud-Dawlah and closed himself in his house in fear. The same day Jalâl-ud-Dawlah summoned him. Al-Mâwardî went but was certain about his death. Jalâl-ud-Dawlah instead respected him and received him with great ceremony, and said to him, "I know what you have said or done is inspired by your sense of truth and your seeking the pleasure of God. You are therefore dearer to me than all others."

Sayyid Amîr Ali remarks about the Buwaihides, (1) "The Buwaihides encouraged literary activities. They gave support to the School of Baghdâd (2) which had deteriorated during the weakening of the Caliphate. They ordered new canals to be dug and made fit for navigation up to the city of Shîrâz, and thus they managed to check periodic floods which previously used to inundate those areas. Similarly, 'Izz-ud-Dawlah set up a grand hospital as well as a number of colleges in Baghdâd."

Al-Ghanâwî has written in his book "*Al-Adab Fi Zilli Banî Buwaih*": "The Buwaihide period is distinguished by its literary and scholarly activities which resulted either due to the personal influence of the Buwaihide kings, or their ministers, because they always appointed prominent writers and scholars as their ministers. They depended upon such ministers in matters relating to wars, political affairs, administration, revenue etc. Their names therefore shone, their prestige enhanced and their fame spread throughout the world. Scholars and writers flocked to them and got benefit from them. They in return produced a lot in the fields of literature, philosophy and knowledge and had very deep influence on the life and environment around them."

The most prominent personality of the Buwaihide period is 'Aḍad-ud-Dawlah, about whom Adam Mitz writes in his book "*Islamic Civilisation during the Fourth Century after Hijrah*" (3)

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1. A Short History of Saracens

2. This is despite the fact that the basic aim of this school was to fight Shi'ism. See History of Muslim Education by Dr. Ahmad Shalaby (Beirut, 1954)

3. Translated into Arabic by Muhammad Abdul Hâdî Abi Rîdah.



"Adad-ud-Dawlah presented a true picture of a ruler as he should be. He was careful to be informed of all happenings with the least delay, which is necessary to one who wants to rule over a large territory in the real sense of the word. News was exchanged between Shirāz and Baghdād within a week, or in other words the men carrying the news covered a distance of more than 150 kilometers per day.

The roads were free from the thieves and robbers during this period.

Order was restored to the Arabian peninsula as well as to the Kirmān desert where conditions were previously frightful. The people used to have to pay taxes for the Hajj caravans but these taxes were withdrawn. Peace was restored. Hajj-guides were appointed and wells were sunk for these caravans as well as new springs were unearthed. A rampart was erected round the city of Al-Madinah. Orders were issued for building houses in Baghdād and repairs of its road. The work was started with the renovation of the big mosques which were in a very dilapidated condition. Those which had very weak foundations were pulled down and erected anew. All house-owners were asked to repair their houses and, those who were short of money, were given loans from "Bait-ul-Mâl". Thus during this age, deserted places were covered with flowers, vegetation and houses where previously they had been the refuge dogs and full of filth. Cuttings were brought from Fars and other places for transplantation in these areas.

Canals in Baghdād were buried under earth. Orders were therefore given to dig out those canals, and build bridges over them. In this way much sound work was done. The people from the deserts were brought in to inhabit and cultivate the waste-lands. This was all despite the fact that Iraq was not the center of the government. This was Fars.

A cloth-market was built in Baghdād and varieties of material were brought to this market which were not available before. A big hospital was built. Orders were issued for payment of regular salaries to the persons serving in the mosques, to those who gave "adhān", to those who led the prayers and the reciters of the Quran. Money was set aside to be distributed among the needy. This generosity was not only restricted to Muslims but the non-Muslims also had their share of it. Help was given for building of synagogues for the Jews and monasteries for the Christians. Monetary help was available for all including the non-Muslims.

Adad-ud-Dawlah used to spend ten thousand dirhams every Friday on gifts to the poor. Every year he spent three thousand dīnārs shoes for those who walked down to perform Hajj. Similarly, twenty thousand dirhams were spent by him every month for the burial of the poor. He had three thousand mosques repaired or renovated as well as a number of lodges for the poor and needy. There was no stream of running water without a village built near it. He spent 100,000 dīnārs every year on the people of Mecca and Madīnah and the streets etc. of these cities. He also spent a lot on setting up factories, cleaning the wells and on payment to the people living by the road-sides in return for the help they rendered to travellers.

He liked scholars and their scholarly activities. He ordered payment of pensions to jurists, Traditionalists, cholastics, exegesists, grammarians, poets, genealogists, physicians, mathematicians and engineers. He selected specialists from among the scholars and philosophers and gave them prominent positions in his audiences. He also established a library which contained all the books which had been written up to that time on various branches of knowledge.



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Here is a citation from the book "Al-Kunâ Wal Alqâb" about 'Adad-ud-Dawlah:

'Adad-ud-Dawlah used to pay great respect to Ash-Shaikh Al-Muffid. Many a scholar wrote books in dedication to him while a large number of poets wrote eulogies to him in which they praised him greatly. These included Abu Tâlib Al-Mutanabbî.

One of the many things which remind us of him is the renovation of the Mausoleum of Amîr - ul-Mu'mînîm Imam Ali Bin Abi Tâlib. He made a will to be buried there and was therefore laid to rest near it. The epitaph on the grave reads: "This is the grave of 'Adad-ud-Dawlah, Tâj-ul-Millâh Abi Shujâ' Bin Rukan-ud-Dawlah. He wished to be buried near this pious infallible Imam out of his desire for salvation on the Day to come when every soul shall struggle for its own self. Peace of His be on Muhammad and his pious descendants."

All these great works which have been referred to above were accomplished in a very short period of time as he died before he reached the fiftieth year of his life.

Baghdâd During the Buwaihide Period

Professor Tâhâ Ar-Râqî has written in his treatise on Baghdâd as follows:

During the Buwaihide period, the literary and intellectual activities reached their peak. A large number of exegetists, traditionalists, jurists, scholastics, historians, writers, poets and pillars of Arabic studies and masters of the truths of creation flourished during this age. Some of the Buwaihide kings contributed their share in the shape of buildings, while others showered favours on those who excelled in intellectual and literary fields. During their regime, Abul Fadl Bin Al-'Amîd, his son Abul Fateh and Sâhib Bin 'Ibâd took over as ministers in Iran. The ministry in Baghdâd went to Abu Muhammad Al-Muhallabî who is well-known for his generosity shown towards men of letters and scholars.

## BANU 'AMÂR

This Shi'ite family ruled over Tripoli (Lebanon) and changed it into a beacon of knowledge, literature and Jihâd. One member of this family was Al-Hasan Bin 'Ammâr, about whom the encyclopaedia of Islam says:

As was Aleppo a centre of poetry during the reign of Saif-ud-Dawlah, so was Tripoli during the period of Al-Hasan Bin 'Ammâr. The city developed during his rule and became a center of intellectual life in Syrian territory. He established a big school with a library attached to it.

The magazine "Ath-Thaqâfah" writes about the library mentioned in the above quotation:

Because of this library, knowledge spread throughout the city so that historians say that Tripoli on the whole had become a Dâr-ul-'Ilm. In this library were employed 180 persons who had nothing to do except the preparing copies of books, or buying books to be placed there. Most of the

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1. Here the term 'minister' actually means viceroy and not what we understand by it nowadays.



credit for it, or rather whole of it, goes to Abi Tâlib Al-Hasan Bin Ammâr.

This apart, the field in which this family contributed most was their participation in jihâd (holy war). The champion in this field was 'Ammâr Bin Muhammad Bin 'Ammâr who was known as Malik-us-Sâhil (King of the Coast). He bravely halted repeated invasions by the Crusaders on Tripoli for more than five years.

During these days, Sanjil the Frank, captured Byblos and erected a fortress on way to Tripoli as well as watch towers. Hearing this Fakhr-ul-Malik came along with three hundred horsemen from Tripoli and burnt down its ramparts. Sanjil stood on some of its burnt golden roofs with his companions, and became disheartened on looking at that scene. Soon after he fell ill and died.

The poet Ibn-ul-Khayyât praised Ammar and wrote a number of eulogies dedicated to him.

When Ammâr saw that the Crusaders were increasing in numbers and power, and that danger was increasing against his country. He saw that he not able to stop these invasions any longer. He had withstood them for five years and this had told upon his forces and disheartened his armies, so he decided to seek help from the Caliph in Baghdâd. He therefore sent an immediate appeal to Baghdâd, but was frustrated in this attempt because Baghdâd was ruled by the Saljûqs at that time, and they did not care about what was happening in Tripoli. They therefore let Tripoli fight its own battle and meet its fate alone. Fakhr-ul-Malik 'Ammâr came back to Tripoli to participate in its fate and continued fighting heroically. In the end he was unable to stand against the onslaught of the Crusaders who were pouring in from every direction. Tripoli fell to the Crusaders in the year 503 A.H.

## BANU MARDÂS

Banu Mardâs set up their government at the disintegration of the Hamdânite state. Byzantians were still threatening the whole Islamic world. This new state therefore followed the policy of the Hamdânies in every respect, in their national spirit, in their bravery and heroism, in their love for art and literature. The circumstances made the Mardâsides face the same conditions and act in the same way as the Hamdânides had and did.

The founder of this state in Aleppo was Sâleh Bin Mardâs who became a king in 414 A.H. and adopted the title of Asad-ud-Dawlah. His territory included Ba'back, Homs, Saida, Aleppo, Manbij, Balis, Ar-Riqqah, Ar-Rahbah extending upto 'Aanah. This means it included the whole Syrian portion of the valley of the Euphrates.

As to the founder of this state, Sâleh, he has been portrayed by tradition as a hero who spent his time on battlefields and when there was peace, nothing could move him as did poetry and no one except writers gave him company.

The details of the heroic stand of the Mardâsides have been lost except for a very brief outline. But even this outline is bright enough to let us appreciate how they repelled the attacks and protected their cities and how they firmly stood to save that part of the Islamic territory which was in their hands. One incident will show us the danger that was hanging over Syria and how the Mardâsides were equal to that danger.

In the year 421 A.H., that is one year after the death of Sâleh, the Byzantine king Armanus reached Aleppo in the company of the kings Russia, Bulgaria, Germany, Belgium, Armenia and Georgia, as historians have told. They had an army of 600,000. Nasr Bin Sâleh stopped this invasion and stood against the onslaught until he defeated this huge army and drove it out. Many of the European princes were taken prisoners and a large amount of booty fell to the Muslims.



## THE SH'ITE STATES

This is considered to be one of the most decisive battles of Islamic history. Very few instances are known when such an army was mobilized and such terrible force was gathered. To think of 600,000 warriors is an astonishing thing at that time, especially when hurled against a newly formed small state like that of the Mardāsides. It was not possible for the Mardāsides State to survive longer than it did under the existing circumstances, and in that period of perpetual turmoil, the state disappeared, but the tribe which this state is named after did not disappear from the pages of history. They remained heroes of Islamic battles under the name Banu Kilāb. It is sufficient to give the reader this citation from Al-Qalqashandī from the fourth volume of Subh-ul-A'shā, saying, "They were Bedouins living around Aleppo. They had many adventures and attacks against the Byzantians and were the bravest of the Bedouins."

The people of this tribe remained famous as brave horsemen under the leadership of Mardāsides until the beginning of the Crusades, when the whole Islamic world was pushed into these wars. They joined the wars against the Crusaders under the leadership of Waththāb Bin Muhammad Bin Nasr Bin Sāleh Bin Mardās in 491 A.H.

## THE IDRISIDES

Idrīs Bin Abdullah Bin Al-Hasan Al-Muthannā Bin Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Abi Tālib escaped from the massacre of Fakh and reached Al-Maghrib, the details of which are given in accounts his life. He stayed in the town of Walaila with its chief, Ishāque Bin Muhammad Bin Abdīl Hamīd Al-Urbī. This happened on the first of Rabī' -ul-Awwal 172 A.H. It was the beginning of the Idriside-Alawide State of Al-Maghrib.

During the reign of the aforementioned Idrīs I, a huge army was organised for the state which conquered all the surrounding areas up to the farthest parts of Al-Maghrib, especially those where Islam had not yet reached like Kabād (Tādīā), the forts of Fandlāwah, Madyūtah, Bahlūlah, Ghiyāthah, Fāzār etc. He further advanced and conquered the areas which are known as Al-Maghrib Al-Awsat.

In this way he was able to establish his rule and maintain it and set the laws of government. But he died suddenly of poison and was succeeded by his son Idrīs Bin Idrīs. What he did and achieved is given in detail in his life story. In brief, this state continued to grow stronger day by day and Idrīs II became the accepted ruler of Al-Maghrib. His power increased and his armies and followers grew in members. His reign is distinguished by the fact that he did not concentrate on Berbers alone, but Arabs from Africa (modern Egypt and Eastern Libya) also came to him to join him, e.g. people from Banu Qais, Banu Azd, Banu Mudhhiq, Banu Yahsab, Banu Sadaf etc. They became his ministers and judges. Now the capital of the state Walailā became too small to fulfil the needs of a developing state. Idrīs II therefore built a new capital and named it Fās. Then he expanded his territory and conquered the cities of Naffs and Aghmāt as well as surrounding areas. The Kharjite propaganda was very much prevalent among the Berbers at that time. He dealt with this and subdued it. Then he took away Morocco and Algiers from the Abbasides, extending from Sūs to the valley of Shalaf.

He died after a rule of 36 years. His kingdom was settled and his Imamate firmly established.

He was succeeded by his son Muhammad Bin Idrīs who had 11 brothers. He therefore distributed the whole territory among his brothers and made them his viceroys in those regions. He himself remained in Fās. The author of Al-Istiqsā says,



"They controlled the official, guarded and borders, protected its roads and they were envied for their character."

But the distribution of the territory among the brothers did not prove fruitful. Muhammad took that step to give an equal share to his brothers and let them participate in ruling so that benefit might result from competition. But the result was quite different from what he had desired. There arose troubles among them which sometimes led to fighting. On the death Muhammad Bin Idrīs, his son Ali Bin Muhammad known as Haidarah came to throne. According to the author of *Al-Istiqsā`* his period was the best. Ibn Abi Zara' says about him that he acted in the ways of his father and grandfather, adhering to justice, and therefore the people lived in his age in peace and order.

He was succeeded by his brother Yahyā Bin Muhammad about whom Ibn Khaldūn says, "His authority extended, his state became grand, his reign became good. The city of Fās developed. Many public baths and hotels for merchants were built in the city. Outside the city, many buildings were erected to which people from far off areas came to live." Similarly Ibn Abi Zara' says, "People from Andulus, Africa and different parts of Al-Maghrib came to this city." During his reign the Mosque of Al-Qarwiyyīn was built in the city of Fās.

He was succeeded by Yahyā Bin Yahyā (his son), Ali Bin Umar Bin Idrīs, Yahyā Bin Al-Qāsim Bin Idrīs, Yahyā Bin Idrīs Bin Umar Bin Idrīs one after the other. The author of *Al-Istiqsā`* says about him that he was the link between the members of Idrīs family. He had the most prominent position among them and was the most famous. He was also more just than any of them, more qualified and had wider authority. He was a jurist and had memorized a large number of traditions. He was an eloquent conversationalist, brave patient, considerate and very religious and pious. Ibn Khaldūn remarks that none among the Idrisides reached his glory in respect of territory or authority.

The Idriside State was merged into the Fatimides when their first Caliph Ubaidullah Al-Mehdi appeared. His commander advanced towards Fās in 503 A.H. and laid siege to it until the Idriside king Yahyā agreed to take the oath of fealty to the Fatimide Caliph.

#### Idrisides in Al-Maghrib

Cidiuea has said in his book on the History of Arabs, "The Idrisides remained in possession of the territory they had captured from 803 to 949 A.D.

They founded the city of Fās the Mosque of which became the most sacred monument for all the people living in the surrounding areas. It became well known within a very short span of time. The city contained a large number of schools and libraries which carried on the work started by the Abbāsides in the form of literary and intellectual movement in the East. This city therefore became a huge store-house (of knowledge) among the Arabs of Spain and those of Africa.

It is a fact that the establishment of the Idriside State in Al-Maghrib led to great consequences. Due to the efforts of the Idrisides Islam spread to every part of Al-Maghrib. (1) Through their efforts, literary and intellectual movements started there and schools and libraries were set up. Urbanisation increased and cities were founded which led to the development of civilisation and growth of culture.

Had it not been for the difficult conditions they had to face, which limited their activities and paralysed their efforts, they would have been much more than what they appear to us now.

The most glorious work which the Idrisides did was that Islam spread among the



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Berbers through their efforts and became firmly rooted among them, so much so that they became the staunchest among the tribes of Al-Maghrib in the defence of Islam. Most of them had been non-Muslims, the reason being that the Muslim conquerors before Idrisides gave them a bad treatment. When Idris I reached there, stayed among them, married a Berber woman who gave birth to many children, the Berbers and their grandchildren became amalgamated. This fact — the unification of the Berbers and grandchildren of Idris I — is borne out by more than one historian. They thus became one with the Berbers and worked for Islam in those areas, and consequently founded two famous Islamic States in Al-Maghrib. (2)

One of the most important factors which helped the Idrisides succeed in their mission to convert the Berbers to Islam was the treatment meted out to them by the Omayyid and Abbâside rulers, which was nothing but extreme cruelty and injustice that negated the spirit of Islam and presented it in the darkest colours. This was the reason why the whole territory of Al-Maghrib — far (3) middle (4) and near - (5) always remained in a continuous state of rebellion that could never be settled. The freedom-lovers of that area were always in search of someone who could be one with them. Most of them supported the Kharjites and joined them in revolts against the government. The Omayyids as well as the Abbâside ruled over these areas with cruelty and treated the people, including the Berbers, very badly, which made them shun Islam and time and again rise in revolt against the rulers. This is just the opposite of what some historian write. As evidence we would like to refer to one incident which to support us. Yazid Bin Abi Muslim Dînâr was a freed-slave of Hajjâj Ath-Thaqaffi who had made him his secretary and commander of the police. During the reign of Yazid Bin Abdul Malik, he was appointed as viceroy in Al-Maghrib. He followed the policy of Hajjâj in that area. One action by Hajjâj was that he would levy Jizya on those who had become Muslims and order them to go straight back to their villages just as they had been before their conversion to Islam.

Yazid Bin Muslim tried to do exactly like Hajjâj and impose his policy on Berbers. But Berbers did not long remain patient over this and made a plan to kill him, in which they succeeded. (6) Similarly during the reign of Hishâm Bin Abdul Malik, the governor of Tanjah was Umar Bin Abdullah Al-Murâdî.

Thus the Berbers started hating and turning away from Muslims, and they thought they were being exploited by the Arabs. (7)

All the governors appointed by the Omayyids and the Abbâside angered the Berbers on account of their unjust demands. One example of such demands is that these officials liked honey-coloured skins and went to extremes in acquiring and collecting them. Sometimes a whole herd of sheep was slaughtered just to get the skins of unborn lambs. The author of Al-Istiqa'sâ says, "They appropriated the property of the Berbers to such an extent that eventually the latter got together to resist such action."

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1. The author of Al-Istiqa'sâ says about Idris I that, when he marched towards the Berbers, most of them were non-Muslims and turned to Islam through the efforts of Idris I.

2. Ash-Shabîbî cited by Ibn-ul-Fûtî

3. Modern Morocco.

4. Al-Jazâ'ir (Algiers).

5. Tunis.

6. At-Tabarî

7. Al-Istiqa'sâ Li Akhbâr-i-Duwal-il-Maghrib-il-Aqsâ.



The honey-coloured skins form just one example of the way the rulers exploited the people in Al-Maghrib and made extravagant demands on them.

When Idrīs I established the Idriside State in Al-Maghrib, the Berbers came to know for the first time the real Islam, and not what was represented by those tyrants. They realized that Islam was for justice, tolerance and mercy. They therefore joined its ranks in increasing numbers through the efforts of the Idrisides, who were the descendents of Muhammad and Ali.

These Berber tribes succeeded the Idrisides in Morocco and what was left of the Muslims from Spain and established states other than that of the Berbers, such as Mu'ahhidīn, Bani Marīn, and Al-Murābitah. Some of these Berber states are famous for their stand in defence of Islam in Spain, and against the European tyrants ruling over the western area.

These Berbers have inherited their love and devotion for Ahl Bait which is manifested even in our own time. Many families of the Alawides, belonging to different groups, are still living in Al-Maghrib and enjoy the respect of the people in general. (1)

#### Idrisides Love for Knowledge.

There can hardly be a scholar or a student working in the field of geography who does not know Ash-Sharīf Al-Idrīsī, (?), the author of "Nazhat-ul-Mushtāque Fi Ikhtirāq-il-Aafāq", which is considered to be the best work on geography written by Muslims. Al-Idrīsī also made a famous map which has been published with Arabic titles as well as Latin.

He is also known as Ash-Sharīf As-Saqillī because he lived in Sīqliyyah (Sicily). He is also called Al-Qurtabī because of the fact that he had studied in Al-Qurtabah (Cordova) and attached himself to Roger the Great, who was the ruler of Cordova and who established a vast kingdom in Sicily which included many islands near it, after the Fatimidies and Banu Aghlah had lost their power. This king fostered the good qualities of the Muslims and their scholars in order to benefit from their knowledge. One example is Ash-Sharīf Al-Idrīsī.

The Idrīsides, called by the name of 'the Family of As-Saqallī, specialized in medicine. They lived in what is now known as Tunis. They passed this knowledge on down through their generations. Most of them are the descendants of Ash-Sharīf Al-Idrīsī. This family of the Idrīsides originally belonged to Sabtah, from whence they migrated to Morocco. Some of them migrated to Sicily and others to Tunis and other parts of the territory which was then known as Al-Maghrib.

Apart from the book already mentioned, Al-Idrīsī wrote another scientific book on botany and named it "Jāme' Ashtāt-in-Nabāt." In this book he has collected the names of different plants in various languages, the number being enormous, both Eastern and Western. From this book, we can conclude that Al-Idrīsī was well-versed in botany, natural sciences and medicine even more than in his knowledge of geography. This book indicates the depth of his knowledge and keenness of his research. It is counted among rare manuscripts.

Besides, Ash-Sharīf Al-Idrīsī was also a traveller who had ventured far and wide in the East as well as in the West, as is evidenced by his writings. He was also a poet of great prominence. 13

1. Ash-Shabībī as quoted by Ibn Fūtf.

2. His full name is Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Al-Idrīsī. He was born in 493 A.

His year of death is not known.

3. *ibid.*



Shi'ite countries and their number.

Idrisides History yet to be written

Dr. Husain Mūnis says, "The Idriside state still needs someone to write its history and define its role in the development of Al-Maghrib. Till now, the authors on Islamic History count this state among small kingdoms which rose up at the disintegration of Al-Maghrib in the mid-second century after Hijrah. They treat it as they do the kingdoms of Banu Aghlab or Banu Rustum, and even at par with that Banu Madrār. During this hurried and modest exposition, they fail to discuss how this state reserved a place for Islam and Arabism in Al-Maghrib, and to show the great role it played in extending Islam's message to Morocco and Algiers, as well as how they put an end to foreign intrusions which were crushing this area during the last decade of the first century of Hijrah. They do not show what efforts its rulers made in laying the foundations of Islam in this area in the real sense of the word, stamping it permanently with Arabic colour and giving the area the Arabic language and culture. Due to the good offices of the Idrisides, this country became an invincible fortress of Islam on the Western flank."

## THE MAZĪDITE STATE

This was an Arab-Shi'ite state which rose in Iraq. Al-'Imād Al-Asfahānī says about its rulers: "They were Arabs, belonging to Banu Mazfd from the Asadite tribe. They established themselves by the strength of their swords on the banks of Euphrates. They were the refuge of those who were in need of it, the shelter for the hopeful, the helpers of those who sought help and the supporters of the weak. People with hopes were attracted towards them, and scholars found needed money with them. What they did in spending on good causes is well known, and talk of their generosity common. Sadaqah (1) shook with emotion and pride when he listened to poetry and set aside for the poet a special part of his generosity. He was always ready to listen to the requests of people and very generous in giving them what they needed.

## SHI'ITE COUNTRIES AND THEIR NUMBER.

The Shi'ism continued expanding and contracting, increasing and decreasing, and rising and falling depending upon the persecutions and tyrannical attitudes of different governments, so much so that their total number in the world to-day comes up to a quarter of the total Muslim population. Presently they are found in Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Masqat, Umman, Soviet Union, Syria, Lebanon, Afghanistan, India, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Singapore, East Africa, Somaliland, Albania, Turkey, Hijaz, Yemen and a number of other territories.

**Pakistan.**

1. His full name is Sadaqah Bin Mangūr Bin Dabīs Al-Asadī known as Saif-ud-Dawlah. He is the most prominent ruler from among Banu Mazfd.

## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN THE FIELD OF LETTERS

The present section very briefly mentions various Shi'ite scholars, poets and writers in different fields of Islamic studies in various periods. This is just an indication to the fact that Shi'ites took the lead in the fields of art and letters over all other Muslims and this lead started right from the time of the Prophet and of the Companions.

The detailed accounts will be given in latter chapters which relate to the lives and works of these Shi'ite scholars and writers. In the present chapter we are just touching upon the subject in order to show what Shi'ites have done and what pains they have taken in seeking knowledge and disseminating it, through compiling and writing books in every age whether it was easy or difficult; whether it was an age of persecution or relative calm; whether it was an age trembling with fears and threat or an age of peace. This activity of the Shi'ites has been on since the early period of Islam right upto our own age. The percentage of the writers and scholars among the Shi'ites has been the highest among the Muslims keeping in view their number. Shaikh Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Hassan At-Tusi, who is usually known as Shaikh Tusi, has written in the preface of his book *Fahrist Asmâi Musannifish Shi'ah*, "It (that is Al-Fahrist), tells about the number of books and informs about good value of men, but I donot guarantee that I have succeeded in including every one because the books written by our friends cannot be brought to record, on account the fact that our friends have spread in various countries of the world to its extreme ends."

The Shi'ite scholars have written books about all the fields of Islamic studies and no one took lead from them in this matter.

Shi'ite scholars were the first to write books in Islam.

According to Al-Ghazzali the first book to be written in Islam was that of Ibn Jarir. Then came *Huruf-ut-Tafasir* by Mujahid and 'Ata' in Mecca. This was followed by that Mu'mir Bin Rashid As-San'ani in Mecca, followed by Mu'ta' of Malik written in Madinah and then *Jame'* of Sufyan Ath-Thawri. According to Adh-Dhahabi, Tadhkiratul-Huffaz, the first person to write a book in Islam was Ibn Jarir.

You will soon know As-Suyuti's statement that the first person to write a book on Jurisprudence after the first one hundred years of Islamic history, was Abu Hanifah, but Ibn Shahr Ashub, after quoting Al-Ghazzali's statement, says that the first person to become an author in Islam was Ali Bin Abi Talib. He was followed by Salmân-Al-Farsi, then Abu Dhar, then Al-Asbagh Bin Nabatah, followed by Abdullah Bin Abi Rafe' after whose book, came *As-Sahifah Al-Kamilah*. An-Najashi has said in the beginning of his book related to the Shi'ite writers, "I shall mention here the names of our noble predecessors who were the first to write book in the early age. They are a few name." Then he writes about the first group and the foremost and enumerates them as follows:

- 1)- Abu Rafe' who was a freed slave of the Prophet and his two sons — Ubatdullah and Ali who were clerks of Ali Bin Abi Talib; (These three will be discussed later on.)
- ii) Rabi'ah Bin Sam'a who reported through Amir-ul-Mu'minin and has a book about the Zakat of wind-falls;



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

- iii) Salmân Bin Qais Al-Hilâlî — He has a book, which he documents on the authority of Ali;
- iv) Al-Asbagh Ibn Nabâtah Al-Majâsha'a who was a very trusted friend of Ali Bin Abi Talib and lived after his death. His promise to Al-Ashtar and his will to his son Muhammad is reported from him.
- v) Abûcullah Bin Al-Hurr Al-Ja'fi Al-Fâris ul-Fâtik. He had a booklet which he reported from Ali Bin Abi Talib.

An-Najâshi has neither told who was the first among these writers nor has he mentioned the order in which these names should come, as Ibn Shahr Ashub has done. To decide who came first among the Shi'ite or non-Shi'ite writers in time, we have to depend upon the dates of their deaths. Insofar as non-Shi'ites are concerned, Mujâhid died in 101 A.H., at the earliest and 104 A.H., at the latest. Similarly the date of the death of Atâ' falls between 110 and 114 A.H., Ibn Jarîr and Imam Abu Hanifah died in 150 A.H., Mu'mir Ibn Râshid died between 157 and 154 A.H., Sufyân Ath-Thawri died in 161 A.H., while the date of the death of Imam Mâlik is 179 A.H.

Now looking at the dates of the deaths of the Shi'ite writers, we come to know that Salmân died in 36 A.H. or 37 A.H. It is also said that he died before 34 A.H. The date of the death of Abu Dhar is said to be either 31 or 34 A.H. Al-Asbagh was a contemporary of Amirul-Mu'mimîn who passed away in 40 A.H. Abu Râfe' died during the reign of Uthmân. According to another version he died during the reign of Ali Bin Abi Talib. His sons Ubaidallah and Ali both were clerks to Ali Bin Abi Talib. Rabi'ah Bin Sami'a was a friend of Ali Bin Abi Talib. Salmân Bin Qais died when Hajjâj was governor of Iraq around 90 A.H. Reports have taken from As'agh by Muhammad Bin As-Sâ'ib Al-Kalabi who died in 166 A.H. Similarly Ubaidullah Bin Al-Harirawi reports directly from Ali Bin Abi Talib. These dates clearly show that all these pioneer Shi'ite writers died practically in the first century after the Hijrah. Asbagh has been counted in the middle of them but in fact had taken lead over all others. But all the non-Shi'ite writers mentioned above died in the second century of Hijrah. This shows that the foremost to write a book in Islam, including the field of Jurisprudence, were the Shi'ite scholars. As to their adherence to the Shi'ite creed, we have to say that Abu Râfe', according to An-Najâshi who based his conclusion on the reports of Muhammad Bin Ja'far Al Adî (who got his information from Ahmad Bin Muhammad Ibn Sa'îd in his history), that Abu Râfe' became a Muslim in the very early period in Mecca. He migrated to Madinah and remained with the Prophet on all occasions and after the death of the Prophet he adhered to Ali. He was one of the select Shi'ites. He participated in all the battles on the side of Ali and was in charge of his treasury in Kufah. An-Najâshi says, "When Ali was proclaimed as the Caliph and Mu'âwiyah opposed him in Syria while Talhah and Zubair turned away to Basra, Abu Rafe' used to repeat these words of the Prophet, "There will be people fighting against Ali who will be such that God ought to fight them." He sold his land in Khyber and joined the army of Ali. At that time he was an old man of 85 years. He said, "Praise be to Allah that I have reached a stage where none can compete with me. I took oaths of fealty to the Prophet twice — one Oath of Aqabah and the other of Bad'ah — and migrated thrice — once with Ja'far to Ethiopia, second time with the Prophet to Madinah and now third time with Ali Bin Abi Talib to Kû'fa." He remained with Ali till the latter was martyred. Then he came back to Madinah with Al-Hasan." An-Najâshi has further said that there is book to the credit of Abu Râfe', named As-Sunun Wal-Ahkâm Wal-Qadâya. As to Ali Bin Abi Râfe', An-Najâshi has written about him, after mentioning the book of Abu Rafe', "There is another book written by the son Abu Râfe', whose name was Ali Bin Abi Râfe'. He was a Tâbi'î, a select Shi'ite, a



companion of Amirul-Mu'minîn and his clerk. He collected and remembered a lot and compiled a book relating to the method of ablution, prayers and other connected things. In Al-Fahrist, he says, "There is a book written by Ubaidullah Bin Abi Râfe' relating to those companions of the Prophet who participated in Battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nehrwan on the side of Ali. He was one of the companions of the Prophet. Umar Bin Muhammad says that Musa Bin Abdullah Bin Al-Hasan told him through his father that he wrote this book written by Ubaidullah Bin Abi Râfe'. They used to have a great regard for this book and used to teach it to others.

You shall come to know during our discussion of the Shi'ite compilers of the Traditions, that the ancient Shi'ites who were contemporaries of the Twelve Imams, right from the time of Amirul Mu'minîn to Imam Hasan Al-Askari compiled more than 6600 books containing the Traditions of the Prophet reported through the Ahl Bait.

This was the product of 150 years. Out of these 6600 books 400 books were known for their treatment of Uṣūl. Then earlier Shi'ite writers of the 4th and 5th centuries compiled four selected volumes based upon the aforementioned books. These volumes exclusively dealt with Jurisprudence. The total number of pages in these four volumes exceeds the total number of pages the Six Authentic Books (Ṣiḥāḥ Sittah) of the Sunnites. Then their contents were further selected and edited in the form of two books Al-Wasā'il and Al-Wāfi. As you shall know later on, among the companions of the Imams, eighteen got fame for their knowledge of Jurisprudence and Traditions between the period beginning in the late first century and ending with first decade of the third century after the Hijrah.

During the second century the literary activity among the Shi'ites increased and expanded to cover the fields of al-Kalām, Al-Fiqh etc. One of the writers of this period, who wrote about Al-Kalām, was 'Isa Bin Rawdah. He was a scholastic of repute and wrote a book on the Imamate. He was a friend of Al-Manṣūr who died in 158 A.H. Similarly, there are many books on Al-Kalām to the credit of Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Nu'mân, usually known as Shatân-ut-Tâq or Mu'min-ut-Tâq because of his mental sharpness. He was one of the companions of Imam Ja'far Sadiq who died in 148 A.H. In addition to these two, there were many others from among the Shi'ites who write books on Al-Kalām during the middle of the second century of Hijrah and later on. We shall discuss them when we take up different classes of scholastics. During the third century, the field of writing still expanded. They write magnificent book on Al-Kalām during the third and first part of the fourth century. The number of such books is very large as will be shown in a latter chapter. From among the prominent writers of this period were Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Ath-Thaqafi who died in 283 A.H. and Muhammad Bin Qibbah Ar-Râzi who gave rejoinders to Abî Qâsim Al-Balakhi in a number of books. During the fourth century, the Shi'ite writers produced valuable books on Jurisprudence on lines which are still followed in our days. These books contain discussions on various subjects covering topics from Tahârat (methods of cleansing) to ransoms. They also wrote books on Al-Kalām during this period. One of their first rate writers in the different fields of Jurisprudence is Al-Hasan Bin Abi 'Aqeel Al-'Ammâni, who was the first to organise the science of Jurisprudence in Islam and categorized it under different heads as we find it to-day. The name of his book on Jurisprudence is Al-Mutamassik Bihablê Aal-ar-Raṣūl. He was a contemporary of Ja'far Bin Muhammad Bin Quluyah to whom he wrote a summary of his book and who died in 369 A.H.

Among other writers of this period is Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Al-Junaid who is the author of Tahdhîb-ush-Shi'ah Li Ahkâm-ish-Shar'iah which deals with all the topics of Jurisprudence. He was a contemporary of Sultan Mu'iz-ud-Dawlah who



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

died in 356 AH, Bahr-ul-Ulum in book of biographies has treated him as one of the prominent personalities of the seventh category while Ibn Abi 'Aqeel has included him in the sixth category. The evident reason for this is that Al-Muffd reports from Ibn Al-Junaid directly and from Ibn Abi 'Aqeel through Shaikh Al-Muffd Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Bin Quluyah.

These writers are followed by the group of Shaikh Al-Muffd Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin An-Nu'mān who died in 413 A.H. His pupil was Al-Murtadā who died in 436 A.H. and whose pupil was Shaikh Abu Ja'far At-Tūsi who died in 460 AH. After At-Tūsi, come his pupils who were many and spread in different parts of the world. Since that time upto our own age, the Imamite-Shi'ites have been writing books on different subjects in every age. These subjects include At-Tafsīr (Commentary of the Quran), Traditions, Principles of Traditions, Principles of Jurisprudence, Biography (Ar-Rijāl) etc. Their books spread and got circulated in far off places. They never lagged behind others but always took lead over them. They have never been retrogressive especially in the field of Jurisprudence, knowing that they allow Ijtihād in every age while non-Shi'ites have 'closed its doors for ever.' They have been taking lead in writing books on these subjects right from the early periods of Islamic history.

Same was their position so far as Al-Kalām and Jadal (debating) is concerned. This was due to the fact that they had a large number of opponents in every age to whom they had to refute and rebut. Some of them were those who had read 'Aaṣim and Al-Kisā'i and others. Our mentioning of their books on Jurisprudence and Traditions might indicate that they were limited to these fields only. But the fact is that they have written book on all the subjects of Islamic studies. Such books have not been produced since the beginning of this activity in Islam upto our own time. These books are distinguished among all others and in short, we can say that they were pioneers in this field. Syntax, for instance, was first put to written and organised form by Abul Aswad Ad-Du'īlī under instruction from Ali Bin Abi Talīb. When this field of study (Syntax) developed, the most distinguished scholars in this field were Shi'ites like Khalil Bin Ahmad, Al-Kisā'i, Al-Māzinī, Abu Ali Al-Farsī and others. When books on Syntax increased in number during the later periods, the best book on this subject was the commentary of Shaikh Rādī on Al-Kāfiyah of Ibn-ul-Hājjib, in which he explained the philosophy of syntax alongwith research on different problems. This book is the last word on this subject without having any other book to compare with it, written prior to it or later on. Scholars and students, whether they were Arabs, Iranians or Turks, have banked upon this book. It was further explained and commented by As-Sayyid Ash-Sharif Al-Jurjāni, which has been published in Egypt and also many times in Iran. Al-Jurjāni has praised the author in his commentary. Similarly, At-Taftāzāni has commended Shaikh Rādī in his book on Syntax titled Al-Mutawwal.

Similarly, again from among the Shi'ites, Ma'ādih Bin Muslim Al-Harā' Al-Kufi systematized Grammar (Aṣ-Sarf) and treated it independently of Syntax. 'Urūd was invented by Khalil Bin Ahmad, again a Shi'ite. He also compiled Kitāb-ul-'Ain in which he collected all the usages current in Arabic. Aṣ-Sāhib Bin 'Ibād wrote 'Al-Muhit' dealing with linguistics which has been used and quoted by all the

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1. Branch of Prosody dealing with metres of poetry



writers in the field. The first person to write a Maqâmah in Arabic was Badî' -uz-Zamân who was a Shi'ite. He was later on imitated and followed by Al-Ḥariri. In their age, four persons were considered to writers, namely, Abdul Ḥamid, Ibn-ul-'Amîd, As-Sâhib and As-Sâbi. Two of these – the second and the third – were Shi'ites. The most prominent and distinguished poets of Arabic have been Shi'ites, like Abu Nawâs, Abu Tamâm, Al-Bahtari, Al-Mutanabbi, Ash-Sharif Radi, Ibn Hânî Al-Andulusi (who is called as Mutanabbi of the West). Others are Muhammad Bin Wahîb Al-Himyari, As-Sari Ar-Rafâ, Khalidiyyin, Abu Farâs Al-Hamadani, An-Nâshî and others. The number of Shi'ite poets has been so great that it was said, "Have you ever seen a man of letters who is not a Shi'ite?" In the field of history, the lead was taken by Al-Mas'ûdî who wrote Akhbâr-uz-Zamân, Al-Awsat, Murûj-Uhd-Dhahab, in which he put much more material despite its comparatively smaller volume, as compared to other authors. In the field of biography, Ibn-un-Nadîm excelled and collected in his Al-Fahrist, although brief it is, what others could not. Qutb-ud-Din Ash-Shirazi, who is buried in Saljiyyah in Damascus and who received his education there and later on taught in its schools, explained and commented Ash-Shamsiyyah-a book on Logic – which became a fundamental book in the teaching of Logic in different parts of the world right from the day of its publication upto our own age. He also wrote a commentary of Al-Mutâlî'a in Logic which has no comparison. He also wrote and compiled Al-Muḥākamât.

The Shi'ite scholars wrote a number of books relating to the field of Al-Kalâm (Scholasticism) which are considered to be without any comparison, like Ash-Shâfi of Al-Murtada. Similarly, they wrote books relating to the field Pure Rational Knowledge, like Natural Sciences and Metaphysics and Theology, which had none to compare with before they were written. Among such book can be counted At-Tajrid of Nasîr-ud-Din At-Tûsi usually called Muḥaqqiq At-Tûsi. This book has always made the core of such studies. It was explained and commented upon by Al-Qawshji from among the Sunnites and by Allâma Al-Hilli from among the Shi'ites. It has always served as a basic book of reference both to the Shi'ite as well as Sunnite scholars. Nasir-ud-Din Tûsi also prepared Astronomical Tables at Marâgha to find out the movements of stars and their future courses. Nawbakhtis were all famous astronomers and astrologers. Ibn Sîna, who was a Shi'ite, wrote Al-Qânûn relating to the field of medicine which has no other book to compare. Ash-Shaikh Al-Bahâ'î Al-Aamili wrote a book of Mathematics named Al-Khullâsa which has been printed manytimes in Iran and Egypt. It was translated into German by Professor Nesselmann and published in Berlin. He also wrote a book on Orbits of Different Stars.

There are three persons from among the philosopher who are called as Al-Mu'allim (The Teacher). One of them is from Greece and other two are Shi'ites. Mu'allim-ul-Awwal (The First Teacher) is the title given to Aristotle who was a Greek. Al-Mu'allim-uth-Thâni is Ibn Sina and Al-Mu'allim-uth-Thâlith is Abu Nasr Al-Fârabi. Both of them are Shi'ites.

1. Maqâmah has no equivalent form of literature in English. It is a kind of monologue composed with the purpose of recitation in groups. It could be considered as a developed form of ancient story-telling.



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From among the Shi'ites who excelled in the fields of Logic and Metaphysics is Al-Muhaqqiq Ad-Dīwāni. During the Second Century of Hijrah, the one who showed his genius in the field of Al-Kalām was Ali Bin Ismā'īl Bin Shu'aib Bin Maitham At-Tammār Al-Asadi Al-Kufi Al-Basri. He was one of the foremost Shi'ite scholars in the field of Al-Kalām. He exchanged arguments with Abul Hasan Al-'Allāf, and An-Nizām who were the prominent leaders of the Mu'tazilites. He used to have sittings with Hisham Bin Al-Hakam who died in 179 A.H. Another prominent scholastic of the Shi'ite was Ismā'īl Bin Ali An-Nawbakhti who used to have sittings with Al-Jibā'i who died in 303 A.H.

In short, the Shi'ite shared with other in the development of different fields of Islamic studies. They took the lead to some of the other writers or in some fields while in the remaining they drew with them.

### Shi'ite Commentators and Exegetes. From Among The Companions

The foremost among them was Ali Bin Abi Talib, Master of the Shi'ites and their Imam. He collected the Quran and interpreted it that is he arranged it in the manner it was revealed. He had a book in which he had mentioned sixty different branches of the Studies connected with the Quran, which in fact is the basis of all the books connected with the Quranic Studies. As Suyuti has said that he was most referred to from the companions of the Prophet. He was assassinated in 40 A.H.

Among them is also counted Ubayy Bin Ka'b Al-Ansāri. As-Suyuti has included him among the ten companions who were confident in matters connected with Exegesis of the Quran. We have already referred to him when we discussed the first group of the commentators and exegetes of the Quran and gave our argument about their Shi'ites. He died in 30 A.H.

Abdullah Bin Abhās was the first person who dictated to others in this field and he has been quoted by all other exegetes. As-Suyuti counted him from among the ten companions of the Prophet who got fame in this field. He was also said that the better-qualified people after the companions, from among the Tabi'ites, in respect to the interpretation and explanation of the Quran were the inhabitants of Mecca because they followed Ibn Abbas. Similarly, Ibn-un-Nadim, while mentioning the books written in the field of the Exegesis of the Quran, refers to a book by Ibn Abbas. He says that Mujāhid quoted from it. Hamid Bin Qais has quoted Mujāhid, while Qarqā' has cited him through Abi Najm. Similarly, Isa Bin Maimūn has also cited Mujāhid through Abi Najm.

His being a Shi'ite does not need any clarification. He died in 68 A.H.

### Exegetes From Tabi'ites (1) and after.

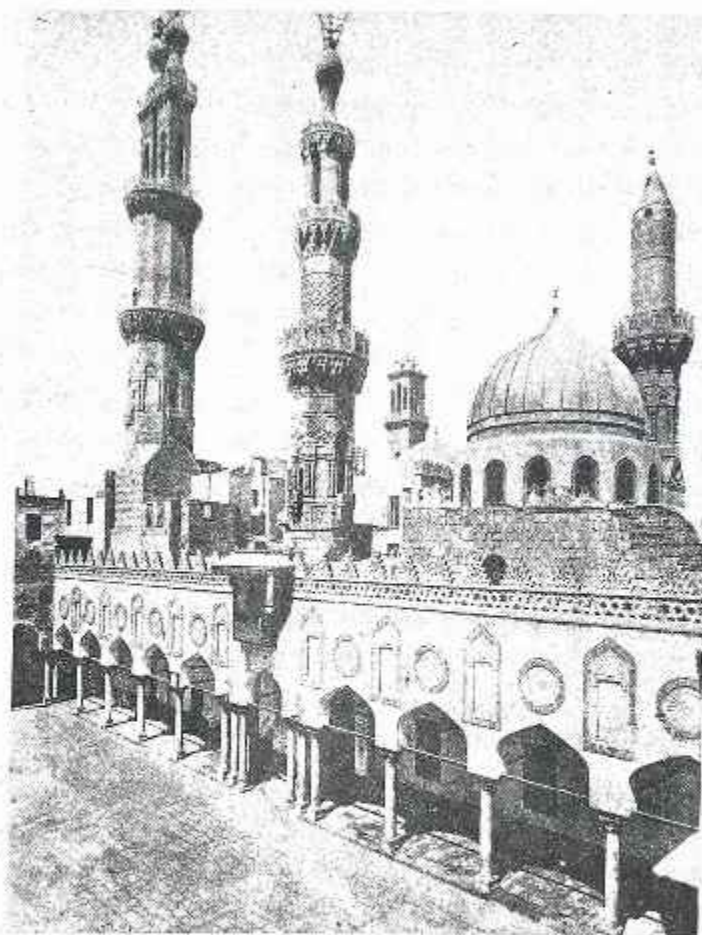
Maitham Bin Yahya At-Tammar who was a Shi'ite scholastic and speaker in Kufa was a Tabi'ite. Similarly Sa'īd Bin Jabr wa Tabi'ite. He wrote a book on the explanation of the Quran which is often quoted by other exegetes. As-Suyuti has treated it to be a thorough and dependable book and has quoted Qitādah that Sa'īd was the most informed of the Tabi'ites in matter of Tafsīr. Similarly, Ibn-un-

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1. The Latin translation of this book has been the core of medical studies in the European University right upto the 15th century.



«AL-AZHAR» in the tenth century. A historic drawing by the artist Wilhelm Gunther, showing one of the schools of learning at AL-AZHAR.



The present condition of «AZHAR» Mosque from inside the courtyard.





Nadim has also mentioned his Tafsîr in his Al-Fahrist, while discussing the books written in this field. He does not mention any other Tafsîr written before it. The evidence of his being a Shi'ite is given by Allama Al-Hilli in Al-Khullasah as well as Al-Kishi in his Biographical Dictionary. He has also said that the only reason of his being killed by Hajjâj was that he was a Shi'ite. He was martyred in 94 A.H.

Abu Sâleh Mirân Al Basri, a pupil of Ibn Abbas and a Tabi'ite, is counted among the prominent scholars of the Quran. His being repeatedly quoted by Muhammad Bin As-Sâ'ib Al Kalabi in his exegesis is a proof of his being a Shi'ite. Another evidence to this effect is the trust that Al-Muffid has posed in him, in his book Al-Kat'ah Fi Ibtâle Tawbat Al-Khâtî'ah, after quoting a Tradition from him relating to Ibn Abbâs. He died after the lapse of the first century (1).

Tawûs Al Yamâni, a pupil of Ibn Abbas, was a Tabi'ite. Ibn Taimiyyah has declared him to be 'the most well-informed of all' in his exegesis, while Ibn Qutaibah has declared him to be a Shi'ite. Shaikh Tusi has counted him among the companions of Ali Ibn Al-Husain and has said that he was always attached to him. He died in 106 A.H.

Among them is Imam Mohammad Bâqir. Ibn-un-Nadim has mentioned a book of his while writing about the exegeses of the Quran. He has been quoted by Abul Jârûd and Ziyad Bin Al-Mundhir, head of the Zaidite-Jârûdite sect. The most dependable Shi'ite writers have quoted him through Abul Jârûd. He passed away in 114 A.H.

Jâbir Bin Yazîd Al Ja'fi wrote a book on Tafsîr and has been mentioned by An-Najâshi and Ash Shaikh in Al Fahrist. He died in 127 A.H.

As-Siddi Al-Kabir Ismâ'îl Bin Abdur Rahmân Muhammad Al-Qarashi was a Tabi'ite and was the author of a famous book on Tafsîr which has often been quoted by exegetes. As-Suyuti declare his exegesis to be one of the most dependable ones. Similarly Ibn un-Nadîm has written, while mentioning the exegeses of the Quran, "A book of Tafsîr of As-Siddi which we shall discuss later on." According to Shaikh Tusi, he was one of the companions of Imam Ali Bin Al-Husain, Imam Muhammad Baqir and Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. According to Ans'ab-us-Sam'âni, he had found the company of the companions of the Prophet and the authors says, "Ismâ'îl Bin Abu Khâlid used to say that As-Siddi was more informed of the Quran than Ash-Sha'bi." Ibn Mardawiyah has described him to be a Hafiz and author of an exegesis. Ibn Hajar has written about him in At Taqrîb that he was truthful but also accused of being inclined towards Shi'ism. According to Tahdhîb-ut-Tahdhîb. Ikrâhîm An-Nakh'i passed by As-Siddi while he was explaining the Quran to the people. An-Nakh'i said, "Is not he explaining according to the way of those people (the Shi'ite Ash-Sha'bi has mentioned him. It was said to him that As-Siddi had had his share of the knowledge of the Quran. Ash-Sha'bi said, "He has had his share in the ignorance of the Quran." Al-'Ajali has said about him that he was trustworthy, well informed of the explanation of the Quran and has been oft quoted. He has also said that At-Tabari and Ibn Abi Hatim and others have referred to his explanations in their exegeses. According to what has been said about him in Tahdhîb-ut-

1. Tabi'ites are those who were able to see and meet the companions of the Prophet.

2. We shall give the dates of death of these after their account without mentioning the word 'died'.



Tahdhīb, it appears that he took to extremes in his Shi'ism. It is he about whom you read Ash-Sha'bi's statement. As to As-Siddi Aṣ-Ṣaghīr Muhammad, he is of course a non-Shi'ite and reports from As-Siddi Al Kabīr, who died in 127 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Sā'ib Bin Bashār Al Kalabi Al-Kufi is a Tabi'i and Kufite scholar of exegesis. His book is well known and many exegetes quote him. Ibn Nadīm has mentioned his book while reporting about the books on exegesis of the Quran. Ibn 'Adi has written in Al-Kāmil that he is well-known for explanation of the Quran. His exegesis is the longest and most comprehensive. Many authentic people have depended on his interpretation and have agreed with him. According to Ansāb-us-Sam'āni "He was an inhabitant of Kufa and author of an exegesis of the Quran. He was a Saba'ite and believed in Raj'at. His son Hishām, the author of a book on genealogy was an extremist Shi'ite." I have to say in this connection that it is completely incorrect and a lie that he was a Saba'ite. In fact he was from among the companions of Imam Zainul Abidin and Imam Mohammad Baqir. Ibn Sa'd says that he was well-versed in exegesis, genealogy of the Arabs and their usages. As Sāji has said in Tahdhīb ut-Tahdhīb that the Tradition reported by him are left out. He was poor in this respect because of his extremism in the Shi'ite creed. He died in 146.

Abu Ḥamza-Ath-Thamālī was also a Tabi'ite. Ibn un-Nadīm has mentioned him while writing about the books connected with the exegesis of the Quran. He also says that his name was Thabit Bin Dīnār and was a companion of Ali (meaning Imam Zain ul-Abidin). He was among the selected and trustworthy persons and a friend of Abu Ja'far. He died in 150 A.H.

Abu Junādah Al Ḥaṣīn Bin Makhārīq As-Salūli was a companion of Imam Ja'far Sādiq and Imam Musa Kāzīm. An-Najāshi has said that he was the author of a book on exegesis of the Quran and another on recitation of the Quran. According to Ibn un-Nadīm he was one of the earlier Shi'ites and was the author of a book on exegesis and another book Jāme' al-'Ulūm. He died about the middle of the second century.

Abu Ali Wahīb Bin Hafaṣ al-Harīri al-Asadi was a companion of Imam Ja'far Sādiq and Imam Musa Kāzīm. An-Najāshi has mentioned a book on exegesis written by him. He also died about the middle of the second century.

Abu Ali Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Faddāl was a very close friend of Imam Ali Ar-Rida and as Ibn-un-Nadīm has said, was the author of book on exegesis.

Abu Tālib Abdullah bin Aṣ-Ṣalat used to take reports from Imam Ridā. According to An Najāshi, he wrote an exegesis of the Quran. He died in the later part of the second century.

Muhammad Bin Khālīd Al-Barqī was the author of an exegesis according to An-Najāshi who has also reported his authorities with his name. He died in later part of the second century.

Hishām Bin Muhammad as-Sā'ib al-Kalabi has been mentioned by Ibn Nadīm among those who were authors of exegesis of the Quran. He says, "It is a book in explanation of the verses which were revealed about different nations." Shaikh Tusi has included him in the companions of Imam Ja'far Sādiq. An-Najāshi has also supported his being a Shi'ite. Same is the position taken by Adh-Dhahabi in Tadhkiratul-Ḥuffāz and As-Sam'āni in Al Ansāb.

Al-Wāqidi, whose full name is Muhammad Bin 'Umar Al Aslami, is a well-known historian. Ibn-un-Nadīm says that he was a Shi'ite of good faith. He also wrote a book At-Tarḡīb Fi 'Ilm-ul-Quran wa Ghalat ur-Rijāl. He is usually included among the scholars specializing in history and biography. He died in 207 A.H.



Yunis Bin Abdur Rahman, who was an ally of Aal Yaqtin, has been mentioned by An-Najashi as having a book on Tafsir (exegesis) to his credit among other books. He died in 208 A.H.

Ali Bin Asbat Bin Salim Bayyâ' Az-Zatly Abul Hasan Al-Muqri Al-Kufi has been mentioned by An-Najashi as having written a book on exegesis and has also given the names of the authority from whom he gets his information. He died in the beginning of the Third century.

Al-Hasan Bin Mahbûb As-Sarrâd, according to Ibn-un-Nadim wrote an exegesis of the Quran. He died in 224 A.H.

Abu Uthmân Al-Mâzini Bakr Bin Muhammad An-Nahwi has been mentioned as a Shi'ite by An-Najashi. According to Bughyat-ul-Wi'ât, he wrote a book on the Quran. He died in 248 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Mas'ûd Al-'Ayyâshi wrote an exegesis which is well known and titled as Tafsîr-ul-'Ayyâshi. Ibn-un Nadim says that he was from among the Shi'ite-Imamite Jurists. He was unique in his age in his scholarship." Then he names his works which are more than one hundred including an exegesis. He died during the third century.

Farât Bin Ibrâhîm al-Kufi wrote a voluminous exegesis which is very often quoted by scholars. He died about the middle of the third century.

Ali Bin Mehzyâr Al Ahwâzi (Abul Hasan) has, according to An-Najashi an exegesis of the Quran among his works. An-Najashi has also referred to his authorities. Ash Shaikh has said in his Fahrist that he has 33 books to his credit, like the books of Al-Husain Bin Sa'fd and include one exegesis too and a book on Hufuf-ul-Quran. He died about the middle of the third century.

Al-Husain Bin Sa'fd Bin Hammâd Al-Ahwâzi has been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh as having written an exegesis too. Ibn-un-Nadim has said about him and his brother, Al-Hasan, that in their age they were comparatively of a wider knowledge. He has counted an exegesis among his books. An-Najashi has said about Al-Hasan Bin Sa'fd that he collaborated with his brother in writing thirty books which increased the fame of his brother. Among these books, there was an exegesis too. He died in the mid-third century.

Al-Hasan Bin Khalid Al-Barqi was, according to the report of Ibn Shahr Ashub, one of the prominent scholars. Among his books is counted Tafsîr-ul-'Askari which spreads over 120 volumes and was dictated to him by Imam Hasan Al-'Askari. He died in the mid-third century.

Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'fd Ath-Thaqafi Al-Kufi, the author of Kitâb-ul-Ghârât has been referred to by Ash-Shaikh in his Fahrist as having written an exegesis of the Quran. He has quoted his sources. He died in 283 A.H.

Abu Abdullah Ahmad Bin Sabîn Al-Asadi Al-Kufi, according to Ash-Shaikh and An-Najashi, wrote a book of exegesis of the Quran. Both of them have mentioned his sources. He died in the period lying between the last decade of the third and the beginning of the fourth century.

Ali Bin Ibrâhîm Bin Hâshim Al-Qummi wrote a well-known exegesis known as Tafsîr Ali Bin Ibrâhîm. He died about end of the third and beginning of the fourth century.

Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Al-'Abbas Bin Ali Bin Marwan, commonly known as Ibn-ul-Jahhâm, according to Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh, wrote voluminous exegesis. He died during the fourth century.

Ali Bin Al-Husain Bin-Bâbwah Al-Qummi, the father of Aṣ-Ṣudduq, has been referred to by An-Najashi and in Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh, as the author of an exegesis. They have given his sources too. He died in 329 A.H.



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Abdul Aziz Bin Yahya Al-Jaludi Al-Basri, according to An-Najâshi wrote three exegesis, one reported from Ali Bin Abi Talib, another from Ibn Abbas and still another from various companions of the Prophet. He died 330 A.H., probably in 334 or 335 A.H.

Abu Bakr As-Suli Muhammad Bin Yahya, according to Ibn-un-Nadim, left behind him a comprehensive but incomplete book on 'Ilm-ul-Quran. He died either in 230 or 335 or 336 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Ahmad Bin Al-Walîd was a leader of the inhabitants of Qumm and their most prominent figure. He wrote an exegesis which has been mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadim, An-Najâshi and Ash-Shaikh in his Al-Fahrist. He died in 343 A.H.

Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Bin Al-Hasan Bin Dawl Al-Qummi, as said by An-Najâshi, wrote one hundred books including an exegesis. He died in 350 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Ali Bin 'Addak Al-Jurjâni has been mentioned as a Shi'ite by Ash-Shaikh, An-Najâshi and As-Sam'âni. He wrote an exegesis spreading over ten volumes. He died in 360 A.H.

As-Sayyid Radi Al Muswi Muhammad Bin Al-Husain wrote a voluminous exegesis of the Quran, in which he gave the occasions of revelation and interpretation. In this exegesis we find such things as were never reported and written before. Some parts of this book are available in Iraq, while the original is found in Al-Maktabah Ar-Ridawiyah in Tûs (Mashed). From this original was copied the one found in Iraq and then published. The copy which is available at Al-Maktabah Ar-Ridawiyah is very old and copied from the one on which the author himself has written remarks. This covers from the beginning of Surah Aal 'Imrân to the middle Surah An-Nisâ' and is the fifth volume of the book. The original was written in 402 A.H. while the copy under reference was made on 21st of Rajab 533. He died young in 406.

Ash-Shaikh Al-Mufîd Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin An-Nu'mân Al-Baghdâdi who taught Al-Murtada and Ar-Radi, was according to An-Najâshi, and others, the author of Kitâb-ul-Biyân Fi Ta'îlîl-il-Quran. The contents of this are unknown. Some contemporaries have written the name of this book as Kitâb-ul-Bayân Fi Anwâ'e 'Ulûm-il-Quran. His sources are also unknown. He died in 409 A.H.

Ash-Sharif Murtada Ali Bin Al-Husain Al-Muswi explained many difficult verses of the Quran in his Amali. He died in 463 A.H.

Ash-Shaikh At-Tûsi Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan, known as Shaikhut Tâ'ifah wrote At-Tibyân Fi Tafsîr-il-Quran. This exegesis is in ten volumes. The author of Majma'-ul-Bayân has taken help from this book as he has himself said. We have seen the complete book in some libraries of Tehran. One copy is available at the library of Al-Hâjj Aqa Husain Mallik-ut-Tujjâr which is the biggest library there having more than 50,000 volumes. This exegesis has been published along with its summary as Mukhtasir-ut-Tibyân. He died in 460 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Ibrâhîm Bin Jafar Abu Abdullah Al-Kâtib An-Nu'mâni is the author of a well-known exegesis titled Tafsîr-un-Nu'mâni. He died during the fifth century.

Abul Futûh Al-Husain Bin Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Ahmad Al-Khizâ'i Ar-Râzi An-Naishapuri is the author of 'Rawd ul-Jinân Fi Tafsîr-il-Quran' which is spread over twenty volumes and is written in Persian. It is being printed at Tehran. He died after the fifth century.

Amin-ud-Din Abu Ali Al-Fadl Bin Al-Hasan At-Tabrisi is the author famous exegesis known as Majma'-ul-Bayân Li 'Ulûm-il-Quran which has been published many times in Iran and in Sidon (Lebanon). He was a contemporary to Az-Zamakh-



sharī and compiled his exegesis before he could get information about Al Kashshāf. When he got information about the latter, he wrote another titled Jawame' ul-Jāme' in which he made use of the information given in al-Kashshāf. This one is also printed. He died in 548 A.H.

Qutb-ud-Din Sa'fd Bin Hibat Ullah was a pupil of the author of Majma' ul-Bay-an. He wrote a summary of all the exegesis written by that time. This summary is in ten volumes. He also wrote a separate exegesis of the Quran in two volumes. He died in 573 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Hasan Al-Fattāl An-Naishapuri was the teacher of Ibn Shahr Ashub. He wrote an exegesis known as At-Tanwīr Fi Ma'ānit Tafsīr. He died during the sixth century.

As-Sayyid Fadl Ullah Bin Ali Al-Husaini Ar-Rāwandi is the author Al-Kāfi Fit-Tafsīr which has been referred to by Muntajib ud-Din and the author of Amal-ul-Aamil. He died during the sixth century.

Amir Ghiyāth Ud Din Manṣūr Al-Husaini Ash-Shīrāzi is an ancestor of the author As-Salāfah, and himself an author of an exegesis. He died in 948 A.H.

Al-Maula Husain Al-Kāshifi As-Sabzwari is the author of Jawāhir-ut-Tafsīr. He died around 910 AH.

Al Maula Ali Bin Al-Hasan Az-Zuwwāri wrote a very voluminous exegesis in Persian. He died in the tenth century.

Ash-Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Din Al-'Aamili Muhammad Bin Al-Husain began writing an exegesis known as Mashriq-ush-Shamsain but could not finish it. He died in 1031 AH.

Mirza Muhammad Bin Abdul Husain An-Nasfiri At-Tusi Al Asfahāni was a pupil of As-Sayyid Ali Bin Hujjat Ullah Ash-Shūlistāni. He compiled an exegesis as reported by the Imams and which spread over thirty volumes. He died during the eleventh century.

Muhammad Husain Bin Muhammad Al Qummi was the brother of Qadi Sa'fd al Qummi and a pupil of Rajab Ali At Tabriz Al-Hafīm. He wrote a voluminous exegesis in Persian which indicate the depth of his knowledge. He died by the end of the eleventh century.

Mirza Muhammad Al-Mashhadi Ibn Muhammad Rida Al Qummi wrote an exegesis of the Quran under the title "Kanz-ud-Daqīq wa Bahr ul-Gharāib". He died in the twelfth century.

Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Rida Bin Muhammad Amin Al-Hamadāni is the author of Ad-Durr-un-Nazīm Fi Tafsīr il-Quran Al-Karīm. The age he lived in could not be ascertained but surely he belonged to the later period.

As-Sayyid Hāshim Bin Sulaimān Al-Bahrāni is the author of an exegesis titled Al-Burhān Fi Tafsīr il-Quran which is in six volumes. He wrote another book related to the explanation and exegesis of the Quran under the title "Kitāb-ul-Hādi Wa Diān-Nādi" which is in two volumes. He died in 1107 A.H.

Ash Shaikh Jawwād Bin Hasan Al-Balaghi An-Najafi was the author of Aalā'ir-Rahman Fi Tafsīr-il Quran. The first volume of this exegesis is published. The death did not give time to finish. He died in Sha'bān 1352 A.H.

SHI'ITE AUTHORS DEVOTING THEMSELVES TO THE VERSES OF THE QURAN RELATING TO RELIGIOUS INJUNCTIONS WHICH ARE THE SOURCE OF ALL RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND JUDGMENTS, AND THE DISCUSSION OF WHICH IS KNOWN AS THE QURANIC JURISPRUDENCE.

The first person to write on this subject was Muhammad Bin As-Sāib Al-Kalabi who was a friend and companion of Imam Muhammad Baqir. Ibn-un Nadīm counted



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

among the books written in this connection, a book Ahkâm-ul-Quran written by Al-Kalabi. According to his statement he reported from Ibn Abbas. An-Nadim evidently means Muhammad Bin Sâib and not his son Hisham because it was the former who was a contemporary of Ibn Abbas and reported from him. As-Suyûti has said in Al-Awâil, "The first one to write anything on this subject (Ahkâm-ul-Quran) was Imam Shâfi'î." Again according to his own version, Imam Shâfi'î died in 204 A.H. when he was 54 years old. This means that Muhammad was his senior because he died in 146 A.H. Had Ibn-un-Nadim meant by Al-Kalabi as Hishâm, As-Suyûti's statement would not have been correct even in this case because Hisham also died in the same year as Shâfi'î i.e. 204 A.H. As to Muhammad Bin Sâib being a Shi'ite, almost all the exegetes admit this fact. He died in 146 A.H.

Among others from the Shi'ites who wrote about Ahkâm were the following:

1. 'Ibâd Bin Abbas, the father of Aṣ-Ṣāhib Bin 'Ibâd. Ibn-un-Nadim has written in his Al-Fahrist, in connection with the life of his son that Ibâd was a scholarly person and wrote a book on Ahkâm, supporting the ideas of the Mu'tazilites. "This view is based upon a very common mistake of the writers to mix up Shi'ism with the Mu'tazilite creed, as has been the case with Aṣ-Ṣāhib Bin 'Ibâd and As Sayyid Murtada and others. He died during the fourth century.
2. Qutb-ud-Din Sa'îd Bin Hibat Ullah Ar Râwandi wrote books on Ahkâm and Fiqh-ul-Quran, which might have been one and the same thing. He died in 573 A.H.
3. Al-Miqdâd Bin Abdullah As-Sayyuri wrote a book on this subject titled Kanzul 'Irfân Fi Fiqh-il-Quran. He died in 792 A.H.
4. Mullah Ahmad Bin Muhammad Al-Ardabili who wrote Zubdatul Bayân Fi Fiqh-il-Quran, died in 993 A.H.
5. Shaikh Jawwâd Bin Sa'd Ullah Al-Kâzimi wrote Masâlik-ul-Afhâm Fi Sharahe Ayât-al-Ahkâm. He died during the eleventh century.
6. Mirza As-Sayyid Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Ibrâhîm al-Astarabâdi was a well-known biographer and also wrote a book in explanation Ayât-ul-Ahkâm. He died in 1026 A.H.
7. Shaikh Ahmad Bin Ismâ'îl Al-Jazâ'iri An-Najafi wrote a book on this subject titled as Qalâid-ul-'Iqyân Fi Fiqh-il-Quran, he died in 1151 A.H.

c) Diyâ-ul-Qulûb Fi Ma'ânîl Quran wa Gharîbihî wa Mushkilihî;

d) Riyâdat-ul-Alsinah Fi XX Prâb-il-Quran wa Ma'ânihî;

### SHI'ITE AUTHORS WRITING ON THE AMBIGUOUS (MUTASHĀBIHĀT) VERSES OF THE QURAN.

Among such authors is Hamza Bin Habib Az-Aayyât Al Kufi who is counted among the seven reciters of the Quran. Ibn-un-Nadim has mentioned his book on Mutashâbihât in the Quran. He died in 156 A.H. According to As-Suyuti's statement in Al-Itiqân, the foremost in this field was Al-Kisâl, who died in 182 A.H.

Ash-Sharif Radi also wrote on this subject. His book "Haqâiq-ut-Tâwîl Fi Mutashâbihât Tanzîl" has been mentioned by Ibn Shahr Ashub in Al-Ma'âlim. According to another version, its name is Haqâiq-ut-Tanzîl Wa Daqâiq-ut-Tâwîl. This book was completed in 406 A.H. Sharif Radi wrote another book under the title "Al-Muhkam Wal Mutashâbeh", which was completed in 433 A.H.



Muhammad Bin Ahmad Al-Wazîr also wrote a book under the title *Mutashâbihil Quran*. He died in 433 A.H.

Rashîd-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Shahr Ashûb Al-Mazandarâni also has a book on this subject to his credit. It has been referred to in *Amalul Aamil*. He died in 588 A.H.

#### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON GHARÎB-UL-QURAN

The pioneer in this field was Abân Bin Taghlab. Ash-Shaikh has referred to it in *Al-Fahrist* and has said, "He wrote a book *Al-Gharîb fil Quran* and documented it with citations from poetry." An-Najâshi has also referred to this book and has mentioned his authorities too. As-Suyûti has said in *Al-Awâil*, "The first one to write a book on *Gharîb-ul-Quran* was Abu 'Ubaidah Mu'mir Ibn Al-Muthna. He collected this information from the question which Nâfe' Bin Al-Azraq put to Ibn Abbas." But the correct position is that it was Abân who took the lead in this connection, because he died in 141 A.H. while Abu 'Ubaidah died in 208 A.H. or later. (1) This means that Abân was senior to him at least by 67 years as we have mentioned in a note about him. It is surprising that As-Suyûti should say this while he has written in *Bughyatul Wi'ât* that Abân Bin Taghlab first wrote on this subject and died in 141 A.H. Anyway, even if Abu 'Ubaidah had the lead in this respect, he got his information from the questions which Nâfe' Bin Al-Azraq put to Ibn Abbas. Hence, the real source is Ibn Abbas and he was one of the prominent Shi'ites, while Abu 'Ubaidah belonged to the Kharjites of Aṣ-Saffuriyyah. This has been supported by Al-Jâhiz in *Kitâb-ul-Haywân*. It seems that this was the reason why he got his information from the questions of Nâfe'. Abân died in 141 A.H.

Al Mufdil Bin Salmah wrote *Diyâ-ul-Qulub* on this subject in twenty volumes. We have mentioned it among the books written on the meaning of the Quran. He died during the third century.

Abu Bakr Muhammad Bin Hasan Bin Darîd, according to Ibn-un-Nadîm and As-Suyûti, began writing a book on *Gharîb-ul-Quran* but he could not finish it. He died in 321 A.H.

Abul Hasan Ali Bin Muhammad Al-'Adawi Ash-Shamshî has been mentioned by An-Najâshi as having written a book on this subject in addition to others. He died in the beginning of the fourth century.

#### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON ASBAAB-UN-NUZUUL (2)

First one among them is Ibn Abbas. Ibn-un-Nadîm has mentioned the books written about the causes of revelation and afterwards has referred to the book written by 'Akramah through Ibn Abbas. He died in 67 A.H.

According to An-Najâshi, Muhammad Bin Khalid Al-Barqî wrote *Kitâb-ut-Tanzîl Wat Ta'bîr*. He died by the end of the second century.

Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'îd Ath-Thaqafi wrote a book about those verses which were revealed in connection with Amirul Mu'minîn. This has been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh in *Al-Fahrist* and by An-Najâshi. He died in 283 A.H.

1. Some contemporary authors state that Abu 'Ubaidah died in 224 A.H. but this is a mistake, because it is the date of death of Abu 'Ubaid Al-Qâsim Bin Salâm, not of Abu 'Ubaidah Mu'mir Bin Al-Muthna.

2. *Asbaab-un-Nuzuul - Causes of Revelation*.



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

Abdul Aziz Bin Yahya Al-Jalūdi, according to An-Najāshi, wrote a book about the verses of the Quran connected with Ali Bin Abi Talib as well as Kitāb-ut-Tanzīl which he based upon the reports of Ibn Abbas. He died in 330 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Al-Abbas, who is known as Ibn ul-Jahhām, as An-Najāshi has said, wrote a book about those verses of the Quran which were revealed in connection with Ahl Bait. Many of our friends mentioned in Al-Fahrist have said that he had a book of his in which he gave in those verses which were connected with the Prophet and his family. He had another explaining those verses which were revealed in connection with the Shi'ites and those about their enemies. He died during the fourth century.

### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON "NAASIKH AND MANSUUKH" (1)

The pioneer in this field was Abdur Rahman Al Ašamm Al Masma'f Al-Basri. An-Najāshi has referred to this book Kitāb-Un-Nāsikh Wal Mansūkh and has also quoted his authorities. He died in mid-second century.

Next comes Abul Hasan Dāram Bin Qabīshah Bin Nehshal Bin Majma'At-Tamīm Ad-Darmi, who according to An-Najāshi compiled a book on the subject. He died in the late second century.

Ibn ul-Kalabi has been mentioned by Ibn un-Nadīm as an author in this field while counting the books written on this subject. It is evident that his statement either refers to Muhammad Bin Sāib who died in 146 A.H. or his son Hisham who died in 206 A.H.

Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Faddāl also wrote a book on 'Nāsikh and Mansūkh' according to An-Najāshi. He died in 224 A.H.

Similarly Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Isa Al-Ash'ari Al-Qummi has been mentioned by An-Najāshi as an author of a similar book. He has also given his authorities. He died during the third century.

It is said that according to As-Suyūti, the first person to write on this subject was Abu 'Ubaid Al-Qāsim Bin Salām who died in 224 A.H. although Al-Masma'i and Ad-Darmi were senior to him and Ibn Faddāl as well as Al-Ash'ari were his contemporaries.

Ali Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Hāshim Al-Qummi has been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh in his Al-Fahrist and An-Najāshi as having written a book on Nasikh and Mansūkh. He died either in the late third century or the beginning of the fourth.

Muhammad Bin Al-Abbas, commonly known as Ibn Jahhām is included in the Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh as a writer of a book on the subject under discussion. He died during the fourth century.

According to An-Najāshi, Abdul Aziz Bin Yahya Al-Jalūdi wrote a book on Nāsikh and Mansūkh on the basis of information from Ibn Abbas. He died after 330 A.H.

### SHI'ITE WRITERS ON THE PARTS OF QURAN

Among them was Hamza Bin Habīb Az Zayyāt who wrote Asbā'-ul Quran. He died in 156 A.H. Similarly, Ali Bin Hamza Al-Kisāf is also reported to have written such a book. Ibn-un-Nadīm has mentioned both of them while writing about the book written on this subject. He died in 179 A.H.

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1. Naasikh - a verse abrogating another.  
Mansuukh - a verse abrogated by another.



## SHI'ITE WRITERS ON THE NUMBER OF QURANIC VERSES

Following authors in this field have been mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadīm in his *Al-Fahrist*:

- a) Ibn Abbas who wrote about the number of verses revealed in Madinah;
- b) Hamza Az-Zayyāt who wrote *Kitāb-ul-'Adad*;
- c) Al Kisā'f wrote two books, namely, *Kitāb-ul-'Adad* and *Kitāb Ikhtilāf-al-'Adad*.

## SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON THE MEANINGS OF QURAN (I)

In *Al-Fahrist* of Ibn-un-Nadīm and *Kashf-uz-Zunūn*, a mention has been made of the books written about the 'meaning' of the Quran. It is evident that by meaning, that refer to different stories, tales, injunctions, preachings, illustrations etc, which have occurred in the Quran alongwith their explanation and commentary. It therefore refers to an exegesis of the Quran but from the point of view of these particular aspects of meaning. It aims at such contents which may be difficult to understand and which need explanation. The example of such a work is *Ma'ānil Akhbār* written by *As-Suddūq* and mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadīm among the books written on this subject. He has referred to about twenty different books. Among these are:

- a) *Kitāb-ur-Radd 'Alā Mun Nafal Majāz Minal Quran*;
- b) *Jawabāt-ul-Quran*;

He guides in arriving at the real and fundamental meaning because all kinds of transferred meanings, replies, strange expressions, difficult phrases etc, which are found in the Quran lead to a difficulty in understanding. We also come to this conclusion from the fact that the author of *Kashfuz Zunūn* mentions the meanings of poetry and books written about it. His aim in doing this is to tell about the various forms of poetry — eulogy, elegy, satire, lyrics, emotional poetry etc. *Al-Jawāib* Press has published a book in which there have been mentioned one hundred different types of meaning or in other words one hundred types of poetic contents. It is therefore quite evident that when we talk about the 'meanings' of the Quran, we have this type of meaning in our mind. The author of *Kashfuz Zunūn* has mentioned one book written by *Qatrab*, among those dealing with the contents of the Quran and its connotative inferences. He says that 'the readers depend on this book.' This statement might have been given in relation to reading and recitation only or different modes of recitation with reference to different types of meaning. What is correct is known by God alone. He has also mentioned another book by *Ibrāhīm Bin As-Sariy* and has said that his couplets were explained by *As-Sairāfiy*. It indicates that this book might be about the explanation of verses in relation to their various levels of meaning. Hence, it could be treated in both ways,

1. Meaning here stands for contents, as explained by the author in the text. (Tr.)

Among the Shi'ite authors dealing with meanings or contents of the Quran is *Abān Bin Taghlab*. Ibn-un-Nadīm has referred to him in his *Alfahrist* as one of the Shi'ite scholars, jurists and traditionalist, and has said that he wrote a book about the finer shades of meaning in the Quran. He died in 141 A.H.

Ibn-un-Nadīm has also said about *Ali Bin Hamza Al-Kisāf* that he wrote a book on the subject. He died in either 189 or 182 or 183 A.H.

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1. *Maqtuu'* - Where is verse is cut off from the other.
  - Mawṣul* - Where a verse is read in continuation with the next.



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

Another Shi'ite author who wrote a book on this subject is Muhammad Bin Hasan Bin Abi Sārah Ar-Rawāsi. This is supported by Bughyatul Wi'āt as well as Al-Fahrist of Ibn-un-Nadīm. The latter has mentioned his book among those written on the subject under reference and has said it is reported and quoted upto this time. He died during the second century.

Al-Farā An-Nahwi, whose full name is Yahya Bin Ziyād Ad-Dailami Al-Kufī, has been admitted to be a Shi'ite according to the author of Riyāḍ ul-'Ulamā, as well as by As-Sayyid Mahdī Bahr-ul-'Ulūm At-Tabātabāī in his biographical dictionary. Ibn-un-Nadīm has mentioned him while writing about the authors on this subject and has said that he wrote it Umar Bin Bakīr. At another place Ibn Nadīm says that it had four volumes. Similarly As-Suyūti has said in Bughyatul Wi'āt that Al-Farā wrote a book on the meanings of the Quran. He died in 207 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Yazīd Al-Mubrad An-Nahwi is another author mentioned in Bughyatul Wi'āt who wrote a book on Ma'ānil Quran. He died in 285 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Ahmad Abul Fadl Al-Ja'fi Al-Kufi commonly known as Aṣ-Sābūni has been mentioned by An-Najāshī who has said that he wrote a book in which he explained the meanings of the Quran and named various kinds of its meanings. He died in 300 A.H.

Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Ash-Shaibāni Shaikh-ul-Muffīd wrote a book titled Nehj-ul-Bayān 'Ann Kashfe Ma'ānil Quran. He described sixty various kinds of Quranic knowledge and dedicated it to Al-Mustansīr Al-Abbasi. Al-Murtada quotes from this book in his Kitāb ul-Muḥkam Wal Mutashābeh, as well as Kitāb-ush-Shi'ah and Funūn-ul-Islam. As to Al-Hasan Bin Muhammad Ash-Shaibāni, he was probably his father. He died in the late fourth century.

Ash-Sharif Radī Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Al-Muswi has been referred to in Ma'ālim-ul-'Ulamā as having written a book on the subject which can hardly find a comparison. He died in 406 A.H.

### SHI'ITE AUTHORS WRITING ABOUT MAQTUU' AND MAWSUUL (1) IN THE KURAN

Among such authors who wrote on the above-mentioned subject was Hamza Bin Habīb Az-Zayyāt. Ibn-un-Nadīm has him as an author while writing about the books on this subject. He died in 156 A.H.

Similarly Ali Bin Hamza Al-Kisā'i has been mentioned among the authors on Maqtū' and Mawsūl of the Quran, by Ibn-un-Nadīm. He died in 189 A.H.

Total number of books mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadīm in this subject is three, namely those written by Hamza Bin Habīb, Al-Kis'a'i and Abdullah Bin 'Amir al-Yahṣabī. Out of these three, two are Shi'ites as mentioned above.

### SHI'ITE AUTHORS WRITING ABOUT THE WAQF AND IBTIDAA' IN THE QURAN

It is evident that this topic is really connected with the Maqtu' and Mawsūl; only the words are changed. Writing about the books written on this subject, Ibn-un-Nadīm has mentioned the following authors:

- a) Kitāb-ul-Waqf Wal Ibtidā' by Hamza.
- b) Kitāb-ul-Waqf Wal Ibtidā' by Al-Farrā'
- c) Kitāb-ul-Waqf wal-Ibtidā' by Ibn Sa'dān.

1. Waqf-Point of complete pause during recitation,  
Ibtidā'— Point of starting with the recitation.



Writing a note on Ar-Rawâsî, Ibn-un-Nadîm has mentioned that he wrote two books on this subject. These are:

- a) Kitâb-ul-Waqf Wal-Ibtidâ' Al-Kabîr,
- b) Kitâb-ul-Waqf Wal-Ibtidâ' As-Saghir.

An Najâshi has also testified that Ar-Rawâsî wrote a book on the subject. I have to add only this that all these writers were Shi'ites.

#### SHI'ITES AUTHORS ON I'RAAB-UL-QURAN

Among such writers, according to An-Najâshi, was Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Abi Sârah Ar-Rawâsî. He died in the second century.

Qatrab Bin Muhammad Al-Mustanîr An-Nahwi also wrote a book on I'râb-ul-Quran. His being a Shi'ite has been mentioned in our discussion on Grammarians. He died in 206 A.H. Similarly another grammarian Muhammad Bin Yazid al-Mubrid An-Nahwi wrote a book on the subject. He died in 285 A.H.

About Ibn Khaluyah Al-Husain Bin Ahmad, Ibn-un-Nadîm says that he gave complete I'râb of thirty chapters of the Quran in a book. He died in 370 A.H.

#### USE OF VOWEL-SIGNS AND POINTS IN THE QURAN(1)

As-Suyûti has said in the book Al-Awâ'il that the first person who put points in the Quran was Abul Aswad Ad-Du'îlî who did it under the instructions of Abdul Malik Bin Marwan. It is also that the pioneers in this field were Al-Hasan Al-Basri, Yahya Bin Ya'mar and Nar Bin Asim Al-Lithi

But the correct position is that Abul Aswad Ad-Du'îlî lived during the time Ziyad was the governor of Iraq. This has been admitted by Ibn-un-Nadîm in Al-Fahrist, and Abul Barakât Abdur Rahmân Bin Muhammad Al-Anbârî in Nazhatul Albâ Fi Tabaqât il-Udahâ'. We have referred to their statements when we discussed those copies of the Quran which have attributed to the Imams in which points have been used in order to give signs for Harakât (vowel-sounds) not for I'jâm (points presently existing over certain letters like Bâ' or Qâf). As to Yahya Bin Ya'mar, he was a pupil of Abul Aswad and was also a Shi'ite. Al-Fahrist of Ibn-un-Nadîm among the books written on this subject, one by Al-Khalîl relating to the placement of points. Ibn-un-Nadîm then mentions the same book while writing about his life. According to Al-Ittiqân, the first person to use Hamzat, Tashdîd, Ar-Room and Al-Ishmâm was Al-Khalîl An-Nahwi. He was a Shi'ite as said earlier.

#### SHI'ITE AUTHORS WRITING QURANIC DICTIONARIES

Speaking about the books written as the Quran dictionaries, Ibn-un-Nadîm mentions those of Al-Farrâ', Shaikh Fakhr-ud-Din Tarihi and of Ibn Darîd which remain incomplete. Among them Shaikh Fakhr-ud-Din died in 1085 A.H.

#### SHI'ITE WRITERS ON MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS IN THE QURAN

Among such writers is Al-Farrâ' un-Nahwi. Ibn-un-Nadîm in Al-Fahrist and As-Suyuti in Tabaqât say that he wrote two such books, namely, Al-Ma'sâdir Fil

1. In earlier period of history, Arabic was written in Kufic style which did not provide for point on letters or under them nor did it have vowel-signs. These innovation were done in order to save the Quran from being mis-pronounced and incorrectly read and understood.



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Quran and Al-Jama' Wat Tathniyah Fil Quran. He died in 707 A.H.

Ibnul Junaid wrote Amthâl-ul-Quran while Al-'Ayyâshi produced Sujûd-ul-Quran. Both of them have been mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadim.

An-Najâshi has referred to a book Nawâdir-o-'Ilm-al-Quran written by Abul Hasan Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Hârith Al-Hârithi Al-Khatib Fasâwah who died during the fourth century.

As-Shaikh has mentioned in his Al-Fahrist two books written by Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khalid Al-Barqi. These are: (i) Kitâb-ul-Amthâl and (ii) Kitâb-ush-Shawâhid Min Kitâb-illahé 'Azza Wa Jalla. He died in 274 A.H.

Ibn-un-Nadim has said about Abu Pakr Muhammad Bin Yahya Bin Al-'Abbas Aâ-Sawli that he began writing a book titled Kitâb-ush-Shâmil Fi 'Ilmul Quran, which he could not complete. This book has been mentioned among exegesis. He died in 330 A.H.

Abu Sa'îd Muhammad Bin Ahmad Al-Wazîr wrote Intizâ'ât-ul-Quran which has been mentioned by Yâqût in Al-Mu'jam. He died in 443 A.H.

### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON FADAA'IL-UL-QURAN(1)

Ibn-un-Nadim has discussed books written on distinctive features of the Quran and then has mentioned twelve books. He has counted among these the one written by Ubayy Bin Ka'b Al-Ansâri and then has named others like this: "Ali Bin Ibrâhîm Bin Hasim's book Nawâdir-ul-Quran. He was a Shi'ite. The book written by Ali Bin Hasan Bin Faddâl who was a Shi'ite. The book written by Abu Nasr Al-'Ayyâshi who was a Shi'ite."

It might be evident from the above quoted statement that the first person to write in this field was Ubayy because those who have been mentioned along with him to the later period. But Ali Bin Ibrâhîm, Ibn Faddal and Al-'Ayyâshi wrote books which are connected with the exegesis of the Quran and are not particularly about the subject under discussion. His statement implies this because none of the biographers and authors of Ar-Rijâl mentions them except those concerned with exegesis. As-Suyûtî has said that the first person to write a book in this field was Imam Muhammad Bin Idrees Ash-Shâfi'î who died in 204, but the correct position is that the credit of being a pioneer in this respect goes to Ubayy as you have already heard. He died in 30 A.H.

Another person who probably wrote such a book was Abân Bin Taghlab. An-Najâshi and Ash-Shaikh both have mentioned among the book written by him a book on the above subject. They have also quoted his authorities. Probably what their statement mean is that this book was on the distinctive features of the Quran, because that period, it was not a custom to write books about the distinctive feature of the Ahl Bait, but the statement under reference appears to be pointing out to a book written in praise of the Ahl Bait.

Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Hamza Al-Batâ'îni also wrote such a book which has been mentioned by both Ash-Shaikh and An-Najâshi. He died in late second century.

Ash-Shaikh has said in Al-Fahrist that Ismâ'îl Bin Mehrân Bin Abu Nasr As-Sukûni wrote a book titled Thawâb-ul-Quran. He died either in the late second century or early third century.

An-Najâshi has said about Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Sayyâr Al-Kâtib that he wrote a book named Thawâb-ul-Quran. He died in the third century.

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#### 1. Distinctive qualities of the Quran.



Similarly, Ash-Shaikh has said about Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khalid Al-Barqi that he wrote a book *Thawab-ul-Quran* as well as another named *Fadl-o-Kitabat-al-Quran*. According to An-Najashi, he wrote a book *Fadl-ul-Quran*, which he based upon the reports and information given by Battat. His death occurred in 274 A.H.

Ibn-un-Nadim has mentioned Muhammad Bin Mas'udi Al-'Ayyashi as having written a book *Fadail-ul-Quran*. He died during the third century.

According to An-Najashi, Abu Ali Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin 'Ammâr Al-Kufi wrote a similar book. He died in 346 A.H.

#### SHI'ITE RECITORS OF THE QURAN AND WRITERS ON THE ART OF RECITATION.

Foremost among them is the Master of the Shi'ites and their Imam Amir-ul-Mu'minin Ali Bin Abi Talib. He had a well-known way of recitation of the Quran.

Second one among the companions was Ubayy Bin Ka'b, Muhammad Bin Sa'd has reported in *Tabaqat*, that the Prophet said, "The best recitor among my followers is Ubayy Bin Ka'b." He also said, "God has ordered me that I should recite to you." Ubayy Bin Ka'b died in 30 A.H.

Similarly Abdullah Bin Abbas who was a pupil of Amir-ul-Mu'minin has his own way of recitation which was quite well known. He died in 67 A.H.

Others who were from among the Tabi'ites or belonged to later period are as follows:

1. Hamran Bin A'yun Al-Kufi, Abi Tufail has reported about him that he was an expert in the art of recitation. He was a companion of Imam Zainul Abidin and Imam Muhammad Baqir. Hamza learnt recitation of the Quran from as will be discussed later on.
2. Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Abi Sarah Al-Kufi An-Naily commonly known as Ar Rawasi, because his head was very big. He was the teacher of Al-Kisâ'i and Al-Farrâ' and has been mentioned by Abu 'Amr Ad-Dani during his discussion of the recitors of the Quran. He has said, "He reported about the recitation of words from Abi Amr and heard the recitation of Al-A'mash and he had his choice of recitation among its reported ways. Khallad Bin Khalid Al-Manqari and Ali Bin Muhammad Al-Kindi heard recitation from him." According to Al-Fahrist of Ibn un-Nadim, he wrote a book on punctuation named as *Kitab-ul-Waqf Wal Ibtida' Al-Kabir*, and another known as *Kitab-ul-Waqf Wal-Ibtida' as-Saghir*. Similarly Ash-Shaikh has mentioned him in his *Rijal* as a companion of Imam Ja'far Sadiq, while An-Najashi has mentioned him as a companion of Imam Al-Baqir as well as of Imam As-Sadiq. He has also spoken about his *Kitab-ul-Waqf Wal-Ibtida'* and given the names of his authorities. He died shortly after the end of the first century.
3. Abu Abdur Rahman As-Salmi Abdullah Bin Habfb Bin Rubai'ah Al-Kufi. He was a Tabi'ite Qari'. Ibn Sa'd has reported about him in *At-Tabaqat* that he said about himself to have learnt recitation from Ali Bin Abi Talib. Aasim Bin Bahdalah has been counted in *Tahdhīb-ut-Tahdhīb* as among those who reported from Abu Abdur Rahman. But Ishâq As-Sab'i has said about him that he recited the Quran in the mosque for forty years. Al-'Ajli and An-Nasâ'i have depended upon him. Muhammad Bin Umar said about him, "He was dependable and much talked about. Similarly Ibn Abdul Birr has said that he was depended upon by all.



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

Al-Barqi has counted him in his Ar-Rijāl as one of the closest friends of Ali Bin Abi Talib from Madar. According to Ibn-un-Nadīm, 'Aaṣim learnt recitation of the Qurān from Abu Abdur Rahmān As-Salmī, and according to Majma' -ul-Bayān Abu Abdur Rahmān learnt recitation from Amir ul-Mu'minīn Ali. Ibn Qutaibah has said in Al-Ma'ārif about the stylists in recitation, "Abu Abdur Rahman As-Salmi whose name was Abdullah Bin Habīb, was a friend and companion of Ali Bin Abi Talib and a reciter from whom people have received the art." Al-Waqdi has said about him in Tahdhīb-ut-Tahdhīb that he took part in the Battle of Siffin on the side of Ali and later became an Uthmānite. This is thing reported only by Al-Waqdi but other evidence belies it. He was the person who taught one of the children of Husain, Surat Al-Hamd, and received one thousand Dinār and one thousand garments. This has been reported by Ibn Shahr Ashub in his Al-Manāqib. He died in 105 A.H. or earlier.

### 4. Zaid Ash-Shahīd Bin Ali Bin Al-Husain

Ash-Shaikh has said in his Al-Fahrist during the account of 'Umar Ibn Mūsa Al-Wajīhi Az-Zaidi and he had with him a book of Recitation from Zaid Bin Ali. He has attributed this information to Zaid Bin Ali himself, who said, "This recitation I heard from Zaid Bin Ali who told us that it was recitation of Amir-ul-Mu'minīn Ali Bin Abi Talib. He was murdered in 121 A.H.

5. Abu Bakr Aaṣim Bin Bahdalah (abun Nuǧūd) is one of the seven accepted reciters of the Qurān from among the Tabi'ites. Ibn-un-Nadīm has put him among the seven reciters of the third group. He recited the Qurān to Abu Abdur Rahmān who in his turn learnt it from Ali. This is why the way of recitation of Aaṣim Bin Bahdalah was most liked and favoured by our scholars. Shaikh Abdul Jalīl Ar-Rāzi has admitted him to be a Shi'ite and their leader, in his book Nadd -ul-Fadā'ih. Similarly Al-Qādi Nurullah has said in Majālis-ul-Mu'minīn that he was a Shi'ite. While writing about those reported from Aaṣim, Ibn-un-Nadīm has said in Al-Fahrist as follows:

"Abu Bakr Bin 'Ayyāsh and Ḥafṣ Bin Sulaimān reported from him. The recitation which Hafṣ knew links him to Ali Bin Abi Talib through Abu Abdur Rahmān As-Salmī."

He died in 128 A.H.

### ç. Yahyā Bin 'Umar Al-'Adwāni

Ibn Khallakān says that he was one of the reciters of Basra. Abdullah Ibn Ishāq learnt recitation from him. He further says that he knew the Qurān very well and was one of the Shi'ite who believe that Ahl Bait are superior to others but do not say that others were of inferior type. Then he tells about his conversation with Hajjāj on the issue that Imam Hasan Imam Husain were the descendants of the Prophet. According to Mu'jam-ul-Udabā', Yahyā was inclined to Shi'ism. He considered Ahl Bait to be superior, but without attributing any inferiority to others. He died in 121 A.H.



7. Abân Bin Taghlab,

He was a Tabi'ite, and according to Ibn-un-Nadim, has written a book on recitation. An-Najâshi has said that he was well-versed in every branch of knowledge including that of the Quran. He has also said that he had an individual way of recitation quite well known to the reciters. Then he has his authorities on his book of recitation..... At another place, An-Najâshi says, "Muhammad Bin Mûsa Bin Abi Maryam, author of Al-Lu'lou told us that he had heard the recitation of Abân Bin Taghlab and had not found anyone more adept in recitation than he. He used to say that 'providing the recitation with a vowel is an exercise and recitation of the Quran is worship. 'Ash-Shaikh has said in Al-Fahrist, "He was a reciter of the Quran with an individual way of reciting." Ash-Shaikh then talks of the authorities and reaches Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Bin Abi Maryam, the author of Al-Lu'lou who said, "I have heard Abân Bin Taghlab reciting the Quran and I could not find a better reciter as compared to him. He used to recite the Quran from the beginning to the end." Then he talks about his recitation and quotes him saying, that providing vowel sounds in an exercise and a sport. Abân was the first person to put the Quran Studies in a regular form. As-Suyûti has said in Al-Awâ'il that the first person to collect various forms of recitation of the Quran and to put them into a system was Hafûs Bin 'Amr Ad-Dawri, and the first person who formulated various style of recitation, put them into a form, discussed various disagreements which only rarely occur, dealt with their authorities and sources evolved a system of seven types of recitation which we know to-day was Hârûn Al-Qâri' Al-A'war.

