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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.

* * * * *

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

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يَرْفَعِ اللّهُ الّذينَ امَنوا مِنْكُمْ وَ
الّذينَ أوتواالْعِلْمَ دَرَجاتٍ ...

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

Al-Mujadalah (58): 11

The Integrity of the Holy Qur'ān

Vahid J. Majd

It has been alleged that *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, one of the major sources of *ḥadith* for *Shi'i* Muslims, contains a number of *ḥadīths* that proves the *Shī'ī* belief in the incompleteness of the Qur'an which is in the hands of Muslims at present.

One statement which is claimed to be made by one of the *Shī'a*'s Imāms and presented as a proof for this allegation reads as: "*No one compiled the Qur'ān completely except the Imāms.*" In our opinion, this claim has no basis except a misunderstanding for the reasons which will be discussed below.

First, there is no such tradition in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*. What is written in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* is as follows:

"I heard Abū Ja'far ('a) saying: 'No one (among ordinary people) claimed that he gathered the Qur'ān completely in the order that was revealed by Allāh except a liar; (since) no one has gathered it and memorized it completely in the order that was revealed by Allāh, except 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib ('a) and the Imāms after him ('a).'"[1]

There is no dispute among Muslim scholars, whether *Sunnī* or *Shī'a*, concerning the fact that the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ('a), compiled a special script of the text of the Qur'ān (*muṣḥaf*) and that he was the first to compile the Qur'ān. There are a great number of traditions from *Sunnī* and

Shī'a scholars stating that after the death of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), Imām 'Alī ('a) sat down in his house and said that he had taken sworn an oath that he would not put on his outdoor clothes or leave his house until he collected the Qur'ān.[2]

There are also traditions from the Imāms of Ahl al-Bayt ('a) which tell us that this was done by Imām 'Alī ('a) by the order of the Holy Prophet (ṣ).[3] This transcript of the Qur'ān which was compiled by Imām 'Alī ('a) had the following unique specifications:

a) It was collected according to its revelation, *i.e.*, in the order in which it had been sent down. This is the reason that Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn (33/653-110/729), the famous scholar and *tābi'ī* (disciple of the companions of the Holy Prophet (ṣ)), regretted that this transcript had not passed into the hands of the Muslims, and said: "*If that transcript were in our hands, we would have found a great knowledge in it.*"[4]

It is according to this transcript that *Sunnī* scholars relate that the first chapter of the Qur'ān which was sent down to the Prophet (ṣ) was the chapter *Iqra'* (*Al-'Alaq*, chapter 96).

It was for this reason that the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ('a), frequently stated in his sermons: "*Ask me before you lose me. By Allāh, if you ask me about anything that could happen up to the Day of Judgment, I will tell you about it. Ask me, for, by* Allāh, *you will not be able to ask me a question about anything without my informing you. Ask me about the Book of* Allāh, *for, by* Allāh, *there is no verse about which I do not know whether it was sent down at night or during the day, or whether it was revealed on a plain or on a mountain.*"[5]

b) This transcript contained commentary and hermeneutic interpretation (*tafsīr* and *ta'wīl*) from the Holy Prophet (ṣ) some of which had been sent down as revelation but not as a part of the text of the Qur'ān. A small amount of such texts can be found in some traditions in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*. These pieces of information, which were estimated to be a little less than 10,400 verses, were the divine commentary of the text of the Qur'ān which were

revealed along with Qur'ānic verses but were not parts of the Qur'ān. Thus the number of commentary verses and Qur'ānic verses could sum up to 17,000.

In addition, this unique transcript contained the information from the Holy Prophet (ṣ) about *mansūkh* (abrogated) and *nāsikh* (abrogating), *muḥkam* (clear) and *mutashābih* (ambiguous), and general and specific verses.

c) This unique transcript also contained references to the persons, places, *etc.*, about which the verses were revealed *(asbāb al-nuzūl)*. Since the Commander of Believers ('a) was aware of these facts, he frequently said: *"By* Allāh, *no verse has been sent down without my knowing about whom or what it was revealed and where it was revealed. My Lord has gifted me with a mind which has a quick and retaining understanding, and a tongue which asks many questions."*[6]

After he compiled this transcript, Imām 'Alī ('a) took it and presented it to the rulers who succeeded the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and said: *"Here is the Book of* Allāh, *your Lord, as it was revealed to your Prophet."* But they did not accept it and replied: *"We have no need of this. We have with us what you possess."* Thereupon, Imām 'Alī ('a) took the transcript back and informed them that they will never see it again. Imām 'Alī ('a) recited the latter part of the following verse of the Qur'ān:

"And when Allāh *took a Covenant from the people of the Book to clarify it to mankind and not to hide it (the clarification); but they threw it away behind their backs and purchased with it some miserable gain! And what an evil was the bargain they made!"* (3:187)

The Commander of Believers ('a) then concealed that transcript, and after him it was passed to the Imāms ('a) who also kept it concealed. It has remained concealed with the Imāms ('a), one after the other to this day, because they wished to be only one Qur'ān among the Muslims.

Those traditions in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* which state that no one but the Commander of Believers ('a) and the later Imāms compiled the Qur'ān as it was revealed, and that the Qur'ān which they had, contained *"what can be understood of the heaven, etc."*, and *"the knowledge of the Book, all of it,"*

refer to the very commentaries and interpretations quoted in the transcript of Imām 'Alī ('a) directly from the Holy Prophet (ṣ). Allāh, to whom belongs Might and Majesty, said: "*And We have sent down on you a Book within which is the clarification of all the things.*" (16:89)

Second, the tradition in question does not mean that the Qur'ān is incomplete. Rather it states that it is not completely arranged in the same order as it was sent down. It is an accepted fact that the Qur'ān which we have in our hands today, is not arranged in the sequence that it was revealed. In fact, Muslim scholars confirm that the first chapter of the Qur'ān which was sent down to the Prophet (ṣ) was chapter *Iqra'* (*Al-'Alaq*, ch. 96).[7] Whereas, this chapter is not at the beginning of the present Qur'ān.

Muslims also agree that the verse (5:3) was among one of the last revealed verses of the Qur'ān (but not the very last one), yet it is not toward the end of the present Qur'ān. This proves that although the Qur'ān which is available to us is complete, it is not arranged in the order that it was revealed.

Besides, Imām 'Alī ('a) was not the only one who had a Qur'ān with a different arrangement. According to authentic *Sunnī* sources, many companions had different arrangements of the Qur'ān, that of 'Abdullāh Ibn Mas'ūd being one of them.[8] This person not only had a different Qur'ān but also, based on *Sunnī* sources, had a different sequence of chapters and different set of *āyahs*. He allegedly believed that the present Qur'ān had some extra words, and he swore by Allāh for his claim![9] He also falsely believed that the last two chapters of the Qur'ān were not Qur'ānic chapters but only some prayers.[10] According to the *Shī'a*, these words of companions concerning the Qur'ān having extra words are false. No single verse of the Qur'ān is extra.

The second tradition in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* which has been widely misinterpreted, states that what was revealed to the Prophet (ṣ) was as much as 17,000 verses. Note that the tradition does not say Qur'ān has 17,000 verses. Although this tradition is rated weak, it was elaborately explained by al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq who was a high ranking *Shī'ī* scholar in the field of *ḥadīth*:

"We say that so much of revelation has come down which is not embodied in the present Qur'ān that if it were to be collected, its extent would undoubtedly be 17,000 verses ... Although all of them were revelation but they (extra ones) are NOT a part of the Qur'ān. If they would be a part of the Qur'ān, it would surely have been included in the Qur'ān we have."[11]

The Qur'ānic transcript which was compiled by Imām 'Alī ('a) contained commentary and hermeneutic interpretation *(tafsīr and ta'wīl)* from the Holy Prophet (ṣ) some of which had been sent down as revelation but *not* as a part of the text of the Qur'ān. A small number of such texts can be found in some traditions in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* and else. These pieces of information, which were revealed as divine commentary of the text of the Qur'ān, and the Qur'ānic verses could sum up to 17,000 verses. As it is known, *ḥadīth qudsī* is also revelation but not a part of the Qur'ān. In fact, the Qur'ān testifies that anything that Prophet (ṣ) said about religion was revelation. Allāh Almighty said in the Qur'ān about Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) that:

"Nor does he (Muḥammad) speak out of his desire. It is no less than a revelation that is revealed." (53:3-4)

Thus, all speeches of the Prophet (ṣ) were revelations but were not limited to the Qur'ān. They also included interpretations of the Qur'ān (part of which was direct revelation) as well as his *Sunnah* (part of which was indirect revelation).

The third misinterpreted tradition in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* reads as follows:

"Abū Ja'far said: 'No one can claim that he completely has the Qur'ān with its appearance (dhāhir) and its inner meaning (bāṭin), except the Legatees (awṣīyā')."[12]

Again this tradition is referring to the fact that the commentary of the Qur'ān is missing. Although we have the appearance of the Qur'ān, its inner meaning (i.e., divine commentary) does not accompany it. Traditions refer to the Qur'ān which was compiled by Imām 'Alī ('a) as the one including the commentary.

A word on the authenticity of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*

So far, we have clarified the true meanings of the *ḥadīths* which have been misunderstood by some Muslims regarding the *Shī'ī* belief about the integrity of the holy Qur'ān. Now, we turn to another wrong hypothesis which has led to such a misunderstanding.

The allegation that the *Shī'a* believe in the incompleteness of the Qur'ān is a conclusion based on two wrong hypotheses: first, that *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* is an all-authentic book of *ḥadīth* for the *Shī'a*; and second, that this book contains *ḥadīths* which imply the incompleteness of the Qur'an.

The second hypothesis was refuted by the explanations presented above. Concerning the first hypothesis, it should be noted that the *Shī'a* do not consider *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* to be an all-authentic book of tradition, nor his author ever mentioned such a thing.

It is true that *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* is among the most important *Shī'a* collections of traditions. The traditions of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* cover all the branches of faith and ethics, and all the fundamentals of *fiqh* (jurisprudence). It includes more traditions than all six *Sunnī* collections together (provided that repetitions are removed). For instance, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* has 16,121 traditions, while *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, which has many repetitions in itself, has only 7,275 traditions. If we remove repetitions, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* will have 15,176 traditions while *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* will end up with 4,000 traditions. The traditions in discussion here include both *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* and *Furū' al-Kāfī*.

The author of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, al-Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī al-Rāzī (d. 329/849), may Allāh has mercy upon his soul, is considered to be highly honest and reliable. However, we should emphasize that the supportive evidence of the traditions narrated in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* are not equal in value and strength. The authorities of the chains of narration are not also equal in terms of reliability and credibility, and one can in *no* way regard them as equally dependable.

A glance at the book entitled *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl* (the reflection of minds) will reveal this very point to the researcher in more detail. *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl* is an annotation of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* written by another great *Shī'ī* scholar of *ḥadīth*, Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1700) who is among the most loyal and faithful to *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*. Majlisī has rated some traditions of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* as *weak*.

The *Shī'a* believe that only Qur'ān is all-authentic. All traditions attributed to the Prophet (ṣ) and the Imams ('a), are subject to check according to the Qur'ān. If they are found to be inconsistent with the Qur'ān, they will be disregard. Although *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* is a reliable book for the *Shī'a*, it is not all-authentic in details.

Beside 'Allāmah Majlisī, there have been many other books written by the *Shī'a* that characterize and classify the traditions and reports of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*. One example is the book named *Maṣādir al-Ḥadīth 'Ind al-Shī'a al-Imāmīyyah*, by 'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Jalīlī. He classifies the traditions in *al-Kāfī* and gives the following data:

Total traditions:	**16,121 (including the reports and the stories)**
Weak (Da'if):	9,485
Good (Hasan):	114
Trusted (Muwaththaq):	118
Strong traditions (Qawiy):	302
Authentic (Saḥiḥ)	5,702

As you see, there are some traditions in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* that are rated weak by 'Allāmah al-Jalīlī. However, being weak, does not mean that the tradition is forged. If in the case of a tradition, one of the links of the chain of authorities is missing, then the tradition will be rated weak in *isnād* regardless of its content. In fact, there are a number of traditions in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* in which one or more elements are missing from the chain of narrators. These traditions, therefore, are regarded as weak in *isnād*.

The classification of traditions by a scholar does not prevent another scholar to further analyze and modify them later, as more data/knowledge may be at his disposal. This is due to the fact that the *Shī'a* do not believe in the absolute authority of any scholar but they consider such an authority just for the Qur'ān, the Prophet (s), and the Imams ('a). In case that the latter two are not available in person, all the traditions attributed to them are subject to check and verification according to the Qur'ān.

Al-Shaykh al-Kulaynī, author of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, writes in the introduction of his book:

"Brother, may God lead you to the right path. You ought to know that it is impossible for anyone to distinguish the truth from the false when the Muslims disagree upon what is attributed to the Imams ('a).

There is only one way to separate the true from the untrue reports, through the standard which was declared by the Imam ('a): 'Test the various traditions by the Book of Allāh; whatever agrees with it take it, whatever disagrees with it reject it. ... Accept what is held in common by all the narrators quoting us (i.e., ijmā'), since there can be no doubt about what is unanimously held by all (narrators of the traditions).' But to our knowledge, the contradicting traditions are few, which can be solved on the basis of the above mentioned criteria.[13]

Is there any explanation better than that of the author? He mentions that he is not sure if all traditions are authentic. He mentions that there are some contradicting traditions in his book and that we should reject those and all others which are not held by all narrators.

In fact, according to one of his students, al-Kulaynī arranged the traditions of each chapter in the order of their authenticity. He recorded more authentic traditions in the beginning of each chapter, and proceeding accordingly, put the weakest traditions at the end for they might have some ambiguity.

Finally, It is necessary, once again, to emphasize here that all the *Shī'ī* scholars are in agreement that the Qur'ān which is at present among the Muslims is the very same Qur'ān that was sent down to the Holy Prophet (ṣ), and that it has not been altered. Nothing has been added to it, and nothing is missing from it. The Qur'ān which was compiled by Imām 'Alī ('a) (excluding the commentaries) and the Qur'ān that is in the hands of people today, are identical in terms of words and sentences. No word, verse, or chapter is missing. The only difference is in the sequence of sentences.

This fact is so indisputable that the most important *Shī'ī* scholar, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Bābawayh, known as "al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq" (309/919 - 381/991), wrote:

"Our belief is that the Qur'ān which Allāh revealed to His Prophet Muḥammad is (the same as) the one between the two covers (daffatayn). And it is the one which is in the hands of the people, and is not greater in extent than that. The number of sūrahs (chapters) as generally accepted is one hundred and fourteen... And he who asserts that we say that it is greater in extent than this (the present text), is a liar."[14]

Endnotes:

1 Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, Uṣūl al-Kāfī, tradition 607.
2 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Fatḥul Bārī, vol. 10, p. 386; Ibn al-Nadīm, Al-Fihrist, p. 30; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Al-Itqān, vol. 1, p. 165; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, Al-Maṣāḥif, p. 10; Abū Nu'aym, Ḥilyat al-Awlīyā', vol. 1, p. 67; Ibn Fāris, Al-Ṣāḥibī, p. 79; Al-'Aynī,'Umdat al-Qārī, vol. 20 , p. 16; Al-Dhahabī, Ma'rifat al-Qurrā' al-Kibār, vol. 1, p. 31; Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'Ummāl, vol. 15, pp. 112-13.
3 See Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 92, pp. 40-41,48, 51-52.
4 Ibn Sa'd, Al-Ṭabaqāt, vol. 2, part 2, p. 101; Al-Balādhurrī, Anṣāb al-Ashrāf, vol. 1, p. 587; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr Al-Istī'āb, vol. 3, pp. 974-74; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah, vol. 6, pp. 40-41; Ibn Juzzī al-Kalbī, Al-Tashīl, vol. 1, p. 4; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Al-Itqān, vol. 1, p. 166; Al-Dhahabī, Ma'rifat al-Qurrā al-Kibār, vol. 1, p. 32.
5 Al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, Al-Rīyāḍ al-Nādirah, vol. 2, p. 198; Ibn Sa'd, Al-Ṭabaqāt, vol. 2, part w, p. 101; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, Al-Iṣābah, vol. 4, p. 568; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb, vol. 7, pp. 337-38; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Fatḥul Bārī, vol. 8, p. 485; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Al-Istī'āb, vol. 3, p. 1107; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā', p. 124; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Al-Itqān, vol. 2, p. 319.
6 Abū Nu'aym, Ḥilyat al-Awlīyā', vol. 1, pp. 67-68; Ibn Sa'd, Al-Ṭabaqāt, vol. 2, p. 101; Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'Ummāl, vol. 15, p. 113.
7 See: Al-Zarkashī, Al-Burhān, vol. 1, p. 259; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Al-Itqān, vol. 1, p. 202; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, Fatḥ al-Bārī, vol. 10, p. 417; Al-Qastalānī, Irshād al-Sārī, vol. 7, p 454. According to the following narration, 'Ā'ishah seems to have a different opinion as to which chapter was revealed first:
"Narrated Yūsuf Bin Maḥk: While I was with 'Ā'ishah, the Mother of the Believers, a person from 'Irāq came and asked, `What type of shroud is the best?' 'Ā'ishah said, `May Allāh be merciful to you! What does it matter?' He said, `O Mother of the Believers! Show me (the copy of) your Qur'ān.' She said, `Why?' He said, `In order to compile and arrange the Qur'ān according to it, for people recite its Sūrahs not in proper order.' 'Ā'ishah said, `What does it matter which part of it you read first? (Be informed) That the first thing that was revealed thereof was a sūrah from Al-Mufaṣṣal, and in it was mentioned Paradise and the Fire. (Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī: 6.515)

8 "Narrated Shaqiq: 'Abdullāh said: `I learnt al-Nazā'ir which the Prophet used to recite in parts in each rak'ah.' Then 'Abdullāh got up and 'Alqamah accompanied him to his house, and when 'Alqamah came out, we asked him (about those Sūrahs). He said: `They are twenty Sūrahs that start from the beginning of Al-Mufaṣṣal, according to the arrangement done by Ibn Mas'ūd, and end with the Sūrahs starting with Hā Mīm, e.g., "Hā Mīm Dukhān (the Smoke)", and "'Amma yatasā'alūn (About what they question one another?)"'" (78.1)(Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth 6.518.

9 See Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Arabic-English version, ḥadiths 6.468, 5.105, 5.85.

10 See ibid., ḥadīth 6.501.

11 Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ṣadūq, A Shī'ite Creed (The English version of I'tiqādāt al-Imāmīyyah), trans. Asaf A.A. Fyzee (Tehran: World Organization for Islamic Services, 1982), pp. 78-79.

12 Al-Kulaynī, Uṣūl al-Kāfī, tradition 608.

13 Ibid., Arabic-English version, Introduction, part 1, pp. 18-19.

14 See Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, A Shī'ite Creed, p. 77. It should be noted that al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq was one of the greatest scholars of ḥadīth among the Imāmī Shī'a and was given the name of Shaykh al-Muḥaddithīn (the most eminent of the scholars of ḥadīth). And since he wrote this statement in a book entitled I'tiqādāt al-Imāmīyyah (the beliefs of the Imāmīs), it is quite impossible that there could be any authentic ḥadīth or scholar of ḥadīth who disagreed with what al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq stated. For, if there had been other prominent scholars with a different opinion, they would surely have pointed this discrepancy out. (For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Abu al-Qāsim al-Khu'i, Al-Bayān, pp. 214-78)

Understanding and Exegesis of the Qur'ān

Ghulām Ḥusayn A'rābī
Translated by Dr. S. S. Musavi

The holy Qur'ān is the last divine book revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) for the guidance of mankind. It received man's attention from the very beginning of its revelation. It received the attention of Muslims as well as non-Muslims who were curious to understand its depth. Gradually man's curiosity for understanding the holy Qur'ān gained momentum. Some of the reasons for incentives behind the attempts to understand the holy Qur'ān are discussed below.

Charisma of the Verses

The Qur'ānic verses have a specific charisma which attract any reader. At the beginning of the revelation the Arabs were well versed in poetry and literature, but the charisma of the Qur'ānic verses superseded any piece of poetry and literature to the extent that almost all Arabs were astonished by the charisma of the holy Qur'ān and embraced Islam after hearing those verses.

Although the Arabs in public spared no effort to stop people from listening to the recitation of the Qur'ān,[1] they were extremely interested in listening to it. Though they were saying: "*There is a seal upon our hearts and upon our hearing rendering us unable to listen your words,*"[2] they were

listening to the recitation of the Qur'ān at the holy Prophet's residence clandestinely.

One night some of the leaders of infidels, Abū Sufyān, Abū Jahl, Akhnas bin Shariq, and others left their houses to listen to the recitation of the Qur'ān near the Prophet's (ṣ) house. None of them knew that others had also come for the same purpose. All of them stayed until the dawn listening to the recitation of the Qur'ān; when they were going back home they came across each other. They blamed each other and promised not to repeat the act any more. However, again and again all of them went to listen to the recitation of the holy Qur'ān secretly. But again they met and finally pledged not to listen to the holy Qur'ān again.[3]

The heads of the infidels knew that the only weapon of the Prophet (ṣ) was the verses of the holy Qur'ān, hence, they decided to stop people from listening to them. One day the heads of the infidels went to Walīd bin Mughayrah, one of the Quraysh chieftains (better known as the Unique or the Flower of Quraysh),[4] and told him: The Ḥajj season is approaching and Arab delegations from all over the world are convening here. The Arabs have heard the prophethood of Muḥammad. Find out a uniform counterbalancing response for that.

Walīd asked what their proposal was.

They said: *"It is better to tell the people that Muḥammad is a shaman."*

Walīd said: *"We have seen shamans. He does not speak like shamans. Muḥammad's words are neither like those of shamans nor do they have the rhythm of the shaman's words."*

They said: *"We should say that he is insane."*

Walīd replied: *"He is not mad."*

They said: *"We should tell the people that Muḥammad is a poet."*

Walīd said: *"He is not a poet. We know all types of poetry."*

They replied: *"Then we shall tell the people that he is a magician."*

Walīd said: *"He is not a magician, we are very well acquainted with spells and the magicians."*[5]

At this point Walīd, despite his animosity against the Prophet (ṣ) of Islam said: *"What I have heard from Muḥammad is neither a man's word nor that of the jinn, it has a peculiar charisma and sweetness. His word is like a tall*

palm tree with its roots in clear water and its branches yielding fruits. Nothing can match his words."[6]

Indeed many Arabs and non-Arabs embraced Islam after hearing the verses of the holy Qur'ān. This is a clear indication to the charisma and sweetness of the Qur'ānic verses.

'Umar bin Khaṭṭāb, who was one the staunch opponents of the holy Prophet and the Muslims in the early days of Islam, after reciting a few verses of the Qur'ān was so influenced by the Qur'ān that he underwent a crucial change and embraced Islam.

The story of 'Umar's embracing Islam is an indication that he embraced Islam only after reading a few verses of the holy Qur'ān. One day 'Umar decides to kill the Prophet (ṣ). He leaves his house and marches towards Prophet's (ṣ) house. But he hears that his sister Fātīma and his brother-in-law have embraced Islam. He decides to kill them before killing the Prophet (ṣ). When he reaches his sister's house, he hears that they are reciting the Qur'ān. At the same time Fāṭimah comes to know that his brother is listening to them at the door. She stops the recitation and hides the Qur'ānic verses. 'Umar enters the house angrily and says: I have heard that you have embraced Islam. Fātīma replies: Yes. Do whatever you want to do. 'Umar says give me those papers that you were reciting. Fātīma says: I will not give them to you; you are going to destroy them.

'Umar assures her and takes the verses. He reads the following verses: "*Ṭā Hā. We have not revealed the Qur'ān to you that you may be unsuccessful. Nay, it is a reminder to him who fears...*" He is impressed and says: "*What a beautiful and charming words.*"[7] He finally embraces Islam.

However, one of the main reasons for the refusal of the heads of infidels to embrace Islam was their rivalry with the Banī Hāshim. When Akhnas bin Shariq promised the heads of the Quraysh not to listen to the Qur'ān, he went to Abū Jahl and said: "What is your idea about what you have heard about Muḥammad?"[8] He replied: "We have been challenging Banī 'Abd-Manāf in honor and prestige. They used to feed the public, we also did so. We also were equal to them in infidelity and prestige.[9] Now they claim prophethood and say that a prophet has been appointed from amongst them. How can we reach that status? We will never acknowledge his prophethood and never embrace Islam." [10]

Prophet's (ṣ) Efforts

One of the main reasons for the spread of the divine message has been the incessant efforts of the Prophets (ṣ); thus one can say: The role of the Prophet (ṣ) of Islam in spreading the divine message has been very crucial. His mission, described by himself was inviting people to read the Qur'ān and think it over. The Qur'ān says: "*I am commanded only that I should serve the Lord of this city, Who has made it sacred, and His are all things and I am commanded that I should be of those who submit: And that I should recite the Qur'ān. Therefore, whoever goes aright, he goes aright for his own soul, and whoever goes astray, then say: I am only one of the warners.*" (27:91-92)

The Prophet (ṣ) invited people to go through the Qur'ān thoroughly on different occasions. For instance, the Prophet (ṣ) used to tell the people that the Qur'ān was revealed to guide people to salvation and save them from the wrong path: "If you want to attain salvation, a death deserving the martyrs, salvation on the Day of Judgment, relief in hard days and guidance in difficult situations, resort to the Qur'ān as the divine words save you from the Satan."[11] The Prophet (ṣ) of Islam was of the view that, "The Qur'ān is a guide that leads you to the best path. There are torches of guidance and minarets of philosophy in the Qur'ān."[12]

The holy Prophet (ṣ) during his prophethood did not miss any opportunity to invite people to the holy Qur'ān. During the ceremony marking the last pilgrimage of the Prophet (ṣ) to Hajj, he termed the Qur'ān as the Greater Invaluable Weight (*Thiql Akbar*) which is capable of rescuing man from wrong path if accompanied by the Lesser Invaluable Weight (*Thiql Aṣghar*), i.e., the Prophet's *Ahl al-Bayt*. "I *leave among you two invaluable weighty items, i.e., the Qur'ān and My 'Itrah, if you hold fast to them , you will not be misguided,*" [13] he said.

Rewards in the Hereafter for Understanding the Qur'ān

There are numerous traditions quoted from the holy Prophet (s) indicating that understanding of the Qur'ān leads man towards the path to the heaven. For instance, the Prophet (ṣ) has been quoted as saying: "One

who chooses the Qur'ān as his guide and leader, it will lead him to heaven. One who discards the Qur'ān, he is led to the hell."[14]

Make Your House a Center for Learning the Qur'ān

The holy Prophet (ṣ) always recommended the Muslims to make their houses centers for learning the Qur'ān. He asked the Muslims to keep in touch with the Qur'ān and not to regard it as a book meant to be consulted in mosques (the Jews and the Christians who consider the Bible and the Torah books meant for churches and synagogue). The holy Prophet in this regard has said: "Illuminate your homes with the recitation of the Qur'ān. Do not convert your houses to graveyards by discarding the Qur'ān as the Jews and the Christians read their holy books in church and synagogue only. When the Qur'ān is recited in a house, Allah's blessings are showered there and peace and comfort brought to it.[15]

The Qur'ān: The God's Rope

The holy Prophet (ṣ) has been quoted as saying: "The Greater Invaluable Weight is the Book of Allah, one side of which is in God's hands and the other is available to you, if you hold it, you will not be misguided."[16]

The Qur'ān as a Shelter in Hard Times

The holy Prophet informed the Muslims that after his departure they would face problems. He advised them to consult the Qur'ān and his *Sunnah* in hard times. He said, "When the plots assault you, you should consult the Qur'ān, the acknowledged guide...Everybody should look at the Qur'ān and try to understand it in order to be protected against annihilation. Indeed, contemplation is the heart of a man of vision as man needs light to be able to move in darkness."[17]

Learning Qur'ānic Teachings Safeguards Man Against Sins

The holy Prophet (ṣ) has been quoted as saying: "Read and keep the Qur'ān. Verily, the Almighty God will not punish a heart that has received the Qur'ān."[18]

The above-mentioned traditions indicate how the holy Prophet (ṣ) paid attention to the holy Qur'ān. These traditions have played a significant role in encouraging people to try to understand the Qur'ān and to ponder on its verses and memorize them. Several companions of the Prophet (ṣ) memorized the Qur'ān and some of them became well-known exegetes going to other countries to impart the Qur'ānic teachings to other Muslims.

Qur'ān Invites People to Pay Attention to the Qur'ān

Another factor in people's yearning for learning the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic teachings is the Qur'ān itself. The Qur'ānic verses that have encouraged people in this direction may be divided into several groups:

a) Verses Announcing Learning and Listening to the Qur'ān a Blessing

"And when the Qur'ān is recited, then listen to it and remain silent, that mercy may be shown to you." (7:204)

"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)[19]

b) Verses Announcing Pondering on the Qur'ānic Verses the Reason for Revelation

"(It is) a Book We have revealed to you abounding in good, that they may ponder over its verses, and that those endowed with understanding may be mindful." (38:29)

"Surely We have revealed it--an Arabic Qur'ān--that you may understand." (12:3)

(c) Verses Challenging Man's Ability

Those verses of the Qur'ān challenging man and the jinn to produce a piece equal to Qur'ān received serious attention of the infidels and pagans. They were humiliated by this challenge and tried to understand them thoroughly in order to respond to the challenge. The more attention they paid to the Qur'ānic verses, the more they realized their inability to produce

a piece of work equal to the Qur'ān. For instance, the following tradition shows how helpless the Quraysh were in challenging the Qur'ān: "The Quraysh tried to produce a work equal to the Qur'ān, they renounced the world for forty days. They confined themselves to shelled wheat, sheep meat and pure wine in order to hone their faculty of thought. As soon as they began their work, they heard the following verse: *'And it was said: O earth, swallow down your water, and O cloud, clear away; and the water was made to abate and the affair was decided, and the ark rested on the Judi, and it was said: Away with the unjust people.'*(11:44) Upon hearing this verse, they said that those words were not similar to man's words and stopped challenging the Qur'ān."[20]

This tradition clearly shows that the challenging verses received serious attention of the Quraysh, hence, they spared no effort to challenge them. Moreover, not only did the Muslims pay attention to the newly revealed verses, but also the heads of the infidels and pagans studied the new verses in order to neutralize the divine message. But the more they tried, the more they found themselves helpless and disappointed.

The above-mentioned factors were instrumental in encouraging people to pay attention to the Qur'ānic verses. Only few years after the appointment of the Prophet (ṣ) the verses of the Qur'ān could be found in almost every house. They were recited in every corner. Both friends and foes used to discuss the content of the verses and within few years after the appointment of the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) unto mankind, many Muslims memorized the Qur'ān and began teaching and interpreting it.

Specialization in Qur'ānic Courses

Each of the companions of the Prophet (ṣ) became an expert in one Qur'ānic course. According to a tradition, the companions were knowledgeable and each of them specialized in a specific Qur'ānic course. For instance, 'Alī ('a) was expert in judicial affairs, Zayd was an expert in heredity laws, Moāz in lawful and unlawful issues and Ubbay was an expert in *Qirā'ah* (reciting the Qur'ān). But none of them could equal Ibn 'Abbās who was known as the ocean of knowledge. 'Alī ('a) has been quoted as saying, "Ibn 'Abbās has connection with the unseen world." 'Abdullah bin Mas'ūd has said that Ibn 'Abbās was a top exegete of the Qur'ān.[21]

Ibn Abil Ḥadīd, in his introduction to the *Nahj al Balaghah,* explains that 'Alī ('a) was the founder of almost all Islamic sciences. On the exegesis, he writes: "Exegesis is one of the Islamic sciences. If you consult the exegeses of the Qur'ān, you will realize that 'Alī ('a) was the first teacher of this branch of Islamic studies. Almost all exegeses of the Qur'ān stem from 'Alī's ('a) teachings and those of Ibn 'Abbās. This is an established fact that Ibn 'Abbās was the disciple and close friend of 'Alī ('a)."[22]

Once Ibn 'Abbās was asked to compare his knowledge with that of 'Alī ('a). He said that his knowledge compared to that of 'Alī ('a) was the comparison of a raindrop to an ocean. Ibn 'Abbās himself confessed several times that he used to learn from 'Alī ('a): "Whatever I know on exegesis, I learned from 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib ('a)[23]. 'Alī ('a) has learned his knowledge from the Prophet (ṣ), the Prophet (ṣ) learned his knowledge from God. Hence, the Prophet's (ṣ) knowledge is from God, 'Alī's ('a) knowledge is from the Prophet (ṣ), and my knowledge is from 'Alī ('a). My knowledge and that of the Prophet's (ṣ) companions compared to that of 'Alī ('a) is a comparison of a drop of water to seven seas."[24]

Ibn 'Abbās says: "After thinking for some times I realized that my Qur'ānic knowledge compared to that of 'Alī ('a) is like a pond compared to an ocean."[25]

According to Abdullah bin 'Abbās, "'Alī was the best and the most knowledgeable man after the departure of the Prophet (ṣ). He was like a roaring flood."[26]

In sum, the Prophet (ṣ) has described 'Alī ('a) better than any one else in a short sentence: "'Alī is with the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān is with 'Alī ('a); the two will not separate from each other until they reach the *Kawthar* pond."[27]

Sources of Reference and Approach of the Prophet's Companions to the Qur'ān

Certainly the first source of reference of the Prophet's (ṣ) companions on exegesis of the Qur'ān was the Prophet (ṣ) himself. Most of the exegetes have confirmed that the most important source of their reference has been the Prophet (ṣ) himself. Most of the exegetes begin their exegesis of the

Qur'ān by writing: "Such and such heard that the Prophet (ṣ) was saying so and so," or "The Prophet (ṣ) was asked about."

We read in the introduction of *Majma' al-Bayān*: "In the Prophet's life time, the companions used to receive knowledge on the understanding of the Qur'ān from the Prophet (ṣ). Hence, the Prophet's (ṣ) *sunnah* and traditions became widespread, and the science of exegesis has its roots in traditions and the *sunnah*.[28]

In sum one can conclude that the companions of the Prophet (ṣ) used to use the following methods in understanding the Qur'ān.

1- Consulting the Holy Prophet (ṣ)

This method was so prevalent that the companions who could write the Qur'ānic verses did not hesitate to write the Prophet's (ṣ) explanations on the margin of the page where they used to write the verses.[29]

2- Wisdom

Pure nature and wisdom are among divine reasoning measures, therefore, the companions of the Prophet (ṣ) used to use these measures for understanding the holy Qur'ān.

3- Proper Command Over Arabic Language

Normally Muslims used to consult the Prophet (ṣ) on the verses where they felt that there was ambiguity or obscurity. Otherwise, they used to rely on their own wisdom. Some of them relied on commonsense and the usage of words among the Bedouin Arabs. For instance, Ibn 'Abbās says: "I did not know what was the meaning of *Fātir al-samāwat* (the Originator of the heavens). Once two Arabs quarreling on a water well came to me. One of them said: 'I first began to originate (dig) the well,' then I realized the meaning of *Fātir*"[30]

There are several instance where the exegesis of words has been derived form their usage among the bedouin Arabs.

Using the Qur'ān for Understanding the Qur'ān

Relying on the Qur'ān for its exegesis has been taken from the Qur'ān itself as it divides its verses into *Muḥkam* and *Mutashabih*[31]. According to

Qur'ān the *Muḥkams* are the "Mother of the Book," and the *Mutashabih* should be understood within the framework of the former. Hence, the exegetes should refer to the Qur'ān itself while interpreting the *Mutashabihs*. 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabāi wrote: The word *Umm* (mother) indicates that the *Mutashabihs* have sprouted from the *Muḥkams* and that they are branches of the main body of the *Muḥkams*. Hence, the exegesis of the *Mutashabihs* can be found in the *Muḥkams*. For instance, the verse, "He looks towards God," is *Mutashabih*; the verses "There is nothing like Him," and "The eyes cannot see Him," are *Muḥkams*. From these two verses we realize that the word looking in the above *Mutashabih* verse does not refer to a sense perception.[32]

The Prophet (ṣ) taught the Muslims to use this method in order to clarify the verses.

Ibn 'Abbās has been quoted as saying, "When the verse "*Those who believe and do not mix up their faith with iniquity, those are they who shall have the security and they are those who go aright.*" (6:83) was revealed, people asked the Prophet (ṣ): 'Which one of us has not committed inequity on himself?' The Prophet said, This inequity is not ordinary oppression. Have you not heard the verse of the Qur'ān saying, "*And when Luqmān said to his son while he admonished him: O my son! Do not associate aught with Allah; most surely polytheism is a grievous iniquity—.*" (31:13) Here the Prophet (ṣ) relied on one verse for clarifying another one.The Prophet (ṣ) has also been quoted as saying, "*No part of the Qur'ān refutes other parts, no part contradicts other parts.*" Hence, relying on the Qur'ān for understanding the Qur'ānic verses is the best method. 'Alī ('a) has said, "*Some parts of the Qur'ān — through which you see the right and hear the right — bear witness to other parts.*" He has also said, "*Verily, some parts of the Qur'ān acknowledge other parts.*"

Of course using this method is not easy. Only a person who has a good command over all Qur'ānic verses can resort to this method.

Endnotes:

1 The Qur'ān has referred to this stance of the infidels in the following verse: "
2 *Sirah Ibn Hishām*, vol. 1, p. 338.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 337.
4 Zamakhshari, *Tafsīr Kashāf*, vol. 4, p. 648.
5 Majlisi, *Biḥar al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 245.
6 Zamakhshari, *Tafsīr Kashāf*, vol. 4, p. 649.
7 Ibn Athir, *al-kamel Fil-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 58.
8 Abū Jahl is a nickname attributed by Muslims to Abū al-Ḥikam bin Hishām, *ibid.*, p. 49.
9 See *Al-Munjad*, under the word *rahan*.
10 *Sirah-e Ibn Hisham*, vol. 1, pp. 337-338.
11 Majlisi, *op.cit.*, vol. 89, p. 19.
12 Kulayni, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 438.
13 *Al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 233; Amini, *Al-Ghdīr*, vol. 1, p. 11.
14 *Al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 438.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 446; Mullā Muḥsin Fayz, *Tafsīr Ṣāfi*, vol. 1, p. 44.
16 Amini, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 11.
17 *Al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, chapter on *Fazl al-Qur'ān*, tradition no. 2.
18 *Baḥār al Anwār*, vol. 89, p. 19.
19 Fayz, *op. cit.*, p. 634.
20 Tabarsi, *Majma al-Bayān*, vol. 5, p. 250.
21 Zarkashi, *Al-Burhān Fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, p. 28; It might be inferred form the above tradition that Ibn 'Abbās excelled 'Ali ('a) in the Qur'ānic knowledge, but there are clear-cut evidences that 'Ali's status excelled other companions of the Prophet (ṣ). Zarkashi in the continuation of the above tradition writes: "*Yes, Ali (a) was more senior in the Qur'ānic teaching who once said: "If I decide to write about the Opening Chapter (of the Qur'ān), I can write as much as a camel-load.*" (*Al-Burhān, op. cit.*, p. 28).
Ibn 'Aṭiyah has said: "The most knowledgeable and acknowledged exegete of the Qur'ān was 'Ali ('a); Ibn 'Abbās followed him. 'Ali ('a) spared no effort in this field and dedicated his time to this area. Other scholars followed him. Among them one can mention Majhid, Said bin Jobair, etc." (*Ibid.*, p.29).
22 Ibn Abil Ḥadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 1, p.19.
23 *Bihār al-Anwār, op. cit.*, p. 105.
24 *Ibid.*
25 *Ibid.*, p. 106.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 105.
27 *Ibid.*, vol. 89, p. 80.
28 *Majma' al-Bayan*, vol. 1, p. 61.
29 Ḥujjatī, *History of the Holy Qur'ān (Tarikh Qur'ān-e Karim)*, p. 452.
30 Tarihi, *Majma al-Bahrayn*, see word *Fatar*.
31 See 3:7 of the holy Qur'ān.
32 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabāi *Al-Mizan Fi Tafsir al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, p. 43.

Ahl-al-Bayt ('a): Its Meaning and Origin*

Translated by M. Jalali

The term "*ahl*" signifies the members of a household of a man, including his fellow tribesmen, kin, relatives, wife (or wives), children, and all those who share a family background, religion, housing, city, and country with him. "*Ahl*" and "*āl*" are both the same term with the exception that "āl" is exclusively used for human beings and should come before the family name, but such a condition is not existent in the case of "*ahl*".

"*Bayt*" refers to habitation and dwelling, including tents and buildings both. The "*ahl-al-bayt*" of any person refers to his family members and all those who live in his house (c.f. "*Mufradāt al-Qur'ān*" by *Rāghib Isfahānī*; "*Qāmūs*" by Fīroozābādī; "*Majm'a al-Baḥrayn*".

The term "*ahl-al-bayt*" (people of the house) has been repeated twice in the Holy Qur'ān:

1. "... the mercy of Allah and his blessing are on you, O people of the house, ... (11:73)"

This verse refers to the people of the House of Ibrāhīm (ş) (c.f. "*Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Uddat al-Abrār*", 416/4 and other interpretations).

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* * The present article is the English version of the "*Ahl al-bayt*", published in persian languige in the *Encyclopedia of Shia*, Iran .

2. "... *Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! And to purify you a (thorough) purifying (33:33)*".

This verse, known as the "*Taṭhīr* verse", refers to the Members of the Household of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). The *Imāmīyyah* scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, as well as some Sunni *'Ulamā*, consider the "*ahl-al-bayt*" cited in the "*taṭhīr* verse" to include exclusively Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (peace be upon them all). They do not consider the Holy Prophet's other offspring, wives, sons of paternal uncles, and dwellers of his house as the Messenger's "*ahl-al-bayt*".

They base their argument on the genuine and authentic traditions narrated by the companions of the Prophet (ṣ) recorded in the Sunni and Shī'ī sources. Under the following headings, this article will delve into some of the said traditions and refer to some features of the "*ahl-al-bayt*" as narrated by the Sunnis:

1. *Kisā'* tradition; 2. *Mubāhalah* tradition; 3. *Mawaddat al-Qurbā* tradition; 4. *Safīnah* tradition; 5. Other traditions.

1. *Kisā'* Tradition

A. Jalāluddīn 'Abdul-Raḥmān bin Abī Bakr Suyūṭī (d 911 A.H.) in his commentary "*Al-Dur al-Manthūr*", 198/5-199, Muḥammad ibn 'Isā Tirmidhī (3 279 A.H.) the author of "*Jāmī' Ṣaḥīh*", Ḥakīm Nīshābūrī (d 405 A.H.) in "*Al-Mustadrak ala al-Ṣahīḥayn*", Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn Bayhaqī (d 458 A.H.) in "*Sunan*" (all three of whom have considered the *Kisā'* tradition as authentic), Muḥammad ibn Jarir Ṭabarī (d 315 A.H.), Ibn Munzir Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhim (d 319 A.H.), Ibn Mardawayh Isfahānī, and Aḥmad ibn Musā (d 410 A.H.) have quoted Ummu Salamah, the wife of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) as saying that the verse "... *Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! And to purify you a thorough purifying* (33:33)" was revealed in her house. At that time, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (peace be upon them all) were in her house. The Holy Prophet (ṣ) spread his cloak over them and stated: "*These are the members of my Household, and Allah has purified them of all (sins and faults and uncleanness).*"

B. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal, the Ḥanbali Imām, (d 241 A.H.), in "*Musnad*" 229/2 quotes Ummu Salamah as saying: "*The Holy Prophet (ṣ)*

was in my house. Fāṭimah ('a) came to her father holding a stone bowl filled with "harirah" (type of food made up of flour, milk, and vegetable oil). The Holy Prophet (ṣ) stated: Invite your husband and two sons to come as well." 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn also came there and all sat down to eat "harirah". Then, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) was sitting on a cloak in his resting place and I was reciting the prayer in the chamber. At this time, Almighty Allah revealed the verse "Allah only desires to ...". The Holy Prophet (ṣ) covered 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (peace be upon them all) with the cloak and then stretched his hand toward the sky and said: "Allah! These are the Members of my Household, so purify them of all uncleanness'. Ummu Salamah said: "I asked him: "Am I also with you?" He stated: "You are on good and virtue" (but did not say that you are a member of my Household)'."

This tradition has also been narrated by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Tahawī (d 321 A.H.) in "*Mushkil al-Àthār*" 332 and 334; Waḥīdī in "*Asbāb al-Nuzūl*" 268 and Muḥib Ṭabarī (d 694 A.H.) in "*Zakhāir al-'Uqbā*" 23 have related this tradition. In continuation of this tradition, Ṭabarī has written that the Prophet (ṣ) stated: "*I am a friend of whosoever is friends with them and an enemy of whosoever is an enemy of them.*" The said tradition of similar statements have been recorded in "*Manaqib*" by Ibn Ḥanbal, 44, the microfilm copy of the book is available in the Parliament Library. Ṭabarī remarked: "This tradition has been narrated from Umma Salamah by Ibn al-Qubabi in "*Mu'jam*" and Sīyūṭī in "*Al-Dur al-Mnthūr*" under the title of the "*taṭhīr* verse", as well as by Ibn Jarir, Ibn Munzir, Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn Abi Ḥātam and Ibn Ṭabrānī."

C- Khaṭib Baghdādī, Aḥmad bin 'Alī, (d 463 A.H.) *in "The History of Baghdad"* 278/10, has quoted Abū Saeed Khidri S'ad bin Mālik (d 74 A.H.) as saying that after the revelation of the "*taṭhīr* verse", the Holy Prophet (ṣ) summoned 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn (peace be upon them all) and covered them with the cloak he had on and said: "*These are the members of my Household, and Allah has purified them (of every wrong and sin).*" The same tradition has been narrated from Ummu Salamah by Muḥammad ibn Jarir Ṭabarī in "*Jām'a al-Bayān*" 7/22.

D- In "*Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim*" (narrated by Sayyid Murtaḍā Fīroozābādī in "*Faḍail al-Khamsah min Siḥaḥ al-Sitah*" 214/1), Safiyah, the daughter of Shayba, has narrated 'Āishah, the wife of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), as saying: "One morning, the Messenger of Allah left the house with a cloak made of black material and bearing the design of a camel's saddle. Ḥasan ibn 'Alī entered the place, and the Prophet (ṣ) covered him with the cloak. Then came Ḥusayn, Fāṭimah, and 'Alī one after another, and all of them were also covered by the cloak. The Prophet (ṣ) then stated: "... *Allah only desires to keep away uncleanness from you, O people of the House! And to purify you a (thorough) purifying.*"

This tradition has been narrated by Ḥakīm Nishābūrī *in "Al-Mustadark"* 14/3; Bayhaqī in "*Sunan*" 149/2; Ṭabarī in *the "Jāmi al-Bayān"* Sīyūṭī in "*al-Durri al-Manthūr*" under the title of the "*taṭhīr* verse". In addition, Ibn Abi Shaybah, Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal, Ibn Abi Ḥātam have narrated it from 'Āishah. Zamakhsharī in "*Kashshaf*" and Fakhr Rāzī *in "Tafsīr Kabīr"* have also related this tradition. It seems that the recorders of traditions are unanimous about the authenticity of this tradition ("*Faḍail al-Khamsah*" 224/1).

E- In the "*Jāmi al-Bayān*" Muḥammad bin Jarir Ṭabarī has quoted Shahr bin Hushab Ash'air (d 100 A.H.) as saying: "*When Ummu Salamah heard news of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn bin 'Alī ('a), she cursed the people of Iraq and said: 'May Allah kill the people of Iraq who deceived him and left him alone. May Allah curse them. Verily, I saw Fāṭimah while bringing a stone bowl of sweet paste for the Holy Prophet (ṣ). The Holy Prophet (ṣ) stated: 'Where is your cousin?' She said: 'At home.' The Prophet (ṣ) said: 'Go bring him here with his two sons.' Fāṭimah returned while holding the hands of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. 'Alī also followed them, and they came to the Holy Prophet (ṣ). The Holy Prophet (ṣ) embraced Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and made 'Alī sit on his right and Fāṭimah on left. He then the cloak as the carpet on which we slept in Medina and placed it over Fāṭimah, 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn. He held the two sides of the cloak with his left hand. He raised his right hand toward the sky addressing Almighty Allah by saying: 'O Allah, purify them of any uncleanness . O Allah, these are the members of my Household. Purify and cleanse them of any vice, wrong, and sin,' (He repeated this twice). I asked: 'O Messenger! Am I also a member*

of your Household?' He said: 'You come under the cloak.' I also went under the cloak, but only after the Prophet (ṣ) finished his prayer for his cousin, his two sons, and Fāṭimah (peace be upon them all)." This tradition has been related by Aḥmad bin Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal in "*Musnad*" 292/6: Tahwi in "*Mushkil al-Àthār*" 335/1; and Muḥib Ṭabarī in "*Zakhāir al-'Uqbā*" 22/1. The *Kisā'* tradition which has been narrated in different forms by the Shias and the Sunnis is very sacred for the entire *Imāmīyyah*, especially the Shia of Iran, the Indian subcontinent, Iraq, and Yemen. It is recited in "*rawḍah*" sessions (mourning ceremony) to have the wishes fulfilled and problems removed. Some narration provide more details on this tradition. Some say that Jibraeel and Mikaeel were also among the disciples of the *Kisā'* or were present there. A divine revelation was descended on the Holy Prophet (ṣ) to the effect that the world and whatever is in it is indebted to these five pure ones.

