بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

يَرْفَعِ اللهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنكُمْ

وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ

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

Holy Qur'ān (58 : 11)

MESSAGE OF THAQALAYN

Aims and Objectives

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'ān 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.

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced on one side of the page. (Standards: A4 or 8.5″ × 11″.)

References and notes should be listed at the end of the article and should contain complete bibliographical information.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION
OF ARABIC CHARACTERS

CONSONANTS :

ء	'		ز	z		ق	q
ب	b		س	s		ك	k
ت	t		ش	sh		ل	l
ث	th		ص	ṣ		م	m
ج	j		ض	ḍ		ن	n
ح	ḥ		ط	ṭ		هـ	h
خ	kh		ظ	ẓ		و	w
د	d		ع	'		ى	y
ذ	dh		غ	gh			
ر	r		ف	f			

VOWELS :

Long :	ا	ā		Short :	َ	a		Doubled :	يّ	iyy (final from i)
	آ	Ā			ُ	u			ـوّ	uww (final from ū)
	و	ū			ِ	i		Diphthongs :	ـَو	au or aw
	ي	ī							ـَى	ay or ai

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Report

THE IMMIGRANT MANUSCRIPTS:

A Study of the Migration of Shí'í Works from Arab Regions to Iran at the Early Safavid Era.

By: Rasūl Ja'fariyān

During the very first days of the establishment of Safavid rule, the Shī'ī Imāmī creed was declared as the state religion. However, the Shī'ism of the family of Shaykh Safī irrespective of the time from which it dates—was not a Shī'ism characterized by scholarship and legalist learning. Apart from the absence of Shī'ī scholars and jurists, the Shī'ī works on *fiqh* were also not accessible to them. However, immediately following the establishment of Safavid power the migration of scholars began and they were invited to Iran. This issue has been examined in various studies. That which has received lesser attention is that by the side of the immigration of scholars, Shī'ī works and writings were also brought to Iran from Arabic-speaking lands, and they performed an important role in the religious development of Iran.

Before pursuing this matter further, it is necessary to point out that the absence of Shi'i works in the early days of Safavid rule has been noted by historians, and an important remark in this regard is that of Rumlu in his *Ahsan al-Tawārīkh*. He writes that "during those days the people did not have any knowledge of the issues of the Ja'fari *madhhab* and the principles and laws of the *madhhab* of the Twelve Imams, because there did not exist any works on Imami *fiqh*. The first volume of the book *Qawā'id-e Islām* (i.e. *Qawā'id al-Ahkām fī Ma'rifat al-Halāl wa al-Harām*), one of the works of the prince of erudite scholars, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mutahhar al-Hilli, which was in the possession of Qāḍī Naṣrullāh Zaytūnī, served as the main textbook for the teaching and learning of religious issues until the time when the sun of the true Twelver *madhhab* rose and illuminated the horizons of research."[1]

In this regard it is essential to make a qualification. It appears that this remark is correct only in a limited sense in the year 907/1501 and that too only in Azerbaijan. Because we know that there existed many manuscripts of the works of 'Allāmah Hilli, as well as other Shi'i sources, before the Safavid period. On this basis we should have some reservations in accepting Rumlu's remark in its blanket form. In fact, several cities of Iran which served as seats of Shi'ism, such as Kāshān, Sabzawār,[2] Istarābād,[3] and, at times, Ray and Ṭūs,[4] were places where manuscripts of Shi'i works on *fiqh* were made. Evidence of it is provided by the works of 'Allāmah Hilli, to which we have referred elsewhere.[5] One example is 'Allāmah Hilli's work *Qawā'id*, whose manuscript was written by Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Hasan Sarābeshnawī, a resident of Kashan, in the year 763/1361 and Afandi had seen it at Tabriz.[6] Another example is the manuscript of Shaykh Tūsī's *Mabsūt* which was in Afandi's possession and bore an *ijāzah*, dated 584/1188, in the hand of Hasan ibn Husayn ibn 'Alī Duriyastī, a resident of Kāshān.[7] Another *ijāzah* by the same scholar existed on a

manuscript of Shaykh Mufīd's Irshād, which was also seen by Afandī. Also another manuscript of the *Irshād*, made by Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn Jāsbī Harāzkānī, completed on 14 Shawwāl 565/1170 and compared with a manuscript of Faḍl Allāh Rāwandī in 566/1170 exists in the Āyatullāh Marʻashī Public Library (AML, ms. 1144). A manuscript of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *al-Intiṣār*, dated 25 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 591/1195 was written by Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan ibn Mūsā Farāhānī in a locality of Kāshān called Bāb Walān and is kept at the AML (ms. 3598). Another manuscript containing several Shīʻī books and treatises, such as Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's *Irshād al-Mustarshidīn wa Hidāyat al-Ṭalibīn*, one *Risālah fī ʻIlm al-Kalām* by an unknown author, and ʻAlī ibn Yūsuf Nīlī's (6th/12h century) *Muntahā al-Suʼūl fī Sharḥ al-Fuṣūl*, as well as other works, was written in 845/1441 in the village of Lāmbalangī.[8]

Afandī had seen an old manuscript of Quṭb al-Dīn Rāwandī's *Minhāj al-Barāʻah fī Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* at Istarābād, which according to him had probably been written during the lifetime of its author (6th/12th century).[9]

Another example is the story of the discovery of the book *Fiqh al-Riḍā* as narrated by Majlisī from Qāḍī Amīr Ḥusayn, that a group of persons from Qum residing at Makkah had brought its manuscript whose date went back to the era of the Imam Riḍā (*ʻa*).[10] This book is an epistle (*risālah*) of Ibn Bābawayh to his son, Ṣadūq, although its text consists of the traditions of the Imams and has no particular relation to Imam Riḍā (*ʻa*). All these books must have been written in Iran and, naturally, they negate the view that there did not exist any manuscripts of old Shīʻī works at the beginning of the Ṣafavid era.

Afandī had seen a manuscript of the exegesis of Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī which had been written during the lifetime of the author (6th/12th century).[11] Perhaps that manuscript, dated Sunday 12 Ṣafar 595/1198, is the same as the one which was written by

Abū Saʿīd ibn Ḥusayn Kātib Bayhaqī and which is kept at the
AML (ms. 368). This work, which is in Persian, must have
remained in Iran. There are several manuscripts of the *Nahj al-
Balāghah* which are related to Iran. One of them pertains to the 7th
century and was written by Ḥasan ibn Mahdī ʿAlawī Ḥasanī Āmulī
Bahlawī in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 677/1278 and is preserved at AML
(ms. 3994). Afandī had seen a *risālah* entitled *Risālah fī Ḥall al-
Shukūk fī al-Taṣawwur wa al-Taṣdīq* by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn
Muḥammad ibn Sharaf Shāh Nayshābūrī which was copied by
Najātī Nayhshābūrī and was dated 693/1293.[12]

It is worthy of note that some of the works of Iranian Shiʿī
authors had gone to Arab lands during the pre-Safavid era and
Afandī had seen an old manuscript of Quṭb al-Dīn Rāwandī's *Āyāt
al-Aḥkām* in Baḥrayn.[13]

The Migration of Shīʿī Manuscripts from Arab Regions to Iran:

Shiʿism came to Iran from Arab regions in the course of four
stages. First, through the Ashʿarīs at the end of the first/seventh and
during the second/eighth century. Second through the pupils of
Shaykh Ṭūsī, and especially those of Shaykh Mufīd, who were
from Ray and Sabzawār and resided in those cities. Third, through
the school of Ḥillah under the leadership of ʿAllāmah Ḥillī and his
son Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. Fourth, through the scholars of Jabal al-
ʿĀmil residing in that region, or in Iraq, during the 10th/16th and
11th/17th centuries who later migrated to Iran.

During the third stage, and to a greater extent during the
fourth, the works of Arab Shiʿī authors found way into Iran and
resulted in consolidating the foundations of legalist Shiʿism in this
land. The migration of books accompanied scholars who brought
with themselves their personal libraries to Iran. Also, on many
occasions, pilgrims to the holy shrines would buy manuscripts in
Iraq and bring them over to Iran. This matter is evident from marks

and inscriptions indicating ownership on the back of the manuscripts.[14]

Most important from the viewpoint of identification of these manuscripts is, in the first place, the valuable work *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā' wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalā'* of Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh Afandī, a pupil of 'Allāmah Majlisī, who with a great effort lasting for several decades undertook a search to identify Shī'ī works and collect biographical details of Shī'ī scholars. The second source consists of the old manuscripts kept in Iranian libraries and, of course, a more complete account of the immigrant manuscripts could be obtained by a more thorough research than has been carried out here.

From what can be found in the *Riyāḍ*, it may be said that most of the old manuscripts that were brought by immigrant scholars during the early years of Safavid rule were kept at Ardabil, most likely at the library attached to the shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī. In this regard Afandī mentions many of such manuscript which he had seen at Ardabil.[15] Tabriz should also be mentioned in this relation. Afandī writes that he had seen many books copied by Shaykh 'Alī ibn Manṣūr ibn Ḥusayn Mazīdī. For instance he says, "I have seen Shaykh Ṭūsī's *al-Istibṣār* in his handwriting in the village of Khusrowshāh in the vicinity of Tabriz which was written in the year 877/1472. I have seen *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* in the village of Dehkhāreqān near Tabriz. I have also seen the fifth volume of *Tadhkirat al-Fuqahā'* at Tabriz."[16] At Ardabil, Afandī had seen a manuscript of a work of Ibn Khālawayh, the author of the *Kitāb al-Āl*, with the title *al-Ṭāriqiyyah*, which had been written in 561/1165.[17] We know that this city had been the religious capital of the Ṣafavis and was held in much regard right until the end of the Ṣafavid era. Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī donated many manuscripts to the shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī. Later this collection was stolen by the Russians and transferred to the library at the Academy of Sciences at Leningrad.[18] However, it may be said that, after Ardabil, most of these manuscripts went to Isfahan, which is

quite natural in view of its becoming the capital of the Ṣafavid monarchy after the year 1000/1591.

Besides Ardabil and Isfahan, these works were also to be found in many other Iranian cities, including Istarābād, Ray, Bārforush [19](present Bābol) and Tehran.[20]

Another point is that during that era there existed three Arab Shī'ī centres in the Islamic world, from where Shī'ī works came to Iran. The first was Iraq, a region nearest to Iran and an important base of Shī'ī scholars. The second was Baḥrayn, whose Shī'ism was very ancient. The third region was Jabal 'Āmil whose Shī'ism dated from several centuries before the establishment of the Ṣafavid rule. Shī'ī works were scattered in these regions and were mainly brought to Iran by immigrant scholars.

The point should also be noted that many of the Shī'ī works brought to Iran later returned to Iraq, especially when Najaf recovered its position as the academic centre of the Shī'ī world after the rule of Nādir Shāh.[21] It must also be mentioned that the discussion concerning immigrant manuscripts should not be limited to foreign manuscripts; many of the old sources which existed in Iraq were copied during the early days of the Ṣafavid rule and the manuscripts made were brought to Iran. For instance, a manuscript of Irbīlī's *Kashf al-Ghummah* was made by Ṭayfūr ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad Basṭāmī in 1047/1637 from a manuscript belonging to Muḥaqqiq Karakī. Karakī had made his own copy in the year 908/1502 from the author's original autograph.[22] Thus a book belonging to a scholar of Jabal 'Āmil residing in Iraq who himself came to Iran—was brought to Iran in the shape of a second-generation copy.

Manuscripts from Jabal 'Āmil:

Jabal 'Āmil was a Shī'ī region by tradition whose Shī'ism probably dates from the time of the migration of some tribes of the Anṣār to that land. This centre has produced many Shī'ī scholars

whose biographical accounts have been given by Shaykh Ḥurr 'Āmilī in the first part of *Amal al-Āmil*. He mentions that one funeral ceremony in the era of the Shahīd Thānī was attended by seventy mujtahids.[23] During the 10th/16th century many scholars of this region, like other Arab regions, would study in Iraq, especially at Najaf and Ḥillah, and many of them would return to Jabal 'Āmil after their studies. In the course of three centuries after the establishment of the Ṣafavid dynasty, from 10th/16th to 12th/18th, many of them came to Iran and some went to India.[24] Most of them on coming to Iran were appointed to official positions such as that of *ra'īs al-'ulamā'* or *shaykh al-Islām*.[25]

Some of these scholars came to Iran for the purpose of pilgrimage to Mashhad, not to assume official positions in the Ṣafavid administration,[26] and brought with them manuscripts of some works existing in Jabal 'Āmil or Iraq, or works written in India.[27] For instance, one scholar from Jabal 'Āmil, named Muḥy al-Dīn ibn Aḥmad ibn Tāj al-Dīn 'Āmilī, wrote made copies of a number of treatises of the Shahīd Thānī during the years 953-954/1546-47.[28] This was during the lifetime of Shahīd Thānī and probably the said scholar came for the purpose of pilgrimage to Mashhad and perhaps settled down in Iran. He must have made his copies from a manuscript which had been brought to Iran from abroad. Shaykh 'Alī Minshār 'Āmilī was one who had migrated to India and on coming to Iran brought with himself about four thousand books, of which at least some must have been taken to India from Jabal 'Āmil before they were brought to Iran. This library came into the possession of Shaykh Bahā'ī, who was the husband of his sole daughter, but it perished later.[29]

Naturally, many of the immigrant scholars possessed personal libraries. Many of them were descendants of outstanding scholars and possessed manuscripts of the writings, *ijāzahs* and notebooks of major scholars of Jabal 'Āmil and brought them on migration to Iran. For instance, Shaykh 'Alī, a descendent of

Shahīd Thānī, possessed among his books the works of Shaykh Ḥasan, the Shahīd's son, which were seen by Afandī in his library.[30] As mentioned, this situation continued from the 10th/16th to the 12th/18th century. In the second half of the 12th/18th century, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī Jizīnī 'Āmilī, a descendant of Shahīd Awwal, lived at Najaf. He possessed an important library which among other books contained a manuscript of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's *Īḍāḥ al-Fawā'id* in the hand of Shahīd Awwal. His books, with marks of ownership in his handwriting, are found in several libraries of Iran, for his sons migrated to Iran.[31]

A precious collection of treatises dating from 902/1496 which, most probably, had been written at Jabal 'Āmil and contains several *risālah*s such as Shaykh Mufīd's *al-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyyah*, 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Safī Nu'mānī's *Nahj al-Sidād ilā Sharḥ Wājib al-I'tiqād*, Shahīd Awwal's *al-Nafliyyah*, Karjājakī's *Ma'dan al-Jawāhir*, Abū Muḥammad Qāsim Ḥarīrī's *Mulaḥḥat al-I'rāb*, along with a note in Shahīd Thānī's hand dated 19 Rabī' al-Thānī 950/1543 is kept at AML (ms. 1126). The scribe is 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī 'Anqānī, who had written it at the order of Zayn al-Dīn Mufliḥ ibn Aḥmad Mārūnī.

Afandī had seen a manuscript of Ibn Idrīs's *al-Sarā'ir* bearing a note by Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn Mūsā ibn 'Awd, dated 16 Rajab, 761/1360. It is most likely that this scholar came from Jabal 'Āmil.[32] Afandī had seen a collection in the hand of a certain scholar of Jabal 'Āmil bearing the date 752/1351 which had been completed at Ḥillah.[33] A manuscript of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's *Taḥṣīl al-Najāt* existed at Shahīd Thānī's library and Afandī had seen on it an *ijāzah*, dated 736/1335, by Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn written for Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥamzah ibn Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad 'Alawī Ḥusaynī. As a rule this work must have been in Ḥillah from where it was taken to Jabal 'Āmil before it was brought to Iran.[34] Afandī's remark that this book was among the

books of Shahīd Thānī probably indicates that the works of the Shahīd were kept at the house of his son and descendants at Isfahan.

There exists a manuscript of Shaykh Ṣadūq's *Thawāb al-A'māl* at 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī Library (AṬL) at Shiraz which had been copied by 'Alī ibn Fāris ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī al-Fawāris 'Āmilī and is dated 12 Sha'bān 763/1362.[35]

Afandī reports having seen a collection at Ardabil in the possession of a scholar of Jabal 'Āmil which bore the signature of Shaykh 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Makkī 'Āmilī, son of Shahīd Awwal. Under his handwriting Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Jubā'ī had written that its writer died in 865/1460.[36]

Afandī had also seen at Isfahan a collection in the hand of its author, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūnus Bayāḍī, the author of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, in the library of Aḥmad Baḥrānī. Afandī gives a list of the author's treatises contained in this old collection.[37]

Some Manuscripts from Iraq:

The city of Ḥillah in Iraq was the most important Shī'ī centre during 7th/13th to 9th/15th century. It has been said that during the lifetime of 'Allāmah Ḥillī there lived four hundred and forty *mujtahid*s in this city.[38] Iraq was the place to which Shī'īs migrated from all regions. In fact, since the time of the leadership of Shaykh Mufīd and Shaykh Ṭūsī, Iraq had held a central academic position for Shī'ism. This central position was transferred to Iran during the Ṣafavid era for two-and-a-half centuries, after which it partly returned to Najaf. Until before the Ṣafavid era Shī'ī manuscripts were mainly written in Iraq, and with the establishment of the Ṣafavid rule these manuscripts were transferred to Iran.[39] For instance, a manuscript that had been written in Najaf in 947/1540 and which at the end bears a note in the hand of 'Alī Karakī dated

952/1545 is presently preserved at the Majlis Library (see catalogue of the manuscripts at the Majlis Library, vol. 25, p. 59, no. 7050). Later on a part of them returned to Iraq but the to and fro movement of these works was continuous.

A manuscript of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's *Īḍāḥ al-Fawā'id* with a mark indicating its ownership by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ḥillī Juhaymī, which has been recognized as an old precious manuscript, is preserved at AML (ms. 1162).

A manuscript of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's *Manāqib* whose first part was completed by Jaʿfar ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn Qamarwayh Ḥā'irī on 16 Rajab 587/1191 and a portion of the second part completed by Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ismāʿīl Warrāq Ḥillī at the end of Rajab 658/1259 is preserved at the Isfahan Public Library.[40]

A manuscript of Shahīd Awwal's *Durūs* (d. 786/1384), completed on Monday 12 Ramaḍān 846/1442, is preserved at Āyatullāh Gulpaigānī Library (AGL, ms. 125). It is likely that this manuscript was written in Iran at Istarābād. It bears an *ijāzah* dated 836/1432—that is, before the completion of the writing of the manuscript—given by ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Istarābādī to Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ʿImādī Nīlī.

A manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Lumʿah* written by Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Khūyānī Muisī dated Rajab 808 and completed at Najaf is presently kept at (AṬL) at Shiraz.[41] Taqi al-Dīn Ibrāhim Kafʿami (905/1499) is an outstanding Shiʿi figure. He was originally from Jabal ʿĀmil but came to Najaf and drew much benefit from the library of Imam ʿAli's (ʿa) Shrine in compiling his books.[42] He, who lived some years before the emergence of the Safavids, compiled many works. After the establishment of the Safavid dynasty his works, most of them as original autographs, were transferred to various cities of Iran, especially those of Azerbaijan, the centre of the Safavids. Afandī had seen some of these manuscripts.

Afandī had seen at Irawan a big collection consisting of several treatises all of which were in the hand of Kafʿamī with such dates of compilation as 848, 849, 852.[43] He had seen another *risālah* in Kafʿamī's own hand at Mazandaran entitled *Ghurrat al-Manṭiq* and yet another entitled *Durrat al-Manṭiq*. He appears to have seen a book on the exegesis of the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* in Kafʿamī's hand at Tabriz.

Afandī had seen a manuscript of *al-Malāḥim wa al-Fitan* in the hand of its author, Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1265), bearing the handwriting of ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Jamāl al-Dīn, dated 670/1271.[44] He had also seen a manuscript of *Kitāb al-Majdī* by al-ʿUmarī, the famous genealogist (*nassābah*), bearing a note dated 682/1283 by the same ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭāwūs.[45] Also Afandī had seen a manuscript of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's versification of Thaʿlab's *al-Faṣīḥ* (*al-Faṣīḥ al-Manẓūm*) which bore a note dated 701/1301.[46] He had also seen a collection of the verses of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Ḥāʾirī at Ardabil written by one of his pupils in the year 750/1349 during the poet's lifetime.[47] He had seen a collection at Ardabil in the hand of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Jubāʿī ʿĀmilī, the grandfather of Shaykh Bahāʾī and pupil of Ibn Fahd Ḥillī, containing elegies written by Shaykh ʿAlī ibn Shahīfīnī Ḥillī on Imam Ḥusayn *(ʿa).*[48] He had also seen a manuscript of Fāḍil Miqdād's *Arbaʿīn* in the hand of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ghalālah (or ʿAlālah) bearing an *ijāzah* by Shaykh Miqdād, dated 822/1419.[49] Again at Ardabil Afandī had seen a manuscript of *Risālat al-Muqnaʿah fī Ādāb al-Ḥajj* by Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ Anṣārī, a contemporary of Fāḍil Miqdād, in the hand of the same scribe, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī, and dated 822/1419.[50] Also at Ardabil he had seen a manuscript of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *Fuṣūl* which had compared with the original manuscript.[51]

Afandī had seen a manuscript of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-Anbiyāʾ* which bore an *ijāzah* by Sayyid ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn

Murtaḍā, written at Mūṣil and dated 723/1331.[52] He had seen a manuscript of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* which had been read to him and which also bore his handwriting. Afandī had made a copy of it for himself in the course of ten days.[53] He had also seen a manuscript of *Majma' al-Bayān* in the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn Kaydarī which had been read for Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī.[54] Afandī had seen a manuscript of Sayyid Murtaḍā's *al-Ghurar wa al-Durar* at Ardabil which had been written in the year 545/1150.[55]

At Isfahan Afandī had seen a manuscript of the *Nahj al-Balāghah* dated 677/1278 which had been written by Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn ibn Ardashīr Ṭabarī, apparently at Ḥillah.[56] That which is certain is that this manuscript bore marks which showed that it had been in Ḥillah for centuries before it was brought to Iran. Another manuscript of the *Nahj al-Balāghah* was in the possession of Afandī and was dated 499/1105 (469 according to another manuscript). It had been written by Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn Mu'addab.[57] Afandī had seen a manuscript of Ibn 'Atā'iqī's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* written in 786/1384 at Isfahan, which also bore his handwriting.[58]

Some works dating from 5th/11th to 8th/14th centuries whose manuscripts are kept at AML are as follows:

Rijāl al-Kashshī, dated 14 Rabī' al-Awwal 577/1181 (ms. 2636). This manuscript bears marks of ownership of some Shi'i scholars including several members of a Farāhānī family residing in Iraq (Iraq-e Arab) with dates extending from 6th/12th to 7th/13th century (see the catalogue of AML manuscripts, vol. 7, p. 209).

Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Ṣaffār Qummī, dated 1 Ṣafar 591/1195 (ms. 1574).

Al-Tibyān by Shaykh Ṭūsī, bearing the Shaykh's handwriting with the date Rabī' al-Awwal 455/1063, as well as that of Shaykh Abū al-Wafā, dated Jamādī al-Awwal 494/1100 (ms. 83)[59]. Other

volumes of the work kept at AML bear ms. nos. 3670, 3665, 8419 and pertain mainly to 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

Al-Mabsūṭ by Shaykh Ṭūsī, copied by Shams al-Maʿālī ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Muḥammadī, one of the pupils of the Shaykh, and dated 507/1113 (ms. 276).

Other manuscripts of this work, dating from 6th/12th century, are kept at this library and bear ms. nos. 2562 and 2613.

Man lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh by Shaykh Ṣadūq. Two volumes of this book copied in 6th/12th century are kept at AML with ms. nos. 235 and 2151.

Al-Nihāyah by Shaykh Ṭūsī, copied by Ḥamzah ibn Naṣr Allāh ibn Aḥmad Mūṣilī is dated 14 Shawwāl 507/1113 and bears the signature of Ḥasan ibn Sidād Ḥillī dated 727/1326 and an *ijāzah* by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī Warāmīnī for Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ʾImādī, dated 691/1291 (ms. 241). Other manuscript of the *Nihāyah*, one dated middle of Ṣafar 535/1140 and another dated 599/1202 are kept at this library with ms. nos. 1840 and 3126. The second manuscript bears *ijāzahs* by Muḥaqqiq Ḥillī dated Shawwāl 645/1248 and 654/1256.

A collection of Shaykh Mufīd's *risālahs*. This collection pertains to the 6th/12th century and contains 16 treatises (ms. 243).

Al-Irshād by Shaykh Mufīd, copied by Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Ḥāʾirī at Najaf during 7th/13th century (ms. 7220).

Al-Sarāʾir by Ibn Idrīs dating from the 7th/13th century (AML, ms. 2603). It should be mentioned that at the library of Shaykh Safī's shrine Afandī had seen a manuscript of the *Sarāʾir* that had been read to Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī Fakhkhār ibn Maʿd, one of his pupils.[60] He had seen another manuscript of the *Sarāʾir* at the library of Āmīrzā Fakhr al-Mashhadī which was copied during its author's lifetime.[61]

Majmaʿ al-Bayān by Ṭabrisī, dating from 7th/13th century (ms. 2273),

Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid by Shaykh Ṭūsī, dating from the 7th/13th century (ms. nos. 253 and 4867).

Perhaps the most important works on *fiqh* which were brought to Iran from Iraq before the establishment of Ṣafavid rule are the works of 'Allāmah Ḥillī (d. 726/1225).

Instances which will be cited here show that many of the works of the 'Allāmah and his pupils were handed down to the Ṣafavid era almost intact. The late Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī in his work *Maktabat al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī*, has given a relatively complete list of the works of the 'Allāmah in Iranian libraries and other places. That list need not be repeated here but is long enough to convince us that most of the 'Allāmah's works came down in the form of 8th/14th- and 9th/15th-century manuscripts to the Ṣafavid period and later eras.

Afandī had seen a manuscript of the 'Allāmah's *Khulāṣat al-Rijāl* written by one of his pupils and it differed in many places from its more recent versions.[62] The writer of the said manuscript was Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan ibn Mu'āniq and it was dated 707/1307.[63] A manuscript of the 'Allāmah's *Khulāṣah* written by 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ṭabarī written at Najaf Ashraf and dated Dhū al-Qa'dah 747/1346 exists at Shiraz.[64] Afandī states that a manuscript of the 'Allāmah's treatise on the subject of *wājibāt al-zakāt* and its principles (*arkān*) was in his possession. He refers to it as an old manuscript (*nuskhah 'atīqah*) written close to the time of the author.[65] Afandī possessed manuscripts of two of the 'Allāmah's treatises, one of which was on the topic of the rationale behind the abrogation of the laws (*ḥikmat-e naskh-e aḥkām*) written in answer to a question of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābandah, and another was entitled *Wājib al-Wuḍū' wa al-Ṣalāt*, and was written for his minister Taramtāsh. He refers to them as "two old manuscripts" with the remark that they were written at a time close to the era of the author.[66] Afandī had

received a manuscript of *Rijāl al-Kashshī* bearing 'Allāmah Hillī's handwriting.[67] A manuscript of the 'Allāmah's *Īdāh Mukhālafat-i Ahl al-Sunnah* dated 723/1323 is kept at the Majlis Library (catalogue of the Majlis Library manuscripts, vol. 15, p. 30)

Afandī has seen a manuscript of the 'Allāmah's *Tahrīr* which bore an *ijāzah* by Hasan ibn Hamzah Najafī dated 862/1457, and 836/1432 on some pages.[68] A manuscript of the *Tahrīr* written by Washshāh ibn Muhammad ibn 'Assah dated 2 Jamādī al-Awwal 719/1319 is kept at AML (ms. 7815). Another manuscript of the Tahrīr in this library was written by Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Nāsir al-Mujaljal. The writing of this manuscript was completed on Tuesday 6 Sha'bān 747/1346 and it is preserved at AGL (ms. 261). This manuscript was compared in 775/1373 with the author's original and bears a note dated Rajab 783/1381 and a mark of ownership dated 30 Rabī' al-Thānī 941/1534 by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī Sayyarī Bahrānī. A manuscript of 'Allāmah Hillī's *Irshād al-Adhhān* written by Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn 'Alī 'Alawī Tūsī in 28 Ramadān 704/1304 at Hillah was in the library of Farhād Mīrzā in 1297/1879 and is presently kept at the Majlis Library (vol. 14, p. 171). This manuscript bears an *ijāzah* in the 'Allāmah's hand dated end of Dhū al-Hijjah 704/1304. A valuable collection pertaining to the 8th/14th century and containing several treatises and *ijāzah*s of the 'Allāmah and his son, Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn, as well as others, is kept at the Majlis Library (catalogue of manuscripts, vol. 14, pp. 226-227, no. 4953). Another manuscript of *Sharh Irshād al-Adhhān* by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Atā'iqī written close to the era of the author (8th/14th century) is preserved at AML (ms. 8609).