But the correct position is that Abân was the pioneer in this field, as we have already said, because Ibn-ul-Fâseh has said in "Sharh -ush-Shâti-biyah", that Hafûs Bin 'Amr learnt these from Yahyâ Bin Mubârak Al-Yazîdî who learnt it from Abu 'Amr Bin Al-'Ulâ, who died in 154 or 155 A.H. But Abân died in 141 A.H. Hence he is senior to Abu 'Amr Bin Al-'Ulâ by about eleven years. He should therefore be senior to the one who is two generations junior to Abu 'Amr. As to Hârûn Al-Qâri' Al-A'war, his year of death has been mentioned by As-Suyûti as 207 A.H. Hence Abân is senior to him too as he died in 141 A.H.

8. Sulaimân Bin Mahrafi Al-A'mash

Ibn Qutaibah has mentioned him in Al-Ma'ârif as the one who knew various methods of recitation of the Quran. He has said, "We have mentioned his name among the Traditionalists because he was occupied in the reporting of Traditions more than Recitation of the Quran." He has given him the third position among the Shi'ites (of his age). Similarly, Ash-Shehrastâni and Ash-Shahîd Ath-Thâni have testified his being a Shi'ite in Al-Milal Wan Nehal and in the Commentary on Al-Khullâsah respectively. While mentioning the reciters of the Quran, Ibn-un-Nadim has said, "Talhah Bin Ma'sraf Al-Ayâmi was an inhabitant of Kufa. When he saw the people around him increasing in number, he went to Al-A'mash and recited out to him. This made the people inclined towards Al-A'mash, and leave Talhah. Talhah followed Al-A'mash in reciting the Quran. He died in 148 A.H.

9. Wazârah Bin A'un was also a reciter who died in 150 A.H.

10. Hamza Bin Habîb Az-Zayyât Al-Kufi,



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

He was one of these seven reciters and had composed a book of recitation. While writing about these seven reciters of the Quran, Ibn-un-Nadim has said, "Hamza is one of the seven. Among his books is one on recitation." When he talks about the books written by Ibn Mujâhid, Ibn-un-Nadim says that he had a book of recitation from Hamzah. Ibn Sa'd has written in *Tabaqât* that Hamzah Az-Zayyât Bin 'Ammârah, whose nick-name was Abu 'Ammârah was an acknowledged reciter of the Quran.

Ash-Shaikh has mentioned him in *Ar-Rijâl* as one of the companions of Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. Ibn-Fâseh has written in "*Sirâjul Qâri'* Sharh-ush-Shâtibiyyah" that Hamzah was a very pious man. He never demanded or accepted payment for reciting the Quran. When he used to recite, none else came forward to do it. He recited the Quran in the presence of Imam Ja'far Sâdiq, who himself learnt it from his father Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir who in his turn got it from his father Imam Zainul Aabidin, while the latter learnt it from his father Imam Husain who learnt it from his father Imam Ali Bin Abi Talib. Hamzah also recited the Quran to Al-A'mash who recited in the presence of Yahya Bin Waththâb, while the latter recited it to Alqumah who received this art from Ibn Mas'ûd, Uthmân, Ali Bin Abi Talib, Ibn Mas'ûd Ubayy recited the Quran to the Prophet himself. According to a writing of Ash-Shaikh Jamâl-ud-Din Ahmad Ibn Muhammed Bin Al-Haddâd Al-Hilli, copied by Ash-Shahîd Muhammad Bin Makki, Al Kisâi learnt the recitation of the Quran from Hamzah who learnt it from Abu Abdulah Aṣ-Sâdiq (Imam Ja'far Sâdiq) who learnt it from his father while his father learnt from his father (Imam Zainul Abidin) who learnt it from his father who learnt it from his own father Ali Bin Abi Talib.

He died in 156 A.H.

### 11. Muhammad Bin Fudail Bin Ghazwân Ad-Dabiyy

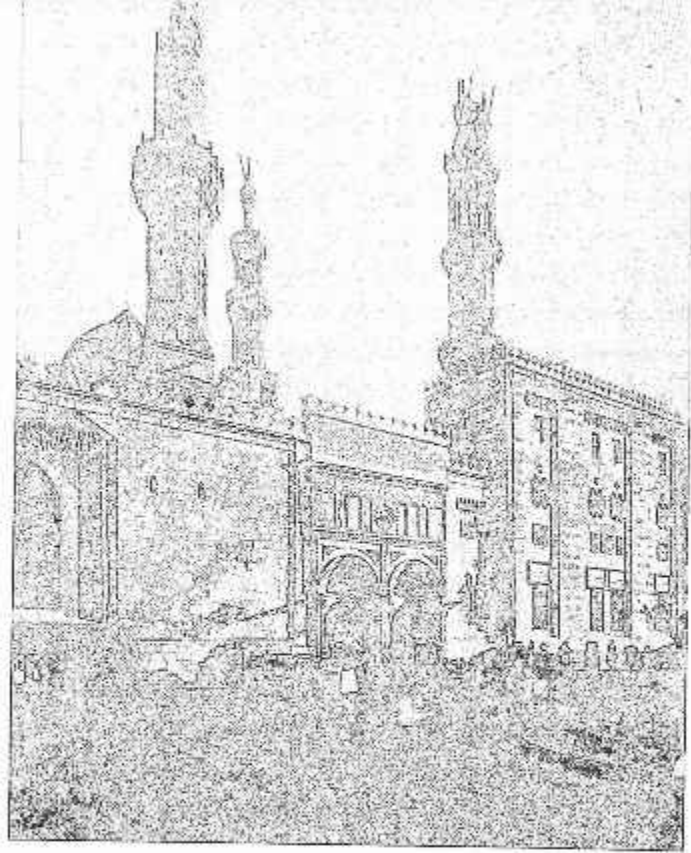
He was a friend and companion of Imam Ja'far Sâdiq and one of the teachers of Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal. His being a Shi'ite has been testified by As-Sam'âni in *Al-Ansâb*, by Adh-Dhahabi, by Ibn Qutaibah in *Al-Ma'ârif* and Ibn Hajar in *Tahdhib-ut Tahdhib*. The latter has said that he recited the Quran in the presence of Hamzah Az-Zayyât. He died in 195 A.H. (1)

### 12. Ali Bin Hamza Al-Kisâi An-Nahwi

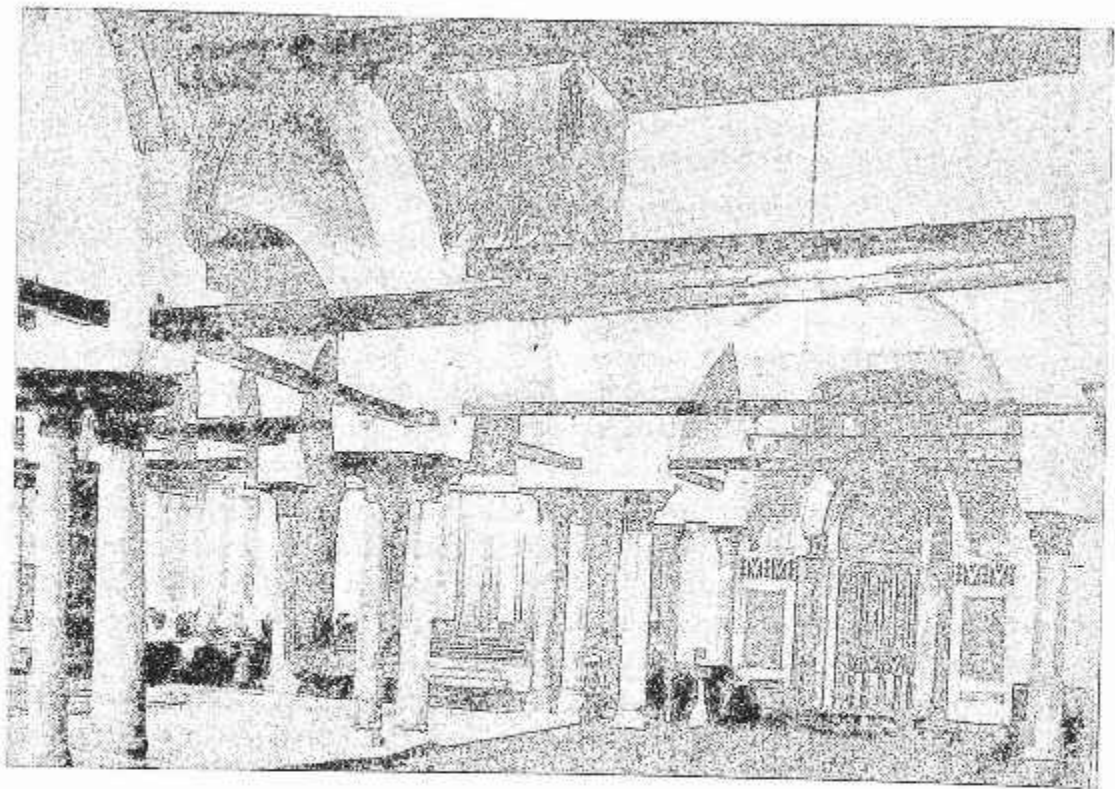
He is one of the well-known and acknowledged seven reciters. Ibn-un-Nadim has said about him that he was one of the seven reciters and was an inhabitant of Kufa where he was brought up. He recited in the presence of Abdur Rahmân Bin Abi Lailâ who used to recite in the way Ali Bin Abi Talib used to do. Al-Kisâi was reciter of *Madînatuṣ Salâm*. In the beginning he followed Hamzah in recitation, but later on adopted his own way of recitation and used to recite to the people in it. Ibn-un-Nadim then writes about those people who reported from Al-Kisâi and the names of the books which scholars wrote on his recitation. At another place he says that Al-Kisâi was the author of a book on different styles of recitation.

I have to add only this much that we have from teachers and scholars about his being a Shi'ite, but nothing has reached us through writers writing about him. In *Kitâb-ush-Shi'ah wa Funûn-il-Islam*, we find this statement: In the

1. In the printed edition of *Tahdhib-ut-Tahdhib* his year his death is given as 295 A.H. which is incorrect.



The west elevation of «AZHAR» Mosque as it is today.



An impression of the interior of «AZHAR» Mosque showing the Mehrab and the space created by the columns and the arches.





original, the evidence on his being a Shi'ite has been mentioned. He died in 197 A.H.

13. Al-Wāqidi, Muhammad Bin 'Umar.

In the Fahrlist of Ibn-un-Nadīm, under the heading of book written on the recitation, we find this statement:

Al-Wāqidi had a book on recitations. He has also said about him that he was a Shi'ite. He died in 207 A.H.

14. Ubaidullah Bin Abdullah Bin Mūsa Al-'Absi

Ibn-un-Nadīm has mentioned his name among those who reported from Hamzah, while Ibn Qutaibah has said that he is one of those who knew different ways of recitation. He has also said that he recited to Isa Bin 'Amr and Ali Bin Sāleh Ibn Hayy. He used to recite the Quran in the mosque but was more occupied with the Traditions. This is why, he says, he has mentioned among the Traditionalists. Ibn Qutaibah has clarified on this occasion and at another that he was a Shi'ite. Ibn-un-Nadīm has reported that Isa Bin 'Amr Ath-Thaqafi was one of the reciters of Basra. He died in 213 A.H.

15. Ibn Sa'dān, Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Sa'dān Ad-Darīr

According to the Fahrlist of Ibn-un-Nadīm, he was a reciter who followed the style of Hamzeh. Later on he adopted a manner of his own. He was born in Baghdād but followed the Kufite creed. He wrote a book on recitation. While describing the books written on various types of recitation, Ibn-un-Nadīm has mentioned a book by Ibn Sa'dān. By saying that Ibn Sa'dān belonged to the Kufite creed, Ibn-un-Nadīm implies that he was a Shi'ite because the Kufites were well-known to be Shi'ites. He died in 231 A.H.

16. Ibrāhīm Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'dān

He was a son of Ibn Sa'dān as is clear from his name. Yāqūt says about him in Mu'jam-ul-Udabā' that he was one of those who wrote, corrected, made researches, reported and were depended upon. He wrote many books, better one of which is Hurūf-ul-Quran. It is evident that by Hurūf-ul-Quran, he means manners of recitation.

17. Fadl Bin Shādhān Naishapuri

He was one of the companions of Imam Ali Al-Hādi and Imam Hasan Al-'Askari. Ibn-un-Nadīm has mentioned his book among the books written on the recitation of the Quran. He died in 260 A.H.

18. Muhammad Bin Al-Abbas known as Ibn ul Jāhhām

Ash-Shaikh has mentioned his name in the Fahrlist as having compiled a book on the recitation of Amir-ul-Mu'minīn and the Ahl Bait. He died during the fourth century.

19. Abdul Aziz Bin Yahya Al Jalūdi



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According to Ibn-un-Nadīm, he composed a book about recitation of Imam Ali, and that of Ibn Abbas. He also says that Al-Jaludi had a collection of the recitations of Imam Ali. He died after 330 A.H.

20. Abu Abdullah Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Sayyār Al-Kâtib As-Sayyâri,

According to An-Najâshi, he had a book of recitations. He died in 368 A.H.

21. Ibn Khâluyah, Al-Husain Bin Ahmad

He had a book of recitations which has been mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadīm in his Fāhrist. According to Bughyatul Wi'ât, he had compiled a book titled Al-Bad' Fi Qirâât-is-Sab'a. He died 370 A.H.

22. Al-Bâre' Ibn-ud-Dabbâs, Al-Husain Bin Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahhâb Al-Hârithi Al Bî'ri,

According to Bughyatul Wi'ât he was a reciter who recited the Quran and wrote about different manners of recitation. According to Ibn-ul-Jawzi, he recited the Quran in the presence of Abu Ali Bin Al-Banna and others. He is also mentioned in Ijâzât-ul-Bihâr. He died in 524 A.H.

### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON TAJWEED \*

Among such authors is As-Sayyid Jawwâd Al-'Amili who wrote Miftâh-ul-Karamah. He also wrote a booklet on Tajweed which was published in 1226 A.H.

One of the pupils of Bahr ul'Ulûm, Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Rida Al-Qâri? wrote "At-Tuhfah Al Ja'fariyyah Fit Tajweed" which was published in 1232 A.H. Similarly, Muhammad Bin Haider Al-Qâri? wrote "Tuhfatul Qâri' Fit Tajweed" in Persian which is printed as well.

### SHI'ITE SCHOLASTICS AND AUTHORS IN THE FIELD OF SCHOLASTICISM (AL-KALAAM), THEORETICAL AND NATURAL STUDIES AND PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION,

Among them are the Imams from the Ahl Bait and their sons and other Hashimites from among the Companions of the Prophet and the Tabi'ites. Then comes the name of Ali Bin Ali Talib, the Imam and leader of the Shi'ite. He was the pioneer in formulating what we call the art of argument and debating or what is commonly known as Ilm-ul-Kalâm. There is enough of this in his speeches and arguments in the matter relating to the Caliphate and other issues especially on the Day of Saqifah, Shurah, in the Battles of Jamal and Siffin, in his rejoinders to Mu'âwiyah and to the Kharjites and others. All such occasions are innumerable.

Similarly, Sayyidat-un-Nisâ' Fatimat-uz-Zahrâ' (Peace be upon her father and on her) protested to the Muhâjirîn and Anṣâr as well as to the first Caliph in connection with Caliphate and Fadak and her inheritance to her father. She made these protests in the gatherings of women and in the mosque, through magnificent speeches and long talks which astonished the reasons and surprised those who had reason.

Al-Hasan Bin Ali (Peace be upon both) protested against the attitude of Mu'âwiyah in year of Jamâ'at on the Pulpit of Kufa and on other occasion which made the

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\* Tajweed is the art of reciting the Quran in a musical tone.



people remember him and his fame spread far and wide.

Al-Husain Bin Ali (Peace be upon them both) protested against Mu'āwiyah and against the tyrants of Kufa on the Day of Karbala and many other such occasions which are quite well known.

Imam ZainulAbidin gave much evidence of this capacity through his protests and speeches and in connection with different scholastic issues. His protest against Ubaidullah Bin Ziyād in Kufa, against the Syrian on the gate of Damascus mosque and his address to Yazid when the Mu'adhdhin called the name of the Prophet during the Adhān and Yazid asked "Was he my grand-father or yours?" are sufficient to prove our point.

The same stir was created by Sayyidah Zainab Bint Ali (Peace be upon them both) when she vehemently protested in her speech in Kufa as well as in the presence of Yāzid in Damascus and made every one wonder-struck.

Similarly Sayyidah Umm Kulthūm protested in her speech in Kufa after the assassination of her brother and gave convincing arguments in her speech.

Same was the case with Muslim Bin 'Aqeel Bin Abi Talib. He gave stunning replies to Ibn Ziyād while he was under arrest and in chains.

At-Tabrisi has quoted a lot from such protests of the Imams from the Ahl Bait, in his book "Kitāb-ul-Ihtijāj". We have also mentioned and referred to their protests and debates while writing about their lives in this book. We have decided not to give their individual account according to different generations they belonged to, during the present discussion. But we shall not totally give up referring to such influences of theirs as may have affected the presently discussed topic with a view to bless this discussion with their names.

Among these Imams is Imam Muhammad Bāqir (Peace be upon him, ) who had his influences on all branches of knowledge which cannot be put to any limitations. His grand-father, the Prophet, named him as Bāqir-ul-Ilm (which means the one who dissects and opens up knowledge). Among his special fields are those connected with Al-Kalām and rational argumentation. He entered into such an argument with Muhammad Ibn Al Munkadir who was one of the famous ascetics of his age. Similarly, he protested against and argued with Hisham Bin Abdul Malik, Nāfe' Ibn -Al-Azraq, his son Abdullah Bin Nāfe' (these both belonged to the Khārjites), Imam Abu Hañffah, Qitādah Bin Di'āmah Al Basri, Abdullah Bin Mu'mir Al-Lfthi and others, the details of which will be given in the biographical account of Imam Muhammad Al Bāqir. He passed away in 114 A.H.

Imam Ja'far Sādiq, like his father, affected and influenced all the fields of studies which filled the books and which the travellers took with them (meaning that it was widely known). Among these branches of studies is Ilm-ul Kalām in which field, he exercised his influence over comparatively a larger number of people. Al-Mufdil Bin 'Umar, who was one of his companions, has reported a book from him on this subject which is known as "Tawhīd-ul-Mufdil" which is remarkable book as a rejoinder to Atheism, and deals with the proofs of existence of the Creator. Similarly, Aṣ-Suddūq whose full name is Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Babuyah Al-Qummi, wrote a book on the issue of Tawhīd and problems of Al-Kalām in which we can find the influence of Imam Ja'far Sadiq and other members of the Ahl Bait. This book is known as Tawhīd-us-Suddūq and is available in printed form. He died in 148 A.H.

Similarly, many arguments were given out by Imam Mūsa Kāzīm which have since been well known. He died in 183 A.H.

Same is the case with Imam Ali Bin Musa Ar-Rida. There are many debates and arguments conducted by him against various scholastics and other persons. He also gave answers to the questions which Al-Māmūn put to him in connection with the problems of Al-Kalām. There is also a book in his name, titled as Al-Ahlfla-



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jah in which there comprehensive arguments and discussions relating to the problems of Al-Kalâm. He died in 203 A.H.

As to Imam Muhammad Al-Jawwâd, his debate with Qadi Al-Qudât Yahya Bin Aktham is very famous. He died in 220 A.H. In the same way, many debates and arguments are known to be the result of Imam Ali Al-Hâdi's work. He died in 254 A.H.

Some brilliant pupils of the Imams from among the Ahl Bait excelled in Ilm-ul-Kalâm by virtue of their sharpness and mastery in argumentation, like Hishâm Bin Al-Hakam, Hishâm Bin Sâlim, Mu`min-ut-Tâq and others.

Among the Hâshimite companions of the Prophet, we can quote the name of Abdullah Bin Abbâs (who is called the Pontiff of the Ummah). He argued with Umm-ul-Mu`minîn Ali Bin Abi Talib who very well knew his qualification, but the head-strong trouble-mongers from the Iraqite group did not agree to it. He was also sent to argue against the Kharjites because of his power of argumentation, his effective way of talking and his clarity of presentation of reasons which resulted into a large number from the Kharjites coming back to Ali Bin Abi Talib. His debates with Ibn Zubair and with those who used to abuse Ali are well known in the world and have been occupying the pens to write them.

Among other companions, we can name Umm-ul-Mu`minîn Umm Salma who debated with Umm-ul-Mu`minîn Aa`ishah when the latter set out for the Battle of the Camel towards Basra. The echoes of her arguments reverberate till our own time and were of such a nature that once Umm-ul-Mu`minîn Aa`ishah had changed her mind to revolt against Ali. It was later when her nephew Abdullah came and changed her opinion that she went to Basra.

We can also mention the names of Qais Bin Sa'd Bin 'Ibâdah, Al-Ahnaf Bin Qais, Abu Tufail Aamir Bin Wâ'ilah and Sa`'shah Bin Sûhân among the companions who had their share in this field.

There were twelve persons from the companions who were the first among the Shi'ites to lay the foundation of that branch of knowledge which is known as Ilm-ul-Kalâm after the death of the Prophet. One of them was Abu Dhar. He took upon himself this work during the Caliphate of Uthmân and Amirate of Mu`âwiyah and continued to perform this task till died in banishment to Syria at Ar-Rabdhah.

### Shi'ite Scholastics among the Tabi'ites and later on (1)

As-Sayyid Murtadâ has quoted from Majâlis-ul-Muffid in his own book Al-Fuṣūl-ul-Mukhtârah and from Al-Jâhiz in his book "Al-'Uyûn Wal Mahâsin" that Al-Kumait was the first Shi'ite to enter into debating and defending his position by giving rational arguments. Had not there been Al-Kumait and what he wrote in his poetry about the superiority of Aal Muhammad, the Shi'ites would not have known the arguments connected with this issue. It has however to be observed that to believe in the superiority and lead of Al-Kumait over the companions and to say that the Shi'ites would not have known such arguments, but for him, is not correct and is an exaggeration. Al-Muffid has refuted this position and said that, what

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1. Tabi'ites are those persons who saw and received information from the companions (Sahâban), while those found an opportunity to see the Tabi'ites and receive information from them are known as Tâbi'it Tabi'în (Followers of the Followers).

Al-Kumait put into his poetry was in fact an argument put forward by Amir-ul-Mu'minīn against Mu'āwiyah in reply to the latter's letter. This argument was repeated used by other members of the family of the Prophet and also by the Shi'ite scholastics before Al-Kumait, during his own life and after his death. Al-Kumait died in 126 A.H.

Other scholastics and Mutakallimīn of this group are as follows:

1. Abdur Rehman Bin Ahmad Bin Jabrūyah Abu Muhammad Al-'Askari,

An-Najāshi has written about him, "He was a scholastic from our friends and was capable of sound argument. He debated with 'Ibād Bin Sulaimān and other persons of his age. He has a book to his credit, named, Al-Kāmil Fī Imāmatil Hasan." He died in the early second century.

2. Wazārah Ibn A'yun

According to Ibn-un-Nadīm, he was the most well-known from among those Shi'ite who became famous for scholasticism. He died in 150 A.H.

3. Isa Bin Rawdah (A friend of Al-Manṣūr)

An-Najāshi has said that he was a brilliant Mutakallim and wrote a book on Imamate. Ahmad Bin Abi Tāhir has praised him in his book "Kitāb-o-Baghdād" and has said that he had seen the book. I have read in some books that, whenever Al Manṣūr was in a fix, he used to listen to Isa Bin Rawdah who was his ally. He used to talk about Imamate. Al-Manṣūr liked his talk and praised his argument.

As-Suyūti has said in Al Awā'il that Wāṣil Bin 'Atā' was the pioneer in the field of Al-Kalām. But Wāṣil died in 181 A.H. He is not therefore senior to Isa Bin Rawdah, because he was a friend of Al-Manṣūr who died in 158 A.H.

He died in the mid- second century.

4. Qais-ul-Māṣir

He was well-known in this field. One mutakallim debated with a Syrian in the presence of Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq. The Syrian won the debate, as is given by the report of Yūnus At-Tawīl in Al-Kāfi's chapter entitled Al-Idtirār Ilal Hujjat. This report also tells that Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq asked Yūnus to look through the door and see who among the scholastics and debators were coming. He did. At that time four persons entered, namely, Hamrān Bin A'yun, Al-Ahwal, Hishām Bin Ṣālim and Qais-ul-Māṣir. Yūnus has said, "In my opinion he was the best debator among them; He had learnt the art of Al-Kalām from Ali Bin AL-Husain." Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq said to Qais in the same meeting, "Speak out that which should be nearest to what the Prophet has said and the farthest from that in which truth and untruth are mixed up. A little truth is much better than too much of untruth. You and Al-Ahwal are two brilliant to jump." He died in the mid-second century.

5. Al-Ahwal, Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Ali Bin An-Nu'mān commonly known as Shaitān-ut-Tāq or Mu'minut-Tāq.

Ibn-un-Nadīm has said about him that he was very brilliant in Ilm-ul-Kalām. Similarly Al-'Allāma has said in Al-Khullāṣa that he was profound in knowledge, and of a very fine temperament. An-Najāshi has made similar observations about him. He debated and argued with Syrian, mentioned in connection with Qais-ul-Māṣir in the presence of Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq and



won the debate over the Syrian, Imam Ja'far Sâdiq said to him, "You are a person who makes good analogical inferences and knows how to strike stealthily. You shatter Bâtil (Untruth) with Bâtil except that your method won. Then the Imam said to him and Qais-ul-Mâsir, "You are two brilliant ones to jump." His arguments with the Kharjites, with the Marji'ites, with the naturalist and atheists are well known. He had many talks with Imam Abu Hanifah. He wrote many books on Al-Kalâm, including one proving the Imamate of Amir-ul-Mu`minîn Ali Bin Abi Talib. He died in the mid-second century.

6. Hamrân Bin A'yun,

He was well known in his age as a scholastic. He wrote Kitâb-ul-Imamah and Kitâb-ul-Ma'rifah. He also argued with the aforementioned Syrian and defeated him. Imam Ja'far Sâdiq said to him, "You lead the argument to its end and hit the mark." He died in the mid-second century.

7. Hishâm Bin Sâlim Al-Jawâlfqi

He was a well known debator and scholastic of his age. He debated with a person from Bani Makhzûm during the life-time of Imam Ja'far Sâdiq, as well as the aforementioned Syrian and defeated him. Imam Ja'far Sâdiq remarked, "You desire the effect but do not know it."

8. Abu Ishâq Ibrâhîm Bin Sulaimân Bin Abi Dâha Al-Mazni

An-Najâshi has said about him, "He was a distinguished person from our friends in Basra in respect to his studies including that of Al-Kalâm and Al-Jâhiz talks about him. Similar remarks have been made by Ash-Shaikh in al-Fahrist.

He died in the mid-second century.

9. Hishâm Bin Al-Hakam

According to Ibn-un-Nadîm, he was one of the Shi'ite scholastics (Muktallimîn) who strengthened arguments on the subject of Imamate and pruned and dignified the theory and creed. He was an adept debator and quick in replies. Both An-Najâshi and Allamah have expressed similar opinions about him. He too debated with the Syrian mentioned above the cornered him so much so that the latter was forced to agree with him. Imam Ja'far Sâdiq said to him, "O Hishâm .

He had many debates which are recorded in the books as well as a number of books on the issue of Imamate and Al-Kalâm. He died in 199 A.H.

10. Faddâl Bin Hasan Bin Faddâl

He was also a debator and a scholastic. He once debated with Imam Abu Hanifah, the account of which is given in Al-Fusûl-ul-Mukhtârah and by At-Tabrisi in Al-Ihtijâj. He died during the second century.

11. Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Al-Khalil As-Sakkâk al-Baghdâdi

He was a pupil of Hishâm Bin Al-Hakam and, according Ash-Shaikh and An Najâshi, he was a scholastic and a debator and wrote a book on Imamate. He died during the second century.

12. Ali Bin Ismâ'îl Bin Shu'aib Bin Maitham At-Tammâr

He was a contemporary of Hishâm Bin Al-Hakam. He entered into an argument with Abul Hudhail Al-'Allâf, Darâr Bin 'Amr Ad-Dabiyy and An-Nizam on the issue of Imamate in Baghdâd and completely paralysed them. This has been mentioned by Al-Murtadâ in Al-Fusûl-ul-Mukhtârah. According to Ibn-un-Nadîm, he was the first among the Shi'ites to defend the Shi'ite faith and creed in accordance with the principles of Logic. He wrote Kitâb-ul-



Imāmah and Kitāb-ul-Istehqāq. His grand-father Maitham was one of the most prominent friends of Amir-ul-Mu`minīn Ali Bin Abi Talib. An-Najāshi has said about him, "He was one of prominent personalities from among our friends. He argued and debated with Abul Hudhail and An-Nizām and wrote a book titled Kitāb-ul-Imānīyah and another known as Kitāb Majālis Hisham Bin Al-Hakam." Ash-Shaikh has remarked about him in his Alfahrist that he was the first person to defend and debate on the Shi'ite creed and wrote a book on the issue of Imamate and named it as Al-Kāmil. He had another book named Al-Istehqāq. Similarly, in his book Ar Rijāl, Ash-Shaikh has said about him, "He is a Maithamite (a descendant of Al-Maitham), a scholastic and one of the companions of Imam Rida."

But Isa Bin Rawḍa, who we have already mentioned and who lived during the reign of Al Mansūr was senior to Ali Bin Ismā'īl, because the latter lived during the reign of Ar-Rashīd and Al-Māmūn. Similarly, Al-Kumait was also senior to Ali Bin Ismā'īl if we take into the period after that of the companions, otherwise in general terms the Mutakallimīn from among the companions were all seniors to him. He died during the second century.

13. Abu Mālik Ad Dahhāk Al-Hadrumi

According to An-Najāshi, he was a scholastic and a debator and an author of a book on Tawhīd. Similarly, An-Nadīm has also counted him from among the Shi'ite Scholastics. He during the mid-second century.

14. As-Sayyid Al-Himyari, Ismā'īl Bin Muhammad.

His poetry is full of argumentation and defence of the Shi'ite creed. His debate with Sawwār Al-Qadi in the presence of Hārūn Ar-Rashīd is well known. I have referred to it in the SIXTH DISCUSSION and his other debates while giving an account of his life. He died in 199 A.H.

15. Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Abdullah Bin Mamlik Al-Asfāhāni

Ibn-Un-Nadīm has mentioned him in his Al-Fahrist as a Shi'ite Mutakallim. He had a sitting with Abu Ali Al-Jubā'i in the presence of Abu Muhammad Al-Qāsim Bin Muhammad Al-Kirkhi in which they discussed upon the issue of Imamate. He wrote a book on Imamate. He began writing another in refutation of Abu Ali Al-Jubā'i but could not complete it. Ash-Shaikh has also given similar information about him as Ibn-un-Nadīm except that he has said that he was an Imamite Mutakallim. According to An-Najāshi, he wrote a comprehensive book covering all the issues relating to Al-Kalām. He also wrote Kitāb -ul- Masā'il Fil Imāmah and another relating to his discussions with Abu Ali Al-Jubā'i.

He died in the late second century.

#### NAWBAKHTY MUTAKALLIMS ( SCHOLASTICS)

Ibn-un-Nadīm has said in his Al-Fahrist that the Nawbakhtīs are well known for their love and devotion towards Ali and his children. Similarly, according to Riyād-ul-Ulamā, the Nawbakhtīs are a well known group of the Shi'ite scholars and Mutakallims. Some scholars have collected the names of scholastics from this family. We mention their names in the following lines together, basing our information upon these books.

They are:

1. Al Hasan Bin Mūsa An-Nawbakhti Abu Muhammad;
2. Mūsa Bin Al-Hasan Bin Abbās Bin Ismā'īl Bin Abi Sahl Ibn Nawbakht;
3. Al-Faḍl Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht;



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4. Abdullāh Bin Abi Sahl,
5. Abu Sahl Al-Fadl Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht (He wrote a voluminous on Imamate);
6. Ishāq Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht;
7. Abu Ishāq Ismā'īl Bin Ishāq Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht;
8. Ya'qūb Bin Ishāq Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht;
9. Ali Bin Ishāq Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht; whose nick-name was Abu SAHL and who wrote a number of book
10. Ishāq Bin Nawbakht Al-Kātib;
11. Abū Abdullah Ahmad Bin Abdullah An-Nawbakhti;
12. Abul Hasan Ali Bin Ahmad Bin Abdullah An-Nawbakhti;
13. Abul Husain Ali Bin Abbās An-Nawbakhti;
14. Abu Yā'la Bin Ja'far, known as Ibn Rahūmah An-Nawbakhti;
15. Abu Ja'far Ahmad Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Nawbakht, who was a son-in-law of Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Uthmān Bin Sa'īd Al-'Umrawi;
16. Abu Ibrāhīm Ja'far Bin Ahmad Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Nawbakht;
17. Abu Ja'far Abdullah Bin Ibrāhīm, who was a brother of Ahmad Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Nawbakht;
18. Abul Hasan Bin Kathir An-Nawbakhti;
19. Rūh Bin Abul Qāsim;
20. Al-Husain Ibn Rūh Bin Abu Rūh An-Nawbakhti;
21. Sulāimān Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht;
22. Al-Hasan Bin Muhammad Bin Ali Ibn Al-Abbās Bin Ismā'īl Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht;
23. Ibrāhīm Bin Ja'far Bin Ahmad Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Nawbakht,

Abu Sahl Al Fadl Bin Nawbakht was, according to Ibn-un-Nadīm, employed in Khazānatul Hikmah of Hārūn-ur-Rashīd. Ibn-ul-Qifti has said that he was one of the famous Leaders of Mutakallims and was mentioned in the books of these people. He lived during the reign of Hārūn-ur-Rashīd who entrusted with the work of setting up a library of books on Hikmah (Philosophy) He died in the late second century.

His son Ishāq Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht was a famous scholastic, as given by the book Khāndāne Nawbakhti. He died during the third century.

Abu Muhammad Al-Hajjāl Abdullah Bin Muhammad, as Al-Fadl Bin Shādhān has stated, was "a scholastic from our friends, a good talker who debated efficiently with people." He died in the beginning of the third century.

Al-Qāsim Bin Yūsuf Al-Kātib was one of the Shi'ite scholastics and poets. This is supported by Al-Marzbāni in his Al-Nukhbatul Mukhtārah and by Abu Bakr Aṣ-Ṣulī in Kitābul Awrāq. He died in the early third century.

Abu Uthmān Al-Māzini Bakr Bin Muhammad An Nahwi Al-Basri is a well known person. An-Najāshi has reported on the authority of Muhammad Bin Yazid Al-Mubrid An-Nahwi that the latter said about him that Abu Uthmān Bakr Bin Muhammad was from among the Shi'ite scholars and was employed with Ismā'īl Bin Maitham. This Ismā'īl Bin Maitham, as already mentioned, was one of the Shi'ite Scholastics who are quite well known. According to Bughyatul Wi'āṭ, Al Māzini was such a person with whom none debated but that lost his mastery over debating. He died in 248 A.H.

Al Fadl Bin Shādhān An-Naishapuri was a scholastic as we get from the evidence of Ash Shaikh. An-Najāshi says about him that he was one of the brilliant scholastics who belonged to the Shi'ite group. He died in 260 A.H.



Other writers and scholastics are as follows:

1. Muhammad Bin Abi Ishâq Al-Qummi, As-Shaikh has testified that he wrote books on Al-Kalâm, An-Najâshi has said that he was a scholastic who has been mentioned by Ibn Battah. He died during the third Century.
2. Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'îd Ath-Thaqafi. He is the writer of a voluminous book on Imamate and another smaller volume on the same subject. Both these books have been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh in Al-Fahrist and An-Najâshi. He died in 283 A.H.
3. Ya'qûb Bin Ishâq Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht was well versed in Philosophy, Al-Kalâm and Astronomy. He died during the third century.
4. Ali Bin Ishâq Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht was a brother of Ya'qûb mentioned above and was well versed in Al-Kalâm and astronomy. He died during the third century.
5. Abu Muhammad Yahya Bin Al-Husain Al-'Alawi An-Naishapuri belonged to the family of Banî Ziyâdah and according to Ibn Shah Ashûb, was a mutakallim and had written many books. He was alive in 305 A.H.
6. Abu Ja'afar Muhammad Bin Abdur Rahmân Bin Qibbah Ar-Râzi, Ibn-un-Nadîm has said about him, "He is one of the Shi'ite mutakallims and a very expert one. He wrote a book titled Kitâb-ul-Inshâf Fil Imâmah and still another named Kitâb-ul-Imâmah.

Similarly An-Najâshi says, "He was very strong in Kalâm. Originally he was a Mu'tazilite but later on turned an Imamite. He wrote a book on Al-Kalâm." Then An-Najâshi writes quoting Ibn Battah that he wrote a book named Al-Inshâf Fil Imâmah. He also reports Al-Hamadûni saying that he went to Abul Qâsim Al-Balkhi in Balkh and he had Kitâbul Inshâf with him. Al-Balkhi refuted that book through Al-Mustarshid which Al-Hamadûni took to Rayy to Ibn Qibbah who gave a rejoinder to Al-Mustarshid through Al-Mustathbit. Al-Hamadûni took this book back to Al-Balkhi in Balkh who once again criticised it. Again Al-Hamadûni took that criticism back to Ibn Qibbah but found him dead by that time. He died in the beginning of the fourth century.

7. Abul Husain Muhammad Bin Bashâr As-Susanjardi known as Al-Hamadûni. He received his education from Abul Qâsim Al-Balkhi. In the beginning he was a Mu'tazilite but then became an Imamite and refuted the arguments of Al-Balkhi. An-Najâshi says, "He was a good debator and Mutakallim and wrote two books, namely, Al-Muqni' and Al-Munqidh. Both these books dealt with the issue of Imamate. Both Ash-Shaikh and Ibn-un-Nadîm have said in their Fahrists (Catalogues of authors) that he was employed with Abu Sahl An-Nawbakhti and wrote Kitâb-ul-Inqâdh Fil Imâmah. Ibn Battah says in his Fahrist, "He is one of our most prominent friends and of the best mutakallims. He has written a book on Imamate which is well known. He performed Hajj on foot fifty times." He died in the beginning of the fourth century.
8. Al-Hasan Bin Abu 'Aqîl Al-'Ammâni was a mutakallim and wrote a book on Al-Kalâm, named Kitâb-ul-Karr-i-wal Farr. The most prominent Shi'ite religious scholars have praised him and his books. He died in the beginning of the fourth century.
9. Abu Muhammad Al-Hasan Bin Mûsa An-Nawbakhti was a nephew of Abu Sahl Ismâ'îl Bin Ali whose account is to follow. Ibn-un-Nadîm and Ash-Shaikh in their Fahrists as well as An-Najâshi have said that he was a mutakallim and a philosopher. Many books have been reported having been written by him. He is the author Al-Firaq wad Diyânâ (which has been mentioned among his books). He bears his link with the family of Nawbakhtis from the side of his mother. He died in 310 A.E.



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10. Abu Sahl Ismâ'îl Bin Ali Bin Ishâq Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht. He was the leader and teacher of the mutakallims and was from among our friends in Baghdâd and their prominent figure. He is said to have written many books on Al-Kalâm." Ibn-un-Nadîm has said, "He was one of the prominent Shi'ites and a very scholarly mutakallim. There are on record a number of his sittings and talks with other mutakallims and he is said to have written a number of books on Imamate and on Al-Kalâm. He died in 311 A.H.
10. Abu Sahl Ismâ'îl Bin Ali Bin Ishâq Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht. He was the patron of Al-Bahtari, Ash-Shaikh (in his Al-Fahrist) and An-Najâshi have said, "He was the leader and teacher of the mutakallims and was from among our friends in Baghdâd and their prominent figure. He is said to have written many books on Al-Kalâm." Ibn-un-Nadîm has said, "He was one of the prominent Shi'ites and a very scholarly mutakallim. There are on record a number of his sittings and talks with other mutakallims and he is said to have written a number of books on Imamate on Al-Kalâm. He died in 311 A.H.
11. Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Ishâq was the brother Abu Sahl Ismâ'îl. According to the book Khândâné Nawbakhti he was counted among mutakallims and had learnt Al-Kalâm from his brother Abu Sahl.
12. Al-Mas'ûdî, Ali Ibn Al-Husain. He is counted among the mutakallims. He wrote Ithbât-ul-Waṣṣiyyâh, Aṣ-Ṣaf'îyah Fil Imâmah, Al-Istinṣâr, Az-Zâhi, which he has mentioned in Marûj-udh-Dhahab. He died in 346 A.H.
13. Kashâjam, Mahmûd Bin Al-Husain was a famous poet and was treated as a mutakallim in the circles of scholars. He died in 350 A.H.
14. Abu Ja'far Bin Muhammad Jarîr Bin Rustum At-Tabari Al-Aamili. An-Najâshi has said about him, "He is from among our friends, very well-read and scholarly person and knows the art of conversation. He wrote the book Al-Mustarshî Fil Imâmah." An-Najâshi has also quoted the authorities on this book. Similar account is given in Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh. It may be pointed out here that the presently discussed author is different from Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Jarîr Bin Yazîd Bin Khâlid At-Tabari who is well known historian and an exegetist and has his books widely known. Abu Bakr Al-Khuwarzimi was the nephew of the former and not the latter as commonly considered. He died in the mid-fourth century.
15. Abu Ishâq Ibrâhîm Bin Ishâq Bin Abu Sahl Bin Nawbakht. He was the author of the book on Al-Kalâm, named, Al-Yâqût. This book has been explained and commented upon by Allama Al-Hilli who has praised the author very much in the beginning of his commentary. He died in the mid-fourth century.
16. Abul Qâsim Ali Bin Ahmad Al-Kufî. Ibn-un-Nadîm has said about him, "He is one of the Imamite scholars and the author of Kitâb-ul-Awṣiyâ". Ash-Shaikh has said in his Al-Fahrist, "He was an Imamite following the right path. He wrote many books of which Kitâb-ul-Awṣiyâ is the most valuable. Later, he got mixed up." He died in 352 A.H.
17. Muhammad Bin Ali Bin 'Abdak Al-Jurjâni. There is a report from Al-Hâkim in Ansâb-us-Sam'âni that he was considered among those having in-sight in Al-Kalâm. An-Najâshi says that he was a grand mutakallim. Similarly Ash-Shaikh declares in his Al-Fahrist, that he was one of the top-ranking mutakallims on the matters relating to Imamate. He died after 370 A.H.
18. An-Nâshî Al-Aṣghar, Abul Husain Ali Bin Abdullah Bin Waṣṣî. He was a well known poet. According to Ibn Khallakân, he was a pupil of Abu Sahl Ismâ'îl Bin Ali Bin Ishâq Bin Abu Sahl and learnt Al-Kalam from him. An-Najâshi and Ash-Shaikh (the latter in his Al-Fahrist) both have said



- that he wrote a book on Al-Kalâm. Ibn-un-Nadîm has placed him among the Shi'ite scholastics (mutakallim) and has said that he was an adept debator. He died in 305 A.H.
19. Aṣ-Ṣāhib, Ismā'īl Bin 'Ibād wrote three books on Al-Kalâm, namely, Kitab Ḍmā'ullah Wa Ṣifāteh, Al-Anwār Fil Imāmah and Al-Ibānah 'Anil Imām. He died in 285 A.H.
  20. Ali Bin Ahmad Al-Khazzār, Ash-Shaikh has mentioned him in his Ar-Rijāl as a top-ranking mutakallim. He died during the fourth century.
  21. Muhammad Bin Ahmad Al-Hārithi has been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh as well as An-Najāshi as having written a book on Imamate. They have also quoted the authorities for this book. He died during the fourth century.
  22. Al-Faḍl Bin Abdur Rahmān Al-Baghdādī, An-Najāshi has said he was a mutakallim who knew how to talk well. Abu Abdullah Al-Husain Bin Abdullah Al-Ghadā'iri says, "I had his book on Imamate which was a big book." He died during the fourth century.
  23. Abul Hasan Ali Bin Muhammad Al-'Adawi Ash-Shamshā'ī. According to An-Najāshi he was the author of Ar-Risālah Al-Jāmi'ah, Ar-Risālah Al-Kāshifah 'Ann Khaṭā'il 'Aṣabatal Mukhālifah and Risālatul Intiṣāf Min Dhawil Baghyyi Wal Iqtirāf. He died during the fourth century.
  24. Ash-Shaikh Muḥḍ, Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Nu'mān. He is known as Ibn-ul-Mu'allim and paved way for every one in the field of Al-Kalâm. According to Ibn-un-Nadîm, the headship of the Mutakallims of the Shi'ite has been reserved for ever. His three books on Al-Kalâm are well known, namely, Al-Ifṣāh 'Anil Imāmah, Al-'Uyūn Wal Mahāsin and Al-Majālis. He died in 413 A.H.
  25. Mehyār Ad-Dailami was a poet and there are sound arguments and a number of discussions in his poems. He died in 428 A.H.
  26. As-Sayyid Al-Murtada Ali Bin Al-Husain Al-Mūsawi known as 'Ilm-ul-Huda. Allama has said in Al-Khullāṣah that he combined many branches of knowledge in his personality and that there is a general agreement on his accomplishment and his achievement in the field of knowledge, including Ilm-ul-Kalâm. He wrote Ash-Shāfi Fil Imāmah as a rejoinder to Al-Mughni of Qādi Abu Bakr Al-Bāqilāni. This book is without any comparison. He also wrote Al-Fuṣūl ul-Mukhtārāh which has been adapted from books of Al-Muḥḍ, namely, Al-Majālis, Al-'Uyūn and Al-Mahāsin. He died in 436 A.H.
  27. Abul Fateh Muhammad Bin Uthmān Al-Karājaki was an adept mutakallim. He died in 449 A.H.
  28. Abu Yu'la Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Hamza Al-Ja'fari was, as reported by An-Najāshi, a jurist and a mutakallim and was profound in both the fields. He died in 463 A.H.
  29. Abu Muhammad Yahyā Bin Muhammad Al-Hasani Al-'Alawi, An-Najāshi has said about him that he was a scholar, a jurist and a mutakallim. An-Najāshi has also mentioned the books written by him including one on Imamate. Obviously he is the one referred to in Bughyat-ul-Wi'āt and Mu'jam-ul-Udabā' as Yahyā Bin Muhammad Bin Tabātabā' Al-'Alawi whose nickname has been given as Abu Muhammad or Abu 'Ammārah. He was a Shi'ite. He died in 478 A.H.
  30. Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Ali Al-Fattāl An-Naishapuri. He is the author of Rawdat-ul-Wā'izfn. Al-Hasan Bin Dā'ūd has said in 'Biographies' that he was a very prominent mutakallim. He died during the fifth century.



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31. Abul Abbās Ahmad Bin Muhammad Al-Ishbīlī known as Ibn-ul-Hājj. According to As-Suyūṭī, he wrote a book on Imamate in which he proved the Imamate of the Twelve.
32. Sadīd-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Bin Ali Al-Humṣī Ar-Rāzi Al-Hillī. He is a well-known person. He was a profound mutakallim and has many books on Al-Kalām to his credit. Fakhr-ud-Dīn Ar-Rāzi has quoted many of his arguments in the explanation of the verse of Al-Mubāhīlah(1). According to Al-Qāmūs, Mahmūd Bin Ali Al-Humṣī was mutakallim from whom Fakhr-ud-Dīn Ar-Rāzi got many points. He died during the sixth century.
33. Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bin Muhammad At-Tūsi. He is called 'the Teacher of Philosophers' and is the author of a large number of books on Metaphysics and Al-Kalām. Among these books is At-Tajrīd which has received a world-wide fame. It has been explained and commented upon by many great scholars. Another book written by him is Sharḥ-ul-Majisti which has no comparison whatsoever. He died in 679 A.H.
34. Sadīd-ud-Dīn Sālim Bin Mahfūz Bin Azizah Al-Hillī As-Sūrāṭī. He is the author of Al-Minhāj Fi 'Ilm-ul-Kalām. He died during the seventh century.
35. Ali Bin Sulaimān Al-Bahrānī is the author of Al-Ishārāt Fil Kalām. He died during the seventh century.
36. Maitham Bin Ali Maitham Al-Bahrānī was a pupil of Ali Bin Sulaimān, mentioned above. He was a philosopher and mutakallim. He wrote an explanation of Al-Ishārāt written by his teacher. He also wrote Al-Qawā'id Fi 'Ilm-ul-Kalām, An-Nijāt Fil Qiyāmah Fi Amr-il-Imāmah and Istiqṣā'un-Nazar Fi Imāmat-il-A'immatil Athnā 'Ashar. He also wrote a commentary on Nehj-ul-Balāghab. His death occurred in 679 A.H.
37. Al-Hasan Bin Dā'ūd Al-Hillī is the author of Rijāl. He also wrote Ad-Durruth-Thamīn Fi Uṣūl-id-Dīn (in verse) and Al-Kharīdat-ul-'Adharā' Fil 'Aqīdatil Gharrā' (in verse). He died during the seventh or eighth century.
38. Al-Allāmah Al-Hasan Bin Yūsuf Al-Hillī. He has a large number of books on Al-Kalām and philosophy. Some of these are Sharḥ-ut-Tajrīd, Minhāj-ul-Karāmah, Nehjul Haq, Nehjul Mustarshidīn Ar-Risālah As-Sa'diyyah, Asrārul Malakūt Fi Sharḥ il-Yāqūt, Kitābul Alfain etc. etc. The number of his books on Al-Kalām and philosophy is estimated to be forty. He died in 720 A.H.
39. Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan, Fakhrul Muḥaqqiqīn was the son of Al-Allamah referred to above and wrote a book on Al-Kalām titled Al-Kāfiyah Al-Wāfiyah. He died in 771 A.H.
40. Safi-ud-Dīn Abdul Aziz Bin Sarayā Al-Hillī was a mutakallim who expressed himself in verse. He died in 752 A.H.
41. Ash-Sharīf Jamāl-ud-Dīn Abdullah Bin Muhammad Bin Ahmad An-Naishapūri (domiciled in Aleppo). In Bughyatul Wi'āt; it has been reported on the authority of Ad-Durur ul-Kāminah that he was one of scholars of Ma'qūl (Rational Philosophy) and was adept in Uṣūl and Arabic Language and Literature. He died in 776 A.H.
42. Al-Miqdād Bin Abdullah As-Sayyūrī Al-Hillī Al-Asadī. He is the author of Irsnād-ut-Tālibīn which is a commentary of Nehj-ul-Mustarshidīn by Allamah. He also wrote a commentary on the Eleventh Chapter of Mukhtaṣirul Miṣbāh by Allama. He died in 792 A.H.
43. Al-Hasan Bin Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Rāshid Al-Hillī. According to Riyād-ul-Ulamā' he was a profound mutakallim and wrote Miṣbāh-ul-Muhtadīn Fi Uṣūl-id-Dīn. He was alive in 827 A.H.
44. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bin As'ad Ad-Dawwānī. He was a philosopher-scholastic and wrote a number of books on Al-Kalām and philosophy, in-



- cluding Anwâr-ul-Hidâyah in which he has mentioned his being a Shi'ite. He died in 908 A.H.
45. Aqa Muhammad Riḍa Bin Al-Hasan Al-Qazwîni. He is the author of Diyâfat-ul-Ikhwân, which deals with the scholars of Qazwîn. He was a mutakallim too. He died in 1096 A.H.
46. Ash-Shaikh Kâzim Al-Arzi Al-Baghdâdî, was a poet and an adept debator-scholastic. He died in 1212 A.H.
47. Mirza Hidâyat Ullah Al-Urshaji Al-Mashhadi was one of the scholastics. He died in 1218 A.H.
48. Ash-Shaikh Ali Bin Abdullah Bin Ali Al-Bahrâni. He is the author Lisân-uṣ-Ṣidq which was written as rejoinder to Mizân-ul-Haqq written by a Christian scholar. He was successful in this book. It was twice printed, in India and in Egypt. He died in early fourteenth century.
49. As-Sayyid Hâmid Husain Al-Hindî Al-Lakhnawi. He wrote a book in Persian titled 'Abqât-ul-Anwâr Fi Ithbâti Imâmat-al-A'immat-al-Athâr. This book is spread over ten big volumes and has no comparison in its field right from the early Islam upto date. He refers to very authentic personalities quoting from their books which are dependable. Such a writing has never been seen or heard. He died in 1366 A.H.
50. As-Sayyid Nâsir Husain was the son of As-Sayyid Hâmid Husain referred to above. He continued the work started by his father and completed ABQÂT.

He died in 1361 A.H.

SHPITE SCHOLARS AND AUTHORS IN THE FIELD OF PRINCIPLES OF JURISPRUDENCE.

From Among The Imâms.

You have learnt from the Eighth Discussion that the first one to speak about Jurisprudence in Islam was Ali Bin Abi Talib. He dictated sixty different kinds of studies connected with the Quran. He mentioned that in the Quran there were verses which abrogated the others and these which were abrogated (Nâsiikh and Mansûkh); that there were verses clear in their meaning (Muhkam) and others which were not (mutashâbeh) and that there were verses which had their particular application and others having general application. These principles were the foundation stone of all discussions relating to this branch of knowledge. Imam Muhammad Al-Baqi and Imam Ja'far As-Sâdiq were the foremost after Amir-ul-Mu'minin to open the gate of Principles of Jurisprudence. Imam Shâfi'i came long after them. Both of them explained their companions the most important issues relating to Jurisprudence. Imam Ja'far Sâdiq threw light on the following issues:

- i) conditions and pre-requisites of Ijtihâd;
- ii) permission of following another person (Taqlîd);
- iii) denotative value of the apparent meaning of words;
- iv) permissibility of action according to the general and absolute senses, etc.;
- v) permissibility of framing secondary injunctions and finding out secondary rule from the basic principles;
- vi) action
- vii) permissibility of reporting the Traditions according to the meaning and not the words (indirect narration);
- viii) unpermissibility of imposing an action upon a person which is far beyond his capacity;
- xi) obligation to refrain from that which is doubtful;
- x) admissibility of reasoning with reference to a precedent and non-admissibility



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of analogous inferences (guess work) that is Al-Qiyâs;

Similarly, both Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir and Imâm Ja'far Sâdiq clarified the following issues relating to the Principles of Jurisprudence:

- i) arriving at a decision in case of the doubtful despite the absence clear-cut information;
- ii) dealing with contradictory information, which issue relates to striking and balance and exercising one's discretion and preference:

Similarly, Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir, Imam Ja'far As-Sâdiq and Imam Mûsa Al-Kâzim clarified that it is obligatory to refer to the Quran and the Sunnah in order to deduce results and give judgments, as well as that the apparent meaning are sufficient for the sake of reasoning and admissible. Imâm As-Sâdiq and Imam Al-Kâzim prohibited the use of analogy and guess-work in arriving at judgments. In the same way, Imam As-Sâdiq and Imam Ar-Rida declared it permissible to act in accordance with the general and the absolute as well as admissibility of framing secondary rules on the basis of fundamental principles and abstract rules. Imam Ali Al-Hâdi and Imam Al-Hasan Al'Askari gave their judgment on the admissibility of one circumstantial evidence information which is authentic. Similarly, Imâm Al-Mahdi declared the admissibility of circumstantial evidence and so on and so forth. These things are dealt with at length in the Eighth Discussion.

### Other than Imams

Some of our contemporary writers have said that the first person to distinguish himself in writing down these discussions in the form of a book was Hishâm Bin Al-Hakam, a student of Imam Ja'far Sâdiq who composed a book, titled, Kitâb-ul-Âlfâz Wa Mabâhithihâ, which is one of the important discussion of this branch of studies.

Our opinion is that there has been mentioned a book as referred to above among the books written by Hishâm but its topic is not known. It cannot said as to whether this book deals with the discussion of the words which belongs to the field of Jurisprudence or not. Nor does the statements of our contemporaries give any indication to this effect. But the correct position is that the first one to put down these discussions to book-form was Yûnis Bin Abdur Rahmân who was an ally to Yaqtin family. He wrote a book titled Ikhtilâf-ul-Hadith which deals with exactly an issue of principles of jurisprudence that is the question of balancing the views which are contradictory and exercising one's discretion in giving a judgment. This is a part of the discussions relating to the Principles of Jurisprudence. He died in the beginning of the third century.

Other notable figures who did work in this field are as described below:

1. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khâlid Al-Barqi wrote a book on contradictory opinions and question of giving judgment. He died in 274 A.H.
2. Muhammad Bin Abdur Rahmân Bin Qibbah Ar-Râzi has expressed his ideas on the availability of one piece of evidence which is quite known. He died in the beginning of the fourth century.
3. Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin An-Nu'mân known as Al-Mufîd. He has a small book on Ilm-ul-Uṣūl which is printed.
4. Ash-Shar'î Murtaḍa Ilm-ul-Huda Ali Bin Al-Husain, Allama has described him in Al-Khullâsah as a man of all arts whose position is admitted by all. He was profound in knowledge and different studies, which included the knowledge of Uṣūl-ul-Fiqh (Principles of Jurisprudence) which is a way to the Principles of Law (Shar'ah). His ideas and opinions are quite well known in the books of both the Sunnite and the Shi'ite writers. He died in 436 A.H.



5. Ash-Shaikh Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Al-Husain At-Tūsi. He is called Shaikh-ut-Tā'ifah or simply as Ash-Shaikh. A number of his books on the Principles are found in print.

He died in 460 A.H.

6. Sadfud-Din Mahmūd Bin Ali Al-Humsi was also one of the scholars who were known for knowledge of Uṣūl. He died during the sixth century.
7. Al-Muhaqqiq Ja'far Bin Al Hasan Bin Yahyā Bin Sa'fd Al-Hilli. He is the author of Ma'ārij-ul-Wuṣūl Ilā 'Ilm-il-Uṣūl which has been printed. He also collected the fundamental rule relating to Ilm-ul-Uṣūl in brief in a book form which is first of its kind. He died in 676 A.H.
8. Yahyā Bin Sa'fd Al-Hilli was a cousin of Al-Muhaqqiq Ja'far. He wrote Al-Madkhal Fi Uṣūl-il-Fiqh. His death occurred in 690 A.H.
9. Al-Allāmah Al-Hilli Al-Ḥasan Bin Yūsuf Bin Al-Muṭahhar. He was a pupil of Al-Muhaqqiq. Among his books are An-Nukat-ul-Bad'ah, Ghāyat-ul-Wuṣūl, Mabādi-ul-Wuṣūl, Tahdhīb-ul-Wuṣūl, Nihāyat-ul-Wuṣūl (in two volumes), Nehjul Wuṣūl. He died in 726 A.H.
10. As-Sayyid 'Amfd-ud-Din Abdul Mutalib Bin Muhammad Al-A'raji Al-Husaini was a nephew of Al-Allāmah and his pupil. He wrote an explanation and commentary on his uncle's book Tahdhīb-ul-Wuṣūl. He died during the eighth century. (1)
11. Ash-Shaikh-ul-Jalil Muhammad Bin Ali Al-Jurjāni was also a pupil of Al-Allāmah. He wrote Ghāyat-ul-Bādi Fi Sharh il-Mabādi Fi Uṣūl-il-Fiqh written by his teacher. He wrote this book in the name of An-Naqib 'Amfd-ud-Din Abdul Mutalib Ibn An-Naqib Shams-ud-Din Ali Bin Al-Mukhtār Al-Husaini. I have a copy of this book. He died during the eighth century.
12. Ash-Shahfd Muhammad Bin Makki Al-'Aamili Al-Jizzfni collected the fundamental rules of the Principles of Jurisprudence in a book form. He also composed Kitāb ul-Qawā'id Fil Qawā'id il-Fiqhiyyah. He was martyred in 786 A.H.
13. Ash-Shaikh Zain-ud-Din Ali Al-'Aamili Al-Jaba'f continued the work started by Ash-Shahfd and composed Tamhfd-ul-Qaw'id'. He was also martyred in 966 A.H. and is called Ash-Shahfd-Uth-Thāni.

The lead given by these two martyres was taken by the following scholars:

14. Ash-Shaikh Ḥasan Bin Zain ud-Din Ash-Shahfd uth-Thāni Al-'Aamili who is known as Khatīb-ul-Uṣūliyyfn, wrote Al-Ma'ālim Fil Uṣūl. Before this book was written, the people used to study this subject through Sharh-ul-'Amfdi 'Alat Tahdhīb which has already been mentioned, along with Uṣūl-lbn-il-Hājib and Uṣūl-ul-'Adadi. But after its composition, the teaching and learning of this subject was based upon it. He died in 1011 A.H.
1. There are a number of commentaries on aforementioned Tahdhīb-ul-Wuṣūl. Among such commentaries is Nihāyat-ut-Taqrīb Fi Sharh-it-Tahdhīb in two volumes. I have got a manuscript copy of this book but its first pages are missing. Hence, I cannot tell about its author.

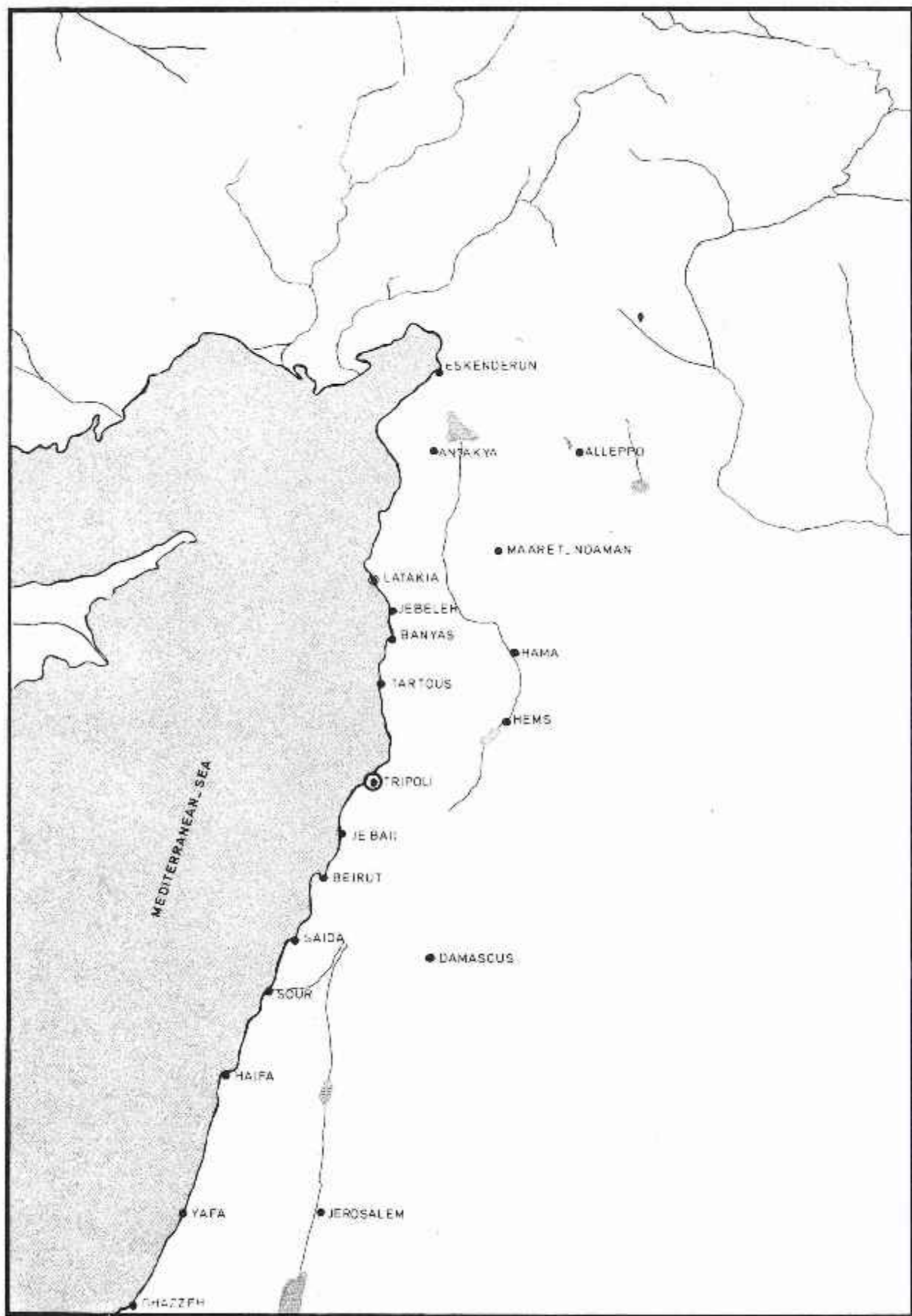


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15. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Ash-Shaikh Hasan Bin Zain-ud-Din was the son of the author of Al Ma'âlim, as mentioned above, and was one of those persons who wrote commentaries on this book. He died in 1030 A.H.
16. As Sayyid Husain known as Khalifah Sultân wrote a commentary on Al-Ma'âlim. He died in 1066 A.H.
17. Mulla Sâleh Al Mazandrani wrote a commentary on Al-Ma'âlim.
18. Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Ash-Shirwâni known as Mulla Mîrz wrote another commentary on Al-Ma'âlim. He died in 1099 A.H. (1)
19. Al-Mulla Abdullah At-Tûni.  
He wrote Al-Wâfiyah Fil UṢŪl which became very famous and many scholars wrote commentaries on it. He died during the mid-eleventh century.
20. Ash-Shaikh ul-Bahâ'i, Muhammad Bin Al-Husain wrote Zubdatul UṢŪl. He died in 1031 A.H.
21. Ash Shaikh Jawwâd Bin Sa'd ullah Al-Kâzmi who is commonly known as Al-Fâdil Al-Jawwâd was a pupil of Ash-Shaikh-ul-Bahâ'i. He wrote Ghâyatul Ma' mûl Fi Sharhi Zubdatul UṢŪl. He died during the eleventh century.
22. Ash-Shaikh Asadullah Bin Ismâ'îl At-Tustari Al-Kâzimi. He wrote Kashful-Qinâ' 'Anil Wujûh-i-Hujjiyatul Ijmâ'. In this book he gave a summary of what his predecessors had written and supplemented with the contemporary opinions on admissibility of Ijmâ'. He has been followed by those who came after him upto our own age. He died in 1220 A.H.
23. As-Sayyid Muhammad Al-Jawwâd Bin Muhammad Al-Husaini Al-'Aamili An-Najafi is the author of Miftâh-ul-Kirâmah. He also wrote a commentary on Al-Wâfiyah by At-Tûni. He died in 1226 A.H.
24. As-Sayyid Muhsin Al-A'raji Al Baghdâdi, Khatib-ul-UṢŪliyyîn who is also known as Al-Muhaqqiq-ul-Kâzimi is the author of Al-MahṣŪl Fil UṢŪl. He also wrote a commentary on Al-Wâfiy of At-Tûni which was titled by him as Al-Wâfi. He died in 1226 A.H.
25. Ash-Shaikh Ja'far Ibn Ash-Shaikh Khidar An-Najafi.  
He briefly dealt with the issues relating to UṢŪl in the beginning of his book Kashf-ul-Ghiṭâ' 'Anil Mahâsin-ish-Shari'at-al-Gharrâ'. He died in 1228.
26. As-Sayyid Husain Bin Abil Hasan Mûsa Al-Husaini Al-'Aamili Ash-Shaqrâ'i as the brother of the grand-father of the author of the present work. He was the most famous among the scholars of UṢŪl in Iraq in his age. The scholars of An-Najaf chose him to debate with Mirza Al-Qummi on the

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1. There are some more commentaries written on Al-Ma'âlim which will be mentioned later on.



A map designating the coastal frontiers of the Bani Ammar state, extending northward beyond Latakia to the borders of Antioch, and southward to the suburbs of Beirut.





issue of 'admissibility of absolute Probability' when the latter visited Iraq and asked for a debate on this issue.  
He died in 1230 A.H.

27. Al-Mirza Abul Qâsim Al-Qummi wrote Qawanîn ul-UŞûl on which people depended for their study of UŞûl, in addition to Al-Ma'âlim. Many commentaries have been written on this book which will be discussed later on. He died in 1233 A.H.
28. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Taqi Bin Abdur Rahîm At-Tehrâni Al-Hâiri, was brother of Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Taqi. He wrote Al-FuŞûl Fil UŞûl. He died in 1261 A.H.  
He wrote a voluminous book on UŞûl and named it as Al-Hâshiyah 'Ala Ma'âlim. He died in 1248 A.H.
29. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Husain Bin Abdur Rahîm Al-Asfahâni Al-Hâiri was brother of Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Taqi. He wrote Al-FuŞûl Fil UŞûl. He died in 1261 A.H.
30. Mirza Abdul Fatâh Bin Ali Al-Hussaini Al-Marâghi.  
He was one of the pupils of the sons of Ash Shaikh Ja'far Al Janâji An-Najafi. He has books on the pattern of Al Qawâ'id of Ash-Shahîd of Tamhîd-ul-Qawâ'id by Ash-Shahîd-uth-Thâni. He died during the thirteenth century.
31. Ash-Shaikh Murtada Bin Muhammad Amîn At-Tustari Al-Anşari is known as Murabbi-ul-Ulamâ (Teacher of the scholars).  
He wrote a well-known book, titled Ar-Rasâ'il which is used for teaching of this subject (UŞûl) alongwith Al-Ma'âlim and Al-Qawânîn. He gives a summary of his predecessors in connection with important principles. He has been followed by those who were his juniors. He dealt with the issues of UŞûl in such a way that he became the guiding-soul for all to come later. Many commentaries have been written on this book and have been printed too. Many books have been compiled from his discussions on UŞûl from which the people have benefitted. He died in 1281 A.H.
32. As-Sayyid Mehdi Al-Qazwîni Al-Hilli An-Najafi is the author of Talfîl Fil UŞûl. He died in 1300 A.H.
33. Ash-Shaikh Mûsa Bin Amîn Aal Sharârah Al'Aamili wrote a poem on the subject which has no parallel. He died in 1304 A.H.
34. Mirza Mûsa At-Tabrîzi is one of the contemporaries. He has written Hâshiyah (notes) on the Rasâ'il of Shaikh Murtada, which is quite a voluminous book and has been printed. He died during the fourteenth century.
35. Mirza As-Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Ash-Shirâzi was domiciled in Sâmarâ. He was one of the most famous teachers of UŞûl and trained many a scholar. He was himself a pupil of Ash-Shaikh Murtada. Among his writings is a book Risâlah Fil Mushtaq. He died in 1312 A.H.
36. Mirza Habîb Ullah Ar-Rishti was a pupil of Shaikh Murtada. He was a very famous teacher of UŞûl and wrote a book named Badâ'i'-ul-UŞûl. He died in 1313 A.H.



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37. Mirza Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Al-Ashtiyâni At-Tehrani was a pupil of Shaikh Murtada. He wrote a commentary on Ar-Rasâ'il which has been printed. He died in 1322 A.H.
38. Ash-Shaikh Mulla Kâzim Al-Khurâsâni An-Najafi was our teacher and our Shaikh. He was one of the most famous teachers of Uṣūl in our age. He polished up the subject and simplified it. He has written a commentary on the Rasâ'il of Shaikh Murtada as well as Al-Kifâyah Fil Uṣūl in which he treated all the necessary topics of the subject with the result that the students and teachers bank upon it alongwith Al-Ma'âlim, Qawânîn and Rasâ'il. Nowadays, Al-Qawânîn has been left out and the study of Uṣūl is confined to three books, namely, Al-Ma'âlim, Ar-Rasâ'il and Al-Kifâyah. He died in 1329 A.H.
39. Ash-Shaikh Mahdi Al-Khâlîṣî Al-Kâzimi was one of the pupils of Shaikh Mulla Kazim Khurâsâni. He wrote a commentary on Al-Kifâyah and has written on many subjects in Uṣūl. He died in 1343 A.H.
40. As-Sayyid Abul Hasan Asfahâni.
41. Ash-Shaikh Mirza Husain An-Nâ'ini
42. Ash-Shaikh Abdul Karim Al-Yazdi.
43. Ash-Shaikh Diya-ud-Din Al-Iraqi An-Najafi was a student of Shaikh Mulla Kâzim and was a very famous teacher. He has written a commentary on Al-Kifâyah. He died in 1361 A.H.

In addition to those mentioned above, many scholars of our age as well as in the past have written books which are numerous and printed. To estimate the work done by the Shi'ite scholars in this field is difficult, not to speak of enumerating the scholars and teachers on this subject.

## SHI'ITE JURISTS AND AUTHORS ON JURISPRUDENCE AND THE TRADITIONS

### From Among The Companions

The first and foremost among the companions of the Prophet who had acquired the knowledge of Jurisprudence was the Imam of the Shi'ites and their Chief Amir-ul-Mu'minîn Ali Bin Abi Talib.

Similarly Sayyidah Fâtimah Az-Zahrâ' and her two sons Imam Al-Hasan and Imam Al-Husain were profoundly accomplished in this respect. What has resulted from their talks about the religious studies is sufficient to fill volumes. It would suffice to refer to the speeches made by her after the death of her father - the Prophet - which contain a lot of material about the philosophy of Shara' and religious injunctions. You have learnt during the Eighth Discussion about Mushaf-o-Fâtimah or the Book of Fâtimah as well as that Imam Al-Hasan and his father Ali Bin Abi Talib were the first to write about such knowledge.

Then comes the name of Ibn Abbas who is usually called the Pontiff of Ummah and the Jurist of the Community. He is always referred in the matters relating to the Traditions, Jurisprudence and Religious Injunctions. He died in 67 A.H.

Next to come are Salmâm-Al Farsi and Abu Dhar Al-Ghaffârî. They were the first to collect the Traditions and classify them under different headings. When we discussed as to who was the first to write a book in Islam, we quoted from Ibn



Shahr Ashûb that the pioneer in this respect was Ali Bin Abi Talib who was followed by Salmân, Abu Dhar, Al-Asbagh Bin Nabâtah, Abdullah Bin Abi Râfe' and Imam Zainul Aabidîn (who wrote As-Sahîfah Al-Kâmilah) respectively. To Salmân is attributed a book of Traditions named as Al-Jâthaliq. Ash-Shaikh has said in his Al-Fahrist, "He has reported about Al-Jâthaliq the Byzantian who was sent by the Byzantian King to Madinah after the death of the Prophet." Ash-Shaikh has then given the authorities and evidence to authenticity of the book. According to Ma'âlim-ul-Ulama' Salmân reported about Al-Jâthaliq in this book. Similarly, Abu Dhar has a book like Al-Khutbah to his credit in which he explained the situation after the death of the Prophet. Ash-Shaikh in Al-Fahrist and Ibn Shahr Ashûb in Al-Ma'âlim have said that Jundub Bin Junâdah, Abu Dhar Al-Ghaffârî has a Khutbah to his credit in which he explained the situation and things after the death of the Prophet. Ash-Shaikh has also mentioned the authority to the authenticity of this statement. Abu Dhar died in 31 A.H. while Salmân passed away in 35 A.H.

Abu Râfe' Ibrâhîm or Aslam, who was a freed slave of the Prophet is also counted among such scholars. An-Najâshi has said while discussing the first group of the Shi'ite writers "Abu Râfe' was in Mecca in the past and then he migrated to Madinah where he remained attached to the Prophet and saw what the latter saw and did. Then he became a companion of Ali Bin Abi Talib after the death of the Prophet. He was among the best of the Shi'ites, participated in all the battles on the side of Ali and was in charge of the treasury during his Caliphate in Kufa. An-Najâshi further says that Abu Râfe' was the author of a book containing Sunun, injunctions and different problems. Then he mentions the authorities for his statement leading back to Muhammad Bin Ubaidullah Bin Abi Rafe' to his father and then to his grandfather Abi Râfe' and then to Ali Bin Abi Talib. An-Najâshi then gives an idea of the book discussing it chapter by chapter, which As-Salât (Prayers), Fasting, Hajj, Zakât and miscellaneous problems. He was therefore the first one to collect the Traditions and classify them under various headings. However, those who collected all the Traditions for the first time belonged to the third century as has been mentioned in Tadrîb-ur-Râwi by As-Suyûti. Ibn Hajar however, says that the task of collecting the Traditions was undertaken for the time by Muhammad Ibn Shahîd Az-Zahri under the orders of Umar Bin Abdul Aziz, who became a Caliph in 98 A.H. and died in 111 A.H.

According to the report of Ibn Hajar, Abu Râfe' died in the early phase of the Caliphate of Ali in 35 A.H.

#### From the Tabi'ites and their Followers

Adh-Dhahabi, who is not a Shi'ite, has said in his book Mizân-ul-I'tidâl that the Shi'ism spread among the Tabi'ites and their followers to a very great extent. He has said during the life-account of Abân Bin Taghlab, on the authority of persons like Ahmad Bin Hanbal, Ibn Mu'în and Abu Hâtim, "One may ask how the trust could be reposed in those who created new things (in religion). The answer to this question is that Bid'at (innovation) is two small hitting like exaggerated Shi'ism or Shi'ism without exaggeration. It does not affect, because Shi'ism was very much common among the Tabi'ites and their followers despite their religiousness, piety and truthfulness. If we reject the Traditions and reports given by such persons (because of their being Shi'ites), then most of the sayings of the Prophet will be to be discarded, which will of course be a bigger Bid'at..." Now this is a testimony of a Great Traditionalist to the effect that the Shi'ites distinguished themselves among the Tabi'ites and their followers in guarding the sayings of the Prophet. Had others also done the same and reported the Traditions as they did, the rejection of their



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reports would not amount to giving up the major portion of the Traditions. The fact is that the Four Imams and leading Traditions received a lot from the Shi'ite Jurists. Imam Abu Hanifah, for example, received information from Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Bin Sam'ân Al-Madani Al-Aslami (an ally of Banu Aslam) was the teacher of Imam Ash-Shâfi'i and was a Shi'ite. Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal got his training and education at the hands of Muhammad Bin Fudail Bin Ghazwân Ad-Dabiyy who was a Shi'ite as discussed under the heading of the reciters of the Quran and will again be discussed under the heading of Jurists. Ubaidullah Bin Abi Mûsa Al'Absi Al-Kufi was the teacher and Shaikh of Imam Al-Bukhârî. He was also a Shi'ite as evidenced by As-Sam'âni in Al-Ansâb, Adh-Bhahabi in Al-Mukhtasir, Mifzân-ul-I'tidâl and Tadhkiratul Huffâz, the author of Duwal-ul-Islam, Ibn-ul-Athîr in Al-Ansâb, Abu Da'ud, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Habbân, Ya'qûb Bin Sufyân, Abu Muslim Al-Baghdâdi al-Hâfiz, Ibn UlQâne', As-Sâji and others.

### Shi'ite Books of Traditions numbering 6600

The earlier Shi'ites belonging to the Athnâ 'ashariyyah group who were contemporaries to the Imams, from Ali Bin Abi Talib to the time of Imam Al-Hasan Al-Askari, compiled 6600 books of the Traditions through the agency of Imams from the Ahl Bait. These books are mentioned in those relating to Rijâl (biographies) and have been recorded by Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Al-Hurr Al-'Aamili, belonging to thirteenth century, in the fourth note of his book Al-Wasâ'il. He got the names of these books from the accounts of their authors scattered in various other books. He collected what the authors of Rijâl had recorded and the number came upto 6600. Having reached this point of discussion, we would like to remind the reader that these books contain 400 volumes on the subject of UŞÛL (Principles of Jurisprudence) and four big selections. If this is against what we are following in distribution of these authors according to their groups, it is because of the fact that we do not like to make our discussion of the books of the Traditions disrupted; we rather like it to be in one place and complete.

### Four Hundred Books of UŞÛL

Among these 6600 books, 400 were distinguished for their treatment of UŞÛL, which are known to the Shi'ite as Al-UŞÛL-ul-Arba'a Mi'ah. Ash-Shaikh Al-Mufîd has said, "The Imamite composed four hundred books which are named as UŞÛL during the period from the life-time of Imam Ali Bin Abi Talib to that Imam Al-Hasan Al-Askari. The meaning of them they say is that these books belong to the origin (AŞL). Similarly, At-Tabrisi has said in A'lâm-ul-Wara that four hundred books were compiled from the replies given by Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. These books are known as UŞÛL and have been reported by his companions and the companions of his father Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir. According to Al-Muhaqqiq, the author of Al-Mu'tabar, that the number of books compiled from the replies given by Imam Ja'far Sâdiq to various questions is four hundred, which are named as UŞÛL.

What Al-Mufîd has said, as referred to above, indicates that Four Hundred UŞÛL have been reported from all the Imams, while what At-Tabrisi, Al-Muhaqqiq and Ash-Shahîd have said, shows that these books were solely reported from Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. It is possible to compromise between this. There might be UŞÛL based upon the reports of Imam Ja'far Sâdiq and another collection based upon the reports Difference between Al-Kitâb and Al-AŞL (1) of all the Imams.

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1. Al-Kitâb - The book.

Al-AŞL - The origin or the root. We have translated it as Principles.



On this account, it should be known that the book is more important than the principles (Uṣūl). The total number of books is 4000 or 6000 while the total number of principles or Uṣūl is 400. Out of these 400 Uṣūl, some of them remained till the latter ages, even to our own age in book collections of the Shi'ite scholars. Some of them were with the Traditionalist Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Al-Hurr Al-'Aamili, with Al-Majlisi, and with our contemporary Mirzā Husain An-Nūrī and some others too. Major portion of them has been lost or destroyed but their contents are saved in the collections prepared of them. This has happened because of the fact that our scholars in the past, during the fourth and the fifth centuries prepared four collections of these principles, which were present in these 400 collections, or which were collected by others in addition to these, or which were established by evidence to be true or which were not proved to be incorrect. These four collections had different chapters covering the whole range of jurisprudence and dealing with topics from At-Taḥārat (purification) to ransomes. Some of these covered all the principles. The people began depending upon these collections which became the fundamental sources from which the Shi'ite jurists sought help in every age in connection with the issues they have had to face. They referred to these collections according to what their opinions led, in connection with the finality and admissibility of evidence — correct, dependable, good and finality and admissibility of evidence — correct, dependable, good and commonly known. All these things and others have been discussed at length in the book dealing with the Principles of Jurisprudence or Sources of Jurisprudence. We shall deal with the discussion of these four collections when we take the groups to which their editors and author belong.

Now we shall deal with individuals as below; starting with those from the Tabi...

1. Ali Bin Abi Rāfe': He was a freed slave of the Prophet and a companion of Amir-ul-Mu'minīn Ali Bin Abi Talīb. He was the secretary and treasurer of the latter. An-Najāshī has said during his discussion of the first group of the Shi'ite authors, after giving an account of Abi Rāfe' who had himself compiled a book on Sunun, Religious Injunctions and Problem, "Ibn Abi Rāfe' wrote another book. His full name is Ali Bin Abi Rāfe'. He was a Tabi'ite and one of the chosen Shi'ites. He was a companion of Amir-ul-Mu'minīn and his secretary. He gathered a lot and collected a book on the various branches of Jurisprudence. Keeping this statement in view we can say that Ali Bin Abi Rāfe' was the pioneer of writing a book on jurisprudence and classifying the subjects under various headings. As-Suyūṭī has said in Al-Awā'il that the first one to write a book on jurisprudence after the first century was Abu Hanīfah. But Ali Bin Abi Rāfe' was during the time of Ali Bin Abi Talīb, that is during first half of the first century or long before the birth of Imam Abu Hanīfah. He died during the first century.

2. Ubaidullah Bin Abi Rāfe'

He compiled a book on the judgments of Imam Ali Bin Abi Talīb. This book has been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh in Al-Fahrist. He has also quoted the authorities who are Muhammad Bin Ubaidullah Bin Abi Rāfe' from his father Ubaidullah Bin Abi Rāfe' who got from his father Abi Rāfe' who in turn received it directly from Imam Ali Bin Abi Talīb.



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He is also among the pioneers who wrote on jurisprudence. We have already briefly discussed Abi Rāfe' and his two sons.

Uбайдullah Bin Abi Rāfe' died during the mid-first century.

### 3. Asbāgh Bin Nabātah Tabi'ī

According to An-Najāshi, he was a very close friend and companion of Amir-ul-Mu'minīn and lived after his death. An-Najāshi has reported about his oath given to Al-Ashtar and his will to his son Muhammad, alongwith the authorities in support of these two documents.

He wrote a book about novelties of the judgments and orders given by Amir-ul-Mu'minīn. This book has been reported by Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Hāshim Al-Qummi from his father, and grand-father who received it from Muhammad Bin Walfū who in turn got it from Muhammad Bin Al-Furāt. The latter received it from the author — Asbāgh Bin Nabātah — himself. We have got a manuscript copy of this book. He died during the mid-first century.

### 4. Rab'ah Bin Samī

An-Najāshi has described him in the beginning of his book as belonging to the first group of the Shi'ite writers. He has also mentioned that Rab'ah compiled a book on Zakāt-un-Ni'am which was narrated to him by Amir-ul-Mu'minīn. He has also quoted the authorities in support of this statement. Rab'ah died during the first century.

### 5. Yu'la Bin Murrah Tābi'ī

He compiled a booklet which was narrated to him by Amir-ul-Mu'minīn. An-Najāshi has mentioned about it in his book. He died during the first century.

### 6. Al-Hārith Al-A'war Al-Hamdāni Tabi'ī was one of the companions of Imam Ali. He compiled a book in which reported those matters which Amir-ul-Mu'minīn told the Jew. Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsi has mentioned the authorities for this book in his Al-Fahrist. He died during the first century.

### 7. Maitham Bin Yahyā At-Tammār Al-Kufī was one of the closest companions of Amir-ul-Mu'minīn with whom he used to share his secrets. He composed a book on The Traditions from which Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsi, Al-Kishf and At-Tabari (in Bishārat-ul-Muṣṭafa) usually quoted. He was assassinated in 60 A.H.

### 8. Abdullah Bin Al-Hurr Al-Ja'ff Al-Kuff the poet, who is also known as Ash-Shā'ir ul-Fātik, has been mentioned by An-Najāshi as belonging to the first group of the Shi'ite authors. He compiled a book in which he reports what he got from Amir-ul-Mu'minīn.

We have to add that he did not respond to the call of Imam Husain for help. Later on, he was among those demanded for a revenge for the murder of Imam Husain. He died during reign of Al-Mukhtār around 66 A.H.

### 9. Abu Sādiq Sulaim Bin Qais Al-Hilālī was a companion of Amir-ul-Mu'minīn. He has been mentioned by An-Najāshi among the first group of the Shi'ite authors. He also mentions about his book alongwith its authorities. We have to add that Sulaim Bin Qais reports in this book what he learnt from Ali Bin Abi Talib and other prominent companions of the Prophet. Ash-Shaikh Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Ja'far Al-Kātib-un-Nu'mānī says in his Kitābul Ghaibah, in which many Traditions have been quoted through Sulaim Bin Qais, as follows:

"All the Shi'ites who served the cause of knowledge and reported through the Imams are unanimous on the point that the book of Sulaim Bin Qais Al-Hilālī is one of the basic books of Uṣūl which

have been reported by the scholars and Traditionalists carrying the Traditions of Ahl Bait. It is also the oldest of all because every Tradition that has been collected in it, has directly been taken from the Prophet, Amir-ul-Mu'minîn, Al-Miqdâd, Salmâm Al-Fârsi and Abu Dhar or those followed the path chosen by them who had seen the Prophet and Amir-ul-Mu'minîn and heard them, are the origins to whom the Shi'ites refer and on whom they depend.

He died in 75 A.H.

10. Imam Zainul Abidin Ali Bin Al-Husain was the Imam of his age and leader of the Muslims in the matters relating to jurisprudence and religious injunctions and guided them through his words and actions. He passed away in 94 A.H.
11. Sa'îd Bin Mus'ib Tâbi'î was a companion of Imam Zainul Abidin. It is also said about him that he was a companion of Imam Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and had participated in all the battles of his side. He reported from him and Ibn Abbâs. Ibn Hajar has said in Tahdhîb-ut-Tahdhîb, on the basis of a report from Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir taken through Ibn-ul-Madinî, that the Imam said, "There is none among the Tabi'ites who has wider knowledge than he (Sa'îd Bin Mus'ib). In my eyes he is the most competent person among the Tâbi'ites." As to Ibn Hajar, he is one those scholars who are trusted of the jurists. According Al-Mukhtaşîr of Adh-Dhahabî, he (Sa'îd Bin Mus'ib) was the Chief of the Tabi'ites. His arguments were thorough. He was a jurist who had fame and was on the top both in knowledge as well as actions.

He died in 94 A.H.

12. Abu Abdur Rahmân Abdullah Bin Habîb As-Salmi has been mentioned among the reciters of the Quran. He was a close friend of Amir-ul-Mu'minîn. Ibn Qutaibah has said about him that jurisprudence (al-Fiqh) has been taken from him. He died in 105 A.H.
13. Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir.

During his time, the number of Shi'ite reporters and writers increased. It also happened during the time of his son Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. Only Jâbir Bin Yazid Al-Ja'fi alone reported seventy thousand Traditions from him which he narrated on the authority his ancestors and the Prophet himself. He passed away in 113 A.H.

Among the Followers of the Followers (Tabi'it Tâbi'în) and the latter generations, there were:

1. Jâbir Bin Yâzîz Al-Ja'fi, as has already been said, reported seventy thousand Traditions. He used to say, "I have fifty thousand Traditions out of which I have not reported any and all of them are from the Prophet through the agency of Ahl Bait. It means that the thing which checked him from reporting those Traditions might have been the fact that some weak-minded people could not bear them and would have belied him and this attitude would have spread to most people.

He died in 127 A.H.

2. Al-Hâfiz Al-Muhaddith Al-'Aabid Manşûr Bin Mu'tamar Al-Kufi.  
He died in 132 A.H.



3. Abân Bin Taghlab compiled Kitâb-ulfadâ' il which is counted among the basic and fundamental books (Uṣūl) of the Shi'ites. An-Najāshī has said about him, "He was well versed in every branch of knowledge." He has included Jurisprudence and Traditions in his statement. Ash-Shaikh has said in his Al-Fahrist that he was a noble jurist. He reported thirty thousand Traditions from Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq as has already been mentioned. He died in 141 A.H.
4. Abu Abdullah Abdul Mu'min Bin Al-Qāsim Bin Qais Bin Qahad Al-Anṣari Al-Kufi. He died in 147 A.H.
5. Imam Ja'far Bin Muhammad Aṣ-Ṣādiq  
 During his time, the number of people reporting from him as well as that of authors increased. No one from among the Ahl Bait has been so reported from as he, so much so that Al-Hasan Bin Ali Al-Washā has said, "I met 900 Shaikhs in the Mosque of Kufa, every one of them saying, 'Ja'far Bin Muhammad told me.'" Only one reporter, Abân Bin Taghlab, alone reported thirty thousand Traditions from him. Al-Hāfiz Ibn-ul-'Uqdah prepared a special book in which very authentic reporters were included to report Tradition through Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq. The number of such reporters was 4000. Similarly, 400 books were compiled from the replies he gave to different questions. These 400 books are known Uṣūl Arba' Mi'ah, as has already been mentioned.  
 He passed away in 148 A.H.
6. Sulaimān Bin Mahrān Al-A'mash  
 Ibn Qutaibah has mentioned him in Al-Mu'arīf as one of the Traditionalists and Reciters. He has said that he was more occupied with the Traditions and less with the Recitation of the Qurān. At another place, Ibn Qutaibah has mentioned him as a Shi'ite. He died in 148 A.H.
7. Abu Ubaidah Al-Hidhā' Ziyād Bin 'Isa. He died before 148 A.H.
8. A'yun Family  
 Ibn-un-Nadim has mentioned in his Al-Fahrist during his account of Shi'ite authors and Traditionalists and their books that Zurārah Bin A'yun Bin Sanbas (or Sansan) whose name was 'Abd Rabbeh was one of the most prominent Shi'ite personalities insofar as Jurisprudence, Traditions, Al-Kalām and adherence to the Shi'ite creed is concerned. Similar was the case with his brother Hamrān Bin A'yun, his sons Hamza Bin Hamrān and Muhammad Bin Hamrān; Bakr Bin A'yun and his son Abdullah Bin Bakr, Abdur Rahmān Bin A'yun, Abdul Malik Bin A'yun and his son Darf Bin Abdul Malik (who was a companion of Imam Muhammad Al-Bāqir), the sons of Zurārah Bin A'yun-Al-Husain Bin Zurārah and Al-Hasan Bin Zurārah ( who were the companions of Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq). Similarly, Ubaid Bin Zurārah reported Traditions from Zurārah Bin A'yun."  
 These twelve persons belonged to one family. Zurārah Bin A'yun died in 150 A.H.
9. Abu Hamza Ath-Thamālī Thābit Bin Dīnār is known for his reporting. He was a companion of Imam Zainul Abidin, Imam Muhammad Al-Bāqir and Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq. He remained alive for a short while during the period of Imam Mūsa Al-Kāzim (Peace be upon all of them). He died in 150 A.H.
10. Muhammad Bin Muslim At-Tā'ifi was one of the prominent Shi'ite Jurists and Traditionalists. He died in 150 A.H.
11. Abu Basr Yahyā Bin Al-Qāsim Al-Asadi (an ally of Banu Asad)



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- He reported Traditions from Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir, Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣâdiq and Imam Mûsa Al-Kâzim. He died in 150 or 151 A.H.
12. Muhammad Bin Ishâq Bin Yassâr was an author of Sîrat (biography of the Prophet) and Maghâzi (accounts of battles). Ibn-ul-Madîni has said, "Reporting of the Traditions of the Prophet rests upon twelve persons and (Muhammad Bin Ishâq) he is one of them." Al-Khatîb has testified his being a Shi'ite in Tarîkhé Baghdâd, the account of which will come under the heading of historians. He died in 150 A.H.
  13. Abu Ali Ubaidullah Bin Ali Bin Abi Shu'bah, An-Najâshi says, "Abi Shu'bah family is counted among the Shi'ites. Their grand-father Abu Shu'bah reported Traditions from Imam Al-Hasan and Imam Al-Husain. All of them were trusted in what they said and were referred to. Ubaidullah was the eldest and their most prominent figure. He is the author of a book about which it is said that Ubaidullah gave it to Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣâdiq who revised it."

Al-Barqi has said in his Rijâl that Ubaidullah wrote a book which was the first one among the Shi'ites."

He died during the mid-Second century.

14. Ma'wiyah Bin 'Ammâr Ad-Dahani is the author of a number of books on jurisprudence and Traditions which have been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh At-Tûsi in Al-Fahrist and by An-Najâshi with their authorities. He died in 175 A.H.
15. Imam Mûsa Al-Kâzim Bin Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣâdiq (Peace be upon both) His companions composed books in various branches of religious studies which they based upon the knowledge they received from him. The Shi'ites have quoted them alongwith their authorities going back to the original reporter and prominent persons have included them in collections. He passed away in 183 A.H.
16. Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Bin Abi Yahyâ Al-Madani who was a freed slave of Aslum Bin Afṣâ the Shaikh of Imam Ash-Shâfi'i. He was a companion of Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir and Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣâdiq. Ash-Shaikh has said in Al-Fahrist that he wrote a book in a number of chapters relating to Halâl and Harâm. It has been reported from Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣâdiq. Ash-Shaikh has quoted the authorities too. He died in 184 A.H.
17. Muhammad Bin Qais Al-Bajli wrote a book which he has reported from Imam Ali Bin Abi Talib. He was not living during life of Imam but belonged to the period of Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir and Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣâdiq. An-Najâshi says that he is the author of a well-known book on Al-Qadâyâ (Judgments). Similarly, Ash-Shaikh has said in his Al-Fahrist that Muhammad Bin Qais composed a book on the judgments of Imam Ali (A.S.) He died in 151 A.H.
18. Naṣr Bin Naṣîr Al-Bahrâni is one of the oldest reporters of the Traditions. He has reported from Jâbir Bin Abdullah Al-Anṣâri through his father.
19. Al-Hâfiz Al-Muhaddith Abu Abdur Rahmân Muhammad Bin Fudail Bin

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1. Halâl — Allowed  
Harâm — Disallowed, prohibited.



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Ghazwān Ad-Dabiy (Ally of the Dabi family) was the teacher of Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal. He died in 195 A.H.

20. Yunus Bin Abdur Rahmān was an ally of Yaqtīn family and a companion of Imam Mūsa Al-Kāzim. Ibn-un-Nadīm has said in his Al-Fahrist, "He was the scholar of his age. He wrote and compiled many books on Shi'ism." Ibn-un-Nadīm has mentioned his books on jurisprudence and the Traditions. He died in 208 A.H.
21. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Abi Naṣr Al-Bizintfni has been mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadīm as one of the Shi'ite Jurists and Traditionalists. He has also named his books.  
He died in 221 A.H.