2. *Mubāhalah* Tradition

Sixty chiefs and 'Ulamā of Najrān, headed by Sayyid, Aqib, and Usquf (religious personalities) of the region in the 10th year A.H. came to Medina to clarify their religious and political stance vis-ā-vis Islam which had spread over the Arab peninsula and to engage in discussions with the Messenger (ṣ) of Allah to realize the essence and truth of Islam.

After lengthy discussions which have been presented in details in Ibn Husham's "*Sirah*" 573/1, no agreement was reached on the position and standing of Jesus. The Christians of Najrān believed in the divinity of Jesus and considered him as the son of God. This is while, based on the explicit wording of the Holy Qur'ān (3:59), the Messenger (ṣ) of Allah considered him as a prophet and the servant of God. At the end of the discussions, the Prophet (ṣ) suggested that the two sides engage in "*mubāhalah*", in other words, to invoke divine malediction for the lying sid. The following vers was descended in this regard:

"But whoever disputes with you in this matter after what has come to you of knowledge, then say: come let us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women and our near people and your near people, then let us be earnest in prayer, and pray for the curse of Allah on the liars." (3:61)

The 10th (and some say the 24th) of Dhul-Hijjah was chosen for "*mubāhalah*". The Messenger (ṣ) of Allah ordered that in a field outside Medina a thin black "*aba*" (men's loose sleeveless cloak open in front) be used as a shade between two trees. The Christian chiefs and dignitaries of Najrān stood in orderly ranks on one side of the field, on the other side, the Prophet, together with 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn came from the direction of Medina to the shade. Along this path, the Prophet (ṣ), holding the hand of 'Alī ('a), Ḥasan and Ḥusayn walked in front with Fāṭimah behind them (c.f. "*Majm'a al-Bayān*". Interpretation of the *Mubāhalah* Verse). With such simplicity and grandeur, they reached the shade and stood below the "*abā*". The Holy Prophet (ṣ) recited the "*taṭhīr* verse" and addressed the "*ahl-al-bayt*" by saying: "*I will invoke malediction for them and you say 'amin'.*" Seeing such glory and grandeur, the Najrān chiefs lost their self-confidence and felt that they were very puny and could not stand against Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) and his Household. They, therefore, accepted to pay "*jazīyyah*" and offered to give in to peace. On behalf of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), the commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ('a), signed a peace treaty with the Christians.

The Christians were to annually offer twelve thousand exquisite clothes, a thousand *mithqāl* of gold, and some other items to remain Christians under the umbrella of Islam.

On the basis of the "*mubāhalah* verse", Sunni interpreters such as Zamakhshari, Bayḍawī, Imām Fakhr Rāzī and others regard 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (peace be upon them all) superior to all other people and argue that Hassan and Ḥusayn are the sons of the Messenger (ṣ) of Allah.

The term "*anfusinā*" in the "*mubāhalah* verse" proves the unity of the heart and soul of Prophet Muḥammad and 'Alī. The Holy Prophet (ṣ) stated: "'Alī is of me and I am of 'Alī." ("*Faḍail al-Khamsah*" 343/1). The "*mubāhalah* tradition" has been recounted in different books of "*sīrah*" and history with various wordings. These include those of Tirmidhī ("*Sahih*" 166/2) which quotes S'ad ibn Abī Waqqās as follows: "*When the mubāhalah verse was recited, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) summoned 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn and said: 'O Allah, these are the Members of my Household.*" This tradition has been narrated by Ḥakim Nīshāburī *in "Al-Mustadrak*"

150/3 and Bayhaqī in "*Sunan*" 63/7. Ḥakīm regards this tradition as authentic.

3. Mawaddat al-Qurbā Tradition

Based on the consensus of the exegesists ("*Jām'a al-Bayān*" Ṭabarī 16/25, 17; "*Ḥilyat al-Awlīā*" 251/3; "*Al-Mustadrak*" 172/3; "*Usd al-Ghābah*" 367/5; "*Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥaraqah*" 101), the following verse has been revealed about the members of the Household of the Holy Prophet (ṣ):

"*...Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives ...*" *(42:23)*

The term "*Al-Qurbā*" in this verse, based on the traditions narrated from the Holy Prophet (ṣ), embraces only 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn and no one else. The tradition from Ibn 'Abbās' has it that when the "*mawaddat al-qurba*" verse was revealed, the Prophet (ṣ) was asked: "*O messenger, who are your near relatives who should be loved?*" He stated: "*'Alī, Fāṭimah, and their sons.*" This tradition has been narrated by Muḥib Ṭabarī in "*Zakhāir al-'Uqbā*" 25/1; Ibn Ḥanbal in "*Manāqib*" 110; Mo'min Shabilenji "*Nural-Absār*" 101; and Zamakhsharī in "*Kashshaf*" as annotation to the said verse. In the "*Tafsīr al-Kabīr*", Fakhr Rāzī has related the said narration from "*Kashshaf*" and has said that based on this verse, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn should be revered and sanctified. He has also cited lines of verse from the Shāfiī' Imām, Muḥammad bin Idris Shāfiī' (d 240 A.H.) in this regard. A line of it is as follows: "*If love for the members of the Household of the Holy Prophet is heresy, then the world should stand witness that I am a heretic.*"

4. *Safīnah* Tradition

The virtues of the "*ahl al-bayt*" have been amply mentioned in the authenticated and *Tawatur* traditions narratted by both Shia and Sunni 'Ulamā. Using different words and phrases, these traditions have asked people to love the "*ahl al-bayt*" and follow thier teachings. For instance, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) has compared his "*ahl al-bayt*" to Noah's ark. Whoever loves and follows them will attain salvation and whoever violates their sanctity will drown.

The servant of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), Anas bin Mālik (d 93 A.H.), has been related as quoting the Prophet (ṣ) as saying: "*The example of the members of my Household among you is like the example of Noah's ark. Whoever boards it will attain salvation and whoever does not board it will drown.*" This tradition has been narrated by Ḥakim Nīshāburī in "*Al-Mustadrak*" 343/2; Khaṭīb in "*Tārīkh Baghdād*" 91/12; and other great recorders of traditions ("*al-Ghadīr*" 300/2-301). In this regard, Imām Shafii' has said the following:

"*When I saw different schools of thought directing people toward the seas of ignorance and deviation, I boarded the ark of salvation in the Name of Allah. This arc is verily crystallized in the "ahl al-bayt" of the Seal of the Prophets, Muṣṭāfā (ṣ).*" Among very famous traditions in which the "*ahl al-bayt*" have been resembled to the ark of salvation, reference can be made to the famous "*Ishbāḥ* tradition" which has been narrated from the Holy Prophet (ṣ) by Abū Ḥurayrah 'Abdul-Raḥmān bin Sakhar (d 59 A.H.).

"When Almighty Allah created Adam, the father of mankind, and breathed His spirit into him, Adam looked to the right hand side of the empyrean. There he saw five figures in the form of silhouettes engaged in prostration and genuflection. He asked: "*God, have you created any one from the dust before me?*" God replied: "*No.*" Adam said, "*So who are these five figures which I see resembling my own shape and form?*" God answered, "*These are five of your offspring. If it were not for them, I would have not created you. They are five people whose names are derived from My Own. If it were not for them, I would have not created paradise or hell, the heavens and the earth, the skies and the lands, the angels, the human beings and the jinn. I am "Maḥmud" and this Muḥammad. I am "Aala" and this is 'Alī. I am "Fatir" and this is Fāṭimah, I am "Ihsan" and this is Ḥasan. I am "Muḥsin" and this is Ḥusayn. By My Glory, whoever bears even an atom's weight of grudge against them will be cast into hell. O Adam! They are My chosen ones. For them, I will save or cast others to perdition. If you want anything from me, you should resort to these five people.*"

The Holy Prophet (ṣ) said: "*We serve as the ark of salvation. Whoever holds fast to this ark will reach salvation and whoever deviates from it will be cast into perdition. Whoever wants Allah to grant him something should*

resort to the 'ahl al-bayt'." This tradition has been narrated by Shaykh al-Islam Ḥamu'ī in the first chapter of "*Farā'id al-Samtayn*" and Khaṭīb Khwārazmī in "*Manāqib*" 252 (c.f. "*al-Ghadīr*" 300/2). The *Ashbāḥ* tradition has been narrated by 'Allāmah Amīnī in another part of the *al-Ghadīr*" (301/7) quoting Abul-Fatḥ Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-Natanzī in "*Alfāz*".

5. Other Traditions About the Virtues and Characteristics of the "*Ahl al-Bayt*"

A- In the interpretation of the verse "*And enjoin prayer on your household ...*" (20:132), Jalāluddīn Sīyūṭī in "a*l-Durr al-Manthūr*", has related Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn 'Aker, and in al-Najjar as quoting Abu Saeed Khidri as saying that after this verse was revealed, for eight months, the Prophet went to the house of 'Alī every morning at the time of morning prayers and read this verse: "*... Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! And to purify you a (thorough) purifying (33:33).*" ("*Al-Durr al-Manthūr*" 198/5 and 199; "*Faḍail al-Khamsah*"; 226/1).

Another tradition has it that from the fortieth day after the consummation of the marriage of 'Alī ('a) and Fāṭimah ('a), the Prophet (ṣ) every morning went to their house and said: "*Peace be upon you, O members of the House and the mercy and blessings of Allah. I will fight with whoever fights with you and I will be reconciled with whoever is reconciled with you.*" He then recited the "*taṭhīr* verse".

Ibn 'Abdul-Bār in "*al-istī'āb*" 598/2; Abū Dāwūd Ṭialisi in "*Ṣaḥiḥ*" 274/8; and Fīroozābādī in "*Faḍail al-Khamsah*" 236/1 have put at forty the number of mornings when the Prophet (ṣ) went to the house of 'Alī ('a) and Fāṭimah ('a). In the "*Jāmi al-Bayān*" interpretation, Ṭabarī has said that this was done for seven months. Siyuṭī (in "*Al-Durr al-Manthūr*", 199) has quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying that after the verse "*And enjoin prayer on your household ...*" (20:132) was revealed, the Holy Prophet (ṣ) for nine months went to the house of 'Alī ('a) five times a day at the time of daily prayers and called on the members of the house to keep up the prayer. Each time, he recited the "*taṭhīr* verse".

This is possible because the Holy Prophet's house was close to that of 'Alī ('a). Its door opened inside the mosque. So whenever the Messenger (ṣ) of Allah wanted to go to the mosque, he had to pass the house of 'Alī ('a) and Fāṭimah ('a).

B- In "*Al-Mustadrak ʿalal-Ṣaḥīḥayn*", Ḥakīm Nīshāburī quotes 'Abdullāh bin Ja'afar bin Ṭālib as saying that when the Messenger (ṣ) of Allah looked to the blessings coming down, he said, "*Call on them.*" Safiyeh said, "*O Messenger of Allah, whom should we call upon?*" He replied, "*The members of my Household: 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.*" They were called upon. Then the Prophet (ṣ) placed his cloak over them and raised both hands and said, "*O Allah, these are the members of my Household. Peace be upon Muḥammad and upon the Household of Muḥammad.*" Almighty Allah revealed the verse, "*... Allah only desires to keep away ... (33:33).*" Ḥakīm Nīshāburī said this tradition is an authenticated tradition. The Holy Prophet (ṣ) taught them to send greetings upon his household ("*'Ayān al-Shī'ah*" 358/1; "*Faḍail al-Khamsah*" 227/1; "*Al-Mustadrak*" 147/3). Ibn Jurir and Ibn Abī Ḥātam have quoted Qutādah as saying that in relation to the verse, "*... Allah only desires to keep away ... (33:33)*", the Prophet (ṣ) stated, "*These are the members of my Household, and Allah has purified them of any uncleanness and granted them His mercy. We serve as the tree of prophethood, the pillar of mission, the place of passage of angels, the house of mercy, and the wealth of knowledge*" ("*Al-Durr al-Manthur*", 198/5-199).

C- In "*Al-Mustadrak al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*", Ḥakīm Nīshāburī has quoted this authentic tradition from Ibn 'Abbās: The Holy Prophet (ṣ) stated, "*Love Allah who gives you food out of his bounty and love me for His love and love the members of my Household because of love for me.*" He also relates this tradition which he considers authentic from Abū S'ad Khidrī: "*Whoever shows animosity toward us the members of the Household will be cast into the fire.*" ("*A'yān al-Shī'a*", 315/1).

D- Ḥakīm Nīshāburī in "*Al-Mustadrak*", 149/3 and Ibn Hajar in "*Sawāiq*", 140 have related Ibn 'Abbās as quoting the Prophet (ṣ) as saying: "*The stars are the source of the earth and the members of my Household are the source of the "ummah" (people).*" Another tradition refers to the same: "*The stars are the refuge for the dwellers of the heavens and my "ahl al-bayt" are the refuge for the "ummah" ("Kanz al-A'mal fī Sunan al-*

Aqwāl wal-Af'āl" 116/6). Another tradition has said: "*the stars are the refuge for the dwellers of the skies. So if the stars are destroyed, the dwellers of the skies will also be destroyed. The members of my Household are the refuge for the dwellers of the earth. If they are destroyed, the dwellers of the earth also be destroyed*" (Muḥib Ṭabarī in "*Zakhāir al-'Uqbā*", 17/1 and 'Alī bin Sultan Muḥammad Qārī in "*Mirqat al-Mafātiḥ*" 610/5, Egypt, 1339 A.H.).

Some Sunni 'Ulamā regard the "*taṭhīr* verse" pertinent to all kin and relatives of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) including the wives, children, the Banī Hāshīm and Banī'Adul-Muṭallib (Ash'arī in "*Maqālāt al-Islamin*", 9). Based on a tradition narrated from Saeed bin Jubayer, Bukhārī, Ibn Abī Ḥātam, Ibn 'Aker, and Ibn Mardawayh have said that this verse has been revealed about the wives of the Prophet (ṣ) and believe that they are the members of the Household of the Messenger (ṣ) of Allah ("*Fath al-Qadīr*", 27/4, Egypt 1350 A.H.). In addition to the wives of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), Qurtabī and Ibn Kathīr consider 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (peace be upon them all) as members of the Household to whom the "*taṭhīr* verse" applies. But Tirmidhī, Ibn Jurir, Ibn Manzar, Ḥakīm Nīshāburī, and Bayhaqi who are all Sunni 'Ulamā have referred to the authentic tradition of Ummu Salamah and have thus considered the "*taṭhīr* verse" applicable to 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (peace be upon them all). The Shias have mentioned several reasons and proofs that the "*ahl al-bayt*" of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) are exclusively 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn to whom the "*taṭhīr* verse" applies. The most important of these reasons and proofs are:

1. Based on an authentic tradition narrated from Ummu Salamah and Abū Saeed Khidri, the "*taṭhīr* verse" has been revealed about the Holy Prophet (ṣ), 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (peace be upon all).

2. In the *Kisā'* tradition, it has been stipulated that after placing 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (peace be upon all) under his cloak, the Prophet (ṣ) said: "*O Allah, these are the members of my Household.*" This means that no one else apart from these is viewed as the "*ahl al-bayt*".

3. In response to Ummu Salama who asked whether she was also a member of the Household, the Prophet (ṣ) said: "*You have your own place, you are virtuous.*" He said no more than this. If Ummu Salama, in whose

house the "*taṭhīr* verse" was revealed, is not a member of the Household of the Holy Prophet (ṣ), the verse will surely not apply to the Messenger's other wives.

4. Some traditions state that based on a request from Ummu Salamah, the Prophet (ṣ) allowed her to come under the cloak but did so after saying, "*Allah these are the members of my Household*" and reciting the "*taṭhīr* verse".

5. 'Akramah Bariri (d 105 A.H.) and Urwat bin Zubayr (d 93 A.H.) are among the people who have related that the "*taṭhīr* verse" has been exclusively revealed about the wives of the Prophet (ṣ). Of course, Akramah subscribe to Khawarij ("*Al-'a'lam*" Zarkali, 42/5) and Urwat ("*'Ayān al-Shī'ah*", 309/1). Also the pronoun in the said verse is masculine not feminine. Such a narration cannot contrdict the famous tradition related by 'Aishah, Ummu Salamah, and Abu Saeed Khidri, who have considered the "*ahl al-bayt*" to be exclusively five people. They have said that the verses coming before and after the "*taṭhīr* verse" are related to the wives of the Prophet (ṣ), so this verse should also be relevant to them.

Qur'ānic verses are not classified based on the order of their revelation or contents. In addition, Zayd bin Arqam who has related the authenticated *Thaqalayn* tradition, has stated that the wives of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) are not regarded as the members of his Household). He was asked: "*Aren't the wives of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) considered as the members of the Household?*" He replied: "*The wives of the Prophet reside in the Prophet's house but the Prophet's "ahl al-bayt" are those to whom the grant of "sadaqah" is religiously unlawful.*" Another tradition has it that Zayd was asked to name the members of the Household of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). He was asked whether the Prophet's wives were among his "*ahl al-bayt*". He replied: "*No, a wife lives with a husband for a while and then might be divorced and go back to her parents.*"

6. After citing the "*taṭhīr* verse", 'Alī Qārī in *the "Annotation to Qazi Ayaz's Shifa*" (as related in "*'Ayān al-Shī'ah*", 309/1) has mentioned that according to a tradition narrated by Ibn 'Abbās, the Prophet's "*ahl al-bayt*" include his wives as well. According to Abū Saeed Khidri and some followers, the "*ahl al-bayt*" include 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (peace be upon all). He says: "*There is no problem if we gather these traditions*

together and consider both groups to be members of the Household of the Holy Prophet (ṣ). But It would go against the Shia idea that the "taṭhīr verse" applies only to 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and that they are immaculate . Even the fact that they regard the consensus of Imāmīyyah 'Ulamā as proof to the veracity of thiswould be rejected. Abu Saeed Khidri's tradition only shows that these four are members of the Prophet's Household and does not indicate that no one else is among the "ahl al-bayt".

But Akramah's traditions explicitly quotes Ibn 'Abbās as saying that verily the "*ahl al-bayt*" refers to the wives of the Prophet. On the other hand, Khidīr's tradition says that the Prophet said: "*Only these (i.e. 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) are the Members of my Household.*" This indicates exclusive membership. How then can these two traditions be combined? For this reason, the Imāmīyyah 'Ulamā have consensus on following the traditions of the immaculate Imāms (peace be upon them all) and the distinguished disciples to the effect that the "*ahl al-bayt*" of the Prophet (ṣ) are only the five people known as the "*Al-e-Aba*" and "*Ashab Kisā'*".

Post-Ibn Rushd Schools of Islamic Philosophy in Iran

Ḥusayn Sayyid Arab

Translated by A. N. Baqirshahi

Islamic philosophy came into the world through interaction with Greek philosophical works and proceeded its evolutionary stages in the bosom of Islamic civilization. Later on, this movement found its place in Iran and appeared as the main body of Islamic philosophy. Of course, the philosophical schools in Egypt in Fatimid era and the great school of Andalusia in Spain are also of importance, but Islamic philosophy in its real sense, is attributed to that philosophical current which have been developed in Iran. This current absorbed in itself many schools of thought and extended its domain up to the lands of India and Anatolia. Philosophical thinking in Islam is pursued in two directions: I)- Descending arc i.e. moving from the origin. II)- Ascending arc, that is, returning to the origin i.e. *ma'ād*. This philosophy came into the world in a period that the notions of revelation and prophethood had been the central issues of Muslims. Later on, it took its systematic form in Ibn Sīnā's philosophy.

The tradition of Islamic philosophy is called *ḥikmah* (theosophy) which encompasses both the reason and faith. There is a difference between *ḥikmah* (theosophy) and *falsafah* (philosophy). *Ḥikmah* is a kind of intellectual reflection, aiming at gaining a profound intuitive comprehension of reality. Put it into other words, it is the realization of the invisible world through the

human intuition. The essential aim of *ḥikmah*, in view of the spiritual life of man, is not something to this life, but it is in accordance with the religion in a way it persuade man to enjoy from the religion as more as possible. In the view of *Shī'ī* philosophers, *ḥikmah* in its particular sense deals with the knowledge of God including His attributes, His names, and His action. It is, in fact, the knowledge of the source of creation and generation. It is a way to be trodden in practice and it is also a path between the origin and the end of the world .In this philosophy knowledge of soul is considered to be the knowledge of *mabda'* (origin) and *ma'ād* (day of judgment), and such philosophy would lead man towards happiness as well.

This philosophy in *Shī'ī* world came to be known as *al-ḥikmah al-muta'ālīyah* (transcendental philosophy), which differs with what is called today as philosophy in its profane sense. The starting point of this tradition goes to Ibn-Sīnā's time and have been later on refined in Safavid era then extended till present day. Man in this philosophy possesses all perfection of mystics, philosophers, theologians, and traditionalists. The main features of this philosophy is that it deals with both visible and invisible worlds in a way none of them could hamper the other one in realization of the reality. The philosopher of this path relies on illumination in exploring the divine meaning and ignores any conjectures. Reasoning in this tradition is not meant for the sake of reasoning, but to acquaint the seekers of this knowledge with the very *ḥikmah*. According to this philosophy any lawful austerity as well as the reflection over the soul may lead a man into realizing the intellectual teachings. It is provided that one should believe in *al-ḥarakat al-jawharīyyah* (movement-in-substance) so that to perceive inner changes in ones soul. Thus, by overlooking the abstractness of the soul one can not discover the secretès of metaphysics, for, one who fail to recognize his soul, would be deprived of recognizing the world outside as well.

The comprehensives of *al-ḥikmat al-muta'āliyah* lies in the fact that it leads the followers of both the rational as well as illuminative knowledge towards gaining a certain knowledge. There is no gap in this school, between religion and philosophy, for the act of contemplation is based on reasoning, mysticism, Quranic knowledge and prophetic wisdom. These factors underlie the development of philosophy in *Shī'a*. In fact such philosophy came to the light after Ibn-Rushd and proceeded its

development after the invasion of Mughols and finally culminated in Safavid era. As it is said, philosophy have been developed in Iran in the name of *ḥikmah* then it permeated throughout the *Shī'ī* world and constituted the metaphysical foundation of their world view. Though, the origin of the history of philosophy in *Shī'a* is traceable to the *ḥadith* of infallible Imams (a). The existence of these *ḥadiths* underlie the reason behind the development of philosophy in Safavid period. Sunni world didn't pay enough attention to philosophy and after Ibn-Rushd (520-95/ 1126-98) they confined on logic in their religious studies centers. However, Ibn-'Arabī's philosophy which is the synthesis of philosophy and mysticism exercised enough influence upon Shī'ī philosophical thought. For example, Sayyid Ḥaydar Amūlī and Ibn Abī Jumhūr are the representatives of this current.

In the seventh century peripatetic philosophy was revived again by Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (597-672/1201-1274), the great *Shī'ī* philosopher and *Mutakallim* (theologian). After Ibn-Sīnā he is considered to be the great Iranian Muslim scholar whose works brought about a suitable atmosphere for the emergence of a philosophy that reached its culmination in philosophical schools of the tenth century (of *hijrah).* After the seventh century *Shī'ah* world turned to be the center of philosophical activity. We don't have enough information regarding the situation of philosophical activities during that period till the time of Mīr-Dāmād. Following the declaration of *Shī'ah* as the official creed of state and restoration of peace in Iran in Safavid era, this tradition have been continued in Iran and following schools of philosophy have been developed and emerged in different parts of Iran: 1-School of Espahan 2-School of Shīrāz .3- School of Khurāsān. 4-School of Tehran. 5-School of Qum.

School of Espahan: This school is associated with the Shāh 'Abbās Safawī reign in Iran. The celebrated figures of this school are: Shaykh Baha al-Dīn Amili, Mīr Dāmād, and Mir Abulqāsim Findriskī. The prominent of them is Mīr Dāmād whose classes were attended by many students such as; Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alāwī, Mullā Khalīl Qazwīnī, and Quṭb al-Dīn Ashkiwary. He tried his best to revive the philosophy of Ibn-Sīnā and that of *ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* (illuminative philosophy) and his role was significant in development of Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy. He juxtaposes his philosophy viz. *ḥikmat-e yamānī* or *ḥikmat-e anbīyā* (philosophy of the Prophets) with that of Greek

philosophy which rely only on reason. It was he who for the first time proposed the idea of *aṣālat al-wujūd* (being precedes quiddity) and *aṣālat al-māhīyyah* (quiddity preceds being) .Mīr-Dāmād is known as the third teacher as Aristotle is known as the first teacher and Al-Fārābī as the second . In some of his works, he tried to reconcile philosophy with religion and interpreted Ibn-Sīnā's philosophy by Illuminative philosophy. He used the term *Ishrāq* as his pen name in his poems. This signifies the spiritual influence of Suhrawardī on his thought. Mīr Dāmād's philosophy is distinguishable from the other philosophies of his age by the following two reasons: First, his method of classifying the philosophical issues is unique, and second, his original contribution to the concept of time which he calls it as *al-ḥuduth al-dahrī* is remarkable . This notion constitutes the central theme of his philosophy. One may refer to his book *al-Qabasāt* and observe the differences of that book with other Islamic philosophical books on logic, mathematics, and theology. As far as his idea of time is concerned, he made a distinction between three notions of time, *zman*(time), *dahr* (*aevum*) and *sarmad* (*aeternitas*) and in this way he tried to resolve the burning issue of philosophy which was a controversial issue of Greek philosophy as well as Christianity and Islamic philosophy. Such classification is indeed an ontological approach towards the notion of time and is beyond the mere speculative and logical studies .

Post- Espahan school was associated with the occupation of Isfahan by Afghans which lasted for nine years, during which philosophers were in trouble to carry out their works. Some of the books of Mullā Ismā'īl Khwājawī reflect the atrocities of the invaders against the people in Isfahan. The following philosophers can be enumerated as the philosophers of this school: Mullā Muḥammed Ṣādiq Ardistānī (1134 H) who have been tortured by Sultān Ḥusayn the Safavid king. He has written a book namely *al- ḥikmat al-ṣādiqīyyah* (philosophy of the righteous) in which he has discussed the notion of the soul and its faculties, and advocated Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy in dealing with the notion of the immateriality of imagination and opposed with Ibn-Sīnā's ideas in this regard .He is of the view that the problem of the relation of universal soul and body relate to the certain significant philosophical issues, and the source of such relation is in *tajallī* (manifestation) and *zuhūr* (appearance). That is, individual rational souls

are considered to be the sparks of the manifestation of the Universal soul. In fact *al-ḥikmat al- ṣādiqīyyah* is written by Mullā Ḥamzah Gilānī and have been expounded in detail by one of his disciples namely Muḥammed 'Alī bin Riḍa. The other exponent of the school of Espahan is 'Ināyatullah Gilānī who used to teach the Ibn-Sīnā's philosophical books. Fāḍil Hindī(1135H) also was among the exponents of this school who has written fifteen books in his credit. 'Allāmah Muḥammed Taqī Majlisī's grandson Mīrzā Muḥammed Taqī Almāsī (1159H) also is considered to be among the exponents of Espahan School of thought. He has written a book on the major occultation of the Twelfth Imam. Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammed Tabrīzī Shīrāzī (173H) is also one of the *Ishrāqī* philosophers of Espahan school and is second to Mullā Ismā'īl Khwājawī (1173 or 1171H). He has left one hundred and fifty treatises on philosophy and other sciences on basic tenets of *Shī'ah*. His reputation is due to his treaties on the notion of time in which he refuted Jamāl al-Dīn Khwansārī's views and supported Mullā Ṣadrā's idea.

The second group of this school comprises Āqā Muḥammed Bidābādī (1198H) and his disciples. In fact, Bidābādī was the student of Mīrzā Muḥammed Taqī Almāsī and Ismā'īl Khwājawī and used to teach Mullā Ṣadrā's books at Isfahan's Islamic Studies Centers. He has also written a book on chemistry in 1209H which have been expounded by a physician from Isfahan. His students are: Abul Qāsim Khātūnābādī the author of a treatise on *Shī'ī* creed, Mahdī Narāqī (1209H) who was an authority on philosophy, ethics, and *fiqh*. His book of *Jāmi'al-Sādāt* was the text book of the students. Mīrzā Aḥmad Ardakānī the commentator of the Mullā Ṣadrā's book of *al-Mashā'ir* also belongs to this era.

The third group of Espahan School comprises Akhūnd Mullā 'Alī Jamshīdī Nūrī (1246H). He was one of the prominent disciples of Bidābādī. After completing his course in Māzindarān and Qazwīn he left for Isfahan. He left important works on Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy and wrote an interpretation of the Qur'ān as well as a treatise in reply to a Christian missionary activist. One of his disciples is Mullā Ismā'īl Isfahānī (1277H) who wrote many commentaries on Mullā Ṣadrā's works and Khwājah Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī's book of *Tajrīd al-I'tiqād* .

School Of Shīrāz: The four trends of philosophy in Muslim world culminated in one trend and found their place in the philosophy of Ṣadr al-Muta'allihīn Shīrāzī (known as Mullā Ṣadrā) (1050/1640H). He is one of the prominent figures of *Shī'ī* philosophical thought. When the intellectual sciences at that time was at the verge of collapse he appeared and reconciled Greek philosophical heritage with peripatetic philosophy and *ishrāqi* (illuminative philosophy) outlook and developed a new philosophy in the light of Islamic teachings and in this way reviewed the inner and outer beings of *al-ḥikmah al-mutā'alīyah* (transcendental philosophy). In Mullā Ṣadrā's view self-purification is the prerequisite of studying such philosophy. He decorated this philosophy with spiritual virtues and finally succeeded to reconcile the ancient Greek philosophy with that of *Shī'ī* thought and the Qur'ān.

Moreover, Islamic Philosophy after nine centuries reached its zenith in Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy. In this philosophy peripatetic philosophy and that of illuminative philosophy was synthesized with the divine revelation. Many philosophical disputes came to be resolved in this philosophy . It is to be pointed out that Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy is not an eclectic philosophy, but he developed an original philosophical system. Opposing with his predecessors he replaced the *aṣālat al-mahiyyah* (quiddity precedes being) by *aṣālat al-wujud* (being preceds quiddity) and demonstrated that being preceds quiddity. In this way he brought about a revolution in Islamic philosophy. By going through this philosophy one can notice that how his approach could bring in its wake a change in Islamic philosophy. Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy have so far exercised considerable influence upon Iranians. He obtained a method in solving the philosophical problems which is unique in its nature. Central thrust of his philosophy is to unify the three pillars of (*sharī'ah*), illumination *(kashf)*, and intellectual persuasions (philosophy). Though, each of his followers throw attention onto certain parts of his philosophy, but in whole they maintained that unity in philosophy that was brought about by Mullā Ṣadrā. In his research on the following philosophical issues such as: the notion of being, primacy of being over quiddity, and the idea of the gradation of being, he developed certain innovative ideas. He was of the view that in dealing with any philosophical problems it would be better to take into account the ideas of

Muslim and Greek philosophers then set out to propound one's ideas and then try to make a fair judgment . He applied the same method in dealing with the following notions as: unity (*waḥdat*), *tashkīk al-wujūd* (gradation of being) *aṣālat al-wujūd, al-ḥarakat al-jawhariyyah* (movement-in-substance) *ittiḥād-e 'āqil wa m'aqūl* (unity of subject and object) etc. These notions constitute the fundamentals of his transcendental philosophy. One of his aims was to bring closer the teachings of Islam to philosophy .

The philosophical movement which have been initiated by Kindi, yielded its fruit in Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy. He demonstrated that all trends in philosophy *viz.* rational and illuminative schools and that of faith altogether lead us into the transcendental reality. In Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy gnosticism, philosophy, and religion are in harmony. Such harmony is seen throughout his life and all his works as well. By hermeneutic works on religious texts he tried to reveal the inner and gnostical meaning of the revelation and through intuitional intellection he subordinated rational trend to the gnostical knowledge of the reality .By the same approach he succeeded to synthesize the religion and science in the light of gnostic knowledge to materialize the goal of all Muslim philosophers. Thus, he could develop his ideas in tune with Islamic teaching in a way to be saved from those problems that other Muslim philosophers like Ghazzālī were facing. One of the important points in Mullā Ṣadrā philosophy is that he separated the astronomy from the Ptolemaeus astronomy and Aristotle's book of physics. Therefore, it can be concluded that Mullā Ṣadrā's *ḥikmat-e muta'alīyyah* (transcendental philosophy) is not only sum total of intellectual and illuminationist sciences, but, it is a simple reality which comprises all perfection of other sciences.

The main distinction of *al-ḥikmah al-muta'āliyah* from other philosophical doctrines viz. peripatetic, illuminationist, and gnostic doctrine of Ibn-'Arabī is that each of these doctrines laid emphasis on one aspect of the reality while Mullā Ṣadrā brought them together and made them as the main pillars of his philosophy. Nevertheless, he was influenced by these philosophies for instance in certain issues he followed the method of illuminationist doctrine i.e. based his arguments on *kashf* (illumination)and *shuhūd*. Even in developing some of his ideas he borrowed some of the

کتب خانہ نشاط دست رو ہلی مجموعہ جہانی اہل بیت ؑ

philosophical fundamentals of these doctrines. For instance, he borrowed the idea of form and matter from the peripatetic school of thought and the ideas of the grades of being, strength of being, masters of species, and immutable essences, from the illuminationist school of thought. Moreover, some of the mystical elements particularly Ibn-'Arabī's ideas of creatio continua, unity of being, and the notion of substance constitute the philosophical foundations of this school which is unprecedented in the history of Muslim philosophy . Hence, Mullā Ṣadrā is considered to be the founder of a new philosophy in Islam which is called *al-hikmat al-muta'ālīyyah* (transcendental philosophy). His monumental work is a*l-Hikmah al-Mutaliyyah fī al-Asfār al-Aghliyyah al-Arbaah.* He followed the same principle in his other works such as *al-asfār, sharḥ-e uṣūl-e kāfī , mafātiḥ al- ghayb*, and the works on the Qur'ān.

Mullā Ṣadrā's idea of man and eschatology is tinged with his Shī'ī creed according to which awaiting the reappearance of the twelfth Imam is as awaiting the reappearance of a perfect man. Such approach towards the notion of man is linked with the idea of the generation of the world and soul. That is, the fall of soul and its gradual ascension till to find its human form is considered to be the manifestation of man in the highest kingdom. In this way studying man is studying nature, metaphysics, as well as resurrection. Thus, it is neither absolute materialism nor spiritualism.

School of Khurāsān: This school came into being with the appearance of the *Shaykhīyyah* sect, the chief exponent of which was Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥṣāi' who raised to oppose with the ideas of Mullā Ṣadrā and Mullā Muḥsin Kāshānī. As a result, *al- ḥikmah al-muta'āliyyah* of Mullā Ṣadrā was blurred for sometime, but this condition was ended in the Qājār period by the appearance of certain thinkers like Mullā Ismā'īl Khājū', Āqā Muḥammed Bidābādī and particularly Ḥaj Mullā Hādī Sabziwārī, the great philosophers of thirteen century Hijri. These thinkers reviewed the ideas of Mullā Ṣadrā considerably.

The prominent figure of this school is Sabziwārī. He was born in 1212 H at Sabziwār. His father was one of the nobles of that city. Till his twentieth he carried out his education in Mashhad, then left for Isfahan to complete his higher course in philosophy in 1232 H . His teachers in Isfahan were Mullā Ismā'īl Isfahānī and Akhūnd Mullā 'Alī Nūrī. After thirteen years he

returned to his native place i.e. Khurāsān and thought philosophy for five years then left for Ḥajj pilgrimage and returned to Iran after three years. For sometime, he remained in Kirmān and married at that city. Finally, he returned to Sabziwār and remained over there throughout his life and made that city as a centre of philosophy. The main contribution of Sabziwārī was to reorganize the philosophical ideas of the great figures such as Mullā Ṣadrā, Suhrawardī, Ibn-'Arabī, and Ibn-Sīnā. He was a master of thought and a noted philosopher in both speculative and practical wisdom. He tried his best to expound Mullā Ṣadrā's views. Sabziwārī left thirty books the most famous of which is *manzūmah* in which Sabziwārī dealt with metaphysical and logical issues in didactic poetry. This book have been expounded by himself as well as his disciples such as Akhūnd Hīdjī, Shaykh Muḥammed Taqī Amūlī, and Mīrzā Mahdī Āshtīānī.

The other exponent of the school of Khurāsān is Mullā 'Abdul Karīm Qūchānī who used to teach philosophy in Mashhad and has made a commentary on *sharḥ-e manzūmah* as well. Shaykh 'Alī Fāḍil Tabati also is the other figure of this period as Sabziwārī in one of his treatises tried to answer his questions. Mīrzā 'Abbās Ḥakīm Darābī Shīrāzī and Mullā Muḥammad Kāzim Khurāsānī are also from this school of thought. The former taught philosophy at Sabziwār city. Āqā Mīrzā Muḥammed Yazdī also belongs to this school. He wrote a treatise as a response to the criticisms of Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥṣāi' and defended Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ ideas. Mīrzā Sayyid Abū Ṭālib Zanjānī is also from this school. His treatise on *ijtihad* and *taqlīd* led to the advent of *usuli* and *akhbari* school of thought as two distinct factions. Mullā Ismā'īl 'Ārif Bujnūrdī also used to participate in Sabziwāri's classes of philosophy, then he started teaching philosophy. Mīrzā Ḥusayn Sabziwārī also had his class of philosophy in Tehran then became one of the philosophers of the school of Tehran. Āqā Mīrzā Muhammad Ṣadūqī is also from this school who learnt philosophy in Sabziwār and Mullā Ghulāmḥusayn also was one of the disciples of Sabziwārī in Sabziwār then he became the Shaykh al-Islam of Mashhad. These two thinkers later on trained certain figures who then represented the school of Mashhad. On the other hand Ḥāji Fāḍil Khurāsānī as well as Āqā Buzurg Ḥakim (1355H) Tehranī taught philosophy in Mashhad for many years and followed the philosophical method of Mullā Ṣadrā. Finally due to

the pressure of narrow-minded people the latter was compelled to give up teaching of philosophy and after his death Khurāsān felt the absence of such figure .

School Of Tehran: By establishing the school of Khān Marwī in Tehran Mullā 'Alī Nūrī were invited to teach philosophy in that school. Then he asked one of his best disciples namely Mullā Abdullah Zunūzī (1257H) to join that school. Zunūzī's move from Isfahan to Tehran which is marked as the transfer of the center of the Islamic sciences from Isfahan to Tehran.According to certain scholars Zunūzī is considered to be the philosopher of the school of Tehran. He had been teaching philosophy in Karbala, Qum, and Isfahan. He had been the pupil of Mullā 'Alī Nūrī in Isfahan. He had also two sons namely Ḥusayn Zunūzī and Āqā 'Alī Zunūzī. Āqā 'Alī known (1307H) as Mudarris enjoyed the same position of his father in philosophy . In his books he followed the method of Mullā Ṣadrā and among his books *Bidayah al-hikam* is considered to be the best. This book contains the answers to seven Questions posed by 'Imād al-dawlah Badi al-Mulk Mīrzā. The other philosopher of this school is Muhammad Riḍa Qumshaī' (1306H). He was a great philosopher and staunch supporter of Mullā Ṣadrā. In Isfahan he was the student of Mullā 'Alī Nūrī and Muhammad Ja'far Langarūdī. Then, he came to Tehran and started teaching *al-Asfār* of Mullā Ṣadrā and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn-'Arabī in the school of Ṣadr. Mīrzā 'Abul Ḥasan Jilwah also was one of the philosophers of the school of Tehran. He taught philosophy in the school of Dār al-shifā of Tehran for forty years. He wrote a treatise on *al-ḥarakat al-jawhariyyah* (movement-in-substance) and some commentaries on *Asfar* of Mullā Ṣadrā and *Shifā* of Ibn-Sīnā as well as *Hidayah* of Abhari.

School Of Qum: The modern phase of Islamic philosophy have been introduced by 'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'i. His philosophy is based on Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy i.e. *al-ḥikmat al-muta'āliyah*. It is to be pointed out that, he developed Sadra's original ideas as well . Thanks to his philosophical career, Islamic philosophy came to be studied in comparative perspective. He is of the view that the ideas of our predecessors should be explained and assessed critically. Though in his philosophical development he is indebted, to a great extent, to Mullā Ṣadrā but, at the same time he believes that any critical analysis towards their ideas

would not only weaken them but consolidate the foundations of their philosophies as well. Allamah's way of teaching philosophy as well as the time of teaching such philosophy, are two factors that have given special importance to the school of Ṭabāṭabāi' and have specified his philosophy from the others . Owing to these two elements, he succeeded to revive the fundamental issues of *al-ḥikmat al-muta'āliyah.*

Indeed, different interpretations of the truth dominance of technology over human life and the spread of certain ideas against religion, all tempted 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabāi' to set out to write his book of *Uṣūl-e Falsafah wa Rawish-e Rialism* (the principle of philosophy and the method of realism) as a response to the challenges of his time. He used to rely on reason in dealing with various issues but it doesn't entail that he was a rationalist i.e. dwelling within this framework. In his view, reason can not be the basis of all the teachings, hence, one should take recourse to revelation(faith) as well in assessing the truth of one's philosophical ideas . Philosophy in his view, does not concern only with theology. In the light of such out look, he tried to interpret the Holy Qur'ān and *ḥathīs* and introduce the teachings of Islam. One of the differences between 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabāi' and some of his predecessors like Ibn- Rushd is that they have been defending Islam to consolidate the position of philosophy but in 'Allāmah's view there was a close relationship between philosophical and religious thought. Such ideas indicate that he has been following the philosophical tradition of Mullā Ṣadrā. The philosophical and mystical ideas of 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī is identical with a kind of spiritual wayfaring which would lead one to be vigilant on one's soul and make attempt to purify it.

'Allāmah Tabatabai's main work is his *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, the most voluminous compendium of the commentary of the Qur'ān in contemporary period. His way of interpreting the Quranic verses and his attitudes towards the foundations of religion display that how philosophy can give a rational picture from the religion . However, *al- Mīzān* is not a pure philosophical work and only a section of it is devoted to philosophical issues yet, he is a philosopher Quranic commentator as in his philosophical works he seems to be a Quranic commentator philosopher. He has left also some poems. His poems are tinged with his philosophical ideas which distinguishes him with other philosophical poems. The delicate and subtle taste of his poems reflect

his mystical experiences . Allamah Ṭabāṭabā'ī's main philosophical works are *Bidayat al- Ḥikmah* and *Nihayat al- Ḥikmah.* These two books which contain the lessons of *Asfār* of Mullā Ṣadrā, are being the main philosophical text in the educational curriculum of the universities in Iran . The most important student of this school is Murtaḍā Muṭahharī who has written a commentary on Allamah's book of *Uṣūl-e Falsafah wa Rawish-e Rialism.*

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A Treatise on Spiritual Wayfaring*

By: 'Allāmah Majlisī
Translated by A. N. Baqirshahi

O my friend, as you have learnt I proved that it is necessary to follow the Ahl al-Bayt's sayings and actions and ponder on their traditions as well.

Then, keep in mind that what I have found in their traditions, are good. For, their traditions contain divine wisdom. Thus, those who possess whole heart and sound judgment -- their minds are not stretched into misleading path and their understanding are not effected by wicked people -- are able to comprehend it. The path of salvation and prosperity is open and clear for all as the Holy Qur'ān says: "*And those who strive hard for us, we will most certainly guide them in our ways; and Allah is most surely with the doers of good.*" (29:69)

Therefore, it is necessary for a wayfarer, in the first place to correct his intention to pave the way for the compliance and perfection of his action. To do so, one should seek assistance from Him so that to be immune from the devil's temptations, and domination of sensual passions.

Then, reflect upon greatness of such matter and keep in your mind that after departing this world, it is not possible to return again to make up shortcomings. Hence, one should take care of any major sins and remorse.

Then, one should proceed to ponder over material nature of this world, its changing nature as well as its unreliable basis. In this regard he can refer to the traditions of the infallible Imāms. At the same time he should eschew from referring to other's words. Imām's words are rooted in divine and reveled sources. Whereas others' words lack such advantages, though both may share same content.

Then, you should know that by *nīyyah* (intention) it does not mean a verbal utterance either in Arabic or Persian, but true *nīyyah* should be made by action and only true wayfarers in the path of God can do it. God would cure their disease, as the Qur'ān says: "*Then He inspired it to understand what is right and wrong for it.*" (91:8) Such *nīyyah* is dependent on man's condition as well. In interpreting the following sayings of God "*Say: Every one acts according to his manner; but your Lord best knows who is best guided in the path.*" (17:84) That is, everybody acts according to its *nīyyah* and only those who are people of contemplation can understand this fact. It is worthy to take the case of a man who is greedy and tries his best to achieve his worldly ambition. To this end he may perform prayer or prefer to drink wine only to meet his ambition.

Thus, when you acknowledge this matter, you should keep in mind that people are different in terms of their *nīyyah* as:

There are certain people who suffer from wickedness and act only for their evil ends. If such people refrain from abandoning such vices, their wickedness would naturally increase and they may ultimately abandon their faith, then no ray of hope would be expected for them.

The second group comprises those who are in higher position as compared to the former group, for, they love both this world and the Hereafter. They are under the impression that these two worlds can be united. As a result, sometimes they tilt towards the Hereafter and at times they favor this world. This group may join the former group.

The third group comprises those who go in profound contemplation but out of fear of God and punishment in the Hereafter. So, such people try to follow the lawful acts and shun from forbidden acts due to the fear of the punishment of God. Such worships or acts are commendable and correct but are not perfect.

The fourth group comprises those who wish to enjoy the heaven. Such people worship God to meet such end. It is said that usually mercenaries have this kind of worship, this group is also similar to the former one.

The fifth group worships God for He deserves worship. *Ṣiddīqīn* (the sincere) possess such position. Verily, the Commander of Faithful, Imām 'Alī ('a) possesses such a station. In this regard he addressed God as: "*I worship you not due to fear of your hell nor to enjoy your heaven, but I do so for You deserve worship.*" Imām Ṣādiq ('a) held that "*such worship is the worship of independent people*" (*Baḥār al-Anwār*, Vol. 78, p. 69).

The sixth group worships God as a mark of gratitude. Such people witness God's blessings and logically infer that He really deserves worship.

The seventh group worships God out of shame and modesty. That is, they can distinguish between good and evil and realize very well that God, the Exalted, is well aware of their affairs. So such people irrespective of the consequences of their acts, both punishment and reward, worshipping God. One of the meanings of the *Iḥsān* is to worship God as if you see Him..." (*Miṣbāh al-Sharī'ah*, p. 8).

The eighth group worships God out of *Maḥabbat* (love). *Maḥabbat* is the highest degree of perfection. One cannot gain such position unless to keep on praying ceaselessly and remembering His blessings as well.

The ninth group worship Gods, the Exalted, for the sake of *Qurb* (proximity to God). Here certain clarification should be made regarding the notion of *Qurb*. That is, temporal or spatial proximity is not meant in this approach but proximity with regard to perfection, that is, a person may attempt to improve himself and approach certain perfection level and tinge its way of life with Divine sources. Sometime *Qurb* (proximity) is viewed from its spiritual point of view. Then if a friend were in the east and his beloved in the west, he would keep on remembering him and try to render service for his sake. Such lover is in reality nearest to his beloved. Though it is possible that the worshipper intends to approach, it is in accordance with the two aforementioned meanings of *Qurb*. There may appear another meaning for *Qurb* also. There are certain degrees for *niyyah* as well.

