

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





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Street address:
**Zartosht Gharbi St., Corner of Vall-asr Ave.,
No. 8, Shahid Navvab Bldg., 4th Floor, Suite 408.**

Phone:
**+98-21-890237 & 890245
Extensions: 11, 12, 14**

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1. To provide a forum for scholars to make analytical studies of Islamic topics and themes.
2. To advance the cause of better understanding of the Qur'an and the Ahl al-Bayt's ('a) contribution to Islam.
3. To publish English translations of Arabic and Persian works of Muslim scholars.
4. To endeavor to find Islamic answers to questions relating to the social, political, and moral problems of today.

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Scholars and writers from all over the world are invited to contribute to this journal.

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يَرْفَعِ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَ
الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ ...

*... God exalts those of you who
believe and those who are given
knowledge to high ranks ...*

TRANSLITERATION

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا	a	ل	l
ب	b	م	m
ت	t	ن	n
ث	th	و	w
ج	j	ه	h
ح	h	ي	y
خ	kh	آ	ah
د	d	<i>Long Vowels</i>	
ذ	dh	إ	ā
ر	r	ؤ	ū
ز	z	ى	ī
س	s	<i>Short Vowels</i>	
ش	sh	أ	a
ص	s	ُ	u
ض	ḍ	ِ	i
ط	ṭ	<i>Persian Letters</i>	
ظ	ẓ	پ	p
ع	ʿ	چ	ch
غ	gh	ژ	zh
ف	f	گ	g
ق	q		
ک	k		

Contents

Qur'ān

- A Comparative Study of Three Accounts in the
Qur'an & the Torah 9
Hadi Qabil
- Revelation in the Qur'an 23
Muhammad Baqir Saeedi Rowshan
- Concept of *Kitāb* in the Qur'an 41
Muhammad Hadi Ma'rifat

Ḥadith and Fiqh

- Al-Ghadir* and its Relevance to Islamic Unity 51
Murtaza Mutahhari
- Science of Jurisprudence and *Verstehen* Sociology 63
Gholam Reza Ura'ee

Thought

- Islam and the West 79
Mustafa T. Zaharani

History

- Islam in Spain 93
T.B. Irving
- Teachings of 'Āshūrā and Their Application in
the Islamic Revolution in Iran 103
M. Ershadul Bari

Miscellaneous

400 Sources on Shi'ah	115
<i>Muhammad Reza Hakimi</i>	

Book Review

Contemporary Orientalists on Mysticism: A Book Review	197
<i>Muhammad Taqi Subhani</i>	

Report

A Report on the Inter-Faith Conference on Justice in International Relations.....	221
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Two Year Index of the <i>Message of Thaqlayn</i>	231
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A Comparative Study of Three Accounts in the Qur'ān and the Torah

Hadi Qabil

Translated by: A.N. Baqirshahi

The accounts of the prophets are the best examples for men and their lives are the best ideals of the history that the believers should benefit from them. Accordingly, to narrate the accounts of the prophets in the revealed scriptures are of great importance, which constitute a sizable portion of the Torah and the Qur'ān. Unfortunately these accounts in the Torah have been distorted and as a result of which tarnished the beauty of the lives of these nobles. Even some of them have been treated less than ordinary people. While when these accounts are contrasted with the similar accounts in the Qur'ān. The greatness of these men and the beauty of the Qur'ān come to the fore plainly. What follows is the comparison of the accounts of three prophets (s) viz. Lot, Job and David as related in the Qur'ān and the Torah.

1. The Account of Lot in the Torah

“The Lord appeared to Abraham at the sacred trees of Mamre ... he looked up and saw three men standing there. ... he ran out to meet them. ... he said, “Sirs, please do not pass by my home without stopping; I am here to serve you. Let me bring some water for you to wash your feet; you can rest here beneath this tree. I will also bring a bit of food, it will give you strength to continue your journey. ...”

They replied, “Thank you; we accept.”

He took some cream, some milk, and the meat, and set the food before the men. There under the tree he served them himself, and they ate.

One of them said, "Nine months from now I will come back, and your wife Sarah will have a son."

Abraham and Sarah were very old, and Sarah had stopped having her monthly periods. So Sarah laughed to herself.

Then the Lord asked Abraham, "Why did Sarah laugh and said, 'Can I really have a child when I am so old?' Is anything too hard for the Lord?"

Then the men left and went to a place where they could look down at Sodom, ... And the Lord said, "I will not hide from Abraham what I am going to do. ...

Then the Lord said to Abraham, "There are terrible accusations against Sodom and Gomorrah, and their sin is very great. I must go down to find out whether or not the accusations which I have heard are true."

Abraham approached the Lord and asked, "Are you really going to destroy the innocent with the guilty?"

He said, "I will not destroy it if there are ten." After he had finished speaking with Abraham,

When the two angels came to Sodom that evening, Lot was sitting at the city gate. As soon as he saw them, he got up and went to meet them. He bowed down before them and said, "Sirs, I am here to serve you. Please come to my house. You can wash your feet and stay the night. In the morning you can get up early and go on your way."

But they answered, "No, we will spend the night here in the city square."

He kept on urging them, and finally they went with him to house. Lot ordered his servants to bake some bread and prepare a fine meal for the guests. When it was ready, they ate it.

Before the guests went to bed, the men of Sodom surrounded the house. All the men of the city, both young and old, were there. They called out to Lot and asked, "Where are the men who came to

stay with you tonight? Bring them out to us!" The men of Sodom wanted to have sex with them.

Lot went outside and closed the door behind. He said to them, "Friends, I beg you, don't do such a wicked thing! Look, I have two daughters who are still virgins. Let me bring them out to you, and you can do whatever you want with them. But don't do anything to these men; they are guests in my house, and I must protect them."

But they said, "Get out of our way, you foreigner! Who are you to tell us what to do? Out of our way, or we will treat you worse than them." They pushed Lot back and moved up to break down the door. But the two men inside reached out, pulled Lot back into the house, and shut the door. Then they struck all the men outside with blindness, so that they couldn't find the door.

The two men said to Lot, "If you have anyone else here — sons, daughters, sons-in-law, or any other relatives living in the city — get them out of here, because we are going to destroy this place. The Lord has heard the terrible accusations against these people and has sent us to destroy Sodom."

Suddenly the Lord rained burning sulphur on the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah,

Because Lot was afraid to stay in Zoar, he and his two daughters, moved up into the hills and lived in a cave. The elder daughter said to her sister, "Our father is getting old, and there are no men in the whole world to marry us so that we can have children. Come on, let's make our father drunk, so that we can sleep with him and have children by him." That night they gave him wine to drink, and the elder daughter had intercourse with him. But he was so drunk that he didn't know it.

The next day, the elder daughter said to her sister, "I slept with him last night; now let's make him drunk again tonight, and you sleep with him. Then each of us will have a child by our father." So that night they made him drunk, and the younger daughter had intercourse with him. Again he was so drunk that he didn't know it. In this way both of Lot's daughters became pregnant by

their own father. The elder daughter had a son, whom she named Moab. He was the ancestor of the present-day Moabites. The younger daughter also had a son, whom she named Benammi. He was the ancestor of the present-day Ammonites.¹

Analysis

In this account Torah narrates the story of the Prophet Abraham ('a), the presence of the angels in the Prophet's house, the matter of Sarah's son, the destruction of Lot's people, and the visit of the Angeles with Lot, in a language incompatible with the spirit of the divine faiths and the characteristics of the Prophets. In this story certain ill-deeds are ascribed to the prophets who are actually immune from any sin. Anyhow, following points could be drawn:

1. In this story God is considered as a visible body, descended from the sky and attended a feast in Abraham's house, and Abraham also washed His feet and served Him with roasted calf.
2. In the first stance, God appeared to Abraham in the form of three persones, then Abraham addressed him in singular pronoun and later addressed him (them) in plural pronoun. It is not known whether they were men, angels or God. According to the Torah they were God who surprisingly ate food over there as well!
3. In the following verse: "I must go down to find out whether or not the accusations which I have heard are true." It means God does not know unless to come down to find out! Here the attribute of ignorance is attributed to God!
4. Torah accused the Prophet of God of drinking wine and having intercourse with his chaistee daughters which even an ordinary man may not commit such shameful act what to talk about the Prophet of God. Surprising point is that from the progeny of The Prophet Lot two sons (illegitimate sons) remained, one of them became the ancestor of the present-day Moabites and the other who was Benammi became the ancestor of the present-day Ammonies.

1. The Account of Lot in the Qur'ān

"Our messengers came to Abraham with the good tidings; they said, 'Peace!' 'Peace,' he said; and presently he brought a roasted calf. And when he saw their hands not reaching towards it, he was suspicious of them and conceived a fear of them. They said, 'Fear not; we have been sent to the people of Lot.'

And his wife (Sarah) was standing by; she laughed, therefore We gave her the glad tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac, of Jacob.

She said, 'Woe is me! Shall I bear, being an old woman? This assuredly is a strange thing.'

They said, 'What, dost thou marvel at God's command? The mercy of God and His blessings be upon you, O people of the House! Sure He is All-laudable, All-glorious.'

So, when the awe departed from Abraham and the good tidings came to him, he was disputing with Us concerning the people of Lot; Abraham was element, compassionate, penitent.

'O Abraham turn away from this; thy Lord's command has surely come, and there is coming upon them a chastisement not to be turned back.'

And when Our messengers came to Lot, he was troubled on their account and distressed for them, and he said, 'This is a fierce day.'

And his people came to him, running towards him; and erst-while they had been doing evil deeds. He said, 'O my people, these are my daughters; they are cleaner for you. So fear God, and do not degrade me in my guests. What, is there not one man among you of a right mind?'

They said, 'Thou knowest we have no right to thy daughters, and thou well knowest what we desire.'

He said, 'O would that I had power against you, or might take refuge at a strong pillar!'

They said, 'Lot, we are messengers of thy Lord. They shall not reach thee; so set forth, thou with thy family, in a watch of the night, and let not any one of you turn round, excepting thy wife;

surely she shall be smitten what will smite them (your people). Their promised time is the morning; is the morning not nigh?

So when Our command came, We turned it uppermost nethermost, and rained on it stones of baked clay, one on another, marked with thy Lord, and never far from the evildoers.²

Analysis

According to the Qur'ān Lot was the first who believed in the Prophet Abraham and then left his city Chaleada to Palestine and remained in Sodom. People of that city were idolaters and had a very bad habit, that is, they would leave their women and have sex with boys. Lot was assigned to guide them and prevent them of such evil deed. But his efforts had no result, then he informed them of coming upon them a chastisement. But the people of Lot said: "Then bring us the chastisement of God, if thou speakest truly". Then they threaten Lot and said: "If thou givest not over, Lot, thou shalt assuredly be one of the expelled. Anyhow, Lot's efforts had no result and the chastisement of God came upon them. As narrated, first the angels came to the Prophet Abraham. The Prophet did not know that they were angels, thus he prepared food for them. But they refrained from taking food hence, he was suspicious of them and conceived a fear of them. They said, 'fear not; we have been sent to the people of Lot.' We give a good tidings of a child for you and your wife. Then they came to Lot and said, set forth, thou with thy family, in a watch of the night, and let not any one of you turn round, excepting thy wife. The following points can be drawn from this story of the Qur'ān:

The messengers were angels, therefore they refused to take food.

The Prophets are infallible and God always help them in their problems.

In the Qur'an Prophets are described by respectful expressions and reverent attributes.

Every thing is known to God and He has dominance over all human deeds.

Concluded that there are a lot of differences between the Quranic approach towards this story and that of the Torah and it is wrong to say that the Qur'an has taken its stories from the Bible and Torah. The Qur'an is the God's words and is free from any wrong expression.

2. The Account of Job in the Torah

Can't you see it is God who has done this?

He has set a trap to catch me.

I protest against his violence, but no one hears my cry for justice.

God has blocked the way, and I can't get through ;

He has hidden my path in darkness.

He has taken away all my wealth and destroyed my reputation.

He batters me from every side.

He uproots my hope and leaves me to wither and die.

God is angry and rages against me; he treats me like his worst enemy.³

2. The Account of Job In the Qur'an

Remember our servant Job, when he called to his Lord, 'behold, Satan has visited me with weariness and chastisement.'

Surely We found him a steadfast man.

How excellent a servant he was! He was a penitent.⁴

Analysis of the Account of the Torah

In this account also the Prophet Job has leveled an implausible accusation against God. The Prophet Job in this story is considered to be the weakest person. Following points can be drawn:

God in this account is one who set a trap to catch Job and blocked the way for him, tormenting him with words, and uproots his hope. Surprisingly such complains against God is leveled by a Prophet not an unbeliever, or one who is diviated from the path of God!

The prophet of God Job is restless and complaining against God. He sees himself in perdition state.

Analysis of the Account of the Qur'an

The Qur'an first describes the characteristics of the Prophet Job by saying that he was an excellent servant with great patient as well as a steadfast man. Even on his illness he says that Satan tried to tempt me by saying that had God loved you He would not have made you ill. Then he says that I take refuge to you from the temptation of the Satan.

According to the Qur'an God is kind, blessing, and supporter of his Prophet Job and other prophets. He never forgets His servants, particularly His Prophets. There are two different approaches towards these stories. Therefore it is implausible to hold that The Qur'an has taken its stories from the Torah.

3. The Account of David in the Torah

One day, late in the afternoon, David got up from his nap and went to the palace roof. As he walked about up there, he saw a woman having a bath. She was very beautiful. So he sent a messenger to find out who she was, and learnt that she was Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam and the wife of Uriah the Hittite. David sent messengers to fetch her; they brought her to him and he made love to her. (She had just finished her monthly ritual of purification.) Then she went back home. Afterwards she discovered that she was pregnant and sent a message to David to tell him.

David then sent a message to Joab "Send me Uriah the Hittite." So Joab sent him to David. When Uriah arrived, David asked him if Joab and the troops were well, and how the fighting was going. Then he said to Uriah, "Go home and rest a while." Uriah

left, and David sent a present to his home. But Uriah did not go home; instead he slept at the palace gate with the king's guards. When David heard that Uriah had not gone home, he asked him, "You have just returned after a long absence; why didn't you go home?"

Uriah answered, "The men of Israel and Judah are away at the war, and the Covenant Box is with them; my commander Joab and his officers are camping out in the open. How could I go home eat and drink, and sleep with my wife. By all that's sacred, I swear that I could never do such a thing!"

The next morning David wrote a letter to Joab and sent it by Uriah. He wrote: "Put Uriah in the front line, where the fighting is heaviest, then retreat and let him be killed." So while Joab was besieging the city, he sent Uriah to a place where he knew the enemy was strong. The enemy troops came out of the city and fought Joab's forces; some of David's officers were killed, and so was Uriah.

When Bathsheba heard that her husband had been killed, she mourned for him. When the time of mourning was over, David sent for her to come to the palace; she became his wife and bore him a son. But the Lord was not pleased with what David had done.

The Lord sent the Prophet Nathan to David. Nathan went to him and said, "There were two men who lived in the same town; one was rich and the other poor. The rich man had many cattle and sheep, while the poor man had only one lamb, when he had bought. He took care of it, and it grew up in his home with his children. He would feed it with some of his own food, let it drink from his cup, and hold it in his lap. The lamb was like a daughter to him. One day a visitor man didn't want to kill one of his own animals to prepare a meal for him; instead he took the poor man's lamb and cooked a meal for his guest."

David was very angry with the rich man and said, "I swear by the living Lord that the man who did this ought to die! For having done such a cruel thing, he must pay back four times as much as he took."

"You are that man," Nathan said to David.⁵

3. The Account of David In the Qur'ān

And remember our servant David, the man of might; he was a penitent.

We strengthened his kingdom, and gave him wisdom and speech decisive.

Has the tidings of the dispute come to thee?

When they scaled the Sanctuary,

when they entered upon David, and he took fright at them; and they said, 'Fear not; two disputants we are—one of us has injured the other; so judge between us justly, and transgress not, and guide us to the right path.

Behold, this my brother has ninety-nine ewes, and I have one ewe. So he said,

"Give her into my charge"; and he overcame me in the argument.'

Said he, 'Assuredly he has wronged thee in asking for thy ewe in addition to his sheep; and indeed many intermixes do injury one against the other, save those who believe, and do deeds of righteousness--and how few they are!'

And David thought that We had only tried him; therefore he sought forgiveness of his Lord, and he fell down, bowing, and he repented.

Accordingly We forgave him that, and he has a near place in our presence and a fair resort.

'David, behold, We have appointed thee a viceroy in the earth; therefore judge between men justly, and follow not caprice, lest it lead thee astray from the way of God. Surely those who go astray from the way of God—there awaits them a terrible chastisement, for that they have forgotten the Day of Reckoning.'

And We gave unto David Solomon; how excellent a servant he was!

He was a penitent.⁶

Analysis of the Account of the Torah

Torah doesn't consider David a Prophet of God but holds that he was a just king, having the Book of Psalm. Torah leveled the worst accusation against David and put him parallel with the lewd persons with such characteristics. How can these Prophets be the ideal and guide for their people. How can thier words and prayers be as the divine Books. Following points can be drawn from this story:

1. In the Torah David is considered as a lewd person.
2. Undermining the social and divine rule, David went to his palace roof and watched a woman who was having a bath in her house.
3. By seeing that woman he sent a messenger to fetch her: brought her to him and made love to her.
4. He had sex with that married woman, and so she became pregnant, while adultery is strongly prohibited in the Torah, and death sentence is prescribed for one who commit such act.
5. To prevent disclosure of his offense, David indulge himself in another offense, he called Uriah, that woman's husband, from the battlefield and asked her to go home and sleep with her wife. But Uriah refused to do so by saying that how could I go home, eat and drink, and sleep with my wife while my commander and his officers are camping out in the open, then David makes a secret plan to kill him. To do so he wrote a letter to Joab and asked him to put Uriah in the front line, where the fighting is heaviest, then retreat and let him be killed. Then Uriah was killed and David was pleased by hearing such news. Such story about the Prophet David is unfounded and implausible. How an officer of David is so loyal that he refuses even to sleep with his wife for his friends are in front line, fighting with enemy, while David who is the Prophet of God and the Guide of people attempts his life. It means David is moti-

vated by his sensual passions and is lower than his officer Uriah. Torah does not recognize David as Prophet but considers him as a Just and highly positioned king who is the founder of a great synagogue. Moreover, the Psalm of David which covers the supplications of David is considered to be a part of Torah. The question is that how the supplication and sayings of such person as described in Torah should be included in the Old Testament.

6. An ordinary person didn't come to David, but the Prophet Nathan came to David and told him the story of that rich and poor men.

7. David first ordered death sentence of that rich man for killing a lamb. (Is it plausible to issue death sentence to a man for killing a lamb!

8. Upon issuing such he contradicted his former order and said: he must pay back four times as much as he took.

9. David confessed his sin against Uriah's wife!

10. God forgives him (that crime and sin easily was pardoned).

11. While David is pardoned he was subjected to certain punishment.

12. That woman, Bathsheba, Uriah's wife with such a record as described in Torah, became the mother of the Prophet of God, Solomon!

Analysis of the Account of the Qur'ān

According to the Qur'an all the Prophets are infallible and free from any sin. The Qur'an narrates the story as it happened and praises David very much. Anyhow following points can be extracted.

1. The Qur'an never mentions the matter of the marriage of David with Uriah's wife. Thus, we can not comment upon it. Some of our Traditions have dealt with this story among which some are unfounded while some others are true. For instance there is a tradition from Imam Ridā on this matter. It is said that one day Imam Ridā said to 'Alī bin Jahm: What do you know about David, the Prophet of God? He narrated the story according the Torah. Imam Ridā got angry and said:

"You accused the Prophet of God of being weak in his prayer and like children he was running after the birds. Then you accused him of indulging in indecency and murder. 'Alī bin Jahm asked, then, what was the sin of David upon which he sought God's pardon as the Qur'an refers to it? The Imam replied: At that time, when the women were losing thier husbands, they never marry again for it was unusual to do so. David was the first who was allowed to marry to such women (so that to break such wrong tradition). Thus, when Uriah was killed, he married to his wife. This act of David was not plausible for the people."

Imam 'Alī (a) said: if anybody come to me and say that the Prophet David married to Uriah's, I would punish him twice. One punishment for insulting the prophethood, and second one for Islam (accusation of a faithfulman to an unlawful act).⁸

2. God praises the Prophet David in the Qur'an as follows:

*... "And remember our servant David, the man of might; he has a penitent. With him We subjected the mountains to give glory at evening and sunrise, and the birds, duly mustered, every one to him reverting; We strengthened his kingdom, and gave him wisdom and speech decisive."*⁹

3. The Qur'an speaks about the Divine visitation of God with David. By divine visitation God wants to display the spirit of satisfaction, submission, and sincerity of his Prophets, and introduce him as their guide. There are ample of ahadith dealing with this issue.

Notes

1. Good News Bible, (Today's English Version), The Bible Society of India, Genesis, 18-20.
2. The Qur'ān, (An English translation by A.J. Arbery), Collier Books, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York, the verses: Hud:71-85.
3. Op. cit. Good News Bible, Job, 19.
4. Op. cit. The Qur'ān, 38: 40-45.
5. Op. cit. Good News Bible, Samuel, 11.
6. Op. cit. The Qur'ān, 38: 16 - 30.
7. *Nūr al-Thaqalayn*, vol. 4, P. 445.
8. *Majma' al-Bayān*, vol. 8, P. 473.

Revelation in the Qur'ān

Muhammad Baqir Saeedi Raushan

Translated by S.S. Moosavi

Analysis of the truth of Revelation and the secret of the monopolistic nature of its receiver in the light of experimental data as well as rational methodological reflections, will not help us understand this infinite issue. Basically, when we are confronted with an phenomenon which lacks the characteristic of repeatability and we are not able to demonstrate it by our observation or test it under any circumstances, we are not competent to evaluate this meta-psychological phenomenon from scientific or experimental point of view. Likewise, if a phenomenon is beyond the perimeters of reasoning or fall outside the frameworks of traditional criteria and prevailing deductive reasoning, we will have to admit that the analysis of that meta-reasoning phenomenon within conceptual frameworks will not be fruitful.

Our knowledge of the intricate phenomenon of Revelation and the receipt of a message from the unseen world is limited to the effects and signs of this phenomenon. Hence, if we decide to overcome this metaphysical deadlock in order to find a way to have more access to this domain, the only way that may help us having a shadowy picture of this phenomenon, is to study lingual witness, its obvious spiritual effects and the new message this phenomenon has imparted to the society. Undoubtedly, from the phenomenological point of view the witness of the closest "I" to this phenomenon which is the most sublime known phenomenon in the realm of physical, moral and intellectual evolution, logically, is no less valuable than elaborating on this issue through others, because this new phenomenon has completely dominated all "his" (the person who has witnessed it) volitional aspirations and has in the first in-

stance, become the source of a new belief for him and later for others. Also a critical approach to the text of the message of Revelation and the effects which are the result of the Revelation and the secret contacts of the Prophet, will help us in evaluating the sources and nature of the new thought with his previous thought.

This method will be specially helpful because we repeatedly come across this point in the Qur'an that contemporary compatriots of the Prophet, relying on their humane characteristics, used to interpret Revelation. Those interpretations were rejected by the Prophet, as the receiver of the message of Revelation as well as by the text of the revelation on the basis of obvious, and rational reasons.

In our analysis we will focus on the Revelation during the time of Prophet Muhammad (s), for he is historically nearer to us than any other prophet; his message is the most comprehensive, intact and genuine one because it has not been falsified over the years. The text and content of Prophet Muhammad's Revelation are the only intact and undistorted ones handed over from generation to generation till date.¹¹ This is an established fact that the Qur'an was revealed to an illiterate Arab in the 6th century A.D. over 23 years.

It is also clear that the Qur'anic Revelation is not Muhammad's personal ideas and speeches. This holds true for other prophets too.

Could the new demeanor, changes and thought that occurred to Muhammad at the age of 40 be the result of his own thought or decision, or was it a sudden and unvolitional incident?

The Prophet (s) at this age, the age of mental maturity of man, finds himself an extraordinary person. A voice calls him asking him to say, "Read". But he knows that he is illiterate and cannot read. However, the call is clear and straightforward. A man, wrapped in white cloth and filling up the whole horizon, leaves for his home. The same creature does not leave him: Get up and Warn! Does he hallucinate? But he has never been overcome by hallucination and sentiments. He has ever been sincere to himself and a

trustee of others. This is what friend and foe confirm about him. He cannot convince himself that the new phenomenon is hallucination.^[2] Besides, direct Revelation to him has its external effects on his face and body to the extent that others can easily realize that. For moments his face turns red. Even in the coldest whether, he sweats.

"Surely We will make to light upon you a weighty Word." (73:5)

He then recites the verses that have been revealed to him. Imām Ṣādiq ('a), the sixth infallible Imām of the Household of the Holy Prophet of Islam, says: "This condition used to happen at the time of direct Revelation without any interpreter. But whenever, Gabriel wanted to call on the Prophet, he used to seek the permission of the Prophet and sit in front of him with humility."^[3]

The first messages (*Alaḡ, Muḏḏathir, Muḡammil, Qalam, Hamd*) that the Prophet (s) received, aimed at strengthening his belief and conviction in the unseen phenomenon of Revelation. They do not have a specific content for others and do not aim at any other person than the Prophet himself. Hence, he is assured that the source of Revelation is not himself or in his self. On the contrary, they come from an outer, mysterious dominant source. His confidence removes any doubt on the nature of the Revelation.^[4] He is no more in need of others to tell him that the Revelation is from the unseen world.^[5]

However, we still can investigate if those outward reactions were artificial. Could he concentrate with all his mental power to demonstrate those conditions on his face? Was this out of his control and a totally inner function? If we do not give any weight to his will, has there been any inner bodily or mental factor responsible for this event?

A glance at the life of the Prophet and his behavior during the time that he used to receive Revelation shows that there is no similarity between his actions and those of an excited person, a

person suffering from nervous disorder. Because not only his mental forces work properly during the time that he receives Revelation, the conditions dominating him at the time of Revelation increase his intuition and wisdom which make it totally different from unconsciousness and epilepsy.

"Do they not reflect that their companion has not unsoundness in mind; he is only a plain warner."
(7:184, 34:46)

If the conditions for and side-effects of receiving the Revelation were at the control of the Prophet himself, he should have been able to restore those conditions whenever he needed them in his dealing with the people. History witnesses otherwise; at a certain stage Revelation used to stop.¹⁶

In some stages revelation did not occur though it was very much necessary for settling problems in the society (for instance during the *ifk*¹⁷ problem etc). In certain cases the revelation was contrary to the promised strategy and the Almighty's endless blessing: "...and he not an advocate on behalf of the treacherous. And ask forgiveness of Allah; surely Allah is forgiving..." (4: 105-107)

"It is not fit for a prophet that he should take captives unless he has fought and triumphed in the land; you desire that frail goods of the world, while Allah desires (for you) the hereafter; and Allah is Mighty, Wise." (8:67)

"Allah pardon you! Why did you give them leave until those who spoke the truth had become manifest to you and you had known the liars?"
(9:43)

Man is free to express his inner intention. Some times due to certain expediencies man hides his inner aspirations; but if a man is a messenger, and his duty is to convey the message that he receives, he cannot hide the message, for his duty is to convey the message in its toto. In this case he cannot hide some part of the message. God's revelation cannot be hidden:

"...and you concealed in your soul what Allah would bring to light, and you feared men, and Allah had a greater right that you should fear Him..." (33:37)

The Prophet (ﷺ) is a mere follower so far as the message of the revelation is concerned: *"Nor of the unseen is he a tenacious concealer."* (81:24)

The Qur'an describes the revelation as an extraordinary phenomenon related to an unseen power which is beyond the access and interference of any body, even the Prophet himself:

"And surely they had purposed to turn you away from that which We have revealed to you, that you should forge against Us other than that, and then they would certainly have taken you for friend. And had it not been that We had already established you, you would certainly have been near to incline to them a little; In that case We would certainly have made you to taste a double (punishment) in this life and a double (punishment) after death, then you would not have found any helper against Us." (17:73-75)

"It is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds. And if he had fabricated against Us some of the sayings, We would certainly have seized him by the right hand, Then We would certainly have cut

off his throat. And not one of you could have withheld Us from him." (69:43-47)

Allah also announced to the believers that they should not be worried about the protection of the revelation: *"Surely We have revealed the Reminder and we will most surely be its guardian."* (15:9)

On the other hand, according to historical reports and the Qur'anic teachings, we see that in early days of the revelation the Prophet used to convey the message of the revelation very urgently in order to protect it whereas he was never anxious about his normal speeches and never worried about them. It was due to this reaction that in one of the revelations he was assured that he should not worry about conveying the message of the revelation, for Allah is responsible for collection and protection of the Qur'an:

"Do not move your tongue with it to make haste with it, Surely on Us (devolves) the collecting of it and the reciting of it. Therefore, when We have recited it, follow its recitation. Again on Us (devolves) the explaining of it." (75:16-19)

"Supremely exalted is therefore Allah, the King, the Truth; and do not make haste with the Qur'ān before its revelation is made complete to you and say: O my Lord! increase me in knowledge." (29:114)

Moreover, so far as the revelation is concerned, the Prophet did not rely on himself after he was appointed onto mankind, rather he was always waiting (for Allah's command). He found himself totally overpowered with the Almighty's power and pinned his hope on His blessing:

"And if We please, We should certainly take away that which We have revealed to you, then

you would not find for it any protector against Us. But on account of mercy from your Lord surely His grace to you is abundant." (17:86-87)

Of course, this verse reflects the dominant will of the Almighty.¹⁵¹

Contrary to intellectual endeavor and mental creations which demand a groundwork, revelation was not bound to any specific time or preparation. It was totally dependent on the will of the unseen revealing power, whether in sleep or in awake, at time of talking to others or attending friends or foes, in peace or war, happiness or sorrow, etc. Thus the Prophet (s) totally surrendered to this message and welcomed it full-heartedly. When he was asked to change the content of the revelation he said that he could not change the Qur'an nor the postponement of revelation was in his power:

"And when Our clear communications are recited to them, those who hope not for Our meeting say: Bring a Qur'an other than this or change it. Say: It does not beseech me that I should change it of myself; I follow naught but what is revealed to me; surely I fear, if I disobey my Lord, the punishment of a mighty day. Say: If Allah had desired (otherwise) I would not have recited it to you, nor would He have taught it to you; indeed I have lived a lifetime among you before it, do you not then understand?" (10:15-16)

However, the question of revelation and the method of its acquisition is open to investigation for the Prophet (s) and for others. This means that the Prophet (s), as a human being, can, and should, convince himself through a conceptual evaluation, that he is receiving the revelation from an authentic source:

"But if you are in doubt as to what We have revealed to you, ask those who read the Book be-

fore you: certainly the truth has come to you from your Lord, therefore you should not be of the disputers." (10:94)

Of course, this does not mean that the receiver of revelation should necessarily cast a doubt on the Qur'anic revelation, rather, it indicates that there are methods to prove the source of the revelation.^[15]

One of the topics the revelation tries to clarify is that the content of the revelation is unprecedented, is not available in the collections of man's knowledge or those of the conventional knowledge of the Prophet. At the same time the revelation elaborates on the universe, the beginning and the culmination of the world, historical facts, moral values, social concepts which are not available in man's collections of knowledge. The concepts discussed in the Qur'ān are so precise that it is clear that they have come from supernature:

"And thus did We reveal to you an inspired book by Our command. You did not know what the Book was, nor (what) the faith (way), but We made it a light, guiding thereby whom We please of Our servants; and most surely you show the way to the right path." (42:52)

Such addresses in the Qur'ān, which normally begin with "Say", demanding confession by the Prophet (s), indicate that the Prophet (s) had two distinct types of knowledge.^[16] on the one hand he had his personal knowledge like any other ordinary person and on the other the knowledge which is beyond the horizon of his thought and reason. These two types of knowledge have no similarities. The knowledge based on revelation is acquired after an infra-reason incident:

"And this have We revealed the Book to you. So those whom We have given the Book believe in it."

and of these there are those who believe in it and none deny our communications except the unbelievers. And you did not recite before it any book, nor did you transcribe one with your right hand, for then could those who say untrue things have doubted." (29:47-48)

"And when you bring them not a revelation they say: Why do you not forge it? Say: I only follow what is revealed to me from my Lord: these are clear proofs from your Lord and a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe." (7:203)

"Say: I do not say to you, I have with me the treasures of Allah, nor do I know the unseen, nor do I say to you that I am an angel; I do not follow aught save that which is revealed to me. Say: Are the blind and the seeing one alike? Do you not then reflect?" (6:50)

"Say: I do not control any benefit or harm for my own soul except as Allah please; and had I known the unseen I would have had much of good and no evil would have touched me: I am nothing but a warner and the giver of good news to a people who believe." (7:188)

"Say: It is a message of importance, And you are turning aside from it. I had no knowledge of the exalted chiefs when they contended. Naught is revealed to me save that I am a plain warner." (38:67-70)

"Nay! they say: He has forged it. Say: If I have forged it, you do not control any thing for me from Allah; He knows best what you utter concerning it; He is enough as a witness between me and you, and He is the Forgiving, the Merciful. Say: I am not the first of the apostles, and I do not know what will be done with me or with you: I do not follow anything but that which is revealed to me, and I am nothing but a plain warner." (46:8-9)

In some of the Qur'anic messages we come across a kind of clear limitation in the process of revelation which is meant to indicate that the issue of revelation is related to an unseen divine message totally distinct from the personal thought of the Prophet Muhammad (s), as a man:

"And certainly We sent apostles before you: there are some of them that We have mentioned to you and there are others whom We have not mentioned to you; and it was not meet for an apostle that he should bring a sign except with Allah's permission, but when the command of Allah came, judgment was given with truth, and those who treated (it) as a lie were lost." (40:78)

In cases that the Qur'an discusses the past events and unknown historical events for the Prophet (s) and the ummah to take lessons, it underlines that the main thrust of the revelation is not mentioning the historical events:

"These are announcements relating to the unseen which We reveal to you, you did not know them (neither) you nor your people before this; therefore be patient; surely the end is for those who guard (against evil)." (11:49)

Is it really possible to find out the facts behind the past events through conjecture, reason or intelligence? Has the Prophet (ﷺ) been a witness to those events or has he had a book on the past events in his possession? Is not it therefore, appropriate to ascribe his words, as he himself says, to an unseen source instead of thinking that they are his own brainchild?

*"And thus do We repeat the communications and that they may say: You have read; and that We may make it clear to a people who know."
(6:105)*

Of course, the irrational and those who do not want to follow reason will have their own interpretation:

*"And they say: The stories of the ancients—he has got them written—so these are read out to him morning and evening; Say: He has revealed it Who knows the secret in the heavens and the earth; surely He is ever Forgiving, Merciful."
(25:5-6)*

"Or do they say: There is madness in him? Nay! he has brought them the truth, and most of them are averse from the truth." (23:70)

Can we accept this presumption that the Prophet (ﷺ) used to ascribe his words to the unseen in order to increase their sanctity and influence among people? Indeed, the facts available on the revelation refute this presumption. This is only applicable to those politicians who consider the employment of any means lawful to achieve their own ends. The Prophet's precept and deeds contradict this presumption. The divine teachings of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) prove that in order to achieve the right goal, one should only em-

ploy the right means. Employing wrong means will not lead one to the right ends:

"And as for the good land, its vegetation springs forth (abundantly) by the permission of its Lord, and (as for) that which is inferior (its herbage) comes forth but scantily; thus do We repeat the communications for a people who give thanks." (7:58)

The Prophet (s) considered himself as much accountable to his message as he considered the people: *"Most certainly then We will question those to whom (the apostles) were sent, and most certainly We will also question the apostles."* (7:6)

"Say: I am not the first of the apostle, and I do not know what will be done with me or with you: I do not follow anything but that which is revealed to me, and I am nothing but a plain warner." (46:9)

In order to appease the Almighty, the Prophet (s) even used to forgo his personal aspirations. When the infidels cut the ear, nose and lips of his dear uncle in the Uhud war, he swore by god to take the revenge by do the same with 70 infidels, but a revelation called on him:

"And if you take your turn, then retaliate with the like of that with which you were afflicted; but if you are patient, it will certainly be best for those who are patient." (16:126)

He immediately forgave them, for God had ordained him to do so.¹¹

The strongest reason supporting the fact that revelation is the word of the Creator of the universe and that the Prophet (s) is only

a messenger of the divine word is that man is unable to produce a word similar to the divine word. It is difficult to accept that a layman offers knowledge which is beyond man's thought.^[13] Describing this worldly life, man, elaborating on the details of life and the hereafter, the destiny of man, the destiny of antecedents, elaboration of laws on human life in this world, and covering all aspects of collective and individual life are beyond the power of any teacher. There are billions of books on the social history of man, but none of them can claim to be as complete and comprehensive as the Qur'ân does:

"...We have revealed the Book to you explaining clearly everything, and a guidance and mercy and good news for those who submit." (26:89)

No human being dares to claim that his work is complete and indisputable.

Although one of the intellectual characteristics of man is his gradual evolution, the Qur'ân throughout the 23 years of revelation had a homogeneous pace in its letter and spirit so that the reader cannot distinguish between the earlier and later verses: *"Allah has revealed the best announcement, a book conformable in its various parts..." (39:23)*

Moreover, the social, scientific, cultural, religious, and ethical conditions prevailing Hijaz and Arabia could not expect a person with a carrier as a shepherd, trader and worshiper to bring a book like the Qur'ân. If the book was a personal production it should have at least reflected his personal characteristics, his morality, thought and literary style. But the ideas offered by the Book in some cases opposed the personal ideas of Muhammad or even destroyed his ideas.