### Ashāb-ul-Ijma

They are eighteen persons from among the companions and friends of various Imams who became famous in the field of jurisprudence and the Traditions during the period extending from the late first century to the early third century.

These persons were called by this name because, as Al-Kishi has claimed, there is a general concurrence of opinions among the Shi'ites to accept it as correct what they correct, to affirm their ideas and to believe in them in matter relating to Jurisprudence. Six of them were the companions of Imam Muhammad Al-Bāqir and Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Sādiq while the remaining number had six companions of Imam Mūsa Al-Kāzim and Imam Ali Ar-Rida among them. We shall describe them here as Al-Kishi has done and shall not give their account according to the group they fall in lest the account might be disjointed.

Al-Kishi, who is one of the third century scholars, has given the names in his book of Rijāl as given below:

Jurists from among the companions of  
Imam Muhammad Al-Bāqir and Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Sādiq.

There is general agreement among the Shi'ites to the effect that the following companions of Imam Muhammad Al-Bāqir and Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Sādiq should be considered as correct and that they are Jurists in the real sense. According to this opinion the most accurate and efficient jurists from among the ancients were these persons.

- i) Zarārah
- ii) Ma'rūf Bin Kharbūdh
- iii) Burfd
- iv) Abu Baṣīr Al-Asadi
- v) Al-Fudail Bin Yassār
- vi) Muhammad Bin Muslim At-Tā'ifi

According to another version, Abu Baṣīr Al-Murādi has been mentioned in place of Abu Baṣīr Al-Asadi. His full name was Laith Bin Al-Bakhtari.

### Jurists from among the companions of Imam Ja'far Sādiq

In addition to the six mentioned above, there is a general agreement about the following six persons to consider as correct what they correct, affirm what they say and accept them to be Jurists:

- i) Jamīl Bin Durraḥj;
- ii) Abdullah Ibn Maskān

- iii) Abdullah Bin Bakr;
- iv) Hammâd Bin 'Isa;
- v) Hammâd Bin Uthmân;
- vi) Abân Bin Uthmân.

It has been said that in the opinion of Abu Ishâq Al-Faqîh, whose name is Tha'labah Bin Malmûn that the most efficient and accomplished among these six was Jamîl Bin Durrâj who was the youngest of the companions of Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣâdiq.

**Jurists among the companions of Imam Mûsa Al-Kâzim and Imam Ali Ar-Ridâ,**

All our friends have agreed upon the fact that there are six more persons, in addition to those already described above, who should be accepted as jurists and whose opinions should be affirmed. These are:

- i) Yunûs Bin Abdur Rahmân;
- ii) Safwân Bin Yahya Bayyâs As-Sâbari;
- iii) Muhammad Bin Abi 'Umair;
- iv) Abdullah Bin Al-Mughirah;
- v) Al-Hasan Bin Mahbûb;
- vi) Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Abi Naṣr.

Some people have given the name of Al-Hasan Ali Bin Faddâl in place of Al-Hasan Bin Mahbûb. Some others have given the name of Faddâlah Bin Ayub in place of Al-Hassan Bin Mahbûb. Another group replaces the name of Faddâlah Bin Ayub by that Uthmân Bin 'Isa. They all agree on the names of Yunus Bin Abdur Rahmân and Safwân Bin Yahyâ.

Having given this note on the Ashâb-ul-Ijmâo, we continue our discussion of other jurists who came later. They are:

1. Imam Ali Bin Mûsa Ar-Ridâ. When he passed by Naishapur on his way to Khurâsân, he was met by Abu Zar'ah Ar-Râzi and Muhammad Bin Aslam At-Tûsi, who were from among the greatest Muslim scholars of their age. They were accompanied by a huge procession of scholars and Traditionalists. They requested him to tell them some Traditions. He therefore dictated to them while riding a Tradition of 'golden links'(1) At that a count was made of the people who had pens and ink-pots and were writing that Tradition. They were twenty thousand. According to another version, their number came up to twenty five thousand less one. The persons who were taking the dictation were Abi Zar'ah and Muhammad Bin Aslam. Ibn-ul-Athîr has mentioned Imam Ridâ in Jam'-ul-Uṣûl as the Mujaddid (renovator) of the Imamite creed in the early second century. He passed away in 203 A.H.
2. Muhammad Bin Mas'ûd Al-'Ayyâshi. Ibn un-Nadîm has said that he was a Shi'ite-Imamite jurist and distinguished himself in the field of knowledge during his age. He wrote more than two hundred treatises on various branches of knowledge including jurisprudence and the Traditions. He died during the third century.
3. Muhammad Bin Umar Al-Waaqidi. According to Ibn-un-Nadîm. He had Shi'ite tendencies and was well aware of the differences of opinion among the people in matters relating to the Traditions, Jurisprudence and religious injunctions. He wrote a book Kitâb-ul-Ichtilâf dealing with the differences between the

1. A Tradition of the Prophet conveyed on by persons beyond any doubt and accepted by all. In this case all the reporters were Imams from the Ahl Bait.



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- people of Kufa and Madinah on various issues of Jurisprudence. He died in 207 A.H.
4. Sa'wân Bin Yahyâ Al-Bajli. An-Najâshi says that he wrote thirty books as said by our friends. He mentions a book among his writings dealing with the order of writing of the books on jurisprudence. He died in 210 A.H.
  5. Abu Muhammad Abdullah Bin Al-Mughfrah Al-Bajli Al-Kufi. According to An-Najâshi's report, he wrote thirty books including one on Jurisprudence. He died during the third century.
  6. Abu Muhammad Bin Ubaidullah Bin Mûsa Bin Mûsa Bin Abi Mukhtâr Al-Kufi Al-'Absi. Ash-Shaikh has mentioned his name among the personalities of the age of Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. Adh-Dhahabi says in Al-Mukhtaṣir: "He is a Hâfiz and one of the great figures so far as Shi'ism and innovations are concerned. He is dependable and trustworthy (in reporting of Traditions)." Ibn Hajar says, "He is a Traditionalist of Kufa, a Hâfiz of the Quran, great worshipper but a Shi'ite." Ibn Qutaibah has mentioned him in Al-Ma'ârif among the Traditionalists and the Reciters of the Quran who was more inclined towards the Traditions. He was a Shi'ite and this is why he reported such Traditions which were weak and unacceptable. Hence, he became a 'weak' reporter of the Traditions in the opinion of a group of people." His being a Shi'ite has been affirmed by Ibn-ul-Athîr and As-Sam'âni in Kitâb-ul-Ansâb and others. He died in 213 A.H.
  7. Imam Muhammed Bin Ali Al-Jawwâd. He asked the Qâdi-ul-Qudât Yahya Bin Aktham certain questions on Jurisprudence in the presence of Al-Mâ'mûn and made him completely concerned in replying them. He passed away in 220 A.H.
  8. Abu Ali Al-Hasan Mahbûb As-Sarrâd. Ash-Shaikh has said in Al-Fahrist that he wrote a book, Kitâb-ul-Mashâikhah in which he discussed punishments, blood-more obligations, marriages and divorces. Ibn-un-Nadîm has added one more topic, i.e. emancipation. He died in 224 A.H.
  9. Imam Ali Bin Muhammad Al-Hâdi passed away in 254 A.H.
  10. Imam Al-Hasan Al-Askari Bin Imam Ali Al-Hâdi passed away in 260 A.H.
  11. Al-Fadl Bin Shâdhân Naishapuri. Ash-Shaikh has mentioned him in his Alfahrist as a jurist. An-Najâshi says, "He is dependable in reporting of the Traditions and occupies a prominent position among our companion jurists." Al-Kajji has said that he wrote 180 books. He died in 260 A.H.
  12. Abul Hasan Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Shfrah Al-Qâshânî. According to An-Najâshi, he compiled a book Kitâb-ul-Jâme' dealing with Jurisprudence. He has also given the authorities supporting this statement. He died during the third century.
  13. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khalid Al-Barqi. He wrote a book in which he discussed the Traditions, their causes and contents etc. He died in 274 A.H.
  14. Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'fd Ath-Thaqafi Al-Kufi Al-Asfahâni. Ash-Shaikh and An-Najâshi both have mentioned among his works two books of Jurisprudence - Al Jâme' Al-Kabîr and Al-Jâme' As-Saghîr. An-Najâshi says that the reason why he left Kufa was that he had written a book in praise of the Ahl Bait titled Kitâb-ul-Ma'rifah. The Kufites respected him very much. They suggested to him that he should give up the idea of taking that book out. He asked them, "What country is the most hostile towards the Shi'ites?" He was told that it was Asfahân. He took an oath that he would not read it to anyone except in that city. His oath was the result of his confidence in the accuracy in what he had reported. He therefore left for Asfahân and reported his work in that city. He died in 283 A.H.



15. Muhammad Bin Ibrāhim Bin Habbūn Al-Hajjāri Al-Andulsi. According to Tadhkiratul Huffāz, he was a Hāfiz and Traditionalist from Andulus and was among the great personalities of his age, but he was a Shi'ite. He died in 205 A.H.
16. Al-Hasan Bin Abi 'Aqūf Al-'Ammāni. He was the first one to polish up the science of Jurisprudence, divided it into various chapters as we find to-day used his understanding and separated discussion from the Uṣūl and Furū (secondary principles). He wrote a book on Jurisprudence titled Al-Mutamassik Bihabl Aalar Rasūl. It has been praised, as well as its author, by leading Shi'ite scholars like Al-Muffīd, Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsi, Ibn Idrīs and others. He died in the beginning of the fourth century.
17. Muhammad Bin Ya'qūb Al-Kalīmī. He is the author of Al-Kāfi Fil Hadīth which he completed in twenty years. An-Najāshi has said that he is the most dependable of all and consistent in reporting the Traditions. Ash-Shai'ch has said in Al-Fahrist, "He is trustworthy and well-informed." Ibn-ul-Athīr has described him Jāme'-ul-Uṣūl as the renovator of the Imamite creed in the early third century. He died in 328 A.H.
18. Abdul Aziz Bin Yahyā Al-Jalūdi. According to Ibn-un-Nadīm, he is the author of Kitāb-ul-Murshid Wal Mustarshid and Kitāb-ul-Muta'ah, both dealing with Jurisprudence. An-Najāshi has mentioned a number of books written by him and dealing with various topics of Jurisprudence and which he wrote on the basis of information collected from Ali Bin Talib and Ibn Abbās. He died after 330 A.H.
20. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'īd Al-Hāfiz. He is commonly known as Ibn 'Uqdah Az-Zaidi. Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsi has said, "I heard a group of people talking about him that he said, he had memorized 120,000 Traditions alongwith their sources and authorities and still recollected in his mind 300,000. He died in 333 A.H.
21. Muhammad Bin Al-Askāfi. An-Najāshi says, "He is the Shaikh of our friends and their senior. He has a very high position, and is much talked about." Ash-Shaikh has said in Al-Fahrist that he is high-ranking, trustworthy and has many reports to his credit. He died in 336 A.H.
22. Abu Ali Muhammad Bin Washshān. He was a freed slave of Abu Tamām Az-Zainabi, Adh-Dhahabi has mentioned him while giving an account of Ibn Abdul Birr in Tadhkiratul Huffāz. He died in 346 A.H.
23. Abu Bakr Muhammad Bin Umar. He is commonly known as Ibn-ul-Ja'ābi. He was a teacher of Al-Muffīd. Adh-Dhahabi has said about him in Tadhkiratul Huffāz that he had never met a person who memorized the Quran better than Ibn-ul-Ja'ābi. He had committed to his memory 400,000 Traditions as well as remembered 600,000. He used to give the source and then the text of the Tradition. He quoted authorities and sources in numerous Traditions but never made a mistake. He lost a book-case containing 200,000 Traditions. He said to his slave, "Do not worry about it. There is not a single Tradition among them which is difficult for me to recollect both in text as well as in authorities. He was an Imam of the knowledge of the causes of Traditions, of dependable and weak reporters, their dates and life-accounts. This knowledge finished with him in his age. "Now there is none among the Muslims who can beat him in this respect." Ibn-un-Nadīm has said that he was one of the greatest Shi'ite scholars. An-Najāshi says that he was a great memorizer of the Traditions and a very profound scholar. Ash-Shaikh has mentioned him in his Al-Fahrist as one of those who were the memorizers and critics of the Traditions. He died in 355 A.H.



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24. Muhammad Bin Junaid, According to the Rijâl of Bahrul 'Ulûm Tabâtabâ'i, he and Ibn Abi 'Aqûl were the leading figure of the seventh group and that Ibn Abi 'Aqûl was a step senior to him, He wrote a book on Jurisprudence which is titled as Tahdhîb-ush-Shi'ah Li Ahkâm-ish-Sharî'ah, It spreads over twenty volumes, covering all the topics of Jurisprudence, It has been summarized under the title Al-Ahmadî Fil Fiqh-il-Muhammadî, He has been quoted by many scholars and greatest of the Shi'ite scholars have praised him and his book, He died during the fourth century.
25. Al-Qâdi Abu Hanffah An-Nu'mân Bin Muhammad Al-Misri, He was a Qâdî under the Fatimides of Egypt, He wrote Kitâb-ul-Akhhâr Fil Fiqh and Kitâb-ul-Iqtisâr Fil Fiqh, He has been mentioned by Al-Amîr Mukhtâr Al-Masbahî in his history, who has said about him, "In Jurisprudence, in religion and in nobility, he was superb." Similarly, Ibn Zaqlâq says that he was extremely accomplished and was scholar who knew every part of Jurisprudence, Among his books, is a volume of the Traditions named D'â'im-ul-Islam, He died in 363 A.H.
26. Al-Hasan Bin Ali, Abu Muhammad Al-Hajjâl, According to An-Najâshi, he compiled a voluminous book Al-Jawâme' Fi Abwâb-ish-Sharî'ah, He died during the fourth century.
27. A's-Suddûq, Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Babuyan Al-Qummi, None among the scholars of Qumm compares with him so far as his memory and wide knowledge is concerned, He was Traditionalist as well as a Jurist, He wrote about three hundred books and treatises with varied subjects and novelty, He wrote a book Man Lâ Yahdiryhûl Faqih on the pattern of Man Lâ Yahdiruhut Tabîb, Another book is Kitâb-ut-Tawhîd which gives the Traditions on the issue of Tawhîd, Some other books are:
  - i) 'Ilal-ush-Sharâ'i' Lil Ahâdîth-al-Mu'allalah;
  - ii) Ma'ânîl Akhhâr;
  - iii) Al-Khiṣāf-ul-'Adadiyyah;
  - iv) Thawâb-ul-A'mâl;
  - v) 'Iqâb-ul-A'mâl,He died in 381 A.H.

### Four Collections of the Traditions Compiled during the fourth and fifth Centuries, Compiled during the fourth and Fifth Centuries,

First collection is Al-Kâfi by Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Ya'qûb Al-Kalîfî, He prepared this collection in thirty years and it contains 16099 Traditions with their authorities and sources, related to both Uṣûl and Furû, Al-Kalîfî died in 328 A.H.

Second collection is by A's-Suddûq and is called as Man Lâ Yahdiruhut Faqih which was prepared on the pattern of Man Lâ Yahdiruhut Tabîb, as we have already said, It contains 9044 Traditions, A's-Suddûq died in 381 A.H.

The third collection of the Traditions is Tahdhîb-ul-Ahkâm, by Ash-Shaikh Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan At-Tûsi, He divided it into 393 sections and it contains 13590 Traditions, The author died in 460 A.H.

The fourth collection of the Traditions compiled during the period under reference is called Al-Istibṣâr Fil Jam'i Bain Ma Tu'ârad Minal Akhhâr, It has 920 sections and contains 5511 Traditions.

Except the first collection all other collections are secondary injunctions (Furû'). In this way the total number of Traditions found in these collections comes upto 44244.

Ash-Shaikh Al-Bahâ'i has said in Al-Wajîzah that the contents of our books on the Traditions are much more than the total contained in Sihâh Sittah(1), as would be clear to a person who follows the Traditions collected by both the groups. A large number of scholars have written about these four collections of the Traditions in the forms of explanations, notes and commentaries. We cannot discuss all this work at this place. These books have been discussed at their proper places where we have taken up the life account of their authors. A few of these are:

- i) Sharh-ul-Istibshâr by Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Ibn-Ash-Shaikh Hasan (the author of Al-Ma'âlim) which contains many useful biographical pieces; useful biographical pieces;
- ii) Mirât-ul-Uqûl Fi Sharhil Kâfi by Al-Majlisi;
- iii) Sharh Uşûl-il-Kâfi by Mulla Saleh Al-Mâsandarâni;
- iv) Sharh Uşûl-il Kâfi by Mulla Sadrâ;
- v) A large number of commentaries of At-Tahdhîb and Al-Faqîh the details of which will need much space and time here and are given in the latter chapters. In addition to these, a number of collections were prepared on the basis of the aforementioned four books, which we shall discuss when we take up the scholars of fourteenth century.

Among other Jurists and Traditionalists were:

1. Al Hâfiz Muhammad Bin Abdullah Ad-Dabiy An-Naishapuri. He is usually known as Al-Hâkim or Ibn-ul-Bai'a. According to Tadhkiratul Huffâz, he was a great Hâfiz, a leading Traditionalist and author. The author of Tadhkirah then quotes Abdul Ghâfir as having said, "Al-Hâkim was the leader of the Traditionalists in his age and knew the Tradition upto a point of perfection." I have myself heard my teachers and Shaikhs saying that the most prominent people of his age used to give him precedence over themselves, admitted his superiority and recognized his position of respect. Then he (my Shaikh) exaggerated in his praise and reverence and said that his words were nothing as compared to the excellence and superiority of Naishapuri. He further said that whosoever thinks over his books and his manner of treating the subject in his Amâli, and his insight into the subject of the Tradition would not help recognizing his merits and admit him to be superior to all his predecessors and successors and that he makes it impossible for anyone to reach the intellectual height where he was. He lived in perpetual and his age never saw a man like him.

According to the evidence and testimony of As-Sam'âni he was a Shi'ite, he died in 405 A.H.

2. Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin An-Nu'mân Al-Ya'rabi Al-Qahtâni Al-Baghdâdi. He is known as Al-Muffîd as well as Ibn-ul-Mu'allim. He was the Shi'ite Jurist of his age and their master scholastic, debator and scholar in the fields of Uşûl, Jurisprudence, Traditions, Rijâl, Exegesis etc. He has more than two hundred books to his credit including Al-Muqni'ah Fil Fiqh. He died in 413 A.H.

3. Al-Murtadâ Ali Bin Al-Husain.

He was a student of Al-Muffîd. Allâmah has said in Al-Khullâsah that he was a versatile genius, equally proficient in various fields of knowledge

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1. Six corrected books of the Traditions which the Sunnite Muslims accept,



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including Jurisprudence. Most of his writings have nothing to compare with in the past. On Jurisprudence, he has three well-known books:

- i) An-Nâsirîyyât which is a commentary on Masâ'il by his grandfather An-Nâsir;
- ii) Al-Intiṣâr which distinguishes the Shi'ites from others;
- iii) Al-Jumûl

He died in 436 A.H.

4. Abul Fateh Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Uthmân Al-Karâkaji is the author of Kanz-ul-Fawâ'id. He died in 449 A.H.
5. Ash-Shai'kh At-Tûsi, Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan is known as Shaikh-ut-Tâ'ifah and the Jurist of the Shi'ites. He was a teacher and trainer of many a scholar and has books on various branches of religious studies, which are quite well-known. He was a pupil of Al-Murtadâ. His books include:
  - i) At-Tahdhîb;
  - ii) An-Nihâyah
  - iii) Mutûn-ul-Akhhâr;
  - iv) Al-Mabsût.

In the last mentioned book, he has given a survey of different issues of Jurisprudence which are mentioned in various books written by Muslims. People have been making use of this book since its publication.

He died in 460 A.H.

6. Sadîd-ud-Din Mahmûd Ali Al-Humsi Ar-Râzi Al-Hilli  
He was the teacher of Fakhr-ud-Din Ar-Râzi who is a famous Exegesist and commentator of the Qurân. He is one of the top-ranking Shi'ite Jurists and has his contribution on the issue of bequest. He died during the sixth century.
7. Muntajib-ud-Din Ali Bin Ubaidullah Bin Al-Hasan Bin Bâbuyah  
He is the writer of Al Fahrist. He also wrote a book on the virtues and excellence of Amir-ul-Mu'minin which is known as Al-Arba'in 'Anil Arba'in. He died after 585 A.H.
8. Muhammad Bin Yûsuf Al-Azdi Al-Andulasi Al-Gharnâti  
Adh-Dhahabi has testified his being a Shi'ite in Tadhkiratul Huffâz and has said that he wrote a Dictionary, obviously in Al-Hadîth, in three volumes, had contributed a lot to knowledge and was quite well-versed in Jurisprudence. He died in 663 A.H.
9. Al Hasan Bin Ali Bin Dawûd Al-Hilli  
He is the author of book on Rijâl and has many others to his credit relating Jurisprudence, both in prose and verse. He died during the seventh century.
10. Naṣîr-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan At-Tûsi  
He wrote Farâ'id An-Naṣîriyyah and Sharh Uṣûl-il-Kâfi. He died in 673 A.H.
11. Abul Qâsim Ja'far Bin Al-Hasan Bin Yahya Bin Sa'fd Al-Hilli  
He is commonly known as Al-Muhaqqiq. He was a Shi'ite Jurist of pro-



The ceremonial coffin belonging to Imam Hussain's tomb has interesting engravings on three of its wooden sides. At the moment it is preserved in the Islamic Museum in Cairo.





verbal for thorough knowledge. The mujtahid get help from his books and his knowledge of Jurisprudence even our own days. He has written following books on Jurisprudence:

- i) Ash-Sharâ'i'a
- ii) Al-Mu'tabar
- iii) Al-Mukhtaṣar An-Nāfe'a

He also wrote a commentary with explanation on An-Nihāyah (of Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsi). From among his own books, Ash-Sharâ'a and Al-Mukhtaṣar have so often been commented upon and explained that we cannot count them here.

He died in 676 A.H.

12. Yahyâ Bin Ahmad Bin Sa'fd Al-Hilli

He was a cousin of Al-Muhaqqiq and wrote Jâmi'ush Sharâ'a,

He died in 690 A.H.

13. Al-Hasan Bin Yûsuf Bin Ali Bin Al-Mutahhar Al-Hilli

He is usually known by the title of Al-Allâmah. He has various books on Jurisprudence, some of which are:

- i) Tadhkiratul Jâmi'ah, containing the opinions of the Sunnite Jurists;
- ii) Al-Mukhtaliful Jâmi'a, containing the opinions of Shi'ite Jurists;
- iii) Al-Muntahi-ul-Jâmi'a which contains the opinions both the groups;
- iv) Nihâyatul Ahkâm Fi Ma'rifatil Ahkâm Wat Tahrîr Wal Qawâ'id which has been so often explained and commented upon by many top-ranking Shi'ite scholars;
- v) Al-Irshâd which has many commentaries;
- vi) Al-Iddâh Wat Tabṣirah which is an abridgment of Al-Irshâd.

He has many other books on explanation of the Traditions. He died in 726 A.H.

14. Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan,

He was the son of Al-Allâmah and is commonly known as Fakhr-ul-Muhaqqiqîn. Among his books on Jurisprudence are Iddâh-ul-Fawâ'id Fi Halli Mushkilât-il-Qawâ'id and Al-Fakhriyyah Fin Niyyah etc. He died during the eighth century.

15. Muhammad Bin Makki Al-'Aamili Al-Jizzîni Al-Muttalabi,

He is commonly known as Ash-Shahfd or Ash-Shahfd-ul-Awwal.

He is the pride of Jabal 'Aamil. He combined in him the knowledge of Ma'qûl and Manqûl Philosophical and rational as well as reported). He is proverbially known for his insight and knowledge of Jurisprudence. He was the person about whom his teacher Fakhr-ul-Muhaqqiqîn said, "I benefitted from him more than he did from me." He received certificates of studies from more than forty Sunnite scholars. He is a famous author whose books are well known, variegated and of excellent standard. Among his books on Jurisprudence are:

- i) Al-Fiqh-ud-Durûs;
- ii) Adh-Dhikrâ
- iii) Ghâyat-ul-Murâd;
- iv) Al-Bayân;
- v) Al-Alafiyyah
- vi) An-Nafliyyah.



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He also collected forty authentic Traditions of the Prophet and explained their difficult points. He was beheaded in Damascus in dire cruelty on being a Shi'ite in 786 A.H.

16. Al Miqdâd Bin Abdullah As-Sayyûri Al-Hilli

He is the author of a well-known book At-Tanqîh Fil Fiqh. He died in 792 A.H.

17. Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Shujâ' Al-Qattân Al-Ansâri Al-Hilli.

He was a pupil of Al-Miqdâd As-Sayyûri and the author of Ma'âlim-ud-Din Fi Fiqhi Aali Yâsîn. We have got a manuscript copy of this written by the author himself. He died during the Ninth century.

18. Ahmad Bin Fahd Al-Hilli was a pupil of the pupils of Ash-Shahîd.

He is the author of well known book on Jurisprudence, titled Al-Muhadh-dhib ul-Bâre'u. He wrote many others beside this. His death occurred in 871 A.H.

19. Ash-Shaiikh Ali Bin Abdul 'Aali Al Kirki.

He is also known as Al-Muhaqqiq-uth-Thâni which title he shares with the author Ash-Sharâ'i' and there has been none else to have won this honour. He is the author of Jâme'-ul-Maqâsid which deals with Jurisprudence. He also wrote a treatise, titled Ar-Risâlah Al-Ja'fariyyah, on which innumerable commentaries have been written. It has been praised and commended by the Shi'ite scholars as a piece of thorough research. He was the master of his age in Iran during the Safawide Rule there. He died in 937 A.H.

20. Samiyyah, Ash-Shaiikh Ali Bin Abdul 'Aali Al-'Aamili Al-Maisi.

He is known as Al-Muhaqqiq-ul-Maisi. His treatise of Jurisprudence, titled Ar-Risâlah Al-Maisiyyah which is very well known work of his.

21. Ash-Shaiikh Ibrâhîm Al-Qatfi was the author of Al-Munâqidât.

He died in the eighth century.

22. Ash-Shaiikh Zain-ud-Din Bin Ali Al-'Aamili Al-Jub'î.

He is called Ash-Shahîd uth Thâni. He was the author of a large number of useful books which are still in vogue. Most prominent of such books is Al-Masâlik which received great fame and which was much used by people. He was the first one to write on the Manners and Methods of Education and Learning. He was also the first among the Shi'ites to write about Birayat-ul-Hadith (judging the validity of a Tradition of Prophet by means of rational thinking) a separate independent and comprehensive book on this branch of knowledge, although some people had taken a lead over him in originating such kind of a writing. Among such books the first one to come out was Ash-Shurûh-ul-Mazjiyyah. It was not well known among the people. So he wrote Shurûh-ul-Lim'at-id-Dimishqiyyah, Alfiyyah Fil Fiqh, An-Nafliyyah and Ad-Dirâyah. All these books were written in order to give a distinction to the Shi'ite in comparison with the other sects. He also wrote Treatises like Asrâr-uS-Salât, KhaSâ'is-ul-Jum'ah Kashi-ur-Raibah Fi Ahkâm-il-Ghaibah? Maskin-ul-Fu'âd Fi Faqd-il-Ahbbat-i-Wal Awlâd, Al-Habwah, Mfrâth-uz-Zawjah etc. All these books were the foremost in their fields. He was martyred on his way to Islambul

- (Istanbul) for being a Shi'ite and his head was taken to that city. This happened in 966 A.H.
23. Ash-Shaikh Husain Bin Abduŝ Samad Al 'Aaamili Al-Hâriithi Al-Hamdâni  
He was the father of Ash-Shaikh Al-Bahâ`f and one of the prominent Shi'ite Traditionalists and Jurists. He wrote a commentary and explanation to forty selected Traditions of the Prophet. He died in 984 A.H.
24. Ash-Shaikh Hasan Bin Zain-ud Din Ash Shahîd-uth-Thâni.  
He is the author of Al Ma'âlim Fil Fiqh and Muntaqal Jamân Fi Ahâdith-iŝ-Sihâh-i-Wal Hisân. He died in 1011 A.H.
25. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Ash Shaikh Hasan (the Author of Al-Ma'âlim)  
He wrote commentaries on Al-Istihŝar and At-Tahdhîb as well as on his father's book Al Ithnâ 'Ashariyyah. He also wrote commentaries on Uŝûl-ul-Kâfi, Al Faqih, Al-Mukhtalif Al-Madârik etc. He died in 1030 A.H.
26. Ash-Shaikh Bahâ-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Al'Aamili.  
He was a Jurist and a Traditionalists well as a versatile scholar. He was appointed as Shaikh-ul-Islam during the reign the Safawide Emperor Shah Abbâs. But he gave up that post and travelled around for thirty years in the garb of dervishes. He wrote an explanation and commentary on forty selected Traditions of the Prophet as well as Al-Habl-ul-Matîn and Al-Jâmi'ul Abbâssi which deal with the fields of the Traditions and Jurisprudence. He died in 1031 A.H.
27. Ash-Shaikh Hasan Bin Ali Bin Hasan Bin Ahmad Al-'Aamilî Al-Hânîfî  
He has been mentioned in Amal-ul-Aamil as a Jurist and Traditionalist who was reliable, honest and of great value. He died in 1035 A.H.
28. As-Sayyid Muhammad Bâqir Ad-Dâmâd Al-Asfahâni  
He was a contemporary of Al-Bahâ`i and a Jurist who was profound in both the rational and reported branches of knowledge ('Aqliyyah wan Naqliyyah). He died in 1041 A.H.
29. Sadr-ud-Din Ash-Shîrazi  
He is usually called as Mulla Sadra. He wrote a commentary on Uŝûl-ul-Kâfi. He died around 1060 A.H.
30. Al-Mawla Muhammad Taqi Al-Asfahâni  
He is known as Al-Majlisî Al-Awwal. He was the first person to undertake the work of propagation of the Traditions of the Prophet and connected studies during the Safawide Period. He wrote two commentaries on Al-Faqih. He died in 1070 A.H.
31. Mulla Muhsin Al-Kâshî  
He is the author Al-Wâfi on the Traditions and Al-Mafâtiħ on Jurisprudence. He has many other prominent books. He died in 1091 A.H.
32. Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Al Hurr Al-Aamilî  
He is the author of Al-Wasâ`il dealing with the Traditions which is very much relied upon by the Shi'ite Jurists. He died in 1104 A.H.



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33. As-Sayyid Hâshim Bin Sulaimân Al-Bahrânî  
He was a very profound Traditionalist and the author of many books. He died in 1107 A.H.
34. Al-Allâmah Al-Majlisî Muhammad Bâqir Bin Muhammad Taqi Al-Asfa-hâni.  
He is the author of famous book Bihâr ul-Anwâr which is in twenty five big volumes which are equal to tens of books. He also wrote a commentary on Al-Kâfi, titled Mirât-ul-'Uqûl. As well as commentaries on At-Tahdhîb and other books of Traditions. He died in 1110 A.H.
35. Mawla Abdullah Bin Nur-ullah Al-Bahrânî.  
He was a contemporary of Al-Majlisî and an author of Al-'Awâlim which deals with the Traditions and spreads over 100 volumes. He died in the early eleventh century.
36. As-Sayyid Ne'matullah Bin Abdullah Al-Jazâirî  
He was a pupil of Al Majlisî and wrote Al Anwâr-un-Nu'mâniyyah which deals with the Tradition in addition to other books. He died in 1112 A.H.
37. As-Sayyid Nur-ud-Din Bin Ne'matullah Al-Jazâirî  
He was the son of As-Sayyid Ne'matullah mentioned above and a Jurist Traditionalist. He died in 1158 A.H.
38. Ash-Shaikh Yûsuf Bin Ahmad Bin Ibrâhîm Ad-Darâzî Al-Bahrânî Al-Hâ'irî. He wrote a book on Jurisprudence titled Al-Hadâ'iq which is a unique book of its kind. He also wrote Ad-Durah An-Najafiyyah and other books. He died in 1187 A.H.
39. As-Sayyid Abul Hasan Mûsa Bin Haider Al-Husaini Al'AAamilî  
He was the great-grand-father of the father of the author of this book. He was a Jurist-Traditionalist and his school had about 400 students. He died on 1194 A.H.
40. Aqâ Muhammad Bâqir Bin Muhammad Akmal Al-Bahbahâni  
He was the teacher of many scholars of repute and was one of the prominent figures among the scholars of the Traditions and Jurisprudence, as well as other studies. He died in 1208 A.H.
41. As-Sayyid Muhammad Mahdi At-Tabâtabâ'î.  
He was a pupil of Aqâ Muḥammad Bâqir and known as Bahr-ul-'Ulûm and Murabbiy-ul-Fuqahâ'. He is the author of a book on Jurisprudence known as Al-Maṣābîh. He also composed a unique poem on this subject. The author of Miftâh-ul-Karâmah wrote a commentary on Al-Wâfi with the help of the notes given by At-Tabâtabâ'î during his discussion on Al-Wâfi. He died in 1212 A.H.
42. Ash-Shaikh Asadullah Bin Ismâ'îl Is-Tustari Al-Kâzimi.  
He was one of the most figures of his age in the fields of Jurisprudence and Uṣûl. Two of books on Jurisprudence namely, Al-Maqâbîs and Al-

Wasâ'il have been printed. He had the eyes of a genius and was greatly followed by his successors. He died in 1220 A.H.

43. As-Sayyid Muhammad Al-Jawwâd Bin Muhammad Al-Husaini Al-'Aamilî  
He was a pupil of Bahr-ul-'Ulûm and himself the teacher of the author Al-Jawâhir. He wrote Muftâh-ul-Karâmah Fi Sharh-i-Qawâ'id-il-Allâmah which is a unique work in the field of Jurisprudence so far as the collection of different opinions and finding their agreements are concerned. He also wrote Sharh-ul-Wâfi and Hawâshiy-Ur-Rawdah. He died in 1226 A.H.
44. Ash-Shaikh Ja'far Ibn Ash-Shaikh Khidr Al-Janâjî An-Najafi  
He was a student of Bahr-ul-'Ulûm and a wonder of his age in respect to his deep insight in Jurisprudence. He is the author of Kashf-ul-Ghitâi 'Ann Mahâsin-ish-Shar'at-il-Gharrâ', and Sharh-ul-Qawâ'id. He died in 1228 A.H.
45. As-Sayyid Husain Ibn As-Sayyid Abul Hasan Mûsa Al-Husaini Al-'Aamilî  
He was the brother of the great-grand-father of the author of the present book. He was one of the most prominent scholars and Jurists of his age. He died in 1230 A.H.
46. As-Sayyid Muhsin Al-A'rijî  
He was called Khatîb-ul-Ulamâ' and was also known as Al-Muhaqqiq-ul-Kâzimî. He wrote, beside other books, Al-Wasâ'il Fil Fiqh. He died in 1231 A.H.
47. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Ali Al-A'sam An-Najafî  
He was one of the Jurists of his age and a pupil of Bahr-ul-Ulûm. He died in 1234 A.H.
48. Ash-Shaikh Mûsa Bin Ash-Shaikh Ja'far An-Najafi Al-Janâjî  
He was the Jurist of his age. He died in 1241 A.H.
49. Ash-Shaikh Husain Bin Muhammad Bin Najaf Ali At-Tabrîzi An-Najafi  
He was one of the prominent Jurists of his age and among its most pious people. He died in 1247 A.H.
50. Ash-Shaikh Hasan Al-Qubaisî was one of Jurists of his age. He died in 1258 A.H.
51. Ash-Shaikh Ah Bin Ibrâhîm Al-'Aamilî Al-Kawtharâni.  
He was one of the prominent scholars of Jabal 'Aamil during his age. He wrote the commentary of the poem of Bahr-ul-'Ulûm. He died in 1260 A.H.
52. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Bin Bâqir An-Najafi  
He is the author of a famous book of Jurisprudence, namely, Jawâhir-ul-Kalâm which is considered to be one of the miracles of its age and is relied upon by scholars even in our own times. He died in 1266 A.H.
53. Al-Hâfiz Ash-Shaikh Muhsin Bin Khanfar An-Najafi  
He was one of the prominent scholars of his age. His student As-Sayyid Muhammad Al-Hindî has said in his Nazm-ul-Laâl that he (Al-Hâfiz) used to be very punctilious about the text of the Traditions and used to pick up minor changes in the texts found in Al-Wasâ'il. He died in 1270 A.H.
54. Ash-Shaikh Murtada Bin Muhammad Amin Al-Ansârî  
He was a prominent Jurist of his age and the author of a number of well-known books on Jurisprudence like Al-Makâsib. He died in 1281 A.H.



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

55. Ash-Shaikh Rāḍī Ibn Ash-Shaiḥ Muhammad An-Najafī was a prominent Jurist in his age. He died in 1290 A.H.
56. As-Sayyid Husain Al-Kohkumri An-Najafī is also known as As-Sayyid Husain At-Tūr. He was prominent figure of his age in the field of Jurisprudence. He died in 1299 A.H.
57. Ash-Shaikh Nūh Bin Qāsim An-Najafī was one of the Jurists of his time. He died in 1300 A.H.
58. As-Sayyid Mahdi Al-Qazwīnī Al-Hillī was one of the top ranking Jurists of his age. He died in 1300 A.H.
59. Ash-Shaikh Abdullah Bin Ali Aal Ne'mah Al-'Aamilī Al-Juba'ī  
He was the Jurist of Jabal' Aamil in his age. He died in 1303 A.H.
60. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Ali Aal'Izzud Din Al-'Aamilī  
He was one of the prominent Jurists, teachers and pious people of his age. He died in 1303 A.H.
61. Ash-Shaikh Mūsa Bin Amīn Aal Sharārah Al-'Aamilī  
He was a Jurist as well as a teacher. He wrote a poem on the subject of Inheritance. He died in 1304 A.H.
62. Mulla Muhammad Al Irawānī An-Najafī.  
He was one of prominent Jurists and teachers of his time. He died in 1306 A.H.
63. Ash-Shaiḥ Muhammad Husain Al Kāzimī An- Najafī  
He is the author of *Hidāyatul Anām Fi Sharh-i-Sharā'i '-il- Islam*. He was a well-known Jurist, teacher and pious person of his age. He died in 1308 A.H.
64. Ash Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Bin Yāsīn Al-Kāzimī was one of the prominent Jurists of his age. He died in 1308 A.H.
65. Ash-Shaikh Zainul Abidīn Al-Māzandarāni Al-Hā'irī was one of the leading Jurists of his age and one of the prominent people of his time. He died in 1309 A.H.
66. As-Sayyid Mirza Muhammad Hasan Ash-Shirāzi  
He got domiciled in Sāmarā'. He was considered to be the chief of the Imamites during his age. He trained most of the Jurists of his time. He was the person who gave a Fatwa (religious verdict) declaring the use of tobacco as a prohibited act, when Shah Nāsir-ud-Din gave a monopoly of tobacco to the British. This Fatwa forced the British to cancel that monopoly. He died in 1312 A.H.
67. Ash Shaikh Mirza Habibullah Ar-Rishtī Al-Najafī  
He was one of the top-ranking Jurists, teachers and pious persons of his age. He was the teacher of many a Jurist and the author of a large number of books, relating to Jurisprudence and other studies. He died in 1313 A.H.
68. Mirza Muhammad Hasan Al-Ashtiāni At-Tehrāni  
He was one of the top-ranking scholars of Iran and the author of a number of books on Jurisprudence. He died in 1314 A.H.
69. Ash Shaikh Aqā Ridā Bin Muhammad Hādī Al-Hamadhāni  
He is the author of *Miṣbāh-ul-Faqīh*. He was one of the prominent Jurists, teachers and pious persons of his age. He was greatly respected by the people both from among the Shi'ites as well as the Sunnites. He died in 1323 A.H.
70. Ash-Shaiḥ Hasan Al Māmaqāni An-Najafī was one of the prominent Jurists of his age and author of a number of books on Jurisprudence. He died in 1323 A.H.
71. Mulla Muhammad Sharābiānī An-Najafī.

- He was a Jurist and author of books on Jurisprudence, He died in 1323 A.H.
72. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Tâhâ Najaf At-Tabrizî An-Najafî  
He was one of the Jurists of his age and was counted among the most pious persons. He wrote a book on Jurisprudence titled Kitâb-ul-Inshâf. He died in 1323
73. Ash-Shaikh Mullâ Kâzîm Al-Khurasânî  
He taught and trained many scholars. Among his books on Jurisprudence is Sharh-ut-Tabâsirah. He died in 1329 A.H.
74. As-Sayyid Hasan Ibrâhîm died in the year 1329 A.H.
75. As-Sayyid Najîb -ud-Din Fadl Ullah died in 1336 A.H.
76. As-Sayyid Mahdi Al-Haidarî died in 1336 A.H.
77. As-Sayyid Kâzîm At-Tabâtâbâ'î Al-Yazdî  
He was one of the most accomplished Jurists of his age as well as a teacher of great fame. One of his books Al-'Urwatul Wuthqâ is a remarkable book and got famous for its organisation and division of material in a number of sections. He also wrote Hâshiyatul Makâsib. He died in 1337 A.H.
78. Mirzâ Muhammad Taqî Ash-Shirâzî  
He was of the most prominent Jurists of his age. After the death of Al-Yazdi he became the chief of the community. He died in 1338 A.H.
79. Ash Shaikh Fath Ullah Bin Muhammad Jawwâd Al-Asfahânî  
He was known as Sharî'at Madâr and became the chief of the scholars after the death of Ashîrâzî. He died in 1339 A.H.
80. Ash-Shaikh Mirza Husain An Nâ'inî An-Najafî  
He was a teacher, head of the school as well as an author. He died in 1355 A.H.
81. As-Sayyid Abul Hasan Al-Asfahânî An-Najafî  
He died in 1365 A.H.
82. Ash-Shaikh Abdul Karîm Al-Yazdî Al-Qummî
83. As-Sayyid Husain Al-Barujardî died in 1380 A.H.

SHI'ITE BOOKS ON TRADITIONS DURING THE PERIOD FROM  
ELEVENTH TO THE FOURTEENTH  
CENTURY.

1. AL-Wâfî

It was compiled by Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Murtada who was usually called as Mulla Muhsin Al-Kashi. He collected all the Traditions which are found in the Four Books and are related to Uṣūl or Furū'. He further arranged them into different chapters, explained the difficult points wherever it was necessary and clarified the reasons for putting together some of the Traditions which appeared to be contradictory. He wrote about two hundred books. He died in 1091 A.H.

2. Wasâ'il-ush-Shahîhâ Ilâ Ahâdîth-ush-Sharî'ah

It was compiled by Ashaikh Muhammad Bin Al Hasan Bin Al-Hurr Al-'Aamilî. He collected the contents of the Four Books from the eighty books owned by him and seventy others. He edited these Traditions which related to the Furū' only, divided them into different chapters, explaining some of the important points. This book became the most popular book as a source of reference with the teachers as well as students. Al Wâfî did not meet such



success in becoming popular as was written in store for Al-Wasâ'il. This was because of the fact that the arrangement of these Traditions in Al-Wasâ'il was better than Al-Wâfi although the explanation given Al-Wâfi are more convincing and more acceptable, but the success achieved by Al Wasâ'il was much more than the former and the remaining four books are also based upon it. The author of Al-Wasâ'il died in 1104 A.H.

3. Bihâr-ul-Anwâr Fi Ahâdith-in-Nabiy Wal A'immatil Athâr

It was compiled by Ash Shaikh Muhammad Bâqir Ibn Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Taqi, known as Al-Majlisî, in 26 volumes. One needs a life time just to copy it, not to speak of collecting the data on different branches of knowledge dealt with therein, including the biographies of the Prophet, Sayyidah Fâtimah Az-Zahrâ and the Twelve Imâms, their virtues, merits, ideas and opinions. The author collected all this material without exercising any choice. Most of it is not found in the Four Books. It was through the efforts of first mentioned three persons named Muhammad (Al-Kalîni, A's-Suddâq (and At-Tûsi), and the last mentioned three scholars named Muhammad (Muhsin Kâshi, Muhammad Al-'Aamili and Al-Majlisî) that the information and sayings of Ahl Bait were saved. They collected such information, edited it and arranged in book-forms. All three persons mentioned first and the two of those mentioned last exercised their choice according to their authorities (which means Al-Majlisî did not).

4. Al-'Awâlim Fil Hadîth.

It was compiled by the great Traditionalist Al-Mawla Abdullah Bin Nûrullah Al-Bahrâni in 100 volumes. It did not meet with such a success as did Bihâr. The author died in the earlier twelfth century.

5. Ash-Shifâ Fi Hadîth-i- Aal-i-Muštâfâ

It is a voluminous book, containing many volumes on the Traditions. It was completed by Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Ar-Rida Bin Al-Faqîh Ash-Shaikh Abdullah At-Tabrizî who died in 1158 A.H.

6. Jâmi'ul Ahkâm.

It was compiled by As-Sayyid Abdullah Ash-Shabarî in 25 big volumes, probably the biggest ever. The author died in 1242 A.H.

7. Mustadrakât-ul-Wasâ'il.

It was compiled by Mirzâ Husain An-Nûrf. He collected all those Traditions which the author of Al-Wasâ'il had missed out and arranged them into chapters.

But he has included Al-Figh-ur-Ridawi in this book which is not finally proved to be the work of Imam Ali Ar-Ridâ. There are many such instances in this book. It is not really supplementation of Al-Wasâ'il to add such things which were not reliable and certain in the opinion of the author of Al-Wasâ'il. He has given biographical data in the latter part of the book which is not found anywhere else. Most of this data is obviously based upon Jâmi'ur Ruwât by Al-Hâjj Muhammad Al-Ardbîlî who was a contemporary of Al-Majlisî. Mirza Husain Nûri, the author of the book, died in 1320 A.H.

8. Al-Bahr-uz-Zakkhâr Fi Sharh-i-Ahâdith-il-A'immatil-Athâr

It was started by Sayyid Musin Al-Amîn (the author of the present work) and three volumes could be completed.

SH'ITE BOOKS ON 'FORTY TRADITIONS'

Both the Sunnite as well as the Shi'ite scholars have reported on the basis of authentic reports originating with the Prophet that he said, "Anyone who reports forty Traditions of mine to my followers will be brought to life again on the Day of



Judgment as a scholar and a Jurist." It is for this reason that many Muslim scholars compiled 'books of Forty Traditions.' They collected in every such book forty Traditions of the Prophet according to their own basis of selection and appended explanations and commentaries to them, in the hope that they might be among those persons who are mentioned in the Tradition quoted above. The Shi'ite scholars too followed suit and did not lag behind. They composed a large number of books on Forty Traditions.

Other such books are:

- i) Forty Traditions by Ash-Shahîd Muhammad Bin Makki Al-'Aamili Al-Jizîni who was martyred in 786 A.H.
- ii) Forty Traditions by the Student of Ash-Shahîd whose name was Al-Miqdâd Bin Abdullah As-Sayyûri Al-Hillî Al-Asadî;
- iii) A Commentary on Forty Traditions by Ash-Shaikh Husain Bin Abduŝ Samâd (father of Al-Bahâ'î) who died in 984 A.H.;
- iv) A Commentary on Forty Traditions by Ash-Shaikh Al-Bahâ'î, Muhammad Bin Husain Al-'Aamî who died in 1031 A.H.;
- v) A Commentary on Forty Traditions by Muhammad Bâqir Bin Muhammad Taqî Al-Majlisî Al-Asfahânî who died in 1070 A.H.

#### SHI'ITE BOOKS ON DIRAYATUL HADÎTH I

The first person to begin in this field was Al-Hâkim Abu Abdullah An-Naishâpûri who is known as Ibn-ul-Bai'a. He wrote a book titled Ma'rifat-u-Ulûm-il-Hadîth. According to Kasafuz-Zunûn, "the first person to initiate this field was Al-Hâkim Abu Abdullah An-Naishâpûri. He wrote Ma'rifat-u-'Ulûm-il-Hadîth which is five volumes and contains fifty types of Traditions. He was followed by Ibn-uŝ-Safâh who has mentioned 65 types of Traditions." The author of Kashfuz Zunûn then writing about the Studies on Traditions (Ulûm-ul-Hadîth) mentions a book by Abi 'Amr Uthmân Bin Abdur Rahmân known as Ibn-uŝ-Salâh Ash-Shahrzûrî Al-Hâfiz Ash-Shâfi'î Ad-Dimashqui who died in 643 A.H.

As-Suyûti has said in Tadrîb-ur-Râwi (Third Note), "Shaikh-ul-Islam has said that the first person to Terminology (that is the Terminology of the Traditions) was Al-Qâdi Abu Muhammad Ar-Râmehrmuzî but he did not go well into details. He was followed by Al Hâkim Abu Abdullah An-Naishâpûri in this field but he could not arrange it and give it a good form. These two were followed by Abu Na'îm Al-Aŝbahânî. Shaikh-ul-Islam continued to say that then came Abu Amr Uthmân Bin Aŝ-Salâh Ash-Shehrzûrî who made refined it."

I have to say that Abu Na'îm Al-Asfahânî, Ahmad Bin Abdullah, the author of Hulyat-ul-Awliyyâi, was not a Shi'ite although he might have been. As to Abu Na'îm Al-Fadl Bin Dakkîn, he was definitely, a Shi'ite. Aŝ-Suyuti has himself said in Al-Awâ'il that the first person to classify different types of the Traditions was Ibn-uŝ-Salâh in his well known Al-Mukhtaŝar. What he means is that Ibn-uŝ-Salâh was the first one to refine and arrange this branch of studies as has been mentioned in his quotation from Shaikh-ul-Islam, and not that he was the first person to begin. The pioneer in this field was Al-Hâkim, as has been said by Shaikh-ul-Islam, and Al-Hâkim was senior to Ibn-uŝ-Salâh by about 238 years, As-Sam'ânî in Al-Ansâb

1. Abranch of Islamic Studies dealing with the Principles of judging the validity of reported Tradition by use of reason and logical argument.



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

and Adh-Dhahabī in Tadhkiratul Huffāz have testified that Al-Hākim was a Shi'ite. He died in 405 A.H.

Among the Shi'ite scholars who worked in this field was As-Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Din Ahmad Bin Mūsa Bin Ja'far Bin T'was Al-Husainī. His student Al-Hasan Bin Dawūd Al-Hilli has said about him in his Rijāl what he did the best in the fields of Rijāl, Reporting of the Traditions and Exegesis (Tafsīr) to which nothing can be added. Jamāl-ud-Din Ahmad coined new terminology in the field of the Traditions and divided them according to the Imamite views into four types, which are:

- i) Aṣ-Sahīh (Correct and absolutely authentic);
- ii) Al Hasan (Good)
- iii) Al-Mu'aththaq (The Reliable)
- iv) Ad-Da'if (Weak).

In addition to these types, he further classified the Traditions not falling within the definition of above-mentioned types as

- i) Al-Mursal;
- ii) Al-Mudmar;
- iii) Al-Marfū'a
- iv) Al-Maqtū'a
- v) Al Mutawātar
- vi) Al-Ahād
- vii) Al-Maqbūl

He died in 673 A.H.

Among other writers and authors in this field are the following:

### 1. As-Sayyid Ali Bin Abdul Hamīd Al-Hasanī

He wrote Sharh-u-Uṣūl-i-Dirāyat-il-Hadīth as it has already been mentioned. He died during the eighth century.

### 2. Ash-Shahīd-uth-Thānī Ash-Shaikh Zain-ud-Din Bin Ali Al-'Aamilī Al-Jubā'ī

He was the first person from among our friends who wrote in this field on the lines which are known to us. He wrote a treatise titled Al-Bi-dāyah Fi 'Ilm-id-Dirāyah and added to it a comprehensive commentary which has since been published. He also wrote another treatise on this subject, titled Ghunyat-ul-Qāsidīn Fi Ma'rifat-i-Istīlāhāt -ul-Muhaddithīn. He was martyred in 966 A.H.

### 3. Ash-Shaikh Husain Bin Abduṣ Ṣamad Al-'Aamilī Al-Jubā'ī Al-Hārithī Al-Hamdānī

He was a student of Ash-Shahīd -uth-Thānī and the father of Ash-Shaikh Al Bahā'ī. He wrote a treatise on this subject and titled it as Wuṣūl-ul-Akhyār Ilā Uṣūl-il-Akhhbār. It is found in print. He died in 987 A.H.

### 4. Ash-Shaikh Hasan Ibn Ash-Shahīd-ith-Thānī

In the Preface to his book "Muntaqal Jamān Fil Ahādīth-i-Ṣ-Sahīh Wal Ihsān" he discussed the principle of Ilm-ul-Hadīth. He died in 1031 A.H.

### 5. Ash Shaikh Bahā' ud-Dīn 'Aamilī

He wrote a book named Al-Wajīzah Fi 'Ilm-id-Dirāyah but it is very

- brief. He died in 1031 A.H.
6. Ash-Shaikh Mulla Ali Al-Kinnî Az-Zahrânî  
He dealt with Dirâyah in his book Tawdhî -ul-Miqâl. He died in 1063 A.H.
7. As-Sayyid Hasan Aal Sadr-ud-Din Al-'Aamilî Al-Kâzimî  
He wrote a very comprehensive commentary and explanation on Al-Wajf-zah of Ash-Shaikh Al-Bahâ'î. He was born 1272 A.H. and died in 1314 A.H.

## SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON BIOGRAPHY

From among the Tabi'ites, according to the Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh, Ubaidullah Bin Abu Râfe'a, the secretary of Amîr-ul-Mu'minîn, wrote a book about those persons from among the companions of the Prophet who participated in the Battle of Jamal, Siffin and Nehrwan on the side of Ali Bin Abi Tâlib. He died during the first century.

Other writers who contributed to this field of studies are the following:

1. Hishâm Bin Muhammad As-Sâ'ib Al-Kalabî  
Ibn-un-Nadîm has mentioned the following books among his writings:

- ii) Ummahât-un-Nabî;
- iii) Ummahât-ul-Khulafâ';
- iv) Al-'Awâqil;
- v) Tasmiyat-u-Wulid-ul- Abdul Muttalib;
- vi) Kuna Abâ'-ir-Rusûl.

He died in 206 A.H.

- of At-Tabaqât and Târîkh ul- Fuqahâ'. He died in 208 A.H.
5. Abul Qâsim Naîr Bin As-Sabâh Al-Balkhî  
An-Najâshi has said that he wrote Ma'rifat-un-Nâqilîn. He died during the third century.

Muhammad Bin 'Umar Bin Abdul Azîz Al-Kishfî who is well-known biographer and the author of Rijâl-ul-Kishf often cites from Abul Qâsim Naîr. Al-Kishfî died during the fourth century.

6. Abu Yu'lâ Hamza Bin Qâsim Al-'Alawi  
He was from among the descendents of Abbâs Bin Ali Bin Abi Talib. According to An-Najâshî, he wrote a book on biography which he reported from Imam Ja'far Sâdiq. An-Najâshî describes this book as good. He died during the third century.
7. Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Ali Al-Muhâribî  
An-Najâshî reports that he wrote a book on Rijâl which was heard by a group of Shi'ites who had praised it. An-Najâshî has given the authorities for this book. He died during the third or fourth century.
8. Abu Muhammad Abdullah Bin Jabalah Bin Hayyân Bin Abjar Al-Kinânî Al-Kuffî  
According to An-Najâshî, he wrote a book on Rijâl. Either he or Al-Yaqînî (whose account will follow) or Muhammad Bin Khalîd Al- Barqî was the first one to write a book on this field because all the three



lived in the same age, As-Suyûtf has said in Al-Awâ'il that the first one to write a book on Rijâl was Shu'bah, But Shu'bah died in 260 A.H. and therefore, Ibn Jabalah is senior to him because he died in 219 A.H.

9. Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Isâ Bin 'Ubaid Bin Yaqtin Al-'Ubaidî Al-Yaqfînî. According to An-Najâshî, he was the author of a book on Rijâl. He died during the third century.

10. Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Faddâl

Both An-Najâshî and Ash-Shaikh have mentioned him as being the author of a book on Rijâl. He died in 224 A.H.

11. Ali Bin Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Faddâl

According to At-Ta'liqah, many scholars depend upon in connection with biographical data. From this statement, it appeared that he probably wrote a book on Rijâl. He died during the third century.

12. Da'bal Bin Ali Al-Khuzâ'î

He is the author of Kitâb-ush-Shu'arâ' which has been mentioned by Ibn-un-Nadîm. He died in 246 A.H.

13. Al-Fadl Bin Shâdhân. He is often cited by the biographers which indicates that he did write a book or books of biography. He died in 200 A.H.

14. Muhammad Bin Mas'ûd Al-'Ayyâshî. An-Najâshî says that he was very well informed and had an insight in reporting with which he did justice. He wrote a number of books which exceeds two hundred. He died during the fourth century.

15. Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Khâlid Al-Barqî Al-Qummî. Ibn-un-Nadîm says that he wrote a book on Rijâl in which he mentioned whatever was reported about Amîr-ul-Mu'mînîn. An other version is that he included in this book whatever was reported about Amîr-ul-Mu'mînîn and afterwards. This book is available and known as Rijâl-ul-Barqî. He died during the third century.

16. Abu Ja'far Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khâlid Al-Barqî. He was the son of Al-Barqî mentioned above. Muhammad Bin Ja'far Bin Battah has mentioned in his Al-Fahrist a book on Rijâl among the writings of Abu Ja'far. The name of this book is Tabaqât-ur-Rijâl which has been cited by An-Najâshî and Ash-Shaikh in Al-fahrist, alongwith the authorities. He died in 276 A.H.

17. Muhammad Bin Ja'far Bin Battah Al-Qummî. He compiled a catalogue of the names of scholars whom he saw or met. He died in 274 A.H.

18. Ali Bin Al-Hakam. He is from among the oldest friends. It appears that he wrote a book on Rijâl which is often quoted and cited by Ibn Hajar in his book Lisân-ul-Mîzân in connection with the life-accounts of the Shi'ite personalities.

19. Abu Bakr Aṣ-Ṣūfī, Muhammad Bin Yahyâ Bin Abbâs. Ibn-un-Nadîm has said in his Al-Fahrist, "He is one of the wittiest writers. He has to his credit the following books: i) Kitâb-ul-Wuzarâ' (ii) Akhbâr-u-Abi Tamâm, (iii) Akhbâr-ul-Jubâ'î, (iv) Akhbâr-u-Abi 'Amr Bin Al-'Ulâ (v) Akhbâr-ul-Khulafâ' Wash-Shu'arâ'". It appears that it is the last mentioned book which has been referred to in Kashf-uz-Zunûn under the title Akhbâr-ush-Shu'arâ', and which has recently been published in Egypt as Kitâb-ul-Awrâq, because Ibn-un-Nadîm himself mentions in Al-Fahrist at another occasion that Aṣ-Ṣūfī mentions in Al-Fahrist at another occasion that Aṣ-Ṣūfī had written a book under the title of Kitâb-ul-Awrâq, Fi Akhbâr-il-Khulafâ' Wash-Shu'arâ'. Ibn-un-Nadîm also says that he reported something about Ali and was therefore summoned (by the Government) to be killed. He died in 330 A.H.

20. Abdul Azîz Bin Ishâq Az-Zaidî. He is the author of Tabaqât-ush-Shi'ah. He died during the fourth century.



21. Abu Ahmad Abdul Azfz Bin Yahyâ Al-Jalûdf Al-Bašrf An-Najâshi has mentioned a book written by him under the title Tabaqât-ul-'Arab. He died after 330 A.H.
22. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'ûd Al-Hâfiz. He is known as Ibn Uqdah Az-Zaidf. Ash-Shaikh has said in Al-Fahrist that he wrote a book about those persons who reported the Traditions whether they were Shi'ite or Sunnites. Similarly he wrote another book about those persons who reported about Imam Hasan, Imam Husain, Imam Ali Bin Al-Husain, Imam Muhammad Al-Bâqir, Zaid Bin Ali Bin Al-Husain, and Imam Ja'far Aš-Sâdiq, (Peace be upon all). He died in 333 A.H.
23. 'Ibâd Bin Ya'qûb Ar-Rawâjinf. He is the author of Ma'rifat-uš-Sahâbah and Akhbâr-ul-Mahdf. His being a Shi'ite has been testified by Ibn Hajar in At-Taqrîb, Adh-Dhahabf in Al-Mukhtašar, As-Sim'ânif in Al-Ansâb and other authorities. He died in 250 or 271 A.H. (1)
24. Abu Ali Ahmad Bin Muhammad 'Ammâr Al-Kûfî. According to An-Najâshi, he is the author of Kitâb-ul-Mamdûhm wal Madhmûmîn which is a voluminous book. He died in 346 A.H.
25. Abu Bakr Bin Al-Ju'âbf, Muhammad Bin Umar(2) Bin Muhammad Bin Salâm or Sâlim. Ibn-un-Nadfm says that he wrote a book about those persons who expressed religious devotion to Ali Bin Abi Talib from among the scholars and persons of eminence. Ibn-un-Nadfm has also a brief account of the writer. An-Najâshf says that he wrote, titled Kitâb-ush-Shf'ah Min Ašhâb-il-Hadîth which is a voluminous book. Similarly he wrote another book, Al-Muwâlif Wal Ashrâf. In another he gave the account of those people who reported from Bani Hâshim and their allies. Other books written by him are Akhbâr-u-Aal-i-Abi Talib, Akhbâr-u-Baghdâd (in which he gave the account of the Traditionalists there too), Ibn-un-Nadfm has mentioned other books in the field written by Abu Bakr Bin Al-Ju'âbf along with their authorities. Ash-Shaikh has said in Al-Fahrist, "He has prepared a catalogue of those people who reported the Traditions and other information connected with knowledge, along with their work, creed etc." Ash-Shaikh has also given the sources. He died in 355 A.H.
26. Abul Faraj Al-Ašbahânî, Ali Bin Al-Husain Al-Ummawf al-Marwânî. He is the author of Al-Aaghânî which is unique book of its kind. Another book written by him is titled Maqâtil-ut-Tâlibîn which too has no parallel. Both these books combine history and biography. He died in 355 A.H.
27. Abul Hasan Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Dâwûd Bin Ali Al-Qummî. Both An-Najâshi and Ash-Shaikh have mentioned among his works a book titled Kitâb-ul-Mamdûhm Wal Madhmûmîn. He died in 368 A.H.

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1. He should have been mentioned earlier but has been delayed in being mentioned out of mistake. Because he belongs to the first group of authors and is incorrect to put him along with those who lived during the fourth century. Similarly Al-'Ayyâshi has been put along with those who lived during the third century out of mistake because he also belongs to the first group.
  2. In Rijâl of An-Najâshi, Tadhkirat-ul-Huffâz and Al-Fahrist of Ibn-un-Nadfm, his name appears as Umar Bin Muhammad Bin Salâm. It is apparent that the copiers wrongly changed and deleted the name Muhammad in the beginning.



## SHI'ITES INITIATIVE IN LETTERS

28. Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin 'Imrân Al-Marzbânî Ibn-un-Nadîm has said about him, "He was very well informed, and oft quoted. Some have said about him that he was the source of information for literature, possessor of information, strange incidents and the author of a large number of books." According to Al-Fahrist of Ibn-un-Nadîm, he wrote a book comprising ten thousand sheets, in which he had given the accounts of poets and selections from their poetry. First of these poets was Bashshâr and the last one Ibn-ul-Mu'tiz. He has another useful book comprising five thousand pages. The first chapter of this book contains the accounts of those poets during the Pre-Islamic as well as Islamic periods who composed very little poetry. In the second chapter he gives an account of the description of poets and their bodily defects from head to feet. In the third chapter, he gives the creeds of different poets and being a Shi'ite, Scholastic, Kharjite, Jew or Christian. In the last chapter, he gives an account of those whose either gave up composing poetry or used their poetry for one subject only, like As-Sayyid Al-Himyarî or Al-Abbâs Bin Al-Ahnaf. He also compiled a dictionary in which he gave the accounts of poets in alphabetical order. There are about five thousand names in this dictionary alongwith the specimens of verses. The total number of pages is about five thousand all the prominent poets from Imra-ul-Qais to the earlier Abbâside regime.

I have to add that his book, Mu'jam-ush-Shu'arâ` is a book which every one quotes. The orientalist got hold of the second volume of this book near Aleppo and published it from Egypt. They have kept searching for the remaining volumes for they have announced heavy reward or price in the newspapers. We have a part of this book, which gives a summary of the life-accounts of the Shi'ite poets. It contains the account of 28 poets.

One of the distinguishing feature of this Mu'jam is that it gives such a detailed account of the person included that even the most prominent ones from among them have not been treated in this detailed manner in other books. He died in 378 A.H.

29. Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Bâbawaih Al-Qummi, known as Aṣ-Ṣuddûq. An Najâshî has said that he wrote Al-Maṣâbîh in which 15 chapters are connected with the discussion of those who reported the Traditions from the Prophet, from Sayyidah Fatimatuz Zahrâ` or from other Imams; of those who met the Tradition-alists, those who have been mentioned by Al-Barqî. There is a mention of Al-Maṣâbîh in Al-Fahrist. He could not finish his work on Rijâl on account of death which occurred in 381 A.H.
30. Ibn-un-Nadîm, Muhammad Bin Ishâq. He is the author Al-Fahrist which is unique of its kind. His being a Shi'ite has been testified by Yâqût in Mu'jam-ul-Udabâ`. He died in 385 A.H.
31. Aṣ-Sâhib, Ismâ'îl Bin 'Ibâd. He is the author of the following books: (i) Kitâb-ul-Wuzarâ`, (ii) Kitâb-uz-Zaidiyyah, (iii) 'Un-wân-ul-Ma'ârif wa Dhîkr-il-Khalâ'if Fi Târîkh-in-Nabî Wa Man Khûṭiba Bil Khilâfah (It has been mentioned as volume Two of Ma'âdin-ul-Jawâhir) (iv) Akhbâr-u-Abil 'Ainâ`. He died in 385 A.H.
32. Isa Bin Mehrân known as Al-Musta'tif. Ash-Shaikh At-Tûsî has written in Al-Fahrist, "Ibn un-Nadîm has mentioned him as being the author Kitâb-ul-Muhaddithîn." He died during the fourth century.
33. Ahmad Bin Ali Al-'Alawi Al-'Atîquî. He wrote Kitâb-ur-Rijâl. He died during the fourth century. His son Ali Bin Ahmad also wrote a well known book on Rijâl.
34. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Abdullah Bin Al-Hasan Bin 'Ayâsh. He is the author of Kitâb-ul-Ishtimâl 'Alâ Ma'rifat-ir-Rijâl. He died in 401 A.H.

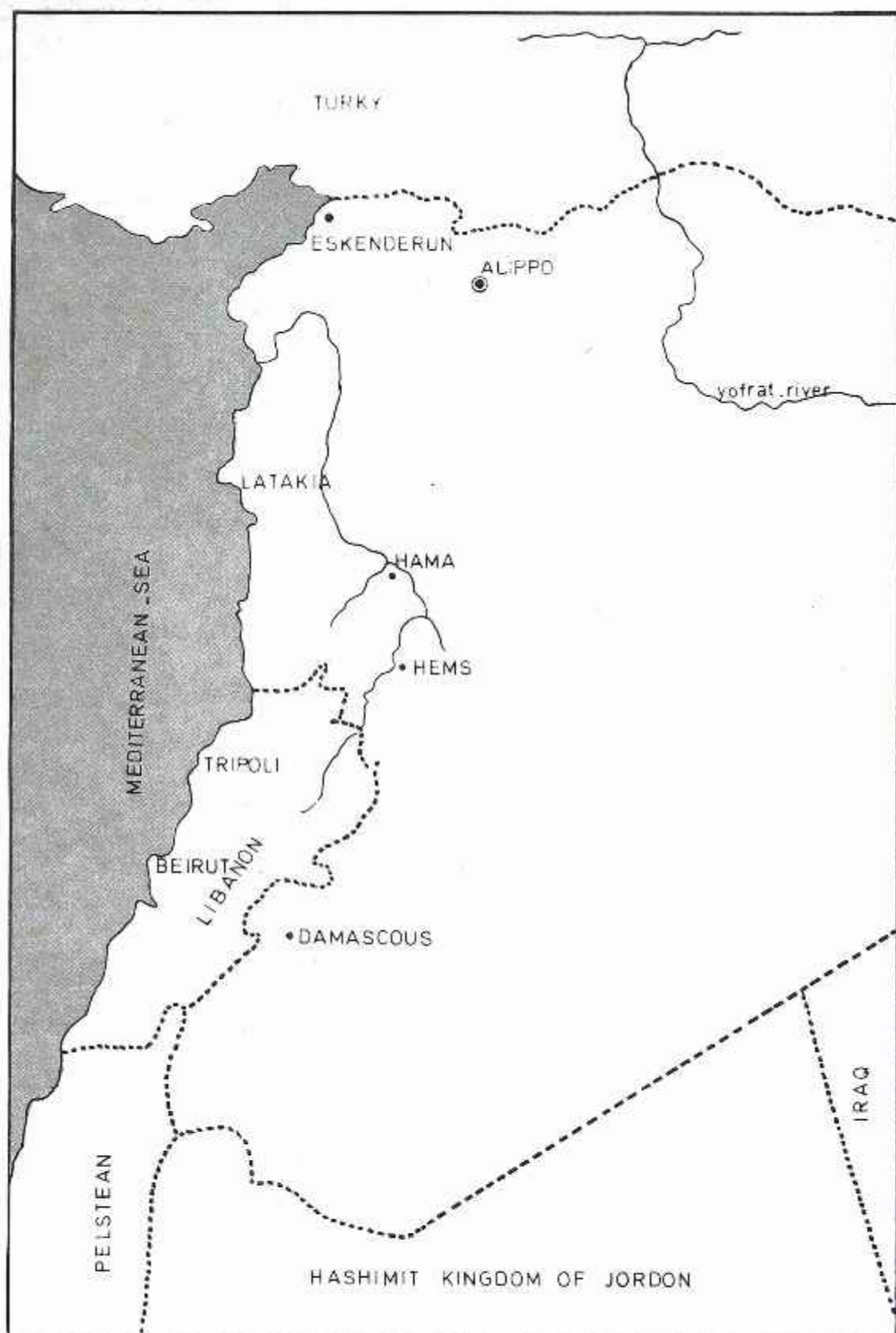


35. Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Ya'qūb Bin Ishāq Al-Kātib-ul-Qanānī He was the teacher of An-Najāshī who said that he was the author of Kitāb-ur-Rijāl-i-Abil Mufaddal. He died during the fifth century.
36. Ash-Shaikh Al-Muffīd, Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin An-Nu'mān. He is the author of Al-Irshād which deals with the lives of the Twelve Imam. All those who were junior to him made use of this book while writing on this subject. He died in 413 A.H.
37. Ahmad Bin Al-Husain Bin Ubaidullah Al-Ghadā'irī. He wrote two books in this field. One of them is about those who were praised and the other about those who were hurt. According to Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsī, one of them is about the books and the other about Principles (Uṣūl). He died during the mid-fifth century.
38. Ahmad Bin Ali An-Najāshī. He is the author of the well-known book on Rijāl in which he has discussed the Imamite writers. He died in 450 A.H.
39. Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsī, Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan. Beside other books, he wrote a book on Rijāl in which he wrote about those who reported the Traditions from the Prophet and each one of the Twelve Imams. He also compiled a catalogue (Fahrist) of the Imamite writers. He died in 460 A.H.
40. Abul Abbās As-Sairāfi, Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Nūh. According Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh, he wrote a book in this field about those persons who had carried the Traditions through Abi Abdullah (A.S.) (Imam Ja'far Sādiq, and added much to what Ibn 'Uqdah had written. An-Najāshī has said that As-Sairāfi had great insight in matters relating with the Traditions, and their reporters. According to An-Najāshī he wrote Kitāb-uz-Ziyādāt which is about the reporters who carried the Tradition from Imam Ja'far Sādiq and which he reported on the basis of information collected through Abi Abbās Bin Sa'īd. It may be added that Abi Abbās Bin Uqdah reported about four thousand reliable persons who reported the Traditions from Imam Ja'far Sādiq. He died during the fifth century.
41. Rashīd-ud-Dir Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Shah Aashūb Al-Mazandarānī. He is the author of Ma'ālim-ul-'Ulamā' which gives an account of various scholars and their lives. He died in 588 A.H.
42. Muntajib-ud-Din Ali Bin 'Ubaidullah Bin Bābuyah. He compiled a catalogue of the contemporaries of Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsī till the time of his death. He died after 588 A.H.
43. Al-Hāfiz Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Abdullah Al-Qadā'ī. He is usually known as Ibn-ul-Aabār Al-Andulusī. He wrote a complement to Kitāb-uṣ-Silah of Ibn Bashkawāl. He also compiled a Mu'jam on the companions of Al-Qādī Abu Ali Aṣ-Sadfi. Besides, he wrote Al-Hillat-us-Sairā and, A'tābul Kitāb. The statement found in Nafh-ut-Tīb on him indicates that he was a Shi'ite. He died in 678 A.H.
44. Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Dāwūd Al-Hilli. He is the author of a very famous book on Rijāl. He was the first person to arrange the names along with the names of fathers and grand-fathers. He included in his book all the information available in other books of Rijāl, although he committed mistakes in tracing one's genealogical tables, but not in his objections to Al-Allāmah as though in Al-Amal. He died during the seventh century.
45. Ahmad Bin Mūsa Bin Ja'far Bin Tāwus Al-'Alawi Al-Hasanī. He is the author of Hall-ul-Ishkāl Fi Ma'rifat-ir-Rijāl. He died in 673 A.H.
46. Ali Bin Anjab, known as, Ibn-us-Sā'ī Al-Baghdādī. He wrote a history of the poets of his age. Besides, he is the author of Akhbār-ul-Muṣannifīn, Akhbār-ul-Khulafā' Akhbār-ul-Qudāt-i-Baghdād etc. etc. He died in 674 A.H.



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47. As-Sayyid Abdul Karīm Bin Ahmad Bin Tāwus Al-Hasanī. He is the author Ash-Shamal-ul-Manzūm Fi Musannifī 'Ulūm which is a unique work of its kind. He died in 603 A.H.
48. Kamāl-ud-Din Abdur Razzāq Bin Ahmad Ash-Shaibāni. He is also known as Ibn-ul-Fūtī. He prepared Mu'jam-ul-Aadāb Fi Mu'jam-il-Asmā' 'Alā Mu-jam-il-Alqāb. It is a remarkable book written in a wonderful manner. It spreads over fifty volumes. Out of these one big volume, written in the hand of the author himself is available in Al-Maktabat-uz-Zāhirryah in Damascus. He also wrote Ad-Dawr-un-Nāsi'ah Fi Shu'arā'-i-Mi'at-is-Sābi'ah which is also in many volumes. Adh-Dhahabī has mentioned it in Tadhkiratul Huffāz. He was a Shī'ite as we have clarified while discussing his life. The editor of his book Al-Hawāidh-ul-Jāmi'ah made an incorrect conclusion at the time of its publication that the author was either a Shāfi'ite or Hanbalite. He died in 723 A.H.
49. Al-Allāmah Al-Hillī, Al-Hasan Bin Yūsuf Al-Mutahhar. He is the author of three books in this field, namely, Khullasat-ul-Aqwāl, Kashf-ul-Miqāl Fi Ahwāl-ir-Rijāl, and Ifdāh-ul-Ishtibāh Fi Dabt-i-Asmā'-ir-Rijāl. He died in 726 A.H.
50. Ash-Shahīd-uth-Thānī, Ash-Shaikh Zain-ud-Din Bin Ali Al-'Aamilī. He wrote a commentary on Al-Khullasah which gives much useful information. He was martyred in 966 A.H.
51. Ash-Shaikh Hasan Bin Ash-Shahīd-ith-Thānī. He is the author of Al-Ma'alim. He prepared an abridged edition of Hall-ul-Ishkāl written by Sayyid Ahmad Bin Tāwus. There is much useful information about personalities and their lives in his book Muntaqal Jumān. He died in 1011 A.H.
52. As-Sayyid Mirza Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Ibrāhīm Al-Astarabādī. He is a well-known biographer and the author Manhij-ul-Miqāl Fi Ahwāl-ir-Rijāl which is usually known as Rijāl-ul-Mirzā Al-Kabīr which is the most comprehensive and detailed book in this subject. There is available its condensed edition which is known as Al-Wasfī. There is still another shorter edition which is known as Aṣ-Saghīr. According to Amal-ul-Aamil, there is no book on Rijāl which is more comprehensive than the one we are discussing. The author of Naqd-ur-Rijāl says that Mirza made a thorough research in this matter and does not need any further addition. His book is very well arranged and covers all the names of various personalities as well as opinions about them, whether in praise or in condemnation. Hardly a name has been left out. He died in 1026 A.H.
53. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Jābir Bin Abbās Al-'Aamilī Al-Mashgharī An-Najafī was a pupil of Mirza Astarabādī. He wrote a book on Rijāl as well as a treatise on nick-names and titles. He died during the eleventh century.
54. As-Sayyid Mustafā Bin Al-Husain At-Tafrīshī. He is the author of a well-known book, titled Naqd-ur-Rijāl which contains much useful data and is distinguished for the account of all those who were born after Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsī.
55. Khudāwīdī was a class-mate of At-Tafrīshī during their lessons with Al-Mawlā Abdullah At-Tustarī. He wrote Zubdat-ur-Tijāl. He died during the eleventh century.
56. Al-Mawlā Inayat Ullah Bin Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Al-Aṣbahānī Al-Qahbāni An-Najafī. He was the author of Majma'-ur-Rijāl. He also wrote notes on Naqd-ur-Rijāl. He died during the eleventh century.
57. Ash-Shaikh Hassan Bin Ali Bin Ahmad Al-Hānī is the author of Nazm-ul-Jamān Fi Tārīkh-il-Akābar-i-Wal-A'yān. He died in 1035 A.H.



A map showing the location of the city of Aleppo, Saif al-Dawla al-Hamadani's capital.





58. Ash-Shaikh Farj-Ullah Al-Hawaizî. He is the author of Tījāz-ul-Miqāl Fî 'Ilm-ir-Rijāl. He died around 1035 A.H.
59. As-Sayyid Muhammad Al-Bāqir Ad-Dāmād Al-Asfahānî. He wrote Ar-Rawāshihus Samāwiyyah as well as notes and commentary on Muntahal Miqāl. He died in 1041 A.H.
60. Nizām-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Al-Qarashî As-Sāqujî. He was a pupil of Ash-Shaikh Al-Bahā'î. He wrote Nizām-ul-Aqwāl Fî Ma'rifat-ir-Rijāl. I have seen a copy of this written by the author himself in Jabal 'Aamil. He died during the eleventh century.
61. Ash-Shaikh Abdun Nabî Al-Jazā'irî. He is the author Hāwil Aqwāl Fî 'Ilm-ir-Rijāl. He died in the early eleventh century.
62. Ash-Shaikh Fakhr-ud-Din At-Tarḥī An-Najafî. He wrote Jāmi'ul Miqāl Fīmā Yata'alliqu Bil Hadīth-i-War-Rijāl. He died in 1085 A.H.
63. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Amīn Bin Muhammad Ali Al-Kāzimî was a pupil of At-Tarḥī and wrote a commentary on his teacher's book on Rijāl. He also wrote Hidāyat-ul-Muhaddithīn Ilā Tarīqat-il-Muhammadīn. He died during the eleventh century.
64. Muhammad Bin Mulla Muhsin Al-Kāshî. He is known as 'Ilm-ul-Hudā. He wrote Nadd-ul-Ifdāh which is a kind of complement to Ifdāh-ul-Ishtibāh written by Al-Allāmah Al-Hillî. He was alive in 1100 A.H.
65. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Al-Hurr Al-'Aamilî. He wrote a book on Rijāl which he mentioned in the end of Al-Wasā'il. He also wrote Amal-ul-Aamil Fî 'Ulamā'i-Jabal-i-'Aamil etc. He died in 1104 A.H.
66. Muhaddhib-ud-Din Ahmad Bin Rida. He was a pupil of Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan mentioned above. He wrote Fā'iq-ul-Miqāl Fil Hadīth-i-War-Rijāl. He died during the eleventh century.
67. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bāir Bin Muhammad Taqî Al-Asfahānî known as Al-Majlisî. He wrote Al-Wajīzah Fir-Rijāl. His death occurred in 1110 A.H.
68. Al-Hājj Muhammad Bin Ali Al-Ardabīlî was a contemporary of Al-Majlisî. He wrote Jāmi'ur Ruwāt on the pattern of Tahdhīb-ut-Tahdhīb by Ibn Hajar Al-'Asqalānî. He died during the eleventh century.
69. As-Sayyid Ali Khān Ash-Shīrāzî was the author of Salāfatul 'Aṣr Fî Udabā'-'il-'Aṣr and Ad-Darajāt-ur-Raff'ah Fî Tabaqāt-ush-Sh'ah. He died in 1118 or 1120 A.H.
70. Mirza Abdullah Al-Asfahānî alias Aafandî. He wrote Riyād-ul-'Ulamā in ten volumes. Five of them are about the Shi'ite scholars after the minor absence of the Twelfth Imam (Al-Ghaibat-uṣ-Sughrā) and five volumes are about the Sunnite scholars. He died in 1120 A.H.
71. Ash-Shaikh Sulaiman Ibn Ash-Shaikh Abdullah Al-Bahrānî Al-Māhūzî. He wrote Al-Me'rāj which is an explanation to the Al-Fāhrisṭ of Ash-Shaikh At-Tūsî. He also wrote Al-Balaghah Fir Rijāl. He died in 1121 A.H.
72. As-Sayyid Yūsuf Bin Yahyā Al-Hasanî Al-Yamānî-Az-Zaidî. He is the author of Nismatus Sehar-Fiman Tashayya's Wa Sh'ar. This book is in two volumes. We have got a copy in our library. He died in 1121 A.H.
73. As-Sayyid Abdullah Bin Nur-ud-Din Ne'matullah Al-Jazā'irî.  
He has compiled a big volume containing all the biographical accounts available till that time, to which he has appended the accounts of scholars for 41 years from 1007 to 1138 A.H.  
He died during the twelfth century.
74. Ash-Shaikh Yūsuf Bin Ahmad Bin Ibrāhīm Al-Bahrānî.



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He wrote Lu'lu'-ul-Bahrain in which he collected a large biographical sketches of the scholars. He died 1187 A.H.

75. As-Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Bin Abdur Rasûl Al-Husainî Az-Zannûri. He is the author of Riyâd-ul-Jannah which contains biographical sketches and geographical accounts of Iranian areas. A copy of this book is available in the library of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He died in the mid-twelfth century.
76. Aaqâ Muhammad Bâqir Al-Bahbahâni is the author of the famous At-Ta'îf-qah (Commentary) on Manhij-ul-Miqâl which contains very useful biographical data. He died in 1208 A.H.
77. As-Sayyid Husain Ibn Al-Amîr Ibrâhîm Ibn Al-Amîr Muhammad Ma-sûm Al-Qazwînf wrote a book on biographical sketches, a part of which is available with us. He died in 1208 A.H.
78. As-Sayyid Mahdi At-Tabâtabâ`î was a student of As-Sayyid Hussain Al-Qazwînf mentioned above. He was known as Bahr-ul-'Ulûm. He wrote a book on Rijâl which has certain points of merit not found in other books. He died in 1212 A.H.
79. Muhammad Bin Ismâ'îl Al-Hû`irî alias Abu Ali was the author of Muntahal Miqâl Fi Ahwâl-ir-Rijâl. He died during the thirteenth century.
80. Ash-Shaikh Abdun Nabî Al-Qazwînf was a pupil of Bahr-ul-'Ulûm. He wrote the complement to Amal-ul-Aaamil. We have got a copy of it which we made in Tehrân in 1353 A.H. He died during the thirteenth century.
81. Ash-Shaikh Muhsin Al-A'rajî Al-Kâzimî is commonly known as Al-Muhaqqiq-ul-Baghdâdî. He wrote Al-'-Iddah Fir Rijâl, a copy of which is available with us. He died in 1227 A.H.
82. Ash-Shaikh Abdun Nabî Al-Kâzimî. He lived in Jabal 'Aamil. He wrote Takmilat-ur-Rijâl which is written as a note on Naqd-ur-Rijâl of As-Sayyid Mustafâ At-Tafrîshî. We have got a copy of it. He died in 1256 A.H.
83. Ash-Shaikh Musin Bin Khanfar An-Najafî. His student, As-Sayyid Muhammad Al-Hindî has said in Nazm-ul-La`âl that he was a unique personality in the field of the study of Rijâl during his age. He died in 1270 A.H.
84. Ash-Shaikh Murtaqâ Bin Muhammad Amîn Al-Ansârî Ash-Shushtarî. He wrote a book on Rijâl, a copy of which I have seen in Al-Khazânah Ar-Ridawiyah (at Mash-hed). He died in 1281 A.H.
85. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Al-Bârfarûshi Al-Mazandarâni. He completed Natfjat-ul-Miqâl Fi 'Ilm-ir-Rijâl in 1284 A.H.
86. Mirza Muhammad Ali Bin Sâdiq Bin Mahdi Al-Kashmiîf Al-Lakhnawî. He wrote Nuj-um-us-Samâ'in Tarâjim-Il-'Ulamâ'in Persian. It is printed. Its composition started in 1286 A.H.

87. Mirza Muhammad Bin Sulaimân At-Tankâbanî wrote *Qisâs-ul-'Ulamâ'* In Persian which has been printed. He died in 1302 A.H.
88. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Ali Aal Izzud Din Al-'Aamilî.  
He wrote a book on the lives of scholars which I saw written in his own hand. It was lost during the disturbances in Jabal 'Aamil which took place in our age. He died in 1303 A.H.
89. Ash-Shaikh Ali Bin Muhammad As-Subaitî Al-'Aamilî Al-Kafrâwi.  
He was the historian of Jabal 'Aamil. He wrote *Al-Jawhar-ul-Mujarrad* which is an explanation of a poem composed by Ali Bay-al-As'ad, in which he has given life-accounts of many scholars of Jabal Aamil who were contemporaries to him or lived before his time but were not included in any book. He has also given the history of well-known families and incidents. But this is what is heard. We have not seen this book. It might have been lost like many other niceties of Jabal 'Aamil on account of bad luck or his descendant have clung to this book and do not let it be seen which will also amount to being lost. He died in 1303 A.H.
90. Ash-Shaikh Mulla Ali Al-Kannî At-Tehrânî An-Najafî.  
He wrote *Tawdîh-ul-Miqâl Fî 'Ilm-ir-Rijâl*. He died in 1306 A.H.
91. As-Sayyid Muhammad Bâqir Al-Asfahânî.  
He is the author of a voluminous book titled *Rawdât-ul-Jinân* which deals with lives of scholars and Sayyids. It has been published. He died in 1313 A.H.
92. Ash-Shaikh Mirza Husain An-Nûrî.  
He is an expert biographer. There are many biographical pieces in his book *Bâr-us-Salâm*. Similarly in the end of his book *Mustadrakât-ul-Wasâ'il* he has given very valuable information about various personalities and their lives. He died in 1320 A.H.
93. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Tâhâ Aal Najaf At-Tabrizî An-Najafî.  
He is the author of *Ittiqân-ul-Miqâl Fî Ahwâl-ir-Rijâl*. It is a printed book. The author died in 1323 A.H.
94. As-Sayyid Muhammad Bin Hâshim Al-Hindî An-Najafî.  
He is the author of *Nazm-ul-La'âl Fî 'Ilm-ir-Rijâl*. He died in 1323 A.H.
95. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin 'Abbûd Al-Kufî Al-Khatîb Al-Hâ'irî.  
He finished writing *Ash-Shajarat-ut-Tayyibah Fî Ahwâl-il-'Ulamâ'-il-Muntajibah* in 1340 A.H.
96. Ash-Shaikh Ali Bin Hasan Bin Ali Bin Sulaimân Al-Bilâdî Al-Bahrânî is the author of *Nûr-ul-Badrain Fî 'ulamâ'-il-Ahsâ'-i-wal-Qataif wal Bahrain*. We have two copies of this book one of which is the original one. The author died in 1340 A.H.
97. The editors of the book "*Dânishwarân-é-Našîrî Fî Tarâjim-il-Ulamâ'*" compiled it in Persian under instructions from the king of Iran Nasir-ud-Din Shah Qâchâr in many big volumes. They have finalized the first one which has been published. This is about 1296 A.H.



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98. Muhammad Hasan Khân was the Education Minister of Iran during the Qachârite regime. He wrote *Al-Khiyarât-ul-Hisân Fi Tarajim-il-Mash-hûrât Minan Niswân*. It is the Persian and has been published.
98. As-Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Al-Mudarris Ar-Ridawi.  
He is the author of *Ash-Shajarat-ut-Tayyibah Fi Ahwâl-is-Sâdât-ir-Ridawiyah*. It is written in Persian. We have seen the original copy in Mash-hed (Iran).
99. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Mahdî Aal Mughniyyah Al-'Aamilî.  
He is the author of *Jawâhir-ul-Hikam* in which there are life-accounts of his contemporaries, literary pieces, historical discussions etc. Had this book been well arranged and edited,, *Al-'Aqd-ul-MufaSSal* by As-Sayyid Haider Al-Hillî would not have better.
100. Mirza Abdul Husain Khân At-Tabrizî.  
He is a contemporary physician. He wrote *Mtrah-ul-Anzâr Fi Tarâjim-i-Atibbâ-il-A'Sâr*. It is in Persian and has been published.
101. Ash-Shaikh Ali Ibn Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Ridâ An-Najaffî.  
He is one of the descendant of the author *Kashf-ul-Ghitâ*. He has written *Al-HuSûn-ul-Mun'ah Fi Tabaqât-ish-Sh'ah*. It is still in the manuscript stage. (In 1350 A.H.)

### SH'ITE AUTHORS IN HISTORY, CHARACTER-ACCOUNTS AND BATTLE-REPORTS

The pioneer in this field was AShbagh Bin Nabâtah At-Tâbi'î who was one of the closest friends and companions of Amîr-ul-Mu'minîn. Ash-Shaikh has said in *Al-Fahrist* that Ad-Dawrî reported through him the account of the battle against Imam Husain (A.S.) He has also given the authorities for it. He died during the first century.

The first one to write a book on Islamic History was Aabân Bin Uthmân Al-Ahmar At-Tabi'î. He wrote *Kitâb-ul-Mahda` Wal-Mab'ath wal-Maghâzi Wal-Wafât Was-Saqifah War-Raddah*. Both Ash-Shaikh and An-Najâshi have mentioned this book alongwith their authorities. They have said that the inhabitants of Basra, Abu 'Ubaidah Mu'mar Bin Al-Muthannâ and Abu 'Ubaid Muhammad Ibn Sallâm, received a lot of information from it and very often quoted from it in connection with the accounts of poets, genealogy and incidents. He died in 140 A.H.

Other writers in this field are the following:

1. Muhammad Bin As-Sâ'ib Al-Kalabî.  
Ibn-un-Nadîm has mentioned him in his *Fahrist* among those scholars of Kufa who were well-versed in history and the lives of people. He died in 146 A.H.
2. Abu Mukhnif Lû't Bin Yahyâ Al-Azdi Al-Ghâmidî.  
He was one of the prominent citizens and historian of Kufa. He wrote a number of books including:  
(i) *Al-Maghâzi* (ii) *Futûh-ish-Shâm* (iii) *Al-'Irâq* (iv) *Khurâsân* (v) *Al-Jamal* (vi) *AŞ-Siffîn* (vii) *An-Nahr* (viii) *Al-Ghârât* (ix) *Maqatal-ul-Hussain* (A.S.) etc. Ibn-un-Nadîm says in *Al-Fahrist* "I have read the opinions of scholars written in the hand of Ahmad Bin Al-

Hārith Al-Khazzār that Abu Mukhnif is more informed about Irāq, its affairs and conquests. Same is the case of Al-Madā'inī in respect to Khurāsān, India and Fārs and of Al-Wāqidī in respect to Al-Hijāz and Sīrah (Biography of the Prophet). They are all at par in respect to the conquests of Syria." Two out of them are Shi'ites, Abu Mukhnif and Al-Wāqidī. The former died during the second century.

3. Naṣr Bin Muzāhim Al-Manqarī

Ibn-un-Nadīm mentioned him in Al-Fahrist as from the generation of Abu Mukhnif. He wrote (i) Al-Ghārāt (ii) Siffīn (iii) Al-Jamal (iv) Maqṭal-ul-Hajar (v), Maqṭal-ul-Husain (A.S.) He has other books in this field to his credit. He died during the second century.

4. Muhammad Bin Ishāq Bin Yassār Al-Madanī

He is the author of As-Siyar Wal-Maghāzī. Ibn Hajar has testified his being a Shi'ite in At-Taqrīb, and our own friends have mentioned him among the Shi'ite Scholars. Other Scholars say that he was the most well-informed of the all about the battles in which the Prophet participated (maghāzī). He knew them in minute details and in a very scientific way. Ibn Kathīr Ash-Shāmī writes in his History about Ghazwah Bani Lehyān, "Al-Baihaqūf has mentioned this battle to have taken place in the 4th year after the Hijrah, following the leader of the writers of battle-accounts in his own age as well as after, that is Ibn Ishāq, as Imam Ash-Shāfi'ī has said about that whosoever wants to get detailed accounts of battles, he should refer to Muhammad Ibn Ishāq because it is his field."

Ibn Ishāq was the first person to have written the Biography of the Prophet (As-Sīrat). The author of Kashf-uz-Zunūn says while writing about 'Ilm-us-Sīr' at (Art of Biography of the Prophet), that the first one to write in this field was the famous Imam (pioneer) known as Muhammed Bin Ishāq. Then he writes under the letter M (mīm) that Maghāzī (battles) of the Prophet were collected first of all by Muhammad Bin Ishāq. Some people say that the first one to write in this field was 'Urwah Bin Zubair. As-Suyūṭī has said in Al-Awā'il, "The first one to write on battles led by the Prophet was 'Urwah Bin Zubair and the first one to collect the details about such battles was Muhammad Bin Ishāq." His saying that 'Urwah Bin Zubair began writing the accounts of battle is strange because the scholars do not recognise him. This is why the author Kashfuz-Zunūn said "some people say" which indicates the weakness of such an idea. Furthermore it contradicts the statement given by As-Suyūṭī himself that the first one to have collected the details of the battles fought by the Prophet was Muhammad Bin Ishāq. Even if we try to arrive at a compromise and say that Ibn Ishāq collected the accounts of battles fought by the Prophet in particular and 'Urwah Bin Zubair did the same in general, the contradiction stays because Ibn Ishāq remains the first of all to have collected the accounts of battles in Islam. He died in 150 or 151 A.H.

5. Hishām Bin Muhammad Bin As-Sā'ib Al-Kalabī

Ibn-un-Nadīm has written in al Fahrist about Muhammad Bin Sa'd, who was calligrapher of Al-Wāqidī, that he told about Al-Wāqidī to have said that he (Hishām) was well aware of the history of the Arabs, and events connected with it. Then he (Al-Wāqidī) talked about Hishām's works and mentioned a number of books having been written in every field. Out of these books which he mentioned and which total to about 30, some are the following:



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(i) Al-Ahlâf Bain-ul-Qabâ'il, (ii) Al-Ma'âthir Wal Buyû'ât Wal Munâ-farâ'ât Wal Mawûdâ'ât (iii) Akhbâr-ul-Awâ'il (iv) Fîmâ Yuqâribul Islam Min Amr-il-Jâhiliyyah (v) Akhbâr-ul-Islam (vi) Akhbâr-ul-Buldân (vii) Ash-Sha'r wa Ayyâm-il-'Arab (viii) Al-Akhbâr Wal Asmâr.

Ibn Khallakân says that he was one of the famous memorizers. Ibn Khallakân has also mentioned a number of books on history written by Hishâm. He died in 206 A.H.

### 6. Muhammad Bin 'Umar Al-Wâqidî

Ibn-un-Nadîm has said about him that he was a Shi'ite of good faith but always adhered to Taqiyyah. (1) He was the person who observed that Ali Bin Abi Talib was the miracle of the Prophet just as the Rod of Moses was the Miracle of Moses or bringing the dead back to life was that of Isa Bin Maryâm (A.S.) etc. etc. He was a master scholar in field of battle-accounts, biographies, conquests and general events. He left behind him 600 book-cases, every one of which was carried by two men. Before that books worth two thousand dînârs were sold to him. He had two slaves to himself who were engaged in writing work day and night. He wrote (i) At-Târîkh-ul-Kabîr, (ii) Al-Maghâzî, (iii) Al-Mab'ath, (iv) Akhbâr-u-Makka (v) Futûh-ush-Shâm, (vi) Futûh-ul-Iraq. (vii) Al-Jamal, (viii) Maqal-ul-Husain (ix) As-Sîrah - biography of the Prophet etc. etc. He died in 207 A.H.