There is nothing more to be singled out categorically for a man of faith who intends to attain *Qurb*. This would help him to get acquainted with the

dangers of his journey. To this end, he should take refuge in God to be rescued from falling into dangerous places. In this way he can join the group of *Mukhliṣīn* (the sincere), then he will be safe *vis-ā-vis* the sedition of the evils. As God said: "*Surely, as regards My servants, you have no authority over them except those who follow you of the deviators.*" (15:42)

There is an interesting proverb which says that Satan is like a dog that stands on the gates of the houses of the people and prevent others from entering in unless the owners of the houses come and stop it or come to know that the man who is entering the house is of that house. This dog, i.e., execrable devil is assigned to stand on the gate of God's court to prevent the entrance of the strangers and those who are not allowed to enter due to their wickedness, but those who are familiar with that court, are allowed to enter. Thus, whenever the wayfarer takes recourse to Him and corrects his *niyyah* as much as possible, then he does not mind if certain ignorant people of his time brand him as a narrow-minded man or a rigid devotee. So if he succeeds in attaining such a station and observing the truth, he should choose a guide who is familiar with the words and traditions of the infallible Imāms and believe in them as well, not those who interpret their words (Imāms words) according to their viewpoints but those who correct their view by their words. After choosing such a guide, he should try to seek knowledge for the sake of God so that to please Him. He should also reflect upon their words to acquire knowledge, for, the sole action cannot bear benefit. As Imām Ṣādiq ('a) said: "*A doer without knowledge is like a runner off the track,*" (*al-Kāfī*, Vol. 1, p. 54). So instead of approaching the destination, he will be kept away from it. Moreover, knowledge without action is fruitless and unattainable as well. As it is said one who knows and acts to it, God would inherit in him a kind of knowledge which was unknown to him.

In fact knowledge is like a torch in the hand of a runner. As the runner stops, the torch would fail to function, similarly, as he starts moving, the torch also starts working. Hence, knowledge would help action and action would increase the knowledge as well.

It is also necessary to divide daily work into three parts. One part should be assigned to earn lawful livelihood; in another part man should try to

acquire knowledge, and in the third part, he should keep on praying God, performing the obligatories and supererogation.

It is also necessary to equip himself with certain academic pursuits like grammar, logic, *uṣūl*, as well as books on *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) to understand *Ḥadīth* better. After studying science of *Ḥadīth*, he should attempt to study the four books, that is, *al-Kāfi*, *al-Tahdhīb*, *al-Istibṣār*, and *Manlāyaḥzarohu al-Faqīh*. He should study the books of al-Shaykh al-Ṣaddūq and others.

Thank God, apart from those four books, there are as much as two hundred books of *ḥadīth* which I collected in my book called *Baḥār al-Anwār* with interpretation. Thus it is necessary for you to have a look at them and reflect upon them, for it is really a *Baḥr* (Sea).

Then you, O my brother! Know that each worship possesses both spiritual and corporeal aspects, in other words, it has got a *Ẓāhir* (outer being) or a *Bāṭin* (inner being). By *Ẓāhir* it means its particular motions. *Bāṭin* is a mystery which contains the goal and brings in its wake certain fruits as well. Its spirit is to be in full attention. To procure such a fruit, one should take recourse to the prayer (*ṣalāt*) which is considered the pillar of the faith. God considers it the best worship with immense reward. As God said: "*Surely prayer keeps (one) away from indecency and evil.*" (29:42) The Holy Prophet said: "*Prayer is the mi'rāj of a pious man.*"

It also cannot bear fruit unless the worshiper has full attention wholeheartedly. For, a soulless body cannot be subjected to any spiritual change, thus, prayers fail to keep such a body away from indecency and evil. Hence, he fails to ascend to a higher station. In fact, prayer is a device and a celestial compound curing the egoistic maladies.

Moreover, one of the factors which underlies the acceptance of an action is avoiding sin and following the path of piety. For by committing sin, one cannot enjoy the proximity of God. As God, the Exalted, said: "*Allah only accepts from those who guard (against evil).*" (5:27) If a man commits a sin, he would plead God in every prayer to forgive him and ignore his shortcomings.

In *Takbīr* one should keep God pure from any partner or imaginary creations.

In *Takbīr*, one should recollect the true belief to infuse himself with it. In fact, paying attention in a prayer marks sincerity of the *niyyah* (intention), extreme servitude towards Him and a kind of turning away from other than Him. In sum, it is a full attention towards Him.

Qirā'ah (reading) is a kind of conversation with the real beloved signifying His worship, and is description of His attributes in best manner. So one should know the norm of the conversation. Moreover, it signifies the servitude (of a man) and marks his weakness and dependence on Him in all affairs. Then one should seek guidance towards the right path which is the path of the Holy Prophet (ṣ) and Imāms ('a), in belief, action, and conduct. Then take refuge in God from the path of the enemies which contains all kinds of false beliefs, misleading temptations and all corruption. These constitute the path of the enemies.

Moreover, in *Rukū'* (bowing) and *Sujūd* (prostration), modesty and humility is due to God, which keep off pride and *'ujb* (vanity) from man. Hence, one is assigned to put the sacred parts of his body (i.e. forehead) on the soil for his Lord.

There are also certain wisdom and immense benefits behind any action which are beyond the capacity of books to contain all of them. Verily there are strange wisdom and mystery behind any part of the prayer, as we have pointed out to some of them allegorically. Otherwise, this treatise or thousands of such articles are unable to describe even one of them. Thus it is advisable to refer to those traditions which contain the secrets of worship so that by performing any action, one may succeed to achieve the proximity of God and perfect himself and ultimately attain salvation.

Then you should bear in mind that the closest way to God, as many verses and traditions indicate, are supplications and litanies. However, there are certain conditions to achieve such goals, *viz.*, *Ḥuḍūr-e-Qalb* (full attention), and pinning hope only on God and have a profound belief in Him and focus full attention upon Him in all minor and major matters.

Recorded supplications are of two kinds. The first one comprises daily remembrance of God and invocations which deal with beliefs, requesting for success and earning livelihood and wishing the defeat of the enemies. It is better for a pious man to pray in a state of the attention towards God. One should not abandon it even if he fails to go in full attention. Second

supplication comprises those litanies which deal with certain prayers on *tawba* (repentance), orison and apologizing from God and expressing love, submission, and humility to God. It is necessary to recite them in a state of modesty, humility and weeping. Man should look for their exact timing and avoid reciting other than what he is asked, which may turn to be ridiculous. Thanks to *Ahl al-Bayt*, there are copious books on these two kinds of supplications.

The former supplications are available in the books of *Miṣbāh* compiled by al-Shaykh at-*Ṭūsī*, *Miṣbāh* by al-Shaykh al-Kaf'amī, *Samāt* and *Iqbāl* by Ibn *Ṭāwūs* and in *Taqibat* (particular supplication after every prayer), weekly supplication and annual rituals. The second kind of supplication like 15-supplication, *Anjīlīyyah* supplication and *Kumayl* supplication are contained in those books as well. Major part or all sections of *Saḥifa as-Sajjādīyyah* comprises the second kind of supplication. Some of them generate a kind of *Khawf* (fear of God) and some other bring about *Rajā'* (hope). Some of them are related to *Rida* (satisfaction). So one should select a supplication according to his state and read it in a state of modesty with reflection upon its meaning. If you begin such journey, you will come to know that it is the closest path to God, by means of which one can achieve one's goal in this world and the Hereafter.

Then you should know that the greatest happiness of the self is to enjoy a good moral and succeed to establish an intimate friendship with others. Generosity, sincerity, keeping silent, patience and so on are the main features of a good moral which are recommended by reason and religious law. The strongest disease of the self is that of blameworthy morals such as: *Bukhl* (jealousy), *Jubn* (cowardice), *Kibr* (arrogance), *Riyā* (show off), *Ghaḍab* (wrath), *Ḥaqd* (rancour) and so on. All these habits are discarded by reason and religious laws. Thus it is necessary to purify the self from evil spirit and adorn it with satisfactory conduct and behavior. Mystics are wrongly of the view that to materialize these two goals, one should first try to abandon what one loves and keep oneself away from the people and undergo hardship and suffer from hunger and remain sleepless continuously and become weak physically. I came across one of those who was under such a state (suffering from hardship). Pride and *'ujb* (vanity) is at utmost

level in such people to the extent that they would consider themselves higher than the prophets. Such people consider others as their enemies and are afraid of them. Other qualities of these people remain in obscurity due to their disassociation with others. In my view the only remedy is to take refuge in God to ward off such vices. Then they should contemplate over the evil consequences of their habits and egostic maladies, then counter such habits in the light of the traditions available with us.

The chapter "*Imān wa Kufr*" (Faith and blasphemy) of the book a*l-Kāfī* is full of traditions concerning such habits. For instance, one who suffers from jealousy, should take action against his habits by the grace of God. Then bear in mind that property cannot avail benefit after death. And God would reward him and surely fulfill His promise. Then he should reflect upon those verses of the Qur'ān concerning the malady of jealousy. Then restrict his self of owning any property. Thus, in the beginning it would be a tough and unpleasant taste. Then it would change into a habit. Moreover, those who wish to sit on the higher places in a gathering are advised to sit in the lower places. In this way it would turn into habit.

Two supplications of *Ṣaḥifa al-Sajjādīyyah* namely, *Makārim al-Akhlāq* and *Isti'ādhah* (orisons from the vices) are the authentic sources for *Tawassul.* So in order to ward off such dangers one should keep on contact with religious sites and worship. To do so one should refrain from indulging in any kind of *Bida'h.*

Then O my bother! You should know that daily supererogative prayers and midnight prayer are both tradition of the Prophet (ṣ). He never missed anyone of them throughout his life. Thus, you should not forget them and if you fail to do so, you should perform them again. Even if it is not possible for you to do so, you do keep fast first and last Thursday and Wednesday of every month. These are considered to be the traditions of the Prophet (ṣ).

You are advised to pray at night in the state of earnest supplication. Verily, such moment is the time for proximity to God and it is fit for supplication, blessing and litany as well. At that time, heart is present and action is at utmost level of sincerity, as God said: "*Surely, the rising by night is the firmest way to tread and the best corrective of speech.*" (73:6)

You are advised to devout this time to pray for your brethron. Indeed it would fulfill your need and you would enjoy double benefits.

You are also advised to follow up every prayer by reciting recorded supplication. You should be careful enough, for, at these moments sustenance would be granted. You are advised to say the following *Dhikr* while walking, standing and sitting:

لا اله الا الله و سبحان الله و الحمدلله ولااله الا الله والله اكبر

These expressions, in fact, are the pillars of worship and knowledge. Then you should salute the Prophet (ṣ) and his Household. In fact that is the best worship and action. Then you should take care of the following reminder from the Qur'ān and traditions: "*What God wishes, there is no power but Allah.*" This *Dhikr* would ease the affairs and increase your sustenance.

The following *Dikr* would remove the grieves related to this world and the Hereafter.

ماشاء الله لاقوه الا بالله

If you say: حسبناالله ونعم الوكيل it would ward off the enemies. And if you say: افوض امری الی الله ان الله بصير بالعباد it would save one from enemies. The least thing is to salute the Prophet and his Household 100 times every day, and 1,000 times at every Friday night, and then recite the follwing *Dhikr* 360 times:

الحمدلله رب العالمين كثيرا على كل حال

It would be better to read this reminder every morning and evening. Then say 70 times استغفرالله and اتوب الی الله seek God's forgiveness frequently to forgive your sins and increase your sustenance and children. Read *Tasbīḥt-arbi'ah* (four hymns) every day 100 times and after every prayer say the same hymns 30 times, then recite the follwing *Dhikr* 100 times:

لا اله الاالله الملك الحق المبين

or recite 100 times, لاحول و لا قوه الا بالله العلی العظیم and say 10 times per day, and say 10 times every day before the sunrise and sunset:

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شریك له له الملك و له الحمد یحیی و یمیت و یمیت و یحیی و هو حی لایموت بیده الخیر و هو علی کل شیء قدیر

And say 10 times:

اعوذ بالله السمیع العلیم من همزات الشیاطین و اعوذ بالله رب ان یحضرون ان الله هو السمیع العلیم

According to some recorded traditions these two are strongly recommended *Sunnah*. Thus, if you forget to perform it in time you should compensate it by saying 100 times after *maghrib* and morning prayers:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم لاحول ولاقوه الا بالله العلی العظیم

Verily it will save you from 70 afflictions. Do read the following chapters after every prayer:

"آیه الکرسی" و "شهدالله" و "قل اللهم" و "سوره حمد" و "قل هو الله"

What we have said here, are supported by reliable traditions if you believe in *Ahl al-Bayt* of the Prophet (ṣ). You are advised to perform the prayer of Jafar Ibn Abi Ṭālib once a week. For it would fulfills your demand in hard times, you should try to read books of supplication and follow certain rites allotted for certain times during day and night. Every action plays its own role in proximity of God.

You should try to earn a lawful livelihood and clothes and keep yourself away from doubtful things. Try to use lawful things, you should also eat less, sleep less and you should not also avoid eating the meat of those animals which are lawful. Beware that such practices (eating less and sleeping less) should not go beyond the extent and turn you into a weak and

feeble person, and deprive you of performing any action. Your body is your mount so you should attempt to strengthen it accordingly.

You should also refrain from making friendship with wicked people. Otherwise, by associating with them you would be effected and kept away from God's path.... You should also make friendship with those who would help you in matters related to the Hereafter. Beware of making friendship with every body. Hence association with majority of the people is harmful to your religion as well as your world. One of the companions of Jesus asked "*O! Spirit of Allah! with whom do we make friendship?*" Jesus ('a) said: "*Those who remind you of God and add to your knowledge, and encourage you to act for the Hereafter.*"

It is advisable to keep silent in facing insignificant matters and do not speak about lawful and unlawful matters without knowledge. As a matter of fact, one who passes decree without knowledge, is in fact on the edge of hell. As God said in this regard: "*Those who forge a lie against Allah shall not be successful.*" (10:69), "*And on the day of resurrection you shall see those who lied against Allah; Their faces shall be blackened.*" (39:60)

It is also advisable not to miss the opportunity and benefit from Godly and scholarly words and learn the teachings of your religion from them, and try to be in contact with pious men and God-fearing people regularly.

Then you should be well-wisher of the pious men. Try to remember God when any affliction overcomes you. Thus you should bear and be thankful.

Thus due to fear of God you should abandon sins, and ponder over the traditions pertaining to the characteristics of the pious men. Particularly read Imām 'Alī's sermon to Hammam.

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* The present article is translated into English from Persian version of Allamah Muhammad Baqir Majlisi's treatise which was published in *Kayhan-e Andisheh*, No. 58. It is in fact an excerpt from the 'Allāmah's treatise namely *I'tiqādāt* which was translated into Persian by Shaykh Abūlqāsim Yazdi.

General Principles of Imām Khumayni's Political Thought

Kazim Qaḍi Zadih

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Introduction

If we survey the development of political thought in Islam we would come to know that Muslim scholars, during the past hundred years, have developed new theories in the field of Islamic political thought in an unprecedented manner. Yet, some of them have not been successful in developing theories fit for running the affairs of their societies. But Imām Khumayni succeeded in bringing about a revolution and establishing the Islamic Republic of Iran. Thus, it is necessary to delve into his ideas and examine his political thought for various reasons: (i) Imām Khumayni's thought laid the foundation of a great movement, i.e., the Islamic Revolution in Iran; (ii) With the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in Iran the oppressed peoples of the world, in general, and the Iranians, in particular, have been eagerly waiting to reap the fruits of the movement, hence, it should be studied thoroughly; (iii) Moreover, in order to keep the record of such a movement in the history, it is necessary to work out the ideas of a *Mujtahid* who, in the light of the Islamic teachings, could initiate a

movement which led to the establishment of an Islamic system and he himself shouldered the leadership of the state for ten years.

The present paper is an attempt to elucidate the general principles of Imām Khumayni's political thought. Although there have been a few works on his life, writings, movement, his sayings and speeches, hardly any serious book, has so far appeared on Imām Khumayni's political thought.

We hope the present paper would succeed in shedding some light on the political thought of Imām Khumayni who generated a new dynamism throughout the Muslim world .

Alliance Between Religion and Politics

The basic tenets of Imām Khumayni's political thought should be ascertained from his approach to the concepts of religion and politics. He has forwarded his ideas on these two concepts on different occasions and meetings from the very beginning of the Islamic movement in Iran.

Imām Khumayni does not construe politics as a science of power or a kind of technique for exploiting people with a view to make them subordinate to certain rulers.1. Mois Devoji also subscribes to such view.[2] He believes that usually unjust rulers possess such characteristics . Imām Khumayni terms such a politics a satanic politics and believes that it has nothing to do with religion. In one of his speeches after his release from prison , he says:

"A man whom I do not want to reveal his name, once came to me and said: politics is nothing but telling lie and playing tricks, hence, it is better for you to leave it to us. In response, I said that I have never been involved in such a politics" .3

On the other hand, in Imām's view, religion is not limited in establishing relations between man and God nor is it confined to celestial happiness of man. Imām Khumayni disagree with both these approaches and is of the view that confining religion to mundane affairs, Is a materialistic approach and limiting it to spiritual aspects of man is a pseudo-mystical one. Materialists used to reduce all the teachings of religion into materialistic notions, even miracles and unhidden matters are interpreted by them in terms of material notions . But Imām Khumayni sees the reality of Islam beyond all those matters. 4

After refuting such approaches towards Islam and politics which naturally leads to the idea of separation of religion from politics, he puts forward his own views by referring to various aspects of man and society. Comparing his ideas with other approaches, Imām Khumayni says:

"The politics that I am talking about is the politics of our country. It is a perfect form of politics that the Prophet (s) of Islam and our leaders in Islam practiced . They came to guide people and lead them towards their real interest . Politics is meant to guide people and take into account all interests of the society and man. This is the politics of the Prophets which others are unable to implement."5

Such politics that aims at leading people towards God and achieving their happiness has been implemented by the Prophets, and their followers.

Imām Khumayni advocates such politics and opposes certain narrow-minded people who reduce Islam into its rituals and moral precepts. In his book "*Kitab al-Bay*'" (the Book of Sale) while referring to the issue of *wilayat-e faqīh* (the Guardianship of Jurisconsult), he writes:

"If one looks at various teachings of Islam including its social dimensions , concentrates over its rituals like prayers and hajj pilgrimage which pertains to man's relation with God and takes into account social, economic, political and legal laws of Islam, one would conclude that Islam does not deal only with rituals and moral matters ... but it is meant to establish a just government and has certain rules on tax, public finance, legal issues, jihad, and international relations as well."[6]

Imām Khumayni maintains that apart from Islam, in Christianity also, Jesus did not, of course, ignores social matters, though his followers consider him as symbol of piety who detached himself from the worldly matters. From the beginning of his life, Jesus declared that he had brought the Book.[7] Thus from the outset he launched a campaign against injustice.[8]

The teachings of Islam encompass all aspects of human life . Through establishing a just government, Muslims can bring about social justice. Therefore, it can be inferred that Islamic politics, while taking into account all physical and spiritual dimensions of man, is meant to guide man towards perfection.

Imām Khumayni is of the view that politics can benefit from religious rules, likewise, religious rules are also linked with politics.9 In this regard he says:

" Saying we have nothing to do with politics, is tantamount to keeping Islam in isolation. Swear by God, Islam in all its aspects deals with politics. Islam has been in fact misinterpreted." 10

It seems that Mudarris, the renown Iranian scholar shares the same views with Imām Khumayni .He says, *"Our politics is our religion and our religion is our politics."*

It should be cleared ,therefore, whether Islam deals only with certain general principles 11 or it also deals with particulars of political affairs presenting a separate political theory?

As far as the question of a political theory is concerned we need not borrow from other theories to develop a theory on politics, for, the religion itself can provide all particulars of a political theory. Nevertheless, it does not mean that all particulars of every age is contained in religion but it means that one can refer to religious sources to develop a perfect political theory at each particular age.

There are certain Muslim political figures who advocate the former idea, i.e. Islam only deals with the general principles. For instance, the author of the book *Marz-e Miyane-e Din wa Siasat*" says:

"Religion provide the principles of politics and clarify the objectives of a government without touching the particulars ."[12]

There are also some other people who put into question the possibility of the implementation of the Islamic rules at present age. They are of the view that we should find out a substitute for religion approach in order to run the country properly. Hence, after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, they started opposing the idea of the *wilayat-e faqīh* (guardianship of jurisconsult) and Islamic law of *Qisas(retribution)*, etc.[13]

On the country, Imām Khumayni had a firm conviction that Islam is a comprehensive religion and can provide a political theory for a society. In his political will he writes:

"Unlike other atheist schools of thought, Islam take into account all aspects of human life, that is, individual, social, physical, spiritual, cultural, political, economic and military affairs of life. Islam does not leave any

point helpful for the material and spiritual development of man and society untouched. Islam elaborates on the obstacles of such development in society and teaches how to remove them."[14]

Imām Khumayni even disagrees with those who try to justify the political thought of Islam with the help of un-Islāmīc sources. In this regard he says:

"Be sure that Islam can provide justice, independence, freedom, economic equality without relying on the teachings of other schools of thought."[15]

Imām Khumayni bases his ideas on theological accounts. He refers to some of the Qur'ānic verses and narration from the infallible Imams (a). In his speeches he affirms that political and economic system of Islam has not been worked out seriously .[16]

He refers to the following verses of the Qur'ān to support his views:

.We have not neglected anything in the Book...[17]

.nor any green nor dry but (it is all) in a clear book.[18]

There are also certain narration indicating that necessary rulings are not entrusted to man.[19] Keeping in view to these verses and narration some of the scholars of Qur'ān concluded that it is possible to propound a political or economic theories.[20] Yet it does not mean that we have to ignore the outcomes of scientific works in persuading our task.

Imām Khumayni's Arguments on the Alliance Between Religion and Politics

1. The Dominating Element of the Religious Teachings:

In order to understand the particular characteristics of a religion, one should refer to the dominating element of that religion. With this view in mind Imām Khumayni developed a comprehensive outlook in the light of which he exercised his *ijtihad* and developed his political thought as well. Thus, in order to study Imām's views on the relation between religion and politics one should study his general outlook. In his *Taḥrir al-Wasīlah,* he writes:

"Islam is the religion of politics with its all dimensions. It is very clear for those who have the least knowledge of political, economic and social aspects of Islam. Thus, anybody maintaining that religion is separate from politics , has no knowledge of religion and politics."[21]

According to Imām Khumayni, the Qur'ān contains political and social issues more than ethical and ritual (personal) matters.[22] Even the rituals mentioned in the holy Qur'an are politically oriented. Thus, it can be stated that politics intermingled with rituals and vice versa.[23] Take, for instance, the following ethical maxim of Islam : "*All faithful are brothers*" is a socio-political commandment. Such brotherhood is not limited to a country but covers all the Muslims throughout the of the world. That is, if all Muslims establish brotherhood with each other, they can easily defeat the enemies .[24]

Rituals in Islam are identical with political issues, The Friday prayers and Ḥajj pilgrimage which are two important rituals and are indeed , politically significant for an Islamic society. On the necessity of offering Friday prayer sermons, Imām Khumayni says:

"It is for an Imām of Friday prayer to talk about the religious and worldly interests of the Muslims during his Friday prayer sermons, and inform them of condition of Muslims in other countries and bring to their notice their interests as well. He should talk to them about their religious and worldly requirements, refer to economic and political issues, inform them of their relations with other countries and elaborate on the interference of colonial powers in their countries."[25]

The political and social aspects of *Ḥajj* pilgrimage are very evident. The following verses of the Qur'ān signify this point:

That they may witness advantages for them...[26]

....And mention the name of Allah...[27]

Imām Khumayni copiously refers to the importance of *Ḥajj* pilgrimage. In one of his speeches he says:

"Ḥajj minus biraat (deliverance) is not a true Ḥajj. Muslims in such a great congregation should declare their readiness to fight the superpowers and support each other."[28]

2. Religious Leaders Duties

Usually, the leaders of every faith are considered to be the symbols of that faith. A quick look at the lives of all religious leaders, in general, and the Prophet (S) and the Imams, in particular would indicate that they did not

keep themselves aloof from politics in their lives, regarding the Prophet's(s) way of life, Imām Khumayni says:

*"The Prophet's policies on internal and external affairs indicate that one of his tasks was his political activity."*29

In Prophet's(s) time, political and spiritual leaderships were not separate, but later on political and spiritual leaderships became separated from each other.[30]

The clearest hallmark of the political life of the Prophet (s) was the formation of a government in Medina and its extension to the Jazirat al-Arab(Arabian Peninsula). Even after establishing a government in Medina he began dispatching letters to different countries. In the seventh year of Hijra, he dispatched certain representatives to Iran, Habasha (Ethiopia), Egypt, and Bahrain to carry out his mission.[31]

Another feature that signify the political life of the Prophet (S) is his anxiety about the future of the Muslims in his absence and departure from this world. Hence, he used to introduce his representative to people in different occasions and made his official declaration regarding his successor in *Ghadir Khum*. The Qur'ān declared that if the Prophet (S) failed to promulgate message, his religion would remain incomplete. 'Allāmah Tabatabai's interpretation of this verse of the Qur'ān is remarkable.[32]In this regard Imām Khumayni says:

" Appointment of Imām 'Alī the caliphate of Muslims by the Prophet(s) was a kind of delegation of power from the Prophet(s) to Imām 'Alī(a). Even infallible Imams involved themselves in politics in their lives .Some of them devoted their time only on offering prayers or carrying out teaching .The fact is that through such opportunity, they wanted to reform the society. In Imām Khumayni's view, besides the Prophet of Islam, all Prophets had political activities . In fact, the structure of the Tawhidi religions is intermingled with political and social activities.

Regarding the Prophet Jesus (a) who seems to be, in the eyes of his follower, a pious man and away from politics, Imām Khumayni says:

"Even the Prophet Jesus whose followers consider him as a spiritual man, from the beginning he wanted to struggle. Even, when he was born ,he declared that he had brought the Book. Such a person would never stay at home. If he wanted to teach only why had he been harassed."[34]

3. Implementation of Islam

If we view different teachings of Islam, we would come to know that not only it has presented certain general principles on different aspects of human life, but it also introduced certain rules and regulations for running the affairs of the society as well. Take, for instance, *zakat*, *khums*, and the law of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. In fact, the main reason behind all these commandments, particularly social commandments, is to bring about social justice. As Imām Khumayni says:

"Islam is identical with the Islamic government, Islamic commandments are sings of Islamic government because they are meant for the formation of an Islamic government."[35]

Factors Underlying the Idea of Separation of Religion from Politics

Taking into account the way of life of religious leaders, it is necessary to study the misleading idea of the separation of religion form politics. It is also necessary to find out factors underlying the separation of religion from politics and motives behind such ideas. We should also find out the beginning of the formation of such ideas and the methods followed by the advocates of the separation of religion form politics.

It seems that both external as well as internal factors are responsible for the development of this idea. Internal factors refer to superficial and so-called pseudo-mystical approaches towards religion.

External factors refer to colonial powers. As it is known, the idea of separation of religion from politics began with the West's attempt to limit the role of church and priests in the society to pave the way for establishing a secular state. Then they tried to impose the same policy in other countries that were under their influence.

Thus, they succeeded in depriving religious leaders who were the real well-wishers of the people form involving in political affairs. 36 Thanks to the West-toxicated intellectuals, colonial powers carry out their mission successfully as Imām Khumayni says:

"Cunning plunderers tried to isolate Islam through their agents who were in the garb of intellectuals as they did so with Christianity and kept religious scholars busy with rituals." 37

Imām Khumayni is of the view that external factors has been more effective than internal factors in separating religion from politics.

In this way the idea of separation of religion from politics came to the fore. From historical point of view superfluous approaches to religion is not new but the idea of separation of religion from politics gained a momentum since three centuries ago.

The internal factors stem from misinterpretation of Islamic teachings. Hence they pose a lesser danger to Islam compared to the external factors. 38

Necessity of Forming a Government in the Absence of Imām Mahdi (a)

Political thinkers are of the view that there is a direct relation between the development of a society and the leadership of a wise man in a country.

In response to Khawarij's allusion to a verse of the Qur'ān stating: "*Verdict is only that of Allah,*" Imām 'Alī (a) says: There is a limit for every government, but finally a just government will come to power to vindicate rights of the oppressed. 39

Ibn Khuldun says:

*"Leadership and government are the necessary elements of a civilization. If people do not support a leader, civilization and development will not be possible."*40

The aforementioned issue is very clear and could be substantiated easily. However, there are some *fuqahā* who are of the view that it is not allowed to form a government in the absence of the Imam (a). This attitude towards rulership in Islam has influenced the ideas of the advocates of this approach on *zakat* and *khums*. Some of the *foqaha* went to the extent of burying *Zakat* and *khoms* because they thought they were not allowed to spend them in the absence of the Imam (a). Al-Shaykh al-Tusī's ideas on this issue is remarkable.41

While analyzing the political ideas of certain *fuqahā* on the forming of an Islamic government during the occultation of Imām Mahdi (a), Hamid Algar writes:

"Right after the occultation of Imam Mahdi (a), the Shias thought that the duration of the occultation of Imām Mahdi (a) would be short. Thus, they were not worried about the form of the leadership. So after the departure of the four Nuwwabs (representatives), Muslim scholars were assigned to narrate hadith without interfering in financial matters. Later on, with the prolongation of the duration of occultation, the necessity of setting up a comprehensive leadership was felt by the Muslims. Therefore, the idea accepting 'ulama' as representatives of Imam Mahdi (a) came to the fore."[42]

Those who held that fallible persons are not allowed to establish a government, found their idea on a a*hadith* on the reappearance of Imām Mahdi (a). Their wrong impression from such *ahadith* was the root of another of idea terming any movement--before the reappearance of Imām Mahdi (a)--as unlawful. In fact such *ahadith* are related to those movements which rose against the infallible Imams or the movements claiming to be the movement of Imām Mahdi (a).[43]

Imām Khumayni holds that there should be no separation of religion from politics. He maintains that not only it is necessary to try to establish an Islamic government, but it is an obligatory duty of Muslims to form in certain cases.

Referring to the same points that the opponents use in their arguments in refuting the necessity of forming a government by fallible men, Imam Khumayni said:

"Belief in the necessity of forming a government and establishing an executive system is a part of wilayat. Likewise any attempt in this direction is also part of the belief in wilayat. We believe in wilayat and hold that the Prophet (s) appointed a caliph in obedience to God. Therefore, we have to believe that it is necessary for Muslims to form a government... Struggle for forming an Islamic state is one of the foundations of the belief in wilayat."[44]

The aforesaid statement is a *kalami* argument on the *wilayat* of the Imams (a), that is, belief in *wilayat* is tantamount to that of the acceptance of the leadership of infallible Imāms (a). But a profound understanding of the appointment of a leader of Muslims by the Prophet (s) would make it clear that unqualified persons should not be allowed to rule over the

Muslims. Thus, anybody who believes in *wilayat*, should eschew entrusting the state to unqualified persons in the absence of Imām Mahdi (a).

Moreover, Imām Khumayni bases his ideas of forming an Islamic state on the nature of Islamic laws:

"The nature of Islamic government indicates that it is possible to form a government and manage the cultural, economic and political affairs of a society. Firstly, comprehensiveness of Islamic laws and regulations--ranging from laws regarding relations with neighbors, children, family, private affairs, matrimonial matters, war, peace, relations with other countries, economy, trade, industry, and agriculture--all are meant for running the affairs of the society. These points indicate that Islam seriously deals with political and economic affairs. Secondly, a quick look at the nature of religious commandments, will prove that it is necessary to form a government in order to execute these laws. Without forming a government it is not possible to do so."[45]

In Imām Khumayni's opinion, the institute of state is so important that Islam is identical with Islamic government. By establishing an Islamic government man can achieve justice and execute the commandments. This particular feature of Islam is not only related to the Prophet's time but it is applicable to the other times including the period of he absence of Imām Mahdi's (a) as well.[46]

According to Imām Khumayni, colonialism is responsible for the separation of Islam and politics, particularly in contemporary era. He says that colonial powers imbibed in our mind that there is no any form of government in Islam. Even if we assume that it can form a certain form of government, the colonial powers tried to inculcate in the mind of Muslims that there is not a qualified person to run the Islamic government.[47]

Extremist mystical tendencies among Muslims have been among the reasons for the avoidance of Muslims to form a government.[48]

Imām Khumayni gave a detailed account of the reasons behind Muslims avoidance from forming a government in his book "*Ḥukumat-e Islāmī*" (Islamic government) wherein he worked out various aspects of such a

government. Let us conclude this section by casting a glance at a *Hadith* from Imām Rida (`a):

"Some of the reasons behind appointment of Awlul amrs (.holders of authority) by God and making their obedience obligatory are as follows. Firstly, people would feel duty-bound to follow certain rules that would rescue them from corruption. It is not possible to follow such rules unless power is entrusted on a trustee ruler. Secondly, prosperity of nations depend on the existence of rulers who try to solve their temporal and spiritual problems . God, the Wise, never leaves His creatures (people) without a guide. The third reason is that in the absence of a right leader and guide, the religious commandments and orders would be ruined.[49]

Mashru'iyyah (Legitimacy) of an Islamic Government

As it is cleared, according to Imām Khumayni, there is a close connection between religion and politics. Moreover, the establishment of an Islamic government is a religious necessity both in the presence of [Imām Mahdi (a)] and in his absence.

What are the source of the legitimacy of an Islamic government ? To reply this question, first of all, it should be clarified as to what is meant by *Mashruiyaah* (legitimacy).

When we discuss legitimacy of a system from a political point of view, we mean particular features of that government making it legitimate in order to make people duty-bound to obey it. For instance, when a ruler is elected by people, the electors, the people, feel duty-bound to obey him.

Of course, this kind of legitimacy can be adaptable to *shariah*. Muslims indeed recommend a legitimate, religious government.

The notion of legitimacy is a basic concept in political science which has been a matter of serious debates by both people and rulers.

The sources of, and the criteria for, the legitimacy of government are different in the views of different thinkers. Let us, first, deal with the following theories of legitimacy.

1. Natural legitimacy: This theory is one of the oldest theories about legitimacy. Greek philosophers, particularly, Aristotle, propound this view. According to this theory there are certain people who are fit for rulership by nature. The legitimacy of a ruler stems form his nature. In his *Politics*,

Aristotle writes: Some living beings are destined to rule or being ruled from birth time.[50]

2. The Force Theory: There are certain political thinkers who hold that force is the hallmark of the legitimacy of a government. That is, one who succeeds to siege the power, should be supported by people. Garercus, the well-known Greek historian and politician and Hobs of England are the exponents of this theory. 51 There are certain Muslim scholars who held that triumph through sword can be considered as a criterion for legitimacy of rulers. Qadi Abi Yali, quoting Imām Aḥmad Hanbal said:

"Anybody who captures the power by sword (power), in so far as he is called the caliph and the commander of the faithful, either he behaves bad or good, no one is permitted to disobey him. Thus, he will be their custodian." [52]

Usually dictators initiate their rule by taking recourse to force.[53]

3. Divine Legitimacy: This theory found many exponents throughout the history. Many rulers attribute their legitimacy to God and try to inculcate in the mind of people that obedience to the ruler is equal to that of God. Similarly, opposing him is opposing God. There are different views about the origin of these ideas. For instance, in ancient Egypt every ruler used to consider himself as god beside being a ruler. The predominant aspect of Divine legitimacy of a government is that such governments consider themselves as appointee of God who is All-Knowing, All-Wise, and Well-Aware of His servant's condition. He has sent certain rules and regulations to pave the way for man's happiness.[54]

Sometimes Divine legitimacy overshadows public legitimacy and brings in its wake an impression that the king is the shadow of God, is appointed by God, accountable to God and, therefore, it is necessary for the people to obey them.[55]

Among Muslim scholars, this idea has been often misused. In this regard Khwaja Nizam-al-Mulk says:

"God would select one out of many people in every age, enrich him with certain arts of rulership, protect him against any corruption and sedition, and spread his greatness among people."[56]

Though there are numerous cases in the history indicating the misuse of such theory, in any case, we don't want to refute it. During the Prophet and

Imām's times also rulership was on the basis of God's will. But it never implied ignoring the rights of the people. Thus, it never led to injustice in the society.

4. Popular Legitimacy: This theory recognizes people's consent as the main source of legitimacy for rulership. Jean Jacques Rousseau is the exponent of this theory. He states:

The only elements which can constitute the basis of a legitimate power and true government are conventions agreed upon by both sides.[57]

Historically, this theory stood against the Divine legitimacy. The West advocates this theory to counter religious dictatorship and other kinds of dictatorship. The theories of reform and revolution have been evolved to negate legitimacy of force.

5. Traditional Legitimacy: According to this notion, right of rulership is hereditary and is exclusively given to a race or a family. This theory has no advocate at present.

Imām Khumayni's View

According to Imām Khumayni, neither force nor heredity can constitute a source for the legitimacy of an Islamic government.

He considers two factors for legitimacy of an Islamic government: Divine legitimacy and public allegiance.

There is no doubt that the system of government under the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and Imām 'Alī's (a), was based on Divine legitimacy. God is the real owner of everything and has appointed the Prophet and Imams to rule over the society. Referring to the following verse, Imam Khumayni says: *O believers, obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority (4:59)*.

Muslims have accepted that the Prophet draws the legitimacy of his government from God. However, they differ on the leadership of Muslims after the Prophet's death.

The Shī'ahs believe that the Prophet (s) and the Imams (a) were appointed according to the Divine Text. Some of the Shii scholars, including Imām Khumayni, are even of the view that *the fuqaha* are

qualified and entitled to form government because of the acknowledgment the infallible Imāms who were appointed by God.

Imām Khumayni's way of reasoning in his books, *al-Bay'(book of sale), Kashf-e Asrar, Taḥrir al-Wasila* and his speeches, indicate that the appointment of *wali-e-Amr* (holders of authority) is a divine task. In his book *Taḥrir al-Wasila,* he writes:

"only the infallible Imāms and their appointees are entitled to take the helm of political affairs. In their absence, their representatives, i.e., qualified jurisconsults, are responsible for running the political affairs."[58]

Imām Khumayni's policies during the ten years of his rulership confirm those assumptions. In some of his speeches, he even considers the most democratic government as *Taquti (unjust in nature)* if it is not under the rulership of a *faqih.* He maintains:

"In the absence of the guardianship of a jurisconsult (Wilayat-e faqīh) and Divine order, the taqut will prevail. If president is not appointed by a jurisconsult, he would be illegitimate. An illegitimate president is tantamount to a taquti. Taqut would be finally destroyed when a just ruler is appointed with the grace of God."[59]

In letters, appointing the members of the Islamic Revolution's Council in Iran and appointing the first premier of Iran,[60] referring to this point, Imam Khumayni said:

"As a person who enjoys the wilāyah of the sacred religion, I appoint him .... any opposition to this government is tantamount to opposition to sharia (religious law)."[61]

But on other occasions, he referred to the view of the people and took into account their votes. In his meeting with the representative of Pope Paul VI, who wanted to mediate the release of the American hostage in Iran, he says:

"Mr. Pope should know that I cannot personally resolve this problem. I do not want to impose (my will) on my people and Islam does not permit us to establish a dictatorship. We follow our nation's votes, and act according to their views. We have no right, God has not conferred such right on us, and the Prophet (s) never permitted us to impose our ideas on Muslims."[62]

In several cases Imām Khumayni had a full respect for people's right and maintained that they are the legitimizing source of a government. At the

same time he did not overlook the Divine legitimacy. According to Imam Khumayni, God and the Prophet do not allow the ruler to oppose the people's ideas.

The Form of Islamic Government: *Wilayat Mutlaqah Faqīh* (Absolute Guardianship of Jurisconsult)

The most salient feature of Imām Khumayni's political thought is the doctrine of *wilayat-e-faqih.* This concept did not receive proper attention and was not compiled in a proper manner by the Shia scholars before him. This concept is so prominent in his thought that most of his political ideas should be interpreted with reference to this doctrine.

Historically, in *Shii fiqh,* this issue had not been touched until the time of late Naraqi who wrote the book of *Awaid al-Ayyam.* Before Naraqi the issue of *wilayat-e-faqīh* and the matter of guardianship of an Islamic society were never considered under specific titles in *Fiqh.*

During the twentieth and thirteen centuries, the late Naraqi devoted a separate chapter to the issue of *wilayat-e faqīh* and its various aspects. Then Mir Fattah Husayni Maraghei in his book *Anawin,* Muhammad Hasan Najafi in his *Jawahir al-Kalam,* and Shaykh Murtada in his *Makasib* dealt with this issue. Later on, some of the *Fughah,* conducting research on *al- Makasib* gradually developed their own ideas as well.

In recent decades, Imām Khumayni started discussing the issue in his book *al-Bay' (book of sale)* and discussed it in his classes of *Kharij* (higher course in religious studies) in Najaf. Though Imām Khumayni like other *fuqahā* had already discussed this issue in his book *al-Bay',* he took it up again very seriously in order to encourage others to develop their own theories on the issue.

Imām Khumayni developed his notion of *wilayat-e faqih* in the course of the following four periods.

The first Period-. He put forwarded the outlines of the notion of *wilayat-e faqīh* in his book *Kashf-e Asrar*[63] in the form of answers to the author of the *Asrar-e-Hizar Saleh.* One of the questions that Imam rises in this book is: "It was better if there were foqaha in our constituent assembly which appointed the Shah." 64

In this book, Imām Khumayni did not propound his theory of *wilayat-e faqīh* but has referred to the Naini's theory *of Nizarat-e Faqih (Supervision of Jurisconsult).*

But it seems that even during that period he did agree with the idea of *wilayat-e faqīh* not *Nizarat-e faqīh.*[65]

2. The second period: The substantiate form of *wilayat-e faqīh* appeared in three of Imam's books, namely, a*l-Rasil, Tahri al-Wasila, al-Bay'*. These books were written in 1954, 11964, and 1970. He wrote these books in an academic atmosphere when he was not directly involved in running the state. The first sixty pages of *al-Bay'*, constitute the best work of Imām Khumayni on *wilayat-e faqīh.* In addition, he had many lectures on the topic which later on was published under the title of *Ḥukumat-e Islāmī* (Islamic Government). This is the best book elaborating on Imām Khumayni's views on *wilayat-e faqīh.*

3. The third period: During the years of 1978-1980, Imām Khumayni did not directly speak about the term *wilayat-e faqīh.* Even he did not mention this term in his statements. Although he relied on his religious duty in appointing high ranking officials in Iran, he did not speak about the status of *wilayat-e faqih* in the constitution. Anyhow, the First Experts Assembly was formed and the members of that assembly clarified the role of *wilayat-e faqīh* in Islamic government. Following the incorporation of the term wilayat-e faqih in the constitution, some political parties described it a kind of dictatorship.

Then Imām Khumayni felt that it was necessary to clarify the distinction between the concept of *wilayat-e faqīh* and that of dictatorship:

"The issue of wilayat-e faqīh is not the invention of the Experts Assembly. It has been ordained by God ... You should not scare wilayat-e faqīh. A faqīh cannot become a dictator. If a faqīh attempts to become a dictator, then he cannot have wilayat (guardianship) over people."[66]

4. The fourth period: During this period Imam Khumayni tried to define the scope of the authority of the *faqih.* In this period Imām spared no effort to clarify the authority of a *faqih* and repudiate the false impressions about the notion of wilayat-e faqih. This period began with a reply of Imām to an inquiry of the then Labor Minister in 7 December 1988.

Following the inquiry, discussions on the jurisdiction of wilayat-e faqih began in the Guardian Council of the Constitution. The council wrote four letters to Imam Khumayni in this regard. One of the letters was related to the President Ayatullāh Khamenei's speech at a Friday Prayers sermon. In the letter Imām Khumayni clarified that state rulings are higher than *Ahkam-e Awali wa thanawi* (primary and secondary commandments). A part of the letter reads as follows:

"What have been said or is being said (about the wilayat-e faqih) stem from the lack of knowledge of the absolute Divine wilāyah."

The qualifications of an incumbent of the position of wilayat-e faqih have been described in Imām's letter (27 April 1990) to the Speaker of the Assembly for Amendment of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran.[67]

Why to Establish *Wilayat-e faqīh?*

The exponents of *wilayat-e faqīh* in Shii thought refer to the following transmitive and intellectual reasons in defending the establishment of a system of government based on wilayat-e faqih: (i) Reasons with regard to *Ḥasbiyyah* affairs. (ii) Special *hadiths* on *wilayat-e faqīh*. (iii) Philosophical and theological reasons. (iv) Reasoning through traditions.

Shii Ulama have different ideas on the implementation of the first argument.

Generally, they ascribe *Hasbiyah* affairs to certain particular cases like guardianship over the affairs of the orphans, the missing and the divorcee. 68 While some other *ulama* are of the view that the main feature of *Ḥasbiyyah* affairs is to attempt to establish a government. This approach is the easiest way to prove the notion of *wilayat-e faqīh*.[69]

Imām Khumayni did not substantiate the issue of *wilayat-e faqīh* through this argument, but it does not mean that he is against the establishment of an Islamic government by the *fuqahā*.[70] But he tried to refer to stronger reasons which can give more authority to a Jurisconsult.

The fourth argument refers to certain *Hadiths*. This is the method of the late Āyatullāh Burujirdi. With reference to the general structure of the religion and necessity for implementing religious rulings, in the absence of an infallible Imam (a), he maintained that though the Imams (a) did not appoint anyone as the guardian of people, there should be certain *hadith*

from the Imams (a) to signify the necessity of guardianship of *fuqahā*.[71] He succeeded in quoting some *hadiths* on this issue.[72]

While other *ulama* tried to refer to *ahadith*, Imām Khumayni laid special emphasis on philosophical and theological arguments. He believed that the issue of establishing an Islamic government was very clear and then he referred to certain *ahadith* as well.

A Brief Account of Imām Khumayni's Argument on *Wilayat-e Faqih*

Imam Khymayni initiated his argument on the issue as follows:

- -Islam is a comprehensive religion, providing laws on politics, society, economy, etc. It is admitted that the Divine commandments are applicable to all societies in all eras.

- -Religious commandments are not useful unless they are applied to form a state on the basis of Divine guardianship.

- -Moreover, in order to protect the Islamic system, control the borders of Muslims from any enchroachment by the enemy, and prevent chaos in Islamic society, it is necessary to form an Islamic government. Therefore, the reasons underlining the role of an Imam in the society, stand for the formation of a government in the absence of infallible Imams (a).

- -The leadership of an Islamic government has been specifically entrusted on a particular person in the absence of Imām Mahdi (a). But since the government is an Islamic in nature, its ruler should possess at least the following two qualifications: command over religious laws *(fiqh);* and he should be a just person.[73]

The aforementioned argument supports the idea of forming a government in the Imam's absence. The late Āyatullāh Burūjirdī shared similar viewpoints with Imām Khumayni on this basic issue.

The salient feature of Imām Khumayni's view on the issue is that he drew the qualifications of the leader of an Islamic state from such discussions. It should be noted that such a reasoning does not mean that any just faqih can

become the guardian of the Islamic society. However, Imam does not elaborate on the methods of the selection of the ruler from amongst the fuqaha. [74] But the jurisdiction of the guardianship of all foqaha is limited to the enforcement of micro issues during the rule of an unjust ruler (*Ṭaqūt*'s).

Transmitive Reasons Supporting the Idea of *Wilayat-e faqīh*

(a) *Particular Texts*

There are many *ahadith referring* to the issue of *wilayat faqih.* But the only Qur'ānic verse which refers to this issue is: *"O believers, obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you."*[75]

Imām Khumayni has interpreted the above verse by referring to authentic *hadiths* narrated by 'Umar bin Hanzalah.[76] But he never relied on it as an independent and sole reason.

Since there is ambiguity on the concept of *awlul amr* (holders of authority), several exegetes, including Allamah Tabatabai, drew the inference that the holders of authority refer to the infallible Imams (a).[77] Some of Sunni Ulama consider any ruler as *awlul amr* (holders of authority).[78] As a matter of fact, it is necessary to refer to certain *ahadith* and not confine the issue to the Qur'ānic verse. Nevertheless, there are certain contemporary jurists who only referred to the above verse to support the idea of *wilayat-e faqīh.* [79]

Imām Khumayni refers to the following *hadiths* as proofs to support the idea of *wilayat-e faqīh*:

1. *Mursalah* Saduq
2. A *Hadith* from 'Alī bin Abi Hamzah from Imām Kazim (a)
3. *Mawthaqah Sakuni* from Imām Sadiq (a).
4. Tawqih Ishaq bin Yaqub from a sacred person
5. Magbulah Umar bin Hanzalah
6. Sahihah Qaddah from Imām Sadiq (a).[80]

Among these *ahadiths*, the authenticity of the first two *hadiths* have been put into question. The rest are recommended and are considered authentic ones.