In the revelations imparted by Muhammad onto mankind there are soothsayings about the world events^[14] that cannot be analyzed within the framework of experimental or intellectual calculations; elaboration on certain conventions from the view point

of the philosophy of history and the reasons for the fall of civilizations and human societies as well as the final triumph of the right over the wrong cannot be the work of any sociologist evolving theories on the basis of man's knowledge.¹⁴

"...Thus does Allah compare truth and falsehood; then as for the scum, it passes away as a worthless thing; and as for that which profits the people, it tarries in the earth; thus does Allah set forth parables." (13:17)

"Have you not considered how Allah sets forth a parable of a good word (thing) like a good tree, whose root is firm and whose branches are in heavens. Yielding its fruit in every season by the permission of its Lord? And Allah sets forth parables for men that they may be mindful." (14:24-26)

"Surely We have revealed the Reminder and We will most surely be its guardian." (15:9)

Which writer can claim that his book will remain eternal for ever as the best book? But the Qur'an speaks of its eternity in human history. These are the *Makkī* verses, the period that this intellectual movement had just began and there was no ground for it to spread. Such promises for a definite victory can only come from an unbeatable force which commands the whole universe. This is one of the messages of revelation in Mecca: *"And certainly Our word has already gone forth in respect of Our servants, the apostles; Most surely they shall be the assisted ones."* (37:171-172)

The resolution and guarantees that the Qur'an shows in its promises, convinces any reasonable man that the Qur'ānic words are the Almighty's words and He is the protector of this book

which cannot be falsified, (see 61:9). In some of the Qur'anic verses, it is emphasized that there is no match for the Qur'an:

"Say: If men and jinn should combine together to bring the like of this Qur'ān, they could not bring the like of it, though some of them were aiders of others." (17:88)

"And if you are in doubt as to that which We have revealed to Our servant, then produce a chapter like it and call on your witnesses besides Allah if you are truthful. But if you do (it) not and never shall you do (it) then be on your guard against the fire of which men and stones are the fuel; it is prepared for the unbelievers." (2:23-24)

Indeed, is not frightening if such words are asserted by an ordinary man? In some of Qur'anic verses we come across the issue of safeguarding the Prophet for completing his mission:

"And wait patiently for the judgment your Lord, for surely you are before Our eyes, and sing the praise of your Lord when you rise." (52:48)

"Therefore declare openly what you are bidden and turn aside from the polytheists. Surely We will suffice you against the scoffers" (15:94-95)

"O Apostle! deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allah will protect you from the people; surely Allah will not guide the unbelieving people." (5:67)

There are several powerful rulers who have been assassinated by their body guards or close friends. But if the promise of safeguarding the Prophet (s) was not a divine word then what would have been the guarantee to fulfilling that promise? How could the Prophet be confident about it? Siyūṭī says, the Prophet had appointed bodyguards who used to patrol his residence at night. When the above verse was revealed he dismissed them.¹⁶

Another point making a distinction between the personal thought of the Prophet and the divine revelation is making use of the prevailing literary style at the time of the revelation. We cannot overlook the fact that the Prophet's personal words and style were 40 years old, but they did not attract or surprise the Arab critics, whereas, the divine revelations were so strange that rendered every body helpless in interpreting them. The style and content of the Prophets' personal sayings are absolutely distinct from the divine revelation. The concepts in the Qur'an have been projected in a manner that render them matchless. Those who tried to produce a match for the Qur'an finally landed in a fiasco throughout the history. Whereas the personal words of the Prophet lack this characteristics.¹⁷ On the basis of this fact, attributing the teachings of the Qur'an to the Prophet himself is not scientifically acceptable.

At the time of the revelation, the Arabs were at the peak of literary eloquence and therefore men and women could easily distinguish the value of a piece of literature. There were several literature associations holding literary quiz. The best stanzas were written in gold and hung on the walls of Ka'ba. When the Qur'an was introduced, all those pieces lost their attraction and were brought down from the walls of Ka'ba. The divine charisma of the Qur'an enchanted every body.¹⁸ The passage of time could not reduce its attraction or render it a monotonous or old piece of literature:

Allah is the Greatest! Definitely the precept and Book of Muḥammad are the strongest and firmest words. Do not compare the previous books with it, for the Sun has risen, hence, overshadowing the lantern.¹⁹

This is, therefore, clear that the source of revelation, appearing without the influence and will of the receiver, as confessed by the prophet—the unique witness who personally and directly received this message—and in the light of assessing his life and the problems of his time, the Qur'an is a matchless phenomenon which is not his brainchild. Hence, there is no any alternative than accepting that this extra-scientific phenomenon was beyond his personal ability and thought. It was the result of the intuition and revelation from the unseen world.[20] Any attempt to attribute the revelation that occurred to Prophet Muhammad to human being will be of no avail.

Notes

1. This characteristics is not applicable to any other divine Script or Prophet. Jesus is the last Prophet in the chain of Banu Isra'il Prophets who is closer to the time of revelation to Prophet Muhammad. There are numerous doubts on the events narrated on his life and his message to the extent that in certain writings he has been referred to as a myth. See, Muhammad Jawad Mughniyah, *al-Hudā Ilā Dīn al-Muṣṭafā*, Vol. 1, Chapter 1; Shaykh Rahmatullah Hindi, *Izhar al-Haqq*, PP. 59-180, Morris Dukai, *Torah, Bible, Qur'an and science*; Russian Academy of Science, *Fundamentals of Christianity*.
2. The Quraysh, spearheaded by Abu Sufyān, went to Heracles, the Empire of Rome, complaining about the Prophet. He asks: Do you think he is a liar? Abu Sufyān says: No. He asks: Do you think he is a traitor? They say: No... See *Sabul al-Hudā Wa al-Riskād Ilā Sirah Khayr al-'Uūd*, 11:354.
3. Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, *Bihār al-Anwār*, 18:270; Saduq, *Amāl*, P. 31.
4. See Nāṣir Makarim Shirazi, *Tafīr Nimūnah*, 13:173.
5. It refers to the baselessness of the episode about Warqah bin Nufal. For more information see, Muhammad Hādī Ma'rīfat, *Al-Tarshūd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1:52

6. For more information see, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1:83; *Bihār al-Anwār*, 18:197.
7. *Bihār al-Anwār*, 18:197, see also the Qur'ān 24:11.
8. See *Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī*, *Al-Mizān*, verses 24:11.
9. *Al-Mizān*, 10:122.
10. *Al-Mizān*, 18:77; *Mālik bin Naḥl*, *Qur'ān Padideh Shigirf*, P. 130.
11. See *Al-Mizān*, 12:377.
12. See *Torah, Bible, Qur'ān and science, last chapter; Muḥammad Arghawān*, *Islam Dīrūz va Imrūz*, chapters 1&2.
13. *Besides foreseeing on the defeat of infidels of Mecca:*

"Or do they say *We are host allied together to help each other?* Soon shall the hosts be routed, and they shall turn (their) backs." (54:44-45)
14. See *Ḥamid Muqaddam*, *Sunnathāye Ḥīmāi Dar Qur'ān; Murtaḍā Mujaḥhari*, *Jāmi'ah wa Tāsīkh*, P. 190.
15. *Al-Mizān*, 6:42.
16. *Jalālud-dīn Siyāṭi*, *Aldur al-Manthūr*.
17. *Al-Tamhīd fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 4:191-254.
- See *Unwā Farrukh*, *Tārīkh al-Ādād al-'Arabī*, 1:246.
19. *Muḥammad Rashīd Riḳā*, *Al-wahy al-Muḥammadi*, P. 66.
20. *'Abdullāh Dawrūz*, *Al-Nabū al-'Azīm*, P. 76.

Concept of Kitāb in the Qur'ān

Muhammad Hadi Ma'rifat

Translated by A.N. Baqirshahi

The word *kitāb* means to collect and its root is *Katb*. Ahmad Ibn Fāris says that the letters *k*, *t*, and *b* constitute the roots of the word *kitāb*. Words like *kitābat* and *kitāb* are derived from the same root. Raghīb Isfahānī, the renowned scholar of Isfahan of the fifth century Hijra and the author of *Mufradāt al-Fāz al-Qur'ān* writes: "*katb* means to stitch two pieces of skins or bring those two pieces together." Writing is called *kitābat* is 'the written' for by it the letters and words are put together. Ibn Faris states that when the beads are collected in a thread, it is called *Kutbah*. Thus *Khurzah* (bead) is called *Kutbah* and its plural is *kutab* as the plural of *Khurzah* is *Khuraz*. Raghīb further writes. *Kitābat* in principle is a kind of assembly or joining words to each other. Sometimes the term '*Kitabat*' refers to discourse which may not in written form. Accordingly Divine word is also *kitāb*. Consider the following verses: "*That is kitāb (the book), wherein is no doubt*" (2.1) though it is not in written form. "*He said, lo, I am God's servant; God has given me kitāb (the book)*" (19.30). Here *Kitāb* refers to Divine word. *Kitāb* in the above-mentioned verse refers to *Shari'ah* (religious law). *Kitāb* refers also to sentences when they are put together. Raghīb is of the view that *Kitāb* refers to whatsoever is obligatory. For, any written material is first planned, pre-determined or demanded. In other words, a project is usually first decided upon then appears in written form. It can be said that will is the origin and the *kitābat* is its end. Therefore, they give the name of the end to what is willed to stress the will. Even in the Qur'ān the word *kataba* refers to whatever is obligatory and

indispensable. Take for instance the following verses of the Qur'an:

"God has written, 'I shall assuredly be the victor, I and My Messengers.' Surely God is All-strong, All-mighty." (58:21)

"Say: 'Naught shall visit us but what God has written for us.'" (9:51)

"Those related by blood are nearer to one another in the book of God." (8:75)

"And therein We wrote for them: a life for a life" (5:45)

"Prescribed for you, when any of you is visited by death, and he leaves behind some good, is to make testament in favour of his parents and kinsmen honorably-an obligation on the God-fearing." (2:180)

"O. Believers, prescribed for you is the fast." (2:179)

Hence, prescription is also a kind of *Kitābat*, for it brings letters and words together. Similarly, *Kitāb* in Arabic means book, for it unites written pages. *Kitāb* denotes to Divine commandments when it appears in the form of *Shari'ah* (religious law) and written form. Divine commandments (writing) are obligatory for the public. *"Surely the prayer is a timed prescription for the believers."* (4:103)

The term *Kitāb* has the following meanings in the Qur'ān

1. *Shari'ah* (religious law): Divine commandments and man's duties, both collective and individual, are in *Kitābat* (written) form. Usually, people are asked to follow religious commandments. And what is asked from them is usually written and gathered in a book. This sense of *Kitāb* is repeated 120 times in the Qur'an:

When Prophet Jesus(s) was an infant, lying in his cradle said:

"He said, 'Lo, I am God's servant: God has given me the book, and made me a Prophet. Blessed He made me, wherever I may be: and He enjoined me to pray, and to give the alms, so long as I live.'" (19:30-31).

At that time the Prophet (s) had not received any book or written order thus, *Kitāb* in this verse refers to *Shari'ah*. He was a prophet with a *Shari'ah* and religious commandments and it was obligatory for people to obey him.

A quick look at the verse 110 of the 5th chapter of the holy Qur'an (...and when I taught thee the Book, the wisdom, the Torah, the Gospel...) indicates that in certain cases *kitab* neither refers to the Bible nor to the Torah, but it means *Shari'ah*. This verse underlines that God taught *Shari'ah* and *Hikmah* (wisdom) as well as the Bible and the Torah to the Jesus. Let us study the following verse of the Qur'an as well. "Our Lord, do Thou send among them a messenger, one of them, who shall recite to them Thy signs, and teach them the book and the wisdom, and purify them." (2:129)

Here reciting refers to bringing the divine signs to their notice. He further states that He taught them the Book, i.e., *Shari'ah* and *Hikmah* to purify them. He never means to teach them the Qur'an. In all verses containing the phrases, "Teach them the book" and "Teach thee the book," teaching the Book refers to teaching the rules of *Shari'ah*. Take for instance the following verses of the Qur'an: 2:151-282, 3:164, 62:2.

Therefore, the phrase "O people of book" which refers to Jews and Christians in the Qur'an, in fact refers to people of *Shari'ah* and has nothing to do with written book. So if it is proved that Zoroastrians and Buddhists had heavenly *Shari'ah*, then they could be considered as "people of the book" regardless of having a divine book or not.

In the verse: "True piety is this: to believe in God, and the Prophets, the angels, the book, and the Prophets..." (2:173), the book refers to *Shari'ah* and divine duties, to be followed accordingly. The book in this verse does not concern the book of the Prophets, for, it is not in plural form while angels and the Prophets are plural. Since *Shari'ah* is one, therefore, the book in this verse is written in singular form.

"The people were one nation; then God sent forth the Prophets, good tidings to bear and warning, and He sent down with them the book with the truth ... (2:13)". In the above verse, the word book refers to *Shari'ah*, for it was *Shari'ah* that was always with the Prophets not the book, because, most of them had no books. Thus, here also book refers to *Shari'ah*.

As a general fact wherever in the Qur'an, 'the book' is accompanied with the word 'wisdom', it signifies *Shari'ah*, as it is the case the following verse: "...And remember God's blessing upon you, and the book and the wisdom He has sent down on you, to admonish you." (2:231)

In the verse: "And when God took compact with the Prophets: 'that I have given you of book and wisdom; then there shall come to you a Messenger confirming what is with you - you shall believe in him and you shall help him';" (3:81). On the basis of the following two reasons the book refers to *Shari'ah*: i) book is followed by wisdom; ii) it addresses all the Prophets.

In the following verse: "Yet We gave the people of Abraham the book and the wisdom, and We gave them a mighty kingdom." (4:54), it was *Shari'ah* which was given to the people of Abraham not the book. Indeed, the people of Abraham received special attention of the Almighty. Therefore, He gave them a mighty king-

dom. Same connotation is inferred from the following verses: (2:129-151), (3:48-164), (4:113), (5:110), (62:2).

2. Scripture: Another meaning of '*Kitab*' is the book or scripture which has been referred to in the Qur'ān eighty times. For instance, the following verses denote to the same meaning: "*Not before this didst thou recite any Book, or inscribe it with thy right hand,*" (29:48). "*Take this book (i.e., letter) of mine and cast it unto them, then turn back from them and see what they shall return.*" She said, *O Council, see, a letter honorable has been cast unto me. It is from Solomon, and it is "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Rise not up against me, but come to me in surrender."* (27:28-31)

"*Said he who possessed knowledge of the book,*" (27:40). There are differences of opinion regarding the meaning of the book in this verse. Some exegetes are of the view that it refers to the 'Guarded Tablet' which originated from the eternal knowledge of God. Others consider it 'The Greatest Name (of God)'. Majority of scholars consider it a ray of divine knowledge. [2] However, it probably refers to the knowledge of the written material which implies being knowledgeable and dealing with books. For instance, in the following verse: "*Say: 'God suffices a witness between me and you, and whosoever possesses knowledge of the book.'*" (13:40), knowledge of the book means being learned, for, the learned usually follows the truth. The following verses support this view:

"Say: Believe in it, or believe not those who were given the knowledge before it when it is recited to them, fall down upon their faces prostrating," (17:107)

"And that they who have been given knowledge may know that it is the truth from thy Lord and believe in it, and so their hearts be humble unto Him," (22:54)

"Those who have been given the knowledge see that what has been sent down to thee from thy Lord is the truth...." (34:6)

"God bears witness that there is no god but He and the angels, and men possessed of knowledge," (3:18)

"Was it not a sign for them, that it is known to the learned of the Children of Israel?" (26:197)

In sum, the Qur'an has given a high position to the learned. According to the Qur'an those who possess the knowledge of the Book and believe in the Truth, are the same learned who deal with books.

3. Eternal Divine Knowledge: Another meaning of the *Kitāb* is related to Eternal Divine Knowledge and this sense of the word is used twenty times in the Qur'ān. However, different phrases are used such as *Kitābun Mubīn*, *Kitāhun M'a'lūm*, *Ummul Kitāb*, *Al-Kitāb*, etc. All these terms signify the Eternal Divine Knowledge. Elsewhere, we across the term *al-Luh al-Mahfūz* (Guarded Tablet).

"With Him are the keys of the Unseen; none knows them but He. He knows what is in land and sea; not a leaf falls, but He knows it. Not a grain in the earth's shadows, not a thing, fresh or withered, but it is in a kitābun Mubīn (Manifest Book)." (6:59)

Kitābun Mubīn is an explicit scripture devoid of any error or ambiguity, that is, everything is clear for us like a clear script.

"And not so much as the weight of an ant in earth or heaven escapes from thy Lord, neither is

ought smaller than that, or greater, but in a Kitābun Mubīn (Manifest Book)." (10:61)

"No creature is there crawling on the earth, but its provision rests on God: He knows its lodging-place and its repository. All is in a Kitābun Mubīn (Manifest Book)." (11:6)

Here lodging-place and repository refer to eternal and ephemeral places.

"And not a thing is there hidden in heaven and earth but it is in a Kitābun Mubīn (Manifest Book)." (27:75) This verse indicates that every thing exists in eternal knowledge of God.

Likewise, *Kitābun Ḥafīz (Recording Book)* and *Kitābun Maḥmūn (Hidden Book)* in the following verses refer to Guarded Tablet, i.e., Eternal Divine Knowledge.

"We know what the earth diminishes of them; with Us is a Kitābun Ḥafīz (Recording Book)." (50:4)

"It is surely a noble Qur'ān in a Kitābun Maḥmūn (Hidden Book), none but the purified shall touch." (56:78)

Ummul Kitāb (Essence of the Book), mentioned twice in the Qur'ān, refers to 'Guarded Tablet' which is the source of all learnings.

"God blots out, and He establishes whatsoever He will; and with Him is the Ummul Kitāb (Essence of the Book)." (13:39)

That is, *Ummul Kitāb (Essence of the Book)* is with God and He knows what will happen.

"Behold, We have made it an Arabic Qur'ān; haply you will understand; and behold, it is in

the Unmud Kitāb (Essence of the Book), with Us: sublime indeed, wise." (43:3-4)

4. Destiny And Measurement: One of the meanings of the *Kitāb* in the Qur'ān is destiny and measurement:

"No creature is there crawling on the earth, no bird flying with its wings, but they are nations like unto yourselves. We have neglected nothing in the Book;..." (6:38)

"And everything We have numbered in a Book." (78:29)

"And We decreed for the children of Israel in the Book: 'you shall do corruption in the earth twice, and you shall ascend exceeding high,'" (17:4)

"No city is there, but We shall destroy it before the Day of Resurrection, or We shall chastise it with a terrible chastisement; that is in the Book inscribed." (17:58)

The following verses also bear the same meaning: (20:52), (22:5), and (8:68) .

5. The Qur'ān: Another meaning of the *Kitāb* is the Qur'ān. As it is known, the Qur'ān is a Divine revelation in the form of a scripture. It is called Qur'ān, for it is read. It is called *Kitāb*, for it is a script. Thus, both Qur'ān and *Kitāb* are used for this book. Following verses signify these names:

"God it is Who has sent down the Book with the Truth, and also the Balance." (42:17)

*"By the Clear Book, behold. We have made it an
Arabic Qur'ān; haply you will understand;"*
(43:1-2)

"That is the Book, wherein is no doubt," (2:2)

In the Qur'an, *Kiṭāb* refers to the Qur'an itself in more than forty cases.

“Al-Ghadīr” and Its Relevance to Islamic Unity

Ayatullah Murtaza Mutahhari
Translated by Mojgan Jalali

The distinguished book entitled “*al-Ghadīr*” has raised a huge wave in the world of Islam. Islamic thinkers have shed lights on the book in different perspectives; in literature, history, theology, tradition, *tafsir*, and sociology. From the social perspective we can deal with the Islamic unity. In this review the Islamic unity has been dealt with from social point of view.

Contemporary Muslim thinkers and reformists are of the view that unity and solidarity of Muslims are the most imperative Islamic exigencies at the present juncture when the enemies have made extensive inroads upon the Islamic community and try to resort to different ways and means to spread the old differences and create new ones. We are aware that Islamic unity and fraternity is the focus of attention of the Holy Legislator of Islam and is actually the major objective pursued by this Divine religion, as confirmed by the Qur'an, the “Sunnah”, and the history of Islam.

For this reason, some people have been faced with this question: Wouldn't the compilation and publication of a book such as “*al-Ghadīr*” which deals with the oldest issue of differences among the Muslims — create a barrier in the way of the sublime and lofty objective of the Islamic unity?

To answer this question, it is necessary first to elucidate the essence of this issue, that is, the Islamic unity and then proceed to examine the role of the magnum opus entitled “*al-Ghadīr*” and its eminent compiler ‘Allāmah Amini in bringing about Islamic unity.

Islamic Unity

What is meant by the Islamic unity? Does it mean that one Islamic school of thought should be unanimously followed and others be set aside? Or does it mean that the commonalities of all Islamic schools of thought should be taken up and their differences be put away to make up a new denomination which is not completely the same as the previous ones? Or does it mean that Islamic unity is in no way related to the unity of the different schools of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) but signifies the unity of the Muslims and the unity of the followers of different schools of *Fiqh*, with their different religious ideas and views, vis-à-vis the aliens?

To give an illogical and impractical meaning to the issue of the Islamic unity, the opponents of the issue have called it a formation of single *Madhhab*, so that to make it defeated in the very first step. Without doubt, by the term Islamic unity, the intellectual Islamic '*Ulama*' (scholars) do not mean that all denominations should give in to one denomination or that the commonalities should be taken up and the different views and ideas be set aside, as these are neither rational and logical nor favorable and practical. By the Islamic unity these scholars mean that all Muslims should unite in one line against their common enemies.

These scholars state that Muslims have many things in common, which can serve as the foundations of a firm unity. All Muslims worship the One Almighty and believe in the Prophethood of the Holy Prophet (s). The Qur'an is the Book of all Muslims and Ka'abah is their "*qiblah*" (direction of prayer). They go to *hajj* pilgrimage with each other and perform the "*hajj*" rites and rituals like one another. They say the daily prayers and fast like each other. They establish families and engage in transactions like one another. They have similar ways of bringing up their children and burying their dead. Apart from minor affairs, they share similarities in all the aforementioned cases. Muslims also share one kind of world view, one common culture, and one grand, glorious, and long-standing civilization.

Unity in the world view, in culture, in the civilization, in insight and disposition, in religious beliefs, in acts of worship and prayers, in social rites and customs can well turn the Muslims into a unified nation to serve as a massive and dominant power before which the big global powers would have to bow down. This is especially true in view of the stress laid by Islam on this principle. According to the explicit wording of the Qur'an, the Muslims are brothers, and special rights and duties link them together. So, then, why shouldn't the Muslims use all these extensive facilities accorded to them as the blessing of Islam?

This group of 'Ulamā' are of the view that there is no need for the Muslims to make any compromise on the primary or secondary principles of their religion for the sake of Islamic unity. Also it is not necessary for the Muslims to avoid engaging in discussions and reasons and writing books on primary and secondary principles about which they have differences. The only consideration for Islamic unity in this case is that the Muslims — in order to avoid the emergence or accentuation of vengeance — preserve their self-possession, avoid insulting and accusing each other and uttering fabrications, abandon ridiculing the logic of one another, and finally abstain from hurting one another and going beyond the borders of logic and reasoning. In fact, they should, at least, observe the limits which Islam has set forth for inviting non-Muslims to embrace it:

"Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good exhortation, and have disputations with them in the best manner..." (16:125)

Some people are of the view that those schools of *fiqh* such as Shāfi'i and Hanafi which have not differences in principles can establish brotherhood and stand in one line. They believe that denominations which have differences in the principles can in no way be brothers. This group view the religious principles as an interconnected set as termed by scholars of *Uṣūl*, as interrelated and in-

interdependent set, any damage on one principle harms all principles. As a result, those who believe in this principle are of the view that when, for instance, the principle of "*imāmah*" is damaged and victimized, unity and fraternity will bear no meaning and for this reason the Shi'ah and the Sunnis cannot shake hands as two Muslim brothers and be in the same rank, no matter who their enemy is.

The first group answers this group by saying: "There is no reason for us to consider the principles as an interrelated set and follow the principle of "all or none". Imam 'Ali (‘a) chose a very logical and reasonable approach. He left no stone unturned to retrieve his right. He used everything within his power to restore the principle of "*imāmah*", but he never adhered to the motto of "all or none". 'Ali (‘a) did not rise up for his right, and that was not compulsory. On the contrary, it was a calculated and chosen approach. He did not fear death. Why didn't he rise up? There could have been nothing above martyrdom. Being killed for the cause of the Almighty was his ultimate desire. He was more intimate with martyrdom than a child is with his mother's breast. But in his sound calculations, Imam 'Ali (‘a) had reached the conclusion that under the existing conditions it was to the interest of Islam to foster collaboration and cooperation among the Muslims and give up revolt. He repeatedly stressed this point.

In one of his letters (No. 62 -- "*Nahj al-Bai'ghah*") to Malik al-Ashtar, he wrote the following.

"First I pulled back my hand until I realized that a group of people converted from Islam and invited the people toward annihilating the religion of Muhammad (s). So I feared that if I did not rush to help Islam and the Muslims, I would see gaps or destruction which calamity would be far worse than the several-day-long demise of caliphate."

In the six-man council, after appointment of 'Uthmān by 'Abdul-Rahmān ibn 'Awf, 'Alī ('a) set forth his objection as well as his readiness for collaboration as follows: "

You well know that I am more deserving than others for caliphate. But now by Allah, so long as the affairs of the Muslims are in order and my rivals suffice with setting me aside and only I am alone subjected to oppression, I will not oppose (the move) and will give in (to it)." (From Sermon 72, "*Nahj al-Balāgha*").

These indicate that in this issue 'Alī ('a) condemned the principle of "all or none". There is no need to further elaborate on the approach taken by 'Alī ('a) toward this issue. There are ample historical proofs and reasons in this regard.

'Allāmah Amīnī

Now it is time to see to which group the eminent 'Allāmah, Ayatullah Amīnī — the distinguished compiler of the "*al-Ghadir*"

belonged and how he thought. Did he approve the unity of the Muslims only within the light of Shi'ism? Or did he consider Islamic fraternity to be broader? Did he believe that Islam which is embraced by uttering the "*shahadatayn*" (the Muslim creed) would willy-nilly create some rights for the Muslims and that the brotherhood and fraternity set forth in the Qur'an exists among all Muslims?

'Allāmah Amīnī personally considered this point — i.e. the need to elucidate his viewpoint on this subject and elaborate on whether "*al-Ghadir*" has a positive or a negative role in (the establishment of) Islamic unity. In order not to be subject to abuse by his opponent — be they among the pros and cons — he has repeatedly explained and elucidated his views.

'Allāmah Amīnī supported Islamic unity and viewed it with an open mind and clear insight. On different occasions, he set forth

this matter in various volumes of the "*al-Ghadiq*". Reference will be made to some of them below:

In the Preface to Volume I, he briefly mentions the role of "*al-Ghadiq*" in the world of Islam. He states: "And we consider all this as service to religion, sublimation of the word of the truth, and restoration of the Islamic '*ummah*' (community)."

In Volume 3 (page 77), after quoting the fabrications of Ibn Taymiyah, Alusi, and Qasimi to the effect that Shi'ism is hostile to some of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the Household of the Prophet) such as Zayd bin 'Ali bin al-Huseyn, he notes the following under the title of "Criticism and Correction":

"These fabrications and accusations sow the seeds of corruption, stir hostilities among the '*ummah*', create discord among the Islamic community, divide the '*ummah*', and clash with the public interests of the Muslims.

Again in Volume 3 (page 268), he quotes the accusation leveled on the Shi'ahs by Sayyid Muhammad Rashid Ridā to the effect that "Shi'ahs are pleased with any defeat incurred by Muslims, so much as they celebrated the victory of the Russians over the Muslims." Then he says:

"These falsehoods are fabricated by persons like Sayyid Muhammad Rashid Ridā The Shi'ahs of Iran and Iraq against whom this accusation is leveled, as well as the orientologists, tourists, envoys of Islamic countries, and those who traveled and still travel to Iran and Iraq, have no information about this trend. Shi'ahs, without exception, respect the lives, blood, reputation, and property of the Muslims — be they Shi'ahs or Sunnis. Whenever a calamity has befallen the Islamic community anywhere, in any region, and for any sects, the Shi'ahs have shared their sorrow. The Shi'ahs have never confined to the Shi'ahs

world, the (concept of) Islamic brotherhood which has been set forth in the Qur'an and the 'sunna' (the Prophet's sayings and actions), and in this respect, no discrimination has been made between the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis."

Also at the close of Volume 3, he criticizes several books penned by the ancients such as "*Eqd al-Farid*" by Ibn Abd alrab-bah, "*al-Intiqār*" by Abu al-Uṣayn Khayyāt al-Mu'tazilī, "*al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*" by Abu Maṣ'ūr al-Baḡhdādī, "*al-Fayṣ*" by Ibn Hazm al-Andalusī, "*al-Mīlāl wa al-Nihāl*" by Muḥammad ibn Ab-dul-Karīm al-Shahrīstānī, "*Minhāj al-Sunna*" by Ibn Taymīyah, and "*al-Bid'iyah Wal al-Nahāyah*" by Ibn Kathīr, and several books by the later writers such as "*Tārīkh al-Ummah al-Islāmiyyah*" by Shaykh Muḥammad Khizri, "*Fajr al-Islām*" by Ahmad Amin, "*al-Jawāb fi Rab' al-Shar' al-Adab*" by Muḥammad Thābit al-Masri, "*al-Shurū' Bayn al-Islām wa al-Wathānīyah*" by Qasimī, and "*al-Washī'ah*" by Musa Jarallāhī. Then he states the following.

"By quoting and criticizing these books, we aim at warning and awakening the Islamic 'ummah' (to the fact) that these books create the greatest danger for the Islamic community, they destabilize the Islamic unity and scatter the Muslim lines. In fact nothing can disrupt the ranks of the Muslims, destroy their unity, and tear their Islamic fraternity more severely than these books."

Allamah Amini, in the Preface to Volume 5, under the title of "*Nazarat al-Karimah*" on the occasion of a plaque of honor forwarded from Egypt for the "*al-Jihad*", clearly sets forth his view on this issue and leaves no room for any doubt. He remarks:

"People are free to express views and ideas on religion. These (views and ideas) will never tear apart the bond of Islamic brotherhood to which the Holy Qur'an has referred by stating that

'surely the believers are brethren'; even though academic discussion and theological and religious debates reach a peak. This has been the style of the predecessors, and of the '*sahāba*' and the '*tābi'ūn*', at the head of them.

"Notwithstanding all the differences that we have in the primary and secondary principles, we, the compilers and writers in nooks and corners of the world of Islam, share a common point and that is belief in the Almighty and His Prophet. A single spirit and one (form of) sentiment exists in all our bodies, and that is the spirit of Islam and the term '*ikhiāṣ*.'"

"We, the Muslim compilers, all live under the banner of truth and carry out our duties under the guidance of the Qur'an and the Prophetic Mission of the Holy Prophet (s). The message of all of us is 'Surely the (true) religion with Allah is Islam ... (3:18)' and the slogan of all of us is 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger.' Indeed, we are (the members of) the party of Allah and the supporters of His religion".

In the Preface to Volume 8, under the title of "*al-Ghadr Yowahhad al-Shufi fil-Mila al-Islami*", 'Allamah Amini directly makes researches into the role of "*Al-Ghadr*" in (the establishment of) Islamic unity. In this discussion, this great scholar categorically rejects the accusations leveled by those who said: "*Al-Ghadr*" causes greater discord among the Muslims. He proves that, on the contrary, "*Al-Ghadr*" removes many misunderstandings and brings the Muslims closer to one another. Then he brings evidence by mentioning the confessions of the non-Shi'i Islamic scholars. At

the close, he quotes the letter of Shaykh Muhammad Saeed Dahduli written in this connection.

To avoid prolongation of this article, we will not quote and translate the entire statements of 'Allamah Amini in explaining the positive role of "*al-Ghadir*" in (establishing) Islamic unity, since what has already been mentioned sufficiently proves this fact.

The positive role of "*al-Ghadir*" is established by the facts that it firstly clarifies the proven logic of the Shi'ahs and proves that the inclination of Muslims to Shi'ism — notwithstanding the poisonous publicity of some people — is not due to political, ethnic, or other trends and considerations. It also verifies that a powerful logic based on the Qur'an and the "*sunnah*" has given rise to this tendency.

Secondly, it reflects that some accusations leveled on Shi'ism — which have made other Muslims distanced from the Shi'ahs — are totally baseless and false. Examples of these accusations are the notion that the Shi'ites prefer the non-Muslims to the non-Shi'i Muslims, rejoice at the defeat of non-Shi'ite Muslims at the hands of non-Muslims, and other accusations such as the idea that instead of going to *hajj* pilgrimage, the Shi'ahs go on pilgrimage to the shrines of the Imams, or have particular rites in prayers and in temporary marriage.

Thirdly, it introduces to the world of Islam the eminent Commander of the faithful 'Ali ('a) who is the most oppressed and the least praised grand Islamic personality and who could be the leader of all Muslims, as well as his pure offspring.

Other Comments on "*al-Ghadir*"

Many unbiased non-Shia Muslims interpret the "*al-Ghadir*" in the same way that has already been mentioned.

Muhammad Abdul-Ghani Hasan al-Mesri, in his foreword on the "*al-Ghadir*", which has been published in the Preface to Volume I, second edition, states:

"I call on the Almighty to make your limpid brook (in Arabic, '*Ghadir*' means brook) the cause of peace and cordiality between the Shia and Sunni brothers to cooperate with one another in building the Islamic '*ummah*'."

'Adil Ghadban, the managing editor of the Egyptian magazine entitled "*al-Kutub*", said the following in the Preface to Volume 3:

"This book clarifies the Shi'ite logic. The Sunnis can correctly learn about the Shi'i through this book. Correct recognition of the Shi'ahs brings the views of the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis closer, and they can make a unified rank".

In his foreword to the "*al-Ghadir*" which was published in the Preface to Volume 4, Dr. Muhammad Ghallab, professor of philosophy at the Faculty of Religious Studies al-Azhar University, said:

"I got hold of your book at a very opportune time, because right now I am busy collecting and compiling a book on the lives of the Muslims from various perspectives. Therefore, I am highly avid for obtaining sound information about 'Imamiyah' Shi'ism. Your book will help me. And I will not make mistakes about the Shi'ahs as others have".

In this foreword published in the Preface to Volume 4 of the "*al-Ghadir*", Dr. 'Abdul-Rahman Khatib Jalabi says the following after referring to the decline of the Muslims in the present age and the factors which can lead to the Muslims' salvation, one of which is the sound recognition of the successor of the Holy Prophet (ﷺ):

"The book entitled '*al-Ghadir*' and its rich content deserves to be known by every Muslim to

learn how historians have been negligent and see where the truth lies. Through this means, we should compensate for the past, and by striving to foster the unity of the Muslims, we should try to gain the due rewards”.

These were the views of ‘Allamah Amīnī about the important social issues of our age and such were his sound reflections in the world of Islam.

Peace be upon him.

Science of Jurisprudence and *Verstehen* Sociology

Gholam Reza Ura'ee
Translated by Mojgan Jalali

There is no doubt that the science of Fiqh (jurisprudence) as one of the disciplines of Islamic science, has used sundry modes and molds over its past history. To this end, various branches of learning, such as logic, literature, exegeses, history, etc., have assisted the science of fiqh (jurisprudence). In this regard, an especial reference can be made to a number of modern branches of science and their methods which can be useful to the completion and richness of the jurisprudential understanding of Islam. For instance, new linguistic discussions are relevant to the issues of *alfāz* (utterances) in 'Ilm al-Uṣūl (Discipline of Jurisprudence) and interpretation of the religious texts.

The present article is a proposal for the application of one of the disciplines of sociology, i.e. *verstehen* sociology. The author endeavors to deal with the Weber's *verstehen* sociology and the possibility of applying it to the science of *fiqh* (jurisprudence). Indeed, such discussions are the beginning of treading yet unexplored avenues, and will naturally rise various questions in minds. But on the whole, it is hoped that these surveys would bear fruit and yield positive results.

This article concerns those who are familiar with the science of *fiqh* or *verstehen* sociology. By *verstehen* sociology it means that approach in sociology which was developed by Max Weber the renowned German sociologist (1864-1920). The author believes that the reader's awareness of one of these two sciences will enable him to grasp the main thrust of this issue. Actually, the present ar-

field could have dealt in detail with both branches of learning, namely the science of *fiqh* and its principles on the one hand and *verstehen* sociology on the other and finally presented a comparative analysis and evaluation of the two. But the esteemed readers are fully aware that it is not possible to do so in a single article.

The present article will initially provide a brief account of Weberian approach in sociology and then points to some issues in *fiqh* and their rules in the science of *uṣūl* (the principle of *fiqh*). A comparison will, then, be made between the two disciplines. I hope this article would be useful for the esteemed readers and try to pursue them to embark upon further studies and evaluation of the two disciplines.

An Outline of *Verstehen* Sociology

Max Weber (1864-1920) is among the prominent and renowned European sociologists. The methodological position of Weber, as set out in the opening section of his posthumously published *magnum opus*, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, can be seen as a careful and judicious blend of elements of Mill's scientism and Dilthey's conception of *Geisteswissenschaft*. Weber agrees with Dilthey that there is a radical difference between the social and natural sciences; the former can accomplish something that is never attainable in the natural science namely subjective understanding of their object, human action, whereas the objects studied by natural science cannot be so understood, but only observed, and explained in terms of causal uniformities generalized from any natural science, such as psychology. But it does not follow that the concept of causation is inapplicable to the social science, as Weber makes clear in his celebrated definition of sociology as a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects. In Weber's view of social science, causal explanation and interpretive understanding go hand in hand.¹

Weber is of the view that sociology is the science of understanding social actions.² He perceives that sociology deals with social behavior and behavior in turn can be meaningful or meaningless. Meaningful behavior can be individual or collective. He, therefore, believes that sociology deals with the meaningful and intended behavior of acting individual.