### 7. Al-Ya'qûbî, Ahmad Bin Abi Ya'qûb.

He is the author of well-known book on history known as Târîkh-ul-Ya'qûbî which has been printed and published in Leiden in two volumes. It begins with the Creation and comes down to 259 A.H.

### 8. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khâlîd Al-Barquf

He wrote Kitâb-ut-Târîkh and Kitâb-u-Akhbâr-il-Imam (just possible both books are one and the same). He also wrote Ansâb-ul-Umam and Al-Maghâzî. These have been mentioned in Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh and by An-Najâshî. He died in 274 A.H.

### 9. Ibrâhîm Bin Muhammad Bin Sa'îd Ath-Thaqafî

An-Najâshî and Ash-Shaikh in Al-Fahrist both have mentioned a number of books on history written by him. They have given the authorities establishing the identity and validity of these books. Some of them are (i) Al-Maghâzî (ii) As-Saqîyah, (iii) Al-Jamal (iv) Siffîn (v) Al-Hakamaan (vi) An-Nehr (vii) Al-Ghârât (viii) Al-Maqâtil etc. etc. He died in 283 A.H.

### 10. Abu Abdullah Muhammad Bin Zakariyyah Bin Dînâr.

He was an ally of Bani Ghilâb of Basra. An-Najâshî reports that he was one of the prominent personalities of Basra and was very well versed in history having wide information. An-Najâshî has also mentioned the books written by him on history along with their authorities. He died in 298 A.H.

### 11. Muhammad Bin Mas'ûd Al-'Ayyâshî.

He wrote biographies of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Uthmân and Mu'âwiyah. His death occurred during the third century.

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1. Taqiyyah - Hiding one's true belief on account of being afraid of consequences.

12. Abu Muhammad Ahmad Bin A'tham Al-Kuff — the Historian.  
According to Mu'jam-ul-Udabâ', He was a Shi'ite and wrote a book on conquests upto the period of Hârûn-ur-Rashîd as well as a book of history upto the period of Al-Muqtadir. He died in the early fourth century. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Ibn A'tham Al-Kuff Muhammad Bin Ali was an Arab historian. He wrote a book of history in the style of story-tellers. He was under the influence of Shi'ism. He died around 314 A.H.
13. Muhammad Bin Mazîd Bin Mahmûd Al-Bushanjî.  
According to Dughyat-ul-W'âd, he is the author of Al-Haraj Wal-Maraj which is about the history of the time of Al-Musta'in and Al-Mu'tizz. He also wrote Akhbâr-ul-'Uqalâ' -il-Majânîn. Ash-Shaikh has also mentioned him in his Rijâl. He died in 325 A.H.
14. Abu Ahmad Bin Abdul Azîz Yahyâ Al-Jalûdî Al-Basrî.  
An-Najâshi has said about him that he was the Shaikh of Basra and its historian. He has also mentioned a great number of books on history and biography, which will need a lot of space to copy them here. Ibn-un-Nadîm has said in his Al-Fahrist that he was one of the most prominent Imamite-Shi'ites and one of the great reporters of history and biography. He has further said at another place that he was an historian who wrote a number of books on history and biography. He died after 330 A.H.
15. Abu Bakr AŞ-Sûlî, Muhammad Bin Yahyâ Bin Abbâs.  
He is the author of a large number of books on literature and history which have been mentioned by Ibn-Un-Nadîm, who has said that AŞ-Sûlî reported something in favour of Ali Bin Abi Talib for which he was summoned to be beheaded. He died in 330 or 335 A.H.
16. Muhammad Bin Humâm Al-Kâtib Al-Iskâfî wrote Târîkh-ul-Aïmmah which has been mentioned by An-Najâshi alongwith its authorities. He died in 336 A.H.
17. Al-Mas'ûdi, Ali Bin Al-Husain is called to the Imam of History. He is the author of Marûj-udh-Dhahab and Akhbâr -uz-Zamân. He died in 346 A.H.
18. Abu Bakr Al-Ji'âbî, 'Umar Bin Muhammad (or Muhammad Bin 'Umar).  
An-Najâshi has said that he wrote Kitâb-u-Akhbâr-i-Aal-i-Abi Tâlib, Akhbâr-u-Baghdâd, and Akhbâr-u-Ali-bin Al-Husain (A.S.) He died in 355 A.H.
19. Abul Faraj Al Asbahânî, Ali Bin Al-Husain Al-Marwânî Az-Zaidî.  
He is the author of famous book Al Asghânî which has no parallel in history. It was the book to get AŞ-Sâhib Bin 'Ibâd dispensed with the load of thirty camels and then presented it to Saif-ud-Dawlah, who, in return, rewarded him with one thousand dînârs. Another book written by Abul Faraj is Maqâtil-ut-Tâlibîn. He died in 355 A.H.
20. Al-Hasan Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Al-Qummî.  
He wrote Târîkh-u-Qumm for AŞ-Sâhib Bin 'Ibâd, which was translated



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into Persian by Al Hasan Bin Ali Bin Abdul Malik Al-Qummi in 865 A.H. Al-Hasan Bin Muhammad died during the fourth century.

21. Aṣ-Ṣuddūq, Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Bābuyah Al-Qummi.  
He also wrote a book on history. His death occurred in 381 A.H.
22. Aṣ-Ṣāhib, Ismā'īl Bin 'Ibād.  
He wrote (i) Kitāb-ul-A'yād, (ii) Al-Wuzarā', (iii) Al-Khalā'if (iv) Akhbār-u-Abil-'Ainā' and (v) Tārīkh-ul-Mulk Wa Ikhtilāf-id-Duwal. He died in 385 A.H.
23. Abul Hasan Ali Bin Muhammad Al 'Adawī 'Ash-Shamshātī.  
According to An-Najāshī, he prepared an abridgement of Tārīkh-ut-Tabarī and supplemented it with events up-to-date. He also brought the history of Mūsā (Kitāb-ul-Mūsā) up to date. He further prepared an account of the descendants of Ma'ad Bin 'Adnān and their lives etc. He died during the fourth century.
24. Abu Nadar Al-'Atabī, Muhammad Bin Abdul Jabbār is the author of Tārīkh-ud-Diyālamah.
25. Al Hākīm an-Naishāpūrī, Muhammad Bin Abdullah is the author of Tārīkh-u-Naisābūr. According to Tadhkiratul Huffāz, no one made such an attempt before him. Both, the author Tadhkiratul Huffāz and As-Sam'ānī have testified and affirmed his being a Shi'ite. He died in 405 A.H.
26. Abu Saīd Manṣūr Bin Al-Husain Al-Aabī.  
He was a minister of Majd-ud-Dawlah Bin Buwaih and the author of Nathr-ud-Durur and Tārīkh-ur-Rayy. Ath-Tha'ālabī has written in Tatimmat-ul-Yatīmah that Al-Aabī has written a book on history which has no parallel at all. He died in 422 A.H.
27. Abul Hasan Al-Bīhaqī, Ali Bin Zaid.  
He was one of descendants of Khuzaimah Bin Thābit Dhish-Shahādātain. He is the author of Tārīkh-e-Bīhaq known as Al-Yawm Sabzwār. It is written in Persian. We have seen its photo-copy in Tehrān, which has been taken in Europe at the expense of the Iranian Ministry of Education. Al-Bīhaqī was the first one to write a commentary on Nehj-ul-Balāghah and not Al Qutab Ar-Rāwandī as assumed by Ibn Abil Hadīd. He has many other books to his credit which have been mentioned in Mu'jam-ul-Buldān and Kashf-uz-Zunūn. He died in 565 A.H.
28. Qutab-ud-Din Sa'īd Bin Hibatullah Ar-Rāwandī is the author of Minh-aj-ul-Barā'ah which is a commentary on Nehj-ul-Balāghah. He died during the sixth century.
29. Ibn-ul-Aabār Al-Andulusī, Muhammad Bin Abdullah.  
According to Nafh-ut-Tīb, he wrote Durur-us-Simt Fi Khabar-us-Sibt. The Encyclopaedia of Islam tells us that he wrote a number of books on history. The statement of Nafh-ut-Tīb implies that he was a Shi'ite as we have mentioned in his life-account. He died in 658 A.H.
30. Ali Bin Anjab alias Ibn-us-Sā'ī Al-Baghdādī.  
He is the writer of a well-known book on history called as Tārīkh -u-Ibn-is-Sā'ī. According to Kashfuz-Zunūn, it spreads over 30 volumes. He

- died in 674 A.H.
31. Safi-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Tabâtabâ alias Ibn-ut-Tiqtaquf  
He is the author of *Munyat-ul-Fudalâ`Fi Tawârîkh-il-Khulafâ`-i-Wal Wuzarâ`*. This book is usually known as *Târîkh-ul-Fakhrî* because of the fact that it was written for Fakhr-ud-Din Isâ Bin Ibrâhîm, the ruler of Mûsal. It has been printed and published from Egypt many times as well as from Germany in 1860 A.D. through the efforts of German Orientalist Ahlward. Similarly it was published from France in 1895 A.D. through the efforts of the French Orientalist Darenburk. It was translated into French by Amar. Hindushah translated it into Persian and brought upto date in 724 A.H. and titled it as *Tajârib-us-Salaf*. It was published from Tehrân, Ibn-ut-Tiqtaquf died in 709 A.H.
32. Kamâl-ud-Din Abdur Razzâq Bin Ahmad Ash-Shaibânî alias Ibn-ul-Fawfî  
He is the author of *Al-Hawâdith-ul-Jâmi`ah* which is the history of the seventh century of the Hijrah. It has been published from Baghdâd. According to *Tadhkiratul Huffâz* he has written this book of History which cannot be praised.  
He died in 723 A.H.
33. Muhammad Bin Mahmûd alias Ibn-un-Najjâr Al-Baghdâdî  
He wrote a History of the City of Baghdâd
34. Ash-Shaikh Hasan Bin Ali Bin Ahmad Al-'Aamilî Al-Hânîfî  
He is the author of *Haqibat-ul-Akhyâr Wa Juhainat-il-Akhabâr* which deals with history. He died in 1035 A.H.
35. Iskandar Beg is the author of '*Aalam Aarâ-é-Abbâsî* which is written in Persian. He died during the eleventh century.
36. Ahmad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Ali Bin Al-Hurr Al-'Aamilî Al-Mashgharî  
He is the author *Ad-Durr-ul-Maslûk* which is about the prophets, successors of the prophets, caliphs and kings. A copy of it is available in the Library of the Iranian Parliament in Tehrân. Another copy is available in one of the bookshops of Mash-hed. He died during the eleventh century.
37. Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Mujîr Al-'Anqânî  
He wrote a brief History of Jabal 'Aamil for period from 1073 to 1152 A.H. He was alive in 1153 A.H.
38. Mirza Taqî Khân Sepehr  
He was a contemporary of the King Naṣîr-ud-Din and his son Muzaffir-ud-Din. He is the author of *Nâsikh-ut-Tawârîkh* which is voluminous book in Persian and unique of its kind. He died during the fourteenth century.
39. Ash-Shaikh Nawrûz Ali Bin Muhammad Bâqir, alias Fâdil-ul-Bastâmî  
He is the author of *Firdaws-ut-Tawârîkh* which has been published. He died in 1309 A.H.

SHI'ITE AUTHORS WHO EXCELLED OTHERS IN THE FIELDS OF 'RIJAL', HISTORY AND GENEALOGICAL RECORD.

As it has already been mentioned, Abu Mukhnif excelled all others in matters relating to Iraq and its current affairs and conquests while Al-Wâqidî achieved the same position in respect to Hijâz and Sîrah.

In the same way, Muhammad Bin-us-Sâ`ib Al-Kalabî was superior to all other writers in respect of 'Ilm-ul-Ansâb (Genealogy). Similarly his son Hishâm achieved the same position for himself and was declared to be the most accomplished person in this field as has been said during our discussion of Shi'ite Genealogists.



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### SHI'ITE GENEALOGISTS

Foremost among them was 'Aqūfī Bin Abi Talib, Ibn-un-Nadīm has said in his Al-Fahrist while discussing Muhammad Bin As-Sā'ib Al-Kalabī, "Hishām Bin Muhammad said that his father told that he received the genealogy of the Quraish from Abu Sāleh while Abu Sāleh got it from Aqūfī Bin Abi Talib. According to Al-Aṣābah, he was the most well-versed in this respect among the Quraish. He died in the fifth or sixth decade of the first century.

Other persons who got famous on this account are:

1. Al-Kumait Bin Zaid Al-Asadī — the Poet.  
It is said about him that he used to genealogize. This has been said by As-Suyūfī in Sharh-ush-Shawāhid and taken up by Ibn 'Asākir. He died in 126 A.H.
2. Muhammad Bin As-Sā'ib Al-Kalabī  
According to Ibn-un-Nadīm, he was superior to all others in respect of genealogies. Similarly Ibn Qutaibah has admitted his being a genealogist in his book Al-Ma'ārif. He died in 146 A.H.
3. Abu Mukhnif Lūt Bin Yahyā Al-Azdf  
According to Al-Qamūs, he was a Shi'ite and an historian. Ibn Qutaibah has said in Al-Ma'ārif that he was an historian as well as a genealogist but history occupied him more. He died during the second century.
4. Abul Mandhar Hishām Bin Muhammad Bin As-Sā'ib Al-Kalabī  
He was the first one to have written about genealogy. Ibn Sa'd has said in At-Tabaqāt that he was well informed about the genealogies. Similarly Ibn Qutaibah has declared him to be the most accomplished of all in respect to genealogy. Ibn Khallakān has also expressed a similar opinion. The number of books written by him exceeds 150, but the best of them is Al-Jamharah Fin Nasab which has no parallel in this field. Other books written by him are (i) Al-Manzūl (or Al-Mudhfi) Fin Nasab which is bigger than Al-Jamharah (ii) Al-Mūjiz Fin Nassab and Alfarīd which he wrote for Al-Māmūm, and (iii) Al-Mulūki which he prepared for Ja'far Bin Yahyā Al-Barmakī. Ibn-un-Nadīm says that he had another book Jamharat-ul-Jamharah reported by Ibn Sa'd. He died in 206 A.H.
5. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khālid Al-Barquf  
An-Najāshī has said that he wrote Kitāb-ul-Ansāb while Ash-Shaikh says in his Al-Fahrist that he wrote Kitāb-ul-Ansāb-il-Umam. He died in 274 A.H.
6. Yahyā An-Nassābah Bin Al-Hasan Bin Ja'far Bin 'Ubaidullah Al-A'raj Bin Al-Husain Bin Ali Bin Al-Husain Bin Ali Bin Abi Tālib. He died in 277 A.H.
7. Muhammad Bin Yazīd Al-Mubarrad An-Nahawī  
He prepared the genealogies of 'Adnān and Qahtān. He died in 285 A.H.
8. As-Sayyid Kāzim Al-'Amīdī Ash-Sharīf An-Najafī An-Nassabah  
He died during the third century.
9. Al-Husain An-Nassābah Ibn Ahmad Al-Muhaddith Bin 'Umar Bin Yahyā Bin Al-Husain Dhid-Dam'ah Bin Zaid Ibn Ali Bin Al-Husain Bin Ali Bin Abi Tālib. He died during the FOURTH CENTURY.
10. As-Sayyid Najm-ud-Din Abul Hasan Ali Bin Abil Ghanā'im Muhammad Al-'Alawī Al-'Umari An-Nassābah. He was known as Ibn-uṣ -Sūfī and a contemporary of Al-Murtadā and Ar-Radi. He died during the fifth century.
11. Muhammad Bin Ahmad Al-Abiwardī Al-Ummawī was a poet as well as a

- genealogist who prepared treatises in this field. He died in 508 A.H.
12. Ash-Sharīf Abu Ali 'Umar Bin Al-Husain Bin Abdullah Bin Muhammad Aṣ-Ṣūfī. He died during the sixth century.
  13. Ahmad Bin Ali Al-'Alawī An-Nassābah was an extremist Shi'ite well known for it, as said by As-Sam'ānī in Al-Ansāb.
  14. Yahyā Bin Al-Husain Bin Ismā'īl Al-Husainī An-Nassābah Al-Hāfiz. He is the author of a book titled Ansāb-u-Aal-i-Abi Tālib. He died during the sixth century.
  15. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Ali Al-'Alawī died during the seventh century.
  16. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Muhammad Ad-Dībāj Al-Bukhārī. He died during the seventh century and he might have been the same as the one given at No. 15 above.
  17. Jalāl-ud-Din Abul Qāsim Ali Bin Abdul Hamīd Bin Fakhkhār. He was the teacher of the author of 'Umdat-ut-Tālib. He died during the seventh century.
  18. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Muhannā Bin Ali Bin Ali Bin Al-Muhannā Al-Husainī Al-'Ubdālī was a pupil of Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Ali, already mentioned. He wrote At-Tadhkirah Lil Ansāb-il-Mutahharah and Al-Mashjar Fi Ansāb-i-Aal-i-Abi Tālib. He died towards the end of the seventh century.
  19. Jalāl-ud-Din Abu Ali Abdul Hamid Bin At-Taḳf Al-Husainī. The genealogist Shaikh-ush-Sharaf Fakhkhār Ibn Ma'd Bin Fakhkhār Bin Ahmad who was the grand-father of 'Ilm-ud-Din Al-Murtada Bin Jalāl-ud-Din (next mentioned) reports on the authority of Jalāl-ud-Din Abu Ali. He died during the Eighth century.
  20. 'Ilm-ud-Din Al-Murtadā Ali Ibn Jalāl-ud-Din Abdul Hamid Ibn Shaikh-ush-Sharaf Fakhkhār Bin Ma'd Bin Fakhkhār Bin Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Abil Ghanā'im Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Al-Mūsawī Al-Hā'irī. He died during the eighth century.
  21. Ash-Sharīf Abu Abdullah Tāj-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Al-Qāsim Bin Al-Husain Al-Hasanī Ad-Dībāj Al-Hillī. He is known as Ibn Ma'īyyah, was the highest authority on genealogy in his age. He died in 779 A.H.
  22. Jamāl-ud-Din Ahmad Bin Ali Bin Al-Husain Al-Hasanī. He was a pupil of Ibn Ma'īyyah and wrote 'Umdat-ut-Tālib Fi Ansāb-i-Aal-i-Abi Tālib. He died in 828 A.H.
  23. As-Sayyid Taḳf-ud-Din Muhammad Ash-Shifrāzī. He died in 1019 A.H.
  24. As-Sayyid Mahdī Al-Bahrānī Al-Gharīf died in 1343 A.H.

There are still more and are innumerable. Those who are interested and want to follow on should refer to different life-accounts.

There is group of genealogists from among the Shi'ites whom we could not place in any particular period. They are :

1. Sahl Bin Abdullah;
2. An-Nassābah Abu Naṣr Al-Bukhārī;
3. Ash-Sharīf Ibn Tabātabā, An-Nassābah Al-Asfahānī; who has been mentioned by Ibn Shahr Ashūb among the Poets of the Ahl Bait;
4. Sayyid Abul Ma'ālī Ismā'īl Bin Al-Hasan Bin Muhammad Al-Hasnāī, who wrote a book titled Ansāb-ut-Tālibīyyah which has been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh Muhammad Bin Ali Al-Jabā'ī -the grand-father of Al-Bahā'ī



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and a pupil of Ash-Shahîd — in his Majmû'ah;

5. Sayyid Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Hârûn Al-Mûsawî An-Naishapûrî who has been described by the author of Ash-Shajarat-ut-Tayyibah as the genealogist of the East and West;
6. Ash-Sharîf 'Izzud Din Abul Qâsim Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Abdur Rahmân Ibn Zahrah Al-Husainî Al-Halabî who was a Hâfiz, a genealogist and Naqîb (i) of Halab (Aleppo) and has been mentioned in Tâj-ul-'Urûs,

There are others who can be found by those who are interested and follow on with this account.

## SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON GEOGRAPHY

The pioneer among them was Hishâm Bin Muhammad Bin As-Sâ'ib Al-Kalabî. While talking about his books, Ibn-un-Nadîm mentions in his Al-Fahrist the following books written by Hishâm:

"His books on different countries are (i) Kitâb-ul-Aqâ'im, (ii) Al-Buldân ul-Kabîr, (iii) Al Buldân-ush-Shaghîr, (iv) Tasmiyat-ul Ardain (v) Al-Anhâr (vi) Al Hîrah (vii) Manâzil-ul-Yaman, (viii) Al-'Ajâ'ib-ul-Arb'a'ah, (ix) Aswâq-ul-'Arab and (x) Tasmiyat-ul-Bal'-i-Wad-Diyârât,

He died in 206 A.H.

He is surprising that in the preface of his book Mu'jam-ul-Buldân Yâqût Al-Hamawi attempted to discuss books written in this field and also tried to take an account of the authors especially Muslim, but he does mention the books written by Hishâm. What he says about him is this he came by Hishâm's book titled Ishtiqâq-ul-Buldân. But the fact is that Hishâm is one of the foremost writers in this field and similarly his books on this subject like the book of Ibn-un-Nadîm. Specially surprising is the fact that Al-Fahrist of Ibn-un-Nadîm was available to Yâqût as he has himself clarified during his discussion of Muhammad Ibn Ishâq Ibn-un-Nadîm in connection with Mu'jam-ul-Udabâ'

Among other writers in this field are:

1. Ibn-us-Sukai, Abu Yûsuf Ya'qûb Bin Ishâq. He wrote Kitâb-ush-Shajar-i-Wal-Ghâbât. He died in 244 A.H.
2. Muhammad Bin Khâlîd Al Barquf who died in the early third century.
3. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khâlîd Al Barquf

Ibn-un-Nadîm has mentioned him and his father while discussing the Shi'ite Jurists and their books. He says that Ahmad Bin Abi Abdullah Muhammad Bin Khâlîd Al-Barquf wrote a book titled Kitâb-ul-Buldân which was bigger than the one written by his father. This statement indicates that his father too wrote a book on this subject although it has not been mentioned in his writings. According to An-Najâshî, Ahmad wrote Kitâb-ul-Ardain and Kitâb-ul-Buldân -i- Wal Masâhah. He died in 274 A.H.

4. Al-Ya'qûbî, Ahmad Bin Abi Ya'qûb

He wrote Kitâb-ul-Buldân which has been published from Leiden. He died around 278 A.H.

5. Ibn Hamdûn, Al-Kâtib An-Nadîm Ahmad Bin Ibrâhîm Bin Ismâ'îl

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1. Naqîb was a person who used to keep the record of all Sayyid families.

According to Al-Fahrist of Ash-Shaikh and An-Najâshî, he was the author of Kitâb-u- Asmâ` -il Jibâl Wal Miyâh Wal Awdiyah (The book of names of the mountains, rivers and valleys). He died in the mid-third century.

6. Abul Hasan Ali Bin Muhammad Al-'Adawî Ash-Shamshâf

An-Najâshî has said, ' He wrote a book titled 'Kitâb-ul Adyirah Wal A'mâr Fil Buldân-i-Wal Aqtâr. He has further said that Salâmah Bin Dakka told him that it was his biggest book in which there were around thirty monasteries and populated areas. According to Ibn-un Nadîm, he wrote a voluminous book about the monasteries. He died during the fourth century.

7. Ali Bin Husain Al-Mas'ûdf wrote a book on this subject titled Al-Masâlik Wal Mamâlik. He died in 346 A.H.

8. Al-Husain Bin Muhammad Bin Ja'far Ar-Râfiqûf alias Khâlî'a

An-Najâshî has testified his being a Shi'ite. According to Mu'jam-ul-Udabâ` and Bughyat-ul-Wi'âi, he wrote Kitâb-ul-Awdiyah Wal Jibal -i-War Rimâl. He died in 388 A.H.

#### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON RELIGIONS AND RELIGIOUS SECTS

Among those writers who were pioneers in this field was Hishâm Bin Muhammad Bin As-Sâ`ib Al-Kalabî. Ibn-un-Nadîm has mentioned a book Adyânul-Arab written by Hishâm. He died in 206 A.H.

Ibn Sukaif Abu Yûsuf Ya'qûb Bin Ishâq wrote Kitâb-ul-Firaq. His death occurred in 244 A.H.

Abul Qâsim Naâsr Bin As-Sabbâh Al Balkhî, as per information given by An-Najâshî wrote a book titled Firaq-ush-Shi'ah. He died during the third century.

Al-Hasan Bin Mûsâ An-Nawbakhtî compiled a book titled Al-Firaq Wad-Diyânât. We have got a manuscript copy of this book. It has been published from Istanbul. He died in 310 A.H.

Abul Hasan Ali Bin Al-Husain Al-Mas'ûdf is the writer of a well-known book titled Murûj-udh-Dhahab. He also wrote Kitâb-ul-Miqâlât Fi Usûl-id-Diyânât, which he has referred to in Murûj-udh-Dhahab. An-Najâshî has also named him to be the writer of another book titled Al-Idbânah which deals with the Principles of Religions. At-Tûsî, An-Najâshî and others have testified his being a Shi'ite. He has also written book in proof of the Imamate of the Twelve Imams.

He died in 346 A.H.

All these writers contributed to this field before anyone from among the Non-Shi'ites, for instance AbuBakr Al Bâqilâni (died in 403 A.H.), Abi Mansûr Abdul Qâdir Bin Tâhir Al Baghdâdf (died in 429 A.H.), Ibn Fawrak Al-Asfahâni (died in 451 A.H.), Ibn Hazan (died in 456 A.H.), Abil Muzaffar Tâhir Bin Muhammad Al-Asfarâni who also belonged to the later period and Ash-Shahrastâni (died in 548 A.H.).

Some others from among our friends have written books in this field, for instance Muhammad Bin Ahmad An-Na'fmî who, according to An-Najâshî, was a Shi'ite and an historian. He wrote a book titled Firaq-ush-Shi'ah. He might have been senior to the writers mentioned just above. Similarly, Ash-Shaikh Sulaimân Bin Abdullah Al Mâhûzî Al-Bahrâni who is known as Al-Muhaqqiq-ul-Bahrâni, wrote An-Nikat-ul-Badî'ah Fi Firaq-ush-Shi'ah. He died in 1121 A.H.

#### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON ETHICS, MORALS, MANNERS ETC.

The first among the Shi'ites to write on this subject was Amr-ul-Mu'minin Ali Bin Abi Tâlib. His letter to Al-Ashtar describes in detail what a ruler has to do and what rules of conduct he should follow. This is an unparalleled piece of



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writing and has been mentioned in the third volume of this book. Every ruler who desire to know real political theory and loves justice should commit the contents of this letter to his memory and act in accordance with them. Then, his will to his Muhammad Bin Al-Hanafiyyah is another comprehensive piece of writing in this field. This has been mentioned by An-Najâshî who got this data from A'bbâgh Bin Nabâtah. An-Najâshî has also given the names of authorities.

Similarly his very lengthy will to his son Al Hasan is of the same type. He wrote this will in the presence of the audience after he returned from Siffin. It is said about this will that, had there been any piece of wisdom that deserved to be written in gold, it would be this will. It is included in Nehj-ul-Balâghah. In addition to these two pieces, there are the contents of Nehj-ul-Balâghah which have been collected by Ash-Sharîf Ar-Radi and those of Ghurar-ul Hikam Wa Durur-il-Kilam, compiled by Al-Aamidî, that bear on this subject. There are sermons, speeches, wills and letters which are rich and sufficient (on morals etc). This book shone like the shining of the Sun and led the people to itself through its qualities, so much so that it is said to be the superior most piece as compared to the creations of human being except that of the Prophet. If a sour-eyed person does like the Sun, it does not do any harm to it.

Among other writings in this field is Risâlatul Huqûq by Imam Zainul Abidin, which has been mentioned alongwith its authorities in some of the Shi'ite books on Ethics and Morals which are found in print. Some of the contemporary scholars have abridged it and it has repeatedly been published in its abridged form. We have quoted it in connection with the discussion of his personality.

All the Shi'ite books of the Tradition contain a special chapter on Ethics and Morals which is quite comprehensive.

From among our scholars, the first one to prepare a book on this subject was Ismâ'îl Bin Mahrân Bin Na'îr As-Sukûnî. An-Najâshî has mentioned a book of his on this subject titled Sifat-ul-Mu'min-i-Wal-Fâjir. He died towards the end of the second century. The other writers in this field are:

1. Al Hasan Bin Shu'bah Al-Harrânî is the writer of Tuhuf-ul-Uqûl containing everything reported from the Ahl Bait bearing upon morals, manners etc. Such a book has never been compiled. He died during the third century.
2. Muhammad Bin Mas'ûd Al-'Ayyâshî is the author of Huqûq-ul-Ikhwâ, Mahâsin-ul-Akhlâq, 'Ishrat-un-Nisâ' and Sâni'ul Ma'rûf. He died during the third century.
3. Muhammad Bin Umar Al-Wâqidî is a well-known historian. Ibn-un-Nadîm says that he was a Shi'ite. He wrote Kitâb-ul-Adâb. He died in 207 cc A.H.
4. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khâlid Al-Barquî wrote Adab-un-Nafs, Aadâb-ul-Mu'âsharah, Makârim-ul-Akhlâq, Makârim-ul-A'mâl, Madhâmm-ul-Akhlâq, Madhâmm-ul-A'mâl, At-Tarâhum Wat Ta'âtuf and Az-Zuhd Wal Mawâ'iz. All these have been mentioned by Ash-Shai'kh in his Al Fahrîst. An-Najâshî has also mentioned them on the authority of Ibn Battah. Al-Barquî died in 274 A.H.
5. Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Tabâtbâ Al-'Alawî Al-Husainî. According to Ma'âhid-ut-Tanâsîs, he wrote a book on this subject, titled as Tahdhîb-ut-Taba' which he referred to in his own book Nismat-us-Sehr Fîman Tashayya'a Wash-Sha'ar. He died in 322 A.H.
6. Ali Bin Muhammad Al-'Adawî Ash-Shamshâti wrote a book titled An-Nazah Wal Ibtihâj.
7. Abdul Azîz Bin Yahyâ Al-Jalûdî. According to An-Najâshî, he wrote Kitâb-uz-Zuhd, Kitâb-ul-Mawâ'iz and Kitâb-ul-Adab which he reported from Imam Ali Bin Abi Tâlib (A.S.) He died after 330 A.H.
8. Abu Muhammad Al-Hasan Bin Abdullah (or 'Ubaidullah) Bin Sa'fd Al-'Askarî



- wrote Kitâb-uz-Zawâjir Wal Mawâ'iz, His death occurred in 382, or 383 or 387 A.H.
9. Ahmad Bin Maskawaih wrote the following books in this field: (i) Adab-uŝ-Šahîr, (ii) Adab-ul-Kabîr, (iii) Tahdhîb-ul-Akhlâq Wa Tathîr-il-A'râq etc. He died in 421 A.H.
  10. Al Hasan Bin Al Fadl Bin Al-Hasan At-Tabrisî is the author of the well-known exegesis of the Quran titled Majma'ul Bahrain. In the field of Ethics, he wrote Ma ârim-ul-Akhlâq which has been printed in Egypt many times. But the first publisher of this book made uncalled-for changes without having any fear of God. It was then printed in Tehrân in its true version and the editor pointed out where changes had been made in the first edition. At-Tabrisî died in the sixth century.
  11. Muḥammad Bin Al-Hasan Al-Fattâl Al-Fârsî An-Naishâpûrî wrote Rawdatul Wâ'izîn. His death occurred in the sixth century.
  12. Ash-Shaikh Warrâm Bin Abî Farâs Al-Hillî is the author of Tanbîh-ul-Khawâtir Wa Nazhatun Nawâzir which is commonly known as Majmû'at-u-Warrâm and has been published many times. He died in 605 A.H.
  13. As-Sayyid Ali Bin Mûsâ Bin Ja'far Bin Tâwus Al-Hasanî wrote Kashful Mahjah Li Thamrat-il-Mahjah which deals with Ethics. He died in 664 A.H.
  14. Al-Khawajâ Nasîr-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan At-Tûsî wrote Al Akhlâq-un-Nâsirîyyah. He died in 672 A.H.
  15. Ahmad Bin Fahd Al-Hillî wrote 'Iddat-ud-Dâ'f most of which is about Ethics and Morals. He died in 841 A.H.
  16. Jalâl-ud-Din Muhammad Bin As'ad Ad-Dawwânî wrote Al-Akhlâq ul-Jalâliyyah. He died in 908 A.H.
  17. Al-Husain Bin Ali Al-Wâ'iz Al-Kâshifî. He is the author of Akhlâq-é-Muhsinî. He died in 910 A.H.
  18. As-Sayyid Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Hasan Bin Al-Qâsim Al-Husainî Al-'Aamilî Al-'Inâthî wrote Kitâb-u-Adab-un-Nafs and Kitâb-ul-Athnâ 'Ashar-riyyah Fil Mawâ'izil 'Adadiyyah. These books have been published. He died during the eleventh century.
  19. Muhammad Bâqir Bin Muhammad Taqî Al-Asfahânî. The seventeenth volume of his book Bihâr-ul-Anwâr deals exclusively with Ethics and Morals. He died in 1110 A.H.
  20. Ash-Shaikh Mahdi Bin Abi Dhar An-Narâqî wrote Jami'us Sâdât which deals with Ethics and Morals and since been published. He died in 1209 A.H.
  21. Ash-Shaikh Ahmad Bin Mahdi Bin Abi Dhar An-Narâqûf. He wrote Mi'râj-us-Sa'âdah in Persian which is a commentary and an explanation to his father's book Jâmi'us Sâdât. He died around 1244 A.H.
  22. Mulla Husain Qulî Al-Hamadhânî is a well known figure of our age in the field of Ethics and Morals. He used to teach this subject and many distinguished students got their lessons in it from him. I have no information as to whether he wrote anything on this subject or any of his students used to write the lessons given by him, some of which I attended during my stay in An-Najaf Al-Ashraf in 1308. He died in 1311 A.H.
  23. As-Sayyid Muhsin Al Amîn – the author of the present work wrote three books on this subject. They are (i) At-Tiryâq Fi Tathîr-ul-Af'âl, (ii) Tahdhîb-ul-Akhlâq and (iii) Jawami'ul Mawâ'iz. He died 1371 B.H.

SHPITE AUTHORS ON TEACHER-TAUGHT RELATIONSHIP AND ART OF DISCUSSION (CRITICISM)

Many a report have been on record about the Imams from the Ahl Bait which imply important points relating to the relationship between a teacher and a student.

The first one to write a book on this subject Muhammad Bin Mas'ûd Al-'Ayyâshi



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who wrote Kitâb-ul-'Aalim-i-Wal Muta'allim which has been referred to by Ibn-un-Nadîm, Al-Ayyâshî died during the third century.

Al-Muhaqqiq Khawajâ Naṣîr-ud-Din At-Tûsf also wrote a brief treatise on this subject which has been published. He died in 672 A.H.

Ash-Shaikh Maitham Al-Bahrânî wrote a treatise on Aadâbul Bahth (Criticism and discussion). He died in 679 A.H.

Ash-Shahîd-uth-Thânf Ash-Shaikh Zain-ud-Din Bin Ali Al-'Aamilî wrote Munyat-ul Murîd Fi Aadâb-il-Muffîd-i-Wal-Mustaffî. It is a big book very comprehensive and has no parallel. Although the book was about the benefactor (al-Muffîd) and the beneficiary (al-Mustaffî), but he has put together all the fundamentals of Ethics and Morals. He was martyred in 966 A.H.

SH'ITE BOOKS ON PRAYERS, ZIYAARAAT etc.

The foremost among such writings is Aṣ-Sahffah Al-'Alawiyah which contains different prayers said by Amir-ul-Mu'minîn. Similarly, there Aṣ-Sahffah Al-Husainiyah belonging to Imam Husain (A.B.) Another collection is called Aṣ-Sahffah Al-Kâmilah which contains the prayers of Imam Zainul Abidîn (A.S.), and is usually known as Zubûr-u-Aal-i-Muhammad. There is another collection of the prayers of Imam Zainul Abidîn which is called Aṣ-Sahffah As-Sajjâdiyah which was compiled and collected by Ash Shaikh Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Al-Hurr Al-'Aamilî. A third collection of the prayers of Imam Zainul Abidîn was compiled by Mirza Abdullah Al-Asfânî alias Al-Aafandi, while a fourth collection was prepared by Mirza Husain An-Nûrf who is a contemporary. The author of the present work has also collected and compiled a fifth collection of the prayers of Imam Zainul Abidîn (A.S.).

Other writers in this field are:

1. Ma'wiyah Bin 'Ammâr Ad-Dahanî wrote Kitâb-u-Yawmin Wa Lailah. He died in 175 A.H.
2. Yûnis Bin Abdur Rahmân prepared a book Kitâb-u-'Amal-i-Yawmin Wa Lailah and presented it to Imam Al-Hasan Al-'Askarf (A.S.) who said, "May God give him Light on the Day of Judgment for every word he has written. Yûnis died during the third century.
3. Muhammed Bin Khâlîd Al-Barquf wrote Kitâb-u-'Amal-i-Yawmin Wa Lailah. He has been mentioned by Ash-Shaikh in Al-Fahrist as well as An-Najâshî through the agency of Ibn Battah. He died in 274 A.H.
5. Muhammad Bin Mas'ûd Al-'Ayyâshî wrote Kitâb-u-Yawmin Wa Lailah and its abridgement. He also wrote Kitâb-ud-Du'â and Al-Mazâr. He died during the third century.
6. Abdul Aziz Bin Yahyâ Al-Jalûdf wrote (i) Kitâb-ud-Du'â reported from Imam Ali Bin Abi Tâlib (A.S.), (ii) Kitâb-ud-Du'â wal 'Awdh reported from Ibn Abbâs and (iii) Kitâb-ur-Riqâ. An-Najâshî has mentioned all these books. He died after 330 A.H.
7. Ja'far Bin Muhammad Bin Qulûyah wrote Kitâb-ul-Mazâr (or Jâmi'uz Ziyârât) and Kitâb-u-Yawmin Wa Lailah. He died in 369 A.H.
8. Ash-Shaikh Al-Muffîd wrote Manâsil-ul-Mashâhid. He died in 413 A.H.
9. Ash-Shaikh At-Tûsf wrote Miṣbâh-ul-Mutahajjid and its summary. He died in 460 A.H.
10. Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Ya'qûb Al-Kâtib Al-Qinânî wrote Kitâb-u-'Amal-i-Yawm-il-Jum'ah and Kitâb-u-'Amal-i-Shuhûr. He died during the fifth century.
11. Muhammad Bin Al-Mash-Hedf wrote Kitâb-ul-Mazâr. He died during the sixth century.







12. As-Sayyid Ali Bin Al-Husain Bin Bâqquf Al-Qarashî. He wrote Kitâb-u-Ikhtiyâr-il-Miṣbâh. He died during the seventh century.
13. As-Sayyid Ali Bin Mūsâ Bin Ja'far Bin Tâwus Al-Hasanî. He wrote Al-Iqbâl, Jamâl-ul-Isbû'i, Muhijj-ud-Da'wât, Ad-Durû'-ul-Wâqiyah, Rabî'-ul-Asâbî'i etc. He died in 664 A.H.
14. As-Sayyid Ahmad Bin Mūsâ Bin Ja'far Bin Tâwus Al-Hasanî. He wrote Kitâb-u-'Amal-il-Yawm-i-Wal Lailah and Kitâb-ul-Akhhâr Fi Adfyat-il-Lail-i-Wan Nahâr. He died in 673 A.H.
15. Ash-Shahîd Muhammad Bin Makki Al-'Aamilî Al-Jizzîni wrote Kitâb-ul-Mazâr. He was martyred in 786 A.H.
16. Ash-Shaikh Ibrâhîm Bin Ali Al-'Aamili Al-Kaf'amî wrote Al-Balad-ul-Amîn and Al-Jannat-ul-Wâqiyah (known as Al-Miṣbâh). He died in 905 A.H.
17. Al-Mawla Muhammad Bin Muhammad At-Tabîb was one of the scholars during the Safwî period. He wrote Anîs-ul-Aabidîn.
18. Ash-Shaikh Bahâ'-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Al-'Aamilî wrote Miftâh-ul-Falâh Fi 'Amal-il-Yawm-i-Wal Lailah. He died in 1031 A.H.
19. Muhammad Bâqir Al-Asfahânî Al-Majlisî. He wrote Zâd-ul-Ma'âd and Tuhfatuz Zâ'ir in addition to one volume of Bihâr-ul-Anwâr dealing with prayers. He died in 1110 A.H.
20. Mulla Muhsin Al-Kâshî wrote Khullâsatul Azkâr. He died in 1091 A.H.
21. As-Sayyid Muhammad Al-Asfahânî wrote 'Amal-ul-Yawm-i-Wal Lailah-i-Wal Isbû'i Wash Shahr-i-Was Sinah. He died in 1290 A.H.
22. The author of the present book also compiled Miftâh-ul-Jannât in three volumes which has been printed and published.

There are many more which cannot be described on account of our limitations of space as well as time.

#### SHI'ITE AUTHORS ON LOGIC, METAPHYSICS, PSYCHOLOGY, GEOMETRY MATHEMATICS AND OTHER SIMILAR STUDIES.

Among such authors, the first one is Qudâmah Bin Ja'far. Yâqût has said about him that he excelled in Arithmetics, while Al-Matrizî tells that he was said to be the first one to work on Arithmetic. He died in 337 A.H.

Other writers in this field are:

1. Abu Naṣr Al-Fârâbî Muhammad Bin Ahmad Al-Mu'allim-uth-Thâni who died in 339 A.H.
2. Ahmad Bin Maskwaih wrote books on logic and many valuable articles on Metaphysics and Mathematics. He died in 421 A.H.
3. Ar-Ra'îs Ibn Sîna Al-Mu'allim-uth-Thâlith. What is apparent that he was an Ismâ'îlite, but according to the author Majâlîs-ul-Mu'mînîn (Qadi Nurullah Shustari) he was an Imamite. He died in 428 A.H.
4. Naṣîr-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan At-Tûsî. He is said to be Imam-u-Ahl-il-Ma'qûl. He wrote Tajrîd-ul-I'tiqâd, At-Tadhkirah Fil Hai'ah, Ar-Risâlah Al-Mu'niyyah (dealing with Astronomy) and its explanation, Tahrîr-u-Uqlîdas, Tahrîr-ul-Majistî, Sharh-ul-Irshâdât, Al-Fuṣûl-un-Naṣriyyah, Risâlat-ul-Istarlâb, Risâlat-ul-Jawâhir etc. He was the person who prepared Astronomical Observatory and its tables for Hulaku Khan. He died in 672 A.H.
5. Al-Hasan Bin Bâwûd Al-Hillî wrote a book on Rijâl as well as others on Logic. He died during the seventh or eighth century.



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6. Al-Hasan Bin Yūsuf Bin Al-Mutahhar Al-Hillī, known as Al-Allāmah wrote explanations and commentaries to Tajdīd and Al-Fuṣūl-un-Naṣṣriyyah and also wrote *Asrār-ul-Malakūt Fil Sharh-i-Yāqūt* etc. He died in 726 A.H.
7. Qutub-ud-Din Muhammad Ar-Rāzī Al-Buwaihī Ad-Dimashquī. He wrote a commentary on *Ash-Shamsiyyah* and *Al-Mutālī'a Fil Mantiq*. Besides, he wrote *Al-Muhākamāt*. He died in *Salīhiyyah* in Damascus in the year 766 A.H.
8. Jalāl-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Asād Ad-Dawwānī wrote books on Logic and Rational Studies. He died in 908 A.H.
9. Dāwūd Bin 'Umar Al-Antākī Al-Baṣīr got settled in Jabal 'Aamil and was a scholar of Philosophy and Psychology. He died in 1008 A.H.
10. Ash-Shaikh Bahā'ud-Din Muhammad Bin Al-Husain Al-'Aamilī. He wrote *Al-Khullaṣah Fil Hisāb* which has been translated into many foreign languages. Many commentaries and explanations too have been written about it. He also wrote *Tashrīh-ul-Aflāk* and had great mastery in Geometry and other branches of Mathematics. He died in 1031 A.H.
11. Ash-Shaikh Jawwād Bin Sa'dullah Al-Kāzimi was a pupil of Shaikh Bahā'ud-Din he wrote a commentary on his teacher's book *Al-Khullaṣah*. He died during the eleventh century.
12. As-Sayyid Ne'matullah Bin Nūr-ud-Din Bin Ne'matullah Al-Jazā'irī was a great master of Geometry and Mathematical Studies. He alone made the Zīj (Astronomical Table) of Muhammad Shah. He died in 1151 A.H.
13. Sadr-ud-Din Ash-Shīrāzī known as Mulla Sadrā. He was a great master of Metaphysics and Philosophy. He wrote philosophical poetry. He the author of *Al-Asfār* which is quite a famous book on Metaphysics. He died in 1060 A.H.
14. Mullah Hādī As-Sabzwārī Al-Hakīm is the composer of a famous poem on Philosophy. He died in 1289 A.H.

## SHI'ITE WRITERS ON ASTROLOGY

It would suffice for us to quote what the author of *Riyād-ul-'Ulamā'* has cited from *Kitāb-ul-Farj-il-Humūm Fil Halāl-i-Wal Harām-i-Min 'Ilm-in-Nujūm* by Sayyid Ibn Tāwus. After discussing the validity of the science of Astrology, he mentions the names of a group of scholars in this field, especially the Imāmite. He has said in connection with the Imamites: "A group of persons from Nawbakht family were scholars in the field of Astrology and leaders of others in this respect. It have seen a number of books on Astrology written by them and there are indications to events. Among them were (i) Al-Hasan Bin Mūsa An-Nawbakhtī who was a Shi'ite astrologer, (ii) Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khālid Al-Barquī who has been mentioned by An-Najāshī and Ash-Shaikh (in his *Al-Fahrist*) as having written a book on Astrology, (iii) Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Talha who has been mentioned both by An-Najāshī and Ash-Shaikh as a writer on Astrology. He has said that the best known person in the field of Astrology is the Shi'ite scholar Ali Bin Al-Husain Bin Ali Al-Mas'ūdī — the author of *Murūj-udh-Dhahab*. He further says, "Among those who are known to be astrologers are Al-Jalūdī Al-Baṣīrī (1), Ali Bin Muhammad Al-'Adawī Ash-Shamshātī, (who according to An-Najāshī, wrote a treatise on the repudiation of Astrology), Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Abbās (who according to An-Najāshī, wrote a rejoinder to the astrologers), Muhammad Bin Abi 'Umair, Muhammad Bin Mas'ūd Al-Ayyāshī (who has been mentioned as having written a book on Astrology), Mūsā Bin Al-Hasan Bin Al-'Abbās Bin Ismā'īl Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht (who according to An-Najāshī, had a very good knowledge of Astrology and had written books on it), Al-Fadl Bin Abi Sahl Bin Nawbakht (from the books written by him, he appears to be having a good knowledge of astrology), As-Sayyid Ali Bin Abil Hasan, known as



ion-ul-A'lam (who had prepared Zodiacal Tables), Abul Hasan An-Naqib known as Abi Qairatu, Ibrahîm Al-Farâzi (composer of a poem on Astrology), and astrologer to Al-Manâsir, Ahmad Bin Yûsuf Bin Ibrahîm Al-Ma'sri, the secretary of Tûlûn Family, Muhammad Bin Abdullah Al-Bazyâr Al-Qummi (a student of Abi Ma'shar), Abul Hasan Bin Abil Khatîb Al-Qummi, Abu Ja'far As-Saqqâ Al-Munajjim (mentioned by Ash-Shaikh in his Al-Fahrist), Muhammad Bin Ahmad Ibn Salfm Al-Ja'ff (author of Kitâb-ul-Fâkhir), Mahmûd Bin Al-Husain Bin Sindf Bin Shâhik known as Kushâjam (whom Ibn Shahr Ashûb mentions as an astrologer). Then Ibn Tawus says that the Shi'ite scholar practising Astrology whom he met and whose predictions he found to be true was a jurist-scholar and ascetic known as Khatîr-ud-Dîn Mahmûd Bin Muhammad. The Shi'ite scholar whom he saw was Al-Hasan Bin Ali Al-Qummi. Having said this Ibn Tâwus mentions those who became famous as astrologers and were said to be Shi'ites and gives their names as follows:

1. Ahmad Bin Muhammad As-Sajzî;
2. Ash-Shaikh Ali Bin Ahmad Al-'Amrânî;
3. Ishâq Bin Yûsuf Al-Kindî;

The author of Riyâd-ul-'Ulamâ, then says, "I found there something which made me stop and it was Ali Bin Al-Husain Bin Babûyah Al-Qummi was one of those who had calculated their future through astrology and that his Zodiacal sign was Virgo.

1. Ibn-un-Nadîm says: Abu Ahmad Abdul Azîz Al-Jalûdf Al-Ba'srî was one of the prominent Inamite-Shi'ites.

He further says that among those who became famous in Astrology from the family of Nawbakhts was Abdullah Bin Abi Sahl, and from among the scholars was Muhammad Bin Ishâq An-Nadîm who was an Astrologer to Al-'Alawî Al-Ma'srî. Among those who became well-known as writers on astrology was Ahmad Bin Mohammad Bin 'Aasim, known as, Al-'Aasimî Al-Muhaddith Al-Kuffî. Among his books is one written about Astrology which has been mentioned by Ibn Shahr Ashûb in Ma'âlim-ul-'Ulamâ. He has also said among those who became famous for their interest in Astrology and were assumed to be Shi'ites was Al-Fadl Bin Sahl who was Al-Mâ'mûn's minister. Among those who were said to be Shi'ites and were scholars of Astrology was Al-Hasan Bin Sahl. Then the author of Riyâd-ul-'Ulamâ cites the incident of the Bath and Al-Fadl's murder there.

#### SHI'ITE SCHOLARS AND AUTHORS ON THE ARABIC LANGUAGE AND ITS GRAMMAR.

The first one to formulate the principles of Syntax in Arabic, according to concurrence of opinions of scholars, was Amîr-ul-Mu'minîn Ali Bin Abi Tâlib. He gave the basic idea to Abul Aswad Ad-Du'îlî (Zâlim Bin 'Amr) who was one of the prominent Tabi'ites and who added to those basic ideas and expanded them at the instance and under the instructions Amir-ul-Mu'minîn.

As Suyûti has said in Al-Awâ'il that the first one to formulate Syntax was Ali Bin Abi Tâlib. Then he reports about Abul Aswad having said, "I entered into the house of Amîr-ul-Mu'minîn and found him in deep thinking. Then he told me what he was thinking about to which I added later on." Similarly Abul Barakât Abdur Rahmân Al-Anbârî has written in the beginning of his book Nazhat-ul-Albâ, "The first one who formulated the knowledge of Arabic Language, laid the foundations of its rules and defined its limits was Amir-ul-Mu'minîn Ali Bin Abi Talib (A.S.) Abul Aswad Ad-Du'îlî took it from him." Then he says that the reason as to why Ali took this step and formulated these rules was as Abul Aswad has said, "I went to Amîr-ul-Mu'minîn and found him with a paper in his . . . I drive



away the problems with it." Then he named it An-Nahw. Ibn Shahr Ashûb has reported that Ibn Salâm said, "The sheet contained that the language comprises three things, nouns (names), verbs and particles. The name or noun is a word which tells about a person or a thing named. The verbs tells about the actions of the person or the thing named while the particles derive their meaning in relation to other words."

From Abul Aswad, the science of An-Nahw was learnt by his son 'Atâ' who further taught it to Yahyâ Bin Ya'mar Al-'Adawânî, about whom Ibn Khallakân says that he was a Shi'ite and a scholar of An-Nahw and various dialects of Arabs which he learnt from Abul Aswad.

Another scholar of An-Nahw was Abân Bin Taghlab. An-Najâshî says about him that he was well-versed in every branch of knowledge including Literature, Language and Syntax (An-Nahw). Ash-Shaikh says in his Al-Fahrist that he was a profound linguist who has heard the Arabs and had talked about them. He died in 141 A.H.

Similarly, Hamrân Bin A'yun At-Tabî'î was among such scholars. Writing the life account his brother Zarârah Bin A'yun, Ash-Shaikh says in his Al-Fahrist that Hamrân was a grammarian. He died during the second century.

Those who were the pioneers in the field of An-Nahw and simplified as well as developed it in Baṣra and Kufa were the Shi'ite scholars. They were:

1. Al-Khalîl Bin Ahmad Al-Farâhîdî Al Baṣrî was the teacher of Saibûyah and the Shaikh of the grammarians of Baṣra. He was the person who first polished up this branch of studies, expanded it and outlined the reasons for such a study. He taught it to Saibûyah who wrote a book which has none to compare with. According to Ibn-un-Nadîm Saibûyah learnt An-Nahw from Al-Khalîl who was his teacher and who prepared a book which had none compare which already existed or written afterwards. Ibn-un-Nadîm says that he read that book copied by Abil Abbâs Ath-Tha'lab.

The note on the life of Amr Bin Uthmân Sîbwaih in Bughyat-ul-Wu'ât tells us that Saibuyah compiled a book of about 1000 sheets which was based upon the information received from Al-Khalîl. Ibn-un-Anbârî has said, "Al-Khalîl is the master of the men of letters, firm in his learning and piety and very precise in his inference and deduction of grammatical principles. His way of argument was taken by Sîbwaih. According to the statement in 'Aamatul Hikâyat about the book of Sîbwaih reported from Al-Khalîl, Al-Khalîl was the first one to systematize the language and base it upon the poetry of the Arabs. As-Sairâfî has said, "Al-Khalîl was too much devoted to the deduction of grammatical principles and arriving at correct inferences and prepared for the first time Kitâb-ul-'Ain which is quite well known. Through this book he systematized the language. He was the teacher of Saibûyah whose was based upon Al-Khalîl's information and data. Whenever Saibûyah says, "I asked him" or tells something without mentioning the name of the person who said, you should take him to be Al-Khalîl." Ibn-un-Nadîm says in his Al-Fahrist, "Al-Khalîl was very much devoted to the deduction of grammatical principles and arriving at the correct inferences." Ibn Khallakân declares him to the Imam of An-Nahw. Ibn Khallakân then talks about Hamza Bin Al-Hasan Al-Ashabânî who said that Al-Khalîl created what no one had since the Creation of the Universe. He laid the foundations of grammar in his book Kitâb-ul-'Ain which save the language of the community from the influences of other communities. Then he helped

Saibūyah learn An-Nahw wrote later on a book which is an ornament of the Islamic State. Similarly, As-Suyūṭī states in his book *Al-Awā'il* that Al-Khalīl was the first one to base the language upon words.

Among his writings on An-Nahw is *Al'Awāmil* which has been mentioned by Ibn Khallaṣān, *Al-Jumal* which has been referred to by As-yūṭī and *Ash-Shawāhi* which has been mentioned by both as well as Ibn-un-Nadīm. He died in 175 A.H.

2. Abu Ja'far Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Bin Abi Sārah-Ar-Ruwāsī Al-Kuffī An-Nahwī. He was an inhabitant of Kufa and according to An-Najāshī reported the Traditions from Imam Muhammad Al-Bāqir and Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Sadiq. He was a cousin of Ma'ādh Bin Muslim Bin Abi Sārah. It was due Ma'ādh and Muhammad that Al-Kisāī organized the Arabic studies. Both Al-Kisāī and Al-Firā' often write in their books, "Abu Ja'far Ar-Ruwāsī Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan said". Similarly Al-Anbārī has reported a statement of Tha'lab that Ar-Ruwāsī was the teacher of both Al-Kisāī and Al-Firā'.

But according to Nazhat-ul-Albā and Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt, Ar-Ruwāsī was a nephew of Ma'ādh. If this is correct then his name should be read as Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan Ibn Muslim Bin Abi Sārah, and Abu Sārah was therefore, his great-grand-father, not his grand-father as reported earlier. The reference to the grand-father is not very much desired in such statements and this is why An-Najāshī thought him to be a cousin of Ma'ādh. Ibn-un-Nadīm has stated in the *Al-Fahrist* that Ar-Ruwāsī was the first among the Kufites to write a book on An-Nahw. This has also been supported by Ibn-ul-Anbārī through Tha'lab and Al-Muzahhir. As-Suyūṭī states the name of his book as *Al-Faiṣal*. He died during the second century.

3. Abul Hasan Ali Bin Ḥamza Al-Kisā'ī.

He was the leader of the Kufite in An-Nahw and Linguistics. He was considered to be the most well-informed of all the people on these subjects and unique among them. According to Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt, "Ibn-ul-A'rābi has said that Al-Kisā'ī was the most scholarly of all in respect to the Arabic language, and Al-Khatib says that he learnt An-Nahw when he was quite grown up. He came to a group of people when he was tired. He said to them, "عَيْتٌ" (which means I am without power). They said, "You sit among us and speak incorrect Arabic." If you have lost all your power, say 'عَيْتٌ' and if you are tired then say, "عَيْتٌ". He got up from there and went straight to Ma'ādh. When he had received all what Ma'ādh could teach him, he went to join the company of Al-Khalīl and asked him as to the source of all his knowledge. Al-Khalīl told that he had learnt all his grammatical knowledge from the valley of Al-Hijāz, Najd and Tihāmah. He left (for those areas) and came back. During that period, he emptied fifteen bottles of ink in writing the idioms of the Bedouins in addition to what he had committed to his memory. He went to Baṣra and found that Al-Khalīl had died and in his place was Yūnis. A discussion on different problems ensued between them. On some issues he agreed what Yūnis said and in some others Yūnis submitted to him. Al-Firā' was asked once as to why he was against Al-Kisā'ī although both were equal in the knowledge of grammar. He replied, "I took pride in myself and entered into a discussion with him during which I was just like a bird who takes a drop of water in its beak from an ocean."

Al-Kisā'ī and Muhammad Bin Al-Hasan (Ar-Ruwāsī) died on the same



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day. Ar-Rashīd said, "Jurisprudence and An-Nahw were buried on the same day."

He is the author of Al-Mukhtaṣar Fin Nahw and Maṣādir-ul-Hurūf. His death occurred in 182 A.H.

4. Ma'ādh Bin Muslim Al-Hirā' Al-Kuffī An-Nahwī

He was a famous grammarian. Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt records that he was one of the oldest grammarians and had written books on An-Nahw. The same books further reports that he used to report the Traditions from Imam Ja'far Aṣ-Sādiq and was a Shi'ite. Ibn-un-Najjār has written in the Appendix of Tārikh-u-Baghdād that he was a leading grammarian and many persons learnt An-Nahw from him including Al-Kisā'ī. Ibn-un-Nadīm has said that none of his books is known, as if he never read about his books mentioned in Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt.

He died in 187 A.H.

5. Muhammad Bin Al-Mustanīr Bin Ahmad who is known as Qutrab-un-Nahwī (Grammatical genius), has been mentioned by As-Sayyid Mahdī Bahr-ul-'Ulūm in his Rijāl that he was a Shi'ite.

He is the author of Al-'Ilal Fin Nahw, Al-Ad-dād, Al-Humuz, Al-Muthallath, and Al-Muṣannaf-ul-Gharīb Fil Lughah. He died in 206 A.H.

6. Al-Farrā', Yahyā Bin Ziyād Al-Aqta' Al-Kūfī. He is called Al-Farrā' because he used to play with the words. He was a pupil of Al-Kasā'ī. As-Sam'ānī says that Al-Farrā' was called as Amīr-ul-Mu'minīn of An-Nahw. He has also quoted Tha'lab having said that there would have been no Arabic but for Al-Farrā' because he polished it and got it rid of foreign elements. Has he not been alive, Arabic would have got corrupted, because he used to dispute.

According to Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt, he was the Imam of An-Nahw among the Kufites, after Al-Kisā'ī. Similarly, As-Sayyid Mahdī Bahr-ul-'Ulūm At-Tabātabā'ī has mentioned him in his Rijāl, while the author of Riyād-ul-'Ulamā' has testified his being a Shi'ite. Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt states that he liked Al-Kalām and was inclined to the Mu'tazilite creed. But this statement is based upon a confusion between the Shi'ite Doctrines and those of the Mu'tazilites, as the author of Riyād-ul-'Ulamā' has pointed out. This confusion is so usually found that even Adh-Dhahabī declared Al-Murtadā to be a Mu'tazilite in his Mīzān, despite the fact that Al-Murtadā many a time gave refutations to the Mu'tazilite doctrines. Many Shi'ites have been treated as Mu'tazilites on account of this confusion. Al-Farrā' died in 209 A.H.

7. Ahmad Bin Ibrāhīm Bin Ismā'īl Bin Hamdūn.

He was a grammarian and a courtier of Al-Mutawakkil. Ash-Shaikh (in Al-Fahrist) and An-Najāshī have said about him that he was the Shaikh of Linguistics and the teacher of Abil Abbās Tha'lab. He died during the third century.

8. Ibn-us-Sukait, Ya'qūb Bin Ishāq.

He is the author of many books including Islāh-ul-Mantiq. According to the statement of Al-Mubarrad, no book has crossed the bridge of Baghdād which could be compared with it in respect to linguistics. Tha'lab has said that after Ibn-A'rābī, no one has accomplished such a mastery of language as Ibn-us-Sukait has. He was beheaded by Al-Mutawakkil for being a Shi'ite. This happened in 244 A.H.

## 9. Abu Uthmān Al-Māzinī Bakr Bin Muhammad Bin Habīb.

According to the statement of Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt he was leading figure in respect to Arabic language. According to Al-Mubarrad, no one knew An-Nahw more than Abu Uthmān except Saibūyah. Ibn-un-Nadīm and As-Suyūfī have mentioned a number of books written by him on grammar (An-Nahw). Similarly, Ibn Khallakān declares him to be the Master of An-Nahw and Literature in his period. An-Najāshī too calls him in the same way and that he was in the front ranks of the scholars in Basra. An-Najāshī has also quoted a statement of Al-Mubarrad telling that he was one of the Imamite scholars, his name being Abu Uthmān Bakr Bin Muhammad, and one of the servants of Ismā'īl Bin Maitham. He has also mentioned his books. His death occurred in 248 A.H.

## 10. Ahmad Bin Muhammad Bin Khālid Al-Barquf wrote a book on An-Nahw.

## 11. Abul Abbās Muhammad Bin Yazīd Al-Mubarrad.

According to Bughyat-ul-Wu'āt? He was the Imam of Arabic in Baghdād during his age. His books are (i) Al-Maqṣūr Wal Mamdūd, (ii) Ar-Radd-u-'alās-Saibūyah, (iii) Sharh-u-Shawāhid-il-Kitāb, and (iv) Mā Ittafaqā Lafzahū Wa Ikhtalaf Ma'nāhu. According to the statement of Riyād-ul-'Ulamā, he was a leading figure, grammarian, linguist, scholar, Imamite, masterly and author of Al-Kāmil. There are reports about him and Imams from the Ahl Bait which testify his being a Shi'ite. One of such reports has been quoted from Tārikhul Belādhārī in Lawā'ij-ul-Ashjē and is about the virtues of Imam Husain (A.S.)

He died in 285 A.H.

## 12. Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Ibrāhīm Al-Kūfī

He was called As-Sābūnī. He was one of the companions of Imam Ali Al-Hādī (A.S.) and the author of Al-Fākhīr Fil Lughat. He died in 300 A.H.

## SHI'ITE POETS

It would suffice to say that those who excelled in Arabic poetry were mostly Shi'ites, like Al-Farazdaq, Al-Kumait, Da'bal, Abu Tamām, Al-Bahtarī, Al-Mutanabbī, Ar-Radī, Abu Farās etc. We can safely give a similar observation about the poets in other languages spoken by Muslims, like Persian, Urdu, Sindhi, Multānī etc.

As a matter of fact, the elegies (marthiyah) written about Imam Husain (A.S.) form the core of Islamic Literature in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, because there the literary life started with elegies.

The historians of Indo-Pakistani literature have all agreed upon the fact that the first Urdu poet who had a complete Diwān was Quli Qutub Shah, the King of Golkunda in Southern India. This noble king spent most of his literary potential in composing elegies on Imam Husain (A.S.) It is also a proven fact that the kings of Golkunda, Bijā Pur Ahmad Nagar etc. were all Shi'ites, as well as the Amīrs of Bengal, some of the Amīrs of Sindh, many governors, like Nawab Shāh Nawāz Khan of Lahore. They had great influence and had been very much instrumental in establishing the tradition of gatherings in Muharrām and helping Shi'ism develop. Most of the poets there during those periods gave prominence to the elegies of Imam Husain (A.S.) because, apart from the satisfaction of their



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religious beliefs, they had hopes of getting rewards from those kings and Amirs for such efforts. The fact is that the most prominent poets of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent were greatly attached to these great personalities of Islamic history, especially Imam Husain (A.S.). They always composed poems in praise of Ahl Bait as well as elegies about them as a means of their spiritual satisfaction.

If we look upon the history of India and Pakistan, even though hastily, we will be convinced that the leading figures in the field of poetry right from the period of Wali Daccani (1079-1155 A.H.), except a few, gave great attention to praising the Ahl Bait and writing elegies about them. It would be sufficient to name a few like Mir Taqi, Mirza Sawdâ, Mir Hasan, Insha Ullah Khan, Mir Mushaff, Mirza Dabîr, Mir Anfs and Mirza Ghâlib.

## PROPHET MUHAMMAD

صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم

VOICE OF MUHAMMAD

There was a glow in his eyes reflecting the scorching heat of the desert.

There was a frankness on his lips born in the vast expanse of sand, shining in the light of the sun.

There was a warmth in his blood and tenderness in his heart, nourished in the orchards of Yathrab, the pastures of Tā'if and the oases of Hijāz, scattered like islands in the great sandy ocean, placid under the pale light of the moon.

There was a revolution emerging in his world of ideas, just like the winds that sometimes violently blew in those deserts.

There was a magic on his tongue and fire in his soul, inspired by the lights of the heaven and depths of poetry.

There was a sharpness to his sword, honed upon his own steadfastness, and a message in his right hand writ in the language of God.

This was Muhammad Bin Abdullah, the Prophet of Islam, the destroyer of idolatry that had estranged men from their brethren — religious idolatry, idolatry of habits and customs and idolatry of racialism.

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The people of Quraish took the world in terms of the money that slipped from the hands the Bedouins to their pockets.

They evaluated their norms of life in terms of profitable trade with ever-increasing margins of profits, in terms of caravans which passed through valleys, plateaus and deserts; long trains of camels with no destination but the orchards of Quraish, and no refuge but the pagan Mecca where money was everything and above everything.

Suddenly, there came a call to their ears, startling them, shattering their lustful desires and turning the world away from money. It told them, "There are treasures for man of which you do not know. The bewildered Bedouin coming from the unknown deserts has a message of which you are not aware."

This voice was the voice of Muhammad!

The tribes of Asad and Tamīm were proud of the path of ignorance they followed and would not be turned aside from their march into the habits of waywardness. They still buried their daughters alive, which they did, not because of any reason, but to fulfil a custom and implement what man had believed through his distortion of the signs of the Creator. Thus was the beauty of nature denied. Thus the charm of the universe perverted.

Then came a voice to their ears, a voice softer than the heartbeats of love and whispers of the heavens, saying to them: "O Slaves of God. Refrain from burying your daughters alive. Girls are also your children as are boys. No creature has the right of life or of death over any other creature. It is only Allah who gives life or death."

This voice was the voice of Muhammad.



The Bedouins were in the habit of showing their excellence in the use of swords, quarrelling with their tongues as if those were the whips of the Hell, and kissing the virgins, not with their lips, but with their swords. They were a mixture of proud cavaliers, of men who killed, of children crying and seeking help, and they were brought up in an environment, devoid of love and brotherly feelings.

Then suddenly in their camps resounded a voice stronger than the thunder and creating the fear which precedes a storm. It repeatedly said to them: "What is this you are doing? Is it good that you should kill one another while you are brethren children of the Creator of the earth and heavens? War is the work of devil. Peace is better for you. It brings such a blessing as you all may yearn for."

This voice of the voice of Muhammad.

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The Arabs were more consciously proud of themselves than any other nation was or has been.

They were steeped in their scorn and hatred for the non-Arabs which made them appear self-complacent, haughty, quarrelsome and of rude behaviour. A non-Arab received from them such insulting treatment that it was an affront to the dignity of a human being. This attitude was too much for the Holder of the Message. He therefore shook them from their sleep with a voice which said to them, "No Arab is superior to a non-Arab except on the basis of piety. Every man is a brother to other, in love or even in hatred."

This voice was the voice of Muhammad.

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As to the persecuted and the miserable, as to the homeless whom the scorching winds of the desert had burnt, whom a cruel society had cast out and made their lives unhappy, and who had thus become among the people as worthless as the particles of sand, and were black-listed by their fellow men, they were the friends of the Holder of the Message. He made common consultation the basis of the law for their sake, and he prohibited any kind of slavery or bondage and forbade any kind of exploitation of man by man. He declared the official treasury (Bait-ul-Mâl) and the efforts of the people to be national properties.

He looked at the diversities of the world around him and found oneness there which was personified in God, while they (the Quraish) instigated stupid men and small boys who in turn stoned him and mocked at him.

But as to the suppressed, the persecuted and the homeless as well as the slaves, among whom was Bilâl — the Mu'adhhdhin of the Prophet and the first Mu'adhhdhin in Islam — they opened their hearts and souls at the voice, the echo of which was deeper than the song of the morning and more authoritative than the wings of the night. This voice conveyed to their souls the call of the Providence: "All creatures are the family of God. He loves him more who is more beneficial to His family." (1)

This voice was the voice of Muhammad.

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As to his opponents and those who stoned him and mocked at him, they heard these life-giving words from his tongue, (2)

ولو كنت فظا غليظ القلب لانفضوا من حولك، فاعف عنهم واستغفر لهم وشاورهم في الامر، فاذا عزمتم فتوكل على الله ان الله يحب المتوكلين .

. . . . hadst thou been harsh  
 and hard of heart, they would have scattered from about thee.  
 So pardon them, and pray forgiveness for them, and take  
 counsel with them in the affair; and when thou art resolved,  
 put thy trust in God; surely God loves those who put their trust.  
 This voice was the voice of Muhammad.

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As to those who fought for a better way of living and those who supported him  
 in his war against evil and idol-worship, as to those who laid down their lives  
 for the sake of right and honour at time of Jehād, they had these words engraved  
 in their hearts,

Do not betray. Do not turn away from the right and be thirsty  
 of revenge. Do not kill any child, woman or an aged person,  
 or the one who has shut himself up in his monastery. Do not  
 burn the date-trees. Do not cut other trees and do not demolish  
 houses. (1)

This voice was the voice of Muhammad.

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The Arabs got this kind voice and the message it bore from the son of Abdullah  
 and spread it far and wide on the Earth so that all the kings and rulers were  
 awed by it. Not only this, they also established a link between one man and ano-  
 ther, as well as between man and that Universal Spirit whom the Prophet of the  
 Desert called God.

The teaching of Muhammad Bin Abdullah expanded and took the whole of the  
 old world into its arms. From the East to the West he gave the message of good,  
 of knowledge and of peace. The Prophet of the Desert opened his arms over the  
 world to sow the seeds of brotherhood and love. He extended his teaching right up  
 the horizon and beyond. . .

This voice resulted in a call for human brotherhood. It checked rulers from  
 treating the people arbitrarily and appropriating their properties or their labours.  
 It declared all human beings to be equal in respect of rights — young or old, ruler  
 or the ruled, Arab or non-Arab — as all men and women are of the same family —  
 the family of God.

This voice called for the emancipation of women from the cruelty of men,  
 emancipation of the employee from the brutalities of the employer, that of the  
 slaves and servants from bondage and degradation. It declared the people to be  
 partners in authority and rule, contrary to the notions of Plato and other Greek  
 philosophers who deprived the labourers, the artisans and the slaves from civil  
 rights because of the "lowliness" of their toil, and thus divided the world into  
 various classes in respect of rights and duties.

Interest was banned and thus the exploitation of man by man. (1)

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(1) Saying of the Prophet,  
 (2) Quran, III, 153.



## PROPHET MUHAMMAD

### FROM BIRTH TO MARRIAGE

#### MARRIAGE OF ABDULLAH

Abdul Muttalib was seventy or more when Abrahah attempted to attack Mecca and demolish the Ka'bah. Abdul Muttalib's son Abdullah was 24 years old. Abdul Muttalib realized that the time had come to get Abdullah married. He therefore chose for him as wife the daughter of Wahab Bin Abd Munaf Bin Zurah who was named Aaminah. Wahab was the chief of Banu Zuhrah both out of respect for his age and his social position. Abdul Muttalib with his son, Abdullah, went to the Banu Zuhrah Quarters and met Wahab. There and then the engagement of Abdullah with Aaminah was settled. On the same day that Abdullah got married to Aaminah, Abdul Muttalib himself married his cousin Halah who gave birth to his son Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet, who was of the same age.

According to the traditions of the Arabs, Abdullah stayed among his in-laws for three days during which the marriage ceremonies were completed. When Abdullah brought his wife to the house of his father, he did not stay there long as he had to accompany a trading caravan to Syria. He left his wife pregnant behind him and travelled to Ghazzah. On his way back home Abdullah stopped at Madinah to stay with his maternal uncles in order to get some rest before continuing his journey onward to Mecca. But he fell ill, and therefore his companions left him in the care of his uncles at Madinah. When they reached Mecca, they told Abdul Muttalib of Abdullah's illness. Immediately, Abdul Muttalib sent his eldest son Harih to Madinah to accompany his brother to Mecca after his recovery from the illness. When Harih reached Madinah, he learned that Abdullah had died and had been buried in Madinah one month after the caravan had left. He therefore returned to Mecca to mourn the death of his brother and to give condolence to his father Abdul Muttalib and his sister-in-law Aaminah, who were both struck with grief and sorrow. Aaminah had lost the husband in whose company she had dreamed of a happy and cheerful life. The father, Abdul Muttalib had lost the son who was so dear to him that he had redeemed him from gods by offering a sacrifice, which was never heard of among the Arabs.

Abdullah left behind him five camels, a herd of sheep and a maid named Umm Aiman, who later on became the nurse to the Prophet. Perhaps this property was not an indication of his being wealthy, but at the same time it did not indicate poverty either. Abdullah was young when he died. He was potentially able to work and earn money. His father was alive and therefore he had not received anything in bequest.

Birth of Muhammad (570 A.D.)

Aaminah completed her period of pregnancy and was delivered of a child. After the birth, she sent the news to Abdul Muttalib, who was near the Ka'bah at that time, that he had a grandson. When the news reached him, Abdul Muttalib was overjoyed with happiness. He remembered his son Abdullah and his heart filled with love and affection for his dead son. He rushed to his daughter-in-law and took the child in his arms and reached the Ka'bah where he named him Muhammad. This name was uncommon among the Arabs but was definitely known. The grandfather then returned the child to his mother. Both of them began searching for a wet-nurse from Banu Sa'd so as to hand over the child to her according to the custom of the Meccan aristocracy.

(1) Jur'aaq

Historians have disagreed as to the exact year in which the Prophet was born, but the majority is of the opinion that it was in the "Year of the Elephant" which coincides with 570 A.D.

Similarly, there is no agreement on the month in which his birth took place, although the majority says that it was the month of Rabī-ul-Awwal. It is said that he was born on the 17th of Rabī-ul-Awwal, but according to another version the date was 12th of that month.

#### Child in the care of wet-nurse

As it has already been mentioned, the mother of the Prophet waited for the arrival of wet-nurses belonging to Banu Sa'd tribe. There were many Bedouin tribes which were known for good nurses. Among such tribes was Banu Sa'd. In the meantime, Aaminah handed over the child to Thuwaibah who was a maid of his uncle Abu Lahab. She fed him for a while as she did his uncle Hamzah. In this way, Hamzah was also his brother in Raḍā'ah (through the wet nurse). Despite the fact that Thuwaibah suckled him only for a few days, he always remembered her with affection and used to visit her regularly. When she died in the seventh year of his migration to Medina, he enquired about her son (who was in a way a brother to him) so that he may go to him, but learned that her son had died earlier.

Eventually, the nurses from Banu Sa'd arrived in Mecca to seek infants needing them. They avoided accepting fatherless babies or orphans because they were looking for the generosity of fathers, and they could expect very little from widows. All those greedy nurses therefore refused to accept Muhammad.

#### Halīmah Bint Abi Dhu'aib as the nurse

Halīmah Bint Abu Dhu'aib too refused to suckle Muhammad, like others, when she was first offered the child. But she could not get another, and when the people of her tribe started packing up to leave Mecca, she said to her husband, Al-Hārith Bin Abdul 'Uzzā, "By God, I hate to return with my friends without getting a child to suckle. I will go to that orphan and accept him." Thus, Halīmah agreed to suckle him and took him with her to the desert.

He stayed in the desert for two years while he was suckled by Halīmah and carried by her daughter Shaimā. He found in the desert climate and the rough, hard life there all that leads to sound bodily development. When two years came to end and it was time for his departure, Halīmah took him back to his mother. But according to desire of his mother, or as another report says, the desire of Halīmah, he was taken back to the desert so that he might become stronger and be saved from an epidemic which had broken out in Mecca at that time. The child therefore stayed for another two years in the desert, enjoying the free atmosphere where there were no bodily or spiritual compulsions.

#### Muhammad in the desert

He stayed among the Banu Sa'd for five years and received his share of the healthy desert climate and became imbued with the spirit of freedom and self-dependence, as well as learning the purest Arabic in that tribe. These five years had a great and fine impression on his mind which remained forever, as did his affection and respect for Halīmah and her family throughout his life. Once after his marriage to Khadijah, there was a famine and Halīmah came to him. When she returned, she had with her a camel which carried water and 40 head of sheep which were given to her from the



## PROPHET MUHAMMAD

property to Khadijah. Whenever she came to him, he used to spread his cloak for her to sit on, to show his respect. Similarly, when Shaimâ, her daughter was among the prisoners taken from Banu Hawâzin after the siege of Tâ'if, and was brought to him, he recognized her, honoured her and returned her to her family according to her wishes.

### In the care of his grandfather

Abdul Muttalib took care of his grandson and showered on him all his love and affection. He was the chief of Quraish and of Mecca. He used to lay a mattress in the shade of the Ka'bah and sit there, and his sons would sit around that mattress out of their respect for the father. But whenever Muhammad came, Abdul Muttalib brought him closer, let him sit on the mattress beside him and patted him on his back.

Another factor added to the love of Abdul Muttalib for his grand-son. Aaminah went to Medinah with her son and Umm Aiman (the maid who was left by Abdullah) so that the child might see the uncles of his father in the tribe of Banu Najjâr. When they reached there, she showed her son the house where his father had died, and the place where he had been buried. It was first awareness of being an orphan that the young child had received. Perhaps his mother talked a lot about his beloved father, who left her after spending so few days of his life with her, and about his death while visiting his maternal uncles. The Prophet used to narrate the details of this journey to Medinah, with his mother, to his companions after he had migrated to that city. It was a tale of affection for that sad city which held the graves of his dear ones. After they had stayed in Medinah for about a month, Aaminah prepared for her journey back home. But on the way back, she fell ill at Abwâ<sup>(1)</sup>, died and was buried there. Umm Aiman returned to Mecca with the child, sobbing and lonely.

He felt his being orphan and the pang of the shock which fate had given to him for a second time. His grief and loneliness increased. A few days back he had listened his mother sighing for the loss of his father, dead while he was not yet born. And now he saw with his own eyes his mother going as his father had earlier gone, and leaving his small body to bear the grief of orphanhood alone.

This made Abdul Muttalib love him more and more. Despite this, the painful awareness of his being orphan remained deep in his heart. Perhaps the pang of these memories might have lessened, had Abdul Muttalib lived longer. But he died at the age of eighty while Muhammad was still in the eighth year of his life. His grief on the death of his grandfather was no less than on the death of his mother. He followed the dead body to the grave continuously crying, and always remembered him later on, in spite of the care and love and affection which he received from his uncle Abu Tâlib, who gave him support even after he was given his divine mission.

Now Abu Tâlib became his guardian although he was not the eldest of his uncles. Al-Hârith was the eldest. Nor was he the most well off, this was Abbâs who was very careful about spending money. It is therefore not surprising that Abu Tâlib, despite his comparative poverty, was the most noble of them and most respected by the Quraish and enjoyed prestige among them. It is also not surprising that Abdul Muttalib handed over his orphan grandson to Abu Tâlib.

1. It is a village lying between Medinah and Al-Jahfah at a distance of 23 miles from the former.



### First Journey to Syria

Abu Tālib loved his nephew as Abdul Mutṭalib had loved him. He loved him so much that he gave him preference over his own sons. He saw in him signs of nobility, intelligence, generosity and good-heartedness which made him all the more attached to him. Abu Tālib made plans to lead a trading caravan to Syria when Muhammad was twelve years old. He did not think of taking Muhammad along with him, because of the hardships involved in the journey across the desert. But Muhammad expressed so keen a desire to accompany his uncle, Abu Tālib agreed to take him. The young boy accompanied the caravan and in due course reached Busrā in the South Syria. Here the books report him as having met Bahīrā the monk. Some reports say that the monk advised his uncle not to take the boy far into Syria because he was afraid of the Jews doing harm to him.

Most probably, Abu Tālib did not make much profit in this journey and never went again on a similar mission, but became contented with what he had. He stayed in Mecca supporting his many children within the limits of his little money. Muhammad also stayed with uncle contented with his fortune, and did all sorts of duties which others of his age were expected to do.

### Khadījah

Abu Tālib, as we have already said, was not very well-to-do and had a big family to support. He, therefore, thought of finding some means of livelihood for his nephew. One day he came to hear that Khadījah Bint Khuwailid was going to employ men from the Quraish to work for her in the trade. She was a wealthy woman, greatly respected and accustomed to sending trading caravans. She engaged men for this purpose who did the trade for her in return of payment. In this way, she had become very rich. She belonged to Banu Asad tribe and had twice married from among Banu Makhzūm tribe, which had made her among the richest in Mecca. She supported her father and some other trusted ones with her money. She had rejected many proposals of marriage, made by the leading men of the Quraish, because she thought that those persons had their eyes only on her money. She therefore made up her mind to concentrate on developing her wealth.

When Abu Tālib came to learn that she was preparing a trading caravan to leave for Syria, he called his nephew who was then twenty five years old. He said, "O My Nephew I am a poor man and conditions are hard upon us. I have been told that Khadījah has employed one man for the payment of two young camels, but in your case, we shall not be satisfied what she has agreed to give to him. Should I speak to her in this matter?" Muhammad gave his consent and Abu Tālib therefore went to Khadījah, saying to her, "Would you like to employ Muhammad? We have been told that you have engaged some one on the payment of two camels, but in case of Muhammad, we shall not agree less than four." Khadījah replied, "Had you asked such a thing about a distant and hated one, we would have done it. How would we not do it now when you ask about your nearest and dearest one?" The uncle went back to his nephew and told about the matter and said, "This livelihood has been brought to you by God."

### Muhammad trading for Khadījah

Muhammad set out on the journey along with a slave of Khadījah named Maysarah, after receiving counsel from his uncles. The caravan followed the desert road passing through Wādīl Qurā, Madyan, Diyār Thamūd and other places where Muhammad had already been in company of his uncle Abu Tālib, when he was twelve years old.



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Muhammad traded with the goods belonging to Khadījah honestly and wisely, and brought more profit than any one else had done before. He was also able to win the love and affection of Maisarah through his pleasant habits and charming manners. When the time approached for the journey back to Mecca, he bought for Khadījah whatever she wanted him to bring for her.

After they had returned to Mecca, Maisarah told Khadījah about the charming manners and beautiful personality of Muhammad. This added to her knowledge of Muhammad, for she already knew him to be distinguished from other youth of Mecca. In a decisive moment, her appreciation of Muhammad changed into love and made her wish to be wedded to this young man, although she was forty years old and had rejected the proposals made by the leading Quraishites. She talked about it to her sister, according to one report, or to a friend Nufaisah Bint Munyah according to another. Nufaisah came to Muhammad and asked him what stopped him from marrying. He said, "What do I own that I should marry?" She said to him, "If this were no obstacle and you were offered beauty, wealth, honour and capability, would you not agree?" Muhammad asked who she was and Nufaisah told him about Khadījah. Muhammad said, "But how could I propose the marriage?" Nufaisah assured him that she would arrange the matter. He expressed his consent, Khadījah did not take long to fix the time when he should come with his uncles to meet her family members in her house and hold the ceremony. She was given in marriage by her uncle 'Umar Bun Asad, because her father Khuwailad had died already.

Here Muhammad turned a new leaf in his life and began the life of a husband and father. The marriage was a successful one, although as a father, he was to know the grief of losing sons in the same way as he had lost his parents when he was young.

### FROM MARRIAGE TO THE PROCLAMATION OF THE PROPHETHOOD

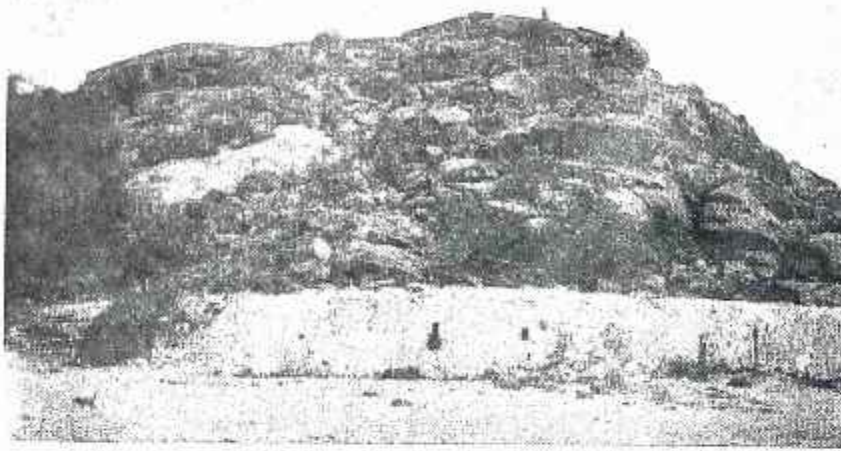
Muhammad thus married Khadījah and moved to her house to begin a new phase of his life in her company — life of a husband and father. She gave birth to sons and a daughter or daughters. The sons were Al-Qāsim and Abdullah At-Tāhir At-Tayyib who died in their infancy and filled his heart with grief. His daughter or daughters lived to them he showed love, affection and generosity, while they in return responded with respect and honour for him.

His marriage with Khadījah had made him well-to-do and all the Meccans regarded him with envy and esteem. But he was busy in other work which God had ordained him to perform, and people were not aware of it. It did not stop him from mixing with people and sharing in the daily life as he used to earlier, but instead his prestige among them increased and his position more strengthened. It also increased his modesty. In addition to being extremely intelligent and very polite, he paid attention to anyone talking to him. He never turned him away. He did not stop at just listening to what a person said to him but gave careful attention to the speaker. He spoke little and listened much. He had a natural inclination to serious discussion but he did not refuse to take part in humorous talk. He always said what was right and true. All these characteristics of his personality combined together made a very deep impression on whosoever came in contact with him. Those who just knew him were attracted towards him and those who moved in his company loved him. So great was the impression of his personality that there was established a relationship of loyalty and devotion between him and Khadījah.

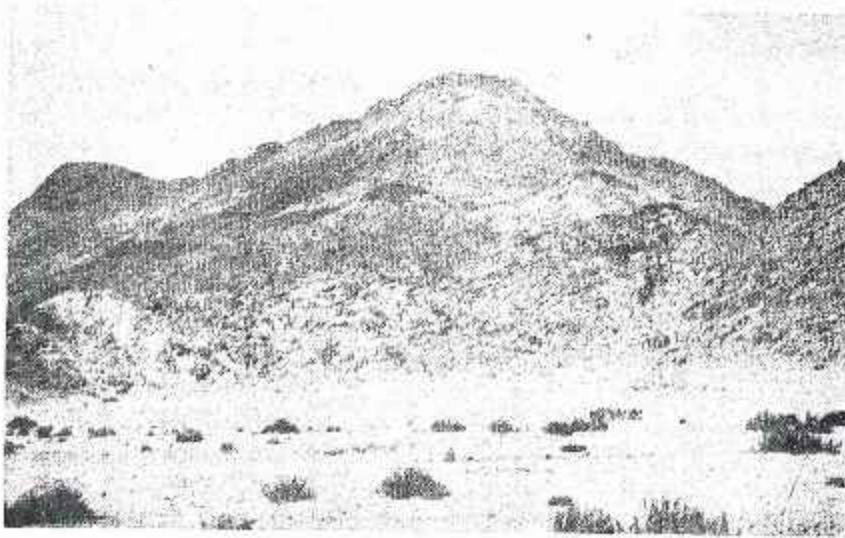
#### Renovation of the Ka'bah

The Quraish were in those days worried about the damage caused to the Ka'bah. A great deluge had come down upon it from the surrounding mountains and

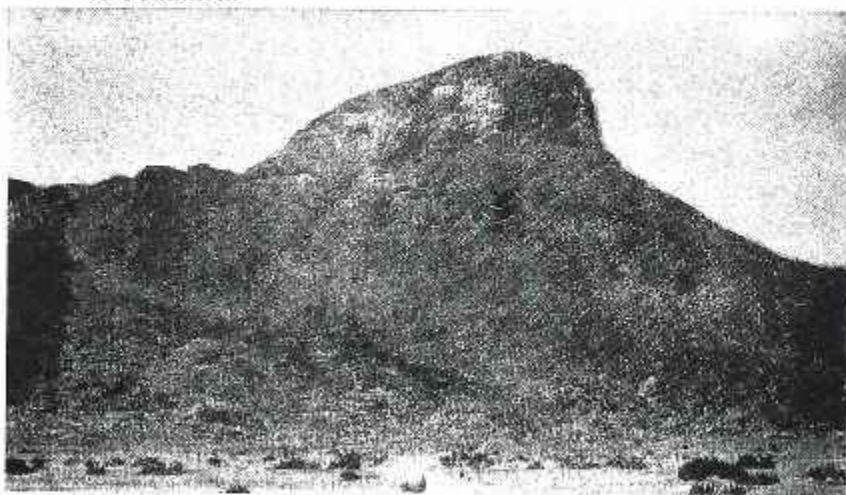




A view of «Al-Rahmeh» mountain, at «Arafaat» after pilgrimage days; it is unbelievable that during pilgrimage, the whole mountain is occupied by the pilgrims and little open space is to be found.



The mountain in which the «THOUR» cave is located. The Holy Prophet accompanied by Abubakr went into hiding in this cave during their emigration from Mecca to Madinah.



The mountain in which the «HARRA'A» cave is located, the Holy Prophet used to worship and pray the Almighty God in this Cave. He received the first message from the Almighty God while he was praying in this Cave.





had washed away its walls. The Quraish were thinking about its renovation prior to this flood. At that time, it had no roof and therefore it was very easy for thieves to steal anything offered there and placed inside. But they were afraid that if they re-laid its foundations, deepening, them, or made its entrance higher, or built a roof, God of the sacred Ka'bah might punish them. During the different periods of Jāhiliyyah, there were many legends in circulation which frightened the people from changing anything in the Ka'bah. These myths made them consider any such change as forbidden and unlawful innovation. But when the flood came, there was no other alternative but to undertake repairs and renovation, albeit with fear and hesitation.

By coincidence, there came a storm in the sea which damaged a ship coming from Egypt, belonging to a Byzantian named Bāqūm. He was a mason who also knew something to carpentry. When the Quraish heard about him, they sent Al-Walīd Bin Al-Mughōrah along with some other persons to Juddah (Jeddah). They bought the ship from this Byzantian and asked him to accompany them to Mecca and help them re-build the Ka'bah. Bāqūm accepted. There was a Copt living in Mecca who knew how to cut, saw and shape wood. He agreed to work for them with the help of Bāqūm.

#### Demolition and Re-building of the Ka'bah.

The Quraish divided the work of demolition and rebuilding among them. The four sides were divided such that every tribe had to undertake the work on one side. They were hesitant in demolition, being afraid of something unknown happening to them. At this, Al-Walīd Bin Al-Mughfrah came forward though with some fear in his heart, prayed to his gods and demolished a part of the Yaminite corner. The people slept to wait and see if anything happened to him. When they got up next morning and saw that nothing had happened to Al-Walīd, they all began demolishing the building and carrying away the stones. Muhammad was also sharing in this work. They demolished it down to a layer of green stones. When they struck this with their hatchets, it resisted the blows, and they therefore decided to make this the foundation of the building. The people of the Quraish brought blue granite from the neighbouring mountains and the work of rebuilding started.

When the walls were raised to a man's height and time came for placing the sacred Black Stone in position on the Eastern side, the Quraish differed as to who should have the honour of putting the stone in its place. The disagreement increased and threatened to cause a war. The people of Banu Abdul Dār and Banu 'Adī made a pact to stop any other tribe getting this honour. When Abu Umayyah Bin Al-Mughfrah Al-Makhzūmī, who was the oldest and a noble whom people obeyed, saw the situation, he said: "Appoint a mediator from among you. He should be the one who first enters from Bāb-us-Safā." They agreed on this proposal and saw Muhammad entering the gate. All of them said "He is honest and trustworthy. We accept his mediation." Then they told the whole story to him. He listened to them and saw the signs of hostility in their eyes. He thought for a while and said to them, "Get me a piece of cloth." They brought it.

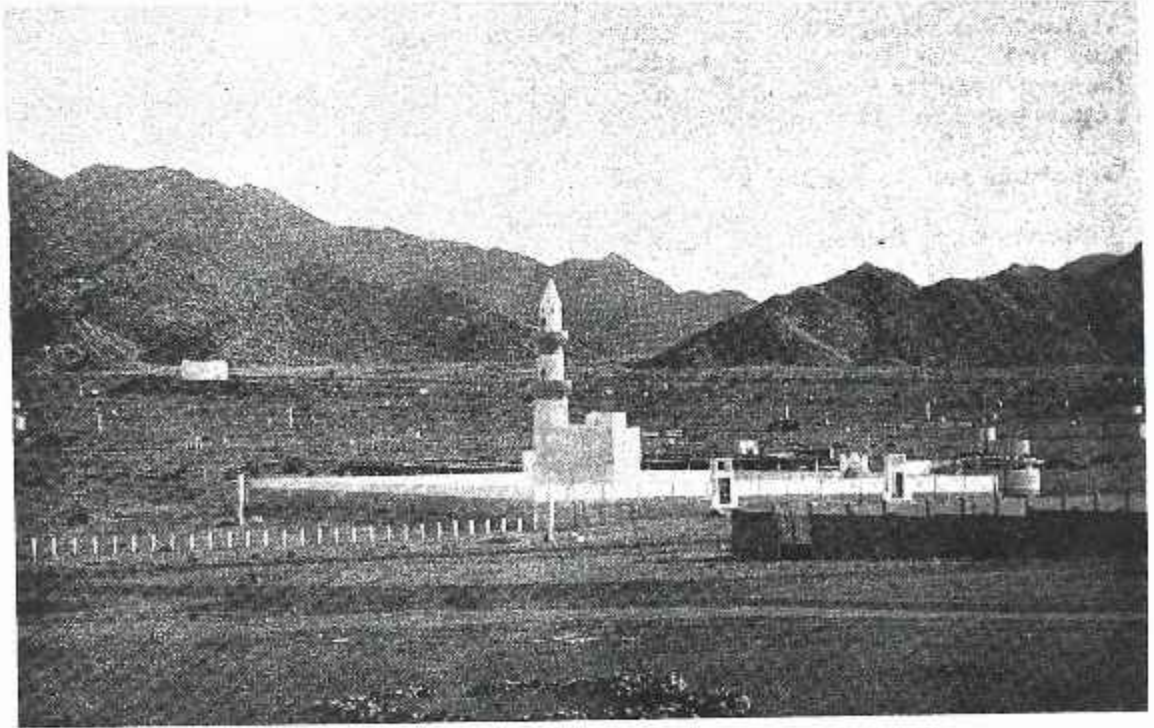
He spread the cloth on the ground and put the stone on it with his own hands. Then he said to them, "All the chiefs of various tribes should come and hold this cloth from all the sides." They held the cloth and raised it to the height where the stone was to be fixed. Muhammad then himself took the stone and put it in its place. In this way, the disagreement was settled and troubles done with. The Quraish finished re-building the Ka'bah so that its height became 18 Dhirā'. They made its gate raised from the ground so that they might allow anyone, whom they liked to enter it, or forbid others whom they did not like. They erected six pillars in two rows inside it.