A manuscript of the 'Allāmah's *Kashf al-Fawā'id fī Shārh Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id* written in 902/1496 at the Madrasah Zaynabiyyah at Hillah is preserved at AML (ms. 8047).

A manuscript of the 'Allāmah's *Qawā'id al-Aḥkām* written by Sulṭān ibn Ḥasan ibn Sulṭān ibn Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Shajarī dated end of Rabī' al-Awwal 823/1420 is preserved at AML (ms. 8673). This manuscript had been in the possession of the family of Fayḍ Kāshanī. Afandī has seen a manuscript of the *Qawā'id*, dated 761/1359, in the hand of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid Nīlī.[69] He had also seen a manuscript of Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Kitāb al-Ḥisāb* bearing an *ijāzah* in the hand of the 'Allāmah for Khwājah Rashīd al-Dīn Āwī.[70]

A collection containing the 'Allāmah's *Nahj al-Mustarshidīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* and Ibn Maytham Baḥrānī's *Qawā'id al-Marām fī 'Ilm al-Kalām*, along with several treatises by Bayḍāwī, was written at Najaf by 'Abd al-Muṭṭālib ibn Muḥammad 'Ubaydalī and is dated 798/1395 and kept at AML (ms. 8751). Afandī had seen a manuscript of *Risālah Mukhtaṣarah fī Munāsakhāt al-Mīrāth* by Sayyid 'Amīd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 754/1353), a nephew of 'Allāmah Ḥillī, which bore a note in the 'Allāmah's hand and was copied by Aḥmad ibn Ḥaddād Ḥillī in the year 721/1321.[71]

A manuscript of a work of Sayyid 'Amīd al-Dīn ('Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad) entitled *Kanz al-Fawā'id fī Ḥall al-Mushkilāt al-Qawā'id* and compiled in the interval between middle of Rajab and 20 Sha'bān 737/1336, whose copy was made on 19 Ṣafar 782/1380 existed at the personal library of Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī and is presently kept at the Majlis Library (catalogue; vol. 12, p. 94; no. 4387). Another manuscript of the same book copied by a scholar of Jabal 'Āmil named 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn .... Maysī on Monday 9 Ṣafar 790/1388 is preserved at AML (ms. 8426). The same author had written a *sharḥ* on the 'Allāmah's *Sharḥ al-Yāqūt*, and an old manuscript of it written during the author's lifetime was in Afandī's possession.[72]

Some of other very old manuscripts of Iraq that were transferred to Iran include an old manuscript of the *Qurb al-Asnād*

in the hand of Ibn al-Mahjanāz Bazzāz, a jurist who was Shaykh Mufīd's contemporary, and it had been used by Afandī.[73] ʿAllāmah Majlisī also writes that he had used an old manuscript bearing the handwriting of Ibn Idrīs which seems to be the same manuscript as referred to by Afandī.[74] He also possessed a manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Anwār* by Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Bakrī which had been copied in 696/1296.[75]

At Tabriz Afandī had seen a manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah* which had been compiled by Ibn Ashnās, and he mentions it as a manuscript that was probably written during the lifetime of the compiler.[76] He says that the original manuscript of the author existed during his time in the possession of one of the major scholars.[77] He had also seen another manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah* bearing the date 603/1206 and the handwriting of Shahīd Awwal.[78] Another manuscript that he had seen was that of the book *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ashbāh wa al-Naẓāʾir* by Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Riddat al-Nīlī and it was dated 674/1275.[79] Afandī had seen at Istarābād a manuscript of the book *Miṣbāḥ al-Muhtadin fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* by Shaykh Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Rāshid Ḥillī which was dated 883/1478. He saw a manuscript of Shaykh Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid* bearing a note in the hand of Shaykh Ḥasan ibn Rāshid Ḥillī which was dated 830/1426.[80] Also, he had seen a manuscript of the ʿAllāmah's *Qawāʿid* bearing the handwriting of Shaykh Ḥasan ibn Rāshid at the library of Fāḍil Hindī.[81] At Isfahan he saw a manuscript of the *Ḥāshiyah* Yamanī on the *Kashshāf*, all of which was in the hand of Shaykh Ḥasan ibn Rāshid Ḥillī and had been written in 824/1421.[82]

Afandī mentions having seen at Isfahān an old manuscript of the book *al-Masāʾil al-Yaqīn li Dhawī al-Fiṭnah wa al-Tamkīn* dated 824 in the hand of Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamzah Sarihānī which he identifies as being the same as the *Masāʾil* of Ibn Abī Ṭayy.[83] He had also seen a manuscript of Shaykh Ṭūsī's *al-Tibyān*

bearing an *ijāzah* in the Shaykh's hand.[84] He saw a manuscript of the book *al-Marāsim al-'Alawiyyah* by Abū Ya'lā Sallār ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Daylamī, one of the pupils of Shaykh Mufīd and Shaykh Ṭusī, which had been written close to the time of the author.[85] A manuscript of Shaykh Mufīd's *Irshād* pertaining to the 7th/13th century is kept at AML (ms. 318).

Afandī saw a manuscript of Shahīd Awwal's *al-Durūs* copied by Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Maṭar Asadī at Kubenān, which was dated 802/1399 and mentioned Ḥillah. This manuscript had been written for Aḥmad ibn Ja'far Shāmī Ḥillī.[86] At Qazwīn Afandī had seen a manuscript of the book *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālibīn fī Ma'rifat Uṣūl al-Dīn* by 'Abd al-Samī' ibn Fayyāḍ Asadī Ḥillī, to which he refers as a really old manuscript (*kānat 'atīqatan jiddan*).[87]

Afandī had seen several old manuscripts of the *book 'Uyūn al-Mu'jazāt* by Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, one of the contemporaries of Shaykh Ṭusī. He had seen these manuscripts at Kazerun, Baḥrayn and Aḥsā' and he remarks that the manuscript he saw at Kazerun was dated 566/1170. From his further remarks it appears that the manuscript at Kazerun had since long been among the endowments of the shrine of one of the sayyids.[88]

Afandī had seen manuscripts of the book *Kitāb al-Taḥqīq al-Mubīn fī Sharḥ Nahj al-Mustarshidīn* by Mawlā Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr ibn Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Hablrūdī, a resident of Najaf, bearing the date 828/1424, which is close to the period of its compilation. One of these manuscripts was at Tabriz and the other at Ardabil. Afandī had also seen manuscripts of his other books at Ardabil, Istarābād and Sārī (in Kaf'amī's hand). At Isfahan he had seen a manuscript of a refutation written by him against Yūsuf ibn Makhzūm A'war who had written against the Shī'ah. Its date of compilation was 839/1435.[89]

Some Manuscripts from Bahrayn:

Frequent visits of scholars from Baḥrayn to Iran were a common feature of the Ṣafavid period. At times Iranians also travelled to Baḥrayn. For instance, Shaykh Ḥusayn, Shaykh Bahā'ī's father, who had been residing in Iran for years, went to Baḥrayn where he died.[90] Some Baḥraynīs were engaged in studies in Iraq. For instance, Shaykh Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī Hajrī was one of the pupils of Muḥaqqiq Karakī. Afandī saw his books at Mashhad and an *ijāzah* by him at the shrine of 'Abd al-'Aẓim at Ray.[91] Afandī mentions a book *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Yāqūt* whose author was 'Amīd al-Dīn, son of the 'Allāmah's daughter. The *Sharḥ al-Yāqūt* is by the 'Allāmah himself. Afandī remarks that 'Amīd al-Dīn's *Sharḥ* was popular at Baḥrayn and he had seen a very old manuscript of it at Isfahan.[92] Afandī had seen at Yazd a manuscript in the author's hand of the book *Jawāmi' al-Sa'ādāt fī Funūn al-Da'awāt* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥusayn Baḥrānī, a scholar of the era succeeding Ibn Fahd Ḥillī.[93] A manuscript of Ibn Fahd Ḥillī's book (d. 841/1437) *Kitāb al-Masā'il al-Shāmiyyah fī Fiqh al-Imāmiyyah* written close to the author's era is kept at AML (ms. 8484).

'Allāmah Majlisī and Old Shī'ī Manuscripts:

'Allāmah Majlisī was very keen to use old and reliable manuscripts of various sources in his compilation of the *Biḥār al-Anwār*. In the *Biḥār*, after mentioning his sources, he opens a section entitled "*Fī bayān al-wuthūq 'alā al-kutub al-madhkūrah wa ikhtilāfuhā fī dhālik.*"[94] In it he examines the extent of reliability of his sources and defends the credibility of these sources on the ground that the manuscripts he had used were old and bore *ijāzahs* of eminent scholars and traditionists. First he mentions the works of Sadūq and remarks that a corrected manuscript of the *Amālī* was in his possession which was written at a time close to the author's era and bore *ijāzahs* of many teachers

(*mashāyikh*). He also possessed a manuscript of Ṣadūq's *Khiṣāl* bearing an *ijāzah* of Shaykh Miqdād. The first volume of *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* was in the form of an old manuscript which was considered by some to be in Ṣadūq's own hand. Majlisī does not accept this, but writes that it bore Ṣadūq's signature. He mentions a book entitled *Kitāb al-Imāmah* whose author was unknown to him but from the *ijāzah*s appearing on an old manuscript of it he infers that the author must have been an outstanding Shī'ī author and jurist.

He also possessed an old manuscript of Ḥimyarī's *Qurb al-Asnād* bearing Ibn Idrīs's handwriting. He possessed an old manuscript of Shaykh Ṭūsī's *Amālī* bearing *ijāzah*s of scholars. Also he had an old manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, ascribed to Shaykh Mufīd, to which he refers as an old manuscript.[95] He had also two old manuscript of 'Ayyāshī's *Tafsīr* but does not mention their dates. Majlisī possessed a manuscript in the author's hand of Shaykh Ṭabrisī's *A'lām al-Warā* as well as a manuscript of the *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl* to which he refers as an old manuscript (*nuskhah 'atīqah*).[96] He also possessed the manuscript of a certain *Kitāb al-Du'ā* by an unknown author to which he refer as an old manuscript.[97] Majlisī also possessed another collection of supplications whose manuscript was written in 576/1180 and from which Ibn Ṭāwūs had also cited repeatedly in his books.[98] 'Allāmah Majlisī possessed a manuscript of *al-Ghārāt* which had been made by one of the scholars from a manuscript written close to the author's era and which had been placed at his disposal.[99] He mentions a manuscript of *Dalā'il al-Imāmah*, to which he refers as an old corrected manuscript (*nuskhah qadīmah muṣaḥḥaḥah*), which existed at the shrine of Imam 'Alī (*'a*) and had been used by him.[100]

Notes:

1. Ḥasan Bayk Rumlu, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* (Tehran: Intishārāt-e Bābak, 157 H. Sh.), ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, p. 86.

2. A manuscript of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqin's *Īḍāḥ al-Fawāʾid* was written by Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Juwaynī in the years 793-4/1389-91 at Sabzawār. See *Fihrist-e Kitābkhāneh Majlis* (Qum: Markaz-e Muṭāliʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-e Islāmī, 1376 H.Sh.), ed. ʿAlī Ṣadrāʾī, vol. 25, p. 249.

3. Concerning Istarābād, see Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ* (Qum: Kitābkhāneh Āyatullāh Marʿashi, 1401 H.), vol. 2, p. 413. A copy of Shahīd Awwal's *Kitāb al-Bayān* was completed by a scholar named ʿImād ibn ʿAlī Istarābādī on Tuesday 5 Shaʿbān 861. This might have been in Iran, for we know that Istarābād was an important Shīʿī centre during the 9th/15th century.

4. One of the Shīʿī scholars of the 6th/12th century is Naṣir al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥamzah Mashhadī, known as Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. Quṭb al-Dīn Kaydarī is among his pupils, as he himself narrates *ḥadīth* from Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī. Afandī had seen his book *Kitāb al-Wāfī fī Kalām al-Muthbit wa al-Nāfī*, whose manuscript had been written in 679/1280. He also saw a manuscript, dated 578/1182, of *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* in his possession. See *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 216.

5. For a list of the ʿAllāmah's works whose manuscripts were made in Iran or by Iranian scholars before the Safavid era, see Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Īrān* (Qum: Anṣāriyān 1376 H. Sh.), vol. 2, pp. 669-676.

6. *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ*, vol. 3, pp. 397-398.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 179, vol. 3, p. 418.

8. *Fihrist-e Nusakh-e Khaṭṭī-ye Kitābkhāneh Millī*, vol. 14, pp. 160-163.

9. *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 42.

10. Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Tehran: Islāmiyyah, vol. 1, p. 11, *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 30.

11. *Rayāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 157.

12. *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 109.

13. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 424.

14. See the first folio of the manuscript of *Ḥāshiyat al-Sharīf 'alā Sharḥ al-Maṭāli'* (ms. 8046 at AML)

15. See for instance, *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 1, p. 186, vol. 2, pp. 64, 101, 103, 109, 122, vol. 4, pp. 18, 319. It should be noted that Afandī had seen manuscripts of several books during the Ṣafavid period at Ardabil, and this shows that books were provided on a regular basis for the library at Shaykh Ṣafī's shrine. See *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 332.

16. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 269.

17. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 24.

18. In this regard see the journal *Nashr-e Dānesh*, year 16 (1372 H. Sh.), no. 6, pp. 24-28.

19. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 4, p. 262, as well as other instances.

20. See for instance *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 157, 196.

21. We know that some decades ago some people tried hard to collect manuscripts from Iranian cities for having them transferred to the library at Imam 'Alī's shrine.

22. *Fihrist-e Kitābkhāneh Millī* (Tehran 1372), ed. Ḥabīb Allāh 'Aẓīmī, vol. 13, pp. 230-231.

23. *Amal al-Āmil*, vol. 1, p. 15.

24. *Fihrist-e Kitābkhāneh Majlis-e Shūrā-ye Islāmī* (Tehran 1347), ed. Īraj Afshār, Dānesh Pezhuh, and others, vol. 15, p. 126.

25. Shāh Ṭahmāsb had said that he would make use solely of scholars from Jabal 'Āmil for administration of this kind of affairs. See *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 3, p. 90.

26. Some of them, like the family of Shaykh Bahā'ī's brother, settled down at Mashhad and joined the servants of the shrine. See *Fihrist-e Kitābkhāneh Àyatullāh Mar'ashī*, vol. 21, p. 354, no. 8385.

27. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 5, p. 136.

28. *Fihrist-e Kitābkhāneh Millī*, vol. 13, p. 31.

29. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 4, p. 266.

30. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 233.

31. Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Ṭehrānī and 'Alī Naqī Munzawī, *al-Kawākib al-Muntashirah*, (Tehran: Tehran University 1372 H. Sh.), pp. 739, 740.

32. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 182.

33. *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 79.

34. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 200.

35. Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Min Turāthinā al-Khālid fī Shirāz," in *Mīrāth-e Islāmī-e Īrān* (Qum: Kitābkhāneh Āyatollāh Mar'ashī, 1373 H. Sh.), ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān, p. 399.

36. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 4, p. 251.

37. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 256-258.

38. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 361.

39. Some of these works were copied at Najaf during the Safavid period itself and then sent from there to Isfahan. See *Fihrist-e Kitābkhāneh Majlis-e Shūrā-ye Millī*, vol. 12, p. 315.

40. *Fihrist-e Nushkhahā-ye Khaṭṭī-ye Kitābkhāneh 'Umūmī-ye Iṣfahān*, pp. 311-312. Another part of the same *Manāqib* pertaining to the same period is kept at Tabriz.

41. Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Min Turāthinā al-Khālid fī Shirāz," in *Mīrāth-e Islāmī-e Īrān*, p. 440..

42. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 1, p. 21.

43. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 22-23, 257.

44. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 164.

45. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 167.

46. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 183, vol. 4, p. 123.

47. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 235.

48. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 403, vol. 4, p. 107.

49. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 408.

50. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 409.

51. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 183.

52. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 267, 291.

53. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 48.

54. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 297.

55. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 30.

56. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 37.

57. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 43.

58. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 106.

59. Afandi had seen this manuscript, *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 85.

60. *Ibid.*, vol. 4 , p. 319, vol. 5, p. 33.

61. *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 33.

62. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 258.

63. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 175.

64. Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'i, "Min Turāthinā al-Khālid fī Shīrāz, in *Mīrāth-e Islāmī-e Īrān*, p. 442.

65. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 1, p. 378.

66. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 378-379.

67. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 296.

68. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 182, vol. 3, pp. 154-155.

69. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 92.

70. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 205.

71. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 260.

72. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 261.

73. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 418.

74. *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 1, p. 26.

75. *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, vol. 1, p. 43.

76. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 312.

77. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 312.

78. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 397-398.

79. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 84.

80. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 186, vol. 3, p. 343.

81. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 187.

82. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 342.

83. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 163.

84. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 174.

85. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 441.

86. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 180.

87. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 121.

88. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 124, 126, 128, cf. *Fihrist-e Kitābkhāneh Àyatullāh Mar'ashī*, vol. 21. p. 241, no. 8281.

89. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 237-238.

90. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 121.

91. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 142.

92. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 378.

93. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 114.

94. *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 1, pp. 26-27.

95. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 26-27.

96. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 28-29.

97. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 31.

98. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 33.

99. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 37.

100. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 40.

Islamic Mysticism and Philosophy

By: Àyatullāh Muḥammad Taqī Miṣbāh Yazdī
Translated by: Shahyār Saʿādat

INTRODUCTION

Human beings living in this world may be compared to balls let loose in space, each possessing a secret potential and energy enabling it to soar towards an infinite, transcendental realm. However, the attraction of sensual pleasures pull them down toward the prison of the natural world, creating in them a movement toward decay and degradation. Furthermore, satanic and selfish desires and tendencies, finding concrete form in materialistic cultures and civilizations accelerate their degradation and fall. Few indeed are those who have been blessed with intuitive perception of spiritual truths and whose hearts are open to divine messages, who leave behind base and animal desires and attachments and soar toward luminous heavenly horizons; who take a giant step forward in the course of their spiritual evolution toward the very source of all felicity, beauty, power, harmony and perfection; in other words, towards God. But even those who crash

to the earth like balls are eventually disappointed and dissatisfied in
the prison of matter and begin to speed with the same velocity but
in the opposite direction of their falling movement toward the
transcendental heavenly realm.   And this may recur numerous
times.   At present we are witnessing this reaction in a group of
individuals who, disappointed by the decadent Western culture, are
thirsty for spiritual values and are running this way and that,
searching for a stream of pure water, but who, unfortunately, for
the most part fall victim to tricksters who, instead of the nectar of
wisdom, pour poison into their mouths, push them over a precipice
far deeper than the one they were attempting to escape from, and,
in a word, send them to their doom through the back door!

The centrifugal tendency to escape materialist culture is not
limited to isolated individuals alone.   Today we are witness to an
expansion of pro-Islamic social movements all over the world;
even in the most decadent and spiritually sick societies.   What has
accelerated these movements is the victory of a great Islamic
revolution that, led by a great mystic and relying upon the released
force of a great reservoir of popular energy, and in the light of
Islamic teachings, has overcome all satanic forces and is forging
ahead despite all the serious obstacles it is surrounded with.
Although this is not the first time that a spiritual man has led a
social movement, it would not be an easy task to point to other
examples of movements of such depth and magnitude and of such
steadfastness.   In any case, this phenomenon too can provide a
strong incentive for an examination of the role of spiritual
inclinations, especially that of Islamic mysticism, in bringing about
positive developments in the lives of human beings.

Mysticism in the Muslim World

For a long time now there have existed in the Islamic world
tendencies known as "mysticism" (*'irfān*) and sufism (*taṣawwuf*),
reaching their zenith in many countries, such as Iran and Turkey,

from the 4th until the 8th centuries after Hijrat. Today also, numerous branches of Sufis exist throughout the Muslim world. Furthermore, similar tendencies have been found among the followers of other faiths. And this fact gives rise to the question of whether something called "Islamic mysticism" really exists, or whether Muslims have adopted this tendency from others, and that therefore, what is called Islamic mysticism is in fact mysticism of the Muslims and not mysticism of Islam. Furthermore, we may ask, if Islam has within itself something called 'irfān, is this identical with the mysticism we find today among the Muslims or has it been subjected to change and alteration.

There have been various responses to the question raised above. Some have completely denied the existence of mysticism in Islam and have considered it as a heresy, as something to be rejected. Others have maintained that it is something outside of the teachings of Islam but compatible with it. Along the same lines some have said that 'irfān is a laudable innovation, like monasticism in Christianity, concerning which the Qur'ān says:

و رَهبانِيَّةً ابتدعوها ما كتبنْها عليهم اِلَّا ابتغاَءَ رضوانِ اللَّهِ

And (as for) monastic life, they innovated it- we did not prescribe it to them- only to seek Allah's pleasure... (al-Ḥadīd 57: 27)

Finally, still a third group holds that mysticism is an integral aspect of Islam, in fact nothing short of its very marrow and soul, having its source, like all other elements of the faith, in the holy Qur'ān and the tradition of the Prophet (Ṣ). They therefore reject the notion that it has been borrowed from any other religion or school of thought, maintaining that the existence of similarities between Islamic mysticism and those of other faiths is no more proof that it has been adopted from those religions or philosophies than the existence of similarities between Islam's tenets and those

of other revealed faiths proves that they have been taken from those religions.

We believe that the latter position is the most accurate one. It should be kept in mind, however, that to assert the genuineness of Islamic mysticism is not synonymous with condoning all that is practiced in the Muslim world in the name of mysticism and Sufism, just as all the practices and beliefs encountered among groups that call themselves Muslim cannot be regarded as truly Islamic. For if it were so, then we would be forced to conclude that either Islam is an amalgam of contradictory beliefs and values or that we are faced with contradictory versions of Islam. In any case, while we admit the existence of genuine Islamic mysticism, the highest degrees of which were attained by the Prophet ($\mathcal{S}$) and his true successors, we do not deny the presence of alien elements in the belief system of Muslim mystics, and consider the beliefs and practices of many sects of Sufis to be questionable.

'Irfàn, Taṣawwuf, Ḥikmat and Falsafah

Before we embark on a discussion of Islamic mysticism it would be advisable to clarify the definitions of the terms *'irfān* (mysticism) and *taṣawwuf* (sufism), so that misunderstanding and confusion may be avoided.

The word *'irfān*, like *ma'rifat*, literally means "to know." However, as a technical term it has come to denote a particular kind of knowledge, attained, not through experience, intellect or learning, but through direct intuitive perception. Moreover, the term is extended to the theories that my result from such perceptions. Furthermore, since these intuitive realizations are usually attained only when definite practices and austerities are performed, the methods and practices engaged in by the seekers are known as "practical mysticism" (*'irfān-e 'amalī*), in contrast to the theoretical positions already alluded to, which are called "speculative mysticism" (*'irfān-e naẓarī*), and are sometimes

combined, as, for example, in the case of the "Philosophy of Illumination" (*Falsafah-ye Ishrāq*), with a form of logical reasoning. In all probability, the term *taṣawwuf* is derived from the word *ṣūf,* or " wool, " and means "wearing woolen clothes" as a symbol of an austere life, free of all attachment to sensual comfort and pleasure. Thus, *taṣawwuf* is a term with a greater affinity with "practical mysticism," just as the term *'irfān* is more closely associated with "speculative mysticism."

Thus, in the field of mysticism at least three elements can be discerned: First, a specific course of action, which, according to its advocates, grants the seeker intuitive, immediate and direct realization of God, His divine Names, Attributes and their manifestations. Second, the particular states of consciousness that a seeker experiences and the spiritual insights that he finally attains. Third, theories and statements that are based on spiritual experiences but are more or less comprehensible to individuals who may not have personally traversed the path of practical mysticism. However, these theories and assertions yield their inner essence and meaning to genuine mystics alone.

The above explanation makes it clear that a true mystic is he who has engaged in a particular set of practices and exercises that have led him to direct, intuitive and inner realization of God, His Attributes and Actions, while speculative mysticism is a report and an interpretation of such realization; a report and an interpretation which may well be incomplete and deficient. Furthermore, by an expanded and liberal interpretation we may apply the term "mysticism" to all paths traveled with the aim of attaining the Truth, spiritual liberation and the states of consciousness and the spiritual insights they lead to. Thus interpreted, it may include Buddhist and Hindu mysticism and the mystical traditions of some Siberian and African tribes. Interpreted in similarly liberal fashion, the term "religion" may also be applied to Buddhism and to various forms of nature-worship.

Here it is appropriate to briefly mention two other terms related to the present discussion: *ḥikmat* and *falsafah*. A word of pure Arabic origin, *ḥikmat* literally means "certain knowledge." It is usually used to refer to practical forms of knowledge, and the Qur'ān also uses it in the same fashion (*al-Isrā'* 17: 39). As a term, however, it has come to refer to metaphysics and also to practical philosophy and ethics. Moreover, as a technical term in the field of ethics it refers to that faculty of the soul that is concerned with the application of reason, and also to that middle ground between foolishness and slyness. In any case, it is not applied either to heretical or skeptical philosophies. *Falsafah*, on the other hand, is derived from Greek and refers to all rational and intellectual attempts to understand universal and abstract laws and principles, even if such endeavor should lead to the denial of the possibility of certain, unchanging knowledge, or even to the denial of the very existence of an objective world.

The Genuineness of Islamic Mysticism

A careful examination of Qur'ānic verses, the statements made by the Prophet (Ṣ) and the members of his Household would undoubtedly reveal both profound concepts in the realm of speculative mysticism and numerous instructions and guidelines on how to conduct the spiritual quest. As an example, one can point to verses dealing with the unity of divine Essence, Attributes and Actions in the *sūrah al-Tawḥīd*, the beginning of the *sūrah al-Ḥadīd* and the end of the *sūrah al-Ḥashr*, in addition to those asserting the presence of God throughout the universe, His full control over all the creatures and the fact that they are constantly, though unconsciously, praising Him and paying homage to Him.[1]

There are also verses that may be aptly regarded as setting forth the Islamic tradition of spiritual wayfaring and quest, dealing with such matters as thinking, contemplation, constant concentration upon and remembrance of God, nocturnal prayers

and vigils, waking before dawn in order to pray and meditate, fasting, long nightly prostration and repetition of God's Name, profound humility, complete obedience to God, shedding tears and throwing oneself to the ground upon hearing or reading Qur'ānic verses, purity of intention in the performance of religious observances, carrying out good deeds for the sake of one's love of God and in order to become Godly and gain His satisfaction, trust in, and reliance upon God, contentment and utter surrender to the divine Will.[2] Moreover, in the statements, prayers and supplications of the Prophet (*S*) and the Imams (*'a*) there are innumerable instances dealing with such topics.