By surveying the meaningful behavior that emerges in relation with others, sociology aims primarily at understanding the meaning that the subject has had in mind for his action. Action will be deemed human behavior only when the agent or agents engage in a kind of action that has subjectively intended meaning. Such behavior might be internal or external. It might even embrace the action or abandonment of the action.

The term social behavior will be used to refer to activities which are related to the behavior of others and which are directed on their basis in accordance with the meaning and intention that the agents have in mind.²

Social behavior which includes non-action, submission or give in to the fate, might be related to the past, present, or future behavior of others.³

In view of the special stress laid by *verstehen* sociology on understanding social behavior, I will refer to Weber's explanations of the notion of understanding by saying that; The task of sociology is verily the interpretation of man's meaningful behavior.⁴ He says that understanding means apprehending the meaning, and interpretation means expression of the subjective meaning in the form of systematic concepts."⁵

Max Weber made a clear distinction between direct understanding (*aktuelles Verstehen*), for example understanding the utterance of the proposition 2+2=4 or the action of pointing a gun at an animal, and explanatory understanding (*erklärendes Verstehen*), that is understanding a person's motive in so acting.⁶

Faqih And Sociologist Task: A Parallelism

In the methodology of the science of *fiqh* (jurisprudence), which is known as the *ʿIlm al-uṣūl* (Discipline of Jurisprudence), *Dalīl-e sharʿī* (religious indicative proof) is defined as follows:

Dalīl-e sharʿī (religious indicative proof) refers to whatever is issued by *sharʿī* (the Lawgiver) and concerns with a religious ruling, which includes the Qurʾān and *sunnah*. *Sunnah* includes the words, action, and *Taqrīr* (implicitly approved) of the *Mʿsūmīn* (infallible ones) and *Taqrīr* (implicitly approved) means keeping silent vis-à-vis the actions and deeds of others, so much so that this silence would signify the consent and agreement of the infallible ones.⁸ As already pointed out, *Dalīl-e sharʿī* includes the Qurʾān and *sunnah*. Let us now proceed from *sunnah*:

Sunnah refers to the words and behavior of the infallible ones, because behavior include what a person does and what he abstains from. Abstaining from something is also a meaningful behavior. Thus, the behavior of the infallible one includes his *Fʿil* (action) and *Taqrīr* (implicitly approved). Through an insight into its meaning we would realize that speech is also a kind of behavior. It can, therefore, be concluded that *sunnah* includes the comprehensive meaning of the behavior of the infallible one:

Behavior might be internal or external. It might also include action or abstention from action. Social behavior includes abstention from an action and give in resignation to fate.

The behavior of the infallible ones includes words, deed, and silence vis-à-vis others. Even when the Prophet (s) saw to the affairs of an individual, he was aiming at others who would see and relate the matter and embark upon discussions on it. The Prophet (s) paid heed to this aspect. As a result, eating or reciting "*nāfilah*" (supererogatory) prayer before others is a social action, given the social and doctrinal position of the Prophet (s).

A *faqih* studies the behavior of the infallible ones and try to understand it. In other words, a *faqih* is bent on "understanding the behavior of the infallible ones". By understanding the behavior of

the infallible ones, he tries to derive the religious rules. As a result, a *faqih* and a *Verstehen* sociologist carry out common job, for, they attempt to understand the meaning of a behavior (in the general sense which includes speech as well). But a Shi'i *faqih* pursues to understand the behaviors of 14 infallible persons (viz. the Prophet, his daughter Fatimah and 12 Imams) in the same way that a *Verstehen* sociologist might study any person such as Marx, Napoleon, etc. to understand his behavior.

A few examples will be cited to elucidate the similarities of the tasks of a *verstehen* sociologist and *faqih*. It goes without saying that these instances have been chosen from a very wide range of examples. There are other discussions and models which are somehow related to the tools used by a *verstehen* sociologist. A separate discussion is required to consider how these tools can also be applied by the *faqih*. This, of course, is beyond the scope of the present article. Here we will just suffice with the similarities between the tasks of a *faqih* and a *verstehen* sociologist.

1) Doubtful Cases in Narrator's Goal

Doubts in narrator's goal are among major cases faced by a *faqih* in dealing with the narrations. The following classifications have been presented on these types of doubts:

Doubt on ambiguous terms. This is divided into different forms:

- Doubt due to unawareness of the denoted (meaning of the word).
- Doubt arises due to something which accompanies the words and which can indicate a change of meaning.
- Doubt springs from the possibility of the existence of an indication or sign that might not have come down to us because of the passage of time.

Cases in which the meaning of the words is clear but we do not know whether or not the narrator was firm in purpose. This is also divided into different forms:

1. At times, this doubt emerges due to the suspicion of forgetfulness and error of the speaker. (This doubt does not apply to the infallible Imams ('a), as forgetfulness and error do not exist in their case.)
2. At other times, doubt arises, as we suspect that the speaker has deliberately omitted a sign.
3. At still other times, doubt is caused by allowing the possibility that the narrator has referred to a sign or indication that changes the meaning but that has been destroyed with the lapse of years.⁹

Verstehen Explanation

Man's action, in general sense, signifies his meaningful behavior. It signifies a conventional meaning. So man's actions and deeds are symbolic and we cannot understand them without knowing the meaning of those symbols. If the *verstehen* sociologist studies the behavior of the people of same culture, he should be familiar with their conventions and symbols. For culture comprises a set of symbols. The sociologist and people grow up according to this set of symbols.

But if a *verstehen* sociologist intends to study people of different cultures, he should live with them for many years to get acquainted with their culture or in other words to understand their symbols.

Words of a speaker are actually symbols and signify certain meaning. Doubt on correct and complete understanding of the meaning of the speech-act of the speaker have certain forms which have been dealt with by the scholars of *uṣūl*. Unawareness of the denotees means unfamiliarity with the sets of symbols, and through

removing such doubt one can be familiar with the language system of the speaker.

The second instance of doubt pertains to the situation in which the speech-act or, better say, the verbal symbol, is accompanied with another symbol(indication). A *verstehen* sociologist who is only acquainted with the language system, not the entire cultural system of the person under study, may doubts as to what is the meaning of the verbal symbol, when accompanied by the other symbols.

He can conceive in this way: That which accompanies the verbal symbol is really symbolic and meaningful whose meaning is not clear. Or is it non-symbolic and natural and is its accompaniment with the verbal symbol accidental? This doubt arises out of unfamiliarity of the researcher with the cultural system of the person under study. Familiarity with the cultural system would enable a researcher to realize that whether something is symbolic or not. Then, a researcher would be able to understand different meanings of the two or several symbols

NOTE: If a *verstehene* sociologist decides to study a historical event, he should know the history and the culture of that community. Our *faqhs*, too, should be familiar with the atmosphere of the early days of Islam and the societies of the infallible ones era.

The third kind of doubt is common to every researcher — he be a sociologist or *faqh* — or an investigator of any other field: The point is that whether an event is the same that has come down to us or not? Study of the sources of the traditions is aimed at overcoming this doubt. Most researchers confine their studies to the existing and available sources. Thus, the third type of doubt, then, does not pertain to the understanding of the behavior of the infallible ones in particular and unfamiliarity with the culture prevalent during their times. The third instance of doubt is about the main objective of the narrator.

The Second kind of doubt which is about the decisive objective of the narrator derives from knowledge about the narrator's motives. All people may have erroneous behaviors which can be

determined through an all-embracing understanding of the entire personal behaviors.

2- *Sirah* (way of life) of Infallible Imams: Their *F'ih* (action) and *Taqrir* (implicitly approved)

There is no doubt that the acts of the infallible Imams (‘a) are considered to be one of the sources of the rulings of the divine law. Obviously, the acts of the infallible ones indicate the permissibility of that action and their abstinence denotes the prohibition from that action. This springs from our belief in the infallibility of the Immaculate Ones (‘a). But at times, the act of the infallible ones will have deeper layers of meanings. For instance, reference can be made to the following cases:

1. If an infallible one carries out an act for teaching purpose, it would have broader meaning. For example, if an Imam takes some action before one or some persons with a view to teach the way of performing prayers or ablution, his act can be used as the source of drawing ruling. Scholars of *Fiqh* relate narrations from the infallible ones on ablution, prayer, *hajj* (pilgrimage), etc. base their studies on such sources.
2. In cases where the act of an infallible one is constantly carried out, or the abandonment is small in number but continuous, it is possible that in the first instance the act, at least, bears superiority while in the second instance it is not so.
3. In cases where the commitment of the infallible one toward an act is made obvious, so much so that he would not like to give it in, the necessity of the act will be more or less derived.

Also one of the examples of *sunnah* is the *Taqrir* of the infallible ones. When an act is taken or abandoned before an infallible one, and he shows no reaction toward it. The silence of the infallible one points to his consent with the performance or abandonment of that act.

To derive the above-mentioned conclusion, the following conditions have to be accounted for:

1. The action should take place before the infallible one. (It is not sufficient for the infallible one just to be informed of it).
2. The infallible one be in a condition that he could have prevented the agent from carrying out the act and informed him of the vileness of the act.
3. Contrary to the normal conditions, the infallible one would not show any reaction. The following cases is given about *taqrir*:
 - i. Silence of the infallible one vis-à-vis an action signifies approval and permission to carry it out.
 - ii. Silence of the infallible one vis-à-vis abandonment of an action means it is not compulsory.
 - iii. Silence of the infallible one vis-à-vis articulation of the rulings means acceptance of what the speaker says.

Verstehen Explanation

We can infer from the legislator's deeds that this act is permissible for him. When the legislator declares that he and others are equal before the law, it is a symbolic gesture, indicating that the affair in question is permissible for all people.

A continuous action of a person reflects the individual's high incentive for such issue (*rughān*). A continuous abandonment of an action indicates the person's high incentive to abandon it (*marjhi*). A person's awareness of and silence toward an act can symbolize his agreement with it. Of course, the conditions of the agent of an action have been considered in regard to the observer's agreement. For instance, if a child carries out an action and the observer retains silence, it cannot be interpreted that a mature man could embark upon the same action under similar conditions.

Understanding the conditions for the permissibility of an act based on its performance by the infallible one ('a) or based on the

silence of the infallible one requires awareness of the cultural conditions of each specific age. This is because correctness of an action hinges on the social position and conditions of the agents and addressees. To arrive at such awareness, recognition of the history and social groups of the age of the infallible ones is imperative. Also a systematic understanding of the said eras is exigent. Understanding the entire set of narrations and history of the era of the Imams is an important measure to this end.

Understanding the infallible one's ability to abandon a task signifies that "the meaning of the task and the incentive of the agent depend on different conditions". For instance, reliance was not shown in a state of dissimulation. In other words, dangerous circumstances prompt the infallible one to carry out a type of action which would not be carried out under normal conditions and even during the time of his religious power.

Sociologists and jurists have both focused on the effects that the conditions of a agent can have on an act. But the *verstehen* — and other — sociologists have strictly insisted on this issue: They have proposed that in order to understand the meaning of the action of an agent that has not been experienced by the sociologist, it is better to use the method of "sympathy".

3) *Itlāq* (Unqualification) and *Taqīd* (Qualification)

To use unqualification in speech, certain conditions have been put forward. These conditions are known as "the antecedents of wisdom". This is based on the rational commitment that whenever no *qayd* is set forth, the sentence would have unqualified meaning.

The late Akhund Khorāsānī believes that the "the antecedents of wisdom" are comprised of the following three elements:

1. The speaker is in the position of expression rather than negligence and concision.
2. No conjunctive phrase that speaks of *taqīd* should be presented.

3. He should certainly not be the addressee.

Discussions have been held among the letters in regard to the third prerequisite.¹⁶

Verstehen Explanation

If one is familiar with the culture of a society in general and its important component – namely language in particular, one would realize that every symbol bears a special meaning. For different meanings, different symbols have been created. Even if two symbols come together, that would make a new symbol which would bear a specific meaning.

If a speaker, in his relations with others, uses the symbols, he aims at imparting to others what he has in his mind. If he wishes to convey "A" to his addressees, he would not use the symbol "B". Thus, the speaker's efforts to hammer in the symbol "A", reflect his intention to impart the meaning associated with "A". Suppose the combination of "A" and "J" makes up the meaning of "S". If the speaker just communicates "A", his intention would be to drive the meaning of "A" – not "S". Of course, this is in cases where the speaker and listener have not made a separate agreements for usage of words. For instance, they are not the members of a secret party or are not communicating in the battlefields by wireless. Such care and precision in understanding the meaning of a task hinges on accepting the theory of the situations that is, each agent Under different conditions and situations, perform different action. The existing conditions during the performance of an act contribute to its symbolic meaning. The meaning of the symbol could be grasped by full awareness of the culture and conditions prevalent at the time when the action was carried out.

4) *Hujjtyyat-e Zawāhīr*

In classifying the statements, the scholar of *Uyūl* divide the sentences into *nay* (definite expression), *zāhīr* (apparent meaning), and *mujmal* (multivalent). One of the discussions in *zawāhīr*

(apparent meaning) is that criterion of doubt in *ẓawāhir* is *ẓann-e naw'ī* (generic suppositional) or *ẓann-e shakhsī* (personal suppositional)?

In other words, is the criterion based on the common understanding? Or does the personal understanding of a statement serve as the criterion? The prevalent view endorse the first criterion — namely generic conjecture.

Another view is that whether the domain of the authority of apparent meaning is limited to the *maḥsūdīn bil-ihām* (to understand the addressees of that time) or to all people in general? Late Mirzā Qumī endorse the former idea. He believes that the door of *qaṭ'* (certainty) and *Amārāt* (indicators) is closed on most religious decrees, because according to the narrations related from the Imams ('a), the infallible ones (peace be upon them all) intended to clarify and elucidate the religious decrees for their addressees in their time. As a result, the authority of those apparent meanings is limited to the very addressees at that time and cannot be applied to other times. However, Other scholars of *Uṣūl* do not agree with this view.

Verstehen Explanation

We noted that action in its general sense — be it deeds, words, confirmation, silence, etc. — is symbolic, bearing a denotative and a connotative meaning. By full and sound understanding of the system of symbols, one should attempt to understand the symbolic action of the person under study. The conditions of the agent of the act affect the meaning and incentive behind the act.

In view of the general perspectives of the discussion, the meaning of an act and the interpretation of a symbol are one and the same among the people who share a culture. Without such conditions, the symbol would not be arbitrary. Then if a person's understanding of the action of the infallible one is not compatible with the understanding of most of the addressees, he is in the wrong. It should be borne in mind that the meaning of the symbols

hinges on the conditions and conventions dominating the society. For this reason, typical interpretation serves as the criterion among the people who share the same culture.

Of course, if 200 people who abide by culture A decide to understand and interpret culture B, the common understanding of 180 of them would not be superior to different, yet, common understanding that three of them would have from the same act. This is because of the probability that the said three people would have better understanding of the other culture. In such cases, knowledgeability is the criterion of superiority.

Exception pertains to when a complementary statement becomes a tool in the phenomenological sociology: The objective — rather than the subjective — understanding of a fact refers to the common mentality of the perceivers. Such perception is objective. Individual perception is not objective. Scholars endeavor to make the perceptions more objective than before.

For instance, if twenty people take part in a question and answer session and carry on their discussions after the meeting, each person sets forth his own perceptions and waits to see what others say. If the perception of one person is accepted by other participants in the meeting, they will arrive at a common understanding of the external reality (which is the statement of each speaker in this case). Facets of the personal perception which are not known to others and which others would not accept even after explanations are mental and individual understanding of one person. Little by little, such perceptions will be effaced.

As the objective perception is common and shared and as the individual perception is not objective, the phenomenological sociologist will be prompted to consider the perception of 90 percent of the sociologists as objective understanding of the culture under study (even if it is the culture of another society or a foreign culture). He will also regard as non - objective and as invalid the perception of several people whose views are not in conformity with the common understanding.

The symbols used by the infallible ones and their addressees were known and recognized in the society and among the specific group. Each symbol bears a meaning. When several symbols come together, they make up another symbol which has its own particular meaning. Were the words of the infallible ones coupled with other connotations of which we are unaware? If we suppose that the words of the infallible ones bore special meaning in the social and culture milieu of their times, this would definitely be true, for the symbols bear meaning within a culture. Any form of cultural change would affect the meanings. The same holds true in regard to researchers of different cultures who embark upon understanding the words and deeds of the infallible ones.

The *verstehen* sociologist can overcome the cultural duality by constantly studying and meticulously surveying the culture under study, as well as delving into all cultural works and vestiges, ranging from buildings and architecture to the collective spirit of the people. The difficulty of the task does not mean that the door is closed to understanding. But without doubt, merely learning the language of the people under study would not be sufficient to understand the capabilities of that people.

Remark

Meticulous study of the issues presented indicates that the same principles used by the *faqih* to understand the words of the infallible ones are used by the *verstehen* sociologist to understand the behavior of people. This is indicative of the common applications of the two disciplines. Such commonalities enable us to claim that the approaches (and fundamental principles) of *fiqh* can be applied to *verstehen* sociology and that the tools of *verstehen* sociology can be used in *fiqh*. Those fully versed with both disciplines can establish a balanced and strong relationship between the two to reap benefit of the teachings of each in order to advance their respective disciplines.

Notes

1. *An Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, G.H.R. Parkinson(ed.) *The philosophy of the social sciences*, Michsel Lessnoff, Routledge publication, 1988, London, p.794.
2. *Fundamental Stages of Thought in Sociology*, Ramon Aron, Translated by Baqer Patham, p. 541.
3. *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, Max Weber, Translated into Persian by Ahmad Sedarati, p. 33.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
5. *Fundamental Stages of Thought in Sociology*, Ramon Aron, Translated into Persian by Baqer Patham, p. 559.
6. *Op. cit.* G. H.R. Parkinson, p.794.
7. *Ilm al- Uṣūl*, Sayyid Muḥammad Baqir Sadr, Translated into Persian by Naṣrullah Hikmat, p. 59.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
9. *Miṣbāḥ al-Uṣūl*, Āyatullāh Kho'i, Vol II, p. 226.
10. *Buḥārāh fī 'Ilm al- Uṣūl*, Martyr Muḥammad Baqir Sadr, Vol III, p. 411.
11. *Miṣbāḥ al-Uṣūl*, Āyatullāh Kho'i, Vol II, p. 118 ; *Takzīb al-Uṣūl*, Imam Khomeini, Vol II, p. 164; *Buḥārāh fī 'Ilm al-Uṣūl*, Martyr Muḥammad Baqir Sadr, Vol IV, p. 273.

Islam and the West

*Mostafa Tork Zahrani**
Translated by Ali Sarrafi

The current developments in the world have made it necessary to undertake a serious study on religion, in general, and on Islam, in particular. Unfortunately, for one reason or another, there are certain misconceptions about Islam in the West. Upon a survey of Western works in this respect, the following outlooks can be distinguished:

1. Some view Islam as alien to, and completely different from, other divine religions. Whereas Islam shares other divine religions in many of their principles;
2. Another group introduces it as an aggressive entity, disregarding all other aspects of it;
3. A group considers it basically inflexible and uncompromising;
4. Another group claims that Islam is conservative and incompatible with modern innovations and developments;
5. Some others look at it as a discriminatory religion and refer, as an example, to the status of women in Islam.

It is for such irrational misconceptions that Islamic movements are termed as "Islamism," "extremism," "politicization of Islam," "political revival of Islam," "fanaticism," "fundamentalism," and so on.¹ However, none of these terms explains the true implication of the current developments relating to Islam. Most of them are made by journalists and have no scientific basis. Moreover, some of these expressions like "fanaticism" and

* Mostafa Tork Zahrani is a faculty member of the School of International Relations in Tehran, I.R. Iran.

"fundamentalism" are borrowed from the extremisms of the followers of other religions such as Judaism and Christianity. Those who refer to the "return of Islam" idea assert that Islam is merely an ideological guise. Therefore, they say, the developments observed nowadays in Muslim countries should not be attributed to the politicization or political revival of Islam. These events are nothing but indications of the "return of Islam" while Islam is a political ideology on itself and the reason for its flourishing today is that other ideologies such as socialism, Nasserism, and Arab nationalism have lost significance. In such a context, the dissident political forces in the Middle Eastern countries have taken advantage of the Islamic ideology. Thus, it is claimed, today's Muslim activists are the very nationalists of yesterday who are now presenting their nationalist slogans in the Islamic form.³

In this connection, some experts raise more fundamental and still old issues such as the relationship between, and the correlation of, wisdom and religion and tolerance in religion. Some others have held the collapse of communism as tantamount to the solution of the problem represented by the contradiction between wisdom and religion. They conclude that piety and religious observance has been replaced by wisdom. Therefore, such a notion, which is an aspiration dating back to the enlightenment period, has now become part of the universe. They are those determinants who at the same time believe in the centrality of wisdom. Their idea is a response to those who believe in the end of history as a philosophical necessity and a politically realized phenomenon. Contrary to a group of believers in the end of history who are optimistic about a future characterized by peace and tranquillity, some opponents try persistently to present religious conflicts as irreconcilable.

These arguments were ignited especially by the collapse of the Soviet Union. And the end of history, an idea raised for the first time by Francis Fukuyama, is considered as their prelude. So far, this theory has been looked at from two perspectives:

1. Hegelian outlook to the effect that the historical dialectics has achieved its necessary and predictable result;
2. The end of history, i.e., the end of the cold war — a period that George Kennan announced its beginning in 1946 and its end in the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate in 1989. The significant point of Fukuyama's theory is that he regards the final victory of the Western liberalism as the end of history.

In reaction to this optimistic view, some have warned against the hazards of Fascism. Hamilfarb, a professor at New York University, relying on the Islamic revolution in Iran and the Salman Rushdi affair, claims, in response to Fukuyama, that religion, nationalism, racism, and ethnicity will eventually stand, as ideological rivals, in the face of liberalism.³

The "clash of civilizations" theory, put forward by Samuel Huntington, is also one of the responses to Fukuyama. According to this theory, since the nation-state phenomenon has lost its role as the unit of analysis for the study of international conflicts, and the war of ideologies has also ended, therefore, now is the time for the clash of civilizations. On this basis, for example, the Christian world will stand against the Muslim world. Obviously, the proponents of this theory are trying to suggest a new cold war that they call civilizational cold war.⁴

Another group is also trying to explain this cold civilizational war on the basis of the "center-periphery" notion, signifying that since the Soviet Union does not exist anymore there is no longer a second world either and, therefore, there should be no reason to think of a third world. Those who discuss international developments based on this model believe that the aggression is initiated by the center and at the same time believe that from security point of view cultural and civilizational threats would come from the periphery against the center.⁵

In any case, the following points should be considered assumptions:

1. It is a mistake to be too optimistic with regard to international politics assuming that there would be no more ideological conflicts or that the world has become safe as a result of the issues which have been dealt with and that we are heading toward a global common market the only purpose of which is to meet the needs of human beings;
2. It cannot be claimed that "wisdom has achieved absolute victory" and that "reality has become logical and rational." Nor could it be said that Socrates' dialectic has reached the end of its way as far as its purpose, destination, and perfection are concerned;
3. It must be admitted that fundamental changes, including the collapse of Communism, have taken place in world's history that remind us of the need for religion;
4. Due to the development of technology and communications, many issues including religion have to be analyzed on a global scale because they involve global consequences or have taken on a global character.⁶

Considering the above assumptions, it becomes clear that methodological flaws are detected in the West's study of Islam. The most significant problem in this regard, which concerns the field of social sciences, is characterized by secularism. According to this view, industrialization and development of a society depends on diminishing the role of religion in that society. This idea has been presented in different forms. For example, it is said that the scientific principles of modern technology overshadows faith, or that when social foundations of a religion erode its organizational bases will also collapse, and finally that a rationalized religion ultimately contributes to the decline of itself. In other words, when a religion becomes worldly and secular it will gradually vanish because religion's main concern is the hereafter and the resurrection. Transformation of religion to a rationalized entity makes it worldly and void of transcendental concerns.⁷ In this view, two aspects of development, namely modernization and secularism, are mentioned and both are claimed to be inconsistent with Islam.

Whereas Turkey, for example, started her political development following a Western model several decades before Egypt, but nevertheless, has made very little progress indeed as compared with the latter country; bearing in mind that Egypt has been entangled in several wars during that period and that religious culture has not altered in Egypt as it has changed in Turkey.⁸ This indicates that Islam is quite compatible with development, particularly with its modernization aspect.

The reason for the civilizational gap that Huntington mentions in the case of Turkey is the contradiction between the religious culture of people and the secularism of the political leaders of this country on the one hand and the non-admission of Turkey to the European Common Market on the other.⁹ This signifies that the secularization of a religious society is a source of crisis.

Needless to say, the idea of secularism is not applicable to Islam. During the recent century, although industrial and technological developments have taken place and many Islamic societies have abandoned their traditional ways of life, nevertheless, faith have increasingly grown in these societies. If national identity is assumed to be an important characteristic of the Modern Europe, then Muslim societies have also abandoned their tribal regimes and have been moving toward nation-states. Noteworthy is that through shattering the tribal system, Islam provided the necessary elements for nation building and led Muslim societies toward civilization. The difference between Muslim and European societies in this regard is that in the West the nation-state was established at the stake of religion while Muslims preserved their religion as they were embarking on nation building.¹⁰

The above arguments indicate that Islam must be studied from a scientific point of view. It is unfortunate, however, to see that, in the West, science has been politicized in many respects, especially in the case of social sciences. Therefore, it is recommended that the study of Islam is accomplished based on a scientific method through philosophical, sociological, and anthropological approaches. In this way, many misperceptions about religion, in

general, and about Islam, in particular, will be corrected. It is true, of course, that in some cases Western scholars make no mistake in choosing the right approach. However, they seem to come across methodological difficulties in different stages and the process of research. Anthropological interpretation of religion would show to the analyst that Islam sets forth a social system that, although is a result of the existing realities, has its own influence on them. Islam is not merely a political ideology as claimed by the proponents of civilizational cold war. Rather, it is above all a set of cultural and convictional tenets.

It should also be noted that sanctity is only one aspect of Islam to be studied. To understand Islam, it would be necessary to study how religious ideas and symbols and sanctity are internalized. As such, it would be possible to become familiar with Islam as a social reality and a cultural-convictional system. Islam, as a whole, is not fundamentalist or fanatic. Nor does it resist modernization or civilization. On the contrary, it provides certain means and processes for adaptation to these developments. From this perspective, Islam acts as a cybernetic and self-adjusting system that is based on the control of data and communication. Islam's perception of knowledge is a clear evidence in this regard:

"Knowledge is of two categories. The first category includes those sciences in the fields of technology, industry, and mathematics, for example, that are subject to change and development. These sciences are the source of mankind's progress and have facilitated his control over the stubborn forces of the nature. The second category is comprised of those sorts of knowledge that do not change but, meanwhile, enjoy a certain kind of evolution. Instances from this category are those sciences that deal with the origin of creation and the eschatology resurrection in an explicit and strict way and show the avenues of

human salvation or misery. This kind of sciences is not subject to change and transformation but they may evolve in the light of new attentiveness, reflection, and curiosity. They are responsible for determining general guidelines for human life without interfering in its specific details. Therefore, their stability or change do not cause a society to become stagnant or sluggish.¹¹

Another remark is that Islam has three aspects: theology, ethics, and rule-making. A big difference between Islam and the Christianity of today is that Islam pays less attention to theology [*kalām*] than to jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and this is agreed upon between Shi'is and Sunnis. In this regard Islam's attention to 'transactions' is important. Islam is a religion of *fiṭrah* [nature]. The *Qur'ān* reveals that God did not first create religion and then order human being to follow it. On the contrary, His Almighty sent it down after the creation of human being and with due consideration of his nature and inner disposition.¹² Therefore, in one definition, religion is what exists naturally in a pure and perfect human being. So if religion is a natural matter it should take heed of all existential aspects of man including his needs, propensities, greed, selfishness, wisdom and so on. Human being is by nature a social creature. That is why, according to the *Qur'ān*, the first society was established by the messengers of God. The social rules of Islam are more than those set forth for individuals. In Islam's view human being is, by nature, looking for happiness and the real happiness requires that both physical and spiritual lives of man is secured and his well being in both worlds is assured.¹³ Every one of his deeds is somehow related to matter and he satisfies his vital needs through it.¹⁴ However, man can pursue two kinds of goals. Sometimes he may only aims at the worldly life, doing nothing except for the sake of achieving the benefits of the material life of this world, and thus, thoroughly averting the hereafter. At other times, he may be concerned about the afterlife. Another important matter

is that human nature agrees with two things: enjoining to good deeds and the obedience of God; and prohibiting others from committing wrong deeds and sins, or calling to justice and avoiding deviation from righteousness.¹⁵

In Islam's view, wisdom is a principal factor too. In their discussion about man, political philosophers think about the element of "virtue" and have various expressions about it. Islam is proud to furnish the human being, besides virtue, with another valuable asset called "glory." This is specified in this Qur'anic verse: "*And We glorified the mankind. (Isrā': 70)*" According to some interpreters of the *Qur'ān*, man is even superior to angel. Here, the point is that *Qur'ān*'s reference to the concept of "glory" is in fact reference to the essence of wisdom.¹⁶ On this basis many verses in the *Qur'ān* discuss man's intellect and his rational character. Man thinks rationally by nature and Islam, as a religion compatible with nature, has confirmed and given emphasis to this element in him and does not approve of any irrational matter to such an extent that terms reason as the "inner prophet."¹⁷

So, one of the serious problems that has been a source of controversy concerning other religions, i.e., the distance between reason and religion, is basically solved in the case of Islam. That is why in Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] reason is one of the main sources for extracting religious precepts including political, social, ritual and individual ones. In general, Islamic scholars never needed, in their exploration for the chains of cause and effect between different entities and the real essence of things, to look outside the sphere of Islamic rules. The reason lies in the fact that for several centuries Islam has been able to quench its followers' thirst for perception of causalities and to satisfy their thoughts in their efforts to find the truth. Therefore, there has never been any gap between sciences on one hand and religion and faith on the other. Whereas, the contrary is true about Christianity during the Renaissance. Besides, it was such a special attention to the importance of wisdom that significantly advanced rational sciences, especially mathematics, throughout the Islamic civilization and enabled Mus-

lms to incorporate Pythagorah's concept of mathematical sciences into their universal theory.¹⁸

Another noteworthy point is that Islam pays special attention to the socio-political conduct of individual. In Islam's view, human behavior originates from two sources: interior dispositions and exterior traits. In this regard the *Qur'ān* states "Say: everyone acts according to his own trait; but your Lord best knows who is best guided in the path." (*Isrā'*: 84) According to this verse, man has various traits and characteristics. One trait originates from the attributes of his nature and structure of his creation. This trait is specific and is caused by interactions of man's physical organisms. It has an intermediary element that is a product of interaction among contrasting elements. The second trait is represented by those behavioral attributes that are created, in him, as a result of factors outside him. Human beings act in accordance with their spiritual traits and characteristics, and their physical actions are reflections of the qualities that exist in their souls. In this respect, a Qur'anic verse states: "Corrupt women are for corrupt men and corrupt men are for corrupt women and women of purity are for men of purity and men of purity are for women of purity ... (*Nūr*: 26)." This verse specifies that a person's actions, whatever they are, reflect his characteristics.

Yet, there is another kind of relationship between, on the one hand, a person's actions and habits and, on the other hand, the characteristics of his external environment, including rituals, traditions, customs and imitated habits, that dominates his life. These factors too call a person to follow them and deter him from every action that disagrees with them and from disobeying them. Shortly thereafter, a new picture emerges in man's mind against which he fears to act and consequently his actions will harmonize with the situation of his environment and the atmosphere of his social life.¹⁹ The actions of human beings are formed on the basis of the above two kinds of traits and sometimes exterior and environmental factors have a stronger effect than the interior attitudes.

Another remarkable point is that Islam is a religion for all times. This may seem at the first sight to represent a paradox when compared to this Qur'anic verse: *"The true religion in the sight of God is Islam (Al 'Imrān: 19),"* which implies that religion is just one and constant. A question may arise that how a phenomenon can be constant and, at the same time, encompasses all changes. The answer is that Islam has paid considerable attention to the fact that all societies in all times have both changing and unchanging principles. Religion specifies the unchanging principles which are general and limited in number. In contrast to constant principles, changing ones are particular and unlimited. To figure out such particular principles, human being thinks and extract detailed rules and instructions based on general principles.

From this point of view, a society is in fact the reflection of natural and intrinsic exigencies of the mankind. The absolute society, namely the continuously existing society formed on the basis of the nature of mankind, is one of the features of absolute mankind which has always accompanied him. The necessary result of this principle is that all rules that originate from such a society should always remain in force. Although particulars of such rules may differ from one society to another their general character is preserved.²⁰ The difference between today's life and that of yesterday pertains only to a series of superficial issues which have nothing to do with general principles and the fundamental and real affairs of the society.²¹ The consequence would be that, in the realm of political thought and government, Islam introduces no special model for political system like the one presented by Marxists that is a universal ideology with a global political purpose. Therefore, Algerians for example can establish their own particular model of Islamic state and the Palestinians can pursue a political course based on Islam and the realities of their own society. It is a mistake to say that Islam varies from one country to another. Nor is it correct to expect the idea of *wilāyat al-faqīh* [the guardianship of juriseconsult], which is particular to our Shi'i society, to be applied everywhere; though it is true that all Islamic societies wish to fol-

low religious principles and just governments which are aware of religion. This desire originates from the nature of their creation and no power can suppress it.

Being aware of changing and constant principles, Islam is extremely careful while making laws. The laws and principles of Islam are, in fact, similar to mandatory principles found in modern international law. A study of Islam and its comparison with these principles reveal that it is Islam that has actually founded such principles. But, unfortunately, it is being assaulted at for political reasons and as a result of power related ambitions.

Of course, Islam recognizes man-made laws, but its approval of them is limited to when they take heed of the nature of human being. Every law that is based upon human nature is also a divine law. Therefore, from the Islamic viewpoint law-making by man is a natural and divine phenomenon and if a man-made law addresses the natural man it will be regarded as religious law. The divine wisdom is reflected in the which takes law into consideration the nature of man and its manifestation in man is represented by the drive that is gifted to him and through which he thinks, selects, and achieves the highest degree of perfection.

After explaining the material aspects, Imam 'Ali ('a) says with respect to the creation of man:

"Then God infused from his soul into human existence and the final product of his creation was a rational organism. This creature can take advantage of his intellect to know the causes of everything. God also provided him with organs that assist him in his action and with a knowledge through which he can recognize the truthfulness of right and the falsehood of wrong ... Human being is a creature made of many colorful and colorless, many good and bad things. He is a mixture of contradictions arising from heat and

cold, moisture and drought as well as happiness and distress."²²

In one word, Islam is a religion of nature, wisdom, knowledge, and forbearance that supports the principles, values, and dignity of humanity.

Notes

1. For more information see As'ad Abū Khalīl, "The Incoherence of Islamic Fundamentalism: Arab Islamic Thought at the End of the 20th Century," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 48, no. 4 (Autumn 1994).
2. *Middle East Policy*, vol. III, no. 2 (1994).
3. "Responses to Fukuyama," *The National Interest*, no. 16 (Summer 1989).
4. Samuel Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49.
5. Barry Buzan, "New Pattern of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century," *International Affairs*, vol. 167, no. 3 (July 1991).
6. "Responses to Fukuyama," *op.cit.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Akbar S. Ahmed and Hastings Donnan, "Islam in the Age of Postmodernity," *Islam, Globalization, and Postmodernity*, (New York: Routledge, 1994).
9. "Responses to Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilization," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 4 (Sep., Oct. 1993).
10. Ernest Geller, "Foreword" in Akbar S. Ahmed and Hastings Donnan (eds.), *Islam, Globalization, and Postmodernity*.
11. 'Allāmah Muḥammad Ḥossein Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Velāyat va Ze'umat, Marja'yyat va Rowḥāniyyat*, Tehran: Enteshar, 1342 S.
12. See this verse of the Holy Qur'ān: "... God's natural creation [fiṭrah] according to which He patterned mankind. There is no alteration in God's creation ..." (Rum: 30).

13. 'Allamah Muḥammad Ḥossein Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Tafsir al-Mizān*, trans. by Hamedani, Makarem, et. al. (Tehran: Kanun-e Enteshārāt-e Moham-madi, 1353 S./1974), p. 223.
14. *Ibid.*, vol. 40, p. 268.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 114.
16. "Virtue" denotes those powers which God has bestowed upon both mankind and animals with the difference that those granted to man are higher in terms of status and quality. In contrast, "glory" refers to the privilege that God has only bestowed upon the mankind only and animals are deprived of it. This privilege cannot be anything except "reason".
17. See the following verses in the Holy Qur'an:

"Do you enjoin people to be virtuous and forget (to practice it) yourselves, even as you recite the Book? Will you not use your reason?" (Baqarah: 44)

"Thus, God revives the dead and shows you His signs so you may use your reason." (Baqarah: 73)

"He controls the alternation between night and day-light. Will you not reason?" (Mu'nioun: 80)

"We have explained the signs to you so that you may use your reason." (Hajj: 17)

"Or do you reckon that most of them do hear or even use their reason?" (Furqan: 44)
18. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Nazar-e Motaṭabkerān-e Eslāmī Dar Bāreḥ-ye Ṭabī'at* (Tehran: Kharazmi, 1359 S./1980), p. 120.
19. For more insight see: 'Allamah Ṭabāṭabā'i, *op. cit.*, vol. 13, pp. 318-19.
20. Mostafa Tork Zahraei, "Nazariyyeh-ye Siyāst-e 'Allameh Ṭabāṭabā'i," (M.A. dissertation), (Tehran: Dānešgāh-e Tarbiyat-e Moallimes, 1372 S./1993), p. 123.
21. *Ibid.*

22 . *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 1.