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They also built stairs inside it on Syrian Corner (Rukn-ish-Shāmī) which led to the roof. Hubul (2) was placed inside the Ka'bah as well as expensive ornaments, which had hitherto been exposed to thieves.

There is disagreement as to the age of the Prophet when the Ka'bah was re-built and he acted as a mediator in the matter of fixing the Black Stone. According to one version, he was 75 years old. Ibn Ishāq says that he was 35 years old. Whichever version about his age may be correct, it tells us one thing: The immediate acceptance by the Quraish of Muhammad to act as mediator and his treatment of the matter in solving the problems indicates the position and prestige he enjoyed among the Meccans.



AL-MUZDALEFEH Mosque

### At-Tahannuth (1)

It was customary among the Arabs that their thinkers should cut themselves off from the people and spend that time seclusion for sake of worship. During this seclusion, they prayed to their gods, led their lives as ascetics and sought, with sincere hearts, good and wisdom from their gods. This separation from the people and seclusion for sake of worship was called At-Tahannuth or At-Tahannuf. Muhammad found the custom good, helping him in his thoughts and mediation. He also found it a means of attaining peace of mind. He therefore took to seclusion during which he sought the means to attain

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1. One Dhirâ' — 68 C.M.

2. An idol.

which he sought the means to attain what his inner urge compelled him to seek in order to get a deeper insight into knowledge and causes responsible for the creation of the universe.

#### In the Cave Of Hirâ`

At a distance of two parasang (2) (farsakh) from Mecca, there was a cave on the top of Mount Hirâ` which was well suited for such a seclusion. He would isolate himself every year during the month of Ramadan. He took with him the little food necessary for him, and engaged in meditation and worship, away from noise of people and din of the town, seeking the Truth and Truth alone.

The urge to arrive at a real knowledge of the Truth was so great in him that during this meditation, that he got absorbed in his thinking and almost forgot himself, his food and everything else. It was because of the fact that whatever he saw in people around him was not true, not real. He turned over the pages of his mind to think over their actions and his conviction grew stronger that whatever people did around him was not true and subject to grave doubts.

Every year when the month of Ramadân came he isolated himself in the Cave of Hirâ` and began his meditation. In this way, his thoughts became profounder and his mind became richer. After a few years of such meditation, he began seeing true dreams during which realities unveiled themselves before his eyes. But he also saw what was untrue and unreal in life and saw how vain it was. Thus he became convinced that his people had lost the way leading to the Truth and that their spiritual life had completely been corrupted by superstitions, idol-worship and other false beliefs, which were nothing but waywardness. He was not yet forty years old.

As usual, he went to the Cave of Hirâ` to meditate and his heart was full of faith and conviction about what he had seen in his dreams. His God showed him the Truth and led him towards the Right Path (Sirâtul Mustaqîm) and the Eternal Truth, and he responded with all his soul and heart. He orientated himself towards Allah with all the sincerity of his soul and became determined to guide the people away from their waywardness. In this meditation, he remained awake whole nights, stimulating his intellect and mind and prolonging his fast. His ideas boiled within him. He would leave the cave and go to the desert and again would come back to his seclusion to test and verify and think over what was going on in his mind, and what was unveiled to him during his dreams.

This condition continued for six months until he became afraid of himself and of what was happening to him. He disclosed his fears to his wife, Khadjjah, and told her what he had seen. She, as a sincere wife would, consoled him, telling him that he was an honest man, although it never came to her mind that God was preparing His selected one, through this spiritual exercise, for a great day to come — the day when the first Revelation was made to him and with which came also the Mission and the Message of Prophethood.

1. Its dictionary meaning: To shun false gods, to purify one's self.

2. One parasang (farsakh) equal to 3 1/2 miles.



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### First Revelation (610 A.D.)

One day he was asleep in the cave when the Angel appeared with the Book in his hand and said to him, "Read". He was startled and answered him, "What should I read?" He felt as if the Angel were strangling him and then leaving him, repeating the word, "Read". He again asked what to read and the Angel spoke as before, Muhammad, although fearing that he might again experience the strangling sensation, again asked, "What should I read?" The Angel then recited to him the verses from Sūrah Al-'Alaq (The Blood-Clot). Muhammad therefore repeated these verses which became engraved upon his heart, and the Angel then went away.

### The Prayers (as-Salât)

God taught His Prophet to say prayers in which Khadījah joined him, as did their daughters and Ali Bin Abi Tālib, who was also living with them. The Quraish were all hit by a financial crisis and Abu Tālib had a big family to support. Muhammad therefore said his uncle, Al-'Abbās, who was the most well-off among the Hashimite, "Your brother Abu Tālib has a big family to support and you are aware of the crisis that has come upon the Quraish. We should therefore give him a hand and share his burden. We should take one of his sons each and support him." Al-'Abbās took the responsibility for Ja'far and Ali was taken to the house of the Prophet himself. When Muhammad was ordained to declare the message of God, Ali was still living with him.

One day Muhammad and Khadījah were both saying prayers when Ali had come in. He saw them kneeling down, prostrating and reciting from the part of the Quran and he was astonished. When they had finished their prayers, he asked them, "to whom were you prostrating?" Muhammad replied, "We prostrate before God who sent me as a Prophet and has ordered me that I should invite people to him." He invited Ali to worship God, who is not like any one else, and to join the ranks of the religion which had been sent through the Prophet of God, and to give up idol-worship. Then he recited whatever he could from the Quran, on which Ali embraced Islam. He was the first man to become a Muslim. He was followed by Zaid Bin Al-Hārithah (who had been adopted by the Prophet) and other persons, foremost among whom was Abu Bakr.

Whenever a person embraced Islam, he went to the Prophet and declared himself to be a Muslim and received instructions from him. Early Muslims concealed their faith because they knew the hostility of the Quraish toward any person against their idol-gods. This is why they went to mountain-passes around Mecca to say their prayers. They worshipped under these conditions for three years during which Islam spread through the people of Mecca, and further revelations were made to the Prophet which strengthened Muslims' faith and steadfastness.

Now, the people started talking about the Prophet and his message. But the Meccans were a very sceptical and stubborn people. At first they did not pay any heed and thought that such talk about him would be no more than that about other thinkers, like Quss, Amiyah, Waraqah etc., and that people would come back to their old religion after a while.

### Invitation to Banu Abdul Muttalib

Three years after the first Revelation, God ordered His Prophet to proclaim what had hitherto been concealed, and no longer to preach Islam in secrecy. God now ordered him to invite his relatives first of all. At-Tabarī, the historian, has described this event as follows:

The Prophet invited all his relatives to a feast. They were around forty men in all, including his uncles Abu Tâlib, Ḥamzah, Al-Abbâs and Abu Lahab. When they had all gathered, he asked them to help themselves to food and they ate their fill. When the Prophet of God wanted to address them, Abu Lahab hastily interrupted him and started talking. The people then left and the Prophet could speak. He, therefore, invited them again. This time, when they had finished eating, the Prophet of God spoke to them in these words, "O, Children of Abdul Muttalib. In the name of God, I do not know any among the Arabs who brought to his people a better gift than the one I have for you. I have brought to you the good of this world as well as of the world to come. God has ordered me to invite you to accept it. Who among you will therefore help me in this work, so as to become my brother, my regent and successor?" Hearing this, the people drew back without saying a word. But Ali stood up, although he was the youngest among them, and said, "O, Prophet of God, I will side with you against those who fight with you." The Prophet then said, "Undoubtedly, he is my brother, my regent, my successor among you. Therefore, listen to him and obey him." The people then stood up, laughing and saying to Abu Tâlib, "He has ordered you to listen to your own son and obey him."

This incident has been reported by At-Tabarî in his History as well as by Tafsîr, but those who printed these books made changes in them. Instead of words "that he may become my brother, my regent and my successor among you", they inserted "This is my brother etc. etc."

To establish this tradition as the correct one is now unnecessary as it has been accepted and reported by the most prominent Sunnite scholars like At-Tabarî in his history, and by Tafsîr, Al-Baghawî, Ath-Tha'labî, An-Nisâ'î as well as Shi'ite scholars like Muhammad Bin Ali Hussain Bin Bâbwaih Al-Qummî, Abu Ja'far At-Tûsî and others.

#### General Invitation to the Quraish

After inviting his own near relatives to Islam, Muhammad called upon the Quraish as a whole to join the ranks of Islam. One day he went up the mountain As-Safâ' and called, "Oh, People of Quraish." The Quraish heard his voice and went up to him and asked him what the matter. He said, "What will be your opinion if I tell you that there is an army of horsemen at the foot of this mountain? Will you believe me?" They replied that they would and said, "In our opinion you are a truthful man and we have never found you telling lies." He then said to them, "If that is the case, then I warn you of the punishment of God which is impending. O, Banu Abdul Muttalib. O, Banu Zahrah! Oh, Banu Tamîm. O, Banu Makhzûm. O, Banu Asad. God has ordered that I should forewarn my clansmen. I do not want to fake anything from you relating to this world or the other except that you should say and declare that there is no God but Allah." But Abu Lahab, rudely objected to this statement.

#### The Quraish visit Abu Tâlib

When the Prophet started describing the weakness of the idols mocking at them, and reciting the verses from the Quran in this connection, the Quraishite chiefs including Abu Sufyân went to Abu Tâlib (who secretly believed in the Prophet of God) and said to him, "O, Abu Tâlib! Your nephew abuses our gods, finds fault with our religion, declares our ideas as stupid and our forefathers as wayward. Either you stop him from doing this or leave us alone to deal with him." Abu Tâlib gave an adequate reply to the Quraish, and the Prophet continued his mission and Islam went on spreading and becoming better known.



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Once again the people went to Abu Tâlib. Ibn Sa'd has said, "When the Quraish witnessed the spread of Islam, they came to Abu Tâlib and said to him, 'You are our chief and superior to all of us. You have yourself seen what has been with your nephew telling us to give our gods and declaring our beliefs to be stupid.'" They came once again to him with Al-'Amârah Bin Al-Walîd Bin Al-Mughfirah and said to Abu Tâlib, "We have brought to you a Quraishite youth of noble birth, handsome and intelligent. You will have his support as well as inheritance. In return, you must hand over to us your nephew so that we may kill him." He replied, "What kind of justice is this? You give me your son that I may feed him and want from me my nephew that you may kill him. Don't you know that a she-camel does not show affection to any other young camel when her own is lost."

The same evening, the Prophet of God could not be found. On this, Abu Tâlib gathered the youth of his family and said to them, "Every one of you should get an iron bar and follow me when I go to the Masjid. Every one of you should sit there near one of the Quraishite chiefs and kill him if Muhammad has been killed." They carried out his instructions, but Zaid Bin Al-Hârithah brought him the news that the Prophet was safe and sound. In the morning, he went to the place where the Quraish used to meet, with all the youth of his tribe accompanying him. He told the Quraish what he had planned to do if they had killed the Prophet, and also showed them the weapons to be used. This impressed the Quraish very much, especially Abu Jahl.

They came to Abu Tâlib for the third time and said to him, "You are our elder. We hold you in respect and recognize your position. We asked you to stop your nephew's activities but you did not. By God, we will not sit quiet at the abuse of our forefathers and declaration that our dreams are stupid and our gods weaklings. Either you stop him or withdraw your support from him so that death may settle the matter. But Abu Tâlib preferred to give up his people and face their hostility rather than surrender his nephew to them. He called for the Prophet and told him what had passed between him and the Quraish.

### The Trend of History

Muhammad made such a call to humanity that men paused in doubt, not knowing what direction to adopt in the future. The words that came from the lips of this great man were a challenge to the whole world as to whether man was to stay in waywardness, which was extending all around him, magic rising against frustrated and disturbed Christianity and idol-worship raising its head with all its baseless myths, or to follow the light of the Truth, illuminating man's surroundings where the oneness of God was to rule, and minds would be rid of degradation, of slavery, and hearts would be free from the chains of superstition so that human souls could rise above and reach the Heavens.

These Muslims, few in number, were still too weak to fight and face the Quraish, who had the power, the authority, money and were in great numbers. Hence, Muhammad had nothing to depend upon except the Truth, towards which he called the people, and faith as his weapon. But, to him, the world to come was better than the present one. He was therefore only to perform his duty of conveying the message of God and leave all else to Him. He considered it better to die, having faith in the Truth and God who revealed this Truth, rather than give up the Truth or hesitate in propagating it. So, he turned to his uncle, full of determination and will-power and said to him, "O, my uncle. By God, if these people place the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on the condition that I should give up this duty, I will not until God makes it successful or I am killed."



Such the grandeur of Truth . Such the magnificance of his faith, Muhammad's reply shook the very being of Abu Tâlib. He stood wonder-struck before this divine strength and sublime will which, was far above the ordinary mortal. It was just for a split second that Abu Tâlib wavered, being in the predicament of deciding between the anger of his people and the firm stand taken by his nephew. And then, he asked Muhammad to come nearer. When he did so, Abu Tâlib said to him, "O, my nephew, Go and say whatever you like, By God, I will never let harm befall you."

Ban: Hâshim in defence of Muhammad

Abu Tâlib told and explained what his nephew had said to Banu Hâshim and Banu Abdul Muttalib and asked them to give him support against the Quraish. All of them gave their promise except Abu Lahab who was an open enemy of Muhammad and therefore joined the opponents.

Persecution of the Muslims

Muhammad received the protection of his tribesmen against the hostility of the Quraish. He also got the protection of Khadîjah in his house from his own personal worries. She, by virtue of her sincere faith in him and great love for him, was a great help in keeping all personal worries from him. Indeed the Quraish did not sleep, and could not rest when they came to know what blessings Muhammad enjoyed. But every clan among them decided to torture those who had joined the ranks of Islam. Thus they started persecuting the Muslims. Yâsir and his wife Sumayyah both fell victims to such persecution and died, while their son Ammâr escaped death because of his youth. They put them through various types of torture because their faith. One of the Quraishite chiefs put his slave Bilâl on the sand under the scorching sun, placed a heavy stone on his chest and left him to die, simply because he persisted in his faith as a Muslim. Bilâl did not give any reply to this torture except to repeat the words, "Ahad, Ahad" (1) and bearing his suffering for sake of his faith. Another woman was tortured to death because she refused to return to the faith of her forefathers. The Muslims who were not slaves were beaten and had to face insults and degradation. Even Muhammad himself, despite the protection of

Banu Hâshim and Banu Abdul Muttalib, could not escape this treatment. The wife of Abu Lahab, Umm Jamîl would put garbage in front of his house but he did not do anything but to clean it away. Similarly, Abu Jahl threw upon him, while he was saying his prayers, the bomb of a sheep slaughtered as an offer to the idols. He bore that treatment going to his Fâtimah to cleanse it. 'Amr Bin Al-'Aas would gather children and get them to memorize rhymes condemning the Prophet and abusing him and then have them run after Muhammad chanting them. 'Aqbah Bin Abi Mu'ft gave him even worse treatment. All this was in addition to the abusive language the Muslims had to put up with wherever they went. This period of torture and insult continued for a long time. But they did not weaken and became more firm in their faith, gladly tolerating the persecution for the sake their religion and beliefs.

Muslims Patience and Perseverance

This period of Muhammad's life was one of hardship and suffering. Muhammad and his followers sought neither money, power nor authority ; they only sought the Truth

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1. The One. The One.



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and had faith in it. As to the Prophet himself, he was seeking guidance for those who were persecuting him and wanted only to free them from the yoke of idol-worship which condemned the human soul to the abyss of degradation. He was subjected to maltreatment and was abused and condemned by the poets because of his noble spiritual aim. The Quraish were always conspiring against him, so much so that once there was an attempt to kill him right in the Ka'bah. (1) His house was stoned. His family and followers were threatened. All this did nothing but to increase his patience and perseverance.

### Muhammad's Mission and Modern Scientific Method

The reader may be surprised if we mention a close similarity between the Prophet's mission and modern scientific methods. Modern scientific methods make it a prerequisite for research to start ab initio after effacing any kind of pre-formed ideas about a thing. Then comes observation, experimentation, comparison and arrangement which is then followed by the conclusion based upon the scientific preliminaries. When such a conclusion is arrived at, it is considered to be a scientific fact which is always open to further enquiry and discussion, but stands unless some further research proves it to be otherwise totally or partially. This way of discussion is what humanity reached in the progression of intellectual development, and in an effort to emancipate human thinking. And this is exactly what Muhammad's method was, and the basis of his mission.

How did those people who followed him in his mission believe in him? They effaced from their minds all the traces of old beliefs and began thinking with open minds of what was before them. Every tribe among the Arabs had its own idol-god. The question was posed to them as to which one those idol-gods was the true one. Besides, there were Sabi'ites and Magis living in Arabia and the neighbouring countries. They worshipped fire. There were others who worshipped the sun. Then, they would think, which one of these is right and which one wrong? let us keep all these beliefs aside and eliminate their effects from our souls, or in other words, let us be free from all the previous beliefs, notions and ideas, and then think and observe and think.

Now our observation tells us that every part of the created world is linked with the others. Let us take the example of the human being. Every one of us is linked with a certain tribe, while tribes are linked with communities and communities with nations. Similarly, human beings are related with animal world and inanimate matter. Our Earth is related with the sun and the moon and other celestial bodies. All these are linked together through the ages without any change. The sun does not reach the moon and the light never comes before the day. If one of these phenomena of the universes changes, the whole universe will be changed.

Had the Sun not given this Earth light and heat and the seasons as it has been doing since time immemorial, this Earth would have been something different in the heavens. As this change has never occurred, it leads us to conclude that there must be a Being controlling the working of these phenomena— a Being who created and developed them to whom they all have to return. Such a Being could be the one to whom man should submit. All other beings in the universe, including the human beings submit to this Being. Man, the universe, time and space are all one, while this controlling Spirit is their creator and their reality. The worship therefore must be for this Being and this Being only. This Being is the one towards which minds and hearts must be directed. It is also a duty to seek, through observation and meditation, his eternal

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1. Despite this being forbidden according to the pre-Islamic Arab traditions.



laws. Hence, man's worship of anything other than this Being, whom we call God, is wrong and contrary to human dignity, irrespective of their being idols, kings, Pharaohs, fire or sun. Such a worship does not agree with human reasoning, nor with what man is endowed in the form of his capacity to infer and deduce the Laws of God, by observing his creations.

This was the main point of the message which Muhammad preached to the earlier Muslims. They were informed of this message by the revelation reaching them through Muhammad with superb communicative and expressive qualities, which were and are still a miracle. This revelation presented to them a portrait of the Truth in its infinite beauty. Thus their souls soared high and their hearts swelled up with the urge to unite with that magnanimous Spirit. Muhammad showed them the way and told them that the easiest way to reach Him is to follow the path of the Good. He made it clear to them that they should have their share of the Good when they ended their duties of life righteously, and on the Day when every soul shall receive the reward or punishment for what had been done and earned. "And whosoever had done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whosoever has done an atom's weight of evil shall feel it."

What height can the human mind reach higher than this? How could the human soul be freed from the shackles of suppression and bondage better than by this method? Man must understand this message, believe in it and follow it in order to reach the summits of human dignity. And to achieve this no sacrifice could be too great. (1).

The stand taken by Muhammad and his followers was so magnificent that the Hashimites increased their defence of this group against any kind of mischief and harm. One day, Abu Jehl passed by Muhammad and abused him, hurt him and jeered at his religion. Muhammad did not give any reply and left him. Hamza and his uncle as well as brother in Radâ' at and was still adhering to the old religion of the Quraish. He was a very strong man of whom people were afraid. He was very much interested in hunting. He came back from his hunting trip and, as his habit was, went to the Ka'bah to do Tawâf, there he came to know what treatment had been given by Abu Jehl to his nephew and he became enraged. He left the Ka'bah and went straight to Abu Jehl and raised his bow and beat Abu Jehl with it and wounded him. Some men from Banu Makhzûm would have supported Abu Jehl but he forbade them, partly to avoid further trouble, and partly because he was afraid of the bravery of Hamzah, and he admitted that he has abused the Prophet. After this incident Hamzah declared himself to be a Muslim and gave his promise to side with the Prophet and follow in the way of God till his death.

#### 'Atbah Bin Rab'ah's Offer to the Prophet

When the Quraish witnessed the increasing success of the Prophet, and the number of his followers, 'Atbah Bin Rab'ah, who was one of their prominent men, induced them to send him to the Prophet with a proposal which might persuade him to give up his mission. 'Atbah thus went to him and said, "O My nephew, You are one of us and because of this you have achieved your family status. You have come to your community with this great thing and have caused a split among them. You had better listen to me. I shall offer you a certain proposal which you might accept. If you intend to gain money through this activity of yours, we will collect so much money for you that you will become the richest among us. If you want to have a high position, we make you our leader and pledge to do nothing without your consent. If you want to become a king, we make you our king. If you cannot defend yourself against the Jinn who brings you this thing, we will call for a doctor.

1 - Haikal,



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to rid you of it." In reply to this, the Prophet recited a Surah from the Quran titled "As-Sajdah" (Prostration), to which 'Atbah listened. When the recitation finished, 'Atbah left him and went to the Quraish and told that the Prophet did not desire nor work to get money or authority. He also suggested to them that they leave him alone to deal with the Arabs. If they defeated him the Quraish would be left in peace, but if he made them follow him the Quraish would have cause for pride. But the Quraish did not like this suggestion.

The Quraish left no stone unturned in their efforts to destroy Islam and its followers and to stop it spreading. They did their best to attain their end at any cost. But God made their attempts futile and saw to it that "His light reaches its climax despite the hatred of the idol-worshippers." The Quraish first decided to belie the Prophet and discredit him by this condemnation so that the people should refrain from following him. They therefore said that he was a magician. Others called him a wizard or a poet, and that he was taught by a man. Their poets tried to turn the people away from him. The most prominent of them were Abu Sufyān Ibn Al-Hārith, 'Amr Bin Al-'Aas and Abdullah Bin Az-Zab'arī. When they did not succeed in this, and saw that the Prophet was seriously working for his mission and his followers were increasing day by day, they decided to persecute him and his companions. They stoned his house. Placenta of the animals was thrown over his clothes. Children were made to follow him and throw stones at him, and many other similar methods of persecution were used. His companions were subjected to imprisonment, beating, murder and some were laid on the hot sand.

These tortures at last made them flee from their country and migrate to Ethiopia. But the Quraish were not satisfied. They sent people after them to bring them back. But all these methods of torture only helped Islam progress and the companions of the Prophet increase in number, and in faith and perseverance. The Prophet was offered money, authority and other things which are normally desired by people, but he was not tempted by any such offer. The Quraish threatened him and his family and warned them of an open war. They went time and again to his uncle Abu Tālib to ask him to stop supporting his nephew, urging him to change his mind and threatening him. But all their attempts proved to be futile. When nothing was left, they decided to boycott the Hashimites and drive them away to be confined in a valley near Mecca, where no one would sit with them, talk to them, sell to them anything, or marry them, so that they might either die of hunger or Muhammad would give up his mission. The Hashimites bore it patiently for three years. When even this attempt met with failure, they conspired to murder him and sent people to his house to kill him secretly at night, but he escaped to Medinah.

### Migration To Ethiopia

As the number of Muslims increased, the Quraish also increased the persecution of those from their tribes who had turned Muslim. They tortured them, imprisoned them and punished them for their religion. God saved His Prophet from the Quraish through his uncle Abu Tālib. The Prophet told his followers to scatter themselves away from Mecca and they asked him where they should go. He suggested to them to migrate to Ethiopia. They therefore migrated there in the fifth year after the proclamation of Islam and the Prophethood. They were in all eleven men and four women. They left Mecca stealthily and reached Sha'aibah, some of them riding and others on foot. When they reached that place, they found two merchant ships which took them to Ethiopia in return for half a dīnār each. The Quraish chased them to the sea but arrived too late.



The Muslims later told how they went to Ethiopia and found there good neighbours who let them practice their religion and pray to God without being hurt or persecuted. The people of Ethiopia were Christians. The Muslims stayed here for the months of Sha'bân and Ramadân but returned to Mecca when they heard that the Quraish had all become Muslims. Having reached the vicinity of Mecca, they learned that the news was false. No one therefore entered city except Ibn Mas'ûd who stayed there for some time but finally left for Ethiopia once again. Others had to face persecution as before, upon which the Prophet allowed them to migrate to Ethiopia for a second time.

#### Second Migration to Ethiopia

The second group of those who migrated to Ethiopia comprised eighty men and eight women, including Ja'far Bin Abi Tâlib and his wife Asmâ Bint 'Umais. The Ethiopian king treated them well and this angered the Quraish. They sent 'Amr Bin Al'Aas and 'Ammarah Bin Walfd to Ethiopia. They went to the king and when they reached him, they prostrated before him and presented him with gifts. He accepted the gifts as did his chiefs. The Qurashite envoys said to the king, "Some people from our community have given up their religion and have not embraced yours. The chiefs of the Quraish have sent us to you to ask you to send them back. Najâshî, the king of Ethiopia, sent for the Muslims and asked them what they had to say. On this, Ja'far addressed him, "Your majesty. We were pagans, worshipping idols, eating the dead, indulging in debauchery, not caring for relations or neighbours. The strong among us ruled the weak. God then sent to us His Prophet whom we know very well, his family, his truthfulness, his honesty and virtue. He ordered us to worship God alone and not the stones and idols. He asked us to say our prayers, give out Zakât, to fast, to tell the truth, to be honest and to show kindness to relations and neighbours, to refrain from the things prohibited and from bloodshed. He forbade us from debauchery, from telling lies, from usurping the property of orphans and from speaking ill of good women. We believed in him and put faith in him. Our tribesmen have turned against us on this account, and they now seek to take us back to idol-worship and to evil acts. They persecuted us and gave us cruel treatment. We therefore left our country to take refuge in yours. We have selected you above all others and hope that we shall not be persecuted under your rule."

Najâshî said to him, "Do you have anything which your Prophet brought with him?" Ja'far replied that they had, and recited a part of the Surah Maryam. When the bishops listened it, they said, "These words come from the same source from which come the words of Christ."

According to another report, Ja'far said to the king, "Ask them whether we are slaves or free people." On this, 'Amr replied that they were respectable free people. Ja'far then asked if they had shed blood without any justification. 'Amr said they had not. Ja'far again asked if they had to pay any debt. To this question 'Amr again gave a negative reply. Najâshî said to them, "By God, I will not surrender them to you." He then returned the gift.

Next morning, 'Amr Ibn Al-'Aas again came to the king and told him that the Muslims said strange things about Christ. The King sent for them. When they came, he asked them of their ideas about Christ. Ja'far replied, "We say about him what our Prophet has told us, that he is a creature of God, His prophet, his Spirit and His word which he gave onto Virgin Mary." Najâshî then took up a stick and drew a line on the ground, saying, "The difference between our religion and yours is not more than this line."



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When the Prophet migrated to Madinah, the Muslims who had migrated to Ethiopia also came to Madinah. They included Ja'far. These Muslims arrived on the day when Khyber was conquered. The Prophet said thus: "I do not know whether I am more glad over the fall of Khyber or return of Ja'far."

Why did Muslims choose Africa for migration?

Here we are faced with an important question which has to be answered, It is, why did the Muslims choose Africa for migration and not any other country, and why the Prophet selected it as a place of refuge for his supporters, and whether it was just chance or according to some plan.

The fact is that the Prophet was deeply thinking of Africa, despite the fact that Islam had not yet become capable of achieving ends relating to international reforms, and had not prepared any plans for profound emancipation of the people.

Otherwise, it is clear that they were nearer places for the purpose of migration of the persecuted Muslims, and places other than Ethiopia easier to reach and find the necessary support. But Islam selected Africa, despite the sea to be crossed and other difficulties to be experienced on the way. It was quite possible and reasonable to migrate to any area which was not subjected to the authority of the Quraish and other idol-worshipping tribes of Arabia. The migration could have been to those areas of Syria which were under the Byzantian rule, or to those countries which were ruled by the Persian Kings, like Iraq. Any of these areas could have been the destination of the migrating Muslims. But Muhammad did not suggest any other country but Africa, and did not ask his followers to migrate but to the Black Continent.

The reason was simple. His mission was to liberate humanity and ensure equality among all people. When this mission was put into operation, the black man was the most inferior human being in the eyes of others, of whom some did not differentiate between a Negro and any beast of burden.

There was no alternative to severe battles in order to eradicate cruelty of man to man and to ensure liberty and equality. Both the Iranian as well as Byzantian empires at that time were in full domination of their age and represented nothing but evils resulting from tyrannical forms of government. Both these empires supported the whites in their maltreatment of the blacks, and indulged in similar atrocities in different forms.

The clash between these two empires and Islam was therefore inevitable. It was hence not proper that the Muslims should take refuge in these empires when they were weak and invade them when they became powerful.

Muhammad, the Islamic mission and its followers were too noble to return good treatment with bad. How could they take refuge with those people whom they must fight in the long run in order to free humanity from their evil and degenerate forms of rule? How could they seek shelter with those whom they were going to invade in future?

It was therefore necessary to select a country other than the Iranian as Byzantian empires. The Prophet therefore had no alternative but to choose the country of the blacks whom Islam was first to support and liberate from tyranny and raise their status and social position.

It was necessary to select such an area for migration which was not going to clash with the Muslims in future, because Islam had come to free it from all the insults and degradation to which it was subjected.

This is why the Prophet selected Africa for his followers migrate to. Then he selected a person belonging to that area and raised him to a position that any

person would envy. He selected Bilâl — the Black African — to become his Mu`adhdhin and, in this way, the black people began to enjoy that respect which no one had ever dreamed of.

#### Boycott of the Hashimites

We now come to the effects of the Quraishite mission to Ethiopia. When they heard about the failure of their mission and that the King of Ethiopia had honoured Ja'far and his companions, they realized as well that they could not do any harm to the Prophet because of the support given to him by Abu Tâlib, and they decided to boycott the Hashimites. They wrote a declaration against the Hashimites saying that the Quraish would not marry with them, sell to them anything, or mix with them if the Hashimites did not surrender the Prophet of God to the Quraish. This declaration bore the seals of forty persons and was hung in the Ka'bah. The Hashimites were driven down to a valley, later named as Shi'b Abi Tâlib, on the first of Muharram in the seventh year of the Mission. All the Hashimites, whether Muslims or otherwise, entered this valley except Abu Lahab and Abu Sufyân Bin Al-Hârith Bin Abdul Muttalib because of their extreme enmity towards the Prophet. Abu Sufyân Bin Al-Hârith later became a Muslim. The Hashimites were accompanied by Banu Muttalib and Banu 'Abd Munâf. They were forty men in all. Abu Tâlib fortified the valley and started guarding it day and night. For fear of the Quraish, the Hashimites did not come out of that valley except on special occasions, that is, 'Umrah in the month of Rajab and of Hajj in the month of Dhil Hijjah. Hishâm Bin 'Amr, who belonged to the tribe of Banu 'Aamir Bin Lu'iy, used to bring a camel-load of food and dates to the entrance of this valley, and beat the camel on its sides to make it enter. In this way the Hashimites lived there for about two or three years.

Now some of the Quraishites started blaming one another for what they had done to the Hashimites. Thus Hishâm Bin 'Amr went to Zuhair Ibn Abi Ummayyah Al-Makhzûmî who was the son-in-law of Abu Tâlib through 'Aatilah. Hishâm said to Zuhair, "Are you satisfied that your uncles should live in such condition?" Zuhair replied, "What can I do? I am just one." Hishâm replied, "You have found the second". Zuhair then said, "We need a third". In this way they collected three others to support them. The others were Mat'am Bin 'Adî, Abdul Bakhtarî Bin Hishâm and Zam'ah Bin Al-Aswad. They all went to the meeting place of the Quraish. Zuhair addressed those present there, "Oh, people of Mecca, We eat and drink and have clothes to wear while the Hashimites are dying. By God, I shall not rest unless I tear down this declaration which is unjust and cruel." Abu Jahl said, "You are telling a lie. You shall not tear it down." Zam'ah said to Abu Jahl, "You are the bigger liar". Abdul Bakhtarî added, "By God, Zam'ah has told the truth". Hishâm and Mut'im also joined them. Abu Jahl said, "This is a matter settled between you at night." Mut'im stood up and tore the declaration off the wall. Thus all the Hashimites came out of the gorge where they had been confined. This happened in the ninth or the tenth year after the proclamation of Prophethood.

After this incident both Khadîjah and Abu Tâlib died one after the other. There is great disagreement as to the year of their death. One report says that they died in the same year and that Abu Tâlib died six years eight months and twenty four days after the Proclamation of the Prophethood, while Khadîjah died three days after him. This is why the Prophet called this year the year of mourning. Another version is that Khadîjah died one year before the migration of the Prophet to Madinah, after the Hashimites had come out of the gorge, while Abu Tâlib died one year after her.



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As Abdul Muttalib had willed that Abu Tâlib should give support to the Prophet, which he had readily done, so Abu Tâlib called upon his sons Ali and Ja'far, and his brothers Hamzah and 'Abbâs, to support the Prophet, and in this they obeyed, especially, Ali Hamzah and Ja'far.

The Prophet has said, "During the life-time of Abu Tâlib, the Quraish were always at a distance from me." When Abu Tâlib died, they became more daring against him. He therefore left for At-Tâ'if and introduced himself to the tribes there. He was accompanied by Zaid Bin Hârithah. This was three months after the death of Khadijah. The tribes of At-Tâ'if incited the children and the vulgar who began abusing him, shouting at him and throwing stones at him so much so that his feet were covered with blood. Zaid was shielding him against this stoning. A stone hit his head and he was forced to take shelter against the wall of a house belonging to the sons of Rabî'ah, 'Atbah and Shaibah. They let him in and drove the people away. He sat under the shade of a tree. 'Atbah and Shaibah sent their servant, who was a Christian and named 'Adâs, with some grapes. The Prophet took the grapes and started eating by saying "Bismillah". 'Adâs was surprised at this and said that the people of that area never said such words. The Prophet asked him to what country he belonged. He told him that he was a Christian and came from Nainwâ. The Prophet said to him, "Are you from the village of the Pious Man named Yûnus Bin Matta?" The servant asked, "Who told you about him?" The Prophet replied, "He was my brother prophet." Hearing this, 'Adâs went near him and began kissing his head, hands and feet. The sons of Rabî'ah were surprised and said to their servant, "Be careful lest this man may turn you away from your religion which is better than his."

The Prophet returned to Mecca and stayed in the neighbourhood of Mat'am Bin 'Adî. He then made it a custom to introduce himself to the different tribes visiting Mecca during the seasons of Hajj and 'Amrah, while Abu Lahab, took it upon himself to go after him wherever he went and incite people not to listen to him.

### Open Call to the People

After the Mission, the Prophet stayed in Mecca for thirteen years. He worked for his mission secretly for three years and then in the fourth he made an open announcement and during the Hajj called on the people to embrace Islam. He followed the pilgrims to their camps in Minâ, asking about different tribes. He also visited them in seasonal markets - 'Ukkâz, Majnah and Dhil Majâz. It was the custom of the Arabs that if they visited Mecca for Hajj, they stayed in 'Ukkâz for one month during Shawwâl. Then, they stayed in Majnah for twenty days and then in Dhil Majâz till the Hajj time. During this period, the Prophet would visit them in their camps in order to call them to Islam. But then the Quraish harassed him in his efforts to get the message of God to the people. When he would say, "Oh, People, Say that there is no god but Allah. In this way you shall succeed," Abu Lahab would at once interrupt him and believe him so that nobody would reply.

### Ansârs embrace Islam

One season, As'ad Bin Zarârah and Dhakwân Bin Abd Qais came to Mecca. They were both from the tribe of Banu Khazraj and inhabitants of Madinah. The Prophet introduced them to Islam which they accepted and became the first two Muslims from the Ansâr. They returned to Madinah. The next to embrace Islam was Abul Haitham Bin At-Taihân. It is said that the first to become Muslims from among the Ansâr were Râfi' Bin Mâlik and Ma'âdh Bin 'Afrâ' who both came to Mecca for



'Amrah and the Prophet called them to Islam and they accepted. Then followed seven or eight persons from the Ansâr whom the Prophet visited while they were camping at Minâ. He presented Islam to them they too accepted. He also asked them to help him against his opponent in performing his mission but they said that this would create enmity. However, they promised to come again and help him in the next season. It is said that this meeting was near 'Aqabah and this oath of fealty was what is known as the first Bai'at of 'Aqabah, but Ibn Sa'd does not agree with this opinion.

First "Bai'at"(1) of 'Aqabah

'Aqabah is the place which includes Al-Jamarah. This is why Al-Jamarah is called Jamaratul 'Aqabah. Al-Jamarah is situated on the left side of the road leading from Minâ to Mecca. There is now a mosque at this place which is known as the Mosque of the Bai'ah. As mentioned above, when these six or seven persons, who had promised to come the following year, arrived, the Prophet met another group of twelve persons from the tribes of Khazraj and Aws. These two tribes were of the same stock but differences arose among them which led to wars, the last of which took place before the migration of the Prophet to Madinah. They all became Muslims and took their oaths of fealty to the Prophet. Then they returned to Madinah, where As'ad Bin Zarârah used to gather all those who had become Muslims. The people of Khazraj and Aws wrote to the Prophet to send some one to Madinah who could recite the Quran to them. He therefore sent Mas'ab Bin 'Umair to them. Islam began making progress in Madinah, where a large number of inhabitants turned to Islam.

Second "Bai'at" of 'Aqabah

When the next Hajj season came, those persons who had taken their oath of fealty at 'Aqabah set out for Mecca along with those who had become new converts. They took promises from one another that they would help the Prophet and be loyal to him. They were in all about seventy. The people of Khazraj and Aws also accompanied them. They totalled about five hundred men. When they met the Prophet in Mecca, he promised to meet them in Minâ on the first night of "Nafar". He also asked them to meet at the foot of 'Aqabah if everything went well. There stands a mosque at this place now. He told them not to wake up those who might be sleeping and not to wait for the absent ones.

These men stealthily came out of their tents and totalled up to seventy including two women. They found the Prophet there with his uncle Abbâs, who said to them, "Oh, people of Khazraj, You have invited Muhammad who is the dearest of his family. If you are strong, have perseverance, insight in wars and firmness to withstand to enmity of the Arabs who would shoot you with their arrows, then express your opinions." They gave a very satisfying reply. Then the Prophet recited to them some portions of the Quran, after which he prayed for them to God and accepted them into the ranks of Islam. Then either of Al-Barâ' Bin Ma'rûr, Abul Haitham Bin At-Taihan or As'ad Bin Zarârah said to the Prophet, "Extend your hand, Oh, Prophet

1. Oath of fealty.



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of Allah." He then placed his hand on Prophet's hand (1). All the seventy persons gathered there then followed suit, placed their hands on the hands of the Prophet and in this way took their oath of fealty to him, pledging themselves to protect him from his enemies as they would protect their own families, to listen to him and obey him. The two women present there also took their oath but without placing their hands on the hands of the Prophet. The Prophet then asked them to select twelve representatives, nine from the Khazraj and three from the Aws.

This news reached the Quraish. They at once ran to the people of the Khazraj tribes and admonished them on what they had done. But those of the Khazraj who had not embraced Islam gave their solemn oath that they knew nothing of the matter. The Quraish sought for the truth of the tidings and eventually found it to be true. Thus they began searching for the persons responsible for it. They could not find any one except Sa'd Bin 'Abādah whose hands they tied to his neck with a rope. He was beaten and driven down to Mecca where he was later rescued by Mat'am Bin 'Adī and Al-Hārith Bin Umayyah Bin 'Abdush Shams.

### Brotherly Relations Between the Companions Before the Migration

As-Sirat-ul-Halabiyyah reports that before the Hijrah (migration), the Prophet established brotherly links between different companions of his, based on truth and mutual help. These relations were established between Abu Bakar and 'Umar, Hamzah and Zaid Bin Hārithah, 'Uthmān and Abdur Rahmān Bin 'Awf, Zubair and Ibn Mas'ūd, 'Ubādāh Bin Al-Hārithah and Bilāl, Mas'ab Bin 'Umair and Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqās, Abu 'Ubaidah Bin Jarrāh and Sālim (a freed slave of Abu Hudhaifah), Sa'īd Bin Zaid and Talhah Bin 'Ubaidullah, and between Ali and himself. He said to Ali on this occasion, "Are you satisfied that I should be your brother?" Ali replied that he was. The Prophet then said to him, "You are then my brother both in this world and the next one."

Similar brotherly ties were established with the Muhājirīn and the Ansār after the Hijrah which will be discussed later.

### Migration of the Prophet to Madinah

When seventy persons from Madīnah left the Prophet, he was pleased that God had enabled him to get such persons on his side, men who would defend him and his mission, who were good fighters, numerous, and men of means. In the mean time, the persecution of the Muslims at the hands of the idol-worshippers increased, and seeing this the Prophet gave them permission to migrate to Madinah.

They thus began moving to Madinah where they stayed with the Ansārs who showed to them generous hospitality and helped them forget their worries. Thus, in due course, few of the Muslims were left in Mecca.

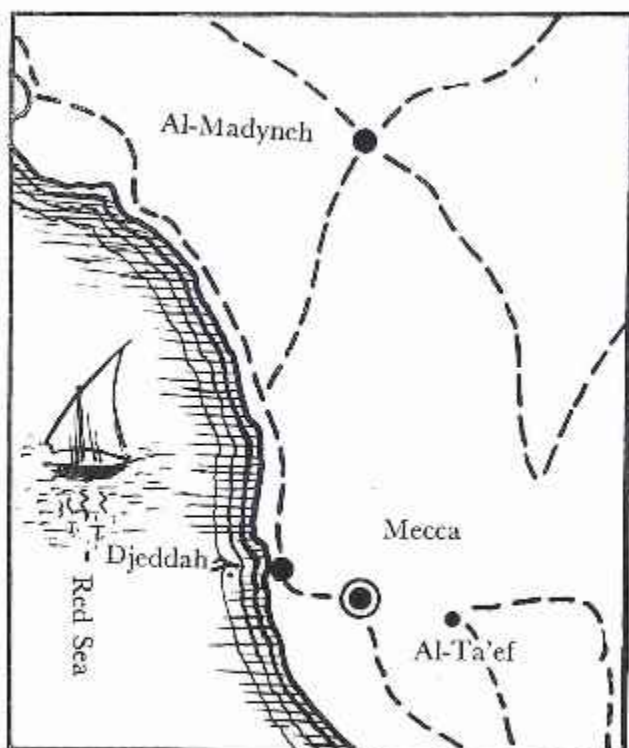
### Prophet's Departure for Medinah

When the Quraish saw this migration taking place, they held a meeting in Dār-un-Nadwah to plan a conspiracy against the Prophet. There arose a great difference of opinion among them, but after a long debate, they decided to select ten brave men,

1. This was the manner of taking an oath of fealty to a person and is called Al-Bai'ah in Arabic.

«Al-Ghamaamch» mosque, where the Holy Prophet stayed after his arrival at «Yathreb» and after he had spent several days at «Qabaa'e» mosque.

In this map, the locations of «Madineh», «Mecca» and «Al-Ta'ef» are to be seen.







one from each tribe. They armed these men well and told them to attack the Prophet after the nightfall and murder him. The Prophet came to know of this plan. He called Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and told him that he had planned to migrate to Madinah. He further asked Ali to sleep in his bed for that night so that the Quraish should think that the Prophet was lying there. Such a step was a great risk to Ali's life because he knew that the ten men would attack him, taking him for the Prophet. But despite this, he agreed to act accordingly. The Prophet then began packing up for the journey. When Abu Bakr came to know it, he requested the Prophet to permit him to accompany him and the Prophet agreed.

The Prophet then asked Abu Bakr and Hind Ibn Abi Hâlah (who was brought up by the Prophet, and was the son of Khadijah—his wife—by a previous husband) to wait for him at a certain place on his way to the cave. Then he spent his remaining time giving directions to Ali. Having said his 'Ishâ' prayers, he left his house in the darkness while the Quraish were all around him. They had already encircled his house. They included Abu Jehl, Al-Hakam Bin Abil 'Aas, 'Aqabah Bin Abi Mu'î, An-Nadar Bin Al-Hârith, Umayyah Bin Khalaf, Ibn-ul Ghaitalah, Zam'ah Bin Al-Aswad, Ta'îmah Bin Al-'Adî, Abu Lahab, Abayy Bin Khalaf, Nabî Bin Al-Hajjâj, Munabbih Bin Al-Hajjâj and Khâlîd Bin Walîd. They kept waiting until after midnight when all should be asleep. Meanwhile, the Prophet departed and reached the place where Abu Bakr and Hind were waiting for him. They got up and accompanied him till they reached the cave which is known as the Cave of Thawr and is near Mecca.

When it was dead of night and there was complete silence, the men of the Quraish began throwing stones on Ali, without any doubt of his being the Prophet of God. When it was dawn, they attacked. On seeing Ali, they drew out their swords and rushed towards him with Khalid Bin Walîd leading them. But Ali remained calm. He snatched the sword from Khalid and drove them back. Coming back into the court-yard, they saw that they had attacked Ali. At once they said to him, "We do not want you. What have you done with your friend?" He replied that he was not there. The Quraish just looked at him stupefied. Then they sent men to search him out. The search party reached the cave and was going to enter it when they saw an old cobweb across its entrance. They therefore passed by.

Ali stayed in Mecca till the next night and then left in the company of Hind Bin Abi Hâlah and reached the cave. The Prophet asked Hind to buy two camels for him and his companion (Abu Bakr).

The Prophet gave further directions and told him to be responsible for the return of all those things that had been left in trust with the Prophet by different people. It may be mentioned here that the Quraish used to call the Prophet the "Trusty" in the Jâhiliyyah period, and used to deposit their money and other articles with him. Similarly did those Bedouins who came to Mecca during the seasons of pilgrimage. The Prophet therefore directed Ali to appoint a person to announce in the mornings and evenings that all those who had anything left with the Prophet should come and take it back. He also asked Ali to buy riding-camels for members of the Hashimite family and any others who decided to migrate to Madinah. Then he said to him, "When you finish all what I have told you to do, then prepare for migration yourself. You should wait for my letter, after which you should not stay in Mecca." The Prophet spent three nights in the cave.

The Prophet and Abu Bakr engaged a guide who was from among the Banu Du'îl and was named Abdullah Bin Arîqat Al-Lithî. He was still a pagan, but they trusted him. After the third night in the cave, their guide arrived with camels. Abu Bakr's daughter Asmâ' came also, bringing food for them in a leather sack. They thus



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started for Madinah accompanied by their guide and a slave of Abu Bakr named 'Aamir Bin Fahrah who came behind them. The guide took them along the coastal road. The Quraish announced a prize of one hundred camels for any one bringing the Prophet back to them. Similarly, they notified to the tribes living near the coast what whosoever killed or arrested him would get a reward of one hundred camels.

Despite these measures taken by the Quraish, the Prophet and his companions continued their journey and ultimately reached, in the vicinity of Madinah, a place named Qabā. Here the Prophet stayed with Banu 'Amr Bin 'Awf for eleven or twelve nights.

His companion (Abu Bakr) urged him to enter Madīnah, but he refused and said that he would not go there until his cousin and his daughter, that is Ali and Fâtimah, arrived. In the meantime the Muslims in Madinah, both the Muhājirīn and the Ansār had come out of the city every day in the morning, waiting for the Prophet's arrival and returning after the sun set. The day on which he actually arrived, he was seen by a Jew who gave the news to others.

Then the Prophet wrote to Ali Bin Tālib a letter which was taken to him by Abi Wāqid Al-Lithī. He had asked him to migrate. Ali had complied with all the instructions given to him by the Prophet and had returned all the deposits to their owners so when he received the Prophet's letter he bought animals for riding and prepared for departure. He also asked poor Muslims in Mecca to go secretly to a place outside Mecca which is named Dhī Tawā. He took with him all the women of the Prophet's family including the Prophet's daughter Fâtimah, his own mother Fâtimah Bint Asad Bin Hāshim, Fâtimah Bint Zubair Bin Abdul Muttalib and, according to some historians Fâtimah Bint Ḥamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib. They were followed by Aiman, the son of Umm Aiman who was a servant of the Prophet.

When Ali and his party reached a place Dajnān, a search party of the Quraish met them. This party was sent after them because it was too much for the Quraish to bear that not only the Prophet should escape from their hands but that now Ali should leave Mecca with the women of the family in such an open way. Hence they had sent riders to bring them back. The party comprised eight horsemen accompanied by a slave of Harab Bin Umayyah, named Junāh. When Ali saw this party, he asked Aiman and Abi Waqid, "Make the camels kneel down and tie them." Then, he stepped forward and helped the women down from the camels. Having made this arrangement, he faced the search-party with his sword drawn. They said to him, "Did you think, Oh, traitor, that you would succeed in taking away these women? If you return, nothing will happen to you." He asked them, "And if I do not return them?" They said, "Either you return them willingly or we shall return with your head." Hearing this, they came near to the camels but Ali stopped them. Junāh went towards Ali and attacked him with his sword but Ali parried the attack and struck him hard on his shoulder. What happened was that Junāh was riding while Ali was on foot. He had therefore to bend down to hit Ali. Thus, as he bowed down to strike, Ali drove home his blow. Ali then challenged the others standing his ground firmly like an angry lion. They retreated and said to him, "Oh, Ali, do not fight with us." Ali replied, "I am going to my brother and the son of my uncle, the Prophet. Whosoever wants his blood to be spilt let him dare to come near me." Then he asked Aiman and Abi Wāqid to move the camels. Thus he resumed his journey after winning this victory, and reached Dajnān where he intended to stay one day and night. Here he was joined by some weak and poor Muslims, including Umm Aiman, a servant of the Prophet. He stayed one more night there and then started for Madinah next day after saying their morning prayers. Throughout the remaining part of the journey, he kept reciting the Quran until they reached Madinah.

The Prophet reached Qabā on Monday and stayed there till Friday. He laid the foundations of mosque at that place. Some reports say that he stayed in Qabā for fourteen nights, which is perhaps correct.

The Prophet rode a camel with the Muslims all around him. He reached the houses of Banu Sālim Bin 'Awf at the time of the Friday prayer. He therefore offered his prayers in the mosque which is the middle of the valley of Rânûnâ. He was joined by a hundred Muslims. It was the first Friday prayer he had offered at Madīnah.

When he entered the city and passed among the houses of the Ansār, everyone invited him to stay in his house. But he let his camel continue moving, even when he passed by the house of two orphans, Sahl and Suhail the sons of 'Umar. The people began urging him to stay with them. But Abu Ayyūb got hold of his camel and let it kneel down in front of his house. The Prophet then said, "A man depends upon the animal he rides." With these words, he got down from the camel. Then he asked which house belonged to two orphans. When people told about it, he said to the guardian of those orphans that he would satisfy them. He then ordered that a mosque as well as house should be built and there he would live.

When the mosque and his house were ready, he moved from the house of Abu Ayyūb. Having thus settled, he began thinking about this new life which had opened itself up before him, to which he and his missions had been changed. In this city, there were hostilities between different families which were unknown in Mecca. He joined its various tribes into one family to give peace and order to the city, and to do away with those differences and quarrels which had torn the city apart in the past, and to provide a future for it that could make it more prosperous and magnificent than Mecca. But to achieve prosperity and importance for Madinah was not his main concern, although it constituted a part of it. His main concern was the mission which God had entrusted to him, to convey to the people His message and give them warning through it. The Meccans fought against this Mission right from the day it was made until the time of Hijarah. This had left many souls deprived of its light and many hearts empty of belief, because they were afraid of the Quraish and of their persecution.

Fear of torture and persecution obstructs faith from entering those hearts which are empty of it. It is therefore essential that the Muslims, as well as others, should be convinced of the fact that whosoever follows the right path and joins the religion of God is safe from any kind of harm. It is necessary so that the faithful may become more firm in their convictions, and those who are hesitant, weak or afraid should have courage to join the faithful. This was the first thing the Prophet wanted to establish in Yathrab (Madinah). This factor directed his policy, and it is one which should direct any biographical account of him. He neither thought of wealth, nor kingdom, nor trade. His sole concern was just to raise the morale of those who had become Muslims and secure for them peace of mind. He also wanted to guarantee freedom of belief for them as well as for others. In his view, it was essential that freedom of belief, of opinion and of inviting others to it should be available to everyone, irrespective of the fact whether he was a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian. Such a liberty is the only guarantee for the final victory of the Truth, and a way to the progress of the world as a whole to formulate itself into one Totality. Every war against liberty of thought, of belief, of opinion and of expression is in fact helping falsehood and the armies of darkness to destroy the source of light in the heart of human soul, which establishes between man and the universe ties of love, unity and affinity from the beginning to eternity, and not relations of hatred, war and destruction.



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### Muhammad's Averseness to War

This mode of thinking came with the Revelation right from the day he migrated to Madinah. It was this way of thinking which made him a protagonist of peace and averse to fighting throughout his life. He did not resort to it except in case of extreme necessity arising out of defence for liberty, for religion and for belief. His whole thinking was therefore concentrated on one sublime aim which was to secure freedom of belief and of opinion, for sake of which alone he allowed fighting, in order to defend this freedom so that none might be made to suffer because of his religion and none might be persecuted because of his belief or opinion.

### Yathribites' Way of Thinking

While the Prophet's thinking was concentrated on the problem of Yathrib and how to ensure liberty there, the people of this city, who had received him, were thinking too, although each group among them was engaged in thinking in terms quite different from others. At the time, there were various groups of people living in Yathrib. There were the Muslims, both original citizens as well as those who had migrated from Mecca. Then, there were pagans from among the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, with all their hostilities which we have referred to earlier. In addition to them, there were Jews. Some of them were living inside the city and belonged to the tribe of Banu Qainuqâ'. Others were living in the suburbs. Among them were Banu Quraizah living in Fadak, Banu Nadîr living near it and the Jews of Khyber living to the north of Yathrib.

As for the Muhâjirîn and the Ansâr, the new religion had established strong ties of brotherhood among them, although the Prophet did have certain fears that old hostilities might find way into their hearts once again some day. This is why he was trying to think of some way to wipe out such possibilities once for all. As to the pagans from the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, they found themselves forced to be friendly both with the Jews and the Muslims because past wars had told upon their strength to a great extent. Insofar as the Jews were concerned, they apparently and in the first instance, gave a warm reception to the Prophet because they thought they could bring him in to an alliance with them, and thus get his help in uniting the Arabian Peninsula against the Christianity that drove Jews out. Thus every one of them started working according to his line of thought, paving the way according to his own objective.

This situation opened a new phase in the life of the Prophet. His first concern was that Yathrib should achieve that political and administrative unity which had hitherto been unknown in Hijâz, although was quite well-known in Yamen. Hence, the first step to which he gave his attention, and actually took, was to organise the ranks of the Muslims and cement the existing ties among them in order to wipe out any possibility of old hostilities rising up again.

### Brotherhood Among The Muslims

In order to realize this end, he called upon the Muslims to declare every other Muslim to be his brother. He and Ali became brothers. Similarly, his uncle Hamzeh and Zaid were declared as brothers. Abu Bakr was a brother to Khârijah Bin Zaid, and 'Umar Bin Al-Khattâb to 'Itbân Bin Mâlik Al-Khazrajî. Similarly, every one from among the Muhâjirîn became a brother to one of the Ansâr. This mutual brotherhood fortified the internal unity of the Muslims. In this way, the

Prophet had the opportunity to announce his teachings and to set himself as an example embodying such teachings. And thus he could lay the foundations of Islamic Culture and Civilisation.

#### Mutual Brotherhood as the Basis of Islamic Civilisation

The foundation-stone of the Islamic civilisation is this mutual brotherhood of Man, which tells a person that his faith cannot be complete unless he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself. Thus this type of brotherhood gives a man a chance to attain the highest degree of generosity and charity without any kind of weakness or loss.

The Prophet not only called for such a mutual brotherhood, which became the foundation stone of the Islamic Civilisation, through his words, but also through actions. He was himself the most perfect example of such a brotherhood. He, the Prophet of God, refused to appear in any way as a king, an autocrat or as holding an authoritative position. If he met others on his way, he sat among them in a rear position. He joked with his companions, mixed with them, talked to them, held their children and patted them and invited them to sit in his room. He would visit the sick in the farthest corners of the city, listen to troubles, and greet those whom he had met before, shaking their hands. If he was saying his prayers and some one came, he would rather shorten his prayers than let him wait long, and would enquire what was wanted. He was most good-humoured of all and was always smiling except when portions of the Quran were revealed to him, or when he was preaching and addressing the people. In his house, he would wash his clothes, milk his goat, mend his shoes, tie his own camel, and attend to all his personal needs. He used sit with his servant at one table to eat. He would always meet the requests of the needy and indigent. If he saw any person in need of a thing, he would give preference to him before his and his own family's needs. He was extremely modest and faithful. When Najāshī, the king of Ethiopia sent a delegation to him, he himself stood to serve them. When his companions said that they would undertake this service, he told them that those people had been kind and generous to his companions and therefore he would like give them a similar return himself. His loyalty and faithfulness were so great that whenever he talked of Khadījah, he used the kindest words about her, so much so that Aafshah said, "I never got as jealous of a woman as I did of Khadījah once when the Prophet was talking about her and a woman entered, he gestured to me to keep quite and listen to what she wanted. When that woman left, he told me that she used to visit him during the life of Khadījah, and further said that loyalty is a part of faith."

#### Brotherhood, Justice and Mercy

There is a type of mercy which is not the result of any weakness or submissiveness, nor does it resemble any kind of show of benevolence or superiority.

This was a link of brotherhood between Muhammad and those who had followed him. It is a mark of distinction which singles out Islamic civilisation among others. Islam puts justice side by side with brotherhood, which cannot be said to exist without justice. "Whosoever commits aggression against you, do you commit aggression against him as he has done against you." (1) The source of brotherhood must be in the personal drive and the result of free exercise of will for achieving the pleasure of God only. It is also essential that such feelings of brotherhood should issue from a strong personality which does not recognise anyone except God, and which does not weaken or put itself into danger of death in the name of



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piety, and which knows no fear except of disobedience which it might commit, or any sin it might fall into. The personality cannot become strong when it is subject to the dictates of others or submits to its own desires and lust.

(1)

### Muhammad's Self Control

The Prophet himself was an ideal example of self-control which gave him immense power, and made him capable of not grudging anything to others, so much so that it is said of him that he used to give so readily that none feared hunger. He was extremely ascetic so that nothing worldly influenced him and he had control over worldly desires. Such an asceticism and rejection of worldly possession was not due to any attempt at living like a monk nor was it obligatory from the point of view of religion. In this connection the Quran gives explicit permission to make use of these things as comes in the verse, "Eat of the good things wherewith we have provided you," (2) In another verse, God has said, "But seek, amidst that which God has given thee, the Last Abode, and forget not thy portion of the present world; and do good, as God has been good to thee," (3)

He wanted to set a perfect example of how to have control over worldly life which would not give way to any weakness — a control to enable its possessor not to become a slave of wealth, or property, or power, or of anything that gives supremacy to anyone except God. The brotherhood which such a power generates was the aim of the Prophet. It was therefore necessary that there should be an ideal specimen of such a sense of brotherhood, and which was indeed provided by the Prophet, as we have seen. This brotherhood aims at a sincerity and a nobility which is never eclipsed by doubts or suspicions because of the fact that it is constituted by justice, as well as mercy, and the one who has such a sense of brotherhood is only moved by his own free will to possess it. Furthermore, Islam puts justice side by side with mercy and forgiveness. It urges showing a forgiveness according to one's limits so that mercy and munificence find their real expression, and so that its goal might be real reform.

### Jews get alert

Such teachings of Muhammad and the example of his own behaviour made a deep impression on the people with the result that a great number accepted and embraced Islam and in this way, the power and authority increased in Madinah. This made the Jews reconsider their attitude towards the Prophet and his companions. They had already made a pact with him and were anxiously desirous of his joining their ranks so that they might excel in power over the Christian. But he was stronger than both the Jews and the Christians. His teachings were getting deeper into the hearts of men. He was the one who thought about the condition of the Quraish and brought the Muhājirīn from Mecca. Should the Jews have left him in peace to continue propagating his mission and let his spiritual authority extend while they themselves remained in his neighbourhood in peace, their trade progressing and their wealth increasing? Perhaps they might have adopted such a policy had they not feared his teachings extending to Jews themselves, finding a way into their ranks, and

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1. The Quran, II, 194

2. The Quran, II, 57

3. The Quran, XXVIII, 77



thus overcoming their own belief not to admit or accept any prophet who did not belong to Bani Isrâ'îl. But a new development led them to come into open opposition,

#### Ibn Salâm Turns A Muslim

During the early period of the Prophet's stay in Madinah, one of the high priests and scholars of the Jews, named Abdullah Bin Salâm contacted him, was converted to Islam and asked his family to become converts with him. He was however afraid that the Jews would tell lies about him when they heard of his conversion to Islam. He therefore requested the Prophet to ask them about him before they knew of his becoming a Muslim. The Jews told the Prophet that he was their master and the son of their master, their priest and their learned man. Then Abdullah came out and told them what he had done and asked them also to become Muslims. The Jews got afraid of what might be the result of this conversion. They went to their localities and spread rumours against him. They also decided to conspire against the Prophet and deny his being a prophet. Very soon, they were joined by those from the tribes of Khazraj and Aws who had not converted to Islam or had done so out of hypocrisy, either in the hope of getting some benefit or just to please their tribesmen.

#### Hostilities between the Prophet and the Jews

This led to open hostilities and a struggle between the Muslims and the Jews which was more bitter and more treacherous than the struggle with the Quraish. In this Yathribite struggle, all kinds of hypocrisy, espionage and information about the previous prophets was employed, and the Jews organised their ranks in order to attack Muhammad, his mission and his companions, both the Muhâjirîn and the Ansâr. They let their priests pretend to have turned Muslim in order to mix with the Muslims and show their extreme piety, and then, after a short while, start expressing their doubts about Islam and putting such questions to the Prophet which they thought suitable to shake the faith of the Muslims in him and in the Message which he gave them. The Jews were joined in this campaign by a group of people from the tribes of Khazraj and Aws who had pretended to convert to Islam and adopted the policy of the Jews, asking the Prophet such question that they hoped might shake the faith of the Muslims.

#### Quarrel Among the Aws and the Khazraj

The Muslims saw what was going on and soon learned the plans and ends of their opponents. One day, they found these persons who pretended to be Muslims, sitting in the mosque very close to one another and talking in whispers. The Prophet ordered them out and they accordingly left the mosque. But this did not make them give up their manoeuvres and their attempts to create differences and quarrels among the Muslims. One of them, name Shâs Bin Qais, one day passed by a group of people from among the tribes of Aws and Khazraj who were sitting together. This fraternity among the people of these tribes was too much for him to bear. He said to himself, "The people of Banu Qailah (1) have compromised in this country. How can we achieve our ends if they continue living like this." He therefore asked a young Jew who was sitting among them to make use of the opportunity and talk about the Day of Bu'âth and how the people of Aws gained victory over the Khazraj. The

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1. The members of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj were called Banu Qailah.



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boy did it. The members of both the tribes thus remembered that day. They began arguing, boasting and finally quarrelling. Some of them said to others, "If you so desire, we can become like we were on that day." This news reached the Prophet. He at once went to them along with his companions and reminded them that Islam had removed all their differences, resolved their hostilities and made them loving brethren. Immediately, both the parties came to themselves, wept, embraced one another and sought forgiveness of God.

The struggle between the Muslims and the Jews reached great extremes which are borne out by the Quran. The middle portion of Surah Baqarah up to the 81st verse and major portion of Surah An-Nisâ` reveal this. These portions refer to these People of the Scripture who had denied what was found in their Gospels,

### INITIAL SKIRMISHES

#### Policy of the Muslims In Madinah

After a few months of Hijrah, the Muslims established themselves firmly in Madinah. Now the Muhâjrîn began feeling homesick thinking of what they had left in Mecca, the friends and relatives as well as property. But they also remembered the tortures they had been through at the hands of the Quraish. They seriously started thinking of what to do. Most historians agree that they thought in terms of revenge and of making war against the Quraish. They were of course supported by the Prophet. Some historians say that they began thinking of waging a war against the Quraish right from the time they arrived in Madinah, but that what prevented them from taking such a step was that they were too busy building houses and organizing their means of livelihood. This is borne out by the fact that the Prophet, at the time of Bai'at-ul-'Aqabah, had taken an oath of fealty from the Ansâr on that they would fight against anyone whom the Prophet declared to be his enemy. It is natural and obvious that first people who came within the definition of an enemy under this oath were the Quraish, and they were the first against whom the Prophet and his companions considered for fighting. This is why the Quraish became watchful and began searching for the people of the Khazraj and Aws.

The tension became apparent through an incident which happened after a lapse of eight months from the arrival of the Prophet and the Muhâjrîn in Madinah. The first Sariyah occurred when the Prophet sent about thirty horsemen of the Muhâjrîn under the command of Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib towards the sea coast in the vicinity of Al-'Iis where he encountered Abu Jehl Bin Hishâm with three hundred riders from Mecca. Hamzah was all for having an engagement with Meccans but Majdf Bin 'Amr Al-Juhanf, who was committed to both the parties, prevented them from fighting and they went their ways. Another time, the Prophet sent a group of sixty horsemen under the command of 'Ubaidah Bin Al-Hâarith, all of them being from among the Muhâjrîn, to the valley of Râbigh where, they met a group of over two hundred Meccans under the leadership of Abu Sufyan. This group also returned without fighting, except that Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqâs shot an arrow towards the Quraish party, and this was the first arrow shot in the history of Islam. On another occasion Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqâs was sent with eight men from the Muhâjrîn or, according to another report, twenty. They went deep into the area of Hijâz but they also came back without incident.

#### Prophet Goes Out Himself

Some historians indicate that after a lapse of a month in Madinah, the Prophet himself led a party of twelve persons, leaving the city in the hands of Sa'd Bin



'Ubādah, to Al-Abwā' and reached Waddān in search of a party of the Quraish and Banu Damrah. He did not find the Quraish party, however, and Banu Damrah entered into a pact with him. One month after this incident, he again went out of Madinah at the head of two hundred persons, both from the Muhājirīn and Ansār, aiming to reach Anwāt in search of a Quraish caravan led by Umayyah Bin Khalaf. This caravan comprised 2,500 camels guarded by one hundred warriors. But he failed to trace them because the caravan had taken a route which was not usually used. Two or three months later, he assigned Abu Salmah Bin 'Abdul Asad to look after Madinah and led a party of more than two hundred Muslims to Al-'Ushairah, which lies deep into Yanbū' territory, and there made camp.

They stayed there, for the whole month of Jumādi-ul-Awwal and a few days of Jumādi-ul-Aakhirah (October 623 A.D.) in the second year of Hijrah, waiting for a Quraish caravan led by Abu Sufyān. But he missed the caravan. The only thing he gained out of this trip was that he entered into a treaty of peace with Banu Mudlaj and their allies from the tribe of Banu Damrah. He had not spent ten nights in Madinah after this trip when Kurz Bin Jābir Al-Fihri, who was in league with the Meccans and the Quraish, raided the herds of camels and sheep belonging to the people of Madinah. He therefore left Zaid Bin Al-Hārithah in charge at Madinah and himself went out in search of the attackers. He continued his search as far as a valley known as Safawān, which is situated in the vicinity of Badr. But Kurz had slipped away and the Prophet was unable to catch up with him. This campaign is known as the First Battle (Ghazwah) of Badr.

#### Historians Opinions About The Initial Skirmishes

All these events provide evidence that the Muhājirīn, and at their head the Prophet himself, were thinking of taking revenge from the Quraish for what they had done to them. Historians feel that these events at least indicate that the objective behind sending out such invading parties was two-fold: Firstly, to attack the caravans of the Quraish on their way to Syria and back during the summer, with the possibility of seizing whatever those caravans carried; and secondly, gain control of the roads used by these caravans by entering into treaties with different tribes living in the territory lying between Madinah and the Red Sea. Such treaties would help the Muhājirīn attack the caravans without hindrance. These invading parties which the Prophet sent out under the command of Hamzah, 'Ubaidah Bin Al-Hārith and Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqās and the treaties made with Banu Damrah and Banu Mudlaj, etc. seem to indicate that the aim was to dissuade other tribes from siding with the Quraish, and that the capture of roads leading to Syria, and depriving the Meccans of their use, was thought of by the Muslims later on.

To say that the purpose of the invading parties, which started after the first six months in Madinah, and in which only the Muhājirīn took part, was to initiate war with Quraish and to attack their caravans is a point upon which one may have doubts. The party led by Hamzah did not exceed thirty persons, while that led by 'Ubaidah comprised around sixty men, all being from among the Muhājirīn. The party led by Sa'd did not exceed eight, or as the other report says, twenty people. Against these numbers, those who were responsible for protecting the caravans of the Quraish were more than double. The Quraish had increased the number of such people as well as their weapons since the migration of the Prophet to Madinah, and his entering into pacts with the tribes living around the territory. However brave and dauntless might have been Hamzah, 'Ubaidah or Sa'd who led these parties, the number of people accompanying them was in no way encouraging for them to initiate fighting. They evidently thought it sufficient to pose a threat to the Quraish and not engage in any actual fighting, except for the one arrow shot by Sa'd.



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### The Quraishite Under Threat

Apart from this, the caravans of the Quraish were protected by the inhabitants of Mecca, who were closely related to the Muhâjirîn through blood ties. It was therefore not easy for them to kill Meccans and expose themselves to retaliation and blood-revenge, throwing Mecca and Madinah into a civil war which both the Muslims and pagans had successfully avoided for thirteen years, right from the day Islam was announced until the migration of the Prophet to Madinah. Furthermore, the Muslims quite knew that the Oath of Fealty taken at 'Aqabah was a defensive measure, and the people of Aws and Khazraj had pledged to protect the Prophet but none had ever promised to participate in any offensive move. Keeping these facts in mind, it is not easy to accept the ideas expressed of the Prophet two centuries after his death, that the purpose of sending out such parties was to start a war. Hence there is no alternative but to find an explanation for their action which could be reasonable and consistent with the general policy of the Muslims during this early period of their stay in Madinah, and with that of the Prophet. The only interpretation therefore is that such parties were sent out of Madinah in order to create better understanding with the neighboring tribes so as to guarantee religious liberty on the one hand and a good neighbourly relationship on the other.

The most understandable objective behind sending out such parties would be to make the Quraish realize that it was in their own interest to come to a mutual understanding with the Muslims, who were their own people who had been forced to migrate to and take refuge in Madinah on account of the persecution they had been subjected to in Mecca. Such an understanding clearly was needed to spare both groups from the evil effects of mutual hatred and enmity. It was an essential and fundamental condition to ensure religious freedom to the Muslims and safe conduct for the trading caravans of the Quraish to and from Syria. This trade was of an extensive nature and in which the inhabitants of Mecca and At-Tâ'if took part as well as the caravans coming from the southern areas, so much so that some of these caravans comprised of about two thousand camels and the value of their total load exceeded fifty thousand Dînârs. The annual exports from Mecca, according to an estimate of Spranger, equalled in value to 250,000 Dînârs or in other words 160,000 pounds Sterling. Hence, if the Quraish came to appreciate the possible threat to this trade, from their own kith and kin who had migrated to Madinah, it would make them consider coming to terms with the Muslims in Madinah, who in turn were anxious too to achieve such an understanding with the Quraish so as to enjoy freedom in calling people to their religion, and to visit Mecca for the Hajj. But such an understanding was impossible until the Quraish realized the strength of the Muhâjirîn and their ability to halt their trade. This is undoubtedly why Hamzah and those of the Muhâjirîn accompanying him returned without fighting when they had met Abu Jehl Bin Hishâm near the sea coast, and why Majdî Bin 'Amr Al-Juhanf had stopped them fighting against each other. Similarly other trips undertaken by such parties can be interpreted only in this way taking into consideration their numbers, which could never have made it reasonable for them to attempt any fighting. This also explains and clarifies the Prophet's desire to enter into peaceful negotiations with the tribes living near the road used by Quraish for their trade with Syria, after the Quraish had started boasting and making threats to the Muslims, and it also explains his extreme keenness to establish relations with these and then to let the Quraish know about such pacts, hoping that such a step might bring them to their senses when they might accept a mutual agreement and understanding.

Ansârs and General Invasions

This opinion is further supported by the most authoritative report that, when the Prophet went out himself to Buwât and Al-'Ushairah, those who accompanied him included quite a large number of Ansâr from the inhabitants of Madînah. It should be kept in mind that the Ansâr had given him a pledge to fight for him only in case of defence, and not that they would invade or share in any offensive measures. This becomes quite clear when we read about the events connected with the great Battle of Badr and realize that the Prophet was hesitant to enter into fighting until the inhabitants of Madînah had all agreed to join in the battle. If the Ansârs agreed to the Prophet's attempts to enter into pacts with people other than those of the inhabitants of Madînah, it does not mean that they would have joined him in fighting against the people of Mecca, because there was no cause for hostility between the two parties, which the Arab code of behaviour might have called for, or their mutual relationship might have made essential.

However much, such pacts the Prophet entered into with various tribes might have strengthened the position of Madinah, and weakened the position of the Quraish vis-a-vis their anxiety to safeguard their trade, there is still a great difference between such an activity and a proclamation of war or even an attempt there. Hence, it is quite incorrect to conclude that Hamzah or 'Ubaidah Bin Al-Hârith or Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqâs went out of Madînah with the intention of attacking the Quraish parties. Similarly, the statement saying that the Prophet went out to Buwât or Al-'Ushairah in order to attack and fight are subject to a similar objection. The position taken up by the biographers of the Prophet cannot be explained except that they started writing his biographies only by the end of the second century after the Hijirâh, and that they were over-influenced by those battles which had taken place since the Great Battle of Badr. This is why they considered the skirmishes occurring before that as being of the same nature.

Many orientalist have felt this objection, although they have never referred to it in their books. What leads to such a conclusion about the orientalist is the fact that while they have agreed with the Muslim historians on the point that the Muhâjirîn, right from their arrival in Madînah, were bent upon eventually fighting with the Quraish under the leadership of the Prophet himself, they have also claimed that the parties went out in order to loot the Quraish caravans. They have further said that looting the trading caravans was quite in the nature of the Bedouins, and that the people of Madinah were tempted by the booty expected in such attacks and that this made them follow the Prophet, in contradiction of the terms of the Pledge given at 'Aqabah. This position is weak and cannot stand any argument, because of the fact that the inhabitants of Madinah, like those of Mecca, were not Bedouins living on booty obtained by attacking and looting caravans. Furthermore, they were agriculturists and, like anyone living on agriculture, wanted stability and not war except when compelled by very strong factors. As for the Muhâjirîn, it was their right to get back whatever they could from the Quraish of what had been taken from their own properties, but they did not take any hasty step until the Battle of Badr. Hence, to loot the trading caravans of the Quraish was not the motive for sending out such parties as have been referred to. Besides, fighting is not the fundamental principle of Islam, nor did the Prophet or his companions have any such a Bedouin aim as the orientalist have misconstrued.

Fighting was allowed and the Prophet and his companions resorted to it only in order to check anyone attempting to persecute them on account of their religion, and to ensure for themselves freedom to spread their message. After this discussion, and having given our arguments thereof, it can be seen quite clearly that the



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object of the Prophet in entering into pacts with the neighbouring tribes in order to strengthen Madīnah, was to ensure that the Quraish would have no opportunity to gain any influence there that could have given them a chance to create troubles for the Muslims, as they had done earlier before Muslims' return from Ethiopia. He, at the same time did not refuse to have a pact with the Quraish, on the condition of freedom to propagate the religion of Allah.

### A Threat to the Jews

Probably, the Prophet had another objective in sending out these patrols, and this may have been as a warning to the Jews living in Madīnah and its surroundings, because he had noticed that in the beginning they vainly expected him to join them when he had arrived in Madīnah. They had given him their promise, and entered into a pact with him on religious freedom, agreeing that the Muslims would have the right to propagate their faith and perform their religious duties. But no sooner did they see the Prophet settled down, and Islam making progress, than they changed and backed out their promise and tried to create difficulties for him. If they did not show their hostilities openly, it was because of their fear that, in case of a civil war among the inhabitants of Madīnah, their commercial and business interests would suffer. They however tried their utmost to affect a split among the Muslims, incite the Muhājirīn and Ansār against one another, and to revive the past hatred between the Aws and Khazraj tribes by reminding them of the day of Bu'āth, as we have already mentioned.

### Intrigues of the Jews

The Muslims saw through the intrigues of the Jews against them and counted them among the group of Munāfiqīn (hypocrites). They turned them out of the mosque and refused them permission to join their meetings. The Prophet first tried to bring them round by way of talks and arguments but then ignored them. It is quite obvious that, had he let the Jews continue with their intrigues, they would have created trying circumstances for the Muslims. From the political point of view, it was not sufficient to just be aware of their activities and take precautions against them, but it was essential to make it clear to them that the Muslims were powerful enough to nip any evil in the bud and to destroy its causes. The best way to achieve this purpose was, therefore, to send out these squads, and engage in military manoeuvres throughout the territory, ensuring that the Muslims should not face any setbacks — anxiously desired for them by the Quraish as well as the Jews. Such manoeuvres as were taken by men like Hamzah were not in sufficient strength for actual war, but were rather a means of achieving peace. Such actions, then, were taken according to a planned policy aiming at a particular end which, as we have already mentioned, was to warn the Jews on one hand, and also to bring the Quraish round to a treaty for maintaining peace on the condition that they allowed the Muslims freedom to carry out their mission, and to perform their religious tasks in peace.

### Islam and Fighting

This should not lead us to conclude that Islam was against fighting during this early period, should the need arise to defend itself and its beliefs against those who wanted to create troubles for the Prophet. Islam, on the contrary, rather makes such self-defence obligatory for all the Muslims. This means that Islam was, and is

still, against any war undertaken as an aggression, as the Quran says: "Fight against those who fight you, but begin no hostilities, God does not like aggressors." (1)

If it was justified for the Muhājirīn to recover a part of what the Quraish had seized of their belongings at the time of their migration to Madīnah, it was more necessary for God and His Prophet to repel the menacing step taken towards the faithful and their beliefs, which was the real justification of fighting.

#### Abdullah Bin Jahash's Squad

In confirmation of this contention, we may refer to those verses of the Quran which were revealed in connection with the squad which went out on such a manoeuvre under the command of Abdullah Bin Jahash. The Prophet detailed him to this duty, in the company of some of the Muhājirīn, in the month of Rajab during the second year after Hijrah. He sent him a letter asking him not to open it before he had spent two days on his march. He did as he was told and none of his companions forced him to do otherwise. When he opened the letter, as directed by the Prophet, he read in it, "When you read my letter, march on until you reach Nakhlah (lying between Mecca and Tā'if) where you should watch for the Quraish and send us information about their movements." When his companions were told the contents of the letter, despite the fact that he did not force anyone, all of them marched on under his leadership except Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqās Az-Zuhrī and 'Utbah Bin Ghazwān, who went off to search for lost camels and were captured by the Quraish.

Abdullah and his companions continued their march until they reached Nakhlah. There they came across a caravan belonging to the Quraish under the leadership of 'Amr Bin Al-Hadramī. It was the last day of Rajab. Abdullah Bin Jahash and his companions discussed the matter among themselves and recalled what the Quraish had done to them and their belongings. Some of them said, "By God, if you leave these people to proceed to the Haram (Mecca), you will be forbidden from entering it, and if you kill them, you will be killing them in a forbidden month." They were hesitant and uncertain what to do. At length, they decided to kill whosoever they could and get away with whatsoever they found. One of them shot 'Amr Bin Al-Hadramī with an arrow which killed him. The Muslims also captured two of the Quraishites.

#### Mischief worse than murder

Abdullah Bin Jahash returned to Madīnah with the captives and the caravan. When the Prophet saw him, he said to them, "I never asked you to fight." He also refused to touch anything of what they had brought; this was shared by Abdullah Bin Jahash and his companions. The Muslims felt keenly what they had done. The Quraish meanwhile, exploited this opportunity and carried on a very strong propaganda campaign against the Muslims wherever they could, saying that Muhammad and his companions fought during the period when fighting is forbidden according to the Arabs.

We find it necessary to review the episode of the raid led by Abdullah Bin Jahash. In our opinion, this is where Islamic policy distinguishes itself from the others. It is an incident, unique of its kind, which indicates a strong spirit and humanity in its extreme power which organises the material, moral and spiritual aspects of life into their highest form of organisation, sublimity and perfection. The Quran gives

1. The Quran, II, 190



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a reply to the idolators on their question as to whether fighting during the forbidden month is a sin or not and justifies the action. But it also tells them what is worse than fighting. According to the Quran, preventing people from following the way of God but rather urging them to adopt the way of paganism is worse than fighting during the forbidden months. Similarly, forcing the people of Mecca to leave their homes is worse than fighting during these months. In the same way, persecuting a man on account of his religion is also a worse crime than such fighting. The Quraish and other idolators who abused the Muslims because they had fought during the forbidden months, themselves continued fighting against the Muslims in their efforts to divert them from their religion. Hence, when the Quraish were themselves committing these sins, preventing the people from following the Path of God, turning the people out of the Ka'bah, persecuting them for their beliefs, then they could put no blame on those who paid them in the same coin, and fought them during the forbidden months. Fighting during such months is a real sin if directed against those who had not committed crimes such as the Quraish had done.

### The Quran and Fighting

Mischief-mongering and creating troubles is worse than murder. It is right for a man, even obligatory for him, to fight in the name of God against those who seek to divert him from his religion or prevent him from following the Path of God. It is right that he should fight to overcome these troubles so that the Religion of God may finally triumph. It is at this point that orientalist create a wordy controversy and say: "Do you see? This Muhammad uses his religion for war and calls his followers to fight in the way of God." In other words they imply that the people were forced to convert under the threat of the sword. This is sheer prejudice. It must be said to say to them that Muhammad did not call his followers to declare war in order to force people to become Muslims. This is clearly in contradiction with the Quran which says, "No compulsion is there in religion. Rectitude has become distinct from error." (1) Similarly, in another passage the Quran lays down the principle in these words, "And fight in the way of God with those who fight against you, but aggress not; God loves not the aggressors." (1) there are many such verses bearing upon this subject.

### Jihād in the Way of God

The meaning of the word Jihād is quite clear from the verses of the Quran which we have quoted above, and those which were revealed in connection with the campaign of Abdullah Bin Jahash. It is fighting against those who create trouble for the Muslims and interfere with their following the Path of God. This is fighting to defend the freedom of belief and calling to the religion of God, and is quite compatible with the modern sense of word. It is in other words to defend one's opinion with the means used by the opponents. If one, for instance, tries to divert a person from his opinion through propaganda and logic without using physical force or other means like bribery or torture, then no one is allowed to reply to such an opponent except through refutation of his argument and by countering his propaganda. But if any one tries to use physical force to make a person give up his opinion,

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1. The Quran, II, 256.

1. The Quran, II, 190



then the physical force has to be replied with physical force where possible. This is because of the fact that the honour and respect of person is expressed in just one word: It is his belief. The belief is therefore, more precious than money, social status or authority, or even life itself, provided a man appreciates the meaning of humanity. Insofar as material life is concerned, man is at par with animals; both eat and drink to keep their bodies and muscles built up. The relationship between a man and a man results from his belief which also links him with his Creator and Sustainer. This is what distinguishes a man from an animal, and this is the drive that makes a man love his brother as he loves himself, and causes a poor and indigent person to arouse the sympathy of his relatives, even though the relations between them be strained. It is this belief though which a man establishes his link with the universe as a whole, so as to work and contribute to the perfection of this world as God has ordained.

If a person embraces such a belief and others try to persecute him for it while he has no means to defend himself, he would be as the Muslims were before their migration to Madīnah. He would bear ill-treatment and torture and be patient over insults. Neither hunger nor deprivation of any kind whatsoever would affect his adherence to his faith. This is what the Muslims did in their early period, and this is what was done by the early Christians. They remained patient and showed extreme perseverance in holding to their faith. They never brought a bad name on their community. They are the chosen people of God whom He loves for their firmness in faith despite all kinds of insults and suffering. But if one has the means to defend himself against any kind of mischief and weapons to use against those who persecute him and try to divert him from his faith, it becomes incumbent upon him to do so, otherwise he would be considered as wavering in his belief and weak in his faith. This is what Muhammad and his companions did when once they had peace of mind in Madīnah. This is exactly what the Christians did when they had had some sort of power in Rome and Greece.

#### Islam as the Religion of Nature

Islam is not a religion based upon superstitions and imaginary ideas, nor is it a religion which calls for individual perfection alone. Instead, Islam is the religion of Nature according to which all human beings, individually or collectively, have come into being. It is the religion of the Right, Liberty and Order. War is a part of human nature. To refine the idea of war in the minds of human beings, and limit it to well-defined human boundaries is the object to be achieved in order to direct human progress towards the good and the perfect. The highest refinement of the instinct of fighting among men is to confine it to defence of oneself, defence of freedom of expression and opinion, and even during war, due consideration should be given to human taboos. This is what Islam laid down and this what the Quran urges. (1)

#### THE BATTLE OF BADR

The campaign of Abdullah Bin Jahash was a turning point in the Islamic policy. During it, Wāqid Bin Abdullah At-Tamīmī shot an arrow at 'Amr Bin Al-Hadramī and killed him. It was the first time that the Muslims had split blood, and in this connection some verses were revealed subsequent to which fighting against

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1. Haikal.



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those who tried to divert Muslims from their faith, and tortured them for it in order to prevent them from following the Path of God, was made legal. After this incident, the Muslims seriously began thinking of getting back their properties and belongings from the Quraish by force. They also considered use of force because the Quraish had attempted to rouse the whole Arabian Peninsula against the Prophet and his companions to such an extent that the Prophet had lost all hopes of coming to terms with them.

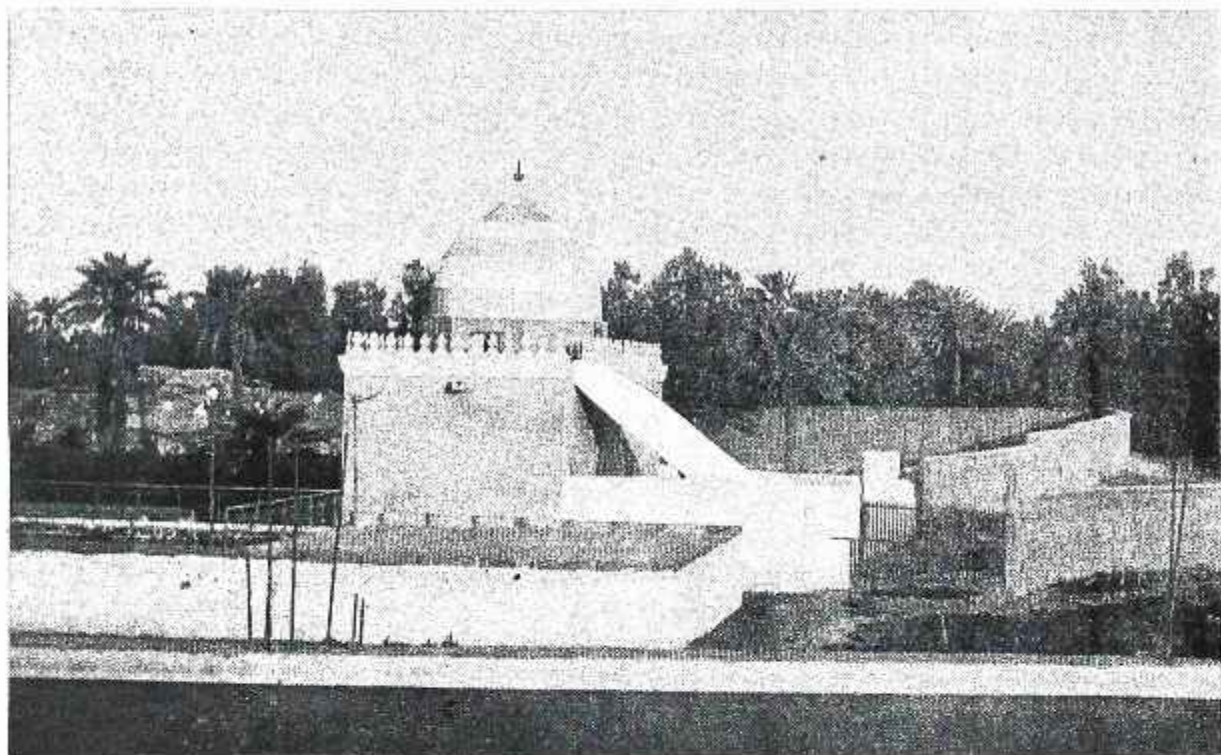
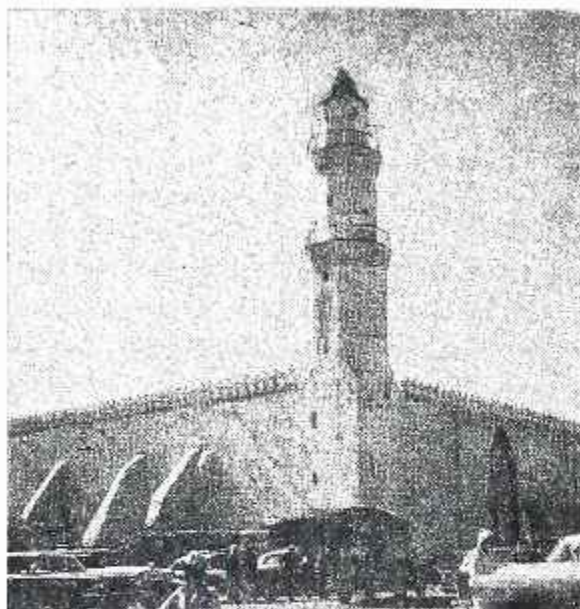
Abu Sufyân left Mecca in the Fall of the second year of Hijrah at the head of a trading caravan for Syria. It was this caravan that the Muslims wanted to intercept when the Prophet himself went out to Al-'Ushairah. But when the Muslims reached their destination they learned that Abu Sufyan's caravan had already left two days before their arrival. The Muslims therefore waited for its return from Syria. Guessing the time of the return of this caravan, the Prophet sent Talhah Bin 'Ubaidullah and Sa'îd Bin Zaid for reconnoitering. They proceeded on their journey and finally reached the house of Kashd-il-Juhanf in Al-Hawrâ. They remained in his house incognito in order to discover when the caravan was to pass so that they might send word to the Prophet. But the Prophet did not wait for his messengers, and their information. He was told that it was a very big caravan in which all the inhabitants of Mecca had participated; all who could afford to contribute his or her share had done so. This formed a trading caravan worth fifty thousand Dînârs. The Prophet therefore was afraid that they might miss the caravan on its way back to Mecca, as they had when it was going to Syria, so he called upon the Muslims to pursue the caravan. Some people who had not yet converted to Islam wanted to join the party in hope of getting a share in the booty, but the Prophet refused them participation unless they had previously converted.

As to Abu Sufyân, he had received the information that the Prophet had come out of Madînah to intercept his caravan on its way to Syria. He was therefore afraid that the Muslims might stop him on his way back after he had made a good profit. So he waited for news about them. He, among others, had contacted Al-Juhanf in whose house the two messengers of the Prophet were staying. Al-Juhanf did not confirm the news, but he was nevertheless afraid as there were only thirty or forty persons guarding the caravan when he learned about the movement of the Prophet and his companions. He therefore hired Damdam Bin 'Amr Al-Ghifârî and sent him at once to Mecca in order to alert the Quraish about the caravan, and to tell them that the Prophet and his companions had set upon it. Damdam reached near Mecca. He cut the ears of his camel, injured its nose, tore his own shirt and stood in the saddle while crying, "O the people of Quraish, Your property, Your property. Your belongings are with Abu Sufyân and Muhammad has offered them to his followers, I do not think the caravan will escape. Help, Help." No sooner did Abu Jahl heard him, than he raised the alarm near the Ka'bah and alerted the people about the danger their money was in. The Quraish need no urging as every one of them had his share in the caravan.

However, a group among the Meccans were conscious of the atrocities done by the Quraish towards the Muslims, obliging them to migrate first to Ethiopia and then to Medînah. They were therefore hesitant to respond to this call for the defence of the caravan, just as they were to sit in Mecca in the hope that nothing untoward might happen to the caravan. This group also well remembered that there was an old feud between the Quraish and the Kinânah tribe. They were afraid of an attack by the Muslims on their caravan, but they were equally afraid of an attack by the Kinânah from the rear. This argument sounded convincing those who preferred to stay. But one of the Kinaanite chiefs, Mâlik Bin Ju'sham Al-Mudlajî assured



«Qaba'a» Mosque, the first mosque built in Islam, the Holy Prophet has personally participated in its building; the «Qibleh» (direction of Prayer) at this mosque was towards «Baitol-Maqdes» (Jerusalem), later on a new Qibleh was fixed when «Kaaba» was appointed as the «Qibleh» for the Muslims.



This mosque is being built on the place where the women of «Bani-Al Najjar» received the Holy Prophet on his way from «Qaba'a» to «Yathreb».





the Quraish that the people of his tribe would not invade their houses in their absence. Thus the group led by Abu Jahl, 'Aamir Bin Al-Hadramf and their followers became stronger and it was decided to go out to prevent Muslims from attacking the caravan. None was left who was able to fight. Those who had some excuse gave each one person to replace them. None among the Quraishite nobles was left in Mecca except Abu Lahab who was represented by Al'Aas Bin Hishâm Bin Al-Mughfirah. Umayyah Bin Khalaf, who was a very old and very fat person, decided to stay. Hearing about it, 'Uqbah Bin Abi Mu'ft and Abu Jahl came to him. 'Uqbah was holding a small censer with some incense while Abu Jahl had with a box of collyrium and a pencil. 'Uqbah placed the censer in front of Umayyah and said to him, "Burn the incense because you are among the women." Similarly, Abu Jahl taunted him by saying, "Put collyrium into your eyes because you are a woman." Umayyah told them to buy for him the best camel available. He therefore joined and none was left in Mecca.

### March of the Muslim Army

As for the Prophet, he came out of Madinah along with his companions in Ramadan in the Second year of Hijarah. He appointed 'Amr Bin Umm Maktûm to lead the prayers in Madinah, but he was later joined by Abu Lubâbah whom the Prophet sent back from Ar-Rawhâ in the capacity of the governor of Madînah. At the head of the Muslims, there were two black flags. They had in all seventy camels which they rode in turn. Every camel was shared by a group of two to four persons. The Prophet shared his camel with Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and Marthad Bin Marthad Al-Ghanawf like other Muslims. The total number of persons who joined this army was 305. Among them were 83 from the Muhâjirîn, 61 from the Aws and others from the Khazrajs. They marched on hurriedly, fearing that Abu Sufyân might slip away. Wherever they camped, they tried to learn his whereabouts. They reached a place called 'Irq-uz-Zubaih and asked Bedouin about the caravan, but he could not advise them. They continued their march till they reached a valley named Dhafirân where they made camp. There they got the news that the Quraish had left Mecca to defend their caravan.

Now the conditions were changed. The Muslims were not to face Abu Sufyan and some thirty or forty persons protecting the caravan; they had before them whole of Mecca with all its nobles out to defend their caravan. Even if the Muslims had already intercepted Abu Sufyân and defeated his men, capturing whomsoever they could and seizing whatever they could get, the Quraish would arrive in time to fight desperately to get back their property. On the other hand, if the Prophet returned without any action, then both the Quraish as well as the Jews of Madînah, would have an upper hand over the Muslims, who would then be forced to compromise and bear with patience the torture of the Jews in Madînah, as they had already in Mecca at the hands of the Quraish. Hence, it was the time to take a firm stand for the Word of God and trust that God would give aid to His religion.