In response to these clear verses of the Qur'ān and the equally unequivocal statements and assertions made by the Prophet (*S*) and the Imams (*'a*), two extreme positions have been taken. One group has interpreted such statements in a superficial and literal manner, even going so far as to assert that God experiences different states of being and that He physically ascends and descends. This group has emptied the Qur'ānic verses and the traditions and narrations of their lofty spiritual significance and completely denies the existence of any form of mysticism in Islamic texts.

Another group, influenced by various social forces, have adopted alien and imported elements from non-Islamic sources and thus developed beliefs that can not be said to be rooted in either the Qur'ān or the Prophetic tradition, and in fact, in many cases, contradict clear and unambiguous assertions made in them. As far as practice is concerned, on the one hand they have either created their own rules and regulations or borrowed them from non-Islamic religions, and, on the other, claimed that religious obligations are not binding on the mystic who has attained complete union with God.

Now, commentators who have an indiscriminately favorable attitude toward all mystics and Sufis have set forth explanations

and interpretations justifying all the above-mentioned practices, but in all fairness one is bound to admit that at least some of the assertions made and the positions taken by members of the above group cannot be rationally justified. We should not allow ourselves to be so awed by towering intellectual or spiritual figures that we are led into blind acceptance of all their claims and deny anyone the right to subject their positions and beliefs to critical analysis. On the other hand, affirming this right obviously does not mean that we condone and support dogmatic, superficial, immature and prejudicial judgments and close our eyes to all valuable and positive points. One must search for the truth, not stray from the path of fairness and justice and avoid both extremes of either blind uncritical affirmation or prejudicial and unreasoning condemnation, beseeching God to help one discover the truth and to guide one's steps along its path.

It goes without saying that a thorough examination of mysticism, sufism, *hikmat* and philosophy, the relationship of each to the other and to Islam, is beyond the scope of a single article. Thus, here we shall briefly discuss the most significant elements and leave a more extensive analysis for a more opportune moment.

Mysticism and Reason

One of the fundamental points of contention between supporters and opponents of mysticism is whether data reported by mystics, presumably through inner intuitive insight, can be subjected to rational judgment, so that, for example, reason may declare some of them invalid. This is important because some mystics make assertions that defy any rational explanation, claiming that they are the results of intuitive insight, lying beyond the reach of reason, and, in consequence, beyond its jurisdiction.

One of the issues that has given rise to the above dispute is the mystical conception of *wahdat-e wujūd* or the "unity of being," set forth in the following forms. First, that nothing has ever

existed or shall ever exist except God, and that what have been regarded as creatures are nothing but illusions and fantasies. Second, that nothing exists outside the divine Essence or the field of divine Knowledge. Thus, in this version, a form of multiplicity in unity is accepted. The third version of the concept, more popular, is that at the end of his search the seeker reaches the station of *fanā'* (annihilation or dissolution of the individual self in God), so that nothing but a name is left of him. The forth version, even more moderate, is that the seeker ultimately reaches a station where he can see nothing but God, so that everything disappears in God. More precisely, he perceives things to be dissolved in God, much like one perceives weaker lights disappearing in the far more brilliant sunlight.

When such assertions are made, opponents usually rely on rational arguments, while proponents ultimately maintain that such truths lie in a realm beyond the reach of reason, and therefore refuse to respond to the objections raised by their critics. The fundamental question thus arises as to whether there exist truths that reason is unable to grasp and that therefore may not presume to deny and reject.

What can be very briefly stated concerning the above problem is that though reason always deals with concepts and it is not its function to provide knowledge of concrete being or to discover the fundamental nature of any external referent, much less the existence of God, but the basic dictates of logic, where self-evident or leading to what is self-evident, cannot be contradicted, and conform to objective referents through concepts. To assume that such dictates of logic are false necessitates contradiction. In other words, though it is not the function of reason to provide universal knowledge, the validity of its judgments on particular knowledge, if they meet the above-mentioned criterion, cannot be doubted.

However, concerning the issue of *wahdat-e wujūd*, it can be said that denying the existence of anything except God, and of multiplicity, would not only violate the laws of reason but would also contradict the direct experiential knowledge on which the self (ego) bases its actions and reactions. How then, one may ask, are mystical insights to be credible when the strongest proof offered in their support is direct and immediate perception? It follows then that this interpretation of the concept of the "unity of being" is totally unacceptable. There is, however, a credible interpretation of this idea, set forth in Transcendent Philosophy (*hikmat-e muta'āliyah*), to the effect that the existence of creatures is contingent and dependent upon God. In fact, it is pure contingency and dependency and a complete lack of independence on their part. What the mystic perceives is this lack of independence, which he then calls lack of real being.

Here we can pose our question in another form: Is it appropriate to consider the judgment of reason superior to knowledge attained by personal experience? Or to put it another way, is it possible to deny the validity of knowledge gained by direct perception by means of a decree of logic, which is a form of acquired knowledge? The answer is that pure, immediate and first hand cognition is no other than direct perception of the truth and cannot be invalidated. However, usually, direct perception is accompanied by intellectual interpretation, so that only by exercising great care can one distinguish the one from the other. These mental interpretations, which are themselves a form of acquired knowledge, can indeed be wrong, and it is these fallacious interpretations that are rejected through logical analysis and not the direct and immediate perceptions themselves. In the case of the mystical conception of the "unity of being" also, what is actually perceived by the mystic is that independent existence is the exclusive property of God alone. The mystic, however, interprets

this to mean that God alone has real existence, and then proceeds to deny real existence to any other creature.

It is worth noting that the greatest Muslim mystics have warned that some of the things perceived in mystical states are Satanic and false, that these misleading "revelations" can be recognized through certain signs, and that ultimately they can be discerned by being put to the test of sound logical analysis, the Qur'ān and the Tradition of the Prophet (Ṣ). Obviously, analysis of the various kinds of direct, immediate perception, insight and knowledge, and the way they are reflected in consciousness, the causes of the erroneous interpretations and the way to discriminate between the right and the wrong interpretations, is too vast a topic to be treated in this short article.

Mysticism and the Islamic Religious Law

Another important issue that deserves our attention is the relation between practical mysticism (*ṭarīqah*) and the principles of the Islamic religious law (*sharī'ah*). Some hold the view that practical mysticism constitutes an independent path to the discovery of spiritual truths and can be used without adherence to Islamic religious laws. Furthermore, they maintain, this path is either condoned by Islam, by being regarded as a beneficial innovation, or, at least, has not been condemned by it. In this regard, some have gone so far as to assert that no religious belief is necessary for the attainment of spiritual illumination. Others, have said that belief in any faith is all that is necessary. Taking a more moderate position, a third group holds that a spiritual seeker must believe in one of the revealed faiths.

However, from the Islamic viewpoint the mystical path is not something independent from the sharī'ah but rather a more precise and refined aspect of it. If we apply the term sharī'ah to the external and outward rules of Islam, it can be said that *ṭarīqah*, the

esoteric path, refers to the inner dimension of the very same principles and can be practiced only when these are adhered to. For example, the exoteric law sets forth the external rules that govern the performance of ritual daily prayer (*namāz*), while the esoteric teachings delineate the ways in which the believer can attain total concentration, bring his heart and soul into the prayer, and acquire the preconditions that make perfection in the performance of religious observances possible. The exoteric teachings of Islam urge worship of God so that the faithful may escape divine retribution and enjoy heavenly blessings, while the mystical path urges the faithful to worship only with the intention of satisfying God and to abandon all other concerns. This is what we find referred to as "the worship of the free" in narrations attributed to the members of the Household (*'a*). Still another example is that of polytheism and idolatry. In the exoteric teachings it refers to open and clear worship of idols and to other such practices, but in the mystical path the concept is expanded to include much more subtle forms of this sin. Here, any love for, fear of, trust in, and expectation from, anything other than God is considered as a form of idolatry if one ascribes independence to them and does not engage in such practices upon divine command.

We can therefore conclude that all the various innovations and artificial sects not only do not help us to attain mystical insight and illumination but in fact may be hindrances on the true spiritual path. It is obvious then that practices that have clearly and unequivocally been condemned and forbidden by Islamic religious laws can only be harmful. For though some practices may produce temporary "mystical" effects their final outcome will be injurious, and they may indeed be Satanic traps that set one up for an ultimate fall. Thus, one must be careful not to be deceived by them. The true path, then, is no other than that set forth by God and well expressed in the Qur'ān.

Appendix

1. a: Whatever is in heavens and the earth declares the glory of Allah, and He is the Mighty, the Wise. His is the Kingdom of the heavens and earth; He gives life and causes death; and He has power over all things. He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) and the Knower of hidden things, and He is Cognizant of all things. (al-Ḥadīd 57:1-3)

b: And He is with you wherever you are; and Allah sees what you do. (al-Ḥadīd 57: 4)

c: He is Allah besides Whom there is no god; the Knower of the unseen the seen; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is Allah, besides Whom there is no god; the King, the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Granter of security, Guardian over all, the Mighty, the Supreme, the Possessor of every greatness; Glory be to Allah from what they set up (with Him). He is Allah the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner; His are the most excellent names; whatever is in the heavens and the earth declares His Glory; and He is Mighty, the Wise. (al-Ḥashr 59:22-24)

d: Do you not see Allah is He Whom glorify all those who are in the heavens and the earth, and the (very) birds with expanded wings? He knows the prayer of each one and its glorification, and Allah is Cognizant of what they do. (al-Nūr 24:41)

e: The seven heavens declare His glory and the earth (too), and those who are in them; and there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification. (al-Isrā' 17:44)

f: And whoever is in the heavens and the earth makes obeisance to Allah only, willingly and unwillingly, and their shadows too at morn and eve. (al-Ra'd 13:15)

g: Do they not consider every thing that Allah has created? Its (very) shadows return from right and left, making obeisance to Allah while they are in utter abasement. And whatever creature that is in the heavens and that is in the earth makes obeisance to

Allah (only), and the angels (too) and they do not show pride. (*al-Naḥl* 16:48&49)

2. a: And those who believe are stronger in love for Allah. (*al-Baqarah* 2:165)

b: Then Allah will bring a people, He shall love them and they shall love Him. (*al-Mā'idah* 5:54)

c: Allah is well pleased with them and they are well pleased with Him. (*al-Bayyinah* 98:8)

d: O soul that art at rest. Return to your Lord, well-pleased (with him), well-pleasing (Him). So enter among My servants. And enter to My garden. (*al-Fajr* 89:27-30)

e: Yes whoever submits himself entirely to Allah and he is the doer of good (to others) he has his reward from his Lord, and there is no fear for him nor shall he grieve. (*al-Baqarah* 2:112)

f: And during a part of the night adore Him, and give glory to Him (a) long (part of the) night. (*al-Insān* 76:26)

g: And among men is he who sells himself to seek the pleasure of Allah; and Allah is Affectionate to the servants. (*al-Baqarah* 2:207)

h: Therefore serve Allah, sincere to Him in obedience. Now, surely, sincere obedience is due to Allah (alone). (*al-Zumar* 39:2-3)

i: Those who remember Allah standing and sitting and lying on their sides and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth: Our Lord Thou hast not created this in vain, Glory be to Thee; save us then from the chastisement of the fire. (*Āl-i 'Imrān* 3:190)

j: And during a part of the night, pray *tahajjud* beyond what is incumbent on you; may be your Lord will raise you to a position of great glory. (*al-Isrā'* 17:79)

The Dialogue Between Islam and the West

By: Āyatullāh Muḥammad 'Alī Taskhīrī

First Speech

I am proud to be present at this scholarly and ethical session, and I feel I have the duty of thanking Mrs. Nicholson and Dr. Frederico Mayor, the Secretary General of the UNESCO, for arranging to hold this pleasant meeting in this beautiful city. Mrs. Nicholson's statement that our objective in this meeting is to disperse the clouds of misunderstanding, was most welcome. I implore Allah to make us successful in dispersing these clouds. I think our motto in this and in every meeting should be: 'The Cultural Reality'. Let us say: 'Cultural Peace' or 'Cultural Understanding'.

In fact, we have to establish a real equilibrium with respect to multi- culturalism or cultural plurality, since each culture is a human product designed to serve the interests of the entire humanity. We have to respect this motto and this equilibrium. This, however, is one side [of the cultural issue]. The other side with which this equilibrium is maintained is the mutual humanistic

culture springing from man's natural disposition, conscience and the characteristics which mark out man as man, granting him his humane attributes which distinguishes him, by nature, from an animal. So, such humanitarian organizations, like the 'AMMAR Foundation', which, we admit, offers valuable services not only to the regions afflicted with natural and man-made calamities and disasters, but to the main cultural body of the world, the UNESCO, should play their role in the interests of the common cultural heritage of mankind in order to highlight the cultural identity of the world peoples.

This is the equilibrium we demand. The objective, thus, is the fulfillment of this reality and equilibrium. It is natural to reject all attempts to impose cultural hegemony by force, be it economic, military, propaganda or political. It is part of cultural reality, too, that every one of us should endeavour to improve his image in the eyes of the other side. Dr. Mayor referred to the dialogue between the Islamic and the European civilizations, and said that each side has to improve its image in the other's mind, and both have to prove to each other that they want nothing but reciprocal goodness, otherwise alienation and contention will set in. This fact was confirmed by Mrs. Nicholson, too.

I further add that the desired peace must be a just one, otherwise it would not be fair to subject a nation to a cultural onslaught, and then deny its right to defend itself on the pretext that its attempt is a violation of peace, an act of terrorism and so on. Justice is the call of conscience and the cry of human reciprocity. The Glorious Qur'ān, says in this regard:

وَإِنْ جَنَحُوا لِلسَّلْمِ فَاجْنَحْ لَهَا

And if they incline to peace, you, too, incline to it (al-Anfāl 8:61)

it also says:

اِعْدِلُوا هو اقربُ لِلتَّقوىٰ

Act equitably, that is nearer to piety (al-Mā'idah 5:8)

Equability is therefor important in this respect. I once again stress that if we believe in man's common characteristics, we can secure our concepts against ambiguity, according to the Spanish poet, as quoted by Dr. Mayor. There are certain terms, such as equability, truth, humanity, ethics and knowledge; none of which can have its meaning and can remain safe from the claws of ambiguity, unless we believe in the existence of human *fiṭrah* or the innate human disposition and human reciprocities.

Therefore, we have to think about man's perfection and moral values. We have to take this world out of the intellectual chaos and ideological imposition. Maybe many of you have not heard this *āyah* of the holy Qur'ān which was revealed at a time when Prophet Muḥammad (Ṣ) faced all kinds of accusations. From everywhere, he was told: 'You are mad, mad!'

What could an intelligent person do in such a chaotic atmosphere? He had to explore new grounds, since logic and deduction were not enough by themselves. The Qur'ān said:

قُلْ اِنَّما أَعِظُكُم بواحدةٍ أَن تقوموا لِلّه مثنیٰ وَ فُرادیٰ ثُمَّ تتفكَّروا ما بِصاحبِكم من جِنَّةٍ

Say: I exhort you only to one thing, that you rise up for Allah's sake by twos and singly, and then ponder: There is no madness in your companion. (al-saba' 34:46)

In other words the unbelievers were told to get out of this state of mental chaos and to meditate coolly over what he says. Think it over. Is what the prophet says madness? We have to deliver humanity from the state of mental chaos.

I am sorry, at the end of my speech, I have to say that our world culture today is afflicted with three crushing matters. The first is the narrow interests of certain powers, the second is being ignorant of the objectives, and the third is extreme fanaticism.

Therefore, in order to achieve mutual understanding, we have to reject these narrow interests, this ignorance of reality and this extreme fanaticism, so as to build a world full of beauty and peace.

Second Speech: A Comment on Plurality of Cultures and Mutual Dialogue

In a nutshell, I believe that the challenges facing the process of cultural understanding today, warrant the ardent thinkers to try to achieve the required mechanism. I want to emphasize the following: Firstly, the features of each culture are to be defined. The features of the different cultures, as a matter of regret, have of late become equivocal. They are defined in differing ways such that one cannot get anything out of them. It is therefore necessary for Western thinkers to first define the features of Western culture, and for the Islamic thinkers to define the features of Islamic culture.

By saying 'features', I mean the original principles, not the aspects which intruded into the Western or the Islamic cultures. When we notice a strange conduct on the part of, say, the Taliban militia (of Afghanistan) or similar pseudo-religious groups, it definitely does not represent a cultural feature of the Islamic Ummah. Thus, the first point is: We have to define the features of the two cultures which are the most widespread and which command attention in this world. The second point is the aspect of commonalty as well as the points of difference that are to be defined --that is, we cannot specify the points of concord without first strictly marking out the points of difference. The third point is to depend, in our method, on the principle of civilizational and cultural identity. We, thus, have to refuse the imposition of cultural hegemony that is done through various types of force.

Secondly: We confirm adhering to objectivity in the dialogue conducted by experts, as we cannot entrust cultural matters to inexpert people. In a dialogue the objective principles and field of

specialization prevent us from acting at random. Therefore, I believe that it is natural for us to confirm the use of logic in the dialogue as a sound method to realize our desired objective.

Third Speech: On Islamic and Nationalistic Cultures

I would like to refer to three points which I hope would be observed. One of the speakers said that the Islamic culture must be divided into Arabic, Persian and Turkish cultures, as if he wanted to deny that the Islamic culture enjoys the constituents of a comprehensive culture. As a matter of fact, whoever studies the progress of civilization will realize that when Islam appeared, it put life into the nations who were dead. As for the Arabs, they did not take themselves to be a nation since tribalism did not conform to unity. Thus Islam changed all these peoples and melted them into a single pot and put them on their perfect road. So, I believe that Islam deserves to be named as the founder of Islamic culture, which should be compared, different as the views are, with the European civilization in order to find out the common fields. This is a very important point which I hope would be corrected.

Another point is that which was referred to by Dr. Majid at the end of his good speech which was already commented on. He said, "we have to bring about an equilibrium between cultural plurality on one hand, and the common human fields among other cultures, on the other hand." The last point is that there was a hint in the speech to certain obstacles which block the way of reciprocal pollination of the cultures and communication among them. These obstacles were summarized in the three points of: narrow political interests, ignorance and extreme fanaticism. We must stand against these obstacles.

Fourth Speech: Stressing Honest and Sincere Propagation (a comment on the speech of Dr. Halah)

I would like to thank Dr. Halah for her neat presentation in which she focused on the drivers problems facing propagation concerning the coverage of different cultural fields. I regard her speech as deserving to be studied and to be properly evaluated. But I would like to concentrate on what Mr. Hadi said. He was good at demonstrating a living example of the portrait of Islam as shown in the West. In a bid to show that Islam was an introvert and uniaxial religion, that it was completely different from the general cultural trend, that it formed a threat to all civilizations, and that the religious man utilized religion only politically as a mere political instrument and not as a means for man's perfection, fears have naturally been created about Islam.

Actually, this book demonstrates a gloomy picture of Islam. Here, in the Islamic world also, there are people who demonstrate a gloomy and dubious picture of the West, taking the Western culture to be absolutely evil and anti-humanistic. They claim that it weighs with different seals and deals with things only according to its own interests. They regard it to be the civilization of sex and flesh. Even the gods must embody desire. The West was such described.

Both are mistaken, I believe. The humanistic aspects in both civilizations are quite great, and they are mutual aspects. I agree with Mr. Hadi on the difficulties of journalism, if one wants to display the reality away from these contradictory concepts. Hence, I take the duty of such meetings as a correct one. The Muslims will have to rectify their picture in the minds of the Westerners and the Westerners will have to rectify their picture in the minds of the Muslims, so that we may be able to stand on a common ground. It is quite natural that extremist opinions which describe both civilization to be absolutely evil, will eventually have to retreat before reality. When the Westerners realize that Islam is a religion

which educates man and it does not exploit him as only a political commodity; and when the Muslims realize that in the West there are undoubtedly major humanistic aspects, then only the common aspects will blossom out.

I would like to end my talk with an *āyah* from the holy Qur'ān, which according to the Prophet is the guide of the believers. It says that when you conduct a dialogue with an adherent of another religion, you are to conduct it with a mentality keeping away from 'holier than thou' attitudes. You shall say: "Perhaps I am wrong and you are right, or perhaps you are wrong and I am right". The text of the *āyah* says:

وِ اِنَّا أَو اِيَّاكُم لَعَلَىٰ هُدًى أَو فى ضَلَلٍ مبينٍ

And most surely we or you are rightly guided or in manifest straying. (al-Saba' 34:24)

With this objective and lofty spirit the Qur'ān orders the Prophet to conduct a dialogue. So, is it fair to look at Islam as a religion threatening the others and offering its ideas violently?

The Second Subject: A comment on women's rights and their status in Islam:

Thanks to the Lady who told us about the richness of the Egyptian laws concerning women's rights, but probably the social circumstances prevented her from enjoying all those rights. I hope I am not a despotic chairman. I have written down a comment on the subject. Here it is summarized.

"I think that our symposium is to reject any difference between men and women as human beings in general. At the same time we have to admit that there are differences between them in respect of social functions and in respect of the evolution of the obligations of man and woman in bearing social responsibilities. We have also to confirm the basic role of women in building a family --the family which is the pivot of social construction in all

religions and among all peoples who have self-respect and dignity. We are to prevent exploiting sex for cheap commercial publicity. We have to accept information about sex, but with the aim of consolidating family life and to reject the physical harms caused by random relations. We are to declare our protection of women during wars, the working women, the women languishing in prisons and the women addicted to drugs. Such beings are increasingly subject to transgressions at the hands of those beasts who often wear the apparel of humanity. Finally we have to confirm women's rights in the social, political and economical spheres of the common human civilization.

The Third Subject: (with two comments)

1: On Emigrants and the Refugee Question.

The issue of emigrants and those afflicted with wars and related events are humanistic problems. There are three questions in this respect as follows.

The First Question: Islam has an opinion about it. As we are in an atmosphere of cultural dialogue, I say it in brief that Islam has focused on this problem. Islam takes care of every class of these afflicted groups -the deprived, the poor, the oppressed and the needy wayfarers. It obliges every Muslim, wherever in the world he may be, to take care of the basic problems of these classes. It obliges the states and governments to solve their problems to the extent of meeting their natural needs. The identity of the emigrant is not taken into account on the basis of his religion (whether he is a Muslim or not), nor his ethnic background, geographical area, colour, language and appearance. He is an emigrant, and that is what matters. So, his needs are to be satisfied. The regulations concerning this concept are stated in the standard juristic books, so I will not go into details. Any failure in doing what is necessary for the emigrants by any Muslim who is able to

undertake such a responsibility, is considered by the Qur'ān as preventing *Mā'ūn*, i.e. those who refrain from offering any help to those who need it. *al-Mā'ūn* is *Sūrah* no. 107 of the Holy Qur'ān, to which you may refer.

The Second Question: Among the emigrants there is the problem of those who were most harmed and less looked after. It is the problem of the women emigrants, the homeless women, children and the aged, since these classes are less capable of fending for themselves, whether against those who participate in making the problem, as in wars, or against those who defend these classes and have to provide them with their needs. Talk about women is extensive. I remember the Cairo Conference on Population and Development. There was a worldwide agreement on caring for the emigrant and homeless women, protecting them from sexual aggression and exploitation, because they are very weak in such conditions. This was regarded one of the positive aspects of the Cairo Document, although it contained many negative aspects against which we had to confront through a serious debate in Cairo against another trend inviting to licentiousness, to eliminate family relations, to admit profligacy into family life, to permit abortion and the like. Thank Allah, we reached good conclusion there in Cairo, and in (the conference in) Beijing, too. I do not want to enter into their details, as the talk would be lengthy.

The Third Question: Here in Iran the problem of the emigrants is a complicated one. Perhaps Iran is at the head of the countries which have to attend to the emigrants. Here we have 2.5 million emigrants from Afghanistan and Iraq, and we also hosted tens of thousands of other from Kuwait during the Iraqi occupation (1990-91). Iran puts up with that huge number. You do know that when Italy which is supposed to be a developed country, received 150,000 emigrants, probably from Albania, it could not stand them. It has the right to feel so, because emigration impedes and creates

chaos in all administrative affairs. Anyhow, Iran bore the burden of emigration, and in addition to the emigrants from abroad, it had to make arrangements in safer places for the great number of Iranians from the war-stricken border regions due to the war imposed by Iraq for eight years (1980-88). This situation involved some two million emigrants who flocked to the central parts of the country. So we had now some 4.5 million emigrants. The conditions were not normal. We were at war, but the people could bear it. We contained that wave of emigrants. Their children were admitted into our schools and we shared with them our daily bread. They did not feel so much the impact of the disaster. Then there was the emigration of the Kurds from northern Iraq to Iran in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War (1991). Within a fortnight over a million of the Kurds emigrated to Iran from the north of Iraq, running away from the war. We contained that problem, too, and provided them with whatever services we could. The important point is that the fellow human beings should know their duty. So, I need now to confirm that the world nations should pay attention to the question of the emigrants and to regard it as their own problem. I also have to emphasize the spirit of human brotherhood, the necessity of protecting it, as well as the question of the women emigrants. Finally, I call on the international establishments to protect and support the emigrants impartially, disregarding political consideration. I think it is very natural to stress this point.

I would like to thank Dr. al-Shaykhab from Kuwait for her praises. What we did was, I think, is every Muslim's duty towards his brethren. I also thank Dr. Khadijah for her nice speech and good analysis of the issue of emigration, focusing on it in the bright history of Islam. I share her opinion that many parts of our Islamic world are not, much to our regret, in harmony with their Islamic identity, nor do they conduct a life as the glorious Qur'ān wants them to do.

2. A comment on what the brother from South Africa said concerning the dispute between the Shi'ite and the Sunnis

In fact, the Shi'ite and the Sunnis are the two wings of the Islamic ummah, with which it flies to carry out its great objectives. Should there be any ignorant or suspicious elements, allow me to say what the late Imam Khumayni had said: "Those who cause division between the Shi'ite and the Sunnis are neither Shi'ite nor Sunnis. They are hireling agents." Some painful events took place in Pakistan. A few days ago an armed group entered a diplomatic residence where our cultural attache lived-I have wide information in this respect, as I am responsible for the Iranian Cultural Missions all over the world-and killed him together with other six of his innocent colleagues, on a stupid sectarian pretext. I believe that such events are trivial, although painful. The vigilant Islamic ummah will knit ranks to eradicate such events. The Shi'ite and the Sunnis are two parts of this ummah, and I see no reason for the happening of such regretful incident. I repeat: We all support the cause of humanity wherever it may be, and we all think the same as AMMAR Foundation thinks in serving the emigration question wherever it may be.

I would like to thank Mrs. Nicholson for her good services in respect of the emigration question. I take what she did, within the activities of AMMAR Foundation-in Southern Iraq, Iran and Lebanon-to deserve our cordial thanks. How nice it would be if this had its effect on publicity affairs, in which case it would have been more equitable.