Islam in Spain

*T. B. Irving**

The religion of Islam existed formally in Spain for almost nine centuries, from 711 when Tāriq ibn-Ziyad entered the Iberian peninsula, until 1906 when Philip III ordered the expulsion of all "Moors" and "Moriscos", meaning both Muslims and the forced converts to Roman Catholicism.

However Spain had known a Semitic presence in the Phoenician and Carthaginian cities like Barcelona, Cartagena, Malaga, Cadiz and Cordoba. Moreover following the decline of the Roman empire, the Visigoths from eastern Europe invaded the Peninsula and seized control in the Vth century. In their home along the Baltic coast and the Vistula under Bishop Ulfilas, they had become Arian Christians, following the Unitarian beliefs of the Libyan preacher Arius (c. 256-336). The Catholic clergy in Spain persecuted them and in 598 their King Recared became Catholic "with all his court", as they say. Nevertheless many outlying Visigothic nobles held to their Arian and Unitarian faith, and apparently became Muslims in districts like Saragossa and Aragon on the North-eastern frontier facing France; in Murcia or "Tadmir" as this was called from their Count Theodomir who asked asylum from the Arab conquerors; and around Seville, where Countess Sara's descendants like Muḥammad ibn-al-Quṣiyya or 'Son of the Gothic Woman', wrote his *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* or the 'Conquest of Andalusia'; he died in 933.

* Dr. Thomas Ballantine Irving is a professor Emeritus of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Tennessee.

The first effect of the Arab or Islamic conquest came when Abdurrahman *ad-Dākhil* or 'the Newcomer' (756-788) consolidated his realm and established Umayyad rule, restraining the warring Yamani tribes who had carried on civil conflict there for half a century. Umayyad rule lasted until 1031, when the capital of Cordoba was declared an aristocratic republic, and the rest of Andalusia fell into disunity under the so-called "Taifa" kingdoms.

Meanwhile the prince Abdurrahman I (756-788) established the Umayyad dynasty in Spain after Damascus had fallen to the Abbāsids who moved the Eastern caliphate to Baghdad in 756. The Newcomer built the Great Mosque in his capital of Cordoba, beginning its construction in 786, two years before his own death in 788, and thus bringing a concept of fine architecture into Spanish Islam. This spirit lasted as the Alcazar was built in Seville, the Alhambra in Granada, and many other mosques and palaces throughout Andalusia.

The Malikite rite was established in Spain when Yahya ibn-Yahya who died in 849, the Masmūda or Berber disciple of the great Imām Malik ibn-Anas (c. 713-795), set up that school of Islamic law in the *Maghrib* or Islamic West. The Malikite rite thus became the dominant school of Islamic law in both Andalusia and North Africa, from where it spread across the Sahara, into West Africa; Malik's textbook the *Muwattā* or 'Well-Trodden Path' thus became the basic text for Andalusia, North and West Africa, and thus it should be considered the *madhhab* or school of Islamic law for the scattered Diaspora of the West African Blacks in Brazil, the West Indies and the southern (and now northern) United States.

During this same period, the Spanish Muslims felt a need for travel East, not only with the Pilgrimage of *Hajj* of pious folk to Mecca *al-Mukarramah* to fulfill the Fifth Duty of Islam, but also of students and scholars eager to learn in intellectual centers like Baghdad and Basra. The first student whom we know of was Muhammad Ibn-Masarraḥ (853-931) who returned a Mu'tazilite or

'Dissenter'; above the Mediterranean port of Almeria, and also in the Sierra de Cordoba north of the capital.

The next student was Maslamah Al-Majriti (d. 1004 or 1007), who brought back the Arabic numerals which quickly freed western Europe from the use of the abacus and also Khwarizimi's *Tables* which improved the study of geography. "Majriti" means 'from Madrid' the first time we hear of this town in the Guadarrama (*Wādi al-Raml*) or 'Sandy Desert' in the central hills of Spain.

The first student to complete his studies in Spain itself was Abu-Muhammad 'Ali Ibn-Hazm (994-1064) who accomplished the first significant piece of research that we possess on the subject of comparative religion in Europe, his *Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Ahwā wa al-Nihāl* ('The Decisive Word on Creeds, Sects and Denominations'). The Spanish Muslims were far ahead of their time; this was not their Middle Ages. His most popular work was *The Dove's Neckring* (*Tawq al-Hammāma*) which is subtitled 'On Love and Lovers'; this speaks of the poet's keen insight into social customs which he observed around him in that society that was then falling apart, and gives us a satiric yet attractive view of local customs. Ibn-Hazm was a keen observer of the scene around him, especially during the decline and break-up of the Umayyad Caliphate; he was driven from his family home in Cordoba as a teen-ager in 1013, and only returned there seven years later, to observe the demise of the central government under pressure from the disorderly Berber troops.

The result of this chaos was the *Tāifa* period of petty kingdoms, and finally the advent of two Moroccan dynasties, first the *Murābiṭs* (or "Almoravides" in western parlance) from the Sahara, and then the *Muwahhids* (or "Almohades") from the southern mountains of Morocco. Although the political situation was chaotic, the philosophic mood was not. Abu-Bakr Muhammad Ibn-Bajjah or "Avenpace" to the Europeans, was born about 1080 in the old Visigothic stronghold of Saragossa, but he died in Morocco in 1138. He composed *Tadhkir al-Muwahhid*, "The Loner's

Guide" (or a 'Program for Someone who Wants to Live by Himself [and Cannot].') This is existentialist, nine centuries before Sartre or Camus in modern France.

Two important thinkers then appeared on the scene, Ibn-Tufayl (1110-85 and his brilliant understudy, the great Abū al-Walid Muḥammad Ibn-Rushd or "Averroes". Both these figures are outstanding, Ibn-Tufayl from the hill town of Guadix northeast of Granada, and Ibn-Rushd from Cordoba itself. Ibn-Tufayl wrote a philosophical novel called *Ḥayy ibn-Yaḡẓān* or as it is usually known, "The Self-Taught Philosopher". This story concerns a little unwanted prince who has been abandoned on a desert island; with a doe for a foster-mother. Ḥayy plods through seven stages of seven years each, learning a fresh set of facts every stage, until he reaches his full maturity at the age of 49. In this work we follow an exercise in epistemology, the science of knowledge itself, and which is neo-platonic.

Ibn-Tufayl served as court physician to the Muwahhid sultan of Morocco (and of *Andalus* or southern Spain as well), Abū-Yūsuf Yaḡūb (r. 1163-84) who requested him to carry these studies further. Instead, Ibn-Tufayl suggested that his younger colleague Ibn-Rushd (1126-92) from a distinguished family of judges in Cordoba, be offered a study grant to investigate the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle, and establish his texts (in Arabic translation, however, which had been accomplished in Eastern Islam).

This the sultan did, and so Ibn-Rushd became the great "medieval" philosopher whose work on Aristotle had a great influence on the new universities which were just arising in western Europe: Salerno and Padua in Italy, the Sorbonne in Paris, and Oxford in England. "Averroes" as the Europeans called him (and still call him) was interested in the Active Intellect or Mind of God Alone which governs the Universe (*Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*); his *Jāmiʿ* or 'Total' study became the *Summa* through loan translation, of the great Catholic thinker of the following century, Thomas Aquinas.

(1225-74), while Ibn-Rushd was the principal Gentile in the *Summa contra Gentiles*.

Then Muhyi al-Din Ibn-Arabi (1165-1240) from Murcia went to study in the *Mashriq* or Arab East after studying theology as an undergraduate in Seville; and never returned, but became the great Sufi mystic master *al-Shaykh al-Akbar* or 'Supreme Master'. After studying in Mecca *al-Mukarrama* or 'the Honored', where he wrote *al-Furūḡāt al-Makkiyya* or 'Meccan Revelations' and then *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikma* or 'Jewels of Wisdom'), he left for Konya (ancient Iconium) the rising Sufi center in Anatolia or Turkey with its "Whirling Dervishes"; and finally Damascus where he now lies buried. Ibn-Arabi was a true Sufi or mystic; Dante's *Divine Comedy* is possibly based on his interpretation of Chapter 12 in the Noble Qur'ān, on the Prophet's Night Journey; Dante's teacher Brunetto Latini came as ambassador to Alfonso X, the 'Scholar's Court' in 1260.

Abd-al-Jaqq Ibn-Sabin (c. 1217-69) from Murcia or old "Tadmir" answered the *Sicilian questions* proposed by King Frederick II of that island (r. 1197-1252); and also made several studies of Maliki doctrine and Law.

From then on, following the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 when the Muwallhids were thrown out of Spain, a steady decline took place among the Muslim states of the peninsula. Cordoba, the former Umayyad capital, fell to Fernando III in 1236, then Seville in 1248. Only Granada in the south east corner of the peninsula and perched on the Sierra Nevada facing the Mediterranean, remained free; in 1250 it became a subject kingdom to Castile, a relationship that continued until the fateful year of 1492. Islamic Spain or *Andalus* was still happy though declining. The *Mudejar* (in Spanish, or *mudajjunūn* in Arabic) meaning 'tamed' or 'tolerated' Muslims remained as craftsmen and artisans in the northern cities of Castile and Aragon, and as tillers of the soil in the cane fields and rice paddies of La Huerta, the fertile agricul-

tural district around Valencia. And they were happy, "in the gardens of Spain".

Here we must mention the scion of an old Sevillian (and Ibadrawiti) family who was born in Tunis in 1332, Abdurrahman Ibn-Khaldūn (1332-1406). He was a graduate in 1348 from the Zaytuna (or 'Olive Tree') University that is still functioning in the heart of Tunis. Abdurrahmān Ibn-Khaldūn first wrote a general history on the 'Days-or Exploits-of the Arabs, Persians and Berbers', and then a reasoned 'Introduction' to this work, which he called *al-Muqaddima* ('to the Science of History') and which he finished near Frenda in Algeria in 1374. His study of history and Sociology is unique, even though it was overlooked for several centuries by other historians.

In Seville, the home of his ancestors, and where he was sent as ambassador from Granada and where he met Peter the Cruel of Castile in 1365, the king offered to restore his family property which he could still see standing there a full century later; he declined the offer because, with his scholar's vision, he said that he did not want his "grandchildren to become Christians". Here we observe his historian's insight.

Ibn-Khaldun then went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and finally settled down in Cairo where he was appointed the Malikite judge for Egypt. In 1602 the sultan of that country sent him to Damascus to meet Timūr or "Tamerlane" (1336-1404), the Central Asian conqueror from Samarkand, to dissuade him from invading Egypt, pointing out how he would overstretch his lines. Ibn-Khaldun convinced him of this; both men withdrew, and they died a few years later, at the end of their long careers.

The contemporary West European Renaissance was beginning, simultaneous to the decline of Islamic Spain. Only Granada was left. The Mudejars or 'tolerated', 'tamed' (*Mudajjanūn*) artisans, lived in the cities of northern Spain, in Castile and Aragon, and also Navarre and Valencia, trying to adapt their gradual loss of Arabic in their worship, to their new Aljamiado (al-a'lamyyah)

dialect of Spanish written in Arabic characters. This is what Faqih don İsa al-Shādhili of Segovia in Old Castile attempted, and also the mysterious *Mancebo* or 'Young Man' from Arevalo, another town west of Segovia in Old Castile. He along with Baray de Reminjo from the Jalon valley in Aragon, tried to render *El Breve Compendio de la Santa Fe y Sunna* into Aljamiado, and this within the decade before the expulsion of 1609/10.

Ibn-Battūṭah from Tangier travelled to China forty years after Marco Polo, and visited Granada in 1355, where he found scholars from Central Asia and India.

In 1499 Cardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, Isabel I's confessor (1436-1517) came to Granada in violation of the Treaty of surrender of November 1419, which guaranteed freedom of worship to the Muslims of that kingdom, to demand their conversion to Christianity. Three years later, in 1502 he returned to demand further that all Arabic books found in that city be burned, an act which he had performed in public bonfires along its streets. This same set of laws was used overseas by two bishops, Juan de Zumarraga (1464-1548) in Mexico City to destroy the Aztec hand-printed codices in 1528, and Diego de Landa (1524-79) in Yucatan to burn the Mayan astronomical and mathematical treatises that he had collected in that peninsula, the Mayab. Thus three important nations lost their archives and intellectual heritage through the infamous "Holy" Office of Spain.

In the year 1525 a *Pragmatica* or royal Edict was issued, demanding the conversion or expulsion of the remaining "Moors" or Muslims of Granada. The next year, in 1526, this Edict was extended to Fernando's kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia.

Then in 1565 another *Pragmatica* required the Muslim peasants living in the Alpujarras (*al-Bashārāl*) mountains south east of Granada to renounce their faith in God Alone. This repression was followed by a military campaign that was eventually led by don Juan of Austria, Philip II's half-brother, who in 1571 led the combined Venetian and Spanish navies at Lepanto, off the west coast of

Greece, where the Turkish navy was defeated and Cervantes lost the use of his left arm.

Finally Philip III (1598-1621) decreed the expulsion of all "Moors" and also "Moriscos" or converted Muslims, from Spain. They had been orderly citizens engaged in useful occupations in their towns, but they landed mostly in Tunisia, settling in the capital and in other places like Testour to the southwest.

In 1871 a cache of Aljamiado documents were discovered in Almonacid de la Sierra, a small town in the Upper Jalon valley near Calatayud, which the scholar Julian Ribera (1888-1934) classified. The Jalon valley south west of Saragossa and its nearby hill country north east of Madrid with Arabic-named towns such as Guadalajara (*Wādī al-Hijāra*), Medinaceli (*Madinat Salim*), Calatayud (*Qalat Ayyūb*) and Almazan (*al-Maghzan*) need to be explored for their Islamic (and possible Visigothic) antecedents. It is significant that Guadalajara (*Wādī al-Hijāra* or 'Stony Desert'), is the name of Mexico's second city, while Córdoba is the second-largest in Argentina (and in Mexico, the place where the Mexican Independence treaty was signed in 1821 with the Viceroy Odonaju).

In a similar manner the Mexican poetess Sor Juana Ines de Asbaje (1645-95) suffered frustration with the strictures she faced intellectually; and Simon Bergano y Villegas (1781-1828), an already published poet and editor of the official *Gaceta de Guatemala* was arrested by the "Holy" Office in 1808, and banished to Cuba for the "crime" of possessing (and "reading") French books which, following Inquisitorial procedures like those in Granada and Valencia three hundred years before, were sold over his head, along with his furniture, to pay for his keep in jail. Bergano spent the rest of his life as a printer's devil, ruined by this intellectual tyranny. At least he was not killed.

Napoleon abolished the "Holy" Office in 1808 during his invasion of Spain; it was restored, but then abolished finally in 1820. All that this program had brought Spain was intellectual disaster

Message of Thaqaalayn

and contempt abroad; Spanish thought was curtailed for three centuries, but it began to revive briefly in its colonies with the XVIIth-Century Enlightenment. In Spain this renewal only came with Miguel de Unamuno (1884-1936) and Jose Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) in this present century.

A small token today is the Palestinian and Lebanese Diaspora which has left Arab merchants in most Latin American cities; but although a few are Muslim, they generally do not provide study on Islam for their children.

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Teachings of 'Āshūrā and their Application in the Islamic Revolution in Iran

*Dr. M. Ershadul Bari**

It is said that Islam has its birth in Mecca, its growth in Medina, its decay in Damascus and its death in Baghdad. To this it may be added that Islam has risen again in Iran in recent times. For Islamic Revolution was accompanied by the Iranian people under the leadership of Imām Khomeini. The movement that started in June 1963 against injustice, anti-social and immoral acts of the Muhammed Rida Pahlavi's despotic regime culminated in a successful Revolution on 11 February 1979. Iran was declared on 3 April 1979 as an Islamic Republic by Imām Khomeini in pursuance of 98.2% affirmative vote in the Referendum of 30 March. Therefore, an Islamic State, based on justice, and *Taqwā*, has been established on the pattern of the Holy Prophets' Islamic State of Medina.¹ Thus, the fallen giant of Islam has risen again at least in Iran.² However, the commemoration of 'Āshūrā, the tenth day of Muharram on which fourth caliph Haqīrat 'Alī's second son, Imām Husayn (ʿa), embraced martyrdom in Karbala (in his fighting against usurpation of Power by Yazid, with deep sense of grief and sorrow, played a significant role in making the Islamic Revolution in Iran a success. The supreme self-sacrifice of Imām Husayn (ʿa) acted as a constant source of inspiration for the Iranian people throughout the Revolution. In this paper, an attempt would be made to examine how Imām Khomeini adroitly used the teachings

* Dr. M. Ershadul Bari is the professor and Dean of Faculty of Law, Dhaka University, Bangladesh.

of 'Ashūrā to put an end to the monarchical regime of Rīdā Pahlavī of Iran.

Tragedy of Karbala and its Significance

It should be mentioned here that Islam does not recognize monarchy and hereditary succession. The four caliphs of Islam were elected in accordance with the republican principle. Accordingly Imām Husan ('a) the eldest son of Uqārat 'Alī ('a), was elected to the vacant caliphate by the unanimous suffrage of Kufa and its dependencies. He struggled against the king of his day, as far as he was able, and when he was betrayed by a group of self-seeking opportunistic followers and left without support, he signed a peace treaty under which he abdicated and the Caliphate was assigned to Mu'āwiyah for life, upon his death it was to devolve on Husayn, the younger son of 'Alī. Many years did not pass before Husayn ('a) was poisoned at the instigation of Yazīd. In direct breach of his covenant with Husan, Mu'āwiyah nominated his son Yazīd as his successor to throne.³ On Mu'āwiyah's death (in April 680), Yazīd ascended the throne according to his father's testament.

The accession of the Umayyads was not simply a change of dynasty; it was the reversal of a democratic principle to elect the ruler and the adoption of hereditary principle of succession to the throne. The nature of the government was changed from divine and spiritual to worldly. In his book *A Short History of the Sassanians* as Ameer 'Alī said:

"The accession of Yazīd gave the death-stroke to the republican principle that 'the Commander of the Faithful' should be elected by the plebiscite of the people, a principle to which the Arabs were so devoted. Henceforth, the ruling sovereign nominated his successor, whose reversion he endeavored to assure during his lifetime by the oath of fealty of his soldiers and grandees."⁴

In a Declaration⁵ issued on 31 October 1971, Imām Khomeini also depicted the far-reaching impact on the accession of the Umayyads thus:

"The greatest disaster that befell Islam was the usurpation of rule by Muāwiyā from 'Alī (upon whom be peace), which caused the system of rule to lose its Islamic character entirely and to be replaced by a monarchical regime. This disaster was even worse than the tragedy of Karbala and the misfortunes that befell the Lord of the Martyrs (upon whom be peace), and indeed it led to the tragedy of Karbala. The disaster that did not permit Islam to be correctly presented to the world was the greatest disaster of all."

Later on in an interview⁶ given on 29 December 1978, Imām Khomeini reiterated his conviction thus:

"The Umayyads and their successors in Islamic history did not allow men to grasp the true nature of Islam, in particular Islamic Government."

In the year 680, Imām Husayn (‘a) who had inherited his father ‘Alī’s (‘a) virtues and chivalrous disposition, refused to swear allegiance to the second Caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty, Yazīd, succeeded by hereditary principle. He revolted in repudiation of the hereditary principle. He revolted in repudiation of the hereditary succession of Yazīd and his martyrdom took place in a battle at Karbala on the tenth day of the Islamic month of Muḥarram. The Ummayyad Army "cut off his head, trampled on his body, and with savage ferocity subjected it to every ignominy. They carried his head to the castle of Kufa, and the inhuman Ubaydullah struck it on the mouth with a cane."⁷

Teachings of the 'Ashūrā

The tragic scene of the death of Husayn, the butchery of Karbala caused a thrill of horror throughout Islam and led the Shi'i Muslims to express frenzy of sorrow and indignation on the recurrence of the anniversary of Husayn's martyrdom. The tenth day of Muharram, 'Ashura, the day on which Imam Hussain ('a) was martyred in Karbala, has always been commemorated by them as the supreme example of martyrdom in the face of tyranny. In his Declaration, titled "Muharram; The Triumph of Blood over the Sword", issued on 23 November 1978 from *Neauphle-le-Chateau* (near Paris where in early October 1978 Imam Khomeini capupelled to go to live in) Imam Khomeini described the teachings and ideals of the tenth day of Muharram, 'Ashūrā, thus:

Muharram is "the month of epic heroism and self-sacrifice the month in which blood triumphed over the sword, the month in which truth condemned falsehood for all eternity and branded the mark of disgrace upon the forehead of all oppressors and Satanic governments; the month that has taught successive generations throughout history the path of victory over the bayonet; the month that proves the superpowers may be defeated by the word of truth; the month in which the leader of the Muslims taught us how to struggle against all the tyrants of history, showed us how the clenched fists of those who seek freedom, desire independence, and proclaim the truth may triumph over tanks, machine guns, and the armies of Satan, how the word of truth may obliterate falsehood.

The leader of the Muslims taught us that if a tyrant rules despotically over the Muslims in any age, we must rise up against him and denounce

him, however unequal our forces may be, and that if we see the very existence of Islam in danger, we must sacrifice ourselves and be prepared to shed our blood."⁸

Application of the Teachings of the 'Āshūrā in Islamic Revolution

Except hardly thirty years of rule in Iran during the regime of *Khulāfa-i Rāshidīn*, Iran has been governed by absolute monarchs for at least twenty-five hundred years until 11 February 1979 when a successful Islamic Revolution took place. The heart-rending martyrdom of Karbala served as an important point of both ideological and emotive reference throughout the Islamic Revolution. The martyrdom of Imām Husayn ('a) was in fact the soul of the Revolution. The mourning, sympathy and affection of the Iranian People to the tragic persecution of Imām Husayn ('a) on the day of 'Āshūrā were adroitly used by Imam Khomeini to give momentum to the anti-Shah movement. Imam Khomeini, urged the people to organize mourning assemblies to commemorate the struggle of the Lord of the Martyrs for imbuing the people with the spirit of martyrdom so that the harmful and tyrannical regime of Shah could be brought down. As he said:

"With the month of Muḥarram here like a divine sword in the hands of the soldiers of Islam, our great religious leaders and respected preachers, and all the followers of the Lord of the Martyrs (peace and blessings be upon him) must make the maximum use of it. Trusting in the power of God, they must tear out the remaining roots of this tree of oppression and treachery, for the month of Muḥarram is the month in which the focus of Yazid and the stratagems of Satan are defeated."

Let assemblies for the commemoration of the Lord of the Oppressed, the Leader of the Free-assemblies in which intelligence triumphs over ignorance, justice over injustice, loyalty over treachery, and Islamic government over government of the *taghut*—let these assemblies be organized as magnificently and as frequently as possible. Let the bloodstained banners of 'Āshūrā be raised wherever possible, as a sign of the coming day when the oppressed shall avenge himself on his oppressor.⁹

Imam Khomeini rightly realized that once the people could be imbued with the spirit of martyrdom, they would be prepared—and even eager—to pay the price for abolishing the monarchical regime of Pahlavi dynasty and establishing an Islamic Republic. The confrontation of Imam Khomeini with the Shah's regime (who throughout the Spring of 1963 continued to denounce the regime for its tyrannical nature, subservience to the United States, and its expanding collaborations with Israel) reached a new peak in June 1963 with the onset of Muharram, when the martyrdom of Imām Husayn (‘a) was commemorated and aspirations to emulate his example, by struggling against contemporary manifestations of tyranny, were awakened. On the tenth day of the month, 'Āshūrā, (3 June, 1963) Imam Khomeini delivered a historic speech at Fayḍiyah Madrasa in Qum, repeating his denunciations of the Shah's regime and warning the Shah not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. He urged the people to fight against anti-Islamic regime of Shah. The arrest of Imam Khomeini on the night of 3 June (1963) brought popular disgust with the Shah's regime to a climax, and a major uprising shook the throne. In Qum, Tehran, Shiraz, Mashhad, Isfahan, Kashan and other cities, unarmed demonstrators confronted the Shah's U.S. trained and equipped army, which, upon the command to shoot to kill, slaughtered not less than

15,000 people in the space of a few days. The date on which this uprising began, Khurdad 15 according to the solar calendar in Iran marked a turning point in the modern history of Iran. It established Imam Khomeini as national leader and spokesman for popular aspirations and marked the beginning of a period of mass political activity under the guidance of the religious leadership. Thus, the uprising of Khurdad 15 foreshadowed the Islamic Revolution of 1978-79.¹⁹ It was the religious leaders who mobilized the people all over Iran, and it was from the mosques that the people set out behind their preachers and leaders to participate in demonstrations. In this context, the views expressed by Imam Khomeini in an interview given to Dr. Hamid Algar (a teacher of the University of California, Berkeley) on 29 December 1978 are worthy of note:

"The religious scholars of Qum rose up in protest and the government sought a confrontation with them. So the Muslim people joined the protest of their leaders and a massacre ensued. These events were followed by commemorative assemblies forty days after the death of the martyrs, these, in turn, produced further martyrs, and further commemorative gatherings.

"As a result of this cycle of events, the people gradually lost their fear of the police. Whereas previously they had thought it impossible to confront the security forces, after one or two clashes they came to realize that confrontation was after all possible, and not the formidable task they realized they could demonstrate and speak out against the Shah and the government. Ceremonies of commemoration and mourning for the victims of the Shah on the fortieth day after their deaths spread throughout the whole country. At the same time, the government continued to act with the utmost harshness, and the Shah persisted

in his arrogance, thinking that no one could successfully oppose him. He could not digest the fact that the people were revolting against a dictatorship that had established complete control over the country, so he went on acting with unlimited cruelty. But the religious scholars gave the people guidance and leadership, which enabled them to resist, so that gradually, fears and inhibitions dissolved, and in the course of little more than a year, a concerned struggle against the Shah and his regime took firm root in the country ... The Shah is still killing the people, and they are still resisting ... Whenever repression is intensified to an extraordinary degree, the natural and inevitable result will be an explosion. Hence the revolutionary movement will continue until the Shah's regime is destroyed."¹¹

The mourning of the heartbreaking martyrdom of Imam Husayn ('a) has in course of time become a part of Iranian culture. This mourning on 'Āshūrā by the people signifies their spontaneous manifestation of solidarity with the self-sacrifice made by Imam Husayn for the just cause. Eventually Imam Husayn's ('a) martyrdom turns into a blatant protest against wrong, injustice and oppression. This is evident from Imam Khomeini's Declaration, entitled "The Fortieth Day after 'Āshūrā" issued at *Neuphle-le-Chateau* on 15 January 1979:

"The fortieth day after the anniversary of the martyrdom of the leader of the oppressed and the Lord of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn (peace and blessings be upon him) has now arrived. The upright and conscious people of Iran have observed many such days of mourning. What disasters and inhuman crimes we have witnessed this year, following on fifty years of usurpatory rule by the

Pahlavi dynasty; All fifty years have been bitter and painful, but most bitter and painful of all have been the past twelve months and more in which our courageous people have risen up against tyranny and imperialism. This year, the commemorations of the fortieth day after the anniversary of the Imam's martyrdom has come in the midst of a whole series of fortieth day commemorations of the martyrdom of the followers of that great Islamic figure. It is as if the blood of our martyrs were the continuation of the blood of the martyrs of Karbala, and as if the commemoration of our brothers were the echo of the commemoration of those brave ones who fell at Karbala. Just as their pure blood brought to an end the tyrannical rule of Yazid, the blood of our martyrs has shattered the tyrannical monarchy of the Pahlavis.

"The fortieth-day commemoration of Imām Husayn has an exceptional and ideal meaning this year. It is our religious and national duty to organize great marches and demonstrations on this day. With marches and demonstrations all across the country, our great people must bury once and for all this stinking carrion of monarchy. They must proclaim their opposition to the illegal Regency Council and declare, once again, their support for the Islamic Republic."¹²

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion reveals that 'Āshūrā played a dominant role in making the Islamic Revolution in Iran against Pahlavi dynasty a success. Imām Khomeini adroitly transformed

thousand years old love, affection, grief and emotion of the Iranian people towards the martyrs of Karbala into invincible and indomitable force to put an end to the despotic regime of Muhammad Rīdā Pahlavī. W. Carlsen, an American writer and journalist has aptly said:

"Khomeini "was the source of revival of Islam, he was the source of the revolution. He was the source of whatever power this revolution and Islam represented to the world. Without him, I am certain, that monarchy would still be in place... Khomeini was at the center of this Islamic eruption."¹³

However in the absence of Imam Khomeini, who was in exile from 1964 to 1979, the religious leaders always explained the true history to the people about Yazīd's conspiracy and brutality and Imam Ḥusayn's supreme self sacrifice at Karbala and aroused the people and inspired them to self-sacrifice through organizing ceremonies of commemoration and mourning and reciting lyric of the tragic event of Karbala. The appealing slogan during the days of the Islamic Revolution was "*har ruz 'Ashūrā har maidan Karbala*"¹⁴ Imam Khomeini, who died on 3 June 1989 in his last *Wasīyyatnāmah* (will) opines that commemoration and mourning of the pathetic incident of Karbala is in fact the screaming of the oppressed people against despotic rulers of the world. This should be continued. The lyrics and praising sentences in remembrance of the imams should be recited and discussed with due importance.¹⁵ The mourning ceremony in fact means defending truth and declaring *jihād* against falsehood. This is virtually a force, a movement and social struggle against wrong, oppression, unfairness and injustice.

Notes:

1. The *Wali Faqih (Rahbar)*, to be nominated and advised by the 72 elected religious and legal Scholars would be the guardian of three organs of the government.
2. Siddique, Kalim, *Issues in the Islamic Movement*, 30-32 (1985).
3. 'Ali, Ameer, *A Short History of the Saracens*, 70-81 (1961).
4. *Ibid.* p. 83.
5. The Declaration was issued from Najaf in condemnation of the Shah's plan to impose on the nation the celebration of two-and-a-half millennia of monarchy.
6. The interview was given to Hamid Algar, the author of the book *"Islam and Revolution"*.
7. 'Ali, Ameer, *op. Cit.*, p. 86.
8. Cited in Algar, Hamid, *Islamic Revolution, Writings and Declarations of Imām Khomeini*, 242 (1985).
9. Imām Khomeini's Declaration titled "*Muharram: The Triumph of Blood over the Sword*" was issued on 23 November 1978. See Algar, Hamid, *op. Cit.* pp. 243-244.
10. Algar, Hamid, *op. Cit.*, p. 17.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 321-322.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
13. Carlsen, Robin Woodsworth, "Imām Khomeini, As I saw Him", Cultural Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 21-22 (1983).
14. Algar, Hamid, *Islamic Revolution in Iran*, p. 4.
15. Cultural Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Alor Pothch (Imām Khomeini's *Wasīyyatnāmah*), p. 32 (1989).

400 Sources on Shī'ah

Mohammad Reza Hakimi

Translated by: Mohsen Azimi Etemadi

The present article lists the names of 400 books and discourses authored by Shī'i scholars, for Shī'ah can be better known through the works written by Shī'i scholars anyway. However, helpful sources on Shī'ah are not limited only to Shī'i works. Many useful points about Shī'ah and its principles may also be found in authoritative books and informative sources of Sunni brothers. The reason is that the foundations of Shī'ah were constructed by the prophet of Islam (s) and originated from his teachings that are found in Sunni sources in large numbers. Therefore, some great Shī'i scholars like Ibn Bīnq, among early scholars, and the authors of *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār*, *al-Murājaʿāt*, and *al-Ghadir*, among contemporaries, referred to such Sunni books and based their arguments on them.

However, it should not be overlooked that many exaggerations, accusations, fabrications, and distortions have been leveled against Shī'ah in some Sunni books. This has been done even in some of their literary works, such as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *ʿIqd al-Farid* and some of Jahiz's essays, where such things are least expected.¹

Works on the history of nations and religions [*al-milal wa al-nihāl*] and on ideological principles [*ʿaqā'id*] are especially notable in this regard. Researchers must beware of believing the contents of such books before careful scrutiny. These books were written

mostly by certain individuals motivated by their ambitions or bigotry—both of which result in fabrication, perversion, and calumny—therefore, must not be relied on at all. The author of this paper is not the only one who claims this point. The writer of *al-Ghadir* is not alone, either, in putting a number of such fabricators to trial in the third volume of his work. The late religious authority of Egypt and the president of al-Azhar University, Shaykh Mahmūd Shaltūt—who was a follower of the same Islamic denomination [*madhhab*] as the writers of *al-milal wa al-nihal*—also says:

"Most of those who have written on Islamic denominations, have been influenced by the vicious spirit of prejudice. Hence, their works have frequently intensified the rage of enmity and rancor among the children of a single *ummah*. Every student of Islamic factions has looked at his opponents only from one angle, considering the opinion of the other faction as unacceptable and describing its views as foolish. This has been done in a way that involves much more harmful and evil results than beneficial ones. Therefore, whenever someone who cares about equity and fairness and wishes to study various Islamic denominations, he should not base his opinions on these works. Instead, he must consult with the main books and sources of those denominations in order to approximate truth and avoid mistakes."²

On the other hand, there are numerous books on history, literature, bibliography, etc. by early and contemporary writers that undermine the scholastic, literary, social, and cultural rights of Shi'ah. In cases that such works are supposed to mention—using

proper wording—the works and virtues of Shi'ah, they fail to do so and leave the facts about Shi'ah and its intellectual legacy untouched and unknown. These sources include many works on the history of Arabic literature, such as Jurji Zaydan's *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughah*.

The author of the precious book, *Hitshām Ibn al-Makam*, states in this regard:

"In the Shi'i school of thought and the Ja'fari supreme university, one observes great scholars. Each of these scholars is a source of pride and glory for the Islamic world, particularly the Shi'i community. These great men have taken considerable steps and rendered valuable services for the promotion of man's knowledge and culture, intellectual enlightenment, and battle against superstitions. The Shi'i community is duty-bound, from all aspects, to keep alive the memory of these great men, who are the scholarly and intellectual personalities and the treasures of the Shi'i world. Shi'i researchers ought to collect the accounts of the manners, thoughts, beliefs, and struggles of these outstanding figures—which are recorded here and there in history regardless of their status—from the works of past writers. Then, they are duty bound to publish these hidden treasures and make them known to the world.

But unfortunately, due to the negligence of this crucial duty, or the lack of an organized and well-equipped publicity establishment, these personalities have not been introduced appropriately. Thus, people around the world do not know these figures properly. It is a matter of regret that most

of historical accounts about these individuals have been provided by Westerners. A stranger—for example a Western priest or orientalist—even if his actions are guided by his conscience and fairness and he does not aim at distorting facts or preventing the spread of truth, still his information is imperfect as the saying goes: "Those who live in a house are more aware of what exists inside it [*Ahl al-bayt adrā hi mā fi al-bayt*]."

In order to know the extent of foreigners' (non-Muslims') knowledge about Islam and those raised by its teachings, we quote Montesquieu's statement as an example. In the second section of the sixteenth chapter of [*the spirit of laws*], this prominent French writer quotes PROVIDO as saying: "Muhammad (s) married Khadijah when she was five years old and had intercourse with her when she was seven." What can one expect from those whose information about the most obvious facts about the life of the Prophet of Islam is flawed to such an extent or whose statements are so hostile and far from humanity?

It is an undeniable fact that the attention paid by our Sunni brothers to the familiarization of the world with Muslim personalities has been more than that of Shi'i Muslims. Sunnis have done many commendable services for this cause. However, some of them have been affected by sectarian prejudice, and thus, portrayed genius Shi'i personalities in a distorted way. For instance, they ascribe ugly attributes to such scholars as Zurārah Ibn A'yan, Hishām Ibn Salīm (a

student of Imām Sādiq (‘a)), and Hishām Ibn al-Hakam who were in the center of trust and interest of our ascendants and were indeed sources of pride for Islam as far as their scholarly status and moral virtues are concerned. To ensure about this fact, you may confer the books, *Al-Farq Bayn al-Firq* and Shahrastāni’s *Al-Milal wa al-Nihāl*.

Those whose views are not tainted with personal intentions and are not influenced by sectarian feelings have avoided mentioning the facts about Shi’i personalities and virtues due to unattentiveness with respect to their status. For instance, in his book, *The History of Kalām*, the respectable scholar, Shibli Nu’mān, discusses the evolution of the science of theology [*Kalām*] as if it is just a product of Sunni theologians. He does not pay the least attention to the contribution of Shi’i scholars in this regard. For example, while discussing the manners of theologians, he mentions Hisham Ibn al-Hakam who should definitely be considered as one of the greatest theologians of the second century A.H.,—in a very sketchy form and does not present his biography in a way appropriate for the personality of such a great figure.⁵

On the other hand, we know that, for many years, a phenomenon called ‘Orientalism’ and ‘Islamology’ has existed in the world, the vanguards of which were those priests who were immediately assisted and collaborated by the agents of politics. The numerous distorted references and fabricated statements mentioned earlier provided these people—in addition to their own evil intentions—a pretense to say and write whatever they liked.

Message of Thaqaalayn

Dr. Muṣṭafā al-Subā'ī states:

"Orientalists choose their references willfully. For example, they utilize literary books as their source in the field of the history of tradition and use history books as documents for the study of *fiqh*, and consider what Damiri quoted in *Ḥawāt al-Ḥayawān* as a correct evidence, whereas, they deny what Malik stated in *al-Muwaffa'* ..."⁵⁴

Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr writes:

"Although Western scholars have done extensive studies about various aspects of Islam and Islamic civilization during since the past century, most of their works are full of bias and vicious intentions and distortive efforts are visible throughout them."⁵⁵

Among different groups, Shi'ah has been harmed more than any other Islamic denomination because there are not sufficient reliable references about them that are available to those foreigners who try to know it. Edward Brown says: "we still have no access to any detailed, sufficient, and reliable works on the Shi'i school of thought in any of European languages."⁵⁶ Nevertheless, opinions have constantly been expressed about Shi'ah and invalidated issues like that of 'Abdullāh Ibn Saba' have been continuously cast in the teeth.