Imām Khumayni refers to the following *hadiths* as authentic: *Hadith* of Jami al-Akhbar from the Prophet (a). *Hadith* of Abdul Wahab Amadi from Imām 'Alī (a) and *hadith* of Tuhafat al-Uqul from Imām Ḥusayn (a).

Imām Khumayni's theological background influenced his impression of aforementioned *hadiths* and distinguished him from other jurists. For instance, regarding the *Hadith "O God have mercy on our Khalifs,"* he says, there is no doubt the word *khalif* of the prophet relates to *wilayat* and rulership.[81] On the following narration, *"Verily learned are the heirs of the prophets,"* he says that some of the prophets like the Prophet of Islam enjoyed the position of *wilayat.* To be the heir to the prophets means to inherit whatever they possess all transferable belongings of the prophet. There is no doubt that rulreship is transferable.[82] Such impressions can be contrasted with al-Shaykh al-Anṣārī's ideas. He says:

"Virtually after studying various aspects of the narration (on rulership) one can fairly conclude that such narration are related to the duties of Ulama with respect to the clarification of Islamic rules. The prophets and the Imams have guardianship over people's properties."[83]

In sum, Imām Khumayni forwards two sound *Kalami* and transmitive reasons for the guardianship of jurisconsults in the absence of the infallible Imams (a). He even refers to the condition and jurisdiction of the holders of authority. We would throw more light on these two and refer to other aspects of Imam's views on this issue.

Qualifications of *Waly-e faqīh* (Leader of Islamic Society)

There are a several conditions for the guardianship of jurisconsult enumerate by *fuqahā.* Some of the Sunni and Shii scholars enumerate ten qualifications.[84]

Imām Khumayni stresses on two qualifications: *fiqahat* (command over *fiqh*) and; justice. However, in the absence of the infallible Imām, qualified jurisconsults who can pass decrees, are recommended by him for guardianship of Muslims.[85]The two aforementioned conditions are not only based on *Taqlid,* but are also based on rational reasons Imām Khumayni in this regard says:

"Islamic government is a legal government aiming at implementing the Divine law. Its objective is to bring about justice and execute divine laws among people. Thus the leader of such an state should fulfill two conditions, considered to be the basis of the state: knowledge of law and justice. The matter of efficiency and ability of management are contained in knowledge

of a ruler. This may be considered as a third condition ... Thus, leadership belongs to a just faqīh."[86]

What is meant by *fiqahat* (command over *fiqh*) in Imām Khumayni's views? Does it means knowledge of common *fighi* issues? Is there any other necessary condition for the holders of authority? Imām Khumayni in his book *Ḥukumat-e Islāmī* writes:" *A ruler should be the most learned scholar in religious teachings."*[87]

On the other hand, in the absence of the infallible Imams (a), knowledge of judgment and ability to pass decree are considered as the two essential qualifications of a *Qadi* and profound knowledge of religious is necessary for becoming a *Mufti*. Therefore, in Imam Khumayni's view a holder of authority should be jurisconsult and the most qualified in the field of Islamic religious as well. However, during the last days of his life, Imām Khumayni in a letter to the Speaker of the Assembly for the Amendment of the Constitution, wrote:

"From the beginning I was of the view that Marjaiyyah is not a necessary condition (for leadership). A just Mujtahid who is recommended by Experts Assembly can assume the leadership of the Islamic society...I mentioned this point while experts were preparing the Constitution, my friends were insisting on the Marjaiyyat as the necessary condition [for leadership]. Hence, I agreed with their proposal. At that time I was sure this condition could not be fulfilled in the future."[88]

It seems that, from the beginning of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khumayni did not believe that the holder of authority in Islamic society should be the most qualified religious scholar (a'lam).

However, apparently there is a contraction between Imam's previous writings and his latest statement. It seems that he has changed his position. But if we study his views, we will recognize that there is no contradiction.

Regarding *Ijtihad* in social matters, Imām Khumayni put forward interesting ideas. Let us first refer to one of his speeches in this regard:

"Ijtihad in prevalent sense in religious centers is not sufficient for the holders of authority. That is, if a person is the most learned in religious studies but is unable to recognize the interests of his society or distinguish between useful and useless persons for the society, i.e., he does not have a

*proper social insight, he is not in fact Mujtahid and cannot pass decrees on socio-political affairs. Hence, he is not eligible to hold the authority"*89

Keeping in view this point and what we have said earlier, it can be concluded that *fiqahat* includes both efficiency and management . It is clear that *Alamiyyah* (being the most qualified Islamic scholar) in political and social affairs is different with *Alamiyyah* in pure religious issues which is the criterion of being a grand *marja'* for *taqlid* (imitation). What is not necessary in Imām's view, is the prevailing *marjaiyyah* or *Alammiyyah.* But *Alamiyyah* in the sense of having *fighi* knowledge, political and social awareness and management are necessary qualifications for a leader. This point was has been incorporated in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.[90]

Regarding the condition of justice and piety as qualifications of a leader, Imam Khumayni says:

"A person who intend to be the guardian of the Muslims and successor of the Commander of the Faithful, should not bet attached to worldly matters. If one indulges in worldly matters, he cannot be the trustee and reliable person for people."[91]

Imām Khumayni considers avoidance from worldly matters as a necessary condition for a *marj`a.*[92]

Some of these conditions are accepted by all contemporary *fuqahā* (jurists), for, they believe in the necessity of holding the *Hasbiyah* affairs by qualified jurist in the Imām's absence.[93]

In this regard, Imām Khumayni, like other scholars, recommends such authority for a *wali-e faqīh* (jurisconsult).

Obviously, guardianship over *Tashri* of religious precepts belongs to the prophets (s). If the Imams (a) try to explain the intricate religious precepts, they try to throw light on what the Prophet has left for them. Elaborating on this period, Imām Khumayni says:

*"In an Islamic state, God is the ruler. The prophets and their successors try to be the executors of the rules of God. They never forward any rule versus God's rule. Yet, they use their authority wherever there is not any clear principle."*94

Anyhow, in Imām Khumayni's view, a faqih, apart from using his authority in *Ḥasbiyyah* affairs, has authority in executing statutory and discretionary penalties, penal codes, and enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. He has also guardianship over the state and politics within the jurisdiction of religious laws, civil laws, and implementing Islamic rules.

Let us now refer to two following basic questions as:

I. Does the jurisconsult's jurisdiction encompass the primary and secondary religious laws, or is it limited only to certain social and individual matters?

II. Is the guardianship of a jurisconsult limited to the enacted laws, or he can overrule law?

Authority of *Wali-Faqih* and the Religious Precepts (Primary and Secondary Judgments)

There is no doubt that every Muslim should follow the primary and secondary religious rules. These rules are the external form of the commitment to the religion that determine the religious oughts and ought nots. On the other hand, establishing a state in a particular period of time, requires different methods and expertise. Thus, a religious ruler apart from dealing with religious rules, should tackle the state rules as well. In certain cases a state rule is meant to execute the primary rules or secondary rules, distinguish their subjects or take care of certain religious issues. Here a jurisconsult can use his authority. But in certain cases the primary or secondary laws deal with lawful or unlawful matters, like the obligatory of Ḥajj pilgrimage and unlawfulness of usury and so on. The question is that whether a *wali-e faqīh* can pass a decree against such rules for the interest of the Muslims and prevent their execution?

In his argument, Imām Khumayni held that the governmental authority of a *wali-e faqīh* and infallible Imams (a) is identical. Only in certain cases infallible Imams enjoy particular authority which has nothing to do with their guardianship over society like the case of early *jihad* which is probably related to only infaliable Imams (a).95 In his book, he did not refer to the governmental jurisdiction of the infaliable Imams (a) and only he has cited some examples as:

The Prophet (s) used lashing as a punishment measure for hundred times. Similarly the Imāms (a) and a *wali-e faqīh* can practice this punishment. They collect charities in a similar way and use them for the benefit of the people and it is for people to obey them.96

Of course there is a reference to absolute and general guardianships97 in his book *al-Bay'(book of sale).* But there is no explicit explanation of the relations between the authority of a *wali-e faqīh* and the primary and secondary rules.

In a letter to the then labor minister, Imām Khumayni clarified the jurisdiction of a *faqīh* concerning religious precepts and the authority of the government in laying necessary conditions for the contractors.

Following such a statement, a discussion started among high ranking officials. Then the Imām in a letter wrote:

*"It is said that I held that government has authority but within the framework of Divine rule. Such assertion is against my ideas. If the authority of state is within the Divine derivative commandments, then, divine rule and absolute guardianship of the Prophet (s) should be meaningless ... State is a branch of the Prophet's absolute guardianship. It is one of the primary rules of Islam and is prior to all derivative commandments, like prayer, fasting and Ḥajj pilgrimage ... State can stop any issue whether ritualistic or non-ritualistic if it is against the interest of Islam."*98

This statement suggest that the authority of a *wali faqīh* is unlimited to the extent that he can temporarily suspend the primary and secondary rules if he realizes that it is in the interest of the Muslims. While elaborating on the authority of wali-e faqih, in his book *al-Ba`y,* Imām Khumayni stresses that the authority of wali-e faqih is unlimited. Indeed Imam's latest explanation on the jurisdiction of wali-e faqih as already explained in the said book.

In Imām Khumayni's views, governmental rules are not secondary rules but are primary rules.99 Therefore, guardianship over governmental rules does not depend on necessity, emergency cases, etc., but on the interests of Muslims. 100

However, Imam Khumayni did not forward any particular formula for ascertaining the interest of Muslims, but in his political career he considered

the Expert Assembly as an authority for identifying this interest. He used to consult experts but he was the man to pass the final decree.

Authority of *Wali Faqih* and the Law

Civil laws are of two kinds: constitutional and conventional laws. Constitutional laws are superior to conventional laws. If we elaborate on the relations between authority of *wali-e faqīh* and constitutional law, relations between *wali-e faqīh* and the conventional laws will be also cleared.

In the Constitution (of the Islamic Republic of Iran) the authority of the *wali-e faqīh* is limited (Article 110). Before the amendment of the constitution, the term absolute guardianship was not mentioned anywhere in the Constitution. But in Imām's views, constitution is not higher than religious rules. As *wali faqīh* has an authority over the derivative rules, he has the same authority over the constitution. Of course, in an Islamic society constitution is based on Islamic rules. The *Fuqaha,* particularly Imām Khumayni, have approved the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran as compatible with Islamic teachings.

During his ten years of the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imām Khumayni in certain cases did not abide by the Constitution. For instance, he ordered the formation of a Special Court for the trial of the clerics and also set up the Expediency Council. It is quite clear in these cases that *wali-e faqīh's* jurisdiction overlaps that of the constitution.

When that Expediency Council violated constitutional laws, a group of Majlis representatives wrote a letter to Imām Khumayni and protested the council's decisions. In response, Imam said:

*"What you have written is correct. I hope an atmosphere would be created in which everyone would act according to the constitution. What has happened during the past few year, has been related to emergency of war time. The interests of Islam and the system demanded that we settle the problems quickly."*101

The reason behind the violation of the constitution is that Imām Khumayni considered governmental rules higher than the primary and secondary religious rules. Even in his letter, Imam Khumayni says that he

intends to do so and so, he does not talk about the necessity of abiding by the constitution. We can infer from his practical life and speeches that at the time of an emergency he considers governmental rules higher than the constitution. But normally, violation of the constitutional laws is not permissible. What are the criteria for identifying the interests of the Muslims? What is an emergency situation? These are the questions that were never attended by Imām Khumayni.

Of course, the aforementioned authority of the wali-e faqih is valid when the *wali-e faqīh* is appointed by an infallible Imams (a). If the wali-e faqih is elected by people, i.e., his legitimacy is drawn from the people's vote his authority will not be probably as much as the one appointed by an infallible Imam. His authority in this case will be determined on the basis of the people's allegiance to him.

Endnotes:

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2. Muris Duworje, *Usul-e Ilm-e Siyāsat*, Trans. Abulfadl Qadi, Tehran, Amir Kabir Publication, 1369.
3. *Saḥifa-Nūr*, Publication of Minister of Islamic Guidance.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 238.
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8. *Saḥifa Nur*, vol. 20, p. 158.
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11. Muḥammed Mujtahid Shabistarī, "*Dīn wa Siyāsat*", Kayhan Farhangi, No. 2, p. 21.
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13. Please refer to Muqaddam Maraqai's speech on *Wilayat-e faqih* in the Assembly of Experts and the attitude of National Front Movement towards the issue of *qiṣās (Retribution)* in 1360 and 1359 shams H.
14. *Saḥifa-Nūr*, vol. 21, p. 176.
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26. Chapter Ḥajj, verse 28, the Qur'ān.

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29. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 33.

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32. 'Allāmah Muḥammed Ḥussayn Ṭabāṭabāi, *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'ān*, Dar al-Kitāb al-Islāmīyyah. Fourth edition, 1362.

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42. Professor Hamid Algar, *Din wa Siyāsat*, p. 25.

43. Muḥammed Ḥur Amili, *Wasā'il al-Shi'a ala Tahsil Masā'il al-Shar'iyyah*, edited. Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥim Rabbāni, Beirut, Dar Ahya al-Turath al-Arabi. Vol. 11 chapter 13.

44. Imām Khumayni, *Ḥukumat-e Islāmi*, p. 22.

45. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

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56. Khwajah Nizam al-Mulk, *Sayr al-Muluk*, p. 13.

57. Russeau, op. Cit., p. 41.

58. Imām Khumayni, *Taḥrir al-Wasila*, p. 443.

59. *Saḥifa Nur*, vol. 9, p. 253.

60. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 207, vol. 15, p. 76.

61. Ibid., vol. 5, p. 31.

62. Ibid., vol. 10, p. 181.

63. Imām Khumayni, *Kashf al-Asrār*, Payam Islam Publication, Qum, p. 186.

64. Ibid., pp. 186-188.

65. Ibid., pp. 179-192-221-244.

66. *Saḥifa Nur*, vol. 10, pp. 27-29.

67. Ibid., vol. 20, p. 170.

68. Shaykh Ansari, *Kitāb al-Makāsib*, Matbah Ittilaat, Tabriz, pp. 162-153. 'Alī Tabrizi Qharavi *al-tanqih fi sharḥ al-urwat al-wuthqa*. Lectures of Āyatullāh Khoi, Qum, vol. 1, p. 418.

69. Āyatullāh Muntaziri, *Darasāt fi wilayat al-faqih*, Qum, Markaz al-Alam al-Islāmi, 1408, vol. 1, p. 418.

70. *Saḥifa-Nūr*, vol. 1, p. 260.

71. The author of this article calls it as the aposterori method. This notion, in fact, has not been in his lectures. Aposteriori method is a method in which cause is being infered from effect. That is, everybody derive *wilayat-e faqīh* as effect from narration and text as cause, but Āyatullāh Burūjirdī through *wilayat-e faqīh* as an effect reached to certain narrations as cause.

72. Ḥusayn 'Alī Muntaziri, *al-Badr al-Zahra fi salāt al-jum'a wal-Musfor*, lectures of Āyatullāh Burujirdi, Qum, Markaz intisharat-e Dftar Tablighat-e Islāmī, 1362, p. 51-55.

73. Imām Khumayni, *Kitāb al-Bay'*, pp. 460-465.

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78. Muḥammed bin Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *Majmi li Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, Dar al-Hayat al-Tarath al-Arabi, 1966.

79. *Darasāt fi wilayat al-faqīh*, op. Cit. Vol. 1, p. 437-438.

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83. *Al-Makāsib*, p. 1554.

84. *Darasāt fi wilayat al-faqīh*, op. Cit., vol. 1, pp. 259-389.

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88. *Saḥifa-Nūr*, vol. 21, p. 129.

89. Ibid., vol. 21, p. 47.

90. Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, article 107 and section 5.

91. *Ḥukumat-e Islāmī*, op. Cit., p. 199.

92. *Taḥrir al-wasīlah*, op. Cit., vol. 1, p. 4.

93. In fact, *Ifta'(*the authority to issue legal opinionon subsidary problems and deductive matters) and *Marj'aiyyat-e 'Ilmī(*supreme authority of religious knowledge*)* are in certain,s view are religious statues but are not in fact *Wilāyah(gurdianship)* and has other reasons for *Ḥasbiyyah* matters. Anyhow *Ifta'* and *Marj'ayyah 'Ilmī* are necessary preriquisites of a *faqīh*.

94. *Saḥifa Nur*, op. Cite., vol. 11, p. 123.

95. *Kitāb al-Bay'*, op. Cite., vol. 2, p. 496.

96. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 467.

97. Ibid., vol. 2, p.

98. *Saḥifa-Nūr*, op. Cite., vol. 20, pp. 170-171.

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100. Ayatullāh Makārim Shirāzī, *Anwar al-Fiqaha, Kitāb al-Bay'*, part one, p. 550.

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Cultural Relations Between Christianity and Shī'ī Islam

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1 -- The history of the Shī'ah and Christian cultural relations is comparatively old. Of these, relations may be mentioned inter-religious dialogue in the area of *Kalām* that took place in a spirit of complete mutual understanding. In the works of the Shī'ah this is discussed in detail. Among such dialogues one may refer to discussions between the spiritual leaders of the two creeds, particularly dialectic between the Muslims and Catholicos, preserved in the oldest Shī'ī books. The commentators of *ḥadīth* have explained Catholicos in the following manner: "Catholicos, is the greatest spiritual leader of Christianity of every age." Most probably this word is the same as Catholic in the present sense, though for an author it is difficult to say which term is an alternative of the other.

Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Bābwayh al-Qummī, known as al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq (d. 280/901 A.D.), has recorded four polemical discussions between the highest spiritual leader of Christians and Shī'ah scholars of eminence and *Mutakallimūn* in his works.

It is probable that dialogue of Cathilicos with Imām 'Alī ('a) took place during 657 A.D.[1] But the culminating point of these controversies has been during the early 10th century A.D.,[2] *i.e.*, in the 2nd century Hijrah, during

the periods of Imām al-Ṣādiq ('a) and Imām al-Riḍā ('a),[3] the 6th and 8th Imāms of the Shī'ah.

2-- Another point that is indicative of the close cultural relations between the Shī'ah and Christianity is recording of the sayings, character and biographical accounts of Christ in the books of the Shī'ah, which surpasses all such accounts of Christ in the works of all other sects of Islam. It is noteworthy that the name of *'Īsā* has occurred in the Qur'ān 25 times and the name of Masīḥ ('a) recurs 36 times in the Qur'ān. And the circumstances of his birth and his way of preaching and his ascension are repeatedly narrated in the Qur'ān. But despite this emphasis the books of non-Shī'ī authors do not contain detailed accounts of Christ's sayings and character.

For instance, in Ṣiḥah *al-Sittah, i.e.*, six authentic compendia of *ḥadīth* of Ahl al-Sunnah we do not come across even a single utterance of Christ. On the other hand in the books of the Shī'ah, even some of the oldest, utterances of him are found in abundance.

Imām 'Alī ('a), the first Imam of the Shī'ah, has narrated the ascetic style of the life of Christ in one of his sermons, given under No. 160, in *Nahj al-Balāghah*. After him, in the 2nd century A.H., Imām al-Ṣādiq has quoted the preaching of Christ, as found exactly in the Bible of Mathew, while delivering his advice to 'Abdullah bin Jandab in New Testament, book of Mathew, chapter 6, sentences 2,3,6,7,16 and 18. During the period from the 2nd to the 4th century A.H., al-Jahiz, in *al-Bayān wa al-Tab'īn*, nine short sayings and one detailed speech of Christ were recorded. During the middle of the 4th century an eminent Shī'ī author, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan bin 'Alī bin al-Ḥusayn bin Shu`bah al-Ḥarānī (d. 38 A.H. = 1001 A.D.) in his book, *Tuḥf al-'Uqul 'an Al al-Rasūl*, had devoted about 16 pages to record the sayings of Christ. These utterances consist of two parts: the first, which is briefer, second, which is comparatively detailed, quote parts of Christ's sermons. According to the researches done in this regard, same words are accessible to us at present, in some of *anājīl* (*i.e., Book of New Testaments*). For example one may refer to the following:

Book of Mathew, sentences 1-7, 14-17 and 44-45 in chapter 5, sentences 12-19, 24, 30 in chapter 6, sentence 16 in the chapter 7, and 29-36 in chapter 22; Book of Luke, sentences 17-49 in chapter 6; 44-45 in chapter 6, 4-17 in chapter 8 and 37-53 in chapter 11; Book of Mark, sentence 30 in chapter 12.

Ibn Shu'bah was a resident of Ḥarrān and since Ḥarrān was a center of learning for the Christians, he had access to a majority of the Christian primary source. Of course, most of the sentences that Ibn Shu'bah has quoted are specifically from the books of Mathew, Luke and Mark. It remains unknown why he has not quoted from all the books of New Testament.

However, it is a distinct feature of the Shī'ī works that they have been forerunners in the matter of referring to and quoting profusely from the sayings and sermons of Christ as compared to all other Muslim sects.

3-- In the books of the Shī'ah special attempt has been made to deal with the life and character of Christ [*Masīḥ* ('a)]. In the sermon 159 in *Nahj al-Balāghah*, 'Alī ('a), while highlighting the piety of great prophets, writes about Christ:

"Ḥaḍrat Masīḥ ('a) laid his head on a stone, put on dress made of coarse material, took tough food. His main diet was hunger, at night the moon provided him only light; during winter he slept under the sun at times when it shone or set down; his fruit and vegetable was none other than what the earth grows for animals. He neither had wife that could instigate him to do follies nor did have a child that could make him sorrowful with concern; nor had any property which might have taken away from him; nor had he any kind of greed (for worldly things) that could cause him humiliation. He had no means of moving except his own feet, his servants were his own hands."

On another occasion, addressing one of his companions, Nuf Bukālī, Ḥaḍrat 'Alī ('a), says: *"Blessing be on those pious persons who have turned away from the worldly attachments like Christ."*

Mutual Influences in *Kalāmī* (Theological) Polemics

As it is generally accepted by researchers and scholars that Islamic *Kalām* has exercised influence on Jewish and Christian Scholasticism. In a similar way, it is also incontrovertible that on the land the views of Muslim *Mutakallimūn*, with regard to the Divine Attributes, in the course of their polemics and discussions with the Christian scholastics, particularly in the issue of trinity have developed and attained maturity of thought.

Undoubtedly, the use of the term Attribute (*ṣifat*) and emergence of the concept of universal (*kullīyāt*), during the medieval period of Christianity, through the Latin translation of the work of Ibn Hayman, *Hidāyat al-Muḍallīn* (A Guide for Wayward) (530-601 A.H./1135-1204 A.D.),[5] were influenced immensely by Islamic *'ilm al-Kalām*. He and before him Sa'diya Gawun (Sa'īd al-Fayumī - 271-331 A.H./892-922 A.D.), had acquired their knowledge of the Greek philosophy indirectly from 'Arabīc translations and their Islamic commentaries. They themselves wrote in 'Arabīc (which was the academic language of that period). The ground conducive for the acceptance of the teachings of Muslim *Mutakallimūn*, particularly al-Ghazzālī, through Sa'diyā, who might be justifiably regarded as *Ash'airah* of Judaism, for he not only adopts the method of *Ash'arīyyah* but also in specific issues, makes use of their arguments. Yahūd Ahlawī from Totedo, born in 479 A.H., who was a contemporary of al-Ghazzālī, like him felt that philosophy in questioning the fundamentals of faith by interpreting them on the basis of logical argument results in weakening of the creed. With this view he embarked upon writing a book on refutation of philosophers, entitled *al-Khazarī*,[6] briefly called *Khazrī*. Yahud-e Ahlawī, in his book, *Logical and Philosophical Jargons*, followed the same method and arguments that were advanced by al-Ghazzālī against philosophers.

Much more than him another scholastic thinker of the Jewish creed, Hasdā'i Karāskā was undoubtedly influenced by *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* of al-Ghazzālī though Wolfson, the Professor of Harvard University, rejects this view, arguing that *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* was translated into Hebrew after the death of Karāskā.[7] His argument seems to be baseless, for *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* by Ibn Rushd was translated before 729/1328 by Qalūnimus bin Dāwūd and was published under the title *Hapatlat Hapala*, while Karāskā died in 814/1210. Even on this ground if we accept that there was no possibility of his direct access to the arguments of al-Ghazzālī, forwarded in *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*, it may be conjectured that undoubtedly he could have possibly referred to al-Ghazzālī's arguments by means of the translation of Al-Ghazzālī's *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*.

Raymond Martin, one of the eminent Christian scholastics, who died in 1285 A.D., is the person who worked as a link between European Christianity and al-Ghazzālī, because in his works, *Interpretation of the*

Secrets of the Disciples of Jesus, and The Sword of Faith, he has evidently borrowed ideas from al-Ghazzālī. The influence of Ibn *Sīnā* on B. Spinoza's various views, particularly his doctrine of emanation (*ifāḍah*), serves as irrefutable in the view of the thinkers of the East and the West.[8]

From these examples it may be inferred that the scholastics of other religions, particularly the Christianity, have benefited from Muslim *mutakkalimūn* in the middle ages without doubt. But the question arises as to whether non-Muslim scholastic thinkers have also influenced in a similar way of the Muslim scholastics.

5-- The *Mu'tazilah* claimed[9] that the *Ashā'irah* in preaching uncreatedness of the Qur'ān, were advocating the Christian doctrine about Logos, and as a result have fallen prey to a kind of pluralistic heresy (*shirk*). The *Mu'tazilah* argued that the emphasis of the *Ashā'irah* on the uncreatedness of the Qur'ān cause them in believing the doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'ān and its coexistence in pre-eternity with Allah. Thus they attributed eternity to the Qur'ān along with the Eternity of Divine Essence. Shaykh al-Mufīd says:

"A man from Basra was talking about one of Ash`arīah beliefs which was against monotheism. He was of the view that God's Eternal Attributes are not the Divine Essence and not otherwise as well. That is why God is ascribed to be All-Knowing, the Living, the Omnipotent, the Hearing, the Seeing and the Speaker. That man was of the view that God possesses eternal face, eternal hearing, eternal seeing and eternal hands, such ideas are against the ideas of the monotheists what to talk of Islam."[10]

This is interesting to note that the *Ashā'irah* made a similar allegation against the *Mu'tazilah* and dubbed them as the greatest of atheists (*kāfirūn*). They argued that whosoever maintains emphatically that the Qur'ān is created comes closer to the views of the atheists, since the atheists said that the Qur'ān was a creation of the Prophet's mind. To support their argument they site a verse from the Qur'ān, in which Allah Himself explains the unbelievers' faith by saying:

"This (the Qur'ān) is saying of man." (25:74)

Al-Ash`ari writes:

"Anybody who maintains that Qur'ān is created, verily believes that Qur'ān is man's words. Such idea is like the ideas of unbelievers."[11]

The criticism of the *Mu'tazilah* seems to be a criticism far from truth. They say that the *Ashā'irah*, supported by some orientalists, borrowed this doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'ān and its uncreatedness from Jewish or Christian interpretation of the term "Logos".

As the *Ashā'irah* have based their doctrine on the apparent meanings of some of the Qur'ānic verses *per se*, they may not be blamed for adopting this view from alien sources and then reconcile it with the Qur'ānic verses. But we have to concede to some extent that the issues concerning the Divine Attributes in general, and the controversy regarding the Qur'ān in particular, have emerged and developed in the course of controversies and discourses among *mutakallimūn* of Islam and the use of other religions, during which they came in contact with the works of each other. The same is applicable in the context of the medieval Christian scholasticism and the role of Descartes, and in the context of Medieval philosophy of Judaism and its impact on the modern philosophy of Europe through Spinoza.

6-- The word of God (*Kalimat Allah*): It may be said that the image of the Prophet of Islam, Muḥammad (ṣ) bin 'Abdullah in Muslims' view and the Christian view of the personality of Christ ('a) may not be compared reasonably, since the concept of prophethood of 'Īsā bin Maryam ('a) in the Christian milieu and the concept of the Prophet (ṣ) in Islam is also different. Whenever we want to compare and contrast some sacred things in Islam and Christianity, we should try to compare the image of Christ in the Christian view with the words of the Qur'ān and their nature, because both the Qur'ān and 'Īsā Masīḥ are called *Kalimat Allah* (The Word of Allah). It occurs in the Qur'ān:

"When the angels said: O Mariam surely Allah gives you good news with a word from him (of one) whose name is the Messiah 'Īsā son of Mariam, worthy of regard in this world and the hereafter and of those who are made near (to Allah)." (3:44)

In Christianity *'Īsā Masīḥ* is the embodiment and incarnation of the "Word of God" (*Kalimat Allah*). His embodiment and anthropomorphisation is similar to what is meant by the revelation and descent and consequently written form of the Qur'ān.

This matter is discussed in the history of *'Ilm al-Kalām* in the same way and sense. The Qur'ān described itself as having the attributes according to

which it is indicated that the existence of the Qur'ān precedes its revelation in historical time to the Prophet (s). For instance:

"Most surely it is an honored Qur'ān, in a book that is protected." (56:77-78)

"Most of it is a glorious Qur'ān, in a guarded tablet." (85:22)

"And surely it is in the original of the Book with us, truly elevated, full of wisdom." (43:3)

A number of verses in the Qur'ān throw light on this issue, that is, the Qur'ān has been revealed (in time), and despite this its existence precedes its revelation.

7-- Accordingly "The Preserved Tablet" is considered as contingent and created. The problem of revelation and written form of the Qur'ān, that is, the issue of the relationship of the revealed word to the Mother Book (*Umm al-Kitāb*), does not give rise to any philosophical difficulty. The philosophical difficulty arises when in the light of some Qur'ānic verses. The Qur'ān is referred to as existing in the realm of Divine Knowledge.

"And if you follow their low desires after what has come to you of knowledge, you shall not have against Allah any guardian or a protector." (13:37)

"And if you follow their desires after the knowledge that has come to you, you shall have no guardian from Allah, nor any helper." (2:120)

These verses led some *Mutakallimūn* to confuse the Qur'ān with the Divine Attributes of Knowledge, and they were compelled to believe that the Qur'ān as created in time, revealed and written, is an accident of the Attribute of Eternal Divine Knowledge that preceded the written revelation.

This confusion is like the problem that arose in Christianity particularly regarding the embodiment and incarnation of Christ. It is interesting that this issue too was interpreted in a similar way, since the Christian scholastics considered Christ as embodiment of Divinity in the person of a human being and called the second member of the Trinity.

When the Shī'i *Mutakallimūn* came to know that the use of the term "created" (*makhlūq*) created difficulties, so in accordance with the way the Holy Family (*Ahl al-Bayt*) of the Prophet (ṣ), they avoided to make use of the word *Muḥaddith* and instead of it used the word *muḥdath*. This term is used in the Qur'ān for itself

"Never comes there unto them a new reminder from their Lord but they listen to it while they play." (21:2)

"Never comes there into them a fresh reminder from the Beneficent One but they turn away from it." (26:5)

Al Shaykh al-Mufîd, says:

"In my view, Qur'ān is the God's word and revelation. It is created in time (ḥadīth), as is described by God, I do not wish to call it Mukhlūq. There are certain ḥadīth from Imām Bāqir ('a) and Imām Ṣādiq ('a) supporting such meaning."

8- Divine Attributes: Some of the *Mutakallimūn* (Ash`arīah) are of the view that Divine Attributes are like the persons in Christian doctrine of Trinity. For they believe that Divine Attributes are distinct beings separate from the Divine Essence and are eternal as well. Yet, other *Mutakallimūn* (*M'utazilah*) and those who followed the School of *Ahl al-Bayt* denying the eternity of the Qur'ān and by meticulous philosophical arguments, so that not to be entrapped into the embodiment and incarnation of Christianity. Of course, they believe in eternity of Divine Attributes, not as distinct beings, but as identical with Divine Essence and deny any polytheism. Thus, they are free from any *shirk*.These scholars of *Kalām* are of the view that to believe in eternal distinct Divine Attributes would lead to certain dilemma that Christian face it by believing in Trinity. For to be eternal and at the same time to be distinct from the Divine Essence would result in belief in many eternal beings which impair Divine Unity (*Tawḥīd*), as al- Shaykh al-Mufîd held that such idea would lead to believe in many eternal beings.[13]

9- In order to believe in eternal and distinct Divine Attributes and at the same time keep on believing in Divine Unity and discard the ascription of any unreal attributes to God, al-Shaykh al-Mufîd propounded the following rational matters:

"If God is ascribed to the attributes of the living, the powerful, the knowing. The such attributes contain rational matters that is, they are not identical with Divine Essence."

By the meanings of such matters, he means that attributes are not distinct from ontological point of view but are distinct from epistemological view point, as he says:

"By rational matters I mean those matters which are rational in mind not concrete and objective."

With a deep insight into al-Mufid's views, one can infer that by *M'aqūl*, he means samething that later on was called by Sabziwārī as the primacy of being over quiddity. In this regard Sabziwārī says: being and quiddity are, however, distinct in mind but are identical in the external world.[16]

Similarly, al-Shaykh al-Mufid also held that though attributes are distinct in mind but are identical in out side. Apparently, Martin McDermott also maintains that al-Mufid's approach was conceptualism.[17]

10- The issue of distinct Divine Attributes while holding the Unity of God was discussed by later Islamic thinkers. Ibn "Arabī and Mullā Ṣadrā also like al-Shaykh al-Mufid had a kind of conceptualistic approach toward the Divine Names.

Ibn 'Arabī explicitly denies the existential status of attributes and says: *"What we believe is as relations which in Sharī'ah is called name. Every name bears a meaning different from others. That meaning is predicated to God. Nazzār who follows Kalām, considers it as attribute not relation... Do names possess existential status? In this regard there is a debate between Nuzzār. In our views, everything is clear. They are only relations and names and are conceptual, not objective and concrete. Thus, substance can be divided only by being, not by accidents, attributes and relations."*[18]

He further says: *"Relations are neither essences nor things. Regarding the reality of relations, one should say that they are nothingness in nature."*[19]

Mullā Ṣadrā commented the following points on the levels of being: *"Nothing can be found which is not available among the Divine Names. Names come into being by Divine Being. They come into being in a best manner, and owing to His necessary Essence they would be necessary."*[20]

... These names are conceptual and simple beings which depend on Necessary Being. And such multiplicity in unity is one of the secrets of the Divine Being.[21]

In some other place, he said: *"Divine Attributes are identical with His Divine Essence, not as* Ash`arīah *believe in it. For they believe in multiplicity of His Attributes which entails multiplicity of two eternal beings, not as M'utazilah creed also who denied the reality of the attributes. Yet, while believing in its effects, he considers essence as second to the attributes."*[22]

Concluding that Ibn 'Arabī and Mullā Ṣadrā admit the basis of al-Mufīd ideas though they developed it in a broad area, they believe that all created beings are conceptual, and, all creatures possess conceptual entities and like Divine Names they can be called Divine Word.

11- Difference between the development of Islamic Thought and that of the Christian doctrine of Trinity is considerable. In Islamic philosophy, inclination was directed towards multiplying of the Divine Attributes in a sense to consider all creatures as Divine Attributes. At the same time such attributes do not impair Divine Unity.[23]

The early Islamic scholars of *Kalām* were aware of modalism in Trinity and believe that common people's perception is nothing but innovation. The theory of modalism is attributed to Sibelius[24], who consider God as a person with three attributes which certain Muslim Sufis also used in their poems.

Modalism approach of Trinity was strongly discarded in the Christian theology. For they believe in a vertical Trinity, that is, father and son, according to which son does not possess perfect divinity.

In refuting the modalism approach towards Trinity, they believe that God not only is three in term of meaning, but is a Triad personality.[25] According to *Mutakallimūn* this idea is a kind of polytheism as the Qur'ān says:

"Believe therefore in Allah and His Apostle, and say not, three. Desist, it is better for you; Allah is only One God...." (4:171)

Kendi argued against the doctrine of Trinity and Christians tried to reply it. Kendi said: "Three fold personality cannot be included in the categories of porphyry."

Yaḥyā bin 'Adī, the well-known Christian learned-man in return replied as: "Such beings are individual substances."[26]

Mutakallimūn of Islam like *Ghazzālī* used the argument of Tamama (an argument in *kalām*), derived from the Qur'ān to prove the Divine Unity. *Ghazzālī* says that if there were two gods than if one of them wanted to act, the other one had to favor it or oppose it. In the former case, he would have been a follower which impair his omnipotent and in later case one of them would have been weaker which again impair their omnipotent.

The same argument was applied by Scotus against a kind of Trinity namely social Trinity. In such Trinity God has three distinct personalities. Everyone of which possesses certain attributes which suffice for being a god. The argument of *Tamāno* applied by new Christian schotictics as a logical reasoning.

Endnotes:

* This paper was presented at the conferences of Islam and Orthodox Christianity in the month of Sharivar 1373 (September 1994), in Tehran by the Center of International Studies and Culture.

1- Al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Tawḥid*, pp.182, 286, 361.
2- *Ibid.*, pp.270, 417, 420.
3. *Ibid.*, p.422.
4. Ḥarrāni Ibn Sh'ubah, *Tuhfat al-'Uqūl*, Tehran, p.501.
5. For more information, please refer to the book: *History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, by Howzile, New York, 1930. p.24.
6. The original title of the book is: *Al-Hujjat wal-Dalil fi Naṣr al-Dīn*. Please refer to Hartwig Mirschefeld, *Kitāb al-Khazri*, London, 1931, p.6.
7. Wolfson, *Crasxa's Critique of Aristotle*, Harvard, 1929, p.12.
8. On influence of Ibn *Sinā* on Jewish Thinkers particularly spinoza refer to the following books: E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Avicenna's Influence on Jewish Thought*, "*Avicenna: Scientist and Philosopher*", ed., G.M. Wiefens, London, 1952, Ch. IV. *Encyclopedia Britanica*, "*Studies in Muslim Philosophy*", by Saeed Shaikh.
9. Refer to "*Comparative Studies in Islamic Philosophy*", translated by Sayyid Muṣtafā Muḥaqqiq Dāmād, Kharazmi Publication, 1369, Tehran, p.48.
10. *Al-Abanah*, p.56.
12. Wolfson, *Philosophy of Kalām*. The term 'inlibration' is used for this matter.
13. *Awail al-Maqalat*, p.50.
14. *Ibid.*, p.58.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Sabzawārī, *Manẓūmah*.
17. McDermott, 1978, p.134ff.
18. Ibn 'Arabī, *Futūḥāt Makkiyah*, vol.4, p.294.

19. *Ibid.*, vol.2, p.516.

20. *Al-Ḥikmat al-'Ūshi'ah*, p.229.

21. *Ibid.*, p.230.

22. *Ibid.*, p.223. 23. Refer to the article: "*Influence of Ghazzālī on Western Thought*", by Sayyid Muṣṭafā Muḥaqqiq Dāmād, *Maqālāt wa Barrasīhā*, Number Dai, pp.45-46.

24. Sabellius.

25. David F., *The Modern Theologians*, volume Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1989, pp.195-198.

26. *Op. cit*, Wolfson, p.32.

27. Quoted from the book: *Rationality, Religious and Moral Commitment*, by J.W. Right, 1986, pp.2-301. In this book the over-mentioned text in quoted from the book Tract on Dogmatic Theology, which is the translation of, *Fī 'Uṣūl al-Aqā'id*, by *Ghazzālī*.

The Future Perspective of *Ijtihād**

Ayatullah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr

The trend of *Ijtihād*, its features and direction are derived from the following two factors: 1) Objective; 2) Technique or method. When these two factors change, the process of *Ijtihād* also undergoes some changes.

The factor of objective refers to what we may expect to be the outcome of the act of *Ijtihād* in a specific area of religious affairs.

The factor of technique refers to the depth and complexity in the method of reasoning which alter at different stages of *Ijtihād*.

The only possible way to observe and comment on the future perspective of *Ijtihād* is through examining the contemporary roots of *Ijtihād*. We would follow this search in the light of two factors, i.e., objectives and techniques, in order to find how this trend has changed and developed.

We can analyze the future changes of *Ijtihād* first from the view point of techniques and then that of objectives. In the first instance, we should examine the impact of certain thoughts and ideas on *Ijtihād* taking into account its future direction, complexity and scope of its development.

Of course, based on the objectives, one can observe changes from this angle. Since changes in the objectives will have their impact on various aspects of this trend, by correct and rational evaluation of such reactions, one can observe the future direction of *Ijtihād*.

The Objectives of *Ijtihād*

I presume that we all agree on the fact that the objective of *Ijtihād* is to find out the relevance of Islamic teachings to every day life, since the conformation is impossible without a clear view of the features and dimensions of this doctrine. We should determine two different areas of the relevance of Islamic teachings to life:

1- The relevance of Islamic teachings to personal aspects of life.

2- The relevance of Islamic teachings to social aspects and social institutions.

Ijtihād, tried to explore both the areas in the beginning. But gradually it focused more on the first area. Thus, the *Mujtahid* (jurisprudent) looks upon the Muslim individual in order to guide him to conform his life with Islamic teachings. He does not include any image of society which calls for the establishment of life and communication based on Islam.

This limitation and parodualism in objective stems from historic factors and conditions. The *Ijtihād* process in Shī'a remained in political seclusion and was isolated from social matters as a result of the conduct of the rulers in different periods. This political seclusion gradually confined the arena of the objectives in *Ijtihād* for the Shī'ahs, and thus, they united themselves to comment on the areas concerning the individuals only. Thus *Ijtihād* in the conception of a *fiqh* was tied to the Muslim individual and not the society.

The Beginning of a Change or Development in Objectives

After the fall of the Muslim states and as a result of the sway of colonial powers over Islamic countries, this seclusion spill covered other aspects of Islam. As a result, Muslim *fuqahā* of all Islamic schools had to give a second thought to their *Ijtihād*. They began to introduce new approaches which covered almost all aspects of life. The emergence of such a profound changes in the Muslim society left a severe impact on the Shī'i *Ijtihād* trend. Due to a serious threat by the foreign oppressors and their political, military and cultural influence over the Islamic world, there emerged a new upheaval aiming at annihilating foreign threats.

Meanwhile, the *Ijtihād*'s movement realized that there is a firm link between the individual aspects and social aspects of life from Islamic view point. They realized that through defying social aspects, the individual

aspects will also be protected. After realizing the weak foundations of the imposed ideology of the oppressors, the Muslim Ummah regained its self-consciousness and morale in its attempts to resort to Islam for salvation. The impact of this trend was discernible in *Ijtihād* and, hence, after the bitter experiences from the colonial period, the Ummah stressed on the fact that Islam is an indivisible set and it would be impossible to divide individual aspects from the social aspects of life. Neither it was possible to preserve one and discard the other. Thus, it caused the emergence of a holistic approach towards Islam and called for the implementation of Islam in all spheres of life.

Therefore, it was natural to see the expansion of the arena of objectives of *Ijtihād* and the incorporation of individual as well as social areas into the purview of *Ijtihād*. This is what is discernible in the contemporary *Ijtihād* process in the Shī'a. The advocates of this trend try to establish a social, economic and ruling system based on Islam.

In examining the future process of *Ijtihād* and its impact on life caused by changes in its objectives, we should return to the earlier period and examine the past limitations and their consequences on the aims as well as their impact on the direction of *Ijtihād*'s trends. We would study the future process of *Ijtihād* in the light of its entire aims and development.

The Impact of Limitations on the Aims of *Ijtihād*

The limitations of the aims of *Ijtihād* and its concentration on individual aspects of life stemmed from the restrictions imposed on Islam by external realities. And in this way, *Ijtihād* too, stressed more on the individual aspects of life and neglected social ones.

The attention of the Muslim fuqahā, too, was diverted to Muslim individual life and its needs rather than the Muslim society. The fuqahā, under the circumstances looked upon the Islamic principles from the viewpoint of the requirements of individual, as if religion was meant to meet the needs of individual life irrespective of social problems.

The following two examples would clear how such narrow-mindedness existed in *fuqahā*'s viewpoints towards the interpretation of Islamic doctrines.

Some of the fuqahā believe that *sharī'ah* is comprised of certain principles about man's duty. Since it is impossible to understand these principles in clear way, therefore, one must follow them through conjunctures. The followers of *Uṣulī* trend states: Why should not we replace conjuncture with precaution? Of course, precaution leads to difficulty then one can reduce reliance on precaution so as to avoid reaching difficulty.

One can see how far individualism has rooted in this trend to the extent that it neglects social aspects of man's life.

When man is advised to take precautionary measures instead of taking the real action, individuals are advised to avoid collective action because for instances there is a principle in fiqh which says: "neither inflict injury on others nor allow any injury on yourself." According to this principle any injury or loss is rejected, while in the expiation of penalty or blood money, the offender has to accept financial losses. Some of the fuqahā object to this principle.

The reason for such objections is that the fuqahā, who object, have an individualistic approach toward religion. If we look at the individual as a member of society paying penalties, taxes and alms are to the benefit of the society.

One of the outcomes of such individualistic view is a kind of general deviation from the main objective of *fiqh*. Hence, a fuqahā, who follows this trend, constantly tries to solve the problem of Muslim individuals and conform laws to individual needs. For example, the banking system based on usury which exists in society, demands a solution from fuqahā for solving an individual's problems. It is here that interpretations are given in order to eliminate the Muslim individual's problem, whereas the actual usury system is a social problem though it is possible to find a special interpretation for the individual.

This is only so, because, the *fuqahā* has only concentrated on the individual issues. The outcome of such narrow-mindedness has also spilled over to the interpretation of the principle texts.

On the one hand, the personality of the Prophet or Imam is not considered as a ruler or head of the government. For example, if the Prophet prohibits the transfer of water from Medina, such order is considered as a

prohibition of unlawful or loathsome. In certain cases, it is neither of the two, but the Prophet commands a prohibition as the head of a state which it is not used as a religious edict.

On the other hand, general ideas are not extracted out of the texts, and thus, we see that many people permit themselves to analyze a subject and pronounce different laws for it. There is an example in the case of renting. Is it possible for the tenant to rent the object of rent with a high rate than what he pays to the real owner? Often in different traditions, it is prohibited for cases of house, mills and ships and so on.

From social point of view such analysis is impossible, but from individual aspect it is easily possible.

The Future of *Ijtihād*'s Trend

I think I have prolonged my article, thus I shall leave the summing up to the reader. It is natural that when *Ijtihād* follows its real objectives and tackles both individual and social problems, former limitations will gradually fade away and the actual trend will develop in harmony with the expansion of the objectives.

With the removal of these limitations, all aspects of life will be included in the purview of *Ijtihād*. The conciliatory trend which advocates compromise with the corrupt rulers will change to a struggle for the ruled. In this way, any kind of narrow-mindedness towards the principles will disappear from the *fiqh*. Personal interpretation will be replaced by those inspired by the Prophet's or Imam's personality. Sporadic analysis of the text will be replaced by analysis which take into account social understanding.

Finally, the future process of *Ijtihād* depends on the changes occurring in its aims which should turn on isolated social movement into a constructive action on Islamic basis. Due to time limits, I shall end and I feel assured that a great revolution has emerged in this field and it would encompass include all social areas which tackle the grievances of people. This revolution will be followed by profound changes in the methods and matters of application.

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Islamic Economy: Its Ideological and Legal Foundations

Ayatullah Muhammad Ali Taskhiri
Translated by M. Azimi Etemadi

Every system, intending to achieve certain goals, must be designed in a realistic manner. Therefore, if the system is supposed to be implemented in order to serve human life, particularly in the long-run, it must serve man's goals and be consistent with his *fiṭrah* (primordial nature). This is not possible unless the designer of the system has a command over the knowledge necessary for understanding social and individual aspects of man. Besides, the designer should have a thorough understanding of actual relations between those two aspects of man and the primordial nature of man as well. In addition to those prerequisites, the designer should understand the historical trends of such a relationship, the needs for the development of such relationships and methods for pursuing those needs in order to realize an evolutionary, human approach toward actualizing the goals of the creation of man.

Indeed, the way the aforesaid satisfaction of needs is to be carried out should not overlap other systems which are meant for satisfying other needs of man. In other words, such a system should observe a wise balance and study the role and interrelationship of other systems which together comprise the whole system of life.

If we assume that the designer of the system possesses all those necessary prerequisites, we should assess subsequent stages in the process of achieving the desirable *realism* which is necessary for a system to be able to provide a proper context for itself. By this we mean the extent to which this system is compatible with the norms and values of the society (where the system is to be implemented), the extent of consistence between those norms and values and the emotional values presented by the system, and finally the extent to which this system assures the realization of a desirable education to create social obedience for those ideological views and emotional values.