The Prophet consulted the people and told them about the latest developments. On this, Al-Miqdâd Bin Al-Aswad stood up and said, "Oh, Prophet of Allah. Do whatever God has guided you to do and we are with you. By God, we shall not speak in the manner of Banu Isra'îl's reply to Moses, 'Go, you and your God and fight, we will sit here.' Rather we shall say, 'Go you and your God and fight, and we will fight by your side.'" At this, the people were quiet. The Prophet said to them, "Give me your opinion." He was in particular addressing the Ansâr who had pledged in 'Aqbah that they would protect the Prophet from danger just from as they would protect their families. They had not taken an oath of fealty to participate in any aggressive act,



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outside their town. When the Ansâr sensed that the Prophet was addressing them, their standard-bearer, Sa'd Bin Ma'âdh, asked the Prophet, "Do you want our opinion? He replied that he did. Sa'd said, "We have believed in you and have testified for you and given our testimony that whatever you have told us is true. We have also given you our pledges that we would obey you and listen to you. If you want to act, you must, and we are with you. By the One who has sent you, if you wanted to stir up the ocean, we would have done it with you and none of us would have failed to join. We are ready to meet the enemy tomorrow. We are steadfast in war, loyal in peace. May God show you that you can place your trust in us. Hence, let us go together with the blessing of God."

No sooner did Sa'd finish his speech than the face of the Prophet glowed with pleasure and his expression became alert and hopeful. He said to his companions, "Advance, and be of good heart." All of them thus marched on until they reached Badr, where the Prophet moved ahead of them on his camel and approached an old Bedouin and asked about the Quraish and the caravan. From him he learned that the caravan of the Quraish was nearby.

He returned to his companions and sent Ali Bin Abi Tâlib, Az-Zubair Bin Al-'Awwâm and Sa'd Bin Al-Waqqâs with a group of companions to the water-wells of Badr in order to get information about the Quraish. This advance party presently returned with two boys from whom the Prophet learnt that the Quraish were behind the sand-dunes of Al-'Udwat-ul-Qaswa. When they could not tell the number of the Quraish, he asked them, "How many animals do they slaughter every day?" The boys replied, "Sometimes nine and sometimes ten". From this information the Prophet concluded that they numbered between nine hundred and a thousand. Similarly he came to know from those boys that all the prominent Quraishites had come out against the Muslims. He said to his companions, "Mecca has thrown to you the cream of its society." Hence, there was no alternative left to him and the Muslims, in the face of an enemy three times their number, except that they should screw up their courage and depend upon the firmness of their hearts and souls, and wait for a fierce battle in which only those could have victory who had faith in their hearts.

When Ali had returned with the two boys bringing information about the Quraish, two of the Muslims went to the wells of Badr. They halted their camels and took their vessels to fill with drinking-water. They were at the well that they heard one slave girl demanding from her friend the return of a loan she had taken. The other replied, "The caravan will be here tomorrow or the day after. I shall work for them and pay you back what I owe you." The two Muslims came back and gave this information to the Prophet. As for Abu Sufyân, he rode ahead of the caravan looking for any sign of the Muslims' advance. When he reached the wells, he found Majdiy Bin 'Amr and he asked if he had seen anyone. He replied that he had not seen anyone except two riders who had halted nearby. Abu Sufyan went to their halting place and examined the camel dung there. This led him conclude that the camels had eaten fodder grown in Yathrib. He hurried back to his companions and changed the route. He asked them to increase their speed and take the coastal road. In this way he succeeded in increasing the distance between the caravan and the Muslims and so escaped.

Next day came and the Muslims still waited for the arrival of the caravan. When they got the news that the caravan had escaped and that the army of the Quraish had camped near them, those who had come in the hope of getting their share in the booty felt frustrated and some of them urged the Prophet to return to Madinah and not to face the people who had come from Mecca to fight.

Should there be fighting?

As for the Quraish, they too had no need to fight as their caravan had escaped and was now safe. Would it not be better to return to their city and allow the subdued

Muslims return to theirs? This is what Abu Sufyân thought and accordingly sent a message to the Quraish saying to them, "You went out from your city to defend your caravan, your men and your belongings, God has saved it, You should therefore come back." A large number of people of the Quraish thought the same. But no sooner had Abu Jahl heard this talk than he shouted, "By God! we shall never return until we reach Badr, stay there for three days, slaughter the animals, eat and drink and listen to the songs of slave-girls, so that when the Bedouins hear about us our march and our strength it will make them afraid of us for ever." Abu Jahl took this position because Badr was one of the festival places of the Bedouins, and for the Quraish to return after being so near this place, and after their caravan had escaped, would have led the Bedouins to conclude that the Quraish had done because they were afraid of the Muslims, and this would have increased the prestige of the Prophet and given a new power to his preaching and authority; especially after the patrol of Abdullah Bin Jahsh had killed Ibn Al-Hadramî, and taken captives and booty from the Quraish.

The people were divided between following Abu Jahl, for fear they would be accused of cowardice, and returning to Mecca because their caravan had escaped. But no one returned except Banu Zahrah who followed the advice of Al-Akhnas Bin Sharîq, a man of great influence among them. The remaining Quraishites followed Abu Jahl and camped near Al-'Udwat-ul-Quswa, behind a mound of sand which gave them protection. There they began preparing for the battle and planning for it. As for the Muslims, they were determined to give their enemies a tough fight if they were indeed bent upon a battle. They lost no time in reaching Badr. They were blessed with rain on their march, so that when they arrived the water level in the wells had risen up. Al-Ḥubâb Bin Al-Mundhir Bin Al-Jumûh was quite aware of that place. Knew the place where the Prophet made camp, and when he saw the Prophet getting down from his camel, he said to him, "Oh, Prophet of God! Is this place, where you have stopped, pointed out to you by God? If so then we must not go farther. Or have you stopped here according to your own opinion, keeping in view the strategy of war?" The Prophet replied, "It is according to my opinion and to the strategy of war." He replied, "Then, O Prophet of God, this is not the place to stop. You should continue until we reach a place where there are hidden water-holes with very high water-level. There we should dig the earth out until the water starts flowing over, then we may make a pond full of water so that as we fight we may drink, while our enemies will have no water left for them." No sooner did the Prophet see the shrewdness of the opinion given by Al-Ḥubâb than he ordered the people to move on, saying to them that he was a human being, just as they were, and that decisions would be taken according to the common opinion; he would not take a decision without consulting them, and he was in need of good advice from those who could give it to him.

#### Shelter for the Prophet

When the pond was prepared, Sa'd Bin Ma'âdh said, "Oh, Prophet of God, we should make a shelter for you, where you should stay with your riding camel. After doing this, we will face the enemy. If God favours us and we overcome the enemy all will be well. But if the other thing happens, you may ride your camel and join those of us who are left behind. They are, Oh Prophet of God, the people who love you as we do and who would not have stayed behind if they had known you were going to face a battle. May God defend you and protect you through them that would give you advice and fight for you." The Prophet admired Sa'd and prayed for him. The shelter was therefore built and the Prophet entered it along with Abu Bakr, so that if his followers



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did not win the day, he might not fall into the hands of the enemy and might join his companions in Yathrab.

The Quraish in the meantime camped and sent out scouts to get information about the Muslims. They discovered that the Muslims numbered about three hundred, that they had no protection or hiding place, that they had nothing to resort to except their swords, and none of them meant to die without killing at least one of his enemies. When the leading men of the Quraish had joined this army, some wise men among them had feared that the Muslims might kill most of them, and this would adversely affect the position of Mecca, but they were also afraid of the sharp tongue of Abu Jahl accusing them of cowardice. This, however, did not keep 'Utbah Bin Rabī'ah from saying, "O, people of Quraish, By God, You do not know what you are doing to Muhammad and his companions. By God, If you are able to succeed against him, your men will forever have to face those whose relatives they may have killed. You had therefore better return and let Muhammed and the remaining Arabs decide the matter between themselves. If the Arabs defeat him, it will be what you desire. And if something else happens you will have face the facts, little as you may like it." When Abu Jahl heard what 'Utbah had said, he boiled up in anger and sent a message to 'Aamir Bin Al-Hadramī, "This friend of yours wants the people to retreat after you have seen with your own eyes those from whom you have to avenge the death of your brother. You must therefore get up and speak about the murder of your brother." Receiving this message, Aamir got up and cried, "Oh, poor 'Amr." This angered the hesitant made fighting inevitable. Another incident brought the battle nearer. Aswad Bin Abdul Asad Al-Makhzūmī came out of the Quraishite side and ran towards the Muslim camp in order to destroy the pond of water which the Muslims had built. Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib ran to meet him, struck him with his sword and he fell down with his leg bleeding. Hamzah gave him another blow which killed. Nothing is more tempting for the sword than the sight of blood, and nothing is more provocative fighting instinct in man than the sight of a friend dying at the hands of the enemy.

The Prophet, meanwhile, arranged the Muslims in ranks and files. Then, he faced the Ka'bah and addressed God earnestly reminding Him of His promises and invoking His help towards victory. He said in his prayer, "O, Allah. These people of the Quraish have come with all their might in their attempt to belie your Prophet. O, Allah. Send Your help as you have promised. O, Allah. If this group should perish today, none will be left to worship."

The battle started when 'Utbah Bin Rabī'ah, his brother Shaibah and his son Walid came out from the ranks of the Quraish and challenged the Muslims. Three young men from the Ansār, namely Ma'ādh, Ma'ūdh and 'Awf came forward in response. But the Quraishites told them to go back because it was not that were wanted. Then, one of them called out, "O, Muhammed. Send out to us those who are from our tribe and equal in status to us." The Prophet therefore asked 'Ubaidah Bin Hārith Bin Muttalib Bin 'Abd Munāf, Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib and Ali Bin Abi Tālib to get up and said to them, "Fight in the name of your right which has been ordained by God through sending His Prophet, they have come out in the company of their Falsehood in order to put out the Light of God, but God will not allow this and will see that His Light is triumphant." They thus advanced. Ali faced Walid. His age at that time was around 25 or 27 years and was the youngest of the group. He killed Walid. Similarly, Hamzah fought against 'Utbah and despatched him. Ubaidah faced Shaibah. Both of them were the eldest of the group. Ubaidah's age was seventy. They both exchanged blows. Ubaidah struck Shaibah on his head while Shaibah hit Ubaidah on his leg which was severely wounded and both the warriors fell. Hamzah and Ali carried 'Ubaidah to the presence of the Prophet. He died later. The Quraish felt

loss of face through the death of their three warriors, Hanzalah Bin Abi Sufyân advanced and attacked Ali, but Ali killed him with one blow. Then, Al-'Aas Bin Sa'fd Bin Al-'Aas came forward to fight and was killed by Ali. Umayyah Bin Khalaf was captured by Abdur Rahmân Bin Awf, but Bilâl came out and killed him. Umayyah had tortured Bilâl greatly when the latter was in Mecca.

These early setbacks struck terror into the Meccans and they took to their heels, while the Muslims chased them and captured whosoever they could(1).

Names of the casualties of the Quraish in the Battle of Badr and of those who killed them,

According to Al-Wâqidî, twelve persons were killed from among Banu Abdush Shams Bin Abd Munâf and their allies. They were:

- 1) Hanzalah Bin Abu Sufyân killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib;
- 2) Al-Hârith Bin Al-Hadramî killed by Ammâr Bin Yâsir;
- 3) Ammâr Bin Al-Hadramî killed by 'Aasim Bin Thâbit;
- 4) and 5) Umair Bin Abi Umair and his son, Umair killed by Sâlim a freed slave of Abu Hudhaifah; who were the allies;
- 6) 'Ubaidah Bin Sa'fd Bin Al-'Aas killed by Az-Zubair Bin Al-'Awwâm;
- 7) Al-'Aas Bin Sa'fd Bin Al-'Aas killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib;
- 8) 'Aqbah Bin Abi Mu'ft, killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib or 'Aasim Bin Thâbit under the instructions of the Prophet;
- 9) 'Utbah Bin Rabf'ah killed by Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib;
- 10) Shaibah Bin Rabf'ah killed jointly by Ubaidah Bin Al-Hârith;
- 11) Walid Bin 'Utbah Bin Rabf'ah killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib;
- 12) Aamir Bin Abdullah, an ally of Banu Abdush Shams, killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib or Sa'd Bin Ma'âdh.

Two men were killed from Banu Nawfil Bin Abd Munâf. They were:

- 13) Al-Hârith Bin Nawfil killed by Habib Bin Yassâf and
- 14) Ta'îmah Bin 'Adî, killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib, according the report of Muhammad Bin Ishâq, or by Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib, according to Al-Wâqidî.

Five persons fell from among those belonging to Banu Asad Bin Abdul 'Uzzâ. They were:

- 15) Zamâh Bin Al-Aswad killed by Abu Dujjânah or Thâbit Bin Al-Jadha';
- 16) Al-Hârith Bin Zamâh Bin Al-Aswad killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib;
- 17) 'Aqîl Bin Al-Aswad Bin Al-Muttalib killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib, or, according to another report, jointly by Ali Bin Abi Talib and Hamzah. Yet another report names the person who killed him as Abu Dâ'ûd Al-Mâzanî.
- 18) Abul Bakhtarî Al-Aas Bin Hisham killed by Al-Majdhar Bin Ziyâd or Abul Yusr;

- 19) Nawfal Bin Khuwailad Bin Asad Bin Abdul Uzza killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib;

Two persons were killed from the family of Banu Abdud Dar Bin Qusaiy. They were:

- 20) An-Nadr Ibn Al-Hârith Bin Kaldah killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib under the orders of the Prophet;
- 21) Zaid Bin Malais killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib or Bilâl.

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1. Mu'âwiyah Bin Abu Sufyân was one of those who took part in the Battle of Badr on the side of the idolators. He ran away from the battle-field after witnessing the death of his maternal grandfather 'Utbah, the brother of his maternal grandfather Shaibah, his maternal uncle Walid and his brother Hanzalah.



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Similarly, two men were despatched from the family of Banu Taim, who were:

22) Umair Bin Uthmân killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib;

23) Uthmân Bin Mâlik killed by Suhaib.

The family of Banu Mukhzûm lost three persons, namely:

24) Abu Jahl 'Amr Bin Mughairah jointly killed by the sons of 'Afrâ`Ma'âdh, Ma'ûdh and Awf and Abdullah Bin Mas'ûd;

25) Al-'Aas Bin Hisham Bin Mughairah, the maternal uncle of Umar Bin Al-Khattâb, killed by 'Amr Bin Yazîd At-Tamîmî,

26) An Ally of Banu Makhzûm killed by Ammâr Bin Yâsir or Ali Bin Abi Talib.

The family of Al-Walid Bin Al-Mughairah lost only one person, he was killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib. His name was

27) Abu Qais Bin Walid, a brother of Khâlid Bin Walid.

Similarly, one person died from the family of Banu Al-Fâkah Bin Al-Mughairah, He was

28) Abu Qais Bin Al-Fâkah Bin Al-Mughairah, killed by Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib or Al-Khabâb Bin Al-Mandhir.

Banu Abi Umayyah Bin Al-Mughairah lost one man, namely,

29) Mas'ûd Bin Abi Umayyah killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib..

Five men were killed from the family of Banu 'Aayid Bin Abdullah Bin Umar Bin Makhzûm. They were:

30) Umayyah Bin 'Aayidh killed by Sa'd Bin Ar-Rabî,

31) Abu Mandhir Bin Abi Rafâ'ah killed by Ma'an Bin 'Adî Al-'Ajiânî,

32) Abdullah Bin Abi Rafâ'ah killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib,

33) Zuhair Bin Abi Rafâ'ah killed by Abu Asyad As-Sâ'idî,

34) As-Sâib Bin Abi Rafâ'ah killed by Abdur Rahmân Bin Awf.

Those killed from the family of Abis Sâib Al-Makhzûmî numbered four, and were:

35) Sâib Bin As-Sâib killed by Zubair Bin Al-'Awwâm,

36) Al-Aswad Bin Abdul Asad killed by Hamzah,

37) 'Amârah Bin Makhzûm killed by Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib,

38) 'Amr Bin Shaibân At-Tâfi, an ally of Banu Abis Sâib Al-Makhzûmî, killed by Yazîd Bin Qais,

39) Another ally of the family, named Jabbâr Bin Sufyân was killed by Abu Bardah.

The family of Banu 'Imrân Bin Makhzûm lost three men, namely,

40) Hâjiz Bin As-Sâib killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib,

41) 'Awaimar Bin As-Sâib, killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib, according to a report of Al-Baladharî, and

42) 'Awaimar Bin 'Amr Bin 'Aayid killed by Nu'mân Bin Mâlik.

Three men were killed from the family of Banu Jamha Bin 'Amr Bin Hasîs. They were:

43) Umayyah Bin Khalaf, jointly killed by Khubaib Bin Yassâf and Bilal, or, according to another report by Abu Rafâ'ah Bin Râfe',

44) Ali Bin Umayyah Bin Khalaf killed by 'Ammâr Bin Yâsir,

45) Aws Bin Al-Mughairah Bin Lawdhân killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and Uthmân Bin Maz'ûn.

Five persons fell in the battle from the family of Banu Sahm.

They were:

46. Munabbih Bin Al-Hajjâj killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib or Abu Asyad As-Sâ'idî,

47. Nabîh Bin Al-Hajjâj killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib,

48. Al-'Aas Bin Munabbih Bin Al-Hajjâj killed by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib,

49. Abul 'Aas Bin Qais killed by Ali Bin Talib or Abu Dujānah,  
 50. 'Al' Aas Bin Abi Abi 'Awf killed by Abu Dujānah,

From the family of Banu 'Aamir Bin Luṭ, two persons were killed namely,

51. Mu'āwiyah Bin Abd Qais, an ally of the family, killed by 'Ackāshah Bin Muhsin, and  
 52. Ma'bad Bin Wahab, originally from Banu Kalab and an ally of the family, killed by Abu Dujānah,

Ibn Abil Ḥadīd has said in his commentary of the Nehj-ul-Balāghah that the total number of persons killed among the idolators, according to a report of Al-Wāqidī, was fifty two. Among them, twenty-four men were killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib alone, which number included those in whose slaying he was joined by others. Many of reports say that the total number of the dead from among the idolators was seventy but we have mentioned only those whose names have been kept on record. According to the Shi'ite reports, Zam'ah Bin Al-Aswad Bin Muttalib was killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib, but more probably he killed Al-Hārith Bin Zam'ah while Zam'ah was killed by Abu Dujānah. We shall mention in the life story of Amīr ul-Mu'minīn Ali Bin Abi Talib a report of Al-Mufīd that the number of idolators killed by Ali Bin Abi Talib, according to a consensus of opinion, was thirty five, excluding those about whom opinions are divided or where he was joined by other persons. Some reports put this number at thirty six.

This battle laid the foundations of Islam, and it was won by the sword of Ali Bin Abi Talib to the extent that he alone killed half the number of those who fell in this battle from the Qurāish force, while all the other Muslims together killed the remainder. Of the Muslims, fourteen persons met their martyrdom in death, six from the Muhājirīn and eight from the Ansār. Not one Muslim was taken a captive while seventy idolators were taken prisoner, forty-nine of whom are known.

#### Burial of the Dead

The Prophet ordered the burial of the dead and the Muslims are said to have thrown them into a well nearby. This was done so that the people living near that area might not have to suffer from the smell of putrifying bodies. Dr. Muhammad Husain Haikal has written in his book "Hayāt-o-Muhammad" that the Muslims stayed at Badr till the evening, and that they gathered the dead bodies of Meccans and dug a well to bury them in. Had the Muslims dug such a grave, he would have said that they dug a pit. But the mention of a well is found in history and historians have said that when the Prophet ordered a burial, the Muslims threw the dead bodies into a well. It is unlikely that after the whole day of fighting, and being tired, that the Muslims dug a well for the burial; on the other hand, it is also improbable that they threw the dead bodies into one of the water-wells because this would have polluted the water for a long time to come. And they certainly knew that any well would be used by the Bedouins and travellers. The most likely guess is that they threw the dead bodies into a dry well which was no longer of any use. The Prophet then stood at that well and called the dead one by one by name, "O Utbah Bin Rabī'ah! O Shaibah Bin Rabī'ah! O Umayyah Bin Khalaf! O Abu Jahl Bin Hishām! Have you found what God had promised for you? I have received what He had promised to me. Indeed you have been a bad community for your Prophet. You denounced me while other people believed in me. You turned me out while the others sheltered me. You fought against me while the others helped."

The Qurāishites were defeated at about noon. The Prophet ordered the collection



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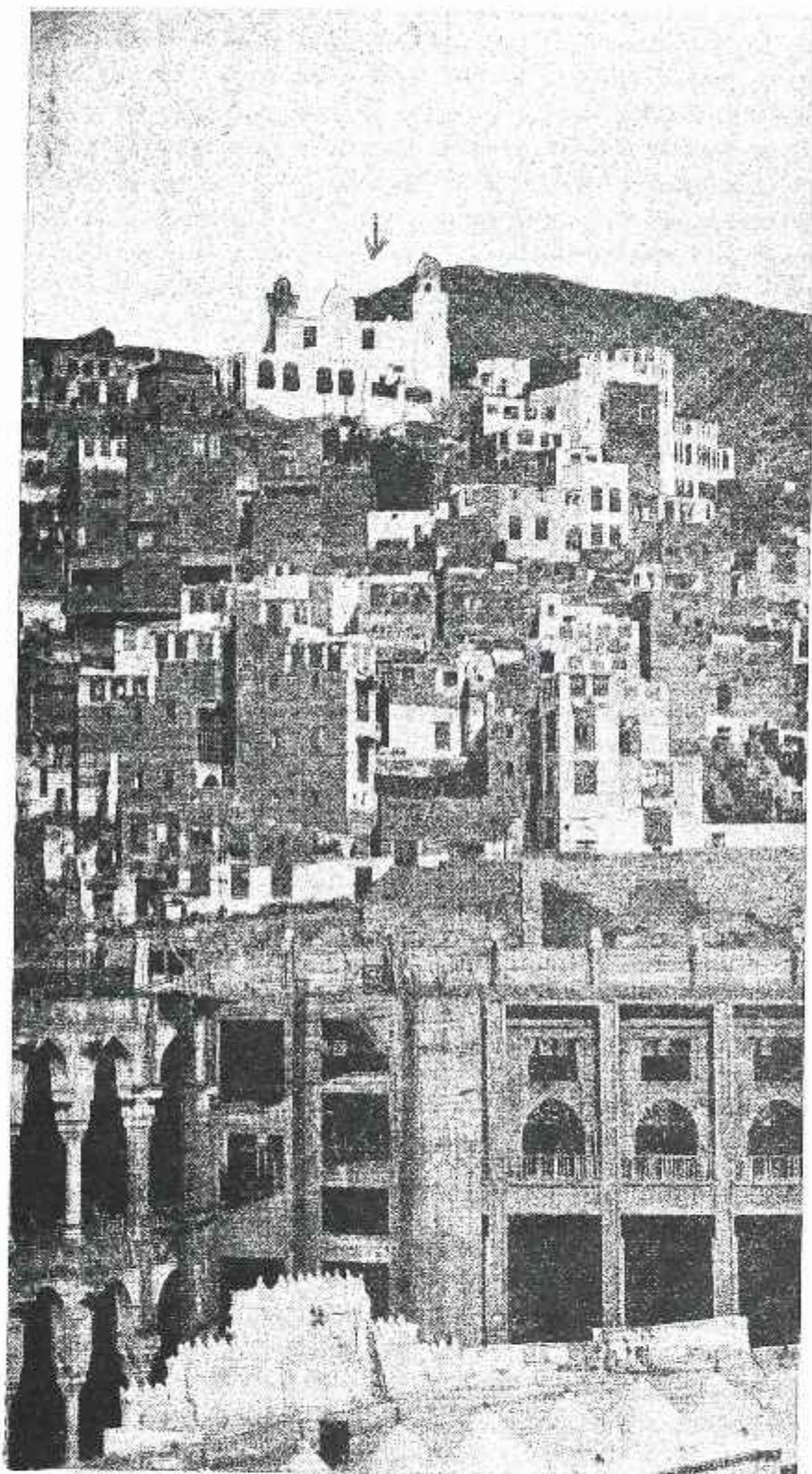
of the booty, and set out for Madinah after saying the 'Asr Prayers at Badr. When he reached a place named Uthāfī, he ordered that An-Nadr Bin Al-Hārith be beheaded. Similarly, he ordered that 'Aqbah Bin Abi Mu'fī Bin Abi 'Amr Bin Umayyah Bin Abd Shams be killed. Thereupon the latter cried, "Woe unto me, Why am I to be killed at such a place?" The Prophet replied, "Because of your enmity towards God and His Prophet." Then the Prophet asked Ali or 'Aasim, "Come forward and behead him." His order was complied with. The Prophet then consulted his companions about what to do with the prisoners. Umar took a very harsh position in this connection and said to the Prophet, "O, Prophet of Allah! Follow my advice in this matter. You should yourself kill your uncle Abbās, ask Ali to behead his brother 'Aqūf and similarly other prisoners should be killed by nearest relatives." The Prophet, however, did not like this idea.

The Muslims in general favoured setting the prisoners free on payment of ransom, so that they might improve their financial position, and the Prophet approved this suggestion. The ransom was fixed at four thousand dirham maximum, and one thousand minimum. A group of prisoners who did not have money to pay were set free without any ransom. The Prophet did not want to kill any of the Hashimite and said, "I know they were forced along with many others to join the army." Similarly he declined to kill Abbās Bin Abdul Muttalib because he joined the attack against his will. This does not mean that the Prophet spared the Hashimite out of his love for them. He explained that he did so because they had been forced by the other Meccans to join them, and that they were Muslims in secret. Despite this, the Prophet took ransom from them without showing any favour. He took ransom from Abbās on his own behalf and that of his nephews and allies because Abbās was a well-to-do person, while his nephews and allies were poor. It may further be pointed out that the Hashimites, except for Abu Lahab, all helped the Prophet while he was in Mecca and gave him protection. They therefore deserved favourable treatment. In the same way, the Prophet recommended in the case of many others that they should not be killed because of their good treatment of Muslims in Mecca, and their help in tearing down the Quraishite Agreement against the Muslims, which had hung in Ka'bah. Among such persons was Abul Bakhtari who fought but was killed. The Prophet's recommendation for the Hashimites enraged Abu Hadhifah Bin 'Utbah, who was a Muslim. He said to the Prophet, "Should we let Abbās free while we have killed our fathers, brothers and other relatives? By God! if I meet him anywhere, I will kill him." Hearing this, Umar said to the Prophet, "O, Prophet of God! Let me cut off his head. By God! Forsaken his faith." But the Prophet did not pay any attention to him. Among other prisoners were Abbās, Aqūf Bin Abi Tālib, Nawfal Bin Al-Hārith Bin Abdul Muttalib and an ally of the Hashimites named 'Aqbah Bin 'Amr. When evening came, all the captives were kept imprisoned and in chains. The Prophet stayed awake late that night. When his companions asked him as to why he did not try to sleep, he replied that he heard Abbās groaning in his chains." His companions got up and set Abbās free, and then the Prophet slept.

When the Prophet came back to Madinah with the Muslims and the captives, he said to Abbās, "You should pay ransom for yourself, your nephews Aqūf and Nawfal and your ally 'Aqbah because you are quite rich." Abbās replied, "O, Prophet of God! I have been a Muslim but those people brought me along with them by force." The Prophet said, "I know about your being a Muslim but we must be guided by what we see."

The Prophet sent Zaid Bin Hārithah and Abdullah Bin Rawahah to Madinah in advance so that they might carry the good news of the victory to the astonished people. The hypocrites and those who were doubtful said that Zaid had fled from the battle. But when they saw the captives the people of Madinah came out to welcome the Prophet at a place called Ar-Rawhāh and congratulated him.





«Abi-Qubais» Mosque is to be seen on the upper part of this illustration; from this very Mosque, the first call for Pray, the inviting people to Islam was heard.  
The houses of Mecca spread around the surrounding mountains.



One of the courtyards of the Holy Prophet's Mosque in which a group of Muslims are seen. This mosque was rebuilt and widened, at present, it occupies 16336 square meters.

### Orientalists' Arguments

More than one orientalist has paused at the issue of the captives made after the Battle of Badr and posed the question, "Is not this sufficient to indicate the thirst of this new religion for blood? Were this not so, these two men (An-Nadr and 'Uqbah) would not have been killed. Would it not have been more generous of the Muslims to return the captives, after they had won the battle, and to be satisfied with the booty they had received? Such questions may result from feelings of pity and sympathy which would not have arisen at that time. However, after a thousand years have passed with innumerable battles fought such questions and resultant sentiments of pity and sympathy may seem to discredit the religion as well as its Prophet. These questions however do not carry weight if we compare the punishment given to An-Nadr and 'Uqbah with what is done in present times, and what will continue to be done while the Western civilization remains in power. Does this punishment compare and equate with what is done under the name of 'putting down the revolts' in those countries which are ruled over by Imperialist powers, despite the will of their people? Does it seem equal to what happened during the great French Revolution, and other similar revolutions which have occurred in various European countries?

### Revolution Against Paganism

There is no doubt that what Muhammad and his companions intended to bring about was a powerful revolution against Paganism and idolatry a purpose for which God had ordained Muhammad as a prophet. The revolution started in Mecca where Muhammad and his companions underwent different kinds of suffering for sake of this revolution continuously for thirteen years. The Muslims then migrated to Madinah and mobilized their forces there. The fundamental principles of this revolution were quite firm in the hearts of the Muslims, and quite clear to the people of the Quraish. The Muslims' migration to Madinah, their compromise with the Jews, different manoeuvres preceding the Battle of Badr, and the battle itself, were all related to the policy of this revolution, and not its fundamental principles. It was the policy which was adopted by the originator of this revolution and his companions, so that they might follow and put into action, the principles which were brought into this world by the Prophet. It is evident that principles behind a revolution are quite different from the policy of execution of that revo-

lution. The plan which is followed to see such a revolution through is completely different from the objective behind it. Furthermore, Islam had made brotherhood the basis of Islamic civilization. It was therefore necessary to achieve success, even though by such means as might involve the use of force, should this be unavoidable.

#### Massacre of St. Bartholomew

The treatment given to the captives of Badr by the Muslims is a symbol of mercy and humanity when compared to what has happened in other revolutions, upholders of which always speak of mercy and justice. This was nothing as compared to massacres which were carried out in the name of Christianity, such as that of St. Bartholomew. This massacre, considered to be a blot on the name of Christianity, has no comparison in the history of Islam. It was planned at night. The Roman Catholics took upon themselves the wholesale slaughter of the Protestants in Paris, and in other areas of France, and this was done in the worst possible spirit of betrayal and treachery. As against this, when the Muslims kill two of the fifty captives of Badr, because of their extreme cruelty towards the Muslims, the Orientalists make a hue and cry in the name of humanity, mercy and justice. The Muslims had patiently submitted to untold ill-treatment and torture at the hands of these two in Mecca for a whole thirteen years. Can there be a greater display of mercy than that shown by the Muslims?

#### Mecca Receives the Bad News

While the Muslims were celebrating the victory given to them by God and rejoicing at the booty they had won, Al-Haisumân Ibn Abdullah Al-Khuzâ'î was making his way to Mecca and he was the first one to enter the town and inform the citizens of the defeat and casualties the Quraish had suffered. The Meccans were dumbfounded, and at first refused to believe the news. How could the Meccans not be astonished at hearing the news of the death of their distinguished leaders and nobles and the crushing defeat of their proud army? But Al-Haisumân plainly was not talking nonsense nor was he in a state of delirium. He repeated what he had told them. He was himself much more perturbed than the Quraish. The Meccans soon got the news confirmed from other sources and then were utterly horrified and confounded. The shock was so great that Abu Lahab got fever and died seven days later. The Quraishites held consultations on what should be done. They decided that no one should mourn the dead so that Muhammad and his companions might not mock at them and revile them. They also decided not to send after their captives so that Muhammad and his companions might not be too hard in imposing their conditions of release and demand too high a ransom. The Quraish patiently faced this humiliation and kept quiet until the captives were released on ransom. When Mikraz Bin

Hafas came to get Suhail Bin 'Amr released, Umar Bin Al-Khattâb said, "O' Prophet of God! Let me extract the teeth of 'Amr so that his tongue may not work properly and there will be no one to deliver speeches against you in your own birth-place." But the reply given by the Prophet was noble and dignified, he said, "I shall not mutilate anyone, otherwise may God treat me likewise, even though I am His Prophet."

#### The Quraish Bewail Their Dead

Despite all their efforts to conceal their grief, the setback received was not a light one nor easily forgotten. Nor did it induce them to conclude a truce with the



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Muslims and forget their defeat. Instead, the Quraishite women wailed over their dead for one full month. They tore their hair, and whenever a camel or a horse belonging to the dead came in sight they bewailed the owner. No woman broke this custom except Hind Bint 'Utbah, who was the wife of Abu Sufyān. One day, other women came to her and said: "Will not you cry over your father, brother, uncle and other relatives?" She replied, "Should I cry and wail over them so that the news reaches Muhammad and his companions, so that they as well as the women of Khazraj should taunt and revile us? No, by God, I will not mourn until I have taken revenge from Muhammad and his companions. By God, I would have cried had I known that by this my grief would disappear. But it will not do so until I have seen revenge taken for the death of my dear ones." She continued to insist on this, always inciting the people to take revenge for the Battle of Badr until the Battle of Uhad took place.

### FROM BADR TO UHAD

#### Effect of Badr on Madinah (January 624)

The Battle of Badr left a deep impression on Mecca, as we have seen. It created a deep desire for revenge from the Muslims as soon as an opportunity arose. But the results of the Battle in Madinah were clearer and closely connected with the lives of the Muslims. After the victory in this battle, the Jews, the idol-worshippers and hypocrites of Madinah realized the enormous increase in the power of the Muslims. They also saw an outsider, who had only two years before run away from Mecca and migrated to Madinah, gaining more and more power and authority which had almost made him the most influential person, not only among his companions and followers, but among the whole population of the city. The Jews had already begun grumbling before the Battle of Badr, and minor quarrels with Muslims had already occurred which might have resulted into serious clashes, but for the pact of friendship existing between them.

#### Conspiracy of the Jews

The Muslims had hardly returned to Madinah after their victory in the Battle of Badr than other groups in the town began conspiring against them, and composing poems against the Muslims. In this way, the field of revolutionary work shifted from Mecca to Madinah, and from religion to politics. From now on, it was not only the message and call of Muhammad towards Allah which was opposed and fought against, but also his influence and authority which was a matter of fear and awe for other groups. That is why these groups conspired against him, and thought of killing him. The Prophet was not unaware of these activities, but was well-informed on what was going on. Mutual hatred and enmity between the Jews and Muslims thus increased slowly and slowly, and both the parties were watching each other with suspicion and doubts.

Until the time of their God-given victory in the Battle of Badr the Muslims had been afraid of their fellow citizens, and had not taken courage to retaliate if any one of them was insulted or molested. But when they came back victorious, the conditions changed. One of the important Jewish personalities of Madinah, Ka'b Bin Al-Ashraf, was murdered after the Battle of Badr. He was the person who said on hearing the news of the battle, and death of the Meccan nobles, "They are nobles of the Arabs and kings of the people. By God! If Muhammad has killed these people, then under the earth is better than its surface." He was the one who went to Mecca, after getting

the news of Muslims' victory confirmed, where he instigated the Meccans against the Prophet, read poems and wept over the casualties of Badr. When he returned from Mecca, he began writing amorous verses about the Muslim women.

The murder of Ka'b increased the fears of the Jews. Every one of them became afraid of his life. Despite this, they did not stop talking nonsense against the Prophet and his followers, until the hearts of the Muslims reached the limits of their patience. One day, a Bedouin woman came to a Jewish market in the area of Banu Qainuqâ' and sat at the shop of a goldsmith whom she had given an ornament to make. The Jews of the area wanted her to show them her face but she refused. One of the Jews came secretly behind her and pinned her cloak to her back with a thorn in such a way that her pudenda were uncovered when she got up. The Jews laughed at her distress. On this, one of the Muslims jumped at the goldsmith, who was a Jew, and killed him. The Jews of the area killed the Muslim in return. The relatives of the Muslim appealed to the Muslim population against the Jews. Trouble therefore arose between the Muslims and Jews. The Prophet asked the Jews to refrain from harming the Muslims, and to act according to the treaty of friendship, otherwise they would meet the same fate as the Quraish. They laughed at this warning and replied, "Do not deceive yourself O Muhammad. You met people who had no experience of war and therefore you were successful against them. By God! If we fight against you, we will teach you that we are men." This left no alternative but to fight against them, or the Muslims and their authority in Madinah would be perpetually challenged, and thus they would become the laughing stock of the Quraish, as they had made the Quraish amongst the Arabs.

#### Siege of Banu Qainuqâ'

The Muslims therefore besieged the locality of Banu Qainuqâ' for fifteen days continuously. None of the Jews could come out of their houses nor could anyone go inside their locality with food. They were therefore forced to obey the commands of the Prophet and to surrender themselves to his judgment. The Prophet decided to banish them from the city. They left the city, leaving behind them the weapons and gold articles which they used to make. They reached Wâdi Qurâ, where they stayed for some time, and then moved onward to the north reaching Azri'ât near the Syrian border, and there they finally got settled.

#### Political Unity in Madinah

After the departure of Banu Qainuqâ', the power and influence of the Jews suffered a great setback. This was because most of the Jews connected with Madinah lived far away from it, either in Khyber or in Umm-ul-Qurâ. That was why the Prophet wanted them to leave the town. This political action indicates his extreme wisdom and farsightedness. This was just an initial step which led to inevitable political ends, exactly according to the plan of the Prophet. Nothing is so harmful for the solidarity of a city or a country as its being divided into various contesting groups with their mutual differences. If there be no solution to the quarrels of different groups there can only be one end. That is the final victory of one group by which it asserts its supremacy. Some of the historians have discussed the attitude of the Muslims towards the Jews and have criticised it, thinking that the trouble created by the incident of a Muslim woman going to the Jewish goldsmith could have ended because one man each was killed on each side. This argument can easily be refuted by saying that the murder of a Jew and of a Muslim does not wipe out the insult which was inflicted on the Muslims through what was done to the woman by



the Jew. Such a question means much more to the Arabs than to other nations. It may also be pointed out that such issues lead to much more serious troubles, and two groups or two tribes may get involved in mutual quarrels and feuds to last for years to come. The history of the Arabs is replete with such incidents which are quite well understood by those who have studied this history.

But there is another point to be considered and one which is much stronger than the one we have mentioned. The incident of the woman at the goldsmith's shop has the same relation to the siege of Banu Qainuqā' and their banishment from Madinah, as the assassination of the heir-apparent of Austria to the First World War, in which all the nations of Europe took part. It was just a spark which set ablaze the fire that was already smouldering in the hearts of the Jews as well as the Muslims. It started the conflagration leading to inevitable consequences. The fact is, that there could no worse cause for trouble than the presence of Jews, idol-worshippers and hypocrites side by side with the Muslims. Politically speaking, the ill-feeling had converted Madinah into a volcano which was bound to erupt sooner or later. The siege of the locality of Banu Qainuqā' and their banishment from Madinah were the preliminary signs of such an eruption.

It was natural that other non-Muslims in Madinah should become silent after the banishment of the Jews of Banu Qainuqā', and that the calm should prevail over the city which usually follows every storm. The inhabitants of Madinah led their lives in peace for a month. They could have continued to live like this for a longer period, had not Abu Sufyān got bored with living in Mecca, hiding himself after the defeat in the Battle of Badr. He was impelled to remind the Arabs of the Peninsula that the Quraish still had their power, authority and capacity to attack, to invade and fight. He, therefore, gathered about two hundred men, or forty men according to another report, from among the Meccans and marched secretly until they reached the vicinity of Madinah and arrived at a place called Al'Uraid. There the Quraishites found a man from the Anṣār and a friend of his working in their field and they killed them. They also burnt down two houses and some date-trees there.

Then, Abu Sufyān thought that he had fulfilled his oath against the Prophet, and this was sufficient. He ran away from the place in the fear of being pursued by the Prophet and his companions. The Prophet, meanwhile, called his companions to consult them, and then led them out to chase Abu Sufyān. They reached a place called Qarqaratul Kudr. Abu Sufyān and his companions escaped on seeing the Muslims coming and left their stock of dried barley (suwaiq). When the Muslims reached that place, they took possession of the suwaiq. The Prophet, realizing that the Quraishites had made good their escape, returned to Madinah. Abu Sufyān's escape brought him only a bad name, where he had thought that his attack would enable the Quraish raise their heads after what had befallen them in Badr. Because of the dried barley which the Quraish had left behind them, the name of this incident became known to be the campaign of dried barley (Ghazwatus Suwaiq).

The news of this success of the Muslims soon spread among the tribes of the Arabs. These tribes, who lived deep in the desert in isolation, had paid little attention to the Muslims who were, until the Battle of Badr a few months ago, helpless refugees seeking shelter in Madinah, but who now had become able to face the power of the Quraish, banish the Banu Qainuqā' from Madinah, put fear into the very heart of Abdullah Bin Ubayy, chase Abu Sufyān and show themselves in a manner which was not quite understood. The tribes living near Madinah now began to see very clearly a threat in the shape of the rising power of Muhammad and his companions. They were afraid of the results if the power of the Muslims increased to equal to that of the Quraish. It was because of the fact that the coastal road to Syria was a well-known paved road. The Quraish used that road for their trading caravans going



to and coming back from Syria, and this traffic meant of good economic gains for these tribes. The Prophet had entered into pacts with many tribes living near the coast of the Red Sea and had already posed a threat to the Quraish using that road, putting their trade in danger. This is why the Quraish had to change their route, Now these tribes, naturally, thought of what would happen to them if that traffic stopped permanently. They had to think how to bear the hardships of life in that rugged area. They had the right to think of their destiny and probably effects of the new situation, which was quite unknown before the migration of the Muslims from Mecca to Mathrah (Madinah), and which had led to such threats to their existence as they had never faced before the victory of the Muslims in the Battle of Badr.

But the Battle of Badr deeply frightened these Arab tribes. This is why they were to plan attacks on Madinah. The Prophet received news that a group of persons from the tribes of Ghatafan and Sulaim intended to raid Madinah. He therefore marched out to a place named Qarqaratul Kudr but found no one. Similarly, he received information that the people of Banu Tha'labah and Muhârib have planned to attack Madinah from both sides. He therefore came out with about 450 Muslims. On his way, he met a man from Banu Tha'labah and asked him about his people. The man told him their whereabouts and said, "O Muhammad, When they heard about your march, they ran away to the mountains. I will come with you and show you their hiding places." No sooner did those men hear of the Prophet's advance than they fled. Further news reached him giving information about a large gathering of the people of Banu Sulaim living in Bahrân having prepared for an attack. He came out of the city with about three hundred men and continued until they came near Bahrân where he met a man from Banu Sulaim. The Prophet asked about the intending invaders and was told that they had already taken to their heels.

In this way all the Bedouin Arabs became afraid of the Muslims and grew worried about their future. They were always thinking of preparing traps for the Prophet but just on hearing about his movements, they lost their courage.

In the meantime, the assassination of Ka'b Bin Al-Ashraf happened as we have already mentioned. This made the Jews of Madinah extremely frightened. They confined themselves to their own locality and none came out fearing to meet the same fate as Ka'b Bin Al-Ashraf. After some time they came to the Prophet complaining about what had happened to Ka'b Bin Al-Ashraf, and that he was assassinated without reason. The Prophet replied to them, "He tried to harm us and composed poetry in our condemnation. Had he behaved like others who have the same opinion as he had, nothing would have happened to him." After a long talk, he asked them to sign a pact with him which they should respect. The Jews submitted in bad grace, although in their hearts remained unchanged, the signs of which appeared very soon.

#### THE BATTLE OF UHAD

The Quraish did not calm themselves down after the Battle of Badr and remained intent upon taking a revenge for the defeat, and for their casualties in the field. How could they forget the incident and the dead who were the cream of their society and their most prominent and respected leaders? How could the Quraish forget their dead leaders while their women kept reminding them of those who fell in battle, their sons, brothers, fathers and husbands? Whenever they recalled them, they cried and wept, on account of the grief they felt for the dead. This is why, when the caravan led by Abu Sufyân and which was the cause of the Battle of Badr, returned from Syria and those who had been present at Badr and were saved came back



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to Mecca, the Quraish decided to keep the goods brought by the caravan in Dār-un-Nadwah, and their leaders, including Jubair Bin Mut'im, Safwān Bin Umayyah, 'Akramah Bin Abu Jahl, Al-Ḥārith Bin Hishām and Huwaitab Bin Abdul 'Uzza, agreed upon selling the goods and that every one should forego his profit which should be used in preparing a well-equipped and large army to fight against the Muslims. It was also decided to use a part of the profits in inciting the Bedouins to participate in war against the Prophet to avenge the defeat of Badr.

The Quraish sent their messengers to the Bedouins asking them to come and help. Al-Wāqidī says that there were four messengers sent out by the Quraish, namely, 'Amr Bin 'Aas, Hubairah Ibn Wahab, Ibn-uz-Zab'arf, and Abu Ghurrah Al-Jahamī. The Quraishite women insisted on accompanying them in this attack. The people consulted among themselves whether to take their women with them or not; there were those who supported their accompanying them, but others were opposed. One of the latter said, "O Men of Quraish, In my opinion, you should not expose your women to your enemy. I do not believe that in case of defeat, you may further be subjected to humiliation through your women." While they were still discussing the matter, the wife of Abu Sufyān, Hind Bint 'Utbah shouted at those who opposed the idea. She said, "By God, You saved your skin on the Day of Badr and came back to your women. Yes, We will accompany you and witness the fighting, and no one shall return us as was done with the women who accompanied you on the journey to Badr and were returned from Al-Juhfah; this is why our dear ones were killed in the Battle of Badr." She meant that there was none to encourage them during the battle.

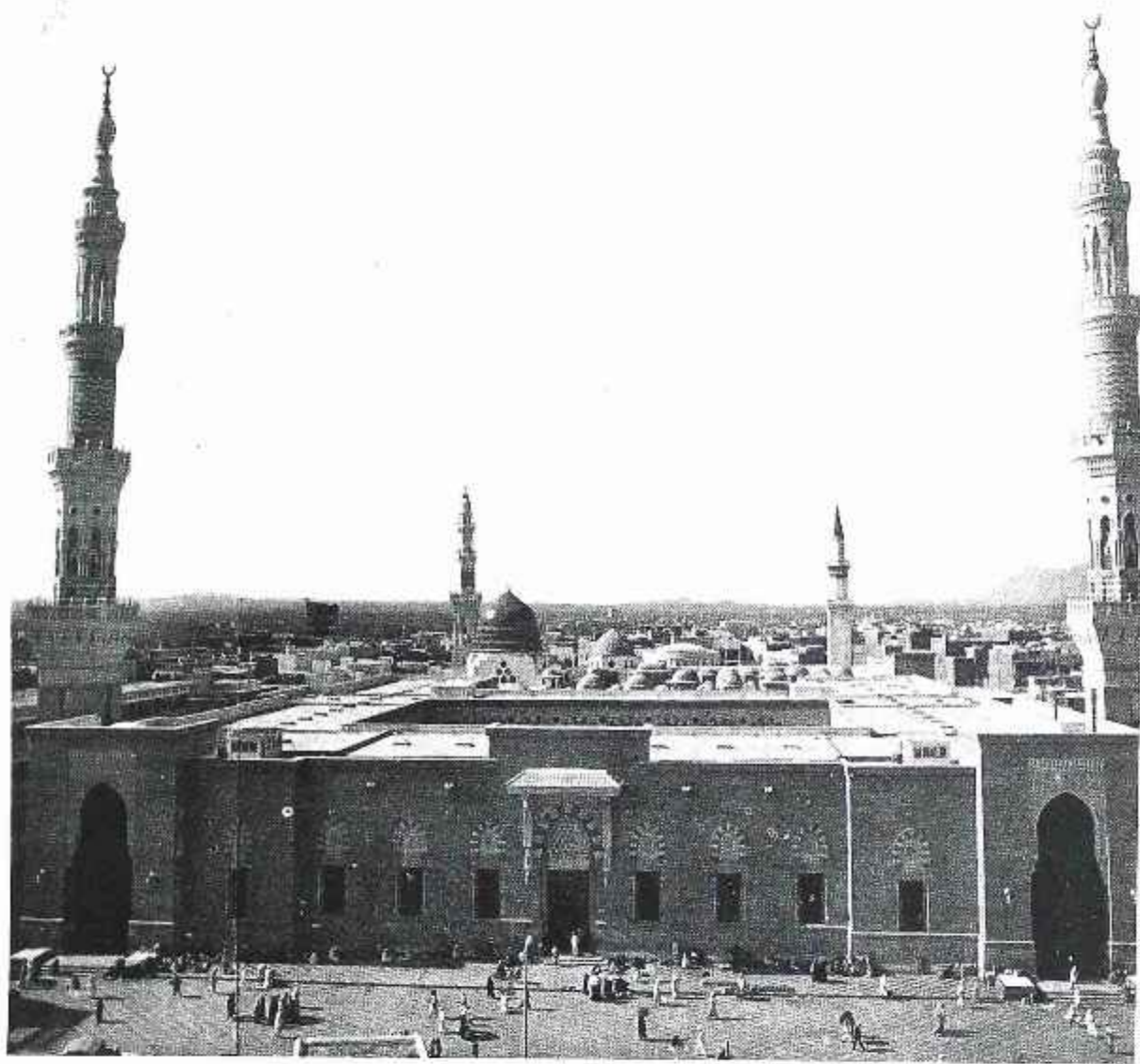
### Preparation for the war

Thus the Quraish prepared for war, and their women accompanied them during their march headed by Hind, who was burning with the fire of revenge more than any other because her father, brother and uncle were killed in the Battle of Badr. The Quraish divided their men into three groups, which was done in Dār-un-Nadwah. The largest group was led by Talhah Bin Abi Talhah and was made up of three thousand men, not having more than one hundred men from Thaqqīf. They also carried a vast amount of equipment with them, including two hundred horses and three thousand camels. There were seven hundred among them dressed in armour.

The Qurashites set out for the march with Abbās Bin Abdul Muttalib among them. He knew the most minute details of the march. He therefore wrote a letter, giving the details of their number and equipment and handed it over to a man from Babu Ghaffār, who was to hasten to Madinah and give the letter to the Prophet.

The Quraishites marched until they reached Al-Abwā' and passed the grave of Aaminah Bint Wahab — the Prophet's mother. There were some among them who would have exhumed the dead woman but their elders forbade them lest it might become a custom among the Arabs. They said, "Do not talk of such a thing. If we do this, the people of Banu Bakr and Banu Khuza'ah will exhume our dead." The Quraishites then continued their march till they reached Al-'Aqqūq where they made their camp at the foot of the mountain named Uhad, at a distance of five miles from Madīnah.

The Ghaffarite, whom Abbās had sent with a letter, meanwhile had reached Madinah. He found the Prophet in Qubā' at the gate of the mosque. He handed him the letter which was read to him by Ubayy Bin Ka'b. The Prophet concealed the contents of the letter, returned to the city and went to Sa'd Ibn-ir-Rab' in his house. He told him what Abbās had written from Mecca and he also promised to keep it



A view of the Mosque of the Holy Prophet with its Minarets and Domes, as well as the Green Dome that attracts the people while entering.





secret but his wife was in the house and listened, and it remained no secret. The Prophet sent two sons of Fuḍālah named Anas and Mūnis to get information about the Quraish. They found them near the city, their cattle and horses and camels grazing in the fields around Yathrab. The Prophet sent Al-Hubān Bin Al-Mundhir Bin Jamūh and Salmah Bin Salāmah on a similar mission. When the advance parties of the Quraish reached the outskirts of the city and had almost entered it, he returned to his people with the news of what he had seen. The people of Aws and Khazraj as well as other inhabitants of Madīnah became frightened at such an invasion as the Quraish had prepared, for it was unparalleled in the history of their wars. The Muslim inhabitants of Madīnah passed their night in the mosque with their arms, fearful that anything untoward might happen to the Prophet. The city was guarded throughout the night. At dawn, the Prophet called for prominent Muslims or those who pretended to be — the Munāfiqīn as they were called, and began discussing the matter as to how best to meet the enemy.

#### Proposal to fortify the city

The Prophet thought of fortifying themselves in the city and letting the Quraish stay outside, in which case, if they tried to force their way into the city, the Muslims, would be able to repel their attack and defeat them. Abdullah Bin Ubayy Ibn Salūl agreed with the Prophet and said, "O Prophet of Allah! We should fight from inside the city and let our women and children help from the walls with stones and between us we should make the city walls impregnable. In this way, it will be just like a castle from all the sides. If the enemy makes any advance, our women and children will stone them while we would fight them with our swords. "O Prophet of Allah! No enemy has ever entered this city of ours without being hit hard and none of them have got out without being hit hard. So let others say what they will; follow my advice, because I have inherited this idea from my elders who were men of ideas."

#### Supporters of Fighting Outside the City

The leading companions of the Prophet from among the Muhājirīn as well as Anṣār were of the same opinion as Abdullah Bin Ubayy. The Prophet too sided with them. But zealous young men who had not been at Badr, and those of the older people who had participated in the battle and God had blessed them with victory, filling their hearts with faith so that they believed no power could defeat them, these were in favour of going out of the city and facing the enemy where they had camped, lest the Quraish might think that Muslims were afraid to come out of the city and had fortified themselves in a cowardly way. Furthermore, they contended, they were nearer the city than on the Day of Badr. One of them said, "I would not like the Quraish to go back to their city and say that they had besieged Muhammad within the ramparts of Yathrab, because this would give encouragement to the Quraish. They are wandering in our orchards and fields and if we do not frighten them away, nothing can be cultivated there. If the Quraish remain there others will join them and they will also attract the Bedouins. Then they will come with their cattle and camels right into our central square. They will imprison us in our houses and fortifications and then depart without getting a scratch. If we do this, they will be more daring next time; they will attack us and fall upon us from all the sides. Their eyes will be pinned upon our city and our roads will be blocked to us." The supporters of fighting outside the city continued arguing in these terms. They reminded the Muslims that if they were victorious, it would be the fulfilment of their hopes and of what God had promised to His Prophet — and if they were defeated and martyred,



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they would all be in Heaven. Such talk of bravery and martyrdom played on their emotions until all were affected by the same spirit, and swept into this current singing the same song. When it appeared that the majority was in favour of facing the enemy outside the city, there was no alternative for the Prophet but to fall in with their opinion, because mutual consultation was the basis of the life in Madīnah. The Prophet never asserted his opinion except when it was revealed to him by God.

It was Friday. The Prophet said his prayers with the others. Then he told them that victory would be theirs if they were patient, and he ordered them to prepare to meet the enemy. The Prophet then entered his house after the 'Asr Prayers. During his absence the people continued their conversation. Usaid Bin Hudair and Sa'd Bin Ma'ādh, who were in favour of fortifying the town, said to the other party "You realize that the Prophet is in favour of fortifying ourselves in the city. What you have said has forced him against his judgement to agree on fighting outside the city. You should leave the matter to him and do what he thinks is best." The supporters of fighting outside the city relented and thought that they had defied the Prophet in something which God had meant to be a sign for them. When the Prophet came out of his house, having put on his armour and sword, those who were in favour of going outside the city, came forward and said to him, "We never intended to defy you "O" Prophet of Allah. You should do as you deem fit. We do not want you to do anything against your will and the matter rests with God and then with you." The Prophet said to them, "When I gave you my opinion, you refused to accept it." In this way the Prophet set a principle relating to communal consultation as the basis of rule. When a matter was decided by the majority after discussion, he would not reject it because of his own wishes; rather it became his duty to execute the matter accordingly and to direct all his energies towards achieving success.

### Muslims' March

The Prophet then marched with the Muslims towards Uḥad and reached a place called Ash-Shaikhain. There he saw a group of people whom he did not know. When he asked about them, he was told that they were the allies of Ibn Ubayy and were Jews. He said, "No help can come against idolators from idolators. The Jews left them and returned to Madinah. The friends of Abdullah Bin Ubayy began saying to him, "You advised him and gave him advice according to what your elders thought, and he agreed with you. Then he refused to act accordingly and followed those youngsters who are with him." This was what Abdullah Bin Ubayy himself was thinking. When morning came, he withdrew with his companions. The Prophet and the truly faithful were left in the field. Their number was around seven hundred and they faced three thousand Quraishites of Mecca, every one of whom had the scars of the Battle of Badr on him, and was keen to take revenge.

That morning, the Muslims continued their march until they reached Uḥad. They crossed its paths and, keeping it behind them, the Prophet arranged his companions into files and stationed fifty archers at the mouth of a narrow pass in the mountain. He said to them, "You should defend our rear position because we fear that they may attack us from behind. You must stick to your positions at all costs. If you see that we have defeated them and have penetrated into their camp, even then you should not leave your positions, even if you see that we are being killed, you should not come to our help. Your duty is to shower arrows on their horses because then they will not advance." Then, he forbade others to fight until he ordered them to.



## The Quraishite Women

The Quraishite too arranged their ranks. The right wing was given to the command of Khâlid Bin Walîd and left wing to 'Akramah Bin Abu Jahl. Abdul 'Uzza Talhah Bin Abi Talhah was appointed as the standard bearer. The Quraishite women kept walking in between the ranks, beating drums, sometimes in the front ranks and then in the rear. Hind Bint 'Utbah, the wife of Abu Sufyân was at their head.

Both the parties prepared for the battle, each encouraging and inciting its men. As to the Quraish, they recalled memories of Badr and those who died in that Battle. The Muslims remembered God and His help. The Prophet himself gave spirited speeches and incited the Muslims to fight, promising them victory if they were steadfast and patient. He put his hand on his sword and said, "Who will take it to do justice with it?" Many stood up but he did not give it to them. Then Abu Dujânâh got up. He asked him, "What is doing justice with it?" The Prophet said, "To fight against the enemy until it becomes curved." Abu Dujânah was renowned for his bravery. He took the sword and walked between the rank proudly, as was his habit during any battle. When the Prophet saw him pacing thus up and down the camp, he said, "This is a manner of walking which God dislikes except under such conditions."

The first one to start fighting between the two armies was Abu 'Aamir 'Abd 'Amr Bin Saïff Al-Awsî. He had moved from Madinah to Mecca and used to incite the Quraish on war against the Prophet. He did not participate in the Battle of Badr. For the Battle of Uhad, he came with about fifteen men from the Aws and some slaves of Mecca. He presumed that, when he called upon those of his tribe who were fighting on the side of the Muslims, they would respond and come to his side to help the Quraish. He therefore advanced towards the Muslims and called out, "O men of the Aws! I am Abu 'Aamir." The Muslims of his tribe replied, "May God not bless you with sight, oh, transgressor." This exchange was followed by fighting between the two armies. The slaves of the Quraish with 'Akramah Bin Abu Jahl, who was commanding the left wing, attempted to capture one wing of the Muslims. But the Muslims threw stones on them so that Abu 'Aamir and his companions took to their heels. Here Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib gave his battle-cry and rushed into the centre of the Quraishite army. Similarly, the Meccan standard-bearer of the Quraish, Talhah Ibn Abi Talhah shouted, "Who will fight with me?" He was answered by Ali Bin Abi Tâlib, and they faced each other. Ali fell upon his opponent and felled him with one blow. The Prophet was overjoyed to see this and cried out, "Allah-o-Akbar"! The Muslims joined him in raising this cry. Abu Dujâbah too rushed into the enemy lines with the Prophet's sword in his hand and split the enemy ranks. He saw a person injuring many. He went towards him with his sword at which that person began making cries of fear and Abu Dujânah discovered that the person was Hind Bint 'Utbah, the wife of Sufyân. On seeing this he left her out of respect for the Prophet's sword, with which he would not kill a woman.

When the Quraishite standard-bearer was killed, nine different persons carried the flag one after another, but the moment any one of them took it over, Ali Bin Abi Tâlib would attack him and kill him and the Meccan standard would again fall. At-Tabarî has said, "When Ali Bin Abi Tâlib had killed all those standard-bearers, the Prophet saw a group of idol-worshippers heading towards him. The Prophet called to him and asked him to attack them; this he did and dispersed them. Whenever the Prophet saw a group coming, he would ask Ali to attack and disperse them, which he would immediately do. When the standard of the Quraishites fell



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for the last time, it contributed a lot to the defeat of the Meccans, because no one dared come forward to raise it, and in those days an army followed the standard; if it was flying, the army would advance, but if it fell, it would retreat. This is standard-bearers were always chosen for their bravery.

### Martyrdom of Hamzah

Hamzah Bin Abdul Muttalib was one of the greatest Arab heroes and warriors. He had killed 'Utbah (father of Hind, the wife of Abu Sufyân), 'Utbah's brother and many other of his kinsmen. Hind therefore promised a slave named Wahshî that she would reward him if he killed Muhammad or Ali or Hamzah. It is reported that Wahshî said, "I marched out with other persons (towards Uhah). I threw an Ethiopian weapon at my adversaries and hardly ever missed the target. When the battle started, I went out and watched Hamzah carefully. I saw him as if he were a white camel among the people, cutting them away with his sword. I aimed my weapon until I was sure of its hitting the target, then I threw it at Hamzah and it pierced his abdomen. I left it there until he died, then I came to him, took my weapon back, came back to the camp and sat there, because I had no affair with others."

### Muslims' Victory on The Morning of Uhah

It would seem that the victory achieved by the Muslims on the morning of Uhah was miracle of war. The Quraishite army, with three thousand horsemen was scattered by the attack of about six hundred Muslims. Their women were in danger of being taken captive and humiliated. The Muslims chased the enemy, using their weapons against them as they wished until they drove them beyond their camp. Now the Muslims turned their attention to booty. What worse could happen. It diverted them from chasing the enemy and engaged them in getting worldly wealth.

Now those archers whom the Prophet had stationed at the gorge and ordered to stick to their positions, even if they saw him and his companions being killed, saw the Muslims engaged in looting. Some of them tempted by the booty, said "Why are we staying here without any purpose when God has defeated the enemy, and our brethren are right in their camp. Let us enter the camp and join in getting the booty." One of them reminded them what the Prophet had told them and said, "Did not the Prophet tell us not to leave our positions and even if we saw them being killed, not to come to their rescue?" But the former said, "The Prophet of God would not want us to stay here after God has humiliated the idol-worshippers." They disagreed with one another. Their commander, Abdullah Bin Jubair reprimanded them and ordered them not to go against the commands of the Prophet. But most of them disobeyed him and went away, and the remaining persons were less than ten. Those who had left their positions, engaged in plunder like the other Muslims. Khalîd Bin Walîd the commander of the Meccan cavalry, saw the opportunity and attacked the mouth of the gorge where the archers were and captured it. The Muslims never anticipated of such an action and they had been so diverted by the booty which they were busy gathering, that none was left who did not get anything. When Khalîd Bin Walîd raised his battle-cry, the retreating Quraishites realized that he had fallen upon the Muslims from the rear, and they returned to the battle and began hitting the Muslims hard. Now the tables were turned against the Muslims. They threw away whatever they had and got back to their swords to fight. But alas, Their ranks were disrupted and chaos reigned among the Muslims and their unity shattered. The vast ocean of the Quraishite enemy, swallowed up those chosen Muslims; until then they had been fighting according to the instructions of God de-

fending their faith, but now they were struggling hard to save themselves from death and humiliation. Previously, they were fighting as one for an ideal, but now they were engaged in saving themselves while their ranks were scattered. Previously they were under a wise, strong and decisive leadership but now they were fighting without any leader. It was therefore not surprising that a Muslim should hit another Muslim without knowing it. Someone cried out, "The Prophet has been killed." This cry increased the chaos and made the situation more critical. In their nervousness, the Muslims began mistakenly fighting with one another. The Muslims killed their brother in faith Husail Bin Jâbir Abu Hadhîrah without being aware of it. The foremost concern of every one of them was save his own skin, except those whom God had spared and saved from this attitude, of whom Ali Bin Abi Talib was one.

### The Prophet Is Hit

When the Quraishites heard about the death of Prophet, they all rushed to the place where he was. Ali Bin Abi Talib was standing near the Prophet fighting off the Quraish and defending the Prophet without rest. He was joined by Sahl Bin Hanff and Abu Dujânah. The Quraish began throwing stones at them, one of which hit the Prophet on his face. This made him fall into a pit which Abu 'Aamir had made for the Muslims to fall in. Immediately Ali Bin Abi Talib went to him and gave him a hand. The Prophet and those who were with him went towards the mountain to be safe from the enemy.

At-Tabarî has reported, "The Prophet got separated from his companions. Some of them went straight to Madinah while others rushed up to the mountain peak. The news of the death of the Prophet spread among the people. Some of those who were on the mountain peak, said "let us have a messenger sent to Abdullah Bin Ubayy who may secure us amnesty from Abu Sufyân. Oh comrades of mine, the Prophet has been killed. You should therefore return to your people before they come and kill you." This statement shows that the man who said such words was from among the Muhâjirîn. Similarly, At-Tabarî says that Uthmân Bin Affân along with two men from the Ansar ran away towards Al-Jal'ab, a mountain near Madinah and remained hidden there for three days.

Those who thought the Prophet had been killed, including Abu Bakr and 'Umar, went towards the mountain and climbed it. They were sighted by Anas Bin An-Nadr, who said, "What makes you sit here?" They said that the Prophet had been killed. He replied, "What then are you doing with your life? Get up and die on what he has died." (1)

The Quraish were overjoyed with the news that the Prophet had died, and Abu Sufyân began searching for him among the dead. But Ka'b Bin Mâlik saw the Prophet and recognized him from his eyes under the helmet. He therefore called, "O Muslims. There is a good news for you. Here is the Prophet of God."

The Quraish, meanwhile, overjoyed with their victory, considered they had taken revenge for the Battle of Badr and cried out, "A day for the Day of Badr, and we meet next year." But his wife, Hind Bint 'Utbah was not to be satisfied with victory or the death of Hamzah, she and other women who had come along with her, went around the battlefield disfiguring the dead bodies of the Muslims and mutilating their noses and ears. Hind made herself a necklace of ears and noses. She then cut open the abdomen of Hamzah and pulled out his liver and began trying to get her teeth into it, but she could not. When the news of these atrocities

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L. At-Tabarî and Haikal,



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reached the Quraishites, even some of them condemned and denounced such actions. One of them declared that he would never have asked them to do such things and said, addressing the Muslims, "If some of your men's dead bodies have been mutilated, by God. Although I never forbade it, I take no pleasure from it."

The Quraishites left the field after burying their dead, and then the Muslims came to bury theirs. The Prophet went over the field in search of the dead body of his uncle, Ḥamzah. When he saw him with his body mutilated and abdomen cut apart, he was grieved and said, "No one ever suffered as you have done. I have never stood before so distressing a sight." Hamzah was buried. Similarly, the Prophet ordered the burial of others. They were buried where they had fallen. The Muslims then returned to Madinah, leaving behind them seventy slain. The remembrance of what had befallen them in the form of defeat after the victory and humiliation after extreme kind of success, sent a pang through their souls. This all was due to the disobedience of the Prophet's orders by the archers and Muslims negligence of the enemy for sake of gathering the booty.

### Re-establishing Muslims' Prestige

The Prophet entered his house deeply thinking of many things. There were the inhabitants of Yathrab, the Jews, idolators and hypocrites, who were expressing their delight over the defeat of the Muslims. The authority of Muslims in Madinah had become unchallenged and none had dared to question it, but now it was shaken and undermined. Then, too, there was Abdullah Bin Ubayy Ibn Salūl who had gone to Uḥad with his men, but had returned without fighting on the pretext that the Prophet had not listened to his advice, or had made his supporters from among the Jews unwelcome. He was realizing that, if the defeat in the Battle of Uḥad were to be the final decision between the Quraish and the Muslims, they would lose their prestige in the eyes of the Bedouins, their authority in Yathrab would be in doubt, and they would become the target of the Quraishites' mockery; the latter spreading the news with derision throughout the Arabian Peninsula. If these things happened, the result would be that all the idol-worshippers would take new courage against the religion of God, and this would be a great setback. It was therefore imperative that they strike boldly and quickly in order to lessen the effects of the defeat. The Muslims' morale must be revived, and respect put back into the hearts of Jews and idolators, so that the authority of the Muslims be restored and their position in Yathrab as it was before the defeat.

The morning after the defeat (the defeat of Uḥad took place during the first ten days of Shawwāl), the Muslims were called by the Prophet to set out in pursuit of the enemy. It was also declared that none should join the chase unless he had taken part in the battle. The Muslims thus came out from Madinah. Abu Sufyān fearing that his enemies had returned with fresh reinforcements from Madinah avoided them. Muhammad reached Hamrâ-ul-Asad, (1) at which time Abu Sufyān and his companions were at An Rawhâ. The latter encountered Mu'bid Al-Khuzâ'î, who had met the Muslims on their march, and asked him about them. He replied, "Muhammad has come out with his companions searching for in such numbers that I have not seen before. Those, who had remained behind on the first occasion, have also joined him now. And all of them are in deadly anger against you and determined on taking revenge." Abu Sufyān fell into deep thought, wondering whether his slipping away and avoiding a meeting with the Muslims at that time might have a bad effect

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1. A place at a distance of eight miles from Madinah.

and wipe out the results of his victory. Would not the Arabs, he thought, say against the Quraish just those things he wanted them to say against Muhammad and his companions? - And if he went back to face the Muslims and was defeated, it would be fatal for the prestige of the Quraish. He therefore resorted to other tactics and sent a message through some men from Banu Abdul Qais, who were going to Madinah, to tell the Prophet that he (Abu Sufyân) had returned to annihilate the Muslims once and for all. When this message was delivered to the Prophet, he was at Hamrâ'ul Asad, but his determination remained unshaken and his firmness unaffected. He remained there for three days, and let fires burn throughout the nights so that the Quraish should know he was determined, and was waiting for them. In the end, the courage of Abu Sufyân and the Quraish broke, and they decided to be content with their victory at Uhad and returned to Mecca. The Prophet went back to Madinah, his action having restored the Muslims' position, which had been in danger after the Battle of Uhad, and those who had started mocking the Muslims were silenced.

#### AFTER-EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE OF UHAD

When Abu Sufyân returned to Mecca after the Battle of Uhad, the news of his victory had already reached there. It brought a wave of joy and happiness because the shame and humiliation the Quraish had suffered in their defeat at Badr had been wiped out. Immediately on his entry into Mecca, Abu Sufyân went to the Ka'bah before going to his house. There he offered his gratitude to his chief god, Hubal. He then cut off the lock of hair which he had grown as an oath, and went to his house, having fulfilled his pledge that he would not approach his wife until he had scored a victory over Muhammad.

As for the Muslims, they came back to Madinah where things had changed for them, despite their chasing and challenging the Quraish who did not dare return despite their victory over the Muslims just twenty four hours earlier. Although the authority of the Prophet was still supreme, yet the circumstances had changed for the worse. The Prophet full well realized the critical situation which had arisen out and the setback the Muslims had received. The change had occurred not only in Madinah, but with all the Bedouin tribes as well. They had hitherto been in dread of the Muslims, but their defeat in the Battle of Uhad restored their confidence and gave them ideas of again opposing the Muslims and planning against them. This is why the Prophet was particular to be fully aware of what was going on in Madinah and outside so that the shaken reputation of the Muslims could be restored and their authority re-established.

#### Patrol of Abi Salmah Ibn Abdul Asad

The first piece of information, which reached him two months after the Battle of Uhad, indicated that Tulaihah and Salmah, who were both sons of Khuwailad and chiefs of Banu Asad, were instigating their kinsmen and followers against the Muslims, and urging them to invade Madinah, striking at the Prophet right in his own home, so that they might ransack the city and loot the property of the Muslims and the crops raised on the agricultural lands surrounding the city. What encouraged them on such an action was the idea that the Muslims might still be suffering from the after-effects of the Battle of Uhad. But no sooner did the news reach the Prophet than he called Abu Salmah Bin Abdul Asad and gave him the command of a patrol comprising 150 warriors, including Abu 'Ubaidah Ibn Al-Jarrâh, Sa'd Bin Abi Waqqâs, Usaid Bin Hudair and others, and asked him to march during the night, keeping hidden during the day, and to follow a little-known route



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so that none should be informed of their approach. Then they should surprise the enemy with an attack. Abu Salmah complied with the orders and caught those people unprepared for fighting. He surrounded them and urged his companions to fight desperately. The idol-worshippers soon fled. He sent two parties after them for booty. He and the remaining members of the patrol stayed until these parties returned with the spoils. He set aside the fifth of the booty, as the share of God, His Prophet, the destitute and the travellers, and distributed the remaining things among the members of his party. They came back to Madīnah victoriously, and the influence and authority of the Muslims was firmly re-established despite their defeat in the Battle of Uhā. Abu Salmah, however, did not live long after this venture. He was wounded in the Battle of Uhā and his injuries were not completely healed up when he had to go on this patrol. His efforts led his partly healed wounds open up and bleed again. He remained in his condition for some days and finally died.

### Campaign of Abdullah Ibn Anfs

The Prophet received other information that Khālid Bin Sufyān Bin Nubaih Al-Hudhālī, who was living in Nakhlah or 'Uranah, was gathering men to attack the Muslims. He therefore called Abdullah Bin Anfs and asked him to reconnoitre in order to discover the truth of the information. Abdullah marched out and met Khālid while he was busy in arranging the camp for his women. When Khālid finished, he asked Abdullah who he was. Abdullah told that he was one of the Bedouins and had come to join him after hearing about his mobilizing a force against the Muslims. Khālid made no secret from him that he was indeed mobilizing a force. When Abdullah later found him alone he managed to take him out for a stroll, during which, having an opportunity, he attacked Khālid and killed him. He then left the women to their wailing and told the Prophet what had happened. This made the people of Banu Lihyān keep quiet for some time before they began thinking of taking revenge for their chief.

### The Day of Ar-Rajf

In the meantime a party of men from a tribe, which was a neighbour of Banu Hudhail, came to the Prophet and said to him, "We are Muslims and so are our tribesmen. You should therefore send some of your companions with us so that they may teach our tribesmen about the laws of Islam and read to them from the Quran." The Prophet would send out his companions whenever such a request came, so that they might carry out this religious duty and invite the people to the Right Path and the Right Religion, and that they should be the supporters of the Muslims against their enemies, as we have already seen when he sent out his companions after the Grand Oath of Fealty taken at Al'Aqabah. He therefore, sent six of his senior companions with the delegation. They travelled with the party till they reached the water-holes belonging to Banu Hudhail at a place in Hijāz called Ar-Rajf. There the party betrayed the Muslims and called out the men of Banu Hudhail. The six Muslims, who were riding their camels, saw everywhere men with their swords drawn, men who had deceived them. They therefore drew out their swords in order to fight. But the Hudhailites said to them, "By God, we do not want to fight against you or kill you. We want you to go with us to Mecca so that we may hand you over to them. We give you our pledge in the name of God that we shall not harm you." The Muslims looked at one another. They fully realized that going to Mecca with those people was great humiliation and worse than

being killed. They therefore refused to accept the proposal and prepared to fight, although they knew that they were a small number and no match for the opponents. The Hudhailites killed three of them and took the other three prisoner. They then set out for Mecca so as to sell them. On way to Mecca, one of the Muslims, Abdullah Bin Târiq, got himself loose from the rope he was tied with and took up his sword. The Hudhailites were behind him and began stoning him and thus he was killed. The remaining two captives were taken to Mecca and sold. One of them, Zaid Bin Ad-Dathinnah was sold out to Safwân Bin Umayyah who had bought him to kill as a revenge for his father, Umayyah Bin Khalaf. He handed over Zaid to his slave Nastâs so that he should be murdered. Before giving him over to Nastâs, Abu Sufyân asked Zaid, "In the name of God, tell me one thing. Would you not like Muhammad to be in your place while we behead him, and you to be among your family?" Zaid replied, "No, by God, I would not wish that Muhammad should even be hurt by a thorn though I may be sitting in my house." Abu Sufyân liked this reply and said, "I have never seen anyone loved by his companions as Muhammad is." Nastâs killed Zaid who became martyr for his religion and his Prophet. As to the second one, named Khubaib, he was imprisoned until they took him out in order to crucify him. He said to them, "If you deem fit, allow me to say two rak'at of prayers." This request they granted. Khubaib said his prayer in the best way he could. Then he went towards the people and said, "By God, I would have prolonged my prayers, but I was afraid, you would think that I was doing it on account my fear of death." He was then raised on the cross. When they had fixed him there, he looked at them with anger and cried out, "O God, Destroy them collectively, and kill them individually and do not let anyone of them escape." This cry shook the people and they fell back lest the curse should fall upon them. Then he was killed. In this way, Khubaib was martyred like his comrade, for sake of his Creator, his religion and the Prophet. Both these pious souls rose to heaven, disdaining to save themselves earthly death, as they might had, they agreed to apostatize. But their faith in God, in the soul and in the Day of Resurrection, (when every soul will get its reward or punishment according to its deeds or misdeeds and when none will bear the burden of others) made them see death which is the end of every living being, as the best ending of life, for sake of their beliefs and their faith in the Truth. They had also firm belief that their blood shed in Mecca would soon call their Muslims brethren to it and that they would march into the city as conquerors, destroy the idols, purify it from the corruption of idol-worship and paganism, and restore sanctity to the House of God — the Ka'bah, which would be devoted to the worship of none other than God.

The Prophet and the Muslims were aggrieved at what had befallen their six brethren who had been martyred in the way of God, through the betrayal of Banu Hudhail. Hassân Bin Thâbit sent elegies written about Khubaib and Zaid. The Prophet thought deeply about the Muslims as he was afraid that such incidents might be repeated and that the Bedouins might look at them slightly. Nothing is more detrimental to the prestige of person than being slighted by any one. He was interrupted in his thinking by the arrival of Abu Barâ' Aamir Bin Mâlik, who was a linguist. The Prophet invited him towards Islam but he refused. He however did not show his animosity towards Islam and said to the Prophet, "Oh Muhammad, If you send some of your friends to the Najd and call them towards Islam, I hope they will respond to your call." But the Prophet suspected the people of Najd might also betray them, like the men of Banu Hudhail. He was therefore not convinced and did not respond to the request of Abu Barâ', who then said, "I give them protection, you may send them in safety." He was an influential person and none dared do any harm to those to whom he had given protection. The Prophet therefore sent Al-



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Mundhir Bin 'Amr, a brother of Banu Sâ'idah with forty of his chosen companions, They set out on their journey until they reached the Well of Ma'ûnah, which lay between the territory of Banu 'Aamir and of Banu Sulaim. There they sent Harâm Bin Milhân with a letter from the Prophet to 'Aamir Bin At-Tufail. He did not look at the letter but killed the messenger and called upon the people of Banu 'Aamir to kill the Muslims, but they refused because they did not want to harm a person whom Abu Barâ' had given guarantee of protection. On their refusal, Aamir called upon other tribes who responded and surrounded the Muslims. When the Muslims saw them, they took out their swords and began fighting. One who was saved was Ka'b Bin Zaid who was left by 'Aamir while he had but little life in him. He lived and reached Madînah. Another who escaped was 'Amr Bin Umayyah whom 'Aamir Bin At-Tufail spared thinking that 'Amr had some relationship with his mother. This 'Amr met two persons on his way back to Madînah. He took them when they were asleep. After this he continued his journey, and, on reaching Madînah, told the Prophet what he had done. Those two persons turned out to be from the tribe of Abu Barâ' with whom the Muslims had a pact of mutual protection. This made it necessary that blood money be paid to their relatives.

The Prophet became much aggrieved on account of the victims of the Well of Ma'ûnah and said, "This is Abu Barâ's doing. I was already afraid and hesitant to agree." The behaviour of 'Aamir Bin At-Tufail was felt deeply by Abu Barâ, so much so that his son went 'Aamir and killed him in revenge for his father. The grief of the Prophet was so great that for one month he kept asking God after the morning prayer to avenge the death of those innocent Muslims. The Muslims believed that the victims of the Well of Ma'ûnah were all martyrs and thus deserved the reward of Heaven, were all affected by what had befallen their brethren-in-Faith.

### The Jews and Equivocators of Madînah

The Jews and Equivocators of Madînah found in the incidents of Ar-Rajî' and the Well of Ma'ûnah a reminder of the victory the Quraish had won in the battle of Uhad and this made them forget the success of the Muslims against Banu Asad. This covered the prestige of the Muslims in their eyes. The Prophet thought over the situation with great political insight. He knew that there was nothing more dangerous for the Muslims than weakening of their authority in Madînah, and the lowering of their prestige among its inhabitants; besides which, nothing could be more tempting for the Bedouin tribes than the feeling that internal split in the city could result into a civil war if it was invaded by some of its neighbours. He also noticed that the Jews and the Equivocators behaved as if they were always spying and waiting for a chance to strike. He therefore came to the conclusion that nothing could be better than discovering their opinions and making them expose their intentions. As the Jews of Banu Nadîr were allies of Banu 'Aamir, he went to their locality, near Qûbâ', with ten of his prominent companions, and asked them for their assistance in the payment of blood money for the murder of those two who were killed by 'Umar Bin Umayyah, in mistake and without knowledge that the Prophet had given them his protection.

### Conspiracy of the Jews

When the Jews were told what has already been mentioned, they expressed their joy, ecstasy and their willingness to help in the matter. But very soon the Prophet realized during the discussions that they were all preparing a conspiracy against him. One of them went towards a corner while others seemed to remember the



death of Ka'b Bin Al-Ashraf. Another one, namely, 'Amr Bin Jihāsh Bin Ka'b entered the house, against the wall of which the Prophet was leaning. When saw such movements, his suspicions, already aroused by information received, were further increased. At once he got up and withdrew from his place leaving his companions behind, giving them the impression that he was about some errand, the Jews, sensing the real matter and did not know what to say to the companions of the Prophet or what to do. If they behaved treacherously and killed them, the Prophet was there to avenge their deaths in a terrible manner, and if they left them, their conspiracy would probably not come to light, and thus the agreement between them and the Muslims might continue as it was. They therefore tried to pacify the Muslims and treat them well so as to remove any doubts which they might have entertained. But the companions of the Prophet realized was something wrong and got up in search of him. They met a man coming from Madīnah who told them that the Prophet had entered the city and gone directly to the mosque. They went to him. When he told them how he suspected the movements of the Jews there and their conspiracy to betray them, they themselves recalled what they had seen, and their faith in the insight of Prophet and in what was revealed to him increased.

#### Banishment of Banu Nadīr From Madīnah

The Prophet then called Muhammad Bin Muslimah and told him to go to the Jews of Banu Nadīr and say to them, "The Prophet of God has sent me to you to ask you leave this country. You have violated the pact and planned to betray and conspire against him. I give you ten days notice to leave, after which whosoever is seen here will be beheaded." At this the Jews became very distressed, but they did not know what to say or how to reply. They however said to Muhammad Bin Muslimah, "We would never have expected such a thing to come to us from a person belonging to Banū Aws." This was an allusion to their support given to Banu Aws in their war against Banu Khazraj. But the only reply Ibn Muslimah gave was that hearts had changed.

#### Jews Instigated

These people took their time getting ready for their departure. This was because of the fact that two messengers had come from Abdullah Bin Ubayy who had told them, "Do not leave your country and your property but fortify yourselves, and I along with two thousand people from my own tribe and the Bedouins will enter your forts, and with you, will kill the last of the Muslims before they harm you." Banu Nadīr held their council to discuss Abdullah Bin Ubayy's message. They found it difficult to decide what to do. There were some among them who had no faith whatsoever in Abdullah Bin Ubayy. Had he not given his promise in the same to Banu Qainuqā', but when the situation became serious, had he not slipped away? They also knew that Banu Quraizah would never help them because of a pact with the Muslims. They further realized that, if they vacated their houses and settled in Khyber or another neighbouring locality, they would be able to come back to Madinah when their date-trees bore fruit, and be in a position to reap the harvest. In this way they would not lose all. But their leader Huyayy Bin Akhtab said, "No, none of this. I am sending a messenger to Muhammad-telling him that we will not leave our lands and our property, and he can do whatever he wants. We have only to repair our fortifications and shelter there whenever need arises; we must stock up with provisions and barricade our streets by piling up stones. We can have food enough for a year and



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our water will never be cut off. Muhammad cannot besiege us for a year." The ten-day notice given to the Jews expired, but they did not leave.

### Siege of Banu Nadîr

The Muslims therefore armed themselves and besieged the Jews, whom they fought for ten days. During this siege, if the Muslims appeared in a street or near a house, the Jews retreated to the next after destroying the one where were. Vainly the Jews waited for Abdullah Bin Ubayy or the Bedouins to come to their rescue, until at last they had no doubts about their fate if they insisted on further resistance. Thus, when the Jews reached the end of their endurance, they asked the Prophet to give them assurance as to the safety of their lives, their belongings and their families so that they might leave the town. The Prophet compromised with them on the conditions under which they should leave the town. Every three persons would be allowed to take one camel on which they might carry whatever they were able of their belongings, food or water. The Jews, led by Huyayy Bin Akhtab thus marched out of the town. Some of them settled in Khyber while others continued their march towards Adhri'ât in Syria.

The land which the Jews had left behind them was the best the Muslims ever won out of any campaign, although that land was not considered as booty of war. It was therefore not distributed among the Muslims but left at the disposal of the Prophet, to give to anyone he liked. He therefore distributed the land among the Muhâjirîn only, and a part was set aside for the destitute and the poor, whosoever they might be. In this way, the Muhâjirîn were no more in need of the help of the Ansâr and became equal financially. None of the Ansâr was given a share of that land except Abu Dujânah and Sahl Bin Hunaif, who had talked about their poverty to the Prophet. He therefore gave them a share as he had done in case of the Muhâjirîn, only two from among the Jews of Banu Nadîr converted to Islam.

It is not difficult to evaluate this victory of the Muslims over the Jews and the latter's departure from Madînah. We have explained what the Prophet thought about their activities in Madînah, activities that encouraged undesirable elements and trouble makers and invited the equivocators to raise their heads whenever the Muslims suffered a setback, besides posing a perpetual threat of civil war should the Muslims be attacked by their enemies outside.

### ZAINAB BINT JAHSH

During the period in which the incidents mentioned in the previous chapter happened, the Prophet married Zainab Bint Khuzaimah, Umm Salmah Bint Abi Umayyah Bin Al-Mughîrah and then Zainab Bint Jahsh, after she was divorced by Zaid Bin Hârithah. This Zaid was the one whom the Prophet had adopted after freeing him when he bought him for Khadijah. This is the point where the Orientalists and the missionaries object and say, "Look, Muhammad has changed. The one who was the up-holder of contentment, piety, asceticism, unity and renunciation, has changed into lustful man who feels desire at the sight of a woman, and who is not contented with three women in his house but marries another three (whom we have mentioned above). Not only this, but also three more after these. He does not stop at marrying those women who have no husbands, but also falls in love with Zainab Bint Jahsh, who was the wife of his freed slave Zaid Bin Hârithah, after going to Zaid's house while he was absent. She received him while she was wearing such clothes as to show off her beauty which attracted him and he said, 'Praise be to God who changes hearts.' He repeated these words later and Zainab heard them and saw the fire

of love in his eyes. This made her feel elated and she told Zaid what she had heard. He immediately went to the Prophet and expressed his willingness to divorce her. But the Prophet said to him, 'Keep your wife to yourself and fear God'. But Zainab did not live properly with Zaid after this incident and he finally divorced her. The Prophet refrained from marrying her although his heart was busy with thoughts of her. Then the following verses were revealed:

When thou saidst unto him on whom God hath conferred favour and thou hast conferred favor: Keep thy wife to thyself, and fear God. Thou didst hide in thy mind that which God was to bring to light, and thou didst fear mankind whereas God hath a better right that thou shouldst fear Him. So when Zaid had performed the necessary formality (of divorce) from her, We gave her unto thee in marriage, so that (henceforth) there may be no sin for believers in respect of wives of their adopted sons, when the latter have performed the necessary formality (of release) from them. The commandment of God must be fulfilled. (1)

Thus he married her and in this way the fire of his heart and flames of love were satisfied." "What kind of a Prophet he is," continue the orientalists, "How does he allow himself things that are not allowed to others, according to the law which he says God has sent through him? How does he create this 'harem' which reminds us of the stories of libertine kings instead of the pious and the reformers — the Prophets? Furthermore, how does his submission to the desires of love for Zainab lower him to the extent that he asks his freed-slave Zaid to divorce her, and then marries her? This was forbidden during the pre-Islamic period, but the Prophet of the Muslims allowed it in order to satisfy his lust and fulfil the dictates of love."

The orientalists let their imagination loose while they discuss this incident in the life of the Prophet. Some of them have gone to such an extent that they have portrayed Zainab at the time the Prophet saw her as being almost half-nude with her long black hair was falling down her body to make her tempting in every meaning of the word. Others say that, when the door of Zaid's house opened, the breeze played with the curtain of Zainab's room while she lay stretched out in her sleeping gown. This scene affected the heart of this man who had great attraction towards women. He concealed what was in his heart, but could not do so for a long time. Such imaginary situations have been concocted by a number of orientalists and missionaries, which is very unfortunate as these people depended upon reports which are found in some books of biography and those of the Tradition, and then felt themselves free to build up imaginary stories regarding the Prophet's attitude towards women. They brought as evidence to these stories the various marriages of the Prophet, which according to the most authentic reports were nine, or more according to others.

It is within our right to say in reply to these tall stories, "Supposing they are true, then what reflections do they cast upon the personality and greatness of the Prophet and his prophethood?" We all know that the laws which are applicable to common

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1. The Quran, XXXIII, 37.



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people do not apply to great men, not to speak of the Prophets. Did not Moses see two men quarrelling, one being his friend and the other his enemy? He struck his enemy and killed him. This is killing without war or any situation resembling war and is therefore violation of law. Despite this Moses was not made subject to law and this incident did not reflect upon his greatness or his prophethood. The case of Jesus is the greatest exception to the law of nature, not comparing with the cases of Moses or Muhammad, or any other prophet. His case is not connected with power or desire; it relates to his birth and his life, which is against all the laws of nature. The Spirit of God presented Itself to his mother in the form of a man, in order to bestow upon her an intelligent and pious child. She was surprised and said: "How shall I whom no mortal has touched have a son, neither have I been unchaste?" He replied, "Undoubtedly, God wants him to be a sign of His being among men." When the birth-pangs were felt by her, she said, "Would I had died ere this, and become thing forgotten." But the one that was below her called her, "Nay, do not sorrow; see, thy Lord has set below thee a rivulet." Then, she brought the child to her people who said, "You have surely committed a monstrous thing." Then, Jesus talked to them while he was in his cradle and said, "Lo, I am God's servant;...." However may the Jews deny this, and in whatever way might they attribute his birth to Joseph, the carpenter, the greatness of Jesus, his prophethood and his message were a guide and a miracle of God, who made him an exception to all the laws of nature and modes of creation. It is surprising that the Christian missionaries should believe in all this, which is clear violation of the laws of nature, and take exception in case of Muhammad for what he was not, and which does not go behind the fact that he was above ordinary laws of society, which is allowed to very great man.

We could face these objections in this way, and it would be sufficient to refute the accusations of the missionaries and arguments of those orientalist who follow them. But in this attitude, we would have committed a crime against history and offended the greatness of Muhammad and his message. This is because of the fact that he was not what all these people have depicted him to be. He was not a person to give up his reason under the influence of lust. He did not marry any one out of his lust or romance. If some of the Muslim writers have said so, and have allowed themselves to attribute such things to him, or given such an evidence to enemies inadvertantly, it is because they have been completely diverted by imitation of others to materialism, and they therefore wanted to depict the Prophet as great in everything, even in lust. But such a portrayal of his personality is incorrect and history refutes it entirely.

When he married Khadījah, his age was twenty-three, in the prime of his youth, manhood, elegance and handsomeness. Despite this, she remained his only wife for a period of twenty-eight years, until he reached his fiftieth year of his life. This happened in spite of the act that polygamy was normally practised by the Arabs during that age. At that time, Muhammad was justified in marrying in addition to Khadījah because no male child borne by her had survived, and the Arab custom regarded the son as the heir while girls were often buried at birth. But despite all this, he remained with Khadījah for seventeen years before the declaration of his prophethood, and eleven years after, and he never thought of letting any other woman share his love with Khadijah. Nor was there known anything about him during his life after marriage with Khadijah, or before, that bodily charm of women had any unusual temptation for him, especially as the women in that age did not use veils, but instead went out explicitly exhibiting their charm and beauty, a custom which was later on prohibited by Islam. It is therefore unnatural and unreasonable that after reaching the age of fifty, he should have undergone such a

change in his attitude. That the moment he saw Zainab Bint Jahsh, he would feel himself under her spell and become absorbed in thoughts of her, despite having five women in his house, including 'Aa'ishah whom he loved most, and continued to do so throughout the remaining period of his life. It is also unnatural that he, after reaching the age of fifty, should marry seven wives in five years making a total of nine wives in seven years, just because of his lust and desire for women, as some Muslim writers have said and which the Western writers have enlarged upon, portraying him in such a way which does not befit an ordinary person, not to speak of a person like him, whose message revolutionized the world and changed the course of history. Nay, it is still capable of changing the course of events and revolutionizing the world once again.

If his marriages were strange and seemingly unnatural, it is further surprising to note that Khadījah bore him many children before he reached the age of fifty. Mariyyah bore him a son, Ibrāhīm, when his age was sixty. But his other wives did not give birth to any child, despite the fact that all of them were quite young, and nothing was wrong on their side or that of the Prophet. Nor they were of thirty or forty years of age having given birth to children before. How can we therefore explain this incident of the life of the Prophet to comply with the laws of nature in case of nine women? There is however no doubt that, being a man, the Prophet had a desire to have a son, although his prophethood had made him father of all the Muslims from spiritual point of view.

Furthermore, history and its logic belie and refute all the attributions of the orientalist and the missionaries in connection with his marriages. As we have already said, he did not let any other share his life while Khadījah was alive, for a period of twenty-eight years. When she died, he married Sawdah Bint Zam'ah, the widow of Al-Karrān Bin 'Amr Bin Abd Shams. No one has ever suggested that she was either very beautiful, or very rich to tempt him to marry her. The only reason was that she was the widow of one of the earliest Muslims, who suffered a lot for sake of Islam and had migrated to Ethiopia at the orders of the Prophet. Sawdah turned a Muslim and migrated with her husband to Ethiopia where she had to undergo all the troubles and difficulties which the other Muslims faced. Hence, if he married her afterwards in order to support her and raise her to the status of Umm-ul-Mu'minīn (Mother of the Faithful), it deserves all appreciation and admiration. Similarly, he married Zainab Bint Khuzaimah and Umm Salmah. Zainab Bint Khuzaimah was the wife of 'Ubaidah Bin Al-Hārith Bin Muttalib who was martyred in the Battle of Badr. She was not very much beautiful, but was renowned for her charity and goodness, so that she was known as Umm-ul-Masākīn (Mother of the Destitute). She had already passed her youth and died within a year or two of her marriage to the Prophet. Thus being the only wife of the Prophet, in addition to Khadījah, who died during his life. As for Umm Salmah, she was the wife of Abu Salmah and had given birth to many children. We have already mentioned her husband Abu Salmah, who was wounded in the Battle of Uhad. Then the Prophet called upon him to fight against Banu Asad, which he did and defeated them, bringing the booty to Madinah. But during this campaign, his wounds opened up again and he died of them soon after. The Prophet himself came to his death-bed, prayed for him and attended him until his death. When he died, the Prophet closed his eyes. Four months after his death, he proposed to Umm Salmah. She offered an excuse of having a big family and having passed her age of marriage. But the Prophet insisted and finally married her. In this way, he took upon himself the responsibility of caring for her children. Do the orientalist and missionaries, having noted this incident, claim that it was the beauty of Umm Salmah which led the Prophet to marry her? If it were so, there were a large number of girls, both from the Muhājirīn



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as well as the Ansâr, who excelled her in beauty, youth, wealth and splendour, and who would not have brought with them the burden of a family. But he married Umm Salmah with the same noble idea which led him to marry Zainab Bint Khuzaimah, and which brought the Muslims in closer relation to him and helped them see in his personality as a prophet and a messenger of God, as well as their spiritual father — father of the destitute, the deprived, the weak, the desperate and the sick, of everyone who had lost his own father in the way of God.