The Fourth Subject: On Relations between Economy and Morals:

I have a comment on the connection which was presented by the speakers between economy and morals. I think the important point is not only in free transportation. Free transportion of goods

and the open economy of today cannot be absolutely the most important problem, nor can they be within an expansive world frame except under definite limits as are seen in the World Trade Organization. I think, if we wanted to talk from the ethical point of view, the important thing is that our answers to the economic problems are to be humanistic ones. When the glorious Qur'ān talks about the economic problem along history, it presents the human secret to solve the problem. It says that the earth contains all that is needed for man. Allah the Exalted has put in the earth and nature whatever man demands and needs. So, the problem is not hidden in the insufficiency of the natural resources, as Karl Marx says, for example, but it is hidden in the human insufficiency itself. It is hidden in the incorrect natural utilization of these bounties, and in the unjust distribution. The Qur'ān strictly says:

و ءَ اتاكُم مِن كُلّ مَاسأَلْتُمُوهُ و إِن تَعُدُّواْ نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ لا تُحصُوهَا اِن إلانسٰنَ لَظَلُومٌ كَفَّارٌ

And He gave you of all that you asked him, and if you count Allah's favours you will not be able to number them, surely man is unjust, ungrateful. (Ibrāhīm 14:34)

Man is unjust when he does not thank and when he is unfair in distribution. He is ungrateful when he does not make use of nature, if we could affect what we call *niyyah*, which means intention or purpose. If we could cultivate man's intention, we would be able to guarantee the result. A ḥadīth in Islam says: "Deeds are (measured) by their intentions."

If we kept going along with the materialistic character we would not achieve any result: If you satisfy me I will satisfy you! Benefit me and I will benefit you! Mere reciprocal dealings can never give any result. When the material profit contradicts moral conscience, which one will have priority? There were people who threw large quantities of wheat into the sea in order to keep the prices up, while hundreds of thousands were dying of hunger. I believe we have to strengthen the moral tendency among the

economists. This moral tendency is obvious within the frame of religion. Religion is all stress on morality. If we move from the religious to the international frame, we will have to support the contributing and charity establishments, the activity which you are conducting, my lady chairwoman. The more we cultivate the spirit of donation in the merchants, the better their moral inclination can be educated. Unless the intentions of the merchants are formed, you may not expect-and it is not natural to expect-any result. There is no meaning in morality, it is not returned to intention. Therefore I suggest to call for a technique to promote the spirit of donation. Islam calls the process of donation: The process of lending Allah. It is offering a loan to Allah, though it is he who grants wealth. The Qur'ān says:

مَن ذا الَّذِى يُقرِضُ اللَّهَ قَرضًا حَسَنًا فَيُضْعِفَهُ لَهُ أَضْعَافاً كَثِيرَةً

Who is it who will lend Allah a good loan, so that He will multiply it to him and his will be a generous reward.(al-Baqarah 2:245)

EXPECTATION FROM RELIGION:
CRITICISM AND VIEWS

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Introduction:

This article deals with two topics: First, it endeavors to show that the concept of "expectation from religion" is not an ancient one and is rooted in modern thought, while what is attendant upon this expectation is as old as man and religion. Second, it attempts to describe the most important things that are attendant upon "expectation from religion." Throughout the article effort has been made to preserve the integrity and inclusiveness of the argument. The examples cited serve merely to illuminate the topic.

CRITICISM (1)

It appears that the notion of "expectation from religion," posed either as a question or a statement, is very much a product of the modern mentality. In other words, it is not an issue as old as faith and man, but something that has risen out of modern civilization and modern man. The concept represents, foremost, formulations born out of a rationalism no more than a few hundred

years old. This claim is substantiated by a study of the converts at
the time of the emergence of the great monotheistic faiths. There
is no evidence to suggest that these people ever asked themselves
what they expected from faith, or that they ever stated what their
expectations from religion were. Of course, it is possible to
interpret the behavior of individuals at the time when these faiths
emerged and, based on anthropological notions, maintain that by
joining a particular religion, men have provided a response to their
expectations. The point here is that such understanding of the
mental condition of individuals at the time they were confronting
different religions is itself based on the contemporary point of
view, and, at best, an explanation of something that has occurred in
the past.

The above-mentioned point is not unrelated to Post-
Modernist discussions of intellectual formulations and conceptions
that attained their basic significance during the Age of
Enlightenment. The essence of the Post-Modernist view is that
modern man has perceived those who lived in the previous ages
and their religious experiences through the lens of his own
experience, education, assumptions, beliefs, etc. It may well be
that the explanations arising from such a view-point, in their proper
place and on the whole, or relative to their components, partake of
a high degree of validity. However, such validity can not be taken
to signify sympathy or commonality of experience with persons
who lived at the time of the emergence of the great faiths.

In discussing the notion of "expectation from religion" there
is an assumption that, like other assumptions, is not discernible at
first glance. The assumption is that by setting forth the notion of
expectation from religion, individuals are at liberty, in the light of
one aspect or different aspects of their personality, such as reason,
emotion or inclination, to enumerate the things they expect from
faith, and, perhaps, provide explanations and interpretations
concerning them as well. However, the fact of the matter is that

the people of the time of the birth of the great faiths found themselves confronted with an astonishing and extraordinary event that affected them in the "here and now." The significant point here is that the "now" of these people is transformed into "then" in the eyes of modern humanity, so that people are able, as they are in many other cases, for example in regard to expectations from government, spouse, friend or even their favorite sports team, to delineate them beforehand.

To shed more light on the subject, we can, for example, consider the birth of Islam and the experience of the people when they were being addressed by divine Revelation. As far as we are aware, there are no cases indicating the existence of a condition that could be construed as "expectation from religion." There were cases, to be sure, of awaiting or expecting the birth of a new religion or the appearance of a new prophet, but there is much difference between expecting the birth of a religion or the appearance of a prophet and having a preconceived set of expectations from them. In expecting the birth of a new religion and the appearance of a new prophet, humanity awaits the occurrence of a wondrous and awesome thing. This miraculous event is, for believers, a divine experience, and, for disbelievers, something that must be rejected and denied. But neither in that divinity, nor in this rejection, is there any room, at the moment of confrontation, for being cognizant of things one has expected to face. Even after the appearance it is not the expectation of man which is addressed, for faith appeals to his heart and reason, since they evaluate and judge the validity of aspect or aspects of religious experience, perception and knowledge. The relevance, then, of those verses of the Qur'ān that appeal to man's reason and understanding is that they address those faculties of man that represent his consciousness, rationality, and, hence, sense of responsibility.

In short, the notion of expectation from religion is a relatively recent one, and without referring to a particular date as its genesis, we can point to the experience and the way of thought arising out of the confrontation, dialogue and intercourse between religion and the philosophy of science, industry, etc., in the last few hundred years as its historical context and background. This is, needless to say, a period in which religion has been far more a subject of rational analysis and a field to which new discoveries were applied, than something that men had to decide whether they believed or disbelieved. It is to this background and circumstances that the combination of "expectation" and "religion" owes its birth, whether as a question or as a statement.

The concept of expectation from religion may even contain pragmatic interpretations of religion. According to this interpretation, religious faith is judged, not according to whether it is valid or invalid, but rather on the basis of its results. [1] From this perspective, the effects of religious faith on man may be considered from two angles. The first concerns benefits men may draw from such faith; for example, peace of mind and tranquillity. This then deals with the present state of an individual. The second angel concerns what men would expect to gain if they should choose to adopt religious faith. This condition may be designated as that of free choice.

Even setting aside the School of Pragmatism, if we adopt a somewhat liberal interpretation of the concept of expectation from religion, we can discover traces of utilitarianism as well. In any case, our aim here is not to make value judgments concerning pragmatic or utilitarian perspectives, but simply to point out the degree to which "expectation from religion" is influenced by local and temporal conditions and the intellectual climate of the age, and that, regardless of the benefits or harms of such approaches, extension of the notion of "expectation from religion" to preceding

ages and attributing universality to it would lack sufficient support.

CRITICISM (2)

In the last section we tried to point out the assumption hidden in "expectation from religion." In the present section we shall turn our attention to certain ambiguities that may give rise to the false notion that "expectation from religion" is an ancient phenomenon. This analysis may in turn serve to shed light upon the discussion in the previous section as well.

Perhaps it would be better to begin our discussion with an example. *Tendency Towards Islam in the Middle Ages* [2] is an important and thought-provoking book which, through the application of a special method, tries to show what layers of Iranian society were attracted to Islam and how. Pursuing this topic, certain functional similarities of Islam and Zoroastarianism for the people of that period are referred to. These similarities and the way they are explained at times lead to the misconception that people judged these two faiths in the light of their "expectation from religion." However, what may mistakenly be taken for "expectation from religion" were in fact no more than common functions and atmosphere between the religions in question. In other words, these common dimensions produced a continuity of a feeling of familiarity, peace and security for the converts. This continuity was not a preconceived expectation but a similarity that manifested itself in action and at the time the religious experience was taking place. The point here is that in this historical example men do not pause to consider and then deliberately formulate a theoretical model of what they expect before they convert to Islam, so that they may later evaluate and judge the new religion to see to what extent it meets their expectations and then decide whether they would like to convert to it, remain faithful to the religion of their ancestors, or to adopt some other religion. It was the

similarities in spirit, word or outer form that, under a particular set of conditions, led Iranians to convert to another religion. It goes without saying that what was said above does not apply to those who, like some landowners, sought particular political, economic, social or military advantages and believed their realization to hinge on either conversion to Islam or coexistence with it. For what we are concerned with here is religious experience and belief and not adoption of a particular religion for the sake of perceived advantage.

It should be pointed out here that the dichotomy concerning the conversion of Iranians to Islam, repeated so often by foes and friends and others, lacks a firm foundation. One side of this dichotomy maintains that Iranians converted to Islam from either fear of death or in order to escape the tax levied on non-Muslims, while the other side holds the view that Iranians were not cowardly and craven, but freely chose Islam as their faith because they had given it mature consideration and had judged it as worthy. There is historical evidence supporting both of these positions. However, such evidence is still unrelated to the issue of man's direct experience of faith and divine revelation and does not constitute an exception to the rule we have set forth above.

We may pursue our discussion by considering the case of those who accepted Islam in Mecca and Medina during the years the Prophet (Ṣ) was propagating Islam. In the historical records concerning the birth of Islam cases are referred to that indicate that there were certain individuals who were expecting the emergence of the new faith and the prophetic mission of Muḥammad (Ṣ). For example, we can mention Salmān, Waraqat bin Nufil or the Jews. Such expectation, however, based on certain prophecies, was totally different from "expectation from religion," since these individuals were awaiting and expecting emergence of a faith and no more. Thus, there was no "expectation from religion" here.

A glance at the biographies of the first Muslims and the manner in which they converted to Islam would render us significant help in understanding the subject under discussion. None of them had come up with a formulation that could be labeled as expectation from religion. Nor was there, afterwards, any re-evaluation or analysis of what they had adopted. Furthermore, they did not subject the call to the One God to rational or philosophical investigation and analysis. At that early phase there were no decrees which one could compare to the expectations nurtured by the converts in regard to individual behavior or social interaction. These converts were faced with a great event, a divine call, and said "yes" to it. Of course, their affirmation was not unrelated to their own individual background, or that of the Prophet (Ṣ), who served as the channel for the divine Revelation. Sometimes even hearing such a sentence as "*Say: There is no god but Allah, so that you could prosper*" was enough to make those who were hearing the call realize that they were in the presence of a holy experience.

Considering the converts in the birthplace of Islam, again, just as it later occurred in Iran, a number adopted it because they thought it advantageous to do so. Since such expectations were given birth to by either necessity or advantage, they do not constitute a real belief and naturally lie outside the scope of our discussion. To sum up then, "expectation from religion," either as a question or a statement, was completely irrelevant to the actual experience undergone by those who heard the Call and took it to heart. The notion of "expectation from religion" is a cultural product of the last few centuries.

VIEW (1)

In its very core, expectation from religion entails a form of condition and stipulation, brought about by man's discrimination concerning two realities, one of divine Revelation and the other of human existence. As we have already stated, this perception and discrimination is not an ancient one. However, this does not mean that it is entirely artificial and insignificant. It is therefore necessary to point out here, to the extent one can within the limits of an article, that the central core and the inner essence of expectation from religion is old indeed; it is its emergence and manifestation that is contingent.

Religion is an essential aspect of human nature. Even doctrines that have opposed faith have, finally and in an indirect manner, and by means of well-camouflaged assumptions , metamorphosed into quasi-religions. Such was the case with the worship of Reason in the French Revolution. Another example is the sociology of August Comte. It is widely recognized today that socialism, in its various forms, has exhibited quasi-religious manifestations. The same is also true of communism, which belongs to that category of quasi-religions that possess very strong messianic and utopian tendencies. Very similar phenomena is encountered in other Western liberation doctrines and ideologies. This is not the place to engage in a full-fledged discussion of these semi-religious characteristics, and these are mentioned simply to illustrate the scope of the subject.

Earlier the examples of Iranian and Arab converts during the rise of Islam were discussed. Now, we can consider the issue from still a third perspective. Could anyone, simply by claiming to be the recipient of divine Revelation, have gained the acceptance of the people? This question is significant since the call and those who hear it are bound to each other in a very profound way. Moreover, these deep links cannot be tampered within a haphazard and arbitrary fashion. It must also be added that the acceptance of

the Prophet's (*S*) call was not a casual affair and we could not, therefore, replace his Message by any alternative invitation. Here we have a common background and binds between the invitation, he who makes the invitation, and those who are being invited. These three can be compared to the three lines that, in harmony with each other, constitute a triangle. In its true form then, expectation from faith is precisely such harmony between the person who makes the call and the individual who hears it. For those hearing the invitation, expectation from faith, generally speaking, is a need and a thirst that is satisfied by the Prophet (*S*) and the revealed Truth, and such expectation does not involve premeditation and preconception.

It is from the perspective delineated above that temporary success of false prophets can be accounted for. One such case is that of Musaylamah. Many gathered around him and were even willing to sacrifice their lives for his sake. His temporary success may be explained within two different contexts. First, man's intrinsic need for religion, and second, various aspects of the lives of those who accepted his claim. The first context would be referred to as the ultimate cause and the second as the immediate one. As we said, the ultimate cause is man's religious nature. Now, let us examine this cause more thoroughly.

The people who heard Musaylamah's call had not conceptualized their expectations from faith into a consciously worked out and systematic formula in the light of which they could evaluate his claim. If, indeed, this had been the case, then perhaps his invitation would have been scrutinized far more critically. The same is also true in the cases of real prophets, including the Messenger (*S*) of Islam. The arguments people confronted the Prophet (*S*) with had nothing to do with either criticism or opinion. Some of the questioning was aimed at revealing the falseness of the call in case it was so, such as the questions concurring "the People of the Cave" (*Aṣḥāb-i Kahf*), "the lord of two epochs"or "the use of

the pen and the sword" (*Dhulqarnayn*), and the soul, put by the Quraysh through the intermediary of the Jews. A true prophet was expected to have the answers to these questions. These and other similar queries were symbolic ones, meant to separate the genuine from the fake, the pretender from the real prophet of God. None of them, however, were "expectation from religion." In other words, they were not meant to evaluate and judge religion itself. Furthermore, these questions were not products of man's critical and conceptual faculties, but rather symbols that signified familiarity, and had their origins either in religious experience in general, or, as was the case in the question concerning the soul, were extracted from specifically religious experiences. Another example of the latter case was the query concerning "the People of the Cave."

The questioning of the Prophet (*S*) by infidels and idol-worshippers, in the final analysis, shows the same symbolic nature mentioned above. Such things as the descent of angels to confirm the genuineness of the Prophet (*S*), bringing the dead back to life, access to vast material wealth, were all signs through which polytheists fancied that they could test the Messenger's (*S*) claim to prophecy. It is interesting to note that some of them maintained that even if all these conditions were met they would still refuse to accept the new faith. The verses near the end of the *Sūrah al-Isrā'* deals with these signs. In short, all those who questioned the Prophet (*S*), whether Jews or polytheists, did so in order to ascertain the truth of his claim. This meant that if the genuineness of his prophecy was confirmed the content of the religion he preached, no matter what it consisted of, would have been accepted on faith. Thus, all evaluations and explanations dealing with the content of the faith come after one has accepted the revelation. Miracles are performed to prove the truth of the prophetic mission itself, and since Musaylamah's claim to prophecy was baseless, he was called Musaylamah the False.

From the conceptual point of view, expectation from faith has two aspects. One addresses itself to faith in itself, while the other investigates the contents of religion. Both aspects belong to the philosophy of religion. The subject of this branch of philosophy is ancient while its treatment is new. Its basic inclination is to rationally investigate the metaphysical origins of religion. Such matters as the Essence and the Attributes of God belong to this field of inquiry, as do all that pertains to philosophical unity. It should be added that such topics have a very long tradition in theological formulations. Such things as the "ontological" and the "existential" arguments are also among the rational tools much relied on in this tradition. On the other hand, the competence of reason to either prove or disprove such issues has faced strong challenge both in the East and in the West. In the West one need only point out Kant and his attempt to demonstrate that reason and intellect are not the proper tools for the investigation and evaluation of metaphysical questions. And in the Muslim East one need only consider the teachings of the Ash'arites and those of the various mystical, gnostic and illuminationist schools and doctrines.

The theoretical and speculative teachings of the philosophy of religion, the non-speculative ones derived from dogma, and even those doctrines that put greater emphasis on ethics rather than metaphysics in relation to religion, all are agreed on one point, and that is that the core function of religion is to explain man's position in the universe. In this dimension, then, faith is expected to provide answers to man's questions and to satisfy his spiritual needs. The classical questions concerning one's origin and final destination and the need to have contact with the Divine also concern this dimension. It is obvious that what, for a thinker is an object of thought, is an object of faith and belief for a religious man. It is also necessary to distinguish between the knowledge and faith of individuals based on the degree of their spiritual

attainment; whether they belong to the "common people" (*'āmmī*), "the chosen" (*khawāṣṣ*), and "the chosen of the chosen (*khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*). Nor should we forget that there are many paths leading to faith and belief. Sometimes these expectations have a rational source and at other times the Heart, through its own intuitive, spiritual faculties, deals with the Absolute on its own. Further analysis of these paths and their classification lie beyond the scope of this paper. One may maintain belief in the existence of a complex relationship between reason and faith. What is important here is that man is granted certitude concerning his position in the world. Now, this certitude may be communicated through the mind, or through the Heart, or through both simultaneously. It may be said that the need for such an understanding is a fundamental one, and it may therefore be maintained that a necessary condition for being a religion is the ability to satisfy this need. Thus, theoretical and speculative investigation of this need is minor indeed in comparison with the central importance of the need itself.

VIEW (2)

In this paper we have made a clear differentiation between the essence of religion itself and the contents of religion. By content we mean developing principles, providing meaning and direction for man's life and the many dimensions of his existence, organizing these various elements into a harmonious whole, and, finally, equipping religion with particular symbols, rites and rituals. There is no consensus concerning the number and nature of these elements, and the description just given is meant simply as a rough sketch of the contents of religion for the purpose of facilitating our discussion of the issue of "expectation from religion." The elements just mentioned are not always clearly distinguished from one another. For example, let us consider *namāz* (ritual prayer in Islam). In its most inclusive meaning it

refers to the act of worshipping God and praying to Him, but in its particularly Islamic form, shaped as it is by its many traditions and *fiqh*, it represents a particular ritual and symbol of Islamic worship. The symbols of worship and prayer are not the same in Islam and the other religious traditions. What they share in common is the element of prayer in its broadest sense. This very same Islamic ritual can also possess political and social dimensions, and because of this, must be classified in the category of forms and superstructure. It stands to reason, then, that since such elements are constantly changing, what is expected from them is also subject to continuous change.

Some religious symbols and rituals, *namāz* for example, have their origins in Revelation, while others have been developed by human beings in response to environmental and temporal conditions. The fact that the latter group of rituals are created by man does not reduce their value, the difference being simply in their direct cause. However, rituals and symbols belonging to the second type must remain constantly subject to criticism and review so as to ensure that they do not lead to the opposite of what they were intended for, as, for example, happened with the Samaritan calf, which was taken as a symbol of divinity and worship.

Concerning rituals and symbols, it must be said that they probably constitute one of the most important expectations from faith, and without them religion is threatened by decline, and, ultimately, complete annihilation. Our knowledge of human nature and history indicates the intensity of man's need for religious rites. During those periods when a revolt against rites and rituals has occurred, we witness a gradual emergence of new rites or reformed versions of the old ones. The symbol of the embodiment of Christ in bread and wine has faced derision and disapproval within Christendom, but in spite of this it is maintained within Catholicism and given symbolic significance by its theologians. At times protest against ritual leads to behavior that appears to have

nothing ritualistic about it. However, upon careful examination one discovers religious ritual and symbolism in what is utterly antagonistic to all forms of ritual. For example, in Calvinism, worldly prosperity is a religious symbol that indicates divine benediction of the productive activities of the pious man and a sign that the individual is moving in the correct spiritual direction.

In any case, man's need for religious rites and symbols is both old and profound. It seems that man's need for such symbolism is an intrinsic aspect of his nature. It therefore cannot be put into the category of preconceived and consciously formulated "expectation from religion."

We have already mentioned the case of the Samaritan calf and the fact that it served as a religious icon. Now, it should be pointed out that it is quite possible to artificially create religious rites and symbols. One such case was that of a tree in Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's harem. It was arranged for the tree to exhibit "supernatural" powers, so that the wives would not feel the need for travel to other holy cites. Such artificial creation of symbols is entirely different from the first group of symbols, which were of divine origin, and the second group, developed not by God but by men during the course of their religious development and in accordance with varied aspects of social life. However, though this third category of artificially created icons well deserves condemnation, it also serves to prove man's need for religious symbols and his expectation from faith to provide him with such symbols.

In this article we have treated the function of giving meaning and direction to life and that of organizing various aspects of life as two entities. The reason for this differentiation is lack of consensus concerning the necessity of the second function. Many oppose the idea of religion taking a direct role in organizing the various aspects of life. They believe that the only function of religion is to inspire man. On the opposite pole we have those who

believe that in addition to providing meaning for life, it should organize and direct its smallest details. What is certain is that the function of "meaning" and that of "organizing and directing" cannot be entirely separated. Those who believe that human beings themselves are the organizers of the various dimensions of their lives, including the social, political and economic spheres, do not deny that human beings posses an essentially religious nature, and that the various aspects just referred to are organized and directed by fundamentally religious human beings.

Other forms also exist between the two poles referred to above. For example, according to the circumstances prevailing in the countries in which it is active, Liberation Theology feels obliged to stress the conviction that one expectation from faith is that instead of total, and no longer productive, preoccupation with metaphysics, it should be more sensitive and responsive to man's everyday needs and to the various aspects of his worldly existence. However, the experience of Liberation Theology should not induce us to issue a general and blanket verdict supporting religious prescription and direction of all aspects of life. For it must be kept in mind that at one time Christianity principally controlled, whether directly or indirectly, all aspects of the lives of its adherents. As European worldly and social life was increasingly secularized, religion retreated into theology and a few other limited fields. The rise of various movements dedicated to improvement of men's lives and to social justice stimulated a new and updated interpretation of faith that demanded a stronger and more responsible presence on the part of religion in the various aspects and dimensions of human existence.

As in the case of rites and symbols, in the realm of prescription and direction of various aspects of life too we face the ever-present danger of ignoring temporal and geographical factors and needs. We must be aware of the fact that greater presence of religion in different dimensions of life does not mean that it

possesses greater strength and vitality. Just as some religious symbols and rituals may turn into dogmas that harm faith rather than help it, prescription and direction, taken to extremes, may also prove counter-productive. If we accept the assumption that religion should take a direct role in prescribing behavior in all aspects of life, it is vitally important that ways and means are found to prevent rituals and symbols tied to particular local and temporal conditions to outlive their usefulness.

Even formulation and systematization of principles, which, it would seem, should be more lasting than prescribed forms of behavior, is not entirely immune to danger. Such formulation belongs, in principle, to the realm of philosophy and theology, but the way such religious principles are received by individuals depends on other factors. These particularities not only involve political, economic and social dimensions, but are also closely linked to problems, issues, controversies and developments in all fields of scholarship, both in the experimental sciences and in the humanities. What is expected from faith, or, since we are approaching the conclusion of this paper, perhaps it would be better to say, from religious people, and especially those who claim to be religious, is to consider and contemplate these specific characteristics with the greatest of care. To put it in religious language, we may say that Satan has many traps, one of which is to encourage the individual to judge the faith and knowledge of others on the basis of his own faith and understanding, for this shall lead the believer astray even if his understanding and faith are correct and genuine. The beauty and glory of religion are not enriched by portraying others as ugly and weak.

Notes:

1. William James, *Pragmatism*, tr. 'Abd al-Karīm Rashīdiān (Tehran: Entesharāt wa Āmuzesh-e Inqilāb-e Islāmī, 1370 H.S.), lecture no. 8.

2. Richard V. Bolt, *Tendency Toward Islam in the Middle Ages*, tr. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Waqār (Tehran: Nashr-e Tārīkh-e Iran, 1364 H.S.). Discussions found in the article should not be taken as critiques of the books being referred to. The cases mentioned are used simply for the sake of illustration.

International Conference on Imam Shahíd al-Sadr

List of Proposed Topics

In the Name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful

The eighth of April is the day of anniversary of the Martyrdom of the eminent marja' and divine thinker Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr and his learned sister Aminah Bint al-Hudā, may Allah pleased with them.

Besides his originality in the sciences of *fiqh* and *uṣūl*, his versatile genius covered many of the various disciplines of Islamic thought, such as philosophy, *kalām*, political economy, law, and Qur'ānic exegesis, and with his profound insight and extensive learning he tried to answer the intellectual needs of the Islamic world. His books and writings bear witness to his profound learning, originality and insight in this fields.

The brilliant life of this great thinker and jurist, dedicated to struggle and *jihād* in the way of Islam and the honour and advancement of Muslims, culminated in his martyrdom for the sake of the great cause to which he had devoted the efforts of a life time.

In a joint effort aimed to discuss his ideas and his multifaceted thought and personality, as well as to pursue the plans and projects outlined by that great thinker, the Board of Administration of the Centre of Religious Studies at Qum, The *Ahl al-Bayt* ('*a*) World Assembly, the Organization of Islamic Culture and Relations, the Martyrs Foundation of the Islamic Revolution, and the High Council of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq have resolved to hold an International Conference with the participation of scholars from Iran and abroad.

'*Ulamā*', scholars, and researchers are hereby invited to contribute to this seminar. They are requested to inform the

conference secretariat beforehand of their intention to contribute to and participate in the seminar by filling out the enclosed form.

Proposed Areas and Topics

Following areas and topics are proposed for the international seminar on Imam Shahīd Ṣadr (r).

I: Personality and Life of Shahīd Ṣadr (personal, academic, political).

Individual Personality:

1. The Ṣadrs, a family of reputed scholars.
2. Biography, from birth to martyrdom.
3. Lifestyle, conduct within family, and educational tradition.
   a. Conduct with wife and children.
   b. His sister, the martyr Bint al-Hudā.
4. His personal genius.
5. His worship and devotions.
6. Relations with other scholars and their views concerning him.
7. Reminiscence of his life.

His Personality as a Scholar:

1. Student days.
2. His teachers.
3. His pupils.
4. Works.
5. His position in the history of Islamic thought.
6. His literary style and approach.

Ethical Personality:

1. His outstanding social ethics.
2. His commitment to the cause of *jihād* and *tablīgh*.
3. His exemplary conduct with pupils.
4. His exemplary conduct with teachers.

5. His conduct towards critics and enemies.

Political Life:

1. Political plans

a. The *Jamā'at al-'Ulamā'*.

b. The Islamic Movement.

c. The conduct of his *marja'iyyah*.

2. Confrontation with the regime in power.

3. His visions and plans for the future of the Islamic movement.

4. The dimension of activism in his personality.

5. Shahīd Ṣadr and the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

6. Shahīd Ṣadr and the major problems of the Islamic world (Palestine, Lebanon, Afghanistan, etc.)

7. Comparative stadies of his personality and other contemporary figures of Islamic political movement (Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī, Ibn Badis, Muḥammad 'Abduh, Na'ini).