Although the system may be realistic, accurate, and rational in perceiving the reality and understanding its needs and their satisfaction, it will remain incapable if it is not preceded by an ideological impetus which supplies the society with bases for the stance that it should take toward the universe, the life, and the man itself. Consequently, the ideological impetus will guarantee the system the element of *īmān* [faith] rescue it from the most important civilizational maladies including *ilḥād* [atheism], which is the opposite of *īmān*, and *shirk* [polytheism], which signifies the excessive belief in false gods, and *shakk* [doubt], which is a manner resembling other destructive attitudes. Unless these requirements are realized, we cannot assure the provision of the first contextual element for the system's implementation. Similarly, as long as the emotional motivations, which are the focus of education, are not perfectly compatible and harmonious with the ideological structure of the society, we cannot guarantee balance in man's personality when there is a wide gap between his beliefs and the internal and external values and motivations that the system provides in order to satisfy his needs. Moreover, these emotional motivations cannot form human behavior and action unless they are strong and clearly defined.

So far, we have realized the necessity of two factors for every system intending to materialize its human goals: first, the planner's holistic approach towards human reality, including his relations and needs as well as their fulfillment concomitant with the rest of the system; second, facilitating its implementation through faith and compatible emotional motivations.

Realism, in turn, requires the following two fundamental factors: first, the system should contain legal guarantees binding all those who oppose the

harmonious human nature or those few who have not chosen the complete *īmān* or the full commitment to the requirements of *īmān*; second, it has a perfect flexibility to accommodate the temporal and spatial variations in human life and provides fixed solutions for fixed elements of human life and flexible ones for the accommodation of its alterable elements.

We believe that Islam was correct in announcing its rule in the form of general rules. Thus, it did not ignore any one of those aspects, but observed them perfectly and completed the religion which provides appropriate answers to man's needs till the Day of Judgment.

Accordingly, it announces that the whole Islamic system is based on reality and nature and that it is the fixed truth aiming at serving human beings and accomplishing the purpose of his creation. Thus, it enjoins whatever is desirable and forbids whatever is refused by the nature.

God, the Exalted, says: "*Then set your face upright for religion in the right state, the nature made by Allah in which He has made men. There is no alteration in Allah's creation. That is the right religion but most people do not know.*" (*30:30*)

And He, the Exalted, says: "*Say: O people! Indeed there has come to you the truth from your Lord ...*" (*10:108*)

And He, the Exalted, says: "*O you who believe! Answer (the call of) Allah and the Apostle when he calls you to that which gives you life, and know that Allah intervenes between man and his heart, and that to Him you shall be gathered.*" (8:24)

And He, the Exalted, says: "*Those who follow the Apostle Prophet, who was taught neither to read nor to write, whom they find written down with them in the Tawrāh and the Injīl [Old and New Testaments], (who) enjoins them to do good and forbids them from doing evil, and makes the pure and good things ḥalāl [lawful] for them and makes impure and harmful things ḥarām [prohibited] for them, and remove from them their burden and the shackles which were upon them. So (as for) those who believe in him and support him and help him and follow the light which was sent down with him, they are indeed the saved.*" (*7:157*)

The proof of this argument is the same one that proves its attribution to the Great Creator as it proves for this Creator all attributes of knowledge

about all facts and full, absolute control over the formation of *sharī'ah* (the comprehensive body of Islamic rules), and perfect kindness to the servants and other attributes which are not imaginable for any body other than Him the Exalted.

We are not to present any reasoning for this but only point to the Holy Qur'ān's emphasis on this fact in all occasions when it points to Allah's kindness and knowledge:

"Does He not know Who He created? He it is Who made the earth smooth for you, therefore go about in the spacious sides thereof, and eat of His sustenance, and to Him is the return after death." (67:14-15)

"Say: Allah suffices as a witness between me and you. Surely He is Aware of His servants, Seeing. And whomsoever Allah guides, is the follower of the right way, and whomsoever He causes to err, you shall not find for him guardians besides Him. And We will gather them together on the day of resurrection on their faces, blind and dumb and deaf. Their abode is hell, whenever it becomes allayed We will add to their burning." (17:96-97)

After this introduction, we try to discuss several points pertaining to the core of the discussion with emphasis on the following subjects:

1. Major attributes of the Islamic economy, their natural character, and Islam's emphasis on them.
2. The proper grounds Islam prepares for its economic system.
3. Relationship between this system and other systems.
4. Flexibility of the Islamic economic system.

Salient Features of the Islamic Economy

When we study the Islamic economy as a way which Islam prescribes for individual and social behavior in the economic field and examine Islam's rules in this area, we can conclude that its most important attribute is *social justice*. In this respect, the Islamic economy resembles all other systems that claim to be serving human being and realizing his social aspirations but it differs from them in the details of its conception of social justice.

Justice cannot emerge unless the following requirements are present: first, believing in the private and social property on an equal and advanced level in a way that the private property acts on the fulfillment of man's

natural demands for possessing the result of his effort and obtaining the benefits of his business. While the public property aims at guaranteeing that social action enjoys a social product through which the provision of some needs and shortages would become possible.

Second, faith in individual economic freedom as a general, continuous, comprehensive principle which stems from the nature of the ownership along with the belief in the existence of some limits at which this freedom ends. This is for the purpose of either guaranteeing individual's interest as in the case of objects the use of which was outlawed because of the physical or moral damage that they could inflict upon the individual, or to secure others' rights and liberties which is also a natural guarantee admitted by all religions and human affiliations.

Third, faith in the principle of mutual responsibility. Islam guarantees, for every individual in the Islamic society, the *subsistence* level, i.e., provision of his natural needs. The government is obliged to provide this minimum for all and it is absolutely impermissible that even a single needy person is found in the Islamic society. Regarding how to make the society economically capable of doing this, the following factors may be mentioned:

- Obliging individuals to accomplish their responsibilities and duties with respect to the provision of the *necessary* needs of others. Since one of government's responsibilities is to compel individuals to perform their obligations, even those which are individual, it may bind individuals to carry out these duties as well.

- The legal power of *walīy al-amr* [head of the Islamic government] to determine the limits of public domain (*saddu manṭaqat al-mubāḥāt*) through legislation supplies the government with the desirable power.

- Public properties and *anfāl* [properties with no particular owner/s] which are designated by the government as public properties which the government oversees and uses to achieve the above goal.

- Financial punishments and methods that are devised by Islam to transfer private properties to the public ownership as with respect to *mawqūfāt*

[endowments] or the lands the inhabitants of which perished or the dead without heirs and so forth.

- Nature of the Islamic legislation--as Shahīd al-Ṣadr (r) put it--which aims at strengthening the social structure for the realization of this mutual responsibility.

Fourth, belief in the principle of social balance and refusal of the class system in the Islamic society. We came to know through the third point that the required minimum is to provide subsistence for all individuals. As far as the maximum is concerned, it may be assumed through the following factors:

1. The prohibition of *tabdhīr* and *isrāf* [wasting and squandering] in all areas, therefore, an individual cannot possibly trespass to the line of *isrāf.*

2. The prohibition of every action that leads to misuse of particular properties, and of *lahw* [amusement] and *mujūn* [impudence].

3. Rejection of all social and economic privileges which discriminate between different groups of people which, in turn, eliminates all the grounds for the emergence of the class system.

If we go back and scrutinize all of these features and expose them to human nature and conscience we will find them principles that may be admitted in a natural way. This explains the return of each of the two extremist systems of capitalism and socialism to a moderate position after its collision with opposing natural factors--as we believe.

The natural basis of these views is evidently emphasized by general regulatory and conceptual authoritative texts (*nuṣūṣ*) that are numerous and to some of which we point here:

There are *nuṣūṣ* that stress the inherence character of private and public property:

The Exalted says: *"And the man shall gain nothing but what he strives for." (53:39)* (naturally if we interpret it as including worldly possession).

Amīr al-mu'minīn ('a) says: *"This property is indeed neither mine nor yours but it is a collective property of the Muslims ... what is earned by their hands does not belong to any mouths other than theirs." (Nahj al-Balāghah, sermon 232)*

There are some *nuṣūṣ* that emphasize the economic freedom in a natural form the clearest of which is the rule on which all *fuqahā'* [Islamic scholars] rely, namely the rule (*Al-nāsu musallaṭūna 'alā amwālihim* [people are in control of their properties]). Naturally, there are some limits to this freedom which are mentioned by other *nuṣūṣ* stressing that this restriction is only for the benefit of the individual and the society.

There are some *nuṣūṣ* that emphasize the inherence of mutual responsibility and cooperation and further consider all kinds of negligence with respect to this principle as a general rejection of *dīn* [faith and religion]. The Exalted says: "*Have you seen the person who rejects the religion? He is the one who treats the orphan with harshness, and does not urge (others) to feed the poor." (107:1-3)*

Finally, there are some *nuṣūṣ* that stress the necessity for the realization of balance in the society through their emphasis on the prohibition of *isrāf* and also the necessity of renouncing poverty and providing subsistence for every individual. The Imām ('a) says, while speaking of the duties of the *walīy al-amr* [leader] toward the needy: "He keeps giving him from *zakāh* till he makes him needless."

The Proper Grounds Which Islam Prepares for Its Economic System

In this regard, the analyst can find in front of him a huge wealth of noble *nuṣūṣ* that emphasize various concepts and numerous rules and fixed historical laws and that all serve the cause of Islamic economy and participate, in a natural way, in the realization of its far-reaching goals. We mention below a number of these issues:

A. The Real ownership belongs to Allah, the Exalted: This principle is the most important tenet that forms man's image as it leaves its visible marks on the economic behavior of Muslim individual. Ownership belongs only to the Unpaired, Almighty Allah and He the Exalted bestowed an assumed, legal ownership upon the human being so that it distributes the properties among its individuals and exercises this ownership according to the purposes that Allah chose for the benefit of humanity. This notion has

great influence on the exclusion of negative effects on ownership in its absolute capitalistic form.

B. The purpose is to reclaim the land through a *joint*, human effort and responsibility: In this way, the man believes that the human effort from the beginning to the end is one and that the important goal is to make the humanity subservient before God, establish the worshipping society and prepare the grounds for it through making the earth inhabitable, extract the greatest benefits from it to the advantage of all through performing the duties arising from the joint responsibility. Diversion from this is diversion from the purpose.

C. Ethical concepts in the service of economic cause: Islamic *nuṣūṣ* are full of a magnificent ethical plan which leads to its contribution to this economic system and to the realization of its goals. Most of the *riwāyāt* [traditions], on one hand, encourage in the human being the spirit of cooperation, responsibility, Islamic fraternity, *ithār* [self-sacrifice], *zuhd* [piety], and compassion for the miseries and aspirations of others. On the other hand, they drive away from the human being such vices as stinginess, greed, exclusivism, transgressing the rights of others, opportunism, avarice, and envy. Imām Ṣādiq ('a) counted all good manners as the troopers of *'aql* [wisdom] and all vicious attributes as the troopers of *jahl* [ignorance]. We can neither mention all of the *riwāyāt* in this regard nor touch on their educational details, therefore, only point to this particular fact that the Islamic ethics and educational system augment in human being the spirit of generosity before they emphasize the economic freedom and the possibility of using it to his own particular benefits. The story of Qārūn [Korah] is well-known for its focus on this ethical principle (*And seek by means of what Allah has given to you the otherworld's abode and do not neglect your share of this world ... (28:77)*).

This story and this principle is a multifaceted Islamic creed which, if prevails in the society, will provide the greatest grounds for the implementation of the desirable economic system.

D. *Al-infāq al-mustaḥabb* [commendable spending for a divine cause] and the extended life: Here, a wonderful aspect of the solution to the

problem of conflict between the inherent motivations for serving one's self and the motivations for serving the society is manifested. According to this notion, one begins with the prolongation of his own life and ends up with a level of eternity in the hereafter. He finds out that self-interest and social interest are integrated; a notion that encourages him to make continuous *infāq* which does not ever run out of its driving forces according to the principle which says "whoever establishes a favorable habit he will be rewarded both for it and for the action of whoever follows it." And here we would like to remind emphatically the extended effect of *waqf* since, as the result of these motivations, the private property is transferred to the public ownership and man's permanent exploitation of his property is realized.

E. *Shukr al-ni'mah* [gratitude for a blessing] means to make the best use of the wealth and avoiding its waste: The major problem in the global economic domain does not lie in the weakness of growth rates of natural resources and their failure to keep up with the population growth rate but it lies in the failure to make ideal use of natural resources or, as the *nuṣūṣ* put it, in *kufrān al-ni'mah* [ingratitude for the blessing] and squandering the natural, mineral and animal resources and so forth (*And He gave you of whatever you asked Him for and if you count Allah's blessings you will not (possibly) obtain their number. Man is indeed very unjust, very ungrateful. ... (14:34)*)

And it is a kind of *shukr al-ni'mah* to make ideal use of he labor force and to avoid wasting it. For this reason, the *nuṣūṣ* emphasize the continuous work and even declare it obligatory for those who are able.

F. Relationship between moralities and material pursuits at the civilizational level: There is an amazing civilizational fact that nobody can perceive it except those who believe in the *ghayb* [the metaphysical world] and its various aspects. The Holy Qur'ān stresses that *ẓulm* [injustice] leads to *halāk* [annihilation] (*Thus, because of their injustice We destroyed them*) and that *'adl* [justice] and *du'ā'* [praying] and *shukr* [gratitude] leads, in a lawful way, to *rakhā'* [comfort] (*Ask for your Lord's forgiveness, surely He is the most Forgiving. He will send down the cloud upon you pouring down abundance of rain. And help you with properties and sons, and make for you gardens and make for you rivers. (71:10-12).* This fact arouses, in

hearts, a great hope in the future, even the material future, and opens the way for a social and economic dynamism.

Add to what was mentioned above other major factors that contributes to this background.

Strong Connection With Other Systems

It is evident in all systems devised by Islam that they are put forward as parts of a larger system which includes, in general, the whole universe. These systems are in strong and close interconnection in such a manner that none of them can achieve its desired goal without the implementation of other systems (and naturally, we do not claim here that the obligation to set up the system hinges on the establishment of other systems but what we emphasize is the issue of system's achievement of all of its desired goals.)

In this regard the following points should be made:

A. Certain areas of the social system are reserved to be filled by the *walīy al-amr* (or by some one appointed by him) due to his *ijtihad* [ability to extract Islamic rule whenever needed] and determination of the nature of the prevailing situations and ummah's interest. This is what we observe, for example, in economic, legal, and penal systems and in the institutions of *waqf* [endowment], *mu'āmalāt* [transactions], *irth* [inheritance], and so forth. This fact indicates the complete connection between these institutions and the ruling political system.

B. The economic system is strongly related to the system of *'ibādāt* [worshippings]. This is the issue which is sometimes presented as the companionship of the prayers and *zakāh* in tens of Qur'anic cases. *Zakah* and *khums* are two financial *'ibādahs*. Financial *kaffārāt* [expiations] are, in fact, also a huge economic participation by *'ibādāt* system in the service of public economic interest. It should not be ignored that some *'ibādahs* like *ṣawm* [fasting] and *ḥajj* provide the elements of economic grounds, to which we clearly pointed. There are certain *'ibādahs* that strongly contribute to the public ownership such as *waqf*, if we require *nīyyat al-qurbah* [proximity intention] in it.

C. The economic system and its goals and pecularities naturally have a strong connection with the system of *mu'āmalāt* [transactions] which is designed in such a manner to provide the proper environment for the

realization of mutual responsibility, balance, and dual ownership, emphasize the labor element, and prohibits *ribā* [usury], *'akl al-māli bi al-bāṭil* [financial misappropriation], harmful acts, *lahw* [debauchery], and wasting of the wealth.

D. There is a considerable linkage between the economic system and the system of *jihād* [military defense] in Islam for the latter system involves, in addition to combative rules and methods, implications for ownership, war spoils, and so forth.

E. Undoubtedly, the economic system is also related to the social system including the form of society's principle cell, i.e. the family, and also the social relations among the families, and individual's relations with the society. All of these are predominated by social Islamic rules including mutual responsibility and balance, which form the most important characteristics in the economy as we mentioned frequently. This argument also involves the rules regarding *mahrs* [dowries], *nafaqahs* [allowances], various methods of division of labor, and such issues as *irth* [inheritance], *waṣīiyyahs* [bequests], and the rulings with regard to children, *qaḍā'* [adjudication], financial *ta'zīrs* [discretionary punishments] and other varieties of financial punishments, and others which may not be all discussed in this limited space.

G. Touching on these relations, the late Āyatullāh al-Ṣadr points to another aspect of the issue, namely the relationship between government's economic doctrine and its financial policy which is, in fact, a part of government's planning for enforcement of the laws of Islamic economy, thus, it is a part of the economy itself.

H. We already pointed to the link between Islam's economic system and its ethical system which makes the latter one of the major preludes and the motivating element for the *ummah* in the way of implementing the economic system and realizing its goals to such an extent that it becomes hard to distinguish between the two systems.

Here I would like to point, as a diversion from the main course of discussion, to the fact that Islam addresses the whole life in general and devises for it the best system which guides toward the goal in a deliberate manner and based on principles of justice and equity. Whereas we find the

positivist world today floundering in the establishment of a desirable system for the protection of human dignity, distribution of responsibilities, and realization of rights. Therefore, social systems collapse, one after another, and admit their defeat while Islam remains a straight religion without any deviation.

As an example for this argument, we focus on the slogan which the positivist world spouts through giving it a widespread global character and which has recently altered to a sweeping emotional wave, namely the slogan of equality of women and men in all situations, periods, and places, and with respect to all rights without any exceptions whatever it would be. We have been finding this slogan tens of times in the documents presented in the conferences of Mexico City, Bucharest, Cairo, and recently in a strong and explicit form, in the Beijing Conference on Woman. We see the document produced by this conference concentrating, specifically, on the issues of inheritance, absolute material equality, judgeship, and the so called sexual freedom rights for all ages and so forth.

We consider this slogan as a blind assertion although it has an attractive appearance since equality is one of the principles favorable to the human taste concerning two individuals whose rights are equal in terms of their human dignity and affiliation, i.e. the man and the woman. But this principle is not too general to have exceptions. This is due to the natural differences between man's and woman's physical and emotional structures, nature of the social responsibility which is to be carried out by each, and the extent of participation by each in the social construction including the establishment of social justice. Hence, we may not call out the slogan of quantitative equality without considering the desired balance otherwise we will commit, through this equality, injustice and unfairness. When the principles of equality and social justice are in conflict, one may ask to which one the priority goes? Undoubtedly, the principle of justice is the one which common-sense testifies to its generality and insusceptibility to exception, therefore, social justice qualifies the principle of equality and even determines its socially desired form.

We feel great regret on the blind, sweeping, global wave that has been put forward thoughtlessly and that criticizes against the Islamic inheritance system pretending to ignore that it is part of a whole and that there is a

wonderful balance between this system and the *nafaqah* [allowance] system and the duties of each of the man and the woman in the social life.

The Flexibility of Islamic Economic System

This subject is, in general, related to the flexible character of Islamic rules but we will show it from the economic angle. Briefly, Islam supplied this system with all necessary elements which enable it to accommodate the vital changes which occur frequently and rapidly in the economic field. The reason is that economy is a field related to the complexities of man's social life as well as to nature's ability to provide, and the proper environmental conditions, and so on. Therefore, with respect to land distribution and ownership, there is a great difference between the situation of land's perfect abundance and man's insufficient physical power and the situation of scarcity and increasing shortage resulted from human growth rates on one hand, and man's immense technological power to reclaim the land. This difference may affect the issues of *ḥīyāzah* [occupancy] -which is considered as an ownership factor-, social development, mines' ownership, vertical ownership -both in depth and in altitude-, energy's ownership, etc.

This difference may also influence the issue of alteration of the nature and effects of property relationship leading *mujtahids* [jurists] to keep aloof from the issue of absolute ownership of land and suggest the subject of *ḥaqq al-ikhtiṣāṣ* [exclusivity right] which results from the impact made by the individual on the land, thus when the impact ceases to exist the right will expire and returns to the public domain which can be used by the Islamic state according to the public interest.

Therefore, existence of the element of *ijtihad* and its constant openness represents one of flexibility elements without which one cannot know the developments' effects on the nature of the rule deduced form the *nuṣūṣ*.

The fact that Islam put forward certain broad economic rules and related them to the *'urf* [prevailing standards of conduct] concept has a special connotation for notions like *isrāf* and *tabdhīr* [wasting and squandering], *faqr* and *ghinā* [poverty and needlessness], *al-nafaqāt al-muta'ārifah* [customary allowance], *al-manfa'at al-muḥallalah* [lawful profit], *ma'ūn* [basic need], *ribā* [usury], *mithlīyyah and qīmīyyah* [fungibility and being

ad valorem], circulation and depression of cash currencies, *ḍamān* [liability], individual and social damage, *ḥaraj* [impediment], *ḍarūrah* [urgency], *al-maṣlahat al-'ulyā* [the higher expediency], being *asbaq* [preceding] in *waqf*, being *'aqdīy* [contractual], being *bay'īy* [exchange], trade through *tarāḍi* [mutual agreement], being *qimarīy* [gamble], *lahw*, and even *'adālah* [justice], *ẓulm* [injustice], *ta'addī* [transgression], and *akl al-māl bi al-bāṭil* [misappropriation of property]. Thus, *'urf* intervenes when these concepts change, often due to change in conditions, and consequently, as a result of change in the *'urfī* [commonplace] view of the subject the judgment also changes as we saw in the issue of *shaṭranj* [chess] for example.

However, the most important element on which the Islamic system concentrates is the element of intervention by the *mujtahid*, just *walīy al-amr* in the economic life. This intervention has its own criteria, rules, and what the late al-Ṣadr calls the penetrating beams that illuminate Islam's positions and give it the spirit of the *system* and its promising goals[1]. In such a system, the *walīy* has the obligation to take advantage of his social power and true commitment to Islam and the Islamic expediency of the *ummah* and, through consultation with the masters of knowledge and expertise, carry out his duties which can be summarized as the following:

1. Identification of the best methods and executive arrangements for the enforcement of the fixed rules of Allah, e.g. looking for the best way to eliminate *ribā* in the society while preserving the positive activities performed by the banks.

2. Filling the public domain with laws in accordance with the supreme Islamic expediency while preserving, as much as possible, the primary rule regarding the various cases.

3. Determining the extent to which the conditions are favorable for the enforcement of Islamic rules and institutions. Therefore, if the *faqih* finds the conditions and the rules in such a serious incompatibility that is called by the scholars of *uṣūl* as *tazāḥum* [conflict], namely *tazāḥum* between the *wujūb* [obligatoriness] of implementing the *ḥukm* [ruling] and the prohibition of resulting evil consequences, he must produce the best possible solution to facilitate the implementation of the *ḥukm* while compensating its *mafsadahs* [damaging results]. If this appears to be impossible he should

shift to the area of *tarjīḥ bi al-ahammīyah* [preference based on priority] which is a vast area that follows the opinions of experts and *mujtahids*. The situation may reach to a point that due to the priority of preventing the *mafsadah* caused by it, the implementation of a certain hukm is suspended. This area is an accurate and a delicate one which is not to be resorted to except in rare situations.

Conclusions

Based on what was discussed above we can briefly highlight the following practical conclusions:

First, we repeatedly see or hear those who suggest the idea of cross-combination of ideology and system which signifies the establishment of a socialist or a capitalist economic system in an Islamic environment or the implementation of Islamic institutions in secular social structures. When these combinationists do not achieve desirable results from their efforts they tend to ignore the contradiction between the system and its implementation context and place the blame on the system itself. We may mention two experiences as examples here:

1) the experience of establishing socialist systems in our Islamic world and their quick failure as in Algeria -- during Houari Boumedienne's presidency -- and Libya.

2) the experiment of setting up *al-qarḍ al-ḥasan* [interest-free loan] funds under secular systems where it was struck with unsatisfactory results that encouraged the opponents to attack the resulting situation as cacophony and accusing the planners of neglecting the absence of favorable conditions.

Second, If we wish to achieve good results in our Islamic community, we must provide the desirable grounds through deepening the faith in Allah and disseminating the elevated Islamic ethics, explicate the Islamic concepts related to economics and convey them to the public, and strive to mobilize the feelings and sensations and give them a desirable Islamic shape. As long as we do not accomplish this task we should not expect ideal results. In this regard, I would like to draw your attention to some advertising tactics employed by the banks which concentrate on the profits generated by the money deposited in *al-qarḍ al-ḥasan* funds and on prizes that it may bring

for the depositors without ever referring to the great reward which ensues whenever they participate in the revitalization of the public economy and server the society through their bank activities and deposits and without mentioning the noble *ayat* and *aḥādith* which call for such deeds.

Third, we propose that Islamic banks form a *fiqhī* committee consisting of prominent scholars, and further, that the mujtahids in *al-ḥawzāt al-'ilmīyyah* (Islamic theological schools) undertake a study about the legitimacy and plausibility of the proposed economic, financial, and banking systems from the viewpoint of Islamic laws and constantly express their opinions concerning new forms for such systems.

Bay' al-salam [forward sale], and *bay' al-salam al-mumāthil* [fungible forward sale], *bay' al-istiṣnā'* [manufactural sale], *tawrīd* [mutual forward] contracts, *murabahah* [resale with stated profit] contracts, and so on are examples of economic institutions that provide banks with more alternatives for economic activities. This is what the late Shahīd al-Ṣadr proposed a quarter of a century ago through his famous proposal known as *ribā*-free banking and what I put forward as the draft law for the prohibition of *ribā* in the Islamic Republic of Iran. *Ijtihād* is indeed a source of blessing and Islamic rules are overflowing reserves that can undoubtedly help us to safeguard the Islamic character and spirit and overcome the difficulties caused by the developments of modern life.

Endnotes

1. These goals include, for example, Qur'ān's emphasis on avoidance from creating a situation that causes exclusive circulation of wealth only among the rich, and its emphasis on the necessity to prohibit the manipulation of the property which Allah made the sustenance of the ummah, or the emphasis by some nuṣūṣ on the view that the purpose of trade is to extract benefits or on the prohibition of ḥajj if its opening results in evil consequences and so on.

Muslim Libraries During the Middle Ages in the Works of Orientalists

Ibrahim V. Pourhadi[*]

Many Muslims, especially those of the younger generation, are unfamiliar with their past civilization and culture. This is partly due to their excessive preoccupation with the modern machinist life and the conviction that modern sciences can save them from all miseries of this era. Although this belief gives them a temporary tranquillity, their real, permanent anxiety is apparent because they have forgotten their past and are under the influence of elegant, sophisticated technology and thus, neglect the fact that culture and knowledge of the past can guide today's progress. This paper is an attempt to show briefly Muslim zeal in, as an example, establishing libraries, protecting books, and loving knowledge during the Middle Ages.

Officials of both public and private Muslim libraries during the Middle Ages[1], initially concentrated their efforts in acquiring religious books and manuscripts. Gradually the public Muslim libraries gave way to school university libraries. The public considered such libraries as centers of knowledge where they believed they could find solutions to social and

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political problems. Some segments of Muslim society resorted to libraries to widen their mental capacity and become leaders in their respective areas. Others went so far as to believe that libraries and books in general would give them peace of mind. This idea became a byword and handed down by many Muslims. For example, a Persian text reads:

Har kas kī dar in jahān būd az rūze nukhust
asayīshi khīsh just va īn būd dorost
'āqil dānad kīh āsāyish rā
dar kunji kitāb-khānih mībāyad just.

Translation:

Mankind has sought peace of mind since creation
so shall be the longing of each coming generation
The wise man seeking out this prize is he
Who finds it in a corner of the library.[2]

This poem indicates that Iranian Muslims have always been lovers of knowledge. Ibn Khaldun testified the traditional love of Iranian Muslims for learning with great zeal.

The Muslim scholars of the Middle Ages were, in general, greatly attached to libraries and considered them a repository of wealth (khazānah). During this period, works of art, architecture, astronomy, law, language, literature, medicine, music, pharmacology, philosophy and scores of scientific treaties were translated into Western languages.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Muslim libraries played a great role in the development of *Madrasas* (schools). Libraries had several adjacent rooms which served as school for rural children. The children were taught during the long winter season when they were not working on the farms side by side with their parents.

Competition between libraries to acquire more books was so intense that libraries sought the aid of poets to compose poetry glorifying potentates of the time so they could fund more money for the purchase of books for their respective libraries.

Cities and countries where well-known Muslim libraries were located during the Middle Ages include:

1- Aleppo	2- Almeria
3- Badajoz	4- Baghdād
5- Baṣra	6- Bukhārā
7- Cairo	8- Cordova
9- Damascus	10- Fez
11-Fīrūzābād	12-Al-Fusṭāṭ
13- Chazna	14- Granada
15- Hamadān	16- Isfahān
17- Marāgha	18- Merw
19- Mosūl	20- Nīshābūr
21- Qazvīn	22- Rām-Hurmuz
23- Ray	24- Saragossa
25- Seville	26- Shīrāz
27- Toledo	28- Tripolis
29- Tunis	30- Tyre
31- Valencia	32- Yaman

This treatise is a *pastiche* assembled from numerous sources now available in libraries throughout the world. The method used is to answer a series of questions about identified Muslim libraries of the Middle Ages, categorized in the locations mentioned above, as to when they flourished, where they were located, who owned or founded them, why they were established and how they were maintained and administered, how they were used and by whom, their categories and quantities and finally what became of them and where these questions can be found and answered.

1- Aleppo

1. Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Kiftī

According to Olga Pinto, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Kiftī (d 646/1248) also known as al-Qāḍī al-Akram, Ayyūbid *wazīr*, had at Aleppo (Halab, Syria) a private splendid library valued at 50,000 dinars which he left to al-Nūṣir, ruler of that city.[3] After buying a book, he placed it in his library, and, jealous of his treasure, he showed it to no one. His library was rich in masterpieces of calligraphy and holographs of authors.[4]

2. Dār al-Da'wa

Dār al-Da'wa, a missionary institute, was in 507/1113 by the Emir Fakhr al-Mulk. This institute was a Shī'a one, supported for the teaching of Shī'a creed and had a notable library for the use of general public.[5]

3. Jāmi' Mosque

Ruth Mackensen reports that a library was left as *waqf* to the Jāmi' Mosque. When the city was conquered in 578/1183, the conqueror permitted al-Mas'ūdī al-Bandahī, a former tutor or one of his sons, permission to take whatever books he wished from the library, and thus violated the *waqf*.[6]

According to Ahmet Rufai, Saladin allowed his favorite, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Sa'īd al-Faqih al-Shāfi'ī, to take as many books as he pleased from the library of Aleppo. He himself owned many books which he left the Khānqāh al-Sumaysāṭī in Aleppo in *waqf*.[7]

4. Ibn Ẓafar

Rufai states that Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad Ḥaqiqat al-Dīn, known under the name of Ibn Ẓafar al-Ṣakalī al-Makkī al-Naḥwī (d 565/1169-70), came from Egypt to live in the madrasa of Ibn Abī 'Aṣrūn in Aleppo. He had a large library which was plundered during a war.[8]

5. Hamdānid princes

Pinto reports that a library was founded by the Hamdānid princes reigning in the IV/X century. This public library is said to own considerable works written in *naskh* script as well as the *kufic* script.[9]

The Directory of Islamic Libraries and Librarians, compiled by Muḥammad A.S. Khan, does not list any significant private library in Aleppo now.[10]

2- Almeria[11]

Abū Ja'far ibn 'Abbās

Julian Ribera Tarrago reports that Abū Ja'far ibn 'Abbās, minister of King Zuhayr, a man of wealth, gathered together sometime between 419-29/1028-38, by offering triple current prices, over 400,000 bound and

complete volumes, not counting papers and innumerable unbound pamphlets.[12]

3- Badajoz[13]

The Afṭāsida of al-Muẓaffar

The Afṭāsida was the name of the library of al-Muẓaffar (r 437-47/1045-55; d 460/1068), one of the *tawa'if* or petty kings. He was author of a fifty-volume encyclopedia treating on every science from war, politics, and history to fables and further literary *genres*, all of it taken from the huge select library which he himself formed.[14]

According to Seligsohn, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Muẓaffar, second of the Afṭāsid dynasty, distinguished himself by his great love for Arabic literature. He wrote a rather voluminous work on *'adab*, entitled *Muẓaffarī*.[15]

4- Baghdād

1. Abū Ḥaiyān al-Tawḥidī

Yāqūt tells of an old scholar, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, who burnt his books shortly before his death (sometimes before 621/1224) out of resentment for the lack of attention which he thought due him from the citizens of Baghdād.[16]

2. Academy of the Sharīf al-Raḍīy

Mackensen reports that Sharīf al-Raḍīy, a great Shi'ī scholar and the compiler of Nahj al-Balagha(359-407/970-1016), founded an academy like that of Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr, of whom he was a contemporary.[17]

3. Al-Baykanī

According to Adam Mez, Al-Baykanī, a savant of Baghdād, had a library which, at his death in 425/1033, required for its removal 63 baskets and two trunks.[18]

4. Court marshal

A court marshal of Baghdād who died in 312/924 left behind books worth more than 2,000 dinars.[19]

5. *Dār al-'Ilm* of Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr

This public library was founded by the Buwayhid *wazīr* Naṣr Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr (d 418/1025), in 381/991 or in 383/993 in the street called Bayna al-Surayn in the al-Karkh quarter of the city. Celebrated for its size and beauty by many writers, it is reported to have contained over 100,000 volumes by the best calligraphers. It did not survive the death of its founder after being sacked and burnt in 401/1059 by Tughril's soldiers.[20] A few books, rescued, came into the private library of Tughril's *wazīr*, 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī.[21]

Mackensen gives the best compilation, I have seen, of information on this institution. Shāpūr's Dār al-'Ilm was one of the chief centers of cultural and literary life in Baghdād. Among its habitugs was the blind Syrian poet Abū al-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. The library must have overshadowed the academy for the entire establishment was referred to at times as "The Library" or "The Ancient Library". It is said that it contained 10,400 books on various subjects, including 100 copies of the Qur'ān in the calligraphy of the Banu Mulka, yet it is not clear to just what the figures refer. Possibly the library occupied a separate building. The institution was endowed. Among its custodians were 'Abd al-Salām the grammarian and geographer, Abū Manṣūr al-Murtaḍā, and Ibn Ḥamad, the last two serving together.[22]

The academy's activities seem to have been literary and philosophical rather than scientific. According to Mez, the library included 10,400 volumes, mostly author's autographs. Management was in the hands of two *Alid*s and a *Qaḍi*.[23]

6. Al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān

Pinto states that Al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān, courtier of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-47/847-61), probably had his library at Baghdād. It was collected and put in order for him by 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim (d 275/888). An omnivorous bibliophagist, al-Fatḥ always had a book with him, even in the *Mustarāḥ* (bathroom).[24]

According to Mackensen, Fatḥ ibn Khāqān called his library *Khizānat al-Ḥikma* (treasury of wisdom). Because of Ibn al-Munajjim's taste in

literature, the fame of his library, and his ability to collect outstanding works, al-Fatḥ engaged him to assemble this library.[25]

Because he was in favor with the reactionary caliph, al-Mutawakkil, al-Fatḥ could not have been a Mu'tazilite, yet he was a man utterly devoted to learning and polite literature.[26]

7. Ghars al-Ni'ma

Ghars al-Ni'ma (V/XI century), historian of the famous scientific family al-Sābī', had in Baghdād a small library of 400 choice volumes which he sold in ca. 459/1067 when the Nizāmiyya was established.[27] Al-Ṣafadī also records in the biography of Ghars al-Ni'ma al-Ṣābī that he founded in Baghdād a library of about 300 volumes for the use of students and that this library was shamelessly robbed by the librarian.[28]

8. Ibn al-'Alqamī

According to Adolf Grohmann Ibn al-'Alkamī (d 656/1258), *wazīr* of the last 'Abbāsid, had a private library of 10,000 volumes which, with the other Baghdād libraries and there were not less than 38 of them went down before the Mongolian storm, some burnt, others cast in water.[29] This Shī'a managed to be *wazīr* to Hulāgū also.

9. Al-Jāḥīz

According to Pinto, Al-Jāhīz (d 255/868) possibly more noted as a bibliomaniac than owner of a private library, read everything that came to his hands and even took over bookshops under some arrangement whereby he could spend days without interruption reading the stocks. His end [possibly apocryphal] was all that a bibliophile might wish: old, paralytic, deep in a canyon of volumes, he died under an avalanche of books.[30] He was a prose stylist, and theologian of the Mu'tazilite school of Baṣra. He retired to his native town where he died in 255 H. (some say in 250), aged over ninety.[31] He was author of *Risāla fī Madḥ al-Kutub wal-Ḥaththth ilā Jam'i-hā,* (letter eulogizing books and the urge to collect them).[32]

10. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī

Philip Hitti reports that Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (395-464/1002-71), the historian, willed his books in *waqf* for Muslims. They were housed in the home of a friend of his.[33]

11. Khizānat al-Ḥikma

Khizānat al-Ḥikma (treasure-house of wisdom) was built by 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim (d 275/888) in the village of Karkar, near Kufs, in the neighborhood of Baghdād. This library was private, yet open to all readers. Known throughout the Arab world, it attracted students from far and near.

Ibn al-Munajjim's father was an astronomer in the employ of the caliph al-Ma'mūn, by whom he was converted, hence of course to the Mu'tazilite persuasion. The son was a singer of merit and a translator and patron of translators. [34] Despite his liberal attitude toward learning he was in favor with the reactionary caliph al-Mutawakkil. Possibly he had forsaken the faith of his father. [35] Ibn al-Munajjim had an important role in connection with the library of al-Fatḥ Khāqān (no. 7 above).

12. Al-Ma'mūn's Dār al-'Ilm or Bayt al-Ḥikma

There was a library annexed to the great academy Dār al-'Ilm or Bayt al-Ḥikma founded by al-Hārūn (r. 170-94/786-809) or by al-Ma'mūn (r. 198-218/813-33). Undoubtedly the first public library in Islam, it was the prototype of others in Baghdād and elsewhere in Islamic lands. This library was flourishing during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (218-27/833-42).[36]

Mackensen, in assembling information on this institution, most of which is drawn from the *Fihrist*, does not mention al-Hārūn as a possible founder, but states, *inter alia*, that it was probably the first great library in Baghdād. It flourished until the city was sacked by the Mongols in 656/1258. In addition to Bayt al-Ḥikma and Dār al-Ḥikma, it was also known as Khizānat al-Ḥikma. Although al-Ma'mūn was interested in all fields of learning, the activities of the academy, which contained an astronomical observatory as well as a library, centered around the sciences, with Yāḥya, the caliph's astrologer-astronomer, in charge of scientific work. The three Bānū Mūsa, who themselves supported a staff of translators at a reputed cost of 500 dinars a month, were at one time associated with Yaḥyā. Al-Khawārizmī

composed his algebra and almanac at the request of al-Ma'mūn and used the library for study. The corps which translated and copied Persian, Syrian, and Indian as well as Greek works contained names of men of scholarly attainments mentioned in the *Fihrist.*

Of the three known librarians, who may have been directors of the entire academy as well, the best known was Sahl (Salmā, or Salmūn) Ibn Hārūn, a man of extreme parsimony. Sahl was celebrated for his elegant literary style, his poetry, his rhetoric, wisdom, eloquence and knowledge of books. He wrote an imitation of *Kalīla wa Dimna* (lost) and a treatise on avarice. Mentioned at different places as associates of Sahl, Which is evident that the institution had at least two librarians at a time, were Salm and Sa'īd Ibn Hārūn. Salm not only translated from Middle Persian but went in a commission sent by al-Ma'mūn to obtain Greek philosophical and scientific books from Emperor Leo, the Armenian. Salm and a certain Abū Ḥassān made careful (second) translation of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy for Yaḥya B. Khālid, the Barmacide (d. 190/805). Sa'īd Ibn Hārūn, a rhetorician, was author of a book on philosophy and certain tractatus. His opinions were quoted by Al-Djāhiz, author of *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān.*[37] Dar al-'Ilm library contained not only books but also old autographs.[38]

13. Manichaean books

It is reported that 14 sacks of heretical books and a portrait of Mānī were burnt in 311/923 at the public gate of the castle at Baghdād.

14. Al-Muhallabī

Al-Muhallabī (d 963 A.D.), the *wazīr* whose property was basely confiscated at his death by the Buwayhid ruler Mu'izz al-Dawla, had a library which was run by his secretary Ibn Miskawayh (properly Mushkūyi) (d 421/1030), the philosopher and analyst. This library was confiscated in 352/963. [39]

15. Mu'izz al-Daula

Pinto reports that Mu'izz al-Daula Abū al-Ḥusain Aḥmad (r. 320-56/932-67), humiliator of the caliphate, ruler of 'Irāq, Ahwāz, and Kirmān, and first Buwayhid to hold the title "Amīr al-Umarā'", had a library.[40]

16. The Mustanṣirīyya

Library of the Madrasa al-Mustanṣirīyya, was founded in 631/1233 by the next to last Abbāssid caliph, al-Mustanṣir, and probably destroyed by the Mongols under Hulāgū in 656/1258. The historian Ibn al-Sā'ī (d 674/1275) was director.[41]

Krenkow states: "Though many books certainly perished in the sack of Baghdād, the library of the Mustanṣirīyya existed for more than a century later. In the biography of Ibn al-Futi which I have published in the *Loghat al-'Arab* (Baghdād) vol. VI, pp. 647-49, it is distinctly stated that he was for many years librarian there."[42]

This library would appear to have survived both Hulāgū and Tīmūr for the Mustanṣiriyya was merged with it about two years after Tīmūr Lang [first] captured Baghdād in 795/1393.[43] Tīmūr's second capture of Baghdād in 803/1401 was much more destructive.[44] Ruins of the building form part of the present Customs House.

Ibn al-Furāt, after mentioning the beauty of the library's buildings and its unusually rich endowments, speaks of the library (House of Books) which al-Mustanṣīr established for the benefit of the faculty and students. "In it were innumerable precious books in all the categories of the sciences," arranged for the convenience of users. Paper, pens and lamps were furnished *gratis*. *Kutuba'l-Dīn* asserted that its collections exceeded those of any other madrasa.

The buildings, according to Arab writers, surpassed anything previously erected in a Muslim land, [whatever that may actually mean.] The founder wished his madrasa to excel the nearby Niẓāmīyya and he may have been successful as to architectural distinction but apparently not otherwise. The edifice contained four mosques, one for each of the orthodox rites, a bath, a hospital with a doctor in daily attendance, store rooms, and a kitchen where were cooked free meals for faculty and students. In each of the four halls, one for each Sunnī denomination, a professor assisted by two assistants taught 75 students. Professors were paid monthly salaries and each student was given a gold dinar a month in addition to tuition and living.[45]

17. Al-Mu'taḍid

The caliph al-Mu'taḍid (r. 278-98/892-902) had a book collection but we know nothing more about it.[46]

18. The Niẓāmīyya

Library attached to the Madrasa al-Niẓāmīyya, founded 457/1064 by Niẓām al-Mulk, then *wazīr* to Alp Arsalān.[47] Its school was opened in 459/1067.[48]

The collections of the Niẓāmīyya were formed by gifts of books by the founder, as recorded by Ibn al-Athīr, also by books willed to it by the historian Ibn al-Najjār (d 643/1245), but especially it was the generosity of the caliph al-Nāẓir (r. 575-622/1080-1225), that made the library one of the largest and most valuable in a Muslim land. Ibn al-Athīr says that in 589/1193 al-Nāṣir ordered the construction of a library building for the Niẓāmīyya and transferred to it (probably from his own palace) thousands of valuable books the like of which one does not see. Of this library of al-Nāṣir, Ibn Khaldūn says that it surpassed that of the caliph al-Ḥakam II at Cordoba, a collection said to number 400,000 volumes. (It is clear that al-Naṣir gave all his library to the college.)

The Niẓāmīyya was in East Baghdād. The Niẓām designed it especially for the propagation of Shafi'ī law. Abū Isḥaq al-Shirāzi, who had been appointed chief professor delayed taking his "chair" for twenty days in protest to the Niẓām's having seized the land or the madrasa without reimbursing the dispossessed owners. Professorships in this academy were of some importance and had to be confirmed by the caliph. Al-Ghazzālī was appointed in 484/1091. Bahā' al-Dīn, the biographer of Saladin taught there. Abū Yūsuf al-Isfarāynī (d 488/1095), a noted Shafi'i doctor, served both as teacher and librarian. The madrasa, liberally endowed by the founder, maintained a high reputation for several centuries. In 581/1185, Ibn Jubayr visited it and reported it the best of the thirty-odd colleges in Baghdād East. The buildings had been thoroughly repaired in 504/1110 and were still in good condition when visited by Yāqūt early in the 13th century A.D. It survived the Mongol siege of 656/1285, for Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in 727/1327 reported it in good repair and spoke of it as "the wonderful Niẓāmīyya college, the excellence of which has become proverbial." Ḥamd Allāh, writing in 740/1340, and Ibn al-Furāt, the Egyptian historian of the same century, knew it as the greatest college in Baghdād. Ghīyāth al-Dīn (d 797/1349) was its last professor mentioned by Arabic writers, which gives our last date for this institution. Its fate is Unknown. Possibly it was

absorbed in the nearby Mustanṣirīyya. Probably it was destroyed by Tamerlane's hordes in the 15th century.[49] Hitti states that it was finally merged with al-Mustanṣirīyya about two years after Tīmūr Lang captured Baghdād in 1393 A.D.[50]

19. Al-Ṣūlī, the chess-player

Abū Bakr Muḥammad B. Yaḥya al-Ṣūlī, an Aran chess-player and historian (d 335 or 336/946), compiler of history, man of letters, and courtier, had a private library about which well-known ironical verses were composed.[51] In the biographies of al-Sūli we read of his large collection of books which were bound in tasteful red and yellow leather bindings.[52]

20. Al-Wāqidī

According to Browne, Abdullah Muhammad B. 'Umar Al-Wāqidī (130-207/746-823), the Arab historian born in Medina, left 600 great chests. He had appointed the caliph al-Ma'mūn his executor and the caliph carried out his duties in person when Wāqidī died.[53]

21. Zaydī shrine

On his death in 626/1229 Yāqūt, the geographer, left his books as *waqf* to the Zaydī shrine that was mosque in Dinar Street in Baghdād.[54]

In the VII/XIII century there were 36 libraries in Baghdād, all of which were doubtlessly destroyed when Hulāgū entered the city in 656/1258.[55]

According to the *Directory of Islamic Libraries and Librarians*, as of 1983 Iraq had nearly 45 national, public, institutional and special libraries throughout the country with about 5 million books and about 25 thousand manuscripts and rare books. The above figures do not include journals and magazines. Of the 45 libraries, the holding of the six institutional Libraries are not given nor of any significant private library is reported in the *Directory of Islamic Libraries and Librarians.*

5- Baṣra

1. Ḥabashī, son of Mu'izz al-Dawla

According to Mez, 17,000 volumes were confiscated in 357/967 belonging to a rebellious son of the *emir* of Baghdād.[56]

Grohmann writes that the son of Mu'izz al-Dawla had a library in Baṣra of ca. 15,000 volumes, plus a mass of pamphlets and unbound works, which was confiscated in 357/967-68.[57]

Quatremere quotes Ibn Khaldūn as reporting (Man. ar. 636, fol. 427 v.) that Ḥabashī, son of Mu'izz al-Dawla, revolted against his brother Bakhtiyār in 357 H. and was surprised and made prisoner in the city of Baṣra. Among his treasures were found 10,000 volumes.[58]

2. Ibn Sawwār's Foundation

According to Pinto, this library was founded and made public by a certain Ibn Sawwār.[59] Minorsky quotes Schwartz as identifying Ibn Sawwār as the son of Sawwār B. 'Abd Allāh, governor of Baṣra (d 157/773).[60]

Mackensen reports that Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, author of the *Fihrist* (p. 139), refers to the founder as Abū 'Alī ibn Sawwār al-Kātib, a man devoted to the sciences, and quotes him as saying, "in my library at al-Baṣra ...," which implies that this library was founded before the writing of the *Fihrist* in 377/988. Al-Mukaddasī, writing in 375/985, states that the endowment included support for all who wished to devote themselves to the study of the Mu'tazilite system and to reading and copying. A *shaykh* lectured regularly on Mu'tazilite doctrine. The Baṣra library, he adds, was larger than its companion in Rām-*Hurmuz* and more frequented.[61]

According to Grohmann, founder was called a courtier of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (d 372/982), no other identification.[62]

3. Town library

Mackensen quotes Al-Ḥarīrī as saying in the second *Makāmā:* "I was once present in the town [Baṣra] library, which is the council hall of the cultured, the meeting place of residents and strangers ...," and goes on to tell of a group of literary dilettante assembled there to discuss poetry. There is no way of knowing if the city library pictured by al-Ḥarīrī is the one founded by Ibn Sawwār.[63]

Pinto states that the library mentioned by al-Ḥarīrī (446-516 H.), was burnt at the Bedouin uprising of 483/1090.[64]

According to Grohmann, in the Paris (Schefer) Ms. of al-Ḥarīrī, a miniature by Yaḥyā Maḥmūd shows a group of scholars in a library, with book Columbaria on the wall behind.[65]

Cherney says there were several public libraries in Baṣra.[66]

6- Bukhārā

Nūḥ II ibn Manṣūr

Pinto reports that Nūḥ II ibn Manṣūr (d 387/997), the Sāmānid ruler, had a library which Avicenna was allowed to visit and of which he later became librarian. He is erroneously accused of having set it afire.[67] This library must have been at Bukhārā, where Avicenna spent his studious youth. Al-Riḍā Nūḥ II ibn Manṣūr reigned 366-87/967-97.