On the other hand, we see hundreds of academic courses and positions in the contemporary world that address matters pertaining to Islam and the East, including Eastern languages, philosophy, and religions—Shi'ah being among them. Now, what and how are the materials and resources that provide the information base for these many courses and positions related to Shi'ah? "Almost all resources used by Europeans in their studies about Islam are Sunni

works.⁷ Whenever *Qur'an*, *hadith*, history of the Prophet's life, *fiqh*, and *kalām* are touched on, the opinion of Sunni Muslims [*Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*] is often discussed although even this opinion is also been quoted in a distorted and biased way."⁸

On the other hand, we often find what is mentioned about Shi'ah in general books and encyclopedias existing in the world, full of errors, baseless accusations, and superficial, confused, and incorrect commendations. Unfortunately, since the translators of these books are Sunnis, when they translate them to Arabic—which is the international language of the Muslim world, and thus, has a vast territory—they rarely add any footnotes or say any words about the mistakes and charges that exist against Shi'ah. This shortcoming has resulted in the spread of those fabrications throughout Muslim communities and led to the disintegration of the Islamic front. It has caused greater disunity of Muslims, and brought about cynicism among the followers of *Qur'an* and the people of *Qiblah*, and always puts flesh barriers in the way of Islamic unity and dignity.

Besides the problems mentioned above, we witness that the books and articles written on Shi'ah by Shi'i scholars have not been published in the world in an ideal scale. In order to take lessons from, and speculate more on, this issue it is worthy to quote Dr. 'Abd al-Jawād Falaturi's statement here:

"If we count all books and articles that have been published during the past twenty five years in different European languages about Islam and Muslim countries—a task that I performed based on the well-known magazine *Abstracta Islamica* which listed all books published about Islam since 1943—we can easily reach the conclusion that out of every 100 writings on Islam only 2 relate to groups other than Sunni ones. Among

this small number, out of every 7 works, only 1 book or article addresses the Twelver Shi'ah. This means that out of every 350 books and articles, only 1 specifically is related to the Twelver Shi'ah, a number that is far less than the number of works which study Zaydi or Isma'ili Shi'ah. Whatever the reasons for this scarcity, the result is the following 'wrong' judgments about Shi'ah:

Shi'ah is nothing more than a political sect,

Shi'ah follows *Mu'tazilah*;

Shi'ah applies the ancient Persian idea of royal inheritance to the Prophet's children and only replaces inheritance of royal power with that of spiritual power of imamah;

Shi'ah believes in the distortion of the *Qur'ān*;

Shi'ah considers its Imams as equals of the Prophet;

Influenced by Christian mentality, Shi'ah believes in the sacrifice of a sacred person—namely, Imam Husayn (‘a)—to save the *Ummah* from their sins; and finally

Shi'ah is some sort of a presumptive, Sufist sect.

These judgments are still widespread and observed even in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.²

As we mentioned above, these allegations have encouraged orientalists and their mimics—such as Ahmad Amin for example—

to say and write whatever they wish about Shi'ah and to attack it. You see that even the *Encyclopedia of Islam*—although carrying the name of Islam—publishes ugly statements against Shi'ah and the most outstanding figures of Islam. They even allowed the Christian Father Lammens, a Belgian priest who was parched with prejudice, jealousy, grudge, and baseness,¹⁰ to write about Shi'ah and the sanctities of Islam. What is more disastrous than the present situation in which Muslims from different corners of the globe—who should know Shi'ah and its culture, mission, struggle, heroism, resistance, and sacrifice, and the martyrs that it has presented for the sake of history and humanity throughout different periods, and take lessons and examples from them in order to get closer to the household of Muhammad (s) and to find life—they, instead, have to hear about Islam from the likes of Christian Father Lammens and Jewish Goldziher!¹¹

One of the factors that has given rise to this situation is the non-distribution of Shi'i sources on an appropriate scale so that no one can talk spontaneously, or else, he will be discredited by the existing resources. Consequently, there is no fundamental and accurate perception of Shi'i thought in orientalist's works. The great and clear religious independence that Shi'ah has enjoyed since its early times has remained obscure. The power that Shi'i Muslims employed inside the Umayyad and Abbasid imperial courts to protect Islam is undiscovered or has been kept so despite all of their sacrifice and struggle. The depth of Shi'i religious orientation, including the issue of *khilāfah* and politics has been neglected. In other words:

"In existing works in European languages, Shi'ah is presented as a minor sect. All of its viewpoint and *raisonne d'etre* have been reduced to a purely political and social controversy and less attention

has been paid to religious motives that led to the emergence of Shi'ah. Even in inquiries about Shi'ah, Isma'iliyyah enjoys the principle share and the Twelver Shi'ah has not been attended to even as much as the Isma'iliyyah.

Perhaps the historical background of the West is the major reason for this blemish. The West had direct contact with Islam on two occasions: first, with Arabs in Andalusia and Sicily and then, with Turks in eastern Europe. In both cases, the contact with Islam was in its Sunni form. Contact with Shi'ah was confined to rather secret and limited relations with some Isma'ili territories in Palestine during the Crusades and perhaps in certain centers of Andalusia. Before the contemporary era, the West did not ever have any contact with the Shi'i world—particularly Iranians—and its acquaintance with the culture of Islamic Iran for the first time occurred in India.

Anyhow, as a result of these factors and perhaps due to Westerners' efforts to humiliate those aspects of Islam that enjoy a strong rational basis,² Shi'ah has never been known outside the world of its followers, whereas it has actually existed throughout the Islamic history and is now followed by tens of millions of individuals with Iranian, Arab, Pakistani, Indian, and other nationalities. The very opinion of the orientologists of the last century that considered Shi'ah a sort of heresy and a deviation from the true Islam [*bid'ah*] has been accepted in most Western cir-

cles. Even some regard Shi'ah as an invention by a group of the enemies of Islam in subsequent centuries. An investigation into several well-known books, that are either related to Shi'ah or contains some allusions to it is enough for proving this fact.

Considering this background and the new line of thinking that is gradually prevailing in research about religions in the West and particularly the Anglo-Saxon countries, the necessity of undertaking a series of fundamental studies about Shi'ah is increasingly felt. After the World War, it was gradually discovered in the United States and then in Britain that the best presenter of a religion was someone who looked at it as an insider. According to this outlook, the mere concrete description of a religion, especially by someone who either did not believe in religion at all or considered the religion under study as rejected and baseless from the outset, was in no way sufficient.¹³

This was an excellent statement about the position of orientlists and research centers of the world as well as the scarcity of resources on Shi'ah.

Finally, I hope that this paper, which is originally presented in remembrance of the great religious and social reformist, 'Allamah Ammi (the author of *Al-Ghadir*), and contains a list of 400 sources on Shi'ah and its teachings and ideas, will be useful for the reference of Shi'i and non-Shi'i researchers, the presentation of correct judgments about, and the study of, this invigorating school of thought.

Message of Thaqalayn

* * * *

The existing sources on Shi'ah and its ideas are of different kinds including:

1- Those authentic books and treatises written by Sunni scholars that address a general array of topics relating to Shi'ah.

2- Those books and treatises written by Sunnis that examine the virtues and the love of *Ahl al-bayt* ('a) and different issues relating to the progeny of the Prophet (s) and their merits and their Islamic and humane characteristics. The following writings are some examples of this category:

1. *Abū al-Shuhadā' al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī*, by 'Abbās Maḥmūd 'Aqqad (from Egypt).
2. *Ḥyā' al-Mayyit bi Faḍā'il Ahl al-Bayt*, by Ḥafīz Jalāluddīn Suyūṭī.
3. *Al-Arba'in fi Manāqib Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, by Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad Ibn Muslim Ibn Abī al-Fawāris Rāzī.
4. *Al-Arba'in fi Manāqib Amir al-Mu'minīn*, by Jamāluddīn Muḥaddith al-Shirāzī.
5. *Al-Arba'in fi Manāqib al-Nabī al-Amin wa Waṣṣiyih Amir al-Mu'minīn*, by Ḥafīz Abū al-Mu'ayyid Ḥanafī Khārazmī.
6. *Al-Arḥūz al-Laṭīfah*, by Aḥmad Khayrī (from Egypt).
7. *Istīlāl Iṭīqā' al-Ghuraf bi Ḥubb Aqrībā' al-Rasūl Dharat al-Sharaf*, by Ḥafīz Shamsuddīn Abū al-Khayr Saḥāwī Shafī'ī.
8. *Is'āf al-Rāghibīn fi Sirah al-Muṣṭafā wa Faḍā'il Ahl Baytīh al-Tahīrīn*, by Shaykh Abū al-'Irfān Sabbān Shafī'ī.

9. *Asnā al-Maʿālib fi Manāqib 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, by Ibn al-Juzʿī Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Shāfiʿī.
10. *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, by Ibn Qutaybah Dinwari.
11. *Al-Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn*, by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sayyid al-Ahl.
12. *Al-Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq*, by Dr. ʿAbd al-Rahman Kayali Halabi.
13. *Al-Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq*, by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sayyid al-Ahl.
14. *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Abu Zuhrah.
15. *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq: ʿIlm wa ʿAqidalah*, by Prof. Ramaḍan Lawand.
16. *Al-Imām 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb*,¹⁴ by Prof. ʿAbd al-Fattah ʿAbd al-Maḥsūd (from Egypt).
17. *Al-Imām 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍa (from Egypt).
18. *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥusayn*, by Prof. ʿAbdullah ʿAlāyili.
19. *Tuḥfah al-Aḥibāʾ fi Manāqib Āl al-ʿAbāʾ*, by Jamāluddīn Muḥaddith al-Shicāzi.
20. *Tuḥfah al-Muḥibbīn li-Āl Ṭū-Hā wa Yā-Sū*, by Maḥmūd Shaykhāni Qādirī Mulani.
21. *Tadhkirah Khawāṣṣ al-Ummah bi Dhikr Khawāṣṣ al-ʿImmah*, by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzi Ḥanafī.
22. *Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq Rūʾid al-Sunnah wa al-Shiʿah*, by Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Qādir (from Egypt).
23. *Ḥusn al-Maʿāl fi Manāqib al-Āl*, by Shaykh Ahmad Ibn Faḍl Ibn Bakathir Makki.

24. *Al-Husayn 'Alayh al-Salām*, by 'Alī Jalaluddin Maṣṣrī.
25. *Al-Iḥṣāq al-Mubīn fī Faḍā'il Ahl Bayt Sayyid al-Mursalīn*, by Mawlawī Muḥammad Rashīduddīn Khān Dihlawī.
26. *Ḥayāt al-Husayn*, by 'Abdullāh 'Alāyih.
27. *Khaṣṣ'īs Amr al-Mu'minīn*, by Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Ibn Shu'ayb Nisā'i.
28. *Al-Khaṣṣ'īs al-'Alawīyyah 'alā Sā'ir al-Bariyyah*, by Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Naṭanzī.
29. *Al-Dirāyah fī Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah*, by Ḥāfiẓ Abū Sa'id Sajistānī.
30. *Du'āl al-Ḥudāt ilā Adā' Iḥṣāq al-Murwālāt*, by Ḥāfiẓ 'Ubaydullāh Ḥaskānī.
31. *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā fī Manāqib Dhawī al-Qurhā*, by Ḥāfiẓ Muḥibbuddīn 'Abārī Makki (Faṭḥ al-Haram).
32. *Dhakhirah al-'Uqbā fī Dhikr Faḍā'il A'imma al-Hudā*, by 'Ashiq 'Alī Khān Hindī Lucknowī.
33. *Dhakhirah al-Ma'āl fī Sharḥ Jawāhir al-La'āl fī Faḍā'il al-'Al*, by Shāhābuddīn Aḥmad Ḥifẓī 'Ujaylī.
34. *Al-Dhurriyyah al-Tāhirah*, by Abū Bashār Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Anṣārī Dūlābī.
35. *Al-Radd 'alā al-Muta'aṣṣib al-'Anīd al-Mānī' min La'n Yazid*, by Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī.
36. *Risalah Madḥ Ahl al-Bayt*, by 'Amr Ibn Baḥr Jāhiz Baṣrī.
37. *Resāle'ī dar Asnad-e Ḥadis-e Ghadīr (I)**, by Ḥāfeẓ Dār Qotnī Baghdādī.

* A (P) sign denotes the works that are written in Persian

38. *Zayn al-Fatā fi Sharḥ Sūrah Hal' Alā*, by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad 'Aṣimī.
39. *Sa'ādah al-Kawnayn fi Bayān Faḍā'il al-Ḥusayn*, by Mawlawi Muḥammad Ikramuddin Dihlawi.
40. *Sumuww al-Ma'nā fi Sumuww al-Dhāl aw Ashi''ah min Ḥayāt al-Ḥusayn*, by 'Abdullāh 'Alayilī.
41. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd al-Mada'ini.
42. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Prof. Muḥammad Muḥyiddin 'Abd al-Ḥamid.
43. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Prof. Muḥyiddin al-Khayyāj.
44. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Prof. Na'il Marṣafī.
45. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Sa'duddin Taftāzani.
46. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh.
47. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Fakhr Rāzi.
48. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, by Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid Maṣri.
49. *Sharḥ Hāshimīyyat al-Kumayt*, by Prof. Muḥammad Shukir Nablussi.
50. *Sharḥ Hāshimīyyat al-Kumayt*, by Prof. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Rāfi'i Maṣri.
51. *Al-Shahīd al-Khālīd al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī*, by Prof. Ḥasan Aḥmad Luṭfi.
52. *Al-Sirāt al-Sawīy fi Manāqib Al al-Nabīy*, by Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad Shuykhāni Qādīri Madani.

53. *Turuq Ḥadīth "Innī Tārik Fikrī Al-Thaqalayn,"* by Ḥafīz Ibn al-Qaysarānī (Muḥammad Ibn Tāhir Muqaddasī).
54. *Turuq Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah,* by Ḥafīz Shamsuddīn Dhahabī Shāfi'ī.
55. *'Abqariyyah al-Imām,* by 'Abbās Maḥmūd 'Aqqād (from Egypt).
56. *'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib Baḥriyyah al-Nubuwwah,* by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Khuṭīb.
57. *'Alī wa Banuh,* by Dr. Taha Ḥusayn Maṣrī.
58. *Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' wa al-Fāṭimiyyūn,* by 'Abbās Maḥmūd 'Aqqād (from Egypt).
59. *Fath al-Ghadr,* by Kamaluddīn Ibn Humām Siwāsī.
60. *Al-Fath al-Mubīn fī Faḍl'il Ahl Bayt Sayyid al-Mursalīn,* by Rashīduddīn Khān Dihlawī.
61. *Fath al-Mulk al-'Alī bi-Shihāb Ḥadīth Bāb Madīnah al-'Im 'Alī,* by Aḥmad Muḥammad Sadiq Maghribī.
62. *Farā'id al-Samā'ayn fī Faḍl'il al-Murtaqā wa al-Batūl wa al-Sibtayn,* by Shaykhul-Islām Abū Ishāq Juwaynī Ḥamawaynī.
63. *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muḥimmah fī Ma'rifah al-'Immah,* by Nuruddīn Ibn Sabbāgh Malikī.
64. *Faḍl'il Amr al-Mu'minin,*¹⁵ by Ḥafīz Abū al-Mu'ayyid Kharazmī Ḥanafī.
65. *Fī Riḥāb 'Alī,* by Prof. Khālid Muḥammad Kbalid.
66. *Al-Qawl al-Jahy fī Faḍl'il 'Alī,* by Ḥafīz Jalāluddīn Suyūṭī.
67. *Kutub Ta'rikh al-Shām,* by Ibn 'Asākir (the volumes on the life and virtues of Imam 'Alī ('a)).

68. *Kitāb al-Wilāyah fī Turūj Ḥadīth al-Ghadr*, by Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr Tabarī (the prominent historian).
69. *Kifāyah al-Ṭalīb fī Manāqib 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, by Sadru'l-Huffāz Ganjī Shāfi'ī.
70. *Kifāyah al-Ṭalīb li-Manāqib 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Shauqī.
71. *Kalimah al-Imām*, by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh (from Egypt).
72. *Mā Nazala min al-Qur'ān fī Amr al-Mu'minin*, by Ḥafīz Abu Bakr Farsī Shirāzi.
73. *Mā Nazala min al-Qur'ān fī 'Alī*, by Ḥafīz Abū Na'im Isfahānī.
74. *Mahāsīn al-Azhār fī Taḥṣīl Manāqib al-'Irāq al-Akhyār al-Aḥbār*, by Ḥusamuddīn Ḥamīd Ibn Aḥmad Muḥalla.
75. *Mir'at al-Mu'minin fī Manāqib Akī Bayt Sayyid al-Mursalin*, by Mawlawī Wahyīyullāh 'Amrī Lucknowī.
76. *Maḡalīb al-Sa'ūl fī Manāqib Aī al-Rasūl*, by Ḥafīz Abu Salīm Muḥammad Abū Ṭalḥah Shāfi'ī.
77. *Ma'ārij al-'Ulā fī Manāqib al-Murtada*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Sadru'l-'Alim Dihlawī.
78. *Ma'ālīm al-'Irāq al-Nabawīyyah*, by Abu Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz Janābidhī Baghdādī (known as Ibn al-Akhḍar).
79. *Miḡlāḥ al-Najā fī Manāqib Aī al-'Abū'*, by Muzā Muḥammad Ibn Mu'tamid Khān Badakhshī.
80. *Maḡalīb al-Ṭalībīyyīn*, by Abū al-Faraj Isfahām.
81. *Muḡtabas al-Siyāsah*, by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh (from Egypt).¹⁶

82. *Maqāl al-Imām al-Sibt al-Shahīd*, by Ḥafīẓ Abū al-Mu'ayyid Ḥusayn Khārazmī.
83. *Manāqib Ahl al-Bayt*, by Ḥafīẓ Shamsuddīn Sakḥāwī.
84. "Manāqib Ahl al-Bayt" (treatise), by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī.
85. *Manāqib Ahl al-Bayt*, by Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Baghdādī.
86. *Manāqib al-Sūdūt*, by Mulik al-'Ulamā' Shahābuddīn Dawlatābadī.
87. *Manāqib 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Tabarī Khahī.
88. *Manāqib 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, by Faqlī Ibn al-Maghazilī Shafī'i.
89. *Manāqib Murtadawī*, by Muḥammad Ṣālih Ḥusaynī Ṭirmidhī.
90. *Muntakhab al-Ta'rikh fi Faqā'il 'Alī wa al-Ḥasan*, by Ḥafīẓ Ibn Kathīr Shafī'i Dimashqī.
91. *Mawā'id Ahl al-Bayt*, by Ibn al-Khashshāb.
92. *Mawaddah al-Qurbā*, by Sayyid 'Alī Ibn Shahābuddīn Ḥamadānī.
93. *Mawṣū'ah 'Alī al-Nabīy*, by Dr. 'A'ishah Bint al-Shāḥī.
94. *Nuzūl al-Abrār bi-Mā Ṣaḥḥa min Manāqib Ahl al-Bayt al-Aṭhār*, by Mirza Muḥammad Badakhshī.
95. *Nazm Durar al-Samṭayn fi Faqā'il al-Muṣṭafā wa al-Murtadā wa al-Baṭūl wa al-Sibtayn*, by Jamāluddīn Zarandī Ḥanafī.
96. *Nūr al-Abṣār fi Manāqib 'Alī Bayt al-Nabīy al-Mukhtār*, by Sayyid Mu'min Ibn Ḥasan Shablanjī.
97. *Nihāyah al-Afdāl fi Tashrif al-'Alī*, by Ḥafīẓ Jalāluddīn Suyūṭī.

98. *Nihāyah al-Sa'ul fi Manāqib Rawḥānah al-Rasūl*, by 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Muḥammad Ghawth Shāfi'ī.
99. *Wasālah al-Ma'āl fi 'Add Manāqib al-Āl*, by Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Faḍl Ibn Bākathir Makki.
100. *Yanābi' al-Mawaddah*, by Shaykh Sulaymān Qandūzi Ḥanafi.¹³

Since our discussion here concerns the writings of Sunni scholars about the Prophet's progeny ('a) and their virtues, it should be born in mind that besides those sources that specifically concern the virtues of Ahl al-Bayt ('a)—100 titles of which were reported in the above list—Sunni scholars have also narrated the virtues of 'Ali and his sons ('a) on numerous occasions in other books they have written on the commentary of *Qur'ān* [*tafsīr*], tradition [*ḥadīth*], theology [*kalām*], history, and ethics. In this regard, we draw the attention of readers to what Ibn Khaldūn, a prominent Muslim scholar, has written on the merits of Ahl al-bayt ('a) especially referring to Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq ('a) as an example.¹⁴ Among his various statements, he writes, when he comes to issues relating to Ghara'ib and Kitāb Jafr:

"... And if its attribution to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is correct it will enjoy the best authentication—whether by him or by other men of his family because they are people of virtue. It is correctly reported about him that he used to warn some of his relatives about the events that would happen to them; events which really happened as he had reported ... And if this miracle was worked by other individuals than them what would you think about them in terms of knowledge, religion, and signs of prophethood and God's grace for

their noble root that testifies to the purity of its branches? And many such words have been transmitted about the Ahl al-Bayt ..."

Incidentally, we would like to note that those who believe that Ibn Khaldūn did not accept the 'Mahdi' issue are in a sheer mistake. In fact, Ibn Khaldūn has his own statements on the methods of the establishment of Mahdi's government. Besides, what he states in *Muqaddamah* points to the fact that he accepts the authenticity of a number of traditions relating to Mahdi. The traditions that Ibn Khaldūn quotes in *Muqaddamah* from Sunni sources are quite few. In fact, even compared with what is reported in Sunni sources, these traditions are very few to such an extent that we can claim that he did not have access to other sources. Nevertheless, he does not completely reject, or consider weak, all of the few traditions that he quotes, however he accepts the authenticity of just a few out of these few traditions. Therefore, despite the shortage that he apparently faced with respect to tradition sources, Ibn Khaldūn, as well, admits the existence of the authentic prophetic tradition on Mahdi. He states, in this regard, in *Muqaddamah* (1348, p. 260):

"Chapter fifty two concerns the issue of Fajri
.... Know that the view held by the majority of
the followers of Islam throughout the centuries
has been that a man from Ahl al-Bayt will definitely
reappear at the end of the time. He will
support Religion and spread justice. He will be
followed by the Muslims and will conquer the
Islamic lands. His name is Mahdi The rise of
Dajjal and those who will come after him from
ash-shūf' al-sā'ah, which are foreseen in authentic

traditions, will occur after his reappearance. Jesus will descend after him ... "

After admitting the wide acceptance of the issue by various Muslim nations and denominations throughout the centuries, Ibn Khaldun turns to the narration of traditions. Among the traditions that he quotes are those the authenticity of which is endorsed by great Sunni tradition narrators.¹⁹ He also presents a detailed critical analysis of these traditions—which, as we mentioned, are a few whereas there are many correct traditions in this regard that were not available to him. Some of the criteria Ibn Khaldūn employs in his analysis contain flaws that we cannot discuss in the limited space of this paper. Finally, he states: "... And as you noticed, all of them except a few, or less than that, could not escape criticism ..."²⁰ Therefore, Ibn Khaldun admits the existence of authentic prophetic traditions on Mahdi although in a minimum number. Accordingly, portraying him as a rejecter is a baseless charge against a great scholar who also makes some remarks regarding the substantiation of Mahdi's existence through *kashf* and *bāṭin* [revelation and insight].²¹

3- The third category of sources on Shi'ah includes those books and treatises written by Sunni scholars that contain the virtues of, and the issues relating to, Mahdi (‘a) and his government including more than 150 titles such as:

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, by Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘il Bukhārī.
2. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, by Muslim Ibn Hajjāj Neyshāburi.
3. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, by Abu ‘Isa Tirmidhi.
4. *Sunan*, by Ahmad Ibn Shu‘ayb Nisā‘ī.
5. *Sunan*, by Abu Dawūd Sajistāni.

Message of Thuqalayn

6. *Sunan*, by Ibn Majih Qazwini.
7. *Muḥḥ al-Sunnah*, by Ḥafiz Farrā' Baghawi.
8. *Jami' al-Uṣūl*, by Majduddin Ibn Athir.
9. *Jawāhir al-'Iqdāyn*, by Nuruddin Samhūdi.
10. *Futūḥāt Makkiyyah*, by Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi.
11. *Kunūz al-Haqā'iq*, by Zaynuddin Manawi.
12. *Mawālid Ahl al-Bayt*, by Ibn Khashshab.
13. *Futūḥāt Islāmiyyah*, by Aḥmad Zaynī Dablān.
14. *Al-Ṣawā'iq*, by Ibn Hajar.
15. *Al-Yawāqūt wa al-Jawāhir*, by 'Abd al-Wahhāb Shu'ranī.
16. *'Aqā'id al-Akābir*, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Dashi.
17. *Rawḍah al-Aḥbāb*, by 'Aṣa'ullāh Ghayṣiuddīn.
18. *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*, by Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Bukhārī.
19. *Al-Ḥadīth al-Mutasaṣsil*, by Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Balādhurī.
20. *Mir'āt al-Asrar*, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Arif Dihlawī.

4. The fourth category includes those books written by Sunni scholars which particularly concerns Mahdī ('a) and amounts to more than 30 titles including:²²

1. *Akḥbār al-Mahdī*, by Ḥammād Ibn Ya'qūb.
2. *Al-Idhā'ah li-Mā Kān wa Yakūn Bayna Yaday al-Sā'ah*, by Abū Ṭayyib Ibn Abī Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī.
3. *Al-Burhān fī Mā Jā'a fī Ṣāḥib al-Zamān*, by 'Alī Ibn Ḥusaynuddīn Muttaqī Ḥindī.

4. *Al-Bayān fī Akhbār Ṣāḥib al-Zamān*, by Ḥafiz Ganjī Shāfi'i.
5. *Al-Bayān fī Akhbār Ṣāḥib al-Zamān*, by Maḥmūd Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nawfili.
6. *Tahḍiq al-Nazar fī Akhbār al-Imam al-Muntaẓar*, by Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Māni' (a scholars from Najd in the 14th century A.D.).
7. *Talkhiṣ al-Bayān fī 'Alāmāt Mahdī Ākhir al-Zamān*, by Ibn Kamāl Pāshā Ḥanafī.
8. *Al-Tawḍīḥ fī Tawātur Mā Jā'a fī al-Muntaẓar wa al-Dajjāl wa al-Masīḥ*, by Qāḍī Muḥammad Shaṭṭarī.
9. *Al-Radd 'Alā Man Ḥakama wa Qaḍā Anna al-Mahdī al-Maw'ūd Jā'a wa Maḍā*, by Mullā 'Alī Qāri Ḥanafī Makki.
10. *Al-'Itṭ al-Wardī fī Sharḥ al-Qaṭr al-Shahdī fī Anṣāf al-Mahdī*, by Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ḥusaynī Bilbisi.
11. *'Iqd al-Durar fī Akhbār al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*, by Yūsuf Ibn Yahya Muqaddasī Salāmī.²³
12. *'Alāmāt al-Mahdī*, by Ḥafiz Jalāluddīn Suyūṭī.
13. *Fawā'id al-Fikr fī Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*, by Mar'ā Ibn Yūsuf Karamī Muqaddasī.
14. *Al-Qaṭr al-Shahdī fī Anṣāf al-Mahdī* (versified), by Shāhābuddīn Aḥmad Ḥalwānī.
15. *Al-Qawl al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'Alāmāt al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*, by Ibn Hajar.
16. *Al-Qawl al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'Alāmāt al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*, by Jamāluddīn Muqaddasī.
17. *Al-Mahdī*, by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (Shamsuddīn)

18. *Al-Najm al-Thāqib fī Bayān Anna al-Mahdī min Awlād ‘Alī Ibn Abī Tālib*.²⁴
19. *Na‘ī al-Mahdī*, by Ḥafīẓ Abū Na‘īm Isfahānī.
20. *Al-Ḥidāyah al-Nadīyyah li al-Ummah al-Muḥammadiyyah fī Faḍl al-Dhūt al-Mahdiyyah*, by Shaykh Muṣṭafā Bakrī.

5- The fifth category of sources on Shi‘ah includes books and discourses that are written by authors of other faiths. The following works are examples of this category:

1. *Al-Imām ‘Alī Ṣawt al-‘Adālah al-Islāmiyyah*, by George Jurdaq.
2. *Al-Imām ‘Alī Nibrās wa Mitrās*, by Sulaymān Kattānī.
3. *Fātimah al-Zahrā’ Watar fī Ghamad*, by Sulaymān Kattānī.
4. *Al-Qaṣidah al-‘Alawīyyah al-Mubārakah*, by ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Antaki (Egyptian).²⁵
5. *‘Id al-Jihadī*, by Buls Salamah (of Beirut).²⁶
6. *Al-Abtāl*, by Thomas Carleil (British).
7. Treatise of Jabrān Khalīl Jabrān.
8. Treatise of Mikhā‘il Na‘īmah.
9. Treatise of Amīn Nakhlah.
10. Some chapters of Gabriel Dunkry’s book.

6. Another category of sources comprises of Shi‘i writings on various issues and fields of knowledge that reveal the general Shi‘i culture and scholastic endeavor throughout the centuries. Precious works have concerned themselves, since ancient times, with the review of these books, including:

1. *Fihrist* of Abū Ghālib Zurāri.
2. *Fihrist* of Ibn 'Abdūn.
3. *Fihrist* of books by Sayyid Murtaḍa 'Alamul-hudā.
4. *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Ghaḍā'iri.
5. *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (sections relating to Shi'ah).
6. *Fihrist* of Shaykh Tusi.
7. *Fihrist Asmā' Muḥammifi al-Shi'ah* (Rijāl), by Najjāshi.
8. *Fihrist* of Shaykh Muntajahuddīn.
9. *Ma'alim al-'Ulama'.*
10. *Kashf al-Hujub wa al-Astār.*
11. *A'yān al-Shi'ah* (also mentions works and writings).
12. *Mu'alīfī al-Shi'ah fī Ṣade al-Islām.*
13. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'ah li-'Ulūm al-Islām.*
14. *Muḥammafī al-Shi'ah al-Imāmiyyah fī al-'Ulūm al-Islāmiyyah.*
15. *Al-Dhari'ah ilā Taṣanīf al-Shi'ah.*

7- The seventh category involves analytical sources written by Shi'i scholars on Shi'i theology, political philosophy, and social wisdom [*ḥikmah*] and all issues that somehow help in becoming familiar with the fundamental trends of Shi'ah and have a pivotal role in shaping the major contours of its image. In this list, we just touch on some of these books. Our attention will be focused on Shi'i works in various fields of knowledge, arts, and wisdom. Proliferation of such works is a distinct phase. Besides the listings of Sunni writers and world's libraries, Shi'i scholars have also done a lot for recording such works, as mentioned earlier.

Message of Thaqalayn

Except in a few cases, no explanation has been given on the sources of this list. In other words it is an introductory bibliography, not a detailed and comprehensive one.

We hope the opportunity arises for the preparation of a complete and extensive listing in this area. The following list contains, in some cases, an abstract about the scholastic value, the analytical level, and the headlines of the work along with its critique and introduction in order to have a detailed bibliography.

Finally, I should note that in the completion of this listing, except the cases in which I give reference to some parts of the great book, *al-Dhari'ah*, I have taken advantage of the books and libraries of friends and respectable figures named below, whom I bothered in this regard. As an acknowledgment of their assistance, I mention their names in alphabetical order. Mr. Morteza Akhundi, Dār al-Kotob al-Islamiyyah (Tehran), Mohammad Baqer Behbudi (Tehran), Mohammad Taqi Ja'far Tabrizi (Tehran), Sheikh Abol-Qasem Jalali Khorasani (Qom), Sayyid Hadi Khosrowshahi (Qom), Haj Sheikh Abdol-Rahim Rabbani Shirazi (Qom), Sheikh Mohammad Baqer Sharifzadeh Golpaygani (Tehran), Haj Aqa Asadolah Tabataba'i, Maktabah al-Tabataba'i (Qom), Sheikh Hadi Marvi Khorasani (Qom), and Morteza Motahhari (Tehran).

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- *Āthar al-Shi'ah al-Imāmiyyah* (Along with its Persian translation), by 'Abd al-'Aziz Jawahir Kalām (Tehran: Chapkhāneh-ye Majles, 1307 S.¹⁷).
- *Arā' Ahl al Madīnah al-Faḍilah*, by Ḥakīm Abū Naṣr Farābī (Leiden: 1895).

- *Āghāz wa Anjām-e Jahān dar Qor'ān wa Nuhjulbalāghah* (P), by Mohammad Amin Razavi (Reza'iyyeh: Chāpkhāneh-ye Ferdowsi, 1348 S.).
- *Ālā' al-Rahmān (tafsir)*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Jawād Balaghī (Sidon: Maṭba'ah 'Irfān, 1351).
- *Āyandeh-ye Bashariyyat az Nazar-e Maktab-e Mā* (P), by Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani (Qom: Enteshārat-e Niekmat, 1344 S.).
- *Al-A'imma al-Ithnā 'Ashar*, by Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Ibn Tulūn, researched by Dr. Ṣalāhuddīn Munjid (Beirut: Dar Ṣādir and Dar Beirut, 1377).
- *Abṣār al-'Ayn fī Ahwāl Anṣār al-Ḥusayn*, by Qādī Shaykh Muḥammad Samawī (Najaf: 1343).
- *Abū Ṭalīb Mu'min Quraysh*, by 'Abdullāh Khanāzī, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār Maktabah al-Ḥayāt, 1381).
- *Abū Hurayrah*, by Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Sharafuddīn Mūsawī 'Āmilī (Najaf: Maṭba'ah Ḥaydariyyah, 1385).
- *Ithbāt al-Hudāt*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan Ḥurr 'Āmilī, 6 vols. (Qom: Maṭba'eh-ye Elmiyyeh).
- *Āthār al-Shi'ah al-Ja'fariyyah fī Tafsīr al-Uarakah al-Fikriyyah fī Baghdad wa minḥam al-Faylasūf al-Kindī*, by Shaykh 'Abdul-Wahid al-Anṣārī (Baghdad).
- *Al-Ijtihād wa al-Taqlīd*, by Ayatullah Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Kho'i (Najaf: Maṭba'ah Nu'mān, 1386).

- *Ajwibah Masā'il Jūrullāh*, by Sayyid 'Abdul-Husayn Shara-fuddīn, 3rd ed. (Najaf: Nu'mān, 1386).
- *Aḥādith 'Ā'ishah Ummul-Mu'minīn*, by Sayyid Murtadā al-'Askari, Part One: *Adwār min Hayātihā* (Tehran and Baghdad: Maktabah-ye Saduq and Maktabah al-Najāh).
- *Al-Ihtijāj*, by Abū Manṣūr Ṭabarsī (Najaf: Nu'mān, 1386).
- *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq*, by Qāḍī Nurullāh Shushitārī, with elaborate expositions by Sayyid Shahāhuddīn Mar'ashī (Tehran: Ketābforuṣhī-ye Islāmiyyah).
- *Akhhār Shu'arā' al-Shi'ah*, by Abū 'Ubaydullāh Marzbānī, summarized by Sayyid Muḥsin Amin (the author of *A'yān al-Shi'ah*), research by Muḥammad Hādī Amīnī (Najaf: Ury-dariyyah, 1388).
- *Akhlāq Āl Muḥammad (s)*, by Muṣṣa Jawād al-Sabīṭī (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1375).
- *Ādāb al-Du'ā' fi al-Islām*, by Tahir Abū Raghīf (Basra: 1391 and Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Ādāb).
- *Ādāb al-Taff aw Shu'arā' al-Husayn ('a) min al-Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī ilā al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashar*, by Jawād Shubbar, several vols. (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-A'lami, 1388).
- *Adyān va Mahdaviyyat (P)*, by Mohammad Beheshti, 3rd ed.
- *Al-Irshād fi Ma'rifah Hujajillah 'Alā al-'Ibād*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nu'mān Muḥid, edited by Sayyid Kazem Musavi Mayameyi (Tehran: Akhundi (Dār al-Kotob al-Islamiyyah), 1377).