8. Comparative studies of his political struggle and other movements (*al-Jāmi'at al-Islāmiyyah, Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, the movement of religious scholars in Iran)

9. The popular uprising during the month of Rajab.

10. His threefold political advices to the people of Iraq.

II: Ṣadr's Social Theories and Scientific Views.

Qur'ānic Sciences:

1. Thematic exegesis (*tafsīr mawḍū'ī*) and traditional exegesis (*tafsīr tartībī*).

2. The world view of the Qur'ān.

3. Ṣadr's approach to Qur'ānic sciences.

History and *Sīrah*

1. Studies of the sirah of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (*'a*).

2. Laws of history from the Qur'ānic viewpoint.

3. Criticism of one dimensional approaches to the study of history.

Doctrine:·

1. Theologiical studiies in works such as *al-Mujaz fi Uṣūl al-Dīn* and *al-Usas al-Manṭiqiyyah lil Istiqrā'*.
2. Studies on *Khilāfah* and *Wilāyah* after the Prophet (Ṣ), in *Baḥth Ḥawl al-Wilāyah*.
3. His study concerning the Imam of the Era in *Baḥth Ḥawl al-Mahdī ('aj)*.

Philosophy and Logic:

1. Ṣadr's epistemological views in *Falsafatunā* and *al-Usas al-Manṭiqiyyah lil-Istiqrā'*.
2. His views concerniing problems relating to generalization of the principle in induction in *al-Usas al- Manṭiqiyyah lil-Istiqrā'*.
3. His views concerning the sixfold requirements in *al-Usas al-Manṭiqiyyah lil-Istiqrā'*.
4. His views on the principle of man's sovereignty over his actions in relation to the problem of free will (*jabr wa ikhtiyār*).
5. His views concerning the problem of preference in absence of grounds for preference (*tarjīḥ bilā murajjiḥ*) in relation to the problem of free will.
6. Ṣadr's approach to the philosophy of history.

***Rijāl*:**

1. The *thiqāh* among leading traditionists (*mashāyikh al-thiqāt*).
2. The theory of substitution of *isnād* (*naẓariyyat al-taʿwīḍ*).
3. The authority of the statements of scholars of *rijāl*.
4. Application of the theory of probability to problems of *'ilm al-rijāl*.

Fiqh:

1. His original contribution to the field of *fiqh*.
2. His *fiqhī* studies of economic issues.
3. His original contribution in *al-Fatāwā al-Wāḍiḥah*.
4. His views concerning the future course of *ijtihād*.

Uṣūl al- Fiqh (Jurisprudence):

1. Ṣadr's views concerning the basic criteria pertaining to *uṣūlī* thought.

2. His original ideas in the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

a. The theory of *al-qirn al-akīd* concerning the issue of meaning.

b. The theory of *ḥaqq al-ṭā'ah*.

c. The character of conciliation between apparent and real Divine command (*ḥukm ẓāhirī wa ḥukm wāqi'ī*).

d. The issue of non-detailed knowledge (*'ilm ijmālī*).

e. Comparison between the prescriptions of religion and reason.

3. Applications of probability theory in *'ilm al-uṣūl*.

4. The history of development of *'ilm al-uṣūl*.

Economics:

1. Permanent and transient criteria in Islamic economics.

2. Shahīd Ṣadr's views on work and distribution of wealth.

3. The means of production from the viewpoint of Islamic economics.

4. The plans for usury-free banking.

5. Comparative study of Ṣadr's plans for usury-free banking and banking in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

6. Ṣadr's views concerning ownership in Islam, socialism and capitalism.

Social and Political Issues:

1. Shahīd Ṣadr's views on *Wilāyat al-faqīh*.

2. Shahīd Ṣadr's views concerning consultation (*shūrā*).

3. Shahīd Ṣadr's suggestions for the draft of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

4. Viewpoint of Islam concerningg social problems and its comparison with the approach of other man-made systems.

5. Freedom from the Islamic viewpoint and its comparison with the approaches of otherr man-made system.

The Centres of Religious Education and *Marja'iyyah*:

1. *Marja'iyyah* through the course of history.

2. Ṣadr's proposals and programmes for the reform of the *marja'iyyah*.

3. His views concerning the needs and inadequacies of the centres of religious learning.

4. A new plan for the system of education for the centres of religious learning.

III: Ṣadr's Approach to Research and Scientific Inquiry:

General Scientific Method

1. The profundity and wide scope of Islamic Ṣadr's work.
2. Profundity and common sense in his work.
3. Reasoning and intuition in Sadr's thought.
4. Coprehensiveness of his approach to problems.
5. His profund and fundamental approach criticism of ideas.
6. Investigation of the historical roots and origins of ideas and their development to the present stage.
7. The sistematic character of his thought, works and approach.

Shahīd Ṣadr's Particular Approach in Vvarious Fields:

1. Sadr's approach to Qur'ānic sciences.

a. Thematic *tafsīr*.

b. A comprehensive and consistent understanding of Qur'ānic statements.

2. His approach to theological and philosophical problems.

a. The significance attached by him to the theory of probability.

b. Attention to modern ideas and views and their critical assessment.

3. His approach in *fiqh* and *uṣūl*.

a. The social dimension of religious texts.

b. The new technical approach in the formulation of *uṣūlī*
issues.

c. The new technical approach in the formulation of *fiqhī*
issues.

4. His approach in economics.

a. His approach in propounding the economic teachings of
Islam.

b. His approach to the criticism of other schools of political
economy.

c. His approach in the plan for usury-free banking.

IV:Complementary Plans in the Thought of Shahīd Ṣadr

1. The discovery of social systems and institutions with the
help of Islamic laws and conceptions (political system, the system
of education, the system of the family).

2. The inference of variable laws on the basis of the main
features of the fixed laws.

Any suggestions concerning the topics of discussion which
will enrich the scope of the seminar willl be welcome.

Pleas note that the papers sent to the conference must be
received at the Secretariat before Sept. 22, 1999

Secretariat Address:

P O Box 314-37185,
Qum, Islamic Republic of Iran
Tel. :(251)-937720&21
Fax: (251)-927500

Shaykh Àqà Buzurg Tehraní

By: Sayyid 'Alī Shahbāz

For any ordinary passer-by, the sight of the white-turbaned Shaykh walking down the Najaf-Kufah road on Tuesday afternoons might not have been of any special attention, other than the brief exchange of greetings that is customary in those parts. Our religious scholar --as his headgear and apparel suggested-- was perhaps not the only one trekking the 10-km distance to *Masjid al-Sahlah* on foot every week. In those days before the Baathists cast their long dark shadows on Iraqi socio-religious life, it was a familiar sight to see robed men, whether in *kafiyah*s or in *'amāma*s, unperturbedly going about their acts of devotion at the centres of pilgrimage that dot the ancient land of Mesopotamia (modern Iraq).

But few knew that the person who kept up this weekly walk, almost uninterruptedly, for more than half a century till his frail frame had reached the venerable age of 80, was a fresh flowing spring of knowledge and research to whom generations would remain indebted.

The scholar was none other than Shaykh Muḥammad Muḥsin, known popularly as 'Āqā Buzurg Tehrani', the author of the great bibliographical encyclopedia *al-Dharī'ah*. Despite his busy life of learning and research, he always made it a point to spend Wednesday eves in prayer and supplications at the House[1] that Enoch (Prophet Idris) had built before the great deluge (of Prophet Noah's days), and which, as the faithful believe, will be the seat of the world government of justice and equity of the besought of all the faithful, the Mahdī (may Allah hasten his reappearance).

Āqā Buzurg was thus not one of those so-called researchers who spend their life in doubts and skepticism, not knowing what their actual duties as human beings are. Nay! Āqā Buzurg, as his name suggests, was a great gentleman, sure of himself and of his primary duties, both as an unrivaled researcher and as a humble Muslim who had acquired knowledge at the threshold of the Gateway of the City of Knowledge.[2] In fact, he was cast in the mould of the disciples of the infallible Imams ('a) and his long life of perceptive probing of Arabic and Persian texts was intermingled with lengthy hours of prayer, worship and fasting.

Here was a man cognizant of himself and of his Creator. He also knew the rich legacy that he would be leaving behind for posterity in the shape of *al-Dharī'ah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah* and *Ṭabaqāt al-A'lām* to ponder and progress upon. Following my articles on Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn Mūsawī and Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsawī in the previous two issues of the *Thaqalayn* English quarterly, here I intend to attempt a brief biographical sketch of Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tehrani, although I am not capable of doing justice to the life and works of that 'Ocean of Research'.

Early Life

Shaykh Muḥammad Muḥsin who was born on 11 Rabī‘ al-Awwal, 1293 AH (7 April 1876 CE) in Tehran, was encouraged from a very early age by his father Ḥājj ‘Alī, a pious merchant, to take up learning and scholarly pursuit. At the age of 10 he started attending formal seminary classes and two years later he embarked on the study of Arabic literature under Shaykh Muḥammad Khorāsānī and Muḥammad Bāqir Mu‘iz al-Dawlah. Since Muḥammad Muḥsin was named after his great grandfather, his father affectionately called him Āqā Buzurg (grandfather), an epithet which came to stay with him till the end of his life.

Learning was in his veins and he soon mastered the different branches of Islamic sciences including logic, jurisprudence, mathematics and the art of calligraphy. His father was also of a scholarly bent of mind and despite his commercial activities, Ḥājj ‘Alī had taken time off to write a book in Persian titled ‘*Tārīkh al-Dukhāniyyah*’ on tobacco prohibition and the famous *fatwā* of Āyatullāh Mīrzā Ḥasan Shirazi, which had saved Iranian economy from the clutches of the British colonialists in 1891 CE.[3]

In 1315 AH (1897 CE) the young Āqā Buzurg set out for the holy city of Najaf in Iraq to complete his higher studies, and for 14 years he studied under such great scholars as Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī, Sayyid Murtaḍā Kashmirī, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhā Najaf, Sayyid Kāẓim Yazdī, Shaykh al-Sharī‘ah Isfahanī and Ākhūnd Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim Khorāsānī.

In 1911 CE he moved to Kāẓimayn to start work on his magnum opus *al-Dharī‘ah*. Later the same year he shifted to Sāmarrā to concentrate on this grand project and also to attend the classes of Āyatullāh Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Shirazī.[4] Till 1917, that is a year before the end of the First World War and the transfer of Iraq from Ottoman rule to British mandate, Shaykh Āqā Buzurg was in Sāmarrā. He moved to Sāmarrā again and his total stay in this city, except for the brief periods he was in Kāẓimayn and

Baghdad, lasted for 24 years. In 1935 he returned to Najaf in order to start publication of *al-Dharī'ah*.

Al-Dharī'ah

The cause of undertaking the encyclopedic work *al-Dharī'ah*, was a remark of the Arab Christian historian Jurji Zaydan (d. 1914 CE), who wrote in his 4-volume book '*Tārīkh Adab al-Lughat al-Arabiyyah*': "The Shī'ah were a small sect and did not make any significant contribution to Arabic literature."

This statement showed the basic ignorance of Zaydan with all his pretensions to scholarship. He had either not made a proper study of Arabic literature or was deliberately trying to ignore such men of letters as Sayyid Raḍī, Abū Tamam Rāzī, Abū Firās Ḥamdānī and several others including the historians Mas'ūdī and Ya'qūbī, and the scientists Abū Naṣr Fārābī, Abū Rayḥān al-Birunī and Abū 'Alī Sīnā, all of whom have left a distinct mark on the flowering of Arabic scholarship. Zaydan's remarks caused a furore in Shī'a academic circles especially at the ancient seat of religious learning in Najaf, which is considered more than a worthy rival of Egypt's al-Azhar (established by the Shī'ite Fatimid dynasty).[5]

It was enough to spur the conscience of three of the budding scholars of Najaf, Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tehrani, Sayyid Ḥasan Ṣadr and Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', who made a covenant to disprove Zaydan by highlighting the glorious contribution of the Shī'ahs to science and literature. It was decided that Sayyid Ḥasan Ṣadr (d. 1354 AH) should make research on the literary movements and activities of the Shī'ites throughout history, and focus on their role in the establishing of Islamic sciences. The fruit of his labour was *Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah al-Kirām li-'Ulūm al-Islām*.[6]

'Allāmah Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d. 1373 AH), was entrusted the task of writing a critical account of *Tārīkh Adab al-Lughat al-Arabiyyah* and to highlight its errors. Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' subjected

Zaydan's 4-volume work to a highly authoritative review, pointing out the errors including grammatical mistakes and correcting them. The book was titled *al-Murāja'āt al-Rayḥāniyyah wa al-Nuqūd wa al-Rudūd*. But it goes to the credit of Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' that in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Holy Qur'ān he never withheld appreciation of Zaydan's work, where ever it was due.[7]

But it was left to Āqā Buzurg Tehrānī to compile a bibliographical encyclopedia of the books and treatises written by the followers of the school of *Ahl al-Bayt* ('*a*) from the early days of Islam till the present time. It was a gargantuan task that he had agreed to undertake, in view of the lack of proper or modern methods of classification and cataloguing of books in the libraries of Islamic countries at that time.

However, after endless hours of browsing through piles of dust laden books spread out in different cities, he performed the Herculean task so diligently and so efficiently that the outcome *al-Dharī'ah* encompassed 29 volumes and a total of 42,440 books. Certainly, tens of thousands of books written by scholars belonging to the school of the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('*a*) eluded him because of the lack of modern travel and computer facilities that we enjoy today. Still thousands of other such works may have been lost forever considering the periodical bouts of persecution and book burning that the Shi'ites had been subjected to in the past, in addition to the poor conditions for preserving old moth eaten manuscripts. The point is proven by the names of books which we often come across and the reference to their contents that we see in historical material, but the copies that we do not find.

Shaykh Āqā Buzurg did not rely on conjectures or even on book lists and the *Rijāl* works handed down from the past. As a true researcher he endeavoured to trace out the book itself and if possible to browse through its contents, and then he documented and described them. He also traced rare manuscripts in private collections and for the first time brought to public notice the

heritage of Islam which had been given up for lost, due to lack of accessibility or interest. His research not only uncovered the religious and literary texts, but placed under limelight the political, economic, cultural and artistic works written by Shi'ites including contemporary writers of Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and other countries.

In short, by sifting through books of different denominations of Islam, Āqā Buzurg uncovered a treasure trove of the contribution of the School of *Ahl al-Bayt* (*'a*), not only to Arabic literature and sciences but to other languages as well, including Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Hindi and Gujerati. He also diligently noted whether the author was an Imāmī (Ithnā 'Asharī), Zaydī or Ismā'īlī.

The author of *Rayḥānat al-Adab* says about Āqā Buzurg's unenviable task that the magnitude of the work was formidable in view of the fact that the books written by Shi'ites throughout the ages were not in one place and were dispersed all over the world in homes, private and public libraries as well as in national museums. They lay scattered in far flung cities, towns and villages. It could be called an impossible task for an ordinary person. But this great scholar, on the basis of his faith, sincerity and the will to serve Islam and Muslims, shouldered the task with a spirit of determination.   He undertook travels and journeys, referred to libraries,   browsed   through   catalogues   and   entered   into correspondence with persons, institutes and libraries in far away lands, in order to have first hand information of the details of the books written by Shi'ites.[8]

As a result, when *al-Dharī'ah* was complete it was proved that the Shi'ites despite being subjected to oppression and deprivation throughout history, were not only active in literary and cultural spheres but could be called the pioneers and torchbearers in different scientific fields because they handled the pen more frequently and more dexterously than other groups of Muslims. It also became evident that not only the Shi'ites were not dependent

on court and official patronization, but it was their logical and rational approach to faith and knowledge which kept them alive and flourishing.

Some Facts and Figures of *al-Dharī'ah*

The work, spread over 26 volumes (vol. 9 is split into 4 separate books because of its size), has brought to light the following startling facts and figures of Shi'ite literary sources which would never have been classified so thoroughly, but for Shaykh Āqā Buzurg's yeoman efforts.

For instance, of the 42,440 entries in *al-Dharī'ah*, 8488 are *Dīvān*s or anthologies of different poets, quite a few of whom are household names in Arabic-speaking countries, Iran and India. This fact coupled with Āqā Buzurg's scientific analyses of the literary and folklore traditions of the various world cultures starting from Egypt, Greece and China, is not only evidence of his deep insight, but proves beyond an iota of doubt, that it is bias and doubtful scholarship to ignore the pivotal role of the Shi'ites in the progress of human civilization.[9]

Another interesting topic is the *ijāzah* or authorization for relating *hadīth*, which is essential in determining the chain of transmission and subsequently the fairness of the narrators. *al-Dharī'ah* has mentioned 806 books written by Shi'ite *'ulamā'* in this regard, under the title *ijāzah* or its plural form *ijāzāt*. On books related to *hadīth* itself, only under the title *asl* or principles of *hadīth,* 117 entries have been made preceded by an excellent and authoritative 9-page introduction on the definition of *asl*.

Under the title *usūl dīn* and *usūl 'Aqā'id* (principles of faith), 94 books have been mentioned. On the principle (*asl*) of Imamate, 119 books have been introduced, with 103 of the books mentioned under the title Imamate and 16 as reference works.

On the exegesis of the holy Qur'ān, 355 different books have been mentioned under the title *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān,* which along with

reference and related works, total around 700 exegesis. For any perceptive scholar this is ample proof of attachment of the followers of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (*'a*) to the letter and spirit of God's revealed words, and how and on the authority of whom it should be interpreted for practical application in society.

Of the commentaries on the *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Āqā Buzurg has noted only under the title *Sharḥ al-Nahj*, 86 commentaries by different scholars. On Imam Ḥusayn (*'a*) and the immortal epic of Karbalā and its impact on society, around 2000 works could be seen in *al-Dharī'ah*.[10]

The works on history and historiography listed in this great bibliographical encyclopedia total 329 books. In addition, there are books on different branches of practical sciences such as astronomy, mathematics, medicine, physics, chemistry, biology, botany, geology and zoology. Plus, volume 8 features a 15-page discussion on the definition and history of encyclopedia-writing in various world civilizations with particular emphasis on Islam, before focusing on the classified and general encyclopedias compiled by Shi'ite scholars.

These interesting statistics show that if *al-Dharī'ah* had not been written, hundreds of these valuable books would have been lost for good, and even their titles would not have been preserved in the history of literature. Thanks to Shaykh Āqā Buzurg's efforts, today researchers are beginning to have an idea of the literary and academic role of the adherents of the School of the Prophet's Household and are able to trace the books mentioned by him. Some of these books have been studied and published for the first time.

Supplements to *al-Dharī'ah*

It is often said that If *al-Dharī'ah* had not been compiled, hundreds of articles and books that were inspired by it, would never have been written at all. Shaykh Āqā Buzurg had published the first volume in 1355 AH (1936 CE) and the rest were published

in his lifetime except the last volume, which Sayyid Aḥmad Ashkevarī edited and published it after this great scholar's death. The bibliographical work the Shaykh had undertaken did not die after his death, but has continued under his able students and worthy sons. It would not be out of context here to mention some of the works that are considered sequels or supplements to *al-Dharī'ah*.

1. *Mustadrak al-Dharī'ah:* Compiled by the late scholar Sayyid 'Azīzullāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī one of the outstanding students of Āqā Buzurg, this work includes the list of those books, which eluded the efforts of the author of *al-Dharī'ah* or were written or published after him. It includes 10,000 entries.[11]

2. *Aḍwā' 'alā al-Dharī'ah:* Another work of the late 'Azīzullāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī which he painstakingly compiled after examining manuscripts which he catalogued during decades of research, the details of which he minutely checked with *al-Dharī'ah*. It also includes the footnotes and annotations which Āqā Buzurg had written on *al-Dharī'ah* and which were not published. The entries made by the Shaykh are in red ink while that of Ṭabāṭabā'ī are in black or blue.

3. *Muhadhdhab al-Dharī'ah:* This was an attempt to summarize the *al-Dharī'ah* by 'Azīzullāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī, whose death left the project incomplete after the first few volumes.

4. *A'lām al-Dharī'ah:* This 2-volume work is an alphabetical list of names of persons mentioned in *al-Dharī'ah* and has been undertaken by the family of Shaykh Āqā Buzurg under the supervision of his eldest son 'Alī Naqī Monzavī. It is expected to be published soon.

5. *Iḍāḥ al-Ṭarīqah:* The author, Sayyid Maḥmūd Dehsorkhi, has made a comparative study of the bibliographical contents of *al-Dharī'ah* with Ḥājī Khalīfah's bibliographical works *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* and *Dhayl Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* and so far published two volumes.

6. *Tabwīb al-Dharī'ah*: This was an attempt by Sayyid Aḥmad Dibāchī Isfahanī, to publish a subject-wise reference work to *al-Dharī'ah*. However the author's martyrdom after publication of only the first volume which has 20 classified topics, left the project incomplete.

7. *Ta'līqat al-Dharī'ah:* This annotation compiled by 'Alī Naqī Monzavī, are actually the footnotes which appear in volumes 4 to 25 of *al-Dharī'ah* (except vols. 13 and 14).

8. *Fahāris al-Dharī'ah*: The work is a list of the contents compiled by the authors second son Aḥmad Monzavī.

Ṭabaqāt A'lām al-Shī'ah

This is the title of another encyclopedic work spanning 20 volumes compiled by Shaykh Āqā Buzurg. As is evident, it deals with the biographical accounts and works of Shi'ite *'ulamā'*. The accounts of the Shi'ite *'ulamā'* of the first three centuries of Islam are found in the books of *rijāl*. Āqā Buzurg's colleague Sayyid Ḥasan Ṣadr had undertaken to compile a biographical encyclopedia under the title of *Wafayāt al-A'lām min al-Shī'ah al-Kirām*, but circumstances made him give up the project after he had completed work on the first three centuries of the Hijra. It was then that Āqā Buzurg decided to bring this work also to fruition and taking up from where his friend had left, he prodigiously wrote from the 4th century onwards till his own era. Since the last volume featured his contemporaries, most of whom were alive, the name of this biographical encyclopedia was changed to *Ṭabaqāt al-A'lām* from Ṣadr's *Wafayāt al-A'lām* which pertains to persons who have passed away.

The detailed notes which he had meticulously collected during his decades of research which took him to several countries, facilitated Āqā Buzurg's work on this biographical encyclopedia. His keen eyesight had not missed the slightest information relating to Shi'ite scholars, authors, poets and others, even though these

accounts were outside the scope of *al-Dharī'ah*. However, this valuable data proved handy for the *Tabaqāt*, of which 6 volumes were published during his lifetime dealing with the *'ulamā'* of the 13th (2 volumes) and 14th centuries AH (4 volumes).[12]

This great encyclopedia which is an excellent supplement to *al-Dharī'ah* could be called the most complete biographical account of Shi'ite scholars today. It could be called the fruit of the 80-year research of Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tehrānī.

Dynamic Simplicity

He was a complete man of God and despite his popularity which had spread in academic circles in Iraq, Iran and other countries, he led an extremely simple life. Almost till the last years of his fruitful life of 95 years, he used to lead the daily prayers in Najaf. An idea of the humble characteristics of this ocean of research could be gauged from the following incident.

Khaṭīb Fāḍil Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Ya'qūbī, the author of the book *al-Bābiliyyāt*, has related an interesting anecdote which proves the fame of Āqā Buzurg even among the non-Muslim scholars. According to him during his trip to Lebanon in 1955, when he was visiting the office of Ibrāhīm al-Zayn the chief editor of *al-'Irfān* magazine, a person entered and asked him whether he was the scholar Muḥammad Riḍā Shabībī, and on learning that he was Ya'qūbī, the gentleman who was none other than the famous Lebanese Christian scholar Yūsuf As'ad Daghir, said that he wanted to know whether the author of *al-Dharī'ah* was alive and if so whether it was possible to meet this great personality. Ya'qūbī replied that from dawn till dusk Āqā Buzurg's house was open to all those interested in learning, and besides, he goes out three times a day to lead the morning, afternoon and evening prayers in the mosque. Daghir was surprised that Āqā Buzurg was such a simple person inspite of being a great researcher.[13]

Shaykh Āqā Buzurg at the same time defended Islam in all spheres of the struggle, and when his youngest son Dr. Muḥammad Riḍā Monzavi was martyred by the despotic regime of Riḍā Shah of Iran in 1955, he wrote: "Those who seized Iran's nationalized oil industry from their real owners, forcibly brought my son from Beirut to Tehran and imprisoned him in Qezel Qal'ah, they subjected him to different kinds of tortures, and cut his fingers and toes till he was martyred under torture that afternoon on 24th Jamādi al-Thānī, since he refused to say a single word that would have benefited these traitors to the motherland."[14]

Āqā Buzurg maintained cordial relations with scholars of the other denominations of Islam with whom he had come into contact both during his two Ḥajj pilgrimage trips to Mecca and Medina and during his research visits to Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Some of his admirers were Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Azharī Makkī of Mecca, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Shāfi'ī, the prayer leader of *Masjid al-Ḥarām* in Mecca, Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin Aḥmad Ḥamdī of Medina, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Khaṭīb Tarablusī of *Masjid al-Aqṣā*, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān of Egypt's al-Azhar Mosque.

Authorization to Relate *Ḥadīth*

One of the outstanding features of Islam, especially that of the school of the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a), is the determination of the authenticity of *ḥadīth* or statements attributed to Prophet Muhammad (Ṣ) and the infallible Imams in order to have a correct and clear perception of the message of the Holy Qur'ān. Fallible human mind, however sharp and intelligent, is unable to understand by itself the revealed word of the Almighty Creator. This was the reason the Prophet was divinely inspired to lay emphasis on the inseparability of the Thaqalayn, that is the Book of God and his progeny the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a) that he was leaving behind. Since there was a conspiracy after the Prophet to drive a wedge between this twin fundamental with the seditious slogan of

Ḥasbunā Kitāb Allah (the Book of Allah is sufficient for us), the Prophet's companions and the dedicated scholars that followed them had to take extra care, at times with their lifeblood, to hold aloft the torch of *ḥadīth* in order to have a proper perspective of faith. This factor, beside trustworthiness and honesty, warranted a rational approach and gave birth to the science of *ijāzah* or authorization that an authoritative scholar gave to a worthy student to relate the *ḥadīth*.

Shaykh Āqā Buzurg was thus heir to this unbroken chain of authenticity, and after having acquired the authorization to relate *ḥadīth* from some of the erudite scholars of his time, he passed on this immortal legacy to a new breed of outstanding ulama. His keen sense of perceptibility to sift through the enormous bulk of *ḥadīth* corpus, did not go unnoticed and some of the authorities who gave him permission in this regard are as follows:

1. Āyatullāh Mīrzā Ḥusayn Ṭabrisī Nūrī (known as Muḥaddith for his keen probing of facts and authority over *ḥadīth* literature)

2. Shaykh 'Alī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (father of the Iraqi reformer Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā')

3. Sayyid Murtaḍā Kashmirī.

4. Shaykh al-Sharī'ah Isfahānī

5. Ākhūnd Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim Khawānsārī

6. Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhā Najaf

7. Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī (author of the prayer and supplication manual *Mafātīḥ al-Jinān*)

8. Sayyid Nāṣir Ḥusayn Lucknowī (son of the famous scholar Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn Mūsawī the author of *'Abaqāt al-Anwār*)

9. 'Allāmah Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn (author of *al-Murāja'āt*)

In some cases such as that of Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī the authorization to relate was reciprocal and it indicates the degree of sincerity and the care and precaution taken to cite any *ḥadīth*. Āqā

Buzurg in turn enriched this vital heritage with his sixth sense of research and passed it on to talented and trustworthy scholars, some of whom could be mentioned as follows:

1. 'Allāmah Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Amīnī Tabrīzī (author of the monumental book *al-Ghadīr* who also compiled the *ijāzah* from Āqā Buzurg under the title *Musnad al-Amīn*)

2. Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Muẓaffar

3. Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Sistānī

4. Āyatullāh Muḥammad Hādī Milānī

5. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Qulī Sardār Kābulī

6. Sayyid 'Alī Naqī Lucknowī

7. Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith Urmawī

8. 'Abd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad 'Alī Najafī (author of the biographical work on Āqā Buzurg in Arabic titled *Shaykh al-Bāḥithīn*)

9. Muḥammad Riḍā Ḥakīmī (author of the Persian biography *Shaykh Àqā Buzurg Tehranī*)

10. Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī Yazdī

11. Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabāṭabā'ī (author of the famous exegesis on the Holy Qur'ān titled *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*)

12. Āyatullāh Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn Mar'ashī Najafī (the great researcher on genealogies and bibliophile whose library in Qum is famous for its collection of manuscripts, some of them rare)

13. Āyatullāh Shaykh Luṭf Allāh Ṣāfī Golpāygānī

14. Ḥujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris Afghānī

This doyen of researchers left the mortal world 13th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1389 (February 20, 1970) and as per his will was buried in his own private library in holy Najaf.