Avicenna (d 428/1037 and buried at Hamadān), became librarian to the Sāmānid *sultan* Nūḥ II ibn Manṣūr at what have been a precocious age. Were he actually born in 370/980, as Abī Uṣaybi'a states, he would have been but ca. 17 years of age when Nūḥ II ibn Manṣūr died, yet it was for his skill in curing this *sultan* that he was given the privilege of using his library. This would indicate both that Avicenna was a youthful genius and that he did not long enjoy this patronage. Thus is the statement of de Boer: "Endowed with a marvelous memory and rapid power of assimilating knowledge, in a short time he gained here [i.e., in this library] all the knowledge that enabled him to systematize all the learning of his time. He began to write at the age of 21 ..."[68]

Here is Avicenna's description of the treasures:

"I found there many rooms filled with books which were arranged in cases row upon row. One room was allotted to works in Arabic philology and poetry; another to jurisprudence, and so forth, the books on each particular science having a room to them selves. I inspected the catalog of ancient Greek authors and looked for the books which I required; I saw in this collection of books of which few people have heard even the names and which I myself have never seen either before or since."[69]

7- Cairo

1. Al-Afḍal

Meyerhof states that the only thing that is known about the library of the *wazīr*, al-Afḍal ibn Badr al-Jamālī (d 515/1121) is that he bought 10,000 books from the Jewish physician, Ephriam, to keep them in the country.[70]

2. Al-Azhar Mosque

According to Pinto, the library connected with al-Azhar Mosque was founded by the Fatimid caliph al-'Azīz bi Allāh (r. 365-86/975-96).[71]

Vullers writes that al-'Azīz did not found the mosque; he made it an academy. The mosque had been opened in 361/972 . Books are kept -- and appear to have been kept -- in the *arwiqa* (s. *riwāq*), a term applied here to divisions of the students, divisions made partly according to nationality or sect, rarely according to *waqf*. From the official catalog of 1268/1851 the total number of works in the *arwiqa* may then have exceeded 8,000 in ca. 19,000 volumes.[72]

3. Dār al-'Ilm of al-Ḥākim

According to Pinto, the library annexed to Dār al-'Ilm was founded in 395/1004 by al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh; still cared for during the life of his son al-Zāhir, later let go to ruin and plunder, but not entirely because when Saladin took Cairo in 567/1171 he gave some of its books to his secretary al-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Rahīm and had part sold at auction..[73]

Mackensen quotes Makrīzī as describing the opening (I, 408): "On the eight day of Djumādā II, 395/1004 was opened the building called "House of Wisdom." The students installed themselves. The books were brought from the libraries of the "Inhabited Castles" (residences of the Fatimid caliphs) and the public was admitted. Whoever wished to copy a book was at library to do so, whoever wished to read a certain book in the library could do so. Scholars studied the Qur'ān, astronomy, grammar, lexicography, and medicine. The budget, as given by Makrīzī, was:

	Amount	
Salary of librarian	48	Dinars
Salary of attendant	15	Dinars
For rush mats	10	Dinars
For winter carpets	5	Dinars
For winter mats	4	Dinars

For repair to curtains	1	Dinars
For water	12	Dinars
For paper	90	Dinars
For paper, pens, and ink for those using the library	12	Dinars
For repair of books	12	Dinars
Total	209	Dinars

From a vague remark of Makrīzī it is likely that this library, as well as the Fatimid royal library, suffered during the famine and insurrection of 461/1068. In 513/1119 the *wazīr* al-Afḍal closed the academy on the grounds that its teachings were not strictly Isma'īlī. In 517/1123 it was reopened in a new location by the next *wazīr* al-Ma'mūm. This new Dār al-'Ilm lasted fifty years, until the end of the Fatimid dynasty. It is probable that its library was disposed of by Saladin much as he did to that of the palace. We have no detailed information as to its fate.[74]

This library was open not only to the fellows of the academy but to the public as well. Free writing materials were provided for all, as well as lodging, meals and stipends for those who wished to remain a time for study. The judge 'Abd al-'Azīz was appointed head of the Dār al-'Ilm, for which he collected a large library.[75]

The original Dār al-'Ilm was near the West Palace, reached by the Strawdealers' Gate. In al-Makrīzī's time it was called Dār al-Ḥaḍīrī and was in the street of the same name leading of the Akmar Mosque.[76]

4. The Fāḍilīyya

The library attached to the Madrasa al-Fāḍiliyya was founded by al-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Rahīm, secretary to Saladin who incorporated the books from the Dār al-'Ilm given him by his patron. The books were filched by the students and soon were completely dispersed.[77]

According to Mackensen, the Fāḍiliyya was opened in 580/1184-85. Saladin gave al-Fāḍil 100,000 (or 120,000) books from the Dār al-'Ilm: some authors say al-Fāḍil bought them. When Saladin took the city of Āmid on the Tigris, in the year 1183 A.D., he gave the library of 1,140,000 volumes to al-Fāḍil, who selected and took away seventy camel loads.

During the famine of 694/1294-95 most of the collection of the Fāḍiliyya disappeared when the students exchanged them for bread at the rate of one

book for one load [loaf!]. In Makrīzī's time there remained an exceedingly ancient and valuable Qur'ān, in Kufic, reputed to have been written by the caliph 'Uthmān, for which al-Fāḍil paid 30,000 dinars.[78]

5. Fatimid Library[79]

According to Mackensen, in 1043-44 A.D. the *wazīr* Abū Qāsim 'Alī ibn Aḥmad [al-Jarjarā'ī] took charge of this library, catalogued it, and repaired bindings. A scientist-astronomer present then describes two valuable globes which he saw there and adds that there were 65,000 works on astronomy, geometry, and philosophy alone. In 461/1068-69, during the famine, all but the private library of the inner palace was destroyed. 2,400 Qur'āns, among other books, were carried off by the Turkish troops against wages due. Makrīzī quotes an eyewitness as having seen 25 camel-loads of books taken by one creditor, a *wazīr*. Fine bindings were made into shoes for soldiers; books were burned, dumped in the river, and heaped in mounds soon covered with sand.

In 567/1171, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took Cairo, the library was again large, varied and exceedingly valuable. Makrīzī describes how the books were shelved, classified, and catalogued. He speaks of their variety and mentions those in the hand of famous calligraphers. The staff consisted of a librarian, two copyists, and two attendants. The size of the collection at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's occupation is given as 120,000, 601,000, 1,000,000 and 2,600,000 volumes. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn kept none of the palace treasures for himself, but he gave 100,000 of 120,000, volumes to his chancellor, al-Fāḍil. Some authors say al-Fāḍil bought the books. These finally came to his madrasa, the Fāḍilīyya, which he opened in 580/1184-85. The other books of the Fāṭimid library were sold at public auction twice a week over a period of ten years. 'Imād al-Dīn [al-Isfahāni], Ṣilāḥ al-Dīn's secretary, is quoted by Abū Shāma as describing the bundles of manuscripts thus sold, often mixed in a jumble of leaves, on *belles-lettres*, astronomy, medical works, logic, mathematics, law, commentaries, and history.[80]

Ibn al-Kifṭī (d 1248 A.D.) quotes one Ibn al-Sinbādī, a scientist, as seeing in this library in 435/1044 a bronze globe made by Ptolemy, which bore an inscription to the effect that it had been in the possession of Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwīya (665-704 or 708 A.D.).

Al-Shabushtī, author of *The Book of Monasteries* (d 390/1000), served as librarian and reader for the caliph al-'Azīz. The *wazīr* Abū 'Alī ibn Aḥmad (d 435/1044) was the head either of the royal library or that of the Dār al-'Ilm, the immediate supervision of which he left to a deputy, Qāḍī Abū 'Abd Allāh, and a stationer.[81]

The Cataloguing and repairs of bindings ordered in 435 H. were superintended by Abū Khalaf al-Kuḍā'ī and Ibn Khalaf al-Warrāk. There were 6,500 volumes on exact sciences alone.[82]

Ibn al-Ṭuwayr reports that the library had departments, divided into sections, each section with a door on hinges and locks. It contained more than 200,000 volumes.[83] The bookcases (*rufūf*) were divided by partitions into separate compartments (*ḥājiz*) each of which was closed by a door with hinges and locks.[84]

6. Ibn al-Muẓaffar

The Cairene poet, philosopher, and physician, Ibn al-Muẓaffar Naṣr ibn Maḥmūd al-Mu'arrif, pupil of Ibn al-'Ainzabarī (d 548/1153), had a large hall full of books, thousands on every subject, amidst which he was wont to sit, reading and copying.[85]

7. The Maḥmūdīyya Madrasa

Heffening reports that the Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya, founded in 797/1395, had a library which the founder, Ustādār Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī (d 799/1397), restricted by his will to use on the premises. Nevertheless, by 826/1423 when an inventory was made, it was found that a tenth of the books, some 400 volumes, were missing, whereupon the director of the mosque was dismissed.[86]

In the Maḥmūdiyya Madrasa located outside Cairo there was a library left in *waqf* by Maḥmūd with the stipulation that no books were to be lent out. The collection had been made by the Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn ibn Jāma'ah [Jima'ah]. It had been purchased from his heirs by Maḥmud and put under the charge of the Imām, Saraj al-Dīn. Soon after, Saraj was denounced by Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān, known as al-Muṭa'ī, for having lost a large number of the books. Saraj was sacked.

8. Māristān

Grohmann quotes Ibn al-Ṭuwayr as telling that the Fatimid Library was brought to a room in the Māristān, called in al-Maqrīzī's time the old Māristān. When it was brought there, we do not know. The books were kept in cases around the walls of the large rooms. The cases were divided by shelves, to each a door with lock. A list, attached to each section, gave the books therein, with notes of any lacunae.[87]

9. Māristān Kalā'ūn Library

There was a fine library in the hospital founded in 683/1284 by the Sultan Kalā'ūn. This, the first hospital in Cairo -- subsequently known as the Ancient Hospital -- occupied part of the site of the old west palace of al-'Azīz. Some of its books were reported to have once been in the Fatimid collection. Maqrīzī confuses this library with that of the Fatimids dispersed a century before the hospital was established.[88]

Ibn Taghrībirdī (II/i. 482) reports this library contained 100,000 books from the Fatimid royal library.[89]

10. Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik al-Āmirī

Meyerhof reports that in the middle of the V/XI century, in Cairo, the learned and studious Fatimid prince, Maḥmūd al-Dawla Abū al-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik al-Āmirī, had learned tutors in medicine, mathematics, and philosophy, wrote much himself, and had a library (Khazā'in Kutub), in which many books were spotted. Concerning these spots the *shaykh* Sadīd al-Dīn said that on Ibn Fātik's death his wife had gone into the library with the slaves and had thrown the books in the water-basin in the courtyard.[90]

11. Saladin

Saladin, at his conquest of Egypt (567/1171), had formed for him by his *wazīr*, al-Fāḍil, a huge private library of 86,000 volumes. After it had been sequestered a few months it had shrunk by 12,000 volumes. This library was apparently in Cairo.[91]

12. Ya'qūb ibn Killīs

Ya'kūb ibn Killis (*wazīr* to al-'Azīz, 365-73 H.), the Jewish convert, held a private majlis once a week for poets, scholars and authors. His sycophants were supported in comfort, some even in luxury, and were allowed to use his private library.[92]

According to Mez, Ibn Killis established a private academy. He is reported to have spent 1,000 dinars a month for professors, copyists, and binders.[93]

8- Cordova[94]

Abū Mutrif (the Qāḍī Futways)

Abū Mutrif (the Qāḍī Futways ibn Sulaymān 'Uthmān) of Cordova had a rich library in which six copyists worked continuously. Its great value is indicated by the fact that when impoverishment of the family necessitated its sale it realized 40,000 dinars.[95] At his death in 420/1011. Abū Mutrif's books were sold in his mosque for a whole year, fetching 400,000 for the collection.[96]

The special building which he ordered for the library was made with such art that one might from any given point see all the shelves. The elegant vestibule, roof, walls, terrace, and rich cushions and rugs were all green, color of nobility. One of the most learned of the literati of city was librarian. In addition to doing the cataloguing, he did special copying. Books were not lent under any circumstance, the owner knowing too well from experience with what reluctance books are returned and with what ease book lovers turn a deaf ear and forget. This library became second only to that of the Sultan. When sold it fetched 40,000 golden Qāsimī.[97]

2. 'Ā'isha

Among those in high Cordovan society who loved books may be cited 'Ā'isha, a poetess of a noted family, whose loved literature so much that she never desired marriage and died a maiden of an advanced age. In her love of books she assembled in Cordova one of the famous libraries of her day.[98] She may be the 'Ā'isha bint Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, daughter of Abū Ya'kūb al-Fayḍūlī, who wrote and collected books.[99]

3. Muḥammad ibn Ḥazm

Muḥammad ibn Ḥazm, a schoolmaster of Cordova, had little by little amassed a fine and carefully preserved library which was the envy of scholars, especially those books which he had himself patiently and accurately copied in his spare time.[100]

Ribera states that Ibn Hazm used all the money he could spare to buy books and he used his free time in making copies so that others might borrow them. Although he could not afford a librarian his library was, nevertheless, kept in order. The literati of Cordova envied him the accuracy of his editions and the meticulous excellence of certain unique ones, which he had copied on a voyage made for the purpose through the Orient. Though he was badly dressed and obviously ill-fed, his library showed clearly what distinction was possible in collecting even by a person of most limited means.[101]

4. Umayyad Library

This library, generally called that of al-Ḥakam, was founded during 238-73/852-66; greatly enlarged during 350-66/961-76, dispersed 403/1013 and later. It was founded by the Caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir (r. 349-65/961-76). His successor, Hishām, had al-Wādih, freedman of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Āmir, as *wazīr* who withdrew and burnt all the materialistic and philosophical works. Of the remainder, some were sold by al-Wādih prior to the Berber invasion of the V/XI century, the rest was sacked by the conquerors. Some of the books may have reached Toledo, for the library of the Banū Dhī al-Nūn. The sources do not make it clear whether or not the library of al-Ḥakam was open to the public. Presumably it was.[102]

Mackensen reports that the library of Al-Ḥakam I contained at least 400,000 volumes (some say 640,000), many annotated with his own hand. Books were his consuming passion. His agents went over the world buying manuscripts old and new and scribes were hired throughout the East to copy what could not be bought. Authors sent him first copies of their works, assured of a liberal reward. A magnificent building was especially designed for housing the royal library. There he employed librarians, copyists, miniature painters, and binders to keep the library in repair and to add new material. Every effort was made to make use of the books convenient and

delightful. The University of Cordova was thronged with students and great teachers, delighted with the freedom of thought and expression upon which the caliph insisted. But this was not to last.

Al-Ḥakam's successor, his fourteen-year-old son, Hishām, was dominated by, and later the virtual prisoner of, his minister, al-Manṣūr ibn Abī 'Āmir, commonly known in Europe as Almanzor, a dictator until his death in 1002 A.D. Fearing the conservative leaders and sensing a Puritan reaction to the liberality of the previous reign, al-Manṣur invited the most fanatical figures of Cordova to examine the royal library and remove all books of which they disapproved, promising to burn them. Books on philosophy and most of the sciences were considered harmful and the only books approved were those on rhetoric, grammar, poetry, history, law, traditions, medicine and arithmetic.

What was left of the library remained unmolested until the Berber siege, ending with the fall of Cordova in 403/1013, when Wāḍiḥ, governor of the city, sold most of the books to pay his troops. The few that survived this catastrophe were stolen when the Berbers sacked the city a few years later. Some went to distant lands but apparently many turned up in Spanish provincial libraries, according to Sa'īd of Toledo writing in 460/1067-68.[103]

According to Mez, the library's catalogue consisted of 44 fasciculi, each of 20 folios, containing merely the titles of the books.[104] Hitti reports that the royal library of Cordova, started by Muḥammad I (852-56 A.D.) and enlarged by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (912-61 A.D.), became the largest and best when al-Ḥakam II added his own collection.[105]

Ribera writes that Al-Ḥakam II, at the death of his father, Muḥammad, brought together three libraries: first, that of the palace, into which his ancestors had put all their care; second, that of his brother, Muḥammad; third, his own personal library. An old palace employee, a eunuch, was librarian and had in his charge the formation and custody of the catalogues and care of the books on the shelves. The number of volumes, as this same librarian noted it, was more than 400,000. The catalogues in which the titles and authors were listed consisted of 44 fasciculi of 50 sheets each.

When al-Ḥakam had the library shifted to a larger building the entire staff worked throughout six months on the moving. Al-Manṣūr hid in secret shelves [some of] the books detested by conservatives at the time when he organized, to please them, an inspection by them. Yet, however reluctantly,

he aided with his own hands the burning of the books on philosophy, superior astronomy, theological controversies, etc. Those spared included works on medicine, arithmetic, elementary astronomy, law, and other innocent materials.[106]

Al-Ḥakam annotated most of his books. He also wrote at the beginning or end of each book the name, surname, and patronymic of the author, his tribe, family, date of birth and of his death, and the anecdotes about him.[107]

Altamira reports that this royal library was already in the reign of Mahomet I, one of the best in Cordova, and 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān III added to it. His two sons Mahomet and Ḥakam II showed their dissatisfaction with their father's library by each forming a separate collection, and in the end Ḥakam II made the three libraries into one vast collection of four hundred thousand volumes. He employed a principal librarian. who had instructions draw up a catalog, as well as the best binders, draughtsmen and illuminators. The dispersal of this library at the fall of the Caliphate was a disaster to the West.[108]

5. Arabic libraries owned by Christians

San Alvaro of Cordova, in his *Indiculo Luminoso*, apropos the shameful preference of his fellow Christians for things Arabic, exclaims: "Ah! All the young Christians who become notable for their talents know only the language and literature of the Arabs; they zealously read and study Arabic books, and at the cost of enormous sums form great libraries of them and proclaim everywhere that this literature alone is worthy of admiration."[109]

6. Lower classes, eunuchs, and fashionable rich

Even the lower classes and the eunuchs took on bookish tastes and formed libraries, so great was the love of books in Cordova. There were also the fashionable rich, who collected books *a la mode.*[110]

9- Damascus

Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya

Heffening writes that the earliest record of anything like a public library is connected with the name of Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn M'āwīya; "We are told that he caused books [on Greek sciences, particularly alchemy and medicine] to be translated, and when an epidemic occurred at the beginning of the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, he commanded the books to be fetched out of the library [Khizāna] to be made available for the people."[111]

Mackensen questions this, pointing to the fact that Khālid, according to most authorities, died 85/704 and certainly not later than 90/708-9, whereas 'Umar II was caliph 99-101/717-20.[112]

10- Fez

1. Al-Karawīyīn Mosque

Heffening reports that with a *waqf* document of 799/1396 Ibn Khaldūn bestowed his *Kitāb al-'Ibar* on the library of the Jāmi' al-Karawīyīn in Fez (or Fās) with the condition that it was only to be lent out to trustworthy, reliable men, for two months at most, against a substantial deposit, this period being sufficient to copy or study the work, and the director of the library was to see that the conditions were observed.[113]

Lectures are today given in the arcades of the mosque.[114]

2. Madrasa al-Ṣaffārīn

According to Pinto, library of the Madrasa al-Ṣaffārīn, founded by the Merīnid *sultan* Ya'kūb ibn 'Abd al-Haqq (r. 591-614/1195-1217), was formed largely of books from Spain which the *sultan* had demanded from the defeated king, Sancho.[115]

Yver states that the libraries of Fez were once famous. "That of the Madrasa al-Ṣaffārīn once included the Arabic works sent as tribute to the Maranīd Ya'kūb B. 'Abd al-Haqq by Sancho, king of Castile. These afterwards went to swell the library of the Mosque of al-Karawīyīn."[116]

11- Fīrūzābād

Bahrām

The *wazīr* Bahrām (d 433/1041-42) built at Fīrūzābād, Persia, a library building (Dār al-Kutub) in which he deposited 7,000 volumes.[117]

12- al-Fustāt

Dār al-'Ilm

Al-Ḥākim (r. 386-411/996-1020) built in al-Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, institutions similar to his Dār al-'Ilm in Cairo: According to Ibn Dukmāk there still existed in his time (about 800 H.) a building called the Dār al-'Ilm in al-Fusṭāṭ.[118]

13- Ghazna

1. Maḥmūd (r. 388-421/998-1030)

The university, which was founded by Maḥmūd, was liberally endowed and contained a well-stocked and diversified collection of books. He posed as a patron of culture yet his treatment of Firdawsī and al-Bīrūnī is notorious. 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusayn bought with gold the poems written in praise of Maḥmūd and his successors and placed them in his library, this even though he destroyed their buildings.[119]

According to Pinto, these libraries were enriched especially by looting of the Ghaznawid troops at Rayy in 420/1029 and at Isfahān in 425/1033, but in their turn dispersed or destroyed when the city was taken in 550/1155 by the Ghūrid prince Ḥusayn. Pinto lists these among public libraries.[120]

2. Mas'ūd

Heffening reports that among the minor libraries was one founded by the Ghaznawī Mas'ūd[121], most of whose treasures were later transferred to Bukhārā. This library was presumably private.[122]

Ghazna (Ghaznin or Ghazni), an ancient city in Afghanistan, had received great support from Ghaznawid Sultans for public libraries.

14- Granada

1. 'Azz 'Ubaidi

The 'Azz 'Ubaidi had a large private library in Granada, Spain, which was robbed by the Esquilula and later, thanks to the good offices of the king of Granada, returned.[123]

2. Banū al-Aḥmar (Naṣrids)

According to Ribera, the Banū al-Aḥmar (r. 629-897/1231-1491) had learned libraries that were presumably private.[124] Undoubtedly, the Alhambra housed some of these books.

3. Ibn Farakūn

The private library of Ibn Farakūn was noted for its splendid editions which he had himself illuminated.[125]

4. Ibn Lope

Ibn Lope, the fiery orator, had a fine private library.[126]

5. Al-Taraz

The celebrated al-Taraz had a private library which literati frequented in order to compare and correct their copies.[127]

15- Hamadān

1. Majd al-Dawla Abū-Ṭālib Rustam

This Buwayhid ruler of Hamadān (r. 387-420/997-1029) deposed by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, possessed a presumably private library.[128]

2. Unknown resident

Nicholson reports that it was from a private library of a leading resident of Hamadān that the distinguished poet, Abū Tammām Ḥabīb ibn Aws (d ca. 850 H.), selected the poems [850 fragments] which form his famous anthology. Ibn Khallikān relates that late in life the poet was journeying to Khurāsān to be guest of its powerful ruler, 'Abdullāh ibn Ṭahīr, when a heavy fall of snow compelled him to stop for some time at Hamadān. There entertained by one of the most eminent men of the place, who possessed a library in which were some collections of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert and other authors. Having sufficient leisure, he perused those works and selected from them the passages out of which he formed his Ḥamāsa.[129]

16- Isfahān

1. Masjid-i Ādīa

Writing in 421/1030, al-Māfarrūkhī states that adjoining the Masjid-i Ādīna one finds the library with its different rooms and storerooms. It was built by Ustād al-Ra'īs Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḍubbī, who assembled there during many years works on all kinds and sorts of sciences by the scholars of the past and by contemporary literati. It had a catalog in three large volumes covering the knowledge necessary to students and to those who would choose between science and ignorance.[130]

2. Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād

The Ṣāḥib (IV/X century) had a private library all or part of which he must have had with him during his Isfahān residences, but it is more closely associated with Rayy, where he spent most of his career and to where he left it in *waqf.*

3. A theologian and landowner

According to Mez, an Isfahānian theologian and landowner (d 272/885) is said to have spent 300,000 dihrams on books.[131]

17- Marāgha

Hulāgū

Krenkow reports that a vast library was collected by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī in Marāgha, Persia.[132] This library would be in connection with the observatory, which Hulāgū ordered built in 656/1258. Al-Ṭūsī brought books here from Alamūt.

Hitti writes: "Close by it [the observatory] stood a library, also built by Hulāgū, and said to have contained 400,000 volumes. Most of these books were pillaged by the Mongol armies from Syria, al-'Irāq and Persia."[133]

18- Merw

1. The 'Azīzīyya

According to Pinto, the 'Azīzīyya Library, founded in the VI/XII century by the brewer of the court, 'Azīz al-dīn.[134]

Grohmann reports that in 613/1216-17 al-Yāqūt found no less than ten libraries in Merw. Two of these were in the Great Mosque; that called the 'Azīzīyya had 12,000 volumes and took its name from rich wine purveyor to *sultan* Sanjar who had endowed it.[135]

2. The Damīriyyah

Pinto states that from the Damīriyyah library Yāqūt was in the habit of borrowing 200 volumes at a time for use in his residence, and these against no deposit.[136] This would have been in ca. 615/1218, or when he was ransacking the libraries of Merw. Apparently the deposit, had there one, would have been a dinar a volume, the he value he gives.

3. Sharaf al-Mulk al-Mustawfī (d 194 H.) library[137]

4. Niẓamīyyah

The Niẓamīyyah Madrasa, that had a public library, was founded by the famous Seljuk *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk (V/XI century). Niẓām al-Mulk was a great promoter of schools and libraries.

5. Libraries mentioned by Yāqūt (ca. 615/1218)

Padover reports that Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (575-626/1179-1229), the geographer, spent three years feasting among the libraries of Merw, "with the avidity of a glutton," as E. G. Browne put it, until the Mongols compelled him to flee. He marveled at the liberality with which the libraries loaned books to him, stating that his house was never clear of 200 volumes on loan, of a value of 200 dinars, yet no deposit was required. His description of the libraries, translated by Professor Popper from his Geography[138] is a precious document:

"I remained there three years ... Were it not for what happened from the coming of the Tatars to that land and its devastation, ... I surely would not have left it till death, because of the people's generosity, kindness, and sociability, and the multitude of sound fundamental books there. For when I left it there were in it ten endowed libraries, the like of which, in number of books, I had never seen. Among them were two libraries in the mosque; one of them called Al-'Azīzuja, endowed by a man named 'Azīz al-Dīn Abū Baṣīr, 'atīq (freedman) of Al-Zanjānī, or freedman of Ibn Abī Bakr. He was a brewer (or beer-seller) to the Sultan Sanjar; at the beginning of his career he sold fruits and flowers in the market of Merv; then he became a cup-bearer (or butler) to him (the *sultan*), and was held in high esteem by him. There were in it (the library) about twelve thousand volumes (the word is significant; it means "books bound in skin"). And the other (library) was called the Kamiliya; I do not know after whom it was named.

And there is the library of Sharaf al-Mulk the Mustawfi (I. e., accountant of receipts and expenditures) Abū Sa'd Muḥammad ibn Mansur in his collegiate mosque. This Mustawfi died in 494 H.; he was a Hanafite.

The library of Niẓām al-Mulk al-Ḥasan ibn Isḥāq in his mosque, two libraries (belonging to the Samani faculty), another library in the Amiduia college, and a library belonging to Majd al-Mulk, one of the later viziers there (in Merv), and the Khātuniya (Princess) libraries in the mosque-

college; and the Damirūja in his (Damir's) monastery (or chapel) are among other libraries.[139]

Pinto also speaks of ten public libraries which may refer to the same libraries mentioned above. Mez states that in Yāqūt's time there were twelve libraries in Merw. Pederson also reports that in the sixth century there were ten endowed public libraries in Merw, two of them in the chief mosque, one of the latter containing about 12,000 volumes.[140]

6. According to Mez, the library at Merw was said to have as nucleus the books brought there by Yazdgird.[141] This sounds apocryphal. Yazdgird III was stabbed to death by a Persian in 651 or 652 H. We may accept the fact of a library, however.

19. Mosūl

Ibn Ḥamdān's Dār al-'ilm

Library of the Dār al-'Ilm founded by the poet scholar Ibn Ḥamdān (240-323/854-935).[142]

Founder's complete name was Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Hamdān al-Mawṣilī. The library contained works of great variety. The founder provided facilities for those who would study, including free paper for the poor. He lectured on law, literary history, and poetry to all who would listen. Apparently this academy, like Sāpūr's in Baghdād, was devoted to literary matters.[143]

According to Mackensen, Ibn Hamdan was a lawyer of the Shāfi'ī school. He was a poet of sorts [and what Arab considers himself less?], a writer of *Belles-letters* and works in law. He lived 240-323 H. Yāqūt speaks of him as learned in the "ancient sciences."[144]

20. Nīshābūr

1. Abū Sahl Naṣr ibn al-Mirzūbān

De Menard reports this writer of merit, leaving his native Isfahān or Qaīn in search of learning, studied in Baghdād and, after long journeys in the same quest which consumed the larger part of his fortune, settled in Nīshābūr, Persia, in 410/1019, with his rich harvest of ancient and modern works. Tha'ālibi (d 429/1037) made use of these books in compiling the *Yatīmāt*, a famous anthology of recent and contemporary Arab poets.[145]

2. Ibn Hibbān

According to Mez, Ibn Hibbān, the Qāḍī, (d 354/965), bequeathed to the town of Nīshābūr, as *waqf*, a house with "library and quarters for foreign students and provided stipends for their maintenance." The books were not to be lent out.[146]

3. Burnt libraries

Pinto points to libraries known only because of their having been burnt by the Ghuzz Turks in 548/1153.[147]

21- Qazvīn

Royal Library of Sḥāh Ismā'īl

Qazvini and Gabrieli report that the celebrated painter, Kamāl-al-Dīn Bihzād, was appointed librarian of the royal library of Shāh Ismā'īl. The text of the commission, dated 27 Jumādā I, 928 (24 April, 1592), specifies, *inter alia*, that he shall be in charge of the direction of the personnel of the library and of the calligraphers, miniaturists, gliders, binders, founders, gold-beaters, lapis-lazuli washers, and other guilds attached to the institution throughout the empire, and further, that the ministers of the court, the officials, the ambassadors, the royal functionaries, and government agents in general, and the personnel of the royal library and its dependent guilds in particular, shall recognize him as superintendent and director, submitting to his control and administration in all matters concerning the library, following whatever has been determined under his signature and seal, and refraining from acting contrary to his words and pleasure in whatever concerns the administration of the library. On his part, he shall be an example of piety and integrity, carrying out his functions with justice, abstaining from favoritism and partiality, and not deflect from the way of truth and good conduct.[148]

22- Rām-*Hurmuz*

Ibn Sawwār's Foundation

Pinto mentions a library that was founded by Ibn Sawwār (the same who founded one of the libraries in Baṣra).[149]

Minorsky quotes Muqaddasī as saying that Rām-Hurmuz, Persia, had a library that was founded by Ibn Sawwār and was a center of Mu'tazilite teaching."[150]

Muqaddasī, who published his geography in 375/985, visited this public library in Rām-Hurmuz in Luzistan which was founded to promulgate Mu'tazilite doctrines. There was a library building (*dar al-kutub*) located either in the beautiful Jāmi' or one of the adjoining arcades.

Grohmann states that founder of this library was called a courtier of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (d 327/982).[151]

23- Rayy

1. Abū al-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd

According to Pinto, Abū al-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd (d 360/971), the Buwayhid *wazīr*, had as librarian the philosopher and historian Ibn Miskawayh (d 421/1030), who relates that this patron of his had a library covering all the sciences and every branch of philosophy and literature, over a hundred camel-loads. When his patron's house at Rayy, Persia was completely ransacked by the Khorāsān soldiers, Miskawayh records that Abū al-Faḍl's one concern was for his books and that his joy was immense when they were reported intact.[152]

2. Dār al-Kutub

Mackensen reports that there was a Dār al-Kutub near the great fruit market of al-Rūdha, a suburb of Rayy, that is spoken of by Muqaddasī as having been founded by the Ṣāḥib and as containing few books and these a collection of stories. All the Mukaddasi states is that it was located in a Khān. Mukaddisī wrote in 375/985 and revised in 378/988 before the death of the Ṣāḥib in 385 H., so this is not the great library willed the city at that time. It was apparently a collection of light literature for the entertainment of travelers and is the first reference the author has found to a library of pure fiction. The term used is Dār al-Kutub al-Uḥdūtha (house of story books).[153]

3. Ibn Sawwār's Foundation

Ibn Sawwār, who founded public libraries for the propagation of Mu'tazili doctrines at Baṣra and Rām-*Hurmuz*, also founded one at Rayy.

This information, found in the *Constantinople MS* of Muḳaddasī, is based on the author's revisions made three years later than 375/985, the date of the original publication, and represents observations made from actual observation on another journey.[154]

4. Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād

According to Pinto, Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād (d 385/995 at Rayy and buried at Isfahān), *wazīr* to the Buwayhid rulers Mu'ayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla, declined the invitation of a Sāmānid ruler in Khurāsān that he be his *wazīr* on the excuse that his library was too large to transport thither, there being 400 camel loads on theology alone.[155]

Mackensen writes that the Sāmānid ruler was Nūh ibn Mundhar. According to Yāqūt, the 400 loads were in scientific objects only. Hājjī Khalīfa, writing in the XI/XVII century but claiming to quote the Ṣāḥib's own words, says he had 117,000 volumes. Al-Bayhaqī, an eye-witness to its destruction, states that the catalog filled ten volumes. Muqaddasī mentions seeing in this and other libraries a pictorial map painted on muslin with the seas and rivers of Asia represented as a great bird with outstretched wings. It was the Ṣāḥib's custom to take along while traveling thirty camel loads of books on his favorite subject, *belles-lettres*, but after a copy of the *Aghānī* came into his possession he found that anthology sufficient. The Ṣāḥib was himself an author of ability: his court whether at Rayy or Isfahān attracted literary men and scholars and became one of the most brilliant centers of literature in Persia during the IV H. century. Many works were dedicated to him. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad a distinguished post of Isfahān, was his librarian. During the owner's life the collection was called his *Khizāna*.

The Ṣāḥib left his library in *waqf* to the city of Rayy. This was not the library mentioned by Mukaddasī as being near the great fruit market in al-Rūdha suburb. Apparently it was housed in a special building, referred to as the *bayt* or dār al-kutub. This building was burned in 420/1029 by Maḥmūd of Ghazna and such of its books, along with others in the city, as did not meet his strictest standards were destroyed, the conqueror taking but a hundred camel loads of presumably harmless literature to his capital at Ghazna. Yet it would seem that the library was not completely ruined for

Yāqūt quotes Salāma ibn Ghiyyādh as saying that he used a certain book in this library in 522/1129.[156]

5. Shāhīn Shāh ibn Shahrīyār Madrasa

During the year 606/1210 this library was used by Ibn Isfandiyār, as mentioned in the preface to his *History of Tabaristan*. Five years later the city was devastated by the Mongols, never to recover. Mongol massacres at Rayy occurred in 617/1220 and 621/1224.[157]

6.

Pinto speaks of a library that was pillaged and taken to Ghazna in 420/1029 by the conqueror Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Only those books were burned which were against the Sunni doctrines, of which Maḥmūd was a fervent supporter.[158]

24- Saragossa

Banū Ḥūd

Ribera points to royal, presumably private, libraries of these petty kings on the Spanish frontier existing during the period ca. 430-512/1039-1118 but makes no definite statement about them.[159]

25- Seville

'Abbāsid Library

Ribera states: "We have to concede to Seville the second place in Spain for libraries. That of the royal family was notable."[160]

According to Levi-Provencal, Al-Mu'tamid, last of the 'Abbāsid dynasty (r. 414 or 422-84/1023 or 1031-91) and a poet, was one of the most enlightened Spanish Muslims of the Middle Ages. He was a patron of letters and scholarship, liberal and tolerant ...[161]

26- Shīrāz

'Aḍud al-Dawla

This library was founded by the Buwayhid ruler 'Aḍud al-Dawla (r. 367-72/977-82) but already neglected at the time of his son Bahā' al-Dawla. Mukaddisū (p. 449) has described the palace and the library. The palace, he

was told by the head servant, had 360 rooms. They were ranged on two floors around courts in which were gardens, basins, and trees. The library constituted a unit [or the palace] in itself. It had a superintendent, a librarian, and an inspector chosen from the most trustworthy people of the country. The prince had obtained every book written up to this time on every branch of science. The library consisted of a long vaulted hall above a large *suffa* [in Persia, a vaulted or covered area]. Opening from the long hall were the storerooms. Along the walls of the hall and storerooms the prince had placed book-cabinets the height of a man and three ells long, of decorated wood, provided with doors which let down above. The books were laid [flat] on shelves and for each branch of learning there were separate cabinets. Only persons of importance could enter. Muqaddasī made the tour of the library, from top to bottom, and found everything in order. He saw carpets and curtains in each room, and remarked especially the ventilating chamber around which [the cooling] water moved constantly in gravity channels [*sardāb* of a *bād-gīr*].[162]

Mez reports that Mukaddisī was shown over the library by the chief bedmaker (ra'īs al-farrashin). It was in charge of a superintendent (wakīl), a librarian (*khāzin*), and an inspector (mushrif). The library consisted of a large ante-room and a long arched vaulted hall with rooms on all sides. In the walls of the rooms and the halls he had inserted cupboards of veneered wood ... Every branch of learning had its own cupboards, and catalogs, in which the names of the books were registered. Only distinguished people were allowed admission.[163]

According to Heffening, "this library was a separate building and consisted of a great hall and a long vaulted building along the sides of which were a series of rooms (khazā'in). Along the walls of the central vaulted room and along the side-room were cases of carved wood three ells high and three broad, with doors which let down from the fop. The books lay on shelves one above the other."[164]

27- Toledo

1. Banū Dhī al-Nūn

The Banū Dhī al-Nūn, petty kings (r. 427-78/1036-85), appropriated with violence all personal libraries, robbing, among others, the Bibliophile al-Araushi. The luxury of there court became proverbial.[165]

2. Ibn Maymūn

According to Ribera, Ibn Maymūn kept, in the suburb of Pellejeros (Toledo, Spain), in several houses, the great library called "that of the correct editions."[166]

3. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭulayṭulī

In the suburb of Pellejeros (Toledo) was the library of Ibrāhīm al-Ṭulayṭulī, the bibliophile-specialist, who collected *autografos y originales* of the learned men who had lived in Toledo.[167]

28- Tripolis[168]

Banū 'Ammār

This library was founded by the princes of the Banū 'Ammār at the end of the V/XI century. It was destroyed by the Franks during the First Crusade (503/1109), as recorded by the historian Ibn al-Furāt (d 807/1404), who quotes the *shaykh* Yaḥyā as saying that there were, in this library, 3,000,000 books in all sciences of theology, Qur'āns, traditions and literature, including 50,000 Qur'āns, 80,000 commentaries. 180 copyists worked day and night in it. Tripolis became one academy during the reign of the Banū 'Ammār, who had revived the Imāmī denomination. The Franks burned it to the ground, carrying away a few volumes.[169]

29- Tunis

Abū Zakarīyyā Yaḥyā I

This founder of the Ḥafṣid dynasty in Tunis and governor there from 625-47/1228-49, had a library which was sold much later by one of his successors, Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā al-Liḥyānī (d 717/1317) when he retired to private life in Cairo.[170]

30- Tyre

Ghayth ibn 'Alī of Tyre

Margoliouth states: "The source of the Khaṭib's information is said to have been a library collected by one Ghayth ibn 'Ali of Tyre (al-Suri). At his death he left twelve bales of books with a sister. The Khaṭib, during his stay in that town, obtained access to these books, and thence procured the material for his own, which were 55 in number."[171]

31- Valencia

1. Aḥmad, son of Ibn al-Sawar

Aḥmad, son of the bibliophile Ibn al-Sawar [Sāwir, Suwayr, Sawar], put a large library together and was finally made royal librarian of the Almohades (al-Muwaḥḥidūn, ca. 540-637/1147-1238).[172]

2. Almohade [al-Muwaḥḥidūn] library

According to Ribera, the al-Mohades had a royal library of which Aḥmad, son of Ibn al-Sawar, became in charge.[173]

32- Yaman

Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd ibn Yūsuf

This Rasūlid king, who ruled in Yaman from 696 to 721 H., loved to collect books and looked for in all countries. It is said that his library held, 10,000 volumes.[174]

Conclusion

Throughout this paper, the author tried to show that Muslim libraries during the Middle Ages have contributed a great deal to preserve books and further knowledge. Books preserved in Muslim libraries were later translated into foreign languages and particularly in the Latin world. Muslims were the first leaders in furthering knowledge before the rest of the world. This fact has been asserted by many eminent scholars including Harvard University Professor of history of science, Dr. George Sartan, who explained the Muslim achievements in his "The Incubation of Western Culture in the Middle East."[175]

The Medieval Muslim libraries were established to continue and hold up the sacredness of knowledge and encourage mankind to know the value of reading and learning. For, the author believes that ignorance and

misunderstandings can be annihilated by having true knowledge. The Medieval Muslim libraries were not passive transmitters of knowledge and learning but they wished to increase and bequeath a richer knowledge to their successors. It is hoped that present Muslim libraries will continue to be the torch-bearers of knowledge and follow the zeal and eagerness of the Medieval Muslims and enlighten mankind and lead them to the true source of learning and knowledge.

Endnotes:

1- The Middle Ages began with Council of Chalcedon or Ecumenical Council held in 451 A.D. and ended with the arrival of the Western literature in the 15th century. These dates coincided more or less with the diminishing power of the Western Empire 476 A.D. and the Italian expeditions of Charles VIII of France (1494-96) A.D.). During this period Muslim culture, arts, and architecture reached their zenith.

2 - The poem is Furūzānfar's, an Iranian poet, translated and adapted by the author.

3 - Olga Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche degli Arabi Nell'eta degli Abbāsidi," in *La Bibliofila*, vol. 30 (1928), p. 145.

4 - Quatremere, "Memoire sur le gout des Livres chez les Orientaux," in *Journal Asiatique*, III series, 6 (1938), pp. 68-90.

5 - Johns Pedersen, "Masjid", *Encyclopedia of Islam: A Dictionary of Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1936, pp. 315-89), p. 353. This article includes an excellent bibliography by F. Wustenfeld.

6 - Ruth Mackensen, "Moslem Libraries and Sectarian Propaganda," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. LI, no. 2 (Jan. 1935).

7 - Ahmet Rufai, *Uber die Bibliophilie im Alteren Islam* (Istanbul, 1935), p. 13. (Reference to Yāqūt, IV, 7, p.20).

8 - *Ibid.* (No source mentioned)

9 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 151. Author lists this among public libraries.

10 - This directory has been published by the Islamic Library Association of Hyderabad in 1983.

11 - Almeria (in Arabic Al-Meriya) was the capital located in the eastern province of Andalusia, the former kingdom of Granada.

12 - Julian Ribera Tarrago (1858-1934), *Bibliofilos y Bibliotecas en La Espana Musulmana, Zaragoza tipografia de la Derecha*, 1896; Eduard Karl Max Von Zambaur, 1866-1947, *Manuel de Genealogie et de chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, p. 56 (This book is held at Bibliotheque Nationale,

France); C. F. Seybold, "Le Siege d'Almeria en 709," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1913 ed.), pp. 313-14 (This is also published in the *Journal of Asiatic*, series X 275 and is mentioned in the R. Basset's bibliography "Le Siege d'Almeria en 709."

13 - Badajoz (in Arabic Batalyos) was the largest province of Spain during the Muslim supremacy.

14 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., pp. 44-50.

15 - M. Seligsohn, "Afṭāsides," *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Bibliography Hoogvliet, Specimen et bitt. Orient ... de R. *Aphtasidarum Familia* (Leyden, 1839); Dozy, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et bitter de l'Espagne*, 1st ed. 1/156 ed seg; *idem. Histoire des Musulmanas d'Espagne*, IV, 14 et seg; M. R. Martinez y Martinez, *Historia det reino de Badajoz*, p. 99.

16 - Ruth Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries of Medieval Baghdād," *The Library Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 280.

17 - Ruth Mackensen, "Background of History of Muslim Libraries," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. LI, no.2 (Jan. 1935), pt. 1, p. 124.

18 - Adam Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, trans. (1975), p. 174. The original book is *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitatsbuchhandlung, 1922.

19 - Mez, *ibid.* Mez does not name him, but gives reference to *Ṣūlī Arib.*, p. 121.

20 - Pinto, by a slip, places the sacking and burning in 401 (or 451) H. which makes little sense with the context, an error repeated by Krenkow in his translation. If in 451, it may have taken place during Tughrilbeg's second expedition on Baghdād in the occasion of his defeat of al-Basāsīrī, given in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* as 451/1060. Mackensen discusses the date of burning, quotes several sources, misquotes Pinto, and apparently overlooks Tughril's later military activities in the city. (see "Four Great Libraries ...," pp. 288-89 and note) Allāh knows best.

21 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 150-51.

22 - Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries ...," pp. 288-93.

23 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., (trans.), p. 178.

24 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 143-44.

25 - Mackensen, "Background ...," pt. 1, p. 125.

26 - Ibid., pt. 2, p. 127.

27 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 144-45.

28 - Heffening, "Kitābkhāna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1927 ed., pp. 1045-47 (included bibliography).

29 - Adolf Grohmann, "Bibliotheeken und Bibliophilem im Islamischen Orient," in *Nationalbibliothek Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (1926), pp. 438-39.

30 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 144.