- *Irshād al-Tālibin* (an exposition on 'Allamah Hilli's *Nahj al-Mustarshidin*), by Faḍil Miqdād Sivri (Bombay, lithographed).
- *Al-Arḍ wa al-Turbah al-Husayniyyah*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Husayn Kashifūl-Ghita' (Cairo: Al-Najāh Publications). Along with *Al-Wuḍu' fi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, 5th ed.
- *Al-Istibṣār fi Mā Ikhṭalafa min al-Akḥbār*, by Shaykhul-Tā'ifih Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan al-Tusi, researched by Sayyid Ḥasan Mūsawī Khursān (Najaf: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1375-76).²⁸
- *Istiqṣā' al-Afḥām wa Istifā' al-Intiqām fi Radd²⁹ Muntahā al-Kalām*,³⁰ by 'Allamah Mir Ḥamid Ḥusayn Hindi Neyshaburi (the author of *'Abaqāt*³¹) (Lucknow: 1315).
- *Asrār al-Ṣalāh*, by Zaynuddīn Shabid Thāni (lithographed, 1305).
- *Asrār al-'Aqā'id*, by Mirzā Abū Talib Ḥusaynī Shirāzi, 2 vols. (Tehran: Akhundi, an offset of the Bombay edition).
- *Al-Islām 'Alā Qaw' al-Tashayyū'*, by Dr. Hossein Khorasani, (Tehran: Matba'eh-ye Āliyah), vol. 1.
- *Ashih'ah min Balāghah al-Inām al-Ṣādiq: Khūṭuh, Rasā'il, wa Mawā'iz*, by 'Abdul-Rasul Wā'izī (Najaf: Ādab, 1383).
- *Aṣl al-Shi'ah wa Uṣūluhā*, by Kashifūl-Ghita', 10th ed. (Cairo: Matba'ah al-Najāh, 1377)
- *Al-Uṣūl al-'Ammah li al-Fiqh al-Muqārin*, by Muḥammad Taqī al-Ḥakīm (Beirut: Dār al-Andulus, 1963)

- *I'lām al-Warā bi-A'lām al-Ḥudā*, by Amīn al-Islām Shaykh Tabarsi, with an introduction by Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Khursan (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1390).
- *A'yān al-Shi'ah*, by Sayyid Muḥsin Amin 'Amili, 56 vols. (Damascus: Maḥba'ah Ibn Zaydūn, 1352).
- *Al-Ijāz fi Imāmah 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, by Shaykh Muṭīd (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1386).
- *Ofoq-e A'ā: Negāhi be Chehreh-ye Muḥammad va 'Alī (P)*, by Haj Mirza Khalil Kamare'i (Tehran: Islāmiyyeh and Sherkat-e Tab'-e Ketāb).
- *Iqtisādunā*, by Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1398).
- *Ilā al-Majma' al 'Ilmi al-'Arabi bi-Dimushq*, by Sharafuddīn (Najaf: Nu'man and Dar al-Muḥit, 1387).
- *Ilā Mashyakha al-Azhar*, by Shaykh 'Abdullāh al-Sabīḥ (Baghdad: Maḥba'ah Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1370).
- *Al-Alfayn fi Imāmah Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, by 'Allamah Ḥillī, with expositions by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Muẓaffar (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1372).
- *Imāmah 'Alī Bayn al-'Aql wa al-Qur'ān*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Jawād Muḥsinīyah, (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-A'lām, 1390).
- *Al-Imāmah fi al-Tashrī' al-Islāmī*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥdī Asifi (Najaf: Nu'man, 1963).

- *Al-Imām al-Kubrā wa al-Khilāfah al-'Uzmā*, by Hāj Aqā Mir Muḥammad Hasan Qazwini, with expositions by Sayyid Murtaḍā Qazwini (Najaf: Nu'mān, 1378).
- *Al-Imām al-Jawād*, by Sayyid 'Abdul-Razzaq Mūsawī Maqām (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1371).
- *Al-Imām Zayn al-'Ābidin*, by Maqām (Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Gharā al-Hadithah, 1374).
- *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq*, by Muḥammad Husayn al-Muzaḥḥari, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1386).
- *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq Muḥim al-Kimiyā*, by Dr. Muḥammad Yahyā al-Ḥashimi, 2nd ed. (Cairo, Halab, and Baghdad: Manshūrāt al-Mu'assasah al-Suriyyah al-'Irāqiyyah, 1959 A.D.).
- *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq wa al-Madhāhib al-Arba'ah*, by Asad Ḥaydar al-Najafi, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabi, 1390-92).
- *Al-Imām al-Mahdī*, by Muḥammad 'Alī Muḥammad Dakhil (Najaf: Ādab, 1385).
- *Al-Intiṣār fi al-Naṣṣ 'Alā A'imma al-Athār*, by Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Abū al-Faṭḥ Karāchiki (Najaf: Al-Maṭba'ah al-'Alawiyyah, 1346).
- *Entezār* (P), by Dr. Alī Shari'ati (Tehran: Enteshārat-e Hosseiniyyeh-ye Ershad).
- *Fasān va Sarnevesht* (P), by Morteza Motahhari (Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahami-ye Enteshār).

- *Al-Anwār al-'Alawīyyah wa al-Asrār al-Murtaḍawīyyah fī Ahwāl Amīr al-Mu'minin wa Faḍa'ilih wa Manāḡibih wa Qaḍā'wālih*, by Shaykh Ja'far al-Naqdī, Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah (Muḥammad Kāzīm al-Kutubī) (1382).
- *Awā'il al-Muqālāt fī al-Madhāhib wa al-Mukhtārāt*, by Shaykh Muḥid, introduction and correction by Shaykh Faḍlullāh Zan-jānī (Tabriz: Maktabeh-ye Haqiqat).
- *Ahl al-Bayt*, by Muḥammad Jawād Mughniyah (Beirut: 1956 A.D.).
- *Al-Iqāḥ*, by Faḍl Ibn Shādhān Azudi Neyshābūri, research and preparation of traditions by Sayyid Jalāluddīn Muḥaddith Ar-mawī, publication no. 1347 (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dāneshgāh, 1351).
- *Imān Abi Ṭalīb, al-Hujjah 'Alā al-Dhāhib ila Takfīr Abi Ṭalīb*, by Fakkhār Ibn Mu'idd Mūsawī, researched by Sayyid Muḥammad Ruhul-'Ulūm (Najaf: Adāb, 1387).
- *Būjār al-Anwār al-Jāmi' li-Durar Akhbār al-'Immah al-Aḥbār*, by 'Allamah Majlisī (Tehran: Dar al-Kotob al-Islamiyyah (supervised by Sheikh Abdol-Rahim Rabbani Shirazi and some other scholars) and Ketābforushi-ye Eslāmiyyeh (supervised by Mohammad Baqer Behbudi and a number of other scholars)). This edition includes 110 volumes.⁴²
- *Al-Barāhīn al-Jaliyyah fī Daf' Taslīkāt al-Wahhābiyyah*, by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan Qazwīnī Ḥā'iri (Najaf: Adāb).
- *Bardegi dar Eslām* (P), by Mohammad Sadeq Irajī (Tehran: Ketābforushi-ye Mohammedi).

- *Borhān-e Rowshan (Al-Burhān 'Alā 'Adom Tahrif al-Qur'ān)* (P), by Haj Mirza Mahdi Borujerdi (Tehran: Chapp-e Bazar-jomehri, 1374).
- *Al-Burhān 'Alā Wufūd Şāhib al-Zumān*, by Sayyid Muhsin Amin 'Āmili (Darmasus: 1333).
- *Al-Burhān (tafsir, P)*, by Sayyid Hashem Bahrani, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Chāpkhāneh-ye Āfiah (sponsored by Haj Abol-Qasem Salek), 1334).
- *Beshārat-e Ahdayn* (P), by Dr. Mohammad Saleqi¹⁴ (Tehran: Dār al-Kotob al-Islāmiyyah).
- *Bishārah al-Muṣṭafā li-Shi'ah al-Murtadā*, by Abu Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Jarir Ibn Rustam Tahuri (Najaf: Ilaydariyyah, 1369).
- *Başā'ir al-Durajāt fi Faḍā'il Āl Muḥammad (s)*, by Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan Şaffār (Tabriz: Sberkat-e Chapp-e Kitab, 1381).
- *Al Baṭāl al Asudī Ḥabīb Ibn Maẓāhūr*, by 'Abdul-Wahid al-Muzaffar (Najaf: 'Ilmiyyah, 1370).
- *Baṭāl al-'Alqam al-'Abbās Ibn Amīr al-Mu'minin*, by 'Abdul-Wahid al-Muzaffar, 3 vols. (Najaf: Maṭba'ah Dar al-Nashr wa al-Ta'hif and 'Ilmiyyah, 1369-74).
- *Baṭāl Fakkh* (Abu 'Abdillah al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Muthallath, one of Imam Sādiq's companions) by Muḥammad Hadi Amiri (Najaf).
- *Balāghah al-Ḥusayn: Khutab, Rasā'il, Mawā'iz*, by Ja'far 'Abbās al-Ḥā'iri (Najaf: Ilaydariyyah, 1374).

- *Bayān al-Furqān* (P), by Sheikh Mojtaba Qazvini Khorasani:
 - Vol. 1: *Towhid al-Qor'ān*, Mashhad: Sherkat-e Chapkhāneh-ye Khorāsān, 1370 (upon the efforts of Alakollah Va'ez Yazdi)
 - Vol. 2: *Nobovvat al-Qor'ān*, Tehran: Ākhundi, 1371
 - Vol. 3: *Ma'ād al-Qor'ān*, Tehran: Jāme'eh-ye Ta'limāt-e Eslāmi, 1373
 - Vol. 4: *Mizān al-Qor'ān* (Emāmat), Mashhad: Chāpkhāneh-ye Zavvar (sponsored by Haj Mirza Asadollah Eskandari), 1375
 - Vol. 5: *Gheybat, Raj'at, va Shafā'at*, Mashhad: Chapp-e Tus (managed by Musa Khosravi), 1380.
- *Partovi az Qor'ān* (P), by Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani:
 - Vol. 1: *Tafsir-e Surch-ye Baqareh*, Tehran: Sherkat-e Enteshār, in two sections: 1346 and 1350 S.
 - Vol. 2: *Tafsir-e Joz'-e Akher* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Enteshār, 1348 S.
- *Pishvā-ye Dovvum, Emām Hasan-e Mojtabū ('a)* (P), by a number of scholars (Tehran: Nashriyyeh-ye Maktabol-Hasan in cooperation with Sherkat-e Enteshār, 1349).
- *Tārikh-e Bordegi* (P), by Yadollah Niyazmand Shirazi, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Chapkhāneh-ye Mihan, 1349).
- *Ta'rikh al-Fiqh al-Ja'fari*, by Hāshim Ma'ruf al-Husayni (Beirut: Dār al-Nashr li-al-Jami'iyin).

- *Ta'rikh al-Qur'ān*, by Abū 'Abdillāh Zanjānī, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasah A'lami, 1388).
- *Tārikh-e Qur'ān* (P), by Dr. Mahmud Ramiyar (Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahāmi-ye Nashr-e Andishch, 1346 S.).
- *Ta'rikh Karbalā' wa Hā'ir al-Ḥusayn ('a)*, by Dr. Sayyid 'Abdul-Jawād Kilidār (Al Tu'mah), 2nd ed. (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1387).
- *Ta'sir-e Jāneshini dar Banāy-e Eslām* (P), by Ali Asghar Mo'azzazi (Tehran: Mo'assasch-ye Chāp va Enteshārat-e Piruz, 1337 S.).
- *Ta'sis al-Shī'ah li-'Ulūm al-Islām*, by Sayyid Hasan al-Ṣadr (Kāzimayn: Dār al-Kutub al-'Araqiyyah, 1370).
- *Al-Tibyān (tafsir)*, by Shaykh Ṭūsī, correction by Ahmad Habib Qasr al-'Āmilī, 10 vols. (Najaf: 'Ilmiyyah, 1376-83).
- *Tajrid al-'Aqā'id*, by Khājih Naṣiruddin Ṭūsī (elucidated by 'Allamah Ḥilli in *Kashf al-Murād*) (Mashhad: Ketābforushi-ye Ja'fari).
- *Taḥta Rāyah al-Haqq fi al-Radd 'Alā al-Juz' al-Awwal min Fajr al-Islām*, by Shaykh 'Abdullah al-Sabiti (Tehran: Chāpkhāneh-ye Pakatchi, 1364).
- *Tuhfah al-Aḥbāb fi Nawādir Athār al-Aṣḥāb*, by Hāj Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi (Tehran: Dār al-Kotob al-Eslāmiyyah).
- *Tuhaf al-'Uqūd 'an Al al-Rasūl*, by Ibn Shu'bah Ḥarrānī, correction and exposition by Ali Akbar Ghaffari (Tehran: Dār al-Kotob al-Eslāmiyyah, 1376).

- *Tashrih va Mohākemeh dar Tārikh-e Āl-e Mohammad* (P), by Qāzi Zangeli Zuri (Boklul Balijat Afandi), translated by Mirza Mahdi Adib (Tehran: Eslāmiyyeh, 1322 S.).
- *Taṣṭih al-Zahrā' Min Iḥrāq Dimā' Āl al-'Abā'*, by Ruḍi Ibn al-Nabī al-Qazwini, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1375).
- *Al-Tafṣir*, by Muhammad Ibn Mas'ud 'Ayyāshī, correction and exposition by Sayyid Hashem Rasuli Mahallāni. 2 vols. (Qom: Chāpkhāneh-ye Eslāmiyyeh).
- *Tafsir-e Abol-fotuh* (P), by Shaykh Abol-fotuh Razi (Tehran: 1325 S.).
- *Al-Tafṣīl*, by Abū al-Fatūh Karāchiki, prepared by Jalāluddin Muḥaddithi Arnawī (Tehran: Ākhundi, 1370).
- *Tahdhīb al-Shāfi'*, by Shaykh Ṭūsī, research by Sayyid Husayn Bahral-'Ulūm. 2nd ed. (Najaf: Adāb, 1383).
- *Tarriḥ al-Anbiyā'*, by Sayyid Murādā 'Alam al-Hudā, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1380).
- *Al-Tawḥīd*, by Shaykh Abū Ja'far Ṣaduq, correction and exposition by Sayyid Hashem Huseini Tehrani (Tehran: Maktabeh-ye Saduq, 1387).
- *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām fi Sharḥ al-Muqni'ah*, by Shaykh Ṭūsī. 10 vols. (Najaf: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1377-82).
- *Al-Thaqalān*, by Shaykh Muḥid (Najaf).
- *Al-Thaqalān*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Husayn Muzaḥḥar (Najaf: 1367)⁴⁴

- *Thawāb al-A'māl wa 'Iqāb al-A'māl*, by Shaykh Ṣadiq, correction and exposition by 'Alī Akbar Ghaffārī (Tehran: Maktabeh-ye Saduq, 1391).
- *Thawrah al-Husayn*, by Muḥammad Mahdī Shamsuddin (Beirut: Dar al-Andulus).
- *Izābeh va Dāfe'eh-ye 'Alī*, (P) by Mortazā Motahhari (Tehran: Ershād & Sherkat-e Enteshar, 1349).
- *Jāmi' al-Aḥādith*, by Abū Muḥammad Ja'far Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Alī Qummī (Tehran: Eslāmiyyeh (Sayyid Ahmad Ketabchi), 1369).
- *Jāmi' al-Ruwaṭ wa Izāhah al-Istibḥāt 'an al-Tarīq wa al-Asnād*, by Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ardabīlī Gilrāwī (Tehran: Chāpp-e Rangin, 1331) (on the orders of his excellency Ayatullah Borujerdi and funded by Haj Mohammad Hosein Kushānpur).
- *Jāmi' al-Sa'adāt*, by Muḥammad Mahdī Narāqi, correction and exposition by Sayyid Muḥammad Kalāntar, 3. vols. (Najaf: Dār al-Nu'mān).
- *Jabr va Ikhtiwā* (P), by Mohammad Taqī Ja'fari Tabrizi (Tehran: Sherkat-e Enteshār, 1347).
- *Al-Jamal, al-Nusrah fi Harb al-Basrah*, by Shaykh Mufid, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1368).
- *Jannah al-Ma'wā*, by Kashiful-Ghiṭā', research by Sayyid Mohammad Ali Qāzi Tabataba'ī (Tabriz: Ketabkhāneh-ye Haqiqat, 1380).

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3. *Innahū Law Ijtama'a 'Alā al-Imām Biḍ'ah 'Ashar Rajul la-Wajaba 'Alayh al-Khurūj*³⁷
- 4) *Ma al-Sabab al-Mujib li-Istitar al-Imām wa Ghaybatih*
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- *Ṣifāt al-Shi'ah*, by Shaykh Ṣaduq (Najaf: Ādab).
- *Ṣulḥ al-Ḥasan*, by Shaykh Raḍī Al Yāsīn, 2nd ed. (Kazimayn: Dar al-Kutub al-'Irāqīyyah, 1384).

- *Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah fī Naqd al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah*, by Qaḍī Nurullāh Shūshtārī, corrected by Sayyid Jalāluddīn Muḥaddith Armawī (Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahāmi-ye 'Tab'-e Ketāb, 1367).
- *Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah fī Faḍā'il Āl al-Rasūl (s)*, by Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī (originally by Ahmad Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī) (Karbālā: Manshūrāt Hay'ah Shabāh al-Tabligh).
- *Daḥāyiq al-'Aqdah*, by Sayyid Muḥammad Bahrul-'Ulūm (Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Baqir, 1383).
- *Ṭabaqāt A'lām al-Shi'ah*, by Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī. The following parts of this book have been published:
 1. *Nawābiḡ al-Ruwāt li Rābi'ah al-Mi'at* (in vol. 1: Ādam Ibn Muḥammad al-Qalānisi, Ya'qub Ibn Yūsuf al-Rāzi); researched by 'Alī Naqī Munzawī (author's son), 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabi, 1390).
 2. *Al-Kirām al-Bararah li al-Qarn al-Thālith Ba'd al-'Asharah* (Part One: Shaykh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Iṣfahānī and Shaykh Ḥaydar Qulī al-Neyshābūri) (along with an appendix) (Najaf: 'Ilmiyyah, 1374).
 3. *Al-Kirām al-Bararah* (Part Two: Mir Khuda Bakhsh al-Hindī and Mirza Muḥammad 'Alī Qa'imatuḍḍīn) (Najaf: Ādāb and Qaḍā', 1377).
 4. *Nuqabā' al-Bashar li al-Qarn al-Rabi' 'Ashar* (Part One: Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ardabīlī and Shaykh Ḥasan Yūsuf al-Kashmirī) (along with an appendix) (Najaf: 'Ilmiyyah, 1373).
 5. *Nuqabā' al-Bashar* (Part Two: Sayyid Ḥasana al-Burāqī and Sayyid Sādiq al-Hindī al-Najafī) (Najaf: 'Ilmiyyah, 1375).

6. Nuqabā' al-Bashar (Part Three: Shaykh Ṣalīb al-Ḥarīrī and al-Sayyid 'Alawī al-Iḥdāmī) (Najaf: Adab, 1381).
7. Nuqabā' al-Bashar (Part Four: Shaykh 'Alī Abū al-Wardī and Shaykh Ghulām 'Alī al-Bārfurushī) (Najaf: Adab, 1388).

Ṭabaqāt A'lām al-Shi'ah is the second comprehensive work of 'Allamah Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tihirānī and is as valuable as his other book, *al-Dharī'ah ilā Tayānif al-Shi'ah*. During tens of years of his research in public and private libraries, and among thousands of manuscripts, in order to find pieces of information about Shi'i writings and record them in *al-Dharī'ah*, the author used to record the names of writers, copyists, commentators, annotators, the issuers and holders of permission, and poets. The number of books that contained his records amounted to several large volumes. First, he ordered the book names—instead of alphabetical order like that of *al-Dharī'ah*—by century and then ordered the names in each century alphabetically and entitled the book that contained that list as "Waṭāyat A'lām al-Shi'ah" beginning with the fourth century. He assigned the first part to the fourth century because the biographies of the scholars of the first three centuries A.H. had been recorded in *rijāl* books and the innovative Shaykh Āqā Buzurg did not want to redo an already done job. Then, he assigned the second part to the fifth century and so on and so forth up to the fourteenth century. He also assigned a special title to each century as follows:

1. Nawābiḡh al-Ruwāt fi Rabi'ah al-Mi'at
2. Izālah al-Halak al-Dāmis bi-al-Shumūs al-Muḍī'ah fi al-Qarn al-Khamis

3. Al-Thiqāt wa al-'Uyūn fī Sadis al-Qurun
4. Al-Anwār al-Sāfi'ah fī al-Mi'ah al-Sabi'ah
5. Al-Ḥaqqā'iq al-Rābinah fī Tarājim A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah
6. Al-Diyya' al-Lami' fī 'Ahāqirah al-Qarn al-Tāsi'
7. Ḥiyā' al-Dāthir min Ma'athir Ahl al-Qarn al-'Āshir
8. Al-Rawḍah al-Naḍirah fī 'Ulama' al-Mi'ah al-Hādijyah Ba'd al-'Ashrah
9. Al-Kawākib al-Muntathirah fī al-Qarn al-Thāni Ba'd al-'Ashrah
10. Al-Kirām al-Bararab fī al-Qarn al-Thālith Ba'd al-'Ashrah
11. Nuqabā' al-Bashar fī al-Qarn al-Rabi' 'Ashar

However, since Āqā Buzurg had to begin with the fourteenth century at the time of publication, he changed the previous ordering and named the fourteenth century as part one, the thirteenth century as part two and so on ... Moreover, since he had also included the scholars who were still alive, he changed the book's name replacing "Wafayāt" with "Tahqāt" and finally entitled the book as *Tahqāt A'lām al-Shi'ah*⁴⁹

- *Tarā'if*, by Ibn Tāwūs Hasanī and Sayyid Raḍiyuddīn 'Alī (Chapp-e Saugī).
- *Al-Tarāz al-Muzahhab: Ahvālāt-e Hazrat-e Zeynab (P)*, by Mirzā Abbas Qolī Sepehr (Qom: Mo'assasah-ye Matbu'ati-ye Rahimiyan, 1338).

- *Al-'Abhās Ibn Amīr al-Mu'minin*, by Sayyid 'Abdul-Razzāq Mūsawī Maqrām (Najaf: Haydariyyah).
- *'Abdullāh Ibn Sabā*, by Sayyid Murtadā al-'Askari:
 Vol. 1: 3rd ed., Beirut: Maṭba'ah Dar al-Kutub, 1388;
 Vol. 2: ... Ibn Saba wa Asāṣir Ukhra, 1st ed., Beirut and Tehran: Dār al-Ghadir and Enteshārāt-e Ghadir, 1392.
- *'Abdullāh al-Raḍī*, by Kāzīm al-Hillī (Najaf: Nu'mān, 1377).
- *'Abaqāt al-Anwār fi Manāqib al-A'imma al-Athar*, by Mīr Ḥamid Husayn Mūsawī Ḥindi Neyshāburi.

'Allamah Shaykh Āqa Buzurg Tibrāni writes in *al-Dhar'ah* (vol. 15, pp. 214-15): "*'Abaqāt al-Anwār fi Manāqib al-A'imma al-Athar* is written, in several large volumes on the affirmation of the leadership of the masters of creatures, with the support of God (the Lord, the omniscient) and by the Sayyid, the 'Allamah, the Imam, the remover of doubts and illusions, the reliable sharp-sighted al-Mir Ḥamid Husayn Ibn Sayyid 'Allamah Muḥammad Qulī Khan Ṣāhib Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamid Neyshāburi Kunturi (d. 18th Safar, 1306). This book is a refutation of the seventh part of *Al-Tuhfah al-Ithnā 'Ashariyyah*⁵⁶ which concerns *Imamah*. '*Abaqāt* has two manhaj (broad sections): The first manhaj deals with proving the indication of some *Qur'ānic* verses concerning *Imamah* like: "Verily, your only waliy [leader] is Allāh ..." and "Today I completed your religion for you ..." This section, which has not been printed, exists in the author's library in Lucknow and in the library of Mawlāwi Sayyid Rajab 'Alī Khān Ṣāḥbān al-Zamān in Jākrawān and ...

The second manhaj discusses twelve traditions on *Imamah* and in response to the objections of the author of *Al-*

Tuhfah al-Ihnā 'Ashariyyah. This munhaj includes 12 volumes that are listed below. Each volume is assigned to one tradition and some of them have been published in several volumes:

- Vol. 1: On *Ghadir* tradition, 1293 and 1294 (in two large parts);
- Vol. 2: On *Manzilah* tradition, 1295;
- Vol. 3: On *Wilayah* tradition, 1303;
- Vol. 4: On *Jayr* tradition, Lucknow, Būstān-e Razavī Publications, 1306;
- Vol. 5: On *Madinah al-'Im* tradition, 1317 and 1327, (in two parts);
- Vol. 6: On *Tashbih* tradition, Lucknow: 1301;
- Vol. 7: On the tradition, "*Mun nāṣaba 'Alayyan al-khilāfah*" (This volume has not been prepared in a final and fair written form);
- Vol. 8: On *Nūr* tradition, Lucknow: 1303,
- Vol. 9: On *Rāyah* tradition;
- Vol. 10: On the tradition, "'*Alay ma'a al-Haqq*";
- Vol. 11: On the tradition "*Qitāl 'alā al-ta'wīl wa al-tanzīl*."

The last three volumes, mentioned above, has not been written fair.

- Vol. 12: On *Thaqalayn* tradition, Lucknow: 1314 and 1351 (in two parts).

Incidentally, it should be noted that the first part of the volumes of *Ghadir* tradition in 'Abaqāt was also published in Tehran about thirty years ago by the late Ayatullah Sayyid Sadruddin Šadr (a Qom resident, d. 1373) with the efforts of the scholars of the Islamic Seminary in Qom by Chāpkhanch-ye Šherkat-e Tazāmonī-ye Elmi publications in *raḥīl* size and 600 pages. The volumes of *Thaḡalayn* tradition were also published in Esfahan in 6 volumes from year 1380 and thereafter through the efforts of a group of scholars and philanthropists.

At the end of the sixth volume, there is detailed information about 'Abaqāt and its author and about *al-Tuhfat al-Ithnā 'Ashariyyah* and ... In addition to *al-Dhari'ah*, that information is also utilized for preparation of this part. According to this volume (pp. 1212-13), the following books are written about 'Abaqāt *al-Anwār*:

First: *Tatnūn* [complementation] of 'Abaqāt, by Sayyid Našir Ḥusayn, the author's son.

Second: *Tadhīy* [appendage] of 'Abaqāt, by Sayyid Dhākir Ḥusayn, another son of the author.

Third: The arabicization of the first volume of *Madinah al-'Ilm* tradition, by Sayyid Muḥsin Nawwāb Lucknowi (b. 1329; *Al-Dhari'ah*, vol. 4, no. 1061).

Fourth: The complementation of the seventh volume of 'Abaqāt: Since the original volume seven was an incomplete draft, the author's grandson, Sayyid Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn Sayyid Našir Ḥusayn, completed it.

Fifth: The summary of all parts of volumes two, five, and six and one part of volume one and the ara-

lization of all of these volumes under the title *al-Thamarāt* written by Sayyid Muhsin Nawwāb Madhkūr (*Al-Dhar'ah*, vol. 5, no. 42).

- *Adl-e Elāhi* (P), by Mortazā Motahhari (Tehran: Urshad and Sherkat-e Enteshār, 1349).
- *Azamat-e Hosein Ebn-e Ali* (P), by Haj Mirza Abu Abdullah Zanjani, with additions by Vā'ez Charandābi, 3rd ed. (Tabriz: Ketābforushi-ye Soroush, 1374).
- *'Aqā*
- *'id al-Imāmiyyah*, by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muzaḥḥar, with an introduction by Dr. Ilāmid Hafīz Dāwūd, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Maṭbū'at Najah, 1381).
- *'Aqā'id al-Imāmiyyah al-Ithnā 'Ashariyyah*, by Sayyid Ibrāhīm Mūsawī Zanjani (Najaf: Ādab, 1387).
- *'Aqā'id al-Shi'ah*, by Mullā 'Alī Asghar Nayyir Burujirdi (Tehran and Tabriz: Eslāmiyyeh (Sangi) and Sangi, 1322).⁵¹
- *'Aqīdah al-Shi'ah al-Imāmiyyah: 'Arq wa Dirūsah*, by Sayyid Hāshim Ma'rūf al-Ḥusaynī (Beirut: Dar al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1376).
- *'Aqīdah al-Shi'ah fī al-Imām al-Ṣādiq wa Sū'ir al-A'immaḥ ('a)*, by Sayyid Ḥusayn Yūsuf Makki al-Āmili, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1382).
- *'Ilul al-Sharā'i'*, by Shaykh Sadūq, correction and exposition by Sayyid Faḍlullāh Ṭabāṭabā'i Yazdi (Qom: Maktabeh-ye Ṭabāṭabā'i, 1378).

- *‘Ilm al-Imām*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Muzaḥḥar al-Najafī.
- *‘Alī al-Akbar*, by Sayyid ‘Abdul-Razzāq Mūsawī Maqām, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1368).
- *‘Alī min al-Mahd ilā al-Laḥad: Şawt al-‘Itrah*, by Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzīm al-Qazwīnī (Najaf: Ādāb, 1387).
- *‘Alī wa al-Ḥākīmūn: Dirāwah Taḥlīliyyah Muqārinah Hawla Mukhtalaḥ al-Ḥukūmāt al-‘Ālamīyyah wa Ḥukm al-Imām ‘Alayh al-Salām*, by Dr. Muḥammad Şādiqī (Beirut: Mu’assasah al-A’lami, 1389).
- *‘Alī wa al-Khulafā’ bi-Riwāyah Ahl al-Sunnah*, by Najmuddin Sharīf al-‘Askarī (Najaf: Ādāb).
- *‘Alī wa al-Sunnah*, by Najmuddin Sharīf al-‘Askarī (Baghdad).
- *‘Alī wa al-Shi‘ah*, by Najmuddin Sharīf al-‘Askarī (Najaf: Ādāb).
- *‘Alī wa Munāwi‘ūh*, by Dr. Nūrī Ju‘fār (1956 A.D.).
- *Onsor e Shujā‘at: Haftād-o Do Tan va Yek Tan* (P), by Hāj Mirza Khalīl Kamare‘i, 3 vols. (Tehran: Eslamiyyeh, 1381).
- *‘Id al-Ghadir fi ‘Ahd al-Fātimīyyin*, by Muḥammad Ḥādī Amūnī (Najaf: Maṭba‘ah al-Qada’, 1382).
- *‘Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, by ‘Allamah Majlisī (Tehran: Sherkat-e Saḥāmi-ye Tab’-e Ketāb, 1347 S.).
- *‘Ayn al-‘Itrah fi Ghābn al-‘Itrah*, by Sayyid Ibn Tāwūs (Najaf: Maktabah wa Maṭba‘ah Ḥaydariyyah).

- *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, by Shaykh al-Ṣaduq (Qom and Tehran: Dar al-Ḥuṣn and Dar al-Kotob al-Eslamiyyah, 1377).
- *Ghāyeh al-Marām wa Hujjah al-Khiṣām fi Ta'yin al-Imām min Tariq al-Khāṣṣ wa al-'Amm*⁵³ by Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī (Beirut: Dar al-Qamūs al-Hadīth and Maktabah al-Bayān, Tehran: Chāpp-e Sangi, 1272).
- *Al-Ghadir fi al-Islām*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā Farajullah al-Najafī (1362).
- *Al-Ghadir fi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah wa al-Adab*, by 'Allamah Armini and 'Abdul-Ḥusayn Aḥmad:
 - 1st ed.: up to volume 9 (Najaf: 1364-71).
 - 2nd ed.: up to volume 11 (Tehran: Dar al-Kotob al-Eslamiyyah, 1372 and later).
 - 3rd ed.: up to volume 11 (Beirut: Dar al-Kitāb al-'Arabi, 1387).
- *Al-Ghaybah*, by Shaykh al-Tūsī, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Nu'mān, 1385).
- *Al-Ghaybah*, by Abū Zaynab Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Nu'mānī (Tabriz: Ketābforuṣhī-ye Sab'ri, 1382).
- *Fātemeh Fātemeh Asī (P)*, by Dr. Ali Shari'ati (Tehran: Ershād, 1350).
- *Fāyedeḥ va Lozum-e Dīn (P)*, by Muḥammad Taqī Shari'ati Mazināni, 3rd ed. (Tehran: Sherkat-e Enteshār, 1347).
- *Fadak fi al-Ta'rikh*, by Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1374).

- *Farḥah al-Gharīf fī Ta'vīn Qabr Anār al-Mu'minn 'Alī ('a)*, by Ghiyāthuddin Ibn Tāwūs, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1382).
- *Al-Firdaws al-A'lā*, by Kashif al-Ghiṭā', expositions by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Qāḍī Tabāṭabā'i (Tabriz: Maṭba'ah-ye Reẓā'ī, 1372).
- *Firaq al-Shū'ah*, by Ḥasan Ibn Mūsā Nowbakhtī (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah, 1355).
- *Al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah min al-'Uyūn wa al-Maḥāsin*, by Shaykh al-Mulūd, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Ḥaydariyyah).
- *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muḥimmah fī Uṣūl al-A'immaḥ*, by Shaykh Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (Chāpp-e Sangī, 1304).
- *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muḥimmah fī Ta'rif al-Ummaḥ*, by Sayyid Sharafuddin, 5th ed. (Najaf: Dār al-Nu'mān).
- *Fosul-e Nasiriyyeh* (P), by Khājeh Nasiruddin Tusi (accompanied by Arabic translation by Ruknuddin Gurgānī), prepared by Mohammad Taqī Daneshpazhuh (Tehran: 1375).
- *Faḍā'il al-Imām 'Alī*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Jawād Mughniyah (Beirut: Dar Maktabah al-Ḥayāh, 1381).
- *Faḍā'il al-Khamsah min al-Shiḥāḥ al-Sittah*, by Sayyid Murtadā Ḥusayn Firūzābādī, 3 vols. (Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Najaf, 1383-84).
- *Fiqh al-Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: 'Arḍ wa Istidlāl*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Jawād Mughniyah, 6 parts (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li-al-Ma'lāyīn, 1965-66).

- *Al-Fiqh 'alā al-Madhāhib al-Khamsah: al-Ja'fari, al-Hanafī, al-Maliki, al-Shāfi'i, al-Hanbali*, by Shaykh Muhammad Jawad Mughniyah, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm li-al-Malayin, 1962).
- *Falāyif al-Shi'ah: Hayātuhum wa Arā'uhum*, by Shaykh 'Abdullāh Ni'māh (Beirut: Dar Maktabah al-Hayah).
- *Falsafah al-Tawhīd wa al-Wilāyah*, by Shaykh Muhammad Jawad Mughniyah (Qom: Hekmat).
- *Falsafah al-Hukm 'Inda al-Imām*, by Dr. Nūrī Ja'far (Baghdad: Maṭba'ah al-Zahra', 1957).
- *Falsafah al-Mithāq wa al-Wilāyah*, by Sayyid 'Abdul-Husayn Sharafuddin (Karbala: Dār al-Muḥit, 1387).
- *Falsafatunā*, by Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr (Beirut: Maṣhūrāt 'Uwaydal, 1962).
- *Falsafeh-ye Huquq va Ahkām dar Eslām az Nazar e Tajziyeh va Tahlil-e Aqli va Āsār-e Motarattebeh bar Ānha*, by Dr. Javād Tārā, 2 vols. (Qom: Chāpkhāneh-ye Ilmiyyeh, 1345).
- *Fawā'id al-Raḥawīyyah fī Ahwāl 'Ulamā' al-Madhāhib al-Ja'fariyyah*, by Hāj Shaykh 'Abbas Qummi (Tehran: Ketābkhāneh-ye Markazi).
- *Al-Fihrist*, by Shaykh Tusi, correction and exposition by Sayyid Muhammad Ṣādiq Bahrul-'Ulūm, 2nd ed. (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1380).
- *Fihrist Asmā' Muḥannifi al-Shi'ah (Rijāl Najjāshī)*, by Abū al-'Abbas Ahmad Ibn 'Alī Najjāshī, correction by Jalāluddin Gharawi (Tehran: Markaz-e Nashr-e Ketāb).

- *Fi Dīlāl al-Wahy*, by 'Alī Faḍlullāh al-Ḥusaynī (Beirut: Dar Maktabah al-Hayāh).
- *Qāṣi' al-Burhān fi al-Radd 'alā al-Jabhān*, by Ahmad Ibn 'Azīz al-Musawī al-Fāhī (Karbala: Maṭba'ah Sayfan, 1388).
- *Qirab al-Asnād wa Kitāb al-Ja'fariyyāt wa al-Ash'athiyāt*, by 'Abdullah Ibn Ja'far Ḥimyarī, correction by Hāj Shaykh Murādā Ardakānī and Hāj Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Najafābādī (Tehran: Eslāmiyyeh) (on the orders of honorable Ayatullah Burujerdi and funded by Sayyid Nāqer Rāstkerdar).
- *Qaḍā' Amir al-Mu'minin*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Shush-tari, 4th ed. (Najaf: Maktabah wa Maṭba'ah Haydariyyah, 1383).
- *Qalā'id al-Durar fi Bayān Ayāt al-Ahkām bi-al-Athar*, by Shaykh Ahmad Jaza'iri, 3 vols., (Najaf: Dar al-Thaqafah, 1382).
- *Qamar Banī Hāshim*, by Sayyid 'Abdul-Razzāq Mūsawī Maqram (Najaf: 'Ilmiyyah, 1365).
- *Qawā'id al-Ḥadīth*, by Muhyiddin Mūsawī Ghurayfī (Najaf: Adāb).
- *Al-Qiyādah al-Islāmiyyah fi al-Falsafah wa al-Tashrī'*, by Jawād Kazim (Beirut: 1391).
- *Qiyām-e Sūdāt e Alavi (P)*, by Ali Akbar Tashayyod (Tehran: Chāpkhāneh-ye Majles, 1331 S.).
- *Qeys Ebn Sa'd Ebn Ebadeh (P)*, by Mohammad Reza Hakim (Tehran: 1367) (sponsored by Shāhchifar)

- *Al-Kāshif 'An Alfāz Nahj al-Balāghah fī Shurūḥih*, by Sayyid Jawād Muṣṭafawī Khurasanī (Tehran: Akhundi (Dar al-Kotob al-Eslamiyyah)).
- *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, by Abu Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qub Kulaynī (Tehran: Dar al-Kotob al-Eslamiyyah, 1388).
- *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, by Shaykh Abu al-Qasim Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qawlawayh, correction and exposition by 'Allamah Amini (Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Murtaḍawīyyah, 1356).
- *Kitāb Sālim Ibn Qays al-Kūfi al-Hilālī, Ṣaḥīḥ Amir al-Mu'minin* (Najaf: Haydariyyah).
- *Kitāb al-'Umdah*, by Ibn Bītrīq (Chāpp-e Sangi).
- *Kitāb Naṣr Ibn Mazāḥim al-Munqiri al-Kūfi* (Chāpp-e Sangi).
- *Kuḥl al-Bāṣar fī Sirah Sayyid al-Bashar*, by Haj Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi (Qom: Mu'assasah Nashr al-Kotob al-Mazhabiyyah).
- *Kashf al-Irtiyāb fī Ittibā' Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb*, by Sayyid Muḥsin Amin 'Amili (Damascus: Maṭba'ah Ibn Zaydūn, 1347) (along with "al-'Uqūd al-Durriyyah fī Radd Shubāḥāt al-Wahhābiyyah" by the same author).
- *Kashf al-Uṣṣ wa Nahj al-Ṣidq*, by 'Allamah Hillī (Baghdād: 1344).
- *Kashf al-Ghummah fī Ma'rifah al-A'immah*, by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Irbilī, 3 vols., (Tābriz: Maktabeh-ye Bani Hashemi, 1381).