Notes:

1. According to reliable accounts the *Sahlah Mosque* was also the abode of Prophet Abraham before his forced migration from his homeland Iraq. Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī quotes Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (*'a*) as telling Abū Baṣīr that Imam Mahdī (may Allah hasten his reappearance) the *Sahlah Mosque* would be the seat of his world government. Refer to *Mafātīḥ al-Jinān.*

2. Reference to Prophet Muhammad's (*Ṣ*) famous *ḥadīth* "I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gateway; whoever desires to enter the city should come through its gateway. See *Ṣaḥīḥ Tarmidhī, Usd al-Ghābah,* etc.

3. The *fatwā* forced Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār to cancel the tobacco concession he had awarded to a certain Mr. Talbot of Regie Co., at the cost of economic ruin to Iranian farmers and merchants.

4. Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Shīrazī spearheaded the struggle against colonialist rule in Iraq during the July-September uprising of 1920 and was reportedly fatally poisoned by the British. In early 1921 the British, sensing danger to their interests from Iraq's Shi'ite majority population, decided to install Amīr Fayṣal the son of Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca as king, and subsequently crowned him in Baghdad on August 23 the same year.

5. *Al-Azhar* derives its name from *al-Zahrā* the famous epithet of the Prophet's noble daughter Fāṭimah (*'a*). The mosque was built by the Fatimid general Jawhar al-Ṣayqalī built immediately after the foundation of Cairo and was opened to public in Ramaḍān 361 AH (972 CE). In the time of the Fatimid caliph al-'Azīz Nazār (d. 996 CE) *al-Azhar* was made an academy of Islamic learning.

6. Published in 1370 AH in 445 pages. Shaykh Āqā Buzurg also played a role in its publication.

7. *Al-Murāja'āt al-Rayḥāniyyah* has twice been printed and made its impact in the literary circles.

8. Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rayḥānah al-Adab*, published in Tehran.

9. *Al-Dharī'ah,* vol. 8, pp. 23-38.

10. These include books on *Maqtal* or the accounts of the martyrdom, as well as the impacts of Imam Ḥusayn's uprising and the elegies composed on the tragedy of Karbalā.

11. This work being published by the *Ahl al-Bayt* Foundation, Qum.

12. As well as part of 5th century AH, dealing with the account of Shaykh Ṭūsī under the title Ḥayāt al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī).

13. Muḥammad Ṣiḥḥatī Sar-Dorudī - *Àqā Buzurg Tehranī 'Ocean of Research'.*

14. *Al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 10, pp. 166-167.

Bibliography (1)

Biḥàr al-Anwàr

By: Nāṣiruddīn Anṣārī
Translated by Sayyid 'Alī Shahbāz

Encyclopedia writing is as old as recorded history. Perhaps the Babylonians and the Egyptians may have had their own versions of the encyclopedia, judging from the recent discoveries of works of general information in another ancient civilization, that of the Chinese. Although, the Greek philosopher Aristotle is said to have written the first compendium of knowledge, it was the Roman scholar, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* which is considered as the first classified encyclopedia.

Science and learning declined with the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity and it was not until the advent of Islam that Europe and West Asia could come out of the dark ages of ignorance. The Islamic civilization which spread from the Atlantic coast of Spain and North Africa in the west to India and China in the east, saw the flowering of sciences. Many great scholars gave new dimensions to learning and left voluminous sets of writing for posterity to develop upon. These scientific works found their way to Europe through their Latin translations, and in

the course of time contributed to the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution.

Perhaps, Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifā'* and to some extent *Dāneshnāmeh-ye 'Alā'ī* could fit the description of an encyclopedia of sciences although before him Abū Rayḥān Birunī and several others had attempted to compile books embracing different branches of learning. Zakariyyā Rāzī, al-Khawārazmī (the author of *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* or Keys of Knowledge) and several others wrote comprehensive works of reference of specialized nature, while Abū al-Faraj Isfahanī's *al-Aghānī* also falls into the category of a classified encyclopedia of art and literature. Mention could also be made here of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī's *Jāmi' al-'Ulūm*.

In the sphere of purely religious doctrines, efforts were made in different eras to have a comprehensive reference manual which could cover the various aspects of Islamic belief, but generally the works which have come down to us are of a classified nature and limited to a particular field such as *fiqh*, exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān, *sīrah* and *sunnah* of the Prophet, history, etc. Thus, it could be said that it was not until the compiling of *Biḥār al-Anwār al-Jāmi'ah li Durar Akhbār al-A'immat al-Aṭhār* after the end of the first millennium of the Hijra that a compendium of knowledge, as passed down to posterity by the infallible Imams of Prophet Muḥammad's (Ṣ) Household, could become available to scholars and lay persons alike. (Tr.).

* * * * *

Though it is for authoritative researches to delve deep down the oceans of lights to sift the pearls of divine knowledge from ordinary corals or shells, without the least doubt *Biḥār al-Anwār* could be described as the most comprehensive encyclopedia of Islamic religious sciences for the compilation of which the world of Shi'ite learning will always remain indebted to 'Allāmah Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī. This great work which reached its

culmination some three centuries ago in Iran, or more properly Isfahan the Safavid capital, was published for the first time by the late Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥasan Amīn al-Ḍarb Isfahanī Kompānī in 25 volumes.

Biḥār al-Anwār and the exhaustive resources to which 'Allāmah Majlisī had access have always aroused the interest of scholars and researchers, since several of the original works that were available to him have either been completely lost because of the political turmoil that swept Iran after the Ṣafavids, or are lying undetected in private and public libraries.

Thanks to modern methods of printing technology, this great encyclopedia has been published in 110 volumes which serve as ready references. The work of researchers has also been facilitated by software discs of the *Biḥār al-Anwār* along with the summaries, supplements and indexes to this great book that are now readily available.

Here, we present an abstract of each of the original 25 volumes of the *Biḥār al-Anwār* with the numbers between the brackets indicating the new 110-volume print.

Volume No. 1 (Vols. 2 & 3)

The Book of Reason and Ignorance and the merits of learning and scholars, as well as their ranks. The authority of narrations from the Prophet and his infallible Household as well as the general principles that are derived from the narrations. Rejection of *Qiyās* and analogy.

The foreword of the book throws light on the principles and books which are considered as sources for the compilation of *Biḥār al-Anwār*, whether authentic or controversial along with abbreviations chosen for them throughout the text which are essential for the readers. It also includes the terminology used by the compiler in summarising the *isnād*.

Volume No. 2 (Vols. 3 & 4)

The Book of *Tawḥīd* or Monotheism. Divine Attributes, both positive and negative (except Justice), as well as the Holy Names of Allah. This volume also includes explanations of some related discourses of the Imams on *Tawḥīd*, Mufaḍḍal bin 'Umar's Book on *Tawḥīd* and the treatise titled *Ahlīljah* which is attributed to Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq *('a)*.

Volume No. 3 (Vols. 5 - 8)

The Book of Justice, Divine Providence, Will and Destiny, Guidance and Error. Trial, Natural Disposition, the Covenant taken from human souls before creation and related topics including Repentance, the Philosophy of Divine Laws, the preliminaries of Death, *Barzakh* and the Day of Resurrection, Fear of the state of *Barzakh* and of Resurrection, Intercession (*Shifā'at*), and means (*Wasīlah*) of deserving Paradise and Hell.

Volume No. 4 (Vols. 9 & 10)

The Book of Expostulation and Argumentation of the Prophet and the infallible Imams and some of the leading scholars. The complete Book of 'Alī ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq(*'a*).

Volume No. 5 (Vols. 11 - 14)

The accounts of the Prophets beginning from Adam till Prophet Muḥammad *(Ṣ)*. Proofs on the infallible and sinless nature of the Prophets and replies to doubts cast in this regard.

Volume No. 6 (Vols. 15 - 22)

The complete life history of Prophet Muḥammad *(Ṣ)* from birth including an account of his ancestors and explanation of the miraculous nature of the Holy Qur'ān. This section also deals with the accounts of some of the righteous companions of the Prophet, especially Abū Dhar, Miqdād ibn Aswad, 'Ammār Yāsir, Salmān al-Fārsī and others.

Volume No. 7 (Vols. 23 - 27)

The shared aspects in the life of the infallible Imams. The conditions of Imamate and *Āyah*s of the Holy Qur'ān that Allah has revealed in this regard. The nature of their birth and the signs in this regard, as well as their knowledge and superiority over the previous Prophets. The benefits of having love and affection for them, and the merits of their children. At the end of the book some of the deductive reasoning presented by Shaykh al-Mufīd and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī concerning the superiority of the infallible Imams over all previous Prophets have been cited.

Volume No. 8 (Vols. 28-34)

The sedition that took place after the passing away of Prophet Muḥammad (Ṣ). An account of the three caliphs including the events that took place during their rule. The Battles of *Jamal*, *Ṣiffīn* and *Nahrawān* and the devastation unleashed by Muʿāwiyyah in the border areas of Iraq. An account of some of the companions of Imam ʿAlī (ʿa), explanation of some of the poetical verses attributed to the Commander of the Faithful, Imam ʿAlī (ʿa), as well as a commentary on some of his letters.

Volume No. 9 (Vols. 34-42)

Biography of the Commander of the Faithful Imam ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ʿa), from his birth till his martyrdom, including an account of the life of his father Abū Ṭālib (ʿa) and his faith in Islam. The proofs (*Naṣṣ*) that the infallible Imams are 12 in number. An account of a group of Imam ʿAlī's (ʿa) companions.

Volume No. 10 (Vols. 43-45)

The biographies of the Prophet's (ʿa) noble daughter Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (ʿa), and her two sons Imam Ḥasan (ʿa) and Imam Ḥusayn (ʿa), followed by the uprising of Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbaydah al-Thaqafī to exact revenge on the murderers of Imam Ḥusayn (ʿa)

Volume No. 11 (Vols. 46-48)

The biographies of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn ('a), Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir ('a), Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq ('a) and Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim ('a), including an account of their children and their companions.

Volume No. 12 (Vols. 49-50)

The biographies of Imam 'Alī al-Riḍā ('a), Imam Muḥammad al-Jawād ('a), Imam 'Alī al-Hādī ('a) and Imam Ḥasan al-'Askarī ('a), and an account of their children and their companions.

Volume No. 13 (Vols. 51- 53)

An account of the Imam of the Age (may Allah hasten his reappearance) and proof of his return

Volume No. 14 (Vols. 53- 63)

The Sky, the World, the Tablet, the Pen, the Celestial Throne ('Arsh), the veils of Ḥijāb. Proof of the creation of the heavens and the earth, the planets, the stars, the *Jinn* and the Angels and their divisions.

The earth, the elements, the living world, mines and minerals. The plant and animal kingdoms and their kinds and characteristics. The rules for hunting and slaughtering of animals, the sanctioned and the forbidden species. The benefits of medicine, fruits, vegetables, herbs and their medicinal characteristics.

Mankind, and the definition of the self, the soul, the body, medical knowledge. The geographical account of cities and regions, hills, deserts, seas and different points on the surface of the earth. The rules about the dishes (ẓurūf) according to the *fiqh*. The books titled *Ṭibb al-Nabī* and *Ṭibb al-Riḍā* which are respectively attributed to the Prophet and the 8th infallible Imam of his Household.

Volume No. 15 (Vols. 63-72)

On Faith and Infidelity. The characteristics of a believer and his merits, as well as infidelity and bad morals in four parts as follows:

1. Conditions of faith. The merits of the Shīʻahs and their characteristics (Vols. 64 & 65)

2. Excellent or good morals and the means of salvation of man (Vols. 66-68)

3. Bad morals, infidelity and its branches (Vols. 69-70)

4. Social mores (Vols. 71 & 72)

Volume No. 16 (Vol. 73)

Modes, manners and customs, embellishments, cleanliness, applying collyrium, use of perfumes and oils, place of dwelling or abode, practices recommended at the time of going to bed and while getting up from bed. Traveling. Prohibitions, sins and their penal codes

Volume No. 17 (Vols. 74-76)

This part deals with divine admonishment in the Holy Qur'ān as well as words of wisdom and advice from the Prophet and the infallible Imams of his Household. It also contains the treatise of Mufaḍḍal bin ʻUmar to the Shiʻites and the story of *Boluhar wa Buzāsef.*

Volume No. 18 (Vols. 77- 88)

This volume is divided into two parts as follows:

1. Ritual cleanliness and related issues

2. Prayer and its injunctions, along with the treatise of Shādhān bin Jibri'īl Qummī titled '*Izāhat al-'Illah'* on the determination of the *Qiblah*, as well as the supplications and *Ṣalawāt* (blessings) recommended for the days of the week. Also the recommended prayers for *ʻĪd al-Fiṭr, ʻĪd al-Aḍhā*, natural phenomena (*āyāt*) and needs.

Volume No. 19 (Vols. 89- 92)

This section is also divided into two parts as follows:

1. The merits of the Holy Qur'ān, the manner of its recitation and the benefits attached to it. The miracles of the Holy Qur'ān and the complete Exegesis of al-Nu'mānī

2. Supplications and its manner and conditions, amulets, talismans and supplications as remedy to various physical ailments. The supplications for the days of the week, month and year. The Scripture of Prophet Enoch (Idris).

Volume No. 20 (Vols. 93- 95)

On *Zakāt*, *Khums* and almsgiving. The Book on the rules of fasting and the recommended acts of worship for the year.

Volume No. 21 (Vols. 96- 97)

On the rites of the *Ḥajj* and *'Umrah* pilgrimages. An account of Medina, *Jihād* and struggle (*Murābaṭah*), Enjoining of Good (*al-Amr bi al-Ma'rūf*) and Forbidding of Evil (*al-Nahy 'an al-Munkar*).

Volume No. 22 (Vols. 97 [cont'd.]- 99)

On the manner of visiting the shrines of the infallible Imams, including the Book of *Mazār* on the ways of salutation.

Volume No. 23 (Vols. 100-101)

The laws pertaining to contracts and agreements regarding work, trade transactions, debts, loans, wills, marriages, divorce, manumission or release.

Volume No. 24 (Vol. 101 [cont'd.])

The laws pertaining to unclaimed property, inheritance, requital and monetary compensations.

Volume No. 25 (Vols. 102-107)

Bibliography, for narrating *ḥadīth* (*Ijāzāt*), complete list (*al-Fihrist*) of Muntajab al-Dīn Rāzī, Abstract of Sayyid 'Alī Khān Shirazi's *Salāfat al-'Aṣr*, the first part of the Book of Authorization

of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, 'Allāmah Ḥillī's Authorization for the Banī Zuhrah. Authorization of the Shahīd Awwal, Shahīd Thānī and other *'Ulamā'* till the time of 'Allāmah Majlisī.

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Here we will introduce books which have been written on the *Biḥār al-Anwār* including its translations, summaries, supplements, glossaries and list of indices, commentaries and annotations, and we hope we have not left out anything in this regard. The list is being presented in the following order:

A. **Summaries**
B. **Supplements**
C. **Indexes and Glossaries**
D. **Annotations and Marginal Notes**
E. **Translations**

A total of 130 books including handwritten manuscripts some of which are in several volumes, are being introduced in this list.

A. Summaries:

Note: Volume 103 of the new Beirut print is the list of *Biḥār al-Anwār* in the handwriting of 'Allāmah Majlisī himself and has been presented in offset in its original form.

Summaries of *Biḥār al-Anwār*:

1. *Banādir al-Biḥār* (Summary and translation of Volume 1) Sayyid 'Alī Naqī Fayḍ al-Islam Isfahānī (d. 1306 AH), Faqīh Publishers, Tehran, Wazīrī, 367 pages.

2. *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār* (Summary of Volumes 1-4 from Reason and Knowledge to Argumentation)
Riḍā Mu'minī Isfahānī. Published in Qum, 1363 SH/1405 AH/1984, Wazīrī, 440 pages.

3. *Anwār al-Biḥār* (Summary of Volumes 1-5)

Mīrzā Muḥammad bin Muḥammad Hādī Nā'īnī (Fā'iḍ), (*Nābighah-ye Fiqh wa Ḥadīth*, p. 98).

4. *Jāmi' al-Anwār* (Summary of Volume 7)
Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī bin Muḥammad Bāqir bin Muḥammad Taqī Isfahānī (Āqā Najafī) (d. Sha'bān 1332 AH). Presented by Sayyid Maḥmūd Ḥusaynī Tuiserkānī, Published in Isfahan, 1297 AH.

5. Summary of Volume 7 of *Biḥār*
Āqā Riḍā bin Muḥammad Naṣīr bin Mullā 'Abdullāh Majlisī Isfahānī (grandson of 'Allāmah Majlisī's brother),
(See *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 20, p. 197).

6. Summary of Volume 7 of *Biḥār*
Āqā Shaykh Ḥasan Miyānajī,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 423).

7. Summary of Volume 8 of *Biḥār*
Shaykh Ḥasan Miyānajī,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 423).

8. Summary of Volume 11
Ḥājj Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī (1294-1359 AH),
(*Fawā'id al-Raḍawiyyah*, p. 222).

9. Summary of Volume 13
Anonymous, handwritten manuscript no. 3268 Wazīrī Library, Yazd,
(Catalogue of Manuscripts of Wazīrī Library).

10. Summary of Volume 14 (Book of Heaven and Universe)
Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir Sharī'atī Isfahānī (d. 1408 AH),
Published in Qum, 1406 AH. Volume 1, Wazīrī, 492 pages, Volume 2, Wazīrī, 472 pages, Volume 3, Wazīrī, 480 pages.

11. *Jawāmi' al-Ḥuqūq* (Summary of Volume 16 - Book of Social Norms)

Āqā Najafī Iṣfahānī: Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī bin Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir bin Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī (the author of *Hidāyat al-Mustarshidīn*)

Published in Iṣfahan, 1297 AH.

12. Summary of the last one-fourth part of Volume 18

Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn bin Yaḥyā Nūrī - a student of 'Allāmah Majlisī, Researched and annotated with special explanatory notes on the *Du'ā al-Samāt*, completed on 1127 AH (*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 22, p. 206).

13. Summary of Volume 19 (Book of Supplications)
Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Najafī Golpaygānī (d. 1293 AH),
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 20, p. 109).

14. Summary of Volume 22 (Book of Pilgrimage)
(Anonymous. Believed to be one of the scholars of Gorgān),
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 20, p. 208).

15. Summary of *Biḥār al-Anwār*
Martyr Mīrzā Ibrāhīm bin Ḥusayn bin 'Alī bin 'Abdul-Ghaffār Dunbalī Khu'ī (1247-1325 AH),
Handwritten manuscript no. 278 Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Najafī Library, Qum,
(Catalogue of Manuscripts of Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Library, vol. 1, p. 306).

16. Summary of *Biḥār al-Anwār*
Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq Shirazī (d. 1349 AH),
A student of Ākhūnd Khorāsānī and teacher of the late Āyatullāh Mar'ashī, (The author has omitted traditions of repetitive nature as well as narrations which would appear controversial to common sense),
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 421).

17. *Ḥadīqat al-Azhār fī Talkhīṣ al-Biḥār*

Mīrzā Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Nabī Neyshāburī Akhbārī (killed 1232 AH),

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 6, p. 380).

18. *Durar al-Biḥār* (Selections from *Biḥār al-Anwār*)

Mullā Muḥammad Taqī bin Muḥammad Nūrī,

Handwritten manuscript no. 66596 Majlis Library, Tehran. (compiled in 1272 AH),

(Catalogue of Majlis Library, vol. 15, p. 214).

19. *Sufun al-Najāt* (*Sifr al-Najāt*) *fī Aḥwāl al-Sādat al-Hudāt*

Shaykh Ghulām Ḥusayn Najafābādī Isfahānī (d. 1345 AH),

This is a 14-volume work on accounts of the infallible Imams extracted from *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

Volume 5 sub-titled *Safīnat al-Najāt* is in two parts and deals with the life of Imam Ḥusayn *('a)*, while volume 14 under the sub-title of *Shams al-Ṭāli'ah fī Ẓuhūr Ṣāḥib al-Anwār al-Sāṭi'ah*, is an account of the 12th Imam (may Allah hasten his reappearance),

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 12, p. 192 & 202. vol. 14, p. 223).

20. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah al-Muqtaṭaf min al-Biḥār al-Anwār*

Compiled in three volumes by 'Alī Anṣāriyān, edited by Murtaḍā Ḥājj 'Alī Fard, Tehran, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, 1408 AH,

Wazīrī: Vol. 1 (Sermons), 522 pages. Vol. 2 (Sermons) 576 pages. Vol. 3 (Letters and Maxims), 597 pages.

21. *Kashf al-Asrār wa huwa al-Mūdhijah min Biḥār al-Anwār*

On the wonderful world of creatures and their benefits and harms,

Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Āqā Najafī Isfahānī (d.1322 AH).

22. *Muntakhab Biḥār al-Anwār*

Mullā Muḥammad Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad Zamān Kāshānī Isfahani (12 century AH)

In this work the *Āya*s of the Holy Qur'ān and the introduction to the *ḥadīth* have been omitted. The explanations of 'Allāmah Majlisī have been condensed, and only those parts have been produced that were deemed important by the author. Compiled in 1130 AH,

Handwritten manuscript no. 2364, Library of Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Najafī, Qum (Catalogue of Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Najafī Library, Vol. 6, p. 341).

23. *Muntakhab Biḥār al-Anwār al-Jāmi' limā warada min al-Akhbār al-Khāṣṣah bi Āthār al-Akhyār*

Mawlā Muḥammad Hādī bin Murtaḍā bin Muḥammad Mu'min bin Shāh Murtaḍā (grandson of Mullā Muḥsin Faiḍ Kāshānī's brother),

The author condensed *Biḥār* in the lifetime of 'Allāmah Majlisī in 12 volumes preceded by a two-part introduction, omitting repetitions and many of the introduction to the *ḥadīth*. Some of the volumes are in the Library of Sipah Sālār School (Martyr Muṭahharī).

(Catalogue of Library of Sipah-Sālār School, vol. 1, p. 316 and *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 22, p. 376).

24. *Nūr al-Anwār (Durar al-Biḥār)*

Mullā Muḥammad Nūruddīn Akhbārī, bin Murtaḍā bin Muḥammad Mu'min bin Shāh Murtaḍā (brother of no. 23, alive 1115 AH),

This is a 3-volume work:

Volume 1 deals with chapters of Reason and Ignorance till the end of Resurrection (handwritten manuscript no. 3104, Majlis Library.

Volume 2 deals with the merits of the Prophet, Ḥaḍrat Zahrā', Imam 'Alī, Imam Ḥasan and Imam Ḥusayn ('a) till *Raj'at* or reappearance (handwritten manuscript Library of Ḥusayniyyah Shūshtarīhā, Najaf).

Volume 3 deals with the subject of Imamate and was printed in Tehran in 1301 AH.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 8, p. 119).

25. *Wajīzat al-Biḥār* [*Jawāhir Akhbār al-Anwār fī Manāqib al-A'immat al-Aṭhār ('a)*]

Mullā Muḥammad bin 'Alī Asghar Qā'inī,

Only the *asnād* of the narrations have been omitted in this work and the author has preserved the order of the *Biḥār*. Handwritten manuscript dated 1257 AH and numbered 2028 in the Library of Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Najafī.

(Catalogue of Manuscripts of Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Library, vol. 6, page 35).

26, *Shamā'il 'Alī ('a) fī al-Qur'ān wa al-Sunnah (al-Mustakhraj min Biḥār al-Anwār)*

Shaykh Ṭālib Sanjarī, published in Beirut 1414 AH/1993.

27. *Ma'ārik al-Islām al-Kubrā*

28. *Al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyyah (Ṣ)*

29. *Al-Sīrat al-'Alawiyyah ('a)*

The above-mentioned three books are extractions from *Biḥār al-Anwār* by Shaykh Ṭālib Sanjarī and are to be published soon.

B. Supplements of the *Biḥār al-Anwār*

1. *Jannat al-Ma'wā fī man fāza biliqā' al-Ḥujjah wa Mu'jizātih fī Ghaybat al-Kubrā*

Ḥajj Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī Ṭabrisī (d. 27 Jamādī al-Thānī 1320 AH) - the author of *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*. This work is a supplement to volume 13 of *Biḥār* and contains 51 accounts.

Compiled in 1302 AH, second edition, Tehran 1333 AH (edited by Mīrzā Mūsā Tehranī).

2. *Dār al-Salām fī man fāza Bisalām al-Imām*

Shaykh Maḥmūd Maythamī Iraqī (compiled 1310 AH) - author of *Qawāmi', Jawāmi' wa Lawāmi'*. This work is a supplement to section titled *Man Ra'ā al-Ḥujjah ('a)* of volume 13 of *Biḥār*

Islamiyyah Publishers, Tehran, 1374 AH, Wazīrī, 565 pages.

3. *Ma'ālim al-'Ibar fī Istidrāk al-Biḥār al-Sābi' 'Ashar*

Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī Ṭabrisī. Compiled in 1296 AH. Edited by Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Arbāb Qummī (1273-1341 AH) and published in 1303 AH along with volume 17 of *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī edition). Raḥlī, lithography, in 177 pages. Written in *Naskh* by Zayn al-'Ābidīn Qummī. Proof read by Mīrzā Muḥammad Arbāb Qummī who was a leading scholar and an expert on *ḥadīth*, and painstakingly proof read the complete set of *Biḥār al-Anwār* published by Amīn al-Ḍarb.

4. *Mustadrak Mazār al-Biḥār* (Vol. 22)
Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī Tabrisī,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, p. 5).

5. *Mustadrak Ijāzāt al-Biḥār* (vol. 25)
Mīrzā Muḥammad bin Rajab 'Alī 'Askarī Tehranī (1281-1371 AH). This is a 6-volume work in large size,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, p. 4).

6. *Riyāḍ al-Abrār* (supplement to *Mustadrak Ijāzāt al-Biḥār*)
Sayyid Muḥammad Rawḍātī Isfahanī,

This book in addition to the *Ijāzāt* of the *'Ulamā'*, as mentioned in Vol. 25, is a supplement to its contents.

7. *Mustadrak Biḥār al-Anwār*
Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Askarī Tehranī (d. 1281-1371 AH)

The author has compiled several supplements to the various volumes and sections of *Bihār*,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, p. 4).

8. *Mustadrak al-Bihār*
Āyatullāh Sayyid Muhammad Hujjat Kuh-kamare'ī (1310-1372 AH),

(*Mustadrak A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 1, p. 155).