What do we conclude from this discussion based upon the pure historical fact? We come to the conclusion that Muhammad advised monogamy in life under ordinary circumstances. He set an example in this connection through his life with Khadîjah. The Quran also bears it out in these words:

.... marry such women  
as seem good to you, two or three or four;  
but if you fear you will not be equitable,  
then only one, or what your right hands own. (1)

similarly, in another passage the Quran ordains:

You will not be able to deal equally  
between your wives, be you ever so eager;  
yet do not be altogether partial  
so that you leave her in suspense. (2)

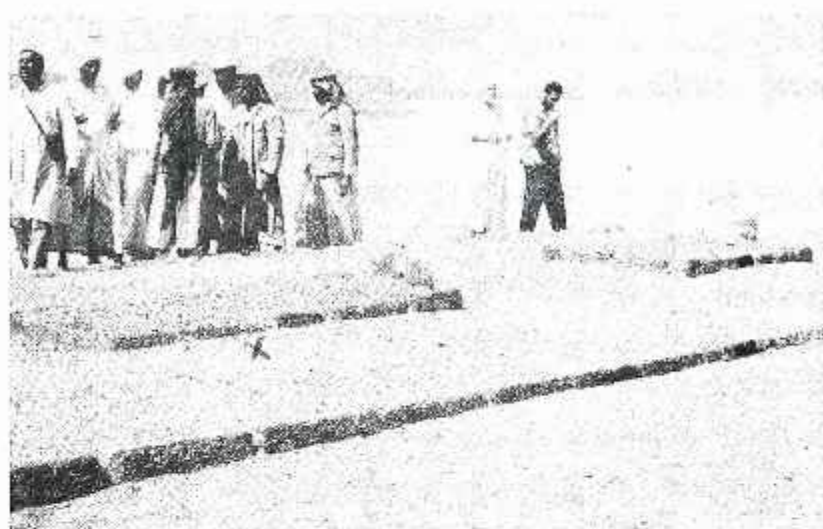
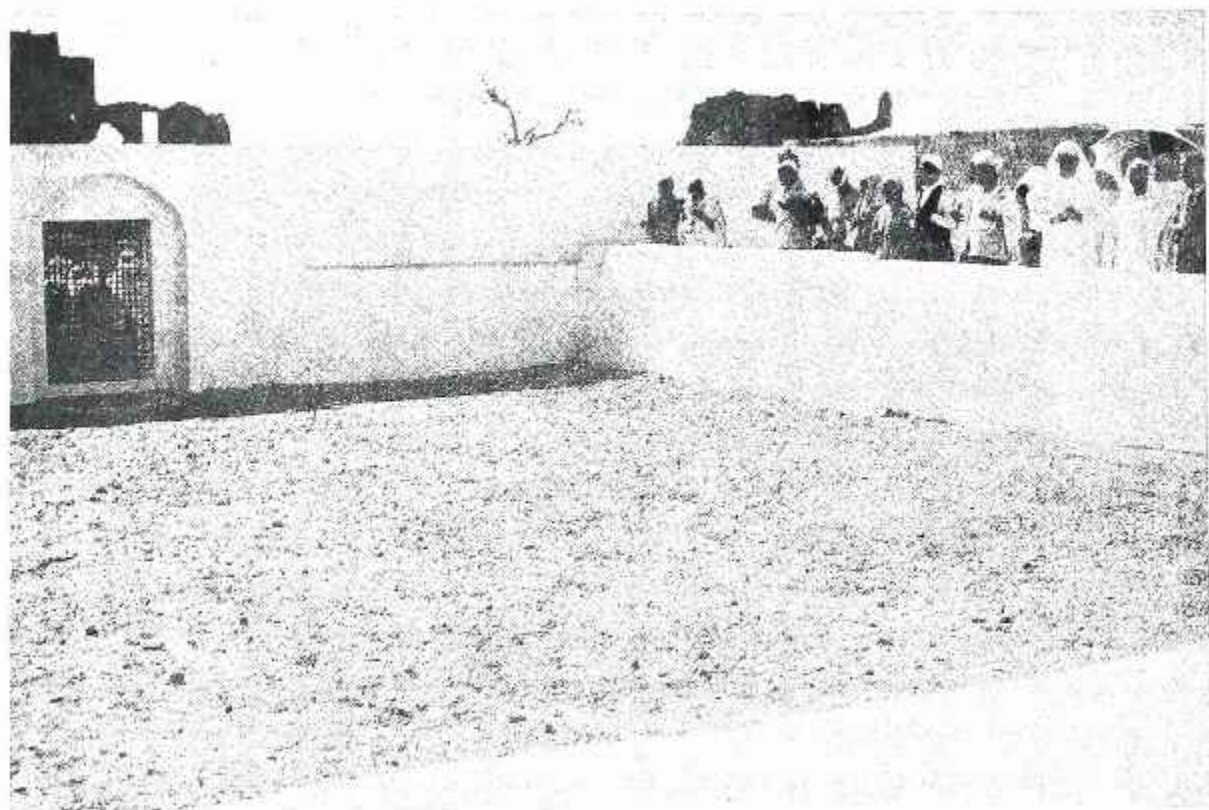
This verse was revealed during the later part of the eighth year of Hijrah when the Prophet had already married all these wives. This verse was revealed in order to put a limit to the number of wives a person can have while there was no limit before that time. This refutes the objection of the orientalist that the Prophet allowed himself what was not permitted for others. Another purpose of this verse was to emphasize the preference of monogamy, which has been ordered on account of the fear that a person might not be just between his wives, with the further emphasis that to be equitable is impossible. He, however, saw the need of polygamy with the condition of equitable treatment, under extraordinary social circumstances. In this connection, he set examples himself through what he did during the battles and relating to those who were martyred therein. Now the readers can decide for themselves as to whether they consider the absolute monogamy essential during wars, or epidemics or revolutions as preferable to exceptional permission to marry more than one wife. Can the European nations claim that monogamy is practical there after the Second World War, even though it is legally enforced? Is not the economic and social upheaval resulting from the war connected with the lack of legal relationship between the two sexes through marriage, which could restore economic balance to some extent? We do not like to sit in judgment on this situation: we just leave it to the thoughtful readers to decide with the remark that, under the normal conditions of life, it is monogamy which may ensure happiness of the family as well as the nation.

### The Case of Zainab Bint Jahsh

As to the case of Zainab Bint Jahsh, which has been distorted into a tale of romance and love by the imaginations of some reporters and the orientalist, his-

1. The Quran, IV, 3

2. The Quran, IV, 129



The grave of «HAMZEH» surrounded by the graves of other «UHOD» Martyrs. All signs are removed.





tory establishes it to be one of these points which are source of pride for the Prophet. He, being the perfect specimen of Faith, gave a very clear demonstration of his own words that the faith of a person is incomplete unless he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself. He made himself the first example of what the new law was to enforce, wiping out the traditions of the pre-Islamic period and putting into operation the new code of life sent by God as the guidance and mercy for both worlds. The whole story evaporates into air when we learn that Zainab Bint Jahsh was the daughter of Umamah Bint Abdul Mutthalib, i.e. the cousin of the Prophet. She was brought up right under his eyes and care. She was therefore to him as a younger sister or daughter. He knew very well whether she was beautiful or tempting before he married her to Zaid. He saw her throughout the different periods of her growth, in the childhood and in the youth. It was he who had her engaged to his freed-slave Zaid. When we come to know this fact, all stories evaporate, that he once passed by the house of Zaid and curtain was moved away by the breeze and he saw Zainab lying in her sleeping-gown and this affected his heart immediately so that he forgot Sawdah, 'Aa'ishah, Hafsa, Zainab Bint Khuzaimah and Umm Salmah. Not only these, he also forgot Khadijah, about whom Aa'ishah used to say "I never became jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet as I did at the mention of Khadijah's name." Had he any sentiments of love for Zainab Bint Jahsh, he would have proposed to her for himself and not for Zaid. This is the relation between Zainab and Muhammad. This is true picture which we have presented, and one which does not allow imaginary stories to hold water.

#### Zainab's Betrothal To Zaid and Her Unwillingness

What else does the history establish? It is that the Prophet wanted his cousin Zainab to be betrothed to his freed-slave Zaid. Her brother Abdullah Bin Jahsh disagreed not liking the idea of his sister, belonging to Banu Hāshim and the Quraish, and above all the cousin of the Prophet, being married to a humble slave who was bought by Khadijah and later on freed by the Prophet. He saw great humiliation for Zainab in this marriage. It was a great humiliation in the eyes of the Arabs. Never were the daughters of the nobility married to slaves, even though they were freed. But the Prophet wanted to do away with all such prejudices so that the people should realise that an Arab has no preference over a non-Arab except on the basis of his piety, as the Quran has said: "Surely the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most God-fearing," (1) He however did like to force a woman from outside his family. Hence he decided to let his own cousin Zainab Bint Jahsh bear that burden and set an example of breaking the old custom of the Arabs. But such an action against the established custom leads to tall stories which one does not like to hear. But in this case it was Zaid, who was adopted by the Prophet, and, according to the customs of the Arabs, had the right to inherit like the sons. He was therefore ready for the destiny which the Wise Legislator had ordained for adopted sons. The Prophet therefore insisted that Zainab and her brother must accept the proposal, and then a verse was revealed, which says: "It is not for any believer, man or woman, when God and his Messenger have decreed a matter, to have their choice in the affair. Whosoever disobeys God and His Messenger has gone astray into manifest error." (2) After the revelation of this verse, no alternative was left for Zainab or her brother except to submit. Zaid was therefore married to Zainab after the Prophet had got the mehr (dowry) from Zaid. When Zainab had become

1. The Quran, XLIX, 13

2. Ibid, XXXIII, 36



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the wife of Zaid, her attitude did not change and she did not relent. Instead she began hurting Zaid, expressing her pride about her family and that she had never been a slave. Zaid complained against her many times and told of her ill-treatment to the Prophet, asking his permission to divorce her. But the Prophet always replied, "Keep your wife to yourself and fear God." Zaid, however, could not bear living with Zainab for long and finally divorced her.

God wanted to undo what the Arabs had adhered to in case of their adopted sons, who were considered as if they were really of the family. They were given all the rights of a son and all the rules were applied to them including those of inheritance and incest. He wanted to annul all such customs so that the adopted sons should be treated as allies and brethren in faith. The following verse was therefore revealed in this connection:

.... neither has He made your adopted sons your sons in fact, That is your own saying, the word of your mouths; but God speaks the truth, and shows the way. (1)

This means that a person may marry the wife or husband of the one who was adopted by him or her. Similarly, the adopted person has the right to marry the wife or husband of the one who had adopted him or her. But the question was how to enforce this. Who among the Arabs could thus break the customs of their ancestors? The Prophet, despite his extreme will power and deep understanding of the wisdom of God, found himself reluctant in the execution of this order and in marrying Zainab after she had been divorced by Zaid, because it came to his mind what people would possibly say about this violation of the age-old custom of the Arabs, which was firmly rooted in their hearts. This is why God has said, ".... and thou wast concealing within thyself what God was to reveal, fearing other men, whereas God has better right for thee to fear Him," (2) But the Prophet was a living example of what God had ordered him to convey to the people. He therefore did not fear what people would say if he married the wife of his freed-slave Zaid. The fear of people is nothing as compared to the fear of God in the execution of His orders. He was therefore to marry Zainab so that he might set an example of what The Wise Legislator had ordained in connection with the curtailment of the rights of adopted children. In this connection the following verse was revealed:

So when Zaid had accomplished what he would of her, then We gave her in marriage to thee, so that there should not be any fault in the believers, touching the wives of their adopted sons, when they have accomplished what they would of them; and God's commandment must be performed. (3)

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1. The Quran, XXXIII, 4
  2. The Quran, XXXIII, 37
  3. Ibid.

These are the real fact relating to the case of Zainab Bint Jahsh and her marriage to the Prophet. She was his cousin. He had seen her and known her beauty before he married her to Zaid. He also used to see her after her marriage to Zaid, because the veil had not become the fashion among women in those days. It was his concern, on the basis of her being his cousin and the wife of his adopted son, to contact her in connection with her interests and in face of the repeated complaints of Zaid against her. All these commandments had been revealed and were implemented through the marriage of Zaid with Zainab, their divorce and then her marriage to the Prophet. These commandments raise the freed-slave to his position as a free man annul the rights of adopted sons in a practical way, after which there remains no chance for misinterpretation. After what we have said, does there remain any thing of these stories which are repeated by orientalists and missionaries who write about the life of the Prophet? Probably, it is simply the missionary spirit sometimes, and camouflaged zeal on other occasions, besides the animosity for Islam which has been in some hearts since the Crusades, which makes these people write such tales, and thus commit a crime in the name of history; taking evidence of unreliable reports in which attributions have been made against him, when they come to discuss the marriages of the Prophet, especially that with Zainab Bint Jahsh.

If, what they have mentioned had been true, we could have refuted them by saying that great persons do not fall within the scope of ordinary laws. Moses, Jesus, Jonah and others before these have been above such laws, some in respect of their birth and others in respect of their life. But no one has discredited their greatness. The Prophet Muhammad was laying the foundations of healthy social customs according to what was revealed to him by his God; was executing His commandments and was a perfect and ideal example of action upon those orders which were given by God. Would these missionaries have had him divorce his wives so that he should not have more than four, as laid down in the Islamic Law after he had married them? Will they then spare him from their injuring criticism. The fact is, and which cannot be denied, that the treatment the Prophet meted out to his wives reached the highest degree of perfection. There is a saying that none respected a woman as did Muhammad, and none raised her position as was done by him. (1)

#### BATTLES OF THE MOAT (KHANDAQ) AND BANU QURAIZAH

##### Jewish Messengers to the Quraish

The idea of mobilizing all the Arabs against the Muslims was being considered by the prominent men of Banu Nadir (after they had been turned out of Madinah). To execute this plan, a group of them, including Huyayy Bin Akhtab, Sallam Ibn Abil Huqaiq and Kinanah Bin Al-Huqaiq, set out on their journey. They were accompanied by Hawdhah Bin Qais from Banu Wail. The party reached Mecca. The Meccans asked Huyayy about his people. He replied, "I have left them near Khyber and Madinah, where they are on patrol until you meet them in order to attack Muhammad and his companions." The Meccans asked him about Banu Quraizah. He said, "They are staying in Madinah in order to deceive Muhammad, so that when you invade they will defect to you"

##### The Jews prefer Paganism

The Quraish addressed the visiting Jews "Oh Members of the Jewish Community, You are the people of the First Book and are fully aware of the issues

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1. Haikal.



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on which we and Muhammad are quarrelling. Is our religion better or that of Muhammad?" The Jews replied, "Of course, yours is better than that of Muhammad, and you are nearer to the truth than he."

Dr. Israel Wilfinston has said in his book "The History of Jews in The Arab States," about this attitude of the Jews and their preference for paganism and idol-worship to the Oneness of God, "It should have been imperative for them not to be involved in such a blunder and not to declare to the leaders of the Quraish that idol-worship was better than the Islamic idea of the Oneness of God, even though it might have led to refusal of their requests. This is because the Jews have, throughout the ages, been the upholders of the Oneness of God among the idol-worshipping communities of the world, in the name of their ancestors. They have undergone persecution and massacres on account of their belief in one God throughout the various periods of history. It was then their duty to sacrifice their lives and their belongings in order to deny the idol-worshippers. Furthermore, by compromising with the idol-worshippers, they were acting against themselves and contradicting the teachings of the Old Testament, which call upon them to turn away from the idol-worshippers and always be on the terms of animosity with them."

### The Jews Mobilize The Arabs

Huyayy Bin Akhtab and other Jews accompanying him did not stop at these remarks in praise of their idol-worship, in order to incite them to fight against the Prophet and getting a time fixed for the purpose, they also went to Banu Ghatfân of Qais Ghailân, Banu Murrah, Banu Fazârah, Banu Ashja', Banu Sulaim, Banu Sa'd, Banu Asad and all those who wanted to take revenge against the Muslims. The Jews kept on instigating these tribes to follow the Quraish in fighting the Muslims and avenging themselves; they continued in their praise of idol-worship and in promises of aid. Thus all these parties got together, through the efforts of the Jews, to fight against the Prophet and his companions.

The Quraish turned out under the command of Abu Sufyân. They were four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry along with one thousand five hundred camels. The flag was handed over to Uthmân Bin Talhah during a meeting held in Dâr-un-Nadwah. He was the one whose father was killed in the Battle of Uhad while carrying the flag of the Quraish. Banu Fazârah came under the command of 'Uyainah Bin Hisn Bin Hudhaifah in great numbers and with one thousand camels. As for Banu Ashja' and Banu Murrah, each came with four hundred warriors. Banu Ashja' were headed by Mis'ar Bin Rukhailah while the commander of Banu Murrah was Al-Hârith Bin 'Awf. The seven hundred men of Banu Sulaim, who fought against the Muslims at the Well of Ma'ûnah, came under the command of Sufyân Bin Abd Shams, who was the father of Abul A'war Al-Aslamî, one of Mu'âwiyah's commanders in the Battle of Siffîn against Ali Bin Abi Tâlib. All these got together, further joined by Banu Sa'd and Banu Asad and totalled around ten thousand fighters. All of them marched under the command of Abu Sufyân and headed for Madinah.

### Muslims' Fears

The news of this army approaching reached the Prophet and his companions in Madînah. The Muslims fell into a panic. Here were all the Arabs, united in order to fight against them and wipe them out completely. They came with a degree of preparation which was unparalleled among the Arabs in the past. If the Quraish could defeat the Muslims in Uhad, when the Muslims went out to meet them, and when they were without other tribes, what hope could Muslims have of winning against these thousands fully equipped with camels, horses and weapons?



Was there any alternative but to fortification of the city? But the question was whether such fortification alone would serve the purpose and check such a huge army. Salmân Al-Fârsî was wise in tactics of war which were unknown among the Arabs, and he suggested digging a moat around the city as well as fortifying it. The Muslims were only too willing to follow this advice. The moat was therefore dug, in which work the Prophet himself participated. As he worked he encouraged the Muslims and urged them to redouble their efforts. After six days of continuous and hard work, the moat was prepared. During this period the walls of all those houses were strengthened which formed part of the defences, and which were at a distance of two farsakhs from the moat. The houses which were right behind the moat were evacuated. The women and children were brought into the fortified houses at a distance from the moat. Stones were piled up near the moat so that they might be used as weapons to be thrown at the enemy if needed.

#### The Quraish's Surprise to See the Moat

The Quraish and their allies advanced hoping to meet the Muslims at Uḥad, but they did not find them there. They therefore marched onward to Madīnah until they were surprised by the moat; they never expected such a method of defence, which was quite unknown to them. They were furious at this and considered such a protection as cowardice not to be found among the Arabs. The Quraish and followers camped near the confluence of flood-streams while the people Ghatafân camped near Dhanab Naqamâ. As for the Prophet, he came out with three thousand Muslims and camped behind the moat while the hill of Sal'a was at their rear. He camped his companions who set up a red tent for him.

#### The Jews Betray

There were three groups of Jews who had entered into a pact with the Prophet. Two of them, namely Banu Qainuqâ' and Banu An-Nadîr had already violated the pact. There were only people of Banu Quraizah left. Abu Sufyân sent a feeler to Banu Quraizah urging them to break the pact and join him. He sent Huyayy for the purpose. He came to the house of Ka'b Bin Asad who kept the gate. He knocked at the gate and sought permission to enter. He called out. "Woe to you." "Oh" Ka'b. "Open the gate." Ka'b replied, "You are an unwelcome person, I have entered into a pact with Muhammad and I am not going to break it as I have not seen anything in him but faithfulness and friendship." Huyayy again cried out, "Woe to you. Open the gate. I want to talk to you." He again replied, "I shall not." Then Huyayy said, "You have closed the gate only out of the fear that I may eat your food. So you keep it for yourselves. I shall not eat anything." Hearing this, Ka'b opened the gate. Huyayy then said to him, "I have brought you the honour of the age and an overwhelming sea of men. I have brought the Quraish along with their nobles and commanders, as well as the Ghatafân with their nobles and commanders. They have given me their word and pledged that they will not leave until they have completely rooted out Muhammad and his companions." Ka'b replied, "You have come to me with the disgrace of the age and with those clouds which have spent their water, and just thunder and lightning without anything in it. You can go, because I shall not join them, I have not received anything from Muhammad except faithfulness and friendship." But Huyayy continued his efforts and at last Ka'b gave him his pledge that he would allow him to enter his fortifications if the Quraish left without harming them. Ka'b therefore broke his pledge and tore up the paper on which it was written. This information reached the Prophet. He sent a group of persons to get it confirmed. They found the Jews worse



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than they had been reported to the Prophet. They hurried to him with the news, adding to his fears, while the hypocrites once more began their tactics.

### The Cunning of Na'im Bin Mas'ud

Na'im Bin Mas'ud, who belonged to Banu Ghatafan, came to the Prophet and told that he had converted to Islam but his tribesmen did not know about it. He further asked him to order him to do anything he needed. The Prophet said, "You are one of us. You should therefore incite people in our favour as much as you can, because war is a game of tricks." Na'im therefore left the Prophet and came to the Banu Quraizah, with whom he used to be very close during the pre-Islamic period. He said to them, "Have you realized my friendliness to you?" They replied, "You have told the truth. You are not accused of anything by us." Then he said, "These men of the Quraish and Ghatafan have come to fight against Muhammad, and you have sided with them against him. They are not like you. You own this city, wherein you have your property, your children and your women. You are not in a position to leave and go to some other place. But these people have found an opportunity to plunder, which they might well do. Otherwise they would return to their homes, leaving you behind to face him (the Prophet) while you do not have power to do so. Hence you should not fight against him unless you take hostages from among the nobles." They replied that he had given them sound advice. Then he went to Abu Sufyan and his companions and said to them, "You have found out my love for you and enmity for Muhammad. I have been informed of something, which I thought should be communicated to you. You should therefore have faith in me." They said that they would. He said to them, "The Jews felt remorse over what they did with the pact between them and Muhammad. They therefore sent him a message asking him if he would forgive them on the condition that they should get hold of some nobles of the Quraish and Ghatafan and hand them over to the Muslims. Muhammad has agreed to this. If the Jews send a message to you asking for hostages, do not agree to their demand." He then came to the Banu Ghatafan and said to them, "You are my tribesmen and the most beloved of men to men. I think you will agree that you have anything against me." They replied that what he had said was correct. He therefore said to them, "Then keep a secret with me." When they agreed, he repeated what he had told to Abu Sufyan.

On a Saturday night, Abu Sufyan and chiefs of Banu Ghatafan sent their messenger to Banu Quraizah, asking them to prepare for the battle against the Muslims. They replied that it was Saturday on which day they never did anything. They further replied that they would not fight unless the Quraish and Ghatafan gave them hostages, because, they said, they were afraid that in case of defeat the Quraish and Ghatafan would return to their own territories, leaving them behind alone to face the Muslims which they were not capable of doing." When the Quraish received this reply, they said that whatever Na'im Bin Mas'ud had said was correct. They therefore sent their reply to Banu Quraizah that they would not give even one man as a hostage, and they could come out to fight if they so desired. On receiving this reply, the Banu Quraizah said to one another that Na'im Bin Mas'ud's report was correct. They sent back their reply to the Quraish and Ghatafan that they would not fight on their side, and in this way God created a split in their ranks.

As the sufferings increased on account of the prolonged siege, and the Prophet noticed the hearts of the Muslims had weakened, reducing their capacity to fight, he sent a message to 'Aynah Bin Hisn Bin Hudhaifah Bin Badr and Al-Harith Bin 'Awf, who were both leaders of Banu Ghatafan that he would allow them one-third of the date-harvest of Madinah if they left the battle-field with their men. Both of



them therefore came, without letting Abu Sufyân know of their move, and prepared a treaty. Before the treaty could be signed and witnesses taken, he sent for Sa'd Bin Ma'âdh and S'ad Bin Ubadah and told them about it. They said, "We will agree if this is your command, but it is a thing ordered by God, in which case we have no alternative, or is it a thing you do on your account?" He said, "I am doing it on my own account because I have seen the Arabs have come to fight you as one man, I therefore want to break their power against you." Sa'd Bin Ma'âdh told him, "When we were like them in idol-worship, they could not hope to eat even one date except as guests or as buyers. Now when God has blessed us with Islam and has bestowed His grace upon us, should we give them our belongings? By God, We will not give them a thing until the sword decides between us and them." The Prophet said, "Then you will do what you desire." Sa'd Bin Ma'âdh took the written pact and destroyed it. The Prophet and the Muslims withstood the siege by their enemies for twenty days and nights, during which period no fighting took place between them, except shooting of arrows and stoning. Habbân Bin Al'Arqah, for instance, threw a stone on Sa'd Bin Ma'âdh striking him in the eye.

It has been reported by Ibn Hishâm and At-Tabarî that Safiyyah Bint Abdul Mutalib was inside the fortress of Hassân Bin Thâbit during this siege. She has been reported to have said, "Hassân was in that fortress along with us the women and children. One day, a Jew passed by us and began lingering around the fortress. This happened after the Banu Quraizah had cut off relations with the Muslims. There was nobody to defend us from them. The Muslims were too busy in their engagement with the enemy to attend to us if any one attacked us. I therefore said to Hassân, 'Oh, Hassân, You see this Jew walking around this fortress. By God, I would not like him to learn our weak points and tell them to the Jews. The Prophet and his companions cannot attend to us. You should therefore go down and deal with him.' He replied, 'May God pardon you, Oh, daughter of Abdul Muttalib, You know that I am not this type. (Hassân was known for his cowardice). When I realized that he would not do anything, I went down and took wooden club with which I beat the Jew to death. Then I returned and said to Hassân, 'Now go down and take what he has because his being a man prevents me from doing it.' Hassân replied that he had nothing to do with such things."

Moat is crossed

Some of the cavalry of the Quraish, namely, 'Amr Bin 'Abd Wudd, 'Akramah Bin Abu Jehl, Nawfal Bin Abdullah Bin al-Mughairah, Hubairah Bin Abi Wahab and Darâr Bin Al-Khattâb Al-Fehrî, came galloping up on their horses and came to the moat. Having reached it they stopped a little and then said, "This is a trick which the Arabs have never used." They were told that there was an Iranian among the Muslims who has given them the idea. They then looked for a place where the moat was narrower and the Muslims had neglected it. They made their horses jumped over it and confronted the Muslims.

Ibn Hishâm and At-Tabarî as well as other historians have said that realizing the danger, Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and some other Muslims came out of their ranks and defended the place where these Quraishites had crossed the moat. The Quraishite riders however continued galloping towards the Muslims. It is said that 'Amr Bin Abd Wudd participated in the Battle of Badr and was wounded, which made him unable to fight in the Battle of Uhad. This is why he particularly joined the Battle of the Moat to re-establish his prestige.

It seems that, when the Quraishites crossed the moat and headed towards the



Muslims' camp, it occurred to Ali Bin Abi Tâlib to rush towards the breach in order to prevent more of the idol-worshippers crossing over. This initiative taken by Ali to check a further onslaught of the Quraishites was such that only the bravest would dare take it.

Al-Muffd has said, "Having killed 'Amr, Ali went back to his place in order to defend the breach, while others who had accompanied him, were afraid, which shows that they had come out of their ranks banking upon him and depending upon his bravery. However, when 'Amr Bin Abd Wudd challenged the Muslims to fight him, he came to Prophet and asked for his permission to fight Amr, because he never fought without his permission. The author of *As-Sîrat Al-Halabiyyah* says, 'Amr said, 'Who accepts my challenge? 'Ali stood up and said, "Oh, Prophet of God, Let me face him.' But the Prophet said, 'Sit down, He is 'Amr.' When 'Amr repeated his challenge and began upbraiding the Muslims saying, 'Where is your Jannah (Heaven), which you think will be earned by the one who kills me.' But no one got up, Ali again stood and sought permission, but the Prophet repeated what he had said earlier. When 'Amr challenged for the third time, Ali got up and asked for the permission and the Prophet once again said to him, 'He is 'Amr.' Ali replied, "What, if he is 'Amr?"

According to another the Prophet said to him, "He is 'Amr Bin 'Abd Wudd, the cavalier of " Ali replied, "Then I am Ali Bin Abi Tâlib." The Prophet gave him the permission to go ahead and presented him his own sword 'Zulfiqar', put on his head his own amâmah (turban) and dressed him in his own armour. Then he addressed God and said, "O, God. I give him under your care." According to another report, the Prophet said at that time, having raised his turban to the sky, "O, my God, You took away from me Ubaidah on the Day of Badr and Hamzah on the Day of Uhad. This Ali is my brother. Do not let me be alone in this world and You are the Best of Inheritors." Ali thus left for the duel.

'Amr asked him, "Who are you?" He replied that he was Ali. 'Amr asked the name of his father, on which he replied, "I am the son of 'Abd Munâf, I am Ali Bin Abi Tâlib." Amr said, "send someone else, O, my nephew, from among your uncles, who is stronger than you are. Go away from me, I do not want to shed your blood because your father was a friend of mine and I was his companion." But Ali replied, "But I, by God, would like to shed your blood." This reply made 'Amr angry. According to another report, 'Amr said to him, "I hate to kill such a generous person as you are. You should therefore go back, it would be better for you." Ibn Abil Hadfd has said, "Whenever we used to reach this point during our studies, our Shaikh Abul Khair used to say, 'By God 'Amr did not say this because he wanted Ali to live, but because, in fact, he was afraid of him. He had heard of the persons killed by Ali during the Battle of Badr. He also knew that if he faced Ali, he would be killed. He therefore pretended to wish him to live and to have mercy on him, in which he was a liar." Ibn Ishâque has reported that Ali said to 'Amr, "You once pledged to God that if anyone gave you two things to do, you would do one of them." 'Amr replied in the affirmative. Ali said, "I invite you to God, His Prophet and Islam." He replied, "It is useless to talk about it." Then, Ali said to him, "I invite you to get down on the ground." In another report, Ali has been mentioned as having said to 'Amr, "You used to say that no one would ask you three things but that you would accept one of them." 'Amr replied that he did. Ali said to him, "I invite you to believe that there is no god except Allah and that Muhammad is His Prophet." Amr replied, "O, my nephew, leave this talk." Ali said, "You had better accept it. If you do not then my second request is that you should go back to your country, because you would be the happiest person in the world if Muhammad is truthful, and if he is not, then you get what you want." Amr replied, "This is what the women of



the Quraish never talk about." Then 'Amr asked Ali about the third one. Ali replied that he should get down from his horse. 'Amr replied, "This is a thing which I considered no Arab would frighten me of, but Oh, my nephew, I do not want to kill you." Ali replied "But by God I do want to kill you."

This made 'Amr roused. He drew his sword and rushed upon Ali and began fighting. Jâbir Bin Abdullah Al-Ansârî had followed Ali to see what happened between him and 'Amr. He has said, "The duel raised so much dust that I could not see anything. Then I heard takbîr (Allah-o-Akbar) which gave me the indication that Ali had killed 'Amr." According to another report, when Ali slew 'Amr, all the Muslim raised the cry "Allah-o-Akbar." When the Prophet heard it, he understood that Ali had killed his opponent. 'Amr being killed, his companions took to their heels and on their horses jumped back over the moat. In this attempt, one of them, Nawfal Bin Abdullah Bin Al-Mughîrah's horse stumbled and fell the moat. The Muslims began stoning him, on which he said, "O, people of the Arab. Fighting is much better than this. One of you should get down here so that I may fight with him." Ali go down into the moat and killed him. The other two, Akramah and Darâr made good their escape.

Al-Muffîd has said in Irshâd, "Yûnus Bin Bakîr has reported from Muhammad Bin Ishâque that, when Ali had killed Amr, he came towards the Prophet repeating 'There is no god but Allah'. At this Umar Bin Al-Khattâb asked him whether he had removed the armour of 'Amr from his body because it was matchless armour among the Arabs. Ali replied to him, "I felt ashamed to expose the genitals of my cousin." The author As-Sîrat-ul-Halabiyyah has also reported a similar talk through As-Suhailf.

#### Fearfulness of the Muslims

Here some may ask why the Muslims did not get up and kill 'Amr and his four companions when they had crossed the moat? The Muslims numbered three thousand while the idol-worshippers could not help their comrades on account of the moat. The only answer to this question is that the Muslims were over-awed by this sudden and dangerous crossing of the moat by the idol-worshippers. This is why Ali took the initiative, before his fight with 'Amr, and went out to guard the breach at the moat, with some other persons who were almost dead with fear when Ali had left them in order to fight 'Amr, as we have already mentioned. But after killing 'Amr, Ali returned to the breach and protected these persons too. This indicates that the crossing of the moat was very frightening for the Muslims, and that Ali alone stood firm at that moment. Al-Muffîd has reported in Irshâd, as Qais Bin Al-Rabî'a has reported through Abu Hârûn Al-'Abdî and Rabî'ah As-Sa'dî, that he met Hudhaifah Bin Al-Yamân and said to him, "O, father of Abdullah! When we talk about Ali and his achievements, the inhabitants of Basrah say to us that we exaggerate in his case. So can you report any tradition relating to him." Hudhaifah said, "Oh, Rabî'ah! What would you ask me about Ali? By the One, in Whose Hands is my life, if we put the deeds of all the other companions of Muhammad on one side of the balance and those of Ali on the other, Ali's deeds would be the heavier. Where were the other companions of the Prophet, including myself, on the Day of the Moat when 'Amr Bin Abd Wudd challenged all us, but everyone drew back in fear except 'Ali, who went out to face him, and God killed 'Amr at the hands of Ali."

Ar-Râzî has written in his Tafsîr, "The Prophet said to Ali, after he had killed 'Amr, 'How did find yourself against him?' Ali replied, 'I felt that I would win even if all the inhabitants of Mecca had come as one against me.' " Al-Muffîd has



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said that the defeat of the idol-worshippers on the day of the Moat was due to Ali's killing Amr and Nawfal. The Prophet said after these two had been killed, "Now we shall attack them." According to Al-Irshād, Ali Bin Al-Hakīm Al-Awdf has reported Abu Bakr Bin 'Ayyāsh as having said, "Ali struck a blow with his sword which was the most valuable in Islam, that is, his killing 'Amr Bin 'Abd Wudd, while he was struck with the most accursed strike in Islam, i.e. Ibn Muljim's." Similarly, Al-Irshād has mentioned a report of Ahmad Bin Abdul 'Azīz which says, "Sulaimān Bin Ayyūb has reported to us through Abul Hasan Al-Madā'inf that after Ali had killed 'Amr Bin Abd Wudd and his sister came to know the death of her brother (her name was 'Amrah and nick-name Umm Kulthūm), she asked who had done it. She was told that it was done by Ali Bin Abi Tālib. She said, his death no more remains as if it were at the hands of an ordinary person. Had this been so, I would have shed my tears for him. I was a fight between the heroes and equals. My brother always wished to die at the hands of a person who was noble and generous and his equal. Oh, sons of 'Aamir, I have a glorious source of pride in the death of my brother.' Then she recited some verses in this connection."

Both Ibn Hishām and At-Ṭabarī have reported that after the death of Amr Bin Abd Wudd, God sent strong winds against the idol-worshippers as well as very cold nights and heavy rains. This made them suffer so much they withdrew from the battle-field.

### THE BATTLE OF BANU QURAIZAH

We have already mentioned that there were three tribes of Jews living in the suburbs of Madinah, namely, Banu An-Nadīr, Banu Qainuquā' and Banu Quraizah. All of them had their treaties with the Muslims. The first one among them to break the pact was Banu Qainuquā', who were banished by the Prophet to Adhri'āt. They were followed by Banu An-Nadīr who were partly banished to Khyber and partly to Syria. Among those who were banished to Khyber was Huyayy Bin Akhtab, who came to Banu Quraizah during the siege and they also broke their pact. Hence, on the morning when the Prophet returned from the Battle of the Moat, he asked Bilāl to pronounce that all those who heard the announcement and were obedient to it, would not say their after-noon prayers ('Asr) until after reaching the territory of Banu Quraizah. By this announcement, he meant to urge upon the Muslims to make haste in getting hold of Banu Quraizah and only then to say their 'Asr prayers.

The Prophet gave the command and the standard to Ali Bin Abi Tālib and sent him to Banu Quraizah. According to the report of Al-Mufīd, Ali said, "I marched on until I reached their walls. They looked at us and one of them cried, 'The murderer of 'Amr Bin Abd Wudd has come to attack you.' Another one said, 'The killer of Amr Bin Abd Wudd has advanced towards you.' Every one of them began weeping and telling others about it. God put dread in their hearts and I set the standard on their fortress."

The Prophet himself joined the campaign with three thousand Muslims and 36 horses. The Jews were besieged for twenty-five (or fifteen) nights, until they wearied of the siege and their hearts were filled with dread of the Muslims. Huyayy Bin Akhtab was also present among the Jews according to his promise given to Ka'b Bin Asad, after the departure of the Quraish and Ghatafan. The result of this campaign was that some of the Jews were killed, while others surrendered.

### THE TREATY OF HUDAIBIYYAH

Six years passed after the migration to Madinah during which time the Prophet and his companions were wholly engaged in struggles and warfare, sometimes against



the Quraish, and sometimes against the Jews. During this period of time, Islam was spread abroad and grew in strength. In the first year of Hijrah, the Prophet had changed the 'qiblah' to the Ka'bah instead of Al-Aqsâ Mosque in Jerusalem and the Muslims began facing the direction of the Ka'bah during their prayers, this had been built by the prophet Abrâham in Mecca.

Since times immemorial, the Ka'bah had occupied the most important place among the Arabs. They used to perform pilgrimages to it every year during the "prohibited month". Whosoever entered it was immune from any kind of harm. If one met his worst enemy there, he could not draw his sword and shed the blood of his opponent. But the Quraish had taken upon themselves to prevent the Prophet and his companions from visiting the Ka'bah and meeting other Arabs there, since the time of their migration to Madînah.

The Muslims felt deeply their being deprived of this opportunity to perform their religious functions. As for the Muhâjirîn, they also felt the pangs of their being away from their homes and their relatives there, in addition to the exclusion from the performance of pilgrimages.

Six years passed and the Muslims kept on burning in their desires to visit the Ka'bah and perform the pilgrimage. One morning they were in the Mosque when the Prophet gave them the news that they would enter the Ka'bah, God willing, in complete safety. But they wondered how they would enter it. Would they fight for it? Would they turn the Quraish out of Mecca by force? Or would the Quraish open the way for them after being subdued and humiliated?

No, not by fighting. But instead, the Prophet gave permission to the people to perform Hajj in the month of Dhîl Qa'dah. He also sent letters to other tribes, in addition to the Muslims, to join in their march towards the Ka'bah without any intent to fight. The Prophet also kept it very keenly in his mind that the maximum possible number of Muslims should join the march. The point behind this policy was that all the Arabs should come to know that he set out in order to perform Hajj and not to fight; that he wanted to perform Hajj as was made obligatory by other creeds of the Arabs and that he invited even those Arabs who did not belong to his following and religion to join him. In this case, if the Quraish insisted on fighting with him during the prohibited months and prevent him from performing Hajj, which was agreed upon by all the Arabs despite their worshipping different gods, the Quraish would not find any from among the Arabs to support them and help them in their fight against the Muslims. By such a step, the Muslims expected that the Bedouin Arabs would gather round them as they had done earlier during the Battle of the Moat and thus their faith would gain prestige with the Arabs who did not believe.

Thus the Prophet gave permission to the Muslims to proceed on Hajj and invitations were extended to the non-Muslim tribes to join. Many of the tribes were slow and reluctant to accept the invitation. The Prophet finally set out for the journey in the company of his companions from the Muhâjirîn and the Ansâr on the first of Dhîl Qa'dah, which is one of the prohibited months. He was riding his camel in front of the others. The total number of those who had joined was 1,400. He also took sacrificial animals and dressed himself for 'Amrah (a pilgrimage undertaken at a time other than the Hajj season). This was meant to show to the people that he did not want any fighting and that he had genuinely come for a pilgrimage to the Ka'bah. None of his party carried any weapon except a sword which was duly sheathed.

#### Quraish's Attitude

When the news reached the Quraish that the Prophet was coming to them to perform Hajj, they entertained a number of doubts and fears. They tried to give it



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a different colour, thinking it to be a trick which the Prophet had adopted in order to enter Mecca, after he had successfully stopped them and their confederates from entering Madīnah. They did not give any credit to the news that their opponents were coming in the proper dress of the pilgrims as had been told among all the tribes of the Peninsula, and that they came only on account of their religious sentiment to perform Hajj, which was sacred and dear to all the Arabs. They therefore decided to prevent the Muslims from entering Mecca, and got ready to pay whatever the cost for executing this decision. Hence, Khalid Bin Walīd and 'Akramah Bin Abu Jehl were sent at the head of an army which included two hundred horsemen in addition to the foot-soldiers. This army was to prevent the Prophet from entering Ummul Qura- valley surrounding Mecca, and therefore advanced and encamped at Dhī Tuwa.

The Prophet, meanwhile, continued his march. When he reached a place called 'Usfān, (1) he met a man from Banu Ka'b. He asked him if he had any news about the Quraish. He replied, "They have heard about your march and have come to prevent you. They have dressed themselves in the skins of tigers and have encamped at Dhī Tuwa, with a pledge in the name of God that they would not let you enter Mecca under any circumstances. They have sent Khālid Bin Walīd in advance and he has reached Karā' -ul-Ghamīm." (2) The Prophet exclaimed, "Woe to the Quraish! Fighting has ruined them. What would they lose if they let me settle the issue alone. If the Arabs inflict harm upon me, it would be according to their desires. And if God gave me dominance over them, they may join Islam, or fight against me having strength enough to do so. What do they think? By God, I will continue struggling for that which God has sent me, until God gives it success or " Then he kept thinking about what he should do. He had not come to fight, but in the dress of pilgrim, heading towards the House of God to perform the duty which God had asked of him and made obligatory. He had not brought equipment for a battle. In this case if he fought and was defeated, the Quraish will boast over their achievement. Probably, this is why they had sent Khālid Bin Al-Walīd and 'Akramah to achieve this end, knowing that the Prophet and the Muslims had not come prepared for fighting.

### Prophet's Keen Desire For Peace.

While the Prophet was thinking about the situation, the Meccan horsemen had already come in sight, which indicated that the Muslims had no alternative but to break through their ranks. In case of fighting, the Quraish would be defending their honour and prestige as well as their city, and it would be battle which the Prophet did not desire to fight, despite the fact that the Quraish had imposed it on him and made him face their army. The Muslims were not lacking enthusiasm, and simple swords would suffice, if taken out of their sheaths to repel the attack. But in this case, his purpose would not be achieved and it would give the Quraish have an excuse against the Muslims. He looked far beyond the immediate future and had much insight in such matters. He therefore called the people and said to them, "Who among you can lead us by a route other than the one followed by them?" Thus he continued following the policy of a peaceful march, which he had adopted right from the time he left Madīnah, with a view to visiting Mecca as a pilgrim. A man came out and offered to show them the way, uneven and rugged, through deep and

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1. A village between Mecca and Madīnah.

2. A place at a distance of eight miles from 'Usfān towards Mecca.



narrow gorges. The journey gave a great hardship to the Muslims until they reached the open plain and marched onward to a place near Mecca called Hudaibiyyah. When the Quraishite horsemen saw what the Muslims had done, they returned in haste so as to stand in defence of Mecca, in case the Muslims attacked it.

The Muslims encamped at Hudaibiyyah, but the Quraish in Mecca were always on guard. They preferred death to the entry of Muslims by force. Should the Muslims provide the Quraish an excuse for fighting until God decided between them, and so bring the whole affair to an end? Some of them thought in these terms. The Quraish too thought about such a possibility. If the battle were fought and the Muslims defeated them, they would lose their position among the Arabs as well as their authority over the Ka'bah, the providing of water for pilgrims and all other things by virtue of which they felt themselves superior to other Arabs. If that happened, what would they do? Thus both the parties were absorbed in thinking about a plan to follow. As to the Prophet, he kept to the policy he had already been following — the policy of peace and avoidance of fighting except in case the Quraish should attack them or betray them. When there would be no alternative to fighting. As for the Quraish, they hesitated for a while and then decided to send a delegation to the Prophet, which should estimate his force on one hand and delay his forcible entry on the other. The Prophet was therefore visited by Budail Bin Warqā' with some other men from Banu Khuzā'ah who asked him about his intentions. When they were convinced that the Prophet and the Muslims had not come to fight but as pilgrims, they went back to the Quraish in order to convince them to let him visit the Ka'bah. But the Quraish accused them and shouted at them, saying, "If he has not come to fight, then by God, he will not enter Mecca without the use of force, so other Arabs talk about it." They sent another messenger who did not hear anything other than heard by the previous ones, but he did not dare to say it lest the Quraish should accuse him too. The Quraish, while preparing for fighting against the Muslims, depended upon the help of their allies called Ahābīsh. (1) They planned to send Hubshite leader to the Prophet, in the hope that, when he saw that the Prophet did not listen to him or come to terms with him, he would become more inclined to help the Quraish, and in that way they would increase their force against the Muslims. Thus Al-Hulyas, the Hubshite leader, set out for the Muslims' camp. When the Prophet saw him coming, he ordered the sacrificial animals to pass in front of him so that he might see a concrete proof that the people, whom the Quraish wanted to fight against, had really come there as pilgrims. Al-Hulyas saw seventy animals passing in front of him after they had grazed in the valley. This impressed him very much and roused his religious sentiments. He became convinced that the Quraish were unfair and that the Muslims did not have any intention to fight or attack. He therefore went back to the Quraish without meeting the Prophet and told them what he had seen. His talk infuriated them and they said, "Sit down. You are a Bedouin. You do not know these things." This made him very angry. He therefore warned them that he had not entered into a pact with them in order to prevent people from performing Hajj, and hence, none of his tribesmen would come to fight on their side, if they did not let the Muslims enter Mecca. The Quraish feared the consequences and therefore pacified him and asked him to give them some time to think over the issue.

The Quraish now decided to send 'Urwah Ibn Mas'ūd Ath-Thaqafī to the Prophet. He excused himself having seen the stubborn attitude of the Quraish, and their treatment of those who had gone earlier on a similar errand. When they heard him say

1. Ahābīsh were Bedouin Arabs and were named as Ahābīsh because of their dark complexion, or their being the inhabitants of Mount Hubsh near Mecca.



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that, they apologised for their behaviour and assured him that he was above any doubts in their view and that they all agreed on his wisdom and his sound opinion. He therefore went towards the Prophet. 'Urwah returned to the Quraish after having listened to the Prophet, as the others had, that he had not come with any intention of fighting but only perform the pilgrimage which God had ordained upon them. 'Urwah told the Quraish, "I have seen Kisra in his country, Qaisar in his country and An-Najsh in his country. By God, I have not seen any king so esteemed by his people as Muhammad is among his companions. Every drop of water used by him in ablution is taken by them. Every hair of his which falls down is picked up by them. They shall never desert him. It is up to you now what you should do."

These talks were prolonged as we have mentioned above. The Prophet therefore thought of sending a messenger to the Quraish, because he guessed that the messengers sent by the Quraish might not have been able to convince the Quraish of what they had seen. He sent a messenger, but the Quraish cut the legs of his camel and intended to kill him too but the Hubshites prevented them. He was allowed to leave. This behaviour of the Quraish very clearly indicated that they were fully overwhelmed with the spirit of animosity and hatred which was further aggravated by the patience shown by the Muslims, so much so that some of them thought of taking an initiative in fighting. While some of them were exchanging messengers with Muslims, with a view to arriving at a certain solution, some of the foolish ones would go out towards the Muslims camp at night and throw stones at them. One day, about forty or fifty of them went out with the purpose of hurting the companions of the Prophet. They were however captured and brought to the Prophet. He pardoned them and let them go, in accordance with his policy of maintaining peace and respecting the prohibited months in shedding the blood of those at Hudaibiyah, which was a part of the Sanctuary at Mecca. The Quraish were greatly surprised to hear of this incident, which gave the lie to all their assumptions that the Prophet had come to Mecca in order to fight against them. They were also convinced that any offensive taken by them against the Prophet would be looked down upon by the Arabs as the meanest kind of treachery while the Prophet would be considered in the right to fight against those who came upon him with force.

Furthermore, the Prophet tried to put the Quraish to test again by sending a messenger to enter into talks with them. He called 'Umar Bin Al-Khattab and asked to advise the Quraish leaders as to the purpose of the Prophet's visit to Mecca. 'Umar said to him, "O Prophet of Allah! I am afraid the Quraish will harm me." The Prophet then called Uthman bin 'Affan and sent him to Abu Sufyan and other Quraish leaders. Uthman left for Mecca to convey the message and, upon his arrival, he met Aban Bin Sa'ad who gave him protection for the period which Uthman needed to deliver his message. The Quraish leaders replied that they had pledged that the Prophet would not enter Mecca that year by force. The talks were prolonged, and Uthman's long absence from the Muslims camp made them suspect that the Quraish had murdered him treacherously. The Prophet said to the Muslims, "We will not let this pass without fighting these people." He called his companions and stood under a tree while they took an oath of fealty to the effect that none would run away before death. This oath of fealty is known as Bai'at-ur-Ridwan or Bai'at-ush-Shajarah.

Uthman however came back safe and sound and communicated to the Prophet what the Quraish had said. Talks thus began once again. The Quraish sent Suhail Bin Amr as their delegate and told him to arrive at a compromise with the Prophet which must set the condition that he should return to Madinah that year, so that the Bedouin Arabs should not say he had entered Mecca by force. Suhail reached the Prophet and long talks ensued in search of a compromise and its conditions.



These talks sometimes were on the verge of breaking down but continued by virtue of the keenness of both the parties.

Finally, the Prophet called Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and asked him to write the treaty. He said to him, "Write, 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.' Suhail interrupted and said, "Stop. I do not recognise 'the Merciful, the Compassionate.' You should write, 'In the name of God.'" The Prophet asked Ali to write as Suhail wanted. Then he told him to write, "This is what has been agreed upon by Muhammad, the Prophet of God and Suhail Bin 'Amr." Again Suhail objected and said, "Stop. If I believed you to be the Prophet of God, I should not fight against you. Instead you should write your name and that of your father's." The Prophet again changed the words. In this manner the treaty was finalized stipulating that both parties agreed to have a truce, the limit of which according to most biographers was ten years but according to Al-Wâqidî two. It was also laid down that, if anyone came to the Muslims from the Quraish, he would be returned while the Quraish would return coming from the side of the Muslims to them. Further, it was said that there would be no objection to any of the Bedouins entering into a pact with the Prophet, or the Quraish. It was also agreed that the Prophet and his companions would go back from Mecca that year, but would come next year when they would be allowed to enter it and stay there for three days, provided they did not bring any weapon with them except sheathed swords.

#### Execution of the Treaty

No sooner than this treaty was signed the Banu Khuzâ'ah entered into a pact with the Muslims, while Banu Bakr became allies of the Quraish. Similarly, Abu Jandal Bin Suhail Bin 'Amr came towards the Muslims in order to join them and go with them to Madînah. When Suhail saw his son, he struck him on his face and pulled him by his ears to take him back to the Quraish. Abu Jandal meanwhile was crying, "Oh, Muslims! Should I go back to the Quraish that they might divert me from my faith." This made the Muslims uneasy about the treaty concluded by the Prophet with Suhail. But the Prophet addressed Abu Jandal in these words, "Oh, Abu Jandal! Be patient and control yourself. Very soon God will create a way out for you and for other helpless Muslims. We have concluded a treaty with these people and have given them our promise on this while they have done likewise. We shall not go back on our word." Thus Abu Jandal has returned to the Quraish in execution of the promise given by the Prophet. Suhail also went back to Mecca.

Now there was nothing for the Muslims to do but to return to Madînah and wait for the next year to visit Mecca.

Time has shown that this treaty was based upon deep political insight and tact which had great influence on the future of Islam as well as the Arabs. Through this treaty, the Quraish recognized the Prophet as their opponent but their equal, instead of treating him as a rebel and outlaw, and in this way, they recognised the Islamic State too. Furthermore, by agreeing to let the Muslims come for pilgrimages and perform all the rituals connected with Hajj, they admitted that Islam was one of the recognized religions of the Arabian Peninsula. The truce for a period of two years (or ten) gave the Muslims a chance to shake off their worries about being invaded from the south by the Quraish, which provided an opportunity to Islam for expansion. Thus the Quraish, the worst possible type of enemy of Islam and its fiercest opponent, ended its hostilities by recognizing what it had not done earlier? The fact is that Islam did expand after the Treaty of Hudaibiyah much more than before it. Those who went along with the Prophet to perform Hajj before this Treaty numbered only 1,400, but when he visited Mecca two years later



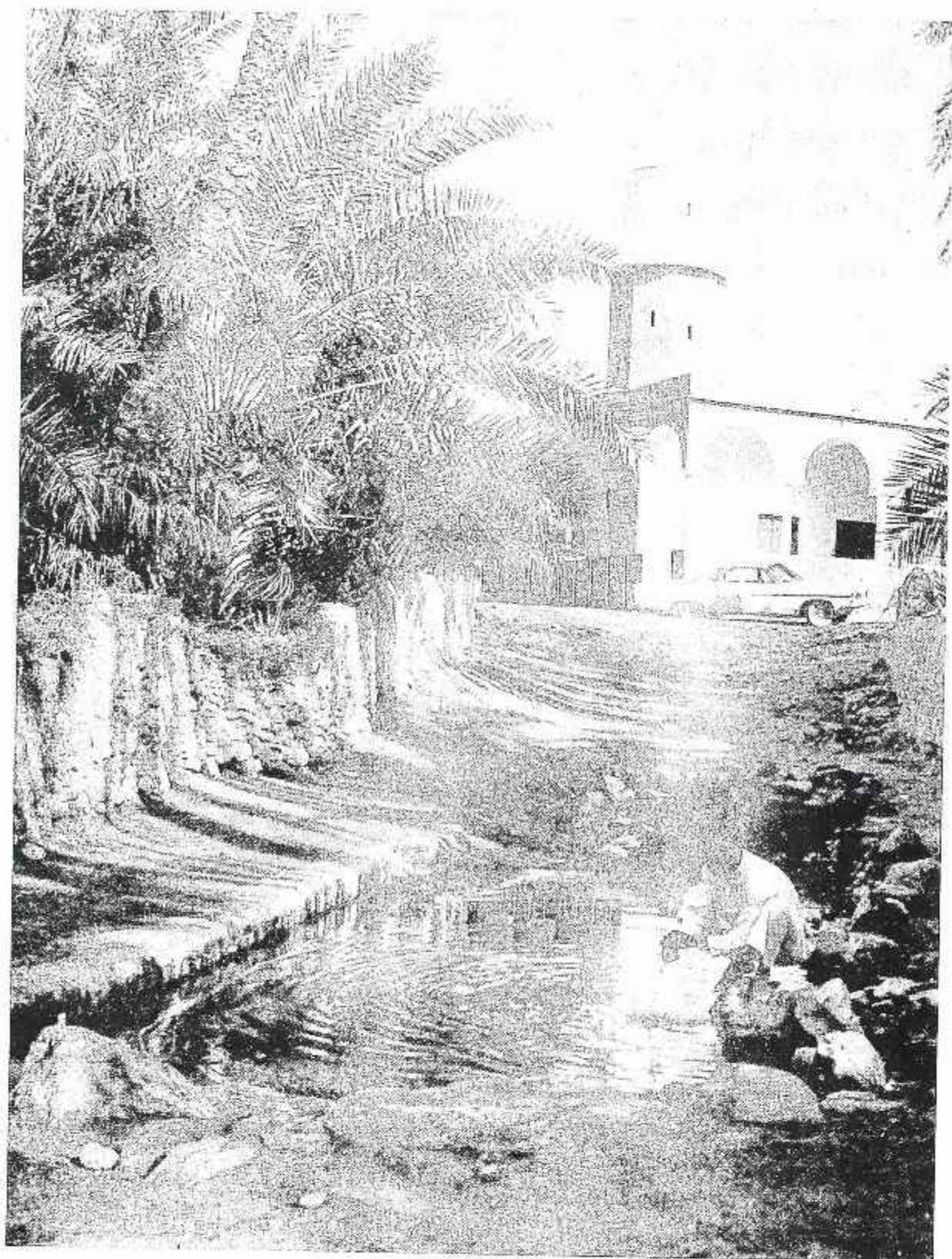
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and conquered it, the number of Muslims who had joined him was around ten thousand. The most objectionable condition in this Treaty, according to those who doubted it would be of any value, was that it laid down that, if anyone came to the Muslims from the Quraish side, he would be returned to the latter, but if anyone came to the Quraish from the Muslims side, he would not be returned. As for the Prophet his opinion in this connection was that if anyone apostatized, his return to the Muslims would be of no value, while God would create some way out for those who converted to Islam and desired to join the Muslims. Later events very soon proved the sagacity of the Prophet's opinion and rather earlier than the Prophet's companions had thought. This indicates that Islam received a great benefit out of the Treaty of Hudaibiyah which paved way for the Prophet's addresses to the Kings and heads of the States outside Arabia.

### Incident of Abu Basîr

Among such incidents as might prove the correctness of the step taken by the Prophet was that of Abu Basîr, who came to Madinah from Mecca, having turned a Muslim. The conditions laid down in the Treaty applied to him and he was to be returned, as he had left Mecca without the permission of his master. Azhar Bin 'Awf and Akhnas Bin Sâriq therefore wrote to the Prophet asking him to return Abu Basîr. They sent their message with a person from Banu 'Aamir who was also accompanied by his slave. The Prophet said to Abu Basîr, "Oh, Abu Basîr, We have given our word to these people as you know, and our religion does not allow betrayal of one's promise. God is going to create a way out for you and for other weak Muslims like you. You should therefore go back to your people." Abu Basîr replied, "Are you sending me back to these idol-worshippers so that they may divert me from my religion and persecute me?" The Prophet repeated what he had already said. Abu Basîr therefore left Madinah in the company of those two persons who had brought the letter from Mecca. When they reached a place called Dhul Hulailah, Abu Basîr asked the Aamirite to show him his sword. As soon he got hold of the sword, he rushed on the Aamirite and killed him. The slave returned to Madinah. When he came near the Prophet, the Prophet said to his companions, "This man seems to be very much afraid." Then he addressed the slave and said, "What is wrong with you?" He said, "Your companion has killed mine." At that very moment Abu Basîr appeared with the sword in his hand and went towards the Prophet saying to him, "Oh, Prophet of God, You have fulfilled your promise and God has absolved you of that. As for me I have saved myself from these people and forbidden them to divert me from my religion, or to ask for my return." The Prophet did not conceal his admiration of this action and wished that there had been more men with him. Abu Basîr left Madinah and settled at a place named Al-'Iis near the sea-coast on the Quraish's way to Syria. The Prophet had given word to the Quraish that he would not prevent them from using that route and they had done likewise. When Abu Basîr went to that place and the Muslim inhabitants of Mecca heard about him and the Prophet's admiration of what Abu Basîr had done, about seventy of them escaped from Mecca and joined him, taking him as their leader. Here they began attacking the Quraishite caravans, so much so that they never let anyone live whom they caught him alive, nor any caravan pass by them without attacking it. This made the Quraish realize that their insistence on keeping the Muslims in Mecca was a great loss to them. They also realized that to imprison an honest man of faith is worse than letting him go, because if imprisoned, he would not give up his attempts to free himself. Having escaped, he would always stand against those who had imprisoned him, and thus the loss would be theirs. Perhaps, the Quraish recalled how they had been attacked by the Muslims after their migration to Ma-





Gardens and trees are still to be seen in «BADRE»





Madīnah and therefore, they did not want it to be repeated by Abu Basīr. They therefore sent a message to the Prophet asking him to give shelter to those Muslims so that they might clear the road. In this way, the Quraish gave up their condition that the Muslims leaving Mecca to join the Muslims in Madīnah without the permission of their masters should be returned to Mecca, and on which Suhail Bin 'Amr had insisted greatly. The Muslims at this therefore came to Madīnah and the road to Syria became safe.

#### Muslim Immigrant Women

As for the women who migrated to Madīnah after the truce, the Prophet had a different opinion. Umm Kulthūm Bint 'Uqbah Bin Abi Mu'ū migrated to Madīnah after the truce. Her brothers, 'Umārah and Walīd came to Madīnah asking for her return in accordance with the conditions of the Treaty of Hudaibiyah. But the Prophet refused and observed that the Treaty did not apply to the women, and that it was their duty to give protection to the women if they sought it. Furthermore, if a woman converted to Islam her marriage to an idol-worshipper is automatically annulled. Hence, there must be a differentiation between a man and a woman.

In this way, these incidents and others like them proved the sagacity and political foresight of the Prophet, and that by signing the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, he laid down a foundation which was never to be shaken, or prevent the spread of Islam.

#### THE BATTLE OF KHYBER

The Prophet always suspected there might be treachery from the Jews who still lived north of Madīnah. It is correct that the Treaty of Hudaibiyah helped the Muslims feel secured from the side of the Quraish and the South, but the North was still open to attacks if Hercules, the Byzantian, helped the Jews of Khyber or if their own memories recalled to them that the Muslims had banished the people of Banu Qainuqā', Banu Nadīr and Banu Quraizah, after fighting them and killing their men. This could make them rise once again. The Jews were worse enemies than the Quraish, because they were more devout about their religion, and more intelligent and informed than the Quraish. It was not easy for the Prophet to come to terms with them and sign a pact as he had done with the Quraish at Hudaibiyah. Nor was it easy to make them feel secure from the Muslims, because the previous engagements and hostilities between them. What could have been better for them than taking a revenge from the Muslims if the Byzantians gave any support. It was therefore essential to crush the Jews' power finally, so that they might not be able to find foothold in Arabia. It was also essential to take an immediate step so that the Jews might not get any help from Banu Ghatafan, or other tribes which were hostile to the Muslims.

The Prophet took such a step. He had not stayed in Madīnah more than fifteen days, or a month according to another report, after his return from Hudaibiyah, when he ordered the people to prepare for an attack on Khyber. The Muslims covered the distance between Madīnah and Khyber in three days, during which time the Jews not even sensed their march. In this way, the Muslims confronted the Jews' fortresses so when the day dawned, the Jew workers came out heading towards their farms with their implements, when they saw the Muslim army, they ran back shouting and crying, "Here is Muhammad and his army".



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The Jews of Khyber however expected an attack by the Muslims. They indeed had a strong desire to get rid of the Muslims once for all. Some of them had considered forming a strong front comprising the Jews of Khyber, Wadil Qurā and Taimā and then invading Yathrab (Madīnah), while depending upon the Bedouin Arabs. Others, however, thought of entering into a pact with the Muslims, which, they expected, might wipe out the hatred from the hearts of the Muslims, especially the Ansār, after Huyayy Bin Akhtab and his companions had joined in urging the Bedouin Arabs and the Quraish to invade Madīnah and take it by force. But bad blood had been created in both the sides.

This invasion by the Muslims was the biggest so far, because the Jews of Khyber were the bravest of all Jewish communities, the richest of them and the best equipped. The Muslims had full realization of the fact that, if the Jews' power was not crushed, a struggle would continue between them and the Jews without any final decision. The Quraish as well as the whole Arabian Peninsula pinned their eyes upon this invasion, so much so that some of the Quraishites began betting on the result and as to who would be victorious. A large number of the Quraishites were expecting the tables turned against the Muslims, having the knowledge of the impregnability of the fortresses, which were built on mountains and high cliffs, besides the long traditions of fighting existing among the inhabitants of Khyber.

### Siege of the Fortresses

The Muslims stood in front of the fortresses of Khyber fully prepared and equipped. The Jews held their counsel. Their chief Sallām Bin Mishkam suggested to them that they should put their families and belongings in the fortresses of Al-Watā and Sulālim while the fighting men should gather in the fortress of Natāt. Both the parties therefore met near the fortress of Natāt and a severe battle ensued. It is said that around fifty Muslims were wounded on the first day which can give an idea as to what the number of the wounded among the Jews might be. Sallām Bin Mishkam died. The Jewish command was taken up by Al-Hārith Bin Abu Zainab. He came out of the fortress of Nā'im intending to fight and drive the Muslims back. But the fighters of Banu Khazraj drove back the Jews, who were forced to run back to their fortress. The Muslims closed upon the fortresses of Khybers and strengthened the siege, while the Jews were fighting desperately, believing that their defeat would mean the annihilation of the Jews in the Arabian Peninsula. Time passed. The Prophet sent Abu Bakr with his standard so that he might capture the fortress but he came back without any success. Then he sent 'Umar Bin Al-Khattāb but his luck was no better. The Prophet then said, "I will now give this flag to a man who loves God and His Prophet and is loved by God and His Prophet. He shall not run away from the battle." Then he called Ali Bin Abi Tālib and said to him, "Take this standard and advance until God lets this fortress fall at your hands." He therefore came out and set his standard near the fortress. The people in the fortress came out led by Al-Hārith, brother of Marhab, who was well known for his bravery. The Muslims moved back while Ali stood firm and fought against Al-Hārith who was finally killed by him. The Jews ran back to their fortress. When Marhab, the hero of the Jews, saw that his brother had been killed, he came out of the fortress, fully armed and shouting battle-cries. Ali Bin Abi Tālib met him and attacked. Marhab was also killed. During this fight the Jews had also come out of the fortress and had begun fighting with the Muslims. One of them struck at Ali with the result that his shield slipped from his hand. Ali pulled out one of the gates of the fortress and used it as a shield while fighting. The Jews had made a moat around their fortress, named Al-Qamūs, which was one of the largest and most impregnable

fortresses of Khyber. This digging of the moat was learned by the Jews from the Battle of the Moat, a defense not known among the Arabs before that battle. Al-Muffd has said, "When Ali killed Marhab, the Jews who had come out with him, ran back to their fortress and closed the gate, Ali went after them and shook the gate till he opened it. Most of the Muslims were on the other side of the moat. Ali took this gate and made a bridge of it over the moat. In this way, the Muslims crossed the moat and the fortress fell."

It is very strange that Dr. Haikal of Egypt has not referred to any of these reports except the one which has been fabricated by the enemies of Ali, and which says that Marhab was killed by Muhammad Bin Muslimah, while he did not mention the most quoted report that Ali Bin Abi Talib killed Marhab. This report has been quoted by the most critical of Muslim historians and traditionalists and is as well known as the shining sun. But it is not very surprising of Dr. Haikal because we have seen this gentleman trying to deprive Ali of his rights wherever he can.

On the day when Khyber fell, Ja'far Bin Abi Talib came back from Ethiopia and presented himself to the Prophet, who kissed his forehead and said, "I do not know what is more pleasing for me, the fall of Khyber or arrival of Ja'far."

The Prophet treated the Jews of Khyber differently from the Jews of Banu Qainuqâ' and Banu Nadîr who were evicted from their lands. He left the inhabitants of Khyber in occupation of their lands, because he felt secure after the Fall of Khyber and believed that the Jews would not be able to rise again. Furthermore, there were orchards and farms in Khyber which needed a large number of workers in order to make use of them and look after them. The Ansârs of Madînah were undoubtedly agriculturists, but their own lands needed them, as well as the armies which the Prophet mobilized for war. He therefore did not want to leave them on farms. This is why the Jews remained in occupation of their lands after their political power had been crushed. But the activities of Jews slackened with the result the Khyber became comparatively poor in agriculture, despite the good treatment of them by the Prophet as well as his deputy among them — Abdullah Bin Rawâhah who dealt with them with great justice when he came every year to collect a share. One of the good turns done by the Prophet to the Jews was that he ordered their sacred books returned to them; these were among the booty, and the Jews asked for them. He did not behave as the Byzantians, who had burned the sacred books of the Jews and trampled them under their feet when they conquered Jerusalem. Nor did he behave like the Christians during the religious wars in Spain, when they burned all the sacred books of the Jews.

### COMMUNICATIONS WITH KINGS

Three weeks after the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, the Prophet came back to Madînah along with the Muslims. They had accepted the Quraish's condition that they would not enter the city of Mecca that year but would come to visit it the following year. This Treaty created among the Muslims a feeling that it was not in keeping with their prestige, so much so that Surah Al-Fateh (The Victory) was revealed while the Muslims were on their way to Madînah. The Prophet recited it to them. The Prophet, however, began thinking of restoring confidence among his companions and finding ways to ensure further spreading and propagation of his message, while he was in Hudaibiyah. These thoughts ended in his decision to send messengers to Hercules; Pervaiz — the King of Iran; Al-Muqawqis — ruler of Egypt; Najâshî — the ruler of Ethiopia and to Al-Hârith Al-Ghassâni and the King of Iran's viceroy in Yemen.



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As a matter of fact the Islamic mission had reached that stage of maturity by this time which rightly made it a religion for the whole world. It did not stop at preaching the idea of the Oneness of God (Monotheism) and related worship, but also undertook such social activities as were consistent with the idea of Monotheism, and which could bring those who acted upon them very near to reaching the stage of human perfection and the realization of life-ideals. This is why during this period, a very large number of verses revealed were connected with social matters.

Whatever Islam ordered the people to do — to have mercy and kindness; to do good; observe prayers which are a training for the soul as well as the nature of human beings; the kneeling and prostrations which kill vanity in human souls — made it the complement of the religions which existed before it, and thus a message for the whole world.

### Persian and Byzantine Empires

During that period Hercules was the king of the Byzantine Empire while Pervaiz was the head of the Iranian Kingdom. They both dictated to the whole world at that time, and decided the destinies of the people. Both these empires had been in perpetual warfare for ages. In the beginning, the Iranians were predominant and had occupied Palestine and Egypt. They had conquered Jerusalem and taken away the Great Cross. Then the tables were turned against the Iranians, and the Byzantine flag once again flew over Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Hercules got the Cross back, after he had given a pledge that he would perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on foot if he recovered it, in order to put it in its proper place.

It is not very difficult to imagine the positions these two states held at that time, and what kind of dread they created in the hearts and souls of the people. No state could ever think of opposing them, and none could ever do anything without gaining the favours of these two states. While all the states of the world were in this condition, the Arabian Peninsula was even more in terror of these two empires. Yemen and Iraq were under the influence of the Iranian Empire, while the areas now comprising Syria and Egypt were under the control of Hercules, the Byzantine Emperor. The life of the Arabs depended upon their trade with Yemen and Syria. They were therefore in great need of being in good terms with both the Iranian and the Byzantine Emperors, so that they might not be hindered with their trade. Furthermore, the Arabs those days were no more than a combination of various tribes, always at war with one another. There was nothing to unite them and make them into one political entity, so that they might think of fighting the influence of these two great empires. Keeping this situation in view, it seemed strange during that period that the Prophet should send letters to these two Emperors as well as to Ghassân, the rulers of Yemen, Egypt and Ethiopia and invite them to embrace their religion, without having any fear of the consequence arising out of such an action, which could have submitted the whole Peninsula to direct rule of one of these emperors.

But the Prophet did not hesitate in inviting all those kings and rulers to the Religion of the Truth. One day he went out to his companions and told them that he was planning to send letters to the emperors of the Iranian and Byzantine Empires, as well as to Al-Hârith Al-Ghassânî — the king of Al-Hîrah Al-Hârith Al-Himyarî — the king of Yemen, and Najâshi, the king of Ethiopia, inviting them all to join the ranks of Islam. His companions gave the reply as he expected. He therefore ordered that a seal be made of silver on which was engraved "Muhammad is the Prophet of God". Then he sent his messengers to those kings and rulers. According to some reports, all these messengers left Madînah at the same time, but some other reports say that they left at different times.



The historians disagree a lot over the questions as to what replies were given by those kings and rulers, and as to when the messengers left – before the Battle of Khyber or after the Muslims' victory. It is very difficult to say for sure who holds the correct opinion. But most probably, they did not leave at the same time; some of them probably travelled before the Battle of Khyber while others after it. From more than one report, it becomes evident that Dihyah Bin Khalffah Al-Kalbî was present at the Battle of Khyber, while he was the person who went to Hercules, the Byzantian emperor. He arrived and presented himself to Hercules as he was returning after his victory over the Iranians, in which he took the Great Cross which had earlier been removed from Jerusalem by the Iranians. He had, as we have already mentioned, pledged that he would perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and re-install the Cross in its place. He was near the city of Hims when the Prophet's letter reached him. It cannot be said with certainty as to whether he handed the letter over to Byzantian governor at Busrâ, or himself gave the letter to Hercules after having joined a group of the Bedouins who presented themselves to the Emperor. However, the letter was read out to him and translated, and this did not make him angry or annoyed. He did not consider sending an army to invade the territory, but instead, gave a proper reply, which has made certain historians assume that he converted to Islam, but this is not correct.

At the same time Al-Hârith Al-Ghassâni informed Hercules about the messenger of the Prophet and the letter he had received, which appeared to Hercules similar to the one received by him. Al-Hârith further asked permission to lead an army against the Prophet. But Hercules thought it better to have Al-Hârith in Jerusalem at the time of his own visit as this would add to the pomp and ceremony of the celebrations for re-installing the Cross there. He did not bother about this person calling him to a new religion, and did not think for a moment that after a few years Jerusalem and Syria would be under Islamic flag.

#### Iranian Emperor and the Prophet's Letter

But the reaction of the Iranian emperor was completely different. When the letter was read out to him, which invited him to embrace Islam, he went into a fit of rage and tore it up. Then he wrote to his governor in Yemen, named Bazân, asking him to send him the head of the Prophet. Bazân sent his messenger to the Prophet. In the meantime, Pervaiz the Iranian emperor was succeeded by his son Shfrawaih and the Prophet knew it. He therefore told this news to the messengers of Bazân, and asked them to act as his messengers to Bazân and invite him to Islam. The people of Yemen had come to know about the defeats of the Iranian empire, and the decline of its authority, as well as the victories gained by the Prophet against the Quraish and the Jews. When the messengers of Bazân went back to him and delivered the message given by the Prophet, he was very pleased to embrace Islam and become the Prophet's governor over Yemen. What more could the Prophet desire at that time when Mecca was wavering and uncertain. As for Bazân, it was all profit for him, after shedding the Iranian authority, to come under the protection of this new growing power in Arabia without being asked anything in return by this power. Perhaps, Bazân did not realize at that time that his embracing Islam, and joining the ranks of the supporters of the Prophet, was to be the focus of Islamic power in the Southern Arabian Peninsula, as the events proved two years later.

#### The Reply of Al-Miqawqas

The reply given by the Coptic chief Al-Miqawqas was different from the Iranian reply, but in fact, was even better than given by Hercules. He sent back a reply to



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the Prophet telling that he believed in the coming of a Prophet, but he thought, he would appear in Syria. He received the Prophet's messenger with great respect and sent back presents to the Prophet. These were two slave-girls, one white mule, a donkey, some money and gifts from Egypt. One of these two slave-girls was Mariyyah who was selected by the Prophet himself, and who gave birth to his son Ibrâhîm, while the other named Sirîn, was given over to Hassân Bin Thâbit. The white mule was named as Duldul and was unique among the mules of Arabia because of its colour. The donkey was named as 'Ufair or Ya'rûr and was retained by the Prophet himself. It is also mentioned in the reports that Al-Miqawqas did not embrace Islam out of the fear that the Byzantian emperor would deprive him of his country — Egypt — otherwise he would have turned Muslim and guidance would have been his lot.

### Reply of Najâshî

Knowing the relations existing between Najâshî — the king of Ethiopia — and the Muslims, it is natural that his reply should have been cordial, so much so that, according to some reports, he became a Muslim, although one group of orientalist casts many doubts on the authenticity of this report.

The Prophet sent another letter to Najâshî, asking him to send the Muslims living in Ethiopia to Madînah. Najâshî arranged for them two ships to carry them back to Madînah. These Muslims were headed by Ja'far Bin Abi Tâlib and included Umm Habîbah, Ramlah Bin Abu Sufyân whose husband Abdullah Bin Jahsh had migrated to Ethiopia along with other Muslims, but who later on became Christian and remained as such until his death. Umm Habîbah was married to the Prophet on her return to Madînah. Some historians have said that the Prophet married Ramlah (Umm Habîbah) in order to further strengthen the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah by establishing relationship with Abu Sufyân through this marriage. Others have expressed the opinion that this marriage was a great shock to Abu Sufyân who was still an idol-worshipper at that time.

### Replies of the Arab Princes

The Arab princes responded to the call of the Prophet in different ways. The Prince of Yemen and 'Ummân gave an insolent reply, while the Prince of Bahrain sent a cordial one, and became a Muslim. The Prince of Yamâmah expressed his willingness to become a Muslim if he were appointed a ruler there. The Prophet condemned him for his ambition. It has been mentioned in reports that he did not live more than a year after this incident.

### 'UMRAT-UL-QADÂ' (1)

One year had now passed since the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah and the Prophet and his companions had now the right to enter Mecca and visit the Ka'bah, according to their pact with the Quraish. The Prophet therefore had it proclaimed that the people should prepare to leave in order to perform 'Umrah in lieu of the one which had not been allowed. The Muslims therefore set out on the journey, their number totalling two thousand.

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1. Umrah is a pilgrimage which done at a time other than the one specified for it. Umratul Qadâ' is an 'Umrah which is performed in lieu of a past one.



In accordance with the condition laid down in the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, none of them carried any weapon except swords in their sheaths. But the Prophet was afraid that they might be betrayed. He therefore prepared one hundred horsemen, gave their command to Muhammad Bin Maslamah and sent them ahead with the condition that they should not cross the boundaries of the Sanctuary of Mecca, but that they should turn round when they reached Marr-uz-Zahrân which is near the valley of Mecca. The Muslims put their sacrificial animals in front, which totalled sixty camels. The Prophet rode his own camel leading the caravan.

The Quraish learned that the Muslims were coming to Mecca. They therefore evacuated the city in accordance with the Treaty of Hudaibiyah and erected their tents on the surrounding mountains wherever they could find the shade of trees.

The Muslims turned in from the north while Abdullah Bin Rawahah was holding the Prophet's camel. When the Ka'bah came in their sight, all the Muslims said un-animously, "Here I am at Your service."

The Muslims stayed in Mecca for three days as stipulated in the Treaty of Hudaibiyah. The inhabitants of Mecca had already evacuated the city, and hence, the Muslims stayed without being harmed or obstructed. When the three days passed, the Quraish sent a message to the Prophet that he should leave the city in execution of the promise, which he accordingly did.

### THE BATTLE OF MU`TAH

Historians differ on the causes leading to the Battle of Mu`tah. Some of them attribute it to the murder of some of the companions of the Prophet at a place called Dhât-ut-Talah. He sent fifteen of his companions to call people towards Islam on the areas near the Syrian border where they were all killed except their leader. The purpose of this battle was to punish those who had treacherously killed his messengers. Others say that the Prophet sent one of his messengers to Byzantine governor of Busrâ. One of the Bedouins from Ghassân killed him in the name of Hercules, the emperor of Byzantia. Hence the Prophet sent those who took part in the Battle of Mu`tah to punish that governor and his supporters.

Whatever the cause might have been, he called upon the Muslims to join this battle in the month of Jimâd-il-Uula in the year eight of Hijarah (629 A.D.) He chose three thousand of his best men and put them under the command of Zaid Ibn Hârithah and said, "If Zaid gets killed, Ja'far Bin Abi Tâlib should succeed him, in case of whose death Abdullah Bin Rawahah should have the command." The people saw off the army and the Prophet went to bid them farewell and accompanied them to the suburbs of the city. He asked them to kill neither women, nor children, nor invalids, nor to demolish houses or cut trees. This army continued its march until it reached Ma'ân in Syria, while they did not know what was awaiting them.

#### Byzantine Preparations of War

The news of the Muslims' march reached Syria long before them. Byzantine governor of Syria Shurahbîl mobilized the tribes around him and wrote asking the Byzantine Emperor Hercules to reinforce his army with Greeks and Bedouins. Some reports say that Hercules himself brought his own armies and camped at a place named Ma'âb in the territory of Balqâ' at the head of 100,000 Byzantine soldiers. Other reports say that it was Hercules brother Theoder who commanded this



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army and not Hercules himself. To this army was joined another 100,000 Bedouins. The news of this mobilization reached the Muslims at Ma'ân where they stayed for two nights wondering what to do in face of such an army, which had no prior parallel. One of them said, "Let us write to the Prophet and tell him about the number of our enemies. He will either send us more troops or give us directions which we shall follow." This idea was almost accepted but Abdullah Bin Rawâhah stood up and said, "By God! You do not like that thing for which you have come out, which is martyrdom. We do not fight on basis of numbers, or might or majority. We fight with the help of the religion with which God has honoured us. Get on and you shall have one of the good things, either victory or martyrdom." Hearing this all the people cried out, "By God, Ibn Rawahah has said the truth." They therefore continued their march till they reached a village in the territory of Balqâ named Mashârif where they met Byzantian forces. When the enemy moved towards them, the Muslims diverted towards the village of Mawfah which they thought was better than Mashârif in order to fortify themselves. Here ensued that tough battle between two hundred, or one hundred, thousand soldiers of Hercules and three thousand Muslims.

Zaid who was the commander of this army, fought a desperate battle until the enemy spears tore him into pieces. The standard was then taken up by Ja'far Bin Abi Tâlib who was at that time thirty-three years old. He fought with the standard in his hand until he was surrounded by enemy soldiers who cut the legs of his horse. He then rushed into the enemy ranks like an arrow, waving his sword over their heads. The flag was in the right hand of Ja'far when it was chopped off. He took the flag in the left which was also cut off. He then held the flag with his two arms till he himself fell. When Ja'far was killed, Abdullah Bin Rawâhah came up in his place riding a horse and fought till he was killed. The command was then taken up by Khâlid Bin Al-Walid who withdrew with the army.

When the news of the death of Ja'far reached the Prophet, he was shaken with grief. When Ja'far got killed, the Prophet went to Ja'far's house and met his wife Asmâ Bin 'Umair, who, having washed her sons and combed their hair, was kneading the flour. He asked her to bring the sons of Ja'far which she did. The Prophet brought them near and smiled while his eyes became wet with tears. She realized his grief and said to him "May my parents be ransom for you Oh, Prophet of Allah! What has happened to-day? Have you got any news about Ja'far and his companions?" He replied, "Yes. They were hard hit to-day." Saying this, his eyes were further filled with tears. Asmâ began crying and the women gathered around her. The Prophet went to his family and told them not to forget the family of Ja'far and to prepare food for them as they were occupied by the death of their family head.

## CONQUEST OF MECCA

### After-effects of the Battle of Mawfah

The Muslim army came back to Madînah after the Battle of Mawfah either victorious nor defeated, but satisfied with the booty they could get on their return. Their withdrawal from the battlefield left very different effects on the Byzantians, the Muslims in Madînah and the Quraish in Mecca. As for the Byzantians, they were quite pleased at the withdrawal of the Muslims, and thanked God that the battle was no longer, despite the fact that their army comprised two hundred thousand (or one hundred) thousand men while the Muslims numbered only three thousand. As to the tribes living near the Syrian border, they looked at this action of the Muslims with great admiration. It was because of this admiration that one of the tribal chiefs, named Farwah Bin 'Amr Al-Juzâmî, who was also a company com-



mander in the Byzantian army, embraced Islam soon after this battle and announced it. He was arrested at the orders of the Byzantian emperor on the charge of treason. Hercules was willing to free him only provided he became a Christian again. Not only this, he was also prepared to restore him to his position in the army. But Farwah refused and insisted in his refusal and on being a Muslim. He was therefore killed. It was also on account of this admiration by the tribes that Islam spread among those tribes living near the Iraqi and Syrian border where the Byzantian authority was supreme.

During this period, thousands of people embraced Islam, among them being the members of Banu Sulaim headed by Al-'Abbās Bin Mirdās, of Banu Ashja' and Ghatafān who were the allies of the Jews until the latter met their ill-fate at Khyber. Among others who became Muslims during this period were people from 'Abas, Dhubyān and Fazārah. Hence, the battle of Muwtah became instrumental in opening the way for the Muslims to the North of Madīnah up to the Syrian borders, and thus became a source of increase in the power and prestige of Islam.

The effect of the Battle of Muwtah on the hearts of Muslims living in Madīnah was quite different. No sooner did they see Khālid and the army coming back from the Syrian border without gaining a victory over the army of Hercules, than they shouted at them and said, "Oh, you who fled! You ran away from the way of God." Some of the prominent members of the army were so ashamed and embarrassed that they shut themselves up in their houses lest the children and young men of the Muslims should hurt them by accusing them of running away.

To the Quraish, the effect of this battle gave them an opportunity to treat it as a defeat which had finally ended the Muslims and their power, so much so that none would be in dread of them, or give any weight to the pact between them. They also thought that conditions had become the same as they were before the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah, and Umrat-ul-Qadā; and that the Quraish might resume war against the Muslims and their allies without being afraid of Muhammad's revenge.

#### Violations of the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah by the Quraish

The Treaty of Hudaibiyyah had stipulated that anyone might enter into a treaty with the Prophet or the Quraish. The people of Banu Khuzā'ah had signed a pact with the Muslims, while those of Banu Bakr had become allies of the Quraish. There were old feuds between these two tribes which had calmed down after the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah, and both the parties had become inclined to arbitration. When the Battle of Maw'tah took place and the Quraish thought that the Muslims were finished, it occurred to Banu Dail, who were a branch of Banu Bakr — allies of the Quraish — that they had an opportunity to take revenge from Banu Khuzā'ah for their old feuds. They were further incited by some of the chiefs of the Quraish, like 'Ikramah Bin Abu Jehl who helped them with arms. One night while the people of Banu Khuzā'ah were at their wells in a place called Al-Watīr, the men from Banu Bakr surprised them and killed some of them. The men of Banu Khuzā'ah ran to Mecca and took refuge with Budail Bin Warqā and complained to him about the violation of the Treaty by the Quraish and Banu Bakr. At the same time 'Amr Bin Sālim Al-Khuzā'f went to Madīnah and presented himself to the Prophet while he was sitting among his companions in the mosque. He told the Prophet what had happened and sought his help. The Prophet replied, "Oh, 'Amr Bin Sālim, You have got it." Budail Bin Warā also came to Madīnah with some men from Banu Khuzā'ah and told the Prophet what had happened to them at the hands of the Quraish and Banu Bakr. The Prophet now realized that there was no alternative but to take Mecca by force, to do which he must call upon Muslims throughout the Arabian



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Peninsula to join him, without their knowing where they were supposed to go.

The wise men of the Quraish however realized what they had been exposed to by 'Ikramah Bin Abu Jehl and young men like him. They saw that the Treaty of Hudaibiyah had been violated and the power of the Prophet was increasing throughout the Peninsula. He might therefore think of vengeance for Banu Khuzâ'ah, and the holy city might have to face great danger. But what should they do? After thinking a lot, they sent Abu Sufyân to Madînah with a view to extending the period of the truce and renew the Treaty. Perhaps the limit was two years and the Quraish wanted it for ten years. Abu Sufyân therefore set out for Madînah. When he reached 'Usfân, he met Budail Bin Warqâ and his companions, which made him afraid of his having met the Prophet and told him of the incident which would make his mission very-complicated. But Budail denied having seen the Prophet. Abu Sufyân however guessed from the dung of Budail's camel that he had been in Madînah. He therefore made it a point not to see the Prophet first, and went straight to the house his daughter Umm Habîbah, wife of the Prophet.

### Abu Sufyân in Madînah

Perhaps she knew the Prophet's feelings towards the Quraish, but even she did not know what he was planning in this connection. And this was the case with all the people of Madînah. Abu Sufyân wanted to sit on the bed of the Prophet, but Umm Habîbah folded it up. Abu Sufyân said to her, "Did you fold it because of your hatred for me or for the bed?" She replied, "This belongs to the Prophet of God and you are an idol-worshipper and therefore polluted. I therefore did not want you to sit on it." Abu Sufyân said to his daughter that she had insulted him, and left the house in anger. He afterwards met the Prophet and talked to him about an extension in the period of truce, but the Prophet did not give any reply. Abu Sufyân then talked to Abu Bakr and 'Umar, but they too refused to interfere. Abu Sufyân then went to Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and Fâtimah to ask Ali to intercede. But Ali told him that no one could make the Prophet change his mind if he had decided about a thing. Abu Sufyân then asked Fâtimah to allow him to take the protection of her son Hasan. She replied that no one could give him protection against the Prophet. When Abu Sufyân found himself in this fix, Ali said to him, "By God, I do not know anything that could help you, but you are the chief of Banu Kinânah. You should therefore stand among the people and ask for protection and then go back to your place. I do not see any other way for you." Abu Sufyân therefore went to the mosque and did what Ali had told him and then left for Mecca.

On reaching Mecca, Abu Sufyân related the whole story to the Quraish and explained how he sought protection among the people but that Muhammad did not allow it. The people of the Quraish said to him, "Woe to you. No one has ever played a trick upon you like this." Then they once again began consultations.

As for the Prophet, he thought that no chance should be given to the Quraish to make preparations for an engagement. He was quite confident of his strength and God's help. He wanted to surprise the Quraish so that they might not have any chance to repel his attack, and therefore submit without bloodshed. He therefore ordered the Muslims to prepare for a march.

While the Muslims were on the verge of their march towards Mecca, Hâtib Bin 'Ali Balt'ah wrote a letter and gave it to a woman from Mecca, through which he wanted to warn the Quraish about what the Prophet had prepared. Hâtib was one of the prominent Muslims and those who had participated in the Battle of Badr on their sides. But every person has some weakness which may overcome him and he may do a thing which he himself may not like. The Prophet however discovered about it

very soon and sent Ali Bin Abi Tâlib and Az-Zubair Bin Al-'Awwâm after that woman, named Sârah, and they overtook her. They searched her camel but did not find anything. Ali then threatened to expose the woman if she did not give him the letter. When she realized that Ali was serious, she said, "Then turn away". They turned away while the woman got the letter out of her hair. She was returned to Madînah. The Prophet called Hâtib and asked him as to why he had done this. Hâtib replied, "Oh, Prophet, I am a believer in God and His Prophet and have not changed. But I am a person who does not have among the Quraish relatives except for a grown-up son. This is why I wanted to help them." Umar Bin Al-Khattâb said, "Oh, Prophet of God, Let me behead him as he has apostatized." But the Prophet replied, "Do not you know, Oh, Umar, that God has known the participants of the battle on the Day of Badr?" Then he said, "Do whatever you will, for I have forgiven you."

### March of Muslim Army

The Muslim army finally set out towards Mecca in such a number that Madînah had never seen. The Prophet had sent for the people of Banu Sulaim, Banu Muzainah and Ghatafân etc. who had joined the Muhâjirîn and Anṣâr of Madînah, clad in their armour, and were moving in the desert like a flood. The Prophet marched at the head of this army and his main concern was that he should enter the Ka'bah without shedding a drop of blood. This army reached Marr-uz-Zahrân, (at a distance of four farsakhs, or 13 miles from Mecca) and had grown to ten thousand warriors but the Quraish were quite ignorant about it. They were discussing and quarrelling about the action to be taken in case the Prophet attacked. The uncle of the Prophet, Al-Abbâs Bin Abdul Muttalib, however, left them in their debate, left Mecca along with his family and joined the Prophet at Juḥfah (1). Similarly, Abu Sufyân Bin Al-Hârith Bin Abdul Muttalib and Abdullah Bin Umayyah Bin Al-Mughîrah, both cousins of the Prophet, left Mecca and joined the Muslim army while they were at a place called Binîq-ul-'Uqâb.

Abbâs saw the army led by his nephew and realized his power which made him afraid and disturbed. He rode the white mule of the Prophet and came out of the camp until he reached the place where there were thorns. His purpose in coming out was to see if there were a wood-cutter, or a milk-seller or any other person going to Mecca who might take a message to the Quraish telling them about the force of the Muslims and their might, so that they might come to the Prophet seeking amnesty before he entered the city by force. The Quraish too were sensing

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1. Reports differ on this point. Some say that Abbâs met the Muslim army at Râbigh. Others claim that he went to Madînah before the invasion of Mecca was planned, had become a Muslim and marched towards Mecca with this army. Many of the writers reject this report and think that it was fabricated in order to please the Abbâsides because the books on the biography of the Prophet were first written during the Abbaside rule. This opinion is supported by the fact that Abbâs, despite his help for his nephew during his stay in Mecca, had not become a Muslim. He was a merchant and a usurer and was afraid that Islam might affect his trade adversely. They further add that, if Abbâs had become a Muslim and migrated to Madînah, Abu Sufyân would have gone to him straight away when he visited Madînah to negotiate about the extension of period of truce, as he was a great friend of Abbâs in Mecca.



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danger since the Muslim army had camped at Marr-uz-Zahrân. They therefore sent Abu Sufyân, Budail Bin Warqâ and Hakîm Bin Hazzâm to get the news and information about the danger which they felt to be very close. Abbâs was passing, riding the white mule of the Prophet, when he heard the following conversation between Abu Sufyân Bin Hard and Budail Bin Warqâ:

Abu Sufyân — I have never seen such fires or such an army as I see to-night.

Budail — By God,<sup>1</sup> They are the men of Khuzâ'ah who have been roused by war.

Abu Sufyân — The people of Khuza'ah are too few in number to create such fires and have such an army. Abbâs recognized the voice of Abu Sufyân. He therefore called him by his nick-name, Abu Hanzalah, and Abu Sufyân in his turn, "Abu Fadl". Abbâs said, "Woe unto you, O Abu Sufyân. This is the Prophet of God with his men. You are finished if he enters Mecca by force." Abu Sufyân said, "Then, what shall we do?" Abbâs asked his companions to go to Mecca and he carried Abu Sufyân with him on the mule. When the people saw the mule, they recognized it and let it pass with its riders through ten thousand fires which were lit to create fear in the hearts of the Meccans. When they passed by the tent of 'Umar Bin Khattâb, he recognized Abu Sufyân and guessed that Abbâs wanted to give him protection. He therefore ran towards the tent of the Prophet and asked his permission to behead Abu Sufyân. But Abbâs told the Prophet that he had already promised him protection. This led to a hot exchange of words between 'Umar and Abbâs. This situation as well as the late hours of night made the Prophet say to Abbâs, "Go with him to your tent now and bring him back to me in the morning." When the morning came, Abbâs brought Abu Sufyân to the Prophet who was attended by the prominent people from the Muhâjirîn and Ansâr. Now took place the following conversation between the Prophet and Abu Sufyân:

The Prophet: Have not you realized until now that there is no God but Allah?

Abu Sufyân : May my parents be ransom for you. How kind, how respected and how successful you are. By God, if I had ever thought that there is another god beside Allah, I would have been a man without purpose.

The Prophet: Have not you realized until now that I am the Messenger of God?

Abu Sufyân : May my parents be ransom for you. How kind, how respected and how successful you are. By God,<sup>2</sup> There is still some doubt in about this in my heart.

At this Abbâs crossed to him and told him to embrace Islam or meet death. Now Abu Sufyân had no alternative but to declare being a Muslim. Abbâs now addressed the Prophet and said, "O Prophet of God, Abu Sufyân is a boastful person. You should do something for him." The Prophet replied, "Yes. Whosoever enters the house of Abu Sufyân is spared; whosoever closes his door, is spared and whosoever enters the Ka'bah is spared."

Abu Sufyân's conversion to Islam did not prevent the Prophet from taking all the care and precautions he could in order to enter Mecca. It is correct that victory is in the hands of God who gives it to whomsoever He may please, but at the same time it is also equally true that God gives victory to those who are fully prepared for it. The Prophet therefore took into consideration every single detail that might have stood in his way. He ordered Abu Sufyân to be stationed at a pass near Mecca so that he might see the Muslim army passing through and then

tell his people what he had seen with his own eyes, so that there should not be the least resistance to their entry. All the tribes passed by Abu Sufyân, but nothing so impressed him as the *Katibat-ul-Khadarâ* (Green Squadron) around the Prophet, comprising the *Muhâjirîn* and *Ansar*, all of whom seemed to be men of iron. When Abu Sufyân saw them, he said to Abbâs, "Oh! Abbâs! None can face them. By God, "O Abul Fadl. The kingdom of your nephew has become very grand." Then he went to his people in Mecca and on reaching there, shouting to them, "O people of the Quraish, Muhammad has come after you with such a force that has no parallel. Whosoever among you takes refuge in my house, or closes his door or enters the Ka'bah, he shall be spared." Hearing this his wife - Hind, the mother of Mu'âwiyah - stood up and pulled his beard saying to the people, "Kill this stupid old fool."

The Prophet continued his march until he reached *Dhi Tuwâ* where he could see Mecca with none opposing him. He ordered his squadrons to stop and fell down in prostration, thanking God that He put the place where Revelation came, and which is seat of the Ka'bah, open to him and the Muslims so that they might enter it in safety. Although he thanked God for this victory, he kept on guard. He ordered the army to be divided into four groups and asked them to refrain from fighting or bloodshed unless they were forced to it. The armies entered Mecca. They did not meet any resistance except at one place where the worst enemies of the Prophet were living, and who had been in league with Banu Bakr in violating the Treaty of *Hudaibiyyah* by attacking the men of Banu *Khuzâ'ah*. They did not like the announcement made by Abu Sufyân, but prepared to fight, while some others planned to escape. They were headed by 'Ikramah Bin Abu Jehl, *Safwân* and *Suhail*. But when they saw how the tables were turned against them, they all took to their heels.