- *Kashf al-Fawā'id dar Sharh-e Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id-e Khājah Nasiruddin Tusi* (P), by Allameh Hilli (Chāpp-e Saugī).
- *Kashf al-Yaqin fi Faqā'il Amīr al-Mu'minin*, by 'Allamah Hilli (Najaf: Dār al-Kutub al-Tijāriyyah, 1371).
- *Al-Kashkūl fi Mā Jarā 'alā Al al-Rasūl*, by Sayyid Haydar Āmulī, 1st ed. (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1372).
- *Kifāyah al-Athar fi al-Naṣṣ 'alā al-'Immah al-Ithnā 'Ashar*, by Abu al-Qasim 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khazzāz Rāzi (1305). (along with "al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'ih")
- *Kifāyah al-Muwahhidin* by Sayyid Ismā'il 'Alawī 'Aqilī Tabarsi Nuri:

Vol. 1: *Tawḥīd, 'Adl, Nubuwwah*;

Vol. 2: *Imāmah*;

Vol. 3: *Ma'ād*;

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- *Al-Maqālāt wa al-Firaq*, by Sa'd Ibn 'Abdullāh Ash'arī Qummi, correction and exposition by Dr. Muḥammad Jawād Mashkur (Tehran: Mo'asseseh-ye Maibu'ati-ye Ata'i, 1963 A.D.).
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 Part two: *Sarchashmeh-ye ab-e hayāt*,
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- *Al-Wuḍū' fi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, by Najmuddin Sharīf al-'Askarī (Cairo: Maḥbu'at al-Najāh, 1381); along with:
 1. Sayyid Sharafuddin, "Al-mash' alā al-arjul aw ghasluha fi al-wuḍū'"; and
 2. Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', "Al-arḍ wa al-turbah al-Husayniyyah."
- *Velāyat-ahdī-ye Hazrat-e Rezā (P)*, by Ali Movahhedi Sāvoji (Qom: Chāpkhāneh-ye Hekmat, 1350 S.; also Tehran and Mashhad: Enteshārat-e Borhān and Enteshārat-e Tus).
- *Al-Hudā ilā Din al-Muṣṭafā*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Jawād Balāghī (Najaf: Haydariyyah, 1385).
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- *Al-Hay'ah wa al-Islām*, by Sayyid Hibatuddin Shahrastāni, introduction and supervision by Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayni (Najaf: Ādāb, 1384).

- * *Al-Yaqtū fī Imāmāt Amir al-Mu'minīn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb (ʿa)*, by Raḍiyyuddīn Abū al-Qāsim Ḥasanī Ibn Ṭāwūs (Najaf: Ḥaydarīyyah, 1369).

Notes:

1. A contemporary example is *Adāb al-Shi'ah* by 'Abd al-Hasib Ṭāha Hamīdah. See *al-Imām al-Ṣādiq wa al-Madhāhib al-Arba'ah*, vol. 6, p. 373.
2. *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq wa al-Madhāhib al-Arba'ah*, vol. 6, pp. 391-92.
3. Sayyid Ahmad Safa'i, *Heshām Fih al-Hakam, Motakallim-e Ma'raf-e Qarn-e Dowvom-e Hejri*, Daneshgāh-e Tehrān publication number 844, 1342 S.
4. Quoted from *al-Imām al-Ṣādiq ...*, vol. 6, p. 387.
5. Sayyid Mohammad Hosein Ṭabātabā'i, "Introduction," *Shi'eh Dar Eslām*.
6. E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 418.
7. Except when they refer to secondary works of their own, following their old habit of referring to each other's works and pretending that their arguments are the final word, therefore, always repeating the same mistake.
8. "Introduction", *Shi'eh Dar Eslām*.
9. *Hezāreh-ye Sheikh-e Yūsi*, vol. 2, p. 160.
10. Henry Lamens (1862-1937) was an orientalist too. Priests have a history of unrelenting fight against the religion of the progeny of Muḥammad (s) and the heroic Shi'i school. Dr. Nasr states in the introduction of *Shi'eh Dar Eslām*, with regard to different issues pertaining the situation of Shi'ah in Europe and the United States: "Most parts of the two or three other books and discourses that exist in English are the products of the minds of several Christian missionaries who have spent their lives in annihilating and refuting the Shi'i thought." Yes, these individuals vainly imagine that if a vibrant

school of thought is removed out of the way, distorted and torpid moralities will be able to replace it. Experience has proven the invalidity of this assumption and such a deed by them led to a huge treason to humanity and history.

11. Ignaz Goldziher (1850 - 1921 A.D.) was a Hungarian orientalist.
12. And, in author's opinion, its social and political aspects too.
13. 'Introduction,' *Shi'eh Dar Esiān*.
14. In 9 volumes.
15. Known as *Manāqib*.
16. A commentary on Mālik al-Ashjar's testament [ʿahd].
17. The following books are conferred in the completion of this list: *Al-Ghadr* volumes, volume six of *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār* (the list of references) published in Esfahān, and *Ṣaḥīfah al-Maktabah*. It should be noted that some issues and analyses are found in some of these books, especially most of those of recent and contemporary writers, that agree with the preferences of authors and disagrees with the realities of tradition, *sunnah*, and history. In such cases, the reader of these books should look into reliable sources and have correct criteria at his disposal.
18. *Muqaddamah* (Egypt: Al-Maṭbaʿah al-Azharīyyah, 1348), pp. 277, 280, and (Cairo: Maṭbaʿah Muṣṭafā Muhammad), p. 334.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
21. *Azharīyyah*, p. 274.
22. Muḥammad ʿAlī Muḥammad Dakhil, *al-Imām al-Mahdī*, Najaf: Āḍāb, 1385; *Ṣaḥīfah al-Maktabah*, nos. 2 and 3. Obviously, the number that was mentioned above for the books specially written by Sunni scholars on Imam Mahdī (ʿa) has not been arrived at based on a perfect survey.

23. Perhaps this is the book recorded in the library of Astān-e Qods in Mashhad as Yahyā al-Sullāmī al-Shāfi'ī, *ʿIqd al-Durar fī al-Mahdī al-Montazar*, no. 184 (in manuscript).
24. "Introduction", *Yasābi' al-Mawaddah*, 7th ed., Najaf: 1384.
25. Including 5595 verses of poem that have been published with commentary.
26. An epic including 3085 verses (Beirut: Dār al-Andulus, 1961) that is said to be the first one which addressed the most important parts of Islamic history.
27. Dates with an 'S.' are according to *hijrī shamsī* [solar Hejira] calendar. Other dates that are not accompanied by any letters are according to *hijrī qamarī* [lunar Hejira] calendar. Christian dates are specified by their standard letters, i.e., A.D.
28. For a collective publication of the Four Books [*al-Kutub al-Arba'ah*] see note 57.
29. Or: *fī Naqq*.
30. Written by Mawlawī Haydar 'Alī Fayḍābādī Hindī.
31. The great scholar, Mir Ḥamid Husayn, wrote this book before *'Ahaqāt al-Anwār*. According to Shaykh Aqā Buzurg Tibrānī, it included ten volumes two or three of which have been published. It is full of scholarly and technical research on issues pertaining the distortion of the Book [*Qur'ān*], the manners of the Hujjah [al-Mahdī] ('a) and the evidence for his existence, the biographies of many Sunni scholars, and some of basic tenets and practical principles of Islam and ... (*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 2, p. 31; *Muqabā' al-Bashar*, vol.1, p. 349).
32. On *Bihār al-Anwār* and its special technical merits with regard to collective presentation and elaboration of traditions and the possibility of comparison that such a great presentation provides for the analyst see Mohammad Bāqer Behbudi, 'Introduction', *Bihār al-Anwār* (Islamiyyah), vol. 10, pp. 8-24.

33. This author has also written *al-Bishārāt wa al-Muqārīnāt Bayn al-Kutub al-Samāwīyah*, Najaf: Maḥabūh al-Gharā al-Ḥadithah, 1388.
34. For the titles of the books published on *Thaqalayn* tradition, see Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Rawḍatī and Faqīh Imāmī, "Appendices," *'Abqāt al-Anwār* (Esfahān), vol. 6, p. 1245.
35. A valuable book that discusses the following issue: "What was happening on in the world, and which king was reigning in every territory of the globe in the year when the *Jaff* ('*Ashūrā*') event occurred? This book has been authored utilizing world's ancient history books that have been written in different languages and their scarce copies have been obtained from the libraries of different governments in the world with great difficulty. It has been both lithographed and typographed." ('Introduction,' *Azamat-e Hosein Ebn-e Ali*)
36. This book is introduced in its title page as: "A book that leads to greater rapprochement among Shi'i and Sunni Muslims based on mutual understanding and the reason."
37. Shaykh al-Mufīd, the mentor of the *ummah*, Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nu'mān 'Ukbarī, was one of the greatest Shi'i scholars of history and the brightest student who was familiar with the teachings of the progeny of Muḥammad (s) and the facts about Shi'ah. He wrote a book entitled *Imāhū Law Ijtama'a 'Alā al-Imām Biḍ'ah 'Ashar Rajul la-Wajaba 'Alayh al-Khurūj*. Now, compare this pure Shi'i logic with the statements of those fools who deny the social status of Imams ('a) in terms of leadership and consider them only as "the mirror of divine knowledge" and therefore shutter Shi'ah's formidable and enlivening social system. Some allegedly great scholars contribute out of Imām's share of *khums* [*sahm al-Imām*] to the publication of these misguided books. This demonstrates a change and decline in the quality of training in Shi'i school of thought and teachings. ("Al-Mufīd (r) is correct. Thus, his deputy is also the same. This is the secret behind Imām's reform movement, throughout the recent period, for the protection of the law of God, the exalted, the prosperity of God's servants, and the interests of the people, since different groups and individuals have unanimity about

- him. This movement leads to some social and generational results the evidences of which will be clarified later.")
38. It discusses about Occultation [*Ghaybah*], the depth of responsibility in this period, the philosophy of hope, the legend of awaiting [*Intizār*], and the future of the world from the viewpoint of Shi'ah.
 39. This volume contains an introduction by Kāstuf al-Ghiṭā (d. 1373), and another one by the late Muḥammad 'Alī Urdūbādī (d. 1380) on the biography of the author, and another short one by the late Sayyid Ḥasan Ṣadr (d. 1354), and another one by the author himself and includes the following topics: Taqdīr al-kitāb wa al-kitābah; Al-kitāb al-faḍīl fī namūs al-i'tidāl; Al-kitāb wa aṣnāfuh al-jawharīyyah; Al-kitāb wa aḥkāmuh al-shakhṣīyyah; Al-Shi'ah wa al-kitābah; Al-rawwāt min al-Shi'ah; Mashāyikh al-Shi'ah al-Imāmiyyah.
 40. In this book, the books about *imāmah* are mentioned from 1261 to 1363 starting with *Kitāb al-Imāmah al-ṣagħir* and *Kitāb al-Imāmah al-Kabīr* written by Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd 'Iṣṣāfī (d. 283) who was one of the cousins of Mukhtār Ibn Abī 'Ubayd 'Iṣṣāfī. This book mentions only the books that address the subject of *imānah*, either under the same title or without a particular title. The books which discuss this subject under other titles are mentioned in their special place in an alphabetical order. This clearly testifies to the unshaking scholarly research of Shi'ah about this vital principle and for elaboration of the form of government and following of the just state.
 41. This includes seven hundred Shi'i books of *tafsīr*. (*Rāhnāmā-ye Ketāb*, vol. 4, p. 526)
 42. 763 books are introduced in this book as tradition books which are Shi'i sources of law mostly written in the second and third century after Hejira. (*Rāhnāmā-ye Ketāb*, vol. 4, p. 527)
 43. From here on, some additions by author's son, Mr. Ali-Naqi Monzavi, are observed.
 44. From here on, some additions by another son of the author, Mr. Ahmad Monzavi, are spotted.

45. *Nuqabā' al-Bashar*, vol. 1, p. 273.
46. Also see *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl*.
47. More than seventy commentaries have been written on *Nahj al-Balāghah* (*Al-Ghadir*, vol. 4, pp. 186-93) most of which are authored by Shī'i scholars who naturally discussed occasionally in their works about Shī'i tenets.
48. This epic work is introduced in the title page as "a technical, historical, and topically innovative book that includes the biographies of the martyrs among our outstanding scholars from the fourth century till the present time, and their number amounts to one hundred and thirty martyrs." Then the writer states in its introduction: "This is what I spent my efforts in collecting its scattered pieces ... including the history of martyrs among our great scholars who sacrificed their lives for the sake of religious facts, and I present it to those who seek virtues and to the pioneers of perfection as a commemoration of those noble martyrs. Since the stories of the scholars who were martyred during the first three centuries after the holy Hujira have been compiled in numerous encyclopedias written by our cohorts and others, I started in this book with the martyrs of the fourth century A.H. till the present..."
49. See the introduction of 'Alī Naqī Munzawī to *Nawābigh al-Rawā'ī* (Beirut).
50. Written by Mawlawī 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Waliyyullāh Ahmad al-'Amrī al-Dihlawī.
51. *Fehrest-e Ketābhā-ye Chāpp-e Fārsī*, vol. 2, column 2511.
52. This book was translated by Muḥammad Taqī Ibn 'Alī Dizfīlī entitled *Kifāyah al-Khiṣān*. Chāpp-e Sangī, 1277.
53. Shaykh Aqa Buzurg Tihirānī describes this book as "a social and political work that is the best written one on leadership and politics. It consists of four volumes including the life of Prophet (s) and his progeny to Mahdī, the upriser [*Qū'im*] ('a). Only its introduction was published in a separated book in 1332 and then was reprinted in 1378 in Karbalā'." (*Nuqabā' al-Bashar*, vol. 3, p. 1087)

Message of Thaḡalayn

54. Or *ḥyā' al-Aḥyā'*.
55. Thiqatul-Islām Abū al-Faḍl 'Alī Tabarī (d. early seventh century A.H.), the author of *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, which was mentioned above, is the son of Abū Naṣr Raḍīyyuddīn Ḥasan Tabarī, the author of *Makārim al-Akhḥāq*. Abū Naṣr Rāzī is the son of prominent Aminul-Islām Abū 'Alī Faḍl Ibn Ḥasan Ibn Faḍl Tabarī, the author of *Majma' al-Bayān* on *tafsīr*. (Ṣalīḥ al-Ja'fari, "Introduction," *Mishkāt al-Anwār*)
56. Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIslāmīyyah (Akhundi), based in Tehran (Iran), has published all Four Books in a series of 26 volumes entitled *al-Kutub al-Arba'ah min Ḥadīthi Ahl al-Bayt* (Vols. 1 to 8: *Uṣūl*, *Furū'*, and *Rawḍah al-Kāfi*; Vols. 9 to 12: *Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhū al-Faḡh*; Vols. 13 to 22: *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*; Vols. 23 to 26: *al-Istibṣār*).
57. A great informative book that must be read repeatedly by every student, scholar, teacher, and preacher. It is described as "one of the best books of Imāmīyyah on the method of achieving the farthest goals and advancing to the higher ranks of humanity and on the merit of knowledge, its seekers, and the formalities of teaching and learning it, and on the conditions of issuing religious verdicts and the qualifications of the issuer and the conventions for both, and the conditions of the solicitor of religious verdict and other issues relevant to knowledge, action, beautification of one's behavior and moral practices, achievement of heavenly ranks, and union with perfect holy spirits." Mirzā Shīrāzī, Sr., describes this book in the following way: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. How admirable it is for the people involved in knowledge [educators and learners] to persevere in studying this noble book and to decorate themselves with the codes of conduct that is mentioned in it." This book has been also translated to Persian.

Contemporary Orientalists on Mysticism: A Book Review*

Muhammad Taqi Subhani
Translated by Iraj Rasuli

The origin of mysticism is one of the vastest and most disputable issues in the history of the Islamic culture and civilization. It has made many researchers think profoundly about as to how did a group called "mystic" (*Sufi*) come into being in the bosom of the Islamic civilization with certain mores and thoughts and spread its domain from the Indian subcontinent to Morocco and Spain. Despite all the efforts still the secret of this mystery remains in obscurity.

In the beginning, mysticism appeared in the form of ascetic life and relied to a great extent on the Qur'an and religious traditions, but from the mid-second century A.H., it was accompanied by certain uncongenial mores and views, as a result, kept itself away from the main stream of the Islamic society. This process in the third and fourth centuries A.H. led Sufis to appeal to sources other than the apparent precepts of religion to justify and explain their fundamentals. Following this process the question of the origin of the mysticism aroused among their followers and opponents. The opponents of mysticism regarded the mystical practices such as seclusion, wearing woolen clothes, living in monasteries; and talking of love and union with Allah, as the signs of non-commitment to Islam and alliance with other religions. The mystic appealed to the Qur'an and *Hadith* (tradition) to justify their fun-

* This article reviews *Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique* written by Paul Nwyia.

damentals and conducts. In this way a heated debate began between the mystics and *Fuqaha* (jurisprudents), philosophers and *Mutakallimun* (theologians) on the validity and authenticity of mysticism and it lasted for one thousand years. To deal with the history of this thousand years which was full of great intellectual events, is beyond the limits of this article. Therefore we skip over it and confine to the 14th after A.H. (19th A.D.) i.e. the beginning of familiarity of the West with the Islamic mysticism.

Orientalists' Approach to Mysticism

Although the relation of the West with the Islamic mysticism dates to long ago, but the mystical view in its systematical form was not clearly known to the Western scholars until the 19th century. The Western researchers noticed this ancient Eastern heritage following the publication of the book entitled *Sufismus sive Theosophia persarum Pantheistia* by F. A. D. Tholuck, from Germany. Later on, Frischer Alfred Fankermmer (1828-1889) and Inhabst Bister Andouzi (1820-1883), Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) and Edward Brown followed his path. Furthermore, scholars like Hutmman, Max Horten, D. B. MacDonald and Asia Palacios can be recalled as the figures who trod on this path. The researchers of this group which covers the entire tenure of 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries are oriented on the analysis of the personalities of the mystic figures, with a view to track down the roots of their thoughts and behavior in sources other than Islam. They followed different methods in accordance with their backgrounds and proposed different causes for the advent of mysticism in Islam.²

Some of the Orientalists are of the view that Gnosticism and Christian monasticism are the roots of Sufism. Some others regard the Sanskrit literatures, Hinduism and Buddhism as the main sources of Sufism. There was also some others who believe that ancient Iranian religions like Zoroastrian are the roots of Sufism. Some, relying on certain historical documents and similarities of mystical views with the views of neo-Platonist philosophers, will

ing to relate the fundamentals of Sufism to the Greek and Alexandrine Gnosticism. Of course, the Western gnostists intend to combine the different factors.³ The common point of such Orientalists is that Sufism came into being from non-Islamic sources. They made no room for the Qur'an and Islamic culture as the source of the Sufism. Two renowned British and French Orientalists, namely, Reynolds Nickelson and Louis Massignon changed this trend in the beginning of the 20th century. Reynold Nicholson (1868-1945), after studying on Gnostic texts, particularly that of Iranian Gnosticism, arrived at a conclusion that the Qur'an and Ahadith have more role in development of mystical culture than conceived by the Orientalists. Louis Massignon also worked on life, works, and thoughts of Hallaj and other Gnostic figures and finally came to the conclusion that Gnostical concepts and terms are to a greater extent rooted in the Qur'an. The works of these two scholars was then followed by their disciples and successors. As a result, this powerful tradition (i.e. the Qur'an as the source of Sufism) have been established amongst Orientalists and Iranologists. Of course, publication of Nicholson and Massignon's works in the West was followed by some reactions. Some researchers severely criticized such approach. They particularly rejected the theory of Massignon, who underscored the Qur'anic bases of mysticism.⁴ But, as mentioned above, some persons advocated this theory and followed this path. Thanks to their works Orientalistic studies went under some changes and, as a result, spiritual elements of the Qur'an and Islamic Traditions were focused upon the researchers. Nicholson's works was mainly followed by his disciple A.J. Arbery (born in 1905). He fulfilled the desire of his master by writing two books on the history of Islamic mysticism.⁵ The thoughts of Massignon also were followed by Helmut Reiter (1892) and specially Paul Nwyia. The most important work of Paul Nwyia is *Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique* which has recently been translated into Persian and published by University Publication Center in Iran.⁶ Paul Nwyia was from Imadiyyah city situated in the northern part of Iraq. He belonged to the Christian minority of Assyrian in that re-

gion. Then he migrated to Lebanon and then France. He eventually could occupy the seats of Massignon and Henri Corbin at Sorbon University after enormous studies and researches in religions particularly in Islamic mysticism. We here intend to evaluate his theory while introducing his book as well. As it is known, Nwya steps exactly on the path of Massignon, therefore, it is better to have some backgrounds about Massignon's thought and then proceed to evaluate as to what extent could he prove this theory.

The Qur'ān and Mysticism in Massignon's View

Louis Massignon is an exceptional and strange personality. Some points have still remained obscure about his thoughts and his political attitude.⁷ The most important work published by him is a book known as *Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*⁸ in which he deals with the origin of Gnostic terms till the time of Hallāj. Unfortunately, this book has not yet been translated into Persian, Arabic or English. Massignon's article in the Encyclopedia of Islam entitled as "*Taṣawwuf*" displays the outline of his ideas.¹⁰ He is of the view that Sufi terms have been derived from the following four sources:

1. The Qur'ān.
2. Islamic and Arabic sciences such as *Ḥadīth*, *Fiqh*, and Arabic grammar.
3. Terminologies used by Muslims of early Islamic era.
4. Scientific terminology coined by mixing Greek and Iranian terminology in the East during the first six A.D. centuries, which was then the language of science and philosophy at that time.¹¹

Out of these factors, Massignon believes that the Qur'ān had the most influence in Sufism. This approach distinguishes him from other Western researchers. In order to prove his claim, he approaches the Qur'ān and brings evidences from those verses which somehow point to spiritual aspects of man. He says that the

Qur'anic terms such as *Dhikr* (invocation), *Zuhd* (asceticism), *Tawakkul* (trust), *Shukr* (gratitude), *Ṣabr* (patience), *Riqā* (assent), *Mu'habbat* (love) etc. were of the most prevalent terms amongst the early mystics. According to Massignon, the Traditions of the Prophet also were of the factors that were attracting Muslims to asceticism and spiritual religions at that time. In addition, unlike Goldziher¹² he holds that the Qur'ān and Islamic tradition never rejected monastic life but rather encouraged people for it. Points brought up by Massignon in support of his claim is worth paying attention: he believes that some so called *Hadith* such as "There is no monasticism in Islam" are fictitious and they were forged in the later centuries. On the other hand, verse No. 27 from Sura *Anfāl* was said to be against monasticism and the part of the verse "*And monasticism they invented - we did not prescribe it for them only - seeking the good pleasure of God*" (57:27) was thought to carry an innovative meaning of Christian monasticism.¹³ Massignon is of the belief that such an interpretation of the holy verse began only from the time of Zamakhshari and previous exegetes like Mujahid and Qatadah, the early mystic figures, regarded the verse in favor of a kind of seclusion.¹⁴

Massignon stresses on the point that the origin of the Islamic asceticism and mysticism have to be traced within the Islam rather than elsewhere. He, of course, does not deny the influence of foreign factors in emergence of mysticism. He even believes that mystics thoughts and traditions were heavily influenced by neo-Platonism, Hinduism and Buddhism after the third and fourth centuries after A.H.. His ideas are mostly against those Orientalists who regard mysticism as an uninvited guest in the Islamic civilization.

Paul Nwyia's Criticism of Massignon's Views

Although Nwyia accepts the theory of Massignon and believes in the Qur'anic origin of asceticism and mysticism, yet, he finds Massignon's reasons vulnerable. His main criticism goes on

Massignon's methodology. According to him, the main problem of Massignon is that he refers directly to the Qur'an while it is not possible to prove that earlier Muslims, particularly mystics had the same understanding of the Qur'anic verses. It can be claimed that mysticism came into being as a result of reflection into the Qur'an, but when it is proved that Muslims understanding of the Qur'an at that time was the same as it is now.

According to Nwyia this method of Massignon or Arbery and others has the risk of inducing a subjective factor in a research work which may avert the results of the research. Because non-Muslim's understanding of the Qur'an is influenced by his own cultural and religious ethos. How can it be clear that such an understanding is of a Muslim or not? Of course the critique of Paul Nwyia does not end at the methodological aspects of Massignon, but rather he is uncertain about Massignon's understanding of the Qur'an. For instance, in the verse related to monasticism, he shows exegetes among the earlier ones who used this verse against monastic life. Furthermore, verses prohibiting seclusion are in plenty, such as verse no. 87:5 of *Sura Mā'ida*. Therefore, it is concluded that there may be a Tradition like "There is no monasticism in Islam" but the statement of the Qur'an is more effective and valid than it. As against the method of Massignon and others, Paul Nwyia suggests that other way instead of looking for our answer in the Qur'an, should be referred to the people who regard the Qur'an as their Holy Book. Hence, it is important to know that what do Muslims look for when they read the Qur'an and what do they find from it? The way to be trodden by this method is longer but is rather safer. Besides, as we live in a part of history, we should refer to the origins and study the oldest interpretations of the Qur'an.

Paul Nwyia's Thoughts In Brief Sketch

According to his plan, Paul Nwyia refers to the old exegesis of the Qur'an in order to find the roots of Gnosticism in Islam. The

Gnostic language is a symbolic language. Hence, we should see that which earlier exegetes of the Qur'an have gone beyond the limits of the outward appearance of the Qur'an and considered them as symbols. Basically, it is the characteristic of symbolic language to put more than a single meaning for the reader of a text. Therefore, symbolic interpretation is always accompanied by a sort of paraphrase and hermeneutics. Paul Nwiyia refers to the saying of Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Kulabādi in his book *al-Ta'aruf Li Madhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf* and states that since this was the matter that people were at different station and every station had some negation and approval of this or that and the negation of this station was the approval of that station. There was a person from the listeners who had not reached that station, hence it was not appropriate to talk to him about the thing that he had no knowledge of it so as to avoid ascribing the narrator to blasphemy, innovation or perdition. So, they thought and then coined certain words to have meaning amongst themselves, so that the people of other station may hear the words without knowing their meanings. In this way the followers availed their souls and others were deprived of it.

But symbolic and metaphorical language is not always, according to Paul Nwiyia, accompanied by mysticism and Gnostic experience. Imagination and myth can also be capital of symbolism. Although imagination is different from inner experience and these two may never combine. According to Nwiyia, in the history of exegesis of the Qur'an, the Gnostic root must be searched in imaginative exegesis of the Qur'an. By incorporation of the element "imagination" in the exegesis of the Qur'an, the veil would be lifted and a vast area would open to an exegete. The exegete using his imaginative power in the above field, avails various conclusions from the Qur'an and in this way by breakage of boundary of words, the inclination toward coded or metaphorical interpretation finds better opportunity.

It should be noted here that Paul Nwiyia gives a wide meaning to symbol and symbolic interpretation. According to him, any understanding of the text which goes beyond the limits of its real

meaning is a symbolic interpretation. As it will be seen, his understanding from the symbolic interpretation is sometimes more generalized than this.

In accomplishment of his program, the author of *Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique* recalls the works of Muqātil bin Sulaymān as the first and the most obvious example of imaginative exegesis of the Qur'ān. In his opinion, the imaginative exegesis is a kind of symbolic exegesis against Shi'ite and Gnostic exegesis. He is of the view that unlike a kind of Shi'i exegesis which apart from the verbal meaning of the words includes other meaning, either metaphoric or symbolic, which signifies its particular belief or political inclination, and also unlike mystic exegesis which deals with them symbolically and through inference he reaches it spiritual depth, Muqātil's exegesis juxtapose metaphor with the word without establishing a real relation between them. The metaphor is neither the abstract nor the negation nor reality of it. It is only a way through which a narrow scope of word, breaks the *Shari'ah* (Divine law) so as to arrive at a world in which other firm laws such as lawful and unlawful rules are no longer applicable.

Muqātil believes in three categories of verses revealed on the Prophet: command and prohibition, promise and the histories of the predecessors (the same book, pp. 55). According to Nwyia, Muqātil bin Sulaymān has two types of methodologies or reading in his interpretations (*Al-Tafsir al-Kahir* and *al-Wujūh wa al-Nazāir*). He gives a pure verbal exegesis in Divine laws, commands and prohibitions. A detailed study of the Qur'anic words in this context obviously shows that Muqātil has never crossed the boundary of the words (*Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique*). Commenting on the words such as invocation, philosophy and absence in which mental tendencies can divert the path of exegesis to paraphrase and hermeneutics, he not only proves his loyalty to the verbal meaning of the words but sometimes goes to the extent that confines the word *Dhikr* (invocation) in its verbal meaning only. He fails to grasp its deep meaning as meant in the Qur'ān, for it is devoid of

any sentimental aspects and religious feelings which are there in the verses.

Muqātil, when proceeds to deal with the two other parts of the Qur'ān i.e. the issue related to other world and history of the predecessors, he takes help of his imaginary power or his imagination prevailing on the religious society of that time, adding fictitious details and strange events to the events narrated in the Qur'an. For example, in the case of the verse no. 255 of *Sura Baqarah*, he writes that the 'Arsh (throne) in spite of its magnificence is placed on the shoulders of four angels each one having four faces. The angels have put their feet on a rock at the lower most bottom of the earth in a depth measuring five hundred years distance. In the cases of verses 112-115 from *Sura Māda*, on the matter of descending cow from heaven to Jesus, he writes stories which are not found even in some of the Bibles (Old or New Testaments). In the case of Adam and other Prophets such an imaginary elements are seen in Muqātil's exegesis. He has frequently used the same method in the case of the Hereafter.

Hakīm Tirmidhī and Gnostical Exegesis

Paul Nwyia concludes from the above discussion that the early Muslims, not only used to read the Qur'an on the basis of verbal or historical context, but took into account the imaginary reading as well. He also believes that it is this type of interpretation which has dominated over Shi'i interpretation and has emerged in the Sunni world in the form of mysticism. In order to prove his claim that mystical interpretation rooted in imaginary one, he refers to the book *al-Tahṣīl Li-Nazāir 'al-Qur'ān* written by Hakīm Tirmidhī (Abū-'Alī Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Husayn bin Bashīr, died in about 320 after Hijra). In this book, Tirmidhī has proceeded with editing and completion of the book *al-Wajūh wa al-Nazāir* of Muqātil. Unlike Muqātil, who has paid attention to the usages of the Qur'anic vocabulary, Tirmidhī believes that all these

meanings are, in fact, originated from one root and this main meaning depending on the various situations and states.

Paul Nwyia refers to the Qur'anic vocabulary discussed in the book *al Tahsil* and through a comparative study proves that Muqātil reads the Qur'ān in the light of his own specific experience and he uses certain vocabularies which gradually expanded by the former philosophical and Gnostic figures. In his research, Massignon talks about "deepening of the meaning of a word as a consequence of the development of the Gnostic trends, which is exactly equal to the phenomenon of esoteric experience. Such an attitude underlines the difference between Muqātil's and Tirmidhī's interpretations.

Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq (ʿa) and Gnostic Interpretation

The author proceeds ahead to prove his claim by referring to the spiritual personality of Imām Ṣādiq (ʿa). His Highness passed away in 148/765. He was one of the oldest real spiritual Islamic evidences and his saying is valid for both Shi'ite and Sunnis. Nwyia delve into the spiritual personality of the Imām not from Shi'i or Sunni viewpoints but from a document, Gnosticism ascribed to him: On the contrary, the historical personality of His Highness directly belongs to the history of mysticism because the Sunni mystics ascribe exactly a Gnostic interpretation to him. Ibn 'Aṭa (died in 309) has collected a narration in his interpretation. This narration has also reached us through 'Abu-Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (died in 412), who himself has brought it in his book on the Qur'ān known as *Huqūq al Tafsīr*.

Louis Massignon had understood the importance of this interpretation before Nwyia. In the book *Essai Sur Les Origines du Lexique de la Mystique Musulmane*, he writes that Dhun-Nun of Egypt was among the earlier Sunnis after Fuḍayl ibn 'Ayaḍ who has recalled these narrations. He says that he has taken them from Malik through Faḍl bin Ghanīm and Malik must have taken them from Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq.

The story is quite strange and the secret of compiling this collection is still obscure. However, the collection is attributed to Dhun-Nun of Egypt. In the introduction of *Huqūq al-Tafsīr*, Sulāmi talks not only about irregular and scattered collection of interpretation of isolated verses, but also narrates some parts of it from what Ibn 'Atā' has deduced by contrasting the versions.¹⁶ In order to strengthen attribution of this collection to Imām Ṣādiq ('a), and after the comparison of Hallaj's sayings with this interpretation, Massignon writes that: one cannot reject the attribution of the vocabulary of this Gnostic interpretation to the Imām in anticipation merely by seeing the interesting conjunctions in the religious tenets between some Gnostic interpretation vocabulary ascribed to Imām Ja'far ('a) on one hand and the scattered sayings narrated through different sources talking on the fanatic and extremist Imāmiya (Nusairiya and Duruziya) on the other hand. For example, in the chapter of 'Adl (justice) the difference between 'Amr' (circumstance, concern, matter) and *Masha'iyah* (Divine will, Decree) or in the chapter of monotheism, the usage of the word "*Tanzih*" or in the secondary principles of religion, non-essentiality of Hajj and ..."¹⁷ He continues to say: "Who has collected all these narrations? Jābir bin Ḥayyān or 'Abd al Karīm bin Abi-al 'Aawja' (died in 167) can be known as its founder."

Massignon's reason for Jābir being the author of the collection is that Dhun-Nun, the first editor of this collection, was his student in chemistry. His proof for Ibn Abi-al 'Aawja' being the compiler of the collection is: "It has been stipulated that he prepared the collection of the narration (It's name is not known. Perhaps, it was entitled as *Imām Ja'far's Hadiths*). This collection like Hallāj was accused of two antithetical slanders of anthropomorphism and agnosticism for being mystical in nature."¹⁸

Paul Nwyia while narrating some of Massignon's reasons, believes that few examples of common points between the said interpretation and the narration from Shi'ite are not enough to attribute the collection to Imām Ṣādiq ('a). He, therefore, cite another reason which, according to him, is a strong evidence and a

decisive proof. He said that fortunately, a complete interpretation by Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq (‘a) is available as prepared by Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm Nu'mānī (died in 328), disciple of Kulaynī. At least two copies of it is available. It can be juxtaposed with Ibn ‘Atā's version that Sulāmi has preserved it in his interpretation.

The Importance of Paul Nwyia's Research

Let us now see that what is the advantage of such an interpretation as well as its attribution to Imām Ṣādiq (‘a) and why do these two researchers try to ascribe it to the time of the Imām. If the attribution of these narrations or, at least, a major part of it to the Imām is proved, it will have a significant effect in the analysis of the history of mysticism. According to the historical evidences, the Islamic Gnostic terminology dates back to the beginning of the third century after A.H. or to the end of the second century. Crossing the distance of these two centuries, i.e. the gap between the revelation of the Qur'ān and the period of the emergence of mysticism in the Islamic society, it is not easy for the author of the history of mysticism to relate the fundamentals of mysticism with the Qur'ān and the tradition of the Prophet. Paul Nwyia fills this gap once with an imaginary interpretation of Muqatil bin Sulaymān and once by referring to the above-mentioned interpretation from Imām Ṣādiq (‘a), using rich vocabulary of this interpretation to transfer from revelation era to the period of interpretation. In this case, not only a new light is thrown on the history of mysticism in particular and on the history of the Islamic thoughts in general, but also Shī'ī and Sunni Sufis avail a strong document to support their religious legitimacy and rightfulness. At the end of this chapter, Paul Nwyia writes that however, the historic origin of the interpretation ascribed to Imām Ṣādiq (‘a), this point is certain in the history of Sufism that this interpretation coincided with the formation of the Sunni Gnostic teachings and the appearance of the mystic terminology. Therefore, this interpretation had a definite effect

and, in fact, is the oldest evidence of conclusive or experimental reading of the Qur'an that we look for its origins.

Nwyia, who has collected all the narrations of this interpretation from *Huqūq al-Tafsir* of Sulam and published them all together,¹⁴ studies and analyses each one of these narrations in his book *Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique*. This is the complete indication of an esoteric interpretation which translates the Qur'an on the basis of the Gnostic experience. Comparing this interpretation with the understanding of Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, we should say that Tirmidhī's interpretation cannot basically be called a Gnostic one.

Abū Sa'eed Kharrāz: A New Step in Gnostic Experience

So far, Nwyia has put two stages of religious experience transition before us. Muqātil is at the first stage, who has not reached the symbolic language in his efforts to find the meaning, because the different meanings that he finds are still at the cross of each other. In this way we get familiarized with Tirmidhī's interpretation. "By believing long phases for the meanings, he breaks the horizontal line of Muqātil and this is the same depth which is imparted to mystic interpretation by esoteric experience and recognition of stations of the heart. This second phase was completely seen in the interpretation ascribed to Imām Ṣādiq ('a).

While Muqātil puts three types of reading together and divides the Qur'anic text into three parts, separate from each other, Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq ('a) believes it's depth composed of four layers: phrase, allusion, touching points, and the facts.²⁰ Every one achieves one of these layers according to the level of its spiritual experience. In this way the Gnostic language is achieved by the concurrence of the esoteric light with holy verses of the Qur'an, i.e. by the concurrence of the text with experience.