9. *Hadā'iq al-'Àrifīn*
Mullā Fadl 'Alī Tabrizī Iravānī (Safā) (1278-1339),
Vol. 1 on Reason and Ignorance,
Vol. 2 on Knowledge and Diligent Endeavour,
Published 1324 AH,

This supplement of the *Bihār* has been compiled by referring to the Four Authoritative Books (*Kāfī*, *Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh*, *Tahdhīb* and *Istibsār*), as well as *Wāfī*, *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah* (Shaykh Hurr al-'Āmilī) and *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il* (Mīrzā Husayn Nūrī),

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 6, p. 289).

10. *Al-Shāfī al-Jāmi' bayn al-Bihār wa al-Wāfī* [*al-Shifā' fī al-Akhbār Àl al-Mustafā (S)*]

Mullā Muhammad Ridā bin 'Abdul Muttalib Tabrizī -Qādī 'Askar Sultān- a student of Shaykh Mahdī Fatūnī 'Āmilī. Compiled in 1178 AH.

At the beginning of each *hadīth*, the author has given its type, and after naming the narrator has given an account of him. This is a 7-volume work with volume 8 apparently left incomplete. Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī Qazwinī the author of '*Tatmīm Amal al Àmil*' has compilmented it in 60 lines.

(*al-Dharī'ah* vol. 13, p. 7 & vol. 14, pp. 199-200).

11. *'Awālim al-'Ulūm wa al-Ma'ārif wa al-Ahwāl min al-Àyāt wa al-Akhbār wa al-Aqwāl*

Shaykh 'Abdullāh bin Nūrullāh Baḥrānī Isfahanī - one of the outstanding students of 'Allāmah Majlisī. This great work is a revised arrangement and consummation of *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

(*'Awālim, Ḥadīth al-Ghādīr*, p. 30, Qum edition 1413 AH).

12. *Mustadrak al-Wāfī*

Mullā Muḥammad Hādī bin Shāh Murtaḍā bin Muḥammad Mu'min Kāshānī - grandson of Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī's brother.

In this work the author has used the *Biḥār* to supplement those *aḥādīth* that are not found in Wāfī. Since Wāfī is a supplement of the Four Authoritative Books and since *Biḥār* contains accounts other than those found in the Four Authoritative Books, this book could be regarded as a supplement of *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, pp. 6-7).

C. Indexes and Glossaries of *Biḥàr*

1. *Al-Taṭbīq bayn al-Safīnah wa al-Biḥār bi al-Ṭab'at al-Jadīdah*
Sayyid Jawād Muṣṭafawī (d. 1409 AH),
Mashhad, Āstān-e Quds Raḍawī, 1403 AH/1361, Wazīrī 300 pages.

2. *Durar al-Akhbār fī Fihris Biḥār al-Anwār*
Sayyid Mahdī Ḥijāzī Isfahanī,
(*Mu'jam Rijāl al-Fikr wa al-Adab*, p. 130)

3. *Dalīl al-Àyāt wa Asmā' al-Suwar fī Biḥār al-Anwār*
Centre of Islamic Studies and Research, Qum, Office of Islamic Propagation, 1412 AH, Wazīrī, 304 pages.

4. *Safīnah al-Biḥār wa Madīnat al Ḥikam wa al-Àthār*
Ḥājj Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī (d. 13th Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1359 AH),

One of the most outstanding students of Shaykh Nūrī Ṭabrisī the author of *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, Wazīrī, Lithography (written in *Naskh* by Aḥmad Najafī Zanjānī) in two volumes, 736 & 741 pages respectively. Tehran 'Ābidī Publications.

(The Persian translation of volume one of this book by Muḥammad Bāqir Sā'idī Khorāsānī has been published in two volumes by Islamiyyah Publications. Ilāhī Ṭālkhūncheh'ī has abridged *Safīnah al-Biḥār* and published it under the title *Matā' al-Safīnah*).

Safīnah al-Biḥār has been edited and published several times with due additions and comparison to *Biḥār al-Anwār* (both the Kompānī and Islamiyyah editions) by the Uswah Publications affiliated to the Organization of Endowments and Charity Affairs in 8 volumes in the Iranian Calendar year 1374 (1996). However, 'Alī Muḥammad 'Alawī has written a critical review of the method of editing of *Safīnah* under the title of *Keshtī-e Shikasteh* (Damaged Ship) which were published in the monthly *Àyeneh-e Pazhoohesh* (Mirror of Research), Dey 1375, no. 41, pages 48-58. 'Alawī has minutely pointed out the errors including misspelling of phrases, wrong addresses, deletions and omissions, careless editing and research, mistakes in the name of books and persons, inappropriate additions, typographical errors, wrong syntax and their unwarranted use.

This has made the Research Foundation of the Āstān-e Quds Raḍawī to conduct a thorough revision of this book under the supervision of 'Alī Akbar Ilāhī Khorāsānī, and compare it with the original manuscript and the marginal notes made by the author after its first publication. The editor board has also diligently compared the contents of the *Safīnah al-Biḥār* with the old and new editions of *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī and Beirut prints) and till date has published 2 volumes along with valuable additions including the marginal notes of the author.

Vol. 1 (letters *Alif* to *Ḥā'*), 850 pages,

Vol. 2 (letters *Khā'* to *Sīn*), 950 pages,

This book was selected as the Book of the Year in the Iranian calendar year 1376 SH / 1997-8.

5. *Fihrist Aḥādīth Biḥār*

(with reference to their sources in books of traditions),

(The new edition of *Biḥār*, *al-Madkhal*, p. 17).

6. *Mawḍū'āt al-Akhbār min Kitāb Safīnah al-Biḥār*

Sayyid Mahdī Shamsuddīn

The author has arranged the topics of Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī's *Safīnah* in alphabetical order. Published by Dār al-Nashr Islam, Qum, 1371/1993, Wazīrī, 128 pages.

7. *Fihrist Biḥār al-Anwār*

'Allāmah Mawlā Muḥammad Bāqir bin Muḥammad Taqī bin Maqṣūd 'Alī Majlisī Iṣfahānī (the author of the *Biḥār* himself)

This is one of the basic sources of *Biḥār al-Anwār* and was compiled in 1070 AH, and it includes the list of traditions from the following 10 books: (1) *al-Khiṣāl* (2) *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (3) *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'* (4) *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār* (5) *al-Tawḥīd* (6) *al-Amālī* Shaykh Ṣadūq (7) *Iḥtijāj* -Aḥmad bin 'Alī Ṭabrisī (8) *Qurb al-Asnād* -Abū Ja'far Ḥimyarī (9) *Tafsīr-i* 'Alī bin Ibrāhīm Qummī (10) *al-Amālī* -Shaykh Tūsī.

This list has been reproduced in 'Allāmah Majlisī's own handwriting in volume 106 of *Biḥār*.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 16, pp. 377-88).

8. *Fihrist Barkhī Maḍāmīn-e Biḥār* (List of some of the subjects of *Biḥār*)

(Anonymous, Refer to *Biḥār*, *al-Madkhal*, p. 17).

9. *Mustadrakāt 'Ilm Rijāl al-Ḥadīth*

'Allāmah Ḥājj Shaykh 'Alī Namāzī Shāhrudī (1332-1405 AH)

In this 10-volume work, the author has arranged in alphabetical order the names of persons that have been mentioned and discussed in the *Biḥār*, and has given their reference from other sources. He has also thrown light on the names of persons not mentioned in *Biḥār* and works of *Rijāl*.

Ḥusayniyyah ‘Imādzādeh, Isfahan, 1412 AH, Wazīrī, 10 volumes.

10. *Fihrist al-Kutub al-Ma’khūdh minhā al-Biḥār* (The List of Books through which *Biḥār* derives its sources)

Sayyid Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Ḥusaynī Lāhījī. Compiled in 1127 A.H., in 27 chapters (according to the number of Arabic alphabets excluding Ẓ), the author after giving the name of the book has also mentioned a brief account of their authors. The manuscript of this work is found in collection no. 635 at the Library of Āyatullāh Mar‘ashī Najafī in Qum.

(Catalogue of Mar‘ashī Najafī Library, vol. 18, p. 46).

11. *Mustadrak Safīnah al-Biḥār*
Ḥajj Shaykh ‘Alī Namāzī Shāhrudī (1332-1405 AH)
Published by Bonyād Bi‘that, Tehran, Wazīrī, Ḥurūfī, in ten volumes.

12. *Fihrist Abwāb Mujalladāt ‘Mustadrak al-Wāfī’*
Ḥajj Muḥammad Amīn, compiled in 1183 AH,
(*al-Dharī‘ah*, vol. 21, p. 7).

13. *Kashf al-Rumūz Kitāb al-Mazār* (vol. 22 of *Biḥār*)
Ṣādiq bin Ḥajj Masīḥ, Compiled in 1247 AH,
(Catalogue of Manuscripts of Āstān-e Quds Raḍawī Library, vol. 5, p. 34).

14. *Maṣābīḥ al-Anwār fī Fihrist Abwāb Jamī‘ Mujalladāt Biḥār al-Anwār*
Mirzā Muḥammad ‘Askarī Tehrani, author of the *Mustadrak al-Biḥār*, 1281-1371 AH.

The author after compiling this list undertook the task of preparing supplements for all chapters of the *Biḥār*.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, p. 86).

15. *Mu'jam Aḥādīth al-Shī'ah*

Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Jalālī,

In this work the *aḥādīth* mentioned in the *Biḥār* as well as those in *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah* (Shaykh Ḥurr al-'Āmilī) and *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il* (Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī) have been compiled in alphabetical order.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, p. 217).

16. *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfāḍ Aḥādīth al-Biḥār*

This 30-volume work has been prepared under supervision of 'Alī Riḍā Barāzish, Tehran, Khāneh-ye Kitāb-e Iran, 1373/1415 AH, Raḥlī. Total number of pages of 30 volumes 22,800,

This work had been reviewed by the Persian magazine *Āyeneh-e Pazhoohesh*, no. 28, Dey 1373/1995, p. 8-16 by 'Abdullāh Ibrāhīmī, who has marked out the shortcomings and errors of this work.

17. *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfāḍ Aḥādīth al-Biḥār*

Centre of Islamic Research and Studies, Office of the Islamic Propagation, Qum Theological Centre, with an introduction by Aḥmad 'Ābidī and Muḥammad 'Alī Mahdawī Rād, Raḥlī, 14 volumes,

This 14-volume work took 4 years (1372-76 SH) to complete and was published in 12,000 pages.

In this centre one million and six hundred thousand reference slips have been prepared about the *Biḥār*, which besides a glossary of *aḥādīth*, include the following four works:

18. The *Ayah*s of the Holy Qur'ān on which an exegesis has been presented in the *Biḥār* (under the title of *Dalīl al-Āyāt al-Mufassarah fī Aḥādīth al-Biḥār*).

19. The *aḥādīth* which have been presented according to specific numerals such as those of *al-Khiṣāl* of Shaykh Ṣadūq and *al-Mawā'iẓ al-'Adadiyyah*.

20. Verses of Arabic poetry mentioned in the *Biḥār* whose composition has been attributed to or which were recited by the Infallible Imams (*'a*).

21. *A'lām Biḥār* which includes an index of places, personages and tribes mentioned in the sayings of and accounts of the Infallible Imams.

22. *Biḥār al-Anwār fī Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr bi al-Qur'ān*
Compiled in two volumes (1320 pages) by Kāẓim Murād-Khānī, (d. 1404 AH), Ṭūr publications, Tehran, 1411 AH, Wazīrī,
This book is a reference to the *Āyahs* of the Holy Qur'ān mentioned in *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

23. *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfāẓ 'Anāwīn Abwāb Biḥār al-Anwār'*
Kāẓim Murād-Khānī, Ṭūr Publications, 1365 SH/1987, Ruq'ī, Ḥurūfī, 360 pages

24. *Mu'jam Abwāb Biḥār al-Anwār*
A 2-volume work compiled by Kāẓim Murād-Khānī, of which we have no information.

25. *Miftāḥ al-Abwāb*
Shaykh Jawād Rawḍehkhawān Isfahanī,
Arranged and collated by Sayyid Maḥmūd Dehsorkhi Isfahanī, Qum, 1410 AH, pocketsize, lithography, 223 pages.
This book was earlier printed at 'Ilmī Press, Tehran, 1352 AH with the efforts of Ḥajj Mīrzā Aḥmad Farhumand.

26. *Hidāyat al-Akhyār ilā Fihris Biḥār al-Anwār*
Sayyid Hidāyatullāh Mustarḥamī Isfahanī,

Mu'assasat al-Wafā', Beirut, Wazīrī, Ḥurūfī in three volumes (405 + 259 +428 pages),

This work deals with volumes 108, 109, 110 of the *Biḥār*.

27. *Al-Tartīb al-Mawḍū'ī li Àyāt al-Qur'ān al-Karīm al-Mustakhraj min Biḥār al-Anwār* (Subject-wise arrangment of Qur'ānic *Àyahs* in the *Biḥār*)

Muḥammad Ja'far Imāmī Shirazī,

Islamic Research Foundation, Āstān-e Quds Raḍawī, Mashhad, 1375 SH/1997.

28. *Fahāris Biḥār al-Anwār*

Centre for Scientific Studies and Research,

Mu'assasat al-Balāgh, Beirut, 1412 AH, Wazīrī,

Under supervision of Sayyid Muḥsin Khātamī,

This 10-volume work deals with the *Àyahs* of the Holy Qur'ān, places, personages, sources, bibliography, poetical verses, tribes and clans,

(*Turāthunā* Quarterly, no. 29, p. 259-60).

D. Annotations or Marginal Notes on the *Biḥàr*

1. *Ḥāshiyah* on Volume 10 of *Biḥār*

Mawlā Muḥammad Mahdī Ḥajjār (d. before 1295 AH),

Teacher of religious sciences at the Marvī School, Tehran,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 6, p. 27).

2. *Ḥāshiyah* on Volume 22 of *Biḥār*

Sayyid Shamsuddīn Maḥmūd bin Sayyid 'Alī Ḥakīm Bāshī Ḥusaynī Ṭabāṭabā'ī Tabrizī (1270-1338 AH). He was the father of the Late Āyatullāh Sayyid Shihābuddīn Mar'ashī Najafī,

(*A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 10, p. 107).

3. *Ḥāshiyah bar Mujalladāt-e Mukhtalif Biḥār al-Anwār* (Notes on the various volumes of the *Biḥār*)

Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Mūsawī Najafī Lārī (1264-1342 AH),

(*Majallah Payām-e Ḥawzah*, no. 16, Winter 1376 SH / 1998, p. 10 & 25).

4. *Ḥāshiyah wa Taḥqīq Biḥār al-Anwār*

Sayyid Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Mudarris Raḍawī (1270-1342 AH),

The author compared the whole set of volumes of the *Biḥār* with most of its resources, marking the corrections in red and noting on the margin the difference in the various manuscripts.

Majallah Nigāh-e Ḥawzah, no. 33 (Azar 1376/December 1998), p. 22.

5. *Ḥāshiyah bar Biḥār al-Anwār*

Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Abdul A'lā Sabzawārī (1328-1414 AH),

The author was the leading *Marja'* at Najaf and was an outstanding student of the Grand Āyatullāhs Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nā'īnī, Isfahanī and Āqā Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Iraqī,

(*Ganjineh-ye Dāneshmandān* [Treasury of the Intellectuals], vol. 7, p. 283).

6. *Ḥāshiyah bar Biḥār al-Anwār*

'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1321-18th Muḥarram 1402 AH) - the author of *al-Mīzān*, the famous exegesis on the Holy Qur'ān. He was the student of the Āyatullāhs Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nā'īnī, Kompānī and Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Isfahanī.

7. *Ḥāshiyah bar Biḥār al-Anwār*

'Abd al-Raḥīm Rabbānī Shirazī (d. 1402 AH),

The author was a student of the Late Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Borujerdī and the Late Imam Khumaynī. Besides marginal notes and annotations on the *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah*, he also wrote the introduction to the new edition of the *Biḥār* in 242 pages.

8. *Ḥāshiyah bar Biḥār al-Anwār*

Muḥammad Bāqir Behbudi (b. 1308 SH/1929),

He has written over 7000 pages of marginal notes and footnotes on the new 110-volume edition of the *Biḥār*.

E. Translations of the *Biḥàr*

Volume 1:

1. Persian translation by an Indian scholar for Prince Buland Akhtar, son of Muḥammad Shāh Rowshan Akhtar (1719-1748),

Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Tehrani had seen the handwritten manuscript of this work in the library of Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdi Ṣadr.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 3, p. 18).

2. *'Ayn al-Yaqīn*

Ḥājj Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Āqā Najafi Isfahani (d. 1332 AH). Besides translation of vols. 1, 2, 9, 14, 15&17, also summarized in Arabic vols. 7&16 and wrote an extract on the world of ereatures in the *Biḥār,*Tehran, 1275 & 1297 AH ,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 15, p. 373).

3. *Kashf al-Asrār*

Sayyid Ismā'īl Mūsawī Zanjānī,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 18, p. 3).

Volume 2:

1. Persian translation by an Indian scholar for Sulṭān Muḥammad Buland Akhtar,

The handwritten manuscript of this work was seen by Āqā Buzurg Tehrani in the library of Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdi Ṣadr,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 3, p. 18 & vol. 4, p. 82).

2. *Jāmi' al-Ma'ārif*

Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Āqā Najafī Isfahānī (also translated vols. 1, 2, 9, 14, 15& 17),

Tabriz 1300 AH,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 5, p. 70 and also List of Persian printed books vol. 2, p. 1503).

3. *Risālah-e Ahlīljah* (Translation of the treatise titled Halleluja) By one of the later scholars,

Āqā Buzurg Tehrānī has seen this handwritten manuscript in the library of Shaykh Muḥammad Sulṭān al-Mutakallimīn.

The author has added some *aḥādīth* on *Tawḥīd* related from the infallible Imams in this work,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 82).

4. *Risālah-ye Ahlīljah*

Mīrzā Muḥammad Riḍā Kalbāsī Isfahānī, the author of the book *Anīs al-Layl fī Sharḥ Du'ā al-Kumayl* (commentary on the famous supplication of Kumayl),

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 83).

5. Translation of *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal*

'Allāmah Mawlā Muḥammad Bāqir bin Muḥammad Majlisī Isfahānī (1037-1110 AH) [the author of *Biḥār al-Anwār*]

Published in Iran in 1287 AH,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 91).

6. *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal*

Mullā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Qummī (d. 1098 AH),

He was one of the teachers who gave authorization of relating *ḥadīth* to 'Allāmah Majlisī, and was the author of the *Sharḥ Tahdhīb*, *Tuḥfat al-Akhyār*, *Ḥikmat al-'Ārifīn* and other books.

The scholar Urmavī has researched and published this work along with 5 other treatises under the title 'Six Treatises'

7. *Rāh-e Khudā Shenāsī yā Khulāṣah-ye Tawḥīd-e Mufaḍḍal*
'Ways of recognizing God' (illustrated)

'Alī Asghar Faqīhī, 'Allāmah Book Sellers, Qum, 1341 SH (5th edition), Ruq'ī, 97 pages.

8. *Tawḥīd Nāmeh* (Translation into Persian verse of *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal*)

Shaykh Ismā'īl Urūmī Tabrīzī Mas'aleh-Gu (Tā'ib),
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 488).

Volume 6:

1. Translation into Persian by an anonymous scholar
The handwritten manuscript of this work was in the possession of Ḥājj Ḥabībullāh Muḥsinī (d. 1360 AH), the uncle of Āqā Buzurg Tehrānī,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 3, p. 19 & vol. 4, p. 107).

Volume 7:

1. Persian translation of the section dealing with Imamate in 5 volumes (1450 pages)
Mūsā Khosravī,
Islamiyyah Book Sellers, Tehran, 1357-1360 SH /1979-1382, Wazīrī.

Volume 8:

1. Translation of Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Mūsawī Shamsābādī Isfahānī (1220-1288 AH)
One of the scholars of Isfahan, 450 pages.
(*Tuḥfat al-Abrār*, vol. 2, p. 530).

2. Translation of Mawlā Muḥammad Naṣīr bin Mawlā 'Abdullāh Majlisī (nephew of 'Allāmah Majlisī)
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 3, p. 20 & vol. 4, p. 92).

3. *Majārī al-Anhār*
Mīrzā Muahammad Mahdī bin Muḥammad Shafī' Māzandarānī Istarābādī (d. 1259 AH),

Sayyid E'jāz Ḥusayn Kinturi writes in *Kashf al-Ḥujub wa al-Astār* that since the author did not possess a free from error set of *Biḥār*, he committed his own share of errors and undue interpretations.

(*al-Dharī'ah* vol. 19, p. 350).

4. Anonymous Translation

An incomplete copy is kept at the library of the Late Grand Āyatullāh Muḥammad Riḍā Golpāygānī Ms. 449,

(Catalogue of Books, vol. 2, p. 30, Āyatullāh Golpāygānī Library, Qum).

Volume 9:

1. Translation of Āqā Raḍi bin Mullā Muḥammad Naṣīr bin Mawlā 'Abdullāh Majlisi Isfahani (son of 'Allāmah Majlisi's nephew who translated volume 8)

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 88).

2. *Kashf al-Anwār fī Faḍā'il Sayyid al-Abrār*
Shaykh Muḥammad Taqi Āqā Najafi Isfahani,
Published in Tehran, 1259 AH,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 18, p. 21)

Volume 10:

1. Translation of Muftī Mīr Muḥammad 'Abbās Lucknowi Jazā'iri (1224-1306 AH)

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 115).

2. Translation of Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Ali Māzandarāni Shamsābādi Isfahani (1220-1288 AH)

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 115, *Tuḥfat al-Abrār*, vol. 2, p. 530).

3. *Maṣā'ib* of Imam Ḥusayn ('a)
Abridged translation by an anonymous scholar,
Handwritten manuscript of this work is in the collection no. 3059, Majlis Library, Tehran.

4. *Miḥan al-Abrār dar Tarjamah Maqtal Biḥār al-Anwār* (Translation of the events of Karbalā)

Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Hashtrudī Tabrizī (d. 1304 AH),

The book was written in 1292 AH and published in Tehran in 1295 AH,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 20, p. 160).

5. Translation of First Part of Volume 10 [Account of Ḥaḍrat Zahrā' (*'a*)]

Muḥammad Jawād Najafī,

Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1395 AH, Wazīrī, 411 pages.

6. Translation of Second Part of Volume 10 [Account of Imam al-Ḥasan al-Mujtabā (*'a*)]

Muḥammad Jawād Najafī,

Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1396 AH, Wazīrī, 453 pages.

7. Translation of Third Part of Volume 10 [Account of Imam Ḥusayn (*'a*)]

Muḥammad Jawād Najafī,

Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1396 AH, Wazīrī, 402 pages

8. *Manẓūr al-A'immah* (Translation and Commentary of Volume 10 in prose and poetry)

Ḥājj Mīrzā Aḥmad Manẓūr Khawānsārī Isfahanī,

This 4-volume work was later summarised by the author and published in two volumes under the title of *'Umdat al-Maṣā'ib wa Zubdat al-Nawā'ib* in 1310 AH with a foreword by Āqā Najafī Isfahanī and Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kermānī,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 23, p. 81).

9. Urdu Translation in Three Volumes

Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn Fayḍābādī Jaunpurī,

a) *Majālis al-Abrār* [Account of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (*'a*)]

Foreword by Sayyid Abū Ṣāḥib Raḍawī Kashmirī,
Published in India, 1311 AH,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 19, p. 357).

b) *Maḥāsin al-Abrār* [Account of Imam al-Ḥasan al-Mujtabā ('a)]
Published in India, 1316 AH,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 20, p. 125).

c) *Maṣā'ib al-Abrār* [Account of Imam al-Ḥusayn ('a)]
Published in India,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, p. 73).

10. Urdu Translation in three volumes
Sayyid Ṭayyib Mūsawī Jazā'irī,
a) *Sawāniḥ al-Zahrā'*
b) *Sawāniḥ Karbalā*
c) *Sawāniḥ Shām*
(*Mustadrak A'yān al-Shī'ah*, vol. 1, p. 299).

11. *Maṣā'ib al-Abrār* (Urdu translation)
Ḥakīm Sayyid Ḥusayn Giryān Lucknowī,
Published in India,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 21, p. 74).

Volume 11:
1. Translation of Part 1 of Volume 11 of *Biḥār* [Account of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn ('a) and Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir ('a)]
Mūsā Khosravi, Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1396 AH, Wazīrī, 267 pages.

2. Translation of Part 2 of Volume 11 [Account of Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq ('a)]
Mūsā Khosravi, Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1396 AH, Wazīrī.

3. Translation of Volume 11 [Account of Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (*'a*)]

Mūsā Khosravī, Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1396 AH, Wazīrī, 300 pages.

Volume 12:

1. Translation of Part 1 [Account of Imam 'Alī bin Mūsā al-Riḍā (*'a*)]

Mūsā Khosravī, Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1398 AH, Wazīrī, 306 pages.

2. Translation of Part 2 [Account of Imam Muḥammad al-Jawād (*'a*), Imam 'Alī al-Hādī (*'a*) and Imam Ḥasan al-'Askarī (*'a*)]

Mūsā Khosravī, Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1398 AH, Wazīrī, 300 pages.

3. Translation of Section dealing with Imam al-Riḍā (*'a*)
Sayyid Ismā'īl Mūsawī Zanjānī,

The work is an abridged translation of volume 12 of *Biḥār*, dedicated by the translator to Prince Eḥteshām al-Salṭanah,

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 18, p. 13).

The manuscript of this work, dated 1309 AH, is in the Majlis Library, no. 552.

Volume 13:

1. Translation by an Indian scholar at the request of 'Pād Shāh Beygum' the wife of Sulṭān Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 92).

2. Translation of Volume 13
Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Urūmī,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 92).

3. Kitāb al-Ghaybah

Shaykh Ḥasan bin Muḥammad Walī Urūmī (13 century AH),
The work was undertaken on the instructions of Muḥammad
Shāh Qājār,
Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1402 AH, Wazīrī, 838
pages.

4. *Mahdī Maw'ūd*
Translation of Volume 13 by 'Alī Dawwānī along with an
introduction, footnotes and list of indexes,
20th edition, Dār al-Kutub al-Islamiyyah, Tehran, 1402 AH,
Wazīrī, 1263 pages.
This work is considered the best ever translation of volume
13 of *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

5. *Bughyat al-Ṭālib fī man Ra'ā al-Imām al-Ghā'ib*
Ḥājj Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir Birjandī (1276-1352 AH),
It is also considered as a supplement to volume 13.

6. *Al-'Abqarī al-Ḥisān fī Tawārīkh Ṣāḥib al-Zamān*
Ḥājj Shaykh 'Alī Akbar Nahāwandī (d. 1367 AH),
It is considered as a supplement to volume 13.

Volume 14:
1. *Àsmān wa Jahān* (translation in 10 volumes of the Book
titled *al-Samā' wa al-'Àlam*)
Muḥammad Bāqir Kamare'ī (1320-1416 AH),
Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1392 AH, Wazīrī, 3000
pages.

2. Translation of volume 14
Āqā Najafī Isfahanī (d. 1332 AH),
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 3, p. 22).

3. *Najm al-'Ulūm fī Ma'rifat al-Nujūm*
Translation of two sections of the book *al-Samā' wa al-
'Àlam*,
Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā Ḥusaynī Jaunpurī (d. 1333 AH),

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 24, p. 70).

4. Translation of volume 56 of new edition of *Biḥār* which deals with parts of the Sky and the World
Nafīsah Fayyāḍ Bakhsh.