#### Entry into Mecca

The Prophet stopped at the highest point in Mecca where a tent was pitched for him near the graves of Abu Tâlib and *Khadîjah*. The people asked him, "Would you like to go to your own house?" He replied, "No, not at all. They have not left any house for me in Mecca." He then entered the tent to rest his heart full of gratitude towards God Who had brought him victorious back into the city where people tortured him and forced him leave his home and his family. He did not stay in the tent for long, but soon came out. He rode his camel and went straight to the Ka'bah, where he went round it seven times sitting on his camel and went straight to the Ka'bah, where he went round it seven times sitting on his camel, kissing the *Rukn* (corner) with his stick in his hand. When he had done this, he called for 'Uthmân Bin Talhah and asked him to open the gate of the Ka'bah, which was done. He stood at the threshold and addressed the people who had already gathered there in great numbers. Then he addressed the Quraish and asked them "Do you know what I am going to do with you?" They said, "It will be merciful. You are a kind and generous brother and the son of a generous brother." He said, "You may go. You are all free." With these words he gave a general amnesty to all the inhabitants of Mecca and to the Quraish.

#### The Ka'bah cleared of idols

The Prophet then entered the Ka'bah. All around its walls, there were images and idols of gods worshipped by the Quraish instead of God. These idols were fixed to the walls with lead. The *Hubal* was inside the Ka'bah. These idols were



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pulled down and the Sanctuary was cleared of them. In this way, he completed the mission on the first day of his entry in Mecca which he had announced twenty years before, and which was fiercely fought by the people of Mecca. The idols were pulled down and idol-worship was done away with, right under the eyes of the Quraish who saw that the idols which they and their fore-fathers had worshipped were without power to do good or bad.

### Ansâr's Apprehensions

The Ansârs from Madīnah saw all this and saw too that the Prophet was calling for peace and forgiveness. This made them feel that he would leave Madīnah and stay in his previous home to which God had opened the way for him. Some of them said, "Do not you see that the Prophet will stay in Mecca now God has opened it to him?" Perhaps their apprehensions were correct. He was the Messenger of God, and in Mecca lies the Ka'bah — the House of God and the Sanctuary. But no sooner the Prophet finished his prayer to God, he asked them, "What did you say?" When they had told him with hesitation, he said, "I seek protection of God. My life is with you and my death too." Thus he set an example by keeping his promise given at Bai'at-ul-Uqbah and his loyalty to his supporters, who had stood with him when times were hard. He showed such a loyalty and truthfulness which he did not forget in the face of his family, his birth-place and even the Ka'bah.

When the Ka'bah was cleared of the idols, he asked Bilāl to do Adhān and then the people said their congregational prayers led by the Prophet.

The Quraish were generally satisfied with the treatment they received and the forgiveness shown to them by the Prophet. They all stood watching him and the Muslims with eyes full of surprise, and admiration mixed with fear and caution. But a group of them, numbering seventeen persons, was not included in this general amnesty. The Prophet had ordered his followers to kill them on their entry in Mecca even if they were holding the curtains of the Ka'bah. Some of these men had run away while other went underground. This order of the Prophet was not on account of his hatred or anger, because he never knew these things. These orders were given on account of the crimes committed by these people. One of them was Abdullah Bin Abi Sarah, who had become a Muslim and used to write the Revelations when the Prophet told them. Then he apostatized and went back to the Quraish, thinking and claiming that he used to concoct revelations. Another one was Abdullah Bin Khatal who had also apostatized after killing his slave and making his slave-girls sing defamatory verses about the Prophet. These two were ordered to be killed. Such, too, was the case with 'Ikramah Bin Abu Jehl who was one of the worst enemies of the Muslims and had not relented even after the Fall of Mecca. From among the women was Hind Bint 'Utbah, the wife of Abu Sufyān and mother of Mu'āwiyah.

The Prophet forbade on his entry into Mecca that any person should be killed except those named, who had therefore either run away or hidden themselves. When the city settled down and people saw the magnanimity of the Prophet, some of them desired that he should forgive even the few who were ordered to be killed. 'Uthmān Bin 'Affān brought Abdullah Bin Abi Sarah, who was his brother-by-suckling, and asked for amnesty for him. The Prophet kept quiet for some time and then said, "Yes." When he went away, the Prophet said, "I kept quiet so that some one of you should get up and kill him." Abu Ayyūb Al-Ansārī said, "Why did you not point to him?" The Prophet replied, "A prophet never points out a person to be killed." Similarly, Umm Hakīm Bint Al-Hārith Bin Hishām, the wife of 'Ikramah Bin Abu Jehl converted to Islam and asked that her husband be pardoned, he having had



escaped towards Yemen. The Prophet agreed, and she went after him and brought him back. In the same way, he pardoned Safwān Bin Umayyah who had accompanied 'Ikramah in his escape towards the sea, in order to get a boat for Yemen. He joined 'Ikramah and his wife as the boat was just on the verge of departure. The Prophet also pardoned Hind, wife of Abu who had tried to eat the liver of Hamzah — the Prophet's uncle after he was martyred in the Battle of Uhad. Most of those who were to have been killed were thus pardoned except four, among them was Al-Huwairath who obstructed the daughter of the Prophet, named Zainab when she was going to Madīnah. Two of them were those who had committed the crime of murder in Madīnah after embracing Islam and then had apostatized and turned back to Mecca. The fourth one was a slave-girl of Ibn Khatal who used to hurt the Prophet, as already mentioned, with another girl who had run away but who was later on pardoned. On the morning after the Fall of Mecca, the people of Banu Khuzā'ah found a man from Hudhail who was an idol-worshipper and killed him. This made the Prophet very angry.

The Prophet stayed in Mecca for fifteen days during which he made arrangements for the administration of the city and taught its inhabitants the principles of religion. He also sent a number of parties to invite people to Islam, without bloodshed, and to pull down the idols. Khālid Bin Walīd was sent to pull down 'Uzza which was set up at a place called Nakhlah and belonging to Banu Shaibān. Having done this, he went to Jadhīmah. When the people saw him, they took up their arms. Khālid asked them to lay down their weapons, because there was peace. One of them said to his people, "Woe to you, Oh, Banu Jadhīmah! This is Khālid. You cannot escape from captivity, if you lay down your weapon this will be followed by your slaughter." His people said to him, "You want us be killed. All the people have surrendered, war having ended and peace proclaimed." They adhered to this position till he too laid down his arms. At this, Khalīd gave orders that should be arrested. It was done. Then he put to sword as many as he could. When the news reached the Prophet, he raised his hands to heaven and said, "Oh" God, I am absolved of what Khālid has done." Then he sent Ali Bin Abi Talib to those people and said to him, "Go towards these people and take care of them. Put all pre-Islamic traditions under your feet." Ali went to them with the money the Prophet had given to him. He gave the money to those people as compensation for the blood and the property destroyed until he had nothing left. He also gave away that money which the Prophet had given him as a reserve.

During these two weeks which the Prophet spent in Mecca, all the traces of idol-worship were wiped out. He entrusted the care of the Ka'bah to 'Uthmān Bin Talhah and his sons while the supplying of water to pilgrims was given over to his uncle Abbās.

#### HUNAIN AND TAA'IF

The Muslims stayed in Mecca after it fell for fifteen days after which they got information about the activities of Banu Hawāzan. This tribe used to live on the mountains to the south-east of Mecca and very near to it. When they learned about the success of the Muslims and how they pulled down the idols, they became afraid that their turn might come and the Muslims might invade their houses too. They therefore, began thinking of preventing that catastrophe and of how to stop the Muslims' attack. It was with this purpose that Mālik Bin 'Awf An-Nagrī mobilized the tribes of Hawāzan and Thaḳfī as well as those of Nasr and Jusham. There was none among the Hawāzan who did not respond to this call except Ka'b and Kilāb. Similarly, from among the tribe of Jusham, Duraid Bin As-Sammah did not attend



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the meeting. Although he was too old to be useful for the battle, yet he could give very sound advice after having participated in many battles in his life time.

All these tribes gathered together with their women, children and chattels near the plain of Awṭās. When Duraid heard the noises — the braying of the donkeys, grumbling of the camels, crying of the children and all such like noises — he asked Mâlik why the fighters were taking their women, children and chattels and cattle with them. Mâlik replied that he wanted the fighters to be roused and encouraged on account of their presence. Duraid said, "Does the defeated one get back anything? If the result of the battle is in your favour, well and good; but if it turns out to be against you, you will be humiliated through your women and children. The difference of opinion between Duraid and Mâlik became serious. The people however followed Mâlik. He was a young man of thirty, with strong will-power and good past record. Mâlik asked his followers to divert towards the cliffs of Hanain near the narrow end of the valley, so that they might press the Muslims hard from all the sides when they entered the valley. This, he thought would break their ranks which would create great confusion among the Muslims, who would begin fighting with their own men and thus would be defeated. This defeat, he hoped, would wipe out any effect of the conquest of Mecca, while the tribes of Hanain would be left alone in the field, having succeeded against the power which sought to subjugate the whole of Arabia. The people carried out the orders given by Mâlik and fortified themselves near the narrow end of the valley.

### Muslims March Towards Hunain

The Muslims, meanwhile, left Mecca, after a fortnight, led by the Prophet. They were in such a number that had not been equalled in the past. They numbered twelve thousand — ten thousand were those who had attacked Mecca and taken it, while two thousand belonged to the new converts of the Quraish including Abu Sufyân. Such an army was never before seen in Arabia. When they reached Hanain, evening approached. They therefore stopped at the entrance of valley for the night. They moved from this point next morning, and turned towards one of the narrowest valleys of Tihâmah. When they reached the middle of the valley, the tribes, under the orders of Mâlik Bin 'Awf, pressed upon them one and all and began shooting arrows. This created confusion among the Muslims, who, retreating, were caught by all sorts of fears and they took to their heels; seeing this Abu Sufyân, with smile on his lips said to those who had so recently been victorious against the Quraish, "Your retreat cannot end before the sea coast." Similarly, Shaibah Bin 'Uthmân Bin Abi Talhah, whose father was killed at the hands of the Muslims in the Battle of Uhad, said, "To-day the spell is broken." Such talk was going on as chaos spread among the Muslims. The Prophet was at the rear. Tribe after tribe was passing by him, running back in retreat. Those who stood to their positions along with the Prophet were Ali Bin Abi Tâlib, Abbâs Bin Abdul Muttalib, Abu Sufyân Bin Al-Ḥârith Bin Abdul Muttalib and his son, Al-Fadl Bin Abbâs Bin Abdul Muttalib, Aiman Bin 'Ubaid, Rab'ah Bin Al-Ḥârith Bin Abdul Muttalib and Usamah Bin Zaid. Out of them Aiman was killed.

### The Prophet's Perseverance and Firmness

The Prophet stood firm in his position, surrounded by the few persons mentioned above. When people passed by him, he called, "Where are you going?" But they did not pay heed on account of fear which hid all else but the warriors of Banu Ha-

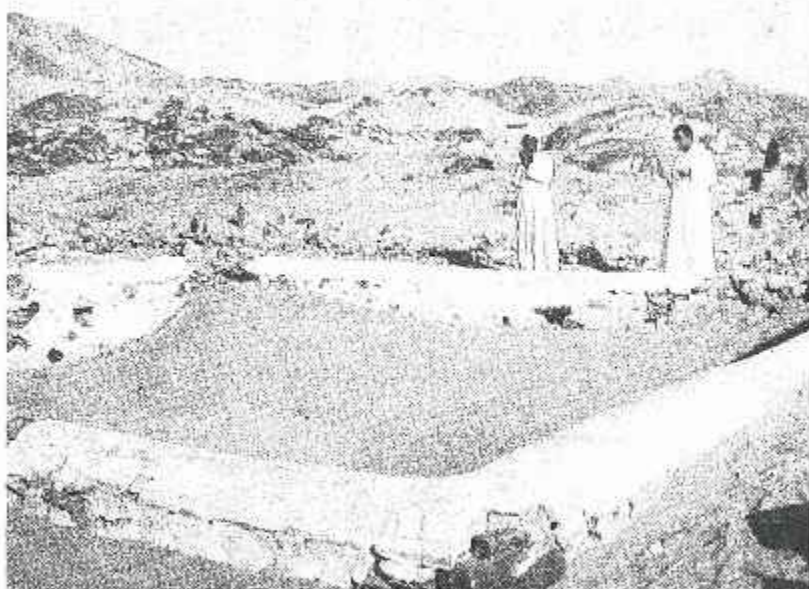




A view of the main road «Mecca-Alta'ef» on the worst part of (Kara) Mountains.



District of «UHOD» mountain, in this place the well-known battle between the Holy Prophet and the unbelievers of «Quraish» took place.



The place where the Martyrs of «BADRE» battle are buried. All graves are removed except a square wall as a sign for the place.





wâzan and Thaqîf who were chasing. They were not at fault in imagining such a situation. The people of Banu Hawazan had closed in, led by Abu Jardal, riding a red camel with a black flag tied to a spear in his hand. When he came near the Muslims he attacked them with the spear and was followed by the people of Banu Hawâzan and their allies in this attack. Ali Bin Abi Tâlib stopped him and finally killed him which gave pause to the ranks of the idol-worshippers.

Abbâs Bin Abdul Muttalib had a very loud voice. He called out to retreating Muslims, and was heard by every one, "Oh, men of Ansâr! who we sheltered and helped. Oh, men of Muhâjirîn, who took their oath of fealty under the tree! Here is Muhammad alive. Come to him." He repeated his call which was echoed by valley. This call made some of those retreating come back. Ali Bin Abi Tâlib led them to attack, after he had killed Abu Jardal. This desperate effort resulted in the death of a huge number of the idol-worshippers and the defeat changed into victory.

It was a very critical situation. Very soon the fighters of Banu Hawâzan and Thaqîf retreated and took to their heels, leaving behind them their women, children, cattle and other belongings which fell into the hands of the Muslims. Among this booty were twenty-two thousand camels, forty thousand goats and four thousand auqiyah (which is equal to 200 grams) of silver. The number of captives was six thousand. They were removed under guard to the valley of Je'rânah where they were kept until the Muslims returned from their chase of the enemy and from the siege of Banu Thaqîf in At-Tâ'if.

#### THE BATTLE OF AWTÂS AND TAA'IF

The idol-worshippers fighting in Hunain retreated and divided into two groups. The Bedouins and their followers ran towards Awtâs while the people of Banu Thaqîf and their followers went towards At-Tâ'if. The Prophet sent Abu 'Aamir Al-Ash'arî to Awtâs with a group of men which included Abu Mûsa Al-Ash'arî, while Abu Sufyân Bin Harb was sent to At-Tâ'if. As for Abu Aamir, he took the standard and fought till death. The people then said to Abu Mûsa Al-Ash'arî that he was the cousin of their commander and should therefore take up the command, which he did and fought until God gave them victory. But Abu Sufyân Bin Harb could not face the people of Thaqîf and returned to the Prophet saying to him, "You sent me to those people who neither care about any setbacks nor are they daunted by anyone. I could not do anything." The Prophet was silent. (Abu Sufyân, who was so pleased at the retreat of the Muslims in Hanain, could not naturally try to win a victory for the Muslims.) Al-Muffd has said that the Prophet himself marched towards At-Tâ'if and besieged them. He entrusted Ali Bin Abi Tâlib with some horsemen and asked him to kill anyone found and destroy all the idols coming in his way. He went on this mission until he met the horsemen of Khath'am. One of the them challenged Ali who fought him and killed him. When he completed his task, destroying all the idols he could find he came back to the Prophet who was still besieging the people of At-Tâ'if. When the Prophet saw Ali coming back, he called out takbîr as a sign of victory. Then he took Ali in privacy and talked to him for a long time.

One day, Nâfe' Bin Ghailân Bin Mut'ab came out of the fort of At-Tâ'if with some horsemen of Banu Thaqîf. Ali Bin Abi Tâlib faced him and killed him which put the idol-worshippers to flight. It also frightened them with the result that a group of them came out of the fort to the Prophet and became Muslims. This siege of At-Tâ'if which the Prophet undertook right after the Battle of Hunain continued for about ten days.

According to a report by At-Tabarî, the Prophet marched directly after Hunain



and camped at At-Tâ'if, where he stayed for half a month in order to fight against its people, who fought from inside the fort, none coming out. As to the people living around the fort, they all embraced Islam, coming to the Prophet in delegations. He asked the delegation of Banu Hawāzan about Mâlik Bin 'Awf, who was their chief and commander during the Battle of Hunain. They replied that he was in At-Tâ'if where he had taken refuge after his defeat at Hanain. The Prophet told them that they should tell him that the Prophet would return his family and property as well as give him one hundred camels if he submitted and converted to Islam. This message was conveyed to Mâlik, who came out of the fort without letting anyone know, because he afraid of the people of Banu Thaqqif would imprison him if they came to know his intentions. He joined the Prophet at Je'rānah. The Prophet fulfilled his promise, returning his family members and his property as well as giving him one hundred camels. He was also made the governor of the area in which his tribesmen lived as well as of those who had turned Muslim and inhabited the territory surrounding At-Tâ'if.

On returning from the siege of At-Tâ'if, the Prophet came to Je'rānah, where the war-booty was stored, and where including the captives were kept, as we have already said. Here he began distributing the looted property and started with the "consoled ones". He gave Abu Sufyān 40 auqiyah of silver and one hundred camels. Abu Sufyān said, "What about my son Yazīd?" The Prophet said, "Give him a similar share." Abu Sufyān then asked about his son Mu'āwiyah and the Prophet gave to him also. Similarly Hakīm Ibn Hazzām was given one hundred camels and when he asked for more, another hundred were given to him. The Prophet gave one hundred camels each to An-Nadīr Bin Al-Hārith Bin Kaldah, Asyad Bin Jāriyah Ath-Thaqafī, Al-Hārith Bin Hishām, Safwān Bin Umayyah, Qais Bin 'Adī, Suhail Bin 'Amr, Hawaitab Bin Abdul 'Uzza, Al-Aqra'a Ibn Hābis Ayaiynah Bin Hasīn and Mâlik Bin 'Awf. Every one of Al-'Ula Bin Hārithah Ath-Thaqafī, Mukharmah Bin Nawfal, Sa'īd Bin Yarbū'a, Uthmān Bin Wahab and Hishām Bin 'Amr Al-'Aamirī received fifty camels while Al-Abbās Ibn Mardās got forty camels.

When the Prophet distributed the booty won at the Battle of Hanain, mostly among the Quraish and especially to the "consoled ones" like Abu Sufyān and his son Mu'āwiyah, 'Ikramah Bin Abi Jehl, Safwān Bin Umayyah, Al-Hārith Bin Hishām, Suhail Bin 'Amr and the like, but did not give anything to the Ansār, or if he did, it was negligible, a group from among the Ansār were offended and began grumbling and saying, "The Prophet has met his kinsmen." This talk reached the Prophet who gathered them all and came to them, followed by Ali. He sat among them, and after praising God and thanking Him, said to them, "Oh, men of Ansār! What is this I hear and what have you discovered? I want to ask you some questions which you should answer. Were you not lost and God showed you the right path through me?

Were you not just at the borders of Hell and God saved you through me? Were you not small in number and through me God increased it? Were you not needy and through me God made you well-to-do? Were you not enemies of one another and God made your hearts unite through me? The Ansārs replied that it was true and that the credit went to God and His Prophet. He kept quiet for a while and then said, "Why do not you say anything in reply?" The Ansārs replied, "Our parents be ransom to you, what should we reply? We have already said that you have done a great favour to us." He said, "If you wanted, you could say in reply to me, and which would have been quite correct, that I came to you when people belied me and you supported me; I came to you after being let down and you aided me; I was turned out and you gave me shelter; I was threatened and you provided peace for me; I was frustrated and you consoled me." Hearing this, they began crying and their voices were heard. Then their elders stood up, kissed the hands of the Prophet and then said to him, "Oh



Prophet of God. We are satisfied with (the decision of) God and His Prophet. This is our property at your disposal. If you like, you may distribute it among your kinsmen. Whosoever from amongst us said anything did it without any malice, but they have realized their mistake and have sought pardon from God for their errors and sins. Oh, Prophet of God. You should also seek Divine pardon for them." He then said, "Oh, God. Give pardon to Ansâr, their children and the children of their children. Oh, Men of Ansârs. Are you not satisfied that others should return with worldly property while the Prophet of God should be your share?" They replied that they were fully satisfied on their lot. The Prophet then said, "From now onwards, the Ansârs are my companions. If all other people go one way and the Ansârs follow another, I would follow the way selected by the Ansârs." This attitude of the Prophet set an example of good policy and winning the hearts.

A delegation of the people of Hawâzin came to him, consisting fourteen men, including Abu Tharwân or Abu Barqân who was an uncle of the Prophet through the relationship of being nursed in that tribe. Their leader was Zuhair Bin Surad. They informed him of their conversion to Islam as well as of those whom they had left behind. His uncle said to him, "Oh Prophet of God. Among these captives are those who took care of you, from among your aunts (through the relationship of nursing). We brought you up in our homes and nursed you through our women. I saw you as a suckling and have never seen a better suckling than you were; then I saw you grown-up and have never seen anyone superior to you. In you has appeared goodness itself. We are therefore your tribesmen and relatives. You should bestow your favour upon us and God will bestow His upon you." Similarly Zuhair Bin Surad said, "Oh Prophet of God. Among these captives are your aunts. Had we nursed Al-Hârith (1) Bin Abi Shimr or An-Nu'mân Ibn Al-Mundhir (2) and any one of them had met us in the way you have, we would have expected to receive his compassion and favour." The Prophet said in reply, "Well said. I believe you. But tell me if your women and children are dearer to you than your property and chattels." They expressed their preference for their women and children. The Prophet then said, "As to the booty that became my share and that of the Banu Abdul Muttalib, it is all yours. As to the other people, I shall ask them." The Muhâjirîn and Ansâr said that whatever belonged to them, was at the disposal of the Prophet. But Al-Aqra' Bin Al-Hâbis stood up and said that he and the people of Banu Tamîm would not give up their belongings. The same opinion was expressed by 'Ayainah Bin Hisn about himself and Banu Fazârah. Similarly, Al-Abbâs Bin Al-Mardâs said that he and Banu Sulaim would not give back what they had. But Banu Sulaim said that they would, upon which Al-Abbâs said that they had let him down. The Prophet then said to those who had refused to give up their share, "These people have turned Muslims. I gave them a choice and they preferred to have their women and children back. Any one of you who has something belonging to him and feels like giving it back would do a good thing. Those who do not want to return anything may give to them that which would be a debt to me." They agreed and the women and children were returned to their families.

The Prophet reached Al-Je'rânah on the night of Thursday when five nights had passed of the month of Dhil Qa'dah. He stayed there thirteen nights and left on Wednesday, when there were left twelve nights of Dhil Qa'dah. He dressed himself for 'Umrah and entered Mecca where he performed Tawâf and Sa'iy, after which

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1. One of the rulers of Banu Ghassân in Syria.
  2. The King of Hîrah in Iraq.



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he returned to Al-Je'rânah. He stayed there for a night and the next morning, on Thursday, he left for Madînah.

It may be observed here that the important campaigns of the Prophet in which actual fighting was involved were Badr, Uhad, Khandaq, Khyber and Hunain. In all these battles, the Muslims numbered about one-third of their opponents. In the Battle of Badr the idol-worshippers totalled 950 while the Muslims strength was 313. In the Battle of Uhad, the number of the idol-worshippers was 3,000 while the Muslims were only 700. In the Battle of Khandaq, the idol-worshippers totalled 10,000 while Muslims were 3,000. The number of Muslims in the Battle of Khyber was 1,400, while the strength of the Jews has not been mentioned by the historians, but indications are that they were in great numbers because of the number of fortresses in Khyber, besides the Jews of Banu An-Nadîr who had joined them. In the Battle of Hunain the idol-worshippers were thirty thousand while the Muslims were around twelve thousand. In each of these battles the Muslims carried the day; even in the Battle of Uhad, because their defeat in the end was caused by the violation of the Prophet's orders. All these victories were realized through the efforts and perseverance of Ali Bin Abi Tâlib.

### THE BATTLE TABUK

This battle took place in Rajab of the ninth year of Hijrah. The cause leading to it was that the Prophet received information that the Byzantians had mobilized a great force in Syria, that Hercules was prepared for an attack and had been joined by the Arabs from the tribes of Lakhm, Jadhham, 'Aamilah, Ghassân, and that their advance had already reached Al-Balqâ'. It was customary with the Prophet that whenever he prepared for a campaign, he kept its purpose secret so that the enemy might be confused. But on this occasion he made no secret and told the people of the hazards before them, the difficulties of the journey, the hot weather and the great number of the foe, so that they might be completely alert. He sent messages to Mecca and other tribes asking them to join. He also called upon the rich Muslims to participate in the preparations and equipping of his army. The equivocators too began inducing people not to join and to stay behind, and many people came under their influence.

When the Prophet was ready for the march, he appointed Ali Bin Abi Tâlib as his viceroy in Madînah. This was because of information he received about the evil intentions of the tribes living in the suburbs of Madînah, as well as those of Mecca, whom he had very recently attacked and defeated. It was quite possible that they might have attacked the town in the absence of the Prophet, seeing that there was none who could stand in their way to save the town from danger. There was none who could stop those people making such a move and to guard the town except Ali. When the hypocrites and equivocators heard that the Prophet had appointed Ali as the viceroy of Madînah, they were jealous of him and his position. They knew that during his presence there, the enemy could not hope to gain. They therefore urged him to go with the Prophet and said that the Prophet had not given him that position as a token his appreciation and honour, but had left him behind to get rid of him. When this talk reached Ali, he decided to belie them and went after the Prophet. Reaching the Prophet, Ali told him everything said. The Prophet replied to him, "Oh, my brother! Go back. Madînah is not a place for anyone except me and you. You are my successor among my family, the place of my migration and my people. Are you not satisfied that you are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet to come after me." (1)

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#### 1. Al-Irshâd

The Prophet left Madinah with thirty thousand men and ten thousand horses. He marched on until he reached Tabûk. Abdullah Bin Ubayy Bin Saliûl had camped at the rear end of the army, and according to Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Hishâm, remained behind and Abu Dhar became one of these. He blamed his camel and got his baggage on his back and marched on foot until he reached the prophet. Some of the Muslims saw a man coming on foot and expressed their surprise. The Prophet said, "This is Abu Dhar." When they saw clearly they realized it was he. The Prophet then said, "May God bless Abu Dhar. He walks alone; he shall die alone and be resurrected alone".

As we have said the Muslim army camped at Tabûk. The Byzantians heard about the march of the Muslims. They therefore retreated and headed towards the Syrian borders in order to protect the castle inside their territory. When the Prophet came to know about the retreat of the Byzantian and was told about the dread they had, he did not think necessary to chase them inside their territory. He therefore stayed on the borders waiting for any one to come forward and resist, besides making arrangements for the protection of the border, so that no one could commit aggression against it. One of the princes settled near the border was Yuhannâ Bin Rau`bah, the chief of Aylah. The Prophet sent him a letter asking him to submit or to fight. In reply to this letter Yuhannâ came to the Prophet, with a Cross hanging on his chest and brought a number of presents seeking peace, which was concluded on the condition of the payment of jizyah. In the same way the people of Al-Jarbâ<sup>(1)</sup> and Adhrûh<sup>(2)</sup> made peace and agreed to pay the jizyah.

The Prophet now had no need to fight after the withdrawal of the Byzantian army and conclusion of the treaties with the territories lying along the border. He was also satisfied that the Byzantian forces would not return but fearing a violation of peace by the Prince of Daumah, <sup>(3)</sup> Ukaidir Bin Abdul Malik Al-Kindî who was a Christian and of his being helped by the Byzantian forces, he sent out Khâlid Bin Al-Walîd along with five hundred horsemen. Khâlid took Daumah by surprise while its ruler was out hunting with his brother Hassân. Khâlid did not meet any resistance; Hassân was killed while Ukaidir was taken prisoner. Khalid threatened to kill him if the people of Daumah did not surrender, which they did in order save their prince.

Khalid returned to the Prophet with Ukaidir. The Prophet spared his life and concluded a treaty with him on condition of the payment of Jizya, after which he was released. The prophet stayed in Tabûk for some ten or twenty nights and then returned to Madînah.

#### Death of the Prophet's Son

The Coptic wife of the Prophet, Mariyah, gave birth to a son whom the Prophet named as Ibrâhîm. But he only lived for a few months and at his death the Prophet was very much grieved. He had already lost two sons — Al-Qasim and At-Tâhir while they were infants. Similarly, he lost his daughters after they had grown up to become mothers. Thus he was left with only one daughter, Fâtimah.

The death of Ibrâhîm coincided with a solar eclipse. The Muslims took it to be a miracle and said that the Sun had been eclipsed on account of the death of Ibrâhîm. When the Prophet heard of this, he said to them, "The sun and the moon are signs of God. They do not eclipse on account of the death or birth of any one. When you

1 and 2 Places near the old borders of Syria and Hijâz (now in Jordan)

3. It is commonly known as Daumah Al-Jundal and lies between Damascus and Madînah.



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see them eclipsed, you should express your fear by saying prayers to God."

Those Orientalists, who have dealt with this Tradition of the Prophet, have been unable to hide their admiration and appreciation of him, and been compelled to declare that he was truthful and did not budge an inch from declaring what was right.

### SURAT REPENTANCE

#### Tabuk's Significance

The raid on Tabuk secured for Islam the whole of the Arabian peninsula, and Muhammad felt that the new faith was now firmly established. His victory and return to Medina made a strong impression on every heathen left in the peninsula. The raid on Tabuk and the withdrawal of the Byzantines had a far more reaching effect than the conquest of Mecca, the victory at Hunian and the siege of Tayif.

It was Islam's good fortune that Ta'if was the first to hasten and declare obedience after Tabuk, although it had previously resisted the Prophet's siege so vigorously, that the Muslims had to leave without entering it. Muhammad's authority, at that time, extended from the Byzantine Empire in the north to the Yemen and Hadhramout in the South. The remaining parts in the south of the peninsula were all preparing to join the new religion. Delegations were being sent from the various parts of these areas to Medina to declare their obedience and adopt Islam.

While these delegations were arriving in Medina, the pilgrimage date was drawing near. There were still people in the peninsula who did not believe in God and His Prophet; heathen, Jews and Christians were still there and as was their habit during the pre-Islamic era (al-Jāhiliyah), the heathen were still coming to Ka'bah as pilgrims during the sacred months.

So, year after year, the heathen would still come to Ka'bah for pilgrimage, as Muhammad had publically promised not to turn away or scare anyone who come to it during the sacred months. He had also entered into agreements for specified periods with certain Arab tribes. As long as those promises and pledges remained effective, the infidels and the heathen would keep coming to Ka'bah as pilgrims and the Muslims would still respect al-Jāhiliya's worship practiced around Ka'bah. The Muslims could not stop anyone from pilgrimage and worship because of those public promises and private pledges. Although the idols which the Arabs used to worship were mostly destroyed, especially those in and around Ka'bah, those meetings of Muslims and infidels around Ka'bah could not be condoned forever a contradiction that can not be understood. If Christian and Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem is understandable — Jerusalem being the promised land of the Jews and Christ's birthplace — nobody would be able to understand the gathering of two faiths around one place and at the same time even though the worshipped idols were destroyed. Therefore it was natural to prevent the heathen from approaching Ka'bah, which had been purified from infidelity and cleared from pagan features. Thus the verses of Surat Temptation were revealed in relation to this.

The pilgrimage season had started and the heathen were flocking in from every side. This was a proper time to inform the heathen that all promises and pledges, except those which had time limits would be withdrawn. Muhammad first sent Abu Bakr to Mecca with Surat Repentance. Then he sent 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib to take the surat from Abu Bakr and proclaim it to the crowd instead of Abu Bakr. When the people gathered in Mina for the pilgrimage, 'Ali stood up and delivered the contents of Surat Repentance. As soon as he finished delivering the message, he posed for a moment and addressed the people as follows: "O people! No heathen will make the



pilgrimage to Ka'bah from now on, and no one may tour it unclothed. Those to whom the Prophet had made pledges for specified periods would be allowed to come till the pledge periods expire." After making the above four orders, 'Ali gave the people grace period of four months to return to their homes. From that day on, no heathen made any pilgrimage to Mecca, and no unclothed person went around Ka'bah. That day saw the establishment of the Muslim State,

#### The Moral Foundation of the New State

It was universally agreed that 'Ali's concern to have all Arabs realize that Surat Repentance constituted the moral foundation of the new state, prompted him not only to announce its contents at the gathering of pilgrims, but also to have the message delivered to Arabs in their own homes. This opinion was related by many. When one reads and rereads the first part of Surat Repentance, he feels that it really constitutes the moral foundation for every new state. Coming after the last of the Prophet's raids, the embracing of Islam by the people of Tayif, the spreading of Islam's authority over the whole of Hijaz, Tihamah and Najd and the submission by many southern tribes to Muhammad, the revelation of Surat Repentance was divinely timed to coincide with the foundation of the new state. To be strong, a state must rest on a belief strongly adhered to and fiercely defended by the believers; what belief is stronger than the belief in one God without associate; what feeling stirs the soul of man better than the feeling of communication with a superior being who, alone, has authority over man and directs his conscience. To reject this basic belief is to become enemy of the state, and a propagator of dissension and revolt. No convention should be made with such people and it is the state's duty to subdue them. If their rejection is complete, the state must fight them until they submit; but if their rejection is incomplete, as in the case of the people of the Book, they must pay tribute money — Jizyah.

A fair and unbiased consideration of the matter from the historical and social angles will lead us to the true meaning of the verses of Surat Repentance. But those who have unfairly judged Islam consider Surat Repentance as a call to fanaticism in its most uncivilized forms, inciting believers to fight the non-believers and to kill them mercilessly and to build the state on tyrannical foundation. This kind of judgement is to be found in many of the orientalist's works, and is favored by immature minds, even among Muslims. Nevertheless, it does not agree in the least with the historical and social facts; and it is this sort of thinking which led them to interpret these and other verses of the Quran in a way contrary to the logic of events in the Prophet's life from the day he was chosen by God to preach the righteous religion till the day of his death.

#### Freedom of Expression and Western Civilization

To discuss this, we must first assess the moral foundation of the present prevailing civilization and compare it with the moral foundation advocated by Muhammad. The moral foundation of the present dominant civilization is the freedom of expression within the framework of law. Men are willing to fight and sacrifice in order to preserve, realize and propagate their belief in this freedom and they consider it the source of their pride over the past generations. It is because of this freedom that orientalist's claim that Islam's call to fight non-believers is a call to fanaticism, and therefore conflicts with this freedom. This is a clear error, for the value of an opinion is measured by the effort expended to make it prevail. Islam did not call to fight the infidels of Arabia after they submit to it and cease propagating and



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practicing paganism. Western civilization of our times opposes the beliefs that conflict with it much more strongly than Islam did, and takes measures against its opponents that are a thousand times harsher than Jizyah.

We will abstain from citing the campaign against slavery as an example — although those who practiced this trade did not believe that it was illegal — so that we may not be accused of condoning slavery. In much the same way, Islam did not call to more than fighting what is thought objectionable. We will, however, cite the opposition of the Western civilization to communism and its willingness to wage war against it, although communism is nothing more than an economic view point opposed to that of the Western civilization. Thus, would Islam's call to fight those who do not believe in God be considered more tyrannical than the call of the West to fight those who believe in communism?

### Opposition to Nudist Clubs

It was felt in more than one European country that a relationship should be established between the training of the soul and the training of the body. The generally accepted practice of covering the human body or part of it was, in the opinion of nudists, more sexually exciting, and therefore more corruptive, than walking nakedly. People who expressed such an opinion took positive action and established nudist clubs which were open to anyone wishing to practice this physical training. But as the idea spread, the governments of many countries felt that such a practice was immoral, and consequently banned the establishment of nudist clubs and took action against their organizers.

We do not doubt that had nudism been made legal and practiced openly by a whole nation, such practice would have provided sufficient reason for other nations to declare war against it on the grounds that it was corrupting the morals of all men, in much the same way as wars were and still are waged because of slavery, white slavery or trade in narcotics. The explanation to all this is that freedom of opinion can only be tolerated as long as it remains in the realm of ideas and does not harm the community. But if it does, whether morally, socially, or economically, then it must be fought and destroyed.

### Legislation is a Justifiable Restriction of the Freedom of Expression

This is a social fact accepted by today's dominant Western Civilization. We do not wish here to discuss at length this fact and its effects on various nations. We can say, however, that any legislation made to combat a social, economic or political movement, is a war against the belief behind this movement. This war is justifiable on the grounds of the extent of harm such opinions may entail to societies. If we are to appraise Islam's call to combat polytheism and whether or not this call was justified, we should first look into what polytheism represented. If we agree that polytheism is harmful to society in all ages, then Islam's call to fight it was not only justifiable, it was a duty.

### A Description of Polytheist Life

Polytheism at the time of Muhammad did not only mean idolatry, although this could be considered a sufficient reason to combat it inasmuch as worshiping stones is despicable and unbecoming to human dignity, but a social system as well, which was worse than slavery or any ideology or anything imaginable in this second half

of the twentieth century. It represented the burying of girls alive, polygamy unlimited up to three hundred women, fantastic usury, and moral degradation of the worst type. The viciousness of Arab pagan society is unparalleled in the history of mankind. We would like to receive a fair answer to this question: If, one day, a nation decided to follow a social system similar to that of the Arab pagans and people revolt against it, would those who revolt be accused of fanaticism and opposition to the freedom of expression? If a nation unanimously adopts such a degrading system and if other nations, saw that its continuity threatened to be contaminated by it, would these nations war against the nation that has accepted such a system be justifiable or not? Would not war in this case be more justifiable than the last World War which destroyed millions of men for no other reason than to satisfy the greed of imperialistic nation? If it is so, then the orientalist's criticism of the verses of Surat Temptation and to the call of Islam to combat polytheism, which has even worse things than those we have mentioned, is of no value.

#### Revolt Against Polytheism Is Justifiable

In addition to this historical facts about Arab polytheism, we have the other historical fact based on the Prophet's life. After receiving God's message, the Prophet spent thirteen years calling people to join the righteous religion through persuasion. Even in his raids, he was never aggressive, but was only defending the Muslims, defending their freedom to invite people to join the religion in which they believed and for which they were willing to shed their blood.

The strong Quranic verses calling to fight polytheism as anathema were revealed after the last of the Prophet's raids: Tubuk. If Islam comes to a land infested with polytheism of the Arab type and the people of that land refuse to submit to it, no one can say in all fairness that the use of force against these people in the name of God was not justifiable.

'Ali's reading of Surat Repentance and his announcing to those gathered that no infidel may enter paradise and no polytheist may come for pilgrimage to Mecca after that day and that no naked will tour the Ka'bah, had their effect on the minds of such tribesmen as were still hesitating to join Islam(1).

Thus the pagans of Arabia hastened to adopt God's religion, and thus the Arab homeland was rid of idols and idolatry. People joined voluntarily, and not a single drop of blood was shed(?).

#### Massive Conversion

'Ali's declaration at the site of pilgrimage was followed by the conversion of the people of southern Arabia. Large groups of people flocked to Medina, including pagans and people of the Book, and were kindly received by the Prophet.

When Islam spread to Yemen, the Prophet sent Ma'adh with a group of early Muslims to teach the Yemenis the principles of their new religion and judge in between them according to its revealed laws. But when a group of indignant Yemenis refused to submit to the law of Islam, the Prophet sent 'Ali to ask them to submit. They refused and attacked 'Ali who, young as he was, and commanding a force of not more than 300 horsemen, shattered them and had them surrender and submit to Islam. Their delegation was the last one the Prophet received before passing away.

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(1) Haikal

(?) Haikal



Farewell Pilgrimage

It took place in the 10th year of al-Hijrah, and was so called either because it was the Prophet's last pilgrimage or because the Prophet told the people that his day is near and bid farewell to his followers. Muslims called it the pilgrimage of Islam, and Ibn 'Abbas disliked to call it the farewell pilgrimage and preferred to refer to it as the pilgrimage of Islam. It was the pilgrimage of farewell in that it was the last time Muhammad saw Mecca, and was the pilgrimage of Islam in that it completed God's religion and filled His people with grace. It was the Prophet's only pilgrimage since al-Hijrah. According to Ibn al-Athîr, the Prophet performed the pilgrimage every year before al-Hijrah.

So, wishing to fulfil his religious duty of pilgrimage, the Prophet made his wish known in every part of Muslim homeland. People flocked to Medina and the Prophet led them out of the city on the 5th day preceding the end of Dhu al-Qi'dah. According to al-Sirah al-Halabiyah, 40,000 people gathered around the Prophet on that day, while others stated the figure of 70,000, or 90,000 or 114,000 or even 120,000, in addition to those from Mecca itself and from the Yemen. Ibn Sa'd told that the Prophet departed Medina and performed the noon prayer at Dhi al-Halifah. He had written to 'Ali to proceed from the Yemen to perform the pilgrimage. 'Ali came from the Yemen at the head of his troops. Approaching Mecca from the Yemen road, he appointed a deputy to lead the army, and rushed to meet the Prophet who was also approaching Mecca from the Medina road. He met the Prophet at the gates of Mecca and told him of what he had done, and the Prophet was very pleased to meet him.

Ibn Hisham said that when 'Ali came to meet Muhammad at Mecca, he rushed to the Prophet after appointing one of his men to command the troops. This man disposed of the spoils in a way that did not please 'Ali, who ordered that the spoils be returned. This measure displeased a number of people, and the Prophet ordered that no one should talk ill of 'Ali, as he was dear to God and his devotion was unquestionable. This made people realize 'Ali's position with the Prophet's and his anger at those who talked ill of him. This made them refrain from talking ill of him.

The Prophet gave new instructions concerning pilgrimage, but most of his followers infuriated him by not complying with them. Quoting 'Aishah, Muslim said in his *Sahih* that the Prophet came to her while he was furious and told her of how people hesitated to execute his orders, and she soothed him by telling him that God would send to hell whoever made him furious.

Before entering Mecca, the Prophet bathed and then entered it in daylight through its upper part at Kida and camped at al-Abtah. He then moved on to Bani Shaibah, known today as Bab as-Salam, entered the Mosque, went seven times around the Sacred House, knelt twice behind the Maqam, and moved on at a quick pace between al-Safa and al-Marwah. He then retired to his house and one day before al-Tarqiyah he made a speech in Mecca. On the day of al-Tarwiyah he went to Mina where he spent the night. Next day he went to 'Arafat where he made another speech in which he emphasized the forbidding of usury, murder and the unlawful taking of property, and recommended that women be treated kindly. He ended his speech by saying: "I am leaving to you what if you adhere to you will never go astray: The Book of God and the people of my house."

The Story of Ghadir Khumm

On his way back to Medina after the pilgrimage, the Prophet reached a place known as Ghadir Khumm on 18 Dhu al-Hijjah in the 10th year of al-Hijrah. This



place is located near al-Jahfah in the district of Rabigh, and is unsuitable for camping because no water or grass are available there. Nevertheless the Prophet and Muslims camped in it, for the Prophet knew that if he was to go beyond that place, a great number of his entourage would depart to their hometowns and desert camps, and he wished to keep them with him to hear the text. As it was a hot day, he ordered the piling up of saddles and travel years and sent someone to call for common prayer. After people had gathered around the Prophet, he mounted the pile of travel year and asked 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib to follow him. 'Ali mounted and stood at his right. Then the Prophet made a solemn speech in which he thanked God and announced that he felt that his days were numbered. He said: "I was called and soon I will answer. My departure from amongst you is near. I am about leaving with you what if you ardently seize, you will never stray after my death: The Book of God and the people of my house. They are inseparable." Speaking loudly now, he said: "Am I not more rightly entitled than yourselves to decide of your future?"

As people answered that he was, he said "Who ever recognizes me as protector must recognize 'Ali as protector after me. May God be the ally of those loyal to him, and the enemy of those disloyal to him." He then dismounted, performed the noon prayer and retired to his tent. He asked 'Ali to sit in a tent facing his own and ordered the Muslims to go to 'Ali in groups and congratulate him. They all did(1).

In as-Sirah al-Halabiyah by Ibn Hisham, the story of Ghadir Khumm is related as follows:

Upon the Prophet's arrival at a place near Rabigh, between Mecca and Medina, called Ghadir Khumm, he assembled his companions and made a speech in which he said "take heed, O men, I am only human, it is near that the angels of God will come to take my soul, and I will accept that order of my cherisher." He then urged them to adhere to the Book of God and the people of his house, saying "I shall leave two precious things with you; the Book of God and the people of my house and these two will not separate from one another." After repeating to them whether he is not more entitled than they are to decide of their future and after they answered that he was, he lifted 'Ali's hand and said "Whoever recognizes me as Protector must recognize 'Ali as Protector after me. May God be the ally of those loyal to him, and the enemy of those disloyal to him. May God love those who love him and hate those who hate him. May God turn the truth with him wherever he turns." Ibn Hisham said that this is a true tradition.

Ibn Khathir as-Shami stated in his book that he was quoting from al-Tabari's two volumes written about the story of Ghadir Khumm. Ibn al-Qasim Ibn 'Asakir, the great relator of the Prophet's traditions, also had great deal to say about the speech of Ghadir Khumm. The authenticity of this story cannot be challenged inasmuch as at-Tahari had written two volumes about it.

#### The Prophet's Sickness and Usamah's Army

Shortly after the Prophet's return to Medina from the farewell pilgrimage, he ordered the formation of an army to be staffed by such leaders as Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas, Abu 'Ubaidah Ibn al-Jarrah and others, under the command of

(1) Al-Irshad by al-Mufid, Asbab an-Nuzul by al-Wahidi, Musnad Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, al-Mustadrak by al-Hakim, adh-Dhahabi fi al-Talkhis, Tarikh Ibn Kathir, as-Sirah al-Halabiyah by Ibn Hashim and many other references.



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Usamah Ibn Zaid. Only 'Ali was not asked to take part in this army, and was not placed under the command of Usamah.

The Prophet ordered Usamah to march to the place where his father, Zaid Ibn Harithah, was killed. Two days later the Prophet took ill, but this did not prevent him from attending to the ceremony of placing Usamah at the head of the Army. Following the ceremony, Usamah marched off and camped at al-Jarf.

Some people criticized the appointment of young Usamah to lead the Army. This infuriated the Prophet so much that he went out with a bandage around his head and spoke to the public, saying: "It has been reported to me that some of you have criticized my appointment of Usamah if you criticize his appointment you have done the same before about his father. I swear by God, if his father was worthy to command, he too is worthy to command." After speaking, the Prophet went back to his house and his sickness became more severe. This took place on the 10th of Rabi' I. He kept on saying "Carry out Usamah's mission". Ibn Hisham stated in his Sirah that, although the Prophet was very sick, he went out with a bandage around his head sat on the platform and said: "Carry out Usamah's mission". The preparation were delayed. According to Ibn Sa'd, the Prophet took ill while Usamah was camping at al-Jarf; and in spite of his sickness, he went out with a bandage around his head and said to the people: "Carry out Usamah's mission". Three times. Quoting Abi Sa'id al-Khirdi, Ibn Sa'd reported that the Prophet had said "I am about leaving two precious things with you the Book of God and the people of my house. These two will never separate from one another, so consider how you act regarding them after my departure.

Al-Mufid stated in al-Irshad that the Prophet, feeling his end approaching, visited one group of Muslims after another warning them against internal strife after his death and urging them to stick unanimously to his tradition and the Holy Book.

He urged them to follow the example of the people of his house and to obey, support and guard them. He warned them against dissent and apostasy. His saying in this regard was unanimously agreed upon by relators of tradition. "Oh, people I am holding you responsible for the two precious things, the Book of God and the people of my house. Consider how you act regarding them after my departure. If you overstep them you shall disband and if you fall behind them you shall meet with disaster. I hope you will not revert after my death to paganism and to killing each other."

The Prophet's order to Usamah Ibn Zaid to lead the first Muslim to where Usamah's father was killed, was meant to keep Medina free at the time of his death of any possible rivalry over leadership, and to assure that no one would challenge the authority of his appointed successor. He ordered Usamah to lead the Army out of Medina and urged the people to follow him without delay. It was then that he became very sick and died (End of al-Mufid story).

If we examine the events that took place at that historical stage carefully and in an unbiased manner, we can say that the Prophet, feeling his end approaching, and inspite of his severe sickness, took great care to form an army staffed with his senior companion under the command of young Usamah, and was anxious to send that army away from Medina as soon as possible.

It would appear that the logical thing for the Prophet to do at their critical time of his illness was not to send the army away, for the question of his succession was much more important than raiding the Byzantines. It was only logical under the circumstances to keep the army in Medina where it might be needed to quell any possible uprising following his death. For according to al-Tabari, he himself had stated that he felt muting in the air, specially after it was reported to him that Arabs in several places had renounced Islam and some of them were even claiming to be prophets at the news of his illness.

Moreover, the non-fulfilment of Usamah's mission to fight the Byzantines and his camping at al-Jarf until the Prophet's death, lead us to believe that the purpose of forming that Army was not to wage war.

Judging by appearances only, we may well conclude that the Prophet would have done better to occupy himself with his own affairs and his severe sickness, rather than with marching armies to a war, which was not so urgent.

According to at - Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd, who quotes Aba Muwayhibah, the Prophet's servant, the Prophet said in the middle of the night: "I have been ordered to ask forgiveness for the dead. Come with me." I went with him to the cemetery where he stayed for a while asking God to forgive the dead and then he said: "I envy you for what became of you. You are better off than the living. We are threatened by a series of civil wars, like periods of black night coming one after another, each is worse than the one before."

The Prophet - according to al-Mufid - feeling very ill, went out with 'Ali and a group of other people to al-Baqi' and said, "I have been ordered to ask forgiveness for the dead", when he reached the cemetery he said, "Peace be upon you, ye dead, I envy you for what became of you. You are better off than the living. We are threatened by a series of civil wars, like periods of black night coming one after another, each is worse than the one before." Then for a while he asked forgiveness for the dead. Then he returned home and remained ill for three days. The house he first went to was that of his wife Umm-Salma, where he stayed a day or two until 'Aishah came and asked to be allowed to take him into her house, where she could take care of him. All the Prophet's wives agreed and the Prophet was taken to the house he had given to 'Aisha.

One morning, when the Prophet was very sick, Bilal arrived and made the call to prayer. This was reported in many different ways. It may well be asked whether in fact the Prophet ordered anybody to lead the prayers. Ibn Hisham states that, when Bilal made the call to prayer, the Prophet said: "Order someone to lead the prayers". 'Abd Allah Ibn Zam'ah came out and fetched 'Umar and asked him to lead the prayers. Abu Bakr was not present. Hearing 'Umar's voice, the Prophet sent for Abu Bakr, who arrived after 'Umar had finished praying, and then lead the prayers.

Al-Tabari, quoting 'Aishah, states that the Prophet said, "Tell Abu-Bakr that he should lead the prayers for the people." 'Aishah interfered, saying that Abu Bakr was a weak man. The Prophet insisted and 'Aishah insisted. Whereupon the Prophet became angry and said: "You are the friend of Yusuf." He then went out, dragging his feet, and supported by two men. Abu Bakr, seeing the Prophet approaching, retreated. The Prophet ordered him to return to his place, and sat beside him. 'Aishah said that Abu Bakr was praying after the Prophet and the people were praying after Abu Bakr. Ibn Sa'd and others told the same story.

According to al-Mufid, the Prophet said: "Let some people lead others in prayer; I am to be left to myself." 'Aishah requested that 'Umar do so. The Prophet said: "Stop it, you are the friends of Yusuf", and dragged himself to where 'Ali stood. He took the hand of 'Ali, who supported him together with al-Fadhl Ibn al-'Abbas, and proceeded to the Mosque, where he found Abu Bakr standing in the prayer niche. The Prophet gestured Abu Bakr to step aside, and took his place in the niche and started the prayers again from the beginning.

We need not to pay too much attention to the contradictory statements of these historians. However, they are all agreed that the Prophet was a very sick man when he went to the Mosque. It is unlikely that by going there he intended to give support to Abu Bakr, for Abu Bakr was already leading the prayers and the Prophet's sudden appearance, and his removal of Abu Bakr from the niche, could hardly be taken as an indication of support. Moreover, Shari'ah forbids that one man lead and be led in



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prayer at the same time. The question is why he did not leave him as Imam until the end of the prayer.

Al-Mufid states that after the prayers, the Prophet went back home and summoned Abu Bakr and 'Umar and the other Muslims who had attended prayer in the Mosque. He asked them: "Did I not order you to dispatch Usamah's army?"; and when they replied that he had, he asked again: "And why did you not execute that order?" Abu Bakr replied that he had departed with the Army, but had come back just to see the Prophet once more. 'Umar replied that he had not joined the Army because he had not wanted to hear the Prophet's news from others. Whereupon, the Prophet repeated three times: "Dispatch Usamah's army," and fell unconscious. He remained unconscious for a while, and all those present started crying and weeping. Then the Prophet recovered consciousness looked at them and said: "Bring me writing materials, and I will write something for you by which you will never stray again," and fell unconscious again. When one of those present stood up and started going to fetch the writing materials, 'Umar told him: "Come back, the Prophet is delirious." The man complied with 'Umar's order, and all those present felt sorry for not having brought the writing materials in good time and started blaming each other for not having done so. When the Prophet was conscious again, some of those present asked him whether he wished to write. Whereupon the Prophet replied: "No, not after what you just said, but I commit the people of my house to your care." He turned his face away from them, and they stood up and left.

Al-Bukhari states in part IV of his Sahih that, on his deathbed, surrounded by certain people including 'Umar, the Prophet said: "Come, I will write something for you, by which you will never stray again." 'Umar then said, "The Prophet is overcome with pain, and we have the Quran the book of God which is sufficient for us." Those present disagreed as to what course of action they should take. Some wished to have the Prophet write his instructions for them, while others sided with 'Umar. A great deal of arguing took place, whereupon the Prophet asked them to go away. Ibn Sa'd tells a similar tale, that in the presence of 'Umar and other people, the Prophet said: "Come, I will write for you a writing, by which you will never stray again." 'Umar said that the Prophet was overcome with pain and that they had the Quran to go by. The people disagreed and argued among themselves, some wishing to have the Prophet write his instructions for them, while others took 'Umar's side. The Prophet was distressed and asked them to go away."

Al-Bukhari, also in Part III of his Sahih, states that the Prophet, feeling very sick, asked to write his instructions for his people to follow after his death. Those present suspected that he may be delirious and started questioning him. He said: "Let me alone, the condition which I am in, is better than yours in disputation." He ordered them three things, "turn the polytheists out of Arabia, give the ambassadors like as I give them", but he remained silent as to the third. At-Tabari related the same story as above in his History.

In his at-Tabaqat, Ibn Sa'd tells a similar story, likewise making no mention of the third order which was either given by the Prophet and forgotten by the relator, or intentionally omitted by him.

It can hardly be doubted that the third order was not forgotten but intentionally omitted by the relators for political reasons. It is also obvious that the Prophet asked for the writing materials to write his third order down for them.

Al-Qastalani in Irshad as-Sari points to 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab as the one who caused the Prophet not to write his instructions.

Ibn Sa'd states in al-Tabaqat that the Prophet, feeling very sick on Thursday said: "Bring me the writing materials and I will write something for you, by which you



will never stray again." Some of those present said that the Prophet was delirious. Al-Tabari also related the same story as above in his History.

### Fâtimah, The Prophet's Daughter

The Prophet was so very sick that his wives and visitors could feel the heat of his fevered brow through the bandage that covered it. His daughter Fâtimah visited him daily, and he loved her very dearly, for she was his only surviving child. His fever was sometimes so violent that he lost consciousness and when he recovered he would look very tired. One day Fatimah was so moved at the sight of his pain that she cried out. He said: "Your father will not see sorrow after today," meaning that he would soon leave this world for the next.

### The Prophet's Death

The Prophet died at the age of 63. He received God's message at 40, after which he lived in Mecca for 13 years, and in Medina for 10 years after the Hijrah.

Abu Bakr was in his home in as-Sunih outside Medina when the Prophet died. According to al-Tabari, Ibn Sa'd and others, 'Umar said: "The Prophet is not dead, but, like Musa Ibn 'Umrān before him, has gone to meet God and will be back within forty days to cut off the hands and feet of those who claim he is dead."

When the news of the Prophet's death reached Abu Bakr, he came at once and saw that the Prophet was dead. Then he addressed the people gathered outside, saying: "To those who worshipped Muhammad I say Muhammad is dead, and to those who worshipped God I say God is immortal." He, then read the verse of the Quran which says:

وما محمد الا رسول خلت من قبله الرسل

"Muhammad is naught but a messenger" (1) up to the

end of this verse. Upon hearing this 'Umar said that he fell to the ground when he realized that Muhammad was dead. According to Ibn Sa'd, 'Umar had said this before, when the Prophet asked for the writing materials.

It is thought that 'Umar was certain of the Prophet's death, and that, on both occasions, he acted in this manner for political reasons. On the first occasion, his aim was to prevent people from bringing the writing materials to the Prophet, and on the second his aim was to prevent people from discussing the matter of the succession until Abu Bakr arrived.

According to Ibn Sa'd in at-Tabaqat, the Prophet's body was washed by 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib, Fadhl Ibn al-'Abbas and Usamah Ibn Zaid. The washing done, 'Ali stood alone by the Prophet's body and prayed, while the rest of Muslims were engaged in a discussion in the Mosque as to who should lead the prayers, and where the Prophet should be buried. 'Ali appeared and said: "The Prophet is our Imam whether dead or alive; go in groups and pray over his body without a leader. As to where we should bury him, God has chosen the place of his burial by taking him to His side here, so I shall bury him in the room where he died." The people agreed.

According to Ibn Hisham, the men went in first, then the women, and then the boys.

According to Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, 'Ali went in first, then al-'Abbas, and then the Banu Hashim. After them came al-Muhajirin, al-Ansar and the rest of the people, in that order.

(1) The Quran Interpreted by A. J. Arberry, p. 91.



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Al-Mufid states that the Prophet was buried on the day of his death, Ibn Hisham says that the Prophet died on a Monday, was washed on the Tuesday, and buried on the Wednesday night, Ibn Sa'd says the same thing, except for the washing on Tuesday. It is also stated by others that the Prophet died at sunset on Monday and was not buried until nightfall. It is also said that the Prophet was buried late on Wednesday night. Still others say that the Prophet died at sunset on Monday, and was buried at sunset on Tuesday. It is more likely that he died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday, related by Ibn Hisham. This does not conflict with the statement that he was buried on Wednesday night, for in fact Tuesday evening is called Wednesday night.

Al-Mufid states that his funeral was not attended by many people, because of the disagreement between al-Muhajirin and al-Ansar over the question of the succession.

## ISLAM AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS

### Az-Zakah

Az-Zakah is the Muslim's obligation to offer a part of his money to the poor and underprivileged members of Muslim society. It is obligatory on all Muslims who are capable of paying it. If a Muslim refuses to pay, when he is in a position to do so, he violates a basic principle of Islam, and the state has the right to force him to pay.

The word Zakah has two meanings:

(1) purification of the soul, and (2) money increase. Its benefits are both spiritual and material. Firstly, it purifies the soul of the donor by helping him to leave constant self-denial for the benefit of others, and thus avoid becoming avaricious. The Quran says: *خذ من أموالهم صدقة تطهرهم وتزكهم* "Take of their wealth a freewill offering, to purify them and to cleanse them thereby." (Repentance 103). Secondly, it creates mutual compassion between the different classes of society, and prevents the poor from harboring ill feelings towards the wealthy. It helps in the distribution of wealth to all classes of society, and prevents its accumulation in a few hands and the economical and social ills inherent in such accumulation.

The ruler has the right to collect Zakah and allocate its distribution according to Shari'ah. The treatment is an established practise unanimously accepted.

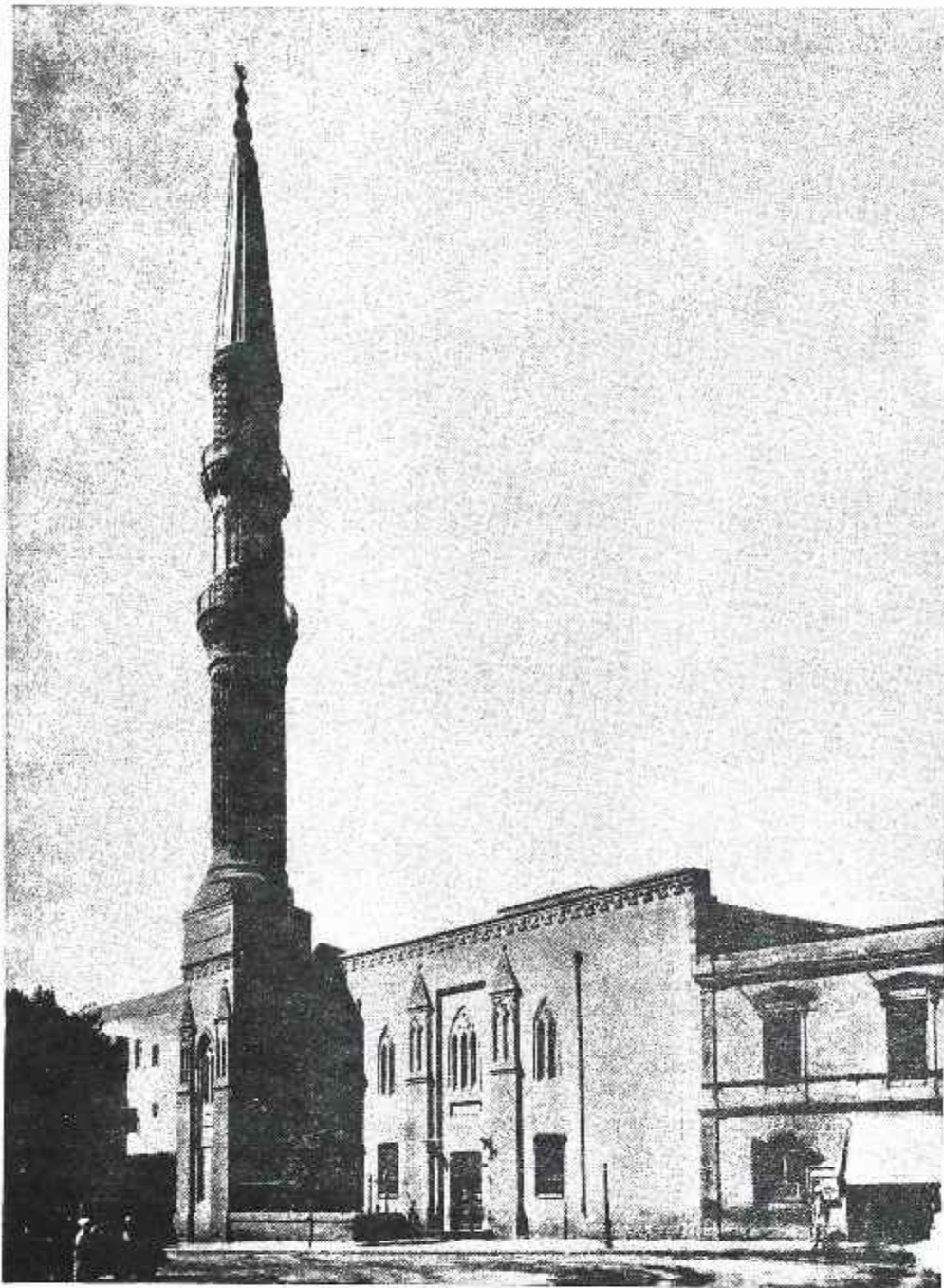
Looking into the ways of spending, we find that they are identical with what we call today "social affairs". God, in his Book, has defined these ways as follows:

« انما الصدقات للفقراء والمساكين والعاملين عليها ، والمؤلفة قلوبهم ، وفي الرقاب ، والغارمين ، وفي سبيل الله ، وابن السبيل فريضة من الله ، والله عليم حكيم »

"The freewill offerings are for the poor and needy, those who work to collect them, those whose hearts are brought together, the ransoming of slaves, debtors, in God's way, and the traveller; so God ordains; God is All-knowing, All-Wise." (Repentance 60)

The above classification shows that those mentioned deserve the sympathy of any society desirous of organizing itself in a strong and cohesive manner.

The first category consists of the Faqir (poor). All jurists are agreed that the poor man is he who is unable to pay Zakah. This ability is the distinction between those obliged to pay Zakah and those entitled to receive it. Those obliged to pay Zakah are those who earn in excess of what is necessary for their basic needs. Those entitled to receive are those who are incapable of earning enough to satisfy their basic needs. To be entitled to Zakah, it is a condition that one should be neither wealthy nor capable of work which will provide a steady income, as is shown



Imam Hussain's Mosque as it is now in Cairo. The Head of the Holy Imam, which was brought from «ASQALAAN» to «CAIRO» by the Fatemiunc, is buried inside this mosque.





by the hadith: "It is not lawful to give the freewill offerings to the rich on the strong and able bodied", which means that in order to be entitled to Zakat one should not be rich or able to work and has a steady income.

The second category consists of the needy (the miskin). The difference between the Faqir and the miskin is that the faqir is the man who needs charity, while the miskin is the needy who do asks for it. The miskin is therefore in greater need than the faqir, and the Zakah distributor must pay the person who asks for it if he can prove his need. The distributor must also look for the faqir who does not ask for charity, and help him too.

The third category consists of those who collect and distribute Zakah. Thus, Islam does not only specify the obligation, but also sees that it is fulfilled properly and continuously.

The fourth category consists of those whose hearts are brought together, that is, those who are given Zakah to bring their hearts, or the hearts of their relatives, together in defense of Islam and the propagation of the faith. In the days of the Prophet and Abu Bakr, Zakah money was used to this effect; but 'Umar discontinued the practice. We feel that, in our times this part of Zakah should be spent on propagating and explaining Islam to those who are ignorant of it.

The fifth way of spending Zakah is the ransoming or freeing of slaves. The Muslim state was the first to fight slavery in that it allotted a part of Zakah for the freeing of slaves.

The sixth category consists of the debtors who are so deeply in debt, that they cannot pay their debts. Jurists divide them into three classes: (1) Those who contract debts for the sake of leading a life of debauchery are not to be helped unless they repent, atone and lead a decent life. (2) Those who contract debts to promote their business activities but fail in their enterprises shall be helped by payment on their behalf of that part of their debts which remains unpaid after all their assets have been used to repay the debts. (3) Those who contract debts for a public cause shall be helped even if, after payment of their debts, they are still capable of paying Zakah.

The seventh way of spending Zakah is "in God's way." This is interpreted as covering everything beneficial to Muslims.

The eighth way of spending Zakah, is for the stranded traveller — even though he may be a man of means in his own country — who cannot possibly use his own money which is not within his reach, or borrow money for his immediate needs.

These were the eight ways of spending Zakah. It will be seen that the first and second were meant to deal with poverty and to enable the poor to overcome their poverty, the third to pay those working in collecting and distributing Zakah, the fourth to help in propagating Islam, the fifth to help in saving man's dignity and rescuing him from servitude, the sixth and eighth to help those who fall victims of circumstances beyond their control, and the seventh to promote public interests in general.

Thus in every Muslim society, a sum of money is allocated for "social affairs," collected by the ruler from those capable of paying it. The amount of contribution is the equivalent of 2.5% of that part of the contributor's income which is surplus to his basic needs and which is to be collected by the end of a full year. The ruler is obliged to spend it in accordance with the above specified eight ways and thus it is an item of public expenditure, which has a budget separate from the public budget. This is what distinguishes Muslim society from modern societies.

The higher authorities in the modern state have absolute freedom to dispose of taxes collected in accordance with present tax systems. In a Muslim society this is not so, for the revenues from Zakah must be allocated for the raising of the poorer classes to the level of the other members in society.



### SLAVERY IN ISLAM

Islam did not view slavery as an independent problem, but rather as a problem that came into being as the result of a number of factors. Slavery is the product of several other problems.

Islam therefore studied the problems responsible for the existence of slavery, and provided clear-cut solutions for them in order to eliminate this old system which had been passed on from one generation to another over thousands of years. In this way it was possible to completely eradicate slavery, which was a system with deep roots in human society.

The causes of slavery before Islam may be summarized as follows:

- 1 - Wars and resulting captivity.
- 2 - Piracy, theft, and kidnapping.
- 3 - Usury and gambling.
- 4 - Those born in slavery.

As regards prisoners of war, Islam determines how they are to be treated in the Quranic verse: (then set them free, either by grace or ransom). Thus slavery is not imposed on captives. They are either released to please God and respond to the Quran's repeated call for chivalry, or ransomed by their own money. The Muslims were also urged to redeem Muslim prisoners in their enemy's hands in exchange for enemy prisoners in their own hands. Islam considered piracy, theft, and kidnapping as criminal acts. It never sanctioned the stealing of people from their homeland, or raids to enslave them. Instead, strict penalties were imposed for such deeds. Islam also prohibited usury, gambling, and their consequences. There remain those born in slavery. Islam imposes the freeing of every slave woman that gives birth to a child by a free husband.

Certain remnants of slavery survived in Muslim society from pre-Islamic ages and from the wars that were being waged. Islam called for the liberation of the remaining slaves, and made slaves equal with others before the courts in all rights and duties. In criminal cases Islam lightened the penalty for slaves in recognition of their lack of freedom.

Islam's method of passing judgements is that when the order or prohibition is related to a point of belief or ethics, a conclusive final judgement is pronounced from the very start. When, however, the matter is related to a personal, social or traditional habit, Islam takes its time and approaches the matter by gradual stages, until its final aim is achieved.

When it was a question of belief such as polytheism, prohibition was clear and conclusive. Similar, too, was Islam's prohibition of adultery, theft, fraud, treason, and other felonies. Definitive prohibition is here meant to stop things that are not deep-rooted in the human soul or in society. It does not entail a sudden change from one habit to another or from one situation to another.

As to drinking and gambling, the matter was one of personal habit and social behaviour. Habits can only be eliminated gradually. Islam started by appealing to the religious feelings and instincts in the hearts of Muslims to persuade them that there was more sin than profit in drinking wine and gambling, so that it would be better to forsake these habits. The next step was to forbid the drunk to pray until they were sober again. Prayer takes place five times a day with short intervals between most of them. Such intervals are not long enough for a man to get drunk and then sober up. In this manner opportunities for the actual practice of the habit of drinking were restricted, men's tendency to practice it having already been



restricted by the suggestion that there was more sin than profit in it. After these two steps came the final prohibition of wine and gambling as criminal acts.

As regards slavery, it was a question of the social structure and the international practice of enslaving prisoners of war and employing them as slaves. To effect social change, the whole social structure must be reviewed from its foundations. International practice, too, can only be changed by international agreements. Islam never ordered that people be enslaved. There are no Quranic texts enjoining the enslavement of captives. When Islam came it found slavery an international system and the enslavement of captives an international practice. Islam had to take time in its treatment to the current social situation and the then over-all international system, and chose to cut off the sources of slavery, so that the whole system would eventually be eliminated without causing uncontrollable social upheavals.

Islam started by cutting off all the sources of slavery — as we have seen above — with the exception of the captives of the wars of faith. This was so because the societies who were opposing Islam were enslaving Muslim captives in accordance with the then international practice. Islam was not at the time able to force such societies to break with this international practice. If it had decided to prohibit the enslavement of captives, such a measure would have remained limited to captives that fall in the hands of Muslims only, while the Muslim captives were left to face their fate.

Because of this established social condition the Quran did not provide for the enslavement of captives but said: "Set them free, either by grace or ransom." It did not provide for their non-enslavement either. The Quran left it up to the Muslim state to treat its captives in accordance with its agreements with those fighting it. The state could ransom the captives on both sides, exchange captives, and enslave the captives of those who enslave the Muslims, so that Muslim captives may not become slaves while non-Muslim captives become free. This was meant to remain so until such social tradition would be regulated by agreement.

With drying up all the sources of slaves, with exception of this source in which Islam had no choice, the number of slaves dwindled. Then Islam started to liberate this small number by the following means:

1 — The right of the slave to request his freedom by Mukatabah, which is freeing of the slave at his request in lieu of a certain sum of money agreed upon, and by obligating the courts to force his lord to comply with this, Islam also imposed on society the duty to help the said slave with money until he realizes his freedom and obtain it as soon as possible.

2 — Imposed on the state the allocation of one eighth of its revenues from Zakah for the liberation of slaves.

3 — It made the liberation of slaves an atonement for sins. For example if one kills by mistake he has to pay diyah (blood money) and liberate slaves. This applies to several other similar instances.

4 — Anyone who says to his slave: "You are free after my death" loses his right to sell him and cannot revoke his promise.

5 — It encourages the marriage of slaves and slave girls to free men and girls.

6 — Any slave girl obtains freedom after giving birth to a child by her master.

7 — The Quran urged Muslims to free slaves, making the act of liberation of the greatest sacrifices to God.



## PROPHET MUHAMMAD

When we know this we know that Islam has prepared a practical program to free all slaves, Islam was not satisfied merely with the liberation of slaves but rather uplifted them to the highest level of society. We see that in certain countries where slavery has been banned and slaves liberated, such persons are still considered second-class citizens. They do not enjoy the same rights as others. In contrast, Islam did not differentiate between liberated slaves and others. The Prophet chose for the highest religious post a freed slave, Bilal al-Habashi, whom he made his personal Muazzin. He also chose as leader of the first army he sent out of the Arabian Peninsula a freed slave, Zaid ibn Harithah, and put under his leadership a group of men who were members of the greatest Quraishite families. Later he chose as leader of the second army the son of the same freed slave, Usamah ibn Zaid ibn Harithah, and placed under his leadership the leaders of the Prophet's companions such as Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Sa'd and others.

### MUSLIM CIVILIZATION

Muslim civilization is based on a spiritual formula that calls upon the human being to realize well his connection with the Creation and his position in that creation before anything else. If such realization reaches the level of faith, his faith calls upon him to continue training his soul and purifying his heart. Also to nourish his body and mind with high values: Self-esteem, self-respect, brotherhood, love, charity, and devotion. On the basis of these values man can regulate his economic life. This scale is the basis of Muslim civilization as communicated by revelation to Muhammad. It is first and foremost, a spiritual civilization. The spiritual organ in it is the basis of the training system and ethical principles. The ethical principles are the basis of the economic system. It is not permissible to sacrifice any of the ethical principles for the sake of the economic system.

This Muslim picture of civilization is, I believe, the most appropriate picture for humanity and the one that guarantees happiness. If it had settled in souls and regulated life, humanity would have been different and some principles in which people believe nowadays would have perished. Also high principles that would guarantee the solution of the present world's crises would have been established.

Today people in the west and east are making attempts to solve these crises, without anyone of them noticing and without the Muslim themselves noticing, that Islam provides for their solution.

#### Islam Makes the Mind Arbiter in Everything

Islam made the mind arbiter in everything. It made the mind arbiter in religion and in faith itself. God says (in the Quran) "The likeness of those who disbelieve is as the likeness of one who shouts to that which hears nothing, save a call and a cry; deaf, dumb, blind — they do not understand." Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdu interprets this verse as follows: "The verse is clear in that imitation without thinking and knowledge is the way of unbelievers. Man can not be a believer unless he understands and knows his religion by himself up to the point of conviction. Anyone who is brought up on accepting without thinking and on doing even the good deeds without knowledge, is an unbeliever. The purpose of faith is not to tame man to do good, in the same way in which animals are tamed, but rather to elevate his mind and soul through knowledge, so that he will do the good because he knows that it is the beneficial good that pleases God, and avoids evil because he knows its bad results and the degree of harm in it."

What Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdu says in interpreting this verse was clearly mentioned in the Quran in several other verses. The Quran calls the people to look into the universe and creation, so that what they see would indicate to them the presence of God and His unity. The call to look into the universe in order to detect its laws and to find faith in its Creator, is repeated by the Quran in hundreds of its various verses. All these verses are directed to the sane faculties in man asking him to think and meditate so that his faith will result from the mind and according to evidence. Such verses also warn him against following into the path of his fathers without examination, evaluation and conviction in the degree of rightness in this path.

#### The Force of Faith

This is the faith that Islam called for. It is not the faith which is described by some as the faith of old women, but rather the faith of the enlightened confident person who looks perspicaciously, and thinks meditatively and then arrives through perspicacity and meditation at conviction in God Almighty. I do not think that there was a man who looked into the matter through his mind and heart and then did not find faith. The more man looks, meditates and attempts to fully understand time and space and the perpetually moving worlds that are included in their endless unity, the more he feels himself as an atom in these worlds which are governed by laws that hold them together and which have a purpose that their Creator only knows. Man would also be convinced of his weakness and shortcomings if he does not seek, in understanding existence, the help of a power which is superior to his own, and which will connect him to these worlds and makes him feel his position in them. That power is the power of faith.

#### Faith in God

Faith then is a spiritual feeling which fills man's soul whenever he gets in touch with the universe and is annihilated in the endlessness of time and space, and whenever he visualizes all beings and sees them all regulated by laws that bind them, and all praising God their Creator and Originator. The soul which finds satisfaction and comfort in this faith does not rest except in a continuous effort to know the secrets and laws of the universe so that it can get closer to God. The road to this knowledge is through research about and study of the creatures of God in a scientific manner in accordance with the call of the Quran and the tradition of the early Muslims.

#### Seeking the Help of God to Discover the Laws of the Universe

To reach this stage of spiritual perfection it is not enough to seek the help of our logic alone, but we should prepare our hearts and minds to reach the highest point we can reach through this logic. This will be arrived at by seeking help from God and by man's turning to God, body and soul, — for He is the one to be worshipped and whose help is to be sought — in order to discover the secrets of the universe and the laws of life. This contact with God to thank him for his bounty will help us to discover such truth as is not yet discovered.

#### The Perfect Man of the Quran

Writers of various ages and of many nations have always portrayed the perfect man. Play wrights, authors, poets and philosophers have all made the attempt. They



portrayed the perfect man in the old times and they are still doing it today. Still one cannot find a description of the perfect man as the great one told in the Sura of the Night Journey. It is only part of the wisdom that God revealed to his prophet. It is not intended to portray the perfect man but rather to remind people of some of their duties. God says:

( وقضى ربك الا تعبدوا الا اياه وبالوالدين احسانا اما يدلغن عندك الكبير احدهما او كلاهما فلا تقل لهما اف ولا تنهرهما وقل لهما قولا كريما . واخفض لهما جناح الذل من الرحمة وقل رب ارحمهما كما ربياني صغيرا . ربكم اعلم بما في نفوسكم ان تكونوا صالحين فانه كان للاوابين عفورا . وات ذا القربى حقه والمسكين وابن السبيل ولا تبذروا ثيابكم البالية . ان المنذرين كانوا اخوان الشياطين وكان الشيطان لربه كفورا . واما تعرض عنهم ابتغاء رحمة من ربك ترجوها فقل لهم قولا ميسورا . ولا تجعل يدك مغلولة الى عنقك ولا تبسطها كل البسط فتقعد ملوما محسورا . ان ربك يبسط الرزق لمن يشاء ويقدر انه كان بعباده خبيرا بصيرا . ولا تقتلوا اولادكم خشية املاق نحن نرزقهم واياكم ان تقتلهم كان خطئا كبيرا . ولا تقربوا الزنى انه كان فاحشة وساء سبيلا . ولا تقتلوا النفس التي حرم الله الا بالحق ومن قتل مظلوما فقد جعلنا لوليه سلطانا فلا يسرف في القتل انه كان منصورا . ولا تقربوا مال اليتيم الا بالتي هي احسن حتى يبلغ اشده واطفوا بالعهد ان العهد كان مسئولا . واطفوا الكيل اذا كلتم وزنوا بالقسطاس المستقيم ذلك خير واحسن تاويلا . ولا تقف ما ليس لك به علم ان السمع والبصر والفؤاد كل اولئك كان عنه مسئولا . ولا تمش في الارض مرحا انك لن تضرق الارض ولن تبلغ الجبال طولا . كل ذلك كان سيئه عند ربك مكروها ) .

The Lord has decreed  
you shall not serve  
any but Him,  
and to be good to parents,  
whether one or both of them  
attains old age with thee;  
say not to them 'Fie'  
neither chide them, but  
speak unto them words  
respectful,  
and lower to them the  
wings of humbleness  
out of mercy and say,  
'My Lord  
have mercy upon them,  
as they raised me up  
when I was little.'

Your Lord knows very well what is in your hearts  
if you are righteous,  
for He is All-forgiving to those who are penitent.  
And give the kinsman his right,  
and the needy, and the traveller;  
and never squander;  
the squanderers are brothers of

Satan, and Satan is unthankful  
to his Lord,  
But if you turnest from them,  
seeking mercy from the Lord that  
thou hopest for, then speak unto  
them gentle words,  
And keep not thy hand chained  
to thy neck, nor outspread it  
widespread altogether, or thou  
wilt sit reproached  
and denuded,

Surely thy Lord outspreads and straitens His provision  
unto whom He will;  
surely He is aware of and sees His servants,

And slay not your children for fear of poverty;  
We will provide for you and them;  
surely the slaying of them is a grievous sin,  
And approach not fornication;  
surely it is an indecency, and evil as a way,  
And slay not the soul God has  
forbidden, except by right, Whosoever is slain  
unjustly, We have appointed to  
his next-of-kin authority; but let him not exceed  
in slaying; he shall be helped,

And do not approach the property of the orphan  
save in the fairest manner, until he is of age,  
And fulfil the covenant; surely the covenant  
shall be questioned of,  
And fill up the measure when you measure, and  
weigh with the straight balance; that is better  
and fairer in the issue,  
And pursue not that thou hast no knowledge of;  
the hearing, the sight, the heart—all of those  
shall be questioned of,  
And walk not in the earth exultantly; certainly  
thou wilt never tear the earth open, nor attain  
the mountains in height,  
All of that—the wickedness of it is hateful  
in the sight of thy Lord,

This uplifts the soul, makes it perfect and purifies it. Each verse makes the reader stop before its holiness, for each had forcefulness, beauty, enchantment of expression, nobleness of meaning and unequalled portraying ability. We wish we had more space for such stops. Unfortunately, this cannot be done, as the discussion of the meaning of these sixteen verses deserves to fill a large volume.

#### The Quran and Self-Discipline

It suffices to say that no book called for righteousness and elevated the human soul as the Quran did. No book has spoken as forcefully, persuasively or expressively as the Quran about charity and mercy, brotherhood and love, cooperation



## PROPHET MUHAMMAD

and concord, alms giving and generosity, faithfulness and trustiness, purity of heart and truthfulness, justice and forgiveness, patience and perseverance, humbleness and obedience, goodness and kindness, and of ordering to do the right and prohibiting evil. No book has prohibited as forcefully and persuasively as the Quran did of weakness and cowardness, selfishness and envy, hate and injustice, lies and backbiting, spendthrift and miserliness, falsehood and evil talk, aggression and corruption, betrayal and treason, and all evil. There is no Surah of the Quran that one recites without finding in it the urge to do good, the order to do right, the prohibition to do evil, and the direction to perfection. The forgiveness called for by the Quran is not caused by weakness but rather by high ethical principles. The forgiveness urged by the Quran is not prompted by weakness, but rather by high ethical principles. The Quran is clear in showing that the call to generosity has no weakness in it and that it stems from the pure uplifting of the human soul and nothing else.

The forgiveness urged by the Quran is based on a brotherhood, made by Islam as a pillar to its civilization. By brotherhood Islam meant the brotherhood of all mankind. Justice and mercy without weakness or resignation are combined in Muslim brotherhood. It is a brotherhood of equality in virtue unaffected by immediate benefits. Believers in it prefer others to themselves, though they may be poor. They fear God and no one else, and therefore they are proud and aloof at the same time extremely kind. They are the truthful who fulfill their promises when they promise, the patient in good times and bad times, and the ones who say when hit by a calamity we are of God and to God we return. None of them looks down on other people or walk with vanity. God has saved them the miserliness of themselves and they do not tell lies of God or of men. They do not like to see indecency spread among the believers, and they avoid sin. When angry they seek the forgiveness of God, they withhold their anger and forgive other people. They avoid suspicion, do not spy on or backbite others. They do not covet the properties of others and they do not go to courts with false cases against the property of others. Their souls shrink away from envy, beguile unthoughtful talk, and every other bad trait of character.

### Ethical Standards and Utility

These qualities, on which self discipline is based and according to which ethical standards are measured, are the outcome — as we mentioned before — of the spiritual system which the Quran revealed and which is connected with the belief in God. This is the heart of the matter. Also this guarantees the fact that this ethical standards take hold of the soul, and remains within it pure and unspooled. Morality based on utility and mutual benefits, is easily weakened as soon as one is sure that such weakness does not infringe on one's interests. In most cases the one whose morality is based on utility has double standards.

Weakness is an apparent phenomenon in our modern world. The so called civilized world is full of scandals caused by greed for money and power and the negation of ethical standards and true faith, a large number of people start with good character in life, and then deviate and fall into the pits of moral stagnation and commit the worst of crimes, because their character is based on personal benefit. They realize at first the importance of honesty as a condition for success and so they become honest just to succeed, and not because this concept is part of their faith. When giving up honesty opens ways to success before them they give it up without hesitation. Some remain unexposed and respectable but others are exposed and, in certain cases, commit suicide as a result.

Building the moral system on the basis of personal benefit exposes it often to temptation, while building it on spiritual bases as revealed by the Quran makes it strong and safe. All acts should be measured by the purpose and intention behind them. The person who buys a lottery ticket for the benefit of building a hospital, is prompted by personal gains rather than charity. Giving alms to the poor to avoid the annoyance of their persistence is not like giving out of charity. He who gives true testimony before court out of fear of punishment is not like the one who tells the truth because he believes in it. Morals based on personal gain and mutual benefits are not as strong as morals based on human dignity and faith in God.

Ethical standards, as revealed through the Quran for the ideal Muslim society, do not call for deprivation and mortifying the flesh. At the same time they do not call either for living in luxury, which makes man forget everything else. They call for moderation and virtue.

#### Quran and Science

The Quran speaks about what God has created in this universe guiding us to all that we can know in this matter. Crescents, sun and moon, night and day, earth and the creation, heaven and the stars, the sea and all the sciences and arts of the universe are mentioned. The Quran urges the pursuit of science and the enjoyment of its fruits as an act of thanks to God's bounty. It is up to the people, who were influenced by the Quran's ethics and call to know all there is to be known about the universe, to arrive through reason to the ultimate reality that can be comprehended by the human mind, and to build an economic system on moral bases.

#### The Economic System

The economic system, if based on the above mentioned moral and spiritual bases, is apt to lead people to happiness and to eradicate misery from the face of the earth. The sublime principles, advocated by the Quran, as part of faith itself, call upon the believer to do his best to eradicate misery. (1)

### A COMMENT ON DR. HAIKAL'S BOOK: "THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD"

On pages 60-62 of the third edition Dr. Haikal makes a statement which amounts to this, that Muslim Scholars should be accurate and unbiased in their Islamic studies to convince orientalist of their good faith. He goes on to say: "It is my opinion that to achieve this properly a differentiation should be made between two periods of Islamic history : (a) From the beginning of Islam up to the killing of 'Uthman, and (b) From the killing of 'Uthman up to the time when the door of "Ijtihad" (interpretation) was closed. During the first period there was complete agreement among Muslims, which was not undermined by tales about the disputes over the Caliphate, nor by the war of Apostasy, nor even by the conquests. After the killing of 'Uthman, however, disagreement invaded Muslim life; there were open and underground revolts, there were the civil wars between Ali and Mu'âwiyah, whilst political motivation began to play an important role in the life of the State. Dr. Haikal then proceeds to

(1) Dr. Haykal.



## PROPHET MUHAMMAD

compare a speech of Abu Bakr's with one of Al-Mansur and claims that anyone who compares these two speeches will see the immense change which affected the basic principles of Islamic life within a space of less than two centuries; for in that period the method of government shifted from rule by consultation to the rule of absolute power. He continues by saying that it was during this first period that the true principles of Islamic life were determined and that it is only in this first period that one can confidently look for them. For after this first period, despite the spread of learning in Omayyad days and especially in Abbasid days, hands motivated by "Shu'ubiyyah" (anti-Arab feelings) tampered with these true principles and replaced them by principles which were often in conflict with the spirit of Islam. Moreover the non-Arabs and those Jews and Christians who had professed Islam spread these new principles, even daring to fabricate Traditions of the Prophet and to claim things about the first caliphs which conflicted with their biographies. Nothing recorded during this period can be relied upon without a truly objective scrutiny of the materials; in all these disputes we should reject anything which conflicts with the Quran. However whatever has been related directly from the beginnings of Islam up to the killing of 'Uthman can be relied upon. (Summary)

I reply by saying this. His differentiation between the first and second period (whereby he claims that during the first period there was complete agreement between Muslims, which remained unaffected by the reports about dispute over the Caliphate, and that during the second period there was disagreement between the Muslims, war and politically motivated action) — this differentiation is incorrect for the following reasons:

(1) The dispute over the Caliphate was in force from the beginning of the first period. Ali considered himself to be more worthy of the Caliphate and all his life he thought he was unjustly treated; the Hashimites and many others were on his side. Sa'ad ibn 'Ibadan asked for the Caliphate for himself, and refused to pledge allegiance — he lived in Huran and was then murdered, pierced with an arrow from the bow of al-Mughira ibn Sha'ba. Moreover a dispute arose between Fatimah az-Zahrâ and the first Caliph over Fadak, a farm and the inheritance. Again, Fatimah died and she was still angry with him, as was reported by al-Bukhari. It was the first Caliph who was singled out for this tradition: "We, the prophets, do not give inheritance." On this particular tradition az-Zahrâ did not agree with him, neither did her husband nor his supporters.

(2) Political motivation was born with Adam: to limit it to one period — after the killing of 'Uthman — and to exclude it from the other, is incorrect.

(3) The dispute between the first and second Caliphs arose over Khalid ibn al-Walid, when he killed Malik ibn Nuwaira and married his wife. The second Caliph did not approve of Khalid, and as soon as he became Caliph he removed him from his position as commander of the army. Is this part of the claim complete agreement?

(4) Comparisons between speeches cannot act as comparisons between persons and their biographies. This is obvious.

(5) The claim that Islamic life moved from rule by consultation to the rule of absolute power in less than two centuries is not true. 'Umar became Caliph not by consultation but by the will of Abu Bakr.



(6) He is incorrect in claiming that it is only from the first period that true principles can confidently be sought. During the rule of the third Caliph, from the beginning till his murder, the hand of Marwan was ceaselessly interfering in the affairs of the state until it led to the Caliph's murder. What, then, were the true principles of Islamic life during this period? The most prominent of the Mothers of the Faithful was urging people against him and was calling him all sorts of names. She used to bring out the shirt of the Prophet and say what she wanted to say in order to secure the Caliphate for her Taymi relative. This is proved by her own statement after the Caliph's murder: urging Talhah "Come forward....." For she and her relative and az-Zubair left the Caliph in a state of siege, went to Mecca and, instead of lending him their support, incited people against him. After his murder they went to Basrah seeking revenge for his blood. Are these the true principles of Islamic life?

(7) Revolts were not limited to the second period, for in the first period ideological revolts, both open and underground were rife. What is more, the ideological revolts were of greater significance than mere wars, for they were the cause of the civil wars and the rebellions of the second period. Any objective scholar knows that Islamic life during the first period was not always based on true principles, and it was those principles which shook Islamic life under the third Caliph and during the rest of the second period.

(8) His claim that during the second period hands, motivated by political aspirations, tampered with the true principles of Islam, is true. The Omayyads and Abbasids were active in fabricating Prophet's traditions condemning Ali and his followers — they spent their time at it and they spent large sums of money on it. They appointed as the governors of important province the so called Companions of the Prophet and some others as well, so that they told them that the verse:

« والذي اذا تولى سعى في الارض ليفسد فيها ويهلك الحرث والنسل »

"and when he turns his back, he hastens about the earth, to do carruption there and to destroy the tillage and the stock" was revealed as a reference to 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib, that the tradition "Fatima is a part of me, he who annoys her annoys me," referred to 'Ali also when he wanted to marry the daughter of Abu Jahl, and so on. They even put a ban on anyone using 'Ali as a name or surname or reporting anything about him. Moreover they appointed to the Fatwa (Legal opinion) people who had adopted their views and actions and who had not adopted the beliefs of the People of the House, which are the beliefs of the Prophet. True Islamic principles were thus undermined. As for Dr. Halkal's claim that this had come about because of anti-Arab feelings, this, I say, is not true. The people who wrecked the true principles of Islam by replacing them with principles in conflict with the spirit of Islam, with political ends in view, were the Omayyads, who were true Arabs, and the Abbasids who followed them. Anti-Arab feelings had nothing to do with it.

(9) Contention that the non-Arabs, especially the Persians, spread these principles, etc., is still being harped upon by certain people. It is grossly incorrect. First one man said it and then another took up the tune, and sectarian fanaticism and religious hostility helped its spread. It has no true basis at all. The people who spread this story said, "The Persians embraced Islam after the conquest of their country during the reign of the second Caliph and pretended to love the People of the House in order to destroy Islam and seek vengeance from its people." Such a claim is ludicrous. The Persians who embraced Islam during the Muslim Conquest were men of one sect. In all the Muslim countries, both Arab and Persian, there was but one sect concerning both fundamental and side issues. Under Omayyad



rule there were the Alawides and 'Uthmanite, and under the Abbasids the Sunni, Shi'a and the four sects. But all this is much later than the Islamic conquest and the Persians have nothing to do with it. If this division did infiltrate into the land of Persia, then it was after it had made itself felt in Arab lands. At the beginning of the Islamic conquest there were no separate sects in Persia at all. After the birth of the sects, the majority of the inhabitants of Persia were not of the sect of the People of the House, and even during the Safawite era, from the Ninth Century onwards, when the sect of the People of the House spread so much, Bukhara and the land of the Afghans remained unconverted. When, therefore, was this so-called period when hands motivated by anti-Arab feelings tampered with the true principles of Islam and replaced them with principles in conflict with it? It would be more correct to say that those who tampered with true Islamic principles were those whose fathers, brothers, sons and relatives were killed at Badr and other battles. These people sought vengeance from Islam, by the sword of Islam and under the banner of Islam; theirs was a policy of revenge, not an anti-Arab policy.

(10) The idea that the Jews and Christians who had professed Islam spread these news principles is another fiction analogous to the last. The accusation against the Jews stems from Abdullah Ibn Sabâ who, it is said, was Jewish before turning Muslim. He claimed 'Alî was God and his followers are known as the Sabaiyah. Now, he was accused of instigating the murder of 'Uthman and so on and so forth. It has been shown in (6) how the 'Uthman murder was brought about; anyway Ibn Saba was not important enough to start a thing like that. As for the accusations against the Christians, Dr. Haikal does not explain who they were, and I do not know them to give an opinion.

(11) Dr. Haikal mentions that it was these people who propagated these new principles by fabricating tradition about the Prophet and by claiming things about the first Caliphs which were not in agreement with their biographies. This is incorrect. It was the Omayyads who introduced the alien principles in Islam, it was they who fabricated the Prophet's traditions and made false claims about his cousin and heir conflicting with his biography. To accomplish all this they spent vast sums of money and appointed governors who were of their own kind. They were followed by the Abbasids, as I mentioned in (8), and not by the Persians or those Jews and Christians who professed Islam.

(12) If one cannot rely on what was recorded about the second period without a truly objective scrutiny, then one cannot rely on what was recorded about the first either; because what happened during the first period was recorded by the people of the Second period — and they cannot be relied upon. The first period was not a period of recording: all that happened has come down to us through the people of the Second period.

(13) As to his condition for relying on what was recorded in the second period, and that it be subjected to a truly objective scrutiny, I would like to ask him, where do you find such a thing as a truly objective scrutiny? (Every one claims to be the only truly objective).

(14) His claims that, during the first period, whatever has been directly reported can be relied upon, makes no sense. For those who reported directly about the first period have had their reports carried down to us by the people of the second period, whose recording is unreliable.

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Translator's Note: Quranic verses are translated in accordance with The Koran Interpreted, by A.J. Arberry; traditions in accordance with A.N. Mathews translation of al-Tibrizi.





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