But Paul Nwyia makes us acquainted with the third phase of the history of religious experience and transition. A phase in which

Gnosticism is no longer commentator of the Qur'anic vocabulary after absorption of the Qur'anic language, but is the commentator of its own specific experience. But this definition explains only its outer aspect. In its inner aspect, it is a language which returns to the experience only and is interpretable with the contents that experience imparts.

According to Nwyia the most important personality of this phase is Abū Sa'eed Ahmad bin Isā Baghdādī Kharrāz (277-286 A.H.). Since Shaqiq Balkhī (194 A.H.) is the Kharrāz's master, first it is better to examine the thoughts of Shaqiq and then proceed to analyze Kharrāz's thought and his work in detail. Hereafter, it is the esoteric experience of which gives direction to the Gnostics and the Qur'anic interpretations take more color of hermeneutics and esoteric orientation. As Paul Nwyia reminds, in this phase, more emphasis should be made on the analysis of Gnostics' experiences because the exoteric aspects of the Qur'an takes a different color under the shining lights of the Gnostical experience. Basically, the characteristic of the Gnostic and symbolic language is in a way that the boundaries of the verbal limitations never capture it, but the Gnostic makes use of the words to express his thoughts and findings. Hence, the consideration of this part of Paul Nwyia's book is out of the research field of this article.

Paul Nwyia talks about the fourth phase at the end of the Gnostic interpretation in which the Gnostic keeps away from the Qur'anic vocabulary and try to report his own experience within the limitations of the primary framework by presenting a self made analogies.

Moreover, he talks about the work of Abū al-Ḥassan Mandī (295 A.H.), and Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Jabbār bin Ḥassan Naḡghārī (354 A.H.). This part, too, is not related to the domain of this article, and we neglect explaining it as to avoid prolixity.

A Critical Review of Paul Nwyia's Ideas

Let us now critically analyze Paul Nwyia's ideas. As a matter of fact, the book *Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique* is so scholarly that any researcher can benefit from it, but there are certain defects in this book which disturbs the main program of the author and creates a problem in finding the roots of mysticism unto the revelation era.

Before going to examine it critically, first we should see that what could they prove if these reasons were correct and enough. It does not seem that Paul Nwyia's conclusion would please any Muslim scholar. The one who defends the pure Islamic Gnosticism would like to find the sources, ways and approaches which relate this deal (behavior) directly to the Qur'an and the *Hadiths* (traditions), but not the way that Paul Nwyia regards it as outcome of his own imagination and achievement of his personal experience. It is obvious that esoteric understandings depend on the situation and nature of people and are based on training and thoughts of the experiencing individual. These understandings can only be related to the Qur'an if they are exact products of the Qur'anic guidance and do not cross the boundaries of the unambiguous verses. This point is made here because some Muslim writers rely on the Orientalists works without paying attention to the contents of their sayings. Now let us consider this theory and its evidences:

As mentioned before, Nwyia's effort can yield fruit if he succeeds to link the mysticism of the second century A.H. with the Islamic tradition of pre-Islamic era. In order to achieve this, he approached two different ways:

1. Muqātil's works on interpretation.
2. The interpretation attributed to Imam Sadiq (ʿa).

Apparently both the interpretations date back to the beginning of the second century A.H., therefore the Islamic mysticism can be traced upto the beginning of the second century, but in our

opinion both the ways face obstacles which are briefly mentioned as follows:

Was Muqātil Behind the Gnostic Interpretation?

It is understood from Nwyia's writings that he regards Muqātil's method of interpretation as the source of Gnostical interpretation, for two reasons: on one hand he regards *Tafsīr-e Kabīr* of Muqātil as the source for esoteric interpretation for its imaginary elements, and on the other hand he regards the book *Al-wujūh wa al-Nazā'ir* as an introduction for double siding of the exoteric appearance of the Qur'an. Of course, using the word "imaginary" is little misleading here. What Nwyia means by imaginary element is in fact all the narration ascribed to the Prophet and his Companions during the first century A.H. by a known group who has forged them. As we all know the Caliphs had prohibited narration, writing, and sayings of the Prophet from the era of the Caliphate of 'Umar for about a hundred years, and only a limited number of people were permitted to narrate the sayings of the Prophet. Many narrations were falsified during this period, some of which are known as "Israelites" nowadays.²¹ What Nwyia regards as imaginary elements are in fact these narrations that Muqātil and the Islamic society meant as "absolute tradition" at that period. Quoting such narrations which were known as religious documents for the commentator, never allowed the faithful Muslims to ascribe their own experience to the Qur'an. Muqātil's interpretation is an absolute example of an exoteric interpretation which should be looked for during the latter era of inclination toward text rather than hermeneutics.

But one can criticize the following saying of Nwyia as: the different meanings that Muqātil finds in words are still crossing each other and Tirmidhi breaks the horizontal line of Muqātil by believing in vertical status for the meanings, and this is the same depth that esoteric experience imparts to the mystical interpretation. Firstly, pointing to the different forms of a word in the Qur'an

(which is called as *Wujūh* (aspects)) is not peculiarity of Muqātil to be known as the introduction of hermeneutical basis of the Qur'an. Verbal interpretation of the Qur'an is based on taking into account the various forms of the words, thus, this matter in itself cannot be considered as the origin of a revolution in the history of the Qur'anic interpretation. Secondly, the vertical states of meaning' as explained by Nwyia are not so suitable. As long as Tirmidhi's philological work is concerned, like other philologists, he was behind showing this fact that every word has a "main root", which has gradually used for different applications. The point that has constituted the foundation of the scientific linguistical since the ancient times should not be mistaken with double layer of a word. Nwyia has not even once shown that Tirmidhi translated one verse with two different meanings through this method.

His occasional hints to the ethical and Gnostical (not Gnostical hermeneutics) points of the Qur'an in his book *Kitāb al-Taḥsīl* have nothing to do with the above-mentioned linguistic discussion and its root must be searched elsewhere. It seems that the subjective and the mental elements have had more influence in this part of Paul Nwyia's research than the documents and historical evidences.

Which interpretation by Imām Ṣādiq ('a)?

The value of Paul Nwyia's research from the viewpoints of the mystic history is more indebted to his researches in the interpretation ascribed to Imām Ṣādiq ('a). We have already known Massignon's and Nwyia's efforts in ascribing these narrations to the Imām ('a), but the said interpretation is objectionable from different aspects. Unfortunately, it is not possible, here, to discuss this issue in details. Therefore, for example, only a few points are brought here:

1. The evidence mentioned by Massignon on this interpretation is absolutely baseless and is subjective. Firstly, Massignon says that Abū 'Alī Faḍayl bin 'Ayaḍ (105-187 A.H.) is the first to mention

about this interpretation. He refers us to *Tadhkirah al-Hāfiẓ* of Dhahabī (673-748 A.H.). Not only Dhahabī has not brought such a thing in *Tadhkirah al-Hāfiẓ*²² or in *Mizān al-ʿIṭidāl*,²³ but also no other personalities (according to our research) mentioned about this matter. Secondly, he believes that Dhun nun Misri Abu-al-Fayz Thawbān Ibrāhīm (180-245 A.H.) as the second to mention of this interpretation adding that Dhun nun was the first editor of this collection. To the best of our research no one has brought such a matter in Dhun nun's biography. *Uṣṣayar al-Awḥyāʾ Abū Naʿīm Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad bin ʿAbdullāh Isfahānī* (336-430 A.H.), the only book in which Dhun nun's sayings are collected, has not only mentioned the name of this interpretation but also has not mentioned about Imām Ṣādiq (ʿa).²⁴ The document of Dhun nun's narration is seen in *Mizān al-ʿIṭidāl*. This document is from Anas bin Mālik Anṣarī and the name of Imām Ṣādiq (ʿa) is not mentioned in the sequence of the document.

Thirdly, Massignon has talked about the compiler of this collection and believed in the probable role of Abū Musā Jābir bin Ḥayyān Kufī Sufī (second half of the second century) or Ibn Abīl-ʿAawjaʾ. But the given reason is very weak and unreliable. For example, he believes that whereas Ibn Abīl-ʿAajwaʾ has compiled a book on the sayings of the Prophet, it should be the same commentary of the Imam (ʿa). It is interesting to note that Ibn Abīl-ʿAajwāʾ is the one who was killed on the accusation of Dhandaqih in Kufa in (155 A.H.). It has been narrated that while dying he said: "I have forged four thousand narrations making Allah's legal laws illegal and vice versa."²⁵ Some other have stated that Ibn Abīl-ʿAawjāʾ was trained by Hammād bin Sulmah bin Dinar Baṣrī (75-155 A.H.), and he has introduced forged narrations into the books of Rabīʿ.²⁶ We know that Hammād is one of the Sunni narrators. So, the Shiʿites have not cited any narration from him. Hence, it is not known that how Massignon has called such a personality as the compiler of the commentary in question. Assuming he has done so, whether it is not so much enough to doubt about this interpretation? Fourthly: Massignon claims that Sulami has cited the narration of

Imām Ṣādiq from the narration of Ibn 'Aqā. Now we shall prove that it is incorrect.

2. The explanation given by Abū Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī in the introduction of the book *Ḥaqāiq al-Tafsīr* clearly shows that there are no reliable documents for these narration to ascribe them to Imām Ṣādiq ('a). He writes: "And no one tried to collect the verses that help to understand the Oration on the tongue of the true people" – but some scattered verses. They were *Nusibat* (ascribed to) Abīl 'Abbās bin 'Ala'. And *Dhukirah* (it was mentioned) that some verses were collected by Ja'far bin Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, may Allāh be pleased with them both,²⁷ the words "*Nusibat*" and "*Dhukirah*" have been written in the passive voice, so they implicate that ascribing both the interpretations are doubtful in his opinion.

3. None of the Shi'ī or Sunnī biographers has ascribed these narrations to Imām Ṣādiq ('a). Abū Na'im Isfahānī who has seen Sulamī and has cited his two books (*Tabaqāt al-Nuṣayyih* and *Ahl-e Siffah*) in *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*,²⁸ when reaches to the biography of Imām Ṣādiq ('a) does not mention even a single narration from that interpretation inspite of writing many narration from the Imam. The reason may be that Abū Na'im cites a document for every subject in *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* and it seems that these narrations are invalid according to him.

4. Paul Nwyia himself clearly agreed that plenty of these narrations are not authentic. He stresses this point in his introduction to Ibn 'Ala' Ādam's book (309 A.H.) written after his book *Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique*. He writes: "In fact the narration given in *Ḥaqāiq al-Tafsīr* by Ibn 'Aqā' are of two types. Many of them lack reference and this is seen in the case of all the interpretations that Sulamī mentioned in his writing."²⁹

5. There are evidences in the that of this narration indicating that it is forged. For example, the term "*Āmin*" was also interpreted at the end of *Surah "al-Ḥamd"* in the said interpretation,³⁰ or he has

stated: "Ja'far said: 'The strong will and the sound belief of the *muhajrin* (immigrants) and Ahl *al-Ṣiffa* (homeless people) and of their *Imām* (leader) and master al-Ṣidīq al-Akbar (the great Testifier of truth), may Allah be pleased with him,"³¹ or he has narrated from the Imam that: "And the light of the way to Allah is with the light of Abī-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Alī, may Allah be pleased with them all. For this reason, the Prophet (s), may Allah bless him and his family, said: My Companions are like the stars. Whomever you follow, you are guided."³²

6. Apart from all these, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī was known to forge the narration among his contemporaries. Dhahabī regards them as esoteric paraphrases in his book *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz* and Siyūnī places the book *Ḥaqāiq al-Tafsīr* among the interpretations of the innovators.³³

Of course, there are plenty of evidences implicating non-attributions of these narrations to Imam Ṣādiq ('a). For the time we should say: this belongs to the narrations or sayings of the mystic *shaykhs* who were gradually ascribed to the Imām or sometimes originally belonged to the Imām ('a), but they were gradually lost its meaning. Unfortunately, we do not have enough leisure time to delve into this matter. The evidences imply that these narrations belong to the third, or at least, to the end of the second century.

As we have seen here, Paul Nwyia insists on the similarity between these narrations and what has come in Nu'mānī's interpretation. But what is available now as Nu'mānī's interpretation has no similarity to the above-mentioned narrations.³⁴ Nwyia has relied on the versions which are unfortunately not available in the Iranian libraries. This matter needs more research.

Summary and Conclusion

If Muqatil's interpretation is not considered as a prelude to the hermeneutical approach to the mysticism in the third century, and if the mentioned interpretation is not attributable to Imām Ṣādiq ('a), then the central theme of Paul Nwyia's theory would

be invalid. In this way, the researcher of mysticism faces this question: What is the origin of mysticism? Apart from the influence of the non-Islamic factors which according to the historians, played a significant role in the emerge of mysticism, how did the Islamic factors or elements influenced the mystic culture? How was this influence achieved? Specially, what or how much was the part of the Qur'an and the Qur'anic thought in this case? These are the questions which are still to be answered.

Notes

1. "Al-Ism'ā fi al-Taṣawwuf", Abū Naṣr Sarrāj, al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah fi 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf, 'Abdulkarīm Qushayrī.
2. To know more about the views of the Orientalists in this context, please refer to *al-Ijtihādāt al-Hadīthah fi Dirāsāt al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī (Masādirah wa Athāru)*, Muḥammad 'Abdullāh al-Sharqāwī, Madīna Publications, Cairo. Also: *Tārīkh al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, 'Abdul Raḥmān al-Badawī, a publishing agency, Kuwait.
3. In addition to the former two references "Introduction by Abul 'Alā' 'Aḥī to *A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism*, by Nickelson, translated into Persian by Muḥammad Baqir Mu'in, TDs Publications, Tehran, 1974. In addition to this, the above views are also mentioned or some of them were verified in the following books:

Justu ju dar Tasawwuf-e-Iran, by Abduḥ Husayn Zarrinkūb, Vol. 1.

Justu ju Dar Tasawwuf-e-Iran, by Sa'eed Naftsi.

Bakth dar Athar wa Ahwāl wa Afkār-e-Hafiz, Qasim Ghani.

4. It seems the latest book written as a critique to this view is by Julian Buldick, professor of London University:

Mystical Islam: Introduction to Sufism, I.B. Tauris, London, 1989.

5. A) *An Introduction to History of Sufism*, Oxford, 1942.

- H) *An Account of Mystics of Islam*, Mandala Books, London, 1972, George Auen 1950.
6. Translated by Isma'il S'adat, University Publication Center, Tehran, 1994.
 7. There were two different ideas about his personality. Some like 'Allāmah Qazwini, 'Umar Farukh and Malik bin Nabr attacked him vigorously (Martyr Matalihari, Divulge of the Conspiracy, pp. 252 onwards). On the other hand, some like Dr. Shari'ati admired him too much (*Majmū'ah Athār*, 27/307, 308, 316-319). Also "*Shakhsyat Qalīqā fī al-Islām*" by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Badawī.
 8. Including Salmān Pak, Masa'b Hallāj, Tus, History of Mansur Hallāj.
 9. *Essai Sur Origines du Lénique de la Mystique Musulman*.
 10. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 5.
 11. Introduction by Abu al-'Alā' 'Alī fī to the book *A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism*, Nickelson, translated into Persian by Muḥammad Baqir Ma'm, Jns Publications, page 20.
 12. *Al-Aqīdah wal Shari'ah*, translated by three Egyptian professors, Hadith Book House, Egypt, pp. 34 onwards.
 13. *Al-Kashāf*, under the said verse. Compare with *Tafsīr al-Mizan* under the same verse.
 14. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 5, Chapter: Mysticism.
 15. Of course, the author believes in three levels of methods used by Muqatil. Distinction between the first and the second levels is not useful in research. (pp. 53-54).
 16. Collective Works of Abu Abd al-Rahman Sulāmi 1/10 & 11. Fortunately, the matter explained by Massignon on this interpretation has been translated by Mr. Ahmad Sam'i which has been published along with the context of this interpretation in the cumulative works of Abu Abd al-Rahman Sulāmi, Vol. 1, University Publication Center.
 17. *Majmū'ah Athār*, 1/12.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
19. Nasrullah Pūr Jawādī has collected this part along with ibn Aṭā's interpretation and Hallāj's interpretation from Haqāiq Al Tafsīr in the *Majma'uh Athār* of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī in Vol. 1 published by University Publication Center.
20. It points to a narration which has come in the beginning of the interpretation ascribed to the Imām (*Majma'uh Athār* Abū-Abd Al-Rahmān Sulamī 1/21).
21. For instance, *al-Isra'iliyāt fī Tafsīr wal Hadith*, Al-Sayyid Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabī; *Adwā 'Alai Sumat al-Muhammadiyah*, Mahmud Abu-Riyah. And the most important of all: Books written by Sayyid Murtada 'Askari (150 False Comparisons), narration from *Um al-Mu'minūn 'Aisha and Ma'ālim al-Madrasatayn*.
22. *Tadhkirat al-Ifṣṣāz* 2/25 & 26.
23. *Mizān al-Itidāl*, Vol. 3.
24. *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, Vol. 9.
25. *Al-Kāmil*, ibn Athīr, 6/7, edited by Torenberg.
26. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* 3/15.
27. Collected Works of 'Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī 1/76.
28. *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, Vol. 1.
29. Cumulative Works of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī, 1/68.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
33. *Lata'if al-Ishārāt*, al-Imām al-Qushayrī, Introduction of the book, p. 4.
34. *Bilāḡ al-Awḡār*, 3/93 onwards.

A Report on the Interfaith Conference on Justice in International Relations

This Conference, which was the second one of its kind being held in February 26, 1996 in Tehran was attended by scholars from Austrian Religious Institute of St. Gabriel, an institute affiliated to the Catholic Church, and some Muslim scholars. The first conference on the subject was held in Vienna. The object of such conferences is to bring out peace and justice and remove misunderstandings by direct and face-to-face discussions of Muslim and Christian scholars.

It should be reminded that the Secretariat of the Conference held three meetings in 1994 and offered for discussion some important issues such as modernity and inter-religious dialogue.

It is now intended in the second Conference to explain the attitude of Islam and Christianity with respect to human rights and justice. Many articles on justice in international relations are presented. They deal justice in economics, politics, culture and comparative thoughts of Islam and Christianity. The most important titles are as follows:

1. "The Roots and Concept of Justice in Fiqh and the Foundations of Islamic Law" Lecturer: Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Khamene'i. He teaches Fiqh at Hawza and University.

2. "Seeking Justice in the Christian Tradition" Lecturer: Dr. Ingeborg Gabriel, Professor of Catholic Theology at Vienna University.

3. "The Roots and Concept of Justice in Islamic Thought" (Kalām and mysticism)" Lecturer: Dr. Humayun Hemmati. He teaches at Tehran University.

4. "The Structures and Development of World Economy" Lecturer: Dr. Hanns Pichler, Professor and President of Economy College at Vienna University.

5. "Human Rights in the West and Islam" Lecturer: Dr. Sayyid Mustafa Muhaqqiq Damad. He is the President of Islamic Studies at Farhangistān (Academy) of Sciences.

6. "Human Rights Within the Framework of International Relations" Lecturers: Dr. Gerhard Luf and Felix Hammer, Professors of Law at Vienna University.

7. "The Universality and Authority of Governments: To Seek an Infinite Justice" Lecturer: Dr. Richard Potz, Professor at Vienna University.

8. "Justice and Motivation of Power in the Struggle for Survival" Lecturer: Ayatullah Muhammad Taqi Ja'fari. He teaches at Hawzah and University.

9. "The Subject of Political Justice in the World Today" Lecturer: Dr. Javad Zarif, Deputy Foreign Minister in Charge of International and Legal Affairs.

10. "The Problems of Justice Formation in the Arena of World Politics Contacts of Forces" Lecturer: Professor Dr. Heinrich Schneider.

11. "The Concept of Justice in Relation to Cultural Independence of Nations" Lecturer: Muhammad-Ali Shurai. Deputy President of International Studies and Researches Center.

12. "To Seek a more Comprehensive Justice for the Muslim-Christian Relations" Lecturer: Professor Dr. Adel T. Khoury

13. "Common Principles of Faith and Duties of Muslims and Christians as Real Bases for Justice Coexistence" Lecturer: Dr. Muhammad Mudjtahid Shabistari. He teaches Theology and Islamic Teachings at Tehran University.

Summaries of some articles presented to the Conference are as follows;

The Roots and Concept of Justice in Fiqh and the Foundations of Islamic Law,

Lecturer: Sayyid Muhammad Khamene'i

Literally, definition of justice is vague. But, the best definition ever found philosophically, theologically and literally is Imam Ali's (a') definition which states that "justice is to put everything in it's place." Therefore, justice has an a priori existence based on right. In Islamic Fiqh, justice refers to human Fitrah (primordial nature) and self-equilibrium from which concepts such as marriage, adjudication and political leadership are derived. A just Muslim has virtue, piety, normality and a rule governed behavior. Analyzing the root of justice in another part of his article, he states that the root of justice refers to the Qur'an, according to which the system of nature and existence are rightful and just. To care about such a system is a just conduct and a duty. Therefore, the principle root of justice is primordial and natural which appears in the three aspects of objective, psychological and legal justice. Analyzing justice in the process of legislation, he remarks that God is the principal lawmaker and the just judge who appoints some people to adjudicate and to execute his commands. These people are just and bound to administer justice within the framework of Velayah. There are also concepts in divine mysticism such as manifestation of God in existence and non-repetition of divine favor which refer to justice.

It is to be regretted that theological and legal aspects of justice have been most often the main concerns in Tashayyu'. In other words, the anatomy of social and political aspects of the subject has not yet come to notice satisfactorily. Of course, thinkers such as Mujahhari and Shari'ati have paid attention to these ideas but much remains to be done theoretically on philosophical and political aspects of justice in Tashayyu'.

Seeking Justice in the Christian Tradition

Lecturer: Ingeborg Gabriel

Referring to the point that there are different forms of injustice in national and international arena, she considers the most important duty of all faithful believers to rise up personally and socially against injustice. She wants to clarify the concept of justice with the help of Biblical narratives. She does not recognize justice, in the first instance, as a principle for the constitution of society or as a virtue. Considering justice as God's attribute pertaining to His Holy Essence, she explains justice from the theological viewpoint of The Bible in the following three approaches:

1. Creation of man and ordering him to rule justly in the world
2. God's justice as a model for sympathy with the poor and the oppressed which leads to social justice.
3. Reminding the humanity that the goal of divine legislation is to protect human life and to respect him.

At the end, in view of the injustice experiences in the past and present, she writes that seeking justice is discussed where specific historical circumstances are to be removed. The root of this matter refers to the divine feature of man which requires respect for dignity of man and observance of his rights. She also points out that because laws and social order are not goals in themselves but their function is to realize common welfare of people in society, the change of realities and circumstances should bring about the change of laws.

Human Rights Within the Framework of International Relations, Lecturer: Gerhard Luf

In Luf's lecture, the problems of international relations are discussed under the topic of general credibility of human rights and putting it into practice. He adds that human rights are justified by the credible institutions of legitimization and the critique

of political domination. He believes that the tendency to internationalize and generalize human rights is exposed to criticism and objections. Considering different cultural traditions, the first difficulty is how to gain common conceptual points in order to realize international understanding in human rights. The second difficulty, with regard to different cultural and religious traditions, is when human rights are to be accepted as a whole. He also remarks that human rights never have a holistic dimension. They are instead an expression of western thought and it's particular general circumstances such as the historical, cultural, civilizational and religious contexts. Human rights which have been developed in different areas produces cultural imperialist effects. Therefore, imperialism, masked by a show of humanism, is regarded as a threat to the political and social entity of Islamic societies. In his discussion, the difficulties of human rights particularly concerned with humanism are as follows;

1. An atomistic, individualistic, social and humane picture of man based on a conscious selfish actor restricted to himself, which threatens social structures. Nothing but temporary desires is found in this picture; unrestrained desires such as sexual intercourse, homosexuality, prostitution and narcotic drugs which are characteristics of western civilization. In an other part of his article, he points to the modern concept of state and it's absolute sovereignty as a capable system of political administration dependent on exclusive power.

2. Separation of sphere of religion from that of politics required for the progress of human rights as a most usual Western political style.

As a conclusion, he states that, on the one hand, there are problems dominating international relations, bearing in mind, though, that economic and social inequalities are not obstacles for protecting human rights in the concept of international justice, and social inequalities are not regarded as a contradiction to human rights. On the other hand, the Third World countries sacrifice personal human rights to the public rights of development.

So, it is the duty of divine religions to intervene to return the dignity of man and to take decisive actions against the above-mentioned problems and inadequacies in the West and the Third World.

Human Rights in the West and Islam,

Lecturer: Sayyid Mustafa Muhaqqiq Damad

This article presents, first, a philosophical-theological analysis from the viewpoint of Islam and Christianity and then proceed to the legal and political analysis. The article summarizes the Western human rights in the following three topics:

1. The right of personal freedom,
2. The right of political freedom,
3. The primary social rights; and then

considering International Conference of Muslim Scholars, he concludes that Islam, from the beginning, has recognized twenty rights for the man. He continues his article with the difference between what is called human rights as the product of historical, intellectual and political tradition of the West and the viewpoint of Islam on these subjects. He states in another part of his article that today's concept of human rights in the West has obtained a personal dimension and is used as a commercial-political subject.

Islam, however, considers human as a social being who is severely dependent on his or her society. Human, in Islamic teachings, is introduced as a creature who seeks freedom in him or herself and abstain from immoral attitudes. Islam also regards human as responsible for divine trust, and considers both individual and social aspects of human life such as recommendation to do good and prohibition of committing wrong.

Common Principles of Faith and Duties of Muslims and Christians as Real Bases for Justice Coexistence.

Lecturer: Muhammad Mudjtahid Shabistari

Regarding the issues of common principles of faith and duties of these two religions in today's world, the writer tries to analyze these common principles from the Muslims' viewpoint. Referring to Qur'an, he lists them as follows:

1. Faith in the one God, the Creator of existence,
2. Exclusiveness of Rubūhiyyah for God,
3. The position of human as God's successor (Khalifah),
4. The most beloved humans before God, the Creator of the

World.

5. The divine Revelation is to help and guide reason. Human should enlighten his way of life by the help of his wisdom and revelation.

6. The responsibility to convey God's message to human-kind is not confined to prophets.

After mentioning the principles, he proceeds with the main duties derived from the consequences of belief in these principles. The duties that all followers of Islam and Christianity should undertake are as follows:

1. Acquaintance and confrontation with atheistic cultures and recognizing philosophical and scientific deficiencies with regard to monotheism.

2. Cultural exchange of philosophical and theological resources of the two religions,

3. Decisive and swift fighting of true followers of the two religions against international oppression resulted from division of the world into two blocks of the powerful and the weak, and denouncing liberalism and totalitarianism.

4. The scholars and religious organizations of Christianity and Islam should integrate and be allied with the oppressed of the society.

At the end, he concludes that to establish intentional religious charity organizations composed of Muslims and Christians independent of governments is one way to confront this conspiracy.

Justice and Motivation of Power in the Struggle for Survival,

Lecturer: Ayatullah Muhammad Taqi Ja'fari

In order to introduce the main concept of justice in the arena of social life, the writer deems necessary to explain theological and philosophical concept of divine justice. He explains the fact that every human has a conception of justice. This conception when revolves around divine justice, however, is influenced by the human's limited information and learning and deficient ability. So he or she often finds a wrong understanding of God's justice. To understand this matter, it is appropriate to refer to the religious resources.

He adds that the concept of justice should be sought in the Holy Qur'an as the most complete religious resource. Since the modern man seeks justice in the natural law and order ruling the world (struggle for survival), he considers himself more than religion.

The result of this approach is disobedience towards any rule and value. According to Islamic resources, the feeling that one does not need value is the beginning of his or her destruction. On the other hand, humans' self-centeredness promotes the struggle for survival. So the weak will perish and the powerful will always prosper.

Cultural Justice from the Viewpoint of Islam and the West

Lecturer: Muhammad-Ali Shu'ai

Considering the scope of circumstances, justice has been defined differently in different times. Because there have been different approaches, the subject has been given different interpretations. Studying justice from the viewpoints of cultures, the writer discusses the ruling system of international relations and says that the West maintains its domination on the world with the use of international relations. It also takes the service of effects emanating from the show of cultural superiority to strengthen that domination. To answer the question of whether there is a possibility for establishing cultural justice in Western countries, considering the present condition of international system, he says that in view of the present trend in the Western society, there is a close relation between power and cultural domination. Also taking into consideration the cultural variety in the West, we will definitely not witness cultural justice in their relations. As a witness to such a claim, he points to the objections of French and Italian cultural industries to the Imperialism domination exerted by its products such as movies, music and by its violence. In another part of his article, he discusses cultural justice from the viewpoint of Islam. Referring to some verses of Qur'an, he remarks that Islam allows cultural variety easily. Contrary to the West, which considers cultural exportism as the main principle, Islam gives top priority to the concept of piety. Therefore, observance of piety rules, refraining from violation of divine rights and referring to the virtues lead us to realize justice in international relations.

At the end, he mentions that religious thinkers of all societies can by realizing differences prevent from misunderstandings. They can influence public opinion to respect cultural differences. To observe the piety rules is the way in international relations which leads to justice.

Political Justice in the World Today

Lecturer: Muhammad Jayād Zarif

Despite the fact that humanity and divine religions are inclined towards justice, the world basis has not been defined accordingly. In fact, the administration of justice in its general sense has not been given priority in these relations. To maintain peace and security, even in the United Nations Charter, is the main criterion and justice is considered to be of secondary importance.

If we take a look at the Charter, the unjust and imbalanced composition of this executive body is revealed from the division of members into permanent and non-permanent. Taking a glimpse at the behavior of this most important worldly organization, the objective cases of injustice are understood. According to the writer, the cases such as Palestine, Bosnia and unlimited prolongation of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty reveal the injustice in this organization. From the social point of view, he refers to some values by the West imposed on human societies and introduced by the West as universally accepted, with no regard to such societies' cultural reports.

At the end with emphasis on a realistic and future oriented attitude, he concludes that in the long run, it is impossible to gain stability without the move towards setting up justice and balance. This reality can be discussed from different aspects of politics, security, economics and culture.

Two Year Index of the *Message of Thaqalayn*

(Volumes 1 and 2, 1993-1995)

Qur'ān and Hadith

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3. Amini, Ayatullah, "Ahl al-Bayt (a): Their Scholarship and Trust", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1994), pp. 7-13.

4. Khamenei, Ayatullah, "The Four Principal Works of 'Im al-Rijal", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1994), pp. 61-63.

5. Tabatabai, Allamah, "An Introduction to Exegesis of the Qur'an", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1994), pp. 9-21.

6. Fazli, Abdul-Hadi, "Shi'i Approach to Qira'ah (Reading) of the Qur'an", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (1994), pp. 21-35.

7. Tanzil, Talib Hasan, "The Event of Ghadir", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1994), pp. 35-47.

8. Tabatabai, Allamah, "The Concept of Ta'wil in the Qur'an", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1995), pp. 21-41.

9. Majid, Wahid J., "The integrity of the Qur'an", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384 (1995/96), pp. 9-19.

10. Arabi, Gholam Hossein, "Understanding and Exegesis of the Qur'an", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384 (1995/96), pp. 19-31.

Fiqh & Kalām

1. Khamenei, Ayatullah Sayyid Ali. "The Role of Al-Shaykh al-Mufid in the Development of Shi'i Fiqh", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, (1993) Vol. 1, No. 2 (1994), pp. 25-69.
2. McDermott, Martin, "Method in Mufid's Kalām and in Christian Theology", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, (1993) Vol. 1, No. 1 (1993), pp. 69-77.
3. Naqwi, Sayyid Ali Rida Naqwi, "Contribution of Shi'i Jurisprudence". *Message of Thaqaalayn*, (1993), Vol. 1, No. 1 (1993), pp. 77-87.
4. Baqirshahi, A.N., "New Kalām and Justice", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, (1994), Vol. 1, No. 2 (1994), pp. 61-71.
5. Al-Oraibi, Ali, "Rationalism in the School of Bahrain", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1994), pp. 103-119.
6. Mutahhari, Murtada, "Mut'ah (Fixed-Term Marriage) in Shi'a", *Message of Thaqaalayn* (1995), Vol. 2, No. 1 (1995), pp. 53-61.
7. Mohrizi, M. "An Islamic Approach to the Age of Maturity Among Girls", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, (1995), Vol. 2, No. 1 (1995), pp. 61-79.
8. Moosavi, Sadroddin, "Taxation of blood-money by the Next of Kin of Murderer", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1996), pp. 79-87.
9. Muhri, S. Murtada, "Taqiyyah: Its Meaning and Origin", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 87-93.
11. Bojnardi, Sayyid Muhammad Mussavi, "Role of Negotiable Instruments in the Islamic Legal System", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1995), pp. 27-47.
12. Hijazi, S.H. Rida, "Imam Khomeini's View on *Ijtihād* in Modern World", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 47-65.

Political Thought

1. Akhtar, Waheed, "Freedom in the Islamic Framework of Human Rights with Special Reference to the Nahj al-Balāghah", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1993), pp. 87-129.

2. Zanjani Amid, A.A., "The Development of Political Fiqh in Islam", (Part I) *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1993), pp. 129-145.

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4. Aziz, T.M., "Popular Sovereignty in Contemporary Shi'i Political Thought", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1994), pp. 71-97.

5. Tashkiri, Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Ali, "Lapses in Islamic Information", Vol. 1, No. 2, (1994), pp. 97.

6. Alavi Mehr, Kh, "Islamic Sources of Iran's Constitution", Vol. 1, No. 3, (1994), pp. 133-157.

7. Algar, Hamid, "In Memory of Imam Khomeini", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1994), pp. 49-59.

8. Moosavi, S.S., "Imam Khomeini's Views on Politics and Religion", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1994), pp. 121-133.

9. Chitlick, William, "Toward a Theology of Development", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (1994), pp. 147-169.

10. Siddiqi, Kalim, "The West Struggles to Divine and Breakup Islam's Global Challenge", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (1995), pp. 113-119.

11. Ghazi Zadeh, Kazem, "General Principles of Imam Khomeini's Political Thought", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 384, (1995, '96), pp. 69-99.

12. Ezzati, A., "State and Politics as the Essential Instrument of Islamic Da'wa", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 65-75.

13. Amie Rais, A., "Contemporary Problem of *Da'wa*", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 75-79.

14. Azimi Etemadi, Mohsen, "Political Thought in Islam", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 79-85.

Ethics

1. Khomzini, Imam, "Anatomy of Moral Melodies", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (1994), pp. 59-101.

2. Baqirshahi, A.N., "The Nature of Moral Values in Contemporary Shiite Thought", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 133-147.

3. Majlisi, Allamah Muhammad Baqir, "A Treatise on Spiritual Wayfaring", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384, (1995/96), pp. 57-69.

Thought

1. Tabataba'ei, Allamah, "Methods of Religious Thought According to Shiite", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (1995), pp. 93-113.

2. Seyyed Arab, Hossein, "Post-Ibn Rushd Schools of Islamic Philosophy in Iran", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384, (1995/96), pp. 45-57.

3. Muluqqiq Damad, Sayyid Mustafa, "Cultural Relations Between Christianity and Shi'i Islam", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384, (1995/96), pp. 99-111.

4. Baqir al-Sadr, Ayatullah Muhammad, "The Future Perspective of Ijtihad", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384, (1995/96), pp. 111-117.

5. Tashkiri, Muhammad Ali, "Islamic Economy: Its Ideological and Legal Foundations", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384, (1995/96), pp. 117-133.

6. Baqirshahi, A.B., "Western and Islamic Concept of Man", *Message of Thaqalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 85-93.

History

1. Al-Mufid, al-Shaykh "A Glimpse at Imam 'Ali's Life", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (1995), pp. 119-131.
2. Al-Mufid, al-Shaykh, "A Glimpse at Imam Hasan's Life", Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 93-103.
3. Tabatabai, Allamah, "Divisions Within Shiism", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 103-113.
4. Dawani, Ali, "Al-Shaykh al-Tusi's Life and Time", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 113-131.
5. Arneer Jawwad Iqbal, "Karbala: History or Meta-History", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1995), pp. 131-135.
6. Pourhadi, Ibrahim V., "Muslim Libraries During the Middle Ages in the Works of Orientalists", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384, (1995-96), pp. 133-177.
7. Rafii, Ali, "A Brief History of Book Endowment (Waqf) in Islam", *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 2, Nos. 384 (1995-96), pp. 177-185.

Interviews

1. Comments on Islam and Mass Media: An Interview with Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Ali Tashkiri, *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1993), pp. 145-149.
2. The Development of Mysticism in Indian Subcontinent: An Interview with Professor Waheed Akhtar, *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (1994), pp. 106-118.
3. Shiism and Mysticism: An Interview with Dr. Gh. R. Awami, *Message of Thaqaalayn*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (1994), pp. 169-179.
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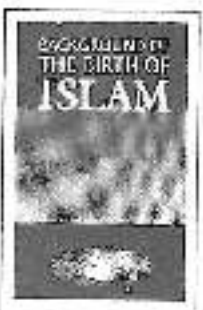
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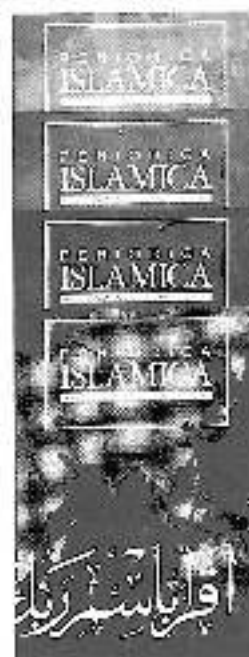
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