Volume 15

1. *Baḥr al-Ma'ārif wa al-Anwār fī Tarjamat al-Mujallad al-Khāmis 'Ashr min Kitāb al-Biḥār* (On faith and Disbelief)
Āqā Najafī Isfahanī,
Published in Isfahan, 1296 AH, Raḥlī, 187 pages (Ḥusayn bin Abū al-Qāsim scribe).

2. *Akhlāq-e Islāmī*
Translation of Part 2 of Volume 15,
Muḥammad Bāqir Kamare'ī (1320-1416 AH),
Masjid Waliyy 'Aṣr Library, Tehran, 1395 AH, Wazīrī, 312 pages.

3. Translation of volume 15
'Azizullāh 'Uṭārudī Quchānī.

4. Translation of Part 4 of Volume 15
Sayyid Abū al Ḥasan Mūsawī Hamadānī,
Introduction by Sayyid Aḥmad Mīr Khānī (d. 1415 AH),
Masjid Waliyy 'Aṣr Library, Tehran, 1405 AH, Wazīrī, 406 pages.

5. *Shī'ah dar Pishgāh-e Qur'ān wa Ahl-e Bayt ('a)*
Translation of part of volume 15,
'Ali Tehrani,
Masjid Waliyy 'Aṣr Library, Tehran, 1397 AH, Wazīrī, 535 pages.

Volume 16:

1. Translation in two volumes under the title of *Àdāb-e Ma'āshirat* (372 pages) and *Àdāb wa Sunan* (250 pages)
Muḥammad Bāqir Kamare'ī (1320-1416 AH),

Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1406 AH.

Volume 17:

1. *Jawāhir al-Mawā'iz*

Sayyid Muḥammad Hāshim Yazdī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Isfahan.

2. *Ḥaqā'iq al-Asrār fī Tarjamat Sābi' 'Ashar al-Biḥār*

Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Āqā Najafī Isfahanī (d. 1332 AH),

Nūr Printers, Shiraz, 1371 AH, Ruq'ī, 130 pages (Without the account of Boluhar and Buzāsef).

(Āqā Buzurg in *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 7. p. 29, has referred to this work as *Ḥaqā'iq...* which is not found in the printed version. However, *Ḥaqā'iq al-Asrār* is the title of a commentary on '*Ziyārat Jāmi'ah*' which was published by the same author in 1296 AH).

3. *Darj Guhar (Daryā-ye Nūr)*

On the admonitions of the Prophet *(Ṣ)* to his companion Abū Dhar,

Ḥājj Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Anṣārī Qummī (1329-7 Safar 1409 AH),

20th edition, Qum, 1404 AH, Wazīrī, 170 pages.

After translating the narrations, the translator has also rendered them into Persian verse. The poetical translation, started in 1361 AH and completed the same year in Shawwal, and was printed in 1362 AH.

Number of couplets is around 3000 and is rhymed in the metre applied by the classical Persian poet Niẓāmī Ganjavī in his *Mathnavī* titled *Khosrow va Shirin*.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 8, p. 148; *Ganjineh-ye Dāneshmandān*, vol. 2, p. 341.).

Interestingly, the translator's elder brother Ḥājj Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (1323-1392 AH), who was a brilliant scholar, had memorized over 30,000 *ḥadīths* mentioned in the *Biḥār*, and preserved in writing a selection of these *aḥādīth* in 4 diaries,

(*Ganjineh-ye Dāneshmandān*, vol. 2, p. 339-340; *Āthār al-Ḥujjah*, vol. 2, p. 144; Rijāl-e Qum, p. 187).

4. *Kitāb al-Rawḍah* (translation of Volume 17 of *Biḥār*)
Sayyid 'Abd al Ḥusayn Riḍā'ī,
Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1399 AH, Wazīrī, 444 pages.

5. Translation of Counsels of the Infallible Imams ('*a*)
Mūsā Khosravī, Islamiyyah Booksellers, Tehran, 1403 AH, Wazīrī, 407 pages.

6. Translation of the account of Boluhar and Buzāsef
'Allāmah Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī Isfahanī (1037-1110 AH), the author of *Biḥār al-Anwār*, has produced this translation in his book *'Ayn al-Ḥyāt*, pp. 276-341.

This same translation was reproduced in the book *Ḥayāt al-Abrār* by Sayyid Quraysh bin Muḥammad Qazwinī Ḥusaynī (d. 1260 AH).

7. Translation of Sayyid 'Alī Riḍā Rayḥānullāh Yazdī
Tehran, 1355 AH,
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 17, p. 270).

8. Translation, Research and Review of Volume 17
Sayyid Abū Ṭālib Mīr 'Ābidīnī,
Amir Kabir Publications, Tehran, 1407 AH, Ruq'ī, 144 pages.

9. *Tahdhīb Qiṣṣah Boluhar wa Buzāsef*
'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn al-'Āmilī (d. 1371) the author of *A'yān al-Shī'ah*.

al-Dharī'ah, vol. 17, p. 97, also takes note of the story of Kasrā and Bahrām found compiled by Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn in vol. 2 of *Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir*.

(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 4, p. 515).

10. Gujrati Translation
Ḥājj Ghulām 'Alī Bahavnagari Hindī (1367 AH),
(*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 3, p. 149).

11. Urdu Translation
Muḥammad Thaqalayn Kāẓimī,
Introduction by Sayyid Ḥusayn 'Ārif Naqawī, Published in
Pakistan,
(*Tadhkirah-ye 'Ulamā-ye Imāmiyyah*, p 272).

12. *Aqwāl-e Ahl-e Bayt Nabiyy-e Mukhtār*
(Urdu translation of Volume 1 of *Biḥār*)
Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ja'farī,
A'zam Steam Press, Haydarabād-Deccan.

Volume 22:
Ḥajj az Didghāh Ahl-e Bayt (*'a*) (*Ḥajj* as viewed by *Ahl-e*
Bayt)
Translation and Review of Volume 99, new edition,
Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā 'Alam al-Hudā.

The Computer Research Centre of Islamic Sciences

The Computer Research Centre of Islamic Sciences (CRCIS) that was established in 1989, is responsible for promoting the Islamic culture through the use of modern technology.

The members of the board of Directors of CRCIS and also the Scientific Committee are responsible for compiling the general policies and supervising the plans and programs of the centre.

The managing director with the assistance of the directors of the Research Department, Administration & Finance Department, Information Technology Department, the Noor Computer Training Institute (NCTI), and the Noor Trading Company (NTC), are in charge of planning and managing the Centre. The technical staff of the CRCIS - consisting of the erudite Islamic seminary students - is the best support for continuation of this great cultural move.

The Programs

Since the supreme mission of CRCIS is serving the Islamic culture in its various fields, its fundamental activities are to produce software for the Islamic sciences. These softwares which

cover a wide range of Islamic texts and sciences are organized in four categories as **Word Index, Subject Index,** *Rijāl* **(Narrators) Index and History Index.**

The Word Index

Research on the holy verses, *Hadīth,* and scientific texts, is based on the search of their words, interpretations, and their semantic and applied classification.

The Word Index helps the researchers to procure the necessary information with speed and precision.

In addition, words with the same root may be studied, various relationships between words may be discovered, and these findings may be incorporated into the scientific application cycle.

Concerning the words of the Glorious Qur'ān and other Arabic texts, the signs indicating the vowels are to be added to the words of these indexes in future. The Word Index is the result of dedicated efforts and coveres the following stages:

Examining the usage of a source. Design and applying special characters in the source text to achieve the highest level of retrieval. Typing and correction of texts. Format correction. List correction. Programming, tentative presentation, and debugging.

The complete set of CRCIS word index includes more than 500 volumes of scientific sources.

Some of the most important of these sources are as follows: the Glorious Qur'ān, the *al-Mīzān* exegesis, Ibn Abī al-Hadīd's Commentary on *Nahj al-Balāghah, Biḥār al-Anwār* along with 164 titles of its sources, the four standard books of *al-Kāfī, al-Tahdhīb, al-Istibṣār,* and *Man lā Yaḥduruhu al-Faqīh, Wasā'il al-Shī'ah, Mustadrak al-Wasā'il,* Collection of Shaykh Mufīd's works, Collection of Shaykh Ṣadūq's works, Collection of Ibn Ṭāwūs's works, Collection of Ibn Shahr-Āshūb's works, *al-Dharī'ah, al-Wāfī,* Collections of Mullā-Sadrā's works, Seminary Text Books,

and other philosophical (*'aqlī*) books, plus dictionaries and lexicons, biographies, bibliographies, commentaries, etc.

The Subject Index

Since the main foundation of research is based on the investigation of texts on a particular subject, the use of a word index responds only to a part of the researcher's need. Because, many of the research outcomes are extracted from the whole text passage (not a particular word). On the other hand, the available range of a word index consisting of all the text, sometimes results in too many unrelated answers. In addition, the researcher often does not know the word he or she needs to search for the desired subject. Also, the benefits of a word index without a complementary subject index is incomplete, especially when a reseacher wants to find related verses and narrations to a particular subject and become informed about various views regarding that subject.

Applying uniforms and tree branch techniques, doubles the capabilities of the Subject Index, while the text of the book that is being worked on, is also always accessible. To prepare the Word Index, a considerable amount of effort is invested through the following phases: subject categorization and control, finding entries of each subject, uniform control, typing and correction, coordinating uniforms and subjects, programming, test presentation, and debugging.

Obviously, the vastness of the legacy of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (*'a*) and the richness of our scientific inheritance, creates the grounds for new and growing harvests. Therefore, it is natural that the subject indexes are always reconsidered so that they may be perfected and transformed.

CRCIS presentable 'Subject Indexes' according to 'Topics' and 'Book Titles' are as follows:

1. *Fiqh & Uṣūl*: *Sharḥ al-Lum'ah, al-Makāsib, al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā, Riyāḍ al-Masā'il, Mustamsak al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā, Farā'id al-Uṣūl (al-Rasā'il), Kifāyah al-Uṣūl.*

2. **Philosophy**: *al-Asfār, Nihāyah al-Ḥikmah, Badāyah al-Ḥikmah, Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (philosophy section), *Uṣūl-e Falsafah wa Rawesh-e Ri'ālism* (The principles of Philosophy and the Method of Realism), *Àmūzesh-e Falsafah* (Philosophy Instruction), *al-Mashā'ir, al-Ḥikmah al-'Arshiyyah, Sharḥ al-Manẓūmah* (philosophy section), *Ilāhiyyāt al-Shifā'*, and Collection of Mullā-Ṣadrā's Works.

3. **Logic**: *Asās al-Iqtibās, al-Jawhar al-Naḍīd, Sharḥ al-Manẓūmah* (logic section), *al-Lama'āt al-Mashriqiyyah, Manṭiq al-Mashriqiyyin, Burhān al-Shifā'*, and *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (logic section).

4. **Ḥadīth**: *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah.*

The following is the list of more subject index that will be presented in the future:

1. *Ḥadīth*: *Biḥār al-Anwār*.
2. Theology: *Kashf al-Murād*.
3. Exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān: *al-Tibyān* by Shaykh Ṭūsī.
4. The collection of Shaykh Mufīd's works on history, theology, and *fiqh*:

The *Rijàl* (Narrators) Index

Supplying the computer with the chain of the *Ḥadīth* Narrators allows us to create the *Rijāl* Index and to produce valuable information on the following areas:

The teachers (sources) and the students of the *Ḥadīth* narrators, the era and classes of the narrators, the number of *aḥādīth* of a particular narrator, the relationship of narrators with each other, as well as with the Infallible Imam ('*a*) etc.

The collection of this information plays an important part in discovering the tampering with and damage that many have occurred in the chain of the *Ḥadīth* Narrators, determining its weakness and strength, etc.

Adding a brief biography of the narrator will make the *Rijāl* Index more beneficial.

Producing a *Rijāl* Index is possible through the following phases:

Using genuine transcript and-if necessary-transcript correction, reducing difficult or complicated chains of narrators to simplified ones, expert formatting, typing and correction, programming, tentative presentation of the programs, and final correction.

Including the 'Synonym System' and the '*Mushkilāt al-Asnād* Index' (Index pertaining to the difficulties in the chain of the narrators) enhance the efficiency of the *Rijāl* Index. The Synonym System however, provides all the titles of a narrator. The *Mushkilāt al-Asnād* explains the chain of the narrators including '*Taḥwīl*' (existence of two or more chains within the same chain), '*Taʿlīq*' (omission of a part of the chain according to other related chains).

The following is the CRCIS *Rijāl* indexes:

1. Chain of the *Ḥadīth* Narrators *in al-Kutub al-Arbaʿah*.
2. Chain of the *Ḥadīth* Narrators in Shaykh Ṣadūq's Books.
3. The Eight important *Rijāl* Books.

History Index

The historical texts contain considerable amount of information. Since this information is irregularly scattered and hence, hardly accessible, this program is developed to offer more than 50 lists of the necessary research entries in this field, to facilitate the task for the researchers.

Some of these lists are as follows:

- Qur'ānic Verses, *Aḥādīth* and Sermons, Letters, Treaties, Wills and Testaments, Names of the Narrators, Authors, *Fuqahā'*, Poets, Rulers, Tribal Chiefs, Books, Places, Battles, Conquests, Wars, Tribes, Statistics, Biographies, Occupations, Births and Deaths, Calendars and Dates, etc, as well as concepts such as Cultural, Theological, Ethical, Political, Economic, Geographical, and Military Concepts, Concepts regarding the family and the civil rights

The Qur'ànic Index of *Noor al-Anwàr*

This index is prepared to offer all necessary information for the researchers about the Glorious Qur'ān, featuring a relatively small volume which makes the researcher independent of referring to various other references in many cases.

This index contains the desired key information and among them the following may be referred to:

- Differences in Recitation, Occasions of Revelation of Verses, Interpreting *Ḥadīth*, Verses having the same content, Verses applicable to each other;

- Lists such as the list of Proper Nouns, Revelation Sequence, Particular Qur'ānic Concepts, etc.

The Common Features of the Programs

The CRCIS computer specialists employ advanced methods such as the ones below, in producing Islamic sciences softwares:

a) Compacting Voluminous Information:

Using this method, the volume of the files of the Word Index has been reduced considerably. For instance, the 110 volumes of *Biḥār al-Anwār* - including its index files - takes only 29 M.B. of memory.

b) High Speed in Search and Information Retrieval:

The specialists of CRCIS have been able to increase the information retrieval speed of fully compact files greatly by applying new innovations, so that finding a word in the 110 volume *Biḥār al-Anwār* takes only a few moments.

c) Profiting from New Technology:

The CRCIS Treasury of Islamic Sciences' on CD-ROM profits from the latest technology. For instance, the Word Index of the Glorious Qur'ān and the *al-Mīzān* Exegesis, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's Commentary on *Nahj al-Balāghah, al-Kutub al-Arba'ah, Biḥār al-Anwār, Wasā'il al-Shī'ah*, and *Mustadrak Wasā'il al-Shī'ah* containing 225 volumes, have been fitted on 76 M.B. of memory space that is equal to 1/9 of the total space of a CD-ROM.

d) Object-Oriented Programming

Computer Services and other Activities of CRCIS:

Since the ultimate goal of these efforts is rendering adequate services to the researchers and the elite, the Centre also provides various other necessary scientific services besides producing Islamic sciences softwares.

The following is a brief profile of these services:

a) Information Technology (IT):

The IT services of the Centre may be considered in three different areas:

1. Establishing IT Banks:

The seminary students and other researchers of Islamic sciences profit from the available programs free of charge daily, and if they encounter an ambiguity or a problem during a research session, they enjoy the assistance and guidance of the experts of the Centre who are around to help them.

It is worthy to mention that the IT banks - established so far - are located in the following places:

In Qum:
- Central Building of CRCIS.
- *Dār al- Shifā'* Theology School.
- Library of *Do Ṭiflān-e Muslim* Mosque at Qum.
- *Jāmi'at al Zahrā'* Seminary (for ladies).

In Mashhad:
- The branch of Islamic Propagation Office (IPO) with the cooperation of IPO of Qum Seminary.

In Tehran:
- Faculty of Theology of Tehran University.

In Dubai:

-Iranian Recreation Center
-Imam Husayn Mosque

2. Establishing Self-regulating I T Banks

3. Establishing Mobile I T Banks

b) Training:

A reputable section of the Centre is its training department called the Noor Computer Training Institute (NCTI).

This institute endeavors hard to train the enthusiasts of computer sciences covering different age and educational background groups.

Most of the instructors of this institute are among the seminary students and scholars, and the training is rendered free of charge to the seminary student. Non-seminary students also may enjoy the training services of NCTI by paying an affordable tuition.

c) Providing Computer Facilities:

An active department of the centre is the Noor Trading Company (NTC) consisting of two units:

1. *Shabakeh* Computer Shop (SCS):

This is NTC's sales unit, the SCS endeavours to provide computer systems and peripherals to all the enthusiasts. Its prompt services and open attitude is welcomed by the people.

The SCS also equips the research institutes affiliated with the seminary with computers and peripherals, and it helps them in using their systems as well.

All the CRCIS Programs are produced under the name of 'Noor Software' [Noor = light, illumination], and they are presented to those interested in Islamic sciences, so that it may illuminate their path.

2. Hardware Services Unit (HSU):

The HSU employs highly capable engineers, and it is responsible for support, installation, repair, and running computer systems. This unit renders very essential hardware services to the Islamic sciences researchers and specially to the research institutes and foundations. Also, it has taken a most fundamental step by executing 'the Common Hardware Plan' that includes supporting hardware and providing repair and maintenance services to the seminary personal and institutional computer systems.

d) Other Activities of CRCIS:

It is obvious that dynamism of a centre such as ours, is only guaranteed when it could have a deserving and logical bond with the scientific community.

Having this purpose in mind, CRCIS follows up its endeavours abroad and wherever there is a trace of a computer system associated with the Islamic sciences field continually, both in the university and seminary communities.

In this way, while gaining knowledge of other experts' experiences, the centre may present them its products as the fruits of many years of hard work. Some of these activities are as follows:

1. The Computer & the Islamic Sciences Biannual Seminars:

The first of these seminars was held in 1992 and the second in 1994. The main objective of holding these seminars is to introduce the role of information technology in the growth of Islamic sciences research, and also to bring together the two institutions of university and seminary, so that the grounds for benefiting from the new technology is made possible in this field more than ever. The multiplicity of computer centres in the Islamic sciences fields, doubles the possibility of repeated or parallel works.

Fortunately, the first two seminars have played an undeniable part in bringing together different viewpoints and preventing repetitious works.

Creating the grounds for the formation of 'the High Information Council of the Islamic Sciences' (HICS), is one of the centre's invaluable achievements. The HICS is responsible for planning this vital and important field and submitting the proposals to the grand Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Computer & the Islamic Sciences Biannual Seminars have clearly proved itself in the charts of scientific and specialized seminars. It takes a fresh viewpoint to the essential issues of communication, technology, and theological research.

2. The National Islamic Sciences Software Biannual Exhibition:

Many related research centres, as well as CRCIS itself, participate in this national event and they offer software programs at affordable prices.

The first and second of these exhibitions were held in 1993, and 1995, respectively.

3. The Qum Seminary Management System Project:

This project was started on the instructions of the grand Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī, by a group of CRCIS specialists in order to prepare a suitable system for that organization. To do so, after the initial studies and examinations of the project, reconsideration of the present system started through cooperation of the personnel and authorities of the Qum Seminary Management Centre. This cooperation will continue until the Seminary - including all of its school across the country - is provided with all the necessary services of the centre.

Design, development and execution of the following systems are the results of the efforts in this regard:

    * The National Centralized Admission (system for the freshman seminary students)

    * The Admission System (for non-freshman seminary students)

    * The Cortex Data Entry System
    * Periodical Examination System
    * Tuition System

4. Participating in National and International Computer Exhibitions:

CRCIS has participated in annual Gitex Exhibition twice effectively.

It was selected as the best IT booth in the Sixth International Tehran Book Fair. The participation of the specialists of the centre in the annual Cebit Exhibition in Germany, provides up-to-date research and technical viewpoints, as well as speeding up the process of accessing the new technological capabilities and breakthroughs.

5. Holding the Islamic Sciences Software Exhibition in Lebanon

6. Successful Participation in Provincial Exhibitions of the Qur'ānic Sciences

7. Exhibiting in:

-The First Session of the World Assembly of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (*'a*).

-The Millennium Congress of Shaykh Mufīd

-The Commemoration Congress Shaykh Anṣārī

-The Congress of *Wilāyat* (Guardianship) and *Ahl al-Bayt* (*'a*) in Persian Literature

8. Supplying hardware and software, and running the Qum Seminary Computer Centre.

INTRODUCING THE NEW CD-ROMS OF CRCIS

The centre has recently presented its programs on CD-ROMS that are introduced briefly as follows:

1. *Noor al-Anwār* - a Qur'ānic encyclopedia including:
Word Index
Qur'ān Text, indicating the pronunciation rules by using distinct colors
Recitation of the entire Qur'ān (in *tartīl* method) by Shahriyār Parhizgār
Search Capabilities
Al-Mīzān Exegesis

2. *Noor al-'Itrah* -a Word Index including:
A. The source books of *Bīḥār al-Anwār*
(164 titles in 210 volumes) among them: Collections of the works of Shaykh Mufīd, Shaykh Ṣadūq, Ibn Ṭāwūs, ...

B. Word Index of the Eight Important *Rijāl* Books
- *Rijāl* of al-Najāshī
- *Rijāl* of al-Barqī
- *Rijāl* of al-Kashshī
- *Rijāl* of al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī
- *Rijāl* of Shaykh Ṭūsī
- *Al-Fihrist* [list] of Shaykh Ṭūsī
- *Rijāl* of Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī
- *Rijāl* of Ibn Dāwūd

3. Noor al-Fiqāhah-containing Subject Indexes of the following books in *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*:
- *Sharḥ al-Lum'ah* (*al-Rawḍat al-Bahiyyah*)
- *Al-Makāsib*
- *Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*
- *Farā'id al-Uṣūl (al-Rasā'il)*
- *Kifāyat al-Uṣūl*

4. Noor al-Ḥikmah-containing Subject Indexes of the following books:

A. Philosophy
- *Al-Asfār al-Arba'ah*
- *Ilāhiyāt al-Shifā'*
- *Sharḥ al-Manẓūmah* (philosophy section)
- *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt (*philosophy section)
- *Badāyat al-Ḥikmah*
- *Nihāyat al-Ḥikmah*
- *Amūzesh-e Falsafah*
- *Uṣūl-e falsafah va Ravesh-e Re'ālism*
- *Al-Mashā'ir*
- *Al-'Arshiyyah*
- *Do Nāmeh-ye fārsī*
- *Risālah-ye Seh Aṣl*

B. Logic
- *Asās al-Iqtibās*
- *Jawhar al-Naḍid*
- *Sharḥ al-Manzūmah (logic section)*
- *Manṭiq al-Mashriqiyyīn*
- *Al-Lama‘āt al-Mashriqiyyah*
- *Risālat al-Taṣawwur wa al-Taṣdīq*

5. Noor containing:

Word Index of the Glorious Qur'ān including Qur'ān text with English and Persian translations

Qur'ān Recitation

Subject Indexes of *al-Makāsib al-Muḥarramah* and *Badāyat al-Ḥikmah*

Islamic Songs

Photos & Films

Introducing the CRCIS

Displaying the Program Tittles

Demo of the Entire Programs of CRCIS

Computer Research Centre of Islamic Sciences (CRCIS)

CRCIS in accordance with its wide range of activities in promoting the Islamic Sciences and knowledge, is pleased to introduce its **Noor IT Network**. This network enables the users to retrieve the required information and/or communicate with other network members by connecting their computers with the network through a telephone line (using modem).

Some of the facilities of Noor IT network are as follows:

1. The Discourses of the Grand Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Àyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khamene'ī

2. Notice-board

Introducing the CRCIS and its various activities in the field of Islamic sciences, including a list of the Center's new softwares & necessary information regarding the network.

3. Running the Noor Softwares (using Windows)

Many programs can be executed using computers connected with the network (main computer system).

All the Noor programs including the Glorious Qur'ān & its commentary, are fully accessible using this network.

4. News and Information

Qum News, News of Qum Islamic Seminary and various lessons and lectures (*Fiqh, Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Tafsīr, ...*) taught and given by eminent teachers and lectures of the Qum Seminary, Friday Prayer Sermons of Qum & Tehran.

5. Magazines

Many magazines and periodicals on Islamic sciences and learning (in Persian & Arabic) are accessible.

6. Electronic Mail

Fully confidential electronical mail-box has made e-mail into a suitable tool for exchanging messages.

7. Answering the Questions

a) Various questions in the field of Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, philosophy, theology, ethics, history, and the practical laws of Islam

b) Questions about the Noor Programs

8. File Library (Software Bank)

The system manager can allow the users to receive or enter a file using different protocols such as **Xmodem, Ymodem, Kernit,** etc.

**How to connect with
the Noor I T Network**

To contact this network, the user should have the following (besides a computer set);

1. A modem and a telephone line

2. A telecommunication software such as telex

3. *Fārsī* **Font of Noor** (obtainable from our Network Software Bank).

The user enters the network after contacting the Noor I T Network (0098-251-743411) after typing the proper **User-ID and password**, then may use its options according to the level of accessibility.

Internet Noor: *(www.hawzah.net)*

E-Mail: *Noor @www.dci.co.ir*

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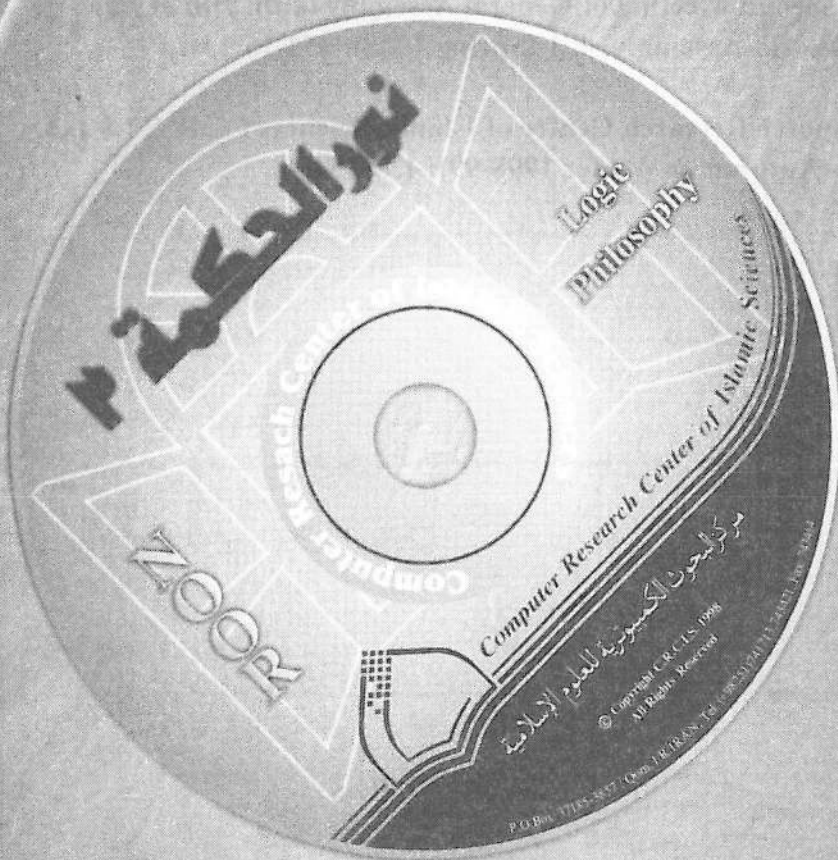Winter 1998-99): 49-61.

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