31 - "Djāḥiz," (Al-Jahiz, Abū 'Uthman 'Amr B. Bahr) *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1913 ed.), pp. 1000-1.
32 - Published and translated in Rufai, *Uber die Bibliophilie ...*
33 - K. Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present*, lst. ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1937), p. 413. The whole book has very useful information on Muslim achievements during the medieval period. Two particular parts are of more concern: Part II (The rise of Islam and the Caliphate state) and Part IV (The Arabs in Europe, Spain and Sicily).
34 - Mackensen, "Background ..., " pt. 1, p. 125.
35 - *Ibid.*, pt. 2, 127.
36 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 148, 150.
37 - Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries ...," pp. 281-88.
38 - Grohmann, "Bibliotheken ..., p. 432.
39 - See "Ibn Miskawayh," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, except for date of his death, which is given by Pinto in his "Le Bibliotheche ...", p. 146.
40 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 146.
41 - *Ibid.*, p. 157.
42 - Olga Pinto, "The Libraries of the Arabs During the Time of the Abbāsids," trans. (from Italian) by F. Krenkow, in *Islamic Culture*, v. III (1929), p. 223, n. 1. Krenkow has added some materials and a few critical remarks in footnotes.
43 - Hitti, *History* ..., p. 411.
44 - "Baghdād," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1927 ed., pp. 923-36.
45 - Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries ...", pp. 297-99.
46 - Ibn al-Nadim Muhammad ibn Isḥāq, *al-Fihrist*, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 61; Grohmann, "Bibliotheken ...," p. 432.
47 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 151.
48 - "Niẓām al-Mulk, *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1927 ed.), pp. 932-36 (Comments by Harold Bowen).
49 - Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries ...," pp. 293-97.
50 - Hitti, *History* ..., p. 411. Additional bibliography includes: R. Levy, "The Niẓāmiyyah Madrasa," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, LIX (London: April 1928), p. 270; Heinrich Ferdinand Wustenfeld (1808-99), *Die Academien der Araber und ihre Lehrer* (Osnabruck: O. Zeller, 1970), p. 280 ff.; J. Ribera, "Origen del Colegio Nidami de Baghdād," in *Estudios de Eriducion Oriental*, Homenaje D. Francisco Codera, Zaragosa, 1904.
51 - Lgn. Kratschkovsky, "al-Ṣūlī," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1934 ed.), pp. 541-43; Ibn Khallikān (1211-82), *Ibn Khallikān Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Wustenfeld, 4 vols. (Beirut: Librairie du Liban), p. 54. The latter contains very good biographies of those in charge of libraries).
52 - Heffening, "Kitābkhāna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

53 - Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (4 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1951), vol. I, p. 277; J. Horovitz, "Al-Wākidi," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1934 ed.), pp. 1104-5; Ibn said, v. 321 (This source is held at Cairo Library only).
54 - Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries ...," p. 280.
55 - Pinto, "Le Biliotheche ...," p. 151.
56 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 174. Mez does not name this son, but gives two references: Misk., VI, p. 314; and Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233), *Al-Kāmil fi al-Tarikh*, (13 vols., Editeurs Dar Sader dar Beyrouth, 1965), vol. VIII, p. 4431. The latter is a comprehensive work on Islamic peoples and their achievements in literalistic works.
57 - Grohmann, "Bibiotheken ...," p. 438.
58 - Quatremere, "Memoire sur le gout ...," p. 50.
59 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 151.
60 - V. Minorsky, "Rām-Hormuz," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1936 ed.), pp. 1114-15.
61 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," pp. 88-89.
62 - Crohmann, "Bibiloctheken ...," p. 441.
63 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," p. 89.
64 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ..," p. 151.
65 - Bibl. Nat. Ms Arabe 5847, reproduced in Edgar Blochet, *Les Enlumineurs des Manuscrits Orientaux-tures, Arabes, Persans, de la Bibliotheque Nationale* (Paris: Editions de la Gazette des Beauxarts, 1926), p. 10. Grohmann identifies this illustration with the library at Ḥulwān (Grohmann, "Bibliotheken ...," p. 539 and illus. 433).
66 - T. Cherney and Steingass, trans., *Assemblies of al-Ḥarīrī* (London, 1867-98), Intro. to I, p. 9.
67 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 146.
68 - "Ibn-Sina," (Abū 'Alī al-Husayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh) *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1936 ed.), pp. 419-20.
69 - R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (London: Unwin, 1907), pp. 265-66, and Ibn Abi' Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqātu al-Aṭibbā*, ed. by A. Muller (Farnborough Gregg International Publishers, 1972), vol. II, p. 4.1.44 sqq.
70 - Max Meyerhof, "Uber Einige Privat Bibliotheken," p. 288. In Cairo, in the second half of the V/XI century, a Jewish physician, Ephriam ibn Zaffān, had a library rich in medical and other lore. It was said that when an 'Irāqi came to buy 10,000 of Ephriam's books the *wazīr* al-Afḍal heard of it and did not permit the books to leave Egypt, buying them himself at the agreed price. Ephriam left behind 20,000 books when he died. (Meyerhof, "Uber Einige ...," pp. 287-88.)
71 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 152.
72 - K. Vullers, "Azhar" (Jāmi' al-Azhar) *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1913 ed.), pp. 532-39.
73 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 152.

74 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," pp. 100-102.
75 - Mackensen, "Background ...," pt. 2, pp. 23-24.
76 - Grohmann, "Bibliotheken ...," p. 434.
77 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 152.
78 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," p. 99.
79 - Nicholson, *Literary History* ..., pp. 361-64.
80 - Mackensen, "Arabic Books and ... Propaganda," pp. 96-100. Cf. Pinto, pp. 161-62.
81 - Mackensen, "Background ...," pt. 2, p. 25.
82 - Krenkow, "Kitābkhānah," *Encyclopedia of Islam.*
83 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 172.
84 - Khiṭaṭ Makrūzī (Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, 1364-1442), *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa al-I'tibārāt* (Cairo, 1270), 1.409; Heffening, "Kitābkhāna," *Encyclopedia of Islam.*
85 - Meyerhof, "Uber Einige ...," pp. 288-89.
86 - Heffening, "Kitābkhāna", *Encyclopedia of Islam.*
87 - Grohmann, 434; Cf. Padone, p. 356.
88 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," p. 98.
89 - Pedersen, "Masdjud," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 361.
90 - Meyerhof, "Uber Einige ...," pp. 286-87.
91 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 145.
92 - Mackensen, "Background ...," pt. 2, p. 22.
93 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 176.
94 - Cordova or Cordoba (in Arabic Qurṭuba) was located in Andalusia, Spain.
95 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 146. (No note of period)
96 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 174.
97 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., pp. 29-31.
98 - *Ibid.*, p. 34.
99 - Rufai, *Uber die Bifiophille* ..., p. 7, with reference to Ḥamīd Wahbī, *Mashahī al-Islām*, pp. 1542-44.
100 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 146.
101 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., p. 31-32.
102 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 153, 158, 162-63. Al-Manṣūr, the Ḥājib, is generally credited with burning the books in order to square himself with the 'ulamā of Cordova who suspected his orthodoxy. This is the view of Pinto where she discusses the destruction of this library.
103 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," pp. 108-11.
104 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 172; Ribera, (*Bibiofilos* ..., p. 26) says 50 folios.
105 - Hitti, *History* ..., p. 563.
106 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., pp. 25-26, 28, 55-56.
107 - Reinhart Peiter Anne Dozy, 1820-1941, *Histoire des Musulmanes d 'Espagne Jusqu'a la conquete de l'Andalousie*, ed. Levi-Provencal (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1932), I, pp. 183-84.

108 - Rafael Altamira, "The Western Caliphate," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, III (1936), p. 435.
109 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., p. 35. Note: Quotation is in Espana Sagrada, XI, 274-75. Cf. Dozy, *Histoire* ..., pp. 317-18. 6. The Jews of Cordova formed Arabic libraries as well.
110 - Ribera, *Bibiofilos* ..., pp. 35-36.
111 - Heffening, "Kitābkhāna", *Encyclopedia of Islam*.
112 - Mackensen, "Arabic Books ...," pt. 3, p. 55.
113 - Heffening, "Kitābkhāna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Levi-Provencal, in *Journal Asiatique*, cciii (1923), 164.
114 - G. Yver, "Fās," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1927 ed.), pp. 72-80.
115 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 153. These names and dates seem to require clarification. The Marinids did not take possession of Fez until 646/1248. Ya'qūb ibn 'Abd al-Haqq laid the first stone of the new town, Fās al-Jadīd, in 674/1276 and built a mosque there. His dates are 656-85 H. See "Fas," (in Zambaur, *Manuel* ..., p. 79.
116 - Yver, "Fās," *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Cf. bibliography under "Merinids," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1936 ed.), pp. 464-66, for Abū Yūsuf (another name for Ya'qūb B. 'Abd al-Haqq). Merinids, or Banū Marin, were a Berber dynasty which ruled Morocco.
117 - Grohmann, "Bibliotheken ...," p. 438.
118 - Pedersen, "Masjud," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 355.
119 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," pp. 95-96.
120 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 152.
121 - This Mas'ūd probably is one of the two Mas'ūds found in History: Mas'ūd I, Nāṣir-Dīn Allāh (r. 421-32/1030-40), or Mas'ūd II (r. 440/1048 only).
122 - Heffening, "Kitābkhāna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*.
123 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., 48.
124 - *Ibid.*
125 - *Ibid.*
126 - *Ibid.*
127 - Ibid.
128 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 146.
129 - Ibn Khallikan, ed., Wustenfeld, No. 350-De Salne's translation, vol ii, p. 51; Nicholson, *Literary History* ..., p. 129.
130 - Cf. A. Godard, *Athār-e Irān* (Tehran: Nashriyyat-i Idāriyi Kulli 'Atiqāt, 1936), vol. I, p. 218; Edward G. Browne, "Account," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Studies* (London, 1901), pp. 412, 437-38; Albert Gabriel, *Ars Islamica* (Ann Arbor University of Michigan Press, 1934), vol. I, p. 38; Schroeder, *Survey* ..., II, pp. 956-57; al-Mafarrūkhi, *Kitāb Mabāsin Isfahān*, Tehran, 1933.

131 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 174. Not named by Mez, but reference is to Abū Nu'ayim, *Kitab Tarikh Ispahan*, Leiden, fol, 51b (Also 2 vols., Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990).
132 - Pinto, "The Libraries of the Arabs ... ," p. 223, note 1.
133 - Hitti, *History* ..., p. 378.
134 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...,' p. 152. Note: Kernkow translates 'birraio' as 'chamberlain', instead of 'brewer', possibly for his Indian Muslim readers. (*ibid.*, p. 226)
135 - Grohmann, "Bibliotheken ...," p. 439.
136 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...,' pp.143, 158-59.
137 - Yāqūt (Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawi, 1179?-1229), IV, p. 509, noted in E. Herzfeld, "Khorāsān," in *Der Islam*, XI (1921), p. 168.
138 - Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, 1st ed. (Cairo: Matba'at al-Sa'aa, 1906), vol. IV, p. 509, l. 9.
139 - S. K. Padover, "Muslim Libraries," in James W. Thompson, *The Mediaeval Library* (New York, Hafner Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 354-55, and note 29. This source lists books dealing with history of antiquity and libraries of the Middle Ages.
140 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 152; Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 172, n. 3; Pedersen, "Masdjud," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 361.
141 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 172.
142 - Pinto: "Le Bibliotheche ...," 151. Note: Krenkow has Ibn Hamdūn as the founder and in 323/935 instead of d 323/935. Each, apparently, is an error.
143 - Mackensen, "Background ...," pt. 1, p. 125.
144 - *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 27.
145 - C. Barbier de Menard, "Tableau Litteraire du Khorāsān ... au Ive Siecle de I 'Hegire," in *Journal Asiatique*, 5e serie, III (1854), pp. 357-58, n. 199.
146 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 176; Cf. Pinto, p. 159.
147 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 152.
148 - Mirza Muhammad Qazvini (and L. Bouvat), "Doux Documents Inedits Relatifs a Behzād," in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, t. 26 (1914), pp. 152-54 (158-61 text); Francesco Gabrieli, "Il Decreto di Nomina-di Bihzād a Direttore della Biblioteca di Scia Ismā'il," in *Rivista Deglistude Orientali*, XVI (1936), pp 123-25.
149 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ..," p. 151.
150 - V. Minorsky, "Rām-Hormuz," *Encyclopedia of Islam*. According to Schwarz, founder was the son of Sawwār ibn 'Abd Allāh, governor of Baṣra, who died in 157/773.
151 - Grohmann, "Bibliotheken ...," p. 441.
152 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 146.
153 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," pp. 92-93.; Muqaddasi, *Constantinople MS*, p. 391.
154 - *Ibid.*, p. 88.

155 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," p. 146.
156 - Mackensen, "Muslim Libraries ...," pp. 90-94.
157 - *Ibid.*, p. 94; Minorsky, "Rayy," *Encyclopedia of Islam.*
158 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 152, 160.
159 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., p. 46.
160 -*Ibid.*, p. 42.
161 - Levi-Provencal, "Al-Mu'tamid," *Encyclopedia of Islam.*
162 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 153-54, 160, (Krenkow's translation of this section is inexcusable); Muqaddasi *Constantinople* ..., p. 449.
163 - Mez, *Renaissance* ..., p. 173.
164 - Heffening, "Kitābkhāna," *Encyclopedia of Islam.*
165 - Ribera, *Bibliofolos* ..., p. 45.
166 - *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
167 - *Ibid.*
168 - Tripolis (in Arabic Tarabulus) is located in Lebanon.
169 - Pinto, "Le Bibliotheche ...," pp. 152, 160-61.
170 - *Ibid.*, p. 147.
171 - D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (University of Calcutta, 1930), p. 150.
172 - Ribera, *Bibliofilos* ..., p. 47.
173 - *Ibid.*
174 - Quatremere, "Memoire sue le Gout ...," p. 70.
175 - Lecture delivered by George Sartan at the Library of Congress on March 29, 1950. This lecture was printed by this library in 1952.

A Brief History of Book Endowment (*Waqf*) in Islam

Ali Rafi'i

Translated by Dr. S. S. Musavi

Endowment, as a customary charity, has its roots in history and has been common among all nations, religions and sects. Normally endowment is used as an economic strategy for just distribution of wealth in order to meet the requirements of the needy.

Endowment has been defined as "confinement of wealth and real estates." Islam has recommended endowment as a good practice and recommends the Muslims to carry out this practice in order to bolster Islamic economy. Through this practice society can meet the requirements of the needy, increase social welfare, bring about comfort, enhance the living standards, construct and reconstruct mosques, schools and public places, support Islamic preachers and leaders of mosques, spread Islamic teachings and culture, and develop public projects.

Finding out legal and *Fiqhī* roots of endowment requires a thorough study, however, in the present article attempts have been made to study the meaning and concept of endowment from literal point of view and in traditions. It will shed light on the importance that Islam attaches to this good practice.

Endowment in Literature

The word endowment has various meanings including: stopping; waiting; standing; and staying. It normally refers to confining the origin of a wealth, property or real estate and allocating its revenue to be spent in the way of God: "Confining the origin; spending the revenue." Thus, selling, buying, mortgaging, transferring, leaving as inheritance or donating the endowed property is not allowed. None of the customary contracts are applicable to endowment. From literal point of view, stopping and waiting are important aspects of endowment. Stopping and waiting are also used in the following cases: stopping on a word while reciting the holy Qur'ān; stopping in a place; stopping and making an item standstill; and staying in every place in accordance to its required nature.[1]

Endowment in the Holy Qur'ān

The word *waqf* (endowment) in the holy Qur'ān refers to stopping. It appears in the Qur'ān four times: 6:27,30; 34:31; and 37:24, but none of them in the Qur'ān refers to what is meant by endowment in practice.[2]

Endowment in Tradition

Although the practice of endowment has not been referred to as *waqf* in traditions, it has been referred to as customary charity in several traditions. Following are two such traditions:

"Three characteristics will benefit man after death: charity that one has given during his life; a good tradition that man has established and; a pious child who could pray for him after his death."[3]

"Seven characteristics will benefit a man after death: a righteous child who could pray for him; a book that could be recited; a water well; planting a sapling; charity; a good tradition."[4]

Al-Shaykh al-Mufid refers to *waqf* (endowment) as current charities.[5]

Muḥaqqiq Ḥillī says: "Endowment is a contract according to which the origin of a property is confined but its revenue is free. Any interference in the origin of an endowed property such as selling or mortgaging it is not allowed."[6]

History of Endowment in Islam

It is not exactly known when endowment was incorporated in Islamic teachings. Indeed history books and traditions give contradictory ideas on the issue. However, what we can concluded from history books and traditions about endowment in Islam are as follows:

1- Some of the historians believe that the construction of the Prophet's Mosque (Masjid al-Nabī) in the first year of Hijri, specially the construction of a *Sufa* (a resort for the poor, the homeless and the needy) close to the mosque was the first instance of endowment in Islam. This approach is not substantiated by any tradition, rather it is based on the Prophet's *Sunnah* and the Muslims practical treatment of the poor.

2- Some of the historians base their analysis on the Seven Palm Groves of Medina. The owner of the groves, Mukhayraq, donated them to the holy Prophet of Islam in the 3 Hijri, i.e., 32 months after the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina when the Prophet had just returned from the Uḥud War. The holy Prophet endowed the groves for the public affairs of the Muslims. According to those who rely on this issue, the Prophet's measure is the first instance of endowment in Islam.[7]

3- According to other group of historians the first instance of endowment in Islam was the endowment of Birha property by Abū Ṭalhah Zayd bin Sahl who donated it to the holy Prophet (ṣ) in 6 Hijri.[8]

There are other views on the endowment, but due to limitation of space we are not discussing them here. However, it is clear that endowment and alms had received special attention of the Prophet from the very advent of Islam. They played a significant role in the life of Muslims, hence, given due importance by Muslim leaders. The main focus of the present paper is not the general history of endowment, therefore, we concentrate on the history of endowment of book in Islam and its impact on advancement of science and culture.

History of Endowment of Book in Islam

The endowment of book, from the early days of Islam, has been considered as a good practice and a kind of charity with ample reward in the hereafter.

The holy Qur'ān, the Prophet of Islam and Muslim leaders have recommended Muslims to contribute in alms giving, helping the needy and assisting Muslim co-religionists. Hence, endowment of book, which is a part of general endowment, has been given due significance by the followers of Islam. History bears enough witness that Muslim 'Ulamā, scientists, caliphs, kings, ministers, traders, as well as benevolent Muslims, specially those interested in books, have donated lands, buildings, gardens, furniture, equipment, and even personal collections to public libraries.

Every Muslim, interested in the spiritual development of the Islamic society, has contributed to libraries as much as he has been able to afford. Muslims spared no effort in preserving the works of 'Ulama and handing them down to the future generations. Many historians believe that donation and endowment of books have played a decisive role in establishment of public libraries. In fact it can be said that endowments have been the main sources of feeding public libraries in Islamic world.

The first steps in this direction were endowment of books. Muslim historians underlined that the third Caliph, 'Uthmān bin ''Uffān, after uniforming Islamic writing style in 30 Hijri, dispatched four to six copies of the Holy Qur'ān to the biggest mosques of the Islamic countries of his time.[9] Isḥāq bin Madar Abū Amr, sent more than eighty copies of his own manuscripts of the holy Qur'ān to mosques in Kufa.[10] Although it has not been recorded in the history, the above two cases of donating the copies of the holy Qur'ān to the mosques have been considered as first instances of endowment in Islam. In certain cases also we come across endowment of books: Mufaḍḍal bin Muḥammad Zabbī, a calligrapher, used to write books and donate them to the mosques. [11]

Endowment of books in mosques during the rule of Mutawakkil of Abasids became so widespread that it was not possible to preserve them in mosques, specially in Amr Mosque, in Cairo without the help of librarians. As a result Qaḍī Ḥārith bin Meskīn appointed a person as the trustee of the endowed books.[12] Gradually endowment of books became an established measure and Muslims throughout the Islamic countries increased their contribution in the field. It led to the establishment of public libraries in the mosques. In the first instance, copies of the Holy Qur'ān, books and prayer pamphlets were endowed to mosques for the use of the worshippers. Thus,

according to experts, the libraries of the mosques are the foundations of public libraries in Islamic world. The *raison d' etre* of the formation of public libraries in the mosques was that mosques were considered centers for education. Hence the need for books was seriously felt because it was not possible to study or teach without books.

The Viewpoints of Muslim *Faqihs* on Endowment of Book

In the beginning, some of the Muslim *faqīhs* were not inclined to accept endowment of books and pamphlets as an Islamic practice because they argued that endowment of books and pamphlet was not compatible with the laws of endowment in Islam. According to them, books could not be endowed because the origin of the property should be confined in Islamic endowment. Hence in endowing a book, the origin of book was accessible to direct use which could be torn off or damaged or lost. Indeed this idea is based on Abū Ḥanifa's doctrine of endowment: it does not allow the endowment of movable property.

Ḥassan bin Zīyād has quoted Abū Ḥanifa as saying: "It is allowed to endow copies of the holy Qur'ān in mosques in Mecca and Medina or other places permanently, but if one day the endower or his inheritors decide to withdraw them, they are allowed to do so." According to this school of thought endowment of books and the Qur'ān is allowed but not permanently, the duration of endowment depends on the decision of the endower and his inheritors. Of course, Abū Ḥanifa gave this idea at a time when there did not yet exist any public library and there were few sporadic endowed copies of the holy Qur'ān.

Other Muslim *Faqīhs* like Mālik bin Anas, Muḥammad bin Idrīs Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal have allowed endowment of every useable but not consumable property the selling and purchasing of which is lawful including books.[13]

In Shī'īsm, endowment of books and pamphlets was allowed from the very beginning of the formation of this school. The Shī'ī approach to endowment of books is based on the principle that says: "Confine the origin and make use of the revenue."

According to the Shī'ī *Faqihs*, the main conditions for endowing a property are: Administering the contract; the terms of endowment should be clear; it should be durable; and the endowed property should not be endowed for itself.

The Qualifications of Endowed Property

The endowed property should exist physically; it should be in a position that can be owned. Hence the property that cannot not owned by man cannot be endowed; the revenue of the endowed property should be lawful; it should be durable. Therefore, endowment of edibles, candles, and fruits are not allowed. However, endowment of lawful durable items like furniture, house, farmland, property, jewelry, arms, tree, and domesticated animals are lawful, the endowed should be easily accessible.

According to Shī'ah scholars it is not important whether the endowed is movable or not, if it fulfills the above conditions it can be endowed.[14]

Thus except Abū Ḥanifa and some of Sunni scholars who do not allow the endowment of books and animals, almost the scholars of all other Muslim sects allow the endowment of movable property including books.

Of course the idea of some of the followers of Abū Ḥanifa differs from that of him on the endowment of movable property. For instance, the approaches of two of his distinguished students, i.e., Abū Yusūf and Mohammad bin Ḥassan Shaybanī are almost contradictory to those of Abū Ḥanifa on endowment of books. Abū Yusūf is of the view that endowment of movable property is not allowed, but at the same time he says that withdrawal of such endowment is not also allowed.

Shaybanī allows endowment of movable property. However, he is of the view that endowment of movable property is subject to its compatibility with commonsense. According to the principle of *Taa'rof* given by him, if commonsense allows the practising of an action which is contrary to some of the principles of endowment--like the durability of endowed--one can overlook the principle.

Later on almost all Hanafi scholars endorsed the *Taa'rof* principle and allowed the endowment of all movable properties.[11] They even allowed the endowment of what Shaybani had not allowed. Thus we can conclude that

Shaybani and his followers allowed the endowment of books and did not permit the withdrawal of book endowment.[16]

In sum the endowment of the Qur'ān became prevalent after two centuries of debate among Muslim scholars after the advent of Islam. Muslim scholars finally concluded that endowment of book was permissible which is now an established Islamic principle.

Endnotes

1. Khalīl bin Aḥmad Farāhidi, *Al-Ayn*, (Qum, Dar al-Hijra, 1409 Hijra).

2. Jamal al-Din Muḥammed bin Mokram bin Manzru, *Lisan al Arab*, (Beirut, Dar al-Ṣader, 1300H).

3. Ḥassan Muṣṭafawī, *Al-Taḥqīq fi Kalāmat al-Qur'ān*, (Tehran, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, 1981).

4. Al-Kulaynī, *Furu al-Kāfi*, (Beirut, Dar al-Alzwa, 1985).

5. Abū Ja'afar Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Babweyh Qumi, *Amali al-Sadduq*, (Qum, Najaf, Matbeatt al-Heydariah, 1970).

6. Shaykh Ṣaddūq, *Ah-Khiṣāl*, (Qum, Islamic Publication Organization, 1982)

7. Abū Ja'afar Muḥammad bin al-Ḥassan al-Ṭūsī, *Ṭahzib al-Aḥkām*, (Beirut, Dar al-Azwa, 1985).

8. Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin N'iman (al-Shaykh al-Mufid), *Al-Mughniah*,(Qum, Islamic Publication Organization, 1410 H).

9. Abū al-Qāsim Najm al-Din Muḥaqqiq Ḥillī, *Sharay al-Islam*, (Beirut, Dar al-Azwa, 1983).

10. Muḥammad Kaṭiib Wāqadi, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, (Beirut, Dar Beirut li al-Tabaat wa al-Nashr, 1985).

11. Muḥammad bin al-Ḥassan, Ḥurr Amilī, *Wasāil al-Shī'ah*, (Beirut, Darsuwaydan, 1967).

12. Izzedin bin Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, (Beirut, Dar Sader wa Dar Beirut, 1965).

13. Aḥmad bin 'Alī Kaṭib Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, (Beirut, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi).

14. Jalāl al-Din Siyūṭī, *Baghyat al-Woat*, (Cairo, 1964).

15. Aḥmad 'Alī Qashqalandi, *Sobh al-Aash*, (Cairo, 1337 Hijra).

16. Yusouf alash, *Sorr al-Kotob al-Arabiya al-Amah wa Shebh al-Ama li Balad al-Iraq wa al-Sham wa Misr fi al-Asr al-Wasit*, (Beirut, Dar al-Fikr al-Moasir, 1991).

The Geography of Qur'ānic Accounts: Eight Questions from Six Scholars of the Qur'ān*

Translated by I. Rasuli

While reading the holy Qur'ān we come across the names of certain nations, places and persons such as *Dhul Qarnayn Dam*, *Aṣḥāb-e Kahf Cave*, *Dhāt al-'Imād*, etc. The question is that is it possible to locate these places in the present natural geography or they have gone under any changes? Can we take recourse to science and rely upon the scientific method in dealing with these Qur'anic names?

All the matters in this context were prepared in the form of questionnaire and were sent to some of researchers and connoisseurs. Among them Dr. Aḥmad Aḥmadī, Āyatullāh Muḥammad Hādī M'arifat, Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī, Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī, Dr. Abūl Qāsim Imāmī and Dr. `Abbās Zaryāb Khoī have replied which is hereby presented to our readers. Hope the answers would be beneficial to the seekers of the Qur'ānic learning.

Q.1- Are the historic places mentioned in the Qur'ān in connection with the nations and events, available in the present natural geography in the same form or have they gone under any changes?

A- *Aḥmad Aḥmadī:* Some of the places might have been destroyed. The historical changes do not keep anything constant. Sometimes a riverbed changes or the sea advances or regresses. *Àbeskun* island in the Caspian Sea, was a residential place once upon a time, where Khwārazm Shāh had come from. It has now gone under the sea and there is no sign of it. Its name only has come in the history. We see some places which have earlier been at the coasts. Through, in the course of historical changes, a hill might have disappeared. Therefore, it cannot be said that the places mentioned in the Qur'ān have remained in the same original forms.

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī : There are certain places related to the ancient tribes which has naturally been changed or disappeared. Except in some cases like the holy house of God (*Bayt Allah al-Ḥarām*) and the related places or some other places which have relatively retained their previous states. Of course, before referring to the references which have computed these places, a prompt comment is not possible in this regard. In this connection a consultation with archeology organizations will be a good beginning in recognizing the relevant countries.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī: Whereas the Qur'ān points to the ancient lands or geographical places such as *Wādī Ayman, Madyan, Qurā* or *Madain Lūt, M'ārib Dam* which had probably been built against *Al-Iram* flood and so on, belonging to more than 15-20 centuries ago, their present locations are probably unknown and require archaeological researches. On the other hand, whatever is located or recognized will be quite different from what have been in the past. 15-20 centuries are enough for not only a city, but also a civilization to bloom or decline.

A- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī: A geographical site on this globe may not remain in the same place due to the following incidents:

a) An earthquake which is an underground product known as Ptate-tectonic bringing about deep changes in the superficial layer of the earth, demolishing surface of the earth easily in a short time.

b) Tides have great effects on the seas.

c) Human factor causes the increasing destruction of the crust of the earth.

d) Falls of such as snow, rain and hail, bring about destructive floods.

e) Soil erosion is a slow, constant and gradual process that ever changes the structure of the earth. This terminology has many applications throughout the present scientific geography.

I, as the editor-in-chief of the *Great Islamic Encyclopedia* (from 7-10-85 to 16-12-87) asked for a research grant from the management on the "*Ábeskun*" article following researches of British Orientalist "Minorski" and Dr. Manoocher Setudeh. The fund was granted and days and days the geographers and researchers investigated on a boat in the Caspian Sea, but they did not find its exact location.

A- Muḥammad Hādī M'arifat: The regions pointed by the Qur'ān may have some trace today, such as *M'ārib* dam, ruins of which are available today, even the valves and shutter used to close or open the dam are available. To study those cases, some scientific delegations (from Iran and abroad) visited the site and brought good information. They even could understand how the flood destroyed this dam. Another example is "*Aḥqāf*" which are very soft sands is situated around *`Adan*, even today.

Some other regions have been referred to in the holy Qur'ān and they were existing during the revelation of the Qur'ān, such as the remnants of Lūṭ's tribe (37: 137-138).

1- It is obvious that there has been something in front of them on the journey routes of Quraysh. I did not find anybody in the present era to follow this matter, which is worth following. One of the essential issues is follow up, the geographical regions of the history of Islam such as sites of the wars of *Aḥzāb* and *Khandaq*, or *Uhūd* war. We have seen these places but are not reliable. A serious research is required to locate their real sites.

Q. 2- What is the objective of studying archaeological subjects of the Qur'ān?

A- Aḥmad Aḥmadī: Many ancient historical and geographical regions have been mentioned in the stories of the holy Qur'ān such the river or sea through which the Bani Israel passed, the land of *Asḥāb-e Hijr*, *Dhul Qarnayn* Dam, *Asḥāb-e Kahf*'s Cave, earthy paradise of *Dhāt al-'Imād* etc. Research on these and finding their traces is very effective in understanding

the Qur'ān. In addition, being involved in exploring the past would provide a good background to take lessons from the past on which the holy Qur'ān in the following verses to persuade us to do so:

"Have they not travelled in the earth and seen how was the end of those before them? They were stronger than these in powers..." (30:9)

"Indeed there have been examples before you; Therefore travel in the earth..." (3:136)

"...Therefore travel in the land, then see what was the end of the rejecters." (16:36)

"Say: Travel in the earth, then see how was the end of the guilty." (27:69)

"But we will this day deliver you with your body that you may be a sign to those after you, and most surely the majority of the people are heedless of our communications." (10:92)

In this verse, the God's intention of bringing the body of Pharaoh out of water rather than leaving it decaying or being eaten by the sea animals is to give a lesson to future generations. As far as I remember Ṭanṭāwī says: *"The body of Pharaoh contemporaneous to Moses is now in a museum in Egypt."*

Many of the existing problems in our national culture and literature need extensive archaeological research. In case of finding new information, our views will be changed about our culture and literature. For example, Alexander dam with its present condition has its effects on our literature stories and proverbs, and we can feel its position in our culture. Supposing that Alexander is the same *Dhul Qarnayn* of the Qur'ān, he has been given a great status (like a prophet) and a poet like Nizāmī has written one of his complete poetical works in his name. When the archeology or the history proves it wrong that Alexander is not *Dhul Qarnayn*, our cultural views will change.

With respect to the importance of this subject, we suggested the Cultural Revolution Council in 1982 to include Qur'ānic archeological studies in the educational curricula of the universities.

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī: The objective of archaeological endeavor is to work out the best method and necessary preparations for recognition of geographical places mentioned in the Qur'ān and study condition of those

people whose names in the Qur'ān are associated with those places. Concluding that such studies are necessary for better understanding the Qur'ān.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī: The objective of taking up archaeological subjects of the Qur'ān is to understand the lessons pointed out by the Qur'ān. As we intend to recognize Prophet Ibrahim (s), the father of prophets Sho'ayb, al-yas'a and Khidr in the stories of the Qur'ān, likewise, for the same reasons and motives, we should try to understand geographical places of the Qur'ān.

A- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī: In my opinion, "archaeological discussions" with its present meaning has not been dealt with in the Qur'ān. There are many historical accounts in the Qur'ān which are considered to be historical facts. Even the opponents in the Qur'ān reproach themselves for the phrase "stories of the predecessors" is attributed to them . (6:25; 16:24; 8:31; 23:83; 25:5; 27:68; 46:17; 68:15; 83:13.)

All those are historical facts which signify the continuity, constancy and everlasting feature of the "divine order" on permeate in the individual, family, and social life of the people. These facts always give alarming to those who deviate from the right path. It seems that at the time of the revelation of the Qur'ān, the word "history" did not exist in Arabic language and according to Dr. Muḥammad Muḥammadi this word was derived from the Persian word *Mahrooz*. There is a delicate probability of "story" or "stories" (Arabic from the branches of semitic mother tongue) to be taken from the words "histor, historia, histoire, history". This seems impossible. I was a member of a group working on "*Ibdal*" in Arabic, at the Academy of Iranian Languages, to trace the words and then to compare them with Indo-European mother tongue in order to extract the common root words. There were signs of common root.

It is not surprising to know that the main root of "history" is the Greek word "weid". Perhaps the Qur'ān has used the word "stories" for history or report or a historical report.

A- Muḥammad Hādī M'arifat: Historical problems have two important restrictions, *i.e.*, they are bound by two things: one is "time", the other is

"place". That means, a historian needs the exact time of a historical event to be able to study it. It has sometimes been noted that the historians study scientific and religious books to trace a geographical location. For instance, the palace of "Ibn Hubayrah" has been around Kufa. Finding location of an incident has vital importance for a historian, that means as the time is important for a historian, the place is more important. Perhaps the ancient historians were not giving much importance to the element of place, but the present historians give much importance to the place than time, and I am also of the same opinion. Many unclear historical problems and authenticity or untruth of a historical event can be proved by finding the place.

Q.3) What are the advantages or outcome of determining the sites and ancient positions of the stories of the Qur'ān?

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī: Reaching at an accurate image of ancient places mentioned in the Qur'ān, or specifying the geography of the Qur'ānic accounts is naturally effective in understanding the verses of the Qur'ān. It can clarify the lessons given in the Qur'ānic accounts and makes their experimental values more evident. The advantages of every research is known after its completion. Whatever stated in advance cannot be the final conclusion. On the other hand, this depends on the nature of archaeological science as well as accuracy of their methods. It is to be pointed out that all, archeology itself is an important part of historical science, hence, with its potentialities it should be evaluated, taking into account its methods and data as well.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī: The advantages and outcomes of determining the geographical sites as referred to, directly or indirectly, in the Qur'ān, is related to its objective which I clarified in the answer given to the earlier question. Moreover , these studies and the scientific outcomes would provide a better understanding of the holy Qur'ān and the philosophy of particular history of the Qur'ān. Ultimately, such studies will be at the service of the exegesis of the Qur'ān.

A- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī: The advantages and outcomes of finding geographical sites and archaeological positions would help to develop a new understanding of the Qur'ān, the necessity of which is felt.

A- 'Abbās Zaryāb Khoī: Recognition of the places mentioned in the Qur'ān about the ancient nations and stories of the prophets is important from scientific, historical and geographical point of view, but it has a pure scientific aspect and is useful to satisfy ones curiosity. But the holy Qur'ān is not for explanation of the history of nations. Its stories are lessons and examples. It will not harm the understanding of the Qur'ān if the geographical sites are not traced except in cases like *Ḥajj* (pilgrimage) and understanding its rites.

The Europeans made various efforts in the 19th century to find unknown regions in Saudi Arabia and Palestine. They traversed throughout the Saudi territory by camel and horse and found many stones and inscriptions. They took away most of them and started finding their scripts and languages. It can be stated that they have discovered the history and geography of pre-Islamic areas. It is obvious that this work was performed for the sake of knowledge and information. For example, the purpose of reading *Ḥimayrī* or *Thamūdī* scripts was not for unscientific or colonial aims, because colonization is possible without knowledge of *Mā'rib* dam or old cities of Yemen and Roab, and the colonizers are other than those who spend their days and nights in reading inscriptions and discovering their secrets. A number of books have been written in finding locations and ancient places of Saudi Arabia by Europeans. The list of these books and many other articles are in many volumes. In order to gain a very brief knowledge of this immense ocean, the multi-volume history book *Arabs before Islam* written by Dr. Jawād `Alī will be useful.

Q. 4) Is it possible to clear certain geographical sites in the Qur'ān such as Adnā al-`Ard, M'utafikāt, al-'Udwah al-Duniyā and al-'Udwah al-Quṣwā and Asḥāb-e Hijr, etc.?

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī: Although it is a very difficult task, losing hope is not fair.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī: In this regard, I should say that the work of science and research is to clear up the things which have been obscure prior to the investigation. The Muslim commentators and geographers acquainted with the Qur'ānic culture and interested in its development and expansion have spared no effort in clearing up the geographical sites of the Qur'ān such as *Adnāl `Arḍ* (Shāmāt), *Mutafikāt* (the village of *Lūt* which according to some researches is under *Baḥr al-Mayyit*), *al-'Udwah al-Duniyā* and *`Udwah Quṣwā* (two hills or strategic points near Medina), or Babylon. Such attempts have reduced superstitions and increased the certainty.

A- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī: Yes, it is possible to clear up such uncertainty from geographical sites of the Qur'ān.

A- Muḥammad Hādī M'arifat: It is definitely possible. The present historians have cleared up these places. Today "*Adnā al-`Arḍ* and *al-'Udwah al-Duniyā* and *Quswā* in *Badr* war are known. The *Aṣḥāb-e Hijr* is *Aḥqāf*. I have seen in some history books that the geographical route through which Imam Ḥusayn travelled from Mecca to Karbala has been shown accurately, and this is valuable for us. The migration of Imam 'Alī from Medina to Kufa, or the route that took the captives from Karbala to Damascus are clear and hence many questions have been answered.

Q. 5) What is the difference between archeology of the Qur'ānic accounts and scientific interpretation of the verses? Does it have the same problem of scientific interpretation?

A- Aḥmad Aḥmadī: Scientific interpretations are always unstable due to the instability of the hypotheses and the theories adopted by the theoreticians. Since no hypothesis is the last one, every new invention requires a new theory for its interpretation or explanation. Therefore, scientific theories are subject to change. Like the Einstein's theory of relativity that changed the Newton's physics, the results of archaeological studies cannot be taken for granted to be the definite meaning. Of course, this possibility also helps us to solve some of the obscurities to some extent.

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī: The scientific interpretation, if accepted in the same term, is the adaptation of the meanings of some verses to the relative and variant data, and this is nothing but a superficial understanding of the Qur'ān, because the knowledge has a new word or theory every time. But in archeology of the Qur'ānic, accounts have a constant meaning and possess incomplete or sometimes complete existence outside. The work of archeology is to unveil the fact which once upon a time existed with its special position and has now changed or disappeared but has exactly been the subject matter of the Qur'ānic verses. Perhaps, from this point of view, it can briefly be stated that archeology of the Qur'ān is more tangible than some other subjects of revelation.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī: About the difference between archeology of the geography of the Qur'ānic accounts and scientific interpretation, it should be stated that it is very close to the methods and attitudes of scientific interpretation. Naturally, it may bear the shortcomings of the scientific interpretation. A question may arise here as: if for example, all the Qur'ānic geography researchers come to the conclusion that there has been no city or a region known as "*Madyan*" in ancient world and that this region is not compatible with the natural geography of the world in the past or present, then, what stand should be adopted and what comment should be made? It is against the *shari'ah* (religious law) to consider them as myth. For example, such an approach would affect the real historical fate and identity of the prophets like Moses and Sho'ayb (peace be upon them) and ultimately it reaches a point where the historic ruins and geography of the Qur'ān are looked at in a mythical sense or as literary creation. This is obviously against the official creed of Islam.

Thus, if scientific researchers are determined that cities like *Madyan* was not a historic or geographical fact, then scholars of the Qur'ān cannot admit it for science deals with senses and natural objects, while religion is based on revelation, i.e. permanent realities which are beyond observation, experiment and natural facts. Certainty of faith and realities of the Qur'ān should not be dealt with conjectures of the science.

A- 'Abbās Zaryāb Khoī = As we believe that the Qur'ān is from God, the places and locations mentioned therein are relied to be real and if

sometimes the geographical or archaeological discoveries fail to comply with them. Then, this will be regarded as drawback of the discoveries, because the archaeological researches and discoveries are not certain, but it is a science based on guess, but not a baseless guesses. It is a guess concluded from reasons such as guess concluded from rational principles and its usage in principle discussions. But the words of God are certain, so the guess and certainty are not equal. As a long time has passed from the revelation of the holy Book, therefore, many of the verses are of reasonable guess. Here the guess of the archaeological discoveries and the reasonable guess of the holy verses do not allow contradiction of those unconvincing discoveries with Qur'ānic verses. In case discoveries help the certainty then we have to interpret and paraphrase the verses. This is specially true in cases like universe, skies and earth layers.

The science is attaining progress and perfection, but one in hundred thousands of the mankind's obscurities has not been unveiled, so the divine verses cannot be interpreted in conformity with the science for the apparent controversy with scientific data, because with new discoveries and invalidity of the previous scientific theories a new interpretation should be made for the Qur'ān which is not advisable.

A- Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat = Yes, it has drawbacks of scientific interpretations, because for example to find *Dhul Qarnayn Dam* it is possible to use the presently available scientific theories while they might have totally gone wrong.

Therefore, making use of archaeological science or geography to determine some locations cited in the Qur'ān should be like the use of other sciences in understanding some of the verses. They may be used as the probabilities. Of course, some places like the *M'arib Dam* are definite and in these cases it cannot be said that the Qur'ān was based on conjectures. Thus the Qur'ān should not be based on sciences for the Qur'ān and religious laws are fixed. It does not change by lapse of time unlike the science which is based on uncertain laws. It is not advisable to deal uncertain matters with certain ones. Except the fixed findings of the science such as the rotation of the earth around sun. Similarly the geographical regions are no exception, some discoveries are certain.

Q-6 Which sciences can be used to locate the geographical sites of the Qur'ān?

A- Aḥmad Aḥmadī: A number of sciences can be used in finding geographical sites of the holy Qur'ān, such as: History, archeology, including identification of scripts, stamps, coins, inscriptions, statues, tools instruments, and tombs, geography, sociology, and studying of the nations' characteristics.

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī = This question is related to the archeology experts who know the tools of their science better. Naturally, they would take help from the Qur'an and the science of history.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī = The sciences which can be used are: Historical geography, history, and archeology and their branches such as linguistics and etymology and so on.

A- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī = A book comprises 2,000 pages with about 1,000 satellite figures and cosmic maps and computerized tables is published under the title of *Elements of Natural Geography* written by Arthur N. Strahler (the greatest and most famous contemporary geographer).I have translated this book into Persian. It is a very good book . This book could be used to understand the geographical places of the Qur'ān.

Q-7 How much the knowledge of incidents and stories of the Qur'ān can help the commentators of the Qur'ān ? What are the demerits of ignoring such issues?

A- Aḥmad Aḥhmadī = a commentator of the holy Qur'ān should explain and interpret the historical and geographical events, otherwise his writings cannot be called an interpretation. It only be the collection of others' writings and sayings which does not have research value. Therefore, a commentator of the Qur'an should provide his research on historical narrations and try to clarify the dark and obscure angles of his work with reference to geographical and archaeological sciences and carry out his researches with methodological analysis. For example, in some narrations

the palace of *Dhāt al-'Imād* was contrasted with fabulous and fanciful heaven of Shaddād. Whereas a commentator of the Qur'an should not confine to the narrations only, but he should deal with it accurately and comprehensively as the late scholar 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabāī did so.

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī = If a commentator of the Qur'an cut off from the real sources in dealing with the Qur'ānic ancient places he would relapse into illusion.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī = Some points have been made on necessity and advantages of discovering the geographical sites mentioned in the Qur'ān which is a part of the science of commentary. It is very obvious that every Muslim is eager to know as who were *Jālūt* and *Ṭalūt*, likewise, it is very obvious that he likes to know where are the places mentioned in the Qur'ān such as *Madīna, Qaryah* or *Baḥr*. Such need may lead to writing and compiling books on issues such as *Dhul Qarnayn* .

A- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī = For interpretation of the Qur'ān it is necessary to identify the sites of the events as mentioned in the historical reports of the Qur'ān. Not paying attention to this fact will grow into an undesirable result .

A- Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat = The Qur'ān has paid attention to the historical aspects as well . The battles of Islam against the infidels have been mentioned in the Qur'ān - definitely have some obscure points for the commentators. If the historical places and figures could be cleared up with reference to time and place, it could enlighten even a *faqīh* in certain issues, such as, the case of *qasr prayer*(prayer in shortened form). Or take the case of a figure like *Dhul Qarnayn* which has not been identified as to who is he? Where is the real site of the dam constructed by *Dhul Qarnayn* ?

Fakhr Razi was the first person who said that *Dhul Qarnayn* is the same Macedonian Alexander of Greece. His justification is: the *Dhul Qarnayn* mentioned in the Qur'ān travelled to the east and the west achieving victories. Then Fakhr Rāzī says: "While a survey in the history we do not find anybody other than Macedonian Alexander, therefore, the *Dhul Qarnayn* is the same Macedonian Alexander. This is the logic of Imam Fakhr Rāzī: Since you did not find it therefore it is he. It means to infer a

positive proposition from a non-existential proposition. We could not find anybody in the history with the specifications of *Dhul Qarnayn* as mentioned in the Qur'ān. Since we could not find him, therefore *Dhul Qarnayn* should be Macedonian Alexander. Although it seems that *Dhul Qarnayn* belongs to ante historic periods, like some of the prophets. "*The first people appeared on the earth were Dhul Qarnayn and Abraham*, while according to the Old Testament, the Macedonian Alexander existed 800 years after the Prophet Abraham. This does not concur with the idea of Fakhr Rāzī. Recently Maulana Abulkalam Azad has compared *Dhul Qarnayn* with Cyrus and on the basis of the reasons and evidences cited in Old Testament, he claims that this personality has remained unknown to Muslims for being away from the Old Testament thus, while by referring to Old Testament it becomes obvious that *Dhul Qarnayn* is the same great Cyrus. This is a controversial statement, because it is said that when Cyrus conquered Babylon, he shook hand with a great idol called as "*Mordoukh*" to conciliate the nation of Babylon. While the *Dhul Qarnayn* as described by the Qur'ān was a pure servants of God. Thus this idea contradict Abul Kalam's viewpoint.

One of the subjects is *Dhul Qarnayn* dam which has not been located and late Sayyid Hebat Allah Shahrestānī compared it with China wall, while it is not in agreement with the Qur'ān because Qur'ān says: "*That dam was made from molten iron and copper.*" Some others have thought that *Dhul Qarnayn* dam is the same dam of *Bab al-Abwāb* of Russia (i.e., present Turkmenian).

One of the other subjects is Nile Sea. Many of our commentators have cited it Nile Sea, while it is not a sea but the River Nile and Prophet Moses (s) did not cross the River Nile because he moved towards Palestine with his people. When he departed from Egypt and reached the land of Sina; The water that obstructed their way was the Red Ocean which is mentioned in both Old Testament and Samaat prayers as *Sauf Sea* which means Red Sea.

If our respected commentators had paid attention to the route travelled by Prophet Moses (s), they would not have committed mistake by diverting their mind to River Nile, because Nile is between Egypt and Africa, and Prophet Moses (s) did not want to go to Africa or Algeria. However, inattention to these places is misguiding in interpretation.

Q- 8 Does Qur'ān use symbolic language in connection with the places or does it refer exactly to the natural historical sites as existed in the world?

A- Aḥmad Aḥmadī = some Islamic sects have gone to extremes in paraphrasing the outer beings of certain verses. For instance, even they paraphrase *zakāt*, prayers and Ḥajj (pilgrimage). By doing so the Qur'ān which is the referral of all Muslims will lose its authenticity. Of course, in some cases it is allowed to touch the inner meanings of the verses by virtue of its own specific criteria, instance of which can be seen in *Al-Mīzān*. Sometimes we come across certain *ḥadīth* as see in a saying: "This is the inward meaning of Qur'ān."

A- Abūl Qāsim Imāmī = It's too early to answer this question. This question should be postponed to a time that final stage of researches in the field of archeology have been carried out.

A- Bahā al-Dīn Khorramshāhī = Regarding the places cited by the Qur'ān either in the stories or in symbolic way, my definite opinion as a Qur'ān researcher and the translator of the Qur'ān into Persian is that all the places pointed by the Qur'ān are historical and real. Of course, it is possible to find some differences in the opinions of the commentators of the Qur'an for instance about *Ṭūr* as to whether it is a proper mountain or is a mountain in general equal to *Jabal* or for example where was *Wādī Imān* or *Aljānib al-Gharbi* (i.e., west side), west as per which direction? Here it should be stated that differences of opinion among the scholars is a mercy and bring in its wake scientific progress. Moreover, it is a trimmed of the truth and uncompromising with dogmatistic approach but this should not lead into the denial of historical fact or doubt in reality of geographical places of the Qur'ān.

At the end, I should add that I regard the Qur'ān as linguistic — literary miracle, therefore, I regard usages of figurative, metaphoric, allusion, symbol and other linguistic and literary points, as definite inevitable, positive, desirable and even natural and obvious. It is very wise and acceptable when God, the Owner and main Speaker of the Qur'ān uses figurative, speaking about a wall He says: *"They found a wall about to*

collapse" (*Kahf*, Verse 77). It is not acceptable if one doubts the existence of a wall or city with a treasure under the wall .

A- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruḥānī = Name of not even a single place has come throughout the Qur'ān symbolically.

A- Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifat = Regarding the Qur'ānic accounts it is a question as to whether the stories are symbolic, or real. Some people have gone to extremes and dealt with them as unreal things. Some others have said: "The Qur'ān is not other than the reality." In this context a middle way can be selected. Because the Qur'ān itself says: *"Surely Allah is not ashamed to set forth any parable-(that of) a gnat or any thing above that..."*(1:26) .Now let us cite one example from the Qur'an*: "Surely we offered the trust to the heavens and the earth..."(33:72)*

Now can we say that God offered the trust which is wisdom to the heaven it and the heaven said: "I do not want." In fact this holy verse of the Qur'ān reveals something on behalf. It means when we evaluate all the creatures, it is found that they do not deserve to enjoy wisdom. By evaluating human, it is found that he deserves wisdom. Therefore, accepting or rejection of wisdom depends on the nature of the creatures. Many such subjects exist in the Qur'ān. Therefore, we can neither deny absolutely nor become absolutely positive. They must be evaluated case by case. Some cases are definitely symbolic and are the scenarios and at places they are absolutely real and many other things are still obscure. For example, the story of *Adam and Eve*, heaven and Satan. The scholars definitely work on these subjects to find whether they are scenario or reality. Most of the scholars believe them to be realities. But it is also being spoken that this is also a scene. This means it is a secret and so is the mankind's nature. We do not want to believe it, but there is a croon.

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Leader's Council of Iftā': An Interview With Ayatullah Mu'min and Ayatullah Hashemi

Translated by Dr. S. S. Musavi

The establishment of a political system based on religious principles and Islamic decrees in an era when it is taught that the social responsibility of religion has come to an end, has given rise to several questions in the fields of values, rules and regulations and religious laws. Most of these questions are related to *fiqh* and *fiqāha*. As a result the onus of finding an appropriate answer to these questions is on the *faqīhs* and *mujtahids*.

Some of these questions are related to personal life of the Muslims and some to social relations as well as the Islamic government system and problems pertaining to it. No doubt *walī Faqīh* (jurisconsult) has to find the answer to these questions as he is the most learned *faqīh* and is well aware of the happenings of his time.

The Leader of Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah Sayyid Alī Khamene'ī has convened a council consisting the top *mujtahids* who are well aware of today's problems and have a good command over the *fiqhī* issues, sources and principles. The main task of the council is to find out *fiqhī* solutions to the newly emerged problems pertaining to the Islamic society and the Muslims.

Following is an interview with Ayatullah Sayyid Mahmud Hashemi and Ayatullah Mu'min, two prominent members of this council in which they talk about the aims and objectives and the functions of the council.

Q- What is the main objective of establishing this council?

A- Ayatullah Hashemi: As indicated by the name of the council, the main objective of the council is to study problems pertaining to the Islamic society from *fiqhī* point of view. These problems may be related to the Islamic system (the Islamic Republic of Iran) and the newly emerged problems which have not been dealt with by *fiqh* but are necessary for the Islamic society.

Sometimes the Leader's views on an issue are inquired. The Leader forwards the problem to the council to be discussed. In certain cases the heads of the Judiciary, Legislative or Executive also face some problems which they forward to the council for discussion. In sum, the council mainly handles those problems which have not been discussed by *fiqh* in the past or the issues which are new and due to their subjects could not have been discussed by previous *ulamā*.

Naturally, finding a solution to such problems requires lots of efforts by the *faqīhs*. Discussing old *fiqhī* issues is not a difficult task.

Q- Would you kindly elaborate on the procedure and research methodology of the council?

A- Ayatullah Mu'min: First of all the topic for discussion is selected. On the suggestion of the members or voluntary nomination, one of the members is selected to carry on the research work on the topic. The researcher will submit a draft of his research to the council. The research draft is multiplied and every member is given a copy to study. Then the council members discuss the findings of the research in one or more sessions. If the researcher agrees with the criticisms or proposals of other members, he will make necessary corrections and prepare the final draft.

Q- Are the research projects time-bound?

A- Ayatullh Hashemi: No. Normally the issues discussed in the council are new ones. As a result, it takes a considerable amount of time to find an answer to these questions. Sometimes during the research the researcher comes across new problems. Sometimes the researcher has to respond to criticisms and evaluate proposals forwarded by other council members. The more new the issue, the more time it requires to assess. We may come across other problems while studying an issue. Hence, we cannot fix a deadline for studying an issue.

Q-Are the findings used as a guideline for the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary?

A- Ayatullh Hashemi: In fact there is no hard and fast rule that the findings of the council be used as a guideline for the three organs of the government. But since the issues discussed are mainly related to the problems that the Islamic system faces, and the council members are at the apex of the bureaucracy, naturally the council's findings can be useful for the heads of the three organs of the government. The findings of the council are normally used by the Leader of the Islamic Revolution in his *fatwās*. For instance, recently the council took up the issue of the expiation of blood-money (*dīyah*) which has been used by the Judiciary in its law on expiation of blood-money.

A- Ayatullh Mu'min: Since the *fatwās* and viewpoints of the Leader are used in enacting Islamic rules and regulations, naturally if the Leader approves the findings of the council, they are used by the government organs.

Q- Some of the great Marāji' (supreme religious authorities) have set up similar councils. What are the distinctions between those councils and the council set up by the Leader?

A- Ayatullāh Mu'min: In my opinion the most important privilege of the council set up by the Leader is the way it considers various issues. In those councils normally the organizing *marja'* needs to answer a religious

query. Hence he forwards his ideas in the council and other members discuss various aspects of the same problem within its limited framework. But in this council, first of all, the problems taken up for scrutiny are pertaining to the day to day problems of the society. Secondly, each council member undertakes to study a specific issue and then presents the results of his findings to the council. Then the council evaluates his findings. If the researcher defends his findings successfully, the findings are approved by the council, otherwise, he will have to revise his findings again. Therefore, the findings of this council cannot be compared with the findings of other councils.

Another privilege of this council is that all its members are directly involved in running the Islamic system, as a result they are well informed and aware of different aspects of the problems. Naturally, if the members are well aware of the problems, they can find out a more appropriate answer to them. Hence, this kind of *ijtihād* (personal reasoning) is better applicable to our society's problems.

A- Ayatullah Hashemi: The privilege mentioned by Āyatullāh Mu'min is one of the most outstanding aspects of the council. The members of the council, on the one hand, understand the *fiqhī* principles and, on the other, since they are involved in the day to day problems of running an Islamic state, they have a considerable command over the issues they study.

The presence of these personalities in the council, specially the Leader, have made the council extremely useful in finding practical answers to *fiqhī* problems of modern society. The council indeed links the traditional *fiqh* to the modern problems.

Q- In case, during the research on a special issue the council feels that it cannot find the answer without consulting experts of that special field, will the council consult the experts?

A- Ayatullah Hashemi: Yes. For instance, while assessing the issue of slaughtering animals with machine, experts attended the council's session and explained how the machine worked. In fact, if the researcher deems it

necessary to find out experts' views on a specific issue, he definitely consults them.

Q- You said that the Leader is one of the pillars of the council. Don't you think that Leader's preoccupation with state problems and other members' engagement in government organs hinder their active participation in the council?

A- Ayatullah Hashemi: Indeed active participation of all members is a basic rule of the sessions. Most members attend the sessions with preparation. Moreover, the Leader is extremely sensitive to the active presence of all members in the sessions of the council. However, he has a pivotal role in the council. Without his presence the sessions of the council are not convened. The Leader is keen to convene the sessions and he is an active member of the council. He is very active in almost all stages of the sessions: in discussions, criticisms, defense of a research project and in summing up the sessions' discussions, specially when the subject is related to modern legal and economic problems. Moreover, no session is convened without the Leader's presence.

In my opinion, the Leader's proposals and criticisms are very interesting as they are based on accurate *ijtihād* and reasoning foundations. At the same time, they are very useful because the Leader tries to stick to *Jawāhirī Fiqh* (*Jawahir* is a primary source of research in *fiqhī* issues) while stressing the need for finding an appropriate answer to problems. As a result, we normally find appropriate answers to the problems pertaining to the present society.

A- Ayatullah Mu'min: In fact, the sessions depend on the presence of the Leader. If he is not present, the session is not convened. Despite his preoccupation, the Leader plays a very active role in the sessions. Even if a member forwards an excuse for cancellation of a session the Leader does not accept. He attends the sessions with keen interest, hence, his presence enhances the quality of the discussions at the council's sessions. So far he has undertaken several subjects as his research project for the sessions.

Q- What subjects have you taken up for the session thus far?

A- Ayatullah Mu'min: Since I have been attending the sessions from the very beginning, I have conducted research on several subjects. I have worked on rules about the postmortem of a dead body, ablution of a dead body with machine, *Ghinā* (profane singing), Islamic rulings on *'iddah* of a woman without a womb, jurisdiction of Islamic government when personal and public affairs overlap, owner's usage of his own property when his act inflicts loss upon others' rights, limitations of Islamic ruler in pardoning the punishment of a thief, women recitation of the Qur'an in men's presence, etc.

A- Ayatullah Hashemi: Following are some of the issues that I have undertaken: Slaughtering an animal with a machine, the amount of *dīyah* that a culprit should pay to the victim, *ḍimān* of money notes that lose their value due to inflation, indirect losses that are inflicted upon a victim by a culprit like hospital charges, unemployment during hospitalization, etc.

Q- Do you think it is appropriate to hold similar sessions by the professors and scholars of the Islamic seminaries?

A- There are several problems that the Islamic society should answer. Through present methods, the Islamic seminary cannot respond those questions. The seminary should welcome new issues in order to make *fiqh* more profound.

International Congress on Imām Khumaynī and the Culture of *'Àshūrā*

4th June 1995 marked the sixth anniversary of Imām Khumaynī's *death. On this occasion an international congress was held on Imām* Khumaynī *and the culture of 'Àshūrā in Tehran. The Organizing Committee of the congress received 300 papers to be presented at the congress. Following is the abstracts of some of the papers presented by certain eminent scholars from different countries.*

''Àshūrā' Before Islam and the Episode of Karbalā

By: Àyatullāh Riḍā Ustādi from Qum

In his study of the pre-Islamic history of the term, the author first examines the statements of the lexicographers in this regard. In the lexicons, the word "*'Àshūrā*" is generally used for the 10th day of *Muḥarram* and its different readings are mentioned similarly. "*Tāsū'ā*" is also used as the name for the 9th day of *Muḥarram*. In some lexicons, some great and auspicious events are ascribed to this day, such as the creation of Adam, the acceptance of his repentance by God, the flood of Noah, the (future) descent of Jesus from the heaven, the appearance of Dajjāl and the like. This however is not confirmed by our authentic traditions.

Some are of the opinion that this word is of Islamic origin and did not exist before Islam. Some believe it is not basically an original Arabic word

and, moreover, it does not occur in traditions that predicted the event of Karbalā.

In the books of the Ahl al-Sunnah, including those pertaining to tradition, lexicography, etc. there was no mention of the episode of Karbalā and the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ('a) in the studies of this word.

The pre-Islamic Jews fasted on this day and it was considered a day of great importance by them. According to them it was the day on which Moses (ṣ) overcame Pharaoh.

During the pagan era of the Jāhiliyyah, the Quraysh fasted on this day and its fast was emphasized upon after the advent of Islam until the fasting through the month of *Ramaḍān* was made obligatory. Thereafter the fast of *'Àshūrā* was abandoned.

But what was the reason behind the great religious significance of this day? That which can be inferred from the corpus of related traditions is that the significance attached to this day since the era of Moses was on account of the episode of Karbalā.

After the event of Karbalā, the Umayyad tried to make this day appear as a day of blessing and this was considered by them the reason for the fast held on this day. However, after the event of Karbalā, the Imāms forbade the people from fasting on this day.

'Àshūrā, the Way-Opener for Shī'īsm

By: Dr. Sayyid Ja'far Shāhidī, from Tehran University

The movement of *'Àshūrā* was a great uprising which appeared to be fruitless at that time but which was full of consequences in later years. There is no doubt that it still retains its fecundity. Who were the people that participated in this movement and what did they want? Little attention has been paid to this matter.

As we know it began 50 yeas after the demise of the Prophet (ṣ) and the people of Iraq played an active role in it. What did the people of Iraq want? Were they all Muslims and were they of one mind with the leader of the movement? Were they pained by the heresies that had appeared in the faith and did they all want to revive the Sunnah and end bid'ah? If that were true, why did the movement have such a tragic end? This matter has been

analyzed in the author's book *Fifty Years Later* where he has examined its causes from a historical and sociological point of view. Following a summary of his research:

The people of Iraq fell into various groups each of which had its own particular goal for participating in this movement.

1. Those who had witness the simplicity of Islamic life from the days of the Prophet (ṣ) until the early years of Uthman's rule and were aware of Islamic justice. They would compare that era with the conditions of their own times and remember the bygone days with regret.

2. Those who were loyal to the precepts of Islam and who observed how the Shari'ah was being violated by the rulers and how the laws of Islam and the Sunnah of the Prophet (ṣ) had become a plaything in the hands of the rulers. They longed for the appearance of leader who would revive the Sunnah and eradicate the bid'ahs.

3. Those who had come out of the deserts of Najd and Tahamah for the sake of war booty obtained through participation in Islamic victories. They lived in the military garrisons, and suffered the losses of war, while others enjoyed the benefits of the public treasury. They awaited the opportunity to rise and seize their own rights.

4. Those from Iran who enjoyed wealth and position before the coming of the Muslim armies. They were compelled to turn to Iraq, mostly Kufa and to some extent Basra. They had lost their earlier privileges and were looked down upon by the Arabs. Apparently peaceful, they were active covertly.

5. Those who had heard the tales of the conflicts of Lakhm and Ghassan and who had heard from their fathers how their ancestors had fought the people of northern Arabia. Now they noticed Syria become the center of the Caliphate and the Syrians viewed Iraqis with contempt.

6. Those who had been deceived by Mu'wīyah's false promises and had abandoned 'Alī and his son. Mu'wīyah had driven them away after consolidating his power.

7. The opportunists who looked forward to profiting from disturbed conditions and who tried to bring about such conditions so that they may profit from them.

The majority of the people of Iraq of those days consisted of these kinds of groups. They were unanimous on a single point to overthrow the

Damascene regime and to make Iraq the center of the Islamic Caliphate. It is however doubtful whether all of them wanted religious rule with the descendants of the Prophet (ṣ) in power.

In a society where religion has a dominant role, people can be moved by religion more than anything else. Hence any movement had to begin in the name of religion, and who could be in a better position to lead it than the son of the Prophet's daughter, whom all these groups accepted and who had never given allegiance to the Syrian ruler?

We all know the sad end of the movement, but it did not end with the martyrdom of Ḥusayn. Yazīd imagined that he had suppressed the uprising, but it was an illusion, and nothing more was to be expected of an inexperienced ruler like him.

The movement was apparently suppressed, but its flames never died out. At one time it was led by Sulaymān ibn Surad, an ardent man of faith, and at another time by Mukhtār who consolidated his role for some years with the slogan of avenging Ḥusayn's blood. Thereafter it became a handy means for those who suffered under Umayyad oppression, and as we know no Arab tribe was happy with their rule. With the help of the people of Khorasan, all these groups, who had tried at different times to stage an uprising, finally overthrew Umayyad rule, but instead of an "al-Riḍā from the Household of Muḥammad" an "al-Riḍā from the House of 'Abbās" took over the Caliphate and ruled for more than 500 years.

During all these disturbances and uprisings, the group which profited the least was that of the genuine friends of the Messenger of God (ṣ) and the House of 'Alī, whose hearts desired what they said with their. Those who underwent the greatest amount of persecution during the rule of the Abbasids were the descendants of the Prophet (ṣ), who were either killed, or wasted in dungeons, or lived an anonymous existence in villages. The fate of some of them is visible from such books as the "*Maqatil al-Talibiyyeen*" and other works. It was in the wake of these defeats that the genuine Shī'īs and the friends of the Prophet's Household poured their sufferings into the mould of poetry and gave expression to their pains as the victims of injustice.

The recitation of elegies began in homes, then it extended to the mosque and the mourning ceremonies. I have cited examples of these elegies and

verses in my book on the life of Fāṭimah ('a). In the year 352 H. Shī'ī women held a mourning procession in the Bazaars of Baghdad and that opened a new chapter in the mourning of the martyrdom of the Master of the Martyrs. It proved to be so effective that Sunni historians named that year as the "Year of *Bid'ah*". As the years passed the number of this group increased.

It was *'azādārī* which gradually shook the foundations of Abbasid rule. Early examples of these elegiac poems have been recorded from the beginning of the 2nd century, but without doubt they began to be composed a little after the event of Karbalā, although they have not reached us. We find some samples of verses composed by our country's poets dating from before the 8th century, but since the 10th century, we find hardly any poet who has not expressed his devotion to the Prophet's Household by composing a marthīyah. It was these mourning ceremonies and the marthīyah*s* that brought new groups every year into the fold of Shī'ism. In many of the cities of the Indian subcontinent and some Muslim lands, it was the *T'azīyah* and the recitation of elegies that first drew the hearts towards Ḥusayn. It was only afterwards that they embraced the Imāmate of his father and the descendants of Ḥusayn. This is how it is today, and, God willing, it will continue to be so.

Karbalā: Turning Point in the History of Islam (A Socio-Political, Cultural Perspective).

By Professor Waḥeed Akhtar from 'Alīgarh Muslim University — India

There have been various attempts in the Muslim World to reinterpret and reconstruct Islamic ideology for meeting the challenges of time. Al-Ghazzālī demolished what was in his view un-Islamic in the ideas of Muslim philosophers; Jamāluddīn Asadabadi, emphasized the importance of ijtihād and propagated pan-Islamic ideology; his followers in Egypt and Arab world, particularly 'Abduh, Rashid Rida and others revived the practice of ijtihād in the Sunni world. Before these thinkers and reformers, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindi and Shāh Walī-Allāh had made attempts to awaken Muslims to the need of time and save the true Islamic spirit. In the late 19th century and 20th century, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Iqbāl tried to reconstruct

the Islamic beliefs according to the challenges of the time and supremacy of science and western philosophy. In the words of Iqbāl himself all the earlier Muslim thinkers failed in their mission because they destroyed the prevalent philosophies but could not reconstruct Islamic ideas and failed to influence Muslim societies in general. This failure, in my view is because of these thinkers' inability to reach the Muslim masses and convey their message to them in popular language. The success of Imām Khumaynī and other ideologues of revolutionary Islam in Iran found the popular platform of the *Muḥarram* ceremonies as a convenient weapon against imperialism, Western domination, particularly American exploitation of the East and the unjust Pahlavi ruler, for awakening Muslim masses and infusing in them the spirit of martyrdom which was inspired by the battle of Karbalā. Because of this they succeeded in their movement.

In brief I would like to say that some movements emerged in the Muslim world inspired by the *'Àshūrā* for a short time but could not leave a lasting effect. Imām Khumaynī's success in bringing about the Islamic revolution in Iran and through it influencing the entire Muslims world lies in the fact that he made the *'Àshūrā* movement an instrument continuing process in human history for evolving a better society that could safeguard the principles of justice, social equity cultural independence of the East. The impact of the *'Àshūrā* movement on Muslim polity and culture and its role in changing and moulding the history of Islam and the world may be discussed in detail under various heads such as its impact on Muslim Kalam, mysticism and philosophy, its impact on socio-economic reforms in the Muslim world, its impact on political upheavals in the Muslim world and its impact on culture, literature, fine arts and other creative expressions of the Muslim ethos. Imām Khumaynī in our times played the most influential role in translating the revolutionary and creative potential of this movement into reality through his writings and speeches and his re-interpretation of the fundamental principle of "Enjoining good and Prohibiting evil."

A Comparison of Imām Ḥusayn's ('a) Uprising with the Standards of Islamic Law

By: Salehi Najafabadi

The summary of the article is as follows:

1. There exists a great diversity of views between scholars concerning the uprising of Imām Ḥusayn ('a). There are altogether seven different opinions about it, and this is a cause of surprise for any researcher.

2. In the original historical sources, which include the sermons and letters of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) relating to this uprising, there exists no disparity, and this divergence of opinions is due to some traditions which have been the cause of difficult in this regard, and had these traditions not existed, there would have been no difference of opinion concerning this issue.

3. The opinions about Imām Ḥusayn ('a) uprising are as follows:

i) The first view is that Imām Ḥusayn ('a), in the second stage of his uprising, planned for the sake of reviving Islam and overthrowing the tyrannical regime, to establish an Islamic government with the help of the people of Kufa. Imām Khumaynī also holds this views. (*Ṣaḥīfa-e Nūr*, vol.1, p.174)

ii) The second view is that Imām Ḥusayn ('a) acted with the intention of being martyred, and that there was a Divine secret command that Imām Ḥusayn ('a) presented himself for martyrdom.

iii) The third view is that Imām Ḥusayn ('a) intended to form an Islamic government at the time of leaving Mecca, but after receiving the news of Muslim ibn Aqil's martyrdom, he decided to sacrifice himself and his companions.

iv) The fourth view is that Imām Ḥusayn ('a) invited the people to rise in arms against the rule of Yazīd and to topple his government, but he himself did not want to form a government and to take the reigns of Khilāfat in his hand because even in the event of his capturing power he would not be able to revive Islam or even prohibit the practice of cursing his father 'Alī ('a).

v) The fifth view is that basically Imām Ḥusayn ('a) did not rise in revolt and had no intention of jihad, and his journey from Medina to Mecca and from Mecca towards Iraq was solely with an intention of saving his life.

vi) The sixth view is that Imām Ḥusayn ('a) moved towards Kufa for establishing a government, but he knew that he will be martyred during this journey and will not be able to form a government.

vii) The seventh view is that Imām Ḥusayn ('a), on the face of it, intended to show that he wanted to form a government in Kufa, while in fact he embarked with the intention of being martyred.

4. The first two views which have a long history are considered the two primary views of this issue, while the other views were born later on and are classified as secondary. 5. The first view which says that, Imām Ḥusayn ('a) intended to form a government for the sake of reviving Islam, is substantiated by the sermons and letters of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) himself. This is the strongest testimony and is in concurrence with the original sources of this event. This view is the only correct and acceptable opinion and happens to be the opinion of Imām Khumaynī as well.

6. The basis of the second view which says: Imām Ḥusayn ('a) undertook the journey with the intention of being martyred, are certain traditions, which in our opinion are the fabrications of *ghālī* (extremist) liars and hence are not acceptable.

7. For the other five views no worthwhile proof has been provided and the holders of the opinions have at times relied upon conjecture and imagination.

8. The movement of Imām Ḥusayn ('a), in all the four stages, was undertaken in accordance with the standards of Islamic law (*fiqh*) and the practice of rational people, and it took shape on the basis of proper planning, advice, and the selection of the best option. Imām Ḥusayn ('a) who was the greatest *faqīh* and Islamic scholar of his time, planned and executed his movement in accordance with the standards of *fiqh*, and in doing so he did not required a secret Divine command.

9. The spirit of Imām's movement was to initiate the performance of good acts and to reject evil deeds in practice, by at times stopping others from doing evil, at others, for the sake of destroying evil already present, at times for stopping the performance of an evil deed which they want to force upon a person, and at still others, for deprecating and denouncing evil. All these four forms of rejecting evil have been practised by Imām Ḥusayn ('a).

10. The movement of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) in all its stages is an example and a guide for the freedom fighters and reformers of all times till the Day of Judgement.

11. From the time when Imām Khumaynī proclaimed in 1350 (H.S.) in Najaf that: Imām Ḥusayn ('a) sent Muslim ibn 'Aqīl so that he may invite the people for taking the oath of allegiance (*bay'at*) so that he may form an Islamic government and destroy the corrupt regime (*Ṣaḥīfa-e Nūr*, vol.1, p.174), this true speech of Imām Khumaynī carved a niche for itself in the hearts of the faithful revolutionary people. Day by day their numbers grew and they became more and more powerful till when, in 1357 (H.S.), by taking inspiration from the uprising of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) and with the power of the people under the leadership of the Late Imām Khumaynī and the Imam Husayn of his time, they caused the Islamic Revolution of Iran, which is the spokesman of the Hussayni uprising, and toppled the Shah and replaced the dictatorial monarchy with the sacred system of the Islamic republic. In doing so they presented a new face of Islam to the world and rescued the Qur'an from being abandoned and forsaken.

The Concept of Martyrdom in Islam and Christianity: A Comparative Study

By: Dr. Abul-Fazl `Izzati

The sacrifice of life, although respectable in itself, is not by itself sufficient to define that which is characteristically human. The sacrifice of life that is characteristic of the human being is one which is based on faith in the truth. Many of the contemporary systems of law consider such a sacrifice to be legitimate.

Great human beings consider the sacrifice of life to be proper only for the sake of spiritual goals. Of course, it is not to be imagined that spirituality is confined to official religions. However, they have employed the term `martyrdom' to describe this kind of self-sacrifice.

The term `martyr' in Christianity means witness which is the same as the meaning of `shaheed' in Islam. This is a Greek word which has the same meaning. At first it was used in relation to Jesus by the Apostles.

In Christianity martyrs are divided into three categories:

1. The martyrs by decision, faith, and action. It is those who accept death in their defense of religion and their faith.

2. The martyrs by decision and faith but not by action. It is those who participate in the defense but escape death.

3. The martyrs who did not choose death voluntarily and awaringly but who were killed for their faith.

In Catholic literature, the martyrs had precedence over the saints and were considered perfect examples of being a Christian.

On this basis, Islam and Christianity employ similar terms with a common meaning for martyrdom and in practice this concept and phenomenon in the Christian culture has much similarity with Shi'ite Islam in particular.

A comparative study of the history of martyrdom in Christianity and Islam reveals that Christian martyrs embraced death for the sake of preserving their faith, whereas most of the martyrs of Islam attained martyrdom for the sake of establishment of justice and truth.

Moreover, martyrdom in Christianity predates the establishment of Christianity as an official creed and a world religion, whereas in Islam its emergence was subsequent to the formation of Islam as a complete social, political and religious order. Perhaps that is the reason why martyrdom does not possess any role in contemporary Christianity, whereas in Islam it has preserved its significant impact until the contemporary era.

Furthermore, martyrdom has solely an ideological significance in Christianity, whereas it has also a legal dimension in Islam.

In Islam the *mujahid* lives for securing a sacred goal and attains immortality by attaining this goal. That is why the shaheed is immortal.

The Philosophy of Recurrence of Mourning Ceremonies of Imām Ḥusayn ('a)

By: Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Jannāti

Holding mourning ceremonies of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) is among the most important rituals and has many religious, moral and socio- political benefits. Thus throughout history, the enemies have been against holding such ceremonies by the Shiahs. These ceremonies have special and unique features, among them one can mention the fact that they portray a struggle against falsehood. They also help keep the religion alive through an

emotional identification with an event, thereby strengthening the morale of the followers of the Master of Martyrs. In the mourning ceremonies held for Imām Ḥusayn ('a), one should avoid recounting stories that have no basis in reality. Only then these ceremonies can foster a spirit of struggle, sacrifice and martyrdom. Only then these ceremonies can serve as a model for enjoining the good and prohibiting the evil. A few points need to be observed in holding mourning ceremonies for Imām Ḥusayn ('a).

- The ceremonies must explicate the aims of the uprising by Imām Husayn ('a).
- The ceremonies must comply with logic and rationality as well as authoritative religious rulings.
- The ceremonies should not contain any act which might be against the rules of religion.
- The ceremonies should stick to retelling the historical facts.

One of the tools which can portray the event of *'Àshurā* in an artistic fashion is the passion play or *T'aziyah* needs to conform to the following principles:

- Its lyrics should be rational.
- *T'aziyah* must be based on reality.
- It must conform to the rules of religion.
- It must be adapted to conform to the modern mentality of today's human communities.

One of the practices that is against religious rules in some of the mourning ceremonies is "*Qamah-Zanī*" (drawing blood through cutting one's scalp with a machete), a practice which is against reason and against the manner practised by the Imāms ('a). This practice in no way can be considered among the authentic religious rituals. Now all the conscious orators and writers should correctly state the aims of *'Àshurā* and should elucidate for the people are the inappropriate conducts practised on, and wrong notions held about *'Àshurā*.

The Qur'an and the Tragedy of Karbalā

By: Dr. Muhammad Baqir Bahbudi, Tehran University.

That which the reader will read in this small article is the result of a research study about the 13th-18th verses of the *Surah Ahqaf*. The summary of the article is that, the Noble Qur'an had years before the incidence of Karbalā took place planned this event, and considered the motive behind this tragic uprising to be the reaction which Imām Ḥusayn ('a) was supposed to show vis-a- vis the self aggrandizement of the occupants of the *Khilāfat* and the innovations they were introducing in religion. This was to be done in the form of a religious program which was to be a sacrificial jihad, i.e., as an act of thanks giving for the title of imamate which God Almighty bestowed upon him (Imām Ḥusayn ['a]) and his family.

Imām Ḥusayn ('a) was supposed to start a revivalist movement by offering himself, his family and friends for martyrdom and through the captivity of his wives, sisters and children, so that all may come to know that the true servants of the Merciful God, rise with all they have for resuscitating the religion of God, while the slaves of Satan confront them and by commit every kind of crime and injustice for hanging on to power.

Such kind of forecasts are in plenty in the Noble Qur'an, and among them is the *Surah Hal-Aṭā* — as is visible from the context of its first and third parts which declare explicitly that it was revealed in Mecca. Regarding its second part which comprises of verses 5-22, there is the tiding that the Qur'anic school of thought will soon start giving fruit and a family identified as *abrār*' (the good ones) will come into being and it will irrespective of the circumstances, seek only the truth and will desire the will of God to such an extent that they will willingly give their iftar to the needy, the orphan and the captive, while their slogan will be:

If we acquaint ourselves better with the expression and context of the Holy Qur'an, we can very clearly witness another forecast and plan in the Surah 'Adiyat'. This surah also, in accordance with its nature and pattern of expression, has most surely been revealed in Mecca, and despite this, its first

part gives news of an attack by 36 select speedy horsemen, which even occurred years after the Hijrah during the battle of Dhat al-Salasil when in the early morning they attacked the enemy under the command of Imām 'Alī ('a) and totally annihilated it.

Regarding the verses of *Surah Ahqaf*:

The Noble Qur'an in this part initially praises the believers of the monotheistic creed with the special slogan of monotheism and then extols them for their fortitude in the face of the pressure being exerted by the polytheists and gives them good tidings that they will continue to be the recipients of God's favors and support, and that finally Paradise will be their reward.

A similar verse has been revealed in *Surah Fuṣṣilat*:

A Review of Historiography of *'Àshurā* in Shi'ism

By: Dr. Aḥmad Narāqī

Undoubtedly in the history of Shi'ah culture, the uprising of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) is considered among the most important events. Therefore, it is imperative that one would review and analyze some of the special features of the method of historiography of *'Àshurā* as well as its historical development in the Shi'ah culture.

The traditional historiography of *'Àshurā* (be it among the Sunnis or the Shi'ahs) has always been based on writing accounts of events, which was done in non-analytical and non-critical manner mixed with a degree of emotionality. This type of historiography is the intervention of supernatural forces and occurrence of the miraculous and the extraordinary.

Essentially, with regard to historiography of religious events in general and historiography of the events of *'Àshurā* in particular, the world of Shi'ism, much later than the world of Sunnism, began to undergo change. The book, *Shahīd-e Jāwīd*, (Immortal Martyr) by Nimatullāh Ṣ'alehī Najafabādī, heralds the beginning of this new era in contemporary Shi'ah thought.

This new period has only a few books to its credit. These writings vary in terms of quality. They have special features such as revival of the revolutionary political approach to the events of Karbalā which provides us with an analytical or critical evaluation of the events. More importantly, these works stress the "natural" and "human" aspects of the events in the history of religion.

In the historiography of *'Àshurā*, the circles of the sources and research documentation are expanded to include non-Shi'ah sources such as the Sunni sources.

The common feature of the old historiography and the new one is in that they are both within the category of "theological historiography". In other words, this body of writing is written based on unchangeable premises. It is written under the influence of religious beliefs of the historiographers and ultimately serve their theological aims.

In the end, one must heed the fact that the method of scientific historiography is based on two methodological premises. First, the historical events should be analyzed with regard to their "natural" and "human" aspects. Second, the preconditions for a scientific endeavor are "objectivity" and "disinterestedness"

Even though the science of history is independent from the science of theology, but it is among its most rudimentary and basic pillars. In effect, the expansion and development of Shi'ī theology is to a great extent dependent on the growth and evolution of scientific historiography of the religious events.

'Àshurā as the Basis of the Iranian Revolution: Internal & External Ramifications

By: Dr. Sayed Anwar Ḥusayn, from Bangladesh

The Revolution of 1978-79 that transformed Iran from a worst form of monarchy into an Islamic State had a two-fold significance. Internally, it heralded an unprecedented victory of people power based as it was on a rock - solid ideological foundation of the spirit of *'Àshurā*. Externally, the new state along with its new ideological foundation and structure appeared to be a challenge to the existing world order based on a patron-client relationship

c) The challenge of today, although different, the hostilities are simply the same. There was a strong defensive element in our past actions, it is still the same today. The adversaries had been Muslims of the past, influenced by non-Muslims today still the Muslim attack Islamic lands flanked by non-Muslims. d) Muslim strength in the unity of the Ummah and the element of sacrifices as portrayed by Imām Ḥusayn ('a). The weaknesses lie in the disunity among the Muslims, the greed of world power and wealth, to play the part of an agent for the evil forces against Islam.

The Islamic Revolution in Iran

a) The Islamic Revolution in Iran is the culmination of the "*'Àshurā* Movement" that started with the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn ('a). One of the important factors which set the Islamic Revolution apart from all other revolutionary upheavals of the present century is its deep roots in the historical past.

b) The doctrine of Imāmate, the figure of Imām who is not merely the successor of the Prophet (ṣ), in the legislative administrative, even military capacity, but is also in same sense an extension of the spiritual dimension of the prophetic mission.

c) "Every day is *'Àshurā* and every place is Karbalā." The incidence of *'Àshurā* gives lesson to all Muslims - the lesson of not compromising with the infidel rulers of the time.

Ayatullah Khumaynī: The Embodiment of a Tradition

Ayatullah Imām Khumaynī is the culmination of a tradition of Shi'ite 'Ulamā in Iran, not merely in exercising an unusually comprehensive wide and profound influence in political and social affairs, but also with respect to the pure learned dimension of the tradition. Here too he is an unparalleled figure.

In order to understand the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the role played in it by the 'Ulamā particularly Āyatullāh Imām Khumaynī, it is necessary to regard not merely their political theory, not merely their sensibility and strategy and their identification with popular aspirations, but also the background of cultivation of Islamic learning and piety from which they sprang.

Imām Khumaynī: Heir to the Manliness of Ḥusayn ('a)

By: Dr. Humayun Himmati

For a researcher who intends to study the uprising of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) academically, and seeks to analyze its many dimensions in an enlightened manner, finding a determining paradigm, a key concept, and a guide who can explain the stand, behavior and achievement of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) on their basis, is a perceptible and undeniable need. All these contradictory judgements about the achievement of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) are born due to the lack of access to the key determinant in his personality.

Words like chivalry (furusiyyat) in the sense of gallantry and braveness, or the word epic (*himāsah*), despite their wide connotations are not that desired key word.

In the opinion of the writer, the uprising of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) was a manifestation of manliness (futuwwat), and therefore, manliness is the key to the personality of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) and a comprehensive paradigm for explaining his stand, attitude and behavior. Manliness is that wide concept which is capable of explaining all the activities of the Imām such as his combat, piety, sacrifice, forgiveness, anger, and all his life with all its varied and diverse incidents.

Apart from the lexicon and literal meaning of this term and its special gnostic and ethical significance, manliness in earlier times was a ethical system and a kind of a code, a thing akin to samurai, or the indulgence of knightliness, and the zealots among Jews or the Ayyarans of the 5th century Hijrah.

That which is required in this discussion is to explain manliness as an ethical value, as an attribute of perfection, a spiritual state and a gnostic term. The heading of this article, considering its comprehensiveness, is in fact, a collection of the essential religious values, spiritual attributes and ethical qualities, and can well portray the various dimensions of Imām Ḥusayn's ('a) personality.

Imām Ḥusayn ('a) himself is a perfect example of manliness, and therefore, he does not fit into the narrow definition of manliness of Sufis, Malamatis, Christian brothers and gentlemen.

Manliness, is a word of popular use and includes the meaning of tranquillity, dignity, piety, contentment, humility, bravery, sacrifice, patience, valor and honor. And all of these were present in the personality of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) to such an extent that they had become a part of his faculties.

The Role of Zaynab ('a) in Safeguarding the Movement of *'Àshurā*

By: Zahra Abadhari

From the heredity point of view Haḍrat Zaynab ('a) possessed the highest of stations of individual perfection and inherited personality, and from the angle of acquired traits of perfection, she was under the tutelage of the best parents: parents who were peerless both in words and deeds. Apart from this, that which she saw in practice and the events which influenced her were in no matter insignificant, although remorsefully, has not done justice and remains silent for most parts of the life of this great lady. That which mostly shines out in history is the role played by this brave lady in the Movement of *'Àshurā* and during captivity, and this relates to the last two years of her life, of which again, the last part is shrouded in clouds of ambiguity.

In the uprising and movement of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) the role of Zaynab ('a) is very important, for without it the uprising would have not yielded result. The great wave of propagation of the enemy, the anti-value culture of the people, the long distances between the cities and the slow speed with which news used to travel, the political clout of the enemy, and the marginalization of the Ahl al-Bayt, all these are unsuitable conditions in which Zaynab ('a) has to propagate her message.

The blood of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) has an objective and carries a message, and this duty has been cast upon the shoulders of Zaynab ('a). Hence, despite the above mentioned difficult conditions, the duty of propagating the message of the blood of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) and his companions, explaining

the meaning of Prophet's khilafat, and lifting the veil from the face of the Umayyads, is hers.

Zaynab ('a) is now supposed to stop the enemy from distorting the incidence of Karbalā, and to utilize the bubbling blood of the martyrs to cut the roots of the Umayyad rule. Besides this, Zaynab ('a) is also the leader of the caravan of captives and is supposed to protect the life of Imām Zayn al-'Abidin ('a) and look after the women and children in such a manner that a single act conveying weakness is not performed.

This heavy responsibility can only be shouldered by someone who possesses special qualities. Qualities like, profound faith, exception ability to give sacrifice, extraordinary patience and forbearance, knowledge and information along with eloquence, spiritual strength, self-control and sharp sightedness. All these qualities had come together in Zaynab ('a).

The Movement of *'Ashurā* in the Eyes of the Ahl al-Sunnah

By: Abdul-Karim Abdullahi

The Ahl al-Sunna have narrated a large number of traditions relating to the great station of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) and the Prophet's family (*'itrah*). They also consider some verses of the Qur'an to have been revealed in the context of their station. Among the traditions narrated is the tradition (Arabic script...) Ḥusayn is from me and I am from him), as well as the traditions narrated by way of exegesis of the verses of *Mubāhilah*, *Taṭhīr* and *Mawaddah*.

In the traditions of the Ahl al-Sunnah, a large number of traditions — which from the point of view of their contents are *mutawātir-e-m'anawī* — have been narrated from the Prophet (ṣ) forecasting the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) at Karbalā and the incumbrance of helping him. In their history books too the factors and causes which existed at the time of Mu'āwīyah and Yazīd and led to the Revolution of Karbalā, are also mentioned and the true nature of such governments has been clearly exposed. By way of example, the nature of Mu'āwīyah's belief and his love for power, and the obvious debauchery and lechery of Yazīd, can be mentioned, and this led to some *muftis* and *'ulamā* of *Ahl al-Sunnah*, like Alusi, Taftazani, Shawkani, etc., to issue an edict proclaiming Yazīd a *Kāfir*.

In these books the sermons of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) concerning the need for a revolution and the causes behind the holy uprising of *'Àshurā* are mentioned and the objectives of this struggle are alluded to. The letters and messages of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) also comprise a part of these books.

In the part on the effects and consequences of the Movement of *'Àshurā*, the Ahl al-Sunnah point out to certain interesting instances. Among them are: the necessity of confronting a sinful ruler, the highlighting of the detestable and ugly nature of Umayyads, the prevalence of a general abhorrence of Yazīd's rule, and the occurrence of revolts and uprising against the Umayyad's rule, for example, the revolt of the people of Medina, Mukhtar's uprising and the revolution of Zayd ibn 'Alī ('a).

The Effects of the Culture of *'Àshurā* on the Performance Arts of Iran
By: Yaqoub 'Alī Borji

The Culture of *'Àshurā* has had an active presence in all domains of the Iranian art. In this paper, I will focus on the effects of the culture of *'Àshurā* on the performance as well as religious arts by canvassing such fields as literature, design, calligraphy, theater, etc. Our people call such arts as *T'aziyah*. *T'aziyah* takes advantage of such powerful elements as poetry, storytelling, the art of oratory and music. If this art is reformed, it can be used as one of the beneficial and effective tools for the propagation of Shi'ism.

In this paper, I will first deal with the historical roots of these performances. In brief, I will concentrate on the evolution of this art since the rule of Safavids, a time in which researchers believe that this art came into existence. I will then refer to some interesting passages in the writings of the world travellers who visited Iran. Then I will turn to the views held by the jurists (*fuqaha*) on the issue of *T'aziyah*. The views of such luminaries as Mirzay-e Nā'eeni, Mirzay-e Qummi, Shaykh Ja'far Kāshif-ul-Ghitā, Muḥammad Kāzim Ṭabāṭaba'ī, Shahrudi, Ḥakīm, Khoi and the late Imām Khumaynī will be discussed. Then I am going to discuss the critiques of *T'aziyah*. This last section constitutes the most extensive and the most important section of this paper. Actually, the discussion is extensive because

the criticisms directed at *T'aziyah* could well be directed towards cinema, theater and television.

The Institutionalization of the Culture of *'Àshurā*

By: Sayyid 'Alireza Kebari

Our Islamic Ummah has lived with the culture of *'Àshurā* and Shi'ism and has become familiar with the models provided by *'Àshurā* and Shi'ism. Therefore, the Ummah brought about the Islamic revolution in the name of Allah in order to revive the divine values. The leadership of the Movement was with the Master of the Martyrs and his true descendant (the late Imām Khumaynī), who had designed the Islamic Revolution to overthrow the phoney system of monarchy. The late Imām Khumaynī based the revolution on the models of the revolt of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) and the divine ideals.

Hence, by optimal utilization of the old institution of the Culture of *'Àshurā*, he was able to lead the Islamic Revolution to victory, an institution whose efficacy was developed from the time of Haḍrat Adam ('a) all the way through the Seal of the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (ṣ) and the Shi'ite Imāms ('a). The reformers and the God-seeking people, keeping in mind the memory of *'Àshurā*, had generalized the extent of the activity of this institution to all the vital phases of the society, the individual and the cultural pillars.

In this paper, I will focus on the social function of the institution of *'Àshurā* which has been a source of life, vitality and dynamism in the history of Shi'ism. In addition to the influence of the Culture of *'Àshurā* on the Persian literature, and on the idioms, parables, customs and traditions of the Islamic Iran. Attention will be paid to two issues of the ,Islamic Revolution and the Front (the war front of the Iraqi-imposed war) as the results of this institution, the very results that are a source of pride.

The Epic of *'Àshurā* in the Persian Poetry

By: Al Mir Ansari

There have been few studies done on the reflection of the epic of *'Àshurā* in the Persian poetry from the middle part of the 4th century Hijrah to the 9th century Hijrah. According to the extant documents from the 4th century,

the Shi'ah poets who composed their poems in Persian were the first to pay homage to the Master of the Martyrs in their poetry Kisa'i Marvazi is among the top poets in this field.

After Kisa'i in the 5th century, such poets as Nāṣir Khosrow have had a keen interest in Imām Ḥusayn ('a) and have written on such topics as the status of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) - as an Imām and his martyrdom.

In the 6th century, great poets turned their attention to the epic of *'Àshurā*. These poets were Umid Mo'izzi, Sanā'ie Ghaznawī, Qawāmī Rāzī, Anwarī Abivardi and Khāqānī Shirwānī. Some of these poets such as Anwarī and Khāqānī are the luminaries in the firmament of the Persian literature whose *Qasidahs* are unparalleled. Among these poets one sees two Shī'ī poets from Rey: Qawāmī and Abul-Mafakher Rāzī.

In the 7th century, usually the poets with gravitation towards mysticism such as Mawlawi, Sa'dī and especially 'Aṭṭār referred to *'Àshurā* and the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn ('a).

In the 8th century, such poets as Awhadi Maraghi, Salmān Sāwojī and Khājou-ye Kermānī have written on *'Àshurā*. The reference to *'Àshurā* in Persian poetry of the poets just mentioned comes in five forms:

1. Short references: In *Qasidahs* as an allusion.

2. As an appeal: In asking Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ), Imāms ('a) and other great men of religion to intercede before God on behalf of the sinners.

3. Account of Sorrows: A somewhat emotional poetry on Karbalā, but one which is less emotional than an elegy.

4. Short elegy: In parts of long *Qasidah* or a *Mathnawi*.

Long elegy: We know of only four long and independent elegies that were composed in this 500-year-long period, i.e., from the 4th to 9th century. The first one belongs to Qawāmī Rāzī, a Shī'ī poet. The other three belong to Salmān Sāwoji, Awhadi Marāghi and Sayf Farghani — who were Sunnis. Of course, there are some doubts as to whether Salmān Sāwojī was a Sunni. At any rate, the Shi'ah poets, were the pioneers in the field of composing elegies for Imām Ḥusayn ('a).

Imām Khumaynī on the Necessity and Nature of Safeguarding the Rituals

By: Ghulamreza Zaker-Salehi

At the beginning of this paper, I have discussed the role and function of traditions in the preservation and continuation of beliefs and values in a society. After a discussion about Shi'ahs and the rituals, I will draw from the statements by the later founder of the Islamic Revolution to conclude that the rituals, as viewed by the late Imām Khumaynī, are "tools for continuing the movement".

Considering the mourning ceremonies for Imām Ḥusayn ('a), the paper, inferring from the statements of the late Imām Khumaynī , shows that his approach was based on "increasing the functional value" of this tool. In this area, the late Imām has suggested two ways for bringing about a transformation:

i) Qualitative Transformation;

ii) Quantitative Transformation.

In the area of qualitative transformation, the late Imām saw two categories as possessing the highest priority:

1- Purifying the Husayni rituals and immunizing them against distortions and superstitions;

2- Introduction and clarification of the hitherto vastly unknown dimensions of the mourning for Imām Ḥusayn ('a).

With regard to the second category, my research on the statements by the late Imām, indicates that the following were the main components to his strategy:

- clarification of the political dimension of the rituals, the mourning ceremonies and their function in the political mobilization of the masses.
- Emphasis on the psychological aspects of the Ḥusayni rituals, and the linkage between weeping and the epic of *'Àshurā*.
- Ḥusayni rituals as the tool for organizing a minority against a majority, for coordination and unity.
- Increasing the functional value of this tool through the active presence of the youth.

The Movement of *'Àshurā* as Viewed by Sunni Scholars

By: Morteza Kokayee

"Indeed the mourning for the Master of the Martyrs and the holding of ceremonies in memory of Imām Ḥusayn ('a), has safeguarded Islam for the past fourteen centuries."

— Imām Khumaynī

The bloody movement of *'Àshurā* and the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī ('a) and his companions have so far been viewed from different angles. Innumerable books have been written about this movement. After the *'Àshurā* of the year 61 AH, Shī'ī poets, historians and scholars have written on this great event and have created many works. But as the following poem says:

"It would be preferable to hear the secrets of the Beloved,
in the words of Others."

I have decided to focus on what the Sunni poets, writers and reporters of traditions (*Muhaddiths*) have written about the Movement of Imām Ḥusayn ('a).

I have left the analysis of the writings for another occasion and have only covered such important pieces of writings as the elegiac poem by Imām Shāfi'ī composed in memory of Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī ('a), some shocking reports on the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) by Imām Aḥmad Ḥanbal in his "*Al-Musnad*", the report by Ḥilāl Ibn Jinaba 'Abdi (144 H.), the account by Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī (310 H.), the report by Abul-Faraj Isfahānī, the report by Zamakhsharī, the account by Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī (974 H.), the report by Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi (944 H.), and the account by Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Suyutī (911 H.).

Of course, I would like to reiterate that I do not plan to draw any inference from recounting these reports. I have left the analysis to the reader.

Finally, I have discussed how the great Sunni scholars have mourned the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn ('a) throughout history.

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